

Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism

DISPLACED PERSONS IN POSTWAR GERMANY



Anna Holian

Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism

Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany

Geoff Eley, Series Editor

Series Editorial Board

Kathleen Canning, University of Michigan

David F. Crew, University of Texas, Austin

Atina Grossmann, The Cooper Union

Alf Lüdtke, University of Erfurt, Germany / Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea

Andrei S. Markovits, University of Michigan

Recent Titles

Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linguistics in Germany and Beyond, 1814–1945, Sara Pugach

Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism: Displaced Persons in Soviet Germany, Anna Holian

Dueling Students: Conflict, Masculinity, and Politics in German Universities, 1890–1914, Lisa Fetheringill Zwicker

The Golem Returns: From German Romantic Literature to Global Jewish Culture, 1808–2008, Cathy S. Gelbin

German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practices, 1000–1989, Nina Berman

Franz Radziwill and the Contradictions of German Art History, 1919–45, James A. van Dyke

Weimar through the Lens of Gender: Prostitution Reform, Woman's Emancipation, and German Democracy, Julia Roos

Murder Scenes: Normality, Deviance, and Criminal Violence in Weimar Berlin, Sace Elder

Changing Places: Society, Culture, and Territory in the Saxon-Bohemian Borderlands, 1870 to 1946, Caitlin E. Murdock

After the Nazi Racial State: Difference and Democracy in Germany and Europe, Rita Chin, Heide Fehrenbach, Geoff Eley, and Atina Grossmann

Work, Race, and the Emergence of Radical Right Corporatism in Imperial Germany, Dennis Sweeney

The German Patient: Crisis and Recovery in Postwar Culture, Jennifer M. Kapeczynski

Topographies of Class: Modern Architecture and Mass Society in Weimar Berlin, Sabine Hake

Neither German nor Pole: Catholicism and National Indifference in a Central European Borderland, James E. Bjork

Beyond Berlin: Twelve German Cities Confront the Nazi Past, edited by Gavriel D. Rosenfeld and Paul B. Jaskot

The Politics of Sociability: Freemasonry and German Civil Society, 1840–1918, Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann

Work and Play: The Production and Consumption of Toys in Germany, 1870–1914, David D. Hamlin

The Cosmopolitan Screen: German Cinema and the Global Imaginary, 1945 to the Present, edited by Stephan K. Schindler and Lutz Koepnick

Germans on Drugs: The Complications of Modernization in Hamburg, Robert P. Stephens

Gender in Transition: Discourse and Practice in German-Speaking Europe, 1750–1830, edited by Ulrike Gleixner and Marion W. Gray

Growing Up Female in Nazi Germany, Dagmar Reese

For a complete list of titles, please see www.press.umich.edu

Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism

Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany

ANNA HOLIAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS
Ann Arbor

Copyright © by the University of Michigan 2011
All rights reserved

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, including illustrations, in any form (beyond that copying permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law and except by reviewers for the public press), without written permission from the publisher.

Published in the United States of America by
The University of Michigan Press
Manufactured in the United States of America
⊗ Printed on acid-free paper

2014 2013 2012 2011 4 3 2 1

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Holian, Anna Marta.

Between national socialism and Soviet communism : displaced persons in postwar Germany / Anna Holian.

p. cm. — (Social history, popular culture, and politics in Germany)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-472-11780-2 (cloth : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-472-02767-5 (e-book)

1. World War, 1939-1945—Refugees—Germany.
2. Refugees—Germany—History—20th century. 3. Refugees—Political activity—Germany—History—20th century. 4. Polish people—Germany—History—20th century. 5. Ukrainians—Germany—History—20th century. 6. Russians—Germany—History—20th century. 7. Jews—Germany—History—20th century. I. Title.
D809.G3H64 2011
940.53086'9140943—dc22

2011011895

Acknowledgments

I am pleased to have the opportunity to thank the many individuals and institutions that helped me with this project. I began this project many years ago as a dissertation in the Department of History at the University of Chicago. Michael Geyer, Leora Auslander, and Katie Trumpener, the original members of my dissertation committee, were the earliest readers of this project. Each of them has enriched it in a different way, and I feel privileged to have been able to work with them. Sheila Fitzpatrick joined my committee toward the end, and I am grateful to her for offering many valuable comments.

Peter Gatrell and Mark von Hagen read the entire manuscript and provided excellent feedback. I am deeply grateful to them for taking time out of their busy schedules to do this. Many thanks also to everyone who read and commented on parts of the manuscript: Jeffrey Burds, Daniel Cohen, Emma Gilligan, Thomas Grischany, Wendy Norris, Steve Porter, Jonathan Zatlin, and the members of the Modern European History and Human Rights Workshops at the University of Chicago. A very big thanks also to Atina Grossmann, who has followed this project from its early stages and generously provided guidance throughout. Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, Lynne Taylor, and Mark Wyman provided me with advice during the early stages of the project. Many other people shared their knowledge and provided helpful comments: Bella Brodzki, Barbara Girs, John Holian, Andrew Janco, Yan Mann, Avi Patt, Andrew Reed, Susanna Schrafstetter, Jeremy Varon, David Waldman, and Bernard Wasserstein. Susan Pettiss was a valuable friend and interlocutor about all things DP. I'm sorry she did not live to see this book completed.

A number of institutions helped fund the research and writing of this book. The Department of History at the University of Chicago generously provided me with summer research travel grants at the beginning of the dissertation process and a writing fellowship at the end. A grant from the

German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) funded my stay in Germany during the 2000–2001 academic year. A fellowship from the German Historical Institute made possible a shorter research trip to Washington, DC. I am also grateful to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum for funding the course “Reading Yiddish for Holocaust Research.”

The research for this project would not have been as productive and enjoyable as it was if not for the help of many archivists and librarians. I would especially like to thank Amy Schmidt at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland; Aurora Tangkeko at the United Nations Archives in New York; Albert Knoll at the Archiv der KZ-Gedenkstätte Dachau; and Iwanna Rebet at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. I am also grateful to Albert Kipa and Mykola Szafoval for granting me access to the archives of the Ukrainian Free University.

A number of individuals provided help in deciphering documents in various languages: thanks to Jerry Sadock, Jan Schwarz, Danko Sipka, Lynn Tesser, Nina Warnke, and Nina Wieda. Alicia Nitecki graciously shared her translations of Tadeusz Borowski’s correspondence with me before its publication and led me to many interesting sources.

I am grateful to all those who made my research trips to distant shores enjoyable. During a yearlong stay in Germany, Martin Geyer provided an inviting atmosphere at the University of Munich. My roommate and fellow dissertation-writer Verena Weidenbach helped keep me glued to my *Schreibtisch*. In Washington, DC, Pamela and J. Ashley Roach provided housing on more than one occasion. In New York, Zhen Zhang did the same.

My colleagues at Arizona State University created a welcoming and stimulating environment within which to rethink this project and give it final form. I would especially like to thank Volker Benkert, Ed Escobar, Rachel Fuchs, Gayle Gullett, the late Chris Harzig, Dirk Hoerder, Dan Gilfillan, Chouki el Hamel, Laurie Manchester, Hava Tirosh-Samuelson, and Kent Wright.

I am grateful to Geoff Eley for his interest in including this book in the University of Michigan Press series Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany. Thanks also to my editor Ellen Bauerle, her assistant Alexa Ducsay, and the anonymous reviewer who provided many helpful comments.

Many good friends have followed this project from its inception. Although most knew little about it, their fellowship sustained me during its

long gestation process. A big thanks to Dorothee Brantz, Chris Burgess, Tanya Fernando, Riva Feshbach, Margherita Pieracci Harwell, Alexandra Hrycak, Nataalka Kokorudz, Judith Leeb, and Tina Roach.

Finally, my greatest thanks go to David Harwell, who provided me with boundless support and many pleasant distractions while I worked on this project and who helped me keep it all in perspective.

Contents

Note on Sources	xi
Introduction	I
Part 1. Care and Control: The Administration of Displaced Persons	
1. The Invention of the Displaced Person	29
2. Displaced Persons and the Question of Persecution	56
Part 2. The Threat of Communism	
3. The Repatriation Debate and the Anticommunist “Political Explanation”	81
4. Between Federalists and Separatists: The Anticommunist Movement(s)	120
Part 3. The Legacy of Nazism	
5. Jewish Survivors and the Reckoning with the Nazi Past	153
6. Displaced Jews and the German Question	186
7. Political Prisoners and the Legacy of National Socialism	211
8. Recognition, Assistance, <i>Wiedergutmachung</i> : The Claims of Displaced Politicals	244
Conclusion	267
Notes	273
Bibliography	327
Index	347

Note on Sources

I know English well enough to slap together a nasty letter. And I've painstakingly compiled a list of the major American and English journals.

—Tadeusz Borowski to Maria Rundo, March 10, 1946

This study draws on a diverse array of sources, including letters, memoranda, reports, petitions, speeches, newspaper articles, memoirs, and fiction. They were written in many different languages: Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, Yiddish, German, and English. A word is in order about the German and English used by displaced persons. Eager to communicate with the Allied and German authorities and the larger world, displaced persons often wrote in German and English. Yet most had only an imperfect knowledge of German, while English was usually an entirely new language for them. Consequently, the German- and English-language texts they produced contain numerous errors—of grammar, syntax, usage, spelling, and so forth. These errors are integral components of the texts. They reflect the linguistic resources of their authors and attest to their struggle to communicate in unfamiliar languages. Often, behind the German or English, one senses the presence of other languages. In quoting these texts, all errors have been preserved, as is customary. When prudent, I have noted individual spelling errors with the word *sic*; in cases of multiple errors, I have instead made a general reference to this fact in the notes. In citing these texts, on the other hand, I have preserved the original spelling without comment, since here the issue of meaning is secondary.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author. Russian and Ukrainian sources have been transliterated according to the Library of Congress system, Yiddish ones according to the YIVO system. I have made exceptions for words and names that already have a different common spelling in English. In the case of Yiddish sources written in the Latin alphabet—a common practice in the early postwar period, when typewriters and printing presses with Hebrew letters were scarce—the original spelling has been preserved.

Introduction

In a story entitled “The January Offensive,” the Polish writer and concentration camp survivor Tadeusz Borowski provides a fictionalized account of life in Germany in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. His story focuses on “displaced persons” (DPs), the multinational population of concentration camp survivors, forced laborers, prisoners of war, and refugees from eastern Europe who found themselves on the territory of the former Reich at war’s end. The inhabitants of Germany, Borowski writes, were an “incredible, almost comical, melting-pot of peoples and nationalities sizzling dangerously in the very heart of Europe.”¹ He and his fellow Polish survivors longed “to break away from the carefully watched, branded mass of ‘displaced persons,’ to move to one of the large cities, and there—after joining a Polish political organization and becoming a member of a black-market chain—to start a normal private life.”² Eventually, they managed to attain this kind of “normalcy.” “Thanks to our concentration camp documents,” he writes, “three of us were able—honestly and legally—to get a comfortable four-room apartment vacated by a Nazi who was temporarily sent to stay with his relatives and who was told to leave some of his furniture and religious pictures for us.”³ Although the narrator’s tone is ironic, it is clear that he and his friends are deeply preoccupied with their wartime experiences. After a day’s work at the Polish Red Cross, “editing, printing, and mailing mile-long bulletins on missing persons,” they would return home to work on a book about Auschwitz and to debate the lessons of the war with visitors from Poland.⁴

Borowski’s story draws our attention to the fact that postwar Germany, far from having achieved the state of racial purity envisioned by the Nazis, was an “incredible” multinational site, filled with both the survivors of Nazi plans for the racial reordering of Europe and new refugees from eastern Europe. It offers a comical yet deadly serious account of the dilemmas displaced persons faced in reconstructing their lives. In particular, it

draws our attention to the central role that political questions (along with issues of everyday survival) played in the reconstruction of a temporary communal life. While most displaced persons did not break away from the supervised life of the DP camps (and in many cases did not want to), they nonetheless struggled to make sense of their most recent experiences and to find their bearings in a foreign country, where the local population viewed them with hostility and the occupation authorities were not quite sure what to do with them. Questions of national and political community were central here. Some, like Borowski himself, eventually decided to return home. Many others, including some of Borowski's close friends, refused to do so. They remained in Germany for a number of years before finding opportunities to emigrate. A small minority never left.

At the heart of this book is the question of how Europeans made sense of displacement in the aftermath of the Second World War. Focusing on Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, and Jews—four groups from the eastern European core of the DP population—I examine the political and historical imaginary among displaced persons in Germany. How did the people thrown together as “displaced persons”—a term that had little to do with their lived experiences—sort themselves out? What categories of belonging did they find most compelling? What stories about the war years did they offer in support of their decisions not to return home? How were these historical narratives connected to political projects? Similarly, what concerns about the emerging postwar order in eastern Europe guided their decisions to remain “abroad”? What alternative futures did they try to create? This book is, then, an investigation into the cultural and political meanings that displaced eastern Europeans in Germany assigned to their predicament. More broadly, it is an investigation into how competing interpretations of the Second World War figured in the process of postwar reconstruction. In particular, it examines the central role that stories about National Socialism and Soviet communism played in representations of the past and visions of the future. In this case, however, the context is not the familiar one of European states but rather the still relatively unfamiliar yet important one of European refugees, individuals who by definition did not fit into the emerging nation-state order.

Nonetheless, as we will see, national concerns also played an important role here. While “settled” Europeans constructed patriotic narratives and organized committees to represent their interests as victims or heroes of the war, similar processes were taking place among the displaced. Indeed, the cultural and political history of postwar reconstruction is woe-

fully incomplete if we examine the processes taking place within European states without attending to the shadow cast upon them by Europe's refugees. Displaced persons are an important part of this shadow history. At a moment when eastern and western Europe were being pulled apart by Great Power conflicts, they illuminate a piece of eastern European history "made in Germany." Here I focus specifically on the history made in Bavaria, one of the three *Länder* (states) that made up the U.S. occupation zone. For reasons that will become clear, this region became home to the largest number of DPs and produced the most vibrant DP politics. I focus primarily on the period between 1945 and 1951.

The Second World War set in motion an unprecedented dislocation of populations. Between 1939 and 1947, some 55 million Europeans were forcibly moved.⁵ Displaced persons were part of this great unsettling. An administrative fiction of the Allied powers, the term *displaced person* referred to civilians found outside their countries of origin at the end of hostilities. There were approximately 11 million displaced persons in Europe immediately after the war.⁶ The majority, totaling more than 8 million, were located in Germany. They included about 6 million civilian foreign workers, 2 million prisoners of war, and 700,000 surviving concentration camp prisoners.⁷ Most displaced persons quickly and willingly returned home. Indeed, the pace of repatriation was initially intense. During the summer and early fall of 1945, the Allied military authorities oversaw the departure of some 33,000 displaced persons per day.

By the end of September, the DP population in Germany had shrunk to about 1.2 million.⁸ However, this still huge "remnant" proved much more difficult to move. Large numbers of eastern Europeans, it soon became clear, were unwilling or unable to return home. Moreover, new refugees from eastern Europe, including many Jews from Poland, continued to arrive. These "nonrepatriable" DPs would remain in Germany for a number of years, concentrated in the western occupation zones, especially in the southwestern regions of the country occupied by the United States. In the Soviet zone, by contrast, a "DP problem" did not exist, at least not officially, as the Soviet authorities insisted on repatriating all foreigners.

In 1948, new opportunities for emigration opened up, and the DP camps and communities began to empty out. By the first half of 1950, the number of displaced persons in West Germany had dropped to somewhere between 100,000 and 200,000.⁹ With the passage of the Homeless Foreigners Law of 1951, authority over DPs was formally transferred to the new West German state. Displaced persons still remaining in West Germany

were transformed into “homeless foreigners” (*heimatlose Ausländer*), non-citizens who nonetheless enjoyed most of the same civil rights as Germans.

Although opposition to repatriation—or, at least, doubts about the desirability of returning home—was common to all those who remained in Germany, displaced persons hardly constituted a unified or coherent group. They came from many different countries. Their ethnic, religious, and class origins were diverse. Their wartime experiences also varied considerably. While many had been persecuted by the Nazis or marked out for extermination, others had collaborated. Finally, the ways in which they represented themselves were diverse. Quickly organizing themselves into myriad “committees,” they put forward widely diverging explanations of who they were and what they wanted. Narratives about National Socialism and Soviet communism—as history, legacy, and future threat—defined and differentiated these displaced communities. Pieter Lagrou has noted that a “sharp confrontation between two general interpretations of the last global conflict”—between antifascism and anticommunism—defined the legacy of the Second World War in western Europe. This confrontation was even sharper among displaced eastern Europeans, who had experienced both Nazi and Soviet rule during the war.¹⁰

The diverging and converging stories told by Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, and Jewish DPs are the main focus of this book. They come through most clearly in the demonstrations that displaced persons staged in Germany, which thus receive special emphasis. Among Jewish DPs, the dominant political orientation was defined by a rejection of diaspora life and an embrace of Zionism. This orientation was underwritten by a historical narrative that identified the Nazi genocide as the culmination of a longer history of antisemitic discrimination and persecution, especially in eastern Europe. Experiences under Soviet communism played little role in communal representations, even though many Jewish DPs had spent the war years in the Soviet Union. Jewish DPs identified Polish, Ukrainian, and other non-Jewish DPs primarily as persecutors. They demanded not only physical separation from other displaced persons but also recognition as a distinct national group. The solution to the Jewish DP problem, they argued, lay in opening the gates of Palestine and creating a Jewish state.

Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs also highlighted experiences of Nazi occupation and persecution but viewed German national chauvinism, not antisemitism or racism, as the core of the National Socialist project. In narrating the encounter with National Socialism, they employed a “martyrological idiom” that stressed national heroism and sacrifice. How-

ever, stories about Nazism were overshadowed by accounts of wartime Soviet persecution and concerns about the threat posed by the Soviet Union in postwar eastern Europe. Indeed, National Socialism was incorporated into a larger explanatory framework that stressed the “totalitarian” nature of both Nazi and Soviet rule. Anticommunism emerged as the dominant political movement, and the solution to the DP problem was defined as the “liberation” of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union from communist domination. Both antifascist and anticommunist orientations were inflected with antisemitism.

Where do the representations that Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, and Jewish DPs put forward as communal images come from? What forces were responsible for the development of displaced communities? In order to adequately address these questions, it is essential to examine both the postwar context in which displaced persons found themselves and their earlier history. Thus both German and eastern European history are essential components of my explanatory framework. On the one hand, the refugee communities I examine were shaped by the social, political, and economic context of postwar western Germany, a nonstate occupied by four Allied states with distinct political agendas. In the western occupation zones, these states relied on intergovernmental relief agencies to manage the DP population. It is important to note here that I do not focus specifically on DP camps. While some scholars have argued that refugee camps function as “technologies of power,” encouraging the development of a distinct refugee consciousness, my argument is broader.¹¹ Although camps were an important aspect of DP policy, at least in the U.S. and British zones, and although the “DP era” was central to the development of the camp as a global model for managing displaced populations, the identifications that displaced persons developed were not camp specific.¹² They cut across the boundaries between camp and noncamp. More important in my estimation was the regime of policies and practices put in place by the occupiers and the Germans. The power of this regime was especially pronounced in the camps, but it was not spatially bounded. Following Frank Stern, who argues that relations among Germans, occupiers, and Jews constituted a definitive framework of social interaction and political decision making in the postwar period—a “historic triangle”—I situate all four groups of displaced persons examined here “between” the occupiers and the Germans.¹³ In Bavaria, I argue, both the American occupation authorities and the Germans made some distinctions between different groups of displaced persons, but generally formulated policies intended to

cover all DPs. So too did the major intergovernmental relief agencies, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and its successor the International Refugee Organization (IRO). In this regard, displaced persons constituted a “refugee nation.”¹⁴ At the same time, changing priorities in Germany—notably the shift in emphasis from eliminating National Socialism to combating communism and integrating Germany into a new western alliance—had an uneven effect on displaced persons. This book examines the changing fortunes of Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, and Jewish DPs side by side.

On the other hand, the communities these eastern Europeans created in postwar Germany reflected the political and historical identifications they had developed during the earlier twentieth century. Political solidarities forged in the context of wartime persecution, resistance, and collaboration—all of which often also involved displacement—were central. Here one needs to keep in mind that while many Europeans suffered terribly under the Nazis, for others, as Tony Judt notes, it was “quite a ‘good’ war, at least until the very last months.”¹⁵ The situation in eastern Europe was especially complicated, with Nazi occupation alternating with Soviet. In this context, it was inevitable that populations would compare one occupation regime to the other. Those who fared well—or at least not too poorly—under one regime generally found life under the other more difficult, not least because both the Nazis and the Soviets were suspicious of anyone who had collaborated with the enemy (and, in the Soviet case, also of anyone who had not resisted). Similarly, those who had been persecuted by one regime often viewed the arrival of the other as an improvement, if not in fact as a liberation. This is not to suggest that Nazi and Soviet rule were the same or that Soviet crimes were equivalent to Nazi crimes, but rather to stress that perceptions of the two occupying powers varied dramatically depending on one’s position in the complex constellation of forces at play in wartime eastern Europe. However, the history of the war turns out to be an inadequate explanation for the forms of communal identification that took shape in the postwar. Rather, the historical narratives that DPs employed and the political debates they conducted typically had their roots in the prewar era. The history of the interwar years, when nationalizing states in eastern Europe ran up against the growing national self-consciousness of their minorities, turns out to be especially important. Indeed, the continuities between prewar and postwar are often more striking than the differences. Thus while I examine how the conditions of displacement in Ger-

many shaped the political outlook and actions of displaced persons, I also emphasize preexisting solidarities, transported ideologies, and previous political experience in eastern Europe. I bring these two elements together in examining how displaced persons reworked older political ideas to fit what they defined as their needs in the postwar.

Comparing Displaced Histories

Research on displaced persons, which is as old as the DP category itself, has developed along a number of lines. In addition to studies that offer a panoramic view of social, cultural, and political life among the displaced, there are now many more specialized studies focusing on the experiences of specific groups.¹⁶ The literature on Jewish DPs is especially rich and includes both studies that focus tightly on Jewish DP camps and communities,¹⁷ and studies that situate Jewish DPs in a broader postwar German Jewish context.¹⁸ There is also a growing literature on Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Latvians, and others.¹⁹ Another important subset of the literature focuses on the policies and practices of the governments and inter-governmental agencies charged with taking care of displaced persons. In addition to general works on this topic,²⁰ there are a number of studies focusing on the work of specific agencies²¹ and on policies toward specific groups of DPs.²² Finally, a number of scholars have conducted local history projects that focus on the interactions between displaced persons and their German neighbors.²³

Nationality or, more precisely, ethnonationality has been a primary category of organization and analysis in the literature on displaced persons. This can to some extent be seen as an extension of the importance that displaced persons themselves assigned to nationality—and the lack of importance they assigned to the category of the DP. As sociologist Edward Shils noted in 1946, using *displaced person* as a synonym for *forced laborer*, “there was . . . no community among the displaced persons such as ultimately developed among Prisoners of War, whose rights are internationally guaranteed and supervised, and protected by officers who feel responsible for their men.”²⁴ Most contemporary observers found the lack of identification with the DP label surprising, having anticipated that displaced persons’ wartime and postwar experiences would lead to the development of new solidarities. They were struck by the extent to which the

displaced continued to endow the concept of nationality with great significance. A May 1945 U.S. report on liberated foreign workers described the situation this way.

The interesting question has been raised as to whether the unprecedented conditions which have existed in Germany, with millions of men of many nations thrown together for several years, encouraged any breakdown of national feeling together with an emergence of a new feeling of internationalism. Such evidence as there is suggests that this did not occur, but rather that the old national loyalties retained their power. In fact, members of each nation are apt to pride themselves upon the superior strength of national loyalties within their own group.

The report concluded that there was no evidence “of new political crystallizations either national or international.”²⁵ Similarly, filmmaker Fred Zinnemann, who visited DP camps in Germany in 1947, was struck by the total lack of solidarity among what he called “the remnants of various decimated nationalities.”

I had thought they would have been drawn together by their common experience; it was exactly the opposite. The Estonians would keep to themselves, the Hungarians would keep to themselves, the Czechs would keep to themselves and there would be no middle ground—they didn’t want to know about each other.

In his estimation, “all were victims of extreme nationalism.”²⁶ The philosopher Hannah Arendt put things even more strongly. “Not a single group of refugees or Displaced Persons,” she wrote, “has failed to develop a fierce, violent group consciousness and to clamor for rights as—and only as—Poles or Jews or Germans, etc.”²⁷ She lamented the fact that displaced persons failed to recognize what they shared, namely, the lack of basic human rights, because it prevented them from addressing this fact. “Neither before nor after the second World War,” she wrote, “have the victims themselves ever invoked these . . . rights, which were so evidently denied them, in their many attempts to find a way out of the barbed-wire labyrinth into which events had driven them.”²⁸

The emphasis on nationality among displaced persons has reverberated in the scholarly literature. Wolfgang Jacobmeyer has gone as far as to

say that “the only great concept in the consciousness of the DPs was their nationality.”²⁹ Historians tend to divide displaced persons into mutually exclusive national groups and to examine them in isolation from one another. Yet the meaning and significance of nationality have not received much attention. Taking the primacy of nationality for granted, scholars have not always inquired into its contents. They tend to treat different nationalities as real, substantial groups rather than as the outcome of processes of group-making.³⁰

One of my objectives in looking at narratives about National Socialism and Soviet communism is to inquire into the meanings assigned to national categories. I thus look at the cultural and political ideas that displaced persons associated with the nation, while also keeping in mind that many of these ideas had cross-national resonance. For if displaced Poles, Jews, and so forth were distinguished from others of the same nationality by the fact that they did not want to return home, national consciousness itself does little to explain why they found certain identifications compelling. Rather, it is the meanings assigned to nationality that distinguish displaced persons from those who returned, or never left. The stories DPs told about National Socialism and Soviet communism served to differentiate them from their nondisplaced fellow nationals and to identify them as “authentic” members of the nation.

By adopting a comparative framework, I hope to bring greater clarity to these issues. Although the emphasis on nationalities might naturally suggest a comparative framework, there has been little in the way of systematic comparison in the scholarship on DPs.³¹ In a context in which displaced persons often tenaciously defended their status as members of this or that nationality, comparison highlights both the substantial differences among national groups and the similarities. Moreover, it helps us understand where both the differences and the similarities came from. In particular, it helps elucidate how German and Allied policies affected the development of representational tropes and organizational practices, encouraging, at different moments, an emphasis on the crimes of National Socialism or the threat of communism.

The comparative approach also makes it possible to recognize that the boundaries of displaced communities often crossed national lines. Although Hannah Arendt’s claim that displaced persons demonstrated “a fierce, violent group consciousness” holds true in many respects, it can also be argued that Arendt, along with other contemporary commentators, missed the expressions of internationalism among DPs. Throughout Eu-

rope, wartime experiences of persecution, resistance, and collaboration not only tore societies apart but also encouraged the development of new, explicitly international solidarities.³² After the war, there was a resurgence of interest in internationalism and its local variant, Europeanism. This trend was also in evidence among displaced persons. The experience of displacement heightened the appeal of internationalism, creating new opportunities for cross-national solidarities and a felt need for protective alliances.³³ Moreover, international agencies were deeply involved in refugee relief. They not only promoted internationalism among displaced persons, they also managed the DP population like an international community. The comparative approach highlights these heretofore unexamined aspects of DP history.

At the same time, it is important to be attuned to the pitfalls of comparison. The comparative method is predicated on the assumption that the groups being compared are discrete and self-contained. Comparative analysis thus runs the risk of reifying the categories it employs and reproducing rather than revealing processes of group formation. While this risk is inherent in all comparison, it is especially great when, as in the case of displaced persons, the groups in question are close together both spatially and temporally. The eastern European lands that displaced persons came from were a mixture of ethnicities, languages, and religions. Members of ethnic minorities commonly “moved into” the majority society by adopting the majority language and culture; among Christians, rates of intermarriage were high. Nationalist movements developed relatively late here, though by the interwar period, nationalism had clearly become a key political force. Thus the language of nationality is even more problematic in the case of displaced persons than it is in many other contexts. Many displaced persons shared a common history. Most important, the vast majority of self-identified Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish DPs were citizens of Poland. They had been shaped by common cultural, political, and economic forces, including the new Polish state’s attempt to deal with the minority treaty imposed upon it after the First World War; the economic modernization of Poland during the interwar period; and, of course, the wartime Nazi and Soviet occupations. After the war, even as they asserted their separateness, they continued to live in close proximity, to speak to one another, to read one another’s newspapers. Occasionally, they ventured into the territory of “international cooperation.” More generally, they were keenly aware of each other’s presence. In building their associations and putting forward their claims, they engaged in what one might call a

process of dialogical modeling, carefully examining each other's steps and weighing each other's successes and failures.

Thus, although national categories are difficult to avoid, my emphasis here is on the historical horizons and political visions that brought displaced persons together and pulled them apart. Focusing on interpretations of National Socialism and Soviet communism draws our attention to competition over the boundaries of national solidarity and thus to the construction of the national identifications that contemporary commentators found so striking. Indeed, I argue, it is precisely through the stories they told about National Socialism and Soviet communism that displaced persons defined and redefined the boundaries of both national and international groups. On the one hand, rejecting an identification with existing national political structures, they proclaimed the centrality of the nation. In this regard, the processes of contestation among displaced persons can be seen as a continuation of struggles between minorities and majorities in interwar eastern Europe. They aimed to "complete" the nationalization of eastern Europe begun decades earlier, to disentangle the strands of the "melting-pot of peoples and nationalities" Tadeusz Borowski saw bubbling in Germany. On the other hand, by choosing to tell some stories about National Socialism and Soviet communism and not others, they endowed the concept of the nation with distinct political and cultural meanings, creating solidarity with other displaced nationals while rejecting an affinity with those who returned home—or never left. By looking at the formation and re-formation of different groups of displaced persons side by side, I believe we gain a better understanding of how ideas and actions shaped rather than merely reflected the development of discrete identifications.

Representing the Interests of the Displaced

While recent work on the legacy of the war has leaned heavily on the concept of memory, this study emphasizes representation.³⁴ Two forms of representation are at issue here: cultural representation, or the representation of communities as the product of shared traditions, experiences, and aspirations; and political representation, or the recognition of individuals and groups as actors within the body politic. Returning to the older framework of representation—which much recent work on memory, focusing on collective images of the past, has in any case retained—offers two main ad-

vantages. First, it draws our attention to the deliberate and creative manner in which cultural narratives develop. It emphasizes the gap between what is lived and what is told. Second, it provides a framework for thinking about cultural production in tandem with political organization. Indeed, it highlights the linkages between these two processes. It draws our attention to displaced persons as political subjects. It reminds us that a central concern among displaced persons was gaining a seat at the political tables where decisions about their future were being made. More generally, it reminds us that processes of cultural narration are often intimately related to organizational practices and political action, and that cultural history thus needs to be written alongside both social and political history.³⁵

The emphasis that displaced persons placed on representation was reflected in the proliferation of DP “committees.” Part of the more general “association mania” that seized Europe after the war, these committees were created to help displaced persons meet their basic material needs and to represent them before the authorities.³⁶ National committees were the most common, but there were also committees organized around specific locales (e.g., DP camps), historical experiences (e.g., political imprisonment), and professions (e.g., lawyers, journalists). Even the stateless formed their own committees. Contemporaries often referred to these organizations as “interest representations” (*Interessenvertretungen*) or “interest associations” (*Interessenverbände*). Similarly, displaced persons argued that the committees were designed to act as “representations.” They spoke of “putting their interests in common” or “sharing an interest.” These contemporary references draw our attention to the representational work performed by DP committees, especially their role in representing displaced persons before the authorities. Simultaneously, they suggest the utility of thinking about DP committees and the communities they represented as interest groups or, more broadly, as social groups: as communities created around a shared political interest or social position. This approach is especially helpful in examining the national committees DPs created. It helps us see these committees as strategic associations created to address contemporary issues rather than as expressions of preexisting and unquestioned identifications. It thus helps denaturalize the national categories that displaced persons employed.

Students of interest and social groups have explored both the political and cultural dimensions of representation.³⁷ The issue of political representation has long been a classic topic. Here the literature engages fundamental issues of modern political philosophy. Can interests be represented? Can

democratic polities accommodate representation, which presupposes that something “else” intervenes between the people and its government? Are interest groups good for democracy? Are they a legitimate expression of societal interests, perhaps even a fundamental component of democratic politics in a modern, diverse society? Or do they interfere with the channels of communication between society and the state and threaten the independence of society’s chosen political representatives?³⁸ Although students of interest groups have not generally looked at displaced groups, deliberations about these political questions nonetheless have a direct bearing on their status. For if the displaced are by definition outsiders, what possibility do they have of representing their interests within the state? Indeed, is there any setting within which their interests can be represented?

Increasingly, scholars of interest and social groups have also focused on processes of cultural representation. As Pierre Bourdieu, Luc Boltanski, and Michel Offerlé argue, compelling cultural images are essential to the process of articulating interests and defining groups. Per Bourdieu, “it may be that agents are more likely to constitute themselves as a group if they occupy similar positions in the social space. . . . But a set of agents can organize themselves into a group, with their own organization, spokesperson and so on, only by producing or appropriating a certain vision of the social world and of themselves as an identifiable group within this world.”³⁹ This emphasis on the cultural production of groups dovetails with recent trends in cultural history and with the work of refugee scholars who argue for the need to explore the cultural dimensions of political displacement. As Marjorie Muecke notes, “the experience of the political refugee is profoundly cultural because it compels refugees as individuals and as collective victims/survivors of massive chaos to resolve what Max Weber identified as the problem of meaning, the need to affirm the ultimate explicableness of experience.”⁴⁰ Yet this process of meaning-making does not happen smoothly. It involves competition over definitions and boundaries.⁴¹ As we shall see, there was indeed competition among displaced persons to define the legacy of the Second World War and their place within it.

Linking political and cultural definitions of representation, historian Gérard Noiriel has examined how and whether refugees can constitute themselves as an interest group and thus become true subjects of politics. For Noiriel, the creation of social groups is the product of “a double process of political self-organization and juridical-administrative categorization.”⁴² On the one hand, “the mobilization of actors tends towards a

‘representation’ of the social ensemble in the context of the political arena. The collective identity develops out of the subjective identification of the members of the group with the spokesperson and with the symbols which endow it with unity.”⁴³ This process of political mobilization, oriented around the development of compelling cultural representations, is fundamental. On the other hand, however, the formation of the group is dependent on social categorization, which, in the modern world, is the purview of the state. Unlike groups, social categories “come into being through the bureaucratic process of assigning identities, which depends upon an ‘objective’ identification of individuals with abstract entities defined by the law. The members of these categories share a collective identity to the extent that they interiorize the relationship of power within which they are held, that is to say the definition of themselves articulated by those who are charged by the sovereign authority with applying the law.”⁴⁴ For a social group to develop, it must correspond to a category as defined by the state. Thus the state plays a central role in the formation of groups.

Within this constellation of power relations, refugees and other outsiders have a difficult time establishing themselves as viable social groups, because the collective identifications they create lack the recognition of the state. Indeed, according to Noiriél, they contradict the ethos of the modern state.

In order for refugees to be able to constitute themselves as a “group,” it would have to be possible to represent their specific interests on the national political stage. But the democratic logic of the sovereign people makes it impossible to represent the particular interests of a group of individuals whose position is above all that of foreigners.⁴⁵

Thus, although the state views refugees as a social category, this category is defined above all by nonbelonging to the nation-state. How can a group defined in the negative be represented? For Noiriél, this is part of the “tyranny of the national”: the constitution of the nation-state around the ideal of a homogeneous horizontal comradeship of “the people,” around the goal of total identification, eliminates the possibility of representing difference in political terms.⁴⁶

Noiriél’s analysis of the predicament of refugees builds on Hannah Arendt’s work on human rights and the nation-state. As Arendt argued in her now classic essay “The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man,” over the course of the twentieth century, the enjoyment of

human rights became intimately tied to membership in the nation-state. It became a privilege of state belonging rather than an inalienable right of human beings. Thus only individuals who belong to the nation-state have the right to represent themselves and to be represented in the political sphere. For Arendt, who conceived of the individual as a political animal, this was the most devastating loss faced by those on the margins of the state. “The fundamental deprivation of human rights,” she wrote, “is manifested first and above all in the deprivation of a place in the world which makes opinions significant and actions effective.”⁴⁷ She recognized, as Ian Balfour and Eduardo Cadava write, that “human rights do not precede political ones; instead, political rights—without which there could be no concept or confirmation of citizenship—are what determine the recognition and definition of ‘human rights.’”⁴⁸ The rightlessness of refugees and others on the margins of the nation-state system is thus a fundamentally political problem.

Arendt’s and Noiriél’s analyses draw our attention to strategies of political exclusion very much at work in postwar Germany. Displaced persons were “administered human beings” (*verwaltete Menschen*). “Even after their liberation from what in most cases was years of slave existence,” Wolfgang Jacobmeyer writes, “the DPs did not have access to objective rights, but rather were shut out of the self-evident condition that every individual, even a minor, ‘has’ rights.”⁴⁹ The Allied governments, the inter-governmental agencies, and the German authorities all took it upon themselves to represent the interests of displaced persons, but they did not allow DPs to represent themselves. To be sure, the occupation authorities restricted the rights of everyone in Germany, but displaced persons were considerably more disenfranchised. They lacked most basic political rights. Unlike Germans, they could not create civic associations or political parties. The authorities rarely recognized their committees and, when they did, insisted they abstain from politics.

However, these arguments require some modification. To begin with, they put forward a normative model of a powerful and centralized modern state that is hardly universally applicable. Certainly, such a state did not exist in early postwar Germany. Indeed, during the first few years after the war, there was no German state, and the two German states created in 1949 were not entirely sovereign during the time period I consider. Similarly, the idea of the nation around which the German state had been constructed had been thoroughly discredited, and it was unclear what new ideas could fill the vacuum. The Allied occupation authorities were the main statelike

entities during the early postwar period, though their power was much more real on the level of the occupation zone than it was on the level of the country as a whole. Each occupation authority was also internally divided. In the U.S. occupation zone, the military government and the army shared power. They treated displaced persons as political outsiders but also felt an obligation to assist them. The reconstruction of German political authority proceeded slowly, working upward from the local level. Thus, any effort to examine the formation of DP communities must take into account the dispersed, decentered, and uncertain nature of political power in postwar Germany. This context created opportunities for political action that do not exist in more centralized and powerful states with a strong core identity.

Moreover, the power of the statelike entities in Germany was mitigated by the authority of international bodies. International laws and codes of conduct place limits on the power of the state and compel it to acknowledge that all individuals within its territory, regardless of their citizenship status, enjoy certain basic or "universal" human rights. They also serve as important resources for individuals who feel that the state has violated their rights.⁵⁰ While all outsiders can appeal to these international norms, refugees enjoy greater protection than many other groups by virtue of the greater formalization of their status. Their relationship with states, Seteney Shami notes, "is quite particular and structured by their appeal to humanitarian (inter-national) regimes, to global (trans-national) responsibilities, and to universal (trans-cultural) human rights."⁵¹ These observations were formulated with the contemporary scene in mind but are directly relevant to the case of displaced persons. The postwar period was an important moment in the formation of both the international refugee regime and the international human rights regime. Displaced persons stood at the center of these developments. They were a key experimental laboratory for the formation of both international norms for the treatment of refugees and modern techniques for the management of refugee populations.⁵² International organizations, notably the international relief agencies UNRRA and the IRO, played an important role in representing them and structuring their daily lives. These organizations were the direct precursors of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), and their experiences "on the ground" in Europe, especially in Germany, shaped policies and practices that would come to be applied to other displaced populations in other parts of the world.

It is of course debatable how much influence international codes and laws have on the behavior of states. Both UNRRA and the IRO were sub-

ordinate to the occupation forces, something they frequently complained about. However, they also enjoyed a good deal of authority and were an important mediator between displaced persons and the occupying powers. Moreover, the relationship between the occupying powers and the international organizations was not antagonistic. Although their interests were not identical, they worked closely together. Indeed, the lines between the occupation authorities and the international relief agencies were blurred, as the former were the motor force behind the creation of the latter. Thus DPs not only enjoyed the protection of the occupation forces, they also had recourse to international bodies whose express duty it was to protect their interests.⁵³ These bodies, especially the IRO, also employed large numbers of DPs, further blurring the lines between actors.

More generally, arguments about the power of the state to define social groups and assign rights underestimate the capacities of those outside the state system. They offer a structuralist reading of group formation that underestimates agency. As Jacques Rancière has suggested, Arendt's argument about human rights places us before a quandary: those who have no rights also have no right to claim them. They seem permanently trapped in a void of rightlessness. Her approach, he suggests, is fundamentally flawed because it fixes the distinction between those who possess rights and those who do not, presenting the state of rightlessness as an "historico-ontological destiny."⁵⁴ In truth, however, the distinction between those who have rights and those who do not depends on political action. Rights are about making claims and demanding representation, regardless of one's originary position. In his words, "Freedom and equality are not predicates belonging to definite subjects. Political predicates are open predicates: they open up a dispute about what they exactly entail and whom they concern in which cases."⁵⁵ The politics pursued by displaced persons exemplify this kind of disputation.⁵⁶ Through their political debates and actions, displaced persons sought to intervene in the processes of political decision making and to address and redress the problem of rightlessness. Thus, although displaced persons were indeed "administered human beings," they pushed against this status, participating in the postwar "association mania" despite the fact that they lacked permission to do so. At bottom, my discussion of DP "political" activity refers to such contestations over representation and voice. At the same time, I am mindful of the more specific meanings that displaced persons, Germans, and Americans assigned to "politics": of intense DP debates over the ideological underpinnings and territorial organization of their homelands; of German and American

policies toward collective involvement in decision-making processes in Germany; and of American interest in limiting criticism of its allies, especially the Soviet Union. These diverse interpretations of the political shaped the actions of displaced persons.

Central to the process of political contestation were DP elites. As theories of interest groups recognize, elites play a critical role in defining and articulating interests and organizing others around them. They are defined less by their professional credentials than by their “competences”: the ability to speak eloquently, to create compelling mental images and symbols, to organize, to lead. Hence they are best understood as “spokespersons” or “entrepreneurs” rather than social elites who possess specific educational and professional qualifications.⁵⁷ However, it is important not to lose sight of the connection between qualifications and competences. Social origins and education play a fundamental role in determining the cultural and political capital that social actors have at their disposal. In particular, social conditions determine who possesses the competences considered essential for participation in the political arena.⁵⁸

Most displaced persons did not belong to traditional social elites. In comparison with the refugees who left Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution or those who left Germany after the Nazi seizure of power, their social origins were modest. Most had worked in agriculture, industry, crafts, and trades. The social origins of former foreign workers, who made up the vast majority of DPs, were especially modest. Most were young women and men from peasant and working-class backgrounds with little formal education. Only among the Baltic DPs was there a high percentage of white-collar workers and professionals.⁵⁹ However, even among other groups, there was a small stratum of DPs, mostly from the middle and upper classes, with higher degrees and professional qualifications. As the members of a committee of Polish and Ukrainian DPs noted ruefully in a 1946 memorandum to the occupation authorities,

many of us used to occupy not the last positions, not only in political life, but also in the social hierarchy, were also active in the cultural and economic life of our countries as intellectual workers, writers, professors, journalists, lawyers, doctors, industrial specialists, business owners or craftsmen as well as skilled workers. Not long ago we were the avant-garde of democracy, but now we live like the last of the homeless, stand before the gates of military barracks, hoping to get work in the kitchen—washing dishes or cleaning trash cans, in order to have food.⁶⁰

We must be cautious about taking the claims to democratic leadership put forward here too seriously; since democratic renewal was a watchword of the early postwar period, displaced persons had good reason to present themselves as democrats, even when their wartime biographies suggested otherwise. Nonetheless, this self-description highlights the educational qualifications and professional experience that some displaced persons possessed. Although they no longer enjoyed the social status they had before the war, they nonetheless continued to view themselves as members of an elite.

These displaced persons played a central role in the historical and political debates I examine. They put their cultural and political capital to work organizing and representing DPs. This capital included not only their professional credentials, which in many cases were only indirectly useful, but also their organizational and administrative skills, their ability to build persuasive arguments, their familiarity with the protocols of bureaucratic interaction, and their knowledge of languages, especially German. Through their speeches and writings, they sought to harness the diverse fears and desires of the DP population and direct them toward specific political projects. Many had been involved in associational and political life before the war. Some had experience abroad, having studied or worked in other countries, including Germany. Many had also gained new competences during the war. Some had collaborated with the Germans, working in the occupation administrations or representing the occupied populations on officially sanctioned committees. Others were concentration camp survivors whose wartime experiences provided them with valuable skills in “organizing.”⁶¹

Importantly, although foreign workers made up the majority of displaced persons, at least initially, they played a small role in DP debates. This, I believe, can be traced back to two main factors. First, as already mentioned, most foreign workers came from very modest backgrounds. They lacked the skills and experience that make activity in the political arena possible. Second, foreign workers lacked official encouragement to talk about their wartime experiences and assert themselves politically. In the early postwar period—and, indeed, until quite recently—foreign workers were not considered victims of Nazi persecution. The Nazi foreign labor program was viewed as a more or less acceptable aspect of the German war effort.⁶² Here Gérard Noiriel’s argument about the role of the state in defining and legitimating social categories seems very relevant. Lacking official legitimation, foreign workers, already handicapped by their social origins, remained on the sidelines of the debates that defined the DP period.

Placing Displaced Persons in German and European History

One of the most difficult issues encountered by scholars working on refugees is the issue of where to place them. By definition, refugees confound conventional categories of belonging. They challenge the “national order of things,” which presumes that nation, state, and territory will map neatly onto one another.⁶³ Where, then, does their history belong? Displaced persons sit uncomfortably between German and eastern European histories. Consequently, they are often treated as a subject apart.

During the long Cold War, historical scholarship on eastern Europe generally neglected displaced persons, even though they represented a significant part of the population “lost” after the war. In their countries of origin, they were largely excised from the history books, an embarrassing reminder of the fact that not everyone returned home to participate in the heroic project of national reconstruction. An especially deathly silence surrounded the subject of Jewish DPs, whose physical absence was as closely connected to postwar antisemitism as it was to wartime persecution at the hands of the Nazis. Until the 1990s, most research on displaced persons was conducted in the countries of DP emigration, notably the United States, Canada, and Israel. Carried out primarily by DP scholars and members of their corresponding ethnic communities, it hewed closely to the narratives of national tragedy and survival developed in the DP camps and communities themselves. Since then, things have changed considerably. The collapse of communism has brought renewed interest in the history of migrant communities, the consequences of wartime displacement, postwar ethnic cleansing, and the treatment of returnees.⁶⁴ Scholars have begun to examine the émigré communities that emerged after both the First and Second World Wars.⁶⁵ While only a small part of this new work focuses specifically on displaced persons, it opens up new avenues for thinking about DPs in the context of eastern European history. It draws closer connections between those who left and those who remained, those who returned and those who did not. While emphasizing the difficulties that many returnees faced, it also corrects the tendency, common in the older literature, to view nonreturn as the inevitable—indeed, ideologically correct—outcome of wartime and postwar developments. The new interest in the history of Jews in postwar eastern Europe, which has been especially strong in Poland since the 1980s, fits within this larger pattern. It reexamines postwar antisemitism and anti-Jewish violence, while also looking at efforts to revive Jewish life in eastern Europe.⁶⁶

While Cold War divides played an important role in pushing displaced persons to the margins of eastern European history, different considerations have placed DPs outside the mainstream of German history. Following established tropes of national history, scholarship on postwar Germany has tended to emphasize problems of everyday survival and the reconstruction of the country's physical, political, cultural, and economic infrastructure. Displaced persons are not easily integrated into such frameworks. They were not inclined to see themselves as subjects of German history, especially not as participants in the project of postwar reconstruction. Moreover, the majority left Germany within a few years. They did not develop enduring ties to the country, nor did they leave many traces.⁶⁷ While the new cultural history that has developed in the last fifteen years has offered fresh perspectives on the topic of reconstruction, highlighting both the silence that prevailed around topics like the Holocaust and the noisy discussion around issues such as German suffering, it has not significantly revised the definition of who counts as a subject of German history.⁶⁸ Indeed, through its emphasis on memory and memorialization, it has tended to reinscribe non-Germans as figures of German recollection rather than actors in Germany's postwar history. This is especially problematic given the extent to which postwar concepts of Germanness and foreignness were freighted with meanings handed down from the Nazi era.

At the same time, a number of scholars have sought to examine German and DP histories side by side. One impetus has come from local history. Here historians have sought to reconstruct the "multicultural" history of Germany's local postwar communities. Emphasizing the continuities between the war and the postwar, they examine how displaced persons interacted with their German neighbors and how Germans perceived this foreign yet often already familiar population.⁶⁹ Another impetus has come from German-Jewish history. Scholars like Atina Grossmann and Frank Stern have sought to interweave postwar German and Jewish histories, juxtaposing divergent narratives of victimhood and survival. "If the history of postwar Germany is, as we have increasingly acknowledged, not only a story of men," Grossmann writes, "it is also not only a German story."⁷⁰ Both German and Jewish histories, they emphasize, need to be seen as part of a larger postwar story, with the Allied occupation forces forming the third corner of a crucial "historic triangle."⁷¹

This approach can be fruitfully expanded to encompass other DPs. It dovetails with efforts to think about migration as a formative rather than exceptional aspect of German history and to write German history from

the margins. Work on migrants and other marginal groups in German history has increasingly highlighted the instability of who and what is defined as “German” and the role that non-Germans have played in shaping Germany.⁷² This approach seems tailor-made for an examination of the post-war period, characterized as it was by deep cultural, political, and economic instability. Indeed, such a perspective has informed much recent work on German refugees and expellees.⁷³ To be sure, displaced persons did not identify with Germanness. Yet this nonidentification is itself an important part of German history. It was conditioned by displaced persons’ wartime experiences of National Socialism, experiences that most could not forgive and forget. It was also promoted by the Germans, who, although they no longer publicly used the language of race, continued to see the Jewish and Slavic DPs as undesirable *Ausländer*. Finally, it was encouraged by the occupation authorities, who discouraged contact between Germans and DPs and sought as much as possible to segregate DPs from the rest of the population, first for the purposes of repatriation and later for the purposes of resettlement.

Keeping these specificities in mind, we can begin to think about the history of displaced persons as an important chapter in Germany’s longer history as a country of immigration. Situated temporally between Nazi Germany’s “foreigner deployment” and West Germany’s “guestworker” program, the history of displaced persons sheds new light on how foreigners have made Germany and how Germany has made them. It thus provides us with a deeper context for understanding contemporary German debates about the boundaries of membership and the nature of belonging, especially as the expansion of the European Union and globalization increasingly place the meaning of the nation in question.

Both eastern European and German histories are vital for understanding the culture and politics of displaced persons. Indeed, the most useful approach is one that brings these histories together in a transnational perspective. Such a perspective sees the history of displaced persons as a study in the interpenetration of eastern European and German histories. It captures, on the one hand, the extension of eastern European debates into Germany and, on the other, the role of German history in shaping eastern Europeans. It takes into account displaced persons’ prewar lives in eastern Europe, their wartime encounters with both Nazi and Soviet power, and their postwar engagement with both eastern Europe and Germany. It defines transnationalism as a process that unfolds in time as

well as space, thus making it possible to capture not only the experience of living in more than one world but also the past that structures the present.

The concept of transnationalism highlights the circulation of people, things, money, and information across national and other kinds of borders.⁷⁴ It examines the processes of adaptation, incorporation, and rejection that emerge out of these transnational movements. In doing so, it introduces new ways of thinking about belonging in the modern world. Privileging movement over stasis, it challenges the idea that “immobility and ‘rootedness’ are the norm, since to observe movement means to occupy a point of relative fixity.”⁷⁵ In particular, it questions the presumed identity between people, culture, and place so central to the modern idea of the nation. In its initial articulations, transnationalism was oriented primarily toward contemporary developments, to the idea that accelerating circulation across various kinds of boundaries was a phenomenon associated with current processes of globalization. It was seen as a means of capturing what many commentators saw as a fundamental reorganization of borders and loyalties, especially the decline of the nation-state and exclusive national solidarities.

Increasingly, however, historians are also adopting a transnational perspective. Here the analytic purchase of a transnational approach has been decoupled from the empirical claim that transnationalism is a contemporary phenomenon. Transnationalism has been identified as a more general way of thinking about cultural identifications and territorial boundaries in global perspective. It has had an especially significant impact on historical thinking about the nation-state and thus on the work of historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It counters the tendency to narrate the history of the nation-state as an intrinsic process, one that takes place exclusively inside the state’s territory and concerns only those defined as nationals. It “involves deconstructing . . . the nation-state as one of the fundamental categories through which Western modernity is narrated and doing so by showing how the national intersects with or is imbricated in sub- and supra-national phenomena.”⁷⁶ This deconstruction can take a number of forms and, of course, need not be limited to the nation-state alone. One approach is to examine movements across national boundaries and their role in shaping the nation. Another is to look at the role of global forces in creating nation-states. Yet another is to examine the global horizons of the nation.⁷⁷

Refugees would seem to be an obvious topic to examine from a

transnational perspective, since they by definition move across national borders and are obliged to deal with unfamiliar cultural contexts. Moreover, their existence undermines the perceived stability of national categories and the naturalness of the nation-state order, while also drawing analytic attention to the role that mobility and displacement play in the formation of communities and societies. As Liisa Malkki notes, “working in social settings of displacement invites in a very direct way the further questioning of the anthropological contexts of culture, society, and community as bounded, territorialized units.”⁷⁸ These observations are equally relevant to historical scholarship. The proliferation of homeless and stateless populations was one of the hallmarks of the twentieth century, leading many to call it the “century of refugees.” The history of these populations calls into question the tendency to place the nation-state at the center of the twentieth century. Indeed, as Giorgio Agamben writes, “inasmuch as the refugee, an apparently marginal figure, unhinges the old trinity of state-nation-territory, it deserves instead to be regarded as the central figure of our political history.”⁷⁹ However, it is not enough simply to replace one figure over another, privileging the refugee over the citizen. Rather, population displacements and projects of nation-state construction need to be seen as deeply intertwined.⁸⁰

The conceptual approach represented by transnationalism has in fact had a deep impact on refugee studies and on migration studies more generally.⁸¹ In particular, it offers new ways of thinking about the relationship between displaced groups, on the one hand, and their home and host societies, on the other. One of the main advantages of the concept of transnationalism is that it draws attention to the ways in which refugees continue to orient themselves to their home country and society. This makes it superior to theories of ethnic relations, which emphasize relations with the host society and think about social groups in terms of ethnic minorities and majorities. Looking at Kurdish refugees in contemporary Britain and Finland, sociologist Östen Wahlbeck notes that conditions in the home country are often much more important and real than conditions in the host society. Hence the concept of the minority has little meaning. Political developments at home have a strong impact on refugee communities, and refugee politics are often oriented toward the home country. Moreover, many refugees maintain relations with their home country in a number of ways: through their recollections of home, through ongoing contacts with friends and relatives there, and through contacts with refugees

elsewhere. Similarly, the mass media plays an important role in sustaining and reproducing a sense of connection to home. At the same time, conditions in the host society “have a decisive impact on the refugee community,” leading to different outcomes among members of the same group living in different countries.⁸² Thus a refugee community can be thought of as a diaspora, defined as “a transnational social organization relating both to the country of origin and the country of exile.”⁸³

This approach can be usefully applied to the case of displaced persons, who generally thought of Germany as a temporary way station, even if they were decisively impacted by their stay there. It is especially useful for thinking about DP politics, which were strongly oriented toward the home country and toward the goal of return. Of course, *home* and *return* meant different things to different people. Hence different kinds of “homeland politics” developed among different groups of DPs. Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs emphasized transforming political conditions in their countries of origin. Jewish DPs, on the other hand, focused on emigration to Palestine, redefined as the original home and the site of the Jewish state to come. In many DP political projects, in fact, home was often more of an idea than an actual place. These projects aimed less at recuperating a past political reality than at creating a new one, transforming both the political system and often also territorial boundaries.

However, a transnational perspective remains incomplete if it does not include a deeper historical dimension. Anthropologists and sociologists have produced fascinating studies of refugee transnationalism. However, their work often lacks historical perspective.⁸⁴ They tend to neglect what came before displacement and thus unwittingly reproduce the dehistoricization that Liisa Malkki has identified as a fundamental component of humanitarian discourse about refugees.⁸⁵ It is important to think about transnationalism as a process taking place in time as well as space. Although displaced persons did not always sustain contacts with the home country—many, especially those from the Soviet Union, had limited opportunities to do so—they remained virtually connected through the ideas and experiences they had acquired at home. These ideas and experiences provided them with durable interpretive frameworks and informed their outlook and actions in Germany. They were especially important in shaping how they interpreted their wartime experiences and how they envisioned their future. Indeed, the histories of National Socialism and Soviet communism that displaced persons constructed in Germany were often far

less influenced by the context of displacement than they were by discourses from the earlier twentieth century. Thus any account of cultural and political representation among displaced persons is incomplete if it neglects this prehistory. This is perhaps just another way of saying that we need to be attentive to where displaced persons came from as well as where they found themselves and where they were going. Only by doing so can we explain how and why the displaced communities I examine developed.

PART I

Care and Control:
The Administration of
Displaced Persons

CHAPTER I

The Invention of the Displaced Person

The Second World War set in motion an unprecedented series of population displacements that dramatically transformed the demographic map of Europe. According to Eugene Kulischer, some 55 million Europeans were displaced between 1939 and 1947, 30 million during the expansion of Nazi power and 25 million as a result of Germany's defeat.¹ The effects of this rise and fall were more extensive and intensive in eastern Europe, the locus of German efforts to create a new political and economic order based on the racial primacy of the German *Volk*. Millions of eastern Europeans became forced laborers, concentration camp prisoners, and prisoners of war. They formed the core of the DP population. Streams of refugees from eastern Europe, fleeing the consequences of German defeat and new persecutions, added to their numbers.

As displaced persons in Germany, these Europeans lived under an administrative regime of "care and control."² Allied DP policies, formulated while the war was still going on, were initially designed with two goals in mind: first, helping displaced persons meet their basic material needs and, second, ensuring that they did not interfere with military operations. As war gave way to peace, caring for and controlling DPs remained vital goals, though their meaning changed. Care now meant providing for a stationary population that would hopefully soon be repatriated, while control meant ensuring that displaced persons did not become a threat to "law and order." As objects of administration, displaced persons were subject to numerous policies. These policies regulated virtually every aspect of their lives, including where they lived and what they ate. They also determined what rights displaced persons possessed. Taken together, they constituted an unfamiliar administrative field that displaced persons constantly had to negotiate. Unfolding differently in each of the western occupation zones, this field opened up some avenues for action while restricting others. It provided displaced persons with basic care in Germany and allowed (most of) them to remain

there indefinitely. It also allowed them to develop an autonomous cultural and political life. However, displaced persons were severely restricted in their ability to determine their own destinies. As Wolfgang Jacobmeyer notes, “freedom, security, property—all this was indeed guaranteed to the DPs according to the norms of the legal-administrative order that governed their lives, but was at the same time subordinated to specific predetermined and frequently changing goals.”³ Thus while displaced persons enjoyed many benefits, they did not possess many rights. In particular, they did not possess political rights. Nonetheless, the contradictions between care and control created opportunities that displaced persons readily exploited. In the American occupation zone, where the concept of care was linked to a New Deal conception of “active” welfare and where concerns about DP politics rose and fell with the alliance with the Soviet Union, displaced persons managed to develop a vibrant political life.

The Expansion of the Nazi Empire and Displacement in Eastern Europe

Displaced persons were in large part a product of the forced and voluntary migrations that took place in eastern Europe during and immediately after the war. These migrations followed first the expansion and then the contraction of the Nazi empire. They were driven primarily by the labor and population policies of Nazi Germany, including the most radical aspect of its population policy, the attempt to exterminate European Jewry. They were also driven by the counterpolicies of Nazi Germany’s enemies, most importantly the Soviet Union. In what follows, I offer a selective overview of wartime and early postwar population movements. I focus primarily on those that involved Polish and Soviet citizens, as they made up the bulk of self-identified Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, and Jewish DPs.

With the invasion of Poland in September 1939, the Nazi regime set in motion its plans for a political, economic, and racial reordering of Europe. Among the first victims of these plans were the Polish and Jewish residents of the territories incorporated directly into the Reich and slated to serve as German living space (*Lebensraum*). Almost 920,000 people were deported from their homes in the incorporated areas, some 460,000 to the General Government, the new administrative entity created out of the eastern part of Nazi-occupied Poland.⁴ Simultaneous with these expulsions, the Nazi regime began exploiting the labor power of the occupied territories. The first

foreign workers were Polish prisoners of war. By the end of 1939, some 300,000 Polish POWs were working for the Reich.⁵ However, since the POWs could not meet the demand for labor, the Germans also sought to mobilize the Polish civilian population, long a reserve labor force for the German economy. "Propaganda, indirect pressure, coercion, and deportation," Eugene Kulischer writes, "were utilized in turn to maintain a steady supply of Polish manpower."⁶ At the peak of the labor program in August 1944, there were some 1.7 million Polish foreign workers on the territory of the Reich.⁷

As the Nazi empire expanded in 1940 and 1941, workers from ever more countries were drawn into the German labor force. Foreign workers became essential to both industry and agriculture, making possible the consolidation and further expansion of German power. These workers came from all of Nazi-dominated eastern and western Europe, including occupied countries, satellites, and allied countries. While many volunteered, seeing economic opportunities in Germany that did not exist at home, force was used to procure the major part of the foreign labor population. The invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 opened up a vast new reservoir of foreign workers. As in Poland, but with greater brutality, the Germans employed a "combined system of promises, social pressure, and brutal terror" to obtain the requisite number of workers.⁸ By August 1944, there were 2.8 million Soviet citizens working in the Reich.⁹ They constituted more than one-third of the foreign worker population. Reflecting the low place that Russians occupied in the Nazi racial hierarchy, they were treated substantially worse than other foreign workers.

While deportation for labor moved the largest number of Europeans, with especially momentous consequences in eastern Europe, deportations to ghettos, concentration camps, and extermination camps constituted the deadliest forms of displacement. The formation of ghettos was central to Nazi plans for a racial reordering of Europe. First established in the annexed territories of Poland in late 1939, the ghettos were initially designed to segregate Jews from the rest of the population and facilitate their deportation to the General Government and points further east. Poland was the centerpoint of the ghettoization process, though the ghetto model was eventually exported to other parts of Europe. In late 1941, the ghettos became departure points for the extermination camps and thus part of the machinery of the Final Solution. Over 600,000 Jews died in the ghettos of Nazi-occupied eastern Europe, the vast majority of them Polish Jews.¹⁰

At the same time as the Germans began concentrating Jews in ghettos, they also began arresting individuals and groups they viewed as a threat to

the occupation. Those arrested included political opponents, resistance fighters, intellectuals, clerics, Jews, and Roma. While many were immediately executed, many more were sent to concentration camps. With the invasion of Poland, the population of the concentration camps, growing since the annexation of Austria, underwent an extensive process of expansion and internationalization. Existing camps were enlarged and new ones established, both in the Reich and in the occupied territories. Although their initial purpose was to concentrate and punish “dangerous” individuals and groups, the camps also evolved into an important source of labor. Polish and Soviet citizens constituted the largest categories of foreigner prisoners.¹¹

Death from starvation and overwork, as well as outright murder, were common in the concentration camps. Like the ghettos, however, the camps were not initially conceived as sites of extermination. This changed after the invasion of the Soviet Union. The goal of eliminating Jews, pursued during the early war years through deportation and ghettoization, was now given pride of place and pursued through outright murder. While many Jews were murdered by mobile killing units that followed the German army into the Soviet Union, in the fall of 1941, deportation to camps equipped with special killing facilities emerged as the primary means of carrying out the Final Solution. About 2.6 million Jews died in the extermination camps, located mostly in the General Government. Smaller numbers perished in German, Romanian, Croatian, and other concentration camps.¹² Polish Jewry suffered the most devastating losses: up to 1.7 million Polish Jews died in the concentration and extermination camps.¹³ Altogether, some 5.1 million European Jews were murdered by the Nazis and their accomplices.¹⁴

In addition to civilian foreign workers and concentration and extermination camp prisoners, the other major group of eastern Europeans displaced by the Nazis were prisoners of war. While some were held continuously in special camps for POWs, many were moved into labor and concentration camps. In August 1944, there were some 1.9 million prisoners of war in Germany, most from the Soviet Union, France, and Italy.¹⁵ The treatment of Soviet POWs differed markedly from that of other groups, oscillating between “the physical extermination of the ideological enemy and the exploitation of his labor power for the expansion of armaments production.”¹⁶ Of the approximately 5.7 million Red Army soldiers taken prisoner by the Germans, 3.3 million (58 percent) died.¹⁷ As it became clear that Soviet civilian workers would not meet the demands of the war economy, Soviet POWs were increasingly conscripted for labor. Of the 2.8 million Soviet citizens working in the Reich in August 1944, some 632,000 were prisoners of war.¹⁸

While German power was directly responsible for displacing millions of eastern Europeans, the German advance also precipitated flight and evacuation. The invasion of Poland produced hundreds of thousands of refugees. The majority, some 600,000, including 350,000 Polish Jews, fled to eastern Poland, which the Soviet Union occupied in September 1939 in accord with the German-Soviet nonaggression treaty; smaller numbers fled north, south, and west.¹⁹ After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, millions of Soviet citizens, including those from the Soviet-annexed territories of eastern Poland, were evacuated by the government to the eastern regions of the country, where they typically endured extremely difficult conditions. In all, some 16.5 million people were evacuated, including about 1.5 million from former eastern Poland, the Baltic countries, northern Bukovina, and Bessarabia.²⁰ Importantly, a good number of Soviet citizens evaded repatriation, believing that the arrival of the Germans would offer liberation from Soviet rule.²¹ Many of them would later flee westward, having made themselves suspect by refusing evacuation or, indeed, by collaborating with the Germans.

While Soviet evacuations were designed primarily to protect the civilian population and prevent valuable men and material from falling into the hands of the enemy, the Soviet authorities also selectively deported groups they considered a threat to national security. Among those vulnerable to deportation were the populations of the territories annexed by the Soviet Union after September 1939, who were not considered sufficiently loyal. Between 1939 and 1941, some 1 to 1.5 million people, primarily ethnic Poles, were deported from eastern Poland to the Soviet interior, where they were often forced to live in special corrective settlements.²² Smaller numbers were deported from the Baltic countries. Also vulnerable to deportation were members of minority nationalities whose allegiance to the Soviet Union was seen as questionable. Foremost among them were Soviet citizens of German descent, who were expelled from their long-established areas of settlement, principally in the Volga region, in 1941 and 1942.

The Collapse of the Nazi Empire and Postwar Geopolitical Transformations

As the Nazi empire collapsed, a new series of displacements began, with many eastern Europeans now moving westward. For some, this westward migration was a return home, while for others, it meant a new series of trials. Among those being driven westward were the prisoners of the concen-

tration and extermination camps. In the summer of 1944, after Soviet forces launched a massive new offensive, the SS began shutting down concentration and extermination camps in eastern Europe and evacuating their remaining prisoners, often forcing them to endure arduous marches. By the end of the war, the evacuations had driven most surviving prisoners into the Reich itself. Some 700,000 camp survivors were found on the territory of Germany at the end of the war.²³ Only about 10 percent were Jews.²⁴

The advance of the Red Army also precipitated flight and evacuation. As German forces retreated westward from the Soviet Union in the fall and winter of 1943–44, they evacuated large segments of the local population. Most of the evacuated non-Germans were taken by force and treated as labor conscripts.²⁵ However, some went voluntarily, fearful of the Red Army. Many in this latter group were collaborators. They included Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians. Some had participated in running local administrations, while others had joined police forces and militias, foreign units of the SS, or the ostensibly independent Russian Liberation Army under Andrei Andreevich Vlasov. Many had helped round up and kill Jews. The number of collaborators in eastern Europe “was probably not higher than in western and southeastern Europe, but their fear of retaliation was greater in view of German propaganda on bolshevist atrocities and the severe and arbitrary justice dealt out by the Soviet authorities in reconquered regions.”²⁶

The further advance of the Red Army in 1944 brought new displacements. Prominent among those now moving westward were ethnic Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia. The German populations in these countries had been recruited in large numbers by the Nazis to serve in local administrations and, more generally, had profited from the racial reordering of eastern Europe. To their non-German neighbors and the Soviet forces, they were closely associated with the hated occupier. While some local Germans were evacuated by the retreating German army, others fled on their own. Their greatest fear was falling into the hands of the Soviets, who in fact often treated them quite brutally. As we shall see momentarily, this precipitous flight would turn into calculated expulsion as the war ended and new governments were established in eastern Europe.

Indeed, the end of the war did not bring an end to displacement. On the one hand, the geopolitical and territorial changes that followed the collapse of National Socialism limited the possibilities of repatriating those who had already been displaced. On the other, changes in geopolitical alignment and territory were often accompanied by new population dis-

placements. Many of the most permanent displacements in fact took place after the fighting had ended.

The possibilities of repatriating already displaced Europeans were undercut in the first place by the Soviet Union's new position of dominance in eastern Europe. Most important in this context are changes in Poland. At the Yalta conference in February 1945, where a joint policy toward postwar Germany was also announced, the Allies proclaimed their "common desire to see established a strong, free, independent, and democratic Poland" and called for free elections to be held as soon as possible.²⁷ However, they also gave the Soviet Union the upper hand in determining Poland's future. In particular, the United States and Great Britain recognized the Soviet-backed Provisional Polish Government as the core of a new postwar provisional government. This represented a significant policy reversal. For most of the war, the Polish government-in-exile in London had been recognized as Poland's legitimate representative. However, the London government's standing worsened after April 1943, when the graves of Polish officers executed by the Soviet Union were found by German forces in the Katyn forest near Smolensk. Polish insistence on an international investigation led to a break in diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and greater tensions with the western Allies, who could ill afford to alienate the Soviets. Thus the London government was increasingly marginalized. The decisions announced at Yalta put a stamp on this evolution. For many Poles, Yalta came to stand for betrayal by the western Allies. For some of those who found themselves in Germany at war's end, it created doubt about the wisdom of returning home.

The geopolitical changes sanctioned at Yalta were part of a larger transformational process that also included territorial shifts and population displacements. The Soviet Union was allowed to retain much of the territory it had occupied after September 1939, including most of eastern Poland. The eastern border between Poland and the Soviet Union was set at the Curzon Line, so called because it was first proposed as a boundary between Polish and Soviet lands by the British foreign secretary George Curzon in 1920. As compensation, Poland was allowed to annex German territory in the west, with the western border set at the Oder and Neisse rivers. Both boundary changes were accompanied by massive population displacements. These displacements were part of a larger process of ethnic cleansing in eastern Europe, driven by the desire to create more ethnically homogeneous states and to take revenge on ostensible ethnic enemies. The United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union sanctioned this process,

arguing that national minorities were a key source of political instability in eastern Europe and that the best way to eliminate this instability was to eliminate minorities themselves.

The process of ethnic cleansing in Poland began in the east. In September 1944, the Soviet-sponsored Lublin Committee concluded agreements with the neighboring Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian republics for the "mutual evacuation of citizens." Poles and Jews who lived east of the new Polish-Soviet border were permitted to leave for Poland, while Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Lithuanians who lived west of the new border were permitted to migrate to the Soviet Union. In July 1945, a further agreement between Poland and the Soviet Union extended the right to leave the USSR to Poles and Jews living anywhere in the country, thus permitting those who had been evacuated to the Soviet interior to return to Poland. The evacuations were supposed to be voluntary, but in practice this was often not the case. Approximately 1.5 million former Polish citizens, including 230,000 Polish Jews, were "repatriated" from the Soviet Union.²⁸ Around 485,000 Polish Ukrainians were moved to the USSR.²⁹ Another 140,000 were later expelled to Poland's new western territories.³⁰ In addition, perhaps some 300,000 prewar residents of eastern Poland were in Germany at war's end.³¹ Regardless of what they thought about the new Soviet-backed Provisional Polish Government, these Polish citizens now had another reason to question the wisdom of returning home: even if they were allowed to return to Poland, they would not in fact be able to return to their homes.

The process of ethnic cleansing continued in the west. As the war ended, the precipitous flight of local Germans before the Red Army was transformed into a calculated process of expulsion, as the new Polish political authorities sought not only to punish the local German population for the crimes of the Nazis but also to make the multiethnic western territories more ethnically Polish. Unlike in eastern Poland, there was no pretense of voluntarism. Indeed, the expulsions were often carried out in a brutal manner. At the Potsdam conference in August 1945, the Allies put forward a plan for regularizing the removal of ethnic Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Hoping to humanize the expulsions, they effectively gave them international sanction. Up to 1950, some 12 million Germans were expelled from eastern Europe.³² They constituted a huge burden for the authorities in postwar Germany, who thus tried to distribute them evenly among the occupation zones. By the end of 1945, some 3.4 million German expellees had arrived in the Soviet occupation

zone.³³ In the other three zones, the first postwar census of October 1946 counted almost 6 million German expellees.³⁴

While state-sanctioned population transfers were responsible for the removal—or nonreturn—of Poland's German, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian minorities, fear of violence was largely responsible for the departure—or, again, nonreturn—of Poland's surviving Jews. At war's end, there were between 50,000 and 120,000 Jews in Poland. The Jewish population increased dramatically after the return of Jews who had spent the war years in the Soviet Union, reaching 240,000 in the summer of 1946.³⁵ However, the hopes that many Jews harbored for rebuilding their lives in Poland were short-lived. Returning home, they discovered that their families and communities had been decimated and that their non-Jewish neighbors were less than happy to see them. Anti-Jewish violence was extensive. Between 1945 and 1947, somewhere between several hundred and 1,500 Polish Jews were killed.³⁶ The largest attack was the Kielce massacre of July 1946, in which 41 Jews were killed and some 60 injured. The atmosphere of fear and instability encouraged a new westward migration, which began in the summer of 1945 and increased dramatically after the Kielce pogrom. In all, some 120,000 Jews left Poland in the first few years after the war.³⁷ Smaller numbers left Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and other eastern European countries. Facilitated by the Zionist organization Brichah, whose goal was to lead Jews to Palestine, this new migration funneled Jews into Germany and Austria, especially their respective American zones of occupation. It thus led to a dramatic increase in the number of Jewish DPs.

Displaced Persons in Germany: An Overview

The deportations, evacuations, and flights outlined above drove eastern Europeans across the Continent. They brought millions of them into the Reich, laying the foundations for Germany's DP population. Postwar political settlements undercut the possibilities of repatriating the displaced. At the end of the war, there were approximately 8 million displaced persons on German territory. Together with the German expellees and the smaller number of locally displaced Germans, they made displacement a fundamental feature of life in early postwar Germany.

Over the course of spring and summer 1945, the DP population quickly declined, as a wave of repatriations moved millions of displaced

persons homeward. However, it soon became clear that many DP's could not or would not return home. In September 1945, there were still some 1.9 million displaced persons scattered across Europe. The largest share, about 1.2 million, were located in the three western occupation zones of Germany: 489,000 (41 percent) in the U.S. zone; 649,000 (54 percent) in the British zone; and 65,000 (5 percent) in the French zone.³⁸ Although the DP population continued to decline thereafter, it remained large. Thus, in December 1946, there were still approximately 640,000 DP's receiving UNRRA assistance in the three western occupation zones of Germany, with many more no doubt uncounted because they lived without assistance. By this point, the U.S. zone had become the most populous and popular of the three western zones, temporarily housing some 378,000 (60 percent) of all officially registered displaced persons.³⁹

The largest group of displaced persons during the first postwar months were Soviet nationals. In the western occupation zones of Germany and Austria, they initially made up about one-third of all DP's.⁴⁰ Their numbers declined quickly, however, due to both voluntary and forced repatriation. Unlike other displaced persons, Soviet DP's could be compelled to return home. The Soviet exception had been negotiated at the Yalta Conference.⁴¹ In secret agreements, American, British, and Soviet authorities had arranged for the reciprocal exchange of liberated civilians and POW's. Soviet officials were granted unprecedented access to and control over Soviet nationals in areas occupied by the western Allies, and it was implied that Soviet nationals could be repatriated by force. In return, the United States and Great Britain were promised the timely return of their own nationals. There was considerable confusion about the status of DP's from territories annexed by the Soviet Union during the war, notably eastern Poland and the Baltic states. From the Soviet perspective, they were Soviet nationals. The western Allies waffled on this issue, alternately affirming, on the one hand, that displaced persons from annexed territories had the right to opt out of repatriation and, on the other, that the identification of Soviet citizens was the prerogative of Soviet repatriation officers.⁴² Through the end of 1945, 3 million Soviet citizens were repatriated from Germany, about 1 million from the U.S. zone. Thereafter, the Soviet DP population declined only moderately.⁴³ The number of those remaining in Germany is difficult to determine. Many Soviet DP's hid their status, taking cover under another nationality or declaring themselves stateless. According to UNRRA figures, at the end of September 1945, there were just over 33,000 Soviet nationals in the western occupation

zones, most in the U.S. zone.⁴⁴ However, this number is much too low. The Soviet repatriation authorities themselves estimated that in March 1946, there were some 550,000 Soviet citizens (including those from the annexed territories) yet to be repatriated.⁴⁵ Ulrike Goeken suggests that by early 1946, there were 100,000 to 200,000 Soviet DPs in the three western zones.⁴⁶ The majority—by one estimate, no less than 85 percent—were “westerners,” meaning Ukrainians, Belorussians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and so forth, mainly from the annexed territories.⁴⁷ According to a report from 1949, most Soviet DPs were concentrated in Bavaria.⁴⁸

While Soviet nationals initially made up the largest group of displaced persons, they were soon overtaken by Polish nationals. In May 1945, there were approximately 1.9 million Polish nationals in Germany.⁴⁹ Repatriation proceeded slowly, partly because the trains and trucks needed to take Poles home were being used to repatriate Soviet nationals. At the end of September 1945, some 816,000 Polish DPs still remained in western Germany. By that point they had become the largest national group—68 percent of the total DP population. The British zone had the largest share of Polish DPs with about 510,000 (63 percent), followed by the U.S. zone with about 254,000 (31 percent).⁵⁰ By December 1946, the total number of Polish DPs in the three western zones had dropped to around 293,000, with the U.S. zone now having the largest share, about 154,000 (53 percent).⁵¹ However, the decline in the Polish DP population cannot be attributed solely—or primarily—to repatriation. As we shall see momentarily, it was also due to the fragmentation of the Polish category.

In addition to Soviet and Polish nationals, the DP population included smaller numbers of other eastern Europeans. In September 1945, Germany's DP population included 134,000 Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, counted together as Balts; 96,000 Hungarians; 28,000 Yugoslavs; and 41,000 “others,” many of whom were no doubt nationals of the Soviet Union.⁵²

While the earliest statistics on displaced persons offer a snapshot of the population from the perspective of the official, state-centered national categories, these categories quickly began to fall apart. Many displaced persons, wanting to avoid repatriation, falsely declared their nationality or said they were stateless. Others insisted that they be recognized as members of a different, nonofficial nationality. In this context, Poles, Ukrainians, Russian, and Jews emerged as distinct groups defined by ethnicity and culture rather than membership in the state. Although the Allies tried to ignore these new national categories, since the official ones were central to

the repatriation process, they were increasingly obliged to acknowledge them. The breakdown of the official national categories signaled the breakdown of the repatriation program itself.

The Polish DP category fell apart most completely, as Polish Jews, Polish Ukrainians, and members of other minorities jumped ship. The disintegration of the Polish category is already evident in UNRRA statistics for September 1945, which include a separate category for Jewish DPs, the majority of whom were citizens of Poland. After mid-1946, the Polish category was also largely emptied of Ukrainians, as both the Polish government and Polish Ukrainians, for their own different reasons, insisted that Ukrainians be counted separately. Thus, of the 154,000 Polish DPs residing in the U.S. zone in December 1946, some 103,000 were classified as Poles, the remainder as Polish Ukrainians. After emigration opportunities opened up, the number of Polish DPs declined dramatically. In May 1949, there were about 38,000 Poles living in DP camps in the U.S. zone, though many more probably lived outside the camps.⁵³

As the Polish category declined, the Ukrainian category grew. Most self-identified Ukrainians were Polish or Soviet nationals. A smaller number were Czechoslovak or Romanian citizens or stateless persons with Nansen passports, émigrés from the Bolshevik Revolution and Civil War who had spent the interwar years in countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia before fleeing or again being displaced. Statistics for 1945 and most of 1946 are difficult to come by. By one estimate, there were approximately 2 million ethnic Ukrainians in the western occupation zones of Germany at the end of the war.⁵⁴ Initially, the majority were former forced laborers and POWs from the Soviet Union. With repatriation, however, their numbers declined dramatically. By November 1946, the number of Ukrainian DPs in the western occupation zones had dropped to 178,000, with 104,000 residing in the U.S. zone.⁵⁵ Officially, some 70 percent were Polish Ukrainians, mostly former residents of the eastern Polish regions of Galicia and Volhynia, now part of the USSR.⁵⁶ The preponderance of Polish nationals is not surprising: on the one hand, they were not subject to forcible repatriation (or, at least, were not supposed to be); on the other, they were not welcome to return to Poland. Still, many of those who declared themselves Polish Ukrainians were probably Soviet Ukrainians in disguise. Estimates suggest 140,000 to 150,000 Soviet Ukrainians refused to return home. They constituted about 32 percent of all Soviet nonreturners.⁵⁷ By May 1949, the total number of Ukrainians in DP camps in the U.S. zone had dropped to about 39,000, with many more again living outside the camps.⁵⁸

The decline of the Polish category was also coupled with the growth of the Jewish category, though the process here was rather different. Jewish DPs were initially one of the smallest groups. According to Allied estimates, about 20,000 Jews were liberated in the western occupation zones of Germany, though “the situation at first was far too fluid for more than a rough estimate.”⁵⁹ The actual number of Jews in Germany at that point was probably considerably higher, especially if one factors in the practice of classifying DPs according to their official nationality. Most were concentration camp survivors. After the repatriations of the spring and summer of 1945, there were about 23,000 Jewish DPs in western Germany, with some 10,000 in the U.S. zone.⁶⁰ They constituted a tiny minority—less than 2 percent of all DPs.⁶¹ Over the next two years, however, the Jewish DP population increased dramatically. This was due to the arrival of Jewish refugees—or, in Allied parlance, “infiltrates”—from Poland and other eastern European countries. The primary destination for these refugees was the U.S. zone, viewed by Zionist activists as the best gateway to Palestine. By February 1946, the Jewish DP population in the U.S. zone had grown to almost 46,000; in the summer of 1947, it reached 157,000.⁶² Although Jewish refugees also migrated to the British zone, the position of the U.S. zone in the hierarchy of destinations was unparalleled: in September 1947, an astonishing 91 percent of all Jewish DPs in Germany lived in the U.S. zone.⁶³ Over time, the Jewish share of the overall DP population increased significantly. By June 1947, Jewish DPs made up 26 percent of all displaced persons receiving assistance from UNRRA.⁶⁴ The Jewish DP population was overwhelmingly Polish: according to statistics for September 1947, some 80 percent of Jews receiving IRO assistance in Germany were from Poland, with significant though much smaller numbers coming from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Germany itself.⁶⁵

Finally, Russian DPs, somewhat like Ukrainians, were a mix of old and new émigrés, the former refugees from the Bolshevik Revolution and Civil War, the latter largely citizens of the Soviet Union. In addition to those who considered themselves ethnically Russian, the Russian DP category also included members of ethnic minorities—especially Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Cossacks—who identified with Russian culture. Initially, the Russian DP population was dominated by Soviet Russians; as repatriation proceeded, however, the proportion of Russian old émigrés increased. The best estimates suggest that 30,000 to 40,000 Soviet Russians refused to return home.⁶⁶ Proportionally, Russians made up a small share of Soviet nonreturners, by one estimate about 7 percent.⁶⁷ By contrast, they made up a high

proportion of Soviet *returnees*, about 48 percent.⁶⁸ In March 1946, there were approximately 150,000 Russian refugees receiving UNRRA assistance in all of Europe and the Middle East.⁶⁹ A U.S. report from July 1948 puts the total number of Russians in the U.S. occupation zone of Germany at around 100,000, though this number may be too high.⁷⁰

The Invention of the Displaced Person

Although the Second World War and the postwar settlement drove millions of eastern Europeans from their homes, not all of the displaced were considered “displaced persons.” In particular, Germans expellees were excluded from the DP category, even though they generally came from the same countries as those who were included. The displaced person was an invention of the war years, a categorical novelty intended to distinguish between those who deserved Allied assistance and those who did not. It employed nationality as the primary criterion of entitlement, though in a manner that incorporated, and thus sanctioned, the denationalizations of the postwar settlement.

Over the course of the war, the Allies became increasingly aware of the need to make plans for postwar reconstruction. Indeed, promises of postwar stability and prosperity were an important part of their ideological arsenal. In August 1940, two months after the fall of France, British prime minister Winston Churchill promised that the Allied powers would not only bring the people of Europe liberation but also provide them with “immediate food, freedom, and peace.” Concrete plans for postwar reconstruction began to be elaborated in September 1941, with the establishment of the Inter-Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements, which included Great Britain, the Allied governments-in-exile, and later also the United States. Here the issue of postwar refugees was discussed in depth. In August 1942, building on the plans of the Inter-Allied Committee, British and U.S. officials agreed to jointly establish an international relief agency, to be known as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. As Elizabeth Borgwardt and Daniel Cohen argue, the creation of UNRRA marked a fundamental shift in the nature of postwar relief, from a model of “passive” charity provided by private organizations to one of “active” welfare promoted by states.⁷¹ Formally inaugurated in November 1943, UNRRA was entrusted with a broad range of relief responsibilities. It was supposed to provide liberated populations with food, shelter, fuel, clothing,

health care, and other essential goods and services. It was also entrusted with the care, maintenance, and repatriation of refugees. Although UNRRA initially hoped to work independently with European governments, it was obliged to work through the high command of the Allied military, the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF). Its operations were thus subordinated to Allied military operations.

The invention of the displaced person went hand in hand with the creation of UNRRA. The earliest definition of a displaced person can be found in the SHAEF Outline Plan of June 1944, where the Allies for the first time presented their plans for the treatment of displaced populations. The Outline Plan distinguished between two main groups, displaced persons and refugees. Displaced persons were defined as “civilians outside the national boundaries of their country by reason of the war, who are: (1) desirous but are unable to return home, or find homes without assistance; (2) to be returned to enemy or ex-enemy territory.” Refugees, on the other hand, were defined as “civilians not outside the national boundaries of their country.”⁷² This terminology represented a curious reversal of standard contemporary usage, importing into the category of the displaced person an essential characteristic of the refugee, namely, the fact of being outside one’s country of residence. No mention was made of international protection for either group. Rather, as Ben Shephard notes, “German policy was interpreted as much in terms of forced movement as of persecution or genocide.”⁷³ Both displaced persons and refugees were defined as generic and reversible problems of the war.

These conceptual innovations, Hannah Arendt suggests, were a means of avoiding the real problem of postwar refugees. “The postwar term ‘displaced persons,’” Arendt argues, “was invented during the war for the express purpose of liquidating statelessness once and for all by ignoring its existence. Nonrecognition of statelessness always means repatriation, i.e., deportation to a country of origin, which either refuses to recognize the prospective repatriate as a citizen, or, on the contrary, urgently wants him back for punishment.”⁷⁴ To be sure, the Allies recognized that the “care and disposition [of displaced persons and refugees] present not only technical and administrative problems of great magnitude but complex political problems as well.”⁷⁵ Nonetheless, they expected displaced persons to return home. Hence they made no serious preparations for a population of nonrepatriable DPs. Indeed, UNRRA was only entrusted with helping displaced persons during the repatriation process. This made its work with nonrepatriables all the more difficult.

The definition of the displaced person was further elaborated in the revised SHAEF Plan of April 1945, also known as Administrative Memorandum No. 39. Here an important qualifying criterion was introduced, namely, nationality, understood as state citizenship. The plan identified three general groups of displaced persons: United Nations DPs (nationals of Allied countries), enemy DPs (nationals of Germany, Austria, and Japan), and ex-enemy DPs (nationals of Italy, Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary). The liberation, care, and repatriation of UNDPs were defined as “a major Allied objective.”⁷⁶ Allied forces were to ensure that UNDPs received adequate food, clothing, housing, and medical attention and assistance in returning home. Their needs took precedence over those of the German population. The costs of caring for UNDPs were to be borne by the German authorities. Nationals of enemy and ex-enemy countries, on the other hand, were considered the responsibility of the German authorities and their respective governments. Thus, although the term *displaced person* in theory covered all displaced populations, it only had practical significance for UNDPs, that is, those entitled to Allied assistance. In fact, it was used almost exclusively to refer to the latter. Not surprisingly, the privileged status of displaced persons generated resentment among the German population.

The distinction between displaced persons and “other” displaced groups shows that the Allies thought first and foremost about providing for their own citizens. They were eager to make sure their own civilians and soldiers were well-treated. They distinguished chiefly between winners and losers. Moreover, they viewed the distinction between Allied and Axis as commensurate with the distinction between victims and perpetrators. At least, they thought little about the incommensurability of these two sets of categories. Thus, regardless of why individuals had been displaced, their place in the Allied DP program was determined by their nationality. This was the primary organizing principle. It was also central to the repatriation process. It served to organize individuals into repatriable groups that could be handed over to their national representatives, so-called liaison officers. Hence Allied officials sought to segregate the DP population according to nationality, for example, assigning each nationality to a different camp or camp section. Yet the concept of nationality employed by the Allies was hardly self-evident. Rather than recognize the prewar citizenship of the displaced, the Allies selectively acknowledged the denationalizations of the postwar settlement. Most important, they excluded German expellees from the UNDP category even though most of them were prewar citizens of Al-

lied countries. Thus, although the Allies were unhappy to see displaced persons reorganize themselves according to ethnonationality, they themselves employed nationality categories that had been thoroughly ethnicized.

Repatriation was voluntary for all groups of displaced persons except Soviet citizens and war criminals. As mentioned earlier, the United States and Great Britain had agreed to the Soviet exception at Yalta. The revised SHAEF Plan of April 1945 reflected these agreements, noting that "Soviet displaced persons will be repatriated regardless of their individual wishes."⁷⁷ During the first postwar months, U.S. and British forces accommodated their Soviet colleagues and assisted in forcibly repatriating thousands of presumed Soviet nationals. As unpleasant scenes involving resistance and even suicide accumulated, however, they increasingly questioned this policy. In July 1945, SHAEF issued a directive stating that for the purposes of repatriation, Soviet citizens were defined as individuals who had lived within the boundaries of the Soviet Union at the beginning of the war. Individuals from territories annexed by the Soviet Union were thus excluded. More generally, U.S. and British officials increasingly voiced reservations about the policy of forcible repatriation as a whole. Although the United States never abandoned its commitment to the Yalta agreement, over the course of late 1945 and early 1946, military officials progressively undermined it, for example, by limiting Soviet repatriation officers' access to DP camps. British policy underwent a similar evolution. These shifts exacerbated tensions between the western Allies and the Soviet Union and hastened the demise of the wartime alliance. In a small way, they contributed to the development of the Cold War. They also left DP policy in a shambles. The end of cooperation on the Yalta provisions not only discredited the idea of forced repatriation, it put the entire concept of repatriation in question. It thus helped facilitate the rise of a nonrepatriable DP population.⁷⁸

By the fall of 1945, it was clear that not all displaced persons could be repatriated. Although the Soviet Union, Poland, and other eastern European states continued to insist on the prompt repatriation of their displaced nationals, the United States, Great Britain, and France slowly began to rethink their approach to the DP question. In July 1947, responsibility for displaced persons was transferred from UNRRA to a new organization, the International Refugee Organization. Resettlement, rather than repatriation, now became the key objective. Unhappy about this development, the Soviet Union and its eastern European allies refused to join the IRO. "Thus from the beginning," Malcolm Proudfoot writes,

“the IRO was entirely an instrument of the West.”⁷⁹ Opportunities for resettlement opened up slowly. In the spring of 1947, the Canadian government introduced a labor migration program for DPs; the Canadian Immigration Act of 1948 made it possible for many more DPs to immigrate. In June 1948, the U.S. Congress passed the Displaced Persons Act, which for the first time made large-scale immigration of DPs to the United States possible, though it was not until 1950 that the act was liberalized to allow more Jewish DPs to immigrate. For Jewish DPs, the formation of the state of Israel in May 1948 was of central importance, making mass legal immigration there possible. These developments led to a dramatic outmigration. Between July 1947 and December 1951, some 300,000 DPs emigrated to the United States, 176,000 to Australia, 136,000 to Israel, 113,000 to Canada, and 104,000 to Great Britain.⁸⁰ Smaller numbers emigrated to countries such as New Zealand, France, Belgium, Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela.

While the resettlement program allowed many displaced persons to leave Germany, it did not definitively “resolve” the DP problem. At least 100,000 displaced persons remained in Germany in mid-1950. Some were old or infirm and thus stood little chance of finding a country willing to take them. These were the “hard core,” as the IRO put it. Others had begun to establish themselves in Germany, in some cases marrying Germans, and were loath to uproot themselves again. In June 1950, the West German government agreed to take responsibility for all remaining DPs. In April 1951, the West German Federal Parliament (*Bundestag*) passed the Homeless Foreigners Law. Displaced persons were transformed into “homeless foreigners.” Unlike German refugees and expellees, homeless foreigners did not have the right to claim German citizenship, but the German authorities were instructed to take their “special situation” into account when considering their applications for citizenship. The newly created United Nations High Commission for Refugees remained nominally responsible for them. In practice, however, they were now a West German responsibility.

Although responsibility for displaced persons passed through numerous hands from the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s, the care and control of DPs were consistently organized along a military model. This is not surprising, since the DP program had been formulated as part of the Allied military campaign. Central to this model was the use of camps.⁸¹ Formally known as “assembly centers”—though no one but the authorities themselves ever used this term—the camps were all-purpose institutions. They facilitated the assembly, screening, and repatriation of displaced persons. They were the basis for providing basic services, including housing, food,

and medical care. They also made it easier to control movement. During the first months after the war, some camps were in fact surrounded by barbed-wire fences, and displaced persons needed permission to leave. The primary goal was to prevent DPs from engaging in criminal acts outside the camps, the expectation being that they wanted to avenge themselves on the German population. The camp model was most fully developed in the British zone and least so in the French zone. The U.S. zone fell somewhere in the middle. It had many large DP camps, especially in Bavaria, but also a large noncamp population, so-called free-living DPs. In keeping with the military model, the buildings chosen to serve as DP camps were typically large institutional buildings such as schools, hospitals, or, indeed, military barracks. In some cases, forced labor and concentration camps were simply converted to DP use. Thus, even if the physical conditions were better, life in the DP camps had many unpleasant continuities with the war years, including isolation, supervision, and treatment as part of an anonymous mass. External control over the camps lay in the hands of the military, while their internal administration was the responsibility of first UNRRA and then the IRO, together with the DPs themselves. After the dissolution of the IRO in December 1951, the remaining camps became the responsibility of the German authorities. Because of the centrality of the camp model to the DP program, at least in the American and British zones, displaced persons who lived outside the camps were often *de facto* excluded from assistance.

The German public viewed displaced persons as an unwelcome presence and deeply resented having to shoulder the costs of maintaining them, as stipulated by Allied policies. There was little sense of responsibility for the "DP problem." Indeed, from the perspective of many Germans, it was the Allies themselves who had created this problem by treating displaced persons as a specially entitled population.⁸² A major point of contention was access to the camps. As spaces policed from without by the U.S. Army and controlled from within by UNRRA and the IRO, the DP camps were largely closed off from their German surroundings. They enjoyed a measure of extraterritorial autonomy.⁸³ This was deeply frustrating to the German authorities, who associated displaced persons with the black market and other kinds of criminality.⁸⁴ German police often raided DP camps on the pretext that their residents were engaged in criminal activities. Jewish DPs were arrested on flimsy pretexts, and there were numerous reports of beatings, robbery, and other kinds of mistreatment.⁸⁵ In March 1946, a concentration camp survivor named Shmul Danziger was

shot and killed by a German police officer in the context of a raid on the Jewish DP camp in Stuttgart. In the aftermath of this event, General Joseph McNarney, commander in chief of U.S. occupation forces, explicitly forbade German police from entering the DP camps unless accompanied by American MPs.⁸⁶ The German authorities made repeated efforts to regain access to the camps, citing the criminal threat posed by DPs.⁸⁷ In February 1948, the Bavarian justice minister Joseph Müller made a speech in which he described the DP camps as “oases and asylums, where criminals can flee and hide their deeds, and can enjoy the extraterritoriality of diplomats.”⁸⁸ The German police again gained access to the camps when they were transferred to German authority at the end of 1951. Outside the camps, on the other hand, displaced persons came under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Military Government and the German authorities, with the balance of power between the two shifting toward the latter as the goal of establishing a sovereign West Germany gained ground.

