Musings: Sydney Jewish Museum Journal
Vol. 3, No. 1.

The Healing Act: Theatre in DP Camps

Kip Green

Abstract

This article considers theatre performances staged in Jewish DP camps after World War Two, and examines how participation in such performances aided in the recovery of Holocaust survivors.

Engaging in theatre was therapeutic for those on both sides of the curtain. It assisted in the processing of traumatic memories in a safe space. It helped creators and audiences find humour in their dire circumstances, and helped survivors to establish a new sense of personal and communal identity. Ultimately, theatre also became a place where Jews could envision a better future.

Considering the subject matter of theatre productions in DP camps, it is possible to identify three distinct foci. In the earliest performances, DP theatre troupes frequently enacted scenes from the Holocaust, using the opportunity to help process the immediate past. In this way, theatre acted as a kind of group therapy. Another common focus was the more distant past, reminding survivors of their pre-war lives, linking them with a long Jewish history, with their lost families, and with a collective identity. In the final phase of DP theatre, the subject matter of the plays changed. Instead of focusing on the past, either distant or more recent, performers began to engage with conceptions of the future. Plays focused on the potential of a Jewish homeland, adopting stronger Zionist themes. This evolution mirrored the transition being experienced by survivors, as they shifted their focus away from the past and towards building a future.

Keywords

Holocaust Survivor, Therapy, Culture, Performance, Samy Feder, Trauma, Identity

Introduction

As Jewish Holocaust survivors stumbled out of concentration camps, forests, ghettos and hiding places, many found themselves unable to return to their homes. They were given shelter in displaced persons camps and there, amidst the trauma and anxiety, they almost immediately began making theatre. Performance provided therapeutic support in several important ways. It allowed for the recreation of traumatic memories so those memories could be safely processed. It helped creators and audiences find humour in their dire circumstances. It assisted survivors to establish a new sense of personal and communal identity. Ultimately, theatre also became a place where Jews could imagine and promote a Jewish homeland, and with this, they were able to envision a better future.

Jewish DPs came to refer to themselves as *she'erit hapletah*, a term from the Torah meaning "the surviving remnant". This endonym acknowledges a tragic past, wherein survival was the exception rather than the rule. However, it was also adopted with a tone of defiance and a view towards the future.[1] Jewish DPs were identifying themselves as individuals who, against mountainous odds, had survived the horrors of the Shoah. There was strength in that survival. They were also giving notice that the Jewish community would continue to survive, in spite of the challenges presented to them. This notion of endurance is embedded in the biblical references to *she'erit hapletah*. *Jeremiah* (23:3) prophecies that the surviving remnant will "be fruitful and multiply". In other words, a multitudinous Jewish community will stem from those few remaining survivors. Hence the phrase connotes a hope, or even an intention, of reconstructing a Jewish people from the few who remained alive.[2]

For the DPs, survival meant more than simply being alive. It meant a renewed engagement with life and all its aspects. It meant a spiritual renewal, a commitment to building a future, and a revival of Jewish culture.[3]

By providing an avenue for such cultural revival, theatre helped survivors reclaim parts of their lives which were

1. Francoise Ouzan, "Rebuilding Jewish Identities in Displaced Persons Camps in Germany 1945–1957," *Bulletin Du Centre de Recherche Francais a Jerusalem* 14 (2004): 101. Although the term she'erit hapletah was applied broadly to Jewish survivors in DP camps, it is important to acknowledge that survivors were not a homogenous group. They differed in nationality, language, socio-economic status, education, level of religion, and belief in Zionism.