DP Policy and DP Politics

Although the policy of care and control meant that displaced persons were thoroughly administered, from the beginning the occupation authorities in the U.S. zone also encouraged displaced persons to organize and represent themselves. The first step in this direction was the “stand fast” order issued by the commanding general of U.S. forces in Germany, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in May 1945. “Do not leave the district you are in,” the order read. “Wait for further orders. Form small groups based on your own nationality, and elect spokesmen who can negotiate on your behalf with the Allied authorities.”⁸⁹ Here, then, displaced persons were practically ordered to create committees. The process of encouraging committees continued after the liberation. Among the three western Allies, the Americans were the most tolerant of DP efforts at self-organization and self-representation, in keeping with their desire to promote a new model of active welfare derived from New Deal policies.⁹⁰ They allowed displaced persons to form committees, so long as these limited themselves to welfare, social, and cultural activities. As the wealthiest of the three western Allies, they could also afford to give the committees greater material assistance. They encouraged the formation of camp committees, as did UNRRA and the IRO. Camp administrators, hewing to the model of active welfare, viewed these committees as valuable from a number of perspectives: they reduced the num-

ber of military and civilian personnel needed to run the camps; they gave displaced persons a renewed sense of purpose after years of extreme dehumanization and objectification; and they prepared displaced persons for life in a democratic society.⁹¹

American support for self-administration helped transform displaced persons from objects of care and control into subjects with distinct civil rights.⁹² They encouraged the proliferation of DP committees. In marked contrast to the British zone, where strict limits were placed on self-administration, the American zone emerged as the centerpoint of associational life among DPs.⁹³ However, official support for DP self-administration was limited to the camps and to nonpolitical issues. Displaced persons were forbidden to engage in any activities deemed political.⁹⁴ They had no political rights. They were also extremely limited in their opportunities to organize outside of camps. In practice, political activities inside the camps were usually tolerated.⁹⁵ However, the distinction between camp and noncamp was strenuously maintained. Official anxiety about DP politics was reflected in restrictions on displaced persons' freedom of association and freedom of assembly. As Rebecca Boehling has argued, a preoccupation with public order as well as a fear of autonomous, especially leftist political groups inhibited the development of a vibrant grassroots democracy in the American zone. Only slowly did the American occupation authorities allow any kind of political activity, beginning with the local level in August 1945 and working their way up to the zonal level in February 1946.⁹⁶ Political parties were screened to ensure that they were not "militaristic, undemocratic, hostile to Allied purposes, or prejudicial to military security and the maintenance of order."⁹⁷ While restrictions on the freedom of association were thus the order of the day, the restrictions faced by displaced persons were much more total. In the U.S. zone, committees created by displaced persons came under the heading of "non-German associations." In theory, it was possible for non-German associations to "be licensed through the procedure applicable to political parties and political groups."⁹⁸ In practice, however, no system for licensing non-German associations was ever put in place, and mention of this possibility was eventually dropped from Military Government regulations. As the second congress of representatives of the Ukrainian emigration noted in frustration in 1947, after two years, "the legal foundations for the organization of the communal life of the national emigrant groups had not yet been publicly established."⁹⁹ This was no accident. As one American official noted, looking back on the occupation era, "it was the unwritten policy to avoid rec-

ognizing or licensing non-German organizations.”¹⁰⁰ The reason for this was their presumed political nature. In the opinion of Military Government, “whatever the terminology used regarding the organization will be . . . the political factor is existent and should be considered prior to any other factor.”¹⁰¹ The U.S. Army Counter Intelligence Corps devoted considerable time and energy to investigating DP committees for suspected infringements of this policy. Displaced persons were thus excluded from the revival of political life in postwar Germany.

As a result of the unwritten policy against non-German associations, most efforts by displaced persons to represent themselves outside the camps failed. Numerous DP committees sought recognition from the Military Government.¹⁰² In some cases, they were tacitly allowed to operate. For example, the American authorities permitted the first congress of representatives of the Ukrainian emigration to take place, but they refused to put this permission in writing.¹⁰³ More often, however, DP groups met with disapproval—or silence. Concerned that their correspondence with DP committees could be construed as evidence of recognition, MG officials often simply refused to respond. For example, after the main Polish DP committee in the U.S. zone, Polish Union, sent a telegram to Military Governor Lucius Clay, MG officials drafted an internal memorandum stating that “no reply has been made by this office and telegram may be a ruse to obtain quasi-official recognition or organization through reply.”¹⁰⁴ Lack of recognition meant that most DP committees were by definition illegal. The American authorities were generally inclined to let them operate as long as they limited themselves to noncontroversial activities.¹⁰⁵ In some cases, however, efforts were made to shut them down.¹⁰⁶

In November 1949, responsibility for non-German associations was transferred to the German authorities. Although the Germans generally took a more lenient approach, they too were not eager to support DP associational life, fearful that cultural associations would serve as a screen for political activities and foster the development (or maintenance) of minority political consciousness.¹⁰⁷ The Homeless Foreigners Law allowed displaced persons to create and belong to associations, the only exception being, as usual, political associations.¹⁰⁸ Although the Bavarian government provided some support to cultural organizations, during the early and mid-1950s, the federal government did not. As an official statement from 1951 maintained, “It cannot be in the interest of the federal government . . . to carry out a more generous support of foreign folk cultures with federal funds that could cause . . . a minority problem within the next two or three

generations.”¹⁰⁹ Significantly, the original draft of this statement spoke of “political” rather than “folk” cultures, betraying the overriding concern with minority politics and their perceived threat to the new German nation-state.

Limits on the freedom of association were coupled with limits on the freedom of assembly. In April 1947, after a series of Jewish DP demonstrations demanding emigration to Palestine, the American Military Government forbade Jewish DPs from holding demonstrations outside the camps.¹¹⁰ In August, they expanded this prohibition to include all DPs.¹¹¹ As with the policy on freedom of association, the distinction between camp and noncamp was central. Inside the camps, displaced persons were allowed to hold almost any kind of meeting, as long as it was “orderly.” However, they were prohibited from demonstrating in public places without special permission.¹¹² Religious meetings were often permitted, but political meetings were another matter entirely. “Under no circumstances,” MG officials stressed, “will approval of the meeting . . . be granted when it is to be held for the purpose of carrying on political activities or protesting against the established policies of the United States or Allied Governments.”¹¹³ Military police were directed to observe unauthorized demonstrations and prosecute their “leaders.” There was disagreement over what role if any the German police should play, especially if the demonstrators were Jewish. Although the German police had the right to control displaced persons outside the camps, the policing of DP demonstrations was generally seen as the responsibility of the Americans. While some U.S. officials stressed that German police should under no circumstances be allowed to control DP demonstrators, others took the position that the Germans had “full authority over UNDP’s outside of assembly centers” and should “disperse and suppress” unauthorized demonstrations.¹¹⁴ As plans to establish a sovereign West German state took shape in 1948, the weight of opinion on this issue shifted. In keeping with the goal of transferring authority over civil and political affairs to the Germans, the American occupation authorities increasingly adopted what they called a “hands-off” policy, allowing the German police to intervene, even if the demonstrators were Jewish. Thus, while in April 1946 U.S. officials had insisted that “German police will not be employed . . . in any way” to control Jewish demonstrators,¹¹⁵ one year later they had concluded that “we do want them used when necessary.”¹¹⁶ By 1949, U.S. officials expected German police to deal with Jewish demonstrators on their own.

MG officials were aware that they could be accused of discriminating

against displaced persons. They therefore gave careful consideration to the wording of their directives.¹¹⁷ In a statement prepared for distribution to the German press in August 1947 in the context of the general ban on DP demonstrations, they stressed that “the freedom and right of a people to public assembly for peaceful purposes is inherent in all democracies” and that this right was enshrined in both Military Government policies for Germany and the German Land constitutions. However, they also insisted that they had a right to prohibit mass meetings and demonstrations that were “inimical to the security and interests” of the Allied occupation forces or threatened public safety.¹¹⁸ While internal documents make clear that the prohibition referred to political demonstrations per se, and thus did indeed touch on the freedom of assembly, here the issue was framed in terms of threats to security and unspoken “interests.” Displaced persons were presented as a danger to public order, a population in need of spatial “containment.”

In what sense were the activities of displaced persons “inimical to the security and interests” of the Allied occupation forces? MG officials were primarily concerned about antirepatriation activities. Since repatriation was a key Allied objective, anything that smacked of opposition was considered “inimical” to the occupation. Antirepatriation activities were thus explicitly forbidden. Two types of opposition to repatriation generated special anxiety. The first concerned the Soviet Union and its dominance in eastern Europe, the second Great Britain’s Palestine policy, which sharply restricted Jewish immigration. Opposition to Soviet or British policy was considered an embarrassment to the Alliance and a source of friction between the Allies. Concern about these issues was reflected in decisions at the highest levels. Thus, in April 1947, the Council of Foreign Ministers, the main body overseeing the postwar settlement in Europe, signed an agreement explicitly prohibiting “all ‘Committees,’ ‘Centres,’ and other similar organizations which may be found to be engaged in activities hostile to the interests of any of the Allied Powers.”¹¹⁹ It was clear that the committees in question were those created by DPs.

American officials were especially concerned about DP propaganda against the Soviet Union. Driven primarily by material concerns, namely, the urgent need for labor power, the Soviet Union’s desire for the timely repatriation of its nationals also had an important ideological dimension. As Mark Elliott suggests, opposition to repatriation “posed a threat to the credibility of propaganda that stressed the unqualified wartime devotion of all Soviet citizens.”¹²⁰ Soviet officials also worried about an increase in anticommunist political émigrés in the West.¹²¹ In general, they demon-

strated “extreme touchiness” about antirepatriation sentiment.¹²² Concern about this issue had already surfaced at Yalta, where the agreements signed between the Big Three included provisions stating that “hostile propaganda against the contracting parties . . . will not be permitted.”¹²³ The unwritten policy against DP associations was largely a reflection of these agreements. Similarly, requests for recognition by DP committees were often denied on the grounds that the committees were engaging in anti-Soviet propaganda.¹²⁴

Given that concerns about antagonizing the Soviet Union were the main reason for restrictions on DP politics, it should come as no surprise that these restrictions rose and fell with the Grand Alliance. By 1948, American officials were taking a more lenient approach toward DP politics. According to a February 1949 report by a German observer, “the previously existing restrictions on DP groups’ right of association and on their possibilities for political activity have silently or in some cases even explicitly fallen.”¹²⁵ The new attitude of tolerance can be seen in the American response to an anticommunist DP demonstration in the Bavarian town of Neuburg in November 1949. In keeping with established policy, Military Government officials considered the demonstration illegal and insisted on prosecuting the demonstrators. However, they assured DPs in Neuburg that “the purpose of the demonstration” would “doubtless” be taken into consideration when deciding on appropriate punishments.¹²⁶ This new attitude of tolerance was no doubt partly responsible for the rise in political activity among “foreign national groups” that U.S. Military Government officials noted in mid-1948.¹²⁷

The collapse of restrictions on DP politics was accompanied by a more positive attitude toward DP committees, even efforts to foster them. Most important, the IRO fostered the development of a loose collective of national committees, which met with IRO officials each month. The collective included organizations representing most of the main eastern European nationalities, with the noteworthy exception of Jews, who chose to interact with the IRO individually. The committees advised the IRO on all manner of issues, including restitution, the transfer of authority, and the Homeless Foreigners Law. Through the IRO, they were also able to communicate with American policymakers.¹²⁸ Thus, while the desire to maintain good relations with the Soviet Union was central to the initial formulation of American policy on DP politics, the development of the Cold War made previously subversive activities acceptable, even laudable.¹²⁹ I explore this issue more fully in chapter 4.

The restrictions on DP politicals were primarily determined by considerations internal to the wartime alliance. However, the fact that displaced persons were foreign nationals was also important. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, restrictions on the political activities of foreigners, including political exiles, had been limited. The political refugees of the 1830s and 1840s were treated quite leniently in their western European host countries. "Receiving countries," Michael Marrus writes, "almost never assumed the refugees would abandon revolutionary politics."¹³⁰ Indeed, there was considerable sympathy for their cause. In France, the Polish revolutionaries of 1831 were welcomed as brothers in a common struggle for liberty and democracy. Many were supported with funds from the public purse.¹³¹ To be sure, this era also saw the proliferation of restrictions on aliens and a growth in laws on nationality.¹³² However, refugee politics were often tolerated. As the nation-state rose to prominence in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and as larger and more destitute groups of refugees sought safe haven, tolerance waned. Still, refugees continued to enjoy considerable opportunities to represent their interests. During the interwar era, refugee associations and individual refugee delegates often enjoyed official standing before their host governments and the League of Nations.¹³³ In France, "refugee offices," run by refugees themselves, played an important role in mediating between refugees and the government until outlawed during the Vichy era. After a brief revival in the early postwar period, they were definitively suppressed and replaced with an office run by the French government itself.¹³⁴ Indeed, by 1945, the idea that refugees and other foreigners were legitimate political subjects had fallen decisively out of favor. This had much to do with the belief that political exiles contributed to international conflict. Thus while postwar European and international law did not oblige states to restrict the political activities of refugees, in practice many states chose to do so.¹³⁵

As foreign nationals, then, displaced persons were not entitled to participate in German political life, presumed to be the exclusive preserve of German citizens.¹³⁶ Of course, it was widely understood that displaced persons were not interested in participating in *German* politics. However, this was precisely the problem. As was true of German refugees and expellees, their preoccupation with "foreign" politics interfered with the creation of a unitary national political space. Indeed, the American occupation authorities pursued similar policies toward both displaced persons and German refugees and expellees. Both groups were forbidden from forming political associations, though for different reasons. In the case of the German

refugees and expellees, the goal was to integrate them into the new body politic.¹³⁷ In the case of displaced persons, the goal was to keep them outside the body politic, segregating the DP problem from the German problem. As it became clear that a remnant of displaced persons would remain in Germany, the boundary between these two problems could no longer be maintained. Increasingly, both Allied and German officials argued that if displaced persons planned to remain in Germany, they should integrate into German society or at least give up their privileges.¹³⁸ However, plans for integration did not include politics. Thus, although the Homeless Foreigners Law in most respects made displaced persons equal to German citizens, the right of political association remained a right of citizenship.

All this being said, the American occupation zone was clearly the most hospitable site for DP politics. The U.S. authorities were widely perceived as sympathetic to displaced persons' fears of both communism and antisemitism. According to Boris Balinsky, a Russian DP from the Soviet Union, "in the American zone there was no compulsory repatriation."¹³⁹ As we have seen, this was not in fact true. Nonetheless, Balinsky's claim attests to the widely held perception that the U.S. zone was a haven for DPs. The U.S. authorities were much more tolerant of DP committees than their British and French counterparts, committed as they were to exporting the active welfare model of the New Deal and, more generally, the American concept of democracy. By calling on displaced persons to organize and govern themselves, at least in the camps, they encouraged those with political experience to take on the roles of spokespersons. As the wealthiest of the western Allies, they could also provide DP committees with more material support. Since in practice it was difficult for U.S. and UNRRA officials to distinguish welfare and social activities from political ones, not least because they lacked the linguistic skills to do so, displaced persons in the U.S. zone had a good deal of room to engage in politics. This paved the way for the development of a vibrant political life.

CHAPTER 2

Displaced Persons and the Question of Persecution

Allied planning for the postwar had focused on displacement rather than persecution or genocide. Thus, by the time Germany surrendered, the concept of a displaced person was well defined. However, this concept took little account of *why* people had been displaced. In particular, it took little account of displacement as a prelude to or consequence of persecution. The end of the war revealed the scope of the persecutionary and exterminatory universe created by the Nazis. Yet there was no agreement on how to address this legacy. Who were the victims of persecution? What counted as persecution? How should the victims be compensated, and who was responsible for compensating them? These questions became the center of a contentious debate involving the Allied occupation authorities, the inter-governmental relief agencies, nascent German institutions, other European states, and the persecuted themselves. In the American zone, this debate led to the development of a new administrative person: the persecutee. Together with the displaced person, the persecutee became a focal point of American efforts to make sense of National Socialism and redress its wrongs. The emergence of the persecutee was thus intimately connected to the process of *Wiedergutmachung* (formal legal restitution).¹

The development of policies on persecution and *Wiedergutmachung* in Germany is often examined as a narrowly German issue, with Germans serving as the main framers (along with of course the Allies) and main beneficiaries. In the early postwar period, however, foreigners made up the vast majority of persecutees in Germany, not to mention the larger world. In this chapter, I examine the development of persecution and restitution policies from a DP-centric perspective. I consider how these policies evolved out of debates over displaced persons, especially Jewish DPs, and how they in turn redefined what it mean to be a DP. I also consider how the

status of the persecutee evolved between 1945 and the early 1950s, as occupation gave way to limited West German sovereignty, and what consequences this evolution had for displaced victims of persecution.

The development of persecution and restitution policies, I argue, heightened victims' expectations for formal recognition of their status, immediate material assistance, and legal restitution. Increasingly, however, displaced and foreign victims found themselves disadvantaged. Laws and regulations on restitution, initially formulated in a broad and inclusive manner, took on more restrictive form as time went on. Significant efforts were made to recognize and compensate Jewish victims, but the victimhood of non-Jewish foreigners was often questioned. More generally, all displaced victims, by definition stateless, found that no one really represented their interests. This became increasingly true as the Americans withdrew from German civil and political affairs in the late 1940s and early 1950s. However, the expectations created by the American occupation authorities and nascent German institutions were not easily squelched. As we will see in subsequent chapters, recognition, assistance, and restitution would remain key preoccupations for many DPs, drawing on and in turn shaping their understanding of National Socialism.

The Question of Persecution in Wartime Allied Planning

Allied DP policy, as we have seen, was organized around the principle of nationality. Nationals of Allied countries were eligible for assistance, while nationals of Axis countries were not. This principle was deeply problematic when applied to concentration camp survivors and other individuals persecuted by the Nazis, since many were nationals or former nationals of Axis countries. If classified according to nationality, they would not qualify for Allied assistance. They would be left to fend for themselves or to seek help from their own governments, which often amounted to the same thing. Indeed, the Allies initially gave little thought to the issue of persecution. As they grappled with this issue, the category of the persecutee came into being, a kind of appendage to the displaced person but defined in terms of wartime experience rather than nationality.

The evolution of Allied thinking about persecution can be seen in the succession of plans formulated during 1944 and 1945. The SHAEF Outline Plan of June 1944, the earliest iteration of Allied DP policy, identified "political prisoners" and "deportees" as specific categories of displaced per-

sons but did not establish criteria for their treatment.² It only distinguished between Allied and non-Allied DPs. Although all displaced persons were placed under Allied authority, detailed instructions on treatment focused on Allied nationals. Only they could be sure of receiving food, shelter, medical attention, and help returning home. Subsequent documents reinforced and elaborated the nationality principle, especially the distinction between Allied and non-Allied DPs. As the prospect of an Allied victory drew closer, however, the question of persecution surfaced with greater urgency. Attention focused on concentration camp prisoners. The Allies generally agreed that concentration camp prisoners fell into their sphere of responsibility. This sense of responsibility, especially strong among the Americans, grew out of their stated commitment to destroying National Socialism. Viewing the concentration camps as a fundamental feature of the Nazi system, they believed that any program of denazification had to include provisions for the liberation and rehabilitation of concentration camp prisoners.³ From mid-1944 on, this relationship was implied in numerous policy statements.

In seeking to formulate a policy toward concentration camp prisoners, Allied planners drew primarily on their experience with the German refugee problem of the 1930s and 1940s, distilling from this experience an individualized definition of persecution centered on race, religion, and politics. This definition had been articulated at the Evian Conference of July 1938, called by U.S. president Franklin Delano Roosevelt to address the German refugee problem. The conference broke decisively with the established tradition of group ascription by proposing an abstract, universal definition of the refugee centering on the "fear of persecution."⁴ The mandate of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR), created at the conference, included "all persons, wherever they may be, who, as a result of events in Europe, have to leave, or may have to leave, their countries of residence because of the danger to their lives, or political liberties on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs, or racial origin."⁵ Primary emphasis was placed on the political quality of the refugees, even though the vast majority of refugees from Germany and Austria were Jews persecuted because of their "race."

In the wake of the Evian Conference, the official representation of the German refugee problem crystallized around the trinity of politics, religion, and race. The refugee problem was represented as a consequence of Nazi persecution of political, religious, and racial "minorities" in Germany itself.⁶ This view was not substantially altered by the events of the

war, including reports about mass murder in the occupied territories. "It remains . . . a striking fact," Constantin Goschler writes, "that even during the war, the events in prewar Germany often had a much more prominent place in the American imagination than the actual genocide."⁷ The definition of persecution articulated at Evian was also imported into Allied planning for the liberation of concentration camp prisoners, who, in keeping with the emphasis on political persecution, were often referred to as political prisoners.⁸ Thus the text of the unconditional surrender of Germany, agreed upon in July 1944, stipulated that in addition to releasing and providing for United Nations prisoners of war and civilian internees, "the German authorities will in like manner provide for and release all other persons who may be confined, interned or otherwise under restraint for political reasons or as a result of any Nazi action, law, or regulation which discriminates on the ground of race, color, creed, or political belief."⁹ Here, then, a category of protected persons was defined in terms of persecution rather than nationality. However, the Allies still thought primarily in terms of assuring the nationals of "other" countries the same level of treatment they demanded for their own military and civilian internees. In this respect, the unconditional surrender was a transitional text.

Yet the documents drafted in the wake of the July 1944 unconditional surrender text led to the formulation of a more robust and independent conception of the concentration camp prisoner. Allied DP policy was amended to include detailed instructions regarding political prisoners, now identified as a uniquely important category of displaced persons. Defined as "all persons in Germany, *including enemy nationals*, who have been placed under restriction, detention, or sentence . . . on account of their dealings or sympathies with any of the United Nations or because of their race, language, religion, political opinions, or non-conformity with Nazi practices," they were assured basic services such as food, clothing, and medical care.¹⁰ Similarly, the directive on military government issued to General Eisenhower in April 1945, known colloquially as JCS 1067, stated that all persons "detained or placed in custody on grounds of race, nationality, creed, or political opinions" should be released and "treat[ed] as displaced persons."¹¹ Here, then, the distinction between different nationalities of prisoners was all but eliminated. Instead, the prisoners' common identity as victims of persecution was stressed.

While discussions about persecution initially focused on the concentration camps and political prisoners, during the last year of the war Allied planners also began to look outside the camps and think about persecution

more broadly. This trend is reflected in the revised SHAEF Plan of April 1945, which introduced important exceptions to the nationality rule. Enemy and ex-enemy nationals who had been persecuted by the Nazis because of their race, religion, or political activities, interpreted as “activities in favour of the United Nations,” were eligible for the same assistance offered to UNDPs, provided that their “loyalty to the Allies” was not in doubt.¹² These individuals, no longer simply concentration camp prisoners, were called “persecutees.” They were considered “assimilated in status” to UNDPs. Similar exceptions were made for nationals of neutral countries and for stateless persons, many of whom were Jews forcibly denationalized or denaturalized by Axis countries.

By April 1945, the focus of Allied DP policy had thus moved from displacement to persecution. In doing so, it had explicitly adopted the language of persecution developed to address the German refugee crisis. It had also begun to think about persecution outside the concentration camp system and outside the realm of the political, with the more broadly defined “persecutee” coming to replace the “political prisoner” as the dominant referent in Allied discussions. Individuals targeted on the grounds of race and religion were thus placed on more or less the same footing as political persecutees. However, a number of issues remained unresolved. What “counted” as persecution? Was persecution synonymous with internment in a concentration camp? How, if at all, were individuals supposed to prove that they had been persecuted? Was it enough to treat persecutees as displaced persons, or did they require special assistance? And what about Jews, who were not only persecuted but singled out for destruction? These questions would become urgent after the liberation. In the American zone, the issue of Jewish persecution would come to the fore, propelling the formulation of a more robust policy toward persecutees, one that defined them as an especially entitled category of displaced persons.

The Harrison Report and the Rise of the Persecutee

The invention of the persecutee closed the loophole that excluded enemy and ex-enemy nationals from Allied assistance, thus ensuring that they received the same treatment as displaced persons. Although there was considerable sympathy for persecutees, they were not singled out for special treatment. This was not seen as a problem. Indeed, in granting citizens of enemy countries the same status as displaced persons, the Allies considered

themselves generous, since DPs were entitled to a higher standard of living than the German population. Writing in August 1945, General Eisenhower insisted that his office “makes no differentiation in treatment of displaced persons.”¹³ He considered this “non-discrimination” policy laudable.

However, numerous reports submitted during the first few months after the liberation suggested that displaced persons and persecutees in the American zone were *not* enjoying a higher standard of care than the German population. Rather, their living conditions were often terrible. The most scathing of these reports was the one submitted by Earl G. Harrison to U.S. president Truman in August 1945.¹⁴ Under pressure from American Jewish groups, Truman had appointed Harrison, Dean of Law at the University of Pennsylvania and a representative of the IGCR, to make a tour of the DP camps and report on the problems facing nonrepatriable and stateless DPs. He was instructed to focus in particular on Jewish DPs. In his preliminary report of July 1945, Harrison described the conditions in the DP camps as dismal. The overarching focus on mass repatriation had led to the neglect, in some cases deliberate, of displaced persons who could not or would not return home. The situation of Jewish DPs was especially grim. As a consequence of their more severe victimization, Harrison wrote, “their present condition, physical and mental, is far worse than that of other groups.”¹⁵ Yet American DP policy, with its strict nationality categories, was not prepared to accommodate this fact. In a passage that has been widely cited ever since, Harrison compared American practices to those of the Nazis.

As matters now stand, we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them except that we do not exterminate them. They are in concentration camps in large numbers under our military guard instead of S.S. troops. One is led to wonder whether the German people, seeing this, are not supposing that we are following or at least condoning Nazi policy.¹⁶

In order to remedy this grim situation, Harrison urged the president to make a number of changes to the way displaced persons were treated. First and foremost, he urged him to recognize Jews as a separate group.

While admittedly it is not normally desirable to set aside particular racial or religious groups from their nationality categories, the plain truth is that this was done for so long by the Nazis that a group has

been created which has special needs. Jews as Jews (not as members of their nationality groups) have been more severely victimized than the non-Jewish members of the same or other nationalities.¹⁷

Harrison also urged the president to consider immigration to Palestine as a solution for those Jews who did not wish to return home. He offered this suggestion, he said, “on a purely humanitarian basis with no reference to ideological or political considerations.”¹⁸

Truman responded promptly to Harrison’s report. Writing to Eisenhower on August 31, he reiterated that American policy on persecutees was a critical element of denazification. “I know you will agree with me,” he stated,

that we have a particular responsibility towards these victims of persecution and tyranny who are in our zone. We must make clear to the German people that we thoroughly abhor the Nazi policies of hatred and persecution. We have no better opportunity to demonstrate this than by the manner in which we ourselves treat the survivors remaining in Germany.¹⁹

Technically, Truman argued, U.S. officials merely had to be more diligent in implementing extant policies. In truth, however, the Harrison Report prompted important changes to how both Jewish and non-Jewish DPs in the American zone were treated. In the months following the report, material conditions for all DPs were improved. Jews were recognized as a distinct group of displaced persons, and separate camps were established for Jews who did not wish to be repatriated.²⁰ The camps were placed under the direction of Jewish personnel and Jewish agencies, in particular the American Joint Distribution Committee, known colloquially as the Joint. A discussion about immigration opportunities to Palestine began, leading to the formation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in the fall of 1945. Special benefits for persecutees were also introduced. By the end of October 1945, these included supplementary rations;²¹ priority in housing, including housing outside of camps;²² and priority in employment over (nonpersecutee) German nationals.²³

At first, only Jews who found themselves in the U.S. occupation zone in the summer of 1945 were able to benefit from these changes. However, the Harrison Report also set the stage for a broader policy collectively defining Jews as victims of Nazi persecution. This became relevant as large

numbers of Jewish refugees from Poland and other eastern European countries began arriving in the fall of 1945. Although American officials contemplated closing the borders to the "infiltrates," they never took this step. Rather, in keeping with Truman's commitment to help European Jews, they maintained an open-gate policy, tacitly tolerating postwar Jewish migration.²⁴ American directives issued in December 1945 stated that Jewish infiltrates were to be accepted into the DP camps.²⁵ By August 1946, it was de facto American policy to recognize all Jews as persecutees.²⁶ This policy was formalized in December 1947.²⁷

American policies toward Jewish survivors established the U.S. zone as a hospitable place for the remnants of European Jewry. The U.S. zone emerged as the most important way station of the Zionist underground movement, whose objective was to funnel Jews from eastern Europe to Palestine.²⁸ Some Jewish DPs apparently also believed that if Palestine remained unreachable, a Jewish state would be set up for them in Bavaria.²⁹ As outlandish as such an idea might seem today, it suggests the mythical status that the U.S. zone attained in the aftermath of the Harrison Report. With Truman supporting Harrison's suggestion of emigration to Palestine, the U.S. zone seemed to offer not only a temporary haven but also a hospitable staging ground for the Zionist project of creating a Jewish state.

Indeed, above and beyond the material improvements it introduced, the Harrison Report marked an important shift in the way American officials thought about Jews. Now Jews were distinguished from other refugees and defined as a paradigmatic group of victims. As Daniel Cohen argues, they "were not merely perceived as 'war victims' deserving of humanitarian relief but also as unique targets of racial and political persecution, warranting historical recognition."³⁰ At the Evian Conference, governments had been unwilling to recognize Jews as a distinct persecuted group and had insisted on viewing them as nationals of their respective states. Here this was no longer the case. Jews were decoupled from their citizenship status and placed on a par with the official nationalities. The recognition of Jews as a nation of persecutees thus had an important political component. For this reason, Dan Diner suggests that the Harrison Report should be seen as an important moment not only in Jewish DP history but in Jewish history more generally.

Neither Truman nor any other American official went as far as to refer to Jews as a distinct nationality. The concept of nationality remained tied to membership in a recognized state, and Jews remained subordinated to the existing nation-state order in a number of important respects. Most

important, Soviet Jews were still in theory subject to forcible repatriation. Further, recognition of a separate Jewish group did not imply support for the creation of a Jewish state. Truman was not a supporter of Jewish independence; his actions were motivated by humanitarian and domestic political considerations.³¹ Nonetheless, as Diner suggests, the Harrison Report opened the door to a new perception of the Jews as a political nation. This nationalization of the Jews on the international stage was a great boon to Zionists. Its local effects on politics in the Jewish DP camps and communities will be discussed later on.

Although its most momentous consequences concerned the perception of Jews, the Harrison Report also represented an important shift in American thinking about victims of persecution more generally. For the first time, persecutees were recognized as a distinct segment of the postwar population. Defined by their fate under National Socialism, they were granted special treatment in the form of material benefits. These benefits marked them out as a privileged group. Extending the individualized conceptions of persecution introduced by legal scholars in the 1930s, the persecutee policy of the Americans served as the gateway to the development of a new, individualized, and ostensibly “universal” definition of the refugee centered on persecution. This definition would be incorporated into the 1946 IRO Constitution and, most important, into the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. It thus came to serve as the definition of the refugee.³²

For non-Jewish persecutees, however, the new definition of persecution posed a problem, as it meant they had no *a priori* claims to persecutee status and were obliged to present their cases individually. Indeed, unlike the old nationality categories, the new definition of persecution placed a greater burden of proof on the individual. A fundamental incongruity thus existed in U.S. policy, with group and individual definitions of persecution existing side by side. There was considerable disagreement about what non-Jewish claimants had to demonstrate. Conflict centered around the concept of political persecution. This was the broadest and most malleable term, since it was capable of serving as a covering term for many types of persecution. Precisely for this reason, it was subject to constant redefinition, with the general aim of limiting the number of people who qualified for persecutee status.

U.S. officials were in fact concerned about the consequences of their persecutee policy. They worried that “undeserving” individuals might try to take advantage of their generosity. As a September 1946 report on dis-

placed persons stated, “the financial and economic advantages of ‘DP’s,’ particularly in the ‘persecutee category,’ are so great within the U.S. Zone, in view of their privileges and priorities, and the terrific shortages of the essentials of life, that neither Military Government nor the German economy can afford to tolerate spurious claimants to the status of ‘DP’s.’”³³ More generally, they worried that persecutees would become a special, and especially entitled, social group in Germany, something they did not want to see happen.³⁴ As a Military Government official noted in 1948, “the plan of special assistance for persecutees was established initially as a temporary expedient only for use during the unstable post-war period, the intention being that as quickly as possible a policy would be established . . . requiring that all public assistance be granted on an individual basis and according to the applicant’s need, without reference to political, racial, or religious affiliations.”³⁵ In particular, U.S. officials believed the persecutee program stimulated German hostility toward the persecuted, especially foreign Jews. “Inevitably, so long as special groups are singled out for special treatment by the German governments,” a Military Government official stated in July 1948, “they will draw upon themselves anger and criticism from those persons not receiving special attention. Certainly in the case of United Nations DPs under PCIRO [Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization] the charges of blackmarketing and lawlessness are extremely prevalent among the Germans.”³⁶ American Military Governor Lucius Clay shared this opinion, arguing that the best solution was to integrate both German and DP persecutees “into the German economy on an equal footing with other citizens of Germany.”³⁷

In practice, the benefits of persecutee status, like the benefits of DP status, often proved to be illusory. Although Jewish DPs hailed the Harrison Report and Eisenhower’s directives as an important victory, the changes were not as dramatic as they would have wished.³⁸ Speaking in November 1945, Jewish DP leader Zalman Grinberg argued that Eisenhower’s directives “had no consequence.”³⁹ Many Jews who were not concentration camp survivors found it difficult to gain persecutee status, because military and UNRRA authorities continued to associate persecution with internment in a concentration camp.⁴⁰ Writing in March 1946, the Central Committee of Liberated Jews argued that American policy decisions were not being carried out and that “in practice, . . . the political, moral, and economic interests of the Jews are being sacrificed [*sic*] in favour of the german [*sic*] population. The result is that the situation of the Jews is deteriorating daily.”⁴¹ The persecutee policy remained a temporary measure grafted onto

the DP program, with its emphasis on national affiliations and a uniform standard of care, as well as its ultimate goal of repatriation.

Administering and Representing Persecutees

Throughout the occupation period, the U.S. Military Government maintained final authority over persecutees in its zone.⁴² Unwilling to entrust the Germans with important decisions about persecutees, U.S. officials determined who was eligible to be considered a persecutee and what kind of assistance persecutees would receive. From the beginning, however, the Military Government also delegated authority to other agencies, using nationality as the key criterion. UNRRA and later the IRO assisted United Nations and stateless persecutees, though they were generally unwilling to help DPs who lived outside of camps. After the Harrison Report, Jewish DPs were recognized as a special group of persecutees, and the Joint largely replaced UNRRA as the main agency providing them with care. German persecutees, including German Jews, were seen as the responsibility of the German authorities. The latter were supposed to ensure that German persecutees were treated at least as well as UNDPs. Thus, although the invention of the persecutee had ostensibly made persecutees of all nationalities equal, when it came to providing assistance, nationality in fact remained central. German and non-German persecutees emerged as separate groups within the larger category. This distinction initially worked against German persecutees, who could not directly draw on the resources of the occupation authorities. Increasingly, however, it would be displaced persons who were disadvantaged, shut out of German-directed plans for assistance and restitution.

Although the development of persecutee policy was driven largely by the Americans, German impulses were also important. During the war years, many exiled and imprisoned members of the German opposition formulated plans for the postwar reconstruction of Germany; the rehabilitation and especially restitution of political prisoners were important components of these plans.⁴³ Grassroots German efforts were central in providing assistance to persecutees in the immediate aftermath of the liberation. Among the earliest organizations to help survivors of persecution were the so-called care centers (*KZ-Betreuungsstellen*). These locally based organizations were usually run by liberated political prisoners, sometimes independently, sometimes under the auspices of the municipal government or pri-

vate agencies like the Red Cross. They assisted survivors, for the most part Germans, who had been persecuted on account of their race, religion, politics, and worldview, providing them with immediate assistance in the form of food, clothing, housing, and health care, and with documentation in the form of certificates that identified them as “bona fide” liberated prisoners. They also sought formal restitution for victims of Nazi persecution.⁴⁴

These local initiatives of the first hour were eventually supplemented by state agencies. In Bavaria, a State Commission for the Care of Jews was established in October 1945. Designed to help German Jews, it also offered assistance to Jewish DPs who lived outside of camps.⁴⁵ A State Commission for Political Persecutees was established in March 1946. Its mandate covered individuals targeted because of their politics, religion, or worldview.⁴⁶ Both offices employed their own guidelines in deciding who was a persecutee. In September 1946, the two offices were merged into the State Commission for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees. Philipp Auerbach, a concentration camp survivor from a prominent German-Jewish family, was chosen to head the new office.⁴⁷ Like its predecessors, it provided aid to both Germans and free-living DPs.⁴⁸ In fact, although the original goal was to help persecuted Germans, by January 1947 the majority of the 38,000 persecutees receiving assistance from the commission were non-Germans.⁴⁹ Most were Jewish DPs who lived outside the camps. In October 1948, after the passage of the General Claims Law, the State Commission for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees was closed and replaced with a State Office for Restitution, which in November 1949 was again transformed into the State Compensation Office.

Designed to help persecuted Germans, the succession of agencies that Auerbach presided over were also important resources for persecuted DPs. However, Auerbach’s attitude toward the displaced was ambivalent. On the one hand, he worked tirelessly on behalf of persecutees, insisting that they be formally compensated for their losses. He was also one of the strongest contemporary voices against antisemitism. He established a close working relationship with the Central Committee of Liberated Jews and played an important role in mediating between Jewish DPs and the Bavarian authorities.⁵⁰ On the other hand, he had little sympathy for the separatist aspirations of the displaced. He thus refused to assist persecutees who lived in DP camps, and actively encouraged displaced persons to either leave Germany or accept German authority.⁵¹ Although he worked closely with Jewish DP leaders, he did not support their demands for Jewish autonomy and disliked their confrontational style of politics, which he

viewed as an incentive to antisemitism and a challenge to his own authority.⁵² His attitude toward non-Jewish DPs was decidedly hostile. In his opinion, the non-Jewish foreigners claiming persecutee status were “precisely the [concentration camp] guards and such people.”⁵³ He stated openly that he considered non-Jewish DPs “far more dangerous” than their Jewish counterparts.⁵⁴ In December 1947, he instituted screenings for all foreign persecutees, under the pretense that numerous foreigners were falsely claiming persecutee benefits.⁵⁵

As a division of labor between the Military Government, UNRRA, and German agencies was worked out, organizations created by persecutees themselves found themselves increasingly marginalized. The care centers and committees created by persecutees after the liberation initially enjoyed considerable respect and authority. The persecutee certificates issued by the care centers and committees were recognized by both the American and German authorities. They could be used to demonstrate one’s status as a bona fide former concentration camp prisoner and to access various benefits, such as priority in housing or entrance to a DP camp.⁵⁶ As the authorities gained greater control over the situation in Germany, persecutee organizations came to be viewed as unnecessary and undesirable. The certificates handed out by the care centers and committees diminished in value, no longer viewed as reliable evidence of persecutee status.⁵⁷ The fact that some organizations continued to provide their constituents with documentation was viewed as a serious problem.⁵⁸

Indeed, American occupation officials did not generally permit persecutees to establish or maintain their own organizations. This policy was an extension of their belief that measures to assist persecutees were temporary and that persecutees should not be encouraged to develop a distinct group consciousness. Governor Clay felt strongly that the interests of German persecutees should be represented by the established political parties.⁵⁹ Foreign persecutees, on the other hand, were subject to the same restrictions on political activities as other foreigners. American occupation officials eventually permitted German persecutees to form their own organizations, the most important being the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime (*Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes*, or VVN), an ostensibly nonpartisan organization that represented racial, religious, and political persecutees, though it was largely dominated by politicals. They also recognized the Central Committee of Liberated Jews on a strictly non-political basis. However, they remained opposed to other groups. So too did Auerbach. Like DP organizations more generally, the organizations

created by displaced persecutees could not operate legally. Thus displaced persecutees had few legitimate means of representing their interests. Building on the underground organizations they had established during the war years, and on their early postliberation experiences in self-administration and self-representation, they would fight an uphill battle to gain a voice in determining their own affairs. The vagaries of this process will be explored in later chapters.

As the process of returning political authority to the Germans gained momentum during the late 1940s, responsibility for persecutees shifted from the American Military Government to German agencies. The initial hesitation to entrust important decisions to the Germans faded. By January 1949, Military Government officials had concluded that since both German agencies and the IRO were centrally involved in helping persecutees, it could “no longer insist that determination of persecutee status be reserved to the occupation authorities.”⁶⁰ In Bavaria, this meant the State Commission on Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees gained more authority over persecutees. Thus foreign persecutees were increasingly beholden to German officials for recognition of their status and for the benefits associated with it. This shift especially affected foreigners who lived outside the camps, since they did not generally receive Allied assistance. However, persecutees who lived in DP camps were also affected by the shift. Although the IRO continued to provide them with assistance, it did not have the right to issue persecutee certificates or otherwise legally establish their status as persecutees. As the IRO itself noted, this left open a “strong possibility of grave injustices and undeserved discrimination for those individuals under the International Refugee Organization mandate.”⁶¹ This would indeed turn out to be the case. As responsibility for all persecutees shifted to German agencies in the late 1940s and early 1950s, DPs who did not already have the “right” documentation found it difficult to prove they were victims of persecution. This put them at a disadvantage in terms of restitution. Thus, whereas persecutees who lived in DP camps were initially more privileged than other persecutees, their status deteriorated in tandem with the growth of German sovereignty.

Wiedergutmachung and the DP Exception

Running parallel to and overlapping with efforts to establish guidelines for the treatment of persecutees were efforts at formal legal restitution or

Wiedergutmachung. The restitution legislation that was passed in Germany in the early postwar period placed various restrictions on displaced persons and other foreign claimants. Its interpretation by the courts was also restrictive.⁶² Motivated by ideological, political, and financial considerations, these restrictions made it difficult for foreigners to gain restitution. Displaced foreigners were doubly disadvantaged, as they not only suffered the restrictions placed on all foreigners but also lacked a state to represent them.

Like taking care of persecutees, restitution stood high on the Allied agenda in 1945. Within the American camp, there were differences of opinion on the matter. The State Department tended to view restitution as a moral issue that reflected on the international standing of the U.S. government. Its view took in all persecutees in Germany. The American Military Government, on the other hand, tended to view restitution within a domestic German framework.⁶³ It focused primarily on German persecutees. It saw restitution, like the persecutee program more generally, as a therapeutic device: a means of making up for and canceling out the material losses that German persecutees had suffered, thereby helping them to become “normal” citizens of postwar Germany. It was not inclined to concede that persecutees enjoyed a right to restitution. In particular, it was not willing to concede that active opponents of the Nazi regime had earned the right to a special position within postwar Germany on account of their sacrifices. This attitude became more prominent as time went on and concern for reestablishing a stable postwar order took the place of concern for the victims.⁶⁴

Reflecting the division of the country into occupation zones, the earliest restitution legislation was formulated on the *Land* and zonal levels. In Bavaria, which took the lead in *Wiedergutmachung*, two laws were especially important. The first was Law No. 9 of October 1945, which addressed “physical disabilities sustained as a result of treatment under the national-socialistic system.”⁶⁵ Building on the wartime plans of Wilhelm Hoegner, the Social Democratic justice minister (later minister-president) of Bavaria, it sought to compensate individuals who had suffered physical disabilities according to the existing system of workers’ compensation. The second was Law No. 35 of August 1946, which announced the building of a “special restitution fund.”⁶⁶ The fund was designed to help individuals “who ha[d] suffered injuries to their health, their life, their freedom, or their property under the National Socialist tyranny on account of their race, religion, political convictions or worldview [*Weltanschauung*].” Indi-

viduals who qualified could receive various kinds of financial assistance, including a short-term pension and funds to cover the costs of health care, professional education, or the establishment of a business. While Law No. 9 was specific to Bavaria, Law No. 35 applied to all of the *Länder* of the U.S. zone.

Although foreigners were not explicitly excluded from either law, the restrictions placed on eligibility sharply limited the number of foreigners who could benefit. These restrictions, which focused on domicile (*Wohnsitzprinzip*), increased over time. Thus, for example, Law No. 9 initially defined the group of eligible persons in exceptionally broad terms. It applied to all individuals who had been mistreated because of their race, creed, nationality, political opinions or affiliation, or “activity hostile to the National Socialist state,” as well as prisoners of war and deported foreign workers. Indeed, the law explicitly stated that “[deported] foreign workers have all rights equal to those of German insured persons.” However, a clause introduced in May 1946 limited compensation to injuries suffered in Bavaria. This included injuries acquired by individuals interned in Bavarian concentration camps on political grounds, so long as they were domiciled in Bavaria at the time they submitted their claims.⁶⁷ Thus injuries sustained outside of Bavaria, or on nonpolitical grounds, were excluded. Even more restrictively, the benefits of Law No. 35 were limited to individuals who had been domiciled in Bavaria at the time they first suffered their injuries, though the injuries themselves could have been suffered elsewhere. A revision to Law No. 35 in August 1947 made it possible for stateless individuals who had last been domiciled in Bavaria to qualify for assistance and allowed the State Commissioner for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees to make exceptions for individuals who had been living elsewhere in the Reich at the time they first suffered injuries, so long as they were now domiciled in Bavaria.⁶⁸ However, these revisions, designed to open the fund to German refugees from the East, did not substantially alter the situation of non-German claimants, since most had never lived in the Reich.⁶⁹ In practice, moreover, current domicile was often more important than previous domicile. Thus State Commissioner Auerbach, discussing which DPs could benefit from the special restitution fund, made a critical distinction between camp and noncamp DPs: only DPs living “in the German economy”—that is, outside the camps—qualified for aid.⁷⁰ Implicitly, then, living in a camp was not considered living in Bavaria itself.

These early acts of legislation, Laszlo Schirilla notes, “were not ‘compensation’ in the sense of the later compensation laws. Nonetheless, they

already contained within them the kernels of the idea of compensation.”⁷¹ The first real restitution law in the U.S. zone was the General Claims Law (*Entschädigungsgesetz*) of August 1949. Drafted by a special commission of the State Council (*Länderrat*) under American oversight and modeled on Law No. 35, the General Claims Law was a far-reaching act of legislation.⁷² For the first time, victims of Nazi persecution were recognized as having a right to compensation. Following closely the wording of Law No. 35, the new law defined as eligible anyone “who had been persecuted under the National Socialist tyranny . . . because of his political convictions, on the grounds of race, of belief, or of worldview.”⁷³ It provided compensation for a wide variety of damages, grouped into three main categories: personal damages (life, body, health, and freedom); damages to property and assets; and professional damages, or what were referred to as damages to the means of making a living (*wirtschaftliches Fortkommen*). As had been the case with previous legislation, however, eligibility was circumscribed according to domicile. Only individuals who were domiciled or residing in the U.S. zone on January 1, 1947, as well as emigrants who had last lived in the U.S. zone, were eligible for compensation. A special clause addressed the situation of displaced persons who lived in camps. They were deemed eligible only if they integrated into the “legal and economic order of the state” within a year after the law went into effect or left the country. Displaced persons already living outside the camps came under the normal residency clause. However, like DPs who lived in camps, they were expected to provide additional proofs of integration. In short, the law demanded that displaced persons give up the benefits of DP status in order to qualify for compensation. Although camp-based DPs were not explicitly excluded, the nature of camp life, with its distinct Allied-sponsored regime of care and control, made it extremely difficult for camp-based DPs to demonstrate integration.

However, one should not think that the primary purpose of these provisos was to encourage DPs to integrate into German society. Just the opposite: by making it difficult for displaced persons to qualify for compensation, policymakers hoped to provide displaced persons with incentives to emigrate. They were especially eager to get rid of Jewish DPs. Tasked with making this happen, State Commissioner Auerbach established a special office to expedite the settlement of Jewish DP claims. Those who were willing to emigrate would receive priority in the handling of their claims for compensation for imprisonment (*Haftentschädigung*). A mix of financial considerations and antipathy toward Jewish DPs motivated the expedited

process, as a statement by Richard Ringelmann, secretary of state for finances in the Bavarian government, makes clear. "The reason [for prioritizing DP claims]," Ringelmann explained in 1954,

was that at that time every DP cost us, all told, 3 to 400 Marks a month for food, housing, care, guards, etc. and that nonetheless the DPs could not be prevented from constituting a lasting threat to public security. . . . It was, of course, claimed that it's unfair to process DPs first. But in this way 80,000 people could be eliminated [*entfernt*] from the country for 500 Marks each.⁷⁴

Other German authorities, including the police, assisted in this process of "elimination" by falsifying documents.⁷⁵

Although the extra demands placed on displaced persons made it difficult for them to qualify for compensation, their inclusion in the General Claims Law was itself an achievement. Excluded from the version of the law written by the *Länderrat*, they were brought back in only after considerable pressure on the Military Government by the IRO and Jewish organizations.⁷⁶ Displaced persons quickly sought to take advantage of the law. As Constantin Goschler noted, the high number of compensation claims filed in Bavaria—177,000 at the end of 1952, representing fully 64 percent of all claims in the U.S. zone—is surely due to the large number of Jewish and other DPs there.⁷⁷ However, the subsequent implementation of the General Claims Law, as well as its interpretation by the courts, again undermined many claims. In particular, new hurdles were placed in the way of non-Jewish foreigners. The key hurdle was contained in a concept introduced shortly after the passage of the General Claims Law: the "national persecutee" (*Nationalverfolgter*). According to this legal novelty, created primarily to thin the ranks of Polish DP claimants, non-Jewish foreigners had been persecuted on account of their nationality or as a threat to security, not on political grounds. Thus their persecution could not be ascribed to specifically National Socialist aims. Undergirding this distinction between political and national persecution was the idea that politics was limited to the internal affairs of a state. Thus foreigners who had resisted the Nazis had not really resisted National Socialism as a political system; rather, they had resisted Germany as an occupying foreign power.⁷⁸

The restrictions introduced in the General Claims Law were solidified by later legislation, notably the second Federal Compensation Law of June 1956. Like the General Claims Law, the Federal Compensation Law intro-

duced various qualifications for DP claimants. Only displaced persons who left the country or placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the German authorities qualified for compensation. Similarly, convention refugees and stateless persons qualified for certain kinds of compensation, so long as they did not receive assistance for their injuries from other states or from intergovernmental organizations like the IRO. Here too, then, non-German claimants ran up against the obligation to demonstrate integration into German society.⁷⁹ Indeed, going beyond the General Claims Law, the Federal Compensation Law explicitly stated that “residence in a DP camp [is] not regarded as domicile or permanent residence.”⁸⁰ At the same time, it made some concessions to national persecutees. Although not considered real persecutees, they were eligible for compensation if they were convention refugees or stateless persons who had sustained a permanent injury. The idea was to accommodate individuals who stood no chance of benefiting from reparations, that is, the settlement of war damages between states. Nonetheless, most claims put forward by non-Jewish DPs under the Federal Compensation Law were rejected, as had been most claims in the U.S. zone.

The introduction of restrictions on national persecutees placed all foreigners at a disadvantage. However, they especially disadvantaged displaced persons, who, unlike nondisplaced foreigners, could not access the political and material resources of their home state. From the perspective of German policymakers, the most appropriate way of addressing the claims of national persecutees was through reparations. Yet since displaced persons were effectively stateless, they could not benefit from reparations agreements. West German officials were well aware of this fact and exploited it to their advantage. Excepting concessions such as the highly conditional inclusion of national persecutees in the Foreign Compensation Law, they consistently rejected demands to compensate displaced persons on the grounds that they had no legal obligation to consider individual claims. “That the stateless lack protection as regards the restitution of the damages inflicted upon them by Germany,” a representative of the Federal Ministry of Justice argued in June 1950, could not be attributed to discrimination on the part of the West German government. Rather, “[it] is due to their general lack of protection.”⁸¹ Or, as an official of the Finance Ministry put it laconically, “The stateless have always been in a disadvantaged position; it is one of the unfortunate consequences of their status.”⁸²

Many victims of Nazi persecution had hoped that the end of the war would bring a quick and just settlement of their claims for restitution. Al-

though wartime Allied planners were slow to address the problem of persecution, the steps taken in Germany in the early postwar period created high expectations. In the American zone, where the problem of persecution received the greatest attention, persecutees were not only assimilated to the status of DPs, they were elevated to a higher status, one coupled with special material benefits. Jews were recognized as a nation of persecutees. The development of restitution legislation also spurred hopes for a just compensation. The first steps toward restitution were in fact generous, as evidenced by the expansive conceptualization of persecutees in the Bavarian compensation law of October 1945. However, restitution legislation quickly took on a more restrictive cast. Limitations on eligibility according to pre- and postpersecution domicile restricted the number of foreigners who could qualify. Although these restrictions applied to all foreigners—indeed, the place-based conceptualization of the foreigner meant that many Germans were also excluded—they were applied to displaced persons in an especially peculiar manner. Even though they lived in Bavaria—or, as the case may be, in the U.S. zone and in Germany—displaced persons were excluded by virtue of the fact that they lived under the Allied regime of care and control.

The restrictions placed on displaced persons and other foreigners reveal that Germans in the emerging Federal Republic lacked any sense of responsibility for the injuries these people had suffered during the Nazi era.⁸³ A sense of responsibility was especially underdeveloped when it came to displaced persons. Since most DPs lived in isolated settlements, Wolfgang Jacobmeyer observes, it was easy for Germans “to view the DPs as a burdensome problem of occupation rather than a consequence of [Nazi] German policy.”⁸⁴

The fact that displaced persons represented the groups on the lowest rungs of the Nazi racial hierarchy—Jews and Slavs—is also significant. Antisemitic and anti-Slavic prejudices—often presented, in the postwar era, as concerns about DP criminality—mingled with deep resentment at the costs of supporting the DP population. German politicians, lawyers, and judges tried to limit their responsibility for persecuted DPs in a number of ways: by encouraging Jewish DPs, whose claims to persecutee status they could not dispute, to emigrate; by demoting non-Jewish DPs, whose claims to persecutee status they could dispute, to the status of national persecutees; by exploiting the statelessness of the displaced; and by making restitution contingent on proofs of integration.

However, the restrictions placed on displaced persons and other for-

eigners were not only the product of an underdeveloped sense of responsibility on the part of postwar Germans. They also reflected the Allied-American division of labor in the care of displaced persons and persecutees. Established at the beginning of the occupation period, this division of labor initially worked to the advantage of displaced persecutees. As the transfer of authority to the Germans accelerated, their position deteriorated. Resentful of the costs associated with maintaining the DP population and of the limits on their authority over DPs, German politicians and policymakers were not inclined to grant persecuted DPs the same benefits as persecuted Germans. Although many DPs, especially displaced Jews, in fact received assistance from German agencies for persecutees, these agencies were beholden to higher powers with much less sympathy for the persecuted, especially the foreigners among them. The American Military Government also demonstrated little interest in addressing the claims of persecuted DPs. It viewed displaced persons as an army problem, one distinct from the German problem. More generally, it saw persecutee policy as an issue of care rather than rights. Thus, as long as the persecuted were adequately cared for, the issue of rights was secondary. The limits of this approach became clear in the late 1940s, as German agencies were given legal authority to grant persecutee status while the IRO was not.

The General Claims Law, and even more so the Federal Compensation Law, marked important junctures in the process by which authority in western Germany was transferred from the Allies to the Germans. Like other developments of the era, these laws were viewed as important tests of Germany's ability to create a just social and political order. American occupation officials were unwilling to involve themselves too heavily in crafting legislation. After the passage of these laws, they largely withdrew from persecutee affairs. This withdrawal had a negative effect on the status of displaced persecutees. Yet the expectations created by early American and German policies on persecution were not easily squelched. As we will see in subsequent chapters, many displaced persons identified strongly as victims of National Socialism. By creating frameworks for addressing the legacy of Nazi persecution, American and German officials encouraged these identifications, inviting displaced persons, especially former concentration camp prisoners, to put forward a wide range of claims for recognition, assistance, and restitution. The recognition of Jews as a nation of persecutees had perhaps the most wide-ranging effects, spurring hopes not only for a just compensation but also for recognition of Jewish demands for statehood. As Wolfgang Jacobmeyer suggests, the policy changes intro-

duced in the American zone heightened Jewish expectations and encouraged Jewish DPs to articulate new demands.⁸⁵ Thus, although displaced persecutees, like other displaced persons, were not authorized to create their own associations or to otherwise engage in politics, in fact American and German policies on persecution encouraged them to organize and represent themselves. A new arena for political engagement emerged.

PART 2

The Threat of Communism

CHAPTER 3

The Repatriation Debate and the Anticommunist “Political Explanation”

While Allied planners were establishing the framework of care and control for displaced persons and persecutees, DPs were themselves debating the future. The majority took for granted that they would soon return home and that their time as displaced persons would be short. Some, however, were adamantly opposed to the idea of return, while many others were uncertain. Repatriation thus became a contentious issue of debate. In and through this debate, there developed a population of displaced persons who, to use the language of the time, were “nonrepatriable.” This happened against the wishes of the occupation authorities, who wanted to see displaced persons return home as soon as possible. Nonetheless, the western Allies, and especially the Americans, also unwittingly encouraged this development. The (relatively) generous assistance and protection the Americans offered displaced persons and persecutees provided a material basis for existence and facilitated the formation of myriad committees. Inside the camps, it was possible to develop not only cultural and social organizations but also overtly political ones. Similarly, the tolerant attitude shown by the American authorities toward antirepatriation sentiment gave displaced persons unofficial license to agitate. The U.S. zone thus became a space of lively debate about repatriation and its alternatives.

This chapter examines the repatriation debate among Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs. The hallmark of this debate was the development of what UNRRA officials called the “political explanation”: an explanation grounded in political opposition to the Soviet Union and communism. This explanation took on different forms in each group. Polish DPs stressed their opposition to returning to a Poland occupied by “the Rus-

sians” and dominated by communists. Ukrainian DPs opposed both Russian *and* Polish “occupation” and expressed their desire for an independent Ukrainian state. Russian DPs focused on what they saw as the un-Russian Bolshevik leadership of the Soviet Union. These differences in emphasis not only reflected disparate national constructions, they also implied national conflict. Anticommunism and nationalism were closely intertwined. However, there was also considerable overlap, reflecting the histories that Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians shared as citizens of Poland and the Soviet Union. More generally, those who opposed repatriation shared one thing in common. They identified themselves as refugees from communism rather than—or in addition to—victims of National Socialism. They posed the single largest threat to the repatriation program, both numerically and politically.

In their identification as refugees from communism, Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs differed fundamentally from their Jewish neighbors. Jewish DPs were often also anxious about returning to communist- and Soviet-dominated countries. Many had spent the war years in the Soviet East, where, although safe from Nazi persecution, they had endured extreme hardship, including forced labor. As Michal Borwicz notes, they “wished to put as much distance as possible between [the Soviet Union] and themselves.”¹ Jewish DP newspapers reported regularly on the political transformations taking place in eastern Europe and were generally unsympathetic to “Moscow.” For some Polish Jews, the main motive for leaving postwar Poland was Sovietization rather than anti-semitism.² However, Jewish DPs rarely identified antipathy to the Soviet Union or communism as a reason for opposing repatriation, and anti-communism did not become a focal point of their self-understanding. Certainly, they were not inclined to make common cause around this issue with other DPs, who, as we shall see, were often both anticommunist and antisemitic.

By the time UNRRA officials conducted the first systematic repatriation poll in mid-1946, the repatriation debate had largely concluded. Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs had established the institutional frameworks for a life “in emigration.” The political explanation had taken on definite form. Indeed, some form of the political explanation had become each group’s official representation. However, this result was less the expression of national unity than of successful projection on the part of DP elites. Beneath the surface, multiple conflicts and differences remained.

The Development of the "Political Explanation"

American occupation officials, like their counterparts in the British and French zones, were hesitant to admit that displaced persons did not want to return home. Over the course of the second half of 1945, however, evidence of antirepatriation sentiment mounted. As early as July 1945, a U.S. Military Government official in Munich reported that "our program now is getting geared for the 'static population,' contingent as that may be upon political arrangements."³ A U.S. Army intelligence report submitted that same month noted that a surprisingly large number of Soviet DPs were reluctant to return home. According to a former DP camp commandant, this reluctance "seemed generally attributable to a feeling . . . that they could enjoy a greater degree of personal independence outside of, rather than inside Russia." He surmised "that a taste of freedom had been furnished [to the Soviet DPs] through the fact of American liberation (if not, indeed, in the very experience of forced labor for the Germans); and that in this general flavor of emancipation, the remembered repressions of life in Russia were rendered distasteful."⁴ Another U.S. Army intelligence report, submitted in January 1946, focused on antirepatriation sentiment among Polish DPs in the town of Murnau, on the edge of the Bavarian Alps. "Principal reasons for not wanting to return is [*sic*] fear of arrest and deportation east."⁵ This fear was due to a story about a repatriant who had been put on a train for Siberia.

Although displaced persons offered many reasons for opposing repatriation, political reasons increasingly came to the fore. According to Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, by October 1945, "among large groups of DPs, repatriation was no longer self-evident, as the occupation authorities still naively believed. The DPs no longer made their decisions with an eye towards the available means of transportation or their individual state of health. Rather, political determinants had moved into the foreground."⁶ The centrality of the political dimension can be seen clearly in the results of the UNRRA repatriation poll of May 1946. Conducted in the three western occupation zones, the poll was the first (and last) systematic sounding of the DP population. It asked DPs three questions. What was their nationality? Did they want to return home? And if not, why not? Answers were submitted anonymously.⁷ The results revealed not only broad popular opposition to repatriation but also the extent to which opposition had come to be defined in political terms.

According to a summary analysis of the three western occupation zones, some 82 percent of displaced persons polled were opposed to returning home. These DPs, UNRRA argued, could be further divided into two main groups, western and eastern Europeans. Western Europeans foregrounded personal and economic factors, "while the Eastern Europeans generally fall back on political factors as their primary explanation. The Eastern Europeans seem to show a real fear in their replies, the fear increasing the further east the home of the voter."⁸ The director of the Funk Caserne DP camp in Munich offered a similar analysis of the results in his camp. Some 75 percent of DPs in Funk Caserne opposed repatriation. "Of those who voted 'no,'" he wrote, "the majority come from countries now controlled by Russia. These people voted almost unanimously against return—giving as their reasons their fear of persecution, their dislike of communism, and Soviet terrorism. A great number of them indicated their belief that Stalinism is no better than Nazism. Many stated that they had fought and suffered to obtain democracy, only to find a new terrorism in their land under the Soviets."⁹ Deviating from this general East-West breakdown were Jewish DPs, who focused on the fear of persecution, the loss of family members, and the desire to emigrate to Palestine.

UNRRA further broke down the results of the poll by nationality, creating separate categories for Poles, Polish Ukrainians, and Russians. Among Polish DPs, political objections predominated. "The three basic complaints, repeated again and again," UNRRA noted, "were the 'presence of Russians in Poland,' 'the Communistic Warsaw government,' and 'the lack of personal freedom in Poland.'"¹⁰ Comments quoted from the ballots substantiate this conclusion. They included statements such as "The Russians are dominating the Polish government"; "Uncertain situation in Poland. The presence of Soviet Army is dangerous to the freedom of my country"; and "I don't agree with the policy of the Government and the persecution of the church and the lack of private property and freedom." Although political objections predominated, economic concerns were also prominent. As UNRRA noted, Polish DPs had considerable access to information from family, friends, correspondence, and the news media. "From these sources, they receive a description of destruction in the towns and cities, shortages of food, clothes, and housing, unemployment and the general economic insecurity of life in present-day Poland."¹¹ Significantly, Polish DPs in the French zone placed greater emphasis on economic factors. This difference, UNRRA suggested, had to do with the fact that many Poles in the French zone worked in the German economy.

They therefore enjoyed greater economic security. Other comments suggested primarily personal and familial reasons for refusing repatriation. One person wrote, "I am ill and tired after the hard work in Germany," while another commented, "I can't find my family." Past experiences of persecution were also mentioned. One DP commented, "I have been persecuted by the Communists and condemned for exile to Siberia. I don't want to try to live under the communists again."

Among Polish Ukrainians, political reasons figured even more prominently. "Like the Poles," UNRRA wrote, "they give mainly political reasons for not wanting to return home but they are generally more violent in their attacks on Russia, and express fear of forced labor conditions, even 'deportations to Siberia,' should they dare to return." One DP wrote, "My homeland is at present occupied by Soviet Russia, which follows the policy of general terror against those who are opposed to the communistic system. They persecute religion (Greek-Orthodox); bishops and priests are sent to Siberia. . . . Because of these reasons I will not return." Some "compared 'Bolshevik totalitarianism' with Nazism." Others cited previous experiences of Soviet persecution. One Ukrainian wrote, "Two of my brothers were killed. My parents died in jail after being there a long time. My brother was sentenced to forced labor." A number of DPs highlighted religious persecution. Finally, many cited the desire for an independent Ukrainian state. Indeed, UNRRA argued, "the constant dissemination of nationalistic propaganda has completely alienated [Ukrainian DPs] from the idea of adherence to either Poland or Russian [*sic*], and thereby has eliminated all chance for a voluntary repatriation."¹² This factor was evident in the conduct of the repatriation poll itself. Initially, UNRRA had planned to organize DPs according to their official nationality categories. After Ukrainian DPs protested, it agreed to create a separate category for Polish Ukrainians. It continued to include Soviet Ukrainians in the Soviet category, which, ironically, it labeled the "Russian" category.

Like Polish and Polish Ukrainian DPs, Russian DPs also voiced widespread political opposition to repatriation. A preliminary report concluded that "these are all anti-Soviet Russians and object to Communism, dictatorship, and persecution."¹³ The final report provided a more nuanced analysis. It broke Russian DPs down into three groups. The first two groups, old émigrés and new émigrés, were labeled political refugees. They "express[ed] a hatred for Communism [*sic*] and the 'dictatorship' in Russia." The third group consisted of individuals with "personal reasons for not going home, such as illness or marriage to Germans, Poles, or other

D.P.'s." Criticism of communism also predominated in the quotations from the ballots. One DP wrote, "The Soviet regime is not a Russian government. The main idea of the Soviet government is a world revolution." Another stated, "In the Soviet Union there is no free work nor any private property. There is only forced, slave-like labor in the kolchoz . . . and in the factories or businesses, all run by the Government." Yet another concluded that "Communism is even worse than Naziism [*sic*]."

Although the repatriation poll confirmed that there was widespread opposition to repatriation, UNRRA officials were not sure how to interpret this fact. They did not doubt that eastern Europeans were afraid of returning home. "Nevertheless," they wrote, "there is reason to believe that, among many of these people, the political explanation serves merely as a convenient justification and cover for underlying motives which are essentially personal and economic."¹⁴ It was possible, moreover, that displaced persons merely gave what they thought was "the most acceptable answer."¹⁵ The Polish vote struck UNRRA as especially dubious. As a preliminary report noted, "team directors differ as to the interpretation of this vote. Some take it at its face value, some think it a blind to hide the real reasons—present comfort and indolence,—a few lay it to propaganda."¹⁶ Indeed, the patterned nature of Polish responses led UNRRA to suspect that "the voters have been propagandized, either in the past, or that there was a planned campaign on the part of their leaders to furnish the D.P.s with the same answers for the poll."¹⁷ While some Polish DPs had "an ideological conception of Poland as a 'free democracy'" and believed they could better serve their country in emigration, many others, per UNRRA, lacked "mature political opinions" and were "subject to outside influences." They also had "a strong patriotic feeling for Poland, regardless of her political complexion." Thus it might be possible to convince them to return home—if they were "removed from the political influences hindering their repatriation."¹⁸

Historians are also divided in their assessments of the political explanation. Many take for granted that Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians were vehemently opposed to communism. Anna Jaroszynska-Kirchmann argues that "a uniformly hostile attitude towards Communism, the Soviet Union, and the Warsaw regime, defined the political ideology of Polish DPs."¹⁹ Similarly, Mark Wyman states that "behind [displaced persons'] fears of repatriation, in the inner recesses of each DP's memory, were experiences under communism."²⁰ Yet as Wyman himself notes, the issue of displaced persons was for years "immersed in East-West tensions."²¹ Such tensions have informed the perspective of historians. Viewing hostility to-

ward Soviet rule as self-explanatory, they tend to draw overly broad conclusions about anticommunist sentiment. A very different approach is offered by Wolfgang Jacobmeyer. In his analysis of Polish DPs, Jacobmeyer acknowledges that many Poles had legitimate reasons for not returning home. Nonetheless, he believes that most lacked the ability to make an informed and independent political decision and were motivated primarily by concerns about material security and fear of punishment. In his assessment, the political explanation was "little more than a convenient borrowing from the line of argumentation put forward by the occupation authorities and the international relief agencies."²²

It is indeed doubtful that Polish and other DPs were motivated primarily by political objections. However, it is not clear how much the dominance of the political explanation had to do with the influence of the occupation authorities and organizations like UNRRA. At the time the poll was conducted, the political explanation had not yet become part of official public discourse. While many American officials were sympathetic to anticommunism, they did not openly promote it, since they did not want to antagonize the Soviet Union. UNRRA officials, for their part, were strong advocates of repatriation. While some were sympathetic to anti-communism, many others respected the Soviet Union and admired its contribution to the war effort.²³ They also tended to believe that each individual "rightfully" belonged in his or her country of origin.²⁴

More influential, in my estimation, were the arguments put forward by DP elites. As UNRRA officials frequently complained, antirepatriation activists engaged in vigorous "propaganda" campaigns. Directed at other displaced persons and at the authorities, these campaigns included formal speeches, informal conversations, newspaper articles, and leaflets. They also included subtle and not-so-subtle pressure to publicly support the antirepatriation and anticommunist positions. To an impressive extent, the political explanation offered during the repatriation poll reproduced key points articulated by anticommunist activists. It reflects their efforts to build a consensus against repatriation by amplifying the fears and anxieties coursing through the larger DP population and channeling them in the direction of opposition to repatriation. It also reflects their efforts to frame the multiple concerns that DPs had in an explicitly anti-Soviet and anti-communist manner. Of course, many DPs did not need convincing, having experienced the brutalities of Soviet rule firsthand. Nonetheless, DP elites were essential in creating a global framework for individual concerns, one that edited out "merely" personal or economic considerations as well as

politically problematic ones such as fear of retaliation for collaboration. They were also essential in broadcasting this framework to the larger DP community and the world beyond. This framework was publicly convincing because it resonated both with the contemporary emphasis on political persecution and with latent anticommunism. Thus, although the political explanation did not originate with the Allied authorities, it resonated precisely because it emphasized political objections rather than economic or personal ones.

All the same, the political explanation was not the product of an *a priori* consensus. Behind the image of unity were debates among DPs with a wide range of positions on repatriation and the postwar political order more generally. These debates were most intensive among displaced Poles, where the elites represented a broad political spectrum, less so among displaced Ukrainians and Russians, where the elites represented a narrower range of political positions and had greater leverage to push the antirepatriation agenda.

Anticommunism and Nationalist Ambivalence among Polish DPs

Polish DPs were deeply divided over the repatriation question. While many were vehemently opposed to returning home, many more were ambivalent about remaining in Germany. During the first year after the liberation, they tested the prospect of a life “in emigration.” The centerpoint of debate was the “Polish question”: the future of the Polish state. The situation at war’s end was unclear. Polish Communists, backed by the Soviet Union, had a monopoly of power. There were disturbing reports about the arrest and execution of members of the Home Army, the largest Polish resistance organization, allied with the London government. At the same time, the new provisional government, framed as an antifascist union, included some London Poles, notably Stanisław Mikołajczyk, leader of the popular, peasant-based Polish People’s Party. The free elections called for at Yalta had yet to take place. The uncertainty of the situation created anxiety among Poles in Germany. Delays in repatriation gave them ample time to contemplate the future. Many waited to see what would happen in the elections, which finally took place in June 1946. As Communist control over the country solidified, Poles who had previously thought of returning home began to question their decision. Political lines became more sharply

drawn. Both the new Warsaw and the old London governments sent liaison officers to the DP camps, the former to convince DPs to return home, the latter to convince them of the opposite.²⁵

The first Polish DP committees were created in this uncertain climate. Formed in the immediate aftermath of liberation in locales throughout Bavaria, the committees were dedicated to two main tasks: self-help and self-representation.²⁶ The Polish Committee in Munich, established in May 1945, was one of the first. With the tacit approval of the Americans, it functioned as a central distribution point for food and other supplies. It maintained registers of Poles in Bavaria and operated a tracing bureau that sent notices about missing persons to offices throughout Europe. It worked closely with organizations from Polish communities in England and the United States, in particular the London-based Polish Red Cross. It also represented Polish DPs before the American occupation authorities and UNRRA. According to Janusz Nel Siedlecki, it "was recognized as an unofficial Consulate and, trusted by both sides, formed a bridge between the Americans and the Poles."²⁷

The internal history of the Munich Polish Committee suggests the fluid situation at the end of the war and the increasing link between associational life and opposition to repatriation. The committee had close ties to both the prewar Polish government and the communal structures created by Polish political prisoners in Dachau. Its first head, Mieczysław Grabinski, was a former high-ranking member of the Polish foreign service, who had served as the Polish Consul General of Munich until September 1939. In April 1941, Grabinski was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to Dachau, where he was active in the Polish underground.²⁸ Upon his return to Munich, he reclaimed the Polish consulate building and, with the permission of the American Military Government, put it at the disposal of the Polish Committee.²⁹ A loyal servant of the Polish government-in-exile and a stalwart anticommunist, he continued to view himself as the Polish government's official representative in Munich, even after the Allies officially recognized the Lublin Committee. In 1949, he moved to London, where he was closely associated with the circle of Polish expatriates loyal to the government-in-exile and where he continued his work on behalf of former political prisoners.³⁰

Although Grabinski was clearly a partisan of the government-in-exile, the Polish Committee initially included Poles of various political persuasions, some opposed to repatriation, some not. Some of its most active participants, like the Dachau survivor Walter Hnaupek, eventually re-

turned home. Over time, however, it emerged as a clear opponent of the new Communist-dominated Polish government. Especially after many Poles returned home in the spring and summer of 1946, it lost its character as an association representing the spectrum of the wartime Polish resistance. By the fall of 1946, UNRRA authorities were calling its opposition to the new Polish government a “serious deterrent to repatriation in the Munich area.”³¹ A few months later, in early 1947, U.S. censors identified it as a distribution point for materials about Poland “expressing anti-Russian attitudes.”³² As the occupation authorities continued to press for the repatriation of all displaced persons and as the new Soviet-backed Polish government became recognized as the legitimate representative of the Polish people, the Polish Committee found it increasingly difficult to operate.

As associational life became more closely linked to opposition to repatriation, more elaborate institutional structures developed. Building on local initiatives, Polish DPs created regional, zonal, and national organizations, with separate departments for things such as welfare, education, legal affairs, and so forth. In December 1945, the Association of Poles in Germany was founded, soon to be renamed the Polish Union in the American Occupation Zone of Germany (*Zjednoczenie Polskie w Amerykańskiej Strefie Okupacji Niemiec*). It was based in Regensburg. One month later, the Polish Union in Germany was founded. Covering the U.S. and British zones, it was headquartered in the town of Blomberg in the British zone and initially headed by Zygmunt Rusinek, a former member of the Polish Sejm. In 1951, as the German government gained responsibility for displaced persons, it was renamed the Union of Polish Refugees in Germany (*Zjednoczenie Polskich Uchodźców w Niemczech*). Membership in the Polish Union was based on an ethnonational concept of Polishness, encompassing all Polish DPs “irrespective of their national [i.e., citizenship] status.”³³ According to Anna Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, the Polish Union “consciously supported the implementation of the ideals of the exile mission.”³⁴ However, it held out hope that this mission would soon come to an end. As late as 1948, the president of the Polish Union in the U.S. zone, Stanisław Mikiciuk, expressed the opinion that the United States would soon recognize the London government-in-exile as the legitimate government of Poland.³⁵ Indeed, the Polish Union had close ties to the government-in-exile and to Polish organizations in Great Britain. In this regard, the associational life of Polish DPs was better integrated into a larger diasporic structure than the associational life of Ukrainian and Russian DPs, who lacked a diasporic center.

Debates about repatriation were framed by awareness of the traditions of the Polish Great Emigration of the nineteenth century. According to Michael Marrus, the Polish nationalists who fled the Russian empire after the failure of their insurrection in 1831 were "among the first political outcasts to define a distinct refugee identity for themselves."³⁶ The traditions they developed were predicated on the idea of Poland as a nation in exile. "By reconceptualizing the nation as a spirit or an ideal," Brian Porter writes, "these Poles could sustain their national identity without depending upon the immediate reestablishment of the state."³⁷ The traditions of the Great Emigration provided Polish DPs with a framework for reconciling their commitment to Poland as a nation with rejection of the Polish state. According to Anna Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, these traditions were "well known and respected" among Polish DPs.³⁸ To be sure, not all displaced Poles were intimately familiar with the literary and artistic work produced by earlier generations of exiles. Knowledge and respect were greatest among the intelligentsia. Nonetheless, most displaced Poles were familiar with some of the exile tradition, which permeated Polish popular culture. In his autobiographical novel *Feldafing*, the Polish Jewish survivor Simon Schochet reflects on this fact and its consequences.

Of all of us here [in the DP camp], the Poles are probably the most prepared to live in exile. One has only to listen to their songs and music to be aware of this startling fact. Their national anthem was composed in Italy and was the marching song of the Polish legions who fought in the Napoleonic Wars. Their mazurkas were immortalized by Chopin, who composed them as an exile in France, and the currently popular song, "The Red Poppies of Monte Cassino," is the latest testimony to the Poles' eternal struggle for freedom, not only their own, but other nations [*sic*] as well.³⁹

The traditions of the Great Emigration thus provided Polish DPs with a narrative framework that other groups with less well-developed—or less well-appreciated—exile traditions lacked.

A closer look at how the repatriation debate unfolded can be gained by following Polish concentration camp survivors from Dachau to the DP camps and communities around Munich, where they merged with Poles liberated from other concentration camps and from forced labor. Camp survivors were among the most active participants in the repatriation debate, and among the most politically active more generally. After libera-

tion, many wondered who was supposed to represent them: London or Warsaw? Tensions over the future surfaced in the meetings of the Dachau International Prisoners' Committee (IPC) and in various postliberation festivities. While some Poles participated in the international May Day celebration, many others focused their efforts on May 3, Poland's Constitution Day. The Polish Committee of Dachau was itself split into two camps along this line.⁴⁰ The latent conflict between these camps is reflected in a speech given by Antoni Czerwinski, publisher of the Polish Committee's official newspaper, on the occasion of May 3. Czerwinski's speech focused principally on the events of the recent past, in particular the sacrifices and sufferings of the Polish prisoners in Dachau and the Polish nation as a whole. However, it also touched on Poland's political future. Linking past and future, Czerwinski depicted national independence as both the reason and the reward for wartime sacrifice and warned about what he saw as renewed threats to Polish freedom.

[We] loudly and clearly affirm:

that *Poland has a right . . . to partake of the fruits of victory*, has the right to an independent and unfettered existence.

It is not right and is an offence to eternal divine fairness, is an injury to and a trampling of the cardinal principles of international relations, *is for us Poles more horrible than the tyrannical thoughts of the Germans*, for Poland to become dust behind the doors, when all of the countries of the world decide their own fate.⁴¹

A more direct reference to the threat of communism was contained in Czerwinski's statement, reproduced in capital letters in the printed version of the speech, that "the third of May was always the Day of Independence." Here Czerwinski implicitly contrasted the Polish national celebration of May 3 to the May Day celebration organized by the IPC and suggested that Poles who celebrated May Day were betraying the Polish nation. From his perspective, the May Day celebration was not an expression of antifascist unity but rather an affirmation of Soviet communism and its efforts to dominate Poland. The contrast was all the more pointed because May 3 commemorated the signing of the 1791 constitution, seen an act of Polish self-assertion against Russian autocracy.

Similar themes run through *Ślowo Polskie*, the official Polish newspaper of the Munich-Freimann DP camp, a former SS barracks on the northern edges of the city, where Polish survivors of Dachau were housed along

with other liberated Poles. Although the paper faithfully reproduced UNRRA's policy statements on repatriation, its editorials and essays provided a critical assessment of the repatriation program and suggested that the true Polish community was the one taking shape beyond the borders of Poland. A November 1945 article on "freedom in central Europe" affirmed the duty of Poles to their country but voiced its opposition to the idea of return. Placing the fate of Poland in a broader central European context, it accused the Soviet Union, which it identified with "asiatic totalism," of wanting to colonize the entire region.⁴² Similarly, a January 1946 article about a meeting of the Polish Committee with a representative of the Polish repatriation mission in Warsaw gave voice to the fears that many Poles, especially Polish concentration camp prisoners, had about being arrested on returning home. Playing on the knowledge that the new government's leadership was drawn largely from Polish Communists who had spent the war years in the Soviet Union, the article insinuated that the Warsaw Poles were merely Russian Bolsheviks who could not speak a word of Polish. After sitting in the fascist concentration camps, one Polish DP stated, he had no desire to experience "red fascism."⁴³

This is also the position taken retrospectively by Janusz Nel Siedlecki, another concentration camp survivor liberated at Dachau. In his memoir, he focuses at length on the mood of Polish concentration camp survivors in the Munich-Freimann DP camp. He suggests that the survivors as a group were defined by opposition to the new political order in Poland.

In prisons, in camps, we all dreamt of the END, of return to the loved ones and finding all as it had been before September '39. The end had come but it shattered our dreams just as thoroughly as the invader had shattered our towns. The French and the Dutch departed to their own free lands. But our Allies, those who went to war for our freedom, . . . they sold in Yalta, to the other invader, our birthright and our Polish lands. So we, the flotsam and jetsam of the war, stayed in the SS uniforms, in the SS barracks . . . and grumbled about the soup.⁴⁴

For Siedlecki, the new political order represented something more than a change in Polish government. It signaled the introduction, or rather persistence, of foreign domination. Echoing Czerwinski's May 3 speech, Siedlecki emphasizes that national liberation was the central goal of the wartime resistance. The return of which he dreamed was a return to the period of Polish national independence rather than a specific prewar political

order. There is no mention of the authoritarian governments of the 1930s. Siedlecki's opposition to the new order is even more evident in his description of the liaison officers sent by the new provisional government in Warsaw. Here Polish nationalism combines with anxieties about Russian influence and power.

Then came the "Polish" liaison officers flaunting the new uniforms with the Eagles no longer bearing their crowns. Though two centuries had passed since Poland ceased to be a monarchy, the national emblem always retained the crown. Now these men displayed the mutilated device and talked to us in atrocious Polish full of Russicisms. With promises of generous land grants they repatriated a number of peasants, but, despite official pressure, the attitude of the majority remained such that these officers did not venture into the camp without an American escort.⁴⁵

For Siedlecki, the representatives of the Warsaw government do not qualify as Poles. They are Russian ambassadors, bearing the message of domination rather than national revival. The specific political and economic programs of the government they represent are entirely secondary—only the mention of land grants suggests there might be something in it for the Poles themselves. It is enough that they are backed by the Soviets, who, Siedlecki consistently refers to as "the Russians," thereby stressing continuity with the former czarist rulers of Poland.

Although Siedlecki suggests that the Poles in the DP camps were united in their opposition to the new Polish government and thoroughly committed to the exile mission, other sources suggest a mood of uncertainty and hesitation. Among them, surprisingly, is the memoir of Mieczysław Grabinski, the head of the Polish Committee in Munich. Published in 1946, the memoir covered the war years and the early post-war period. In the final chapter, entitled "In the Ruins of Munich, Symbol of the National Socialist Movement," Grabinski examined life after the liberation. Drawing inspiration from the romantic tradition that had nurtured Polish nationalism during the nineteenth century, he depicted himself as a solitary wanderer in a nocturnal city. He described himself sitting on a bench on the bank of the Isar River that runs through Munich, contemplating the future. He summarized his options in a self-consciously elliptical fashion.

I looked at the sky, towards the northeast, at the fiery evening glow there and there felt my heart and soul being torn apart—to my Country and my family.

I looked at the sky, towards the west, where the west-moving sun was and a wave of sadness fell over my soul, doubt and unease entered my heart.⁴⁶

In Grabinski's narrative, East and West constituted the two principal options. Both were unsatisfactory. Although the East-West opposition invites political interpretation—one thinks in particular of the opposition between Warsaw and London—the dominant emphasis here is on a sentimental distinction between home and away. Despite his loyalty to the London government-in-exile, his patriotism pulled him in the opposite direction, leaving him uncertain about the future. At least, his uncertainty serves as a rhetorical affirmation of his commitment to Poland. In the closing sentences of the book, his situation remained unresolved: "My wanderings in the time of that 'historic turn,' which began on the first of September 1939, had not yet led me to a point of exit. I walked on by myself . . . with further hope and faith in a better Tomorrow for mine and myself . . ." ⁴⁷ As the use of multiple ellipses suggests, Grabinski's narrative refused closure. Thus Munich was not a destination but rather a no-man's-land between East and West, the site of his indecision. Being a displaced person meant being a wanderer. In this manner, Grabinski adapted the romantic nineteenth-century language of exile to the twentieth-century predicament of the displaced person.

While Grabinski's memoir suggests that even committed anticommunists were unsure of how to approach the Polish question, it ultimately affirms the exile tradition. A more critical meditation on the repatriation debate is provided by Tadeusz Borowski. One of the leading lights of early postwar Polish literature, Borowski is best known for his stories about Auschwitz, which will be discussed in chapter 7. He also wrote a number of stories about displaced persons in postwar Germany, which, like the Auschwitz stories, drew on his personal experiences. After his liberation from Dachau, he spent a year in Germany as a displaced person, living first in the Munich-Freimann DP camp and then in Munich proper, where he worked for the Polish Committee. He was good friends with Janusz Nel Siedlecki. Increasingly, however, he found life as a displaced person in Germany unbearable. In a manner reminiscent of Grabinski, he described Mu-

nich as a dead city and Germany a dead country. "One lives there as on a desert island," he wrote to his fiancée in April 1946, "without time, without money."⁴⁸ In May 1946, he returned to Poland. Although he eventually became a member of the Polish Workers Party—that is, the Communist party of Poland—and to some extent a party hack, his decision to return was more a sign of resignation than a vote for the new Poland. As he wrote to his fiancée on the eve of his departure, "I don't know how I'll manage or what will become of me. It's of no interest to me!"⁴⁹ In July 1951, at the age of twenty-nine, he committed suicide. The reasons for his suicide remain unclear.⁵⁰

In one of his most elaborate DP stories, "The Battle of Grunwald," Borowski closely examines the conflict over the Polish future. Set in an abandoned SS barracks-turned-Polish DP camp near Dachau in the summer after the liberation—the model here is clearly Munich-Freimann—the story traces the fate of a group of Polish concentration camp survivors. They are preparing to celebrate an important national holiday, the anniversary of the 1410 Battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg), in which Polish-Lithuanian forces defeated the Knights of the Teutonic Order, thereby definitively halting their eastward expansion. However, the Grunwald celebration is marred by growing tensions among the Poles. In the overheated atmosphere of the barracks, guarded from the outside by American soldiers with guns, the group disintegrates into opposing political factions. The London camp is represented by the lieutenant, a staunch anticommunist who passes his time reading a German book about the Katyn massacre that he has presumably rescued from the former SS library. The strongest partisan of Warsaw is the Communist Stefan, a simple soldier. The conflict between the two camps, as soon becomes apparent, is both personal and ideological. Thus Stefan accuses the lieutenant and the other officers of stealing food and keeping German mistresses while he goes hungry. He reminds the lieutenant of how he fed and cared for the Polish officers in the concentration camp. Yet as the narrator tells us, Stefan himself had been the leader of the most privileged block in the camp, where "soup by the barrel and loaves of bread by the dozen wandered around the Lager in search of cigarettes, fruit, and meat for the block leader. This Stefan now bragged that he had saved the lives of a couple of Polish officers from the Uprising who, today, refuse to give him in return his fill of soup."⁵¹ Stefan's conflict with the officers thus hinges not only on different political allegiances but also on the reversal of fortune he has suffered since the liberation—in part because of his communist politics.

Observing these conflicts with a certain ironic detachment is the story's eponymous narrator Tadeusz. For him the differences between the London and Warsaw Poles are only superficially significant, as both warring parties are united by a passionate, even hysterical (*histeryczny*) commitment to the Polish cause.⁵² Their battle for control of the Polish nation is itself represented as something comically, even tragically Polish. "But our Pole, our brother," one of the officers bemoans, "is ever stupid. He wants to drown his brother in a spoonful of water."⁵³ Polish nationalism is thus portrayed as essentially self-destructive. This is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in Tadeusz's description of what the Poles have done to the SS barracks.

After the departure of the lawful residents—SS officers who fell on the field of glory in the battle by the barracks, or ran back to their families, or occupied the places vacated by us in Dachau—there remained only a double-doored cupboard by some miracle not totally destroyed by the "Ausländer" who, scarcely liberated from the camp, burst, at war's end, into the abandoned barracks, smashed out all windows, chandeliers, mirrors in the lavatories and bathrooms; took cameras apart until nothing remained; bashed in the teeth of the hospital's x-ray machine; set fire to cars, motorcycles, and cannons in the garage; stealing ammunition, blew up a part of the barracks' wall; broke the more eye-catching mahogany sitting-room furniture to pieces, and, filling toilet bowls to the brim with human waste, left singing national anthems.⁵⁴

The former prisoners' destruction of the remnants of Nazism, with which the reader might well sympathize, thus proves to be nothing more than a senseless orgy of destruction, dressed up as patriotism. The Grunwald celebration itself is represented as the height of nationalistic kitsch: a garishly illuminated stage decorated in red and white, in the center of which there appears "the Republic," a buxom blond chanteuse in folkloric dress attended by an entourage of young boys carrying symbols of the Polish nation.

The hysterical nationalism of both warring factions is contrasted with Tadeusz's own desires. Tadeusz dreams of escaping to "the West," where he wants to live "without a camp, without an army, without patriotism, without discipline, normally, not for show! Not to take soup from a barrel, not to think about Poland."⁵⁵ He wants to be a "man" rather than a "Pole." Yet Tadeusz has been traumatized by his concentration camp experiences. De-

spite his ironic demeanor, he is afraid to leave the DP camp. Here at least, he knows where his next bowl of soup is coming from. Indeed, his one attempt at leaving ends in disaster when his companion, a young Polish Jewish woman, is shot and killed by American soldiers. He thus resigns himself to remain as the other Poles prepare either to return to Poland or to leave for Italy, where the remnants of General Władysław Anders's army are stationed, waiting for an opportunity to liberate Poland.

Borowski's story highlights the ambiguity of the distinction between London and Warsaw. It deconstructs the oppositions employed by both camps—on the London side, between national liberation and foreign domination; on the Warsaw side, between authoritarian capitalism and democratic socialism—and suggests that they are united by their devotion to nationalism, portrayed as a form of collective hysteria. It also suggests that they have both been compromised. Stefan's Communist sympathies are belied by the profits he made at the expense of his fellow concentration camp prisoners. Similarly, the fact that the lieutenant relies on German sources for information about the Katyn massacre suggests a problematic affinity between Poles and Germans around the theme of anticommunism. In this constellation, Borowski's narrator Tadeusz represents a kind of third way. The experience of the concentration camps has freed him of enthusiasm for all political ideologies, especially nationalism. Nonetheless, he is incapable of charting an independent course. His character embodies a mood of resignation before the momentous political conflict over the Polish future. Like Grabinski, but with a sharp critique of Polish nationalism, Borowski highlights the unsatisfying nature of the choices open to Poles after the war and hence the limitations of the debate over the Polish future.

The repatriation debate among Polish DPs was longer and more contested than it was among Ukrainian and Russian DPs, because the situation in postwar Poland was more uncertain. During the first year after the war, the outcome of the struggle between the Communists and their opponents remained unclear. By late 1946, however, the repatriation debate was largely over. Only a small number of Polish DPs at this point still believed that Poland was a fully sovereign nation. These were mainly members of leftist groups with connections to the Warsaw government.⁵⁶ For the rest, life in emigration became semipermanent. The DP committees, created during a time of chaos to provide assistance to DPs and represent them before the authorities, without in many cases a clear intention of resisting repatriation, became the institutional anchors of a new emigration. The arguments put forward by the opponents of repatriation, focusing on the

Russian quality of the new Polish government and the need to preserve the true Polish nation in exile, had come to define the Polish DP community.

Ukrainian DPs and the Concept of a "Political Emigration"

While Polish DPs carried on an anguished debate about repatriation, Ukrainian DPs appeared more united in their opposition. They presented the image of a committed nationalist and anticommunist "political emigration." Indeed, they stood in the vanguard of the antirepatriation movement. Yet this image of unity disguised a number of conflicts.

Like Poles, Ukrainians began organizing self-help committees even before the formal end of hostilities. According to Vasyl Mudry, a prominent interwar Polish Ukrainian politician, "already in the spring of 1945 Ukrainian emigrants in Germany and Austria, under the condition of general chaos, started to organize themselves for self-protection, and later for mutual aid and common defense against forcible repatriation. Everywhere, in the major groupings of Ukrainian emigrants, committees were established."⁵⁷ Although the initial goal was to provide material assistance, repatriation quickly emerged as the key issue. In early May 1945, a Ukrainian committee in Munich appealed to the American authorities for legal protection against repatriation.⁵⁸ A similar committee was organized in Regensburg in September 1945. According to a report by the Army Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC), the Ukrainians refused repatriation out of "fear that the Russians will see them as collaborators and will either ship them off to Siberia or put them in prison." They joined the committee "in order to help each other here in every way possible."⁵⁹ In August 1945, Mudry wrote to the American occupation forces requesting permission to organize a central Ukrainian self-help committee.⁶⁰ In October 1945, under his leadership, a congress of regional representatives of the Ukrainian "emigration" was held in the Bavarian town of Aschaffenburg, home to three DP camps with large numbers of Ukrainians. Bringing together local leaders from Germany and Austria, the congress established the central organization Mudry had been hoping for. Known as the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany (Tsentral'ne Predstavnytstvo Ukraïns'koï Emihratsiï v Nimechchyni, or TsPUE), it became the central body representing Ukrainian DPs. The goals of the TsPUE, as outlined in 1947, were to represent Ukrainian DPs to the outside world, offer them assistance and protection, maintain and promote national culture, promote their eco-

conomic integration, and cultivate their “physical and moral health.”⁶¹ Covering all three western zones, it was based in Augsburg.

While fear of the unknown was an important component of opposition to repatriation, some Ukrainian DPs also opposed repatriation on principle. Like their Polish counterparts, they argued that the DPs constituted a political emigration. This concept was clearly articulated at the congress of representatives of the Ukrainian emigration in October 1945. The congress’s first resolution protested the policy of forced repatriation, while the second stated that “the current Ukrainian emigration—is a political emigration, and it must thus consider all of its activities not only from the standpoint of the physical safeguarding of the people but also of the national project.”⁶² The terms used by the Central Representation to describe the Ukrainian DPs—“fugitives” (*utikachi*), “refugees” (*skytal’tsi*), and “emigrants” (*emihranty*)—reinforced this point, suggesting that flight rather than deportation was responsible for the Ukrainian population in Germany. Since Ukrainians were political emigrants, the Central Representation argued, they also deserved specific rights. Like the “emigration of 1918,” they should be granted political asylum and given international protection. These rights should be shared by all Ukrainians, regardless of where they had come from or why they had been displaced.⁶³

Indeed, the unity of the Ukrainian people was central to the concept of the Ukrainian political emigration. As Volodymyr Kulyk notes, “all the Ukrainian DPs . . . were from the very beginning declared political émigrés.”⁶⁴ Confirmation of this point can be founded in the writings of Zinovii Knysh, a member of the Central Representation. In his memoir of 1945, first published around 1951, Knysh suggested that Ukrainians were united in the effort to create an organizational basis for the emigration. “All members of the Ukrainian community,” he wrote, “worked at it, regardless of whether they felt themselves nationalists, or democrats of the political right or left, or belonged to this or that religious denomination.”⁶⁵ More revealing, Vasyl Mudry noted in 1954 that “for the Ukrainians, like for none of the other nationalities, it was imperative to create a large internal moral force, which would be the indisputable authority for the Ukrainians themselves and would project its steadfastness and firmness to the outside.”⁶⁶

The concept of a Ukrainian political emigration was intimately related to the quest for national independence, a quest that ostensibly pitted Ukrainians against both Russians and Poles. Writing in April 1946, a representative of the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners, an organization with deep ties to the Ukrainian radical nationalist movement, looked back

at the liberation of the concentration camps and linked opposition to repatriation to the lack of an independent homeland. In a manner reminiscent of Polish political figures like Antoni Czerwinski and Janusz Nel Siedlecki, he described the moment of liberation as bittersweet because it did not result in national independence.

Laughing and with full liberated lungs we got drunk on freedom. We flew on wings of happiness, but the question was, whereto. We bid each other farewell, looking towards our dear distant land and wished each other a reunion in the Native Land, just as we had wished each other behind the barbed wire in the camps on the occasion of our native holidays. The liberty of the individual had arrived but its full realization in the national sense was still far ahead of us.⁶⁷

Here, then, it is the Ukrainians rather than the Poles whose aspirations for national independence remain unfulfilled. Zinovii Knysh offers a similar recollection. A radical nationalist, Knysh spent the last part of the war in the Austrian city of Melk, where he worked for the local German authorities. By that point, he writes, one could sense the end of the war.

The end of the war was desired by the Allies, as for them this was a definite and final victory. The end of the war was openly desired by the Germans, who had already reconciled themselves to defeat and their lost dreams of world domination, and saw in the continuation of the war merely unnecessary losses and sufferings. In the end of the war everyone saw for himself some interest, connected with it some hope—only for the Ukrainians there was no hope. It was an end which brought them nothing, after which was supposed to stand the beginning, which promised nothing good.⁶⁸

This hopelessness, Knysh explains, was connected with the threat of falling into "Muscovite clutches."⁶⁹ During the interwar period, the Ukrainian nationalist movement, based largely in Poland and nourished by conflict between the Polish Ukrainian minority and the majority Polish population, had viewed Poles as the main impediment to national independence. With the Soviet Union now occupying all of the territories that nationalists regarded as ethnically Ukrainian, and Poland itself subordinated to the USSR, the threat posed by Russians became the primary focus. Like their Polish counterparts, Ukrainian DP leaders made no distinction be-

tween Russians and Soviets. Rather, they presented the Soviet regime as merely the most recent incarnation of a transhistorical Russian tendency toward imperialism.

[This tendency was] a product and property of the whole Russian people, of all their social strata and classes throughout their entire history. Russian imperialism and messianism are historical categories and an immanent feature of a Russian individual, regardless of [his or] her social position, conviction, and current pro- or anti-regime attitude.⁷⁰

Building on this argument, DP leaders sought to convince Ukrainians that there was no possibility of coexistence with Russians. As long as the Soviet Union existed, it was impossible for Ukrainians to return home.

While the history of Russian imperialism stood center stage, the history of Nazi imperialism received comparatively little attention. The post-war emigration, John-Paul Himka writes, “downplayed as much as possible the cooperation between the Ukrainian nationalist parties and the Germans and emphasized instead how Ukrainian nationalists fought both the Germans and the Soviets and how the Ukrainian nation suffered enormously at the hands of both.”⁷¹ They presented the Ukrainian people as opponents of both German and Russian “totalitarianism.” In their requests for political asylum, Julia Lalande notes, Ukrainian representatives “stressed a deep belief in human rights and democracy as well as strong anti-fascist sentiments.”⁷² However, discussions of Nazi persecution generally lacked the sense of conviction that accompanied narratives about Soviet barbarism, and they were peripheral to arguments about opposition to repatriation. In fact, some Ukrainians discussed accommodation to Nazi rule and collaboration with the Nazis quite openly and unapologetically. In his memoir, for example, Zinovii Knysh notes both the casual racism of the Germans and their systematic exploitation of Ukrainian forced laborers and concentration camp prisoners. Yet he also takes for granted that collaboration with the Germans was the lesser of two evils, a necessary accommodation in the search for national independence.

Since the political emigration was at heart a national emigration, the struggle to establish the right to political asylum was closely connected to the struggle for “the right to our nationality,” that is, recognition of Ukrainians as a distinct group.⁷³ The leaders of the political emigration thus sought not only to protect Ukrainian DPs from repatriation but also

to have them classified as Ukrainians. Indeed, they suggested that only by classifying Ukrainian DPs as Ukrainians would it be possible to gain protection from repatriation, since repatriation was premised on the idea that Ukrainians had a country to return to. These efforts were partially successful. Ukrainian DP leaders convinced the U.S. authorities to recognize Ukrainians as a separate group. In the summer of 1945, the U.S. military authorities and UNRRA began placing Ukrainian DPs in separate camps. In the fall of 1946, the policy of segregating Ukrainians was made official.⁷⁴ However, Ukrainian DPs did not gain the right to represent themselves. As the leaders of the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration noted in May 1947, they had managed to secure *de facto* recognition, but *de jure* recognition eluded them.⁷⁵ According to Vasyl Mudry, this situation persisted until the summer of 1948, when the U.S. Military Government and the IRO finally recognized the TsPUE.⁷⁶

Although a forceful group of Ukrainian leaders presented Ukrainian DPs as a unified political emigration, this concept was a fiction.⁷⁷ To begin with, Ukrainian DPs were not united on the repatriation question. Eastern Ukrainians—Ukrainians from the Soviet Union—generally accepted the idea of return, while western Ukrainians—Ukrainians from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other countries west of the prewar Soviet border—generally did not. According to Mykhailo Marunchak, a Polish Ukrainian nationalist and concentration camp survivor, this divide was visible at liberation. “Ukrainian friends from eastern countries,” he writes, “were incapable of understanding why Ukrainian prisoners don’t return to their native homes and don’t depart for their homelands.”⁷⁸ Similarly, Zynovii Knysh notes that the Ukrainian forced laborers he met in Austria were eager to return home. “Life isn’t bad,” they told him, “but we want to go home, we desperately want to go [back] to Ukraine!”⁷⁹ He suggests that many of the Ukrainians in the Melk concentration camp “only felt themselves to be ‘Soviet people,’ without definite national characteristics.”⁸⁰ Sharing the perspective of the western Ukrainians were eastern Ukrainians who had settled in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other countries after the Bolshevik Revolution, and some Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals, though they were not as fervently anti-Russian.

The divide in attitudes toward repatriation was rooted in divergent wartime and prewar histories. On the one hand, most eastern Ukrainians were deportees, while the western Ukrainians included both deportees and refugees. As Marta Dyczok notes, “the Ukrainians most predisposed towards voluntary repatriation were laborers who had been forcibly deported

to Germany.”⁸¹ They viewed their time there as a period of forced separation from home and wanted to remedy this situation as soon as possible. They were also more isolated than refugees, who often fled in family groups. On the other hand, eastern and western Ukrainians had different conceptions of the Ukrainian nation and its political aspirations. Soviet Ukrainians ascribed less importance to the fact that they were Ukrainian. They also tended to view Ukrainian national identity as part of a larger all-Russian identity. This concept of Ukrainianness had predominated in the Russian empire and was promoted by the Soviet Union after the nationalist “interlude” of the 1920s.⁸²

By contrast, western Ukrainians placed greater emphasis on their national identity and viewed it in more exclusive terms. This was a legacy of the more liberal nationality policies of the Austro-Hungarian empire, which had allowed Ukrainians to develop a nationalist movement, and of the interwar Polish state’s efforts to suppress Ukrainian nationalism, which had encouraged nationalist retrenchment and radicalization.⁸³ Even among western Ukrainians, however, national consciousness was not as strong as nationalist leaders wished. As the Polish Ukrainian nationalist Petro Mirchuk complained in late 1949, unless the Central Representation provided Ukrainian DPs with better newspapers, they would be corrupted by Russian DP newspapers like *Posev*, which promoted an all-Russian identity.⁸⁴ Surveying the political scene, political scientist Bohdan Ciuciura concludes, with a touch of criticism, that “the Ukrainian exile masses were rather socially apathetic. Some Ukrainians were even completely unaware of the whole community framework and its problems.”⁸⁵

While divergent prewar and wartime histories meant that easterners were more likely than westerners to return home, many Soviet Ukrainians did in fact try to evade repatriation. However, national sentiment played a minor role here. Rather, the key issues were fear of repression and dislike of the collective farm (*kolkhoz*) system.⁸⁶ These concerns were shared by other Soviet citizens. Fear of repression was encouraged by the wartime Soviet government and the postwar Soviet repatriation missions. Through their conduct of the repatriation campaign—for example, confronting DPs with accusations of collaboration—the Soviet authorities suggested that repatriation meant punishment.⁸⁷ Suspicion of collaboration hovered over both foreign workers and prisoners of war, especially the latter. The infamous Order No. 270, issued by the High Command of the Red Army in August 1941 and signed by Stalin himself, identified soldiers who surrendered to the enemy as “deserters.” Commanding officers and commissars who surren-

dered were to be shot on site and their families arrested.⁸⁸ Rumors about what might happen to Soviet DPs on their return home were rampant. Looking at the literature on Soviet forced laborers, Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov concludes that "apparently all DPs were also familiar with the official Soviet attitude towards Red Army soldiers who ended up in captivity or encircled by German forces. They knew that the suspicion of collaboration lay definitively over all repatriants, because—so the Soviet argument went—only collaborators could have survived in the German Reich."⁸⁹

However, fear of repression may also have served as an alibi for other concerns. According to V. N. Zemskov, fear of repression has been exaggerated. In his estimation, the desire to avoid the difficulties of life in a war-devastated country and shame at having worked for the enemy played a more important role in the calculations of Soviet nonreturners.⁹⁰ Zemskov's conclusions must be treated with circumspection, as they reproduce contemporary Soviet criticism of nonreturners as lazy and insufficiently patriotic. Nonetheless, they usefully draw our attention to the multiplicity of concerns that motivated nonreturn. They also draw our attention to the political "work" that fear of repression performed in post-war Germany. It functioned as an acceptable rationale for opposition to repatriation because it spoke to latent anticommunism and the contemporary emphasis on political persecution.

In any event, the concept of a political emigration evaded the concerns of most Soviet Ukrainians. It was a partial image of the Ukrainian DP population. It was created by nationally minded western and eastern Ukrainians who, as Volodymyr Kulyk puts it, "projected their own voluntary escape in face of the returning Soviets to forcibly deported peasants and workers."⁹¹ Polish Ukrainians from Galicia played an especially prominent role in creating this image. Like their Polish fellow citizens, they "had considerable experience with formal organization and bureaucratic procedures, since they had participated in a well-developed associational network back home."⁹² Many, it is important to note, had participated in Ukrainian associational life during the Nazi occupation and were therefore well prepared to operate on German territory. They included members of the Ukrainian Central Committee, created in Cracow under Nazi auspices. Most Soviet Ukrainians lacked organizational experience. Being compelled to hide their Soviet origins and to rely on western Ukrainians for assistance, they were vulnerable to political pressure from Ukrainian nationalists, who viewed them as "both insufficiently nationalistic and tainted by communism."⁹³

The image of Ukrainian DPs as a political emigration was also a fiction in another respect: not only was there a fundamental divide between westerners and easterners, the predominantly western Ukrainian leadership was itself divided into many groups.⁹⁴ Although these political divisions, often of long standing, did not challenge the concept of a political emigration itself, they undermined efforts to present Ukrainians as a united and “mature” people who deserved their own state.⁹⁵ Surveying the fractious Ukrainian political landscape, an UNRRA official concluded that there was an “appalling confusion of political philosophy in the minds of these people, whose sole contribution to their own destinies is the weak attempt to both invent and spread malicious anti-soviet propaganda in the hope that they may thereby attract Allied sympathy to their ‘cause.’”⁹⁶

The main political division was between “nationalists” and “democrats.” The nationalist camp was represented by the Bandera faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Founded in 1929 and active primarily in Polish Galicia, the OUN was a radical nationalist movement dedicated to using force to create an independent Ukrainian state.⁹⁷ Influenced by Italian fascism and its Ukrainian interpreters, it promoted a version of integral nationalism, according to which the nation is the highest ideal and the state its ultimate embodiment. Scornful of liberal and democratic thought, it advocated strong authoritarian leadership. In contrast to traditional Polish Ukrainian parties, which worked through formal political channels, the OUN opted for clandestine struggle and terrorist methods. In the 1930s, it sought primarily to destabilize the Polish state, though it defined Russia as Ukraine’s existential enemy. The repressive nature of the Polish regime enhanced its popularity, especially among Polish Ukrainian youth. By the late 1930s, it had become the dominant political force among Polish Ukrainians.

After its leader was assassinated in 1938, the OUN was riven by internal disputes and eventually split into two rival factions. The OUN-M, named after its leader Andrew Melnyk, represented older and more conservative members, who favored a hierarchical rather than charismatic form of leadership and sought to temper the movement’s violence and anticlericalism. The OUN-B, led by Stepan Bandera, commanded the allegiance of the organization’s younger members, who were committed to the use of violence and viewed the older leadership as timid and ineffectual. The members of this younger faction were also strongly anticlerical. During the war years, both factions collaborated with the Germans. The primary motivation, John Armstrong argues, was that “Germany was the

only power which had either the will or the means to attack [the OUN's] archenemies—Poland and the Soviet Union.”⁹⁸ However, ideological affinities were also important. Ukrainian integral nationalists sympathized with aspects of National Socialist ideology, notably the belief that the national body had to be cleansed of “foreign” elements like Communists and Jews. In June 1941, the OUN-B tried to use the German invasion of the Soviet Union as an opportunity to create an independent Ukrainian state. However, this move soon met with German repression. For the remainder of the war, it engaged in a three-pronged battle against Soviet, German, and Polish forces, though it remained open to the idea of collaborating with the Germans. It was a central participant in the brutal fratricidal strife between Poles and Ukrainians that engulfed Galicia and Volhynia in the last stages of the war.

The OUN-B was the dominant political group among Ukrainian DPs. Three main factors were responsible for this. First, the group's message appealed to the nationally minded Polish Ukrainian majority, which knew the OUN from the interwar era.⁹⁹ As one CIC report put it, the OUN-B seemed more closely “connected with the masses” than other political movements.¹⁰⁰ Second, the OUN-B had a number of experienced activists in Germany. These individuals were used to working underground and demonstrated more energy and discipline than their opponents. Finally, it used force to gain positions of authority.¹⁰¹ It is widely rumored that it threatened to expose Soviet Ukrainians if they did not support the nationalist camp.¹⁰² Ideologically, the OUN-B changed little under the new circumstances, though it did attempt to whitewash its history of collaboration. It emphatically rejected ideological compromise and attacked what it saw as the Russophile and Polonophile tendencies of other political groups.

The nationalists were opposed by the democratic camp, which could more properly be called the anti-Bandera camp, as it consisted of political groups that had little in common other than their opposition to the OUN-B. To a large extent, their conflict with the Banderites was a continuation of interwar and wartime conflicts over the aims and tactics of the nationalist movement. Indeed, there was little in the way of new political ideas here either. The democratic camp included the Melnyk faction of the OUN and a variety of other parties, ranging from monarchists on the right to socialists on the left. These latter groups had diverse origins. Some dated back to the Ukrainian People's Republic of 1918–20, while others had been created in interwar Poland. There was also a new leftist party founded by

Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals, the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (URDP), which aimed at creating an independent social democratic Ukrainian state.¹⁰³ Together, these parties opposed both the authoritarian ideology of the OUN-B and its practical attempts to dominate Ukrainian politics. They attacked the Banderites as fascists and collaborators. According to Ivan Bahrianyi, the leader of the URDP, the Ukrainian people rejected both communism and fascism, including the fascist politics of the Galician nationalists. "A characteristic feature of the entire population of Ukraine," he wrote in 1949, "is a colossal, suppressed, but implacable hatred of the Bolshevik totalitarian regime, on the one hand, and of fascism in all its manifestation, even the memory of it, on the other."¹⁰⁴

Despite efforts to promote a "unified narrative" of political emigration, the conflict between nationalists and democrats permeated virtually every sphere of associational life, especially the workings of the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration. Although it was supposed to be nonpartisan, "from the moment the idea of the formation of a unified community center was born," Volodymyr Maruniak writes, "a continual struggle developed for domination over it in the political backstage."¹⁰⁵ Still, this struggle should not distract us from the larger sense of agreement among Ukrainian DP elites. Both nationalists and democrats agreed that Ukrainians were a distinct people and that Ukrainian DPs should not return home as long as their native land was dominated by a foreign power, in this case the Soviets, who were at bottom "Russians." Both saw the creation of an independent Ukrainian state as the ultimate goal. The main conflict was the one Ukrainian DP leaders evaded, namely, the lack of agreement over the issue of repatriation itself and the weak national sentiment of Soviet Ukrainians, who identified just as strongly if not more so with the Soviet category as with the Ukrainian one.

Debates in Two Russian Emigrations

While Polish and Ukrainian DPs condemned Soviet communism as a form of Russian imperialism, Russian DPs argued that they could not return to their home country so long as it remained under a regime that oppressed and terrorized the Russian people. They too presented themselves as a political emigration. They represented a broad spectrum of political opinion, united only around the narrow issue of opposition to Stalinism.

The repatriation divide among Russian DPs ran a jagged course be-

tween old émigrés and Soviet citizens, mirroring the Ukrainian divide between westerners and easterners. Not surprisingly, old émigrés were generally unwilling to return to the Soviet Union. Indeed, many had never lived there. The attitude of Soviet Russians was more differentiated. As among Soviet Ukrainians, and reflecting a more general Soviet pattern, a majority of willing returners contrasted with a minority of opponents. According to Boris Balinsky, a refugee from Kiev, the dividing line among Soviet Russians fell between refugees and deportees. Those who had fled were by definition opposed to repatriation, while those who had been deported were for the most part eager to return home.¹⁰⁶ Yet also among the deportees, there were many who did not want to return home. The key issue was, again, fear of repression. In an interview with U.S. intelligence in January 1947, Metropolitan Seraphim of the Russian Orthodox Church, a staunch anticommunist, argued that the vast majority of the Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Baltic DPs in his ministry were "anti-Bolshevistic." He suggested that this attitude was motivated largely by fear of persecution, a fear he considered perfectly justified in light of Soviet attitudes toward those who had been abroad. "These DPs believe," the metropolitan reported, "that on their return to Russia, they would be oppressed and tortured by the state authorities there. The reason for this is that the Bolsheviks believe that everyone who has lived for many years in the West would have been transformed in his opinions, i.e., [no longer] Bolshevik."¹⁰⁷ Writing in 1949, American scholar George Fischer more neutrally but similarly argued that "the decisive impetus was the harsh treatment meted out by their government to Soviet PWs and forced laborers returning to Russia after German internment."¹⁰⁸

Fear of repatriation and its consequences also surface frequently in the writings of displaced Soviet Russians. In her 1963 memoir *A Tale of Crooked Years*, Kiev native Tat'iana Fesenko dwells at length on this theme. Both a refugee and a deportee, Fesenko fled west during the war, eventually ending up in Nazi-occupied Galicia. In early 1944, she was deported to Silesia for labor. In early 1945, with the Red Army approaching, she again fled west, this time to the Bavarian town of Bamberg. There, as she relates in her memoir, she watched the repatriation process with trepidation.

People hurried home to the West and to the East. Every day, overloaded trucks with French, Belgian, Dutch, and the long not seen but still familiar red Soviet flags sped by. With songs and music, the foreign workers were returning home, but many among those who were

watching them had already realized that they were fated to remain in the West until the end.

These people know that it's going to be them that the Soviet repatriation officers will persistently hunt for, making their way around the city in new cars with large red stars on them. They know that to the Soviet Union, one resister is worth a whole truckload of repatriants singing songs. Such a witness to the terrible truth about "a happy life in the freest country" can't be left behind in Europe, he has to be deceived with gentle appeals, intimidated, driven into a corner, taken dead or alive.¹⁰⁹

According to Fesenko, the key impetus for forced repatriation is to eliminate all evidence that the reality of the Soviet Union might not live up to its image. However, the manner in which repatriation is conducted is just as frightening as the impetus behind it. The use of force demonstrates that the Soviet Union sees its citizens merely as objects of policy. Repatriation thus means disenfranchisement.

The former citizens of the Soviet Union, especially those living privately, became seriously agitated. They heard that their fate had already been determined at the Yalta conference, and that sooner or later they would fall into the clutches of the NKVD. The word "delivery" [*vydacha*] came to be associated not with products or coupons, but with living, angry, reluctant people. They had already lost their home, their families, their simple but nonetheless dearly-held belongings, they did not have any rights, other than the right of asylum, now they were facing the loss of this last remaining possession, too.¹¹⁰

The same fear of repatriation, with its intimations of punishment, appears in the work of Irina Saburova, an ethnic Russian from Riga who fled westward in 1943. In her slender 1946 book *DP-logical Alphabet*, organized around words associated with DP life, she includes an entry for the word *Delivery*. Echoing Fesenko, she suggests that the repatriation campaign transformed DPs into objects with an uncertain future. "The delivered objects," she explains, "can be inanimate and animate. The former bring joy, the latter . . ." ¹¹¹ Fear of being delivered like objects into the hands of an unsympathetic government, she suggests, had transformed the outlook of the foreigners in Germany.

All *Ausländer*, without exception, wanted to return home. It would take future historians many volumes to explain why the *Ausländer* wanted to return home, but could not, while the DPs can, but don't want to. For now it is unclear to all, except the DPs. They understand it all right.¹¹²

In the transition from the war to the postwar, then, a fundamental shift in outlook had taken place. The homesick forced laborers of the war years had become displaced persons fearful of returning home.

Clearly, however, most liberated *Ostarbeiter* did not feel this way. While the fears Fesenko and Saburova evoke may have been widespread, their decisions against repatriation put them in the minority. As Fesenko acknowledges, her feelings were not typical of most Soviet deportees, who returned home with "songs and music." Fesenko was not in fact a typical forced laborer. Unlike most deportees, who came from peasant and working-class backgrounds, she was a member of the intelligentsia. Saburova too was atypical, as she was only a Soviet citizen by virtue of the Soviet Union's wartime annexation of Latvia. In claiming that "all *Ausländer*" opposed repatriation, she may well have projected her own fears of falling into Soviet hands onto the mass of deported Soviet citizens.

Although fear of repression was connected primarily to the pronouncements of the wartime Soviet government and the conduct of the repatriation campaign itself, some Soviet Russians also explained their decisions with reference to past experiences of Soviet persecution. In her memoir, Tat'iana Fesenko discusses many instances of persecution she witnessed during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. Most important is the arrest of her father by the NKVD in July 1941, shortly before the German occupation of Kiev. Identified as a potential collaborator because of his German-language skills and previous experience in Germany, he was taken in the middle of the night, never to be seen again.¹¹³ These experiences, she implies, provided her with a critical framework that most deportees lacked. Fesenko's fellow Kievan Boris Balinsky also highlights past experiences of persecution in his memoir, using them to explain the fateful decisions he made during the war. In 1937, his wife was arrested and sent to a penal camp on account of her connections to anti-Soviet émigrés. Forced to resign his position at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, he spent many sleepless nights waiting for the NKVD to come for him. These events increased his alienation from the Soviet regime. He thus viewed the Nazi oc-

cupation of the Soviet Union as an opportunity to escape Soviet rule. Although Balinsky candidly describes the brutalities of the occupation, including the persecution of Soviet Jews, he nonetheless suggests that the Nazis were preferable to the Soviets, in large part because they were anti-Soviet. Describing the hanging of a purported arsonist in Kharkov in October 1941, he does not refrain from conveying his horror but comforts himself with the thought that the hanged man may in fact have been a Soviet agent.¹¹⁴ He eventually found work at a scientific institute established by the Germans in Kiev. In late 1943, he chose to evacuate westward with his institute. "The possibility that I would be punished by the Soviets for my cooperation with the Germans did not play a part in my decision," he writes, "as I really did not even consider the possibility of remaining after the German retreat."¹¹⁵

As among Polish and Ukrainian DPs, fear of repatriation led to organizing. In Bamberg, Tat'iana Fesenko and her fellow Russians formed a delegation and went to the American military government to ask for protection from repatriation.¹¹⁶ Local Russian committees sprang up in many towns. Not surprisingly, old émigrés played a prominent role in these committees. Many were members of the upper classes and the intelligentsia. Having already been abroad for many years, they knew how to create and sustain émigré institutions. Moreover, they were the only Russian DPs with the legal right to remain in western Europe.¹¹⁷ This made it easier for them to assume public functions. They were often resented by Soviet Russians, who saw them as taking advantage of their skills to occupy the most important posts in DP organizations.¹¹⁸ In comparison with other groups, however, the extent of organizing among Russian DPs was modest. Although Russian political parties were active from an early date, a central committee was not created until 1948, in large part because of the lingering fear of repatriation. Known as the Central Representation of the Russian Emigration (*Tsentrāl'noe Predstavitel'stvo Rossiiskoi Emigratsii* or *TsEPRE*), it was led by Serge Yourieff, an old émigré who had served in the czarist government and, after emigrating to Belgrade, had been the delegate of the High Commissioner for Refugees in Yugoslavia during the interwar period.¹¹⁹

For most Russian DPs, George Fischer noted in 1949, opposition to repatriation was initially motivated by the "fear of automatic exile . . . rather than any ideological or materialistic considerations."¹²⁰ For Russian DP leaders, however, the emigration was above all a political phenomenon. Thus it was important to mobilize and unite the masses for the cause of

creating a new and different Russia. Yet here too there were deep political divisions. Many were a legacy of the old emigration. Russian émigré politics in the interwar era was characterized by division and conflict. The émigrés shared an aversion to the ruling Bolshevik regime but disagreed over how this regime had come to power and what should replace it.¹²¹ Although these conflicts quickly became sterile, many remained alive throughout the interwar period and revived after Germany declared war on the Soviet Union. Because the émigrés had long wished for the overthrow of the Bolshevik regime, if not necessarily the destruction of the Soviet Union, the war placed a number of difficult questions before them, especially raising the issue of collaboration. What attitude should émigrés take toward Nazi Germany? Did collaboration mean betrayal of their brethren in the Soviet Union or an opportunity to "liberate" the Russian people from Bolshevism? Many on the right chose collaboration. For these émigrés, who often sympathized with fascism, the salient fact was that Nazi Germany was the first major power to challenge Bolshevik rule since the Civil War. After the war, the conflicts that had consumed émigrés in earlier decades continued, though as among Ukrainians, the history of collaboration added an uncomfortable new element.

Many political groups from the old emigration were represented in the DP camps and communities.¹²² They ranged from autocratic monarchists on the right to Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries on the left. They saw the new emigrants as an important new constituency. The most important group was the right-wing National Labor Union (Natsional'no Trudovoi Soiuz or NTS), whose followers were known as Solidarists. Similar to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the NTS had been created in the 1930s by the younger generation of old émigrés. These Russians, who had come of age in emigration, considered the ideas of the older generation outdated. They took issue with the belief that the Bolsheviks were losing their grip on the Soviet Union and that their fall from power was imminent. Like young Polish Ukrainians, and young Europeans more generally, they were disenchanted with democracy and attracted to fascism. Their program, called national labor solidarity, envisioned "a corporatist state combining Soviet social changes with a nationalist and authoritarian political and economic structure."¹²³ Unlike the Soviet Union, organized around the interests of the proletariat, this new state would serve the interests of the Russian nation, viewed as an organic entity with a close connection to Orthodox Christianity. Jews and foreigners were not considered part of the nation. The NTS presented itself as a "third power," opposed

to both National Socialism and Soviet communism and dedicated to creating a free Russia. Like the OUN, however, it collaborated extensively with the Germans. Many émigrés associated with the NTS worked for Alfred Rosenberg's Ostministerium or filled posts in the new local administrations set up in the occupied Soviet Union.¹²⁴ They used these opportunities to spread their ideas and build support for their movement among Soviet citizens. The encounter with Soviet reality also led to changes in the NTS program, including a new emphasis on fulfilling the goals of the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1944, the NTS came into conflict with the Nazis because of its unwillingness to subordinate Russian interests to German ones, and many of its activists were arrested and sent to concentration camps.

After the war, leading members of the NTS chose to remain in Germany. In June 1945, they established their own DP camp in the town of Mönchehof, near Kassel.¹²⁵ According to NTS member Evgenii Romanov, it functioned as its "own small state."¹²⁶ In November 1945, the NTS founded the first Russian DP newspaper, *Posev*, which enjoyed wide distribution. Although their wartime efforts to create a "different Russia" had failed, NTS leaders did not betray their discouragement. The fact that the repressive system that had existed in the Soviet Union before the war remained in place, they argued, gave them renewed hope.¹²⁷ Although their primary goal was to revolutionize the masses in the Soviet Union, they also assigned an important role to the emigration. Writing in *Posev* in 1954, NTS leader V. D. Poremskii described the emigration as a vital political and military factor. To be sure, Poremskii acknowledged, the number of politically engaged emigrants was quite small. Nonetheless, the significance of this group should be measured in dedication and discipline rather than numbers.¹²⁸ At the same time, the emigration was only important insofar as it contributed to the cause of liberating Russia. In determining the main goals of the movement, Poremskii argued in 1949, "we have to consider first of all not the interests and claims of the foreign world, and especially not those of the emigration, but rather the interests and needs of the active anti-Bolshevik segment of our people."¹²⁹

While the political currents of the old emigration were well represented among Russian DPs, the most popular current was the Soviet-origin Vlasov movement, named after its wartime leader Andrei Andreevich Vlasov.¹³⁰ A prominent general in the Red Army, and apparently also a loyal Communist, Vlasov was captured by the Germans in July 1942. Hoping that Germany would support a popular Russian movement to defeat

Stalin, he collaborated with the Wehrmacht. Under German auspices, he created first a Russian Committee—later given a more federalist-sounding name: Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (Komitet Osvobozhdeniia Narodov Rossii or KONR)—and then a Russian Liberation Army (Russkaia Osvoboditel'naia Armiiia or ROA). In its Smolensk Declaration of December 1942, written with considerable input from the Wehrmacht, the committee announced its intention to overthrow “Stalin and his clique,” to conclude “an honourable peace with Germany,” and to create “a ‘New Russia’ without Bolsheviks and Capitalists.”¹³¹ It outlined a thirteen-point program for creating a “New Russia” that reflected the Vlasov group’s national populism and its belief that the Bolsheviks had forsaken the goals of the Russian Revolution. Included in the program were the abolition of forced labor and collective farms; the reestablishment of private property and a commercial economy that allowed for private initiative; “the guarantee of social justice and the protection of all working people from exploitation”; the abolition of “the regime of terror”; and the guarantee of fundamental civil liberties.¹³² It also proclaimed the formation of the Russian Liberation Army and called on Red Army soldiers to “cross over” and join it. Members of the NTS sympathized with many aspects of the Vlasov movement, especially its nationalism, and played an important role in elaborating its ideological program.¹³³

In May 1945, Vlasov and his army surrendered to the Americans, hoping thereby to save themselves from Soviet punishment. However, the Americans promptly turned them over to the Soviets, who in August 1946 executed Vlasov and some of his senior officers. Despite this blow, the Vlasov movement survived into the postwar period. As a product of the Soviet Union, it was much more popular among Soviet Russians than political currents associated with the old emigration. It acknowledged the accomplishments of the Bolshevik Revolution while taking aim at Stalinism, associated above all with collectivization and political repression. In his memoir, Boris Balinsky argues that he and other new émigrés supported the Vlasov movement. Sympathetic to the idea of “a patriotic war aimed at the overthrow of the Soviet Regime,” he suggests that it was German folly not to use the Russian Liberation Army.¹³⁴ Many postwar groups laid claim to Vlasov’s legacy. Although U.S. Counter Intelligence Corps found evidence of Vlasovite groups as early as the summer of 1946, it was not until 1948 that they took on definite form.¹³⁵ In March 1948, the KONR was resuscitated in Munich under a new name, the Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia (Antikommunisticheskoi

Tsentr Osvoboditel'nogo Dvizheniia Narodov Rossii or AZODNR).¹³⁶ In May 1948, the Union of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (Soiuz Bor'by za Osvobozhdenie Narodov Rossii or SBONR) was created, representing more leftist elements within the Vlasov movement, who identified with the Kronstadt rebellion of 1921 and its credo of "Soviets without Bolsheviks."¹³⁷ The Union of Fighters of the Liberation Movement (Soiuz Voinov Osvoboditel'nogo Dvizheniia, or SVOD), created in late 1948, represented the former youth league of the KONR and became a kind of armed wing of the SBONR. Both the SBONR and the SVOD soon came under the umbrella of AZODNR, which aspired to unite a broad array of Russian anticommunists. Further to the right, a Committee of United Vlasovites (Komitet Ob'edinennykh Vlasovtsev, or KOV) was created in 1950. It sought to wed the monarchist tradition to the social concerns of the Prague Manifesto. However, this project found little favor among Soviet citizens, and it soon fell apart.¹³⁸ More generally, in the absence of the movement's leading figure, namely, Vlasov, it was difficult to sustain the movement. Its energies were consumed by internal conflicts.

Russian DP elites, like their Ukrainian counterparts, struggled to create the image of a unified political emigration, committed to liberating the Russian people from the clutches of the Bolsheviks. However, there was little that united the broad spectrum of old and new émigrés. The common denominator was opposition to Stalinism, with support for the achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution strong among many Soviet DPs. Like Soviet Ukrainians, Soviet Russians grounded their opposition to repatriation primarily in the fear of repression. This fear was in many cases unconnected to a broader critique of the Soviet Union. However, it was the basis upon which many political groups built their platforms, hoping to persuade the masses of Soviet DPs not only not to return home but also to participate in an émigré political movement aimed at creating a "new Russia."

The Promise and Limits of Cooperation around the Common Cause

Both Polish and Ukrainian DPs defined themselves against "the Russians"—and each other. National conflicts were thus a fundamental ideological feature of each group's self-definition. However, opposition to repatriation also provided a framework for cooperation. Janusz Nel

Siedlecki notes that the forcible repatriation of Ukrainian DPs in the Munich-Freimann DP camp struck fear in the hearts of many Poles. "Now [the Americans] culled the camp and repatriated all Ukrainians, totally disregarding their protests and mass suicides. Some of the Poles shrugged their shoulders with the all-embracing 'serves them right,' some were sorry for the poor beggars. But all were frightened by the precedent which could send us via Warsaw to Siberia."¹³⁹ Indeed, American and UNRRA officials worried that antirepatriation sentiment among Ukrainians would have a "bad influence" on Polish DPs. This consideration played an important role in their decision to segregate Ukrainians in separate camps and thus move further to recognizing them as a distinct national group.¹⁴⁰

Fear of repatriation did in fact encourage DPs to work together. Informally, many Poles and Polish Ukrainians helped Soviet DPs by providing them with false papers or information they could use to construct new "identities." There were also efforts at more formal cooperation. At the first congress of the Ukrainian emigration in October 1945, Ukrainian leaders affirmed the need to work with "the organizations of other nations that are seeking to gain the right of asylum for their political emigrants."¹⁴¹ In December 1946, Polish and Ukrainian DPs created the International Committee of Political Refugees and Displaced Persons (INCOPORE). Based in Munich, it was headed by Mieczysław Grabinski. At the second congress of the Ukrainian emigration in May 1947, Mykola Vietuchiv, a member of the democratic camp, reported that "the Ukrainians had established good relations with their fraternal nations" and that "the conflict among these nations ha[d] been resolved." Together they were now working on behalf of their "common matter."¹⁴² The same message was reiterated at the third congress in November 1949. According to Zenon Pelensky, a member of the OUN-B, the Ukrainians had established "very nice relations" with the other national committees organized by the IRO and met regularly among themselves.¹⁴³

However, the nationality conflicts that had defined the interwar and war years had by no means disappeared. At the third congress of the TsPUE, the rosy picture of international collaboration presented by Zenon Pelensky came under criticism from another OUN-B member, Iuri Studyn's'kyi. According to Studyn's'kyi, it was easy to collaborate on "DP matters." It was different with "issues of cardinal importance." "All those gentlemen, who happily sign when it has to do with the protection of some Ukrainian camp," he argued, "these same gentlemen spread deception on the Ukrainian issue among the IRO and other [national] groups." This was

especially the case with Polish DP leaders, Studyns'kyi argued, who did not accept the loss of Poland's eastern territories. Thus Ukrainians had to be "very careful." They could not afford to alienate the other nationalities, but neither could they afford to be too friendly.¹⁴⁴ Maintaining international relations was thus a tricky matter. Nationalism and internationalism coexisted in delicate tension.

Despite limited cooperation, similar processes were at work among Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs. In each case, the repatriation debate was dominated by the issue of Soviet communism. The key participants in this debate were the most politically and organizationally experienced segments of the DP population, broadest in the Polish case and narrower in the Ukrainian and Russian cases, where the elites came primarily from the "western" groups, Polish Ukrainians and old émigrés, respectively. Those most opposed to repatriation took the lead in articulating a political explanation for their opposition, arguing that their group as a whole constituted an anticommunist "political emigration." Different issues were foregrounded in each case: among Poles, opposition to both Soviet communism and Russian domination; among Ukrainians, the oppression of the Ukrainian people by both Russians and Poles, and the desire for an independent Ukrainian state; and among Russians, the liberation of the Russian people themselves from Bolshevik oppression.

These themes emerged clearly during the UNRRA repatriation poll of May 1946. Whether out of conviction or expedience, many displaced persons gave answers that closely conformed to the narratives elaborated by DP elites. In this regard, antirepatriation propaganda had been successful. Looking at the results of the poll more closely, however, it becomes clear that "other" concerns played an important role in structuring opposition to repatriation. Foremost among them was fear of repression. As UNRRA recognized, many political factors were singled out for primarily personal reasons. It was in fact difficult to classify individual objections as political or nonpolitical. Fear of persecution, for example, led many DPs to condemn not only the Soviet regime but also communism as a whole.

Indeed, many displaced persons did not share the outlook of the DP leadership. On the one hand, many were eager to return home and could not be convinced otherwise. On the other, among those who remained, many were uninterested in the issues that animated the elites. In particular, they often lacked a strong sense of attachment to ethnonational categories. This was especially true of Soviet DPs, who identified as citizens of the Soviet Union and found Ukrainian and Russian nationalist rhetoric alienat-

ing. Although fearful of returning home, and thus both amenable to persuasion and susceptible to coercion, they did not subscribe to the narratives of political emigration articulated by elites.

The findings of the May 1946 poll were substantiated by other soundings of the DP population. For example, a November 1946 interview with a woman who worked at the UNRRA University, an international DP university in Munich, elicited the comment that "more or less all the people cared for by UNRRA take a hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union."¹⁴⁵ By mid-1947, the American authorities had accepted the conclusion that most non-Jewish DPs were refugees from communism. As a report from September 1947 stated, "It must now be recognized that the remaining Soviet citizens, the Balts, stateless, and many Ukrainians, are mainly political refugees with deeply rooted convictions who refuse to return to their former homes."¹⁴⁶ This conclusion in turn helped propel the search for alternative solutions to the "DP problem." Thus, more than two years after it was first elaborated by DP elites, the anticommunist political explanation had been accepted by the occupation authorities and the intergovernmental relief agencies and had itself become an important element of DP policy.

CHAPTER 4

Between Federalists and Separatists: The Anticommunist Movement(s)

Opposition to communism was one of the main reasons displaced persons gave for refusing to return home. In numerous polls, they expressed unwillingness to return to countries under Soviet or communist domination, criticized the lack of political and religious freedom, wondered how they would survive economically, and expressed fear of being deported or otherwise punished. Many referred to the harshness of the wartime Soviet occupations; some mentioned previous experiences of persecution. However, popular opposition to repatriation did not automatically translate into an organized anticommunist movement. While many DPs were opposed to specific aspects of communist rule, they did not necessarily have a theory of communism with a capital C and were not inclined to take part in a broader anticommunist struggle. For some, however, the effort to resist repatriation was merely the first step in a larger campaign to roll back communism and create a new postcommunist order in eastern Europe. These DPs formed the leading cadres of the anticommunist movement. They created a wide variety of anticommunist organizations in western Germany. Their goal was to harness popular anticommunist sentiment and mobilize displaced persons for the coming struggle against Bolshevism.

This chapter examines the anticommunist movement among DPs. This movement built on the fears and criticisms of Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs and was sometimes successful in mobilizing large numbers. However, the relationship between popular anticommunist sentiment and the anticommunist movement was not direct. While the political spectrum of DPs who opposed Soviet rule was extremely broad, the anticommunist movement was quite narrow in orientation. It was dominated by the far right, especially authoritarian nationalists with a history of antisemitism and collaboration. Its leaders were seasoned political activists. Their activ-

ities as displaced persons were an extension of their interwar and wartime activities, adapted, if only modestly, to the geopolitical realities of the postwar period and the conditions of displacement. During the war years, many of them had collaborated with the Nazis under the banner of “anti-Bolshevism.” After the war, they made Germany—and within Germany, Bavaria—the seat of their organizations. Although they aspired to create a united international front, they were divided into two mutually hostile factions, “federalists” and “separatists.” Originally viewed with suspicion and hostility by the American occupation forces, they later capitalized on the growing rift between the United States and the Soviet Union. By 1949, they were openly and confidently asserting their presence in Germany. Nonetheless, concerns about the dangers that DP anticommunism posed for Germany kept them from becoming fully legitimate political actors.

While the previous chapter looked at antirepatriation and anticommunist sentiment in the context of national mobilization, here the emphasis is reversed, and national groups are placed within a broader anticommunist framework. I thus stress the broader concerns that united—and divided—Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians.

A “Federative Democratic Russia”: The Federalist Movement

Committed anticommunists were united in the view that the Soviet Union was a dictatorial regime that relied on terror to maintain control over the population. However, they were sharply divided on a number of issues, such as the best means of undermining Soviet rule and the nature of the economic system that should replace the centrally planned and managed economy of the Soviet Union.¹ The most divisive issue was the “nationalities question”: the status of non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc. This issue divided displaced persons into two opposing camps: federalists and separatists. The federalist camp, led by Russian DPs, wanted to see the Soviet Union transformed into a “federative democratic Russia” composed of all the nationalities of the Soviet Union. The separatist camp, led by Ukrainian DPs, viewed the Soviet Union as a “prison of nations” and wanted to see it replaced by a comity of independent ethnonational states. Thus the anticommunist movement was really two distinct movements divided by attitudes toward nationalism and national identity.

Though it defined postwar anticommunism, the conflict between fed-

eralists and separatists was not in fact a postwar creation. Rather, it was the continuation of older debates over the future of Europe's multinational empires and the proper relationship between nation and state. Most relevant in this context are debates about the Russian empire. Before the First World War, the primary positions in this debate had been centralism and federalism, with separatism a distinct minority position. For most of the non-Russian nationalities, federalism meant ethnoterritorial autonomy. The federalist position reached its apogee during the era of mass politics that began in 1905. As Mark von Hagen writes, "delegations of non-Russian deputies to the first Duma [of 1906] actively considered the reconstruction of the empire along democratic and federalist lines with ethnoterritorial criteria and measures of cultural autonomy."² After the March 1917 revolution and the formation of the Provisional Government, demands for national autonomy intensified and new political bodies emerged to represent the non-Russian minorities.³ Ukrainians were in the forefront of this movement. The leadership of the Ukrainian Central Rada, formed in Kiev in March 1917, advocated for greater national autonomy without separation from Russia. Hoping to build a federalist front against the Provisional Government, which opposed demands for autonomy, it organized a Congress of the Peoples of Russia in September 1917. The congress was attended by delegates from twenty nationalities, including Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Jews, Belorussians, Georgians, Crimean Tatars, and Cossacks. However, the beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution put an end to these plans. During the ensuing Civil War, demands for national autonomy were increasingly replaced by demands for outright independence. In Ukraine, as in a number of other regions, nationalists found themselves engaged in a two-front war: against the Bolsheviks, whose political program they rejected, and the anti-Bolshevik Whites, who refused to contemplate federalism.

After the formation of the Soviet Union, the debate over Russia's future continued among émigrés. By this point, however, the terrain of debate had shifted significantly. While many émigrés continued to believe in a single and indivisible Russia, they increasingly adopted a federalist position in order to gain broad support. After all, the Soviet Union was itself a federation, which recognized the national aspirations of the non-Russian peoples even if it condemned bourgeois nationalism.⁴ Simultaneously, many federalists gravitated toward a separatist position. National self-determination, promoted by Woodrow Wilson during the war, now meant independence. Finally, whatever position they adopted, émigrés now de-

bated the nationalities question in tandem with the question of communism, or at least its Bolshevik variant. Opposition to communism became the defining feature of the federalist-separatist debate, with both sides situating their positions on nationality policy within a broader critique of Bolshevism as a dictatorial and oppressive system.

The conflict between federalists and separatists burned at a low level during the interwar period, moving increasingly toward the right. During the late 1920s and 1930s, the separatist cause was represented chiefly by the Promethean movement, which sought to unite the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union around the goal of creating a bloc of independent states. Led by Ukrainian exiles, it was supported primarily, and surreptitiously, by the Polish government under Józef Piłsudski, who saw it as a means of ensuring Poland's stability and achieving greater power in the region. As Timothy Snyder writes, "while Moscow tried to use communist parties in European countries to protect its own interests, Prometheans tried to use national questions within the Soviet Union to undermine communism."⁵ During the war years, the conflict between federalists and separatists intensified, encouraged by the Nazis, who used anticommunism as a means of mobilizing eastern Europeans for the war against the Soviet Union. While the Wehrmacht sponsored Vlasov's nominally federalist Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, self-proclaimed Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg promoted the separatist idea. Building on older German plans to establish a band of semiautonomous eastern European states, Rosenberg argued that the Nazis should dismantle the Soviet Union, reducing Russia to a small territory and surrounding it with a series of buffer states such as Ukraine, Greater Finland, Baltica, and the Caucasus. During his tenure as head of the Ostministerium, he promoted his ideas among the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union.⁶ Both federalists and separatists thus found reasons to collaborate with the Nazis.⁷

After the war, the conflict between federalists and separatists continued. While the failure of Nazi Germany to destroy the Soviet Union, and the rise of the Soviet Union's reputation on the international stage, dampened anticommunist morale, the development of a large population of displaced persons offered fertile ground for a new offensive. Yet as a close look at the leading organizations suggests, there were strong continuities between the positions staked out during the interwar and war years and those pursued during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Indeed, the leaders of the postwar anticommunist groups addressed themselves to the western

powers using “words reminiscent of appeals that the same men had addressed to Hitler in earlier days.”⁸ On both sides, anticommunism was deeply intertwined with conservative and authoritarian conceptions of political order, exclusivist definitions of national community, and antisemitic beliefs about Jewish power and otherness. The leadership cadres of the anticommunist movement included many who had collaborated with the Nazis. Some had supported their genocidal policies.

Like the Russian emigration from which it sprang, the federalist camp was socially and politically diverse. It included both old émigrés and new émigrés, and covered virtually the entire political spectrum, from conservative monarchists to socialists, excluding in essence only the Bolsheviks. However, the most important forces in the federalist movement were monarchists and authoritarian nationalists. This can be seen in looking at one of the main federalist organizations, the Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia or AZODNR. As noted earlier, AZODNR was the postwar successor to the main wartime political organ of the Vlasov movement, the KONR. It was led by individuals who had participated in the KONR and the ROA. However, Solidarists, Socialist Revolutionaries, and Monarchists also participated.⁹ Indeed, AZODNR styled itself as an umbrella organization for anticommunists.¹⁰ It was based in the Schleissheim-Feldmoching DP camp, on the northern edge of Munich, known as a camp of both old and new Russian émigrés.¹¹

The Vlasovites had adopted a federalist position during the war years. Vlasov did not recognize the existence of the nationalities question. Although he took national self-determination and cultural autonomy for granted, he was also a Russian patriot who viewed the “peoples of Russia” as an indivisible unit. He firmly rejected the idea of separatism.¹² Nonetheless, he and his associates soon realized that their ability to create a viable anti-Bolshevik coalition depended on their willingness to make concessions to separatism.¹³ In November 1944, the KONR issued the Prague Manifesto, which gave the nationalities question top billing. The manifesto proclaimed “the equality of all peoples of Russia and their real right to national development, national self-determination, and state independence.”¹⁴ However, the KONR also argued that the final decision on the nationalities question should be postponed until after Stalin had been defeated. Importantly, Jews were not counted among the peoples of Russia. Seen as allies of Bolshevism, they were not granted the right of self-determination.¹⁵

Like the KONR, AZODNR adopted a federalist position. It recognized the equality of all the peoples of Russia and the right of national minorities to determine their own futures.¹⁶ However, there was no mistaking its position on the nationalities question. From AZODNR's perspective, the peoples of the Soviet Union shared certain "organic bonds." These bonds predated the Soviet Union and would continue after its demise. Indeed, once the Soviet Union collapsed, national conflicts would disappear. The nationalities problem was thus presented as a problem specific to the Soviet order. More generally, AZODNR was at pains to distinguish between the Soviet Union and Russia. Countering separatist claims that Soviet communism was a specifically Russian phenomenon, it stressed the fundamental divide between a political "clique" around Stalin, on the one hand, and the Russian people, on the other. "The criminal Stalin's clique," it wrote, "called out the hatred of all the freedom-loving nations against the Soviet Union which still even often has not been distinguished from the genuine Russia."¹⁷ It was confident that the Soviet people would take its side in any "free struggle of minds." Although it aspired to rebuild the Russian Liberation Army and launch a new military campaign against the Soviet Union, its main activity was propaganda, directed at both the Soviet population and at displaced persons.

Despite making concessions to the separatist camp, AZODNR, like the KONR before it, had difficulty finding support among the national minorities. It appealed largely to displaced Russians from both the old and new emigrations. It also appealed to some non-Russians from the Soviet Union, notably Ukrainians, Belorussians, Cossacks, and Kalmyks.¹⁸ These Soviet citizens identified with the all-Russian nationality promoted by the Soviet Union and found the separatist idea of a fundamental hostility between Russians and other Soviet peoples difficult to accept. Its leading non-Russian collaborators were a group of prominent Russophile Ukrainian intellectuals from Kiev.¹⁹ As an American military intelligence report concluded in December 1948, "the AZODNR, with all its importance, cannot claim to represent a majority of the Russian nationalities."²⁰ More generally, with its charismatic leader missing, the federalist camp had difficulty staying together. Its leadership was extremely fragmented, with AZODNR containing within itself multiple conflicts among Russian émigrés, hoping to hold them together with the idea of commitment to "Russia."²¹ According to NTS leader Vladimir Poremskii, it fell apart quite quickly.²² In October 1952, a new organization with a similar mission was

created, the Coordinating Center of the Anti-Bolshevik Struggle (Koordinatsionnyi Tsentri Antibol'shevistskoi Bor'by or KtsAB). Like AZODNR, it proclaimed fidelity to the Prague Manifesto.

Beyond the Soviet "Prison of Nations": The Separatist Movement

While federalists sought to convince displaced persons of the unity and indivisibility of Russia, separatists pursued the opposite goal. A variety of separatist groups were active in Bavaria, most based in Munich. They included the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), closely affiliated with the Bandera faction of the OUN; the International of Liberty, closely affiliated with the OUN's Melnyk faction; and the Anti-Bolshevik League of Nations (ALON), a kind of superumbrella that united different separatist groups. Ideologically and organizationally, the separatist camp was dominated by radical nationalists, in particular radical nationalist Polish Ukrainians. Ironically, then, it was Ukrainians with the least personal experience of Soviet communism who led the separatist wing of the anti-communist movement. Surprisingly, given the prominence of Poles in the interwar Promethean movement, Polish DPs played a minor role. The wartime conflict between Ukrainians and Poles, it seems, had dealt a definitive blow to the idea of cooperation.

The most important separatist group was the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Founded in Munich in April 1946, it was part of the postwar effort to revitalize the OUN-B. It was headed by one of Bandera's closest associates, Iaroslav Stetsko, best known as the man who proclaimed a Ukrainian state in Lviv in June 1941. The ABN claimed to "embrace" more than thirty-two nationalities, including Belorussians, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Cossacks, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and various small Central Asian groups, in addition to Ukrainians.²³ As was true of its Ukrainian members, its other national representatives were drawn from the right. They included a number of authoritarian and fascist personalities who had collaborated with the Nazis, such as Ferdinand Durchansky, who served in the "autonomous" Slovak government set up under German auspices in 1938 and helped orchestrate the persecution of Slovak Jews.²⁴ Like AZODNR, the ABN saw itself as the nucleus of an armed revolutionary struggle, but in practice it primarily engaged in propaganda. It used every

opportunity to spread its message among DPs. On national and religious holidays and at political meetings, ABN propagandists made speeches and passed out leaflets. It was the focus of vigorous counterpropaganda by both federalists and Soviets.²⁵

The origins of the ABN lay in the war years. In 1940, the OUN-B began cultivating relations with other national groups "subjugated by Moscow." At the Second Great Congress of the OUN in 1941, it identified coordinating the struggle of these groups as one of its principal goals.²⁶ In November 1943, the OUN-B sponsored the First Conference of Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia in the forests near Zhytomyr, then part of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine. Held in the context of the German retreat from the Soviet Union, the conference was attended by thirty-nine delegates representing thirteen nationalities of the Soviet Union, including Ukrainians, Belorussians, Armenians, Georgians, and various smaller groups from the Caucasus and Central Asia. The resolutions adopted by the conference articulated the goal of fighting both National Socialism and Bolshevism, identified as different forms of a singular imperialist impulse. "Both warring imperialisms," the delegates wrote, "deny the right of a nation to political and cultural development within a national state, bringing political, social, and cultural slavery to the conquered peoples in the form of the Nazi 'New Europe' or the Bolshevik 'Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.'"²⁷ Non-Russian soldiers in the advancing Red Army, as well as non-Germans in the retreating Wehrmacht, were envisioned as the military wing of the anti-imperialist front. Although the emphasis here was on imperialism in general, Bolshevism was identified as the primary foe. The collapse of Nazi Germany was understood to be "only a question of time," while the threat posed by Bolshevism was seen as longer lasting and more serious.²⁸ The plans laid at the 1943 conference were overtaken by events—or, more precisely, by the Red Army. With the formation of the ABN, they were again taken up. The struggle against imperialism articulated during the war years was transformed into a single-minded campaign against Bolshevism.

For the ABN, Bolshevism was "a criminal theory and practice of terroristic monopoly dictatorship which excluded even the slightest bit of freedom, democracy, and nationality."²⁹ Three major points of criticism were contained in this statement. First, and most important, the Soviet Union was an oppressor of nationalities, a "prison of nations," as the ABN often stated, borrowing a phrase from Lenin himself.³⁰ This was evidenced by a long series of foreign conquests and by the oppression of na-

tionalities inside the Soviet Union—for example, the forced deportation of the “native population from its ancestral lands into the vast expanses of the U.S.S.R.”³¹ Second, the Soviet Union was a “totalitarian” regime that sought absolute control over the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the people. This feature of the regime was especially evidenced by its disdain for political and civil liberties. “The U.S.S.R. and its vassals,” the ABN’s 1946 memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference stated, “reject most of the things which Eastern Europe considers essential: personal freedom, government based on law, the subordination of the executive to the legislative and judiciary powers, a government elected by the people, freedom of conscience, speech, press, and assembly. They do not attach any value to the human being as such, they recognize violence which is sanctified by the end, for the attainment of which it is used.”³² Finally, the Soviet Union was a regime based on terror. The people of the Soviet Union, the ABN stated, lived in “constant human dread and fear of repressions, prisons, concentration camps, penal servitude, exile, and compulsory deportations.”³³

The ABN identified Bolshevism as part of a more general Russian tendency toward imperialism. “Aggressive and destructive Bolshevism,” a resolution accompanying a 1951 ABN demonstration in Munich stated, “merely exhibits a new, higher form of Russian imperialism, which grew across the centuries by conquering foreign lands and subjugating foreign peoples in Europe as well as Asia.”³⁴ This imperialist tendency was presented as a characteristic of Russian history since Peter the Great, if not, indeed, a genetic disposition on the part of the Russian people.³⁵ This identification of Soviet imperialism with the Russian people not only served to demonize Russia but also to redeem the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union, especially eastern Europeans. Drawing on well-established stereotypes of Asians and Europeans, they portrayed the Russian and eastern European nations as fundamentally different, the former prone to despotism, the latter promoters of liberty, equality, and individualism.

Given its belief in a Russian tendency toward imperialism, it should come as no surprise that the ABN was wary of cooperating with Russian anticommunists. The ABN acknowledged that there was a difference between Bolsheviks and Russians, and it held out the possibility of an alliance with the latter. The Russians of the Soviet Union, the ABN argued, had little to gain from the existing regime, which ruthlessly exploited them “in order to fill its pockets and . . . finance a world Bolshevik ‘revolution.’”³⁶ However, it emphatically rejected cooperation with federalists.

"There is no place in [t]he A.B.N.," it argued, "for anyone who fights against the existing regime alone but upholds the principle of a one and indivisible [*sic*] Russia."³⁷ Russians were welcome only "if they desire a Moscovite state within its ethnic frontiers and wish to put an end to Russia—the prison of nations."³⁸

The destruction of the Soviet Union and its satellite states was the means to the ultimate end of creating a "new order" based on independent nation-states.³⁹ For the ABN, the nation-state represented the realization of both individual and national aspirations for liberty. As a 1954 ABN manifesto proclaimed, "there is no individual freedom, nor democracy, without national freedom! And there is also no national freedom without state sovereignty!"⁴⁰ This idea was also the basis of the ABN's slogan, "Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals!" first elaborated during the war. Hewing closely to the views of the OUN-B, the ABN argued that the new states must be based on ethnic borders. Indeed, they must be ethnically "pure." Only individuals who belonged to the state's titular nationality could be sure to enjoy the full rights of membership. It foresaw a great unmixing of populations, as each national group "returned" to its rightful homeland. Indeed, it suggested that the creation of this new comity of nation-states would resolve the problem of national minorities, as each national group would now have its own state.

Not surprisingly, the myriad territorial conflicts that the creation of a new state system would generate were left unexplored. Yet even nominally, the "new order" envisioned by the ABN was not designed to accommodate everyone. In particular, it had no place for Jews. The ABN itself rarely mentioned Jews, perhaps because, in the wake of the Holocaust, the "Jewish question" appeared to have been definitively "resolved." Nonetheless, it is worth probing into the legacy of thinking about Jews that the ABN embodied. Like the NTS, the ABN's parent organization the OUN-B was deeply antisemitic. In a resolution passed at its 1941 Great Congress, the same event at which the construction of an international anticommunist front was inaugurated, the OUN-B stated that it "combats the Jews as the prop of the Muscovite-Bolshevik regime."⁴¹ It thus saw Jews as a central component of the order it wished to destroy. Indeed, as Karel Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk have shown, the OUN-B not only viewed Jews as an avant-garde of Bolshevism, it also supported Nazi extermination plans. Stetsko in particular shared the exterminatory antisemitism of the Nazis. "Although I consider Moscow . . . to be the *main* and *decisive* enemy," he wrote in July 1941, "I nonetheless fully appreciate the undeniably harmful

and hostile role of the Jews, who are helping Moscow to enslave Ukraine. I therefore support the destruction of the Jews and the expedience of bringing German methods of exterminating Jewry to Ukraine, barring their assimilation and the like.”⁴² Given such a position, it is hardly surprising that the new order envisioned by the ABN did not include Jews.

Although the ABN viewed the creation of ethnonational states as an end in itself, it was not indifferent to their internal organization. For if these states were to serve the interests of the nation, they must conform to the principle of “social justice.” The ABN’s vision of a just social order can best be described as national socialist, stressing social equality for the nation rather than the working class. Like the Vlasovites, it called for a system centered upon the interests of the “popular masses”: small independent farmers, craftsmen, and intellectual workers. These groups were identified as the “guardians of freedom and sovereignty of their nations.”⁴³ Both capitalism and socialism “of the Soviet brand” were deemed exploitative. In their place, the ABN promised to implement a system that would guarantee individuals “economic independence.” This system included private ownership of the fruits of one’s labor and the means of production, the right to free enterprise, and the right to conclude work agreements and participate in management. However, large landowners and capitalists would not be allowed to reclaim their property. Certain key public services, such as transportation and energy, would be nationalized. The collective arrangements created by the Bolsheviks would be dismantled but could be replaced with similar voluntary ones.⁴⁴ The emphasis on social justice was not only an expression of the ABN’s commitment to a certain brand of national socialism, it was also an attempt to respond to the concerns of Soviet citizens. The OUN-B’s wartime encounter with Soviet Ukrainians had led to significant changes in its platform. A new emphasis on economic and social policies that appealed to Soviet citizens—for example, collective ownership of land and industry—was appended, rather awkwardly, to the traditional focus on national will and authoritarian leadership. This trend continued in the postwar ABN, which argued that far from disavowing the Bolshevik Revolution, it would realize its unfulfilled promise.⁴⁵

Mobilizing DPs

Despite their differences, both federalists and separatists sought to mobilize displaced persons for the anticommunist cause. According to the sepa-

ratist International of Liberty, one of its key goals was “to induce the many persons belonging to the political emigration to partake in the struggle for the liberation of the nations subjugated by bolshevism.”⁴⁶ Propaganda directed at fellow displaced persons was thus an important aspect of their activities. To some extent, anticommunist organizations sought to win DPs over by demonstrating that they understood their everyday concerns. Thus the ABN lobbied on behalf of displaced persons’ civil rights and their right to asylum.⁴⁷ For the most part, however, the eyes of anti-communist leaders were fixed on a distant horizon, not the DPs in their midst. They were preoccupied with transforming political conditions at home. At the same time, both federalists and separatists sought to demonstrate that their efforts to roll back communism were ultimately in the best interests of DPs. As the ABN stated in its 1946 memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference, the establishment of independent, democratic nation-states in Soviet-dominated Europe and Asia “would bring about the restoration of national, political, and individual rights for all and this would [*sic*] enable the return of millions of prisoners of war, displaced persons, and refugees who have refused to go back to submit themselves to Communist dictatorship at present in power in their homelands.”⁴⁸ Similarly, in an undated handout, the ABN played on displaced persons’ desire to return home. It addressed DPs as “you who have been forced by the horrors of the Bolshevik and fascist terror to leave your homes, to separate from your relatives and friends, to give up your homeland, and to remain in a strange and unwelcoming Germany” and “you who think about the return home to your dearly-beloved homeland, but not a return home to a totalitarian, dictatorial regime.”⁴⁹ It went on to link the fulfillment of the desired homecoming to participation in the struggle to realize the goals of the ABN.

Anticommunist groups also sought to mobilize displaced persons across nationality. Both federalists and separatists aspired to make the anticommunist movement international. Their writings are filled with references to the “community of fate of the refugees” and the “solidarity of the free nations.”⁵⁰ Indeed, internationalism was a fundamental component of the anticommunist movement, though it was motivated more by tactical considerations than ideological commitment. Countering communism necessitated an internationalist strategy. For if the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc more generally were founded on the idea of a progressive international front, the anticommunist movement had to prove this idea false. The best way to do so was to show that the nations this front claimed to repre-

sent supported the anticommunist camp. Nazi efforts to build an international front against Bolshevism provide one model.⁵¹ But since anticommunists wished to present themselves as opponents rather than supporters of National Socialism, it was impolitic to recall organizations like the Anti-Komintern. Instead, anticommunists stressed the precedent set by the antifascist front of the 1930s and 1940s. According to the ABN, “all freedom loving nations and peoples of the world” were obliged to participate in the struggle against Bolshevism. “Historic necessity,” it maintained, “compells [*sic*] them to unite into such a unified front on such an international scale, as that which made victory over Fascism possible.”⁵²

Anticommunist leaders realized that nationality conflicts hampered their efforts to build an international front. They thus repeatedly called on their members to set aside—indeed, forget—past conflicts. The separatist International Committee of Political Refugees and Displaced Persons stressed “the absolute necessity of agreement and cooperation among all the free peoples” and called on its members “to let themselves be led by the clear demands of the present and the future, not the chaotic, unhappy past.”⁵³ It was especially keen to bridge the gap between Ukrainians and Poles, the two groups at the heart of interwar separatism. Federalist and separatist groups occasionally even sought to work together to create “a single anti-Communist front which could wage the fight more effectively.”⁵⁴ Thus, for example, the Augsburg-based Association of the Free Press of the Suppressed Nations, an international organization of DP journalists, brought together separatist-leaning Ukrainians and federalist-leaning Russians. This was a point of pride for the association, which claimed that it was “the only exile organization in the world which gathers Russians and Ukrainians around the same table.”⁵⁵ More typically, however, the nationality conflicts that characterized DP efforts to oppose repatriation also hampered efforts to create a united anticommunist movement. Indeed, federalists and separatists competed to win the hearts and minds of DPs. Since the main conflict between the two factions centered on the nationalities question, internationalism became an important test of each faction’s popularity among DPs.

Despite these efforts, the anticommunist movement never garnered a mass following among DPs. Investigations into anticommunism in Bavaria suggested that most DPs were not involved in organized anticommunist activities. Queried about the situation of Russian DPs in Bayreuth, a German politician from the Christian Social Union (CSU) reported “that among this group of Russians as well, one cannot speak of active and or-

ganized anti-Soviet activity.”⁵⁶ He suggested that the lack of activity was attributable to a fatalistic Slavic mentality, which made the Russians indifferent to their future. Similarly, a report into Ukrainian political activities concluded that despite the large number of Ukrainian political parties in the American occupation zone, most Ukrainians were not involved in them.⁵⁷ Thus, although there was widespread opposition to communism, it did not translate into participation in the anticommunist movement. As the anticommunist leadership itself acknowledged, most DPs had not yet been mobilized for the cause.⁵⁸

The groups at the heart of the movement were themselves partly responsible for this situation. They tended to be insular and conspiratorial. As the American Consul General of Munich noted in October 1947, all the Ukrainian groups were “conspiratory and discreet in their operations, presumably because of fear of forcible repatriation and the knowledge that political activity is forbidden.”⁵⁹ The same was true of many Russian groups. According to the metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church in Germany, many Russian anticommunist organizations operated underground.⁶⁰ In some groups, like the two branches of the OUN, insularity was a feature of longer standing. It reflected their earlier history as illegal organizations and their authoritarian leanings. Their structures were not designed to accommodate a large membership, nor were their leaders necessarily interested in creating mass organizations, for this would require them to distribute power more broadly.

More generally, the groups at the heart of the movement were not representative of the larger DP population. Popular anticommunist sentiment covered a broad range of political positions, including the far left. Interviewed about his political sentiments, for example, one Polish Ukrainian praised Marxism but argued that “the Bolshevism that exists in Russia . . . bears no resemblance to Communism in Karl Marx’s sense of the word.” He described the radical nationalist Ukrainians as “bandits.”⁶¹ Organizations like AZODNR and the ABN, on the other hand, stood for a narrow range of opinion. They represented an authoritarian and antisemitic anti-communism with theoretical links to fascism and practical links to National Socialism.

Nonetheless, as the metropolitan also noted, these organizations had a wide reach. Discussing their propaganda efforts, he stated that “there is likely not a single emigrant who has not yet held such a [propaganda] sheet in his hands.” Through their propaganda, committed anticommunists heightened displaced persons’ fear of return and provided them with a vo-

cabulary for talking about the dangers of communism and the Soviet Union. Moreover, they could be quite successful at harnessing popular sentiment. This was especially true of the separatists. Skillfully exploiting the concerns of different national groups, they brought large numbers of displaced persons to the streets of Germany. I return to this subject later in the chapter.

DP Anticommunism in the Mirror of the Authorities

American occupation officials in postwar Germany and their superiors in Washington initially viewed DP anticommunism with concern. Opposition to communism not only posed a threat to the repatriation program, it also created tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. Although many Military Government officials were themselves unreflexively anti-communist, they did not wish to antagonize their Soviet ally. As the American vice consul in Munich stated in February 1947, American authorities could not look kindly on “organizations devoted to the destruction of an allied government.”⁶² Nor could they ignore the fascist leanings of many anticommunist groups, having just fought to defeat fascism in Europe. As a Military Government officer commented with reference to an organization of anticommunist Hungarians, “the slogan ‘anti-communist’ is often used as a cover up for neo-fascistic or reactionary movements.”⁶³ In the immediate aftermath of the war, U.S. officials had little sympathy for such groups.

However, Soviet officials suspected otherwise. They accused the United States of hindering the repatriation of Soviet nationals and of allowing displaced persons to engage in anti-Soviet activities. In October 1945, for example, a representative of the Soviet repatriation administration in Germany complained that despite having been formally disbanded by the Americans, Russian and Ukrainian DP committees continued to function. “In no way,” the representative argued, “have [these committees] decreased their anti-Soviet activities, especially as regards propaganda against the return of Soviet citizens to their country, while at the same time widely disseminating various slanderous statements about the U.S.S.R.”⁶⁴ As anti-Soviet propaganda continued, officials at ever higher levels were drawn into the debate. In June 1946, Marshal Vasily Sokolovsky, commander-in-chief of the Soviet occupation forces in Germany, sent a strongly worded letter to his American counterpart, General Joseph McNarney. He

accused the American authorities of offering anti-Soviet organizations in the U.S. zone protection and support, and demanded that McNarney "take measures to stop the hostile work of these organizations, which is directed not only against the Soviet Union, but against the relations as established between our countries."⁶⁵ In his carefully worded reply, McNarney registered "deep concern" over possible anti-Soviet activities and acknowledged that they were "prejudicial to the friendly relations existing between our two countries."⁶⁶ He promised to follow up on Sokolovsky's allegations. McNarney, who had little sympathy for the Soviet repatriation campaign, did in fact order an investigation into the alleged activities.⁶⁷ However, the investigation bore little fruit, and the final report McNarney submitted to Sokolovsky no doubt confirmed Soviet suspicions about American support of anticommunist propaganda.⁶⁸ Such conflicts did their part to worsen U.S.-Soviet relations and hasten the arrival of the Cold War.

The politically sensitive nature of anticommunism did in fact prompt the American authorities to place tight controls on DP political activity. It also prompted them to investigate DP anticommunism. Over the course of 1946 and 1947, they accumulated a wealth of detailed (and largely accurate) information about anticommunist DP activities. A number of agencies were involved in this endeavor, including the Army, the State Department, Military Government, and American consulates in Germany. Using the civil censorship system, they monitored exchanges between displaced persons.⁶⁹ They also looked for evidence of anticommunism in the DP press.⁷⁰ Finally, they solicited reports on anticommunist activities from a number of sources, including U.S. intelligence officers and native informants. Thus, although Soviet officials were deeply suspicious of their American counterparts, the latter did make significant efforts to control anticommunist activities.

However, the suspicions of Soviet officials were not entirely unfounded, as this period also saw the beginnings of covert U.S. support for anticommunist DPs.⁷¹ Indeed, American efforts to investigate anticommunist DPs were intended not only to help control their activities but also to determine their potential usefulness. Like Nazi and German military officials who had been in the front lines of the war against the Soviet Union, anticommunist DPs (who had often been there alongside them) were seen as valuable sources of intelligence about the Soviet Union. They were also seen as potential recruits for covert operations.

Even before the war was over, Jeffrey Burds writes, "leading members

of the U.S. government forces in Europe began clandestine operations to recruit German officers and their non-German counterparts throughout Soviet-occupied Central and Eastern Europe.⁷² Anticipating future conflict with the Soviet Union, they sought to capitalize on the wartime intelligence operations of the Germans and their allies.⁷³ Anticomunist émigrés were also drawn into these efforts. Writing in August 1946, Harry Rositzke, head of the Soviet section at the Strategic Services Unit, a precursor to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), argued that the United States should consider recruiting “minority organizations outside the USSR” for covert intelligence operations. “The most important of these groups at the moment,” Rositzke continued, “appears to be the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement, while other active or potentially active groups embrace the anti-Soviet White Russians, Finns, Balts, Georgians, Armenians, and Turks.”⁷⁴

American interest in anticomunist émigrés in fact went far beyond intelligence gathering. As a CIA memorandum from April 1948 stated, “although these contacts [with émigré groups] were established primarily for the purposes of procuring intelligence on eastern Europe and the USSR, sufficient overall information on these groups has been inevitably gathered to permit a sound evaluation of their possible value to the U.S. Government for the purposes of propaganda, sabotage, and anticomunist political activity.”⁷⁵ In June 1948, the CIA was granted formal permission to conduct covert operations against the Soviet Union, including “propaganda; economic warfare, . . . subversion against hostile states, including assistance to underground resistance movements, guerillas and refugee liberation groups, and support of indigenous anti-communist elements in threatened countries of the free world.”⁷⁶ A new Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), loosely situated within the CIA, was created to plan and conduct these activities. Through a front organization known as the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of the USSR, it provided financial assistance to many anticomunist organizations, including the NTS and the OUN-B. Although such efforts to undermine the Soviet Union ended in the mid-1950s, the CIA continued to engage in more conventional political warfare for a long time, employing both federalists and separatists.

As the Cold War deepened during 1947 and 1948, the web of covert relations between the United States and anticomunist DPs also expanded. Simultaneously, there were important shifts in U.S. policies toward displaced persons. As discussed in chapter 1, the western Allies progressively

abandoned their commitment to repatriation and turned to resettlement as the more likely solution to the "DP problem." They conceded that many eastern Europeans had legitimate political reasons for refusing to return home. Indeed, they now viewed displaced persons more as victims of communism than National Socialism. In the U.S. zone, these general policy changes were accompanied by a shift in attitude toward DP anticommunism. The new attitude, clearly visible by 1948, was characterized by disinterest, neutrality, and even toleration. Since the USSR was now identified as an enemy, the anger that DP anticommunism provoked among Soviet officials was no longer so problematic. And, since resettlement was now on the table, anticommunist politicking no longer threatened the resolution of the DP problem.

American investigators increasingly shifted their attention from anti-communism to communism itself. In October 1947, the U.S. Military Government adopted a new policy on political parties. Diverging from the previous position of strict neutrality, the new policy allowed MG officials to take action against parties viewed as "undemocratic" and to favor those that demonstrated a commitment to anticommunism. Although this new policy was aimed primarily at combating the Communist Party of Germany, it also encouraged a more tolerant attitude toward anticommunist DPs.⁷⁷ By 1948, the Americans had lost interest in investigating anticommunist DP groups. These groups "were [now] considered to be of little intelligence interest."⁷⁸ Similarly, although the Soviet authorities continued to complain about antirepatriation and anti-Soviet propaganda, American officials no longer gave these complaints the same consideration. Recognizing that voluntary repatriation had run its course, they viewed the continued presence of repatriation officers from the Soviet Union and its satellites as "a constant source of provocation and agitation" and called for their reduction.⁷⁹

These changes in policy and political climate gave displaced persons confidence to openly advertise their anticommunist beliefs and led to a new spurt of organizing. Indeed, while separatists organized as early as 1946, it was not until 1948 that the Russian-led federalist camp began to reemerge. Many DPs, who had hoped since 1945 that the western Allies would launch an offensive against the Soviet Union, again gathered hope for a third world war. As a July 1948 intelligence report on Russian DPs noted, "Within the last year the panic and depression among Russian emigration has vanished under the influence of the growing West-East tension. Interest in political problems and the future of Russia in the light of a possible

defeat of the Bolshevik regime have created a number of political movements within the emigration.”⁸⁰ Moreover, ardent anticommunist DPs now found their position strengthened vis-à-vis moderates. According to Stanislaus Stepień, the development of the Cold War led to a narrowing of the DP political landscape. Surveying the DP press, he concludes that those groups whose politics were best suited to the exigencies of anticommunist propaganda were able to find Allied support, while those who were less in step with the new orientation censored their opinions in order not to draw criticism from the Allies and thus perhaps endanger their chances of emigrating.⁸¹ Thus, far from being a liability, an anticommunist disposition now lent the displaced person an air of credibility.⁸²

However, the development of the Cold War did not win displaced persons the unqualified support of the United States.⁸³ Although concern about U.S.-Soviet relations receded, it was partly replaced by concern about the political future of Germany. On the one hand, American officials continued to insist that as non-Germans, displaced persons had no right to participate in politics, certainly not outside the camps. Thus, in December 1948, the American Military Government refused to approve the Bulgarian DP-created Anti-Bolshevistic Union on the grounds that displaced persons “have never been authorized to form political parties.” As the director of MG’s Civilian Administration Division noted, “while we may be sympathetic with their political beliefs it appears that they may be carrying on unauthorized activities.”⁸⁴ On the other hand, American officials worried that DP anticommunism would embarrass the U.S. government and undermine its efforts to promote anticommunism in Germany. In order to make the campaign against communism appealing to the German public, Military Government officials sought to portray communism as a “totalitarian” movement. This meant they needed support from anticommunists who were “anti-authoritarian, anti-bureaucratic, and anti-nationalistic.”⁸⁵ They could not tolerate political parties on the far right while criticizing those on the far left. Thus in June 1949, the Bulgarian Anti-Bolshevistic Union’s continuing efforts to gain recognition from the Americans were rejected on the basis of its far-right politics. In view of the organization’s “strong rightist authoritarian orientation,” the State Department argued, U.S. officials in Germany “should avoid creating the impression that the [organization] has any US recognition or connections and should, wherever feasible, discourage the development of its program in areas under American control.”⁸⁶ However, this mood of caution seems to have softened over time. In early 1951, the U.S. high commissioner for Ger-

many, John J. McCloy, allowed that it was acceptable to “give appropriate concrete evidence of our sympathy and support for non-Communist groups in exile” by participating in events they had organized.⁸⁷

U.S. officials were concerned that displaced persons represented a liability for their campaign to sell anticommunism in Germany. However, German awareness of and interest in DP anticommunism was limited. According to the American Consul General of Munich, the influence of anti-communist DPs on their German neighbors was “practically nil.”⁸⁸ Even those Germans most devoted to the fight against communism, namely, German expellees, did not seek to make common cause with DPs. On the contrary, they associated communism with “pan-Slavic imperialism.”⁸⁹ Indeed, although anticommunism assumed an increasingly important place in western German political life during the late 1940s and early 1950s, it did not bridge the gap between Germans and DPs.⁹⁰ This can be seen in the limited efforts to monitor DP political opinion. From 1949 to 1950, the German Office for Peace Questions (*Deutsches Büro für Friedensfragen*), a kind of skeleton German foreign ministry created during the occupation period, received regular reports on the DP press.⁹¹ Written by Friedrich Buchardt, a former SS “Eastern specialist” with a very dubious wartime biography, the reports were designed to help the emerging West German government renegotiate the status of DPs in Germany.⁹² They included many details about anticommunist activities. The goal was to convince the Allies that the current privileged status of DPs was untenable, in part by demonstrating that displaced persons were engaging in “foreign affairs.”⁹³ Here, then, DP anticommunism, far from encouraging a rapprochement with Germans, was seen as a means of painting DPs in an unfavorable light. Ultimately, however, the German Office for Peace Questions lost interest in these reports.⁹⁴ Monitoring anticommunist DP activity was simply not a priority.

The only Germans truly interested in what anticommunist DPs were doing were those on the left of the political spectrum, especially Communists. Like their allies in the Soviet Union, German Communists actively propagandized against anticommunist DPs. They used their knowledge of eastern European collaboration to counter DP arguments about the Soviet Union, as the following quote from a 1949 German Communist Party pamphlet makes clear.

Recently these former “Hiwis” (auxiliaries) of the Nazi Wehrmacht, these SS volunteers, Gestapo agents, and criminals have become politi-

cally active. More money is also being spent on them. . . . And so they marched against communism in Munich, Rosenheim, Bayreuth, and other places. Only a fraction of these champions of western democracy is composed of displaced Jews anxious to emigrate. The majority of these permanent pensioners is a fascist mob, which neither can nor will return home, because there the public prosecutor is waiting for them.⁹⁵

Here, then, German Communists countered the claim that displaced persons were refugees from communism by presenting them as war criminals fleeing prosecution. Like other Germans, though for somewhat different reasons, they believed that displaced persons were an expense their country should not shoulder.

Anticommunism in the Streets: The ABN Demonstration of April 1949

As the above quote from the German Communist Party suggests, demonstrations were a critical component of anticommunist activism. Although anticommunist groups were active from 1946 on, they did not begin demonstrating until the end of the 1940s. The development of the Cold War thus not only encouraged anticommunists to organize and to openly proclaim their existence, it also gave them the confidence to take their message to the street. Their demonstrations forced German, American, and international audiences to take greater notice of their concerns and garnered them a certain amount of sympathy.

The most spectacular show of confidence came in the spring of 1949. In March, April, and May of that year, DPs staged anticommunist demonstrations throughout western Germany, including Hannover, Stuttgart, Braunschweig, Berchtesgaden, and many small towns. The demonstrations were organized on a cross-national basis and sometimes took place simultaneously in multiple cities.⁹⁶ Ukrainian DPs affiliated with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations took the lead in organizing many of them. The largest demonstration took place in Munich on April 10, 1949. Organized by the ABN and the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners, it drew thousands of displaced persons, and some Germans, to the streets of Munich. A close look at the demonstration gives a better picture of popular anti-communist sentiment. It also suggests how the ABN appealed to other DPs and how it used their grievances to advance its own cause.

The immediate impetus, or perhaps merely pretext, for the demonstrations was the decision of the Hungarian government to sentence the primate of the Hungarian Catholic Church, József Cardinal Mindszenty, to life in prison. An opponent of the Communist-dominated Hungarian government, Mindszenty had resisted the government's attempt to secularize Hungary's Roman Catholic schools and to subordinate the church to the state. In December 1948, he was arrested on charges of espionage, plotting to overthrow the Hungarian government, and black marketeering. In February 1949 he was found guilty.⁹⁷ The sentence against Mindszenty provoked outrage around the world and became an anticommunist cause célèbre. In the United States, Secretary of State Acheson issued a statement condemning the sentence as a "conscienceless attack upon religious and political freedom." Truman denounced the trial as a "kangaroo court."⁹⁸

In late March 1949, Ukrainian DPs approached the German police in Munich with a request to hold a religious and political demonstration on the Königsplatz, one of the city's central squares. The aim of the demonstration, they stated, was to protest religious persecution in the Soviet Union. The German police passed the request on to local Military Government officials, who in turn said that a political demonstration would not be authorized, since displaced persons were not allowed to engage in politics; however, religious gatherings were permissible. The Ukrainians assured Military Government that the demonstration would be a strictly religious affair.⁹⁹ As the day of the demonstration approached, however, evidence mounted that this was not exactly the case. On April 8, Military Government officials discovered that displaced persons had placarded the city with posters "announcing a 'protest demonstration' against the 'concentration camps in the Soviet Union'" and had distributed leaflets that promised "protests against political as well as religious suppression in the iron-curtain countries."¹⁰⁰ Although it was clear to Military Government officials by this point, if it had not been earlier, that the planned demonstration was also political, there was disagreement about what to do. Some Military Government officials argued that the demonstration should be forbidden.¹⁰¹ Others believed that displaced persons should be allowed to hold the demonstration as long as it had a religious component.¹⁰² As one official noted in supporting the DPs' right to demonstrate, the American government had condemned Mindszenty's sentence, and it was therefore "extremely unwise to forbid anything which might be construed as religious in nature."¹⁰³ To do so would be to undermine the United States' im-

age as a bastion of religious freedom and thus its claim to moral superiority over the Soviet Union. As the day of the demonstration dawned, no consensus emerged. The task of policing the demonstration and determining where to draw the line was left to the German authorities.¹⁰⁴

The first event of the day was a multidenominational religious service or, more accurately, a series of denominational services. Simultaneously, Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant services were held in different parts of the Königsplatz.¹⁰⁵ The theme of religious persecution was central here. For example, a representative of the Ukrainian Catholic Church read a statement in which he enumerated the “martyrs” of his and other Christian churches, highlighting Mindszenty and the Roman Catholic Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac of Croatia, who had been sentenced to sixteen years in prison for collaborating with the Croatian fascist regime of Ante Pavelic.¹⁰⁶ Afterward, representatives of different national groups took turns giving speeches. They included Ukrainians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Slovaks, Cossacks, and Turkestanis. Noteworthy for their absence were Poles and Russians. Many of the speeches were given in German, suggesting the demonstrators’ desire to reach beyond a DP audience. A number of them touched on religious themes, such as the closing of houses of worship, the persecution of religious authorities, and the “godless” nature of the Bolshevik regime. The representatives of Turkestan and the Caucasus highlighted the persecution of Muslims, thus giving the gathering something more than a strictly Christian character. In general, however, religious themes were overshadowed by secular political ones, such as the persecution of nationalities, the exploitation of peasants and workers, the secular martyrs of the nationalist movements, and the desire for independent democratic nation-states. After the speeches, a resolution was passed condemning the Bolshevik regime for religious and political persecution. The resolution enumerated each nationality’s principal victims, including religious leaders, statesmen, and intellectuals. Some, like the Slovak priest and statesman Jozef Tiso, were authoritarian nationalists who had collaborated with the Nazis. The resolution ended with an endorsement of the ABN and its vision of a post-communist future.

The mixture of religious and political themes articulated in the speeches was mirrored in the banners and placards carried by demonstrators. More than the speeches, these give an indication of popular sentiment. Most banners had a secular political focus. They addressed a broad range of themes, including the national liberation struggles (“Give Us



Fig. 1. Anticomunists gathered on the Königsplatz, ABN demonstration, Munich, April 10, 1949. From *Wir klagen an!* (n.p.: Presse-dienst des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen, [1949]).

Back Free Latvia"); the persecution of nationalities ("Terror and Genocide rages in Lithuania"); the collectivization of agriculture; mass deportations; mass executions ("Bloodthirsty Moscow! 300,000 Ukrainians Lie with a Shot to the Neck in the republican NKVD cemetery near Kiev. What For?!"); Soviet penal camps; and Soviet imperialism ("Down with the Moskow Imperialism"). According to German sources, demonstrators

also carried banners with antisemitic messages.¹⁰⁷ Some banners focused explicitly on religious themes, though they also identified religion with the nation. The most striking was a memorial to the bishops of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church who had been executed or banished in the late 1920s. Combining portrait photographs of individual bishops, text panels, and elaborate illustrations of Ukrainian churches, it created a vivid image of a martyred national church.¹⁰⁸ The choice of languages in the banners is also noteworthy. Most were in English or German. Like the speeches, they were directed primarily at non-DPs—at Americans, Germans, and the “free world” more generally. Similarly, the leaflets produced by the ABN for the demonstration were printed in English, German, and French and addressed to the “free peoples of the world.”¹⁰⁹

The broad range of religious and political themes expressed at the demonstration suggests the diversity of DP views on communism. It also suggests how the ABN sought to harness this diversity for its own agenda. Many of the themes articulated at the demonstration, such as the suppression of national self-determination and Bolshevism as Russian imperialism, were familiar ABN themes. Here, it seems, there was a good deal of overlap between the ABN and the larger DP population. However, other themes were less familiar. These include collectivization and the persecution of religion. The emphasis on religion was especially unusual, since the ABN's parent organization, the OUN-B, was both secular and anticlerical. The ABN sometimes included freedom of religion among the fundamental democratic freedoms, but it rarely mentioned religious persecution. The prominence of religious themes can thus be read as an expression of popular anticommunism. Yet the emphasis on religion also came from the ABN itself. The leaflets it produced for the demonstration focused on religious persecution, though they also made a point of identifying freedom of religion with national self-determination. This newfound emphasis on religion was no doubt intended to appeal to religiously minded displaced persons. It may also have been intended to bolster the movement's appeal among Americans and Germans, who also objected to communism on religious grounds.

That being said, the demonstration had a clear hierarchy of themes. Primary emphasis was placed on two themes central to the ABN: the suppression of national self-determination and the use of terror against the population. The latter theme was featured especially prominently. Here the ABN relied on a provocative parallel between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. Through a series of symbolic reappropriations, the ABN linked

Soviet Communism to the Nazi concentration camps and the Holocaust. Using an implicit totalitarian framework, it depicted the Soviet Union as a regime premised on the same structures of domination and criminal acts as Nazi Germany. Working from this assumption, it went on to conclude that Soviet communism was in fact worse than National Socialism.

The central element in the comparison between National Socialism and Soviet Communism was the Gulag system, the Soviet penal camps. The main piece of propaganda about the penal camps, consistently referred to as “concentration camps,” was a map of the camp system. This map appeared in numerous forms during the demonstration, including posters, leaflets, and a banner.¹¹⁰ It portrayed the Soviet Union as a country dominated by camps. Camp areas were set off from the rest of the country through the use of a lurid red. In the west of the country, the camps appeared as small circles on a neutral background, but in the east they took on gigantic proportions. The names of the camps, written in a severe graphic style, dominated the map. In the most striking version, the poster, the map was bordered by text with information about the camps and by reproductions of camp documents; together these visual and verbal elements attested to the veracity of the map’s claims. The overall impression was very much that of a “Gulag archipelago”: a huge network of penal institutions spread out across the country but closed off from their surroundings.¹¹¹

The comparison between National Socialism and Soviet communism was also reinforced through references to the Holocaust. The ABN described the Soviet penal camps not only as *concentration camps* but also as *death mills* (*Todesmühlen*), a well-known contemporary term that evoked the camps’ exterminatory machinery.¹¹² Similarly, one of the posters, probably not an ABN product, used the (then very new) term *genocide* to describe the situation in postwar Soviet Lithuania. The Holocaust was also directly mentioned in a speech by Petro Mirchuk, an OUN-B activist and concentration camp survivor. According to the *Abendzeitung*, Mirchuk claimed “that the gassing in the Nazi concentration camps was a humane deed compared with the starvation of 30 million people.”¹¹³ Here a key participant in the demonstration sought not only to draw a parallel between National Socialism and Soviet communism, but to argue that Soviet communism constituted the greater evil. This task was accomplished by trivializing the Holocaust.

Military Government officials had only given the organizers of the day’s events permission for a gathering on the Königsplatz. However, after



Fig. 2. Anticomunist demonstrators carrying map of Soviet penal camps, ABN demonstration, Munich, April 10, 1949. From *Wir klagen an!* (n.p.: Pressedienst des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen, [1949]).

more than two hours of religious services and speeches, the gathering turned into a procession. The destination was the former headquarters of the Soviet Mission, some 5 kilometers away on Herkomerplatz.¹¹⁴ At this point, the demonstrators met with resistance, first from a small contingent of German police and then from a much larger number of U.S. military police. Facing strong resistance, MPs used tear gas and bayonets to break up the procession. Demonstrators responded by throwing bricks and rocks. Many managed to evade the police and make their way to Herkomerplatz, where they were again met by MPs. After more than an hour of confrontations, the demonstrators finally dispersed. Both DPs and German police officers were injured.

Despite this violent ending, the ABN demonstration can be seen as a major success for the DP anticomunist movement in general and the ABN in particular. According to some accounts, as many as 10,000 displaced persons attended the demonstration, though other estimates suggest the number was somewhere between 3,000 and 4,000. The demonstration also garnered considerable media attention. It was covered extensively by the German press.¹¹⁵ It also received considerable exposure in other Eu-



Fig. 3. Confrontation between anticommunist demonstrators and U.S. military police, ABN demonstration, Munich, April 10, 1949. From *Wir klagen an!* (n.p.: Pressedienst des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen, [1949]).

ropean countries and in the United States.¹¹⁶ Although the demonstrators were often described as a “mob” and the demonstration itself as a “riot,” much of the reportage was neutral or sympathetic. Thus, even if the demonstrators failed to reach their final destination, they were extremely successful in communicating their messages to a German, American, and international audience.

This is most true in the German context. German media reports faithfully reproduced the demonstrators’ critiques of communism and presented the actions of the MPs in a critical light. The ABN received especially prominent coverage. No doubt, this considerate treatment reflected both German sympathy for the demonstrators *and* German hostility toward the occupiers. It confirmed both the dangers of communism *and* the harshness of the occupation. Nonetheless, it signaled a subtle shift in German attitudes toward Polish, Ukrainian, and other non-Jewish DPs. In the context of the growing Cold War, the concerns of these eastern European “foreigners” became not only more visible but also more ac-

ceptable. The DP presence in Germany remained undesirable, but it was now more intelligible.

The Munich ABN demonstration was staged as displaced persons were leaving Germany. It was not the last anticommunist DP demonstration in Germany—the ABN staged another one in Munich in June 1951—but as time went on, the scene of anticommunist activity shifted. In the mid- to late 1950s, most demonstrations were staged in the centers of emigration, notably the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Australia.¹¹⁷ The anticommunist movement thus followed the immigration paths of displaced persons. This movement never became a truly popular phenomenon. Most displaced persons, however willing they were to participate in a demonstration, did not belong to anticommunist organizations. The anticommunist DP movement was thus a distinct phenomenon rather than a reflection of popular sentiment.

Anticommunist activists had ambitious goals. They aimed not only to avoid repatriation but also to transform political conditions at home. These activists had much in common. They shared an attraction to authoritarian conceptions of political rule. They also shared an antisemitic and pro-Nazi background. However, they differed in their attitudes toward the future of the Soviet Union. The defining issue here was the nationalities question, which divided committed anticommunists into two distinct camps. Neither camp succeeded in building a broad-based movement. However, the separatist conception of the postcommunist order found greater resonance among DPs, as it was capable of bundling diverse national resentments into a single overarching platform. At the ABN demonstration in Munich in April 1949, the separatists succeeded in mobilizing thousands of displaced persons, whose conception of anticommunism included many themes of only secondary interest to the separatist leadership. The most important of these was religious persecution.

The development of the Cold War promoted the reemergence of anti-communist groups displaced from eastern Europe. The U.S. zone of Germany offered an especially hospitable environment for their activities. As anticommunism became central to U.S. foreign policy, especially U.S. policy toward Germany, anticommunist DPs were able to gain both covert and overt support for their aims. By 1949, they not only felt confident enough to openly proclaim their existence, they were also ready to take their message to the streets. They shaped how the German, American, and international public understood both displaced persons and anticommunism. However, DP anticommunism continued to be seen as “a potential

source of many difficulties,” especially in relation to the reconstruction of Germany.¹¹⁸ As non-Germans, displaced persons were not supposed to participate in politics. Moreover, their politics did not fit the progressive model of anticommunism the United States wanted to promote. The increasing publicity that DP anticommunism assumed during the late 1940s thus occurred both with and against the wishes of the Americans. Indeed, as the U.S. consul general in Munich reported to U.S. secretary of state Dean Acheson after the ABN demonstration in Munich, it was a good thing MPs had put an end to the demonstration. Otherwise, communist propagandists would have been able to say that the United States had “inspired and promoted” it.¹¹⁹

PART 3

The Legacy of Nazism

CHAPTER 5

Jewish Survivors and the Reckoning with the Nazi Past

In “The Battle of Grunwald,” Tadeusz Borowski interweaves the story of liberated Polish political prisoners with that of Polish Jewish Holocaust survivors. While the politicals are debating the Polish future in the DP camp, a group of Polish Jews arrives. They are on their way to Palestine. The story’s narrator Tadek makes the acquaintance of a young Jewish woman named Nina, who is eager to put Poland behind her. In one of the story’s pivotal scenes, an American GI mistakenly shoots and kills Nina as she and Tadek try to sneak back into the camp. An indictment of U.S. policy toward victims of National Socialism, this scene can also be read as a meditation on the difficulties of reconstructing one’s life after the war. Skeptical of all nationalisms, Borowski portrays the exodus of Jews from Poland and the assertion of a Jewish identity as an unsatisfactory solution to the problem of finding a home in the postwar world. In killing his one real Jewish character, he also critiques the Zionist solution to this problem.

Among Jewish DPs, the repatriation debate did indeed revolve around the possibility of rebuilding one’s life at home and the meaning of home more generally. This chapter focuses on the Jewish repatriation debate. One of the key issues I consider here is support for Zionism. This issue has been hotly debated in the literature on Jewish DPs. However unsatisfactory the Zionist solution may have appeared to Borowski, many scholars believe that it enjoyed strong support. According to Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, “the Zionist position was the only one of the many Jewish philosophies of life whose program still made sense after the catastrophe.”¹ Similarly, Zeev Mankowitz argues that Jewish DPs demonstrated “a potent proto-Zionism.”² Yehuda Bauer puts things even more strongly, arguing that the “ideological orientation [of the DPs] was clearly, overwhelmingly, and right from the beginning, Zionist.”³ At the other end of the spectrum, Yosef

Grodzinsky argues that Zionists forced their agenda onto survivors, for example, by pressuring young Jewish DPs to join the emerging Israeli army.⁴ Other scholars take a middle position, arguing that Zionism among Jewish DPs is best understood as the product of noncoercive interaction with representatives of the *yishuv*, the Jewish community in Palestine.⁵

While the political visibility of Zionism among Jewish DPs is indisputable, the sources and strength of Zionism remain unclear. What did Zionism mean to Jewish DPs? How was support for Zionism related to the Holocaust? To what extent was it a mass phenomenon? In order to adequately address these questions, one needs to consider the regional background of Jewish DPs, their experiences during the Holocaust, and their prospects for rebuilding their lives in postwar eastern Europe. The regional history of Zionism during the earlier twentieth century is especially important. For most Jewish DPs, Zionism was a familiar political idiom. Far from being the only philosophy that still made sense, it was the philosophy that made most sense to survivors from countries with a strong Zionist tradition. American DP policies and practices also helped the Zionist camp by progressively recognizing Jewish DPs as a distinct national group. This process began with permission to create separate Jewish committees in the liberated concentration camps, continued with the Harrison Report and the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, and culminated in the recognition of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in September 1946. Still, it is not clear that Zionism was the mass phenomenon many scholars suggest or that support for Zionism meant support for emigration to Palestine. Although survivors were quite willing to turn their backs on Europe, emigration plans were also directed at the United States and other countries and were linked to the more general desire for a safe and dignified existence. Moreover, mass rejection of diaspora life did not come until well after the war, in the context of renewed persecution in Poland and other eastern European countries.