2. Ouzan, "Rebuilding Jewish Identities," 101.

3. Angelika Königseder and Juliane Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope – Jewish Displaced Persons in Post-World War II Germany*, trans. John A. Broadwin. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2001), 41.

nearly destroyed by the Holocaust. In the earliest performances, DP theatre troupes frequently enacted scenes from the Holocaust, using the opportunity to help process the immediate past. In Bergen-Belsen, Dolly Kotz performed "The Mother's Dance", depicting a mother in a concentration camp, grieving the loss of her daughter.[4] The same concert featured a scene where SS guards leave Jewish prisoners without food or light, and the prisoners respond by making music to comfort themselves.[5]

In this way, theatre acted as a kind of group therapy. Part of the healing resided with the fact that survivors cast themselves as heroes in these reenactments, turning their backs on the victim narrative, and identifying themselves as part of a resistance. They were able to take on more autonomous roles in their own stories. Further, by giving survivors a voice, theatre allowed for the decimated Jewish community to develop a new sense of identity, both personal and communal. Developing community was especially important, since the majority of survivors had lost some, if not all, of their family members, and were unable to return to their places of origin. For the actors and crew, the production of theatrical works gave them a purpose. It provided a vital focus while they were stuck in the liminal space of the DP camp without much meaningful work, and without much certainty about what would happen for them next. Performing plays in the Yiddish language established links between survivors and their pasts, which was psychologically beneficial.

In later DP theatrical works, the subject matter of the plays changed. Instead of focusing on the past, either distant or more recent, performers began to engage with conceptions of the future. Plays focused on the potential of a Jewish homeland, and adopted stronger Zionist themes. This evolution mirrored the transition being experienced by survivors, as they shifted their focus away from the past and towards building a future.

Jewish Displaced Persons, Camps and Theatres

When the Second World War finally came to an end in May

4. Muriel Knox Doherty, *Letters from Belsen 1945: An Australian Nurse's Experiences with the Survivors of War* (London: Unwin Hyman, 2000), 121, from a letter dated 18 September 1945.
5. Knox Doherty, "Letters from Belsen," 121.

1945, there were over 7 million displaced persons (DPs) in Europe, mostly located in the ruins of the Reich.[6] The great majority of DPs were repatriated to their home countries in the months between May and September 1945, and by early 1946 the total number of DPs was reduced to around 1 million. Joseph Berger, an American reporting on DPs in 1947, called these the "hard core" of "a great human problem".[7] Jewish DPs accounted for somewhere between 10 and 20 percent of this "hard core".[8] The number fluctuated significantly. Due to the confusion of the post war era, as well as the movements of DPs during those months, the quantification of displaced persons is difficult, and figures are unreliable.

The first DP camps, established in the immediate aftermath of German capitulation, were organized according to nationality. Polish Jews, for example, were housed behind barbed wire along with other displaced Poles, some of whom were deeply antisemitic, and many of whom had been Nazi collaborators.[9] DPs were, to use a phrase coined by the army chaplain Abraham Klausner at the time, "liberated but not yet free".[10] Although they were not prisoners, their movement was often curtailed. In August 1945, Earl Harrison, the US emissary to the camps, presented a report which harshly criticized conditions in the camps. He recommended that Jews be given special status and separated from other DP populations.[11] Harrison notes:

> 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.[12]

As a result, DPs in the American zone were relocated. Jews were able to live in camps of their own. Feldafing, 32 kilometres southwest of Munich, was the first of the exclusively Jewish DP camps, and dozens quickly followed throughout Germany, Austria and Italy.[13] The largest of the Jewish DP camps was Bergen-Belsen. This was the sole

6. Katarzyna Nowak, "Recivilising Refugees: Material Culture and Displacement in Transitions from War to Peace in Displaced Persons Camps in Post-Second World War Europe," *S:I.M.O.N* 10, no. 1 (2023): 6. Nowak puts this number at closer to 11 million.
7. Joseph A. Berger, "Displaced Persons: A Human Tragedy of World War II," *Social Research* 14, no. 1 (March 1947): 45.
8. Boaz Cohen, "The Jewish DP Experience," in *The Routledge History of the Holocaust*, ed. Jonathan C. Friedman (New York: Routledge, 2011), 412.
9. Kurt R. Grossmann, *The Jewish DP Problem* (New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1951), 11-12.
10. Avinoam Patt, "'Laughter through Tears': Jewish Humor in the Aftermath of the Holocaust," in A Club of Their Own: Jewish Humorists and the Contemporary World, ed. Eli Lederhendler and Gabriel N Finder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 120.
11. Earl G. Harrison, "The Plight of the Displaced Jews in Europe", *PennCareyLaw* (Washington, DC: The White House, September 29, 1945), https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/4998-the-plight-of-the-displaced-jews-in-europepdfpdf: 6.
12. Harrison, "The Plight of the Displaced Jews in Europe", 12.
13. Tamar Lewinsky, "Jewish Culture in Germany's American Occupation Zone," in *Our Courage - Jews in Europe 1945-48*, ed. Kata Bohus et al. (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020), 204.