Although the Jewish repatriation debate was thus quite different from the repatriation debate among Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians, the two debates were nonetheless intertwined. Jewish decisions about the future were made in the context of a common framework of American and German policies toward displaced persons and persecutees. These policies came to recognize Jews as a distinct group, but in many respects treated them like other DPs. As Daniel Cohen notes, “[Holocaust] survivors shared little with the rest of the refugee world; but like their Polish, Baltic, or Ukrainian displaced counterparts, they stood at the receiving end of ra-

tionalized population management techniques.”⁶ Moreover, Jewish DPs were initially categorized according to their official nationality. They were thus directly confronted with the question of whether they had a future among their non-Jewish neighbors. Indeed, the formation of committees among other groups of DPs made the question of belonging urgent. Many Jewish survivors demanded to be treated as a separate group and segregated from other DPs. Such demands not only served the practical purpose of addressing the special and especially dire needs of Jewish survivors, they were also a means of asserting a distinct Jewish identity. For many, this identity could no longer be reconciled with life in the diaspora.

Jewish Survivors and the International Prisoners’ Community

In the aftermath of liberation, questions of identity and belonging were foremost in the minds of many Jews. For the first Jewish DPs, survivors of the concentration camps, these questions emerged in the context of debates over representation within the international prisoners’ community. Who had the right to represent Jews? Should they be represented by the extant national committees, organized along the nation-state principle, or did they constitute a separate group? If the latter, how was this separate group to be defined? In particular, did Jews constitute a separate nationality? In his book on Jewish survivors in postwar Germany, Michael Brenner suggests that “recognition of the Jews as an independent group was the first demand of camp committees everywhere.”⁷ Yet this statement begs further questions. Who was involved in the creation of such committees? And what did they mean when they argued that Jews constituted an independent group? Did the creation of Jewish camp committees imply rejection of repatriation? Did it mean commitment to Zionism? To begin addressing these questions, I return to the liberated concentration camp of Dachau. A look at the history of Jewish committees in Dachau suggests that while Zionist demands figured prominently, the formation of committees was motivated by a complex set of considerations.

Two groups claiming to represent Jewish survivors developed in Dachau. To different degrees, both were Zionist in orientation. The first was composed of Lithuanian Jews from the Kovno ghetto, in particular activists from Irgun Brith Zion, a moderate Zionist youth group created clandestinely during the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania (1940–41), when Zionist organizations were banned. The activities of this group were

thus an extension of a movement that began before the Nazi occupation and continued in the ghettos and concentration camps. After the liquidation of the Kovno ghetto in the summer of 1944, the Irgun Brith Zion members were deported to Dachau, where they were concentrated in the Kaufering satellite camp.⁸ There they reestablished some of their organizational structures, including their newspaper *Nitzotz* (The Spark), which circulated in Kaufering and neighboring camps.⁹ The newspaper, an amazing accomplishment in itself, served as a forum for debating the future of Zionism. Like other Zionists, the Kovno group feared that the Nazi's genocidal program had made Zionism obsolete. As Shlomo Frenkel, one of the movement's central figures, put it, "There is no point in dreaming anymore about the liquidation of European Jewry for it has been wiped out already by the fire and swords of German soldiers. . . . The Jewish question has already been solved by Adolf Hitler."¹⁰ However, Frenkel and his compatriots hoped that the Zionist project could be salvaged. Hitler's genocidal program, they argued, had demonstrated the truth of Zionism. Leib Garfunkel, another member of the group, saw it this way in April 1945.

While in this Nazi hell one burning question racks our brains and gives us no respite: What was it all for, why the murder of millions and a sea of blood? A vain sacrifice from which nothing good will come? Or will this revolutionize our lives and lead to a fundamental change in the way the world relates to us? Perhaps both they and we will come to the realization that the Jewish people can no longer live without a national center of its own.¹¹

To this end, the Kovno group sought to build a new leadership cadre. They stressed the need to overcome factionalism, a source of weakness in the past, and create a unified Zionist front.¹² These ideas went back to the early days of Irgun Brith Zion. The Zionist youth movements had proclaimed the goal of unity during the Soviet occupation period, in reaction to the factionalism of an older generation of leaders. They also began to establish themselves as a new leadership cadre, one willing to participate in underground political activities.¹³ This process accelerated after the Nazi occupation. As the end of the war neared, the members of the Kovno group in Dachau refocused their efforts. By creating a united front, they argued, Zionists would be able to claim that they represented the collective interests of the survivors. They would also be able to withstand the pressures to return home. In April 1945, shortly before the liberation, prisoners from one of the Kaufering camps were evacuated to the main camp. There, im-

mediately after the liberation, they established a Zionist Center, which sought the right to represent Jews as an independent national group.

The second group in Dachau was composed primarily of Polish Jews who met in the main camp after the liberation. This group spearheaded the creation of the Jewish Information Office. In a petition submitted to the International Prisoners' Committee of Dachau on May 10, the leaders of the office stated that their goal was to "represent the special interests of the Jews of all nations" in Dachau. They presented these interests as familial and religious rather than national and political.

It is very well known that the extreme small quantity of the European Jews who have been left alive, have their special commun matters as for inst. special Jews-camp accusations, seeking the family members—there is no Jewish family in Europe that has not been divided and the members distributed in different Ghettos and Conc. Camps—in other concentrating camps liberated by the Allies and the Russians, farther religious questions and many others.¹⁴

Indeed, the Jewish Information Office was primarily a welfare and memorial organization. In addition to providing for the immediate material and spiritual needs of survivors, it sought to create a record of all the Jews who had been interned in Dachau, especially those who had died.¹⁵ However, the inspiration behind the creation of the office was at least partly Zionist. In his memoir, Joel Sack, one of the office's founders, suggests that he and his compatriots were united by a desire not to return home. This desire was fueled by their wartime experiences of marginalization and persecution at the hands of their neighbors. As liberated prisoners began forming national committees, they realized the urgent need to organize one of their own.¹⁶ This negative impulse to renounce their citizenship was paired with a positive embrace of Zionism.

As survivors, we had decided to renounce our former nationalities, and to declare our Jewish Nationality. We were willing to be stateless until a Jewish homeland was created in Palestine. We began to describe our nationality as "former," as in "former Polish." This had become widely accepted.¹⁷

Well aware of the fact that their project was controversial, they deliberately obscured its political underpinnings.

Unlike the Jews from Kovno, the members of the Polish group did not

have a history of Zionist activism. They can thus be considered “post-catastrophe Zionists.”¹⁸ Their identification with Zionism developed after the liberation, as they reflected on the history of European Jewry and the possibility—or impossibility—of rebuilding their lives in their native countries. For Sack and his compatriots, reflection on the history of Polish Jewry was especially important. In Sack’s memoir, the exchange of stories about wartime persecution in Poland is central to the formation of new friendships. For example, in narrating his first meeting with fellow survivor Yosef Lindenberg, Sack focuses on the story Lindenberg tells about his own wartime experiences. The story ends with an anecdote highlighting Polish antisemitism: “Yosef related to me bitterly how ‘our compatriots,’ the Polish inmates, searched all barracks for Jews who were hiding to avoid [the] death transport.”¹⁹ Reflection on the history of the Holocaust in Poland, and the longer history of Polish antisemitism, thus played a central role in the turn to Zionism.

Still, the original plan for the Jewish Information Office probably represented a bundling of interests. As I have already mentioned, many of the tasks performed by the office were nonpolitical. Similarly, while some of the group’s leading members were Zionists, others were not. The first chairman of the office was a Hungarian Jewish doctor named Hugo Schreiber. There is no evidence he was a Zionist. He was a person of considerable standing in Dachau, which may well be why he was chosen to head the office.²⁰ After Schreiber left in late May, presumably to return to Hungary, he was replaced by Mieczysław Dorthheimer, a Polish Jewish doctor who belonged to the Zionist-inspired founding group.²¹ Also central to the office’s work was Abraham Klausner, a young American Jewish army chaplain who identified closely with both the survivors and Zionism.²²

For these early Jewish representations, it was important to gain recognition from the authorities. Recognition was valuable from both a practical and an ideological perspective: it facilitated the work of the Jewish committees, and it confirmed that the Jews constituted a distinct group. It was especially important to the Zionists, for whom it represented quasi-official acceptance of the Jews as a nation among nations. However, both the U.S. Army and the International Prisoners’ Committee responded ambivalently to the formation of Jewish committees. The Americans initially refused to sanction his committee, because it flew in the face of the international order. Even the term *committee* was reserved for official national representations.²³ Sack and his compatriots thus decided to reframe their demands in more neutral terms. They started by renaming their organiza-

tion, trading *committee* for *information office*. This time, their proposal was approved.²⁴

Like the American camp authorities, the International Prisoners' Committee also responded ambivalently to their proposal. The IPC invited the chairman of the Jewish Information Office to sit in on its meetings but would not accept him as a voting member. The IPC was committed to the official nationality categories, which it saw as the building blocks of the international antifascist front. It was not prepared to have these categories taken apart. Dominated by political prisoners, it was also rather distant from the experiences of Jews in the camp and to some extent shared the disdain for Jews promoted by the Nazi racial hierarchy. According to Leon Malczewski, a prominent member of the Polish Committee and the secretary of the IPC, the Jewish representative could not serve "as a delegate of the Jews as a nationality" because "the Committee considers the Jews to be members of those national groups of which they are citizens."²⁵ The IPC also insisted that Jews remain in their official national groups. This was intended to facilitate repatriation, which, for the IPC, represented the only proper end to the camp experience.²⁶ Over time, the Jewish Information Office did gain a firmer foothold on the IPC, and by June its chairman had been elected IPC minister of justice.²⁷ However, this improvement in status was not the product of an ideological shift but rather reflected pragmatic considerations: as most prisoners returned home, new opportunities emerged for those who remained behind, the remnants of the camp society. Similar efforts to create a Jewish representation took place in other liberated camps, including the Dachau satellite camp of Dachau-Allach, where a Jewish committee also wrestled with the local International Prisoners' Committee.²⁸

While official recognition of their committees was the main way in which Jewish survivors sought to affirm a distinct identity, symbolic forms of recognition were also important, especially to Zionists. Thus, the Zionist Center created by the Kovno group demanded the right to fly the blue-and-white flag of the Zionist movement as the Jewish national flag. Here too the IPC eventually relented.²⁹ In his recollections of the period, David Max Eichhorn, an American rabbi who arrived in Dachau shortly after the liberation, dwells at length on such symbolic practices. Writing about the preparations for the first campwide Sabbath service, he stresses the involvement of the international prisoners' community. "The inmates' International Committee," he writes, "promised to have the platform in the square decorated with the flag of every nation represented in the camp (I

think there were 28 in all), and every nationality was to send a delegation to the services as an indication of its brotherly sympathy for the Jewish people.”³⁰ However, things did not go precisely as planned. A group of Polish prisoners threatened to break up the service if it was held on the main square, and the intervention of the American military was needed in order to proceed. In the end, the service took place as planned. For Jewish survivors and their American Jewish colleagues, it was an important mark of acceptance into the international prisoners’ community.³¹

The formation of Jewish committees in Dachau suggests the complexities of identification and representation in the aftermath of the Holocaust. On the one hand, there were various roads to the idea of a Jewish committee: in the case of the group from Kovno, a long history of Zionist activism; in the case of the Polish group, a belated embrace of Zionism. On the other hand, the idea of a Jewish representation was not inherently Zionist. As the work of the Jewish Information Office suggests, a Jewish committee could serve various purposes. It could facilitate the collection and distribution of information about family members and friends, provide for proper Jewish burials, and memorialize the collective suffering of Jews under National Socialism. Opposition to repatriation was not a prerequisite. Nor was commitment to Zionism. Still, Zionists were more heavily invested in the idea of a Jewish representation. For them, recognition as a separate group was an important element in the struggle for recognition of a Jewish state: it represented a provisional entrée into the international community. Moreover, Zionists were the only political group categorically opposed to repatriation. This gave them a long-term advantage. As Yehuda Bauer notes, “In general it was only natural that Polish Bundists and Communists should return to Poland in accordance with their ideology, leaving the field in the camps to Zionists or to people who were quite willing that they should be represented by Zionists.”³² Yet it is also significant that the American authorities recognized these early Jewish committees, even if their status was amorphous. Coming months before Earl Harrison submitted his famous report, this recognition of Jews as a distinct group, facilitated by sympathetic U.S. Army officers on the ground, helped establish the U.S. zone as a hospitable place for Zionist politicking. As the concentration camps emptied and DP camps were established, the work of these first committees provided the foundation for the development of a vibrant political life in which Zionism would play a dominant role.

The Formation of a Jewish DP Community

The small groups that emerged on the eve of liberation were the seeds of a movement that continued after the liquidation of the concentration camps. Increasingly, Jewish DPs asserted their unwillingness to return home and demanded to be recognized as Jews. In Bavaria, the leading figures in this movement were Polish and Lithuanian Jews. An especially prominent role was again played by survivors of the Kovno ghetto. The first significant gathering of survivors was a liberation concert held at the Benedictine monastery of St. Ottilien, outside Landsberg, in late May. The concert was attended by some 800 survivors as well as representatives of the American Military Government and UNRRA.³³ In late June, a first Conference of Zionists in Bavaria was held at the Freimann barracks. Here the idea of creating a general association of Jewish survivors was first articulated, notably by Abraham Klausner. On July 1, delegates from Jewish camp committees throughout Bavaria, representing some 12,000 Jewish DPs, met in the Feldafing DP camp on the outskirts of Munich to accomplish this task. The Association of Jewish Survivors in the American Occupation Zone they created had an eight-member executive committee and a twenty-one-member council. Zalman Grinberg, a physician and survivor of the Kovno ghetto, was elected chairman of the executive. Of the council members, eight were Lithuanian, five Polish, four Hungarian, three Romanian, and one Greek. Significantly, these individuals did not serve as representatives of their countries of origin or their DP camps; rather, they were selected for their "previous accomplishments in the field of political-social work."³⁴ This reflected the association's desire to move beyond local and regional affiliations toward the goal of national unity. It also directly challenged the nationality policy of the occupation authorities. At the end of the meeting, the newly formed association passed a number of distinctly Zionist resolutions. One called on Jews everywhere to unite to build a Jewish state in Palestine; another demanded that the British government recall the White Paper, open the gates to Palestine, and facilitate the creation of a Jewish state there; a third was directed to the Allied governments, who were asked to lend their support to the project of building a new home for the remaining Jews of Europe. Building on these efforts, in late July survivors organized a Conference of Liberated Jews in Germany in St. Ottilien, which brought together delegates from DP camps in Germany and Austria. A fourteen-point program passed at the conference included de-

mands for the immediate restoration of a Jewish state in Palestine, the concentration of Jewish DPs in separate camps, and full compensation by Germany for physical damages and the loss of property.³⁵

Although the St. Ottilien conference reflected the desire to organize on a German-wide basis, anxieties about the loss of local power, as well as the realities of occupational division, made this effort impracticable.³⁶ The further development of associational life thus took place largely on the *Land* and zonal levels. The association created in Feldafing in early July, now calling itself the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria (CK), became the main representative organ of survivors in Bavaria. In January 1946, it expanded to encompass the entire U.S. zone. In September 1946, it was recognized by the American Military Government as the official representation of Jewish survivors. The committee's struggle for recognition will be detailed in the following chapter. The committee saw its work as all-encompassing. Individual divisions dealt with issues such as welfare, health, agricultural and industrial work, culture, finance, legal affairs, and public relations.

The formation of Jewish committees was spearheaded by survivors with a long history of political and community work. In a now well-known essay from 1947, the American Jewish historian Koppel Pinson wrote that "the Jewish DP's are a marvelous example of a society without an elite. The elite of European Jewry were the first to be exterminated. . . . The present leadership of Jewish DP's is, but for a few exceptions, made up of people who have little experience in social planning or social responsibilities."³⁷ As Michael Brenner notes, "this harsh judgment by a contemporary observer certainly applied to several local DP camps, but not to most regional leaders of the DP's, who had emerged by 1945."³⁸ These leaders saw their work among the survivors as a continuation of their prewar and wartime activities. Marian Puczyk, a leading member of the CK, referred to the survivors who gathered in Feldafing as "socially and politically active Jews."³⁹ In a 1946 interview, Jakob Oleiski, the former director of ORT in Lithuania, referred to himself and other Jewish DP leaders as "the public workers, the responsible people who stand at the head of the Jewish commonwealth in Germany."⁴⁰ Max Sprecher, who was involved in establishing ORT in Feldafing, noted that he and other Jewish survivors started their activities as soon as they arrived there. "Partly we were involved in social [community] work before we got into the [concentration] camp, and the first thing we considered appropriate after getting

out of the camp, to do some community work for the Jews.” For him this meant “leading again these declassed, broken-up people toward productive, normal work.”⁴¹ Many Jewish DP leaders had university degrees and professional credentials. Indeed, the ranks of CK leaders were filled with doctors and lawyers. Some had traveled widely or lived abroad before the war. For example, Zalman Grinberg had studied at the University of Basel, Jakob Oleiski at the University of Halle. Many knew German well. Pinson’s comments notwithstanding, many DP leaders thus had substantial cultural capital.

As was the case among other DPs, the movement toward self-organization was oriented around two main tasks: self-help and self-representation. On the one hand, a host of pressing practical problems had to be addressed. Survivors needed to be housed, fed, and clothed. Many were in dire need of medical attention. Another key preoccupation was the search for family members. The often terrible conditions in the DP camps and the limitations placed on survivors’ freedom of movement generated frustration with the occupation authorities, as did the nationality principle, which placed Jewish survivors among their non-Jewish fellow nationals and often led to them being treated as enemy or ex-enemy DPs. By the fall of 1945, Jewish DPs also faced another serious problem: the influx of Polish Jewish refugees. The infiltrates placed great strains on the resources of the Jewish DP camps, which became increasingly overcrowded. The records of the Central Committee suggest that they were the primary preoccupation during the remainder of 1945 and 1946.⁴²

On the other hand, survivors were struggling to make sense of recent events and to determine what consequences to draw from them. While many survivors addressed these issues privately, for others they were the focal point of public debate. The central question here was whether the Holocaust represented an end to Jewish life in Europe. For most Jewish DP leaders, the answer was clear. The narrative they articulated was strongly informed by Zionist readings of the Jewish past and Zionist visions of the Jewish future. It described the events of the war years as the culmination of a long history of Jewish suffering, intimately connected to the loss of national independence in ancient times. In the short term, it called on Jewish DPs to reject repatriation and identify themselves as a distinct Jewish group of DPs. In the long term, it viewed the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine as the only salvation for the remnants of European Jewry.

Rereading Jewish History

Jewish DP leaders defined the survivors as “the last representatives of the European Jews.”⁴³ Their status as representatives was the product of their shared fate. “Different is the road, various are the stations of torture, unlike is the space of time,” Zalman Grinberg stated in St. Ottilien in May 1945, “but together they form one common red thread of blood, torture, torment, humiliation—and violent death.”⁴⁴ This conceptualization of Jewish survivors as representatives of European Jewry as a whole was reflected in the use of the term *She'erith Hapletah*. Usually translated as “surviving remnant,” the term *She'erith Hapletah* connotes not only survival but also salvation and redemption.⁴⁵ A powerful illustration of this idea was an arboreal motif that appeared frequently on publications by Jewish DPs: a tree with its massive trunk cut down but a new branch sprouting from its stump. Employed by the *yishuv* during the war years, the term *She'erith Hapletah* surfaced in the Kovno group in Kaufering in 1944 and gained wide currency after the liberation.⁴⁶ It was specific to Jewish DPs. Although all Jewish survivors in theory belonged to the surviving remnant, “it was in Occupied Germany alone that the Jews referred to themselves collectively as *She'erith Hapleimah* and thereby gave expression to their unique identity accompanied by the potent sense that they represented the dynamic center of European Jewish life.”⁴⁷ In particular, they gave expression to the hope for redemption through the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The concept of *She'erith Hapletah* was thus linked to a Zionist interpretation of the Holocaust.

One of the main tasks of the surviving remnant, according to Jewish DP leaders, was to recall and commemorate the events of the recent past. As Zalman Grinberg stated at the St. Ottilien concert, “We act as delegates of millions of victims to tell all mankind, to proclaim all over the world how cruel people may become, what brutal hellishness is concealed within a human being, and what a triumphant record of crime and murder has been achieved by the nation of Hegel and Kant, Schiller and Goethe, Beethoven and Schopenhauer.”⁴⁸ This duty to remember and inform was instantiated in a number of projects, the most significant of which was the collection by the CK's Central Historical Commission of materials about the destruction.⁴⁹

The efforts of Jewish DPs to make sense of recent events focused, in the first place, on placing them in the context of Jewish history. This is evident in the Yiddish words most often employed to describe what is now



Fig. 4. View of the meeting hall at the Third Congress of the Central Committee of the Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone of Germany, Bad Reichenhall, March 30–April 2, 1948. (Photograph by Alex Hochhauser. Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.)

commonly called the Holocaust: *khurbn* (destruction) and *katastrophe* (catastrophe).⁵⁰ The word *khurbn*, from the Hebrew *khurban*, traditionally referred to the destruction of the First and Second Temples and the dispersal of the Jewish people. Over time, Dalia Ofer notes, “Jews extended the concept to include their sufferings as a result of pogroms in medieval and modern times, as well as their loss of independence in ancient times.”⁵¹ Taken to its logical conclusion, the term *khurbn* suggested that the entire 2,000-year history of the Jewish diaspora had been defined by suffering. Both the narrow and the broad interpretations of the term were applied to the events of the war years, which were sometimes identified as the third great catastrophe, *der drite khurbn*, and sometimes as the most recent in a longer series of catastrophes, as in the title of the journal put out by the CK’s Central Historical Commission, *Fun Letstn Khurbn* (*From the Last Destruction*).

While the events of the recent past were thus quickly integrated into an established narrative framework, there was also a strong sense that the

most recent catastrophe was quantitatively and qualitatively different from those that had preceded it—indeed, that it marked a radical break in Jewish history. Speaking before a gathering of survivors in August 1945, Jakob Oleiski stressed this point.

The Jewish Nation during its long and great history had to encounter many tragedies. We stood not once before the question of to be or not to be. But the churban—the blow against our nation, the break from the years 1939–45 can compare neither in form nor in measure with the most tragic moments of our oppressed [*sic*] history. Herewith is written with blood and tears of millions a new page of Jewish history.⁵²

The precise nature of this break was still in the process of being articulated during the late 1940s. As Zalman Grinberg noted in April 1946, “We lack the temporal distance needed to make a reckoning with our sorrowful past.”⁵³ Nonetheless, there was a clear sense that the events of the war years were unprecedented, that they constituted not just one catastrophe among many but “the great catastrophe.” For many Jewish DP leaders, this meant that it was also impossible for Jews to return to their old lives.

Not surprisingly, the crimes committed by the Germans were a key focus of narratives about the recent past. Recent events signaled the total breakdown of German civilization. “In the middle of Europe,” Jakob Oleiski wrote, “in the country of great civilization the nation of Goethe, Kant, and Beethoven showed itself most unstable in its spiritual essence.”⁵⁴ Like many postwar commentators, Jewish DP leaders sometimes found it hard to believe that the so-called land of poets and thinkers was capable of committing such crimes. Indeed, the sense of disbelief among Jewish DPs may well have been stronger than it was among other groups of survivors, since German culture had long exercised a strong attraction for eastern European Jews, and many Jews from Poland harbored positive memories of German rule during the First World War.

Yet Germans and Germany by no means dominated narratives about the recent past. For commentators like Samuel Gringauz, German crimes had to be seen in a broader European context of antisemitism and persecution.

[The Jewish DPs] have seen not only Germany. Eastern Europe and Central Europe are part of their experience. And they have seen the

countries of Western Europe. The majority of the nations of Europe were represented among the oppressors in the concentration camps, and the only difference was that in this confusion of nationalities one was more strongly represented than the others.⁵⁵

The history of antisemitism and persecution in eastern Europe was especially important here. Indeed, although Jewish DPs held the Germans responsible for initiating the catastrophe, they directed much of their anger at their fellow eastern Europeans. For while the Germans were foreign invaders, the peoples of eastern Europe were neighbors, whose involvement in the Holocaust constituted a fundamental breach of trust. "We have not only been killed by Germans," Aryeh (Leon) Retter stated. "In the crowded ranks of our slaughterers are Ukrainians, Poles, Roumanians, austrians [*sic*], and many others."⁵⁶ He gave horrific accounts of how his fellow Romanian citizens had treated the Jews during the German occupation. Such events, Gringauz stressed, were the product of a longer history of European antisemitism, which "had especially bloomed during the time of the so-called long armistice, 1918–1939." Its influence could be seen "in the policy of economic exclusion in eastern Europe, in the policy of discrimination, which was pursued in practice by all the reactionary regimes, in the fiasco of so-called minority rights."⁵⁷ This kind of political antisemitism, he suggested, could be combated. The same was not true of psychological antisemitism. The peoples of Europe, Gringauz argued, had been irreversibly poisoned by their long encounter with National Socialism. Even those who had opposed the murderous campaign of the Nazis had nonetheless adopted the "Torah of Hitlerism."⁵⁸ The violence against Jews in postwar Poland suggested that the "grim legacy of Nazi ideology" was alive and well.⁵⁹ Reading the events of the early postwar period against the backdrop of the Nazi era, Jewish DP leaders argued that there was no end in sight to the sufferings of the Jewish people.

While Jewish history and the history of antisemitism provided the most immediate context for making sense of recent events, many Jewish DP leaders also sought to put them in the context of the history of "the West." In doing so, they recapitulated and extended arguments about the Enlightenment put forward by Zionists decades earlier. For Jews, the Enlightenment traditionally stood for legal emancipation and the promise of formal equality. It also stood for modernization, secularization, and integration into the mainstream of European culture and society. In the Haskalah movement, which began in Germany and had a deep impact on

many parts of eastern Europe, these emphases were combined with a revival of Hebrew and the study of Jewish history. In the late nineteenth century, Zionists had begun to question this faith in the Enlightenment, arguing that emancipation could not be bought at the price of integration. Jewish DP leaders in postwar Germany reiterated these arguments, placing the Holocaust at the end point of an established Zionist narrative about the promises and failures of the Enlightenment.

The Jewish catastrophe, a number of Jewish DPs argued, was not only the latest and most tragic chapter in the history of the Jewish people, it also represented a fundamental attack on the concept of Western civilization or civilization *tout court*. "We were living in the illusion," Oleiski wrote, "that cultural and moral standards would be raised by education and civilization. We hoped that as humanity neared the spiritual sources of Music, Art, Philosophy, and Literature man would reach a higher moral and ethical standard."⁶⁰ The remnants of a lingering faith in the concept of cultivation or *Bildung*, so central to the German Enlightenment and to Jewish hopes for integration in both Germany and eastern Europe, are unmistakable here. Samuel Gringauz made a similar point, juxtaposing the achievements of Western civilization against the recent destruction.

Our homes were broken up, our families scattered, deported, taken in enslavement, our children thrown living into graves, our wives driven to death by cold and hunger, tortured and murdered with calculated, scientific and pitiless savagery. And all that after 2000 years of human and christian culture, after Michel Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci, after Molière and Voltaire, after William Shakespeare and Charles Darwin, after Alexander von Humboldt and Emmanuel Kant.⁶¹

During this long history, a number of Jewish DPs noted, European culture and Jewish culture had been intimately intertwined. On the one hand, Jews had made valuable contributions to Western civilization. On the other hand, Western civilization had penetrated Jewish life and transformed the Jews of Europe into European Jews. The blow to Western civilization was thus a blow to the idea of Jewish coexistence. Conversely, the attack on Jews was an attack on Western civilization. As Samuel Gringauz stated in a 1945 essay, "The fate of the Jews embodied the fate of civilization."⁶²

Indeed, recent history had demonstrated the emptiness of the Enlightenment promise. According to Gringauz, Jews had been wrong to place their faith in the Enlightenment, because emancipation had not been

carried out for their sake but rather “for the sake of a general principled abstraction of liberalism.”⁶³ Formal emancipation was not real emancipation, as the growth of antisemitism in the post-Enlightenment era demonstrated. Indeed, real emancipation could not be found by following the Enlightenment path. As Gringauz stated, “neither equality of rights, nor a constitution, nor patriotism is security against persecution. . . . One cannot escape one’s Jewishness—either by assimilation, baptism, or mixed marriage.”⁶⁴ The central proof of this truth was the fact that Germany, the nation eastern European Jews most closely identified with the Enlightenment, had been the source of their greatest sufferings.⁶⁵

Looking back at the recent past, Jewish DPs were overwhelmed by the suffering and the loss that had befallen their people. Yet it was also important for them to stress acts of heroism. In postwar Yiddish literature, the concepts of anguish (*payn*) and heroism (*gvure*) were often linked. This linkage tapped into a long history of Jewish thought about martyrdom. The term *martyr* derives from the Greek word for “witness.” In the Jewish tradition, a martyr is an individual who suffers and dies—or, more precisely, is willing to suffer and die—in order to bear witness to God’s spiritual sovereignty. He or she risks death “for the sanctification of the Name” (*kiddush ha-Shem*).⁶⁶ Martyrologies flourish in times of crisis. Thus it is not surprising that the theme of martyrdom gained new importance during and after the Holocaust. In their writings and speeches, Jewish DP leaders frequently spoke about martyrdom. Partisans, ghetto fighters, and others who had actively resisted the Nazis were viewed as heroic martyrs and endowed with moral and political authority.⁶⁷ Thus it was common to commemorate important acts of Jewish resistance like the Warsaw ghetto uprising.⁶⁸ More generally, the experience of suffering was itself endowed with heroism, transforming all of those who had perished during the catastrophe into martyrs of European Jewry. For example, in the Dachau memorial book put together by Joel Sack and Yosef Lindenberg in 1947, the English word *martyred* and the Yiddish word *murdered* (*umgebrakht*) were used as synonyms. This interpretation of martyrdom was a novelty. Traditionally, martyrdom had implied a conscious choice of death, especially in the face of demands to renounce one’s faith. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, such an interpretation seemed problematic, as the Jews who had been murdered had not been given a choice. Like Jews elsewhere, Jewish DPs began to think about martyrdom less in terms of what one had done than who one was—or, more accurately, who one was considered to be.

The Debate over the Jewish Future

What consequences should be drawn from these conclusions about the past? How should the past inform present actions and plans for the future? This was the key question posed by Jewish DP leaders.

The great catastrophe that had befallen European Jewry, many argued, signaled not only the end of one era but also the beginning of another arguably better one. As David Treger stated at the Second Congress of Liberated Jews in February 1947, endowing history itself with transformative power, "It was the will of Jewish history, that in our time a great new era in the life of the Jewish people should begin."⁶⁹ In keeping with the idea that the *She'erith Hapletah* represented not only the remnants of a once great community but also the possibility of renewal and rebirth, Jewish DPs were assigned the role of a vanguard in the creation of this new era. This vanguard role was articulated clearly at the July 1945 conference in St. Ottilien. Addressing the conference, a Jewish survivor who had returned home, only to leave again for Germany, drew far-reaching conclusions about the place of DPs in the Jewish future.

I have already come back from my "fatherland." There are hundreds, indeed, thousands like me, who have already gotten a sense of what awaits us in our former "homes." Therefore I come here and say to you: today it is not only a problem of the Jews who find themselves in Germany, it is the burning problem of all European Jewry. You today are the pathbreakers who must pave the way for hundreds of thousands of European Jews.⁷⁰

David Treger elaborated on this idea in his speech at the Second Congress. "From a historical perspective," he stated, "we stand *al poroshes drokhis*, [that is,] at a crossroads. There must be a breakthrough in the fate of the whole Jewish nation, and we the *She'erith Hapletah* have been called to lead the way to full national salvation."⁷¹

Central to the idea that Jewish DPs represented a vanguard was the fact that they had recognized the essential national unity of the Jewish people and the necessity of a Jewish state. Like their obligation toward the past, this national awakening was identified as the product of their wartime experiences, their status as survivors of the destruction. According to Samuel Gringauz, the encounter with Nazi ideology had radically transformed how Jews understood themselves. "His Jewishness," Gringauz

argued, “became the substance of consciousness, became fate. Just as his enemy showed day in and day out an all-embracing, extremely intense, and omnipresent anti-Jewish attitude, making the Jewishness of the Jew the center of all his attention, so too the Jew, in self-defense, made of his Jewishness the foundation of his consciousness.”⁷² For Gringauz, direct experience was the bedrock upon which ideologies were constructed. The experience of Nazi persecution had given birth to a new ideology, characterized by Judeocentrism and Jewish universalism. For Jakob Oleiski as well, the recent past had revealed the essentially Jewish nature of the survivors. Thus it was an error to think that Jews could ever be members of their native countries, however deep their attachments to those countries might be. Like Gringauz, Oleiski described this realization as the product of a progressively more intense personal encounter with the persecutors.

“I want to see my home again,” we sang with a feeling of homesickness in the first years of the “Ghetos” [*sic*] looking through the fences over the Vilija to Kowno and other Lithuanian towns. Today, after all that, after the concentration camps in Germany, after we stated definitively that our former home was changed into a mass grave, we can only grope and clasp with our finger tips the shadows of our dearest, and painfully cry: I can never more see my home. . . . The victorious nations that in the 20th century removed the black plague from Europe must understand once and for all the specific Jewish problem. No, no we are not Polish when we are born in Poland, we are not Lithuanians even though we once passed through Lithuania and we are neither Roumanians though we have seen the first time in our life the sunshine in Roumania. We are Jews!!!⁷³

Jewish survivors thus had to reject their old national affiliations and adopt a new exclusively Jewish identity. Invoking a popular song from the ghetto, “I Long for Home,” Jakob Oleiski acknowledged the pain involved in separating from one’s native land. However, he concluded with a call to open the gates of Palestine and allow Jews to build a state there.

The call to reject old national affiliations translated into the practical demand for recognition of Jews as Jews. Like Ukrainian DPs, many Jewish DPs argued that they constituted a community that transcended and overrode citizenship categories. As Marian Puczyk noted in late 1946, looking back at the first postwar months, “We began with a struggle to be recognized as Jews and not seen as Poles, Lithuanians, Romanians, Hungarians,

etc. In addition we put an end to the following nonsense: the Jews from Poland . . . [and] Lithuania were recognized as members of the United Nations, while the Romanian, Hungarian, and also German Jews were viewed as former citizens of the conquered nations and treated as enemies. They must first be repatriated.”⁷⁴ After the arrival of Polish Jewish refugees, DP leaders insisted that they too be incorporated into the category of Jewish DPs. It was nonsense, Zalman Grinberg argued, to distinguish between DPs and refugees, because both were victims of the Nazi regime.⁷⁵

The call to reject old national identities also translated into the demand for separation from Germans and non-Jewish DPs, viewed collectively as perpetrators of the genocide.⁷⁶ In particular, Jewish DPs demanded their own DP camps. According to Jakob Oleiski, the DP camps were “a sediment basin of Ukrainians [*sic*], Whites, Poles, and Lithuanians and Letts—those criminals which are afraid to return home for the day of Judgment which is expecting them.”⁷⁷ Jewish DP leaders also demanded separation outside the camps. For example, the Central Committee forbade Jewish DP sports teams to play against non-Jewish groups.⁷⁸ It also criticized Jewish students who participated in the UNRRA University, an international DP university in Munich that also drew many Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Lithuanians, and Latvians. At a meeting with the Jewish Students Union in November 1948, a representative of the CK argued that “no discussions should be carried on with other DPs, for example with Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, etc., then all of them have in fact been the persecutors of Jewry.”⁷⁹ As these examples themselves make clear, relations between Jews and non-Jews were more complicated than leadership circles may have wished. Although Jewish DPs officially refused to hire or work for Germans, it was common to employ German women as nannies in the DP camps. Jewish DP men sometimes had sex with German women.⁸⁰ There were also painful efforts at dialogue between Jewish and non-Jewish DPs. In Munich, for example, a group of Lithuanian DPs met with Lithuanian Jewish survivor and DP leader Yosef Leibowitz to discuss the possibility of working together for the liberation of Lithuania. The meeting ended badly: the Lithuanian delegation was unwilling to provide an unqualified acknowledgment of Lithuanian complicity in the Holocaust, and Leibowitz determined it was impossible to work with them.⁸¹ Such encounters no doubt reinforced support for separation. The policy changes introduced after the Harrison Report facilitated this goal, recognizing Jewish DPs as a distinct group and granting them their own DP camps.

For most Jewish DP leaders, the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine was the only logical consequence to be drawn from the recent destruction. The Central Committee of Liberated Jews saw it as its number one objective to lead survivors out of Germany and into Palestine.⁸² According to Samuel Gringauz, the events of the recent past had definitively demonstrated that Jews could not rely on the rest of the world. No one had lifted a finger to help them in their moment of greatest need, and the revival of antisemitism in the postwar world, as well as the poor treatment of Jewish DPs, suggested that little had changed since then. "Our first conclusion," he wrote, "is that we can expect no recognition of our sufferings from the world, that there is no point in getting angry and shouting and adopting a pose of righteous indignation."⁸³ The only shelter from the old and new antisemitism was a Jewish state. The Central Committee articulated a similar message in a letter to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, written with Jewish DP committees from other occupation zones. "We have learned by personal experience," the committees wrote, "that no country in the world was able, or willing, to protect us, and we were thus helplessly exposed to Hitler's fury of destruction." Indeed, they continued, "the fact that the disaster which befell European Jewry reached such dimensions can only be ascribed to the homelessness of our people. . . . We, therefore, firmly believe that for our and our children's safety and peace the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine is an absolute necessity."⁸⁴ The recent destruction, then, had not only confirmed the Jewishness of the Jews but also the impossibility of finding protection in the world at large.

While the search for a Jewish state was defined as a response to the Holocaust, it was also placed in a broader historical context. As we have seen, many Jewish DP leaders looked back on the entire Jewish encounter with Western civilization as a "great disappointment." In this reading, the dream of the lost national home had accompanied the Jewish diaspora throughout its long history in Europe. The Zionist effort to create a Jewish state in Palestine thus promised to close a larger circle.⁸⁵ While Jakob Oleiski looked back at the old hometowns of eastern Europe with fondness and suggested that the turn toward Zionism meant abandoning the dream of return, other DP leaders did not dwell on this. For them, the dream of return was attached to Palestine.

While most Jewish DP leaders subscribed to some version of the Zionist narrative, it did not meet with unanimous approval. The Jewish DP camps and communities were filled with political parties, many modeled after the dominant parties of the prewar Jewish communities of eastern



Fig. 5. Jewish DPs protest British immigration policy to Palestine in the Neu Freimann displaced persons camp, date unknown. (Photograph by Jack Sutin. Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.)

Europe. These parties “reflected the diversity, or, to be more precise, the fragmentation of the Jewish community.”⁸⁶ In addition to a host of Zionist groups, they included the socialist Bund and the orthodox-religious Agudath Israel. Especially during the first months after the liberation, a variety of ideas about the Jewish future competed for attention. This comes through clearly in the debate among the delegates who met in Feldafing in July 1945 to create a general committee. Yosef Leibowitz, a Lithuanian Jewish survivor who had worked with the Zionist youth movement in Kovno, openly acknowledged that survivors still needed to be convinced of the Zionist narrative. “We have to fight for the new idea of Palestine,” he noted. “One needs to explain to the Jews what’s going on in their old homelands.”⁸⁷ Another delegate took issue with the attempt to inject Zionist politics into the workings of the committee. “80% of the Jews,” Dr. Rosental argued, “want to return to their old homes. There should not be any politicking, rather, [the executive committee] should concern itself with feeding the people in the camps.”⁸⁸ According to Rosental, the com-

mittee was supposed to be a practical entity, whose primary task was to minister to the material needs of survivors. He insisted that he would not work with a politically oriented committee. This declaration met with a hostile response from yet another delegate, V. Friedheim of Poland. "The question of Palestine," Friedheim retorted, "is not a purely Zionist matter, but rather a general Jewish one. Under no circumstances may boundaries be imposed on the Executive, on the contrary, it should operate with the broadest possible mandate." From his perspective, the executive committee was in fact working "for the good and in the interest of all the Jews in Bavaria."⁸⁹ He noted that Rosental and the 800 Jews he represented were free to leave the association. Such less than subtle pressure helped alienate non-Zionists from the Central Committee. Indeed, the Zionist majority was intolerant of Bundists, Communists, and other non-Zionists and succeeded in marginalizing them in most camps and communities, Feldafing being an important exception.⁹⁰ Consequently, many Jewish DPs did not view the CK as their representative.

Of course, Zionists were also internally divided. Zionist unity proved difficult to maintain in the heated political atmosphere of the late 1940s. Zionist parties proliferated, reproducing many lines of division that had existed before the war. They included socialist Zionist groups of various stripes, General Zionists, Zionist Revisionists, and Mizrachi or religious Zionists.⁹¹ All of these tendencies were represented on the Central Committee.⁹² Indeed, the different Zionist groups competed with one another for representation on the CK and for funds from the CK's coffers.⁹³ They disagreed over key issues such as the nature and extent of a Jewish state in Palestine, the range of tactics acceptable in the struggle for Palestine, the role of religion, and the possibilities for a revival of Jewish life in Europe. Control over the Central Committee oscillated between the parties of the Zionist left, who favored a Jewish state along socialist lines, and the Revisionists, who were fervently antisocialist and demanded the establishment of a Jewish state on both banks of the Jordan River.⁹⁴ As among Ukrainian DPs, these conflicts undermined the effort to project an image of national unity.

The Zionist movement was also self-consciously generational. It was a movement of the young, of those who had been born at or after the turn of the century and had come of age during the 1930s and early 1940s. In this regard, there are interesting parallels between Jewish leaders and their Ukrainian and Russian counterparts: all three represent the nationally minded younger generation. Their politics point to the broader nationalist

mobilization of youth in interwar eastern Europe. A considerable gap in political orientation divided younger Jewish survivors from their elders. Speaking before a gathering of American Jews in December 1946, Aryeh Retter, himself only twenty-four at the time, alluded to this gap. The “bitter experiences” survivors had suffered in their home countries, he argued, “have taught us that we must assure the life of our children, and not repeat the mistakes of our parents.” In the ghetto, Retter noted, only the youth had had the courage to organize a resistance.⁹⁵ He thus implicitly faulted the older generation for its unwillingness to make a break with Europe and its inability to resist the persecutions. Similar sentiments were expressed at the St. Ottilien Conference. “One does not notice a Jewish life pulsating in the camp,” a delegate from Bergen-Belsen in the British zone noted, “and this can be explained by the fact that the politics pursued by the camp leadership are not in accord with the wishes of the youth, which is nationally-minded.”⁹⁶ The struggle to define a new politics can therefore be seen in generational terms.

Jewish DPs in Regional Perspective

In defining survivors as the *She'erith Hapletah*, Jewish DP leaders argued that they represented the remnants of European Jewry. Yet this was clearly an inflated claim. The community of Jewish DPs was not synonymous with the community of survivors. It consisted largely of Jews from Poland, with smaller numbers from other eastern European countries, notably Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Lithuania.⁹⁷ Similarly, the leadership cadre was drawn primarily from Polish and Lithuanian Jews who shared a commitment to Zionism. In order to better understand how Jewish DPs understood themselves, one needs to examine antirepatriation, proemigration, and pro-Zionist sentiments in regional perspective. Lacking such an analysis, it is difficult to understand why some survivors returned home while others did not. Regional differences in Zionist sentiment have not received much attention in the scholarship on Jewish DPs. Instead, borrowing arguments put forward by Jewish DP leaders themselves, many scholars have argued that the strength of Zionism among DP survivors can be attributed to the Holocaust. The Holocaust did indeed have a profound effect on how many survivors understood themselves. By itself, however, it does not explain their attitudes toward the future. Also important to understanding their outlook is an examination of nationalist

political mobilization in prewar eastern Europe coupled with an analysis of Jewish life in eastern Europe after the war.

Questions of identity and belonging preoccupied Jewish survivors throughout Europe. However, their answers to these questions differed widely. Attitudes toward repatriation provide a rough index here. Survivors from western European countries such as Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy were generally willing to accept the authority of their national committees and return home. Survivors from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania were ambivalent, while survivors from Poland and Lithuania demonstrated significant resistance.⁹⁸ Finally, the attitudes of survivors from the Soviet Union are difficult to gauge, since like other Soviet citizens, they were subject to forcible repatriation. Among the first DPs, then, antirepatriation sentiment was strongest among Polish and Lithuanian Jews. As we have seen, moreover, these two groups played a key role in the organization of the first Jewish committees. Importantly, both Poland and Lithuania stand out as countries with a strong Zionist tradition. Previous experiences with Zionism and other forms of Jewish nationalism thus seem to have played an important role in shaping outlooks toward the future.

Throughout eastern Europe, Zionism experienced a considerable growth in popularity after the First World War. Yet the degrees of success varied markedly from country to country. In Czechoslovakia and Romania, Zionism made relatively modest inroads, whereas in Hungary modern Jewish politics as a whole did not emerge, despite the fact that Theodor Herzl had been born there.⁹⁹ In Poland and Lithuania, on the other hand, Zionism constituted the most dynamic Jewish political movement of the interwar era. Poland, with its large Jewish population, was numerically the strongest center of Zionism, while Lithuania, a country with a much smaller Jewish population, had the proportionally highest number of Zionist activists.¹⁰⁰ According to Ezra Mendelsohn, the appeal of Zionism and other forms of Jewish nationalism is best understood in relation to the strength of Orthodox traditions coupled with opportunities for acculturation. In countries like Lithuania, “the combination of little acculturation and a deeply rooted Orthodox Jewry undergoing a process of secularization encouraged by both the government and the *Haskalah* produced an environment in which modern Jewish nationalism flourished and competed with Orthodoxy for the allegiance of the youth.”¹⁰¹ In Poland, the situation was somewhat different. Here the Jewish population was becoming progressively more integrated into the majority society. Young Jews in-

creasingly attended Polish schools, learned the Polish language, and participated in Polish cultural life. By the early 1930s, Polish was replacing Yiddish as the dominant language among the younger generations.¹⁰² However, the upsurge in antisemitism during the interwar period, reflected in official government policies that discriminated against Jews and pushed them to the margins of the economy, suggested to many young Polish Jews that like their Lithuanian counterparts, they had only a limited future in their home countries. They thus increasingly viewed the creation of a Jewish state as the best solution to their problems. Zionism flourished, though as Mendelsohn cautions, “it by no means ‘conquered’ Polish Jewry,” in large part because of the progress of Polonization.¹⁰³

For survivors from Poland and Lithuania, especially the younger generation, Zionism thus constituted a well-established idiom for thinking about Jewish belonging, a recognized alternative to the idea of rebuilding their lives in their native countries. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, this alternative was more appealing than ever before. During the Nazi occupation of Poland, non-Jewish Poles often looked on with indifference and even satisfaction as their Jewish neighbors were persecuted and murdered. In some cases, they took the initiative in perpetrating violence. In Lithuania, the situation was even worse, as here, unlike in Poland, the Nazis actively solicited the assistance of the non-Jewish population. Motivated by antisemitism, opportunism, and greed, many Lithuanians in fact participated in the Holocaust.¹⁰⁴ The violence was often intimate. Lithuanian Jews who survived the Holocaust thus had bitter memories of their non-Jewish neighbors.

The connections between prewar experience and postwar outlook can be seen in the history of the Polish Jewish survivors who founded the Jewish Information Office in Dachau, discussed earlier in this chapter. These survivors had grown up in an environment permeated with Zionist ideas. They also belonged to that segment of the population—young, acculturated, and secular Jews—among whom Zionism had the greatest success during the interwar period. Most of them were young professionals. Joel Sack’s background is particularly striking. He was an engineer from the town of Boryslaw in eastern Galicia, a region with an especially strong history of Zionist success. He spoke fluent Polish and German as well as Yiddish. He had been one of the few Jewish students accepted into the technical institute where he received his training. There he had been exposed to the intensely antisemitic atmosphere typical of Polish universities in the 1930s. Yet he had also enjoyed the respect and friendship of Christian

Poles. He considered himself a loyal citizen of Poland. His circle of close friends in Dachau included a number of non-Jewish Poles. The postcatastrophe Zionism of the Jewish Information Office may thus be interpreted as a belated embrace of the political course that many Polish Jews of similar background had chosen before the war. As Michal Borwicz notes with reference to the Polish context, “the events of the preceding years [i.e., the Holocaust] may have served to strengthen the movement, but they had certainly not created it.”¹⁰⁵

While the popularity of Zionism in interwar Poland and Lithuania is essential to explaining its appeal after the Holocaust, a mass exodus of Jews from Poland would probably never have taken place had it not been for postwar antisemitism and anti-Jewish violence. Few survivors anywhere returned home to find their families and communities intact. Moreover, throughout Europe, societies failed to recognize the specificity of Nazi Jewish persecution. In western and eastern European countries alike, Jewish experiences were alternately marginalized and folded into national narratives of victimization. However, in few places did survivors face the kind of hostility they did in Poland. Returning Jews were greeted by their Polish neighbors with hostility. They found their homes occupied and their possessions claimed by Poles who were unwilling to return them. Having suffered the most under the Nazi occupation, they were also the least well-equipped to cope with the prevailing conditions of economic distress. Moreover, hostility toward Jews often took on violent form. As noted earlier, up to 1,500 Polish Jews were killed in the first two years after the war.¹⁰⁶ Although the new Communist-dominated government officially supported the Jewish population, the government was also eager to win over Christian Poles, who often harbored antisemitic sentiments and were anxious about losing what they had gained at the expense of their Jewish neighbors. Worried about being seen as “pro-Jewish,” it responded timidly to anti-Jewish violence. Moreover, although Jews were now equal citizens, antisemitism had hardly been eliminated from the ranks of government servants. During the Kielce pogrom, police and security officials stood by as the population attacked Jews, and even participated in creating an anti-semitic atmosphere.¹⁰⁷

Despite the growing atmosphere of hostility and violence, many Polish Jews nonetheless initially hoped to rebuild their lives at home. As recent research has shown, Jewish life in postwar Poland swung between reconstruction and emigration. Synagogues, schools, and cultural institutions reopened, and political life was intense. Since many Jews feared remaining

in villages and small towns, they gravitated to the big cities, contributing to the revival of Jewish life there. Lodz, which had survived the war relatively unscathed, became the center of Jewish life in postwar Poland.¹⁰⁸ However, the experience of the Holocaust and the continuing threat of violence lent this revival an atmosphere of instability. The desperate economic situation and the growing Sovietization of Poland also generated anxiety. As Shimon Redlich notes, “a basic feature of Jewish existence and activity in Lodz, as well as throughout Poland, was a temporary and transitory way of life.”¹⁰⁹ This sense of insecurity heightened the appeal of Zionism. The social bases of Zionism in Poland expanded markedly after the war. In their identity as survivors of the catastrophe, Jews discovered a common bond. “Persons of vastly different backgrounds,” Irena Hurwic-Nowakowska writes, “felt in their common Jewishness the impact of their shared national fate.”¹¹⁰ Part of the movement’s appeal was the sense of family and community it offered. The possibility of emigration to Palestine—or elsewhere—was also attractive.¹¹¹

The escalation of antisemitic violence in 1946 had a dramatic effect on the outlook of Polish Jews. Emigration, which had been rising since the early spring of 1946, increased markedly after the Kielce pogrom. Whereas 3,500 Jews had left during the month of May, in July the figure rose to 19,000 and in August reached the incredible number of 35,000.¹¹² All in all, some 120,000 Jews left Poland in the first few years after the war, leaving behind a community of approximately 100,000.¹¹³ Smaller numbers fled Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and other eastern European countries, where antisemitism also experienced a revival. The Zionist-led *Brichah* network played a pivotal role in facilitating emigration, pursuing the goal of leading Jews to Palestine through the temporary way station of the DP camps.

Popular Opinion and the Zionist Option

While a regional perspective is essential to understanding the appeal of Zionism, it remains unclear how popular the Zionist vision really was. Many scholars have concluded that Jewish DPs demonstrated overwhelming support for Zionism. According to Koppel Pinson, one of the first to address this subject, “the deep influence of their suffering and the actual annihilation of the great compact centers of active Jewish life have led most [Jewish DPs] to a complete rejection of the diaspora and to a clear

and unmistakable Palestinocentrism.”¹¹⁴ Yet the documentary record of popular opinion is thin and difficult to interpret. How strong was the desire to emigrate to Palestine? Moreover, what did Palestinocentrism mean? To what extent did it mean support for the idea of building a Jewish state in Palestine?

The most substantial sounding of the Jewish DP population was the UNRRA repatriation poll examined earlier in the context of Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs. The poll registered both widespread resistance to repatriation and widespread support for emigration to Palestine. Opposition to repatriation was connected to the feeling that their old homes had become mass graveyards, to the fear of persecution, and to an overwhelming sense of loneliness. As one DP wrote, “Poland is covered with Jewish blood; even now the Poles are persecuting Jews. We can visit the cemeteries, but we cannot live there.”¹¹⁵ Another wrote, “All of my relatives were killed in Auschwitz. I can’t live among the murderers of my parents.”¹¹⁶ Fear of the Soviets was also a factor. Explaining why he did not want to return home, one Hungarian Jew wrote, “because of anti-semitism and *because of Russia*.”¹¹⁷ Regarding support for Palestine, on their ballots, some Jewish DPs wrote comments like, “Palestine is my Fatherland.”¹¹⁸ Hundreds simply wrote “Palestine.”

The desire to emigrate to Palestine, UNRRA argued, grew out of a confluence of factors.

The Jews in UNRRA centers in Germany expressed a unanimous desire to immigrate, the majority of them either to Palestine or to the U.S. By far the largest number of Polish and Ukrainian Jews express a desire to go to Palestine. This desire can easily be understood in the light of the strong nationalistic feelings among the eastern Jewry already prevailing before the war, coupled with the racial persecution at the hands of the Nazis, not to mention some of their own countrymen during the war. . . . It is now impossible for the Jews from eastern Europe to return to their large Jewish communities for so many of them have been wiped out, and tales of continued anti-semitism drift in daily with new refugees coming out of Poland.¹¹⁹

These comments expertly summarize the main forces encouraging support for Palestine among Jewish DPs. A few other situational factors should also be considered. First, the outcome of the repatriation poll probably reflected the optimism about emigration that prevailed in the spring of

1946. The poll was conducted just weeks after the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry submitted its final report, calling on the British government to immediately authorize 100,000 emigration certificates for Jewish survivors. According to Leo Schwarz, “a mass exodus from the camps of Germany and Austria was envisioned. In all buildings and on all bulletin boards there appeared a colorful, patriotic poster, depicting Palestine as a happy haven in contrast to the bleak situation elsewhere.”¹²⁰ Such posters were part of a concerted propaganda campaign on the part of the Zionist leadership. Consequently, some element of subtle pressure no doubt also contributed to the result of the repatriation poll.¹²¹ This is the second situational factor to consider.

While the repatriation poll demonstrated widespread support for emigration to Palestine, it also revealed interest in other destinations, especially the United States. On their ballots, many Jewish DPs noted their desire to emigrate to the United States. This desire was occasionally connected to the idea of the United States as a democratic country, as when one DP called it “the best democracy in the world.”¹²² More important, however, was the presence of relatives. One DP wrote, “We were a big family and all are murdered. I have relatives in the USA. I shall go there.”¹²³ Another stated, “I remain alone of family of 8.—Have no relatives in Europe. Have two brothers and a sister in the USA. I am miserable and therefore I wish to reach them. Have affidavit.”¹²⁴ Many DPs hoped that living in the American zone would heighten their chances of gaining entry into the United States. And, of course, the United States had long been a magnet for eastern European Jews, as the presence of relatives itself attested. In the spring of 1946, however, Palestine appeared a more realistic option than the United States. This, UNRRA analysts thought, went some ways to explaining the popularity of the Palestine option. “Although many would perhaps prefer to go to some western country,” they wrote, “the emigration quotas to these lands will be so low as to allow only a trick[le] of immigrants to enter. Palestine appears to be the only solution to their problem.”¹²⁵

Yet the prospects of emigration to Palestine were also far from bright. While Jewish DP leaders demanded free and immediate access to Palestine, they realized that emigration opportunities might not materialize, either in the short or long term. This was a source of great concern, and became more so as time wore on. By the summer of 1946, as Jewish refugees from Poland streamed into the U.S. zone in ever larger numbers, and official deliberations over Palestine dragged on, it was clear that there would be no

quick exodus. Jewish DPs were increasingly demoralized, and Zionist leaders worried that they would not be willing to wait.¹²⁶ As Leo Schwarz notes, the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry drew attention to problems in Palestine. News reports and letters “describing the imprisonment of illegal immigrants and the growing conflict between the Yishub and the British and Arabs, added fuel to the fires of spring.”¹²⁷ As a result, more and more Jewish DPs were submitting applications for immigration to other places, notably the United States. In a speech to Jewish leaders in the United States in December 1946, Aryeh Retter referred to the failure to lead the Jewish DPs out of Germany as “the second chapter of our Great Tragedy.” He sought to convince his audience that survivors remained committed to the Zionist project. “If today you find Jews who declare they will go wherever you send them,” he argued, “it isn’t because they have forgotten their tragedy and don’t want to go to Palestine, but merely because they are desperate—and must find some place to rest their weary bones. There is no Jew in Europe who does not feel the vital necessity of possessing his own country.”¹²⁸ Clearly, however, Retter worried that this might not be true. The desperation that led Jewish DPs to consider other options suggested that their desire for a peaceful new home was as strong, if not stronger, than their desire for a Jewish state.

These conclusions are supported by David Engel’s research into the idea of Palestine among Jews in postwar Poland. In an important essay, Engel examines the protests against British policy in Palestine that took place in Lodz during the visit of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in February 1946. Noting that only the combined efforts of Zionist, non-Zionist, and anti-Zionist parties drew large numbers to the streets, he concludes that the protests had more to do with the desire for emigration opportunities than with support for the idea of a Jewish national home. The Anglo-American Committee delegation visited at a time when the prospects for emigration seemed especially dim. The economic situation among Jews was desperate, anti-Jewish violence was rising, and illegal immigration had become risky. “The constellation of circumstances in postwar Poland,” Engel concludes, “thus inexorably drove a major portion of Polish Jews towards the Zionist leadership, if not at first toward ideological Zionism.”¹²⁹ It is possible to imagine that things might have turned out differently: “had Polish Jews heard, for example that an official American investigative commission had come to Poland to investigate whether immigration quotas to the United States should be expanded—they probably

would have reacted in much the same way.”¹³⁰ Moreover, as Natalia Aleksion notes, some part of the Jews who eventually left Poland with the help of Brichah “not only did not belong to any of the Zionist organizations, but also were not planning to settle in Palestine.”¹³¹

Nonetheless, many Jewish DPs felt a strong attachment to Palestine. As Pinson suggests, the issue of Palestine was existential rather than political. “Without Palestine there seemed to be no future for them. Anti-Zionism or even a neutral attitude towards Zionism came to mean for them a threat to the most fundamental stakes in their future.”¹³² More than a concrete emigration destination, Palestine represented Jewish survival and revival in the aftermath of catastrophe and the recognition of Jewish dignity. Hurwic-Nowakowska’s research on Jews in postwar Poland supports these conclusions. As she observes, even assimilated Jews with no intention of emigrating supported the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine, believing that it was the only thing that would ensure their security in the postwar world. The creation of Israel strengthened their national consciousness. “The existence of the Jewish state endows them with a sense of moral satisfaction and creates a belief that the fact of the state will result in the recognition of the dignity of Jews on the part of both Jews and non-Jews.”¹³³ This may be what the votes for Palestine in the repatriation poll ultimately tell us.

The Jewish committees that developed in the concentration camps after the liberation represented the beginnings of a movement toward self-organization among eastern European Jews in Germany. Although this movement had various goals, including nonpolitical ones, it was strongly shaped by Zionist readings of the Jewish past and Zionist visions of the Jewish future. Zionist DP leaders presented the Holocaust as the culmination of a long history of suffering in the diaspora. The creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, they argued, was the only logical consequence to be drawn from this history. The UNRRA repatriation poll of May 1946 suggests that the outlook of Zionist leaders found considerable support among Jewish DPs. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, many Jewish DPs were convinced that life in the diaspora was no longer possible and that only a Jewish state could protect them from future persecution. As the repatriation poll also suggests, however, many Jewish DPs saw their future elsewhere, especially in the United States. And support for a Jewish state did not necessarily mean plans to emigrate to Palestine. Even among Polish Jews who remained in Poland, there was considerable support for the creation of a Jewish state, which represented the restoration of Jewish dignity.

Finally, support for Zionism needs to be seen in a broader historical

context, one that takes into account where survivors came from and what circumstances they faced in their home countries after the war. The vast majority of Jewish DPs in Germany were Polish Jews. Lithuanian Jews represented a small cohort of Jewish DPs but played a large role in political and communal life. For these survivors, Zionism was a familiar political idiom, because it had played a central role in Polish and Lithuanian Jewish politics before the war. For Polish Jews, moreover, the situation they faced in postwar Poland was also critical. Most important here was antisemitic violence, which created a pervasive sense of fear. Indeed, in the absence of antisemitic violence, it is unlikely that a mass exodus from Poland would have taken place. Thus, although the Holocaust had a transformative effect on the outlook of many survivors, in order to understand why this was the case, it is essential to know both what came before it and what came after.

CHAPTER 6

Displaced Jews and the German Question

Most Jewish DPs had no desire to remain in Germany. As German agencies gained more control over civil and political affairs, however, the question of how to live among Germans assumed greater prominence, especially for those no longer certain when and if they would leave. This chapter looks at the relationship between Jewish DPs and their German environment, charting the shifts that accompanied the withdrawal of direct American oversight and the corresponding increase in German authority. I focus in particular on how displaced Jews interacted with Germany's nascent civil and political institutions and with the small community of German Jewish survivors—both of which, albeit in quite different ways, represented a troubling reassertion of German authority and a German national future. I explore the tensions engendered by the transfer of authority through a close examination of the Möhlstrasse demonstration of August 1949, a pivotal event in the early postwar history of the Jewish community, in which hundreds of Jewish DPs took to the streets of Munich to protest antisemitism.

Looking at the shifting position of Jewish DPs vis-à-vis German society offers an opportunity to reexamine the relationship between the formation of the Federal Republic and the reconstruction of Jewish life in Germany. The success of the democratizing project in West Germany has long been evaluated according to how the German government and the German public addressed—or did not address—the crimes of the Nazi era, especially the Holocaust. Scholars generally agree that the shift in emphasis, over the course of the late 1940s, from denazification to western integration disadvantaged Jews. Yet they disagree over the extent to which West Germans confronted the Nazi past and how these efforts should be interpreted. Frank Stern argues that continuities in antisemitism were ac-

accompanied by the emergence of a new “philosemitism,” which reversed many stereotypes but evaded a genuine confrontation with the Nazi past, serving primarily to legitimate the new West German government in the eyes of the international community.¹ By contrast, Jeffrey Herf suggests that while silence did indeed predominate, political leaders like Konrad Adenauer, Theodor Heuss, and especially Kurt Schumacher “believed that it was the responsibility of postwar Germans to accept the moral obligations and burdens left by the genocide of European Jewry.”² Scholars also note that a new Jewish community successfully established roots in post-war Germany and “even acquired influence in political life out of proportion to [its] numbers.”³

Looking more closely at these issues from a DP-centered perspective puts a somewhat different light on them. Unlike German Jews, Jewish DPs were viewed as more “foreign” than German Jews and were more vulnerable to discrimination, especially by the German police, who associated Jewish DPs with black marketeering and other forms of illegal economic activity. Moreover, Jewish DPs harbored greater demands for autonomy and separation than German Jews. They were unwilling to acknowledge the authority of most German civil and political institutions. Rather, they demanded extraterritorial autonomy, a distinct status with no clear expiration date. Their rejection of a Jewish future in Germany also made their relations with German Jews uncomfortable. The transition to German authority was thus more painful and less successful for Jewish DPs, especially for the small number who remained in Germany after mass emigration.

Jewish DPs and the Future of German Jewry

From the beginning, Jewish DPs and German Jews coexisted uneasily.⁴ The DP committees and the reestablished Jewish communities (*Gemeinden*) saw each other more as competitors than as partners. The Central Committee of Liberated Jews initially excluded German Jews.⁵ Conversely, many communities sought to exclude Jewish DPs or limit their participation. Far outnumbered by Jewish DPs, German Jews tenaciously held onto the remnants of their destroyed communities. In Munich, for example, the Jewish community at one point sought to deny non-German citizens the right to vote in *Gemeinde* elections.⁶ There was also fierce competition between Jewish committees and Jewish communities over the material assistance provided by the Joint. Writing to the Joint in 1947, one German Jew-

ish survivor questioned the division between German and foreign Jews in the distribution of resources. Echoing the language of postcatastrophe unity put forward by Jewish DP leaders, he wrote: "Am I a different kind of Jew than my Pol., Hung., Lith., and Russ. co-religionists? The answer can only be 'No,' as we have all lived through the same horror, we all without distinction have managed to survive the same destruction."⁷

The tensions between German Jews and Jewish DPs were in part the product of inherited prejudices. Many intra-Jewish conflicts of the post-war era can primarily be traced back to "the continuity of images and anxieties" among both eastern and western Jews.⁸ Jewish DPs tended to view German Jews as *yekkes*, assimilated Jews who had lost their connections to traditional religious and cultural beliefs, while German Jews looked down on Jewish DPs as uncouth and old-fashioned *Ostjuden*.⁹ Such prejudices had colored Jewish life in Germany since the late nineteenth century, when Jews escaping antisemitism and economic hardship in eastern Europe had begun arriving in large numbers. However, the conflict between Jewish DPs and German Jews also had to do with fundamentally different attitudes toward the future. Setting their sights on emigration to Palestine, Jewish DP leaders saw no need to rebuild Jewish life in Germany. Unlike German Zionists of the earlier twentieth century, who encouraged emigration to Palestine but were positively disposed toward integration, they found it impossible to reconcile commitment to a Jewish state with life in the diaspora. Blithely disregarding the Jewish communities, the Central Committee presented itself as the "organizing and representative body of all the Jewish people living in the American Zone."¹⁰ It viewed German Jews as merely one of the many "regional" Jewish groups now gathered on German soil, and sought to bring them under its umbrella.¹¹ It also presented itself as the legal successor to the prewar Jewish communities and argued that the unclaimed property of German Jews should be entrusted not to the new Jewish communities but to the Jewish Agency in Palestine, which in its view represented the Jewish people as a whole.¹²

German Jews saw things differently. While many wanted to emigrate, many others placed a priority on reconstructing Jewish life in Germany. The Jewish communities insisted that they, and not the Central Committee, were the historical and legal successors to the communities destroyed by National Socialism. They flatly refused to participate in the Central Committee and protested its claims to Jewish property.¹³ Eventually, the CK was obliged to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Jewish communities and to modify its claims to succession. Through the mediation of Philipp

Auerbach, the Bavarian State Commissioner for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees, it established a decent working relationship with the communities.¹⁴ More generally, many Jewish DPs participated in rebuilding the communities. Thus the communities became hybrid institutions—as they already had been before the war—reflecting the varied religious, cultural, and political outlooks of German and eastern European Jews.¹⁵

Although the Central Committee viewed the creation of a Jewish state as the most important task confronting Jewish DPs, of necessity survivors directed much of their day-to-day energy toward improving their lives in Germany. As the prospect of a speedy departure from Germany receded, Jewish DP leaders began to devote more attention to the here and now. In an essay written in February 1947, on the eve of the Second Congress of Liberated Jews, Samuel Gringauz argued that Jewish DPs no longer constituted the vanguard of the Zionist movement. Thus, whereas the first congress had been addressed to the outside world, now the task was to turn inward and tackle the concrete problems facing survivors themselves.¹⁶ For Zionists, however, the development of Jewish life in Germany always carried the risk of distracting from the ultimate goal. “We must always keep in mind,” Marian Puczyk wrote in late 1946, “that our presence on German soil is temporary and that our final goal is ‘Eretz Israel.’”¹⁷ It was thus essential to find a *modus vivendi* that did not undermine this goal.

The solution favored by Jewish DP leaders, and by many “average” Jewish DPs, centered on the concept of extraterritorial autonomy. As we have seen, the call to reject old national affiliations and assert a Jewish national identity translated into the demand for separation from Germans and other DPs. Extraterritorial autonomy was the means of realizing this separation. It meant freedom from the German authorities both inside and outside the camps. The demand for extraterritorial autonomy was articulated early on, especially by Zionists, for whom it represented the opportunity to develop, in miniature, a Jewish nation-state. However, it became more urgent as control over political and legal affairs in Germany shifted from the Americans to the Germans. Jewish DP leaders viewed the transfer of authority as a clear “danger.”¹⁸ This led them to articulate some rather contradictory positions. Thus, at the Second Congress of Liberated Jews in February 1947, David Treger argued for the need to strike down antisemitic laws in Germany and to introduce laws “which make racial and religious slander criminal acts.” However, he also insisted that Jewish DPs remain outside the German legal system. Any future peace treaty, he argued, should include a provision stating that “Jewish DPs, including those

who will remain on German soil, . . . should not come under German jurisdiction but rather should enjoy special international protection.”¹⁹

While autonomy and separation were central goals, Jewish DPs also wanted to make sure that their demands and aspirations reached a broad public. Borrowing a phrase from Hersh Glick’s famous partisan song, they wanted to show that “we are here” (*mir zeynen do*). This entailed leaving the safe confines of the camps and committee headquarters and occupying German public space, since, as everyone recognized, the camps and committee headquarters were not truly public. The desire for extraterritorial autonomy in Germany thus competed and conflicted with the desire to engage a broader audience. The means by which Jewish DPs sought to draw attention to their presence in Germany were diverse and ranged from the mundane to the spectacular. A wide range of everyday practices can be interpreted as conscious acts of political self-assertion. For example, by pushing their baby carriages down the streets of German towns or demanding that German merchants fill special orders, Jewish women asserted their presence on German soil and took symbolic revenge on their former persecutors.²⁰ Jewish DPs also asserted their presence in more dramatic ways. Jewish committees set up shop in spaces requisitioned from the Germans and employed prominent locations for their memorial ceremonies and conferences. Similarly, they used central streets and squares for commemorations, demonstrations, and protests.

Such actions were an important aspect of Jewish DP politics. In general, Jewish DPs favored the direct and confrontational style of politics typical of prewar Jewish nationalists—the “politics of noise,” as its opponents had labeled it.²¹ As Atina Grossmann notes, “there was a kind of ‘in your face’ quality” to the public actions of Jewish DPs.²² This included actions organized by the Central Committee. The CK viewed public demonstrations as an essential part of its work. “The abnormal conditions and the specific situation of the She’erith Hapletah, which have no equal in the history of mankind,” a 1947 report from the CK’s Public Relations Department stated, “demand immense and unprecedented efforts on the part of the C.K., above all with regard to politics. The C.K. has decided that not a single opportunity may be missed, where the She’erith Hapletah should not let hear its cry of pain.”²³ To this end, it organized various “manifestations,” including public protests, hunger strikes, and letters to foreign dignitaries.

Like associational life, these public actions were a source of conflict between Jewish DPs and German Jews. Most German Jews disliked the

politics of noise, which they viewed as an example of the uncultured behavior of their eastern European brethren and as a threat to their security. Writing in April 1946, Hermann Aumer, the Bavarian Commissioner for the Care of Jews, objected to DP plans to hold demonstrations protesting German police actions. Such demonstrations, said Aumer, "would cause disorder and violence that would reflect on the Bavarian Jews and cause them hardships."²⁴ Aumer's successor Philipp Auerbach took a similar tack, calling on his fellow Jews not to engage in "provocative" behavior.²⁵ In general, German Jews sought to address their grievances in a more formal and "polite" manner. Rather than organizing a protest, for example, they would send representatives to meet privately with government officials. In the prewar era, Jewish nationalists had scoffed at such tactics, which they considered cowardly and undignified. This attitude also prevailed among Jewish DPs.

The Central Committee and the Search for Recognition

One of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews' primary goals was gaining official recognition from the American authorities.²⁶ Like Polish, Russian, and especially Ukrainian DPs, Jewish DPs viewed recognition of their committees as an important index of their standing on the international stage. It meant acceptance into the international comity of nations. A closer look at the Central Committee's struggle for recognition sheds new light on its political aspirations and how these aspirations were both encouraged and tempered by American DP policies.

The promise of recognition was an important spur to the formation of the Central Committee itself. At the CK's founding meeting in Feldafing in July 1945, Abraham Klausner justified his call for the creation of a general association of survivors by stating that the American Military Government encouraged such a move.²⁷ A few days later, he reported that he had already received verbal permission for the committee to begin its work and that written permission would be forthcoming.²⁸ On the strength of Klausner's word, UNRRA gave the committee office space at the Deutsches Museum, thus allowing the committee to begin its work in earnest.²⁹ However, the promised permission did not materialize. This is not surprising, since, as we have seen, the American authorities opposed the formation of committees with political ambitions. Thus the committee was obliged "to scuttle the nicely lettered signboard bearing the official title of the organiza-

tion” and replace it with a sign bearing the words Information Bureau, the default title, it seems, for committees without a mandate to engage in politics.³⁰ Internally, the committee continued to develop the structures of a formal and rather elaborate institution, with individual departments for agriculture, industry, finance, welfare, health, culture, public relations, and so forth. Externally, however, it led a “shadowy half-illegal, half-legal existence.”³¹ The committee’s association with Klausner lent its work an air of legitimacy, and his name and status as a member of the U.S. Army were prominently listed on the committee’s correspondence.³²

For the Central Committee, like other DP committees, recognition meant the right to represent DPs before the American authorities. Uninterested in engaging the German authorities, with the exception of the State Commission for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees, they viewed the Americans as their primary interlocutors. American recognition was in turn seen as a stepping-stone toward solving various practical problems, greatly exacerbated by the influx of Polish refugees. By gaining official status, committee members hoped they would be able to address their problems more efficiently. In particular, they hoped to gain independence from the voluntary agencies: UNRRA, whose efforts on behalf of Jewish DPs they considered mediocre; and the Joint, which they viewed as too unwilling to acknowledge the political nature of welfare work. Accomplishing the basic tasks of feeding, clothing, and housing survivors and refugees, CK members wrote in a critique of the Joint, often “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.”³³ Finally, recognition was seen as essential to the committee’s political work. Indeed, the issue of recognition gets to the heart of how the committee understood itself. In its statutes, the committee claimed for itself the right to represent Jews before the Americans, the Germans, the voluntary associations, and the larger international community.³⁴ It saw itself as a quasi-state entity with the right to negotiate with other such entities. Indeed, it saw itself as the nucleus of a future Jewish state. It did not clearly distinguish between members of the committee and the larger Jewish population. In keeping with the idea of the modern territorial nation-state, it considered all Jews in the American zone part of its membership. Recognition meant validation of this self-understanding.

In the summer of 1946, after an intervention by Philip S. Bernstein, the Special Adviser on Jewish Affairs, the army agreed to reconsider the committee’s request for recognition. The committee hoped it would soon

be granted sweeping powers. According to Leo Schwarz, the committee's chairman Zalman Grinberg believed that "the committeemen would be able to choose . . . between the legalization of the Committee as a voluntary association with the same status as UNRRA or JOINT or as a political organ."³⁵ American officials, however, were anxious to limit the scope of the committee's authority. They rejected the idea that the committee would speak for all Jews in the American zone and suggested that failure to distinguish between the committee's members and the larger Jewish community would give the committee too much power and allow "terrorism and 'Nazi' political methods" to flourish.³⁶ They also flatly rejected the committee's sweeping claims to political authority and insisted that it restrict itself to welfare activities.³⁷ Finally, they wanted to restrict the CK's representative powers to the military authorities and the voluntary associations. They saw its pretensions to greater political authority as a serious liability for the United States and its closest ally, Great Britain. If the committee's representative powers were not closely circumscribed, the army's Assistant Chief of Staff for Civil Affairs, Stanley Mickelsen, argued, recognition "would permit the expansion of [its] representations to any person, agency, or government in the world. This would place the United States in the position of supporting with public funds a world-wide political movement which operates outside the jurisdiction of the United States Forces, European Theater, and which is possibly opposed to the interests of our principal ally."³⁸

While most U.S. officials were primarily concerned about the scope of recognition, some questioned the wisdom of granting the committee any representative powers. Working from within the logic of administrative care and control, they argued that the needs of Jewish DPs were already adequately met by the extant welfare organizations.³⁹ Moreover, as both military and Military Government officials pointed out, recognition by the army would place the Central committee in a "unique legal position."⁴⁰ While most voluntary associations were recognized on the *Land* level, in keeping with the proposed reorganization of western Germany into a federation of states, the committee would be recognized on the zonal level, in keeping with the structure of the occupation. "This would appear to imply," as one group of MG officials put it, "that the Jewish people are to continue indefinitely to be dealt with as displaced persons having no part in the community life of Germany and, therefore, to be dealt with only by the U.S. Army and foreign relief agencies such as UNRRA."⁴¹ Should the army recognize the committee, it would thus be condoning the formation of com-

mittees “serving nationalistic or factional political groups.” Given the uncertain prospects for emigration, the officials argued, Jewish DPs should be encouraged to integrate into German society. Indeed, they suggested, “some part of the difficulties which the Jewish people have experienced in the past few years” were due precisely to their unwillingness to integrate.⁴²

The critiques articulated by U.S. officials were motivated primarily by concern about the committee’s desire to be a semipermanent political representation of Jews in Germany. This was seen as a threat both to the U.S.-British alliance and to the political authority of a future German state. However, the critiques of the Central Committee also reflected anti-semitic anxieties, made more potent by admixture with anticommunism. This comes through clearly in the critique articulated by a high-ranking army official named Edwin Clarke. In Clarke’s opinion, the Central Committee was nothing but a group of “rabble-rousers.” “Their record,” he argued, “has been a series of incidents, demonstrations, inspired riots, impromptu holidays, etc.” Raising the specter of Judeo-Bolshevism, he accused the committee members of “us[ing] methods reminiscent of Communist Russia in their voting, political action, and press agitation.” He was especially critical of Zalman Grinberg. He described Grinberg as “a Lithuanian Jew of great ambition and exceptional craft,” who made up stories about antisemitism in order to embarrass the occupation authorities.⁴³ Grinberg’s craftiness was apparently also evidenced by his use of what Clarke referred to as “aliases,” though a brief look at these makes clear that Clarke had confused Grinberg with his colleague Samuel Gringauz. He concluded that not only should the CK be refused recognition, it should be disbanded.

Clarke’s critique of recognition was shaped by antisemitic fantasies about Jewish power and cunning. However, it also contained an important observation: recognition of the Central Committee could spell the beginning of the end of the American policy against DP committees. “We cannot recognize Central Committee,” Clarke argued, “without placing ourselves in the position of recognizing DP committees in general.” He thus made explicit what most critiques only implied, namely, that recognition implied a fundamental change in policy toward political activity among displaced persons. Even on a limited basis, recognition of the Central Committee sanctioned the development of DP political life. In Clarke’s opinion, there were other committees more worthy of recognition. He drew special attention to the Central International Union of Former Political Prisoners (CIUPP), a committee of Polish, Ukrainian, and other displaced political

prisoners, which Clarke described as “a representative body in Munich composed of at least nine nationalities and consisting of persons who fared as badly as the Jews.” In his estimation, the International Union had a more desirable political profile: “CIUPP is anti-Russian, anti-Jewish, and anti-Nazi. They are pro-US and pro-British.”⁴⁴ Clearly, Clarke did not find the International Union’s antisemitism a problem.

Despite Clarke’s objections, the army decided to recognize the committee. According to Leo Schwarz, it had eminently practical reasons for doing so: as was the case more generally, self-government would allow military and civilian agencies to reduce their obligations to DPs.⁴⁵ However, great pains were taken to limit the scope of recognition and prevent the committee from “abusing” its new privilege. The committee was permitted to engage in welfare activities, advise the army on the needs of Jewish DPs, and represent its members before the military authorities. A liaison officer was appointed to facilitate communication between the committee and the army.⁴⁶ However, the committee was “expressly forbidden to indulge [!] in political activity.”⁴⁷ It was obliged to revise its statutes to conform to the army’s more limited definition of its mandate and especially to eliminate all references to political representation. On September 7, 1946, the committee received a letter of recognition from Joseph McNarney, the commanding general of the U.S. Army. The manner of presentation—a letter as opposed to a formal charter—was itself intended to make recognition as informal as possible.⁴⁸

Not surprisingly, the committee was disappointed about the limitations placed on its activities. At a meeting called to discuss the issue in July 1946, Samuel Gringauz sought to present the proposed agreement in the best possible light. He suggested that the army merely demanded “a few (insignificant) changes to the statutes.”⁴⁹ Anxious for recognition, the committee unanimously approved a revised statute reflecting a more narrow conception of its authority and formally assented to the army’s list of limitations.⁵⁰ However, it did not change its mandate or its practices. Rather, from the perspective of the committee members, recognition “simply put the official stamp on the existence of the Central Committee, thus removing the ignominy of illegality.”⁵¹ It confirmed rather than refuted its status as a Jewish protogovernment in Germany. Indeed, the committee viewed recognition as a major milestone in its history. The CK’s work, Aryeh Retter reported in early 1947, “has now taken on a completely different character.”⁵² David Treger made a similar point. By establishing “direct and permanent contact with the Army and the Military Government,” he as-



Fig. 6. General Joseph McNarney hands Samuel Gringauz, chairman of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone of Germany, the signed charter of recognition, September 7, 1946. (Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.)

serted at the Second Congress of Liberated Jews in February 1947, recognition had inaugurated a “new era” in the committee’s work.⁵³

The recognition of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews was in fact a significant event, a further step down the path of nationalization inaugurated by the Harrison Report. In recognizing the committee, the Americans deviated significantly from their own occupation policies and perhaps occupation law more generally.⁵⁴ They recognized an organization that transcended the bounds of the camps and gave this organization the right to represent displaced persons before the occupation authorities. They thus recognized the possibility of self-government outside the parameters of the emerging German body politic. This event was all the more significant because the organization did not represent an official national group. Thus, although the army refused to recognize the committee as a

Jewish national representation, it effectively recognized the premise upon which the committee was based. According to Leo Schwarz, "a major victory in the long battle for self-rule had been won. What the world still refused to grant in Palestine, [the committee members] felt they had gained on the incarnadined soil of Germany."⁵⁵ Throughout the occupation period, the Central Committee remained the only DP committee officially recognized by the Americans.

In practice, however, recognition was more important symbolically than practically. As committee members quickly realized, it had only a limited impact on their status. Although the direct line of communication with the army made it easier to present requests and proposals, and the American stamp of approval gave committee members access to high-ranking U.S. officials, fundamentally the practices of the American authorities remained the same. Many of the committee's requests and proposals went unanswered. According to Retter, one reason for the limited success was the army's lack of experience working directly with DP committees.⁵⁶ This was true, but it was not the crux of the matter. In point of fact, the army had little interest in working directly with DP committees. Thus, although the recognition of the Central Committee was an important symbolic step in the nationalization of Jews on the world stage, it did not lead to a stronger emphasis on Jewish national rights in Germany.⁵⁷ Nor did it lead to greater political rights for other DPs. DP policy remained defined by the goals of care and control.

Indeed, while the recognition of the Central Committee pointed symbolically toward growing international acknowledgment of a Jewish national identity, practically Jews in Germany faced a growing willingness on the part of the Allies to acknowledge German national interests. These two trends can be seen as different aspects of a single process of postwar (re-)nationalization. If U.S. authorities increasingly recognized the legitimacy of Jewish claims to a distinct national identity, they also increasingly believed that Germans should regain authority over "their" affairs. This meant limiting the authority of groups that wished to remain outside the German body politic and granting Germans the right to define the parameters of political life. Thus, although Jewish DPs continued to look to the American occupation authorities for protection and validation, during the late 1940s they were increasingly subject to German authority. As we shall see in the following section, this would be a source of intense conflict.

German Antisemitism and the Möhlstrasse Demonstration of August 1949

One of the areas in which the transfer of authority from Americans to Germans and its effects on Jewish DPs were most evident was demonstrations. Demonstrations, mass meetings, and other public events were a fundamental part of the “politics of noise” favored by Jewish DPs. Staged both inside and outside DP camps, they showcased a host of concerns: frustration with life in the camps, the desire for emigration opportunities, the demand for a Jewish state, and antisemitism in Germany. In August 1949, the last major Jewish DP demonstration of the early postwar period took place in the Möhlstrasse, in the Munich neighborhood of Bogenhausen. It focused on German antisemitism. Although concern about antisemitism in Germany was hardly new, it had for a long time been overshadowed by the Palestine question. Once Israel became a reality and mass emigration got under way, however, concern over conditions in Germany began to claim more attention. The persistence of antisemitism, coupled with the movement toward creating a west German state, created anxiety among eastern European Jews still in Germany, unreconciled to the prospect of a future in Germany but increasingly uncertain whether they would be able to leave. On the part of the authorities, there was also a change over time, one that heightened Jewish anxiety. The American Military Government increasingly gave the German police control over Jewish DPs, and the German police, emboldened by this new power, were increasingly willing to use force against Jews. Indeed, as a comparison between the ABN demonstration of April 1949 and the Möhlstrasse demonstration of August 1949 suggests, U.S. officials granted the German police more control over Jewish demonstrators than over non-Jewish ones, and the German police responded more aggressively to Jews than to Ukrainians and other non-Jews.

The immediate impetus for the Möhlstrasse demonstration was the publication of an antisemitic letter in the Munich-based German daily, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Published on August 9, the letter was written in response to an August 2 editorial by Wilhelm E. Süskind, which was itself a response to a speech delivered a few days earlier by John J. McCloy, the new U.S. High Commissioner for Germany. Speaking at a conference in Heidelberg called “The Future of Jews in Germany,” McCloy had identified German attitudes toward Jews as a “touchstone” of West Germany’s progress toward a new democratic order and noted that the United

States would be watching closely how it treated its small Jewish population.⁵⁸ In his editorial, "The Jewish Question as a Touchstone," Süskind seconded McCloy's statements, calling on his fellow Germans to break the shroud of silence surrounding the "Jewish question" and begin an open dialogue. Echoing McCloy, he suggested that real democracy was composed of relations between individuals rather than of institutions. Moving into the realm of philosemitism, he suggested that Germans should not only treat Jews as equals but also show them special deference, even when, as he saw it, they did not entirely "deserve" it. In his opinion, the Jews as a people possessed certain characteristics that made them an asset to any country that accepted them, including a "feel for quality, in both a material and an intellectual sense."⁵⁹ The editorial provoked a flood of letters to the editor. On August 9, the newspaper published four of them, which it described as "characteristic" of the spectrum of responses. Two were sympathetic to Süskind's position and one was politely critical. The fourth was an antisemitic tirade signed "Adolf Bleibtreu" (*Stay True to Adolf*).

Go ahead and go to America, though the people there cannot use you either. They have enough of these bloodsuckers. I work for the Americans, and several of them have already said that they forgive us everything except one thing and that is: that we did not gas all of them, for now they (the Jews) are gracing America with their presence.⁶⁰

According to Marguerite Higgins of the *New York Herald Tribune*, the letter "was unquestionably the most vitriolic assemblage of anti-Semitic feeling that any western-licensed newspaper has dared to print since the war ended."⁶¹

The Bleibtreu letter—or, more precisely, its publication by the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*—provoked an immediate and angry reaction from Jewish DPs.⁶² The same day, they began discussing how to respond. According to Harry Greenstein, the Special Adviser on Jewish Affairs, members of the Central Committee contacted him to say "that there was trouble brewing in Munich, that indignation was running high, and that it seemed that a demonstration was being planned."⁶³ The following morning, a mass meeting took place at the headquarters of the Munich Jewish Committee on Möhlstrasse. Here counsels were divided. Many of the gathered DPs demanded a protest demonstration. However, Philipp Auerbach and Peisach Piekatsch, the chairman of the Central Committee, argued for restraint. At the end of the meeting, a resolution was passed denouncing the *Süd-*

deutsche Zeitung for publishing the letter. Written “in the name of the Jewish population of Munich,” it expressed the views of Jewish DPs more than it did those of German Jews. It denounced the “repeated anti-Jewish provocations of the German neo-fascists” and sharply rebuked the U.S. authorities for “permitting something so inflammatory.” It concluded this way.

None of us contemplate remaining in this country any longer. We do not want to remain on this ground, which is covered with Jewish blood. We now have our own homeland. Yet as long as we are compelled to stay here we will fight every attempt at antisemitic action with all our power. We demand that the instigators be punished.⁶⁴

Although Auerbach and Piekatsch apparently hoped the resolution would channel anger in a moderate direction, this was not to be. After the meeting, a group of DPs set out for the headquarters of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, where they intended to present the editor with an official protest. Interestingly, the call for moderation by both German and eastern European Jewish leaders suggests that by the summer of 1949, the Jewish DP leadership had backed away from the politics of noise. According to Leo Schwarz, the organizers of the demonstration “maligned the leaders of the Central Committee for their spinelessness.”⁶⁵ The demonstration was thus more an expression of popular than elite sentiment.

As the demonstration proceeded, the crowd grew. Reports on the number of demonstrators diverge widely. Some suggest that as few as 300 to 400 people participated, while others place the number at between 1,500 and 2,000. The demonstrators carried a number of banners symbolically identifying the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* with the Nazi regime. Most were in English rather than German, making clear that the demonstrators saw the American authorities and the international community as their primary interlocutors.⁶⁶ One declared, “Down with the Storm Troopers of 1949, the ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung!’” while another, playing on the title of Süskind’s editorial, read “The Proof of the German ‘Democracy,’ The ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung.’ The Nest of Nationalsocialism. We Request the Withdrawal of their License.”

By most accounts, the demonstration proceeded peacefully until German police intervened. Charging into the demonstration, in some cases on horseback, they tore down the banners and attempted to force the demonstrators to disperse. The demonstration disintegrated into a tangle of



Fig. 7. German police car burning during the Möhlstrasse demonstration, August 10, 1949. (Photograph by Hermann Grönert. From the Archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York.)

smaller groups, which fought the police with sticks, bricks, and paving stones torn from the streets and sidewalks underfoot. Many policemen were beaten bloody, and one lost consciousness. Demonstrators also attacked German police vehicles, slashing tires, smashing windows, and painting police cars with swastikas. One car was set on fire. The police retaliated by hitting demonstrators with their billy clubs. Some also used their guns—without authorization to do so—shooting and wounding three Jewish DPs.

Both American occupation officials and members of the Joint suggested that MPs be called in to restore order. However, the military police said they were “considering [the demonstration] strictly as a German matter and a responsibility of the German police unless advised otherwise.”⁶⁷ The German police, for their part, insisted they could handle the demonstration by themselves. Finally, however, the Munich police president conceded that this was not in fact the case and requested American assistance. MPs ordered the German police to withdraw, while a Jewish army chaplain, assisted by CK chairman Piekatsch and other DPs, persuaded the

demonstrators to go home. Some two and a half hours after it had begun, the Möhlstrasse demonstration came to an end. In all, 7 DPs and 26 German policemen were injured, some seriously.

On an immediate level, the Möhlstrasse demonstration was a visceral response first to the publication of the Bleibtreu letter and then to the intervention of the German police. However, the actions of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and the German police do not in themselves adequately explain the demonstration, certainly not the violence with which Jewish DPs responded. Numerous reports described the actions of the demonstrators as a “riot,” and the demonstrators themselves as a “mob.” Such descriptions must of course be treated with circumspection, as they reflect stereotypes of Jewish DPs as unruly. At the same time, they capture the emotions of the demonstrators. According to Theodore Feder, a Joint official who witnessed the events, “the reaction of the Jew to these incidents was quite terrible to behold. There was suddenly a breakout of all the pent-up emotion and indignation that had been stored up for years. People became irrational, suddenly turned into raving maniacs, looking for a stone, a piece of metal, or a stick to throw at the Germans. The cry of the crowd, a low roaring sound, as if the anguish of a people were being made vocal.”⁶⁸ Less melodramatically, the Polish Jewish survivor Abrascha Arluk relates that the aggressive intervention of the German police put him and his fellow demonstrators in a fighting mood, and they consciously sought out opportunities to “rendezvous” with policemen. After the police opened fire, their mood became even more heated. Looking for an outlet for their anger, Arluk and a friend stole the above-mentioned police car and set it on fire.⁶⁹ To a certain extent, the violence seems to have been cathartic. According to Feder, the demonstrators, like the police, went after their targets “with a great deal of relish.”⁷⁰ A photograph taken after the demonstration confirms this observation, showing a group of satisfied-looking demonstrators standing in front of the burned-out police car, which has been decorated with a swastika.

On a deeper level, the events of August 10 were an expression of growing insecurity and anger among Jewish DPs in Germany. Three factors were responsible for this mood. The first was the increasingly aggressive attitude of the German authorities toward Jewish DPs, especially in the Möhlstrasse itself. The Möhlstrasse was the site of many Jewish businesses and institutions, including the Central Committee of Liberated Jews and the Munich Jewish Committee. Jewish DPs viewed it as “their” space. And, indeed, with the tacit permission of the Americans, Jews in the



Fig. 8. Jewish demonstrators in front of burning German police car during the Möhlstrasse demonstration, August 10, 1949. (Photograph by Hermann Grönert. From the Archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York.)

Möhlstrasse enjoyed a certain freedom from German law. The street thus had something of the status of a DP camp. For German officials, on the other hand, the Möhlstrasse was synonymous with the black market and shady business practices. As a U.S. intelligence report pointed out, the street “had been roiling and rankling in the German official and unofficial mind for a considerable time.”⁷¹ The popular postwar associations between DPs and criminality played an important role here, as did more specific associations between Jews and illegal economic activity. German reports on the Möhlstrasse repeatedly drew attention to the fact that the makeshift shops in the area were run by Jews.⁷² As local German officials gained more control over political and legal matters, they felt more empowered to act. During the spring and summer of 1949, they carried out a multi-pronged offensive against illegal activities in the area. German police began patrolling the Möhlstrasse in larger numbers and carrying out raids.⁷³ American Military Government and military officials, also concerned about the black market, assented to these actions. Indeed, the raids were an



Fig. 9. German police contain a group of Jewish DPs who are standing in front of a row of shuttered businesses during a raid to suppress Jewish black market activity on the Möhlstrasse in Munich, May 1949. (Photograph by Alex Hochhauser. Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.)

important aspect of the local transfer of authority, a test of German ability to police Jewish DPs.⁷⁴ In the first large raid, conducted on July 1, 550 German policemen, some on horseback, descended on Bogenhausen. The American authorities were present but did not interfere. Thirty-four Jews and non-Jews were arrested, and truckloads of goods were seized. Some people resisted the police, leading to what were described as “streetfights” and “riots.”⁷⁵ A number of Jewish DPs were beaten up.⁷⁶ Similar clashes took place during subsequent raids.⁷⁷ The Munich authorities also cracked down on shopkeepers who flouted the laws on opening hours by doing business on Sunday.⁷⁸ Since Sunday was typically the busiest day of the week, this represented a serious blow.

Although both American and German officials considered the raids a success, Jewish DPs did not agree. As the American consul general of Munich later noted, the raids increased Jewish resentment toward the German police.⁷⁹ Jewish DPs rightly interpreted the actions of the police as antisemitic. They drew a straight line between wartime and postwar German be-

havior. As one Jewish DP said to an American Military Government official after the July 1 raid, "They liquidated my entire family in concentration camps, why do they now have to do that to me?"⁸⁰ Indeed, during the first German police raid, a Jewish survivor identified a Munich policeman as a former Auschwitz Kapo, leading a group of Jews to throw stones at the police. Whether or not the policeman really was a former Kapo, the event makes clear that Jewish DPs saw the German police as merely Nazis in new uniforms. More generally, Jewish DPs interpreted the German police response on August 10 as continuous with the earlier raids. Describing the police intervention on August 10 and his own response, demonstrator Abrascha Arluk notes that they charged in on horseback "just like before."⁸¹ In resorting to violence during the Möhlstrasse demonstration, Jewish DPs were thus not only following an established pattern of response but also responding to a deep sense of psychic insecurity. On August 10, some demonstrators apparently carried sticks studded with nails, suggesting that they anticipated a confrontation along the lines of July 1 and, importantly, no longer took for granted that the Americans would protect them.

The second factor behind the Möhlstrasse demonstration was the increase in antisemitism. Although antisemitism was a constant in Germany during the late 1940s and early 1950s, there is some evidence to suggest that it rose between 1949 and 1952.⁸² This upswing correlates with an increase in nationalism. Since 1948, nationalist sentiment in western Germany had been buoyed by a series of dramatic events, including the Berlin airlift, the drafting of the Basic Law, and the first national election campaign. Indeed, the Möhlstrasse demonstration came in the midst of the election campaign, which was dominated by strident nationalist rhetoric. On the ground, there were tangible signs of growing antisemitism or, more accurately, of greater willingness to express antisemitism in public. Beginning in early 1948 and continuing on through 1949 and 1950, there were numerous attacks on Jewish cemeteries in Germany. In Munich, Jewish businesses and institutions in the Möhlstrasse area were attacked.⁸³ These developments could only be perceived as deeply disturbing by the Jewish population. In a statement put out the day after the demonstration, the Central Committee placed the actions of the German police squarely in the context of a rise in antisemitic violence. The events of August 10, it wrote, were "the proof and the result of an ever more public and active Nazism in today's Germany, which already found expression in earlier antisemitic occurrences."⁸⁴

Finally, there was the issue of the future. By the summer of 1949, mass

emigration had dramatically reduced the size of the Jewish DP population. In May 1949, there were just under 35,000 Jewish DPs living in DP camps in the U.S. zone, down from 157,000 in the summer of 1947.⁸⁵ The exodus included many prominent members of the Central Committee such as David Treger and Aryeh Retter.⁸⁶ The departure of so many DPs left the institutions created in Germany in tatters; in some cases, they simply shut down.⁸⁷ Those who remained behind thus lost a vital support network. Indeed, they were often subject to fierce criticism. Now that the doors to Palestine were open, what more reason could there be for Jews to remain in Germany? CK leaders such as Peisach Piekatsch opposed the reconstruction of the Jewish *Gemeinden*. "We feel no responsibility towards those DPs who choose to remain," he stated in March 1949. "By helping the *Gemeinden* to achieve permanence we encourage DPs to remain too."⁸⁸

Yet many Jewish DPs were no longer planning to leave. Not surprisingly, then, they were increasingly concerned about conditions in Germany and increasingly intolerant of antisemitism. Although the resolution issued on the day of the demonstration suggested that Jewish DPs remained committed to leaving for their "own homeland," statistics circulated in the summer of 1949 suggested that the majority would remain in Germany. Although statistics for Bavaria are not available, figures for other locales give a good idea of the general situation. In Frankfurt, 25 percent of Jews had "definitely decided" to emigrate to the United States before the end of the IRO program, and 15 percent still thought of going to Israel, but concern about unfavorable economic and political conditions there was likely to keep the pace of emigration very slow. About 40 percent would probably remain in Germany.⁸⁹ In Hamburg, the vast majority of people registered for emigration intended to go to the United States, with a much smaller number choosing Israel. About 50 percent of the Jewish population was "likely to remain indefinitely."⁹⁰ The reasons for remaining in Germany varied: some people were too old or sick to emigrate, while others remained for familial or economic reasons. However, many Jewish DPs faced a future in Germany with great ambivalence. In staying, they did not necessarily intend to integrate into the majority society. Separation, however, was increasingly seen as untenable by both German and U.S. officials. Indeed, in his speech at the conference on "The Future of Jews in Germany," McCloy not only identified German attitudes toward Jews as a touchstone of democracy, he also called on Jews to integrate into German society. The era of sanctioned Jewish separatism was coming to an end. Traumatized by their wartime experiences at the hands of the Nazis and by their postwar

experiences with Polish antisemitism, Jewish DPs were distressed at being thrust back upon the Germans.

Like the ABN demonstration, the events of August 10 were widely and prominently reported in the press. The German media coverage generally refrained from assigning blame, while the American and especially Jewish press were often critical of the German police.⁹¹ The demonstration also precipitated a host of reports and analyses. Here there were deep divides of opinion. Not surprisingly, the harshest criticism came from Jewish DPs. The Central Committee accused the German police of transforming a peaceful demonstration into a violent encounter. Indirectly, it also blamed the American authorities. The resurgence of antisemitism, it argued, was due to "insufficient action against these phenomena on the part of the foremost responsible parties."⁹² It demanded freedom from German police authority and a total withdrawal of German police from the Möhlstrasse area.⁹³ Philipp Auerbach also initially blamed the police. After meeting with city officials, however, he changed his position, agreeing with officials that the actions of the police had been justified.⁹⁴ Both Jewish DPs and German Jews held the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* responsible. The Central Committee refused to accept that the newspaper was innocent of malicious intent, calling the publication of the letter a "deliberately inflammatory, antisemitic, and punishable offence."⁹⁵ The Land Association of Jewish Communities in Bavaria (Landesverband der israelitischen Kultusgemeinden in Bayern) took the *SZ* to court, accusing it of violating the law against racial hatred. The court did not agree, however, concluding that the newspaper had been interested in revealing the extent of contemporary antisemitism rather than encouraging it.⁹⁶

The events of August 10 reopened the whole question of German responsibility for civil affairs, especially policing. Like the Central Committee, a number of American Jewish commentators called on the occupation authorities to reconsider their policy on policing. As Theodore Feder noted, "there is no question but that many points could be made concerning the persons responsible for all these incidents, but one thing is certain and that is the orders given to the [German] police indicated a lack of understanding and knowledge of working with potential problem groups."⁹⁷ Harry Greenstein, the Special Adviser for Jewish Affairs, concurred: "The wisdom of the present practice of resorting to the use of German police is, in my opinion, very doubtful and the riot on Mohlstrasse has brought this problem into sharper focus."⁹⁸ In the end, however, American officials concluded that neither the police nor the press had been motivated by anti-

semitism and that their policies did not need to be revised. As the American consul general of Munich, Sam Woods, reported to his superior, Secretary of State Dean Acheson:

The entire affair seems to have been the result of several regrettable decisions. In the first place the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* showed poor judgment in printing the letter mentioned above. The Jews, themselves, apparently did not use good judgment in deciding to march against the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, although their passage of a resolution against that newspaper seems in order. It also appears that when the German police were unable to handle the situation they should have called for American assistance and retired from the scene.⁹⁹

Woods's conclusions were not unreasonable. Yet it was also politically expedient to play down what had happened. The transfer of authority from American to German hands was now far advanced. The Basic Law had been promulgated, and the first government of the Federal Republic was in the process of being elected. At such a moment, Frank Stern notes, "overzealousness in political interference by the occupying authorities in public did not appear to be particularly opportune."¹⁰⁰

The outcome of the Möhlstrasse demonstration bears out Frank Stern's conclusion that the shift from "reeducation for humanism and against antisemitism" to "reeducation for integration into the West and anticommunism" had a detrimental effect on the position of Jews in western Germany.¹⁰¹ In particular, it had a detrimental effect on the position of Jewish DPs. On the one hand, Jewish DPs harbored greater demands for autonomy than German Jews and were psychologically less well-prepared to face integration into the West German state. Indeed, they wanted to see Allied protection extended into the indefinite future. On the other, they were seen as considerably more foreign than German Jews, who were now often portrayed as "good" Jews.¹⁰² Although American officials identified German attitudes toward Jews as a touchstone of democracy, Jewish concerns about antisemitism now took second place to the goal of reestablishing an independent West Germany, with all the rights of self-government this entailed.

To be sure, the return to German self-government dealt a blow to the interests of *all* DPs. However, a comparison between the Möhlstrasse demonstration and the ABN demonstration that preceded it by just four

months suggests that the consequences were more serious for Jewish DPs. At the ABN demonstration, German police demonstrated greater restraint, calling in the U.S. authorities at the earliest sign of trouble. Indeed, although the ABN demonstration was considerably larger than the Möhlstrasse demonstration, the German police contingent assigned to control it was much smaller. For the German police, it seems, the demonstration of August 10 was merely another instance of Jewish illegal activity in the Möhlstrasse. Thus their response to the demonstration mirrored their response to the black market: a large show of force. Similarly, the U.S. authorities demonstrated greater willingness to intervene in the case of the ABN demonstration. Although their intervention was hardly soft—on the contrary, the show of American force was much greater at the ABN demonstration—it suggests a stronger desire to control the course of events when the issue at hand was anticommunism rather than anti-semitism. Thus, although the turn toward anticommunism does not seem to have brought Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian DPs in Germany many benefits, it does seem that they enjoyed greater sympathy than their Jewish counterparts and were treated more gingerly, especially by the Germans.

The Möhlstrasse demonstration can be seen as a turning point in the history of Jewish DPs in Bavaria. Jewish DPs were increasingly faced with the realization that the German authorities had regained control over civil affairs. In the Möhlstrasse itself, the German police continued conducting raids, their position strengthened by the American decision not to change course. The Federal Republic of Germany was a *fait accompli*. For those who remained in Germany, the DP era was ending. Committed to its own “liquidation,” the Central Committee closed its doors in December 1950. By this point, many local committees had already disappeared. The last of the Bavarian Jewish DP camps, Föhrenwald, was placed under German jurisdiction in December 1951. It remained open until February 1956. The balance of power between Jewish DP and German Jewish institutions also shifted. Initially disadvantaged vis-à-vis the DP-run Jewish committees, the Jewish communities gained more authority as the pace of political reconstruction intensified in 1947 and 1948. Recognized by the German authorities as quasi-governmental institutions, they were able to establish themselves as the official representatives of the Jewish population on important issues like restitution.¹⁰³ The advent of mass emigration also shifted the numerical balance of power between Jewish DPs and German Jews. Jewish DPs remained a numerical majority. As the Jewish committees

began to disappear, however, they increasingly gravitated toward the communities. The differences between the committees and the communities thus diminished. Many Jewish DPs played an important role in the reconstruction of the communities, contributing to their rejuvenation by providing younger members.¹⁰⁴ The communities thus became an amalgam of German and eastern European Jewish traditions and outlooks—continuing a process that had begun in the early twentieth century—though the tensions between the two groups would be slow to dissipate.

CHAPTER 7

Political Prisoners and the Legacy of National Socialism

For displaced Jews, the legacy of National Socialism was central. This was not, as we have seen, the case among displaced Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians. Although most of them had also been displaced by National Socialist policies, their collective identifications centered on experiences of Soviet oppression and the Soviet threat in postwar eastern Europe. However, experiences under National Socialism did not disappear from the narrative framework. They were especially important to one subset of the Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DP populations: former concentration camp prisoners. Like other Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians, liberated prisoners justified their unwillingness to return home with reference to the new geopolitical order in eastern Europe. In fact, they were often central exponents of the anticommunist “political explanation.” Some played important roles in the anticommunist movement. Simultaneously, however, they were engaged in a different project: the reckoning with the Nazi past. They defined themselves as “political prisoners” of the Nazi regime. Their image of the political prisoner was grounded in a nationalist reading of the struggle against National Socialism. That is, they saw themselves primarily as members of national resistance movements, as individuals who had fought and suffered for the nation. However, they also saw themselves as part of an international community of political prisoners. In general, they were deeply preoccupied with their wartime experiences and sought to have these experiences recognized and validated in the public sphere. Indeed, sharing a widespread prejudice among “politicals” in the postwar era, they presented themselves as a superior category of persecutees defined by active resistance to National Socialism. They made few efforts to work with Jewish survivors, who by definition belonged to the “inferior” victim groups.

In laying claim to the title of political prisoners, displaced persons entered a contentious debate about resistance and persecution. Members of the anti-Nazi resistance had imbued the figure of the political prisoner with special significance. The political prisoner was defined as a superior kind of victim on account of his—and this was indeed a male icon—active opposition to National Socialism. This sense of superiority, nurtured by the resistance movements, was validated by the Allied powers, who placed special emphasis on political prisoners in their planning for the postwar period. In the public imagination of wartime and early postwar Europe, the concentration camps were seen primarily as places of internment for political prisoners rather than Jews. Indeed, the term *political prisoner* was often used as a synonym for *concentration camp survivor*. Hence Jewish survivors sometimes also used the term. Conversely, internment in a concentration camp was seen as the central marker of persecution. These two themes—political opposition and internment—were fused in the key symbol of the political prisoner, the red triangle, the insignia politicals wore on their camp uniforms.

However, the category of the political was open to debate. The central issue was whether all concentration camp prisoners who had worn the red triangle should be considered politicals. As Eugen Kogon noted in his 1946 study of the camp system, “All sorts of prisoners in the concentration camps were labeled ‘political!’”¹ The SS used the political label quite liberally, especially after 1939. Those classified as politicals ranged from individuals who resisted German occupation to those rounded up more or less at random in the context of mass raids. Indeed, with the exception of Jews, most foreigners sent to the concentration camps were classified as politicals.² Classification as a political, far from confirming one’s status as a member of the antifascist resistance, thus opened one up to scrutiny. Throughout postwar Europe, former prisoners, government officials, and the general public fought over the definition of the political prisoner and sought to eliminate potential “interlopers.” They were especially anxious to ensure that “common” criminals, who had been sent to the concentration camps in large numbers, did not receive any of the benefits or recognition of politicals. DP politicals, as I call them, were both subjects and objects of these conflicts. They participated in determining what it meant to be a political prisoner, and their claims to political status were evaluated by others. As we shall see, some of them in fact had only tenuous claims to the status of *résistant*, having collaborated as often as they resisted.

The actions of displaced politicals must therefore be viewed in a

broader European frame. Many of their organizational practices and representational strategies were typical of political prisoners more generally. This was especially true of their emphasis on national resistance and superior victimhood. Yet their self-understanding was also different. Displaced politicals were distinguished by their hostility toward communism and their emphasis on the problem of homelessness. Their image of the political prisoner fused antifascism and anticommunism. Opposition to communism was presented as a logical counterpart to the struggle against fascism. In western European countries such as France, such comparisons emerged later and played a more marginal and contentious role. The activities of displaced politicals thus shed light on the larger issue of political opposition and its interpretation in postwar Europe. They bring into sharp relief postwar conflicts over the meaning of the term *political prisoner* and the deep ideological divides among those who identified with it.

Redefining the Prisoners' Committees

As the liberated concentration camps emptied, the committees established by the prisoners were divested of their original purpose. Thus, for example, the International Prisoners' Committee in Dachau held its last official meeting on June 6, 1945.³ However, the committees did not altogether cease to exist. Rather, they served as reference points and springboards for new organizations. Political prisoners who returned home—this was the majority—often refashioned the committees into institutions dedicated to commemorating the camps and maintaining the national and international antifascist fronts of the war years. They were also active in lobbying for assistance and restitution. Political prisoners who did not return home used the committees as a starting point for building institutions designed to represent their interests “abroad.” Here, too, the commemoration of the camps and the maintenance of the spirit of the resistance were central themes, as was the search for assistance and restitution, but reflected survivors’ status as displaced persons in Germany and their reservations about returning home. Like the formation of Jewish committees, the formation of committees of displaced politicals revealed deep divisions and conflicts in the camp society.

Committees representing displaced politicals quickly developed and remained active, sometimes intermittently, sometimes continuously, into the 1950s and in some cases longer. Of the three groups I examine, Polish

politicals were the most prominent, not surprising given the extent to which the Germans had targeted the Polish intelligentsia and sought to eliminate all signs of Polish resistance. According to a count conducted in March 1947, there were approximately 4,500 Polish politicals in the U.S. zone and 12,500 in Germany as a whole.⁴ Polish politicals were central in creating two organizations, both based in Munich. The first was the Polish Committee, discussed in chapter 3. It aimed to provide liberated prisoners with assistance and representation. It was closely associated with two other prisoners' committees, the Polish Information Office in Dachau and its international counterpart, the International Information Office of Dachau. It was thus both a Polish national entity and the Polish unit of a larger international one. Although it served the larger Polish DP community, it had a special interest in the welfare of the politicals. Like committees of political prisoners throughout postwar Europe, it also policed the internal borders of the prisoners' community, examining the credentials of liberated prisoners to ensure that they were not common criminals and had not otherwise sullied the good name of the politicals, for example, through collaboration.⁵ The second organization was the Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners of German Concentration Camps. Beginning as a local Munich initiative in June 1945, it was officially established in January 1946 and covered the entire U.S. zone. It too was oriented toward self-help and self-representation. It was involved in publicizing the camp experience, putting out its own publications as well as authorizing works on the camps.⁶ It also investigated accusations of collaboration on the part of former politicals.⁷ Mieczysław Grabinski, whose work with the Polish Committee has already been discussed, served as its first president. Like the Committee, it belonged to a larger international committee of former political prisoners. Also like the Committee, it came under suspicion for its opposition to repatriation. In July 1946, it was banned by the U.S. Military Government for operating without permission and for participating in "questionable or subversive activities."⁸ Despite the ban, the association continued to function, though its resources were severely limited.

While Polish politicals were the most active, Ukrainians were not far behind. The category of the Ukrainian political was itself a political novelty. Like Ukrainian forced laborers, political prisoners of Ukrainian background had been categorized according to their country of origin. Only in exceptional circumstances had they been categorized as Ukrainians. In adopting this label, politicals of Ukrainian background thus made an important statement about their wartime internment, recasting it as internment

on account of their ethnicity or their efforts on behalf of the Ukrainian national cause. Indeed, the struggle for recognition *as* Ukrainians was itself represented as a fundamental component of the internment experience, pitting Ukrainians against both their SS overlords and other prisoners. The total number of Ukrainian DP politicals in postwar Germany is difficult to pin down. According to one contemporary source, approximately 25,000 Ukrainian politicals had survived the concentration camps. Of these, some 6,000 had chosen to remain in Germany, though by mid-1946 their number had dropped to around 4,900.⁹ Most were Polish nationals.

Two organizations competed to represent Ukrainian politicals. The most important was the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners (*Liha Ukraïns'kykh Politychnykh V'iazniv*, or LUPV). Based in Munich, it had branches throughout the three western occupation zones of Germany and in other European countries. Like its Polish counterparts, it was a multi-functional organization providing both assistance and representation. Its primary goals included registering former political prisoners; providing them with documentation attesting to their status; representing them in front of governments and intergovernmental organizations; providing them with legal aid; and helping them procure food, housing, clothing, and medical care. It also placed a high priority on documenting, publicizing, and commemorating the experiences of Ukrainian politicals.¹⁰ Between 1945 and 1947, approximately 1,300 Ukrainian political prisoners registered with the league.¹¹ In 1947, the American Counter Intelligence Corps investigated the league for operating without official authorization and recommended that its president be turned over to the Military Government for trial.¹² It continued to operate until 1950, when it reduced its operations to a single representative for restitution affairs.¹³

Although the league defined itself as a nonpartisan organization, uniting Ukrainian political prisoners across the political spectrum, in actuality it was closely associated with the Banderite wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. It reflected the political ethos of the Banderite group, with its commitment to a revolutionary struggle for the liberation of Ukraine, its goal of an ethnically pure Ukrainian state, and its uncompromising attitude toward political dissent. Its membership was composed largely of Banderites arrested and sent to concentration camps in the wake of the OUN-B's declaration of Ukrainian statehood in June 1941.¹⁴ Potential members were carefully screened to ensure not only that they were bona fide politicals but also that they demonstrated the correct "communal attitude," that is, commitment to the OUN-B's vision of a

Ukrainian nation-state.¹⁵ As noted earlier, the OUN-B had collaborated with the Nazis during the first years of the Second World War, especially in the campaign against the Soviet Union. Viewing Jews as the handmaidens of Russian Bolshevism, it supported Nazi anti-Jewish actions. Thus, although many OUN-B members eventually became victims of Nazi persecution, this development needs to be seen in the context of the OUN-B's longer and more complicated relationship with the Nazi regime.

The second Ukrainian organization was the Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners (*Tovarystvo Ukraïns'kykh Politychnykh V'iazniv*, or TUPV). Created in April 1946, it was intended as an alternative to the league, whose expectation of political conformity led to disgruntlement among some politicals.¹⁶ However, it was not especially successful. Although it was fiercely nationalistic, it lacked the inner coherence of the league. It was also continuously undermined by its competitor. Unhappy about the emergence of another persecutee organization, the league accused the association of sowing discord among Ukrainians and repeatedly tried to bring about a merger.¹⁷ Although it did not manage to destroy the association, it did win the upper hand. It gained the right to represent Ukrainian politicals within various larger organizations and received more material assistance. As the association complained in 1948, while other groups of politicals received CARE packages from the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration, it received nothing.¹⁸ It continued to operate until at least 1952.¹⁹

While Polish and Ukrainian politicals in Bavaria formed well-organized groups, in some cases united by a distinct ideology, the situation among Russian politicals was rather different. Almost all self-identified Russian politicals were Soviet citizens, and they for the most part chose to return home. Those who did not enjoyed few opportunities for organizing due to their semiclandestine status. Thus there are few traces of organized activity among Russian politicals. At most one finds small groups of Russian refugees from the First World War who had been interned in concentration camps. Some of these were members of the NTS, who, like members of the OUN-B, were sent to concentration camps after their fallout with the Nazis.

Representing the Political

DP politicals placed great importance on documenting, publicizing, and commemorating their wartime experiences. Like Jewish survivors, they felt

an urgent need to recount their experiences of internment and especially to inform the rest of the world about the reality of National Socialism. How then did DP politicals represent themselves? What were the defining characteristics of the political prisoner? How did the concentration camps figure in the definition of the political? How was the concentration camp experience itself represented?

To begin with, like other political prisoners, DP politicals defined themselves as members of an elite. Their elite status was intimately related to their sacrifices and sufferings for the national cause. The political prisoner was thus first and foremost a hero of the national resistance. This is most obvious in the Polish case. Polish DP society was internally hierarchical. The top of the social hierarchy, Janusz Nel Siedlecki writes, was occupied by “the proud and disdainful heroes of the Armed Forces—those who won the war. The ex-prisoners of war argued about the battles of ’39 but were unanimous in their contempt for the rabble of the DPs. The latter split into the pariahs of the labour camps and the aristocracy of the political prisoners. . . . The survivors carried forth their banners of ‘martyrdom’ and sowed the seeds of future legends.”²⁰ Ukrainian politicals also asserted their superiority. They presented themselves as the leaders of the Ukrainian national independence struggle, stressing not only their past deeds but also their present obligations. As the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners asserted, they could not be content to rest on their laurels. “Ukrainian political prisoners are not pensioners, rather, duty dictates work. . . . The Ukrainian political prisoner must stand for the dignity of the Ukrainian representation, of the Ukrainian world.”²¹

The concentration camp experience formed the core of the political prisoners’ identity. It was the event that symbolically established them as bona fide politicals. The extraordinary nature of the camp environment endowed it with a special status in their biographies under National Socialism. As political prisoners stressed in their accounts, the concentration camps were not like “other” places of imprisonment: they tested the imagination and defied representation. Writing in the introduction to an album of camp drawings, the Ukrainian political Paladii Osynka noted his inability to adequately depict his own experiences. “The life of prisoners in the German concentration camps,” he wrote, “was so horrible that it could not be captured in its entirety in the unpretentious drawings of the author . . . and too unbelievable for those who did not themselves pass through this hell to comprehend the truth in its entirety. For this truth was so unbelievable that it approached fantasy.”²²

The centrality of the concentration camp in the image of the political

is underscored by the emphasis that displaced politicals, like politicals more generally, placed on the symbolic markers of imprisonment: the concentration camp uniform and its associated insignia. The most important marker of imprisonment was the red triangle.²³ Writing about the Polish survivors of Dachau she met in Munich after the war, former UNRRA social worker Susan Pettiss notes that they viewed the red triangle as “a kind of badge of honor, courage, and survival, in which they took great pride.”²⁴ It appeared prominently on newsletters and journals and in artistic representations. It was often paired with the national letter, confirming that the political sacrifice was simultaneously a national one. Political prisoners also placed great emphasis on the striped “pyjama” they had worn in the camps. It surfaced not only in artistic representations but also in real life. In the Munich-Freimann DP camp, for example, liberated Polish politicals occasionally paraded in their old concentration camp uniforms, even after they had acquired new clothes.²⁵ This practice continued for many years.²⁶

While internment in a concentration camp was the ultimate sign of one’s status as a political prisoner, representations of the camp rarely focused on heroic deeds. Rather, primary emphasis was placed on suffering. This is most evident in artistic representations, which document both everyday and extraordinary forms of suffering in the camps.²⁷ In his album of concentration camp drawings, for example, Paladii Osynka catalogs the varieties of punishment inflicted upon the prisoners by the SS. For example, one image shows the infamous practice of *Baumhängen*, in which a prisoner was suspended from a post with his hands tied behind his back. Interspersed among these images of suffering are less dramatic scenes of life in the camps, including rare moments of happiness. The self-consciously naive, cartoonlike style of the drawings highlights expressions of pain on the faces and bodies of the prisoners, producing a grotesque effect. The album also documents the selection for the gas chambers and the painful deaths suffered by the selected. Strangely, however, the victims of the selection are not identified as Jews. The distinction between politicals and Jews is blurred, creating the impression that the victims of the gassings are actually politicals. In effect, the fate of Jews in the camps is appropriated for the history of the politicals, making the suffering of the latter appear even more intense than it already was.

The concentration camp drawings of the Polish concentration camp survivor Jerzy Zielezinski similarly highlight suffering. Zielezinski published two albums of drawings in Munich after the war.²⁸ His drawings

were also exhibited at the Munich headquarters of the Polish Committee.²⁹ Each album presents life in the concentration camp as a cycle that begins with deportation. This event plunges the prisoners into a dark world from which there is no exit. "One's entire life withdraws into the shadows," as the text accompanying one album explains.³⁰ To an even greater extent than Osynka, Zielezinski focuses on the modalities of pain experienced by the prisoners. Strongly reminiscent both stylistically and substantively of Goya's *The Disasters of War*, the drawings provide a literal catalog of suffering: work, hunger, cold, disease, and punishment. The varieties of death are also documented: suicide, shooting, hanging, and garroting. Here there is no respite. Indeed, although the albums have a thin chronological thread, they do not end with liberation. One ends with the evacuation of the camp, which represents the beginning of a new trial. The other ends with a drawing entitled "Strange Incident," which shows a prisoner in a long column of evacuees receiving bread from a German woman. Here there is a note of hope. The expressionistic style employed by the artist, with its stark contrasts of light and shadow, deepens the sense of diffuse but penetrating horror. Where Osynka represents each prisoner as a distinct individual with unique features, Zielezinski reduces them to anonymous shades. Their resemblance to skeletons is not accidental.

The emphasis on suffering on account of one's political convictions produced an image of the political prisoners as martyrs. The "martyrological idiom" was widespread in postwar Europe.³¹ As we have seen, martyrdom was a significant theme among Jewish survivors. It also figured prominently in the larger non-Jewish world, in representations of resistance fighters, political prisoners, and the general population. In many European countries, martyrdom provided a national myth that covered both the minority who had resisted National Socialism and the majority who had sought to get by. In this manner, it sought to resolve the tensions that ran through postoccupation societies. Even in Germany, however, martyrdom was an important theme, reworked to highlight the suffering of the German people at the hands of the Allies, as evidenced, for example, by the treatment of German POWs and expellees.³² The martyrological idiom of the postwar period was strongly imbued with Christian religious meanings. However, the primary emphasis was on secular martyrdom, especially martyrdom for the nation. In its secularized form, martyrdom refers to individuals who suffer and die for a higher cause. "The noble cause," Pieter Lagrou writes, "gives meaning to their suffering in two ways . . . : on the one hand, they are victimized because of their own adherence to this noble



Fig. 10. Cover page of *The Chronicle of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner* (*Litopys Ukraïns'koho Polity'iaznia*) showing a prisoner writing under barbed wire and the motif of a felled tree with new shoots. (Courtesy of the Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota.)

cause—an adherence that is a matter of personal choice and, in circumstances of persecution, of heroism—and on the other hand, through their suffering, they deliver the proof of their dauntless personification of this cause.”³³ Thus the suffering of the politicals was not “merely” personal; through its association with a higher cause, notably national resistance, it implied moral superiority.

Religiously infused national martyrologies were an important component of the commemorative vocabulary of both Polish and Ukrainian politicals. The martyrological idiom was well established in Polish culture. It originated in the romantic nationalism of the early nineteenth century, which identified Poland as the “Christ of nations.” Like the suffering Christ, Polish nationalists argued, the suffering Polish nation would eventually be redeemed. Risen from the grave, Poland would not only regain its national independence but also bring freedom to humanity as a whole.³⁴ Although Polish nationalism underwent important transformations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, becoming more exclusive, this messianic vision remained. It provided an important framework for interpreting the events of the Second World War. It was central to commemorative practices in early postwar Poland. Representations of the Auschwitz concentration camp stressed its identity “as a place of Polish national suffering and sacrifice” and made only muted reference to Jewish and non-Polish prisoners.³⁵ A similar understanding of the camp experience predominated among displaced Polish politicals, who not only gave thanks to God for their liberation and suggested that God’s hand had played an important role in their salvation, but also folded their personal sufferings into a broader national narrative focusing on sacrifice “for Poland.”³⁶

The martyrological idiom was also central to Ukrainian politicals. Here too the association of martyrdom with nationalism can be traced back to the first half of the nineteenth century. Influenced partly by their Polish neighbors, Ukrainian nationalists of the 1840s and 1850s developed a similar romantic and messianic nationalism. The most important exponents of this idea were the young writers known as the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, who identified Ukraine as a Christ-like nation that would eventually rise again, liberating both the Ukrainian people and their Slavic neighbors.³⁷ The martyrological tradition was continued by displaced Ukrainian politicals. The League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners created the Educational and Research Institute of Ukrainian Martyrology, whose goal was to gather material on the experiences of Ukrainian politi-

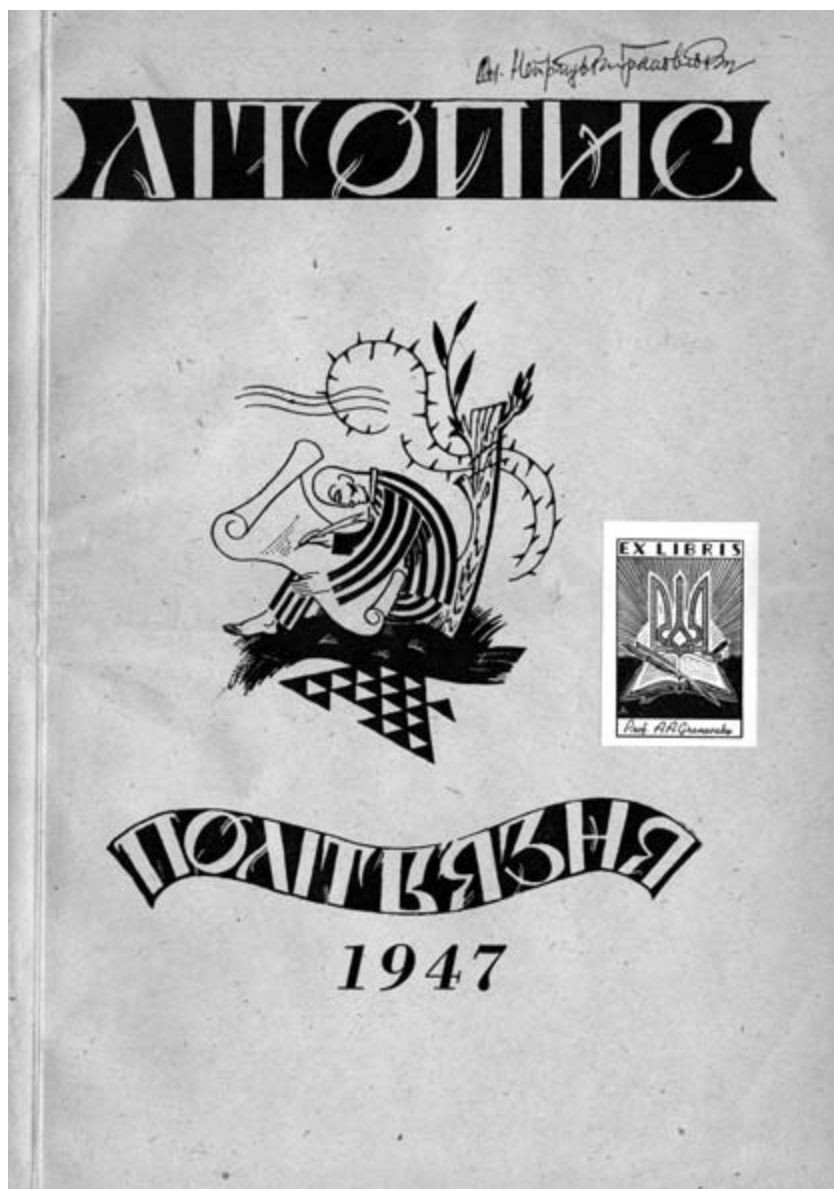


Fig. 11. "The Capo," from George Zielezinski, *24 Drawings from the Concentration Camps in Germany* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1946).

cals in the concentration camps. These materials, as league president Mykhailo Marunchak stated, invoking Christ's journey along the Via Dolorosa, were a reflection "of the difficult [literally: thorny (*ternystoho*)] road which the Ukrainian nation was obliged to take in its efforts at statehood, which in its entirety forms, along with the martyrology of the days behind bars and barbed wire and mass executions, the heroic sacrifices made by the finest sons of the Ukrainian land."³⁸ One of the league's journals, *Chronicle of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner* (*Litopys Ukraïns'koho Polityv'iaznia*), devoted itself to preserving these sacrifices, filling its pages with stories about the concentration camps and other episodes of persecution. The journal's cover also evokes the theme of martyrdom. It shows a prisoner in striped uniform bent over a large scroll, strands of thorns hovering over his shaved head. Strikingly, the motif of a felled tree with new shoots, central to the concept of the *She'erith Hapletah*, also appears here. As among Jewish survivors, it suggests not only survival but also rebirth.

In postwar Europe, the figure of the political prisoner was intimately linked to the persecutory and concentrationary universe created by the Nazis. In the hands of Ukrainian politicals, however, it was transformed into a more general image of the national freedom fighter, a figure whose pursuit of national liberation stretched back decades and even centuries. As the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners stated, its goal was "to unite all Ukrainians who on account of their political activity for the fatherland, or their political convictions, were imprisoned by foreign regimes in concentration camps and prisons."³⁹ It made no distinction between the experiences of Ukrainians in different countries at different times. The Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners took a similar view. In its words, "the elderly and children, women and men, village and city dwellers, rich and poor over many years formed one large, million-strong army of Ukrainian political prisoners."⁴⁰

The definition of the Ukrainian political prisoner as a general national freedom fighter was closely connected to a reading of Ukrainian history as a series of struggles against foreign oppressors. In the words of the league,

the history of the Ukrainian political prisoner of the past, present, and future is merely a part of the history of Ukraine. But it will forever prove before the whole world that Ukraine existed, exists, and will exist, whether or not anyone wants this; that the battle for her destiny and independence existed, exists, and will exist, whether or not

Ukrainian fighters, revolutionaries, and patriots are punished with prisons, concentration camps, or death; that the Ukrainian state existed and will exist, whether or not anyone desires this, or endeavors to keep her from existing.⁴¹

The league journal *Chronicle of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner* elaborated on this theme, featuring articles on topics as diverse as the Russian victory over the Zaporozhian Cossacks in the late eighteenth century and the prosecution of Ukrainian nationalists in Romania in the 1930s. The Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners took a similar position. All of Ukraine's enemies, it wrote, "were and are all the same. Among them there was not and is not the slightest difference."⁴² Thus, although the Ukrainian persecutee committees had been created by and for survivors of the Nazi concentration camps, they presented the Nazi era as just one chapter in a longer history of Ukrainian martyrdom. National Socialism was drained of its specificity. At the same time, of course, it was precisely *because* of its associations with National Socialism that the figure of the political prisoner was so useful to Ukrainian nationalists. In crafting the image of a transhistorical freedom fighter, they drew on the postwar authority of the Nazi political prisoner in order to validate other experiences of persecution.

Ukrainian politicals were especially interested in extending the discussion of political persecution to include the struggle against communism. At the end of the 1940s, the anti-Nazi resistance was refashioned as a struggle against "totalitarianism." "In this way," to quote Pieter Lagrou, "the memory of Nazi persecution became the battle horse of anti-communism."⁴³ Camp survivors became embroiled in these debates. In France, Buchenwald survivor David Rousset's appeal to fellow deportees to participate in a commission to investigate Soviet "concentration camps" led to sharp protests on the part of Communist survivors. Similar conflicts took place in Belgium and the Netherlands, leading in some cases to permanent schisms in survivor associations.⁴⁴ Among displaced Ukrainian politicals, the equation between National Socialism and Soviet communism was central from the beginning. The League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners published numerous articles about Russian and Soviet persecution, and its membership in theory encompassed survivors of the Gulag. Leading members of the league participated in the anticommunist movement, and the league itself was a chief sponsor of the Munich ABN demonstration discussed in chapter 4. The results of this conjunction were sometimes grotesque, as when league member Petro Mirchuk described the industrial

murder in the concentration camps as a “humane deed” in comparison with the atrocities perpetrated by the Soviets.

On a smaller scale, Russian politicals also put the memory of Nazi persecution at the service of the anticommunist cause. Like Ukrainians associated with the OUN, Russians associated with the NTS folded their sufferings under National Socialism into a larger catalog of sufferings endured by their members. They presented the NTS as a “third power” that had valiantly and steadfastly opposed both National Socialism and Soviet communism. In a 1947 article entitled “The Memory of the Heroes,” for example, camp survivor and NTS activist Vladimir Poremskii identified the loss of friends and comrades in the Nazi concentration camps as the continuation of a larger struggle.

After this victim followed many others: Dachau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Auschwitz,—in the registers of all these camps one can find dozens of names with a note next to them: “involvement in NTS,” and a mark signifying death.

Thus grew the terrible list of the Russian “resistance” victims—a list of the best, the most bold and pure, who were not afraid to conduct the struggle on two fronts, a struggle against *all* the forces of evil.⁴⁵

Other NTS members also highlighted the struggle against National Socialism. Poremskii’s colleague Aleksandr Neimirok, for example, published a memoir of the Nazi concentration camps in 1947.⁴⁶ In general, however, experiences of National Socialism remained a minor theme among Russian DPs. As Poremskii himself later noted, the literature on the Nazi concentration camps could not compare to that on the Soviet Gulag.⁴⁷

In many parts of postwar Europe, the experiences of Nazi political prisoners became the basis of broader national narratives, coming to represent the suffering of the nation as a whole. The same cannot be said about displaced persons. Although DP politicals viewed themselves as an elite, they did not find much confirmation of this status among their fellow DPs. Thus, for example, at the second congress of the Ukrainian emigration in 1947, the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners complained that the Ukrainian community had all but forgotten about them.⁴⁸ To other Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs, the reckoning with the Nazi past was less important than the fight for an independent, noncommunist homeland. Thus, although many politicals were active in DP associational life,

their experiences under National Socialism played only a small role in shaping broader group identifications. The martyrological idiom, far from underpinning broader national narratives, remained limited to the community of political.

The Remnants of Antifascist Internationalism

While most DP political viewed their respective national committees as the anchors of their communities, they also understood themselves as part of an international community of political prisoners. They were deeply invested in having their sacrifices and sufferings recognized by fellow camp survivors. Their self-understanding as members of an international community expressed itself in two ways. First, DP political sought to participate in the activities of German prisoner organizations and of the larger international prisoners' community. Second, they formed new international groups to represent their interests as displaced persons.

The internationalist orientation of DP political needs to be seen in the context of what historians have called the "moment of anti-fascist unity."⁴⁹ Spanning the Second World War and the early postwar period, this moment was distinguished by the formation of broadly based antifascist political fronts. It was characterized, as Eric Hobsbawm writes, by a "unique alliance of national fronts ranging from patriotic conservatives to social revolutionaries, for the defeat of the national enemy, and simultaneously for social regeneration."⁵⁰ It had both national and international dimensions. On the one hand, nationalist sentiment in Europe increased during the war years and provided a major impetus for resistance.⁵¹ On the other, the national resistance movements were participants in a larger "international ideological civil war."⁵² As Eric Hobsbawm argues, "the rise of antifascist patriotism was . . . part of what could legitimately be seen as the triumph of a kind of internationalism."⁵³

The extent to which antifascist unity actually existed during the war years is a matter of considerable dispute.⁵⁴ It may well be that, as Dan Diner suggests, antifascism only "receives its true vocation as a term describing the period after 1945," when it became the foundation myth for states like the German Democratic Republic.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, the *language* of antifascist unity was a central component of wartime and postwar politics. It was central to the international committees created in the concentration camps and their postwar successors. Led by political pris-

oners, the committees presented themselves as standard-bearers of the antifascist idea. In particular, they argued that the prisoners of the camps constituted a single nationally and internationally unified community. An example of this position can be found in a statement issued by the International Prisoners' Committee of Dachau shortly after the liberation.

We lived for the sake of the friendship and the brotherhood that existed in the camp. We divided between us all the sorrows and the sufferings of the difficult times, but we never hated and spied [on] one another. No Germans, no Russians, no Polish, no Yugoslavs were in this hell of the naxis [*sic*]: here lived a community of friends and brothers, a family that was menaced to death from all sides, a society of the same principles and ideals. The aim of all was one: death to the hitlerists and their satellites. This was the war that we fought in the high mountains and in the low steps [*sic*] of our countries. This was the motto of the skeletons of Dachau.⁵⁶

This description of wartime solidarity presented the different nationals of Dachau as a unified movement against National Socialism and fascism: *an* antifascist resistance. It suggested that the common struggle against the enemy—especially the common experience of suffering—had pushed national differences into the background. However, this did not mean that national identifications had become irrelevant. Rather, it meant that all nationalities were equal partners in a larger endeavor. As the numerous petty conflicts documented in the records of the Dachau IPC make clear, political prisoners were obsessed with the issue of national recognition.⁵⁷ Importantly, as we saw in chapter 5, their concept of international solidarity excluded Jews (and other nonpoliticals), who did not fit into the framework of heroic antifascist resistance.

The language of antifascist unity was common among displaced politicals. In their accounts of the concentration camps, they often drew attention to moments when prisoners of other nationalities had offered advice, support, and even friendship. Some represented the camps as sites in which the national hostilities of old had been suspended in the face of the threat from the common enemy. Others went further and, like the Dachau IPC, suggested that the camp experience had revealed the emptiness of national categories. This was the position taken by the Polish political Jerzy Szwede.

History has given us a terrible lesson. It has proved to us *who* we are, showing us clearly the degree of evolution attained by humanity. It has reunited in the camps, all possible nations and their social varieties. It has stripped them totally of their inner contents.

Man alone remained from the German, Pole or Jew, Frenchman or Dutchman. The man who had the possibility to attain, inside the camp, the place and the degree he deserved: from the informer and executioner of *his own* companions up to the voluntary nurse of contagious disease. The man who killed in order to be allowed to live and was killed if he refused to be the executioner of the other ones. The man who stole from others and stole from himself for the others.⁵⁸

Here, then, was a classic statement of antifascist internationalism.

Displaced politicals not only employed the language of antifascist unity, they also sought to participate in the activities of the international prisoners' community. In the first instance, this meant participation in more broad-based international prisoners' organizations, especially ones based in Germany. The most important example of such participation is the International Information Office of Dachau (IIO). In many respects, the International Information Office was similar to other care centers established after the liberation. However, while most care centers saw themselves as agencies for German politicals, the IIO was explicitly international. Created largely on the initiative of Polish survivors, it brought together two projects, one Polish and one German. The first was the Dachau camp office, which housed most of the camp's records. Headed by Jan Domagala, the last camp secretary and the Polish representative of the IPC, it was staffed primarily by Poles. The second project was an Information Center (*Auskunftsstelle*) established in the city of Dachau by German politicals. Led by Oskar Müller, the last camp elder and the president of the IPC, its immediate mission was to care for the remaining "Reich Germans" in the camp and to maintain the records pertaining to them, though its organizers also envisioned it as an eventual general repository of camp records.⁵⁹ In October 1945, the two projects merged to create the IIO. Domagala served as its first head; after he returned to Poland, the position went to Paul Hussarek, a Sudeten German survivor. In practice, however, the IIO was run by Domagala's deputy Walter Cieslik, also a Polish political.⁶⁰ In keeping with its origins, the IIO's organizational structure was international, with separate national sections for Poles and Germans. The Polish section, which also functioned as the Polish Information Office

mentioned earlier, was headed by Cieslik. It was closely affiliated with the Polish Committee in Munich. The German section was headed by Richard Titze, a member of the German Communist resistance. Expanding on the work of its German predecessor, the IIO's main task was to provide survivors with immediate assistance, including food, clothing, and money.⁶¹ It also performed a number of other roles. It maintained the camp's records, and it played an important role in early commemorations of Dachau.⁶² More broadly, it was committed to helping former prisoners of all nationalities, including Jews.⁶³ Much of this international work was performed by the Polish office. Indeed, the IIO saw itself as an organization dedicated to promoting international cooperation in the postwar world. According to Cieslik, the IIO demonstrated that "the spirit of international cooperation has found acceptance in the world."⁶⁴ The international structure of the organization, and the good relations among the organization's multinational staff, were themselves the proof of this claim. "Seldom," Cieslik wrote, "do people of various nationalities work together with such civility and trust, despite all the difficulties."⁶⁵

Ultimately, however, the IIO's internationalism proved to be its undoing. The experiment foundered on tensions between German and non-German politicals over the right to shape postwar institutions in Germany. In the spring of 1946, the IIO came into conflict with the German care centers over a circular drafted by its head Paul Hussarek. The circular argued that political persecutees in Bavaria should create their own association in order to strengthen their position in the debate over restitution. In a vehement letter sent to all the care centers in Bavaria, Ernst Lörcher of the Bavarian Red Cross's Department of Political Persecutees condemned Hussarek's proposal as ill-advised, drawing attention to the fact that the extant political parties and the State Commission for Political Persecutees could be expected to adequately represent the interests of the former prisoners. He also took aim at Hussarek himself, identifying him as a politically suspect foreigner with no right to speak for political persecutees in Bavaria. "Hussarek," he stated, "is a Czech emigrant and avoids his homeland for reasons which, though admittedly unknown to us, are nonetheless transparent."⁶⁶

Although the accusations of the Munich section were rejected by other German political prisoners, the scandal created by Hussarek's proposal placed the IIO in an uncomfortable position.⁶⁷ The Poles at the IIO felt exposed by the accusation that foreigners were meddling in German affairs. From their perspective, Hussarek was not a foreigner but rather a

German—a “former Czech DP and now a German”—who was using their organization to pursue German interests. “For some time,” they stated in a letter to local UNRRA officials, “the offices of the IIO have been misused for political purposes, which is not in keeping with our program, and as a springboard for the German Association of Former Political Prisoners of Concentration Camps, in order to create under German initiative an international organization, to which the Germans have no right.”⁶⁸ They feared that the Hussarek scandal would create political and financial problems. In their letter to UNRRA, they suggested that it could “call forth various diplomatic interventions,” a reference, it seems, to the possibility of conflict among Polish, American, and German officials. They therefore requested that the IIO be placed under the protection of UNRRA. They also forced Hussarek to resign.⁶⁹

As a result of this conflict, the IIO fell apart. Although UNRRA took responsibility for the office in May 1946, it did not provide sufficient material support.⁷⁰ In August 1946, the IIO ceased to exist as an independent institution.⁷¹ Frustrated by this experience, Cieslik returned to Poland. Other Poles associated with the IIO also returned home.⁷² The IIO’s German and Polish offices continued to function, but only as separate national committees with no particular commitment to internationalism. Indeed, there would be few other efforts at cooperation between German and Polish politicals, and between German and DP politicals more generally. Rather, as we shall see, German distrust of Polish and Ukrainian camp survivors would lead to their marginalization.

Committee work was one means by which displaced political prisoners sought to participate in the larger international prisoners’ community. Commemorations were another. The most significant example of DP participation in commemorations concerns the Flossenbürg concentration camp, located in the Upper Palatinate. Displaced politicals played an important role in shaping Flossenbürg’s early commemorative environment. In June 1946, Polish survivors living in the camp—now functioning as a DP camp—created the Executive Committee for Erecting the Monument and Chappel [*sic*] in Concentration Camp Flossenbürg. Also participating in this effort were Ukrainian and German politicals and local notables. The design of the memorial site, composed of three main elements—a monument, a chapel, and a “Valley of Death” on the former camp execution site—emphasizes the idea of international community. The monument, constructed in the city center, consists of a large granite block surrounded by tablets commemorating each of the twenty-two nations interned in

Flossenbürg. The chapel, constructed out of stones from the camp's watchtowers, similarly includes elements representing individual nations, including national flags and distinct stained-glass windows. Finally, the Valley of Death includes a "Square of the Nations" lined with memorial tablets representing individual nations. The emphasis on international community is coupled with an understanding of the camp experience as a form of martyrdom. This can be seen most clearly in the design of the chapel. As Peter Fibich notes, "in the designs of the church windows . . . as well as the crucifixion scene over the altar, the events in the concentration camp are symbolically associated with the suffering and sacrificial death of Christ."⁷³ The martyrological theme surfaces not only in the Polish- and Ukrainian-designed elements of the chapel but also in the French- and Belgian-designed ones, suggesting that the concept of national martyrdom found broad resonance among former political prisoners.

For DP politicals, participation in the development of the Flossenbürg memorial site was an important sign of belonging to the international prisoners' community. The involvement of Ukrainian politicals can be reconstructed in some detail. In 1947, the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners became the official Ukrainian representative on the planning committee for the site. Soliciting funds among Ukrainians in North America, it succeeded in raising enough money for both a memorial tablet in the Valley of Death and a stained-glass window in the chapel.⁷⁴ The design of the window reflects the Ukrainian version of the martyrological idiom. Dedicated to the sons of Ukraine, "who gave their lives for freedom," it combines religious and secular imagery in a manner intended to highlight the transhistorical struggle for national independence. The two main panels are dominated by religious figures: at the top, the Madonna, at the bottom, Saint George slaying the dragon. Smaller panels refer to Ukrainian history: two Ukrainian churches; the coats of arms of Ukraine's two main cities, Kiev and Lviv; and two iconic Ukrainian warriors, the Cossack and the Sich Rifleman.⁷⁵ The central panel contains the inscription and the trident, the symbol of Ukrainian statehood. The inclusion of Saint George, also featured in the Belgian window, places the struggles of Ukrainian political prisoners in a clear martyrological context. It suggests that like the soldier-saint, the prisoners had sacrificed themselves for their beliefs. Interestingly, there is no reference to concentration camp survivors *per se*.⁷⁶

Smaller examples of DP participation in international commemorations can also be found. The April 1946 ceremony commemorating the liberation of Dachau, for example, included a speech by a Ukrainian sur-

vivor, who, anticipating David Rousset by a few years, drew a parallel between the Nazi and Soviet systems and called on his fellow survivors to support the Ukrainian independence movement.⁷⁷ Reporting on the ceremony in its newsletter, the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners highlighted what it saw as a strong Ukrainian showing and proudly noted that the gift they had presented to the U.S. Army had made a favorable impression on the audience.⁷⁸

As these examples of committee work and commemoration suggest, DP politicals were eager to participate in the activities of the larger prisoners' community and sometimes managed to play important roles. The fact that they remained in Germany, close to the camp sites themselves, facilitated their involvement. Taking a broader view, however, it is clear that DP politicals were marginal actors on both the German and the international scenes. For example, they had little contact with the VVN, the main German persecutee organization, whose members included many prominent German politicians, including Philipp Auerbach.

There were three main reasons for their marginalization. First, the international prisoners' committees were organized according to the nation-state principle and were thus by definition unwilling to accommodate committees representing stateless persons, especially when these committees challenged the legitimacy of similar associations in their home countries. It was simply not possible to have two Polish committees, and it was hard to know what to do with even one Ukrainian or Russian committee, since "Ukraine" and "Russia" were not states.

Second, politicals who refused to return home were seen as traitors to the antifascist cause. For antifascism meant commitment not only to defeating the fascists but also to creating a new postfascist Europe.⁷⁹ In challenging repatriation, DP politicals thus challenged the proper denouement of the antifascist struggle. Indeed, they made themselves suspicious. For if they refused to return home, it could only be because they were really criminals: politicals who had collaborated with the Nazis or, even more ominously, "common" criminals masquerading as politicals. Speaking at a meeting of political and racial persecutees in Starnberg, about 25 kilometers southwest of Munich, in November 1946, for example, former political prisoner and local SPD politician Walter Lachmann argued that survivors who refused to return home could not be considered real victims of fascism, let alone real antifascists. "I take the position," he stated, "that every deportee may claim the rights of a political prisoner, but only so long as it is impossible for him to return to his homeland." He made exceptions for a

few groups, including Spaniards, Russians, and Polish Jews. "Every other deportee," he stated, "does not have the right to recognition if he does not return to his homeland. For if he wishes to remain a deportee, he declares himself in agreement with his deportation and has to accept contemporary living conditions in Germany."⁸⁰ Lachmann also noted the high rate of criminality among foreigners in Germany, which, he argued, "naturally damages the reputation of the foreigners living here, the deportees, and therefore also the political and racial persecutees."⁸¹ Interpreting black-market activities as attempts to sabotage Germany's postwar reconstruction, he demanded that foreigners caught engaging in criminal acts be deported after serving their sentences.

Third, and finally, displaced politicals were suspect on account of their nationality. National labels played an important role in the concentration camps. The "divide and conquer" strategies employed by the SS produced and reinforced national antagonisms.⁸² Both Poles and Ukrainians were widely disliked by other prisoners. They were viewed as national chauvinists, antisemites, poor comrades, and collaborators. Thus even a sympathetic commentator like Joseph Rovn, whose postwar memoir of Dachau avoided broad generalizations, criticized "the Poles," focusing in particular on their antisemitism. "Many of my Polish comrades," he wrote, "did not take many precautions in confiding to us how much they regretted the folly of Hitler, who had gotten it into his head to exterminate the Polish people instead of forging an invincible Germano-Polish alliance against Bolshevism, Russian, Jewish, and atheistic."⁸³ In Germany, this inheritance of the concentration camps was amplified by the long history of anti-Slavic and especially anti-Polish sentiment.

The effects of national stereotypes from the camps on the evaluation of Polish DPs can be seen in the debate surrounding Nico Rost's portrayal of Polish prisoners in his diary, *Goethe in Dachau*. Rost was a Dutch socialist and journalist who spent two years in the concentration camps. In his diary, published in the original Dutch in 1947 and in German translation one year later, he was unsparingly critical of "the Poles." He portrayed them as ruthless exploiters of their fellow prisoners and willing collaborators of the SS.⁸⁴ In October 1949, a debate over this portrayal erupted in the pages of the nascent East German press. In an open letter to Rost, the publicist Susanne Kerckhoff accused him of "animosity towards the Polish people."⁸⁵ "Little by little, page by page," she wrote, "you create a Polish 'national character.'"⁸⁶ This, she said, was tantamount to racism. She sought to defend the reputation of the Poles by referencing her experience

working in a DP camp, where even the reactionary Polish DPs exhibited “agreeable characteristics, and indeed the kind that correspond to a Polish ‘national character.’”⁸⁷ Rising to Rost’s defense, writer Stefan Hermlin accused Kerckhoff of ignorance and naïveté. He described the “criminal and corrupt elements” that “the real anti-fascists” had faced in the camps. “It is precisely these elements,” he argued, “which today fill the West German DP camps and serve the American imperialists as a reserve army.”⁸⁸ He thus drew a straight line between Polish concentration camp prisoners and Polish DPs. Although the drama over Rost’s diary played out in East Germany, similar judgments were common in the west. Here too, the poor quality of Polish DPs was traced back to the poor quality of Polish concentration camp prisoners or, more broadly, to the shortcomings of the Polish nation.

The rejection that DP politicals encountered among other political prisoners encouraged them to band together to create their own international community. In this community, the internationalism of the camps was reproduced on a miniature scale, uniting those former political prisoners who had refused the antifascist denouement and remained “abroad.” Here international solidarity was based not only on wartime history but also on a sense of collective postwar victimization. A victim consciousness was fed by rejection on the part of other politicals and by fear about the political future of eastern Europe. Indeed, inasmuch as the postwar context of displacement reproduced the wartime context of imprisonment, with its sense of a collective threat, it formed the basis of a new group experience, which encouraged DP politicals to develop international alliances.

The formation of this miniature international community can be seen in the development of international committees composed specifically of displaced politicals. Some of these committees were ad hoc and temporary, while others proved to be longer lasting. The most important was the International Union of Former Political Prisoners. Founded in Munich in October 1945, it brought Poles and Ukrainians together with other eastern Europeans, including Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Czechs, Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs.⁸⁹ Unlike the “official” international prisoners’ committees, it was organized around an ethnonational rather than a nation-state principle. The committee’s main goals were to provide for the immediate material needs of survivors, fight for restitution, and encourage “spiritual-cultural rapprochement” among its member nationalities. Its erstwhile president, Wasył Pasieczniak, was a journalist and self-described “Ukrainian freedom fighter,” who, like his colleague Mirchuk, was also involved

in the anticommunist movement.⁹⁰ Like its Polish and Ukrainian member organizations, the International Union was eventually deemed a subversive organization.

The immediate rationale for creating these international organizations was the threat of repatriation. In one of his two memoirs, Petro Mirchuk notes that opposition to returning home united many of the eastern Europeans in the Ebensee concentration camp in Austria. After the liberation, they created an international committee to represent them.⁹¹ The same logic was operative in the case of the International Union of Former Political Prisoners. In the early stages of its history, it was preoccupied with the repatriation question. In December 1945, for example, it wrote to John H. Whiting, the director of UNRRA for the U.S. zone, to protest UNRRA screening methods, which, it said, threatened hundreds of thousands of displaced persons with “fraudulent and compulsory repatriation.”⁹²

Behind the concern over repatriation stood a broader anticommunist orientation. The International Union presented its members as representatives of the “democratic idea,” whose conscience led them to oppose not only National Socialism but also Soviet communism. “Thus it is not surprising that the membership of the national organizations that belong to the [International Union] is filled in the first place with the political prisoners of nations that ended up under the direct or indirect tutelage of the USSR. Having endured the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps and underground Gestapo prisons, they did not wish to return to that same world, that same truth, and those same methods.”⁹³ They called on the leaders of the United States, Great Britain, and France to help them find a way out of Germany, where they lived under the constant threat of repatriation and had to confront the hatred of the Germans.

Membership in an international community of displaced politicals was clearly not as important to former prisoners as membership in a national community. Indeed, as will be discussed in the following chapter, “international cooperation” around the legacy of National Socialism was fraught with difficulties. However, it did perform an important symbolic function. In the context of rejection on the part of other politicals, it testified to the fact that DP politicals still enjoyed acceptance within a larger international circle—that they were “bona fide.” Thus the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners placed considerable emphasis on the fact that representatives of other national committees had attended its first congress and even reproduced their speeches in its monthly newsletter.⁹⁴ Yet the significance of this international community was not merely symbolic. As we will see in the fol-

lowing chapter, it also served practical material ends: it functioned as a lobby on behalf of displaced politicals in their claims against the German authorities, especially their demands for restitution.

The Fragility of the Political

Few former political prisoners openly challenged the heroic image of the political cultivated by the committees. To do so was to challenge the value of one's own experiences, to empty them of their positive and redeeming content at a time when they were already under siege from without. One exception was a small group of prisoners who worked for the Polish Committee in Munich in its early days: Tadeusz Borowski, Janusz Nel Siedlecki, and Krystyn Olszewski. Like Siedlecki and Borowski, who have already been discussed at some length, Olszewski had been arrested for resistance activities and deported to Auschwitz. Together the three men were later evacuated westward, ending up in Dachau-Allach. After the liberation, they lived in Munich-Freimann before conspiring to move to Munich proper. There, after hours, they wrote a book about their Auschwitz experiences, which they entitled simply *We Were in Auschwitz* (*Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu*). The idea for the book came from Anatol Girs, a well-known Polish publisher and graphic artist. One of the founders of the prewar publishing house Oficyna Warszawska, he had been arrested more or less at random during the Warsaw Uprising.⁹⁵ Like the three authors, he had been interned in Auschwitz and Dachau. Published in 1946 by Oficyna Warszawska Abroad—according to Siedlecki, “cigarettes opened the gates of Bruckmann, the famous printers of Munich”—the book was dedicated to the Seventh U.S. Army, the liberators of Dachau-Allach.⁹⁶ One of the first concentration camp memoirs published after the war, it contained stories by each of the three authors, though in the spirit of collaboration, who wrote what was not indicated. Altogether, it offered a devastating critique of the politicals.

According to Borowski, the book was a bit of “everything: encyclopedia, sonata pathétique, response, and anecdote.”⁹⁷ The issue of response was central. In their introductory statements, the authors and the publisher presented the book as a response to what they called “the legend of the concentration camp”: myths of heroism that other camp survivors were creating. They conceived of the book as a counterhistory, a documentary project

intended to explode these myths and reveal the truth of the camps.⁹⁸ More generally, they saw it as an exposé of fascism, with relevance beyond the era of the camps.⁹⁹ The authors appealed primarily to the evidence of their own experience, especially their *visual* experience.¹⁰⁰ In other words, they presented themselves as witnesses. In order to underline this point, the stories were narrated almost exclusively in the first person. In the book's opening pages, they made clear just what they had witnessed.

We saw people killed for stealing a couple of raw potatoes, and we saw cars filled with food stolen for the families of the SS men. We saw women who gave themselves for a piece of bread, and we saw people who bought themselves lovers with gold belonging to people who had been gassed.

We saw, and we think that we have the right to talk about this without subterfuge, openly, as we remember it. Confinement in the camp, destitution, torture, and death in the gas chamber are not heroism, are not even anything positive.¹⁰¹

The individual stories elaborated on this basic theme. They brought together a macrohistorical analysis of the camp system with a microhistorical focus on relations among individual prisoners. This doubled perspective was employed in examining different aspects of the camp, including work in different kinds of commandos (for example, the notorious *Sonderkommando*) and the extermination of the Jews. Indeed, while much of the fiction and memoir literature written by political prisoners focuses narrowly on the politicals themselves, the authors of *We Were in Auschwitz* took a broader view, focusing on the plight of Jewish and Gypsy prisoners and on relations between different groups.

Although the book touched on virtually every group of prisoners, the central objects of analysis were the politicals: those prisoners who understood themselves as fighters for a "cause." Undermining the distinction between the politicals and the criminals, a distinction most politicals went to great lengths to maintain, the authors highlighted the debasement of the politicals and, ultimately, the interchangeability with the criminals. The politicals, they argued, had been reduced to the state of criminals by a criminal system. Nor did they spare themselves from this indictment. Rather, their own debasement served as the principal evidence for their theory of moral life in the camp.

It was defeat, the almost immediate abandonment of ideological principles. A primeval battle remained, waged by the solitary, debased prisoner for his existence against the equally debased SS and against the terrible force of the camp. We stress this strongly because myths and legends will arise on both sides. We did not fight for the concept of nation in the camp, nor for the inner restructuring of man; we fought for a bowl of soup, for a place to sleep, for women, for gold and watches from the transports.¹⁰²

To differing degrees, the individual authors took pleasure in exposing the debasement of the politicals, exemplified by their cruelty and indifference toward other prisoners, especially Jews. This masochistic tendency comes through most forcefully in the stories written by Borowski, in which a rather unscrupulous first-person narrator, sometimes self-referentially named "Tadek," lords it over the other prisoners and only rarely suffers defeats of his own. Although the narrator documents with chilling clarity and precision the crimes being committed around him, and thus demonstrates a keen sensitivity to the sufferings of others, he does not step in to prevent them. His energies are devoted to surviving, which means profiting from the system as it exists. He is the very opposite of a heroic figure. Such unsparing portrayals of self-referential characters can be read as evidence of the authors' own deep-seated feelings of guilt. They serve, in effect, as a form of literary self-punishment for the crimes that they themselves committed. It thus seems that one of the authors' goals in writing the book, unstated but nonetheless present, was to confront their own complicity.

The authors' reckoning with the past is all the more ruthless because of the hopes they had invested in the political prisoners, including themselves. Their stories express a profound disenchantment with the ideals of antifascism. This is especially true of Borowski, whom Czesław Miłosz has called a "disappointed lover."¹⁰³ He takes direct aim at antifascist solidarity in one of his contributions to the book, "A Day at Harmenz." In the following scene, the narrator Tadek, whose watch has just been broken by the German commando leader, has an encounter with his Kapo, who is also a political prisoner.

Without a word I picked up my broken watch and began to whistle. First a foxtrot, then an old tango, then the "Song of Warsaw" and all the Polish cavalry tunes, and finally the entire repertoire of the political left.

But just when I got to the middle of the “International,” I suddenly felt a tall shadow move over me. A heavy hand struck across my back. I turned my head and froze in terror. The Kapo’s huge, bloated red face hovered over me, his spade swaying dangerously in mid-air. The stripes of his prison suit stood out sharply against the green of the distant trees. A small red triangle with the numbers 3277 dangled before my eyes, growing more and more enormous.

“What’s that you’re whistling?” he asked, looking straight into my eyes,

“It’s a sort of international song, sir.”

“Do you know the words?”

“Well . . . some . . . I’ve heard them a few times,” I said cautiously.

“And have you heard this one?”

And in a hoarse voice he began singing the “Red Flag.” He let his spade drop, his eyes glistened excitedly. Then he broke off suddenly, picked up the spade and shook his head, half with contempt, half with pity.

“If a real SS man’d heard you, you wouldn’t be alive right now. But that one over there . . .”

The sickly German resting against the brick wall laughed good-naturedly.¹⁰⁴

The scene presented here suggests how the ethos of international solidarity has been perverted in the camp. Tadek’s performance, which moves from popular music to Polish nationalist tunes and finally to leftist classics, reproduces, in musical form, an idealized progression of political solidarities. The whistling of the “International,” the telos of this progression, is clearly identified as a subversive activity—indeed, an overt provocation, punishable by death. Directed at the German who broke Tadek’s watch, it hints at the existence of an antifascist movement in the camp. However, this subversion is rudely interrupted by the Kapo. Despite his status as a fellow political, he is Tadek’s superior within the camp hierarchy. His grotesque and truncated rendition of a classic radical song suggests how his political beliefs have been compromised in the camp.

While the critique of the political prisoners aimed primarily at demonstrating their debasement, on a more fundamental level, the authors questioned whether the political could in any sense be considered members of the resistance. This critique of the political category per se is suggested by Girs’s introductory note. “We,” he wrote, “are those who were

sent to the camps because we did something, because we didn't do anything, because we were—in the thinking of this [fascist] ethic—guilty, or because we were innocent.”¹⁰⁵ Resistance, Girs noted, was only one of many reasons why people were deported. Indeed, to speak of reason in this context, of deportation as the logical consequence of an act on the part of the deported, was to miss the larger point. In the context of the criminal system created by the Nazis, the individual's fate had little if anything to do with his or her actions. Deportation and imprisonment thus could not be seen as confirmation of one's political credentials. Rather, the prisoner's status was defined by subjection to the simultaneously systematic and arbitrary practices of the Nazi regime. Those who ended up in the camp were victims rather than heroes.

While the concentration camp experience provided the book with its explicit focus, the interpretation of this experience took shape in the postwar context. The problem, as the authors put it, was not merely that the political had “abandoned” their principles as soon as they reached the camp, it was also that these principles showed few signs of reviving now that the camp system had been destroyed. In the camps, they had all dreamed of “a better, more just world.” “What hurts us,” they wrote, “is that in the world which was supposed to be our redemption, the same rules of life that we came to hate so much in the camp still exist—looting, robbery, swindling.”¹⁰⁶ This verdict can no doubt be read on a number of different levels. It suggests not only literal swindling and robbery but also the more metaphorical forms represented by mythmaking and falsification. It perhaps alludes to the situation of postwar Poland, “robbed” of an independent (though hardly democratic) government by Great Power politics. It most certainly references the authors' immediate surroundings. As both Siedlecki and Borowski suggest elsewhere, their disillusionment with the postwar world took shape in the context of the DP camps and communities, where they saw their liberated comrades become absorbed in petty conflicts. The origins of the book, especially its harsh judgment of the political prisoners, thus lay as much in the present as in the past.¹⁰⁷

Despite their trenchant critique of the political prisoner, the authors did not entirely succeed in avoiding the representational tropes favored by other politicals, tropes that identified the politicals as heroic actors and authoritative witnesses. This can be seen clearly in the design of the book. The authors' prisoner numbers were prominently displayed next to their names on the book's title page. The book's front and back covers were wrapped in paper that reproduced the striped fabric of the concentration

camp uniform, and the front cover bore the markings of a Polish political prisoner: a red triangle, a *P*, and a prisoner number (Siedlecki's). Most astonishing, some copies were bound in fabric taken from original camp uniforms, onto which was sewn a cloth reproduction of the prisoner markings.¹⁰⁸ These design elements identify the authors as bona fide Polish political prisoners. Even more, they establish the legitimacy of their claims: their authority to speak about Auschwitz and the authenticity of their words. This is especially true of the covers bound in fabric from original uniforms, which present the reader with direct physical evidence of the camps. The message, it seems, is that one *can* read a book by its cover.¹⁰⁹

The status of the authors as bona fide Polish politicals is also underlined by another design element, the colophon or emblem for the book's publisher. Reproduced on the title page, it features a muscular left arm holding a sword. It closely resembles the emblem on a Polish naval war flag, familiar to Girs from his prewar work.¹¹⁰ It also brings to mind the *syrena*, the sword-bearing mermaid known in Polish mythology as the founder and guardian of Warsaw, which, during the Nazi occupation, took on new significance as a symbol of the city's resistance.¹¹¹ Girs himself later said that he added this motif after learning that he had lost his entire family, which had been deported with him to Auschwitz. He deliberately chose to picture the sword held in the left hand, as he used his left hand to draw.¹¹² Explicitly associating the pen with the sword, the emblem for the publisher can thus be seen as a tribute to the fighting spirit of Warsaw and a symbol of Girs's personal intention to continue the fight against fascism through his artistic and literary work. Thus, although Girs was at pains to suggest that internment in the camp was not the result of heroic action, his design for the colophon offers a more heroic vision.

Taken together, these design elements create a powerful visual and tactile association with the camp experiences depicted in the book. They suggest how difficult it was to avoid viewing the politicals as authoritative and heroic witnesses. Paradoxically, in seeking to debunk the myth of the camp, the authors made use of it. A distinction between the politicals and the criminals had to be maintained in order to authorize the text. Like many survivors, the four men behind *We Were in Auschwitz* had an urgent desire to bear witness to the camps. In order to do so, they employed the authority conferred on them by their status as politicals, even as they sought to undermine this authority in the book itself.

Despite its literary and historical significance, *We Were in Auschwitz* never found a large audience, neither in Poland nor abroad. "As we ex-

Byliśmy
W
OŚWIĘCIMIU

6643 JANUSZ NEL
SIEDLECKI

75817 KRYSTYN
OLSZEWSKI

119198 TADEUSZ
BOROWSKI



OFICyna WARSZAWSKA
NA OBCYZNIE

19

46

Fig. 12. Title page of Janusz Nel Siedlecki, Krystyn Olszewski, and Tadeusz Borowski, *We Were in Auschwitz* (*Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu*) (Munich: Oficyna Warszawska na Obczyźnie, 1946).

pected,” writes Siedlecki, “it had a mixed reception: praises from the Polish Western Press, but, for debunking the ‘heroes,’ vicious threats from many ex-prisoners.”¹¹³ In Poland, where some of Borowski’s contributions were published separately, the author was praised for his literary accomplishments, but his presentation of the camps was seen as evidence of a debased morality.¹¹⁴ The book itself was barely known there.¹¹⁵ Such a negative reception, both critical and silent, is not surprising. With their antiheroic first-person account of Polish politicals, the authors of *We Were in Auschwitz* critiqued from the inside, as it were, the political identity already assaulted from the outside by the German and American authorities and by other politicals. After emigrating to the United States in 1947, Girs, the book’s publisher, was forced to destroy most of the remaining copies.¹¹⁶

CHAPTER 8

Recognition, Assistance, *Wiedergutmachung*: The Claims of Displaced Politicals

Displaced politicals were deeply preoccupied with their experiences under National Socialism. This preoccupation not only generated a wealth of organizations, commemorations, and testimonies: it also served as the basis for material claims. Three claims took center stage. First, DP politicals sought official recognition of their status as persecuted persons. Second, they sought immediate assistance in the form of food, shelter, medical care, and monetary subsidies. Third, they demanded formal legal restitution (*Wiedergutmachung*) for the crimes committed against them. They viewed these claims as existential issues, in both senses of the word: as the basis of their material existence and as confirmation of their sacrifices, suffering, and contribution to defeating National Socialism.

The claims put forward by displaced politicals derived from the narratives of heroism and sacrifice explored in the previous chapter. However, they were also encouraged by Allied and German policies, especially the emphasis the Allies initially placed on exposing the crimes of National Socialism and assisting victims of persecution. Postwar policies thus played an important role in channeling the energies of DP politicals and shaping how they viewed themselves. The dominant representation of the political prisoner as a national martyr developed against the backdrop of persecuttee policies: at the same time as DP politicals were writing about their camp experiences, they were pursuing their claims with the authorities. It is thus impossible to separate the two. Indeed, the difficulties DP politicals encountered with their claims arguably strengthened their identification as victims of National Socialism.

The search for recognition, assistance, and restitution also stimulated competition with other victims, especially Jewish and German survivors,

who were seen as enjoying privileged positions in the German hierarchy of compensation. Finding their claims rebuffed, DP politicals turned their anger and frustration against these other groups. They claimed that they were just as worthy, if not more, of recognition. Their resentment found expression in antisemitic and anticommunist statements. DP politicals interpreted policies designed to assist Jewish persecutees as conspiratorial efforts to privilege Jews over politicals. Similarly, they read the discriminatory attitude of the German care centers and German state authorities as part of a German Communist plot. Occasionally, they asserted both things simultaneously, evoking the specter of "Judeo-Bolshevism."

Claims that Jewish suffering "takes up too much space" are generally seen as a more recent development, a backlash against the growing recognition of the Holocaust during the 1980s and 1990s.¹ In most parts of Europe, where the vision of National Socialist persecution was for decades shaped primarily by political prisoners, and the specific experiences of Jews were marginalized, this is in fact true. In the DP context, however, the picture looks somewhat different. Here the outlines of a competitive discourse emerged in the mid-1940s. To understand this development, it is necessary to recall the recognition accorded to Jewish survivors by Allied and especially American persecutee policy. After the Harrison Report, Jews were recognized as a distinct and, indeed, "paradigmatic" group of victims entitled to special assistance.² Improvements in their status also drove forward improvements in the status of persecutees more generally. In practice, the advantages that Jews in Germany enjoyed were modest. Jewish DP leaders often complained about the failure to translate policy into practice. However, these advantages loomed large in the imagination of displaced politicals. They fed a competitive discourse underwritten by pre-war antisemitism and by a sense of superiority as members of the anti-Nazi resistance.

The Search for Recognition and Assistance

Displaced politicals placed great significance on gaining official recognition as victims of persecution. They sought recognition from numerous sources, including persecutee committees, the Allied authorities, the international relief agencies, and the German government. Like the international prisoners' committees discussed in the previous chapter, the authorities served as a mirror in which former political prisoners searched for

confirmation of their political identity. They were an especially powerful mirror, as they controlled vast material, political, and, in the case of the Allies, moral resources.

For DP politicals in Bavaria, recognition from the American military government was especially important. As we have seen, however, the American authorities had little enthusiasm for DP committees, which they viewed as a deterrent to repatriation, a source of inter-Allied conflict, and an unwarranted interference in German politics. Hence the committees established by displaced politicals had difficulty establishing relations with the Americans. The case of the Gablingen section of the Polish Association of Ex-Prisoners Persecuted by Nazis provides a good illustration. In October 1948, the Poles in Gablingen, a small town near Augsburg, wrote to Military Government officials about compensation for former political prisoners. They complained that Bavarian compensation laws discriminated against former political prisoners who lived in IRO camps and that no one was protecting their interests. They begged the Military Government to intervene on their behalf.³ While local MG officials suggested a review of existing programs of assistance to persecutees, higher authorities refused to consider the Polish Association's requests.⁴ Writing to the Office of Military Government for Bavaria, the director of Civil Administration for the Office of Military Government for Germany (OMGUS) stated that "the Polish Association . . . has not been licensed by Military Government nor are its activities looked upon with favour by this Headquarters."⁵ The substantive questions posed by the Polish Association were left unexplored. Indeed, the Polish Association never received a response.

The search for recognition was closely tied to the search for material assistance. Persecutee status, as we saw in chapter 2, was coupled with material benefits. It meant priority in access to food, housing, medical attention, and cash subsidies. Although DP politicals were unwilling to be seen as welfare recipients, they were nonetheless highly dependent on outside assistance, without which they could not meet their basic material needs, let alone rebuild their lives. Hence the search for assistance was charged with urgency. In order to secure the benefits of persecutee status, former political prisoners had to convince the authorities that they were "bona fide." This meant demonstrating that they met the Allied, American and, later, German criteria for political persecution. DP politicals were intimately familiar with official policies and made frequent mention of them in their correspondence. They were especially familiar with the Harrison Report and Eisenhower's directives, which were widely covered in the DP press.⁶ Al-

though the report and the directives had been formulated to address the situation of Jewish survivors, they also had implications for the treatment of displaced persons and non-Jewish persecutees. DP politicals seized on these implications, using Harrison's and Eisenhower's statements as further evidence that the Americans had committed to assisting them.⁷ Cognizant of special efforts to assist Jewish persecutees, they were eager to make sure they were not left behind. This set the stage for a competitive discourse.

The nexus of demands and complaints about assistance can be seen in the correspondence that DP politicals maintained with American and UNRRA officials. Faced with dire material shortages and poor living conditions, DP politicals continually drew attention to the relationship between political status and material benefits. For example, the Polish Information Office in Munich (i.e., the Polish Committee) was especially concerned about the welfare of former Polish prisoners living privately in the city, who, like other free-living DPs, did not fit into the division of labor worked out between the Allied and German authorities. It maintained lists of prisoners, which it provided to the American Military Government and UNRRA on its own initiative. In a petition to UNRRA, the Office asked that the free-living former prisoners be provided with "the help due to them on account of their long confinement."⁸ Among the things it requested were food, clothing, and a monetary allowance. It hoped that UNRRA would grant the former prisoners "special pri[o]rity" in recognition of the fact that they "had to suffer all the awefulness of the nazi-regime." The Office clearly hoped that the Military Government and UNRRA would accept its lists as authoritative documents. To bolster its position it referred to a political screening. "All these persons," it affirmed, "are strictly registered in our office and the former political prisoners, being members of our Association, are thoroughly segregated in order to eliminate the criminal element from the political."⁹ The assertion of a political identity, defined primarily against a criminal one, was central to the Polish Information Office's claims that its members were entitled to a certain level of Allied care.

The relationship between political status and material benefits was also asserted by the Murnau section of the Polish Association. Most of the Poles in Murnau were not in fact concentration camp survivors but rather former officers of the Polish Army, who had been interned in the Murnau POW camp. Nonetheless, they identified themselves as political prisoners. They had a strong communal identity centered on commitment to military traditions and allegiance to the old Polish state.¹⁰ In a June 1946 letter to the local UNRRA team and the American authorities written "in the

name of more than 200 members of our Section of Former Political Prisoners,” the Murnau Poles protested the transfer of part of their group to another town, where they said “conditions . . . are similar to those of the concentration camps.” They were acutely aware of the position that persecutees were supposed to occupy within the postwar political hierarchy: “We kindly draw your attention [to the fact] that all regulations of the Supreme American authorities and International Commissions for the care [*sic*, care] of DPs intend to provide the former political prisoners with a better and special treatment.” They sought to strengthen their argument by comparing their situation to that of other persecutees. “We unde[r]line here,” they wrote, “that in all Germany foreign political prisoners have much better conditions than ours till now. In several Teams they profit from nice private dwellings, frequently consisting of a few rooms for example: Munich, Weiden, . . . etc.” They drew special attention to the situation of Jews. In their locale, they noted, “the former political prisoners [of] Jewish nationality live in a luxurious hotel in Weilheim and in a new hotel over Starenberg [*sic*] lake, on the other hand the members of our section, as we learned, have to be transferred to the lower barracks [*sic*].”¹¹

Like Jewish survivors, displaced politicals viewed the American occupation authorities and the international relief agencies as their benefactors and protectors and thus also their primary interlocutors. However, they also addressed themselves to the Germans. In the first months after the liberation, DP politicals sought assistance from the German care centers. In some cases, they found a warm welcome; more often, they were rebuffed. As these informal structures were supplemented and supplanted by state agencies, and as state agencies were given greater authority over persecutee affairs in tandem with the transfer of authority, contact between DP politicals and the German authorities increased. In Bavaria, the most important German interlocutor for DP politicals was the State Commission for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees headed by Philipp Auerbach. Relations between DP politicals and Auerbach’s office were tense. Their exchanges highlight the bitter conflict that displaced politicals waged with the German authorities during the late 1940s and early 1950s. They suggest how the popular image of displaced politicals as criminals and pretenders hampered their efforts to gain recognition and assistance from German sources. They also suggest how antisemitism and anticommunism informed the views of displaced politicals, transforming the struggle for recognition and assistance into a competition with Jews and German Communists.

The nature of contact and conflict with the State Commission for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees can be seen in the State Commission's correspondence with the Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners of German Concentration Camps. In July 1946, the American Military Government declared the Polish Association a subversive organization. In late 1947, the leaders of the Polish Association turned to Auerbach for authorization, having gained the impression that the matter really lay in his hands. They stressed the importance of authorization "for legal carrying on of the job of self-assistance."¹² They also petitioned him for financial support of persecutees who lived in camps. The requests of the Polish Association were seconded by the International Union of Former Political Prisoners, here calling itself the International Committee of Political Emigrants and DPs. Auerbach, however, was skeptical of both the Polish Association and his authority to decide the issue. He questioned whether the members of the Polish Association were "real victims of nazism" and insisted that they submit to a screening by the State Commission.¹³ He also doubted whether he was responsible for assisting the Polish Association financially, since some of its members lived in camps. He decided to refer the matter back to Military Government.

The Polish Association and the International Committee responded vehemently to Auerbach's position. In a series of letters, they criticized him for failing to support them and accused him of discriminating against foreigners in general and Poles in particular. They threatened "to undertake steps with various authorities" in order to compel him to accept their demands. They were especially galled by Auerbach's insistence on a screening run by the State Commission. "We are herewith asking you," the Polish Association wrote, "whether you found irregularities of any kind in the activity of our checking commission? Did you find in our group any nazis, SS-men, Mitläufer, collaborators, fascists, etc.?" They refused to submit to a screening unless allowed to appoint their own delegates. A screening that lacked this "democratic" element, they wrote, "would mean violation of our national prestige and offence to the political aims, because of which hundreds and thousands of Poles were brought in[to] German concentration camps, where they suffered worst damages after the Jews."¹⁴

The Poles, then, viewed Auerbach's position as an affront to their honor as members of the Polish national resistance, the basis upon which they built their claims to persecutee status. By questioning the validity of their claims, Auerbach challenged this self-understanding. Indeed, he suggested that, far from having been interned in concentration camps for par-

ticipating in the resistance, the Poles were criminals. This impression was strengthened by Auerbach's insistence that the members of the Polish Association submit to a commission-run screening, which traditionally served to weed out criminals. By refusing to accept the conclusions of the association's own screening committee, Auerbach challenged the traditional authority of persecutee committees to vet their members and thus control the process of moral and material evaluation.

The Polish Association and the International Committee hoped to sway Auerbach in their favor by appealing to him as a fellow persecutee. However, they found it difficult to do so without revealing the limits of their own concept of solidarity. "We are of the opinion, Sir," the directors of the Polish Association wrote, "that you have, in your quality as appointed State Commissioner for racial, religious, and political persecutees, not only to grant your help and assistance to the former concentration camp inmates of Jewish or German nationality, but also to the various foreign groups with whom you suffered in the concentration camps."¹⁵ The International Committee went even further. "The officials of the State Commission and various Relief Centers," it asserted, "are but Jews and German Communists [*sic*], who are carrying out arbitrary distribution policy. The DPs, in view of the sacrifices of the Jewish people, grant the Jews privileges as to allocations and compensation, but want to get just treatment."¹⁶

Like the Poles in Murnau, then, the two committees discussed here invoked competition rather than solidarity with other survivors, especially Jews. Indeed, despite expressions of sympathy for Jewish suffering—and given that Auerbach was Jewish, one can surmise that they were largely strategic—the committees read their situation through the lens of anti-semitism. Combining antisemitism with anticommunism, they invoked the specter of "Judeo-Bolshevism," implying that the State Commission was part of a Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy designed to prevent them from realizing their rights. Similar sentiments color the writings of Petro Mirchuk, who claims to have known Auerbach from Auschwitz. While appealing to Auerbach as a fellow victim, Mirchuk also accused him of reversing the concentration camp hierarchy, from "Germans on the top and Jews on the bottom to Jews on the top and Ukrainians on the bottom."¹⁷ Here too it was intimated that Jews were conspiring against displaced politicals.¹⁸

Needless to say, Auerbach did not take kindly to such accusations. Taking the standpoint that antisemitism and antifascism were mutually exclusive, he questioned the Polish Association's claims to represent real persecutees. In a letter to the Office of Military Government for Bavaria, he

pointed to “the political and antisemitic turn” of the International Committee’s statement and referred to its authors as “partly fascist elements.”¹⁹ He did not, however, reject the Polish Association’s request for authorization and, indeed, promised to consider it “objectively.”²⁰ Military Government officials, for their part, viewed the petition of the Polish Association in an entirely different light. Setting aside the substantive issues, they argued that the Polish Association had no legal basis for its activities since it was a non-German organization.²¹ Although the leaders of the Polish Association continued to press their case with the Americans, they had little success. Some months after its exchange with Auerbach, the Polish Association was again declared a subversive organization, this time by the Army Counter Intelligence Corps.²²

From Assistance to *Wiedergutmachung*

While the efforts of displaced politicals were at first oriented toward securing recognition as persecutees and gaining immediate material assistance, they viewed formal restitution or *Wiedergutmachung* as their ultimate goal. This goal had been formulated even before the liberation. Indeed, it was one of the key reasons why political prisoners organized after the war, and was implicit in some of their earliest postliberation statements. For example, many early petitions referred to assistance as something political prisoners “deserved” or were “due.” This perspective was typical of political prisoners more generally. It was closely connected to their self-understanding as active participants in the struggle against National Socialism. As Otto Aster, the first Bavarian State Commissioner for Political Persecutees, stated in 1946 with regard to German politicals, “The political victims of persecution do not want gifts and welfare aid. They have specific rights, which they derive from their resistance against the Nazi regime and from the sacrifices they made.”²³ The progressive development of restitution legislation, underwritten by the argument that the rehabilitation of the victims was an essential counterpart to denazification, helped sustain and drive forward such demands. Displaced politicals issued critiques of existing legislative proposals and drafted alternative ones. They also pursued their claims individually, through the courts. They were especially concerned with gaining compensation, that is, restitution for personal damages (i.e., damages to body, health, and freedom). Property restitution was a secondary concern.

As we have seen, numerous barriers were placed in the way of DP claimants, first by the restitution laws themselves and then by the practices of implementation and interpretation. Most foreign claimants were excluded from compensation by the argument that they were national persecutees. These barriers surprised and angered DP politicals but did not dissuade them from pursuing their claims. Rather, they transformed the search for restitution into a *cause*. They encouraged DP politicals to maintain and develop the committees they had established after the liberation. They also encouraged them to focus on their experiences of internment and persecution. They thus strengthened their identification as victims of persecution. Indeed, by suggesting that their suffering at the hands of the Germans had not yet ended, the experience of seeking compensation encouraged displaced politicals to view national martyrdom in a broader temporal frame, as an event encompassing both the war years and the postwar period.

The rhetorical framework that displaced politicals employed in making their claims to restitution was, above all, moral. Restitution was presented as a moral obligation. In particular, it was presented as the moral responsibility of "the German nation and government."²⁴ The emphasis on German national responsibility was closely tied to an interpretation of National Socialism as a chauvinist and imperialist form of German nationalism. The German people, DP politicals argued, had been both the means and ends of National Socialism. They were the means, because they had consented to the National Socialist regime. According to Petro Mirchuk, the German nation "summoned Hitler and his clique to power by means of legal parliamentary elections, always gave him full support, and up to the last moment praised every action of its Hitlerist government without reservation."²⁵ (The fact that Hitler himself was not elected into office was sidestepped.) They were the ends, because National Socialism had acted in the name of the German people. As the Association of Foreign Political Persecutees put it, "Under the leadership of the criminal National Socialism, tremendous sufferings and damages and losses which can never be compensated were inflicted, in the name of the German people, upon the other European peoples."²⁶ A 1947 memorandum written by Otmar Pirkmajer in the name of a multinational group of "homeless former concentration camp prisoners residing in Germany" made a similar point. "After all," Pirkmajer argued, "National Socialism was at its base a movement directed against all nations and intent upon the domination of the world, which could only be conquered through the combined efforts of the

democratic peoples of the entire civilized world.”²⁷ Unlike Mirchuk and the Association of Foreign Political Persecutees, Pirkmajer thought it was important to distinguish between war criminals and the rest of the German population. But he also saw a practical reason for holding the entire German nation accountable. In his words, “the national community [*Volksgemeinschaft*] represented in the state may constitute a financially stronger or indeed more easily accessible source [of restitution funds] than the individual.”²⁸

While nationalism was central to displaced politicals’ interpretation of National Socialism, racism was marginal to it. To the extent that DP politicals addressed the issue of racism, they focused on Nazi racial theory as a whole. They said little about antisemitism or the persecution of Jews. For example, Pirkmajer stated that restitution funds could be used to establish associations for the benefit of an “injured race.”²⁹ In this context, Jews were but one of numerous races, though an especially injured one.

Not surprisingly, claims for restitution emphasized suffering rather than heroism. This was the approach taken by Tadeusz Zgainski, a lawyer and former officer in the Polish Army who was also a leading activist in the right-wing National Democratic Movement.³⁰ Polish political prisoners, Zgainski argued, had endured “unprecedented material, spiritual, and physical sufferings,” “an ocean of cruelties.” He refrained from describing these experiences in detail and suggested that they were in fact “unutterable.”³¹ Those who survived the camps, the Association of Foreign Political Persecutees noted, had lost everything, “all of their worldly possession, all of their health and vitality.”³² Although such descriptions suggest that displaced politicals had a very broad conception of restitution, in practice, they focused primarily on two issues, in their minds closely connected: personal damages and slave labor. Labor was an especially important theme. As Tadeusz Zgainski noted in a memorandum on restitution legislation, “concentration camp inmates were obliged to perform the hardest work, without any payment, and had to endure terrible humiliations and sufferings.”³³ The issue of labor was also highlighted by the Gablingen section of the Polish Association. In a letter about the discriminatory treatment of displaced persons in Bavarian compensation legislation, the association implored the American Military Government to ensure “that all ex-prisoners of German Concentration camps living in DP camps and are under IRO protection, were paid the damages for their hard forced and bloody work for all sufferings and undergone losses.”³⁴ As Otmar Pirkmajer stressed, the labor that political prisoners had been forced to perform was

not just a form of physical abuse: it represented mistreatment of the political qua political.

The leadership of the German Reich and the dictatorial party clearly endeavored to exploit to the limit the labor power of the prisoners in order primarily to strengthen the German war potential. In this it was not hindered by the fact that it was dealing with political prisoners, who, according to international legal standards or prevailing standards of common decency, should not have been used for any kind of forced labor and indeed had the right to an honorable detention (*custodia honesta*).³⁵

The emphasis on slave labor was thus closely related to an understanding of the political as a special class of prisoners for whom labor was proscribed. It highlighted the superior position that the political prisoners were supposed to occupy in the Nazi concentrationary system.

Indeed, although claims for restitution necessarily privileged experiences of suffering, displaced political were also at pains to demonstrate that they were not merely victims, that as political prisoners they had made an active contribution to the cause of defeating National Socialism. In particular, they sought to portray themselves as participants in the Allied military campaign. The emphasis on a military contribution can be read as a response to the Allied discourse on persecution, which identified political persecutees as individuals who had acted “in favour of” the Allied cause.³⁶ It can also be seen as a response to other postwar hierarchies of heroism. In much of postwar Europe, military combatants were viewed as superior to resistance fighters, political prisoners, and other deportees.³⁷ This hierarchy figured prominently in the DP context as well. As Janusz Nel Siedlecki stressed in his memoir, “the proud and disdainful heroes of the Armed Forces” stood head and shoulders above DPs, including the political. The privileged position afforded to military combatants created a kind of status anxiety among the political and inspired a compensatory discourse that identified experiences in the concentration camps as equal to experiences on the battlefield.

The central element in this compensatory discourse was the theme of “spiritual” combat. Writing to the Office of Military Government for Bavaria regarding restitution in 1946, for example, a group of Russian refugees who had been interned in concentration camps identified themselves as “spiritual collaborators in favor of Allied Forces.”³⁸ They were at

pains to suggest that their wartime activities, which they described, rather vaguely, as propaganda, were aligned with Allied goals. The theme of spiritual collaboration was reiterated more forcefully by Otmar Pirkmajer. National Socialism, Pirkmajer argued, was an ideological as well as military-imperial project, one aimed at destroying civilization itself. This project could not be conquered solely by military means. On the contrary, "an arsenal of spiritual weapons and an army of spiritual fighters" were required. These fighters were the privileged subjects of Pirkmajer's proposal for restitution.

The spiritual fighters of National Socialism should at the least be seen as fellow soldiers of the Second World War, who have furnished countless proofs of their heroism and, through their horrendous sacrifices, contributed in solidarity to the success of the war. It is more than right that this solidarity find appropriate expression in liquidating the consequences of the war as well.³⁹

Like the Russian refugees, Pirkmajer asserted the continuity between the goals of the political prisoners and those of the Allies. As he put it, "The political persecutees were principally fighters in the service of the Allies, for whose goals they fought in a self-sacrificing manner. They acted in the spirit, often indeed on behalf of and on the issued instruction of the Allies, who spurred them on to self-sacrifice and promised them full amends."⁴⁰ On the basis of this active contribution to the Allied cause, they were more deserving of restitution than other victims. Although his plan covered various groups of persecutees, he insisted that political prisoners and their surviving dependents be granted "special privileges."⁴¹

If the responsibility for compensating the victims of National Socialism rested with the German people, then the failure to compensate these victims suggested that postwar Germans had not freed themselves from Nazi ideology. This being the case, DP politicals sought to make the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Germany dependent on restitution. Here, too, the language of morality, with its implicit references to Allied statements and agreements, was an important factor. Mirroring the tenets of early Allied and American policy, displaced politicals identified rehabilitation of the victims as an essential counterpart to denazification. "Atonement and prompt restitution of the crimes committed by the National Socialism of the Third Reich," Pirkmajer argued, "are the basis for the moral-spiritual recovery and political-economic reordering of Germany

and as such form the preconditions for a secure and dependable peace among nations.”⁴² Only restitution would demonstrate that Germany had acquired a sense of justice and thus deserved to reenter the community of civilized nations. To quote Pirkmajer again:

When we consider the issue from the moral perspective, we come to the conclusion that the spiritual reconstruction of Germany can only take place on the basis of a recognition of responsibility for the war and if the sense of duty for compensating war damages becomes second nature to the German people.⁴³

The Association of Foreign Political Persecutees made a similar argument: if Germany wished to regain its place among the civilized nations of the world, the so-called *Kulturvölker*, it would have to demonstrate its commitment to civilized laws.⁴⁴

The failure to compensate *foreign* victims was especially objectionable, for it demonstrated that the Germans had not overcome what DP politicals considered the central element of National Socialist ideology, namely, national chauvinism. They thus sought to make the rehabilitation of Germany dependent on the restitution of foreigners, especially foreign political prisoners. Writing to the Military Government of Bavaria “in the name of the foreign ex-prisoners of concentration camps” in 1947, Tadeusz Zgainski argued that the “pure national attitude” exhibited by Bavaria lawmakers in the sphere of restitution was “incompatible with the aim to build a democratic and peace-loving Germany.”⁴⁵ In a proposal submitted to German and American authorities, he elaborated on this point.

The real and sincere will to reinsert new and peace-loving Germany into the [o]w of the nations of the world can best be realised before the world and own conscience by returning to principles of justice. One of the first and most fundamental demands of this justice is at present to compensate as much as possible the unprecedented material, spiritual, and physical sufferings which the persecutees endured for political, racial, and religious reasons by [the] Nazi-system. These indemnities for an ocean of cruelties and injustices [*sic*] are not only a demand of highest justice, but the question of honor of the German people. . . . These principles would not be implemented if the justified restitution were granted only to the own citizens and the victims of the foreign nationalities were excluded.⁴⁶

The Association of Foreign Political Persecutees echoed these sentiments.

[The foreign political]s hope that the West German federal government, by quickly enacting a just restitution law, which will not admit any discrimination against the foreign victims of National Socialism, will place in their hands the proof and the argument that the Nazi spirit of intolerance and discrimination against foreigners is no longer possible . . . in the new Germany.