Jewish-only camp in the British zone of Germany, and it housed over 11,000 Jewish survivors in 1946.[14] The most enduring Jewish DP camp was Föhrenwald, near Munich, which did not close until 1957.[15]

Jewish DPs also suffered from low morale, leading to a sense of emotional imprisonment. Francoise Ouzan explains "The soldiers' lack of sympathy for the displaced persons, the hostility of the German civilians, the absence of work, the loss of relatives and friends, the unsatisfactory allocating of food and an uncertain future had a demoralising effect on the survivors."[16] In May 1945, Salman Grinberg, the leader of the liberated Jews in Germany, made a speech at the St Ottilien rehabilitation centre and camp near Landsberg. "We are free now," he said, addressing the crowd of survivors, "but we do not know how to begin our free but unfortunate lives… We have forgotten how to laugh, we cannot cry any more, we do not comprehend our freedom yet, and this because we are still among our dead comrades".[17] The loneliness felt by survivors who had lost family and friends, the feelings of survivor guilt, and pervasive uncertainty about the future, combined to leave Jewish DPs confused and unhappy, even when they were newly "free".[18]

In spite of these challenges, or perhaps because of them, Jewish displaced persons began staging cultural performances within a matter of months, in some cases just weeks. The survivor Jacob Biber staged a talent show for children in Föhrenwald five weeks after his arrival there. In Bergen-Belsen, the first performance was held on September 15, 1945, for Rosh Hashanah, only two months after the camp had been established.[19] In all, there were more than 60 amateur theatre troupes performing in DP camps throughout the western zones of occupation.[20]

One of the most significant of these troupes was *Minchener Jidiszer Kleinkunst Teater* (MIKT, later known as MIT), a professional group performing in the American zone from 1946 to 1948. Another was the *Katzet Teater* of Bergen Belsen. *Katzet* was directed by Samy Feder, a Polish concentration camp survivor with professional theat-

14. Hagit Lavsky, *New Beginnings: Holocaust Survivors in Bergen-Belsen and the British Zone in Germany 1945-1950* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), 227.
15. Francoise Ouzan, "Rebuilding Jewish Identities in Displaced Persons Camps in Germany 1945-1957," *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche Français à Jérusalem* 14 (2004): 99.
16. Ouzan, "Rebuilding Jewish Identities," 101.
17. Patt, "Laughter Through Tears," 113.
18. Z. Zamarion, "A Shaliach in Belsen," in Belsen, ed. Irgun Sheerit Hapleita Me'Haezor Habriti (Tel Aviv: Irgun Sheerit Hapleita Me'Haezor Habriti, 1957), 153.
19. Margarete Myers Feinstein, Holocaust Survivors in Postwar Germany, 1945-1957 (Cambridge: Cambridge Publishers, 2014), 228.
20. Lewinsky, "Jewish Culture," 204.

re experience. The performances had impressive reach. MIKT performed for 50,000 audience members during their tour of DP camps in 1946, and counted total attendance at 180,000 over their first two years of operation.[21] *Katzet* offered ten cabaret programs and 47 theatre performances between 1945 and 1947.[22] They regularly performed to full houses in the camp theatre, which seated 1000 people.[23] The widespread theatre activity throughout Jewish DP camps is recognized by Angelika Königseder and Juliane Wetzel, who write of the Holocaust survivors that "their single greatest achievement… was the revival of Jewish cultural life."[24]