“The issue of restitution of foreign victims of National Socialism,” the association continued, “is a matter of German honor and of German standing before all the other peoples of the world.”⁴⁷

Indeed, some DP politicals suggested that compensating foreigners should take priority over compensating Germans. This was the position taken by the Russian refugees referred to earlier, who argued that “we as former political prisoners and foreigners are rather more entitled for compensation of our losses than even the Germans themselves.”⁴⁸ The National Committees took a similar view, as did the Polish lawyer Tadeusz Zgainski.⁴⁹ Writing to the Military Government of Bavaria to protest the national bias of Bavarian compensation legislation, he argued that such a bias was not only “contrary to the principles of justice,” it also offended displaced persons in their status as members of the Allied nations. “It is not admissible,” he wrote, “that by this way the citizens of victorious powers would be discriminated [against] on behalf of German subjects.”⁵⁰

In stressing Germany’s responsibility to compensate foreigners, DP politicals were not thinking about all foreign victims or even all foreign political prisoners. They wanted to emphasize the predicament of displaced foreigners like themselves. As discussed in chapter 2, the various restitution plans put forward on the *Land* and zone level were oriented toward compensating German persecutees, even though German nationality was not an explicit criterion of eligibility. The restitution of non-German persecutees was seen as an issue for states to resolve among themselves. Although this interpretation of restitution discriminated against all foreign claimants, displaced persons were doubly disadvantaged, since they lacked state protection and thus could not benefit from reparations agreements. As a result, DP politicals were especially anxious to establish a legal basis for the claims of stateless persons. In some cases, they suggested that Germany was directly responsible for their statelessness. In the words of the Association of Foreign Political Persecutees, “The Second World War un-

leashed by National Socialism created in its wake a new political situation in the world, which today makes it impossible for the foreign former political victims of persecution to return to their homes.”⁵¹ However, regardless of whether they believed that Germany was directly responsible for making them stateless, displaced politicals agreed that Germany should take special steps to compensate them because their statelessness made them especially vulnerable. As Zgainski noted, “on account of the fact that they were pulled out from their home and deprived of their habitual earning of living, they are in comparison with the German persecutees in [an] extraordinary difficult situation which requires an immediate and considerable aid.”⁵² Restitution, the Association of Foreign Political Persecutees stated plainly, “is and remains the only means by which [the foreign political persecutees] can reestablish themselves.”⁵³

National and International Frameworks of Restitution

How, then, could or should the claims of foreign political prisoners, especially displaced politicals, be addressed? Were the existing and anticipated German laws adequate to the task? Or was a new framework for restitution required? Most displaced persons accepted a German national framework for restitution because they believed in the concepts of collective guilt and responsibility. Many of them also believed that German laws already provided a suitable framework for addressing their claims. The Association of Foreign Political Persecutees put it this way, referring to their expectations for a “full moral restitution.”

We expected this restitution all the more because German laws, just as much as those of other civilized peoples, provide for compensation for work performed, for stolen possessions, as well as for the wrongful deprivation of liberty, and because restitution of foreign victims of National Socialism constitutes an international obligation of the new German state and the entire German people. It was especially to be expected on the basis of humanitarian sentiments.⁵⁴

Similarly, Otmar Pirkmajer believed that German law provided an adequate basis for addressing at least some claims, in particular those relating to work. In his opinion, former political prisoners should not have to

launch special criminal proceedings to gain compensation for their labor, as such compensation represented “the simple execution of a civic duty.”⁵⁵

Where German laws had fallen short, many displaced persons believed they could be amended to eliminate discriminatory clauses or clarified to ensure that non-Germans were treated equally. For example, the Association of Foreign Political Persecutees focused its efforts on having the General Claims Law revised in order to eliminate discriminatory provisions. In response, German officials suggested that displaced persons were simply not satisfied with the rights already guaranteed to them under the law and wanted “still more rights to restitution in the form of [monetary] compensation,” which West Germany’s current financial situation did not permit.⁵⁶ The association’s members took offense at such accusations. “Our demand,” the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners wrote to finance minister Fritz Schäffer, “does not concern a further claim that extends beyond the scope of the Law, but rather the original restitution claims, which must be settled on the federal level through the passage of a new law.”⁵⁷

While most DP politicals focused on gaining restitution directly from the German government, some concluded that a national framework was inadequate from both a legal and a political standpoint. Rather, an international framework was needed. One individual who came to this conclusion was Otmar Pirkmajer. In a 1947 memorandum written on behalf of Polish, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and other eastern European “homeless former concentration camp prisoners residing in Germany,” he sought to formulate an alternative path to restitution. He viewed his proposal as a starting point for a broader project of internationalization, one that reflected his belief that state-centered norms and institutions were inadequate to the problems of the twentieth century, especially the problem of statelessness.

Pirkmajer’s main reference point was the history of restitution after the First World War. In the first postwar period, he noted, responsibility for compensating private persons had been assigned to individual states. However, since the laws passed by these states tended to mirror the “political tendencies” of the governments in power, “individuals who were undoubtedly entitled [to compensation] could be robbed of their right. (Thus for example in Italy emigrants were excluded from compensation for war damages after the First World War.)”⁵⁸ Such historical precedents, Pirkmajer argued, not only suggested the general susceptibility of law to poli-

tics, they also drew attention to the particular vulnerability of individuals who could not base their claims to restitution on membership in a given state. They thus demonstrated the need for an international framework for restitution.

The war compensation of the former political prisoners should be settled, not through national laws, but rather only through international norms uniformly applied to all states coming under consideration, so that all claims can be decided according to the same criteria and so that all entitled persons will have their rights satisfied to the full extent. One has to keep in mind that after the conclusion of the peace treaties, extensive changes will occur as regards citizenship. In the future there will be numerous apoliticals (people without any citizenship). Hence in many cases the legitimately entitled former political prisoners would in practice be deprived of their rights if they were dependent on national laws.⁵⁹

For Pirkmajer, then, an international system for restitution represented a solution to the problem of national politics. It would transcend both the “political tendencies” of individual governments and the tendency of individual states to privilege their own members. Unlike national governments, it would therefore be capable of rendering true justice.

In thinking about a new framework for restitution, Pirkmajer was inspired by the postwar resurgence of internationalism. He took particular inspiration from the International Military Tribunal (IMT), which was beginning its work in Nuremberg when he first drafted his proposal. In both its formal organization and its legal pronouncements, the IMT represented a new way of thinking about war crimes. Formally, it suggested that the responsibility for trying war criminals rested with the international community rather than individual states. Substantively, it rearticulated the conventional legal relationship between state sovereignty and individual rights, placing significant limits on the former while extending the latter, both within an international framework. It drew special attention to Nazi occupation policies and to the concentration camps.

In his proposal, Pirkmajer sought to make the tribunal relevant to the debate over restitution. Most important, he believed that the work of the IMT provided the basis for a new set of norms for restitution. He focused in particular on the London Charter, the IMT’s founding document. Issued in August 1945, it set forth the main charges against the accused:

crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.⁶⁰ For Pirkmajer, it represented a clear recognition of the injustices perpetrated by the Nazi regime. He suggested that the claims of former political prisoners could be adjudicated according to its definitions of war crimes and crimes against humanity. For example, since the tribunal identified extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against the civilian population as crimes against humanity, individuals who had been subjected to such treatment had a right to restitution. Pirkmajer conceded that the criteria might need to be narrowed.⁶¹ Still, the general value of such an approach was that it emphasized the actions of the perpetrators rather than the victims.⁶² Hence the qualities of the victims, including their citizenship status, would not play a definitive role in deciding eligibility.

To complement the new set of international norms for restitution, Pirkmajer envisioned the creation of a new international institution, an "international office," modeled on the IMT, that would evaluate restitution claims and oversee a special international reparations fund. This office would recognize stateless political persecutees as a legitimate interest group. "The resolution of the restitution question," as Pirkmajer stated, "should take place in consultation with an appropriately-constituted interest group of foreign former political persecutees, in which the persecutees rendered state- and homeless by the war will also be represented."⁶³ The representational problem posed by statelessness was thus to be resolved by making statelessness itself a representative category, a presence rather than an absence. This development would be underwritten by the international community.⁶⁴

Pirkmajer was not the only one to propose an international solution. In a 1949 memorandum drafted in response to the General Claims Law and addressed to the Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, the Representatives of National Committees of DP's and Refugees in Germany, an umbrella group formed under IRO auspices, echoed many of Pirkmajer's points, though their proposal was overall more modest. Pirkmajer himself was the coordinator of the representatives and thus may well have been involved in drafting the memorandum. The representatives argued that the restitution claims of displaced foreigners should be considered an international issue. They cited numerous international decisions in support of their position: the International Military Tribunal had established the criminality of the acts committed against deported foreigners; the United Nations had identified the DP problem as an international one; and Allied DP policy placed displaced persons outside the jurisdiction of

German authorities. Moreover, they noted, the General Claims Law contradicted the basic legal principle of *nemo iudex in causa sua* (no one may be a judge in his own cause), because it gave German authorities the exclusive right to decide cases in which the German government itself stood accused of committing crimes. They called on the High Commissioner to use his “statutory power of control” to ensure that the German authorities acknowledged the persecutee status of displaced persons and their claims under the new law. They also called on him to create international norms and institutions to supplement the German ones and to set up an international fund to cover claims not acknowledged by the General Claims Law.⁶⁵

Disillusioned with how German politicians, lawmakers, and judges handled the restitution claims of foreigners, the Ukrainian political prisoner Petro Mirchuk also came to see an international solution as the only viable one. Mirchuk, a lawyer by training, represented Ukrainian political prisoners before the German courts. The decisions of the International Military Tribunal, he says, were an important part of his legal argument, for in these decisions, “the persecutions [represented by] the ‘eastern European’ deportations to the concentration camps are clearly classified as Nazi crimes.”⁶⁶ He notes that DP political prisoners demanded that their claims be turned over to an international organization, citing the principle of *nemo iudex in causa sua*.⁶⁷ Unlike Pirkmajer, however, Mirchuk did not put forward a full-fledged proposal for internationalizing restitution. A committed nationalist, he viewed the case of political prisoners-turned-displaced persons as an exception to the still valid rule of interstate relations rather than a starting point for rethinking these relations themselves.

The Failure of Postwar Claims

DP political prisoners went to great lengths to gain recognition, assistance, and restitution. Their efforts, carried out over a span of many years, reinforced their identity as political prisoners and heightened their sense of victimization. Ultimately, however, they had little success with their claims. In particular, few were able to gain restitution.

A number of scholars have noted this failure. While stressing the formidable resistance of the German authorities to including displaced persons in restitution schemes, they have also suggested that displaced persons failed

to organize an adequate counteroffensive. Laszlo Schirilla, a Hungarian émigré lawyer who worked on behalf of DP claimants, states that although the persecutee committees were preoccupied with the question of restitution from the very beginning, they mounted only “occasional, in themselves insufficiently intense actions,” which were not successful in “pushing through” German resistance.⁶⁸ Echoing Schirilla, Ulrich Herbert notes that displaced persons had “no effective interest group.”⁶⁹ More neutrally, Constantin Goschler notes that associations of non-Jewish foreigners played “a rather marginal role” in representing the interests of persecutees.⁷⁰

Such comments suggest that the failure to create an effective interest group was an internal one. This is certainly true. In order to lobby the authorities effectively, it was essential for displaced politicals to organize across political and national lines, as no group individually constituted a significant force, and even taken together their numbers were limited—in 1947, the DP persecutee committees in Germany probably had no more than 18,000 members, compared to about 250,000 in the German persecutee organization VVN.⁷¹ Despite a shared history of internment, despite broad agreement on substantive issues such as the nature of Nazi crimes and collective German responsibility, and finally, despite the sense of a common postwar fate, displaced politicals failed to create a strong united front. Although they frequently invoked international solidarity, their efforts to organize internationally were fragmentary and inconsistent. The same conflicts that marked other DP efforts at internationalism were evident here. The conflict between Polish and Ukrainian DPs was again especially significant. During the interwar period, Poles and Ukrainians had been locked in a “vicious circle of resistance and repression,” which escalated into a full-fledged violent conflict during the war years and continued into the postwar period.⁷² Polish and Ukrainian politicals were witnesses to and often participants in these events. The concentration camp experience did not necessarily bring them closer together, as the hierarchical structure of the prisoners’ community tended to exacerbate national conflicts. In his memoirs, Petro Mirchuk repeatedly draws attention to what he sees as the perfidious behavior of the Polish prisoners in Auschwitz, who occupied the top of the prisoner hierarchy. Leaning on the arguments put forward by other groups of prisoners, he notes that “impartial foreigners, like the French, Belgians, etc., confirmed that Polish prisoners produced the largest percentage of sadists.”⁷³ For their part, Polish prisoners viewed Ukrainians in the camps with suspicion and disdain;

they also lacked incentives to collaborate with Ukrainians, since the latter were further down the camp hierarchy.⁷⁴

The international committees created after the war were only fragile containers for such antagonisms. This comes through clearly in the history of the Central International Union of Political Prisoners, created under the auspices of the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners. As the league reported in 1946, the earliest efforts to create an international prisoners' committee had failed due to what it called the "intransigent attitude of one Polish fraction towards Ukrainians and Belorussians."⁷⁵ At issue was a difference of opinion about how to define the nation. While the Poles supported a state-national definition, the Ukrainians insisted on an ethnonational one. This conflict was probably more about strategy than first principles: for each group, the goal was to claim as much territory for the nation as possible. Thus while the Poles were well served by a state-national definition, for Ukrainians the Polish position was utterly unacceptable, as it implied that territories it viewed as Ukrainian were part of the Polish state. With such conflicts in the background, it took months to organize an international committee that included both Ukrainians and Poles.

However, the failure of DP politicals cannot be ascribed solely to their weak internal solidarity, important as this was. For the effectiveness of any DP effort also depended on external support. In particular, it depended on support from the main political actors in postwar Germany, the Allied powers and the nascent German authorities. Such support was limited. Certainly, in the American zone, the Military Government saw it as its responsibility to represent the interests of persecuted displaced persons, and its efforts were essential in getting displaced persons included in restitution laws, notably the General Claims Law. However, the American occupation authorities did not allow displaced persons to represent themselves. Indeed, as we have seen, many organizations were banned by the occupation authorities. The nascent German authorities, on the other hand, did not feel responsible for displaced persons, whom they viewed as an unwelcome and unjustified burden. Of course, DP politicals did not help their cause by invoking competition with Jewish, German, and Communist persecutees. This significantly harmed the only government agency in Bavaria that represented the interests of persecutees, namely, the State Commission for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees. The antisemitic, anti-German, and anticommunist statements of displaced politicals confirmed the belief that Polish and Ukrainian politicals were collaborators and fascists. Thus when it came to crafting restitution legislation, DP politicals did not enjoy

the kind of support from German sources that the German persecutee-based VVN did.⁷⁶

Only the IRO, and to some extent the UNHCR, attempted to include displaced persons in the process of formulating and evaluating restitution legislation. The legal staff of the IRO, which included DP lawyers, tracked the development of restitution laws and sought to ensure that they were not discriminatory.⁷⁷ The IRO hosted conferences on restitution, which brought together voluntary agencies and DP committees, including groups representing Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Jews.⁷⁸ It supported the memorandum on restitution prepared by the Representatives of National Committees of DP's and Refugees in Germany. Indeed, it submitted the memorandum to the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany. Through such initiatives, the views of DP politicals gained greater currency. The memorandum of the national committees, an IRO official reported in early 1950, had generated "a certain new interest" among HICOG officials as to whether the General Claims Law was discriminatory.⁷⁹ However, this did not lead to any serious reappraisal of the law.

These failures led to a more desperate attitude on the part of some DP politicals. Thus in late 1950, after failing to convince the West German government that the laws on restitution were discriminatory, the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners turned to threats. In a letter to justice minister Thomas Dehler, the league accused the government of wanting "to delay granting restitution until all the foreign political prisoners have died." It claimed that it was "preparing actions that will seriously complicate the international diplomatic-political position of the West German government."⁸⁰ These actions included an "honor guard" (*Ehrenwache*) in concentration camp uniforms in front of newly opened West German consulates in the West and direct appeals to western governments and the United Nations.

As far as can be determined, these actions were never carried out. However, their formulation is suggestive. Despite the development of a West German state, former political prisoners continued to address themselves primarily to the western countries that had participated in the wartime alliance, especially the United States. These countries were seen as the guarantors of their right to restitution, especially through the pressure they could bring to bear on the new West German state. West Germany itself was viewed as an unwelcome creation whose fragility could be exploited—or so they hoped. Displaced politicals continued to believe that their status as survivors, symbolized by the concentration camp uniform,

endowed them with moral authority. Yet the threat to wear the uniform also reveals their sense of helplessness in the restitution debate and the continuing resonance of a victim identity. Bridging wartime and postwar eras, it suggests they viewed their recent encounters with the western German authorities as the continuation of their wartime encounters with the Nazis, the latest chapter in a longer history of martyrdom at the hands of the Germans.

Conclusion

Most displaced persons viewed their time in Germany as a waiting period. They viewed Germany itself as a temporary abode, a way station between past and future. Those who could leave were only too happy to do so. The majority had in any case lived in relative isolation from the rest of the population, in the extraterritorial setting of the DP camps. However, even those who had lived among Germans were usually not attached to their surroundings. At most, perhaps, they had fond memories of Bavaria's alpine landscape. Ironically, however, Germany was an important site for the development of durable identifications. It was in the context of the DP camps and communities that displaced eastern Europeans first sought to make sense of the war years and to reflect upon how the war had transformed their place in the world. It was there that they developed political communities that reflected their distinct understandings of the "DP problem."

In deciding whether or not to return home, displaced persons weighed many factors—what had happened to their family and friends, what the economic situation at home looked like, whether they were healthy enough to live on their own. However, the "political explanation" emerged as the dominant explanation for opposition to repatriation. This explanation took on different forms among different groups. Or rather, the forms this explanation took on determined the parameters of group belonging. Most groups were defined in the first instance by national identifications, but they also had distinct political-ideological markers. Among Jewish DPs, the dominant political orientation was defined by a rejection of diaspora life and an embrace of Zionism. The Holocaust was identified as the culmination of a longer history of antisemitic persecution and murder in Europe. Although many Jewish DPs had experienced Soviet rule during the war—indeed, the majority were repatriates from the Soviet Union—the history and future of Soviet communism in eastern Europe played little role in their self-understanding. Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DP com-

munities, on the other hand, took shape around past experiences of “Bolshevik” rule and fears of returning to Soviet- or communist-dominated countries. Anticommunism emerged as the dominant political orientation. The history of National Socialism did not of course disappear. A small group of Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians identified strongly as political victims of Nazi persecution. In general, however, the threat of Soviet communism loomed larger than the legacy of National Socialism.

Anticommunism and antifascism not only defined the boundaries of national communities, they also served as the basis for cross-national identifications. Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs created tense but nonetheless important “international” alliances around both the legacy of Nazism and the threat of communism. Significantly, however, Jewish DPs were not a party to these alliances. The common experience of displacement in postwar Germany, with its uniform regimen of “care and control,” did not bring Jewish and non-Jewish eastern Europeans closer together. For Jewish DPs, who had experienced the indifference and brutality of their eastern European neighbors firsthand, Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs were not fellow victims of persecution but rather persecutors. For Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian DPs, on the other hand, Jews were fellow victims of persecution but also competitors for scarce resources. Of course, not all interactions were framed by these constructions. In particular, Polish Jews and Polish politicals sometimes worked together. Overall, however, persecution *per se* was not a source of solidarity.¹

Despite these conflicts, similar forces shaped how displaced persons came to see themselves. In the first place, their identifications were powerfully shaped by the conditions of displacement, which were in turn shaped by Germany’s status as a defeated and occupied nation. In Bavaria, the policies and practices of the American occupation forces, the intergovernmental relief agencies, and the nascent German authorities interacted to shape the lives of displaced persons, with the German factor becoming increasingly more important as time went on. Although U.S. officials prohibited displaced persons from engaging in politics, they also provided them with greater moral and material support than their British or French counterparts. Together with UNRRA and later the IRO, they also promoted a model of active welfare. This made it possible for displaced persons to develop a lively associational life. During the first few years of the postwar period, American officials granted displaced persons and persecutees special privileges vis-à-vis the general German population; they also pressured the German authorities to initiate restitution. This encouraged

displaced persons to organize around the issue of Nazi persecution. After 1947, U.S. commitment to victims of National Socialism weakened. "Reeducation for humanism and against antisemitism" was increasingly replaced by "reeducation for integration into the West and anticommunism."² Victims of National Socialism were increasingly obliged to address themselves to the German authorities. While there were some strong German voices for restitution, most German officials, and the German public more generally, viewed displaced persons as an unwelcome and unwarranted drain on public funds, and even those who pushed for restitution were often of two minds about DPs. Simultaneously, the change in political climate opened up opportunities for anticommunist activism. Previously discouraged, anticommunist DPs now felt empowered to express their views openly and even to demonstrate. Although German cold-warriors and the broader German public demonstrated little interest in what anticommunist DPs were doing, Germany's status as a key site of the Cold War encouraged anticommunist politics.

While the postwar context played an important role in shaping displaced communities, these communities were also the product of older histories. They reflected the political self-consciousness that many Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, and Jews had developed during the interwar and war years, in the context of discrimination, persecution, resistance, and collaboration. The meanings that displaced persons assigned to their wartime experiences and the hopes they harbored for the future often followed the outlines of preexisting political ideologies. The nationalist mobilizations of the youth of eastern Europe during the 1930s and early 1940s turn out to be especially important. In some cases, inherited political ideologies were significantly reinterpreted in light of wartime events, as was the case with DP Zionism. In others, they were only modestly adapted to new historical realities, as was especially the case with Ukrainian and Russian anticommunism.

The DP era officially ended in 1951, when those displaced persons who remained in Germany were officially transformed into "homeless foreigners." The administrative regime of "care and control" constructed by the Allies was slowly dismantled. The network of DP camps administered by first UNRRA and then the IRO passed into German hands. The process of camp consolidation and closure initiated by the IRO continued during the 1950s, with some DP camps slowly becoming more generic "foreigner" camps designed to accommodate new groups of refugees.

The political identifications that displaced persons developed in Ger-

many between 1945 and 1951 continued to inform how they understood themselves well beyond that point, moving with them to sites of emigration such as the United States, Canada, and Israel or, indeed, remaining with them in Germany. However, the extent to which these identifications continued to define larger communities differed quite markedly. Research on this subject is just beginning, thus I can only offer tentative conclusions. In some cases, displaced persons quickly revived their activities and significantly transformed the cultural and political character of the ethnic communities they joined in their new homes. This was true of Polish and Ukrainian DPs who emigrated to the United States and Canada.³ Anti-communist organizations like the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations also maintained their activities, establishing a strong presence in the United States and Canada in the 1950s. The situation was different for Jewish DPs and for the small number of non-Jews who defined themselves against National Socialism. The leading Jewish DP associations in Germany, committed to their own liquidation, folded at the end of the 1940s.⁴ Both in Israel and in the United States, Jewish survivors were discouraged from talking about their wartime experiences, which did not fit into the dominant national narratives.⁵ Polish and Ukrainian politicals maintained their organizations for many decades, but their activities decreased dramatically over the course of the 1950s. Their distinctive vision of the war years remained marginal to the self-understanding of their respective national communities.

Displaced persons did not see themselves as subjects of German history, nor did most Germans see them that way. Nonetheless, they shaped postwar Germany in subtle but significant ways. Their efforts to highlight both the crimes of National Socialism and the dangers of Soviet communism helped define the shifting cultural and political landscape of the early postwar period. To be sure, displaced eastern Europeans did not occupy the foreground of either antifascist or anticommunist politics in Germany. Nonetheless, they shaped how the public understood both Nazism and communism. Displaced Jewish and non-Jewish survivors persistently drew attention to German wartime criminality, demanding both restitution and a sweeping political reorientation. Their presence—most strongly asserted by Jewish DPs—uncomfortably reminded Germans of the imperial and genocidal intentions of the Nazi regime. The activities of anticommunist DPs also made an impact. The center of the anticommunist political stage was clearly occupied by German refugees and expellees. However, the politics of displaced eastern Europeans amplified the perceived dangers of

communism. Their activism on German soil—the product both of a refusal to return home and, more significantly, of flight—shaped the growing perception that Germany stood on the front lines of the Cold War. This was of course a dangerous place to be. The demonstrative politics of anti-communist DPs thus met with an ambivalent response. Sympathy for the perspective of displaced eastern Europeans was countered by concern about foreigners “meddling” in German politics. This concern in turn fed the long-standing desire to see the DP problem “resolved.”

The history of displaced persons in Germany thus offers an important perspective on the postwar period, illuminating how German and eastern European histories crossed paths in the ruins of the Reich. This history was itself the product of earlier encounters between Germans and eastern Europeans. Nazi labor and population policies were responsible for displacing millions of eastern Europeans into Germany, while the geopolitical transformations that followed the collapse of the Nazi empire in Europe displaced millions more. Displaced persons—like Germans expelled from eastern Europe—represented the human remnants of these momentous upheavals. The history they made in Germany was powerfully shaped by what they found there—a defeated nation whose future as a state was up for grabs.

Notes

NOTE ON SOURCES

Epigraph is from *Postal Indiscretions: The Correspondence of Tadeusz Borowski*, ed. Tadeusz Drewnowski, trans. Alicia Nitecki (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2007), 107.

INTRODUCTION

1. Tadeusz Borowski, "The January Offensive," in *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories*, trans. Barbara Vedder (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), 164.
2. *Ibid.*, 165.
3. *Ibid.*, 166.
4. *Ibid.*, 167.
5. Eugene Kulischer, *Europe on the Move: War and Population Changes, 1917–1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), 305.
6. *Ibid.*, 189–90.
7. Ulrich Herbert, "Nicht entschädigungsfähig?" in *Arbeit, Volkstum, Weltanschauung. Über Fremde und Deutsche im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1995), 157–58.
8. Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter zum Heimatlosen Ausländer. Die Displaced Persons in Westdeutschland 1945–1951* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1985), 82–84.
9. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 224.
10. Pieter Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation: Patriotic Memory and National Recovery in Western Europe, 1945–1965* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 268.
11. This argument has been formulated most eloquently by Liisa Malkki, who argues in her study of Hutu refugees that those who lived in a camp developed a "mythico-historical" concept of Hutuness that did not exist among city refugees. See Liisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). For critiques of Malkki that question this sharp distinction, see Marc Sommers,

Fear in Bongoland: Burundi Refugees in Urban Tanzania (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 42–49; Gaim Kibreab, “Revisiting the Debate on People, Place, Identity, and Displacement,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 12, no. 4 (1999). Also interesting in this context is Randa Farah, “Palestinian Refugee Camps: Reinscribing and Contesting Memory and Space,” in *Isolation: Places and Practices of Exclusion*, ed. Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford (London: Routledge, 2003).

12. On the place of the DP camps in the history of the refugee camp, see Liisa Malkki, “Refugees and Exile: From ‘Refugee Studies’ to the National Order of Things,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995).

13. Frank Stern, “The Historic Triangle: Occupiers, Germans, and Jews in Postwar Germany,” *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 19 (1990).

14. Gerard Daniel Cohen, “Naissance d’une nation: les personnes déplacées de l’après-guerre, 1945–1951,” *Genèses* 38 (March 2000); Cohen, “The Politics of Recognition: Jewish Refugees in Relief Policies and Human Rights Debates, 1945–1950,” *Immigrants and Minorities* 24, no. 2 (July 2006).

15. Tony Judt, “The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe,” in *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath*, ed. István Deák, Jan T. Gross, and Tony Judt (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 294.

16. General studies include Mark Wyman, *DP: Europe’s Displaced Persons, 1945–1951* (Philadelphia and London: Balch Institute Press and Associated University Press, 1989); Stanislaus Stepien, *Der alteingesessene Fremde. Ehemalige Zwangsarbeiter in Westdeutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1989).

17. Key early studies are Koppel Pinson, “Jewish Life in Liberated Germany,” *Jewish Social Studies* 9, no. 2 (April 1947), and Leo W. Schwarz, *The Redeemers: A Saga of the Years 1945–1952* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953); Yehuda Bauer, “The Initial Organization of the Holocaust Survivors in Bavaria,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 8 (1970). More recent works in English and German include Juliane Wetzel, *Jüdisches Leben in München 1945–1951. Durchgangsstation oder Wiederaufbau?* (Munich: Kommissionsverlag UNI-Druck, 1987); Wetzel, “‘Mir szeinen doh.’ München und Umgebung als Zuflucht von Überlebenden des Holocaust 1945–1948,” in *Von Stalingrad zur Währungsreform: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Umbruchs in Deutschland*, ed. Martin Broszat, Klaus-Dietmar Henke, and Hans Woller (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1988); Yisrael Gutman and Avital Saf, eds., *She’erit Hapletah, 1944–1948: Rehabilitation and Political Struggle. Proceedings of the Sixth Yad Vashem International Historical Conference, Jerusalem, October 1985* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990); Angelika Königseder and Juliane Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal: Die jüdischen DPs (Displaced Persons) im Nachkriegsdeutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1994); Fritz Bauer Institut, ed., *Überlebt und unterwegs: jüdische Displaced Persons im Nachkriegsdeutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1997); Angelika Königseder, *Flucht nach Berlin: jüdische Displaced Persons 1945–1948* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998); Angelika Eder, *Flüchtige Heimat: Jüdische displaced Persons in Landsberg am Lech 1945 bis 1950* (Munich: Kommissionsverlag UNI-Druck, 1998); Menachem Z. Rosenhaft, ed., *Life Reborn: Jewish Displaced Persons, 1945–1951*, Conference Proceedings, Washington, DC, 14–17 January 2000 (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2001); Zeev W.

Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the Holocaust in Occupied Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Hagit Lavsky, *New Beginnings: Holocaust Survivors in Bergen-Belsen and the British Zone in Germany, 1945–1950* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002); Avinoam J. Patt, “Finding Home and Homeland: Jewish DP Youth and Zionism in the Aftermath of the Holocaust” (PhD diss., New York University, 2005); Tamar Lewinsky, *Displaced Poets. Jiddische Schriftsteller im Nachkriegsdeutschland, 1945–1951* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2008).

18. Frank Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Postwar Germany*, trans. William Templer (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992); Michael Brenner, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany*, trans. Barbara Harshav (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Anthony Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews: Munich, 1945–1965* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press/Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 2004); Eva Kolinsky, *After the Holocaust: Jewish Survivors in Germany after 1945* (London: Pimlico, 2004); Jay Howard Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany, 1945–1953* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Susanne Schönborn, ed., *Zwischen Erinnerung und Neubeginn. Zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte nach 1945* (Munich: Martin Meidenbauer, 2006); Atina Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

19. On Polish DPs, see Czesław Łuczak, *Polacy w okupowanych Niemczech 1945–1949* (Poznań: Pracownia Serwisu Oprogramowania, 1993); Anna Dorota Kirchmann, “‘They Are Coming for Freedom, Not Dollars’: Political Refugees and Transformations of Ethnic Identity within Polish American Community after World War II” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1997); Anna D. Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, *The Exile Mission: The Polish Political Diaspora and Polish Americans, 1939–1956* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004). On Ukrainian DPs, see Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Yuri Boshyk, and Roman Senkus, eds., *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1992); Ekkehard Völkl, “Ukrainische Emigration in Bayern 1945–1949,” in *Bayern und Osteuropa: Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen Bayerns, Frankens und Schwabens mit Rußland, der Ukraine und Weißrußland*, ed. Hermann Beyer-Thoma (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2000); Volodymyr Kulyk, “The Role of Discourse in the Construction of an Emigré Community: Ukrainian Displaced Persons in Germany and Austria after the Second World War,” in *European Encounters: Migrants, Migration, and European Societies since 1945*, ed. Rainer Ohliger, Karen Schönwälder, and Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos. Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations Series (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Julia Lalonde, “‘Building a Home Abroad’: A Comparative Study of Ukrainian Migration, Immigration Policy, and Diaspora Formation in Canada and Germany after the Second World War” (PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 2006). On Russian DPs, see V. N. Zemskov, “Rozhdenie ‘vtoroi emigratsii’ 1944–1952,” *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia* 4 (1991); Zemskov, “Repatriatsiia sovetskikh grazhdan i ikh dal’neishaia sud’ba (1944–1956 rr.),” *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia* 6 (1995); Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov, “‘Stillter als Wasser, tiefer als Gras,’ Zur Migrations-

geschichte der russischen Displaced Persons in Deutschland nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg" (Forschungsstelle Osteuropa Bremen, Arbeitspapiere und Materialien Nr. 68, July 2005). On Latvian DPs, see Juris Rozitis, "Displaced Literature: Images of Time and Space in Latvian Novels Depicting the First Years of the Latvian Postwar Exile" (PhD diss., Stockholm University, 2005).

20. General works include John George Stoessinger, *The Refugee and the World Community* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956); Malcolm Proudfoot, *European Refugees, 1939–52: A Study in Forced Population Movement* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1956); Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*. There are also a number of studies that situate displaced persons within the broader context of European population movements and refugee problems since the First World War. See Eugene Kulischer, *Europe on the Move: War and Population Changes, 1917–1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948); Paul Frings, *Das internationale Flüchtlingsproblem, 1919–1950* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Frankfurter Hefte, 1951); Jacques Vernant, *The Refugee in the Post-War World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953); Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

21. Kim Salomon, *Refugees in the Cold War: Toward a New International Refugee Regime in the Early Postwar Era* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1991); Tommie Sjöberg, *The Powers and the Persecuted: The Refugee Problem and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1991); Susan Armstrong-Reid and David Murray, *Armies of Peace: Canada and the UNRRA Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008). The main intergovernmental agencies charged with assisting displaced persons have also produced official histories. See George Woodbridge, *UNRRA: The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950); Louise W. Holborn, *The International Refugee Organization, A Specialized Agency of the United Nations: Its History and Work, 1946–1952* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956); Rene Ristelhueber, "The International Refugee Organization," *International Conciliation* 470 (April 1951).

22. On Jewish DPs, see Leonard Dinnerstein, *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); Arie J. Kochavi, *Post-Holocaust Politics: Britain, the United States, and Jewish Refugees, 1945–1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). On Russian and Ukrainian DPs, see Nicholas Tolstoy, *The Secret Betrayal* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977); Mark R. Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta: Soviet Refugees and American's Role in Their Repatriation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982); Wsevolod W. Isajiw and Yury Boshyk, eds., *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1992); Marta Dyczok, *The Grand Alliance and Ukrainian Refugees* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000); Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

23. Ulrich Müller, *Fremde in der Nachkriegszeit: Displaced Persons—Zwangsverschleppte Personen—in Stuttgart und Württemberg-Baden 1945–1951*

(Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990); Andreas Lembeck, *Befreit aber nicht in Freiheit. Displaced Persons im Emsland 1945–1950* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997); Patrick Wagner, *Displaced persons in Hamburg: Stationen einer halbherzigen Integration 1945–1958* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1997); Königseder, *Flucht nach Berlin*; Stefan Schröder, *Displaced Persons im Landkreis und in der Stadt Münster, 1945–1951* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2005). The studies by Wetzel and Eder on Jewish DPs can also be included in this category.

24. Edward A. Shils, "Social and Psychological Aspects of Displacement and Repatriation," *Journal of Social Issues* 2, no. 3 (August 1946): 6. See also Wyman, *DP*, 207–8.

25. "What the Foreign Workers Are Thinking," [May 1945], NACP, RG 331, SHAEF, G-5, Information Branch, Historical Section, Box 110, UNRRA. A similar report is cited in Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 89–90.

26. Fred Zinnemann, *Fred Zinnemann: An Autobiography* (London: Bloomsbury, 1992), 59–61. See also Genêt [Janet Flanner], "Letter from Aschaffenburg," *New Yorker*, 30 October 1948, and "Letter from Würzburg," *New Yorker*, 6 November 1948.

27. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1973), 292.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 51.

30. On this issue, see Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

31. An important exception is Laura Hilton, "Prisoners of Peace: Rebuilding Community, Identity, and Nationality in Displaced Persons Camps in Germany, 1945–1952" (PhD diss, Ohio State University, 2001). An important comparative work on the legacy of National Socialism in western Europe is Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation*.

32. On internationalism, see Jonathan Rée, "Internationality," *Radical Philosophy* 60 (Spring 1992).

33. On refugee camps as sites for the formation of new cross-category identifications, see Michel Agier, "Between War and City: Towards an Urban Anthropology of Refugee Camps," *Ethnography* 3, no. 3 (2002). On internationalism as a means of protecting fragile national sovereignties, see Liisa Malkki, "Citizens of Humanity: Internationalism and the Imagined Community of Nations," *Diaspora* 3, no. 1 (Spring 1994); Akhil Gupta, "The Song of the Nonaligned World: Transnational Identities and the Reinscription of Space in Late Capitalism," in *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

34. On the study of memory in history, see Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000); Alon Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance: Promises and Limits of Writing History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Patrick H. Hutton, "Memory," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2008).

35. On this issue, see Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation*, 3–16; Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance*, 199–204.

36. I borrow this phrase from Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation*, 302.

37. A good introduction to the older literature on interest groups, focusing especially on U.S. scholarship, is G. David Garson, *Group Theories of Politics* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1978). For a discussion of interest groups that is clearly attuned to the issue as it appeared in postwar Germany, see Otto Stammer, “Interessenverbände und Parteien,” *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 9 (1957).

38. Key treatments of these issues include Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Of the Social Contract or Principles of Political Right*, in “*The Social Contract*” and *Other Later Political Writings*, ed. and trans. Victor Gourevitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), book 3; Carl Schmitt, *Verfassungslehre* (Munich: Duncker und Humblot, 1928), 204–20; Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 204.

39. Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 3. See also Luc Boltanski, *The Making of a Class: Cadres in French Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 34–35; Michel Offerlé, *Sociologie des groupes d'intérêt* (Paris: Montchrestien, 1998), 65–81.

40. Cited in E. Valentine Daniel and John Chr. Knudsen, introduction to *Mistrusting Refugees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 2.

41. Here Rogers Brubaker's description of national minorities is helpful in thinking about the formation of DP communities. Following Bourdieu, Brubaker writes, “we can think of a national minority not as a fixed entity or a unitary group but rather in terms of the field of differentiated and competitive positions or stances adopted by different organizations, parties, movements, or individual political entrepreneurs, each seeking to ‘represent’ the minority to its own putative members, to the host state, or to the outside world, each seeking to monopolize the legitimate representation of the group” (Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*, 61).

42. Gérard Noiriel, “Représentation nationale et catégories sociales. L'exemple des réfugiés politiques,” *Genèses* 26 (April 1997): 31–32.

43. *Ibid.*, 31.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*, 53.

46. Gérard Noiriel, *La tyrannie du national. Le droit d'asile en Europe (1793–1993)* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1991).

47. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 296.

48. Ian Balfour and Eduardo Cadava, “The Claims of Human Rights: An Introduction,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 103, no. 2–3 (Spring–Summer 2004): 281.

49. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 18.

50. Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 145–56.

51. Seteney Shami, “Transnationalism and Refugee Studies: Rethinking Forced Migration and Identity in the Middle East,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 9, no. 1 (1996): 8.

52. Salomon, *Refugees in the Cold War*; Nevzat Soguk, *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Liisa Malkki, "Refugees and Exile: From 'Refugee Studies' to the National Order of Things," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995).

53. The role of international organizations as interlocutors for postwar exiles from eastern Europe is also explored in Idesbald Goddeeris, "Exiles' Strategies for Lobbying in International Organisations: Eastern European Participation in the *Nouvelles Équipes Internationales*," *European Review of History* 11, no. 3 (2004).

54. Jacques Rancière, "Who Is the Subject of the Rights of Man?" in *South Atlantic Quarterly* 103, no. 2–3 (Spring–Summer 2004): 302. See also Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, trans. Julie Rose (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

55. *Ibid.*, 303. Bonnie Honig takes a similar approach, focusing specifically on "the foreigner" in democratic theory and practice. See Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 99.

56. Work on contemporary immigrant and refugee associations has also emphasized their role in negotiating the boundaries of membership. See Adriana Kemp et al., "Contesting the Limits of Political Participation: Latinos and Black African Workers in Israel," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, no. 1 (January 2000); Gökçe Yurdakul, "State, Political Parties, and Immigrant Elites: Turkish Immigrant Associations in Berlin," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32, no. 3 (April 2006). For a critical assessment of the role refugee organizations play, see Steven Corliss, "Asylum State Responsibility for the Hostile Acts of Foreign Exiles," *International Journal of Refugee Law* 2, no. 2 (1990).

57. Boltanski, *The Making of a Class*; Offerlé, *Sociologie des groupes d'intérêt*, 53–57.

58. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 397–465; Bourdieu, "Political Representation," in *Language and Symbolic Power*.

59. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 178–80.

60. "Memorandum Tsentral'noi Mizhnarodn'oï Unii Politychnykh V'iazniv do kerivnykh orhaniv anhlis'koï, amerykans'koï ta frantsus'koï zon v Nimechchyni," *Polity'iazni* 4 (June 1946): 12.

61. In the concentration camps, "organizing" meant procuring what one needed to survive without actually stealing. The concept continued to have currency after the war. No longer tied to physical survival, it meant using unofficial channels and exploiting opportunities in order to improve one's situation both materially and morally.

62. Ulrich Herbert, "Zweierlei Bewältigung," in Ulrich Herbert and Olaf Groehler, *Zweierlei Bewältigung. Vier Beiträge über den Umgang mit der NS-Vergangenheit in den beiden deutschen Staaten* (Hamburg: Ergebnisse, 1992), 26.

63. Malkki, *Purity and Exile*; Malkki, "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of Identity among Scholars and Refugees," *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992).

64. Philipp Ther and Ana Siljak, eds., *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001); Benjamin Frommer, *National Cleansing: Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in*

Postwar Czechoslovakia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Pavel Polian, *Deportiert nach Hause. Sowjetische Kriegsgefangene im "Dritten Reich" und ihre Repatriierung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001).

65. Catherine Andreyev and Ivan Savicky, *Russia Abroad: Prague and the Russian Diaspora, 1918–1938* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Elena Chinyaeva, *Russians Outside Russia: The Émigré Community in Czechoslovakia, 1918–1938* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001); Iurii Aleksandrovich Poliakov, G. I. Tarle, and V. N. Shamshurov, eds., *Istoriia rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: problemy adaptatsii migrantov v XIX–XX vekakh: sbornik statei* (Moscow: Institut rossiiskoi istorii RAN, 1996); Iurii Aleksandrovich Poliakov and G. I. Tarle, eds., *Istoriia rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: problemy istoriografii (konets XIX–XX v.): sbornik statei* (Moscow: Institut rossiiskoi istorii RAN, 2004); Iurii Aleksandrovich Poliakov, G. I. Tarle, and O. V. Budnitskii, eds., *Istoriia rossiiskogo zarubezh'ia: emigratsiia iz SSSR-Rossii, 1941–2001 gg.: sbornik statei* (Moscow: Institut rossiiskoi istorii RAN, 2007); Sergei Karpenko, *Mezhdru Rossiei i Stalinym: rossiiskaia emigratsiia i Vtoraia Mirovaia voina* (Moscow: Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi humanitarnyi universitet, 2004).

66. On Jewish life in postwar Poland, see Irena Hurwic-Nowakowska, *A Social Analysis of Postwar Polish Jewry* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 1986); Lucjan Dobroszycki, *Survivors of the Holocaust in Poland: A Portrait Based on Jewish Community Records, 1944–1947* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1994); Natalia Aleksium, *Dokąd dalej? Ruch syjonistyczny w Polsce (1944–1950)* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo TRIO, 2002); David Engel, "Palestine in the Mind of the Remnants of Polish Jewry," *Journal of Israeli History* 16, no. 3 (1995); Ewa Kozminska-Frejlik, "Polen als Heimat von Juden. Strategien des Heimischwerdens von Juden im Nachkriegspolen 1944–1949," in *Überlebt und unterwegs*; Marci Shore, "Children of the Revolution: Communism, Zionism, and the Berman Brothers," *Jewish Social Studies* 10, no. 3 (Spring–Summer 2004). On anti-Jewish violence, see Krystyna Kersten, *Polacy, Żydzi, komunizm: Anatomia półprawd, 1939–1968* (Warsaw: Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1992); Bożena Szaynok, *Pogrom Żydów w Kielcach 4 lipca 1946* (Warsaw: Bellona, 1992); Jan T. Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz* (New York: Random House, 2007). On both themes, see also the essays collected in Joshua D. Zimmerman, ed., *Contested Memories: Poles and Jews during the Holocaust and Its Aftermath* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003). On eastern Europe more generally, see the essays in David Bankier, ed., *The Jews Are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to Their Countries of Origin after World War II* (New York: Berghahn/Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005).

67. On this issue, see Wagner, *Displaced persons in Hamburg*, 12. Perceived transience is one reason why refugees more generally have not received much attention, though this has certainly changed in recent years. On this point, see Shami, "Transnationalism and Refugee Studies," 6.

68. On the new cultural history, see Robert G. Moeller, ed., *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997); Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Hanna Schissler, ed., *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of*

West Germany, 1949–1968 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). One of the earliest explorations of many issues taken up by the new cultural history is Hannah Arendt, “The Aftermath of Nazi Rule: Report from Germany,” *Commentary* 10 (October 1950).

69. On these studies, see n. 23.

70. Atina Grossmann, “Trauma, Memory, and Motherhood: Germans and Jewish Displaced Persons in Post-Nazi Germany, 1945–1949,” *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 38 (1998), 217. See also Grossmann, “Victims, Villains, and Survivors: Gendered Perceptions and Self-Perceptions of Jewish Displaced Persons in Occupied Postwar Germany,” in *Sexuality and German Fascism*, ed. Dagmar Herzog (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 395.

71. Stern, “The Historic Triangle.”

72. The literature on migration in German history is now very large. See in particular Klaus J. Bade, *Ausländer—Aussiedler—Asyl: eine Bestandsaufnahme* (Munich: Beck, 1994); Bade, introduction to *Fremde im Land: Zuwanderung und Eingliederung in Raum Niedersachsen seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Osnabrück: Rasch, 1997); Bade, ed., *Deutsche im Ausland—Fremde in Deutschland: Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Munich: Beck, 1992). Also very useful is Konrad H. Jarausch and Michael Geyer, *Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), chap. 7. On German history from the margins, see Neil Gregor, Nils Roemer, and Mark Roseman, eds., *German History from the Margins* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

73. This has been a topic of great interest in recent years. See Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten. Ursache, Ereignisse, Folgen* (Munich: Fischer, 1995); David Rock and Stefan Wolff, eds., *Coming Home to Germany? The Integration of Ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe in the Federal Republic* (New York: Berghahn, 2002); Pertti Ahonen, *After the Expulsion: West Germany and Eastern Europe, 1945–1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

74. Some of the pioneering studies include James Clifford, “Traveling Cultures,” in *Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler (New York: Routledge, 1992); Angelika Bammer, ed., *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg, eds., *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996); Patricia Yaeger, ed., *The Geography of Identity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); Gupta and Ferguson, eds., *Culture, Power, Place*; Cheah and Robbins, *Cosmopolitics*.

75. Nick Baron and Peter Gatrell, “Population Displacement, State-Building, and Social Identity in the Lands of the Former Russian Empire, 1917–23,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 41, no. 1 (Winter 2003).

76. Young-Sun Hong, “The Challenge of Transnational History,” in “Transnationalism” forum, H-German, January 2006, <http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-german&month=0601&week=c&msg=Ug5gaQJ1b0m199%2b4nOj7Ww&user=&pw=> (accessed 29 August 2008).

77. On transnational history, see Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Contrad, and Oliver Janz, eds., *Transnationale Geschichte. The-*

men, *Tendenzen und Theorien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2006); Michael Geyer, “Where Germans Dwell: Transnationalism in Theory and Practice,” luncheon talk presented at the German Studies Association conference, Pittsburgh, 28 September–1 October 2006, <http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-german&month=0610&week=b&msg=61pa/qqNnOPa4EWRx1UksA&user=&pw=> (accessed 12 October 2006); “Transnationalism” forum, H-German, January 2006, http://www.h-net.org/~german/discuss/Trans/forum_trans_index.htm (accessed 29 August 2008). For an earlier iteration of these arguments, elaborated before the concept of transnationalism became popular, see Michael Geyer, “Historical Fictions of Autonomy and the Europeanization of National History,” *Central European History* 22, no. 3–4 (September–December 1989).

78. Malkki, *Purity and Exile*, 2.

79. Giorgio Agamben, *Means without End: Notes on Politics*, trans. Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), Section 21. See also Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), part 3, chap. 2.

80. Aristide R. Zolberg, “The Formation of New States as a Refugee-Generating Process,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 467 (May 1983); Peter Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999); Baron and Gatrell, “Population Displacement.”

81. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, “From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (January 1995); Gisèle L. Bosquet, *Behind the Bamboo Hedge: The Impact of Homeland Politics in the Parisian Vietnamese Community* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); Oivind Fuglerud, *Life on the Outside: The Tamil Diaspora and Long Distance Nationalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1999); George E. Bisharat, “Exile to Compatriot: Transformations in the Social Identity of Palestinian Refugees in the West Bank,” in *Culture, Power, Place*. For a debate about transnationalism and refugees, see Kibreab, “Revisiting the Debate,” and the responses by Daniel Warner, Finn Stepputat, and David Turton.

82. Östen Wahlbeck, “The Concept of Diaspora as an Analytical Tool in the Study of Refugee Communities,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28, no. 2 (April 2002): 233. See also Wahlbeck, “Community Work and Exile Politics: Kurdish Refugee Associations in London,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 11, no. 3 (1998).

83. Wahlbeck, “The Concept of Diaspora,” 222.

84. One important exception is Pamela Ballinger, *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

85. Liisa Malkki, “Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization,” *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (1996).

CHAPTER 1

1. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move*, 305.
2. The phrase “care and control” was widely used by the Allied authorities to

describe the objectives of their DP policy. Liisa Malkki has adopted it as a more general term describing the disempowerment of refugees. See Malkki, *Purity and Exile*, 232–38; Malkki, “Refugees and Exile,” 497–503.

3. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 18.
4. Krystyna Kersten, “Forced Migration and the Transformation of Polish Society in the Postwar Period,” in *Redrawing Nations*, 76–77.
5. Herbert, *Hitler’s Foreign Workers*, 62.
6. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move*, 262.
7. Herbert, *Hitler’s Foreign Workers*, 298.
8. *Ibid.*, 170.
9. *Ibid.*, 298.
10. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 1312, 1320.
11. Falk Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft. Widerstand, Selbstbehauptung und Vernichtung in Konzentrationslager* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1978), 129.
12. Hilberg, *Destruction*, 1320.
13. *Ibid.*, 1312.
14. *Ibid.*, 1320–21.
15. Herbert, *Hitler’s Foreign Workers*, 298.
16. Pingel, *Häftlinge*, 118.
17. “Nazi Persecution of Soviet Prisoners of War,” in *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php?lang=en&ModuleId=10007178> (accessed 28 November 2009).
18. Herbert, *Hitler’s Foreign Workers*, 298.
19. Norman Davies and Antony Polonsky, introduction to *Jews in Eastern Poland and the USSR, 1939–46* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1991), 25; Kulischer, *Europe on the Move*, 255.
20. Rebecca Manley, “The Evacuation and Survival of Soviet Civilians, 1941–1946” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2004), 2; Kulischer, *Europe on the Move*, 260, 303.
21. Manley, “Evacuation and Survival,” 122.
22. Marrus, *Unwanted*, 196–97; Orest Subtelny, “Expulsion, Resettlement, Civil Strife: The Fate of Poland’s Ukrainians, 1944–1947,” in *Redrawing Nations*, 156.
23. Herbert, “Nicht entschädigungsfähig?” 157–58.
24. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 306.
25. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move*, 270–71; Herbert, *Hitler’s Foreign Workers*, 278–80.
26. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move*, 271.
27. “Report of the Crimea Conference (Yalta),” in *From Stalinism to Pluralism: A Documentary History of Eastern Europe since 1945*, ed. Gale Stokes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
28. Philipp Ther, “A Century of Forced Migration: The Origins and Consequences of ‘Ethnic Cleansing,’” in *Redrawing Nations*, 54; Jerzy Kochanowski, “Gathering Poles into Poland: Forced Migration from Poland’s Former Eastern Territories,” in *Redrawing Nations*, 138; Yosef Litvak, “Polish-Jewish Refugees

Repatriated from the Soviet Union at the End of the Second World War,” in *Jews in Eastern Poland*, 235.

29. Subtelny, “Expulsion, Resettlement, Civil Strife,” 156.

30. *Ibid.*, 167.

31. Ther, “Century of Forced Migration,” 54.

32. Gerhard Reichling, *Die Heimatvertriebenen im Spiegel der Statistik* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1958), 15.

33. Manfred Wille, “Compelling the Assimilation of Expellees in the Soviet Zone of Occupation and the GDR,” in *Redrawing Nations*, 265.

34. Rainer Schulze, “The German Refugees and Expellees from the East and the Creation of a West German Identity after World War II,” in *Redrawing Nations*, 307.

35. Natalia Aleksium, “Jewish Responses to Antisemitism in Poland, 1944–1947,” in *Contested Memories*, 248–49.

36. *Ibid.*, 248.

37. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 341.

38. *Ibid.*, 237–39.

39. *Ibid.*, 257.

40. *Ibid.*, 207.

41. On the repatriation of Soviet nationals, see Mark R. Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta: Soviet Refugees and American's Role in Their Repatriation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982); Nicholas Tolstoy, *The Secret Betrayal* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977); Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, chap. 5.

42. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 214–15.

43. Zemskov, “Repatriatsiia,” 7.

44. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 238–39.

45. Zemskov, “Rozhdenie,” 9. A similar number is given by Kulischer, as cited in Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta*, 174.

46. Ulrike Goeken, “Von der Kooperation zur Konfrontation. Die sowjetischen Repatriierungsoffiziere in den westlichen Besatzungszonen,” in *Die Tragödie der Gefangenschaft in Deutschland und der Sowjetunion 1941–1956*, ed. Klaus-Dieter Müller, Konstantin Nikischkin, and Günther Wagenlehner (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998), 329.

47. Zemskov, “Rozhdenie,” 4; Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta*, 174.

48. George Fischer, “The New Soviet Emigration,” *Russian Review* 8, no. 1 (January 1949): 7.

49. Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, *The Exile Mission*, 60.

50. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 238–39.

51. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 122.

52. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 238–39.

53. “Summary of D.P. Camp Population by Citizenship and by Mil. Posts and Areas,” 22 June 1949, NACP, RG 260, Office of Military Government for Bavaria (OMGB), Land Director (LD), Box 172, DP Letters Jan–Sept 1949 383.7.

54. Vernant, *The Refugee*, 86.

55. *Ibid.*, 87.

56. Holborn, *The International Refugee Organization*, 179.
57. V. N. Zemskov, “K voprosi o repatriatsii sovetskikh grazhdan 1944–1951 gody,” *Istoriia SSSR* 4 (July–August 1990): 39. See also Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta*, 174.
58. “Summary of D.P. Camp Population by Citizenship and by Mil. Posts and Areas,” 22 June 1949.
59. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 334.
60. *Ibid.*, 238–39.
61. *Ibid.*, 238–39.
62. *Ibid.*, 339, 341, respectively.
63. *Ibid.*, 340.
64. *Ibid.*, 259. This figure includes Jewish DPs in Germany, Austria, Italy, China, and the Middle East. Somewhere around 68 percent of these resided in the American zone of Germany.
65. *Ibid.*, 340.
66. Elliott, *Pawns of Yalta*, 174; Kuhlmann-Smirnov, “‘Stiller als Wasser, tiefer als Gras,’” 6.
67. Zemskov, “K voprosi o repatriatsii,” 39.
68. Zemskov, “Repatriatsiia,” 4–5.
69. Holborn, *The International Refugee Organization*, 198. This number only includes those who had remained stateless.
70. “Political Tendencies within Russian Emigration,” 15 July 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, Intelligence Division (ID), Box 120, Reports “T” Unit.
71. Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America’s Vision for Human Rights* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); G. Daniel Cohen, “Between Relief and Politics: Refugee Humanitarianism in Postwar Germany, 1945–1946,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 3 (2008): 438.
72. “Outline Plan for Refugees and Displaced Persons,” 3 June 1944, IfZ, Fi 01.84.
73. Ben Shephard, “‘Becoming Planning Minded’: The Theory and Practice of Relief, 1940–1945,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 3 (2008): 408.
74. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 279.
75. “Outline Plan for Refugees and Displaced Persons.”
76. “Administrative Memorandum Number 39 (Revised—16 April 1945),” reproduced in Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 445.
77. “Administrative Memorandum Number 39,” 461.
78. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 151–52.
79. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 401.
80. Dinnerstein, *America and the Survivors*, 285, table A.10. Wolfgang Jacobmeyer gives considerably lower totals for the same period. See Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 175.
81. For a brief but excellent discussion of the camp as a spatial form of care and control, see Malkki, “Refugees and Exile.”
82. See, for example, Institut für Besatzungsfragen, *Das DP-Problem: Eine Studie über die ausländischen Flüchtlinge in Deutschland* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1950).

83. Memorandum from H. P. Mettger to Chief of Staff, 1 March 1948; George P. Hays to Juozas Brazinskas, 9 March 1948, NACP, RG 260, Office of Military Government for Germany (OMGUS), AG File 1948, 383.7, Box 470.

84. On the association of DPs with the black market and crime in postwar Germany more generally, see Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 46–50; Jose Raymond Canoy, *The Discreet Charm of the Police State: The Landpolizei and the Transformation of Bavaria, 1945–1965* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), chap. 3.

85. Oscar Mintzer, “The Legal Situation of Jewish DP’s in the American Zone, Germany,” 23 September 1946, YIVO, 294.1, folder 449. See also Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 104–10; Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 53; Dinnerstein, *American and the Survivors*, 49; Wetzel, *Jüdisches Leben*, 217–18; Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 257–58.

86. Stern, *Whitewashing*, 109.

87. Hans H. Wacker, “Münchener Kommunalpolitik nach 1945—Nachlaßverwaltung oder demokratische Erneuerung?” in *Trümmerzeit in München*, 55. See also Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 204–8; Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews*, 71.

88. Cited in Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 212. See also “DPs and Black Market in Bavaria,” 26 February 1948; “DP’s and Black Market in Bavaria,” 27 February 1948; “Dr. Mueller on DPs,” 27 February 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1948, 383.7, Box 470.

89. Cited in Herbert, *Hitler’s Foreign Workers*, 377. See also Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 24.

90. Stepien, *Der alteingesessene Fremde*, 124–25; Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 196–200.

91. “Team Directors’ Conference,” 12 July 1946, UNA, UNRRA, S-0424-0023-07.

92. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 194–98.

93. Ibid., 200–201; Stepien, *Der alteingesessene Fremde*, 124–25.

94. Headquarters, Eastern Military District, memorandum re: “Yugoslavian Nationalist Committee,” 26 October 1945, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, LD, Central Office Records, Box 35, Displaced Persons, Refugees (Directives) 383.7 27 July 45–10 Dec 46; “Team Directors’ Conference 12th July 1946,” UNA, UNRRA, 3.0.11.3.1, District 5 Files of District Operation and Administration, District 5-Minutes of Meetings etc.

95. James E. King to A. Werschowskij, 26 May 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, Civil Affairs Division (CAD), Box 148, 080 DP Organizations or Committees.

96. Rebecca L. Boehling, *A Question of Priorities: Democratic Reforms and Economic Recovery in Postwar Germany: Frankfurt, Munich, and Stuttgart under U.S. Occupation, 1945–1949* (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1996), chap. 5.

97. J. F. J. Gillen, *State and Local Government in West Germany, 1945–1953* (n.p.: Historical Division, Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, 1953), 7.

98. Military Government Regulations 3-600 (April 1947).

99. “Vstupni postanovy,” 9 August 1947, UVU, Fond TsPUE.

100. Clark to Hooper, 3 February 1950. Numerous other documents confirm

the existence of this policy. See, for example, memorandum from William R. Gosser to Political Activities Branch, 12 June 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Affairs Branch, Box 117, Correspondence Political Affairs; Ezekiel L. Glazier to M. A. Braude, 26 August 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 148, 080-DP Organizations or Committees; Edward W. Lawrence to Slovak Central Committee in Germany-Munich, 30 March 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 139, 001. DP and Refugee Committees in the Zone (2-48); Albert C. Schweizer to Chief, Political Activities Branch, 20 September 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, LD, Box 144, Elections and Politics Jan–Sep 1949 000.1.

101. Memorandum from Gosser to Political Activities Branch, 12 June 1948. See also memorandum from W. M. Chase to ODI, 12 February 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Director's Intelligence Records, Box 164, Expellee Organizations.

102. Pierre M. Purves to Chief, Intelligence Branch, 22 June 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Affairs Branch, Box 117, Correspondence Political Affairs.

103. “Protokol Pershoho Z’izdu Oblasnykh Predstavnykiv Tsentral’noho Predstavnytstva Ukraïns’koï Emihratsii Nimechchyny i Avstriï,” n.d., UVU, Fond TsPUE.

104. Memorandum from OMGUS to Director, Civil Affairs Division, 15 December 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1947, AG 383.7 UNDP (December).

105. Kelly to Djalalian, 28 January 1949.

106. “Weekly Intelligence Summary Number 3,” 2 May 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Director's Intelligence Records, Box 172, Munich Military Post Weekly Intelligence Summary. See also Dyczok, *The Grand Alliance*, 79–80.

107. Leonard J. Ganse to Minister President of Bavaria, 10 October 1950, NACP, RG 466, OLCB, Central Files, Box 10, 350-G T Political Affairs, General 101–11/15/50.

108. *Der Ratgeber für heimatlose Ausländer: Rechte und Pflichten nach dem Gesetz über die Rechtsstellung heimatloser Ausländer im Bundesgebiet vom 25. April 1951* (Bonn: Bundesministerium für Vertriebene, 1952), 86.

109. Cited in Lalande, “‘Building a Home Abroad,’” 318.

110. Walter J. Muller to Minister President of Bavaria, 8 April 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 322, 3508 Jewish Demonstrations.

111. Memorandum from Theo E. Hall to Land Directors, [21 August 1947], NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1947, AG 383.7 (vol. 5), NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1947, AG 383.7 (vol. 5); memorandum from OMGUS, Prisoners of War and Displaced Persons Division to Chief of Staff, 22 August 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 138, 001—Displaced Persons Meetings and Conferences.

112. Memorandum from J. W. Brown to Chairman, Students Committee, 28 November 1949, NACP, RG 466, OLCB, Central Files, Box 9, 350-G T Political Affairs General 49-Dec 49.

113. Memorandum from Hall to Land Directors, [21 August 1947].

114. Memorandum from Walter J. Mueller to Minister President of Bavaria, 8 April 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 322, 3508 Jewish Demonstrations; memorandum from PW & DP Division to Chief of Staff, 22 August 1947,

NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 138, 001—Displaced Persons Meetings and Conferences; Theo E. Hall to Commander-in-Chief, 27 September 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 461, 3500 DPs—Maintenance of Law & Order (General File); William Haber to Commander in Chief, 31 August 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1948, AG 383.7 (vol. 4).

115. Charles R. Hayes to Chief, CIC, 4 April 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 9, DP Incidents.

116. Muller to Minister President of Bavaria, 8 April 1947.

117. Memorandum from PW & DP Division to Chief of Staff, 22 August 1947.

118. Memorandum from Harry S. Messec to PI, 22 August 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 138, 001—Displaced Persons Meetings and Conferences.

119. “Four Power Agreement,” [April 1947], NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1947, AG 383.7 (vol. 5).

120. Mark Elliott, “The Soviet Repatriation Campaign,” in *The Refugee Experience*, 343.

121. Ibid.

122. Cited in Elliott, “The Soviet Repatriation Campaign,” 343.

123. Cited in Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 155.

124. See, for example, the documents on the Latvian Resistance Movements in NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 265, 14. Organizations & Movements.

125. Report on DP press for 16–28 February 1949, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz (BAK), Z 35, Band 168.

126. Memorandum from J. W. Brown to Chairman, Students Committee, 28 November 1949, NACP, RG 466, OLCB, Central Files, Box 9, 350-G T Political Affairs General 49-Dec 49.

127. Memorandum from Paul E. Moeller to Chief, Anal. Br., 8 May 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 29, Miscellaneous Correspondence.

128. Records on the IRO’s relations with the national committees are scattered throughout the IRO records in the Archives nationales in Paris.

129. Kulyk, “The Role of Discourse,” 220.

130. Marrus, *The Unwanted*, 19.

131. Ibid., 15–16, 20; Noiriel, *La tyrannie*, 41, 47–48, 63–65.

132. Noiriel, *La tyrannie*, 36–80; Nevzat Soguk, *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 83–100.

133. Claudena M. Skran, *Refugees in Inter-war Europe: The Emergence of a Regime* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 78–84.

134. Noiriel, *La tyrannie*, 209–14.

135. On the political rights of refugees since 1945, see Atle Grahl-Madsen, “Political Rights and Freedoms of Refugees,” in *African Refugees and the Law*, ed. Göran Melander and Peter Nobel (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1978).

136. Memorandum from Pierre M. Purves to Director, Intelligence Division, 11 April 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Affairs, Box 118, Correspondence Political Affairs.

137. Ahonen, *After the Expulsion*, 24–26.

138. Office of Military Government for Stadtkreis Munich, “Monthly Historical Report,” 7 February 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Director’s Intelligence Records, Box 230, Munich E-213; Philipp Auerbach, “The Position of the Jewish DPs,” 23 June 1947, NACP, RG 84, Miscellaneous Records of the Munich Consulate, Box 4, 840.1A Displaced Persons.

139. Boris I. Balinsky memoir, University of Illinois Archives, 286.

CHAPTER 2

1. The term *Wiedergutmachung* (literally: making good) is difficult to translate. In the context of Nazi crimes, it refers to the process of making material, principally monetary amends for losses related to person or property. It will be translated here as *restitution*. Scholars further distinguish between two main kinds of personal material amends, *Rückerstattung* (property restitution) and *Entschädigung* (compensation for injuries to health, body, etc.). Both subareas are relevant here and will be referred to accordingly. For an excellent overview, see Constantin Goscler, *Wiedergutmachung. Westdeutschland und die Verfolgten des Nationalsozialismus (1945–1954)* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1992).

2. “Outline Plan for Refugees and Displaced Persons.”

3. Goscler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 69–70.

4. Noiriel, *La tyrannie*, 112. See also Vernant, *The Refugee*, 7–9.

5. Cited in Vernant, *The Refugee*, 9 fn 1. Although the Evian Conference introduced an important shift in the definition of a refugee, it is generally viewed as a failure, because it did not address the Jewish dimension of the refugee crisis. On this issue, see Skran, *Refugees*, 246–47; Sjöberg, *The Powers and the Persecuted*, 48–52, 69–71; Marrus, *The Unwanted*, 141–45, 171–72.

6. Skran, *Refugees*, 230.

7. Goscler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 51.

8. *Ibid.*, 70.

9. *Foreign Relations of the United States* 1944, vol. 1: General (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), 259.

10. “Disposition of Political Prisoners,” 12 October 1944, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Displaced Persons Branch Policy Book. Emphasis added.

11. “Directive to Commander-in-Chief of the United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany [JCS 1067],” April 1945, U.S. Diplomatic Mission to Germany.

12. “Administrative Memorandum Number 39,” 465. See also Eisenhower to AFHQ, [May 1945], NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 139, Displaced Persons Branch Policy Book.

13. Cited in Dinnerstein, *America and the Survivors*, 28.

14. On the Harrison Report, see Kochavi, *Post-Holocaust Politics*, chap. 4; Dinnerstein, *America and the Survivors*, chap. 2; Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 52–64; Dan Diner, “Jewish DPs in Historical Context,” paper presented at the workshop “Birth of a Refugee Nation: Displaced Persons in Postwar Europe, 1945–1951,” New York University, 20–21 April 2001.

15. Report of Earl G. Harrison, 24 August 1945, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/dp/resource1.htm> (accessed 8 May 2002).

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Truman to Eisenhower, 31 August 1945, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <https://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/dp/resource2.htm> (accessed 8 May 2002).

20. Memorandum from Newman to Commanding Generals, 22 August 1945, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS CAD, Box 181, 322 USFET Directives.

21. Eisenhower to Truman, 8 October 1945, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1945–46, AG 383.7.

22. Eisenhower to Truman, 8 October 1945; Office of Military Government for Landkreis München, untitled announcement, 29 October 1945, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, Field Operations Division (FOD), Box 430, Correspondence 1946; Allied Control Authority, Control Council, “Law No. 18: Housing Law,” 8 March 1946.

23. “Section XX, United Nations Nationals, Stateless Persons, and Refugees,” 29 June 1945, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 3, 008 Policy. See also Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 75.

24. Kochavi, *Post-Holocaust Politics*, 134–43.

25. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 336; Dinnerstein, *America and the Survivors*, 112; Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 110.

26. Regensburg Detachment to Chief of Intelligence, 9 August 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS ID, Office of the Director, Box 75, Org. Aiding Victims of Fascism BB 26. See also Jacobmeyer, “Jüdische Überlebende,” 422.

27. Military Government Regulations 20-101.3 (December 1947).

28. Marrus, *The Unwanted*, 336.

29. Stern, “The Historic Triangle,” 66; Jacobmeyer, “Jüdische Überlebende,” 438.

30. Gerard Daniel Cohen, “The Politics of Recognition: Jewish Refugees in Relief Policies and Human Rights Debates, 1945–1950,” *Immigrants and Minorities* 24, no. 2 (July 2006): 128.

31. Kochavi, *Post-Holocaust Politics*, 97; Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 245, 249–51.

32. On the transition from a collective to an individual approach in the definition of the refugee, see Aristide R. Zolberg, Astri Suhrke, and Sergio Aguayo, *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 18–27.

33. Memorandum from PW & DP Division, 5 September 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 123, Staff Studies.

34. Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 75.

35. Willcox to Director, CAD, 29 July 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 182, 333.5 Investigations (PW & DP Div.).

36. Memorandum from Edward H. Litchfield to MG, 30 July 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS CAD, Box 182, 333.5 Investigations (PW & DP Div.).

37. Clay to Van Wagoner, [July 1948], NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 182, 333.5 Investigations (PW & DP Div.).
38. Puczyk, “Notwendigkeit und Herkunft.”
39. Protocol of meeting of 15 November 1945, YIVO, 294.1, folder 135.
40. A. Retter, “Baricht fun general-skeretariat [*sic*] wegn bacijungen mit der amerikaner regirung, armej, militer-regirung, UNRRA, dajtszer regirung,” [early 1947], YIVO, 294.1, folder 131.
41. Central Committee of Liberated Jews, untitled statement, [31 March 1946], YIVO, 294.2, folder 33.
42. Memorandum from Edward H. Litchfield to C/S, 26 January 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 178, 322.2 Persecutees.
43. Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, chap. 1.
44. On the care centers, see Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes*, 274; Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933–2001* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 65–66. See also Aster to Harnden, 3 August 1946; Aster, “Bericht des Staatskommissars für die politisch Verfolgten in Bayern,” 3 August 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 12, 15 Political Victims; Walter to Political Affairs, 6 August 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 12, 15B Society for Aiding Victims of Fascism.
45. Wetzel, *Jüdisches Leben*, 49.
46. “Entwurf. Gesetz über die Bestellung und die Aufgaben eines Staatskommissars für die politische Verfolgten in Bayern,” [circa August 1946], NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 12, 15B Society for Aiding Victims of Fascism.
47. Auerbach is an important figure in the postwar history of Germany Jews. His forceful personality and willingness to bypass customary bureaucratic procedures made it possible for him to transform the State Commission into a powerful agency with a broad array of funds and programs, but also brought him into conflict with other government officials and with many persecutees. In 1951, he was charged with wrongdoing in connection with his work at the State Commission and its successors. Although the most serious charges against him were eventually dropped, in August 1952 he was found guilty on lesser counts and sentenced to two and a half years in jail. He committed suicide shortly thereafter, explaining in a “political testament” that he felt grievously wronged. See Constantin Goschler, “Der Fall Philipp Auerbach. Wiedergutmachung in Bayern,” in *Wiedergutmachung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. Ludolf Herbst and Constantin Goschler (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1989); Wetzel, *Jüdisches Leben*, 53–62.
48. “Report on Area Legal Officers’ Meeting held on 20th September 1949 at Zone Headquarters,” n.d., Archives nationales (AN), AJ 43, 879/44/8, vol. 4.
49. Miniclier to Harnden, 22 January 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGB ID, Office of the Director, 7Q Refugee Problems & Conferences.
50. “Agreement between the Central Committee of Liberated Jews and the State Commission for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees,” n.d., YIVO, 294.2, folder 58. See also the protocols of various meetings between the Central Committee and Auerbach, YIVO, 294.1, folders 136, 143.
51. Goschler, “Der Fall Philipp Auerbach,” 81; “Überprüfung der Verschleppten,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 2 March 1948.

52. Auerbach, "The Position of the Jewish DPs."
53. "Protokoll über die Sitzung des Koordinierungsausschusses der 11 Länder," 17 March 1950, YIVO, 294.2, folder 71.
54. "Überprüfung der Verschleppten."
55. *Mitteilungsblatt des Landesausschusses der politisch Verfolgten in Bayern* 14 (January 1948).
56. Memorandum from PW & DP Division, 5 September 1946. See also Bauer, "The Initial Organization," 135.
57. "Protokoll über die Sitzung des Koordinierungsausschusses der 11 Länder."
58. Association of the Lithuanian Anti-Nazi Resistants to the Chairman of the Sonderhilfsausschuss Gandersheim, 10 September 1948; Auerbach to Schweizer, 12 October 1948; Auerbach to Association of the Lithuanian Anti-Nazi Resistants, 13 October 1948; Schweizer to Auerbach, 3 November 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Affairs, Box 118, Correspondence Political Affairs.
59. Memorandum from James P. Abbott to C/S, 22 January 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 182, 337 Conferences (UNDPs). See also Goschler, "Der Fall Philipp Auerbach," 87–88.
60. Litchfield to Chief of Staff, 26 January 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS CAD, Box 128, 322.2 Persecutees.
61. "Monthly Narrative Report for June, 1949, (xi) Relationship with Government and Military Authorities," cited in "Narrative Report for June, 1949, (ix) Legal and Political Protection."
62. On early restitution legislation, especially as it relates to foreigners, see Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, chaps. 3, 4; Regula Ludi, "The Vectors of Postwar Victim Reparations: Relief, Redress, and Memory Politics," *Journal of Contemporary History* 41, no. 3 (July 2006); Ludi, "Who Is a Nazi Victim? Constructing Victimhood through Post-War Reparations in France, Germany, and Switzerland," UCLA Center for European and Eurasian Studies, Occasional Lecture Series, 3 (2005); Susanna Schrafstetter, "The Diplomacy of Wiedergutmachung: Memory, the Cold War, and the Western European Victims of Nazism, 1956–1964," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17, no. 3 (Winter 2003); Schrafstetter, "'What About Paying BRITISH Victims of Nazi Hell Camps?' Die Entschädigungsfrage in den deutsch-britischen Beziehungen," in *Grenzen der Wiedergutmachung. Die Entschädigung für NS-Verfolgte in West- und Osteuropa 1945–2000*, ed. Hans Günter Hockerts, Claudia Moisel, and Tobias Winstel (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006).
63. Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 131.
64. Boehling, *A Question of Priorities*, especially chaps. 5, 6; Stern, *Whitewashing*, especially chaps. 3, 7.
65. "Gesetz Nr. 9 betreffend sozialrechtliche Wiedergutmachung von Schäden, die durch das nationalsozialistische System verschuldet worden sind," 15 October 1945, in *Bayerisches Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt* 3 (1946).
66. "Gesetz Nr. 35 über Bildung eines Sonderfonds zum Zwecke der Wiedergutmachung," 1 August 1946, in *Bayerisches Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt* 17 (1946).
67. "Verordnung Nr. 61 zur Durchführung der Verordnung betreffend sozial-

rechtliche Wiedergutmachung von Schäden, die durch das nationalsozialistische System verschuldet worden sind, vom 15. Oktober 1945,” 17 May 1946, in *Bayerisches Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt* 12 (1946).

68. “Gesetz Nr. 75 über die Bildung eines Sonderfonds zum Zwecke der Wiedergutmachung,” 1 August 1947, in *Bayerisches Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt* 13 (1947).

69. Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 130.

70. “Überprüfung der Verschleppten.”

71. László Schirilla, *Wiedergutmachung für Nationalgeschädigte. Ein Bericht über die Benachteiligung von Opfern der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft* (Munich: Kaiser/Mainz: Grünewald, 1982), 16.

72. The *Länderrat* was an institution peculiar to the U.S. zone. It brought together the Minister-Presidents of the zone’s three *Länder*—Bavaria, Württemberg-Baden, and Greater Hesse—for regular meetings to coordinate legislation and economic activities. It was the most important German governmental institution in the U.S. zone during the occupation.

73. “Gesetz zur Wiedergutmachung nationalsozialistischen Unrechts (Entschädigungsgesetz),” section 1, in Hans Wilden and Martin Klückmann, *Wiedergutmachungsgesetz. Gesetztext und systematische Darstellung* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1950).

74. Cited in Goschler, “Der Fall Philipp Auerbach,” 92.

75. Goschler, “Der Fall Philipp Auerbach,” 91–92; Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 161–62.

76. Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 135–36, 145; Paul Winter, “Legal Protection for United Nations Refugees Residing in the U.S. Area of Control in Germany,” 30 September 1947, YIVO, 294.1, folder 451.

77. Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 148.

78. Herbert, “Nicht entschädigungsfähig?” 179–91; Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 154–55; Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 238–40. See also the reports of the IRO legal staff: “Report on Area Legal Officers’ Meeting held on 20th September 1949”; Paul Kinnare, “Narrative Report for September, 1949, (ix) Legal and Political Protection,” n.d., AN, AJ 43, 879/44/8, vol. 4; Hugh Hinchcliffe, “Narrative Report for November 1949, (ix) Legal and Political Protection,” n.d., AN, AJ 43, 766, Monthly Narrative Report. Germany. U.S. Zone, June 1949–December 1949; memorandum by O. Bayer, 6 December 1950, AN, AJ 43, 883/44/9, vol. 1.

79. “Bundesgesetz zur Entschädigung für Opfer der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung [BEG],” section 160, in Blessin, Ehrig, and Wilden, *Bundesentschädigungsgesetze. Kommentar* (Munich: C. H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957).

80. BEG, section 4.

81. “Niederschrift über die Ressortbesprechung,” 2 June 1950, BAK, B 126, Band 12358. See also Dehler to Arbeitsgemeinschaft der ausländischen Politisch Verfolgten, 6 October 1950, BAK, B 126, Band 12358.

82. Ulrich Scheuner, “Schadensansprüche gegen Deutschland aus der Verletzung von Ausländern während der Kriegszeit,” 30 May 1950, BAK, B 126, Band 12358.

83. Herbert, “Nicht entschädigungsfähig?” 181.
84. Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, “Ortlos am Ende des Grauens: ‘Displaced Persons’ in der Nachkriegszeit,” in *Deutsche im Ausland*, 373.
85. Jacobmeyer, “Jüdische Überlebende,” 431.

CHAPTER 3

1. Michal Borwicz, “Polish-Jewish Relations, 1944–1947,” in *The Jews in Poland*, ed. Chimen Abramsky, Maciej Jachimczyk, and Antony Polonsky (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 190.
2. For a story along these lines, see Justine Pas, “Finding Home in Babel: Transnationalism, Translation, and Languages of Identity” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008), 69.
3. “Disposition of Displaced Persons in the city of Munich.”
4. Intelligence report on “Russian and Polish Displaced Persons,” 19 July 1945, NACP, RG 319, Army Intelligence ID File 187057.
5. Military Attache Report, “War-Displaced Poles.”
6. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 70–71.
7. Vasyľ Sofroniv Levytskyi, *Respublika za drotamy (Zapysky skytal’tsia)* (Toronto: Novyi Shliakh, 1983), 79.
8. “Report of the Repatriation Poll of Displaced Persons in UNRRA Assembly Centers in Germany Period 1–14 May 1946,” n.d., UNA, UNRRA, S-401, Box 8, Repatriation 5/1946–15/8/1946. This and other repatriation polls are also discussed in Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 87–90; Salomon, *Refugees in the Cold War*, 144–62.
9. “Analysis of Poll Questionnaires at Funk Caserne,” 18 May 1946, UNA, UNRRA, S-0436-0047-09.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. “Repatriation Poll: Preliminary Analysis of Negative Replies,” 25 May 1946, UNA, UNRRA, 3.0.11.3.0, Administrative, Box 4.
14. “Report of the Repatriation Poll.”
15. “Repatriation Poll: Preliminary Analysis of Negative Replies.”
16. Ibid.
17. “Report of the Repatriation Poll.”
18. Ibid.
19. Kirchmann, “‘They Are Coming for Freedom,’” 174.
20. Wyman, *DPs*, 78.
21. Ibid., 1.
22. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 90.
23. UNRRA officials were in fact often collectively portrayed as leftists and communists. One former UNRRA employee even wrote a scurrilous report in which he criticized UNRRA for its purported communist sympathies. See Marvin Klemm , *The Inside Story of UNRRA: An Experience in Internationalism; A First*

Hand Report on the Displaced People of Europe (New York: Lifetime Editions, 1949).

24. Tara Zahra, “Lost Children: Displacement, Family, and Nation in Postwar Europe,” *Journal of Modern History* 81, no. 1 (March 2009).

25. Military Attache Report, “War-Displaced Poles,” 29 January 1946, NACP, RG 319, Army Intelligence ID File 238415.

26. For an overview, see Łuczak, *Polacy w okupowanych Niemczech*, 99–105.

27. Janusz Nel Siedlecki, *Beyond Lost Dreams* (Edinburgh: Pentland, 1994), 229.

28. Teodor Musioł, *Dachau 1933–1945*, 2nd ed. (Katowice: Wydawnictwo “Iask,” 1971), 253.

29. M[ieczysław] Grabinski, *Dyplomacja w Dachau . . .* (Dachau: Wydawnictwo “Słowa Polskiego,” 1946), 14–15.

30. Hanna Grabinska to Barbara Distel, 4 September 1991, AKZD A2017.

31. Ratcliff to Taylor, 18 October 1946, UNA, UNRRA, S-0435, Box 14, District 5—District No. 5—Correspondence.

32. U.S. Civil Censorship Submission A-47-4613, 6 February 1947, NACP, RG 84, General Records of the Munich Consulate, Box 14, 800 General 1947.

33. “Statute of Association known as ‘Polish Union in the American Zone of Germany,’” [June 1948], NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 138, 001 DP and Refugee Welfare and Defense Committees in US Zone.

34. Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, *The Exile Mission*, 82.

35. “Private Conversation with Mikiciuk, Stanislaw, President of the Polish Union for the US Zone,” 27 July 1948, NACP, RG 319, Army Intelligence ID File 493559.

36. Marrus, *The Unwanted*, 15.

37. Brian Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 16.

38. Kirchmann, “‘They Are Coming for Freedom,’” 146.

39. Schochet, *Feldafing*, 130.

40. Musioł, *Dachau*, 263.

41. “Budować będziemy polski dom!” in *Głos Polski* 2 (n.d.), AKZD, camp newspaper collection. See also “Polska a koniec wojny,” *Głos Polski* 3 (9 May 1945), AKZD, camp newspaper collection. Emphasis in original.

42. P. Dunin, “O wolność Europy Środkowej,” *Słowo Polskie*, 17 November 1945.

43. Zegota, “‘Historia osadzi.’ Wiec w sprawie repatriacji,” *Słowo Polskie*, 26 January 1946.

44. Siedlecki, *Beyond Lost Dreams*, 225.

45. *Ibid.*, 226.

46. M[ieczysław] Grabinski, *Dyplomacja w Dachau . . .* (Dachau: Wydawnictwo “Słowa Polskiego,” 1946), 224. All translations by the author and Lynn Tesser.

47. *Ibid.*, 225.

48. Borowski to Rundo, 23 April 1946, in *Postal Indiscretions*, 109.

49. Borowski to Rundo, 30 May 1946, in *Postal Indiscretions*, 112.

50. On Borowski’s biography, see Jan Kott, introduction to Tadeusz Borowski,

This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories, trans. Barbara Vedder (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967); Czesław Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, trans. Jane Zielonko (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), chap. 5.

51. Borowski, “Bitwa pod Grunwaldem,” in *Utwory zebrane*, ed. Jerzy Andrzejewski, vol. 2: *Proza 1945–1947* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1954), 178. Translation by Alicia Nitecki, with minor modifications by the author.

52. *Ibid.*, 197.

53. *Ibid.*, 175. The Polish expression “to drown someone in a spoonful of water” (*utopić kogoś w łyżce wody*) evokes both extreme malice and pettiness.

54. *Ibid.*, 191–92.

55. *Ibid.*, 198.

56. Łuczak, *Polacy w okupowanych Niemczech*, 133.

57. Vasyl Mudry, “Nova ukraïns’ka emigratsiia,” in *Ukraïntsi u vil’nomu sviti: iuvileina knyha Ukraïns’koho Narodnoho Soiuzu, 1894–1954*, ed. Luka Myshuha and A. Drahan (Jersey City: Vydannia Ukraïns’koho Narodnoho Soiuzu, 1954), 116. I borrow the translation in Ciuciura, “Common Organizational Efforts, 1945–52: Structure and People,” in *The Refugee Experience*, 105 fn 16.

58. Dyczok, *The Grand Alliance*, 66.

59. Cited in Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 76.

60. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 77.

61. “Statut Predstavnytstva Ukraïnskoï Emihratsiï Ukraïns’koho Dopomohovoho Komitetu v Nimechchyni,” [November 1947], UVU, Fond TsPUE.

62. “Rezoliutsiï Zizdu Vidporuchnykiv Oblasnykh Predstavnykiv Ukraïns’koï Emihratsiï Nimechchyny v dniakh 30 i 31 zhovtnia 1945 r.,” UVU, Fond TsPUE.

63. Protocol of the second congress of the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration, 8–10 May 1947, UVU, Fond TsPUE.

64. Kulyk, “The Role of Discourse,” 222.

65. Zinovii Knysh, *Na porozi nevidomoho (spohady z 1945 roku)* (Toronto: Sribna Surma, 1963), 4.

66. Mudry, “Nova ukraïns’ka emigratsiia,” 129.

67. “V pershu richnyiuiu,” *Politiv’iazyn’* 2 (April 1946): 2.

68. Knysh, *Na porozi nevidomoho*, 7.

69. *Ibid.*, 8.

70. Cited in Kulyk, “The Role of Discourse,” 221.

71. John-Paul Himka, “First Escape: Dealing with the Totalitarian Legacy in the Early Postwar Emigration,” paper presented at the conference “Soviet Totalitarianism in Ukraine: History and Legacy,” Kiev, 2–6 September 2005. See also Kulyk, “The Role of Discourse,” 220.

72. Lalonde, “‘Building a Home Abroad,’” 50.

73. Protocol of the second congress of the Central Representation. For a closer examination of the legal status of Ukrainian DPs, see Bernadetta Wojtowicz, “Die rechtliche Lage der ukrainischen Flüchtlinge nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in Bayern,” in *Bayern und Osteuropa: Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen Bayerns, Frankens und Schwabens mit Rußland, der Ukraine und Weißrußland*, ed. Hermann Beyer-Thoma (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2000).

74. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 78–79.
75. Protocol of the second congress of the Central Representation. See also Dyczok, *The Grand Alliance*, 95.
76. Mudry, “Nova Ukraïns’ka emigratsiia,” 121.
77. My argument here generally follows that of Volodymyr Kulyk, who, as far as I know, is the first person to go beyond examining internal political differences to probe the larger issue of the creation of a “political emigration.” However, whereas Kulyk argues that the attempt to create this emigration failed due to internal conflicts, I see no reason to think that it would have succeeded had there been more political unity. See Kulyk, “The Role of Discourse.”
78. Marunchak, *Ukraïns’ki politychni v’iazni*, 243.
79. Knysh, *Na porozi nevidomoho*, 9.
80. *Ibid.*, 27.
81. Dyczok, *The Grand Alliance*, 44.
82. On the Bolsheviks and their nationality policies, see Jeremy Smith, *The Bolsheviks and the National Question, 1917–23* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1999); Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).
83. On this issue, see *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia*, ed. Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press / Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1982); John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies/University of Alberta, 1988).
84. Protocol of the third congress of the Central Representation. See also Kulyk, “The Role of Discourse,” 221–22.
85. Ciuciura, “Common Organizational Efforts,” 100. See also Dyczok, *The Grand Alliance*, 144.
86. Alex Inkeles and Raymond A. Bauer, *The Soviet Citizen: Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 352.
87. Ulrike Goeken, “Von der Kooperation zur Konfrontation. Die sowjetischen Repatriierungsoffiziere in den westlichen Besatzungszonen,” in *Die Tragödie der Gefangenschaft in Deutschland und in der Sowjetunion 1941–1956*, ed. Klaus-Dieter Müller, Konstantin Nikischkin, and Günther Wagenlehner (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998), 322; Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 148–49.
88. “Prikaz No. 270 Stavki Verkhovnoho Glavnoho Komandovaniia Krasnoi Armii,” 16 August 1941, in Wikipedia, http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/%D0%9F%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%B7_%D0%A1%D0%92%D0%93%D0%9A_%D0%A1%D0%A1%D0%A0_%E2%84%96_270_%D0%BE%D1%82_16.08.41 (accessed 21 July 2008).
89. Kuhlmann-Smirnov, “‘Stiller als Wasser, tiefer als Gras,’” 26.
90. Zemskov, “Rozhdenie,” 12–13.
91. Kulyk, “The Role of Discourse,” 222.

92. Ihor V. Zielyk, "The DP Camp as a Social System," 462.
93. Boshyk, "Repatriation: Ukrainian DPs and Political Refugees in Germany and Austria, 1945–48," in *The Refugee Experience*, 366.
94. The phrase "unified narrative" comes from Kulyk, "The Role of Discourse," 223. For an overview of Ukrainian DP politics, see Vasyl Markus, "Political Parties in the DP Camps," in *The Refugee Experience*.
95. On competition between the OUN-B and its rivals, see Myroslav Yurkevich, "Ukrainian Nationalists and DP Politics, 1945–50," in *The Refugee Experience*, 135–36.
96. "Report on Background of 'Ukrainian' Groups," [February 1947], IfZ, Fi 01.82.
97. On the origins of radical nationalism among Ukrainians, see Alexander J. Motyl, *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919–1929* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1980). On the history of the OUN until 1945, see Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*; Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), chap. 23. On the OUN in postwar Germany, see Myroslav Yurkevich, "Ukrainian Nationalists and DP Politics, 1945–50," in *The Refugee Experience*. Yurkevich downplays collaboration with the Germans.
98. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 28. See also John Armstrong, "Collaborationism in World War II: The Integral Nationalist Variant in Eastern Europe," *Journal of Modern History* 40 (September 1968).
99. Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Community, Class, and Social Mobility as Dynamic Factors in the DP Experience," in *The Refugee Experience*, 472.
100. "Exhibit A, Ukrainian Political Parties," [September 1947], NACP, RG 84, Classified General Records of the Munich Consulate, Box 5, 820.02 Military Activities 1947.
101. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 78; Kulyk, "The Role of Discourse," 225.
102. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 228.
103. Markus, "Political Parties"; Yurkevich, "Ukrainian Nationalists," 129–30. For contemporary reports on these parties, see "Exhibit A, Ukrainian Political Parties."
104. Cited in Himka, "First Escape." I have slightly modified Himka's translation.
105. Cited in Ciuciura, "Common Organizational Efforts," 94. For a firsthand account of the conflicts at the first congress of the Central Representation, written from an OUN-M perspective, see Knysh, *Na porozi nevidomoho*, chap. 24.
106. Balinsky memoir, 281, 289.
107. Memorandum to Chief, Public Opinion Section, Intelligence Branch, 31 January 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 10, 7Q Refugee Problems and Conferences. See also memorandum to Chief, Political Affairs, Information Control Division (ICD), 25 November 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 117, 65A Propaganda—Anti-Russian.
108. Fischer, "The New Soviet Emigration," 9.

109. Tat'iana Fesenko, *Povest' krivyykh let* (New York: Novoe Russkoe Slovo, 1963), 150.
110. Fesenko, *Povest' krivyykh let*, 151–52.
111. Irina Saburova, *Dipilogicheskaiia azbuka* (Munich: n.p., 1946), 7. Translation by the author and Nina Wieda.
112. *Ibid.*, 5.
113. *Ibid.*, 64–66. See also Kuhlmann-Smirnov, “‘Stiller als Wasser, tiefer als Gras,’” 25–26.
114. *Ibid.*, 207–8.
115. *Ibid.*, 243.
116. Fesenko, *Povest' krivyykh let*, 154–55.
117. Kuhlmann-Smirnov, “‘Stiller als Wasser, tiefer als Gras,’” 14.
118. Memorandum to Chief, Public Opinion Section, Intelligence Branch, 31 January 1947.
119. Memorandum from R. C. Martindale to Land Director, 30 June 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, LD, Box 172, 383.7 1947-48-49; CIC Agent Report, “Committee of Russian Emigrants,” 3 August 1948, NACP, RG 319, CIC Collection, IRR Impersonal Files, Box 22, XE135034.
120. Fischer, “The New Soviet Emigration,” 10.
121. Marc Raeff, *Russia Abroad: A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919–1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 44.
122. A good overview can be found in “Political Tendencies within Russian Emigration.” See also Stepien, *Der alteingesessene Fremde*, 121–22.
123. Raeff, *Russia Abroad*, 9. See also Andreyev, *Vlasov*, 183–93.
124. Andreyev, *Vlasov*, 189; Dallin, *German Rule in Russia*, 526.
125. On the history of the camp, see K. V. Boldyrev, “Menkhegof—lager’ peremeshchennykh lits (Zapadnaia Germaniia),” *Voprosy istorii* 7 (July 1998).
126. Cited in Kuhlmann-Smirnov, “‘Stiller als Wasser, tiefer als Gras,’” 48.
127. “Dolgii put’,” in V. D. Poremskii, *Strategiia antibol'shevitskoi emigratsii* (Moscow: Posev, 1998), 30.
128. V. D. Poremskii, “Politicheskaiia missiia rossiiskoi emigratsii,” in *Strategiia antibol'shevitskoi emigratsii*.
129. Poremskii, “Ierarkhiia nashikh zadach,” in *Strategiia antibol'shevitskoi emigratsii*, 86.
130. On the Vlasov movement, see Andreyev, *Vlasov*; Dallin, *German Rule in Russia*, chaps. 26–29.
131. “The Smolensk Declaration,” in Andreyev, *Vlasov*, 207.
132. *Ibid.*, 208.
133. Boris L. Dvinov, *Politics of the Russian Emigration*, RAND Paper P-768 (October 1955), 153–57. Andreyev, *Vlasov*, 191–92.
134. Balinsky memoir, 261.
135. Memorandum from Richard A. Nelson to Chief, CIC, 13 July 1946, NACP, RG 319, CIC Collection, IRR Impersonal Files, Box 63, ZFO15110.
136. A very good overview of AZODNR and the other Russian émigré political groups discussed here is provided by Dvinov, *Politics of the Russian Emigration*.

137. V. A. Iontsev et al., *Emigratsiia i repatriatsiia v Rosii* (Moscow: Popichitel'stvo o nuzhdakh Rossiiskikh repatriantov, 2001), 463.
138. Iontsev, *Emigratsiia i repatriatsiia*, 464.
139. Siedlecki, *Beyond Lost Dreams*, 226. For a similar account, see Wyman, *DPs*, 66.
140. Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 78; Lalande, “‘Building a Home Abroad,’” 51.
141. “Rezoliutsii Zizdu.”
142. Protocol of the second congress of the Central Representation.
143. Protocol of the third congress of the Central Representation.
144. Ibid.
145. Memorandum to Chief, Political Affairs, ICD, 16 November 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 117, 65A Propaganda—Anti-Russian.
146. Memorandum from Huebner, EUCOM to AGWAR, 18 September 1947.

CHAPTER 4

1. On anticommunist unity and division, see also Stanislaus Stepień, *Der alteingesessene Fremde. Ehemalige Zwangsarbeiter in Westdeutschland* (Frankfurt, 1989), 117.
2. Mark von Hagen, “Federalisms and Pan-movements: Re-Imagining Empire,” in *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700–1930*, ed. Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 495.
3. I give dates in the New Style (Gregorian calendar), which differs by thirteen days from the Old Style (Julian calendar).
4. On this issue, see Smith, *The Bolsheviks and the National Question*; Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire*; Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*.
5. Timothy Snyder, *Sketches from a Secret War: A Polish Artist's Mission to Liberate Soviet Ukraine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 40.
6. Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941–1945: A Study of Occupation Policies*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1981), passim; Catherine Andreyev, *Vlasov and the Russian Liberation Movement: Soviet Reality and Émigré Theories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 45–46. On earlier Nazi efforts to build an anticommunist front, see Lorna L. Waddington, “The Anti-Komintern and Nazi Anti-Bolshevik Propaganda in the 1930s,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 42, no. 4 (October 2007).
7. On federalists during the Second World War, see Johannes Baur, *Die russische Kolonie in München 1900–1945. Deutsch-russische Beziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), chap. 7.
8. Dvinov, *Politics of the Russian Emigration*.
9. CIC Agent Report, “Democratic Russian League Re: David Dalin,” 1 October 1948, NACP, RG 319, CIC Collection, IRR Impersonal Files, Box 23, 182853.
10. “Political Tendencies within Russian Emigration,” 15 July 1948; memorandum re: “Russian emigration—Addition I,” 25 July 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 120, Reports “T” Unit.