Coping with DP Camp Conditions

Life in the DP camps was difficult and demoralising. Inhabitants suffered from food insufficiency, overcrowding, a stultifying lack of occupation, and a continuing lack of agency or control over their own lives. They had lost their homes and family members and were learning to live with their grief. Additionally, most were interned on German soil, surrounded by German populations. Writing in 1947 after viewing a number of camps first-hand, Joseph Berger recognized these circumstances and remarked:

> ...the average DP lives in a constant state of fear, anxiety, and uncertainty. He knows from bitter experience that most of the Germans regard Poles, Jews, and other displaced persons as inferior peoples; that the Germans try to use the DPs as a scapegoat for the consequences of their own defeat, untruthfully accusing them of being responsible for most of the crime, disorder, and black market operations which seem inevitable in a defeated county in modern warfare [...] and, in short, that it is only the manifest force of the armies of occupation that prevents the Germans from renewing their harsh and cruel treatment of these 'inferior' peoples from beyond the German border.[25]

Similarly, Norbert Horowitz referred to the camp existence

21. Myers Feinstein, "Holocaust Survivors," 236.
22. Werner Hanak, "The Katset-Teater: 'Concentration Camp Theater' in the Bergen Belsen DP Camp," in *Our Courage: Jews in Europe 1945-48*, ed. Kata Bohus et al. (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020), 214.
23. Lavsky, "New Beginnings," 158.
24. Königseder and Wetzel, *Waiting for Hope*, 124.
25. Berger, "Displaced Persons," 49.

as "pitiful", and Biber described such conditions as "brutal", reflecting that the DPs were treated "like escaped criminals who had disobeyed Hitler's law to be exterminated".[26]

Adding to DPs' discomfort was their uncertainty about the future.[27] The DP camp was where survivors waited to find a new home, usually by being granted entry to another country. It was a liminal space: internees had survived the Holocaust, but were not yet able to start living. They could not put down permanent roots or make long term plans, particularly because very few states were willing or able to accept refugees.[28] They did not know where their futures might be lived, and all the waiting and uncertainty led to significant demoralisation among the *she'erit hapletah*.[29] The longer they remained in the camps, the worse the demoralisation became. Acknowledging this in himself and his wife, Biber says they "were like birds with clipped wings who still longed to fly".[30]

This being the case, theatre was a much-needed distraction, allowing DPs to focus on something other than their own dire situation for an hour or two.[31] It was a rare opportunity to find entertainment in the DP environment. Many DP productions directly represented life in the DP camps, often lampooning conditions and using satire to make light of internees' problems.[32] The humour of the plays, and their subversive observations about challenges in camps, helped audiences cope with the hardships of camp life.[33] There was also frequent humour within DP performances of Yiddish classics, such as the work of Sholem Aleichem and Avrom Goldfadn. Avinoam Patt writes that the prolific humour in the camps "functioned as one means by which people tried to process the recent traumas of the war, to cope with the enormity of the destruction, and to endure the seemingly endless and unnatural stay in Germany after the Holocaust. Humour helped [the DPs] to maintain a sense of psychological advantage..."[34] Patt traces this kind of "double-inflected wry comedy" to Sholem Aleichem, who termed it "holding back one's tears and laughing out of spite".[35] In other words, making light of camp conditions united Jews in "laughter through tears" and by so doing, assisted in their post-war recovery.[36]

26. Biber, "Risen from the Ashes," 80.
27. Ouzan, "Rebuilding Jewish Identities," 101.
28. Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).
29. Ouzan, "Rebuilding Jewish Identities," 101.
30. Biber, "Risen from the Ashes," 87.
31. Myers Feinstein, "Re-Imagining the Unimaginable," 41.
32. Lewinsky, "On the Reconstruction of Jewish Culture," 204.
33. Patt, "Laughter Through Tears," 113-14.
34. Patt, "Laughter Through Tears," 113-14.
35. In *Yiddish: Aftselakhis nisht geveynt*. Aleichem, quoted in Patt, "Laughter Through Tears," 114.
36. Patt, "Laughter Through Tears," 128.