11. CIC Agent Report, "Subject: Summary of Dissident Groups," 2 May 1950, NACP, RG 319, CIC Collection, IRR Impersonal Files, Box 23, 182853.
12. Dallin, *German Rule in Russia*, 559.
13. Andreyev, *Vlasov*, 126–27.
14. "The Prague Manifesto," in Andreyev, *Vlasov*, 219.
15. Dvinov, *Politics of the Russian Emigration*, 74, 91–95.
16. "Deklaratsiia Antikommunisticheskogo Tsentra Osvoboditel'nogo Dvizheniia Narodov Rossii (AZODNR)," 22 August 1948, NACP, RG 319, CIC Collection, IRR Impersonal Files, Box 23, 182853.
17. "Resolution," 9 July 1948, NACP, RG 319, CIC Collection, IRR Impersonal Files, Box 23, 182853.
18. "Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Nations of Russia (ACODNR)," 5 August 1948, NACP, RG 319, CIC Collection, IRR Impersonal Files, Box 23, 182853.
19. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 139–40, 157, 168; biographical note on Bohatirchuk, n.d.; CIC Agent Report, "AZODNR," 13 October 1948, NACP, RG 319, CIC Collection, IRR Impersonal Files, Box 23, 182853.
20. Annex to Munich Military Post Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 87, 14 December 1948, NACP, RG 319, CIC Collection, IRR Impersonal Files, Box 23, 182853.
21. CIC Agent Report, "Ukrainian Activities Re: AZODNR," 21 October 1948; CIC Agent Report, "Russian Émigré Associations Re: Penetration by Soviet Agents," 27 October 1948; CIC "Organization Summary Report" on the SAF, 5 December 1948, NACP, RG 319, CIC Collection, IRR Impersonal Files, Box 23, 182853.
22. Poremskii, "Politicheskaia missiia rossiiskoi emigratsii," 164.
23. "Declaration of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations," in *Memorandum of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations* ([Munich?]: Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations, [1946?]), 16. The original Ukrainian-language version can be found in *Antybol'shevytskyi Bl'ok Narodiv: Zbirka dokumentiv 1941–1956 rr.* (n.p.: Vyd. Zakordonnykh Chastyn Orhanizatsii Ukraïnskykh Natsionalistiv, 1956), hereafter cited as *Zbirka*.
24. On Durchansky, see Hilberg, *Destruction*, 766–67.
25. For an example of Soviet anti-ABN propaganda, see V. Styrkul, *ABN: Backstage Exposé* (Lviv: Kamenyar, 1983). For examples of federalist anti-ABN propaganda, see *What Is ABN: Its History, Structure, Propaganda, and Brief Characteristics of Its Leading Members* (Munich, 1958) and *What Is ABN? Freedom for Nations? Freedom for Individuals?* (n.p.: R. Yagotinsky, President of Executive Committee Ukrainian Liberation Movement, 1958). An example of the ABN response is Niko Nakashidze, *The Truth about A.B.N.: An Answer to the Provocations of Moscow's Fifth Column in the West* (Munich: A.B.N. Press and Information Bureau, 1960).
26. "Z politychnykh postanov II. Velykoho Zboru OUN v spravi spil'noho protybol'shevyts'koho frontu," in *Zbirka*, 3; Ihor Bilyi, *ABN v borot'bi za svobodu narodiv* (Munich: ABN, 1947), 3–4.
27. "Resolutions Adopted by the First Conference of the Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia," in *Memorandum*, 44. For the original Ukrainian-lan-

guage version of the resolutions, see *Zbirka*, 17–19. The development of an internationalist agenda on the part of the OUN-B is also evident in some of the documents collected in Peter J. Potichnyj and Yevhen Shtendera, eds., *Political Thought of the Ukrainian Underground, 1943–1951* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies/University of Alberta, 1986).

28. “The First Conference of Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia, Which Took Place in Ukraine on November 21st and 22nd, 1943,” in *Memorandum*, 41.

29. “Declaration of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations,” 15.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*, 10.

32. *Ibid.*, 8. The 1946 Paris Peace Conference, convened by the Allies, determined the final terms of the peace treaties with a number of former Axis states.

33. “Declaration of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations,” 17.

34. “Manifestatsiia ABN shcho vidbulasia dnia 3 chervnia 1951 r. v Miunkheni: Rezoliutsii,” in *Zbirka*, 199.

35. “The Soviet Union—An Undemocratic Power,” 23–24; “Memoriiial ABN do ministra zakordonnykh sprav SSHA Achesona i henerala Eisenhowera,” in *Zbirka*, 159.

36. Z. Karbovich, “For the Partition of the U.S.S.R.,” in *Memorandum*, 26.

37. *Ibid.*, 25.

38. *Ibid.* This position had already been staked out during the war.

39. S.O., “Nashi zavdannia,” in *Zbirka*, 8.

40. “Manifest svobody,” in *Zbirka*, 276.

41. Cited in Berkhoff and Carynnyk, “The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists,” 153. See also “Moskovs’ki Protymbol’shevyts’ki Natsionalisty i Nasha Sprava,” in *Zbirka*, 14.

42. Iaroslav Stetsko, “My Biography,” in Berkhoff and Carynnyk, “The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists,” 171. Emphasis in original.

43. “Declaration of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations,” 19.

44. “Manifest II. Kongresu ABN,” in *Zbirka*, 115–16.

45. “The Soviet Union—An Undemocratic Power,” 23.

46. “Constitutional Charter of the International Association of Liberty,” 24 April 1948, NACP, RG 84, Classified General Records of the Munich Consulate, Box 6, 800 Anti-Bolshevist Organizations 1948.

47. Bilyi, *ABN v borot’bi*, 28–29.

48. “Memorandum of the A.B.N. to the Paris Peace Conference,” 13.

49. German translation of a Russian ABN handout, n.d., NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 16, 27 Subversive Activities.

50. Invitation to INCOPORE presentation re: “Freies Europa vom Standpunkt der Flüchtlinge,” [January] 1950, BayHStA, Ministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung, Familie, Frauen und Gesundheit (Marb) 1023.

51. On this issue, see Waddington, “The Anti-Komintern.”

52. “Declaration of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations,” 16.

53. “Resolution!” [September 1950], BayHStA, Marb 947.

54. U.S. Civil Censorship Submission A-47-S-405, 26 August 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, ID, Box 157, Withdrawn Items Envelope.
55. "Summary on the Association of the Free Press," n.d., AN, AJ 43, 899/49/3, vol. 6.
56. Memorandum to Chief, Political Affairs, ICD, 18 November 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 117, 65A Propaganda—Anti-Russian.
57. Sam E. Woods to Warren M. Chase, 6 October 1947, NACP, RG 84, Classified General Records of the Munich Consulate, Box 4, 800 Anti-Bolshevist Organizations 1947.
58. Bilyi, *ABN v borot'bi*, 22–24.
59. Woods to Chase, 6 October 1947.
60. Memorandum to Chief, Political Affairs, ICD, 25 November 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 117, 65A Propaganda—Anti-Russian.
61. Alfred Kiss, "Bericht eines DP-Ukrainers," 17 November 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 38, Correspondence.
62. Delmar R. Carlson to O. Drake, 3 February 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 164, (4) Refugees—Expellees.
63. Memorandum from Andre Kormendi to Harold E. Stearns, 15 August 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 163, d. DPs—Hungarian.
64. Evseev, "Memorandum concerning the repatriation of Soviet citizens from the American zone of occupation in Germany," [October 1945], NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1945–46, AG 014.33, Box 21. On Soviet complaints, see also Dyczok, *The Grand Alliance*, 55, 79–80, 98; Goeken, "Von der Kooperation zur Konfrontation," 325–26.
65. V. D. Sokolovsky to General McNarney, 5 June 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1945–46, AG 080, Box 26.
66. Joseph T. McNarney to V. D. Sokolovsky, 9 July 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1945–46, AG 080, Box 26.
67. H. R. Bull to Commanding General, Third U.S. Army, 9 July 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1945–46, AG 080, Box 26.
68. Joseph T. McNarney to V. D. Sokolovsky, 12 October 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, Records of the Civil Administration Division (CAD), Box 153, 091.412—DP Propaganda.
69. U.S. Civil Censorship Submission A-47-S-193, 11 August 1947; U.S. Civil Censorship Submission A-47-S-405, 26 August 1947.
70. Memorandum from Ernest Langendorf to G-5, USFET, 18 December 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1947, AG 000.7, Box 119; note by William H. Kinnard, 28 February 1947, in memorandum re: "Anti-Soviet Activities of Refugees in Bavaria," NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1947, AG 383.7 (vol. 3), Box 282.
71. On this issue, see Christopher Simpson, *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effects on the Cold War* (New York, 1988), 269–71; Mark Aarons and John Loftus, *Ratlines: How the Vatican's Nazi Networks Betrayed Western Intelligence to the Soviets* (London, 1991); Peter Grose, *Operation Rollback: America's Secret War behind the Iron Curtain* (Boston, 2000); Major, *The Death of the KPD*,

chaps. 7, 8. The scholarship on this topic is of uneven quality, especially in its treatment of émigrés.

72. Burds, “The Early Cold War,” 11.

73. Most notably, U.S. officials sought to capitalize on the work of Reinhard Gehlen and the Fremde Heere Ost, the military intelligence wing of the Germany army on the eastern front. After the war, the United States employed Gehlen and many of his former associates in a new organization for gathering intelligence on the Soviet Union. On Gehlen, see Mary Ellen Reese, *General Reinhard Gehlen: The CIA Connection* (Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press, 1990); Simpson, *Blowback*, 40–65.

74. Harry A. Rositzke, “Preliminary Analysis and Evaluation of the Methods of Procurement of Secret Intelligence on the USSR Proper,” 23 August 1946, NACP, RG 226, Entry 210, Box 368, No. WN 13,597. I am grateful to Jeffrey Burds for providing me with an advance copy of this document, which appears in Burds, *Rannie gody kholodnoi voyny: shpionazh i natsionalizm na Zapadnoi Ukrainie (1944–1948)* (Moscow: Sovremennaiia Istoriia, 2008).

75. Cited in Burds, “The Early Cold War,” 15.

76. NSC 10/2, 18 June 1948, in *Containment: Documents on American Policy and Strategy, 1945–1950*, ed. Thomas H. Etzold and John Lewis Gaddis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 127.

77. Boehling, *A Question of Priorities*, 218–20; Major, *The Death of the KPD*, chap. 7.

78. Memorandum from Intelligence Division, Headquarters, European Command to Office of Intelligence, Office of the High Commissioner for Germany, 23 November 1949, NACP, RG 319, CIC Collection, IRR Impersonal Files, Box 23, 182853.

79. Memorandum from Huebner, EUCOM to AGWAR, 18 September 1947.

80. “Political Tendencies within Russian Emigration,” 15 July 1948. See also Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter*, 152.

81. Stepien, *Der alteingesessene Fremde*, 108.

82. On DP efforts to use anticommunism as a credential for immigration, see Laura Hilton, “How Anti-Communist Are You? An Examination of the Treatment of Polish and Latvian DPs in the U.S. Occupation Zone of Germany,” paper presented at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies Conference, Washington, DC, 16–19 November 2006.

83. Similarly, it did not win them unqualified access to U.S. territory. While eastern European refugees provided the United States with valuable anticommunist ideological capital, they were less desirable as actual immigrants. As Susan Carruthers notes, they were suspect not only because they came from communist countries, “but also because they were *Russians*—or members of other ethnic groups subject to malign construction.” The passage of the Displaced Persons Act was fraught with difficulties. Many U.S. cold-warriors preferred to make use of displaced persons selectively and at arm’s length—to accept only those most directly useful to the propaganda war and to build, in Europe itself, a corps of “freedom volunteers” ready to roll back communism when war again broke out. See Su-

san L. Carruthers, *Cold War Captives: Imprisonment, Escape, and Brainwashing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 68. Emphasis in original.

84. Memorandum from Edward H. Litchfield to Political Activities Branch, CAD, 22 December 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 1, 000.1 Political Activities.

85. H. Simons, "OMGUS Policy Regarding Communism," 28 October 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 72, Communism 1947. On the issue of recruiting the right kind of anticommunists, see also Grose, *Operation Rollback*, 135–43.

86. Memorandum from USPOLAD to American Consulate General, Munich, 24 June 1949, RG 84, Classified General Records of the Munich Consulate, Box 9, 350.21 Communism-Bolshevism 1949.

87. John J. McCloy to George N. Shuster, 24 January 1951, NACP, RG 466, OLCB, Central Files, Box 10, 350-G T Political Affairs, General Jan–May 1951.

88. Sam E. Woods, "Dispatch No. 555, Communist and Anti-Communist Propaganda," 8 June 1951, NACP, RG 84, Classified General Records of the Munich Consulate, Box 11, 350.21 Communism (Propaganda) 1953.

89. Cited in Ahonen, *After the Expulsion*, 40.

90. On anticommunism in West Germany, see Eric D. Weitz, "The Ever-Present Other: Communism in the Making of West Germany," in *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968*, ed. Hanna Schissler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Patrick Major, *The Death of the KPD: Communism and Anti-Communism in West Germany, 1945–1956* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

91. The reports can be found in BAK, Z 35, Band 168.

92. Buchardt was involved in the creation of the Russian Liberation Army and was implicated in anti-Jewish atrocities. On his wartime activities, see Matthias Schröder, *Deutschbaltische SS-Führer und Andrej Vlasov 1942–1945*. "Rußland kann nur von Russen besiegt werden": Erhard Kroeger, Friedrich Buchardt und die "Russische Befreiungsarmee" (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2003).

93. Aktenvermerk of 13 January 1949, BAK, Z 35, Band 168.

94. "Bemerkungen zum Schreiben, Abs. 2.), Dr. Forster vom 6. Mai 1950," 17 May 1950, BAK, Z 35, Band 167.

95. 5.000.000.000 (Frankfurt am Main: KPD-Hauptvorstand, June 1949), n.p.

96. Newspaper reports on these demonstrations are reproduced in *Wir klagen an!* (n.p.: Pressedienst des Antibolschewistischen Blocks der Nationen, [1949]), 45–50. See also report on DP press for 1–30 April 1949, BAK, Z 35, Band 168.

97. Six other defendants, religious and laypeople associated with the Catholic Church and monarchist circles, received lesser sentences.

98. "Acheson Condemns Mindszenty Trial; U.S. Studies Action," *New York Times*, 10 February 1949; "Truman Denounces Mindszenty's Trial as 'Infamous' Case," *New York Times*, 11 February 1949.

99. Sam E. Woods to Secretary of State, 13 April 1949, NACP, RG 84, Classified General Records of the Munich Consulate, Box 8, 350 Political Affairs General 1949. American authorities in Berchtesgaden received similar assurances from

Ukrainian DPs there, suggesting that the presentation of the demonstrations as a religious event was part of a coordinated effort to evade Military Government regulations. See memorandum from Gerald F. McMahon to Director, OMGB, 9 April 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 23, 71A Anti-Russian Propaganda & Activities.

100. Woods to Secretary of State, 13 April 1949; memorandum from Pierre M. Purves to Director, Intelligence Division, 11 April 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Activities Branch, Box 118, Correspondence Political Affairs. The text of a leaflet that fits this description is reproduced in *Wir klangen an!* 4.

101. Woods to Secretary of State, 13 April 1949; memorandum from Purves to Director, Intelligence Division, 11 April 1949.

102. Memorandum from Murray D. Van Wagoner to Major General Hays, 11 April 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, AG File 1949, AG 383.7, Box 592; memorandum from Donald T. Shea re: “Ukrainian DP Meeting and Demonstration in Munich,” 11 April 1949, NACP, RG 84, Classified General Records of the Munich Consulate, Box 9, 350.21 Communism—Bolshevism 1949; memorandum from James M. Eagan to Intelligence Division, 11 April 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Director’s Intelligence Records, Box 9, 7 DP’s, Refugees (General).

103. Memorandum from Eagan to Intelligence Division, 11 April 1949.

104. Memorandum from Shea, 11 April 1949.

105. According to a German report, Muslim and Jewish services were also supposed to take place. Memorandum from Chief of Schutzmannschaft to Public Safety Office, 8 April 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Director’s Intelligence Records, Box 9, 7 DP’s, Refugees (General).

106. *Wir klangen an!* 8.

107. Memorandum from Everett V. Cunningham to Mr. Shea, 14 April 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Director’s Intelligence Records, Box 9, 7 DP’s, Refugees (General). I have not been able to verify this.

108. *Wir klangen an!* 11. The relationship between religious and national persecution was addressed more explicitly in a protest resolution drafted by Ukrainian DPs in Berchtesgaden. “We assure you,” the resolution stated, “that destroying the Churches and religion in all conquered countries, Moscov [*sic*] intends to weaken the moral powers of those nations in order to make them an obedient instrument for its imperialist plans.” Resolution of Ukrainian committee, Camp “Orlyk” [3 April 1949], NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 23, 71A Anti-Russian Propaganda & Activities.

109. *Wir klangen an!* 5–7.

110. Memorandum from Kenneth E. Van Buskirk to Kennedy, Land Director, 11 April 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, Records of the Field Operations Division, Headquarters Records-General, Box 316, Displaced Persons—Refugees; memorandum from Cunningham to Shea, 14 April 1949.

111. On the use of camps as a point of comparison between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, see also Carruthers, *Cold War Captives*, 98–100, 113–15, 123–28.

112. *The Death Mills (Die Todesmühlen)* was the name of a 1945 documentary film about the Nazi concentration camps. Produced by the U.S. Military Government for Germany, it was part of the American reeducation campaign.

113. “Tränengas gegen Demonstranten,” *Abendzeitung*, 11 April 1949.

114. Unbeknownst to the demonstrators, Soviet officials no longer occupied the building.

115. “Militär sprengt Protestmarsch in München,” *Münchener Merkur*, 11 April 1949; “Tränengas gegen Demonstranten,” “Wer hat die MP gerufen?” “Augenzeugen-Bericht über die Münchener Demonstrationen,” “Das amtliche Communiqué,” “Was die Kommunisten sagen,” and “Die gestrigen Zusammenstöße,” *Abendzeitung*, 11 April 1949; “Dementi der Militärregierung: Kommunistische Unwahrheit,” *Abendzeitung*, 12 April 1949; “Panzer und Tränengas gegen DP-Demonstranten,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 12 April 1949; “Mit Tränen in den Augen,” *Spiegel*, 15 April 1949. See also memorandum from OMGB, Information Services Division, Press Branch re: “Newspaper Reports on the Ukrainian Demonstration,” n.d.

116. “2,500 Ukrainian DP’s March on Soviet Mission in Munich,” *New York Times*, 11 April 1949. A sampling of other U.S. and European newspaper reports can be found in *Wir klagen an!* 43–45.

117. On later ABN events, see *Zbirka*.

118. Memorandum from Albert C. Schweizer to Director, Political Affairs Division, HICOG, 4 October 1949, NACP, RG 466, OLCB, Central Files, Box 9, 350-G T Political Affairs General 49-Dec 49.

119. Woods to Secretary of State, 13 April 1949.

CHAPTER 5

1. Jacobmeyer, “Jüdische Überlebende,” 423. Here Jacobmeyer seems to be echoing Pinson, “Jewish Life in Liberated Germany,” 117.

2. Zeev Mankowitz, “Zionism and *She’erit Hapletah*,” in *She’erit Hapletah, 1944–1948*, 211.

3. Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust*, 247. See also Bauer, “The Initial Organization,” 144.

4. Yosef Grodzinsky, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust: The Struggle between Jews and Zionists in the Aftermath of World War II* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2004).

5. Yoav Gelber, “The Meeting between the Jewish Soldiers from Palestine Serving in the British Army and *She’erit Hapletah*,” in *She’erit Hapletah, 1944–1948*; Y. Michal Bodemann, *Gedächtnistheater. Die jüdische Gemeinschaft und ihre deutsche Erfindung* (Hamburg: Rotbuch 1996), 27–28.

6. Cohen, “The Politics of Recognition,” 127.

7. Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 30–31.

8. On Kaufering, see Edith Raim, “‘Unternehmen Ringeltaube.’ Dachaus Außenlagerkomplex Kaufering,” *Dachauer Hefte* 5 (1989); Raim, *Die Dachauer KZ-Außenkommandos Kaufering und Mühldorf. Rüstungsbauten und Zwangsarbeit im letzten Kriegsjahr 1944/45* (Landsberg am Lech: Martin Neumeyer, 1992).

9. Mankowitz, “The Formation of *She’erit Hapleita*: November 1944–July 1945,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 20 (1990): 346; Dov Levin, *Fighting Back: Lithuanian Jewry’s Armed Resistance to the Nazis, 1941–1945*, trans. Moshe Kohn and Dina Cohen (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985), 116–25, 127–30, 269 fn 27; Yehuda Bauer, *Flight and Rescue: Brichah* (New York: Random House, 1970), 60.

10. Cited in Mankowitz, "The Formation," 348.
11. Cited in Mankowitz, "The Formation," 351.
12. As Yehuda Bauer notes, the goal of Zionist unity was articulated independently by survivors elsewhere and "was characteristic of the atmosphere then prevailing among the survivors generally." See Bauer, *Flight and Rescue*, 61; Anita Shapira, "The Yishuv's Encounter with the Survivors of the Holocaust," in *She'erit Hapletah, 1944–1948*; Gelber, "The Meeting between the Jewish Soldiers," 76–77.
13. Levin, *Fighting Back*, 25.
14. Jewish Information Office to IPC, 10 May 1945, BISO, Zespól Dachau A700,teczka 15. Original as is.
15. Lists of the dead were later published in the United States. See Joel Zak and Josef Lindenberger, *Memorial Dates Yorzeit of the Martyred Jews of Dachau*, vol. 1, *Jews Born in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and White Russia* (New York: Jewish Labor Committee, 1947); Joel Zak, Jacob Silberstein, and Josef Lindenberger, *Memorial Dates Yorzeit of the Martyred Jews of Dachau*, vol. 2, *Jews Born in Poland* (New York: Jewish Labor Committee, 1947).
16. Sack, *Dawn after Dachau*, 47.
17. *Ibid.*, 121.
18. Dina Porat, "The Role of European Jewry in the Plans of the Zionist Movement during World War II and in its Aftermath," in *She'erit Hapletah, 1944–1948*, 296.
19. Sack, *Dawn after Dachau*, 46.
20. Musioł, *Dachau*, 109.
21. Jewish Information Office to IPC, 21 May 1945, BISO, Zespól Dachau A700,teczka 15.
22. Mankowitz, "The Formation," 354–55; Sack, *Dawn after Dachau*, 56.
23. Sack, *Dawn after Dachau*, 48.
24. *Ibid.*, 49.
25. "Bericht über die 15. Sitzung des I.P.C., die am 17.5.45 um 17 Uhr stattfand," n.d., BISO, Zespól Dachau A700, folder 11. On a similar conflict in Buchenwald, see Mankowitz, "The Formation," 339. Leonard Dinnerstein claims that Dachau "lacked Jewish representatives on the newly formed internal camp committee because the authorities did not recognize religious divisions" (*America and the Survivors*, 33). I have not found any evidence to support this claim.
26. Lager-Älteste to national committees and block elders, 11 May 1945; Lager-Älteste to block leaders and block secretaries, 14 May 1945, BISO, Zespól Dachau A700, Tecka nr 17.
27. "Communique No. 31," 5 June 1945, in AKZD, file on IPC.
28. Files on Dachau-Allach can be found in AKZD, 16.063 and 16.059/2.
29. Mankowitz, "The Formation," 353.
30. Eichhorn, "Dachau," 68.
31. "Bericht über die 5. Sitzung des I.P.C. vom 5. Mai 1945 um 17.00 Uhr," n.d., BISO, Zespól Dachau A700, Tecka nr 11; Eichhorn, "Dachau," 69–70.
32. Bauer, *Flight and Rescue*, 61.
33. Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 30–31, Wetzel, *Jüdisches*

Leben, 146–48; Bauer, “The Initial Organization,” 144; Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 33.

34. Protocol of Feldafing meeting of 1 July 1945, YIVO, 294.1, folder 135.

35. Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 30–31; Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 50.

36. Wetzel, *Jüdisches Leben*, 151–52; Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 32; Bauer, “The Initial Organization,” 155.

37. Pinson, “Jewish Life in Liberated Germany,” 126.

38. Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 32.

39. Puczyk, “Notwendigkeit und Herkunft.”

40. Jacob Oleiski, interview by David Boder, 20 August 1946, http://voices.iit.edu/interview?doc=oleiskiJ&display=oleiskiJ_en (accessed 13 February 2011). Created in Russia in 1880, the ORT movement promoted vocational and agricultural training for Jews.

41. Max Sprecher, interview by David Boder, 12 September 1946, http://voices.iit.edu/interview?doc=sprecherM&display=sprecherM_en (accessed 13 February 2011).

42. On this issue, see the protocols of the CK’s meetings in YIVO, 294.1, folder 135.

43. “Speech given by Z. Grinberg, M.D., Head Doctor of the Hospital for Political Ex-prisoners in Germany at the Liberation Concert in St. Ottilian on May 27, 1945,” YIVO, 294.2, folder 64.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 2–3.

46. Dalia Ofer, “From Survivors to New Immigrants: She’erit Hapletah and Aliyah,” in *She’erit Hapletah, 1944–1948*, 304–10; Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 1.

47. Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 286.

48. “Speech given by Z. Grinberg.”

49. On historical commissions, see Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 214–25.

50. Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 287–88; Gerd Korman, “The Holocaust in American Historical Writing,” *Societas* 2, no. 3 (Summer 1972).

51. Dalia Ofer, “Linguistic Conceptualization of the Holocaust in Palestine and Israel, 1942–1953,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, no. 3 (July 1996): 568.

52. Oleiski, “The Great Disappointment,” 24 August 1945, YIVO, 294.2, folder 1553.

53. “Referat fun Dr. Grinberg zu der trojer-akademije fun Warschawer Getto, gehaltn dem 18 April 1946 in Prinz-Regentn Theater München,” YIVO, 294.1, folder 129.

54. Oleiski, “The Great Disappointment.”

55. Gringauz, “Jewish Destiny,” 503–4.

56. Speech of Leon Retter, [December 1946], YIVO, 294.2, folder 33.

57. Gringauz, untitled essay, [February 1947], YIVO, 294.1, folder 131.

58. *Ibid.*

59. “Kurcer baricht iber di tejtigkajt fun Cnetral [*sic*] Komitet fun di befracjte Jidn in der amerikaner zone in Dajczland,” [November 1946], YIVO, 294.1, folder 480.

60. Oleiski, “The Great Disappointment.”

61. Gringauz, “Allied Victory.” Errors were in original.

62. Cited in Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 177.

63. Gringauz, untitled essay.

64. Gringauz, “Jewish Destiny,” 504.

65. Gringauz, “Jewish Destiny,” 506; Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 177.

66. On Jewish conceptions of martyrdom, especially after the Holocaust, see Stanley Brodwin, “History and Martyrological Tragedy: The Jewish Experience in Sholem Asch and Andre Schwarz-Bart,” *Twentieth Century Literature* 40, no. 1 (Spring 1994); Emil L. Fackenheim, “On the Life, Death, and Transfiguration of Martyrdom: The Jewish Testimony to the Divine Image in Our Time,” in Fackenheim, *The Jewish Return into History: Reflections in the Age of Auschwitz and a New Jerusalem* (New York: Schocken, 1978); Shaul Esh, “The Dignity of the Destroyed: Towards a Definition of the Period of the Holocaust,” in *The Catastrophe of European Jewry: Antecedents, History, Reflections: Selected Papers*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Livia Rothkirchen (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976).

67. Shalom Cholawski, “Partisan and Ghetto Fighters—An Active Element among She’erit Hapletah,” in *She’erit Hapletah, 1944–1948*, 249; Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 209–13, 293.

68. “Referat fun Dr. Grinberg.”

69. Speech of David Treger, in “2-ter Kongres fun der sheyres-hapleyte in der amerikaner zone fun dayschland, bad-reykhnhil, februar 1947,” 10. A copy can be found in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives (USHMM), RG-68.066M, G1/6B1.

70. Protocol of St. Ottilien conference of 25 July 1945.

71. Speech of David Treger, 8.

72. Gringauz, “Jewish Destiny,” 502.

73. Oleiski, “The Great Disappointment.”

74. Puczyk, “Notwendigkeit und Herkunft.”

75. Protocol of CK meeting of 23 December 1945, YIVO, 294.1, folder 135.

76. Protocol of St. Ottilien conference of 25 July 1945; A. Retter, “Baricht fun general-skeretariat.” See also Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 45.

77. Transcript of speech given by Jakob Oleiski at the World Conference of the ORT, 18 August 1946, http://voices.iit.edu/interview?doc=oleiskiJ&display=oleiskiJ_en (accessed 13 February 2011).

78. Memorandum from E. Wouthuysen to Honeybal, 3 April 1947.

79. Protocol of Jewish Students Union meeting of 28 Nov. 1948, YIVO 294.2, folder 1195.

80. Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 208–17, 227–30; Margarete Myers Feinstein, “Domestic Life in Transit: Jewish DPs,” paper presented at the workshop “Birth of a Refugee Nation: Displaced Persons in Postwar Europe 1945–1951,” New York University, 20–21 April 2001.

81. Cited in Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians, and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), 341.
82. Smuel Slomovits, "Frage: Was sejn di ojfgabn fun Central Comoitet in lojfindn kadencjoehr? Was darf er adurchfirn?" n.d., YIVO, 294.2, folder 38.
83. Gringauz, untitled essay.
84. Jewish committees to Chairman, United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, 22 July 1947, AN, AJ 43, 570/31/5.
85. Gringauz, "Allied Victory."
86. Verstandig, *I Rest My Case*, 240.
87. Protocol of Feldafing meeting of 1 July 1945.
88. Ibid. On Rosental's remarks, see also Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 47; Bauer, "The Initial Organization," 149.
89. Protocol of Feldafing meeting of 1 July 1945.
90. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany," 116. On Bundists and Communists in Feldafing, see also "General Impressions of Jewish D.P. Centers in Germany," 2 February 1946, UNA, UNRRA, S-0425-0062-02.
91. "List of Jewish parties and organizations," n.d., YIVO 294.1, folder 123.
92. "List of the members of the Central Committee and their functions," 26 August 1947, YIVO, 294.1, folder 123; report of CK personnel department, 26 December 1946, YIVO, 294.1, folder 480.
93. M. Bukantz, "Declaration in Name of the New Zionist Organization," [February 1946], YIVO, 294.1, folder 129.
94. B. Sapir, "Third Congress of the Liberated Jews in the American Zone of Germany, March 30–April 2, 1948," YIVO 294.1, folder 133.
95. Speech of Leon Retter, [December 1946].
96. Protocol of St. Ottilien conference of 25 July 1945.
97. Postwar commentators were strongly cognizant of this fact—indeed, they often used the terms *Jewish DPs* and *Polish Jews* interchangeably. The turn to more generic descriptors has been accompanied by a loss of specificity in argumentation, which simultaneously inflates the claims being made.
98. Report of Earl G. Harrison, 24 August 1945; Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 293; Bauer, "The Initial Organization," 133–34.
99. On interwar Jewish politics in all three countries, see Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe*.
100. Michael Brenner, *Geschichte des Zionismus* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2002), 97–98.
101. Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe*, 215. See also Mendelsohn, *Zionism in Poland: The Formative Years, 1915–1926* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).
102. On this issue, see the interesting quotation in Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe*, 67. On language use more generally, see Chone Shmeruk, "Hebrew-Yiddish-Polish: A Trilingual Jewish Culture," in Gutman et al., *The Jews of Poland between Two World Wars* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989).
103. Ezra Mendelsohn, introduction to Gutman et al., *The Jews of Poland between Two World Wars* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989), 5.

104. Michael MacQueen, "Lithuanian Collaboration in the 'Final Solution': Motivations and Case Studies," in *Lithuania and the Jews: The Holocaust Chapter, Symposium Presentations* (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), 1.
105. Borwicz, "Polish-Jewish Relations," 190.
106. Aleksion, "Jewish Responses," 248.
107. Gross, *Fear*, 94–99.
108. Shimon Redlich, "Between History and Biography: Memories from Post-war Lodz," in *Fenomen getta łódzkiego*, ed. Paweł Samuś and Wiesław Puś (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2006); Redlich, "Jews and Jewish Life in Post-War Lodz," paper presented at the conference "Beyond Camps and Forced Labour: Current International Research on Survivors of Nazi Persecution—60 Years On," London, 11–13 January 2006.
109. Redlich, "Between History and Biography," 422.
110. Hurwic-Nowakowska, *A Social Analysis*, 47.
111. Aleksion, *Dokąd dalej?* 267–69.
112. Bauer, *Flight and Rescue*, 211–12.
113. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, 341.
114. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany," 115.
115. "Report of the Repatriation Poll."
116. Ibid.
117. "Analysis of Poll Questionnaires at Funk Caserne." Emphasis in original.
118. "Report of the Repatriation Poll."
119. Ibid.
120. Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 119.
121. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany," 116–17.
122. "Report of the Repatriation Poll."
123. "Analysis of Poll Questionnaires at Funk Caserne."
124. Ibid.
125. "Report of the Repatriation Poll."
126. "District Director's Monthly Report for July 1946," 31 July 1946, UNA, UNRRA, S-0424.
127. Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 120.
128. Speech of Leon Retter, [December 1946].
129. Engel, "Palestine in the Mind of the Remnants of Polish Jewry," 234.
130. Ibid.
131. Aleksion, *Dokąd dalej?* 270.
132. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany," 117.
133. Hurwic-Nowakowska, *A Social Analysis*, 55.

CHAPTER 6

1. Stern, *Whitewashing*.
2. Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 386.
3. Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany*, 289.

4. On relations between Jewish DPs and German Jews, see also Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 41–51; Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany*, 17–89; Kolinsky, *After the Holocaust*, 168–82; Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews*, chap. 1.

5. “Satzungen des Verbandes der befreiten Juden in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone in Deutschland,” n.d., YIVO, 294.2, folder 58.

6. Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 45–47. See also Kolinsky, *After the Holocaust*, 168–69.

7. Fritz Jacoby to Joint Distribution Committee, 1 October 1947, YIVO, 294.1, folder 121.

8. Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews*, 52.

9. Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 41–51.

10. Speech of Leon Retter, in “2nd Congress of the ‘Sheirit-Hapleita’ in the American Zone of Germany, Bad Reichenhall, February 1947,” 9. A copy can be found in USHMM, RG-68.066M, G1/6B1.9. On the similar goals of the Central Committee in the British zone, see Lavsky, *New Beginnings*, 110–23.

11. A similar attitude prevailed toward other independent groups. For example, the CK objected to the existence of the Federation of Hungarian Jews, which, like the German Jewish communities, stood on the margins of Polish- and Lithuanian-dominated communal life. It considered the federation’s efforts to distribute food and plan emigration evidence of “criminal activity.” See Piekacz to Auerbach, 26 May 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, General Records PW & DP Branch, Box 19, Public Welfare: (d3) Refugees, Expellees, D.P.s.

12. “Laws of the Association of the Liberated Jews in the US Occupied Zone in Germany,” [January 1946], YIVO, 294.1, folder 124; protocol of meeting with Auerbach of 29 December 1946, YIVO, 294.1, folder 143; memorandum from K. A. Oravetz to DP Branch, 20 July 1946, YIVO, 294.1, folder 124.

13. Israelitische Kultusgemeinden of Munich, Nuremberg, Fürth, and Würzburg, Oberrat der Israeliten Badens, and Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland to Central Committee, 26 January 1946, YIVO, 294.1, folder 112. See also Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 64.

14. Protocol of CK plenum meeting of 9 March 1947, YIVO, 294.1, folder 138.

15. Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 41–51; Goschler, “The Attitude towards Jews,” 446–47.

16. Gringauz, untitled essay. See also Joseph J. Schwartz to Moses A. Leavitt, 9 November 1946, YIVO, 294.1, Folder 128.

17. Puczyk, “Notwendigkeit und Herkunft.”

18. “Protokol Nr. 4. fun der Plenum-zicung funn CK, dem 21.4.48,” YIVO, 291.1, folder 140.

19. Speech of David Treger, 6.

20. Grossmann, “Victims, Villains, and Survivors,” 310.

21. Ezra Mendelsohn, *On Modern Jewish Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 22.

22. Grossmann, “Victims, Villains, and Survivors,” 310. See also Kolinsky, *After the Holocaust*, 175–76.

23. CK activity report for April 1947, n.d., YIVO, 294.1, folder 480.

24. Memorandum from Ulrich C. Urton, 6 April 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 9, DP Incidents.

25. Goschler, "The Attitude towards Jews in Bavaria," 451.
26. On the recognition of the Central Committee, see also Königseder and Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal*, 89–92.
27. Protocol of Feldafing meeting of 1 July 1945.
28. Protocol of executive committee meeting of 5 July 1945; protocol of council meeting of 8 August 1945, YIVO, 294.1, folder 135.
29. Puczyz, "Notwendigkeit und Herkunft."
30. Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 27.
31. *Ibid.*, 149–50.
32. Central Committee to Münchener Verkehrsbüro Wilhelm Höfling, 10 August 1945, YIVO, 294.2, folder 64.
33. Memorandum from Boris Pliskin, Leon Retter, and Samuel Schlomowitz, 28 January 1947, YIVO, 294.1, folder 128.
34. "Satzung des Verbandes der überlebenden Juden in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone," [July 1945?], YIVO, 294.1, folder 135; "Satzungen des Verbandes der befreiten Juden in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone in Deutschland," n.d., YIVO, 294.2, folder 58; "Satzung des Verbandes der befreiten Juden in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone in Deutschland," [January 1946], YIVO, 294.1, folder 12; "Laws of the Association of the Liberated Jews in the US Occupied Zone in Germany," [January 1946], YIVO, 294.1, folder 124; Robert W. Beghtol to Burnham, 14 May 1946, NACP, RG 84, General Records of the Munich Consulate, Box 6, 800 General 1946.
35. Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 126.
36. Memorandum from Oravetz to Sage, 20 July 1946; C. R. Huebner to Central Committee of Liberated Jews, 5 September 1946, YIVO, 294.1, folder 124.
37. Huebner to Central Committee, 5 September 1946.
38. S. R. Mickelsen to Chief of Staff, 12 July 1946, YIVO, 294.1, folder 124; memorandum from Oravetz to Sage, 20 July 1946.
39. Sumner Sewall to PW&DP Division, 9 August 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS AG File 1945–46, Box 25, AG 080.
40. Memorandum from Oravetz to Sage, 20 July 1946.
41. Sewall to PW&DP Division, 9 August 1946.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Memorandum from Edwin L. Clarke, n.d., YIVO, 294.1, folder 124.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 149.
46. Josef T. McNarney to Central Committee of Liberated Jews, 7 September 1946, YIVO, 294.2, folder 29.
47. G. H. Garde to Commanding General, U.S. Forces, European Theater, 26 August 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 165, 383.7 Jewish Affairs.
48. Mickelsen to Chief of Staff, 12 July 1946.
49. Protocol of council meeting of 30 July [1946], YIVO, 294.2, folder 29. See also Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 151–54.
50. Central Committee to Office of the Chief of Staff, USFET, 30 July 1946; Central Committee of Liberated Jews to Joseph T. McNarney, 6 September 1946, YIVO, 294.1, folder 124.

51. Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 170. See also A. Blumowitsch, “Baricht fun der tetikajt fun Central komitet farn kadenc-jor 1946,” YIVO, 294.2, folder 3.

52. A. Retter, “Baricht fun general-skeretariat.” See also Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 149–50.

53. Speech of David Treger, 2.

54. Schwarz, *Refugees in Germany Today*, 139 fn 20.

55. Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 156.

56. Retter, “Baricht fun general-skeretariat.”

57. On this issue, see also Mankowitz, *Life between Memory and Hope*, 265–67.

58. Conference on “*The Future of Jews in Germany*” (Heidelberg: Office of Adviser on Jewish Affairs, [1949]), 27. See also “Feuerprobe der Demokratie,” *Neue Zeitung*, 1 August 1949.

59. “Judenfrage als Prüfstein,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 2 August 1949. On postwar philosemitism, see Stern, *Whitewashing*.

60. “Brief an die SZ,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9 August 1949.

61. “Munich Police Battle a Rally of 1,000 Jews,” *New York Herald Tribune*, 11 August 1949.

62. The following synopsis of events is compiled from numerous reports, most of which can be found in NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 24, Jewish Demonstration (Möhlstrasse etc.); NACP, RG 84, Classified General Records of Munich Consulate, Box 8, 350 Political Affairs General 1949; YIVO, 294.1, folder 459. For an analysis of the demonstration and the events leading up to it from the perspective of media analysis, see Werner Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten. Kollektives Lernen in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik 1949–1989* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1997), 71–86.

63. Memorandum from Harry Greenstein to American Jewish Committee, American Joint Distribution Committee, Jewish Agency for Palestine, and World Jewish Congress, 15 August 1949, YIVO, 294.1, folder 459.

64. Cited in “Jüdische Demonstration gegen die SZ,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 11 August 1949.

65. Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 303. See also memorandum from Greenstein to American Jewish Committee, 15 August 1949.

66. Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten*, 76 fn 27.

67. Memorandum from Levan Roberts to Field Operations Division, 10 August 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, LD, Box 169, Reports 319.1.

68. Theodore D. Feder, “Report on Möhlstrasse Incident, August 19, 1949,” n.d., YIVO, 294.1, folder 459.

69. Abrascha Arluk interview in Roman Haller, . . . *und bleiben wollte keiner. Jüdische Lebensgeschichten im Nachkriegsbayern* (Munich: Dölling und Galitz, 2004), 123.

70. Feder, “Report on Möhlstrasse Incident.”

71. “The Status of Munich’s Moehlstrasse,” [*Information Control Intelligence Summary?*], 11.

72. Thomas Wimmer to James H. Kelly, 8 June 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, LD, Box 161, Morals and Conduct Jan–Sep 1949 250.1. See also Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews*, 71–72.

73. Memorandum from Pitzer to Public Safety Office, 11 March 1948; memorandum from Herrmann to Public Safety Office, 15 March 1948; memorandum from Herrmann to Public Safety Office, 23 March 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1948, AG 383.7, Box 471; memorandum from William R. Rohan to Director, CAD, 7 April 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1948, AG 383.7, Box 470.

74. Thomas Wimmer to James H. Kelly, 8 June 1949; memorandum from Municipal Trade Office to v. Miller, 11 June 1949; memorandum from Work and Fiscal Department, 17 June 1949; Thomas Wimmer to James H. Kelly, 20 June 1949; Thomas Wimmer to James H. Kelly, 28 June 1949; James H. Kelly to OMGB, FOD, 5 July 1949; Murray D. Van Wagoner to Clarence R. Huebner, 11 July 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, LD, Box 161, Morals and Conduct Jan–Sep 1949 250.1.

75. James H. Kelly to OMGB, FOD, 5 July 1949; Murray D. Van Wagoner to Clarence R. Huebner, 11 July 1949; “Aktion in der Möhlstraße,” *Neue Zeitung*, 2 July 1949; “Groß-Razzia gegen die Möhlstraße,” *Münchner Merkur*, 4 July 1949.

76. Memorandum from James A. Clark to Mr. Kennedy, [July 1949], NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 24, Jewish Demonstration (Möhlstrasse etc.).

77. Memorandum from Criminal Investigation Department to Police Vice President, 2 September 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 24, Jewish Demonstration (Möhlstrasse etc.).

78. Wetzel, *Jüdisches Leben*, 339–40.

79. Sam E. Woods to Secretary of State, 15 August 1949, NACP, RG 84, Classified General Records of Munich Consulate, Box 8, 350 Political Affairs General 1949.

80. Memorandum from Clark to Kennedy, [July 1949].

81. Arluk interview, 123.

82. Goschler, “The Attitude towards Jews in Bavaria,” 444.

83. *Ibid.*, 451; Wetzel, *Jüdisches Leben*, 347.

84. Central Committee of Liberated Jews, untitled statement, 11 August 1949, YIVO, 294.1, folder 459.

85. “Summary of D.P. Camp Population by Citizenship and by Mil. Posts and Areas,” 22 June 1949.

86. Wetzel, “‘Mir szeinen doh,’” 362.

87. Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 282–83.

88. Cited in Geller, *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany*, 73. See also *Conference on “The Future of Jews in Germany,”* 36.

89. *Conference on “The Future of Jews in Germany,”* 17. See also Brenner, *After the Holocaust*, 48.

90. *Conference on “The Future of Jews in Germany,”* 19.

91. “Jüdische Demonstration gegen die SZ,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 11 August 1949; “Schwere Tumulte in München,” *Neue Zeitung*, 11 August 1949; “Der Tumult in der Möhlstraße,” *Münchner Merkur*, 12 August 1949; “Jews and Police Clash in Munich,” *New York Times*, 11 August 1949; “Munich Police Battle a Rally of 1,000 Jews,” *New York Herald Tribune*, 11 August 1949; “DPs, Police Injured in Munich Clash,” *Stars and Stripes*, 12 August 1949; “Foreign News” column, *Time*, 22 August 1949.

92. Central Committee of Liberated Jews, untitled statement, 11 August 1949.
93. Memorandum from LJG to Land Director, 30 August 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 24, Jewish Demonstration (Möhlstrasse etc.).
94. Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten*, 81 fn 39.
95. Central Committee of Liberated Jews, untitled statement, 11 August 1949.
96. Bergmann, *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten*, 80, 85. See also Wolfgang Kraushaar, “Das Kesseltreiben,” *Die Zeit* 34 (1992).
97. Feder, “Report on Möhlstrasse Incident.”
98. Memorandum from LJG to Land Director, 30 August 1949.
99. Woods to Secretary of State, 15 August 1949. “The most unfortunate result,” Woods added, “may well be that newspaper reports emanating from Munich will describe the affair in such a manner as to make it appear to have been an unwarranted attack against defenseless Jews which, as described above, is not the case.”
100. Stern, *Whitewashing*, 339.
101. Stern, “The Historic Triangle,” 69.
102. Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews*, 70–71, 80–81, 93.
103. Kolinsky, *After the Holocaust*, 180–82.
104. *Ibid.*, 185–86.

CHAPTER 7

1. Eugen Kogon, *Der SS-Staat. Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* (Munich: Kindler, 1974), 48.
2. On the political category, see Sofsky, *The Order of Terror*, chap. 10.
3. Report of 20th I.P.C. meeting, 6 June 1945, BISO Zespół Dachau A700, teczka 11.
4. Łuczak, *Polacy w okupowanych Niemczech*, 105. This number only accounts for those who belonged to organizations of Polish politicals.
5. Polish Information Office to UNRRA Director, 7 February 1946; Polish Information Office to UNRRA Headquarters, 20 February 1946, UNA, UNRRA, 3.0.11.3.3, Box 19, Polish Information Office.
6. Kirchmann, ““They Are Coming for Freedom,”” 163–64, 190 fn 157.
7. Polish Information Office to UNRRA Headquarters, 20 February 1946, UNA, UNRRA, 3.0.11.3.3, Box 19, Polish Information Office.
8. Memorandum from Paul E. Moeller to Acting Director, Intelligence Division, 20 April 1948, NACP, OMGB ID, Box 163, c. DPs—Polish.
9. “Do henezy i rostu Lihy U.P.V.,” *Litopys Ukraïns’koho Polity’iaznia* 1, no. 1 (April 1946): 39–40.
10. “Statut Lihy Ukraïns’kykh Politychnykh V’iazniv,” [August 1947], UVU, Fond LUPV.
11. Mirchuk, *U nimets’kykh mlynakh*, 223–36; Marunchak, *Ukraïns’ki politychni v’iazni*, 261.
12. U.S. Civil Censorship Submission A-47-16218, 14 July 1947; memorandum from Donald R. Duffy to the Officer in Charge, 4 August 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, LD, Box 171, Political Parties (Misc.).

13. Volodymyr Maruniak, *Ukraïns'ka emigratsiia v Nimechchyni i Avstrii po Druhii svitovii viini*, vol. 2: *Roky 1952–1975* (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo imeni Oleny Telihy, 1998), 86.

14. “Do henezy i rostu Lihy U.P.V.”

15. “Chlenstvo Lihy UPV i ioho partiini perekonannia,” *Politv'iazhen'* 2 (April 1946): 3. See also “Prohram zapysiv martyrolohiv,” *Politv'iazhen'* 2 (April 1946).

16. Yurkevich, “Ukrainian Nationalists and DP Politics,” 136.

17. “Stanovyshche chlenstva i upravy Lihy UPV do Tovarystva Ukraïns'kykh Politychnykh V'iazniv (TUPV),” *Politv'iazhen'* 2 (April 1946).

18. Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners to Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration, 8 March 1948, UVU, Fond LUPV.

19. Maruniak, *Ukraïns'ka emigratsiia*, 86.

20. Siedlecki, *Beyond Lost Dreams*, 232.

21. “Persha konferentsiia predstavnykiv politv'iazniv obiednanykh v LUPV,” *Politv'iazhen'* 3 (May 1946). See also “A bil'shoi liubovy nemaie, khto dushu svoiu viddaie za druziv svoikh . . . (Pershyi den' kongresu Lihy UPV),” *Politv'iazhen'* 1 (March 1946): 27.

22. Paladii Osynka, *Al'bum politv'iaznia* (n.p., 1946), 4.

23. On the red triangle as symbol of authenticity, see also Hoffmann, “Auschwitz im visuellen Gedächtnis,” 235.

24. Pettiss, *After the Shooting Stopped*, 109 fn 24.

25. See the fascinating photographs in Musioł, *Dachau*. On a similar situation among French survivors, see Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation*, 215.

26. See Franciszek J. Proch, *Poland's Way of the Cross, 1939–1945* (New York: Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners of Nazi and Soviet Concentration Camps, 1987), 63–64.

27. On art about the concentration camps, which also frequently comes under the heading of Holocaust art, see Janet Blatter and Sybil Milton, *Art of the Holocaust* (New York: Rutledge, 1981); Ziva Amishai-Maisels, “The Complexities of Witnessing,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 2, no. 1 (1987); Detlef Hoffmann, “Auschwitz im visuellen Gedächtnis. Das Chaos des Verbrechens und die symbolische Ordnung der Bilder,” in *Auschwitz: Geschichte, Rezeption und Wirkung*, ed. Fritz Bauer Institut (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1996).

28. Jerzy Zielezinski, *K.Z. Album* (Munich: Wydawn. “Słowo Polskie,” 1946); George Zielezinski, *24 Drawings from the Concentration Camps in Germany* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1946). Some drawings appear in both albums.

29. Pettiss, *After the Shooting Stopped*, 169.

30. Zielezinski, *K.Z. Album*.

31. I borrow the phrase “martyrological idiom” from Jonathan Huener. On the uses of martyrdom in different postwar European countries, see Huener, *Auschwitz*, 29, 47–58; Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation*, chap. 12; Sarah Farmer, *Martyred Village: Commemorating the 1944 Massacre at Oradour-sur-Glane* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 87–88; Judt, “The Past Is Another Country,” 298–300.

32. Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 69.

33. Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation*, 211–12.
34. On messianism in nineteenth-century Polish nationalism, see Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate*, 27–29.
35. Huener, *Auschwitz*, 47.
36. “Cud wyzwolenia,” in *Głos Polski* 2 (n.d.), AKZD, camp newspaper collection.
37. George S. N. Luckyj, *Young Ukraine: The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Kiev, 1845–1847* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1991); Volodymyr Miiakovsky, “Shevchenko in the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius,” in *Shevchenko and the Critics, 1861–1980*, ed. George S. N. Luckyj (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).
38. “Z nahody stvorennia Naukovo-Doslidnoho Instytutu Ukraïns’koï Marytologii,” *Polityv’iazni* 2 (April 1946).
39. “Statut Lihy Ukraïns’kykh Politychnykh V’iazniv.”
40. Tovarystvo Ukraïns’kykh Politychnykh V’iazniv, *V pam’iat’ poliahlykh ukrans’kykh politychnykh v’iazniv* (n.p., 1947), 10.
41. “A bil’shoi liubovy nemaie,” 13.
42. Tovarystvo Ukraïns’kykh Politychnykh V’iazniv, *V pam’iat’*, 9.
43. Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation*, 269.
44. *Ibid.*, 270–71.
45. V. D. Poremskii, “Pamiati geroev,” in *Strategiia antybol’shevitskoi emigratsii*, 69.
46. A. Neimirok, *Dorogi i vstrechi* (Frankfurt am Main: Posev, 1984).
47. V. D. Poremskii, “Posleslovie,” in Neimirok, *Dorogi i vstrechi*, 128.
48. Protocol of the second congress of the Central Representation.
49. Geoff Eley, “Legacies of Antifascism: Constructing Democracy in Postwar Europe,” *New German Critique* 67 (Winter 1996). On the concentration camps specifically, see Eugen Kogon, “Der politische Untergang des europäischen Widerstandes,” *Frankfurter Hefte* 4, no. 5 (May 1949): 405.
50. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914–1991* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 161.
51. Mazower, *Dark Continent*, 202.
52. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes*, 144.
53. Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 146.
54. Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes*, 273.
55. Dan Diner, “On the Ideology of Antifascism,” *New German Critique* 67 (Winter 1996): 125.
56. “Two Duties and One Principle: Friendship, Brotherhood, and No Politics,” AKZD, 7449.
57. On this issue, see the IPC files in AKZD, A527. These conflicts are also amply documented in Benz, “Zwischen Befreiung und Heimkehr.”
58. George [Jerzy] Szweide, preface to Zielezinski, *K.Z. Album*. Emphasis in original.
59. Oskar Müller to Mayor of Dachau, 30 May 1945, AKZD, file on IPC; Cieslik to KZ-Betreuungsstelle Dachau, n.d., AKZD, Nachlaß (NL) Cieslik.

60. “Geschichte des Internationalen Informations-Büros,” *DP Express*, 22 June 1946; “Krótka historia Międzynarodowego Biura Informacyjnego,” n.d.; AKZD, NL Cieslik.

61. Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes*, 274; Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, 65–66.

62. The IIO installed the first exhibit about the concentration camp. See Marcuse, *Nazi Crimes*, 275–79; Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau*, 170–71. On the commemorations, see the untitled report on memorial ceremonies, n.d., AKZD, NL Cieslik.

63. Sack, *Dawn after Dachau*, 96.

64. Walter Cieslik to KZ-Betreuungsstelle Dachau, [1946], AKZD, NL Cieslik.

65. Ibid.

66. Lörcher to Betreuungstellen in Bayern, 24 May 1946, AKZD, NL Cieslik.

67. KZ-Betreuungsstelle Dachau to Bayerisches Rotes Kreuz, Abteilung für politisch Verfolgte, 2 June 1946, AKZD, NL Cieslik.

68. International Information Office to UNRRA [German version], [7 May 1946]; International Information Office to UNRRA [English version], [7 May 1946], AKZD, NL Cieslik.

69. International Information Office to Hussarek, 20 May 1946; Hussarek to Cieslik, 23 May 1946, AKZD, NL Cieslik.

70. “Die Zusammenarbeit mit der UNRRA,” 20 August 1946; “Finanzielle Lage des Büros,” 20 August 1946, AKZD, NL Cieslik.

71. D. Arruda to District Accountant, 27 August 1946, AKZD, NL Cieslik; “Krótka historia.”

72. [Untitled list of Polish employees], n.d., AKZD, NL Cieslik.

73. Peter Fibich, “Gedenkstätten, Mahnmale und Ehrenfriedhöfe für die Verfolgten des Nationalsozialismus. Ihre landschaftsarchitektonische Gestaltung in Deutschland 1945 bis 1960” (PhD diss., TU Dresden, 1998), 61.

74. Marunchak, *Ukrains'ki politychni v'iazni*, 96, 229–31. The window is reproduced on page 230.

75. The Sich Riflemen were a military unit of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the short-lived independent Ukrainian state created in 1917.

76. On the Belgian window, see Hildegard Viereg, “Die Sühnekapelle ‘Jesus im Kerker,’” in *Begegnungen mit Flossenbürg. Beiträge, Dokumente, Interviews, Zeugnisse Überlebender*, ed. Hildegard Viereg, Willi Eisele, and Theo Emmer (Weiden: Spintler, 1998), 164.

77. Memorandum from Regensburg Detachment, OMGB, Information Control Division, 2 May 1946, NACP RG 260, OMGB ID, Box 104, 4 Concentration Camps.

78. “Politychni v'iazni Dachau sviatkuiut' pershu richnytsiu ikhn'oho zvil'nennia,” *Polityv'iazni* 3 (May 1946): 4.

79. A typical expression of this sentiment was the announcement made by the International Prisoners' Committee of Dachau on the departure of one of its leading members: “He has finished his days in Dachau. Now he reenters in his country to work and to participate in its great effort of reconstruction” (“Communique No. 31,” 5 June 1945, AKZD, file on IPC).

80. Walter Lachmann, speech at meeting of political and racial persecutees, 14 November 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 12, 15 Political Victims.

81. Ibid.
82. Sofsky, *Order of Terror*, 123.
83. Rovin, *Contes de Dachau*, 73.
84. Nico Rost, *Goethe in Dachau. Ein Tagebuch* (Munich: List, 2001). Comments about the Poles can be found on pages 43, 171, 174, 176, 277, 301, and 304.
85. Susanne Kerckhoff, "Ein offener Brief an Nico Rost. Über polenfeindliche Tendenzen in dem Erlebnisbuch *Goethe im Dachau*," in Rost, *Goethe im Dachau*, 332.
86. Ibid., 334.
87. Ibid., 335.
88. Stephan Hermlin, "Ein offener Brief an die falsche Adresse," in Rost, *Goethe im Dachau*, 339. See also Rost, "Für das Verständnis der Völker. Antwort auf einen offenen Brief," in Rost, *Goethe im Dachau*, 345.
89. "Do henezy i rostu Lihy U.P.V."
90. Pasiczniak personal file, BayHStA, Bestand UNRRA-Universität 160; Memorandum re: "Notes on Anti-Bolshevistic organizations," 5 November 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Box 117, 65A Propaganda—Anti-Russian.
91. Mirchuk, *In the German Mills*, 194–95.
92. International Union of Former Political Prisoners to John H. Whiting, 18 December 1945, UNA, UNRRA, 3.0.11.3.0, Displaced Persons—General.
93. "Memorandum Tsentral'noi Mizhnarodn'oï Unii Politychnykh V'iazniv," II.
94. See the articles on the congress in *Politv'iaznen' 1*.
95. Andrzej Kłossowski, *Anatol Girs: Artysta książki: Warszawa, Monachium, Detroit, West Chesterfield*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1989), 36; Alicia Nitecki, telephone conversation with author, 9 June 2003.
96. Siedlecki, *Beyond Lost Dreams*, 235.
97. Borowski to Rundo, 21 January 1946, in *Postal Indiscretions*, 94.
98. This point has also been stressed in retrospect by both Siedlecki and Olzewski. See Siedlecki, *Beyond Lost Dreams*, 232; Grant McCool, "New Translation Tells of Nazi Depravation," *Internet Anti-Fascist*, 11 July 2000.
99. In a June 1947 letter to Borowski, Girs suggested that this was the book's larger historical significance. "The interest in this book as a book about the camps is one thing," he wrote, "but it also has other qualities and these need to be stressed. It battles fascist ideology. From this perspective, the book continues to be relevant." Cited in the labels accompanying the exhibition *Anatol Girs*.
100. On the centrality of the visual in Borowski's Auschwitz stories, see Ernst van Alphen, "Caught by Images: On the Role of Visual Imprints in Holocaust Testimonies," *Journal of Visual Culture* 1, no. 2 (August 2002).
101. Siedlecki et al., *We Were in Auschwitz*, 3–4.
102. Ibid., 4.
103. Miłosz, *The Captive Mind*, chap. 5.
104. Siedlecki et al., *We Were in Auschwitz*, 65.
105. Ibid., 1–2.
106. Ibid., 4.
107. This point has also been made by Alicia Nitecki. See her comments in

C. L. Sebrell, “Art of the Book: The Work of Anatol Girs,” *Journal of Antiques and Collectibles* (September 2002).

108. I am grateful to Barbara Girs for showing me copies bound in this manner.

109. Jacek Czarnik, “Books and Senses,” trans. Jolanta Wróbel, *EBIB Bulletin* 10 (2002), <http://ebib.oss.wroc.pl/english/grant/czarnik.php> (accessed 6 June 2003).

110. See J. I. Targ, ed., *Polska Na Morzu* (Warsaw: Główna Księgarnia Woj-skowa, 1935).

111. I am grateful to Ziggy Nitecki for suggesting this association.

112. Girs, cited in Kłossowski, *Anatol Girs*, 45.

113. Siedlecki, *Beyond Lost Dreams*, 235. See also Borowski to Rundo, 21 Janu-ary 1946, in *Postal Indiscretions*, 94.

114. Milosz, *The Captive Mind*, 125–26; Kott, introduction to Borowski, *This Way for the Gas*, 18–19; Nitecki, telephone conversation, 9 June 2003.

115. Nitecki, telephone conversation, 9 June 2003.

116. Sebrell, “Art of the Book.”

CHAPTER 8

1. Carolyn J. Dean, “Recent French Discourses on Stalinism, Nazism, and ‘Exorbitant’ Jewish Memory,” *History and Memory* 18, no. 1 (2006).

2. Cohen, “The Politics of Recognition,” 126.

3. Polish Association of Ex-Prisoners Persecuted by Nazis Section Gablingen to Van Wagoner, n.d.; Polish Association of Ex-Prisoners Persecuted by Nazis Section Gablingen to Lucius D. Clay, 21 October 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS AG File 1949, 383.7 (vol. 1), Box 591.

4. Combined Routing-Information-Filing Form, Subject “Ltr. fr. Myst-kowski Mieczysław to Gen Clay,” 31 January 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS AG File 1949, 383.7 (vol. 1), Box 591.

5. Ezekiel L. Glazier to Public Welfare and DP Branch, CAD, OMGB, 16 November 1948; Albert C. Schweizer to Chief, Displaced Persons Branch, CAD, OMGUS, 17 January 1949, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, LD, Box 169, Clubs Jan–July 49 331.2. The quote is from Schweizer.

6. See, for example, “Intensive Hilfe für jene Personen, die nicht heimbe-fördert werden können, ist geplant,” *DP Express*, 11 August 1945; *Biuletyn Ra-diowy/Radio Bulletin* 17, 10 October 1945, BISO Zespół Dachau A700, teczka 22.

7. Groups representing Polish DPs also seized on these implications. See Kirchmann, “‘They Are Coming for Freedom,’” 81.

8. Polish Information Office to UNRRA Team 108, 3 December 1945, UNA, UNRRA, S-0424-0027-05.

9. Polish Information Office to Military Government Munich, 20 December 1945, UNA, UNRRA, S-0424-0027-05. Original as-is.

10. Kirchmann, “‘They Are Coming for Freedom,’” 173.

11. Polish Union of the Former Political Prisoners, Section Murnau to Wielezyski, 22 June 1946, UNA, UNRRA, 3.0.11.3.3, Box 12, District 5—District 5 Headquarters—Director’s Office—Munich-Pasing—Correspondence 1/10/45-

31/3/47. The hotel on Lake Starnberg is a reference to the Jewish DP camp of Feldafing.

12. Union of Polish Former Political Convicts Victims of Nazi-Regime to Auerbach, 27 January 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Affairs, Box 118, Correspondence Political Affairs.

13. Auerbach to Kneuer, 22 January 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Affairs, Box 118, Correspondence Political Affairs.

14. Union of Polish Former Political Convicts Victims of Nazi-Regime to Auerbach, 27 January 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Affairs, Box 118, Correspondence Political Affairs.

15. Ibid.

16. International Committee of Political Emigrants and DPs, “Relations of Dr. Auerbach and the State Commission for racial, religious, and political persecutees with DPs,” [January 1948], NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Affairs, Box 118, Correspondence Political Affairs. This statement echoes a memorandum composed by the International Committee two years earlier, which suggested that the poor reception DP politicals received at German care centers was due to the fact that the centers were run by German Communists. See “Memorandum Tsentral’noï Mizhnarodn’oï Unii Politychnykh V’iazniv.”

17. Mirchuk, *In the German Mills*, 200.

18. Interestingly, what Mirchuk neglects to address is the previous position of the Ukrainians. If they were now below the Jews, where had they been during the war? Mirchuk’s elision unwittingly opens the question of Ukrainian participation in the persecution and extermination of European Jewry.

19. Auerbach to Miniclier, 26 January 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Affairs, Box 118, Correspondence Political Affairs.

20. Auerbach to Union of Former Political Conflicts [Polish Association], 28 January 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Affairs, Box 118, Correspondence Political Affairs.

21. File memo, Public Welfare Branch, 18 November 1947; Public Welfare Branch to Civil Administration Division, 12 December 1947; Public Welfare Branch to Legal Advice Branch, 12 December 1947; Legal Advice Branch to Public Welfare Branch, 19 December 1947; Political Activities Branch to Legal Division, 1 March 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, CAD, Political Affairs, Box 118, Correspondence Political Affairs.

22. Moeller to Acting Director, Intelligence Division, 20 April 1948.

23. Aster to Harnden, 3 August 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Office of the Director, Box 12, 15 Political Victims. See also Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 88–89, 134–35; “Victims of Fascism in Germany Today.”

24. Polish Association of Ex-Prisoners of German Concentration Camps Persecuted by Nazi Regime, Section Gablingen, to Van Wagoner, [October?] 1948, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS AG File 1949, 383.7 (vol. 1), Box 591.

25. Mirchuk, *U nimets’kykh mlynakh*, 195.

26. Arbeitsgemeinschaft to Adenauer, 20 September 1950.

27. [Otmar Pirkmajer], “Zur Frage der Wiedergutmachung für ehemalige politische Häftlinge, Verfolgte vom Nazi-Regime” (Munich: n.p., 1947), 12. A copy can

be found in AN, AJ 43, 1164. Pirkmajer was a Slovene jurist and survivor of Dachau. He may have written the memorandum individually or with other members of the group, who are identified as “Poles, Ukrainians, Yugoslavs, Balts, Belorussians, etc.”

28. *Ibid.*, 10.

29. *Ibid.*, 17.

30. Łuczak, *Polacy w okupowanych Niemczech*, 112.

31. [Tadeusz] Zgainski, “Proposals Concerning the Restitution Legislative,” [June 1947], NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 165, 383.7 Jewish UNDP.

32. Arbeitsgemeinschaft to Adenauer, 20 September 1950.

33. Zgainski, “Proposals Concerning the Restitution Legislative.”

34. Polish Assn to Van Wagoner, [circa October 1948], NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, AG File 1949, 383.7 (vol. 1), Box 591.

35. [Pirkmajer], “Zur Frage der Wiedergutmachung,” 11.

36. On this issue, see chap. 2.

37. On the comparable situation in postwar France and Belgium, see Lagrou, *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation*.

38. Konstantin Streletzky and Leon Korotty to [OMGB], 9 October 1946, NACP, RG 260, OMGB, ID, Director’s Intelligence Records, Box 8, 4 Concentration Camps.

39. [Pirkmajer], “Zur Frage der Wiedergutmachung,” 12.

40. *Ibid.*, 12.

41. *Ibid.*, 17.

42. *Ibid.*, 5.

43. *Ibid.*, 7.

44. Arbeitsgemeinschaft to Adenauer, 20 September 1950.

45. Zgainski to Miniclier, 2 June 1947, NACP, RG 260, OMGUS, CAD, Box 165, 383.7 Jewish UNDP.

46. Zgainski, “Proposals Concerning the Restitution Legislative.”

47. Arbeitsgemeinschaft to Adenauer, 20 September 1950.

48. Streletzky and Korotty to [OMGB], 9 October 1946.

49. Representatives of National Committees of DP’s and Refugees in Germany, “Memorandum concerning the indemnification claims of politically persecuted DP’s and Refugees,” November 1949, AN, AJ 43, 883/44/9, vol. 4.

50. Zgainski to Miniclier, 2 June 1947.

51. Arbeitsgemeinschaft to Adenauer, 20 September 1950.

52. Zgainski, “Proposals Concerning the Restitution Legislative.”

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. [Pirkmajer], “Zur Frage der Wiedergutmachung,” 11.

56. Wolff to Arbeitsgemeinschaft der ausländischen Politisch Verfolgten, 26 October 1950, BAK, B 126, Band 12358. See also Dehler to Arbeitsgemeinschaft, 6 October 1950.

57. League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners to Schäffer, 15 November 1950, BAK, B 126, Band 12358.

58. [Pirkmajer], “Zur Frage der Wiedergutmachung,” 14.
59. Ibid.
60. For an overview of the criminal charges at Nuremberg, see Michael R. Marrus, *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial, 1945–46: A Documentary History* (Boston: Bedford, 1997).
61. [Pirkmajer], “Zur Frage der Wiedergutmachung,” 16.
62. Ibid., 15.
63. Ibid., 6.
64. In this respect, Pirkmajer’s proposal reminds one of the Nansen passport, which provided stateless individuals with a document akin to a “real,” i.e., state-sanctioned, passport and thus institutionalized statelessness.
65. Representatives of National Committees, “Memorandum concerning the indemnification claims.” The memorandum was signed by the following national committees: Czechoslovakian Alliance of Political Refugees (Ludwigsburg), Estonian Central Committee (Geislingen/Steige), Hungarian National Committee (Munich), Latvian Central Committee (Augsburg), Lithuanian Central Committee (Munich), Polish Union (Ludwigsburg), Central Representation of the Russian Emigration (Munich), White Ruthenian (Byelorussian) National Committee (Rosenheim), Ukrainian Central Relief Committee (Augsburg).
66. Mirchuk, *U nimets’kykh mlynakh*, 200.
67. Mirchuk, *In the German Mills*, 209–10.
68. Schirilla, *Wiedergutmachung für Nationalgeschädigte*, 19–20. See also Łuczak, *Polacy w okupowanych Niemczech*, 105; Maruniak, *Ukraïns’ka emigratsiia*, 86.
69. Herbert, “Nicht entschädigungsfähig?” 181.
70. Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 194.
71. Paul Grünewald, “Von Häftlingskomitees und antifaschistischen Ausschüssen zur VVN,” in *Von Buchenwald bis Hasselbach. Organisierter Antifaschismus 1945 bis heute*, ed. Präsidium der VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten (Cologne: Röderberg, 1987), 19.
72. Raymond Pearson, *National Minorities in Eastern Europe, 1848–1945* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983), 162.
73. Mirchuk, *U nimets’kykh mlynakh*, 95.
74. Sofsky, *Order of Terror*, 123.
75. “Rivniaiem pravdi puti (Druhyi den’ kongresu Lihy UPV),” *Politv’iaznen’* 1 (March 1946): 22.
76. Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 133.
77. Paul Kinnare, “Narrative Report for September, 1949,” n.d., AN, AJ 43, 766, Monthly Narrative Report. Germany. U.S. Zone, June 1949–December 1949; Alex de Liphay, “Memo, Conference of DP lawyers in Munich on 10 May 1949,” n.d.; “Report on Area Legal Officers’ Meeting held on 20th September 1949 at Zone Headquarters,” n.d., AN, AJ 43, 879/44/8.
78. Hugh Hinchcliffe, “Narrative Report for November 1949, (ix) Legal and Political Protection,” n.d., AN, AJ 43, 766, Monthly Narrative Report. Germany. U.S. Zone, June 1949–December 1949.

79. Hugh Hinchcliffe, “Narrative Report for January 1950, (ix) Legal and Political Protection,” n.d., and Hinchcliffe, “Narrative Report for February 1950, (ix) Legal and Political Protection,” n.d., AN, AJ 43, 766, Monthly Narrative Report. Germany. U.S. Zone, June 1949–December 1949.

80. League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners to Dehler, 15 November 1950, BAK, B 126, Band 12358.

CONCLUSION

1. On this issue, see also Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung*, 136.
2. Stern, “The Historic Triangle,” 69.
3. On Polish DPs, see Kirchmann, “‘They Are Coming for Freedom’”; Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, *The Exile Mission*. On Ukrainian DPs, see Mudry, “Nova Ukraïns’ka emigratsiia”; Lalande, “‘Building a Home Abroad.’” The persistence of Polish, Ukrainian, and other non-Jewish DP organizations is also discussed in passing in Stepień, *Der alteingesessene Fremde*, 117–26.
4. Schwarz, *The Redeemers*, 305–7.
5. Lewinsky, *Displaced Poets*, 234; Beth B. Cohen, *Case Closed: Holocaust Survivors in Postwar America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007).

Bibliography

ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

- National Archives and Records Service, College Park, Maryland (NACP)
RG 84: Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State
RG 260: Records of U.S. Occupation Headquarters, World War II
RG 319: Records of the Army Staff
RG 331: Records of Allied Operational and Occupation Headquarters, World War II
RG 338: Records of U.S. Army Operational, Tactical, and Support Organizations
RG 466: Records of the Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Washington (USHMM)
RG-68.066M: Selected Records from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archives, Jerusalem
United Nations Archives, New York (UNA)
United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Papers
YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York (YIVO)
RG 294.1: Leo Schwarz Papers
RG 294.2: Records of Displaced Persons Camps and Centers in Germany
University of Illinois Archives, Urbana, Illinois
Boris I. Balinsky Memoir
Bundesarchiv, Koblenz (BAK)
B 126: Bundesministerium der Finanzen
Z 35: Deutsches Büro für Friedensfragen
Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich (BayHStA)
Bestand Bayerische Staatskanzlei
Bestand Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht, Kultus, Wissenschaft und Kunst
Bestand Landesflüchtlingsverwaltung
Bestand Ministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung, Familie, Frauen und Gesundheit
Bestand UNRRA-Universität
Stadtarchiv München, Munich
Bestand Bürgermeister und Rat

- Archiv des Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich (IfZ)
 Fi or: Sammlung Wolfgang Jacobmeyer
 Archives of the Ukrainian Free University, Munich (UVU)
 Fond Liha Ukraïns'kykh Politychnykh V'iazniv
 Fond Tsentral'ne Predstavnytstvo Ukraïns'koï Emihratsii v Nimechchyni
 Archiv der KZ-Gedenkstätte Dachau, Dachau (AKZD)
 Files of the International Prisoners' Committee Dachau
 Files of the International Prisoners' Committee Dachau-Allach
 Nachlaß Walter Cieslik
 Archives nationales, Paris (AN)
 AJ 43: Organisation internationale pour les réfugiés
 Biblioteka Instytutu Śląskiego, Opole (BISO)
 Zespól Dachau A 700

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

- Blessin, Georg, Hans-Georg Ehrig, and Hans Wilden. *Bundesentschädigungsge-
 setze. Kommentar*. 2nd ed. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957.
 Borowski, Tadeusz. *Le monde de pierre*. Trans. Erik Veaux. Paris: Calmann-Lévy,
 1964.
 Borowski, Tadeusz. *Postal Indiscretions: The Correspondence of Tadeusz Borowski*.
 Ed. Tadeusz Drewnowski. Trans. Alicia Nitecki. Evanston: Northwestern Uni-
 versity Press, 2007.
 Borowski, Tadeusz. *Die steinerne Welt. Erzählungen*. Trans. Vera Cerny. Munich:
 R. Piper, 1963.
 Borowski, Tadeusz. *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen, and Other Stories*.
 Trans. Barbara Vedder. London: Jonathan Cape, 1967.
 Borowski, Tadeusz. *Utwory zebrane*. Ed. Jerzy Andrzejewski. Vol. 2, *Proza
 1945–1947*. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1954.
 Brownlie, Ian. *Basic Documents on Human Rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
*Der Ratgeber für heimatlose Ausländer. Rechte und Pflichten nach dem Gesetz über
 die Rechtsstellung heimatloser Ausländer im Bundesgebiet vom 25. April 1951*.
 Bonn: Bundesministerium für Vertriebene, 1952.
 Fesenko, Tat'iana. *Povest' krivyykh let*. New York: Novoe Russkoe Slovo, 1963.
 Gillen, J. F. J. *State and Local Government in West Germany, 1945–1953*. N.p.: His-
 torical Division, Office of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, 1953.
 Grabinski, Mieczysław. *Dyplomacja w Dachau . . .* Dachau: Wydawnictwo "Słowa
 Polskiego," 1946.
 Gringauz, Samuel. "Jewish Destiny as the DP's See It." *Commentary* 4, no. 6 (De-
 cember 1947).
 Haller, Roman. *"Davidstern und Lederhose." Eine Kindheit in der Nachkriegszeit*.
 Zurich: Pendo, 2001.
 Haulot, Arthur. *J'ai voulu vivre. Dachau 1943–45/Journal de camp*. Brussels: Vie
 Ouvrière, 1987.

- Holborn, Louise W. *The International Refugee Organization, A Specialized Agency of the United Nations: Its History and Work, 1946–1952*. London: Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Ilnytzkij, Roman. *The Free Press of the Suppressed Nations*. Augsburg: Association of the Free Press of Central and Eastern Europe, Baltic and Balkan States in Germany, 1950.
- Institut für Besatzungsfragen. *Das DP-Problem: Eine Studie über die ausländischen Flüchtlinge in Deutschland*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1950.
- Klemmé, Marvin. *The Inside Story of UNRRA: An Experience in Internationalism; A First Hand Report on the Displaced People of Europe*. New York: Lifetime Editions, 1949.
- Knysh, Zinovii. *Na porozi nevidomoho (spohady z 1945 roku)*. Toronto: Sribna Surma, 1963.
- Marunchak, Mykhailo H. *Ukrains'ki politychni v'iazni u natsysts'kykh kontsentratsiynykh taborakh*. Winnipeg: Svitova liga ukrains'kykh politychnykh v'iazniv, 1996.
- McNeill, Margaret. *By the Rivers of Babylon: A Story of Relief Work Among the Displaced Persons of Europe*. London: Bannisdale Press, 1950.
- Mirchuk, Petro. *In the German Mills of Death, 1941–1945*. 2nd ed. Washington, DC: Survivors of the Holocaust, 1985.
- Mirchuk, Petro. *U nimets'kykh mlynakh smerty. Spomyny z pobutu v nimets'kykh tiurmakh i kontslaherakh 1941–1945*. New York: Ukrains'kyi Soiuz Politychnykh V'iazniv, 1957.
- Mudry, Vasyl. “Nova ukrains'ka emigratsiia.” In *Ukraïntsi u vil'nomu sviti: iuvileina knyha Ukrains'koho Narodnoho Soiuzu, 1894–1954*, ed. Luka Myshuha and A. Drahan. Jersey City: Vydannia Ukrains'koho Narodnoho Soiuzu, 1954.
- Osynka, Paladii. *Al'bum polityv'iaznia*. N.p., 1946.
- Pettiss, Susan T. *After the Shooting Stopped: The Story of an UNRRA Welfare Worker in Germany, 1945–1947*. With Lynne Taylor. Victoria, BC: Trafford, 2004.
- Pinson, Koppel. “Jewish Life in Liberated Germany.” *Jewish Social Studies* 9, no. 2 (April 1947).
- Poremskii, V. D. *Strategiia antibol'shevitskoi emigratsii: izbrannye stat'i 1934–1997*. Moscow: Posev, 1998.
- Proch, Franciszek J. *Poland's Way of the Cross, 1939–1945*. New York: Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners of Nazi and Soviet Concentration Camps, 1987.
- Rost, Nico. *Goethe in Dachau. Ein Tagebuch*. Munich: List, 2001.
- Rovan, Joseph. *Contes de Dachau*. Paris: Julliard, 1987.
- Saburova, Irina. *Dipilogicheskai azbuka*. Munich: n.p., 1946.
- Sack, Joel. *Dawn after Dachau*. New York: Shengold, 1990.
- Schochet, Simon. *Feldafing*. Vancouver, BC: November House, 1983.
- Siedlecki, Janusz Nel. *Beyond Lost Dreams*. Edinburgh: Pentland, 1994.
- Siedlecki, Janusz Nel, Krystyn Olszewski, and Tadeusz Borowski. *We Were in Auschwitz*. Trans. Alicia Nitecki. New York: Welcome Rain Publishers, 2000.

- Sofroniv Levytskyi, Vasyl'. *Respublika za drotamy (Zapysky skytal'tsia)*. Toronto: Novyi Shliakh, 1983.
- Verstandig, Mark. *I Rest My Case*. Trans. Felicity Verstandig. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2002.
- Wilden, Hans, and Martin Klückmann. *Wiedergutmachungsgesetz. Gesetztext und systematische Darstellung*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1950.
- Zielezinski, Jerzy [George]. *K.Z. Album*. Munich: Wydawn. "Słowo Polskie," 1946.
- Zielezinski, Jerzy [George]. *24 Drawings from the Concentration Camps in Germany*. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1946.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Abramsky, Chimen, Maciej Jachimczyk, and Antony Polonsky, eds. *The Jews in Poland*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *Means without End: Notes on Politics*. Trans. Vincenzo Binetti and Cesare Casarino. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.
- Ahonen, Pertti. *After the Expulsion: West Germany and Eastern Europe 1945–1990*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Aleksium, Natalia. *Dokąd dalej? Ruch syjonistyczny w Polsce (1944–1950)*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo TRIO, 2002.
- Altmann, Peter, ed. *Hauptsache Frieden. Kriegsende, Befreiung, Neubeginn 1945–1949: Vom antifaschistischen Konsens zum Grundgesetz*. Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg, 1985.
- Altshuler, Mordechai. "Escape and Evacuation of Soviet Jews at the Time of the Nazi Invasion." In *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union: Studies and Sources on the Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR, 1941–1945*, ed. Lucjan Dobroszycki and Jeffrey S. Gurock. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1993.
- Amishai-Maisels, Ziva. "The Complexities of Witnessing." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 2, no. 1 (1987).
- Andreyev, Catherine. *Vlasov and the Russian Liberation Movement: Soviet Reality and Émigré Theories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Andreyev, Catherine, and Ivan Savicky. *Russia Abroad: Prague and the Russian Diaspora, 1918–1938*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1973.
- Armstrong, John. "Collaborationism in World War II: The Integral Nationalist Variant in Eastern Europe." *Journal of Modern History* 40 (September 1968).
- Armstrong, John. *Ukrainian Nationalism*. 3rd ed. Englewood, CO: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1990.
- Bade, Klaus J. *Ausländer—Aussiedler—Asyl: eine Bestandaufnahme*. Munich: Beck, 1994.
- Bade, Klaus J., ed. *Deutsche im Ausland—Fremde in Deutschland: Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Munich: Beck, 1992.

- Bade, Klaus J. "Einführung: Zuwanderung und Eingliederung in Deutschland seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg." In *Fremde im Land: Zuwanderung und Eingliederung in Raum Niedersachsen seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. Klaus J. Bade. Osnabruck: Rasch, 1997.
- Ballinger, Pamela. *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Bammer, Angelika, ed. *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Bankier, David, ed. *The Jews Are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to Their Countries of Origin after WWII*. New York: Berghahn/Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005.
- Barish, Louis, ed. *Rabbis in Uniform: The Story of the American Jewish Military Chaplain*. New York: Jonathan David, 1962.
- Baron, Lawrence. "The Holocaust and American Public Memory, 1945–1960." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2003).
- Baron, Nick, and Peter Gatrell. "Population Displacement, State-Building, and Social Identity in the Lands of the Former Russian Empire, 1917–23." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 41, no. 1 (Winter 2003).
- Bartov, Omer. *Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Bauer, Yehuda. *Flight and Rescue: Brichah*. New York: Random House, 1970.
- Bauer, Yehuda. "The Initial Organization of the Holocaust Survivors in Bavaria." *Yad Vashem Studies* 8 (1970).
- Baur, Johannes. *Die russische Kolonie in München 1900–1945. Deutsch-russische Beziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998.
- Benz, Wolfgang. "Zwischen Befreiung und Heimkehr. Das Dachauer Internationale Häftlings-Komitee und die Verwaltung des Lagers im Mai und Juni 1945." *Dachauer Hefte* 1 (1985).
- Bergmann, Werner. *Antisemitismus in öffentlichen Konflikten. Kollektives Lernen in der politischen Kultur der Bundesrepublik 1949–1989*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1997.
- Berkhoff, Karel C., and Marco Carynnyk. "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude toward Germans and Jews: Iaroslav Stets'ko's 1941 *Zhyttiepyis*." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 23, no. 3–4 (1999).
- Bisharat, George E. "Exile to Compatriot: Transformations in the Social Identity of Palestinian Refugees in the West Bank." In *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Bodemann, Y. Michal. *Gedächtnistheater. Die jüdische Gemeinschaft und ihre deutsche Erfindung*. Hamburg: Rotbuch, 1996.
- Boehling, Rebecca L. *A Question of Priorities: Democratic Reforms and Economic Recovery in Postwar Germany: Frankfurt, Munich, and Stuttgart under U.S. Occupation, 1945–1949*. Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1996.
- Boltanski, Luc. *The Making of a Class: Cadres in French Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Borgwardt, Elizabeth. *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.

- Boshyk, Yury, ed. *Ukraine during World War II: History and Its Aftermath*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1986.
- Bosquet, Gisèle L. *Behind the Bamboo Hedge: The Impact of Homeland Politics in the Parisian Vietnamese Community*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Ed. John B. Thompson. Trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Brenner, Michael. *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany*. Trans. Barbara Harshav. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Brenner, Michael. *Geschichte des Zionismus*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2002.
- Brodwin, Stanley. "History and Martyrological Tragedy: The Jewish Experience in Sholem Asch and Andre Schwarz-Bart." *Twentieth Century Literature* 40, no. 1 (Spring 1994).
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Burds, Jeffrey. "The Early Cold War in Soviet West Ukraine, 1944–1948." The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies 1501, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 2001.
- Burianek, Otto. "From Liberator to Guardian: The U.S. Army and the Displaced Persons in Munich, 1945." PhD diss., Emory University, 1992.
- Caglar, Ayse S. "Constraining Metaphors and the Transnationalisation of Spaces in Berlin." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27, no. 4 (October 2001).
- Canoy, Jose Raymund. *The Discreet Charm of the Police State: The Landpolizei and the Transformation of Bavaria, 1945–1965*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Carruthers, Susan L. *Cold War Captives: Imprisonment, Escape, and Brainwashing*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
- Chinyaeva, Elena. *Russians Outside Russia: The Émigré Community in Czechoslovakia, 1918–1938*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001.
- Clifford, James. "Traveling Cultures." In *Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Cohen, Beth B. *Case Closed: Holocaust Survivors in Postwar America*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007.
- Cohen, G. Daniel. "Between Relief and Politics: Refugee Humanitarianism in Occupied Germany, 1945–1946." *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 3 (2008).
- Cohen, G. Daniel. "Naissance d'une nation: les personnes déplacées de l'après-guerre, 1945–1951." *Genèses* 38 (March 2000).
- Cohen, G. Daniel. "The Politics of Recognition: Jewish Refugees in Relief Policies and Human Rights Debates, 1945–1950." *Immigrants and Minorities* 24, no. 2 (July 2006).
- Corliss, Steven. "Asylum State Responsibility for the Hostile Acts of Foreign Exiles." *International Journal of Refugee Law* 2, no. 2 (1990).

- Dallin, Alexander. *German Rule in Russia, 1941–1945: A Study of Occupation Policies*. 2nd ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 1981.
- Daniel, E. Valentine, and John Chr. Knudsen, eds. *Mistrusting Refugees*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Davies, Norman. *God's Playground: A History of Poland*. Vol. 2, 1795 to the Present. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.
- Davies, Norman, and Antony Polonsky, eds. *Jews in Eastern Poland and the USSR, 1939–46*. New York: St. Martin's, 1991.
- Diner, Dan. "Jewish DPs in Historical Context." Paper presented at the workshop "Birth of a Refugee Nation: Displaced Persons in Postwar Europe, 1945–1951," New York University, 20–21 April 2001.
- Diner, Dan. "On the Ideology of Antifascism." *New German Critique* 67 (Winter 1996).
- Dinnerstein, Leonard. *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.
- Distel, Barbara, and Wolfgang Benz. *Das Konzentrationslager Dachau 1933–1945. Geschichte und Bedeutung*. Munich: Bayerische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildungsarbeit, 1994.
- Dobroszycki, Lucjan. *Survivors of the Holocaust in Poland: A Portrait Based on Jewish Community Records, 1944–1947*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1994.
- Dvinov, Boris L. *Politics of the Russian Emigration*. RAND Paper P-768 (October 1955).
- Dybczak, Krzysztof, ed. *Polen im Exil. Eine Anthologie*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988.
- Dyczok, Marta. *The Grand Alliance and Ukrainian Refugees*. New York: St. Martin's, 2000.
- Eder, Angelika. *Flüchtige Heimat: Jüdische displaced Persons in Landsberg am Lech 1945 bis 1950*. Munich: Kommissionsverlag UNI-Druck, 1998.
- Eidintas, Alfonsas. *Jews, Lithuanians, and the Holocaust*. Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003.
- Eley, Geoff. "Legacies of Antifascism: Constructing Democracy in Postwar Europe." *New German Critique* 67 (Winter 1996).
- Elliott, Mark R. *Pawns of Yalta: Soviet Refugees and American's Role in Their Repatriation*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982.
- Elliott, Mark R. "The Soviet Repatriation Campaign." In *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*, ed. Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Yuri Boshyk, and Roman Senkus. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1992.
- Engel, David. "Palestine in the Mind of the Remnants of Polish Jewry." *Journal of Israeli History* 16, no. 3 (1995).
- Engel, David. "The Reconstruction of Jewish Communal Institutions in Postwar Poland: The Origins of the Central Committee of Polish Jews, 1944–1945." *East European Politics and Societies* 10, no. 1 (Winter 1996).
- Esh, Shaul. "The Dignity of the Destroyed: Towards a Definition of the Period of the Holocaust." In *The Catastrophe of European Jewry: Antecedents, History,*

- Reflections: Selected Papers*, ed. Yisrael Gutman and Livia Rothkirchen. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976.
- Fackenheim, Emil L. *The Jewish Return into History: Reflections in the Age of Auschwitz and a New Jerusalem*. New York: Schocken, 1978.
- Farah, Randa. "Palestinian Refugee Camps: Reinscribing and Contesting Memory and Space." In *Isolation: Places and Practices of Exclusion*, ed. Carolyn Strange and Alison Bashford. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Féaux de la Croix, Ernst, and Helmut Rumpf. *Der Werdegang des Entschädigungsrechts unter national- und völkerrechtlichem und politologischem Aspekt. Die Wiedergutmachung nationalsozialistischen Unrechts durch die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Band III*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1985.
- Fibich, Peter. "Gedenkstätten, Mahnmale und Ehrenfriedhöfe für die Verfolgten des Nationalsozialismus. Ihre landschaftsarchitektonische Gestaltung in Deutschland 1945 bis 1960." PhD diss., TU Dresden, 1998.
- Fischer, George. "The New Soviet Emigration." *Russian Review* 8, no. 1 (January 1949).
- Fischer, George. *Soviet Opposition to Stalin: A Case Study in World War II*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.
- Friedlander, Saul, ed. *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Friedman, Philip. *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust*. New York: Jewish Publication Society of America/Conference on Jewish Social Studies, 1980.
- Frings, Paul. *Das internationale Flüchtlingsproblem, 1919–1950*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Frankfurter Hefte, 1951.
- Fritz Bauer Institut, ed. *Überlebt und unterwegs: jüdische Displaced Persons im Nachkriegsdeutschland*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1997.
- Fuglerud, Oivind. *Life on the Outside: The Tamil Diaspora and Long Distance Nationalism*. London: Pluto Press, 1999.
- Garson, G. David. *Group Theories of Politics*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1978.
- Gatrell, Peter. *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War I*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Geller, Jay Howard. *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany, 1945–1953*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Geyer, Michael. "Historical Fictions of Autonomy and the Europeanization of National History." *Central European History* 22, no. 3–4 (September–December 1989).
- Geyer, Michael. "Where Germans Dwell: Transnationalism in Theory and Practice." Talk presented at the German Studies Association conference, Pittsburgh, 28 September–1 October 2006. <http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-german&month=0610&week=b&msg=61pa/qqNnOPa4EWRx1UksA&user=&pw=> (accessed 12 February 2011).
- Goddeeris, Idesbald. "Exiles' Strategies for Lobbying in International Organizations: Eastern European Participation in the *Nouvelles Équipes Internationales*." *European Review of History* 11, no. 3 (2004).
- Goeken, Ulrike. "Von der Kooperation zur Konfrontation. Die sowjetischen Repa-

- trierungs-offiziere in den westlichen Besatzungszonen." In *Die Tragödie der Gefangenschaft in Deutschland und der Sowjetunion 1941–1956*, ed. Klaus-Dieter Müller, Konstantin Nikischkin, and Günther Wagenlehner. Cologne: Böhlau, 1998.
- Goodwin-Gill, Guy S. *The Refugee in International Law*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
- Goschler, Constantin. "The Attitude towards Jews in Bavaria after the Second World War." *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 36 (1991).
- Goschler, Constantin. "Der Fall Philipp Auerbach. Wiedergutmachung in Bayern." In *Wiedergutmachung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. Ludolf Herbst and Constantin Goschler. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1989.
- Goschler, Constantin. *Wiedergutmachung. Westdeutschland und die Verfolgten des Nationalsozialismus (1945–1954)*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1992.
- Grahl-Madsen, Atle. "Political Rights and Freedoms of Refugees." In *African Refugees and the Law*, ed. Göran Melander and Peter Nobel. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1978.
- Gregor, Neil, Nils Roemer, and Mark Roseman, eds. *German History from the Margins*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Grose, Peter. *Operation Rollback: America's Secret War behind the Iron Curtain*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000.
- Gross, Jan Tomasz. *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*. New York: Random House, 2007.
- Gross, Jan Tomasz. *Polish Society under German Occupation: The Generalgouvernement, 1939–1944*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Grossmann, Atina. *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Grossmann, Atina. "Trauma, Memory, and Motherhood: Germans and Jewish Displaced Persons in Post-Nazi Germany, 1945–1949." *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 38 (1998).
- Grossmann, Atina. "Victims, Villains, and Survivors: Gendered Perceptions and Self-Perceptions of Jewish Displaced Persons in Occupied Postwar Germany." In *Sexuality and German Fascism*, ed. Dagmar Herzog. New York: Berghahn Books, 2005.
- Grünewald, Paul. "Von Häftlingskomitees und antifaschistischen Ausschüssen zur VVN." In *Von Buchenwald bis Hasselbach. Organisierter Antifaschismus 1945 bis heute*, ed. Präsidium der VVN-Bund der Antifaschisten. Cologne: Röderberg, 1987.
- Gupta, Akhil. "The Song of the Nonaligned World: Transnational Identities and the Reinscription of Space in Late Capitalism." In *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson. "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference." *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992).
- Gutman, Yisrael, and Shmuel Krakowski. *Unequal Victims: Poles and Jews during World War II*. New York: Holocaust Library, 1986.
- Gutman, Yisrael, Ezra Mendelsohn, Jehuda Reinharz, and Chone Shmeruk, eds.

- The Jews of Poland between Two World Wars*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989.
- Gutman, Yisrael, and Avital Saf, eds. *She'erit Hapletah, 1944–1948: Rehabilitation and Political Struggle. Proceedings of the Sixth Yad Vashem International Historical Conference, Jerusalem, October 1985*. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989.
- Hathaway, James C. *The Rights of Refugees under International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Haustein, Petra, Rolf Schmolling, and Jörg Skriebeleit, eds. *Konzentrationslager: Geschichte und Erinnerung: neue Studien zum KZ-System und zur Gedenkkultur. Workshop zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager, 12. bis 15. Oktober 2000 in der KZ-Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg*. Ulm: Klemm und Oelschläger, 2001.
- Heigl, Peter. *Konzentrationslager Flossenbürg in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druckerei- und Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1989.
- Herbert, Ulrich. *Arbeit, Volkstum, Weltanschauung. Über Fremde und Deutsche im 20. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1995.
- Herbert, Ulrich. *Hitler's Foreign Workers: Enforced Foreign Labor in Germany under the Third Reich*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Herbert, Ulrich, and Olaf Groehler. *Zweierlei Bewältigung. Vier Beiträge über den Umgang mit der NS- Vergangenheit in den beiden deutschen Staaten*. Hamburg: Ergebnisse, 1992.
- Herf, Jeffrey. *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Hilberg, Raul. *The Destruction of the European Jews*. 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Himka, John-Paul. "Ukrainian Collaboration in the Extermination of the Jews during World War II." In *The Fate of the European Jews, 1939–1945: Continuity or Contingency*, ed. Jonathan Frankel. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Himka, John-Paul. "First Escape: Dealing with the Totalitarian Legacy in the Early Postwar Emigration." Paper presented at the conference "Soviet Totalitarianism in Ukraine: History and Legacy," Kiev, 2–6 September 2005.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914–1991*. New York: Vintage, 1994.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Hoffmann, Detlef. "Auschwitz im visuellen Gedächtnis. Das Chaos des Verbrechens und die symbolische Ordnung der Bilder." In *Auschwitz: Geschichte, Rezeption und Wirkung*, ed. Fritz Bauer Institut. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1996.
- Honig, Bonnie. *Democracy and the Foreigner*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Huener, Jonathan. *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945–1979*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003.