Theatre as Therapy

Contemporary psychotherapy has acknowledged an important role for creative play in aiding recovery from trauma. Imaginational therapy has been credited with reducing symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder such as intrusive memories and flashbacks.[37] Ella Florsheim explains how this type of therapy works:

> In the therapeutic process of psychodrama, the patient reconstructs on the stage… real experiences, past traumas, or unresolved issues. By dramatizing and re-enacting them, the viewer/patient may re-experience them from a different and emotionally more distant perspective. Performing difficult events on stage when in control of the situation enables them to process their experiences, liberate themselves from the state of the passive victim, and strive to heal the wounds that the experiences had left on their psyche.[38]

The Jewish DP camps were a relatively closed environment, with audiences and artists all sharing, in a general sense, a common traumatic past. Since all (or nearly all) the DPs in Jewish camps were Jewish, they were freed from the most frightening threat of the preceding decade: antisemitism. This made the DP stage a safe space in which to explore recent trauma.[39] Survivors were able to use performance to articulate their experiences, and thereby gain some control over that personal history.[40] It was particularly important in the DP camp context, because survivors had not had many opportunities to express or explore their emotions during the Holocaust. In general, the task of surviving had taken precedence over all else, leaving little opportunity to engage in emotional exploration. And in concentration camps, a range of factors conspired to preclude emotional expression. These factors included the defence mechanisms of negation, emotional isolation and learned indifference.[41] Additionally, the expression of emotion in camps could potentially be interpreted as weakness, risking the attention of a guard community trained to eliminate weak prisoners from the population.[42]

37. Daniel L. Schachter, *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 177.
38. Ella Florsheim, "Yiddish Theatre in the DP Camps," *Yad Vashem Studies* 40, no. 2 (2012): 126–27.
39. Fetthauer & Hirsch, "The Katset-Teater", 115.
40. Margarete Myers Feinstein, "Re-Imagining the Unimaginable: Theatre, Memory and Rehabilitation in the Displaced Persons Camps," in *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence*, ed. David Cesarani and Eric J. Sundquist (London: Routledge, 2011), 52.
41. For a discussion of protective blocking mechanisms, see Hilda O. Bluhm, "How did they Survive? Mechanism of Defense in Nazi Concentration Camps," *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 53 (1999): 96–122.
42. Jack Meister, survivor, interviewed in Sydney, July 24, 2024.

Thus, the DP camp stage presented a safe opportunity to express emotion after many years of emotional repression.

Of course, the DPs involved in theatre were not acting on the recommendation of psychologists, therapists or academics. Rather, they instinctively recognised the benefits of using performance to work through their trauma.[43] Acknowledging this instinct, Samy Feder, director of the Katzet Theater at Bergen-Belsen, recalls, "We had no book, no piano, no musical scores. But we could not wait for supplies from outside. There was a need to play..."[44] Horowitz was a DP actor and founding member of MIKT/MIT, who later moved to the United States and wrote a book about Yiddish theatre in the DP camps. Speaking of the inception of the Bergen-Belsen DP theatre, Horowitz remarks that "After the liberation, they come together, weak and suffering from typhus, barely alive, still they gravitate to the Yiddish theatre. Singing teachers, a dance master, amateur actors, amateur and professional musicians all assemble – and *as if by magic – a Yiddish theatre is created*."[45] This magic was born of an intrinsic need to deal with pain through performance.

In June 1946, one of Katzet's productions was reviewed for the New York Times by Joseph Wolhandler, who explicitly acknowledges the healing taking place.[46] Wolhandler notes the "stark realism" of the production, and details elements of the show such as scenes with "flames reaching out onto the stage depicting Jews being led to the crematoria, or showing Germans crushing the skull of a child." Then Wolhandler asks and answers his own question: "Why do people come to such a theater while their scars are still deep?" he begins. "One possible answer suggests itself. The Kazet Theater serves a therapeutic value in providing a great emotional release. [...] the Kazet Theater, in an abnormal situation, has assumed a unique role - the role of the healer, the physician."[47] This is confirmed by a former DP, interviewed by Jacqueline Dewell Giere. She states "Given our psychological and moral state, the theater was a prescription, a therapy, that soothed and gently touched our broken spirits.[48]

Additionally, audiences were learning (or re-learning) how

43. Königseder and Wetzel, "Waiting for Hope", 189–90.
44. Samy Feder, "The Yiddish Theatre of Belsen," in *Belsen*, ed. Irgun Sheerit Hapleita Me'Haezor Habriti (Tel Aviv: Irgun Sheerit Hapleita Me'Haezor Habriti, 1957): 137.
45. Horowitz, quoted in Florsheim, "Yiddish Theatre in the DP Camps," 107. Emphasis added.
46. Joseph Wolhandler, "On a Concentration Camp Stage: Bergen-Belsen Players Depict Horrors of Their Internment Stark Realism Audience Reaction Therapeutic Value," *New York Times*, June 30, 1946, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1946/06/30/107143092. Samy Feder recalls Wolhandler's visit in his diary, mentioning that Wolhandler "brought us from somewhere real make-up". See Feder, "The Yiddish Theatre of Belsen," 139.
47. Wolhandler, "On a Concentration Camp Stage".
48. Jacqueline Dewell Giere, *Wir sind unterwegs, aber nicht in der Wüste* (Frankfurt am Main: Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität zu Frankfurt am Main, 1993), 232.

to behave in a civilised world.[49] After years spent in hiding or in camps, many survivors were unfamiliar with ordinary aspects of life like buying tickets and waiting politely to take their seats. Reflecting on this, Biber comments "The rapid return to normal behaviour by the DPs [in Föhrenwald] was remarkable. It was like waking suddenly from a nightmare into a fantasy world which had miraculously transformed chaos into order."[50] Sophie Fetthauer and Lily Hirsch claim that in Bergen-Belsen, Feder was also aware of this aspect of his productions, and was conscious of his role in providing his audience with "a space of normalcy and escape".[51] This is supported by Feder's own recollection of Katzet's first production, on 6 September 1945. His diary entry states: "I have never played to such a grateful audience. They clapped and laughed and cried. When we gave, as our last item, the famous song 'Think not you travel to despair again', the thousand people in the hall rose to their feet and sang with us. Then Hatikvah. Never was Hatikvah rendered with such verve..."[52] The verve Feder describes here is laden with a sense of emotional healing and hope for the future.

The therapeutic value for the theatrical artists, as opposed to audiences, is represented perfectly by Biber in his memoir *Risen from the Ashes*. Biber tells the story of his troupe's performance in Feldafing, and reflects on how important it was to his own healing. Feldafing camp had a tuberculosis ward, and any survivors with TB had been transferred there, so the front section of the audience was made up of patients in cots. Biber writes:

> When the show was running, I looked out from behind the curtains at the patients, and saw pleasant smiles on their skeletal faces. Some of them were still wearing their striped concentration camp clothes. Others were covered with white sheets, but their eyes peering out from the covers expressed their eternal gratitude and satisfaction once again to see Jewish children performing. I saw tears in their eyes rolling down the hollowed cheeks. Shedding a few tears myself, I brea-

49. Israel W. Charny, ed., *Holding on to Humanity – The Message of Holocaust Survivors: The Shamai Davidson Papers* (New York: NYU Press, 1992): 213.
50. Jacob Biber, *Risen from the Ashes* (1990; repr., San Bernadino: The Borgo Press, 1990), 34.
51. Fetthauer and Hirsch, "The Katset-Teater," 109.
52. Feder, "The Yiddish Theatre of Belsen," 139.