- Hurwic-Nowakowska, Irena. *A Social Analysis of Postwar Polish Jewry*. Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 1986.
- Iontsev, V. A. *Emigratsiia i repatriatsiia v Rosii*. Moscow: Popichitel'stvo o nuzhdakh Rossiiskikh repatriantov, 2001.
- Isajiw, Wsevolod W., Yury Boshyk, and Roman Senkus. *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1992.
- Jacobmeyer, Wolfgang. "Jüdische Überlebende als 'Displaced Persons.' Untersuchungen zur Besatzungspolitik in den deutschen Westzonen und zur Zuwanderung osteuropäischer Juden 1945–1947." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 3, no. 9 (1983).
- Jacobmeyer, Wolfgang. *Vom Zwangsarbeiter zum Heimatlosen Ausländer: Die Displaced Persons in Westdeutschland 1945–1951*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1985.
- Jarausch, Konrad H., and Michael Geyer. *Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, Anna D. *The Exile Mission: The Polish Political Diaspora and Polish Americans, 1939–1956*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004.
- Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, Anna D. *See also* Kirchmann, Anna Dorota.
- Judt, Tony. "The Past Is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe." In *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath*, ed. István Deák, Jan T. Gross, and Tony Judt. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Kaiser, Joseph H. *Die Repräsentation organisierter Interessen*. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1978.
- Kauders, Anthony. *Democratization and the Jews: Munich, 1945–1965*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press/Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 2004.
- Kemp, Adriana, Rebeca Raijman, Julia Resnik, and Silvina Schammah Gesser. "Contesting the Limits of Political Participation: Latinos and Black African Workers in Israel." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, no. 1 (January 2000).
- Kersten, Krystyna. "Forced Migration and the Transformation of Polish Society in the Postwar Period." In *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948*, ed. Philipp Ther and Ana Siljak. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.
- Kibreab, Gaim. "Revisiting the Debate on People, Place, Identity, and Displacement." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 12, no. 4 (1999).
- Kirchmann, Anna Dorota. "'They Are Coming for Freedom, Not Dollars': Political Refugees and Transformations of Ethnic Identity within Polish American Community after World War II." PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1997.
- Kirchmann, Anna Dorota. *See also* Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, Anna D.
- Kleßmann, Christoph. *Die doppelte Staatsgründung. Deutsche Geschichte 1945–1955*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1982.
- Kłossowski, Andrzej. *Anatol Girs: Artysta książki: Warszawa, Monachium, Detroit, West Chesterfield*. 2nd ed. Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1989.

- Kłossowski, Andrzej, and Teresa Odrowąż-Pieniążek. *Anatol Girs, Bolesław Barcz: Artyści książki*. Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1989.
- Kochanowski, Jerzy. "Gathering Poles into Poland: Forced Migration from Poland's Former Eastern Territories." In *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948*, ed. Philipp Ther and Ana Siljak. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.
- Kochavi, Arieh J. *Post-Holocaust Politics: Britain, the United States, and Jewish Refugees, 1945–1948*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Kogon, Eugen. "Der politische Untergang des europäischen Widerstandes." *Frankfurter Hefte* 4, no. 5 (May 1949).
- Kogon, Eugen. *Der SS-Staat. Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager*. Munich: Kindler, 1974.
- Kolinsky, Eva. *After the Holocaust: Jewish Survivors in Germany after 1945*. London: Pimlico, 2004.
- Königseder, Angelika. *Flucht nach Berlin: jüdische Displaced Persons 1945–1948*. Berlin: Metropol, 1998.
- Königseder, Angelika, and Juliane Wetzel. *Lebensmut im Wartesaal: Die jüdischen DPs (Displaced Persons) im Nachkriegsdeutschland*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1994.
- Korbonski, Stefan. *The Polish Underground State: A Guide to the Underground, 1939–1945*. Trans. Marta Erdman. East European Monograph Series, No. 39. Boulder: East European Quarterly, 1978.
- Korman, Gerd. "The Holocaust in American Historical Writing." *Societas* 2, no. 3 (Summer 1972).
- Kozminska-Frejlik, Ewa. "Polen als Heimat von Juden. Strategien des Heimischwerdens von Juden im Nachkriegspolen 1944–1949." In *Überlebt und unterwegs: jüdische Displaced Persons im Nachkriegsdeutschland*, ed. Fritz Bauer Institut. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1997.
- Kreikamp, Hans-Dieter. "Zur Entstehung des Entschädigungsgesetzes der amerikanischen Besatzungszone." In *Wiedergutmachung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. Ludolf Herbst and Constantin Goshler. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1989.
- Kuhlmann-Smirnov, Anne. "'Stillter als Wasser, tiefer als Gras.' Zur Migrationsgeschichte der russischen Displaced Persons in Deutschland nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg." Forschungsstelle Osteuropa Bremen, Arbeitspapiere und Materialien, July 2005.
- Kulischer, Eugene. *Europe on the Move: War and Population Changes, 1917–1947*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.
- Kulyk, Volodymyr. "The Role of Discourse in the Construction of an Emigré Community: Ukrainian Displaced Persons in Germany and Austria after the Second World War." In *European Encounters: Migrants, Migration, and European Societies since 1945*, ed. Rainer Ohliger, Karen Schönwälder, and Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos. Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations Series. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Kunz, E. F. "The Refugee in Flight: Kinetic Models and Forms of Displacement." *International Migration Review* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1973).

- Lagrou, Pieter. *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation: Patriotic Memory and National Recovery in Western Europe, 1945–1965*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Lalande, Julia. “‘Building a Home Abroad’: A Comparative Study of Ukrainian Migration, Immigration Policy, and Diaspora Formation in Canada and Germany after the Second World War.” PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 2006.
- Lavie, Smadar, and Ted Swedenburg, eds. *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Lavsky, Hagit. *New Beginnings: Holocaust Survivors in Bergen-Belsen and the British Zone in Germany, 1945–1950*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002.
- Lembeck, Andreas. *Befreit aber nicht in Freiheit. Displaced Persons im Emsland 1945–1950*. Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1997.
- Levin, Dov. *Fighting Back: Lithuanian Jewry's Armed Resistance to the Nazis, 1941–1945*. Trans. Moshe Kohn and Dina Cohen. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985.
- Lewinsky, Tamar. *Displaced Poets. Jiddische Schriftsteller im Nachkriegsdeutschland, 1945–1951*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2008.
- Lower, Wendy. *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.
- Luciuk, Lubomyr Y. *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Luckyj, George S. N. *Young Ukraine: The Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Kiev, 1845–1847*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1991.
- Łuczak, Czesław. *Polacy w okupowanych Niemczech 1945–1949*. Poznań: Pracownia Serwisu Oprogramowania, 1993.
- Ludi, Regula. “The Vectors of Postwar Victim Reparations: Relief, Redress, and Memory Politics.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 41, no. 3 (July 2006).
- Ludi, Regula. “Who Is a Nazi Victim? Constructing Victimhood through Post-War Reparations in France, Germany, and Switzerland.” UCLA Center for European and Eurasian Studies, Occasional Lecture Series, 3 (2005).
- MacQueen, Michael. “Lithuanian Collaboration in the ‘Final Solution’: Motivations and Case Studies.” In *Lithuania and the Jews: The Holocaust Chapter: Symposium Presentations*. Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005.
- Magris, Claudio. *Inferences from a Sabre*. Trans. Mark Thompson. New York: George Braziller, 1991.
- Major, Patrick. *The Death of the KPD: Communism and Anti-Communism in West Germany, 1945–1956*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Malkki, Liisa. “Citizens of Humanity: Internationalism and the Imagined Community of Nations.” *Diaspora* 3, no. 1 (Spring 1994).
- Malkki, Liisa. “National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of Identity among Scholars and Refugees.” *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992).
- Malkki, Liisa. *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

- Malkki, Liisa. "Refugees and Exile: From 'Refugee Studies' to the National Order of Things." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995).
- Malkki, Liisa. "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization." *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (1996).
- Mankowitz, Zeev W. "The Affirmation of Life in *She'erith Hapleita*." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 5, no. 1 (1990).
- Mankowitz, Zeev W. "The Formation of *She'erith Hapleita*: November 1944–July 1945." *Yad Vashem Studies* 20 (1990).
- Mankowitz, Zeev W. *Life between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the Holocaust in Occupied Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Manley, Rebecca. "The Evacuation and Survival of Soviet Civilians, 1941–1946." PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2004.
- Marcus, Joseph. *Social and Political History of the Jews in Poland, 1919–1939*. Berlin: Mouton, 1983.
- Marcuse, Harold. *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933–2001*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Marcuse, Harold. "Nazi Crimes and Identity in West Germany: Collective Memories of the Dachau Concentration Camp, 1945–1990." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1992.
- Marrus, Michael R. *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Mazower, Mark. *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.
- Mendelsohn, Ezra. *The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983.
- Mendelsohn, Ezra. *On Modern Jewish Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Mendelsohn, Ezra. *Zionism in Poland: The Formative Years, 1915–1926*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Milosz, Czesław. *The Captive Mind*. Trans. Jane Zielonko. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953.
- Mitrovich, Gregory. *Undermining the Kremlin: America's Strategy to Subvert the Soviet Bloc, 1947–1956*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Moeller, Robert G. "Germans as Victims? Thoughts on a Post–Cold War History of World War II's Legacies." *History and Memory* 17, no. 1–2 (2005).
- Moeller, Robert G. *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Motyl, Alexander J. *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919–1929*. Boulder: East European Monographs, 1980.
- Müller, Ulrich. *Fremde in der Nachkriegszeit: Displaced Persons—Zwangsverschleppte Personen—in Stuttgart und Württemberg-Baden 1945–1951*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990.
- Musioł, Teodor. *Dachau 1933–1945*. 2nd ed. Katowice: Wydawnictwo "Śląsk," 1971.
- Noiriel, Gérard. "Représentation nationale et catégories sociales. L'exemple des réfugiés politiques." *Genèses* 26 (April 1997).

- Noiriel, Gérard. *La tyrannie du national. Le droit d'asile en Europe (1793–1993)*. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1991.
- Novick, Peter. *The Holocaust in American Life*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.
- Ofer, Dalia. "Linguistic Conceptualization of the Holocaust in Palestine and Israel, 1942–1953." *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, no. 3 (July 1996).
- Offerlé, Michel. *Sociologie des groupes d'intérêt*. Paris: Montchrestien, 1998.
- Paczkowski, Andrzej. "Nazism and Communism in Polish Experience and Memory." In *Stalinism and Nazism: History and Memory Compared*, ed. Henry Rousso. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.
- Pas, Justine. "Finding Home in Babel: Transnationalism, Translation, and Languages of Identity." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008.
- Patt, Avinoam J. "Finding Home and Homeland: Jewish DP Youth and Zionism in the Aftermath of the Holocaust." PhD diss., New York University, 2005.
- Pearson, Raymond. *National Minorities in Eastern Europe, 1848–1945*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.
- Peck, Abraham J. "'Our Eyes Have Seen Eternity': Memory and Self-Identity among the She'erith Hapletah." *Modern Judaism* 17, no. 1 (1997).
- Peck, Jeffrey M. "Refugees as Foreigners: The Problem of Becoming German and Finding Home." In *Mistrusting Refugees*, ed. E. Valentine Daniel and John Chr. Knudsen. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Peterson, Edward N. *The American Occupation of Germany: Retreat to Victory*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978.
- Pingel, Falk. *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft. Widerstand, Selbstbehauptung und Vernichtung in Konzentrationslager*. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1978.
- Porter, Brian. *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Proudfoot, Malcolm. *European Refugees, 1939–52: A Study in Forced Population Movement*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1956.
- Rabinbach, Anson. "Introduction: Legacies of Antifascism." *New German Critique* 67 (Winter 1996).
- Raëff, Marc. *Russia Abroad: A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919–1939*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Raim, Edith. *Die Dachauer KZ-Außenkommandos Kaufering und Mühldorf. Rüstungsbauten und Zwangsarbeit im letzten Kriegsjahr 1944/45*. Landsberg am Lech: Martin Neumeyer, 1992.
- Raim, Edith. "'Unternehmen Ringeltaube.' Dachaus Außenlagerkomplex Kaufering." *Dachauer Hefte* 5 (1989).
- Rancière, Jacques. *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*. Trans. Julie Rose. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Rancière, Jacques. "Who Is the Subject of the Rights of Man?" *South Atlantic Quarterly* 103, no. 2–3 (Spring–Summer 2004).
- Redlich, Shimon. "Between History and Biography: Memories from Postwar Łódź." In *Fenomen getta łódzkiego*, ed. Paweł Samuś and Wiesław Puś. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2006.
- Rée, Jonathan. "Internationality." *Radical Philosophy* 60 (Spring 1992).

- Reichling, Gerhard. *Die Heimatvertriebenen im Spiegel der Statistik*. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1958.
- Riedl, Hermann, Hans-Uwe Rump, and Hildegard Vieregg. *Erinnern statt Vergessen. Rundgang durch die KZ-Grab- und Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg*. Munich: Museums-Pädagogisches Zentrum, 1996.
- Ristelhuenber, René. "The International Refugee Organization." *International Conciliation* 470 (April 1951).
- Rosenhaft, Menachem Z., ed. *Life Reborn: Jewish Displaced Persons 1945–1951. Conference Proceedings, Washington, D.C., January 14–17, 2000*. Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2001.
- Rothschild, Joseph. *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Roussio, Henry, ed. *Stalinism and Nazism: History and Memory Compared*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.
- Salomon, Kim. *Refugees in the Cold War: Toward a New International Refugee Regime in the Early Postwar Era*. Lund: Lund University Press, 1991.
- Schirilla, László. *Wiedergutmachung für Nationalgeschädigte. Ein Bericht über die Benachteiligung von Opfern der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft*. Munich: Kaiser/Mainz: Grünewald, 1982.
- Schmitt, Carl. *The Idea of Representation*. Trans. E. M. Codd. Washington, DC: Plutarch Press, 1988.
- Schmitt, Carl. *Verfassungslehre*. Munich: Duncker und Humblot, 1928.
- Schrafstetter, Susanna. "The Diplomacy of *Wiedergutmachung*: Memory, the Cold War, and the Western European Victims of Nazism, 1956–1964." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17, no. 3 (Winter 2003).
- Schrafstetter, Susanna. "'What about paying BRITISH victims of Nazi hell camps?' Die Entschädigung in den deutsch-britischen Beziehungen." In *Grenzen der Wiedergutmachung. Die Entschädigung für NS-Verfolgte in West- und Osteuropa 1945–2000*, ed. Hans Günter Hockerts, Claudia Moisel, and Tobias Winstel. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006.
- Schröder, Matthias. *Deutschbaltische SS-Führer und Andrej Vlasov 1942–1945. "Rußland kann nur von Russen besiegt werden": Erhard Kroeger, Friedrich Buchardt und die "Russische Befreiungsarmee"*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2003.
- Schröder, Stefan. *Displaced Persons im Landkreis und in der Stadt Münster, 1945–1951*. Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2005.
- Schulze, Rainer. "The German Refugees and Expellees from the East and the Creation of a West German Identity after World War II." In *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948*, ed. Philipp Ther and Ana Siljak. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.
- Schwarz, Leo W. *The Redeemers: A Saga of the Years 1945–1952*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953.
- Schwarz, Leo W. *Refugees in Germany Today*. New York: Twayne, 1957.
- Schwarz, Walter. "Die Wiedergutmachung nationalsozialistischen Unrechts durch die Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Ein Überblick." In *Wiedergutmachung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, ed. Ludolf Herbst and Constantin Goshler. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1989.

- Sebrell, C. L. "Art of the Book: The Work of Anatol Girs." *Journal of Antiques and Collectibles* (September 2002).
- Shami, Seteney. "Transnationalism and Refugee Studies: Rethinking Forced Migration and Identity in the Middle East." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 9, no. 1 (1996).
- Shephard, Ben. "'Becoming Planning Minded': The Theory and Practice of Relief, 1940–1945." *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 3 (2008).
- Simpson, Christopher. *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effects on the Cold War*. New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988.
- Simpson, John Hope. *The Refugee Problem: Report of a Survey*. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Sjöberg, Tommie. *The Powers and the Persecuted: The Refugee Problem and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees*. Lund: Lund University Press, 1991.
- Skran, Claudena M. *Refugees in Inter-war Europe: The Emergence of a Regime*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Snyder, Timothy. *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Snyder, Timothy. *Sketches from a Secret War: A Polish Artist's Mission to Liberate Soviet Ukraine*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Snyder, Timothy. "'To Resolve the Ukrainian Question Once and For All': The Ethnic Cleansing of Ukrainians in Poland, 1943–1947." Rosemarie Rogers Working Paper No. 9, Inter-University Committee on International Migration, November 2001.
- Sofsky, Wolfgang. *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp*. Trans. William Templer. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Soguk, Nevzat. *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- Sommers, Marc. *Fear in Bongoland: Burundi Refugees in Urban Tanzania*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2001.
- Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Stammer, Otto. "Interessenverbände und Parteien." *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 9 (1957).
- Stepien, Stanislaus. *Der alteingesessene Fremde. Ehemalige Zwangsarbeiter in Westdeutschland*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1989.
- Stern, Frank. "The Historic Triangle: Occupiers, Germans, and Jews in Postwar Germany." *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 19 (1990).
- Stern, Frank. *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philo-Semitism in Postwar Germany*. Trans. William Templer. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992.
- Stoessinger, John George. *The Refugee and the World Community*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956.
- Subtelny, Orest. "Expulsion, Resettlement, Civil Strife: The Fate of Poland's Ukrainians, 1944–1947." In *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948*, ed. Philipp Ther and Ana Siljak. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

- Szaynok, Bozena. "The Role of Antisemitism in Postwar Polish-Jewish Relations." In *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland*, ed. Robert Blobaum. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Ther, Philipp. "A Century of Forced Migration: The Origins and Consequences of 'Ethnic Cleansing.'" In *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948*, ed. Philipp Ther and Ana Siljak. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.
- Ther, Philipp, and Ana Siljak, eds. *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.
- Tolstoy, Nicholas. *The Secret Betrayal*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977.
- Van Alphen, Ernst. "Caught by Images: On the Role of Visual Imprints in Holocaust Testimonies." *Journal of Visual Culture* 1, no. 2 (August 2002).
- Vernant, Jacques. *The Refugee in the Post-War World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
- Vieregg, Hildegard, Willi Eisele, and Theo Emmer, eds. *Begegnungen mit Flossenbürg. Beiträge, Dokumente, Interviews, Zeugnisse Überlebender*. Weiden: Spintler, 1998.
- Völkl, Ekkehard. "Ukrainische Emigration in Bayern 1945–1949." In *Bayern und Osteuropa: Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen Bayerns, Frankens und Schwabens mit Rußland, der Ukraine und Weißrußland*, ed. Hermann Beyer-Thoma. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 2000.
- Von Hagen, Mark. "Federalisms and Pan-movements: Re-Imagining Empire." In *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700–1930*, ed. Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatoly Remnev. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Waddington, Lorna L. "The Anti-Komintern and Nazi Anti-Bolshevik Propaganda in the 1930s." *Journal of Contemporary History* 42, no. 4 (October 2007).
- Wagner, Patrick. *Displaced Persons in Hamburg: Stationen einer halbherzigen Integration 1945–1958*. Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz, 1997.
- Wahlbeck, Östen. "Community Work and Exile Politics: Kurdish Refugee Associations in London." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 11, no. 3 (1998).
- Wahlbeck, Östen. "The Concept of Diaspora as an Analytical Tool in the Study of Refugee Communities." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28, no. 2 (April 2002).
- Weiner, Amir. *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Weitz, Eric D. "The Ever-Present Other: Communism in the Making of West Germany." In *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968*, ed. Hanna Schissler. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Wetzel, Juliane. *Jüdisches Leben in München 1945–1951. Durchgangsstation oder Wiederaufbau?* Munich: Kommissionsverlag UNI-Druck, 1987.
- Wetzel, Juliane. "'Mir szeinen doh.' München und Umgebung als Zuflucht von Überlebenden des Holocaust 1945–1948." In *Von Stalingrad zur Währungsreform: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Umbruchs in Deutschland*, ed. Martin Broszat, Klaus-Dietmar Henke, and Hans Woller. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1988.
- Wille, Manfred. "Compelling the Assimilation of Expellees in the Soviet Zone of Occupation and the GDR." In *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-*

- Central Europe, 1944–1948*, ed. Philipp Ther and Ana Siljak. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.
- Wojtowicz, Bernadetta. “Die rechtliche Lage der ukrainischen Flüchtlinge nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in Bayern.” In *Bayern und Osteuropa: Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen Bayerns, Frankens und Schwabens mit Rußland, der Ukraine und Weißrußland*, ed. Hermann Beyer-Thoma. Wiesbaden: Harasowitz, 2000.
- Woodbridge, George. *UNRRA: The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.
- Wyman, Mark. *DP: Europe’s Displaced Persons, 1945–1951*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Yaeger, Patricia, ed. *The Geography of Identity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Yurdakul, Gökçe. “State, Political Parties, and Immigrant Elites: Turkish Immigrant Associations in Berlin.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32, no. 3 (April 2006).
- Zahra, Tara. “Lost Children: Displacement, Family, and Nation in Postwar Europe.” *Journal of Modern History* 81, no. 1 (March 2009).
- Zemskov, V. N. “K voprosi o repatriatsii sovetskikh grazhdan 1944–1951 gody.” *Istoriia SSSR* 4 (July–August 1990).
- Zemskov, V. N. “Repatriatsiia sovetskikh grazhdan i ikh dal’neishaia sud’ba (1944–1956 rr.).” *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia* 6 (1995).
- Zemskov, V. N. “Rozhdenie ‘vtoroi emigratsii’ 1944–1952.” *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia* 4 (1991).
- Zertal, Idith. *From Catastrophe to Power: Holocaust Survivors and the Emergence of Israel*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Zinnemann, Fred. *Fred Zinnemann: An Autobiography*. London: Bloomsbury, 1992.
- Zimmerman, Joshua D., ed. *Contested Memories: Poles and Jews during the Holocaust and Its Aftermath*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003.
- Zolberg, Aristide R. “The Formation of New States as a Refugee-Generating Process.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 467 (May 1983).
- Zolberg, Aristide R., Astri Suhrke, and Sergio Aguayo. *Escape from Violence: Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Index

- Abendzeitung* (Munich), 145
 Acheson, Dean, 141, 149, 208
 Adenauer, Konrad, 187
 "Adolf Bleibtreu," 199
 Agamben, Giorgio, 24
 Agudath Israel, 174
 Aleksiun, Natalia, 184
 ALON. *See* Anti-Bolshevik League of Nations
 American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of the USSR, 136
 American Joint Distribution Committee ("The Joint"), 202; creation of, 62; relationship to CK, 192, 193; role in care of Jewish DPs, 66, 187–88, 192; role in Möhlstrasse demonstration, 201
 Anders, Władysław, 98
 Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, 62, 154, 182–83
 Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN): 1949 demonstrations by, 140–49, 198, 207, 208–9, 224; anti-communism of, 127–29, 131, 142–48; antisemitism of, 129–30, 133, 144; criticism of Soviet Union, 127–29, 141–45; establishment, 126; national-socialist goals of, 129, 130, 133; OUN origins, 127; propaganda by, 126–27, 131, 142–45. *See also* Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
 Anti-Bolshevik League of Nations (ALON), 126
 Anti-Bolshevistic Union, 138
 Anticommunism, 52–53; American, 135–42, 148–49, 194, 269, 304n83; among Jewish DPs, 4, 82, 140, 267; among Polish DPs, 5, 81–82, 86–87, 88, 90, 92–95, 98, 118, 209, 268; among political prisoners, 213, 224–25, 235, 264; among Russian DPs, 55, 82, 85–86, 109, 113, 115–16, 118, 123–26, 132–34, 137–38, 209, 225, 268; among Ukrainian DPs, 5, 82, 107, 108, 126–30, 132–34, 140–47, 209, 224–25, 268; demonstrations advocating, 53, 140–49, 208–9; diversity of among DPs, 133; historiography on, 86–87; insularity of groups promoting, 133; internationalist rhetoric of, 131–32; as interpretive framework among DPs, 4, 9, 10, 25, 86–87, 118–19, 213, 268; Nazi, 112–13, 123, 132; postwar organizations advocating, 115–16, 120, 123–49, 269; propaganda, 125, 126–27, 131, 133–34, 136, 138, 142–45; ties to fascism, 120–21, 124, 126–27, 134, 148; West German, 6, 209, 269. *See also* American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of the USSR; Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations; Anti-Bolshevik League of Nations; Anti-Bolshevistic Union; Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia; Coordinating Center of the Anti-Bolshevik Struggle; International of Liberty
 Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia (*Antikommunistischeskoï Tsentr Osvoboditel'nogo Dvizheniia*

- Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia (*continued*)
Narodov Rossii, or AZODNR), 115–16, 124–26, 133. *See also* Coordinating Center of the Anti-Bolshevik Struggle
- Antifascism, 195; among Polish DPs, 5, 88; among political prisoners, 213, 225–26; among Russian DPs, 225; among Ukrainian DPs, 5, 102, 108; internationalist character of, 226–36; as interpretive framework among DPs, 4, 9, 25, 212, 226–36; as OUN policy, 127
- Antikommunistischeskoï Tsentri Osoboditel'nogo Dvizheniia Narodov Rossii* (AZODNR). *See* Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia
- Antisemitism: American, 194; among DPs, 5, 82, 120, 126, 144, 148, 158, 211, 227, 245, 250, 268; Auerbach's campaign against, 67; DP fears of, 55, 181, 268; as Eastern European phenomenon, 167; Holocaust as result of, 4, 166–67; Lithuanian, 178; and postwar historiography, 20; postwar German, 20, 75, 173, 189, 198–208; Polish, 5, 37, 158, 167, 178, 179–80, 181, 185, 233–34; protests against, 198–210; Russian, 113, 124; Slovak, 126; Ukrainian, 5, 107, 129–30, 144, 148, 216, 250. *See also* Germany, Nazi, racial policies of
- Arendt, Hannah, 8, 9, 14–15, 17, 43
- Argentina, 46
- Arluk, Abrascha, 202, 205
- Armstrong, John, 106
- Aschaffenburg, 99
- Assimilation, 10
- Association of Foreign Political Persecutees, 252, 256–58, 259
- Association of the Free Press of the Suppressed Nations, 132
- Association of Jewish Survivors in the American Occupation Zone. *See* Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria
- Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime (VVN, *Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes*), 68, 232, 263, 265
- Association of Poles in Germany. *See* Polish Union in the American Occupation Zone of Germany
- Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners (*Tovarystvo Ukraïns'kykh Politychnykh V'iazniv*, or TUPV), 216, 223
- Aster, Otto, 251
- Auerbach, Philipp: condemnation of antisemitism, 67, 200, 251; mediation between Jewish groups, 188–89; membership in VVN, 232; opposition to DP demonstrations, 191, 199; prosecution of, 291n47; relationship with political prisoner committees, 248–51; response to Möhlstrasse demonstration, 207; role in restitution debates, 67–68, 71–72; wartime imprisonment of, 232, 250
- Augsburg, 100, 132
- Aumer, Hermann, 191
- Auschwitz, 1, 95, 181, 205, 221, 225, 236–42
- Australia, 46, 148
- Austria, 37, 99, 103, 182
- Austro-Hungarian Empire, 104
- AZODNR. *See* Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia
- Bahrianyi, Ivan, 108
- Balfour, Ian, 15
- Balinsky, Boris, 55, 109, 111–12, 115
- Baltic countries, 33, 109, 122. *See also* Estonia; Latvia; Lithuania
- Bamberg, 109, 112
- Bandera, Stepan, 106, 126
- Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*) (1949), 205, 207
- “The Battle of Grunwald,” 96–98, 153
- Bauer, Yehuda, 153, 160, 308n12
- Bavaria, 3, 5, 209; anticommunist activism in, 121, 132–33; DP demonstrations in, 53, 140–49, 198–210; DP population in, 73; official aid to persecutees in, 67, 246–47; restitution policies in, 70–71, 73, 75, 229, 256; as rumored site for postwar Jewish

- state, 63; support for DP cultural activities in, 50; Zionism in, 161
- Bayreuth, 140
- Belgium, 46, 224, 231
- Belgrade, 112
- Belorussia, 34, 36, 37, 41, 122, 125
- Berchtesgaden, 140, 305n99, 306n108
- Bergen-Belsen DP camp, 176
- Berkhoff, Karel, 129
- Berlin airlift, 205
- Bernstein, Philip S., 192
- Bessarabia, 33
- Blomberg, 90
- Boehling, Rebecca, 49
- Bogenhausen, 198, 204
- Bolshevik Revolution, 40, 41, 114, 115
- Boltanski, Luc, 13
- Borgwardt, Elizabeth, 42
- Borowski, Tadeusz, xi, 1–2, 11, 95–98, 236–40, 242–43
- Borwicz, Michal, 82, 179
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 13
- Braunschweig, 140
- Brazil, 46
- Brenner, Michael, 154, 162
- Brichah (Zionist organization), 37, 184
- Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius (Ukraine), 221
- Brubaker, Rogers, 278n41
- Buchardt, Friedrich, 139
- Buchenwald, 224, 225, 308n25
- Bukovina, 33
- Bulgaria, 37. *See also* DPs, Bulgarian
- Burds, Jeffrey, 135
- Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu*. *See We Were in Auschwitz*
- Cadava, Eduardo, 15
- Canada, 20, 46, 148, 270
- “Care and control” regime, 43, 155, 197; definition of, 29, 30, 282n2; military model for, 46–47
- Care Centers (*KZ-Betreuungsstellen*), 66–67, 68, 229, 245, 250
- Carruthers, Susan, 304n83
- Carynnyk, Marco, 129
- Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria (CK), 65, 154, 199, 202; American criticisms of, 194–95; American recognition of, 68, 162, 191–97; anti-assimilationism of, 172, 175, 188–90, 191, 206; Auerbach’s relationship with, 67, 188–89; commemorative activities of, 164, 165, 169; conflict with German Jews, 187–88, 190–91; disbanding of, 209; establishment of, 161–62, 174–75; leadership of, 163; political tactics of, 190–91; relationship to other Jewish organizations, 175, 187–88, 192, 313n11; response to Möhlstrasse demonstration, 201–2, 207; welfare activities of, 163, 192, 195; Zionist character of, 163, 170–73, 175, 192
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (U.S.), 136
- Central International Union of Former Political Prisoners (CIUPP), 194–95, 234–35, 249–50
- Central Representation of the Russian Emigration (*Tsentral’noe Predstavitel’stvo Rossiiskoi Emigratsii*, or TsEPRE), 112
- Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany (*Tsentral’ne Predstavnytstvo Ukraïns’koï Emihratsii v Nimechchyni*, or TsPUE), 99–100, 103, 104, 108, 117, 216, 225
- Chopin, Frédéric, 91
- Christian Social Union (CSU), 132
- Chronicle of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner* (*Litopys Ukraïns’koho Polityv’iaznia*), 222–23, 224
- Churchill, Winston, 42
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- CIC. *See* Counter-Intelligence Corps, U.S. Army
- Cieslik, Walter, 228–30
- Ciuciura, Bohdan, 104
- Civil War, Russian, 40, 41, 113, 116, 122
- CK. *See* Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria
- Clarke, Edwin, 194–95
- Clay, Lucius, 50, 65, 68
- Cohen, Daniel, 42, 63, 154
- Cold War, 20, 21, 45, 53, 121, 136–37, 138, 140, 147, 269
- Collaboration, Nazi: by non-Russian Soviets, 123; by political prisoners, 212, 214; by wartime refugees, 33, 34; Croatian, 142; DP attitudes to-

- Collaboration, Nazi (*continued*)
ward, 4, 233; Polish, 233; and post-war anticommunism, 120–21, 124, 139–40, 142; Russian, 111–12, 113, 114, 115; Slovak, 126, 142; Soviet punishment for, 6, 34, 99, 104–5, 111, 112, 115; Ukrainian, 34, 99, 102, 104, 105, 106–7, 108, 126, 216, 323n18
- Collective farms (*kolkhoz*), 104, 143
- Commemoration: by political prisoners, 213, 215, 216–26, 229, 230–32; Jewish, 157, 160, 164, 169, 190; in West Germany, 21
- Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (*Komitet Osvozhdeniia Narodov Rossii*, or KONR), 115, 123, 124, 125. *See also* Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia
- Committee of United Vlasovites (*Komitet Ob'edinennykh Vlasovtsev*, or KOV), 116
- Concentration camps, 3, 19, 31; Allied policies for survivors of, 58–60, 308n25; antifascism in, 238–40; categorization of survivors as “political prisoners,” 59, 212–13; collaboration in, 212; compared to DP camps, 61, 93, 96–98; as defining experience for former political prisoners, 217–19; DPs from, 41, 58, 91–93, 95–98, 103, 155–60, 171, 211–43, 263–64; deportation to, 219; evacuation of, 34, 219; forced labor in, 253–54; genocide in, 31–32, 145, 237; liberation of, 96, 101, 154, 156–57, 161, 213, 219, 236; literary accounts of, 217, 225, 236–42; memorials at, 230–32; organizing within, 213, 279n61; population of, 32; as site of suffering, 59–60, 65, 102, 164, 171, 218–19, 231, 237; Soviet use of, 128, 224; symbols of, 212, 218, 239, 241–43, 318n23; visual representations of, 218–19, 222. *See also* Auschwitz; Buchenwald; Dachau concentration camp; Flossenbürg; Political prisoners; Sachsenhausen
- Congress of Liberated Jews in Germany (1947), 170, 189
- Congress of the Peoples of Russia (1917), 122
- Conference of Zionists in Bavaria (1945), 161
- Coordinating Center of the Anti-Bolshevik Struggle (*Koordinatsionnyi Tsentr Antibol'shevistskoi Bor'by*, or KtsAB), 126
- Cossacks, 41, 122, 125, 142, 224, 231
- Council of Foreign Ministers (Allied), 52
- Counter-Intelligence Corps, U.S. Army (CIC), 50, 99, 115, 215, 251
- Cracow, 105
- Croatia, 32, 142
- Curzon, George, 35
- Czechoslovakia: antisemitism in, 126; collaboration in, 126; DPs from, 8, 40; ethnic Germans in, 34, 36; ethnic Ukrainians from, 40, 103; Jewish migration from, 41
- Czerwinski, Antoni, 92, 93, 101
- Dachau concentration camp, 225, 227; Allach satellite camp, 159, 236; Jewish prisoners in, 156–57, 159; Kaufering satellite camp, 156; liberation of, 97, 157, 159, 236; memoirs of life in, 233; Polish prisoners in, 89, 96–97, 218, 233; prisoner organization in, 156–57, 213. *See also* International Prisoners' Committee of Dachau
- Dachau DP camp, 213; commemoration at, 231–32; Dachau-Allach satellite camp, 159; Jewish DPs in, 155–60; Kaufering satellite camp, 156; Polish DPs in, 91–93, 95, 96–98. *See also* International Information Office of Dachau; International Prisoners' Committee of Dachau; Jewish Information Office; Polish Information Office in Dachau
- Danziger, Shmul, 47–48
- Dehler, Thomas, 265
- Denazification, 6, 58, 62, 255–56
- Deportation, 30–32, 103–4, 105, 109
- Deutsches Büro für Friedensfragen*. *See* German Office for Peace Questions

Diaspora. *See* Refugees

Diner, Dan, 63, 64, 226

Dinnerstein, Leonard, 308n25

Displaced persons (DPs): accusations of criminality against, 47, 48, 65, 75, 187, 203, 209, 233, 249–50; as “administered persons,” 15, 17, 29; Allied policies toward, 5–6, 9, 15, 16, 17–18, 29–30, 42–55, 57–58, 60, 64–66, 137, 244–66; anticommunism among, 52–53, 82, 84–90, 92–93, 95, 104, 107–8, 109–10, 112–16, 118–19, 120–49, 224–25, 250; antifascism among, 4, 5, 9, 25, 88, 102, 108, 225, 226–36; antisemitism among, 5, 82, 124, 144, 159, 211, 227, 233–34, 237–38, 250, 268; art by, 218–19, 222; camps for (*see* DP camps); “care and control” of, 29–30, 46–47, 59, 197, 268, 282n2; commemoration by, 157, 160, 164, 169, 190, 213, 215, 216–26, 229, 230–32; committees (*see* DP committees); comparative analysis of, 9–11; concentration camp survivors as, 41, 58–59, 155, 211–43; conflicts between, 117–18, 240, 263–64; cooperation among, 9–10, 17; cost of care for, 73; creation of category of, 42–44; definition of, 3, 7, 20, 42–44; demographic composition of, 29; demonstrations by (*see* DP demonstrations); distinguished by Allies from “refugees,” 43, 172; diversity of, 4; elites, 18–19, 87, 108, 118; emigration by, 3, 148, 182–84, 270; employment by international organizations, 17; forced labor by, 3, 19, 102, 103, 253–54; German attitudes toward, 22, 47–48, 65, 72–73, 75, 139, 147–48, 172, 186–210, 229, 232–33, 265, 270; group consciousness of, 8, 9, 14, 270; historical sense among, 6, 20, 25–26; historiography about, 7–11, 20–22; incompatibility with notions of sovereignty, 14; internationalism among, 9–10, 131–32, 226–36, 268; international norms for, 16, 17, 259–62; journalism, 82, 90, 92–93, 104, 114, 132, 135, 138, 139, 165, 246; legal status of, 3, 15,

18, 46, 69, 264–65; linguistic facility among, xi, 19, 144, 178; literary representations of, 1, 91, 93, 94–95, 96–98, 110–11, 153, 236–42; material conditions of, 61–62, 246–47; memoirs by, 1, 91, 93, 94, 95–96, 109–10, 111–12, 115, 217, 225, 233–34, 235, 254; national classification of, 2–3, 4, 8–11, 25, 39, 57–58, 59, 60, 63–64, 90–91, 102–3, 117–18, 155, 159, 196–97, 214, 232–33, 269; Nazi collaboration by, 4, 19, 99, 102, 104, 105, 107–8, 111–12, 113, 114, 121, 124, 139–40, 212, 214, 233; non-identification as “German,” 21, 22, 46, 54, 270; notion of “homeland” among, 25, 101; number of, 3, 37–38; opposition to repatriation among, 3, 4, 9, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 52, 81–119, 156–57, 160, 161, 170, 174–75, 214, 232–33, 235; perceived danger from, 52–53, 54, 65, 68, 75, 194; as “persecutees,” 60, 62; political activities of, 12, 17–18, 49–50, 51, 53–55, 69, 91–92, 107, 123–26, 135–49, 173–75, 190, 191–92, 198–208, 269–70; political prisoners as category of, 59, 159, 194–95, 211–43; professional backgrounds of, 18–19; redefinition as “homeless foreigners,” 3, 46; as “refugee nation,” 6; repatriation of, 3, 9, 25, 38, 39, 44–46, 52, 81–119, 120, 233, 258; resettlement of, 1, 45–46, 137; restitution for, 56–57, 69–76, 229, 251–66, 268; rights of, 8, 15, 29–30, 49, 51–52, 141–42, 246–47; role of intergovernmental relief agencies among, 5, 10, 42–43; segregation of, 22, 47, 67, 172; self-identification as, 7–8, 269–70; self-identification of, 2, 4, 21, 22; SHAEF categorization of, 44, 57–58, 60–61; statelessness of, 74, 261; terminology for, 3, 42–44, 46, 57; U.S. recruitment of, 135–37; West German policies toward, 5–6, 9, 18, 21, 46, 50–51, 72–77, 265–66. *See also* Persecutees; Refugees; *specific ethnicity*, e.g., DPs Austrian Displaced Persons Act (U.S.), 46, 304n83

Domagala, Jan, 228

Dortheimer, Mieczysław, 158

DP camps, 1, 5, 8, 20, 39, 40; access to, 45; administration of, 47–48, 61–62; exclusion from restitution regime, 71–72, 74; functions of, 46–47, 162–63; Jewish, 7, 62, 162, 163, 209, 323n11; as legally non-permanent residence, 71, 74; literary accounts of, 96–98, 153; location of, 47; material conditions in, 61–62, 93, 163; military origins of, 46–47; Polish, 91–93, 96–98; Russian, 114; segregation by national origin, 44, 99, 162; social work in, 161–62; status of persecutees in, 69; transfer to German control, 48, 269; Ukrainian, 99, 117. *See also* Bergen-Belsen DP camp; Feldafing DP camp; Flossenbürg; Föhrenwald DP camp; Freimann DP camp; Funk Caserne DP camp; Mönchehof DP camp; Schleisheim-Feldmoching DP camp; Stuttgart DP camp

DP committees, 4; advocacy by, 12, 17, 50–55, 89, 103, 191–97, 214–15; as agents of self-representation, 12, 103, 163; Bulgarian, 138; cooperation among, 117; international, 117, 132, 194–95, 214, 226–30, 234–35; Jewish, 7, 65, 67, 68, 73, 154, 155–63, 172, 173–75, 190–97, 206, 270; mandate of, 48–49, 163, 192, 195; national character of, 10–11, 53, 91–92, 196–97; official recognition of, 48–49, 53, 158, 162, 191–97, 246–51; Polish, 50, 89–90, 91–93, 98–99, 117, 214, 246–51, 270; political prisoners', 213–16, 246–51, 252; political activities of, 17, 50–55, 98–99, 120–49, 190; restrictions upon, 15, 49–52, 158, 246, 249; Russian, 112, 113–16, 124–26, 133; terminology for, 12; Ukrainian, 49, 50, 99–100, 103, 108, 117, 126, 127–34, 214–16, 221–23, 270. *See also* American Joint Distribution Committee; Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations; Anti-Bolshevik League of Nations; Anti-Bolshevistic Union; Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the

Peoples of Russia; Association of Foreign Political Persecutees; Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime; Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners; Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria; Central International Union of Former Political Prisoners; Central Representation of the Russian Emigration; Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany; Committee of United Vlasovites; Coordinating Center of the Anti-Bolshevik Struggle; Federation of Hungarian Jews; International Committee of Political Refugees and Displaced Persons; International Information Office of Dachau; International of Liberty; Jewish Information Office; Land Association of Jewish Committees in Bavaria; League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners; Munich Jewish Committee; Persecutees, organizations of; Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners of German Concentration Camps; Polish Committee in Munich; Polish Committee of Dachau; Polish Information Office in Dachau; Polish Union in the American Occupation Zone of Germany; Polish Union in Germany; Representatives of National Committees of DPs and Refugees in Germany; Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party; Union of Fighters of the Liberation Movement; Union of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia; Zionist Center (Dachau)

DP demonstrations: ABN Munich (1949), 140–49, 198, 207, 208–9, 224, 271; Allied policies towards, 52–53, 141–42, 149; Jewish, 51, 190, 191, 198–210; Möhlstrasse (1949), 198–210; Munich (1951), 148; Neuberg, 53; press coverage of, 146–47; Ukrainian, 140–49

DP-logical Alphabet, 110

DPs, Austrian, 44

DPs, Belorussian, 109, 125, 142

- DPs, Bulgarian, 44, 138
 DPs, Cossack, 125, 142
 DPs, Czechoslovakian, 8, 142, 229
 DPs, Dutch, 233–34
 DPs, Estonian, 8, 39, 142
 DPs, Finnish, 44
 DPs, German, 44, 66–67
 DPs, Hungarian, 8, 39, 44, 134. *See also* Federation of Hungarian Jews
 DPs, Italian, 44
 DPs, Japanese, 44
 DPs, Jewish, 4; anticommunism among, 82, 140, 267; assemblies of, 161–62, 170, 174–75; attitudes toward non-Jewish DPs, 4, 172, 178, 268; commemoration by, 157, 160, 164–70, 190; committees, 7, 65, 67, 68, 73, 154, 155–63, 173–75, 190–97, 270; demands for autonomy, 4, 53, 67, 155, 162, 163, 170–72, 189–90, 192–93; demonstrations by, 51, 140, 190, 191, 198–210; emigration by, 153–54, 179–80, 182–84, 199, 205–6, 209–10, 243, 267, 270; ethnic composition of, 176; historiography about, 7, 20, 153–54; Hungarian, 181, 313n11; leadership of, 162–63, 176, 199–200; Lithuanian, 161, 162, 171, 172, 174, 176, 185; number of, 41, 206; opposition to repatriation among, 9, 82, 84, 156–57, 160, 161, 163, 170, 174–75; as “persecutees,” 56–57, 58, 60, 62, 65, 75, 76; police treatment of, 47–48, 187, 191, 200–205, 207, 209; Polish, 10, 30, 40, 41, 153, 163, 172, 176, 178–80, 182, 185, 192, 311n97; political activism of, 67–68, 77, 140, 173–75, 190, 191–92, 198–210; political prisoner hostility toward, 211, 227, 245; preference for American zone of occupation, 37, 41, 63, 73, 160, 182; recognition as separate group, 61–62, 63, 154–55; rejection as “foreigners” by postwar Germans, 22, 72–73, 187–88; relationships with Germans, 172, 187–210; repatriation debates among, 174–75, 177; resettlement of, 46, 72, 75, 206–7, 209–10; resettlement in Germany, 206–7, 209–10; restitution for, 72–73, 76, 162; in Soviet East, 82; special status of, 67, 245, 246–47, 250; Zionism among, 4, 25, 37, 51, 52, 63, 76, 84, 153–55, 156–58, 159–61, 163–64, 167–71, 173–85, 267. *See also* Agaduth Israel; American Joint Distribution Committee; Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria; Conference of Liberated Jews in Germany; Conference of Zionists in Bavaria; Congress of Liberated Jews in Germany; Federation of Hungarian Jews; Feldafing DP camp; Föhrenwald DP camp; Freimann DP camp; Harrison Report; Jewish Information Office; Land Association of Jewish Committees in Bavaria; Munich Jewish Committee; Zionist Center (Dachau)
- DPs, Latvian, 39, 142, 172
 DPs, Lithuanian, 39, 142, 172
 DPs, Polish, 4, 30; absence from ABN demonstration, 142; anticommunism among, 5, 25, 81–82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92–95, 118, 233; antifascism among, 5; antisemitism among, 5, 159, 233; camps for, 91–93, 96–98; committees, 50, 89–90, 91–93, 98–99, 117, 214, 228, 270; conflict with Ukrainian DPs, 107, 118, 126, 132, 263–64; cooperation with other DPs, 117; DP hostility towards, 4, 172, 233–34; emigration, 270; ethnic diversity of, 40; ethnic identity among, 10, 39; exclusion from restitution, 73; forced labor by, 253–54; hierarchy among, 217; journalism by, 92–93; literature by, 1, 91, 93–98, 153, 236–42, 254; nationalism among, 86, 90–91, 92–95, 96–98; number of, 39; opposition to repatriation among, 9, 39, 81–82, 83, 84, 86–87, 89–90, 93–94, 98–99, 117, 214; perception of Nazis as imperialists, 4–5; political prisoners among, 89, 153, 213–14, 217, 228, 230, 236–43, 246–51, 253; professional backgrounds of, 18–19; repatriation of, 39, 45, 89, 94, 117, 160. *See also* Freimann DP camp; International

DPs, Polish (*continued*)

Committee of Political Refugees and Displaced Persons; Polish Association of Ex-Prisoners Persecuted by Nazis; Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners of German Concentration Camps; Polish Committee in Munich; Polish Committee of Dachau; Polish Information Office in Dachau; Polish Union in the American Occupation Zone of Germany; Polish Union in Germany

DPs, political. *See* Political prisoners, DP

DPs, Rumanian, 44

DPs, Russian, 4, 30, 254–55; absence from ABN demonstration, 142; anti-semitism among, 5, 113, 124; anti-communism among, 5, 25, 82, 85–86, 109, 113, 115–16, 118, 121–34, 137–38; camps for, 114, 124; claims for asylum by, 110, 112; committees, 112, 113–16, 124–26, 133; cooperation with other DPs, 117; differences over repatriation among, 109, 111; ethnic identity among, 39, 41, 104, 109, 125; federalism among, 123–26, 128–29, 132; Jewish hostility towards, 4, 172; journalism by, 104, 114; literature by, 109–10, 110–11, 111–12, 225; nationalism among, 113–16, 121–26; Nazi collaboration by, 112, 113–14, 123–24; number of, 38, 39, 42; opposition to repatriation among, 41, 45, 82, 83, 85–86, 108–16; perception of Nazis as imperialists, 4–5; political divisions among, 113–16, 121–34, 138; as “political emigration,” 108–9, 112–13, 116, 118; repatriation of, 3, 36, 38, 40, 41, 45, 52–53, 64, 83, 85–86, 104, 109–11, 112, 134–35, 137, 177, 216. *See also* Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia; Central Representation of the Russian Emigration; Committee of United Vlasovites; Coordinating Center of the Anti-Bolshevik Struggle; National Labor Union; Union of Fighters of the Liberation Movement; Union of the

Struggle for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia

DPs, Turkistani, 142

DPs, Ukrainian, 4, 49; anticommunism among, 5, 25, 82, 85, 99, 101, 105, 126–30, 132–34, 136, 140–48, 224–25; antifascism among, 5; anti-semitism among, 5, 144, 148, 323n18; anti-Polish sentiments among, 107, 118, 126, 132, 263; anti-Soviet activism by, 101–2, 106–7, 118, 121, 126–34, 232; assemblies of, 99, 100, 117, 225; camps for, 99, 117; claims for asylum by, 100, 102–3; collaboration by, 99, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 323n18; committees, 99–100, 103, 108, 117, 126, 127–34, 214–16, 221–23, 270; cooperation with other DPs, 117; deportation of, 103–4, 105; demonstrations by, 140–49; DP hostility towards, 4, 172, 233; differences over repatriation among, 103–8; elites, 108, 125, 217; emigration by, 270; ethnic identity among, 39, 40; journalism by, 104, 222–23, 224; literature by, 217; nationalism among, 82, 85, 100–108, 126–30, 136, 148, 214–16, 217, 221–26, 231–32, 234–35; opposition to repatriation among, 39–40, 82, 85, 99–108, 133; perception of Nazis as imperialists, 4–5; Polish, 10, 30, 40, 85, 105, 117, 126, 215, 235; political divisions among, 106–8; as “political emigration,” 100–108, 118; political prisoners among, 214–16, 217, 221–26, 230–31; professional backgrounds of, 18–19; repatriation of, 40, 103, 117; segregation of, 103, 117; Soviet, 40, 85, 103–5, 108, 125. *See also* Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations; Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners; Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany; *Chronicle of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner*; Educational and Research Institute of Ukrainian Martyrology; International Committee of Political Refugees and Displaced Persons; International of Liberty; League of

- Ukrainian Political Prisoners; Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists; Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party
- DPs, United Nations (UNDPs), 44, 51, 60, 66, 172
- DPs, Yugoslav, 39
- Durchansky, Ferdinand, 126
- Dyczok, Marta, 103
- Eastern Europe: antisemitism in, 167; as context for DP history, 20; expulsion of ethnic Germans from, 36–37; forced labor in, 31; formative role of postwar Germany in, 22–23; historiography about, 20; Jewish migration from, 37, 41, 63; minorities within, 11; nationalism in, 6, 10; Nazi collaboration in, 34; Nazi occupation of, 6, 30; population movements in, 29, 30, 31–37, 39, 42; prisoners of war from, 32, 34; Soviet occupation of, 6, 10, 22, 30, 35–36, 84. *See also* Czechoslovakia; Hungary; Poland; Ukraine
- Educational and Research Institute of Ukrainian Martyrology, 221–22
- Eichhorn, Max, 159
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 48, 59, 61, 62, 65, 246–47
- Elliott, Mark, 52
- Emigration: communities formed by, 20, 270; political rationale for, 100–109, 112–13, 114, 116, 270
- Engel, David, 183
- Estonia, 8, 34
- Ethnic cleansing, 20, 35–37
- Exile, 91, 95–96
- Europeanism, 10, 22
- European Union, 22
- Evian Conference (1938), 58, 59, 63
- Fascism: Croatian, 142; Italian, 106. *See also* National Socialism
- Feder, Theodore, 202, 207
- Federal Compensation Law (1956), 73–74, 76
- Federalism (Russo-Soviet), 121–26, 132, 148
- Federal Republic of Germany. *See* Germany, West
- Federation of Hungarian Jews, 313n11
- Feldafing DP camp, 161, 162, 174–75, 191, 323n11
- Fesenko, Tat'iana, 109–10, 111, 112
- Fibisch, Peter, 231
- First Conference of Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia, 127
- Fischer, George, 109, 112
- Flossenbürg: concentration camp, 230–31; DP camp, 230
- Föhrenwald DP camp, 209
- Forced laborers: as DPs, 3, 19, 91, 103, 214, 253–54; minor role of within DP debates, 19; POWs as, 31; Nazi use of, 3, 19, 30–31, 32, 34, 83, 102, 103–4, 144, 253–54; repatriation of, 102, 109, 111; restitution for, 253–54; Soviet use of, 82, 86, 104, 128, 143, 144, 224
- France, 45–46, 54, 93, 231. *See also* Zone of occupation, French
- Freimann DP camp (Munich), 92–93, 95, 96, 117, 161, 174, 218, 236
- Frenkel, Shlomo, 156
- Friedheim, V., 175
- Funk Caserne DP camp (Munich), 84
- Fun Letstn Khurbn* (From the Last Destruction), 165
- Gablingen, 246, 253
- Galicja (Eastern Poland), 40, 105, 106–7, 109, 178
- Garfunkel, Leib, 156
- Gehlen, Reinhard, 304n73
- General Claims Law (*Entschädigungsgesetz*, 1948), 67, 72, 73, 76, 261, 264, 265
- General Government (administration of Nazi-Occupied Poland), 30, 31
- Genocide, 4, 30, 32, 59, 129–30, 145, 156. *See also* Ethnic cleansing; Holocaust
- Georgia (Soviet), 122
- German Association of Former Political Prisoners of Concentration Camps, 230
- German Democratic Republic. *See* Germany, East
- German Office for Peace Questions (*Deutsches Büro für Friedensfragen*), 139

- Germany, East, 15, 226, 233–34
- Germany, Nazi; alliance with Soviet Union, 33; anticommunism of, 112–13, 123, 132, 229; collaboration with, 4, 19, 99, 102, 104, 105, 107–8, 111–12, 113, 114, 115, 121, 123, 126, 129–30, 142, 178, 212, 216, 233; concentration camps in, 32, 34, 58–59, 61, 144, 212, 217–18, 223, 238–40; criminal culpability of, 252–53, 261, 270; defeat of, 33, 59; evacuations within, 34; forced labor under, 3, 19, 22, 30–31, 32, 34, 83, 102, 103–4, 144, 253–54; genocide by, 4, 30, 32, 59, 129–30, 145, 156, 164–67, 169–71, 178, 218, 323n18; as imperialist power, 4–5, 21, 127, 252, 270–71; invasion of Soviet Union, 4–5, 31, 32, 33, 107, 123; occupation of Eastern Europe, 6, 22, 30–33, 178; occupation of Poland, 4–5, 10, 30–32, 214; occupation of Soviet Union, 32–33, 102, 103, 106–7, 112–13, 114, 115; occupation of Ukraine, 4–5, 102, 103, 106–7, 126–27, 216, 323n18; political persecution in, 228; postwar partition of, 35; POWs in, 32; racial policies of, 1, 4, 29, 30, 31, 34, 58, 59, 62, 71, 102, 112, 129, 253; religious persecution in, 58, 59, 71; wartime resistance against, 169, 176, 211–13, 214, 226–30, 236, 241, 254–55
- Germany, occupied: absence of state within, 15; acknowledgment of Nazi past in, 21, 186–87, 198–99, 270; Allied policies within, 5; anticommunism in, 138–39, 269; anti-Polish attitudes in, 233, 249–50; antisemitism in, 75, 173, 189, 198–208; attitudes toward occupation in, 147; communism in, 139–40; denazification in, 6, 255–56; DP control by authorities in, 66–67, 69, 197, 198, 200–205, 207–10, 269; DP demonstrations in, 4, 51–52, 53, 140–49, 198–210; DP resettlement in, 46, 54–55; historiography about, 20–22; Jewish migration to, 37, 206–7; journalism in, 145, 146–47, 198–200, 207–8; nationalism in, 205; Poles in, 88; police in, 47–48, 51, 141, 146, 187, 200–202, 203–5, 207–8; relationships between DPs and Germans in, 21, 44, 47–48, 65, 67, 139–49, 172, 186–210, 229, 232, 248–51; repatriation to, 36; repatriation of Soviets from, 3, 36, 38, 40, 45, 52–53, 64, 83, 85–86, 104, 109–11, 112, 134–35, 137, 177, 216; restitution policies in, 56, 73–74, 75, 76, 229, 251–66; reversion of authority in, 16, 187, 189–90, 197, 198–210, 269; Zionism in, 156–60, 161, 164–76, 180–83, 187–89. *See also* Military Government of Occupation; Zone of occupation, American; Zone of occupation, British; Zone of occupation, French; Zone of occupation, Soviet
- Germany, West: anticommunist policy of, 6, 269; antisemitism in, 20, 75; attitudes toward DPs in, 7, 21, 54–55, 72–74, 75; bureaucracy of, 74; creation of, 15, 205, 207; definition of “German-ness” within, 20, 22, 54, 208; DP committees in, 50–51, 54, 270; DP demonstrations in, 148; DP policies of, 3, 5–6, 9, 18, 21, 46, 50–51, 54–55, 72–77, 265–66; DP population in, 3; denazification in, 6, 270; historiography about, 21–22; immigration to, 22; Jewish community in, 21, 22, 66, 187, 208, 209–10; memorialization within, 21; restitution policies in, 56, 73–74, 75, 76, 265; role of Eastern European history for, 22–23; theme of wartime suffering in, 21, 219; transfer of authority over DPs to, 66, 69, 76, 189–90, 197
- Gestapo, 89, 139
- Ghetos, 31, 155–56, 161, 169, 171, 176
- Girs, Anatol, 236, 239–40, 241, 243
- Girs, Barbara, 322n108
- Glick, Hersh, 190
- Globalization, 23
- Goethe in Dachau*, 233
- Goschler, Constantin, 59, 73, 263
- Goya, Francisco, 219
- Grabinski, Mieczysław, 89, 94–95, 98, 117, 214
- Great Britain, 42; minority policies, 35–36; Palestine policy, 52, 161, 174,

- 182; Polish policy of, 35–36, 89; repatriation to, 38; resettlement of DPs in, 46, 148; Soviet policy of, 35, 45. *See also* Zone of occupation, British
- Greenstein, Harry, 199, 207
- Grinberg, Zalman, 65, 161, 163, 164, 166, 172, 193, 194
- Gringauz, Samuel, 166–67, 168–69, 170–71, 173, 189, 195, 196
- Grodzinsky, Yosef, 154
- Grossmann, Atina, 21, 190
- Group identity, 13–14
- Grunwald, Battle of (1410), 96
- Gulag system, 144, 224. *See also* Soviet Union, forced labor in
- Hannover, 140
- Harrison, Earl G., 61–62, 160, 247
- Harrison Report (1945), 61–64, 65, 66, 154, 160, 172, 196, 245–46
- Haskalah movement, 167–68, 177
- Herbert, Ulrich, 263
- Herf, Jeffrey, 187
- Hermelin, Stefan, 234
- Herzl, Theodor, 177
- Heuner, Jonathan, 318n31
- Heuss, Theodor, 187
- Higgins, Marguerite, 199
- High Commissioner of Refugees, Office of the (League of Nations), 112
- Himka, John-Paul, 102
- Hitler, Adolf, 124, 156, 252
- Hnaupek, Walter, 89
- Hobsbawm, Eric, 226
- Hoegner, Wilhelm (Bavarian justice minister), 70
- Holocaust, 31–32, 145; as catalyst for Zionism, 158, 164, 170–71, 176, 178–79; as challenge to Zionism, 156; commemoration of, 164–65, 169; Eastern European complicity in, 167, 178; Jewish interpretations of, 163–70; as martyrdom, 169; post-war German treatment of, 21, 186–87, 245; as reason for Jewish state, 173, 184; as renunciation of Enlightenment promise, 167–69; role in Zionist rhetoric, 154, 156, 164, 173, 184; as source of Jewish identity, 158, 164, 170–71, 184, 188; terms for, 165, 169. *See also* Germany, Nazi, genocide by; *She'erith Hapletah*
- Home Army (Polish), 88
- Homeless Foreigners Law (West Germany), 3, 46, 50, 53, 55
- Honig, Bonnie, 279n55
- Human rights, 14–15, 16, 17
- Hungary, 36, 37, 41, 141, 158, 181. *See also* DPs, Hungarian
- Hurwic-Nowakowska, Irena, 180, 184
- Hussarek, Paul, 228, 229–30
- IGCR. *See* Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees
- IIO. *See* International Information Office of Dachau
- Immigration, 21–22, 24–25
- IMT. *See* International Military Tribunal
- INCOPORE. *See* International Committee of Political Refugees and Displaced Persons
- Inter-Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements, 42
- Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR), 58, 61
- International Committee of Political Emigrants and DPs. *See* Central International Union of Former Political Prisoners
- International Committee of Political Refugees and Displaced Persons (INCOPORE), 117, 132
- International Information Office of Dachau (IIO), 214, 228–30
- Internationalism: among DPs, 9–10, 211, 226–32, 234–36, 239; among former political prisoners, 211, 226–32, 234–36, 239; anticommunist rhetoric and, 131–32; antifascism and, 226–36; and restitution regime, 259–62; and war crimes prosecution, 260–62
- International Military Tribunal (IMT), 260–62
- International of Liberty, 126, 131
- International Prisoners' Committee of Dachau (IPC), 92, 157, 159, 227, 228, 320n79

- International Refugee Organization (IRO), 6, 16, 46, 103; administration of DP camps, 47, 246; advocacy for DP restitution, 73, 261, 265; autonomy of, 17; creation of, 45, 64; oversight of DP committees, 48, 53, 117, 261; planning for, 65; role in care of persecutees, 66, 76, 253, 268; Soviet rejection of, 45–46; subordination to Western occupation authorities, 16–17, 46
- IPC. *See* International Prisoners' Committee of Dachau
- Irgun Brith Zion, 155–56
- IRO. *See* International Refugee Organization
- Isar River, 94
- Israel, 20, 46, 154, 198, 270. *See also* Palestine
- Italy, 98, 259
- Jacobmeyer, Wolfgang, 8–9, 30, 76, 83, 87, 153
- Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, Anna, 86, 90, 91
- Jewish Agency in Palestine, 188
- Jewish Information Office (Dachau), 157–60, 178–79
- Jews: appeal of German culture to, 166, 167–68; concentration camp experiences of, 153, 156–57, 171, 237; defined as victims of Nazi persecution, 61–63, 165, 237, 245; emigration to Palestine, 25, 41, 62, 153–54, 180, 182–83, 188, 206, 270; extermination of (*see* Holocaust); historical narratives of, 164–70; historiography about, 21; in Czechoslovakia, 126; in Hungary, 158; in Lithuania, 155–56, 161, 162, 171, 177–78; in Poland, 3, 10, 20, 31–32, 36, 37, 154, 158, 166, 176–80; in postwar Germany, 21, 22, 66, 187, 208, 209–10, 245; in Soviet Union, 33, 64; as national group, 63–64, 155, 160; postwar divisions among, 187–89, 190–91; as postwar refugees, 37, 41, 63, 154; repatriation of, 36, 37; as wartime refugees, 33; wartime resistance by, 169, 176, 236, 241. *See also* Antisemitism; Brichah; DPs, Jewish; Haskalah movement; Jewish Agency in Palestine; *She'erith Hapletah*; Zionism
- Joint, The. *See* American Joint Distribution Committee
- Judt, Tony, 6
- Kassel, 114
- Katyn massacre, 35, 96, 97
- Kaufering. *See* Dachau concentration camp
- Kerckhoff, Susanne, 233–34
- Kharkov, 112
- Kielce pogrom, 37, 179
- Kiev, 109, 111–12, 125, 231
- Klausner, Abraham, 158, 161, 191–92
- Knysh, Zinovii, 100, 101, 102, 103
- Kogon, Eugen, 212
- Kolkhoz. *See* Collective farms
- Komitet Ob'edinennykh Vlasovtsev (KOV). *See* Committee of United Vlasovites
- Komitet Osvobodzheniia Narodov Rossii (KONR). *See* Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia
- KONR. *See* Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia
- Koordinatsionnyi Tsentri Antibolshevistskoi Bor'by (KtsAB). *See* Coordinating Center of the Anti-Bolshevik Struggle
- KOV. *See* Committee of United Vlasovites
- Kovno ghetto, 155–56, 161, 174
- Kronstadt rebellion (1921), 116
- KtsAB. *See* Coordinating Center of the Anti-Bolshevik Struggle
- Kuhlmann-Smirnov, Anne, 105
- Kulischer, Eugene, 29, 31
- Kulyk, Volodymyr, 100, 105, 297n77
- KZ-Betreuungsstellen. *See* Care Centers
- Lachmann, Walter, 232–33
- Lagrou, Pieter, 4, 219, 224
- Lalande, Julia, 102
- Land Association of Jewish Committees in Bavaria (*Landesverband der israelitischen Kultusgemeinden in Bayern*), 207

- Länderrat*. See State Council
- Landesverband der israelitischen Kultusgemeinden in Bayern*. See Land Association of Jewish Committees in Bavaria
- Latvia, 34, 110, 111
- League of Nations, 54, 112
- League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners (*Liha Ukraïns'kykh Politychnykh V'iazniv*, or LUPV): commemorative activities, 221–23, 231–32; congresses, 235; demonstrations, 140, 265; formation, 215; opposition to repatriation, 100–101; OUN origins, 216; publications, 222, 223, 224; restitution claims by, 259, 265; role in Flossenbürg memorial, 231. See also Educational and Research Institute of Ukrainian Martyrology
- Lebensraum*, 30
- Leibowitz, Yosef, 172, 174
- Lenin, V. I., 127
- Liha Ukraïns'kykh Politychnykh V'iazniv* (LUPV). See League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners
- Lindenberg, Yosef, 158, 169
- Lithuania, 37, 145; genocide in, 171, 172, 178; Jews in, 155–56, 161, 162, 171, 177–78; Nazi collaboration in, 34, 178; postwar ethnic cleansing in, 36; Zionism in, 155–56, 177–78
- Litopys Ukraïns'koho Polityv'iaznia*. See *Chronicle of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner*
- Lodz, 180, 183
- London Charter (1945), 260–61
- Lörcher, Ernst, 229
- Lublin Committee, 36, 89
- LUPV. See League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners
- Lviv, 126, 231
- Malczewski, Leon, 159
- Malkki, Liisa, 24, 25, 273n11, 282n2
- Mankowitz, Zeev, 153
- Marrus, Michael, 54, 91
- Martyrdom: as idiom of DP self-representation, 4–5, 169, 219–23, 224, 231, 252; Holocaust as, 169; Jewish notions of, 169, 223, 310n66; and nationalism, 220–23; symbols of, 219–23, 231. See also Educational and Research Institute of Ukrainian Martyrology
- Marunchak, Mykhailo, 103, 223
- Maruniak, Volodymyr, 108
- Marx, Karl, 133
- McCloy, John J., 139, 198–99, 206
- McNarney, General Joseph, 48, 134–35, 195, 196
- Melk, 101, 103
- Melnyk, Andrew, 106
- Memorialization. See Commemoration
- Memory, 11
- Mendelsohn, Ezra, 177–78
- Mickelsen, Stanley, 193
- Migration, 23–25, 30, 33–34, 36–37
- Mikiciuk, Stanislaw, 90
- Mikołajczyk, Stanislaw, 88
- Military Government of Occupation (U.S.), 161, 205; authority over DPs, 47–48, 76, 103, 246, 254; Civil Administration division, 138, 246; co-operation with international organizations, 17, 265; discouragement of anticommunist activism by, 134–35, 138; DP policies of, 5–6, 9, 15, 16, 17–18, 29–30, 42–55, 64–66, 69, 76–77, 103, 137–40, 154–55, 161, 191–97, 214, 245–66; ethnic policies of, 39–40; investigation of DP committees by, 125, 135, 137, 194–95, 215, 249, 251; preference for Allied DPs, 44; reconstruction plans of, 42–43; regulation of DP organizations by, 48–49, 53, 89, 137–38, 162, 191–97, 214, 245–46, 249, 251, 264; repatriation policies of, 43, 45, 83, 117, 134; restitution policies of, 56–57, 72–73, 76, 229, 258–66, 268; role in ABN demonstration, 141, 145–46; role in postwar German and Jewish histories, 21; segregation of DPs by, 22, 44, 103; support for anticommunist organizations, 137–38; statelike powers of, 15–16; transfer of authority to German agencies, 16, 66, 69, 76, 189–90, 197, 198–210, 269
- Milosz, Czeslaw, 238
- Mindszenty, Jozsef Cardinal, 141

- Mirchuk, Petro, 104, 145, 224, 234, 235, 250, 252–53, 262, 263
- Möhlstrasse demonstration (1949), 198–210
- Mönchehof DP camp, 114
- Mudry, Vasyl, 99, 100, 103
- Muecke, Marjorie, 13
- Müller, Joseph, 48
- Müller, Oskar, 228
- Munich, 218; DP camps in, 84, 91, 124; DP committees in, 89–91, 95–96, 124, 126, 194–95, 214, 215, 219, 236; DP demonstrations in, 128, 140–47, 198–210, 224; Jewish community in, 187–88, 202–3; Polish DPs in, 89–91, 94–96; press in, 145, 198–200, 207; Russian DPs in, 124; Ukrainian DPs in, 99, 126; U.S. diplomats in, 133, 139, 149, 208
- Munich Jewish Committee, 199, 202
- Murnau POW camp, 83, 247–48
- Nansen passports, 40, 325n64
- Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del* (NKVD). *See* Soviet People's Ministry of Internal Affairs
- National Democratic Movement (Poland), 253
- Nationalism: anticommunist disavowal of, 132; Baltic, 143; DP criticism of, 97–98, 118–19; Jewish (*see* Zionism); and martyrdom, 220–23, 231; Polish, 90–95, 96–98, 221; post-war German, 21, 22, 205; pre-World War II, 6, 122–23; Russian, 113–16, 118–19; as source of DP identification, 8, 90–91, 97–98, 117–18, 142–43; Ukrainian, 99–108, 118–19, 122, 126–34, 214–16, 221–26, 231–32. *See also* Transnationalism
- Nationality: as basis of DP persecution, 73, 233–34; as condition for human rights, 15; contrasted with “refugee” status, 14, 20, 54; as criterion for DP designation, 42, 44, 66, 103, 117, 159, 161, 163, 171, 196–97, 214, 232, 233–34; and DP self-perception, 2–3, 4, 11, 39–40; global context of, 23; historiographical emphasis upon, 7–11, 23–24; importance in concentration camps, 233; meanings assigned to, 9; and minority groups, 6, 278n41; Zionist rejection of prewar, 170–72
- National Labor Union (*Natsional'no Trudovoi Soiuz*, or NTS), 113–14, 115, 125, 136, 216, 225
- Natsional'no Trudovoi Soiuz* (NTS). *See* National Labor Union
- National Socialism, 56, 64, 73, 107, 252; as catalyst for Eastern European antisemitism, 167; as cause for existence of DPs, 252–58; compared to communism, 5, 84, 85, 86, 93, 127, 144–45, 213, 224–25, 232; concentration camps as feature of, 58, 93, 171; DP experiences of, 22, 252–53; DP narratives about, 4–5, 9, 11, 25; imperialist aims of, 252–53, 256; as nihilist ideology, 255. *See also* Antifascism; Fascism; Germany, Nazi
- Nazi Germany. *See* Germany, Nazi
- Neimirok, Aleksandr, 225
- Netherlands, 93, 224
- Neuberg (Bavaria), 53
- New Deal, 48, 55
- New York Herald Tribune*, 199
- Nitecki, Alicia, 321n107, 322n111
- Nitzotz* (The Spark), 156
- NKVD. *See* Soviet People's Ministry of Internal Affairs
- Noiriel, Gérard, 13–14, 15, 19
- NTS. *See* National Labor Union
- Nuremberg, 260
- Ofer, Dalia, 165
- Offerlé, Michel, 13
- Office of Policy Coordination (OPC). *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- Oficyna Warszawska, 236
- Oleiski, Jakob, 162, 163, 166, 171, 172, 173
- Olszewski, Krystyn, 236–37, 242
- Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), 113; American aid to, 136; antisemitism of, 129–30; Bandera faction of (OUN-B), 106–8, 117, 136, 215–16; economic policies of, 130; Melnyk faction of (OUN-M), 106, 107; nationalist agenda of, 127, 129, 215–16; Nazi collaboration

- by, 106–7, 129–30, 216; origins, 106; secularism of, 144; transformation into ABN, 126. *See also* Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
- ORT (Society for Trades and Agricultural Labor) Movement, 162
- Orthodox Church, Russian, 109, 133
- Ostministerium*, 114, 123
- Osynka, Paladii, 217, 218
- OUN. *See* Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
- Palestine: British policies on, 52, 161, 174, 182, 183; Jewish community in, 154, 164, 183, 188; Jewish emigration to, 153, 180, 181–83, 188, 206, 270; as Jewish homeland, 4, 25, 41, 51, 63, 157, 161–62, 163, 171, 173, 181–85, 188–89, 197; symbolic value of, 184; United Nations Committee on, 173. *See also* Israel; United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
- Paris Peace Conference (1946), 128, 131
- Pasiczniak, Wasyl, 234
- Pavelic, Ante, 142
- Pelensky, Zenon, 117
- Persecutees: classification by nationality, 6, 73; creation of category of, 57–58, 60; definition of, 60; loss of status under German control, 69; “national” (*Nationalverfolgter*), 73, 74; organizations of, 68–69; as privileged legal category, 64; right to compensation of, 72; role of policies for in denazification, 62, 255–56; special benefits for, 62, 64; transferred to German control, 69, 76; treatment of like DPs, 60–61. *See also* DPs
- Persecution: as Allied administrative rubric, 56–58, 60, 246; Allied definition of, 58; as common experience of concentration camp survivors, 59, 164, 169, 211, 218–19, 223, 268; as defining quality of postwar refugees, 64, 268–69; definition of political, 64–65, 212–13, 246; as focus of Allied DP policy, 56–57, 60, 62, 64–65, 246, 268–69; religious, 58, 59, 71, 85, 109, 128, 141–44, 306n108; Soviet, 83, 84–86, 104–5, 109, 111–12, 118, 128, 141–44, 211. *See also* Anti-semitism; Genocide; Holocaust; Pogroms
- Peter the Great, Czar, 128
- Piekatsch, Peisach, 199–200, 201, 206
- Piłsudski, Józef, 123
- Pinson, Koppel, 162–63, 180, 184
- Pirkmajer, Otmar, 252–54, 255–56, 258–61, 324n27
- Pogroms, 165. *See also* Kielce pogrom
- Poland: annexation of German territory by, 35; antifascism in, 88; anti-semitism in, 5, 37, 158, 167, 178, 179–80, 181, 185; communist government of, 81–82, 84, 86, 88–89, 90, 92, 93–94, 96; concentration camps in, 32; deportation from, 30–31, 36–37, 219, 240; diasporic culture of, 90–91, 93; ethnic cleansing in, 36–37; ethnic Germans in, 34, 36; ethnic Ukrainians in, 10, 30, 40, 101, 103, 104, 105, 107; forced laborers from, 31, 91; government in exile of, 35, 88–89, 90, 92, 95; “Great Emigration” from, 91; Holocaust in, 153, 158; interwar development of, 10, 104; Jewish emigration from, 37, 41, 63, 82, 153, 163, 179–80, 182; Jews in, 3, 10, 20, 30–31, 36, 153, 158, 166, 176–80, 183; liberation of, 88; minority policies in, 10, 37, 104, 106; nationalism in, 90–95, 96–98, 221, 253; Nazi occupation of, 4–5, 10, 30–32, 178; notion of martyrdom in, 221; political prisoners from, 89, 153, 213–14, 236–43; postwar economy in, 84–85; postwar plans for, 35–36, 88–89; repatriation to, 36, 39, 89, 93–94, 96, 98–99, 117, 160; Revolution of 1831, 54, 91; Soviet hegemony in, 84, 92–94, 101, 118, 180; Soviet occupation of, 10, 33, 35–36, 38, 84; stereotypes about, 233–34; support for Promethean Movement, 123, 126; Ukrainian resistance to, 104, 106–7; Zionism in, 177–78, 180, 183, 185. *See also* DPs, Polish; Home Army; Lublin Committee; Polish Association of Ex-Prisoners Persecuted by Nazis; Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners

Poland (*continued*)

- of German Concentration Camps; Polish Committee in Munich; Polish Committee of Dachau; Polish Information Office in Dachau; Polish People's Party; Polish Union in the American Occupation Zone of Germany; Polish Union in Germany
- Polish Association of Ex-Prisoners Persecuted by Nazis, 246
- Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners of German Concentration Camps, 214, 249–51, 253
- Polish Committee in Munich: advocacy for former political prisoners, 214, 247; anticommunism, 90; Borowski's work for, 95, 236; exhibits at, 218–19; information gathering by, 247; leadership, 89, 94; origins, 89; role in IIO, 228–29
- Polish Committee of Dachau, 92, 93
- Polish Information Office in Dachau, 214, 228–29
- Polish People's Party, 88
- Polish Union in the American Occupation Zone of Germany (*Zjednoczenie Polskie w Amerykaskiej Strefie Okupacji Niemiec*), 90
- Polish Union in Germany, 50, 90
- Polish Workers Party, 96
- "Political explanation." *See* Anticommunism
- Political prisoners, DP: Allied emphasis upon, 212, 251; anticommunism among, 213, 224–25, 235, 250, 264; antifascism among, 212, 225, 226–36, 238–40; antisemitism among, 211, 227, 245, 250, 264; appeals to Allied authorities by, 245–48, 251–59, 262–66; art by, 218–19; Belgian, 224, 231, 263; as category of DPs, 59, 159, 194–95, 211–43, 245–46, 253–54; collaboration by, 212, 214; commemorative activities by, 213, 215, 216–26, 229, 230–32; committees of, 213–16, 228–30, 246–51; concentration camp survivors described as, 59, 211–12; criticism of, 237–42; debased condition of, 237–38; definition of, 59, 212–13; disputes among, 228–30, 263–64; elitism of, 217–25, 245, 248, 254, 264; French, 231, 263; German, 68, 228–30, 263, 265; importance of replaced by "persecutees," 60; internationalism among, 211, 226–32, 234–36, 239, 263; leadership of IPC by, 159; marginalization of among DPs, 232–34; as martyrs, 219–23, 224, 231, 252; nationalism among, 217, 221–25, 249; official recognition of, 212, 245–51; opposition to repatriation among, 214, 232–33, 235; Polish, 89, 153, 213–14, 218, 230, 236–43, 263–64; postwar German relationship with, 66, 248–51; as resistance fighters, 254–55; restitution claims by, 244, 251–59, 262–66; Russian, 216, 225; suffering of, 218–19, 223, 225, 244–45; symbols of, 212, 218, 240–43, 265, 318n23; Ukrainian, 214–16, 221–26, 230–31, 231–32, 262–63. *See also* Association of Foreign Political Persecutees; Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime; Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners; Central International Union of Former Political Prisoners; *Chronicle of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner*; German Association of Former Political Prisoners of Concentration Camps; International Information Office of Dachau; International Prisoners' Committee of Dachau; League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners; Polish Association of Ex-Prisoners Persecuted by Nazis; Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners of German Concentration Camps; Polish Committee in Munich; Polish Information Office in Dachau
- Poremskii, Vladimir, 114, 125, 225
- Porter, Brian, 91
- Posev*, 104, 114
- Potsdam conference, 36
- Prague Manifesto (1944), 124, 126
- Prisoners of war (POWs): accusations of collaboration against, 104–5, 109; as category of DPs, 3, 32, 247–48;

- communal identification among, 7, 217; elitism of, 217, 248, 254; as forced laborers, 31, 32; in concentration camps, 32, 217; postwar migration of, 33–34; repatriation of, 38, 93, 109; rights of, 7
- Promethean movement, 123, 126
- Propaganda: ABN use of, 126–27, 131, 142–45; anticommunist, 125, 131, 133–34, 136, 138, 142–45; anti-Nazi, 255; communist, 139–40; U.S., 136, 138; Zionist, 182, 190
- Proudfoot, Malcolm, 45
- Puczyk, Marian, 162, 171–72, 189
- Rancière, Jacques, 17
- Red Cross, 1, 67, 89, 229
- Redlich, Shimon, 180
- Refugees, 13, 14, 16, 33; Allied definition of, 43, 58; connection to home country, 24–25; as diasporic communities, 25, 154–55, 277n33; distinguished by Allies from DPs, 43, 172; nineteenth-century, 54; as objects of persecution, 58, 64; political activities of, 54; proliferation of in twentieth century, 24; transnational character of, 23–24, 25. *See also* Displaced persons (DPs)
- Regensburg, 90, 99
- Relief agencies, 5–7, 10, 15, 16. *See also* International Refugee Organization; Red Cross; United Nations High Commission for Refugees
- Reparations. *See* Restitution
- Repatriation, 3, 22, 36; as Allied objective, 43–44, 52, 81–83, 90, 233, 235; DP opposition to, 3, 4, 9, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 52, 81–119, 156–57, 160, 161, 163, 170, 175, 214, 232–33, 235, 258; historiographical treatment of, 20; and notion of “home-land,” 25, 40, 43, 174; obstacles to, 34–35, 37, 39–40, 45, 258; to Germany, 36, 177; to Poland, 36, 39, 89, 93, 96, 98–99; to Soviet Union, 3, 36, 38–39, 40, 41, 45, 52–53, 64, 83, 109–10, 134–35, 177; to U.S., 38; to Western Europe, 177; UNRRA poll on, 82, 83–86, 87, 118–19, 181–82; voluntary nature of, 45; Zionist opposition to, 156–57, 160, 163, 170, 175. *See also* Ethnic cleansing
- Representation, 12–14
- Representatives of National Committees of DPs and Refugees in Germany, 261, 265
- Resettlement, DP, 1, 45, 46
- Restitution (*Wiedergutmachung*), 56–57; Auerbach’s advocacy for, 67; definition of, 289n1; DP committee advice on, 53; as focus of German Care Centers, 67, 229, 245; for forced labor, 253–54; historical precedents for, 259–60; historiography on, 262–63; international system for, 259–62; Jewish demands for, 162; legal framework for, 70–76, 258–62; limitations of, 70, 71, 73–74, 75–76, 252, 262–66; as moral obligation, 252–53; occupation policies on, 70, 229, 258–66; political prisoner claims for, 244, 251–59, 262–66
- Retter, Aryeh (Leon), 167, 176, 183, 195, 197, 206
- Riga, 110
- Ringelmann, Richard, 73
- ROA. *See* Russian Liberation Army
- Romanov, Evgenii, 114
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 58
- Rosenberg, Alfred, 114, 123
- Rosenheim, 140
- Rositzke, Harry, 136
- Rost, Nico, 233–34
- Rousset, David, 224, 232
- Rovan, Joseph, 233
- Rumania, 32, 37, 40. *See also* DPs, Rumanian
- Rusinek, Zygmunt, 90
- Russia, Czarist, 122
- Russian Civil War. *See* Civil War, Russian
- Russian Liberation Army (*Russkaia Osvoboditel’naia Armiia*, or ROA), 34, 115, 124, 125
- Russkaia Osvoboditel’naia Armiia* (ROA). *See* Russian Liberation Army
- Saburova, Irina, 110–11
- Sachsenhausen, 225

- Sack, Joel, 157–58, 169, 178–79
 SBONR. *See* Union of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia
 Schäffer, Fritz, 259
 Schirilla, Laszlo, 71, 263
 Schleissheim-Feldmoching DP camp, 124
 Schochet, Simon, 91
 Schreiber, Hugo, 158
 Schumacher, Kurt, 187
 Schwarz, Leo, 182, 183, 193, 195, 197, 200
 Separatism (Russo-Soviet), 121–22, 124, 126–30, 148. *See also* International Committee of Political Refugees and Displaced Persons; International of Liberty
 Seraphim, Metropolitan (Russian Orthodox), 109
 SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force), 39, 43, 44, 45, 57–58
 Shami, Seteney, 16
She'erith Hapletah, 164, 170, 176, 190, 223. *See also* Holocaust
 Shephard, Ben, 43
 Shils, Edward, 7
 Siberia, 83, 85
 Sich Riflemen, 231, 320n75
 Siedlecki, Janusz Nel, 89, 93–94, 95, 101, 116–17, 236–37, 240–43, 254
Slowo Polskie, 92–93
 Smolensk, 35, 115
 Smolensk Declaration (1942), 115
 Snyder, Timothy, 123
Soiuz Bor'by za Osvobozhdenie Narodov Rossii (SBONR). *See* Union of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia
Soiuz Voinov Osvoboditel'nogo Dvizheniia (SVOD). *See* Union of Fighters of the Liberation Movement
 Sokolovsky, Vasily, 134–35
 Solidarists. *See* National Labor Union
 Soviet People's Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del*, or NKVD), 110, 111, 143
 Soviet Union: alliance with Nazi Germany, 33; Baltic annexations by, 111, 155; collapse of, 20; compared to Nazi Germany, 93, 127, 144–45; deportations by, 33; deportation from, 109; ethnic policies of, 33, 35–36, 122; evacuations within, 33; exile campaigns against, 121–49; forced laborers from, 31, 32, 109, 111; forced labor in, 82, 86, 104, 128, 143, 144, 224; genocide by, 145; as imperialist power, 102, 127–29, 139, 143–44; internationalism of, 131; invasion of Nazi Germany, 34; Jews in, 33, 36, 37, 64, 82; *kolkhoz* (collective farm) system in, 104, 143; Nazi invasion of, 4–5, 31, 32, 33, 107, 123; Nazi occupation of, 32–33, 102, 103, 106–7, 112–13, 114, 115; occupation of eastern Europe, 6, 10, 22, 30, 35–36, 38, 84, 101–2, 134; occupation of Germany, 134; occupation of Poland, 33, 35, 38, 40; persecution by, 5, 83, 84–86, 104–5, 108–12, 118, 128, 141–48, 306n108; political prisoners from, 216; postwar role in Poland, 84, 92–94, 101, 118, 180; prewar exiles from, 109, 112, 113, 122–23; POWs from, 32, 40, 104–5; propaganda by, 139; punishment for collaboration in, 6, 34, 99, 104–5, 111, 112, 115; refugees from, 33, 109; rejection of IRO by, 45–46; relations with United States, 18, 30, 35, 45, 52–53, 87, 121, 134–37; religious persecution in, 85, 109, 128, 141–44, 306n108; repatriation of DPs to, 3, 36, 38, 40, 45, 52–53, 64, 83, 85–86, 104, 109–11, 112, 134–35, 137, 177, 216; Ukrainian resistance to, 40, 85, 98–108, 118, 121, 126–34, 142–48, 216, 224, 232. *See also* Anticommunism; DPs, Russian; Zone of occupation, Soviet
 Sprecher, Max, 162
 SS (*Schutzstaffeln*): evacuation of concentration camps, 34; former members in postwar Germany, 139; management of concentration camps, 93, 233, 238; re-use of quarters for DPs, 92, 93, 96–97; torture by, 218
 St. Ottilien (Landsberg), 161–62, 164, 170, 176

- Stalin, Joseph, 104, 115, 124, 125
- Starnberg, 232
- State Commission for Political Persecutees, 67, 251. *See also* State Commission for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees
- State Commission for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees (Bavaria): authority, 69, 71, 229, 264; creation, 67; mediation between Jewish groups, 189; relationship with CK, 67, 189, 192; relationship with political prisoners, 248–51, 264. *See also* Auerbach, Philipp
- State Commission for the Care of Jews, 67. *See also* State Commission for Racial, Religious, and Political Persecutees
- State Compensation Office (Bavaria), 67
- State Council (*Länderrat*, U.S. occupation zone), 72, 73, 293n72
- State Department (U.S.), 70, 135, 137
- State Office for Restitution (Bavaria), 67
- Stepien, Stanislaus, 138
- Stepinac, Archbishop Alojzije, 142
- Stern, Frank, 5, 21, 186, 208
- Stetsko, Iaroslav, 126, 129–30
- Strategic Services Unit (U.S.), 136
- Studyn's'kyi, Iuri, 117–18
- Stuttgart, 48, 140
- Stuttgart DP camp, 48
- Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Munich), 198–200, 202, 207, 208
- Süskind, Wilhelm E., 198–99
- SVOD. *See* Union of Fighters of the Liberation Movement
- Szwede, Jerzy, 227–28
- Tale of Crooked Years*, A, 109–10
- Tannenberg, 96
- Tatars, 122
- Teutonic Order, 96
- Tiso, Jozef, 142
- Totalitarianism, 5, 84, 85, 138, 144
- Tovarystvo Ukraïns'kykh Politychnykh V'iazniv* (TUPV). *See* Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners
- Transnationalism, 21–24, 25
- Trager, David, 170, 189, 195, 206
- Truman, Harry S., 62, 63, 64, 141
- Tsentral'ne Predstavnytstvo Ukraïns'koï Emihratsii v Nimechchyni* (TsPUE). *See* Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany
- Tsentral'noe Predstavitel'stvo Rossiiskoi Emigratsii* (TsEPRE). *See* Central Representation of the Russian Emigration
- TsPRE. *See* Central Representation of the Russian Emigration
- TsPUE. *See* Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany
- TUPV. *See* Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners
- Ukraine, 37; antisemitism in, 107, 216; Catholic Church in, 142; demands for autonomy by, 122; diaspora from, 99–108; ethnic cleansing in, 36; forced labor in, 40; nationalism in, 105–8, 122, 126–30, 215–16, 221–23; Nazi collaboration in, 34, 99, 102, 104, 105, 106–7, 126, 216, 323n18; Nazi occupation of, 4–5, 102, 103, 106–7, 126–27; Orthodox Church in, 144; resistance to Polish government in, 104, 106–7, 126; resistance to Soviet Union in, 40, 85, 106–7, 216; symbols of, 231. *See also* Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners; Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius; Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany; DPs, Ukrainian; Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists; Ukrainian Central Committee; Ukrainian People's Republic; Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party
- Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 111
- Ukrainian People's Republic (1918–1920), 107, 320n75
- Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (URDP), 108
- Union of Fighters of the Liberation Movement (*Soiuz Voinov Osvoboditel'nogo Dvizheniia*, or SVOD), 116

- Union of Polish Refugees in Germany (*Zjednoczenie Polskich Uchodźców w Niemczech*). *See* Polish Union in Germany
- Union of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (*Soiuz Bor'by za Osvobozhdenie Narodov Rossii*, or SBONR), 116
- United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951), 64
- United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), 16, 46
- United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), 6, 16, 38, 40, 41, 55, 81, 89, 106, 161, 193; administration of DP camps, 47, 103, 117; autonomy of, 17; creation of, 42–43; criticized as leftist, 294n23; definition of persecution, 65; mandate, 42–43; oversight of camp committees, 48, 191, 218, 230, 247; repatriation poll by, 82, 83–86, 87, 118–19, 181–82; role in care of persecutees, 66, 68, 247, 261, 268; role in DP repatriation, 43, 82, 83–86, 87, 90, 93, 117, 235; subordination to occupation authorities, 16–17; transfer of DP responsibility to IRO, 45; University, 119, 172
- United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, 173
- United States, 42; anticommunist policies of, 135–42, 148–49, 194–95, 269, 304n83; discouragement of anti-communist activism by, 134–35; DP emigration to, 46, 148, 154, 182–84, 199, 206, 243, 270, 304n83; encouragement of camp committees, 48–49; minority policies within postwar Europe, 35–36; Polish policy of, 35–36, 89; recruitment of DPs by, 135–37; recruitment of former Nazis by, 135–36, 304n73; relations with Soviet Union, 18, 30, 35, 45, 52–53, 87, 121, 134–37; repatriation policy of, 42, 44–46, 81–83, 117, 119, 134, 137; repatriation to, 38; war crimes prosecution by, 259–60; Zionism in, 158. *See also* Military Government of Occupation; Zone of occupation, American
- URDP. *See* Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party
- Venezuela, 46
- Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes* (VVN). *See* Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime
- Vietuchiv, Mykola, 117
- Vlasov, Andrei Andreevich, 34, 114–15, 124
- Vlasov movement, 114, 115–16, 124
- Volhynia (Eastern Poland), 40, 107
- von Hagen, Mark, 122
- Wahlbeck, Östen, 24
- War crimes, 253, 260–61
- Warsaw ghetto, 169, 236, 241
- Weber, Max, 13
- We Were in Auschwitz* (*Byliśmy w Oświęcimiu*), 236–43
- Whiting, John H., 235
- Wiedergutmachung*. *See* Restitution
- Wilson, Woodrow, 122
- Woods, Sam E., 133, 208
- World War I, 10, 20
- World War II, 101; dislocation of population during, 3, 29–34, 42; DP interpretations of, 2, 13, 101, 221
- Wyman, Mark, 86
- Yalta conference (1945), 35, 38, 45, 53, 88, 93, 110
- Yishuv*. *See* Palestine, Jewish community in
- Yourieff, Serge, 112
- Yugoslavia, 112
- Zemskov, V. N., 105
- Zgainski, Tadeusz, 253, 256, 257–58
- Zhytomyr, 127
- Zielezinski, Jerzy, 218–19, 220
- Zinnemann, Fred, 8
- Zionism: anti-assimilationism of, 168–69, 171, 173, 188–90, 206; as beneficiary of separate recognition of Jews, 64, 161–62; divisions within, 175–76, 178; generational divide within, 176, 178; historiography on, 153–54, 180–81; Holocaust as catalyst for, 158, 176, 178–79; Jewish DP

- support for, 4, 25, 153–54, 159–60, 161, 175, 180–85, 188, 267; and Jewish migration from Eastern Europe, 37, 41, 63, 153, 180, 182; Lithuanian, 177–78; opposition to, 153, 173–75; opposition to repatriation, 156–57, 160, 161, 163, 170, 188; organizations, 37, 155–56, 161, 184; Polish, 177–78, 180; postwar congresses of, 161, 164, 170, 189; prewar growth of, 177–78; propaganda, 182, 190; publications, 156; reaction to Holocaust, 156, 163–71, 173, 178, 184; symbols of, 159, 164. *See also* Brichah; Irgun Brith Zion; Jewish Agency in Palestine; *She'erith Hapletah*; Zionist Center (Dachau)
- Zionist Center (Dachau), 157, 159
- Zjednoczenie Polskich Uchodźców w Niemczech*. *See* Polish Union in Germany
- Zjednoczenie Polskie w Amerykańskiej Strefie Okupacji Niemiec*. *See* Polish Union in the American Occupation Zone of Germany
- Zone of occupation, American, 3, as center for anticommunist activism, 121, 132–33, 148–49; DP committees in, 49–50, 68–69, 89–90, 92, 124–26, 126–49, 154, 155–63, 173–75, 191–97, 214, 235; DP political life in, 30, 49–50, 52–53, 55, 134–49, 191–97; DP population in, 38; establishment of DP camps in, 5, 47, 48–49; ethnic German emigrants in, 37; governance in, 16, 72, 73, 189–90, 293n72; Jewish DPs in, 37, 41, 63, 73, 76–77, 153–85, 187–210; “persecutees” within, 56, 66, 75; Polish DPs in, 39, 40, 81–82, 83, 84, 86–87, 89–90, 91–95; role of *Länderrat* in, 72, 73, 293n72; repatriation of Russians from, 38, 83; restitution policies in, 70–72, 75–76; Russian DPs in, 39, 42, 82, 83, 85–86, 114; Ukrainian DPs in, 40, 82, 85, 99–100, 103, 106, 306n108. *See also* Military Government of Occupation
- Zone of occupation, British, 5; DP committees in, 49, 55, 90; DP population in, 38; ethnic German expellees in, 37; Jewish DPs in, 41, 176, 193; Polish DPs in, 39, 90; Ukrainian DPs in, 40; use of DP camps in, 47
- Zone of occupation, French, 37, 38, 47, 55, 84
- Zone of occupation, Soviet, 3, 36–37, 134–35