> thed a silent prayer: 'Thank you, God, for giving me the strength to accomplish some good.' I suddenly felt a sensation of relief in my heart. The guilt that I had carried in me for the sin of surviving while so many of our loved ones had suffered and died, had somewhat diminished, I suddenly felt that my efforts were worthy, and that, perhaps, there was reason for all of us to hope again.[53]

When he got home to his sleeping wife after the Feldafing show, Biber whispered in her ear, "Our survival is worthy. Our purpose in living is justified."[54] His words remain a powerful reflection on the healing benefits that performance gave to those involved.

Resistance and Revenge

Some of the therapeutic value of DP theatre came from the players' ability to alter history through its telling. It was not uncommon for players to portray Jews during the Holocaust as resisters, partisans, and even heroes. One example of this phenomenon in action is the play "Partisans", written and directed by Samy Feder in Bergen-Belsen. The play depicts a cabaret singer who seduces German officers in order to steal their weapons and pass the weapons to the resistance.[55] In reality, those survivors who actually participated in resistance were a small minority of the *she'erit hapletah* community, and most had not actively engaged in armed resistance. But by including these stories as a part of the shared narrative, DPs were "rewriting the Holocaust experience from one of victimisation into one of heroic resistance".[56] Audiences could feel that they were part of a battle against the Nazis which, in truth, few had been able to actively engage in. The new narrative allowed all survivors to reconceptualize their role in the Holocaust, and thereby to redefine themselves as victors, not victims.[57]

Performances by Jewish DPs also gave many among the she'erit hapletah a therapeutic sense of revenge. The Nazi regime had attempted to eradicate not just Jews, but all aspects of Jewish culture. These performances defiantly

53. Biber, "Risen from the Ashes," 28.
54. Biber, "Risen from the Ashes," 28.
55. Myers Feinstein, "Re-Imagining the Unimaginable," 43.
56. Myers Feinstein, "Holocaust Survivors," 235.
57. Myers Feinstein, "Re-Imagining the Unimaginable," 47.

reengaged with Jewish culture, proclaiming as they did so that the Jews and their culture would endure. This was made clear in *In Gang*, the literary magazine directed by the Union of the Jewish Writers, Journalists and Artists in Italy. In March 1947 *In Gang* published an article under the heading "From the Editorial Board" which declared: "… Revenge! Revenge was demanded by the thousands of writings left on the walls of German prisons. [...] And revenge means that not only we live, but that we are creative. The Germans have not achieved their purpose. [...] We are creative, we create cultural works, even when we are on the move, even during a short stop, even in a cabin or in a shack on the way."[58] The fact that the performances were taking place largely on German soil, and sometimes even in former SS barracks, made the revenge feel even more poignant and healing. Kurt Grossmann posits that it was only in Germany and Austria that spiritual recovery could be achieved. It was only in these countries that events such as the dedication of a synagogue, or a bar mitzvah, or, by extension, the staging of a play, "were charged with profound emotion and, in the aggregate, constituted a chant of the DPs which they dinned into the ears of their recent oppressors, that the Jewish people and its institutions are imperishable."[59]

Identity, Continuity and Strength

Throughout the war years, Jews throughout Europe had been deprived of their identity. Under Nazi rule, propaganda consistently repeated that Jews were *Untermenschen*, or sub-human, and did not deserve the rights afforded to people who were valued by the state. Beginning with the Nuremberg Laws in 1935, Jews were progressively deprived of the elements which make up a life and contribute to a sense of self. They lost their access to education and to employment. They lost their property, both real and personal, and lost social connections. They lost any political, administrative or personal empowerment, and experienced the fracturing of their families. It was forbidden for Jews to pray together or practise any Jewish traditions, which meant that any sense of communal identi-

58. Achinoam Aldouby, Michal Peles-Almagor, and Chiara Renzo, "Theater in Jewish DPs Camps in Italy: A Stage for Political and Ideological Debate on Aliyah, Zionism and Jewish Identity," *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History. Journal of the Fondazione SDEC* 21, no. 1 (2022): 120-21.
59. Grossmann, "The Jewish DP Problem," 8.

ty based on religious practice was abruptly severed.[60] Once Jews were deported into concentration camps, a complex methodology was employed to dehumanize prisoners, stripping them of individuality and denying them a personal identity. This methodology included the shaving of hair to make all people and all genders look alike, the use of numbers rather than names, and in many cases, the wearing of uniforms. Of course, the lack of respect for Jewish life, shown throughout the Nazi period, but especially in ghettos and camps, was the most chilling reminder that Jews were considered less than human.[61] The system as a whole had the global effect of leaving survivors without a clear sense of individual or collective identity. So once the war was over, DPs were faced with the task of rebuilding their identity, both individually and collectively, and theatre played a part in this.[62]

A useful case study here is the work of Zvi Aldouby in Italy. Born in Galicia, Aldouby grew up in a Chasidic Zionist family, and later moved to Palestine. Aldouby worked as a teacher in Tel Aviv until, in mid-1946, he was driven to go to Italy and contribute to the recovery of DPs. He was in charge of education and culture in Italian DP camps until February 1948. As part of his work, Aldouby assembled a group of Jewish DP intellectuals and artists, who toured refugee camps and presented artistic activities. These included about 70 concerts and theatrical performances in 1947.[63] According to Aldouby's own journals, he chose plays with the distinct purpose of addressing the need to rebuild Jewish DPs' sense of self.[64] He organized public events, not just for entertainment, but "as a medium to reach the camp population at large and revive their abruptly halted connection with Jewish culture and traditions, rekindling their sense of belonging to a specific 'ethnic and national group'".[65]

There were three important ways in which DP theatre helped survivors create a communal identity.

Firstly, the creation of theatre troupes helped performers establish (or reestablish) social connections. Troupes provided a group dynamic among survivors which in many cases substituted for the families and communities they

60. Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
61. Meister, interview.
62. Ouzan, "Rebuilding Jewish Identities," 110.
63. Aldouby et al, "Theater in Jewish DP Camps," 107.
64. Aldouby et al, "Theater in Jewish DP Camps," 130.
65. Aldouby et al, "Theater in Jewish DP Camps," 119–20.

had lost in the Holocaust. Debra Caplan outlines the communal aspect of such productions, noting that theatre cannot be done in isolation – it requires a communal collaboration between crew, cast and audience. Caplan confirms that participants in the DP theatre productions could feel that they were experiencing together with others.[66] This effect was visible among both amateur and professional troupes. For professionals, "the reunions of prewar colleagues took on tremendous significance".[67] Samy Feder took pains to contact surviving theatre professionals, and bring them to Bergen-Belsen. These included the stage designer Berl Friedler and his wife, choreographer and dancer Dolly Kotz. Feder was also reunited with the actress and singer Sonia (Boczkowska) Lizaron, with whom he had worked in the Będzin ghetto troupe, Muze. Lizaron co-founded Katzet with Feder, and ultimately the two were married, making a true family from the "theatre family" they created at Bergen-Belsen.

The second important way in which DP theatre performances created a communal identity was by connecting survivors with the past, enabling them to see themselves as part of a long Jewish history. Some of this history stretched back to biblical times. Survivors were able to associate their own struggles and resistance with Jewish heroism from the Tanakh and tales of Zionist pioneers. Aldouby was conscious of this when he wrote a script to help DPs in Italy celebrate the holiday of Hannukah. Aldouby (who had a Zionist mission in Italy), inspired the DPs with tales of Judah Maccabee and his army of rebels, who recaptured Jerusalem from Antiochus IV in 164 BCE. The DP children recited:

> From generation to generation, we commemorate our Maccabean ancestors who gave their lives in honor of Israel and its freedom. Few fought against many and won. May the Maccabean heroes be a model for us.[68]

This connection between the present and the past was described by a reviewer of the Bamberg Yidishe Drama Studio's performance of Sholem Asch's Kiddush Ha-Shem. The play presents the story of the Cossack pogroms in the

66. Debra Caplan, "Yiddish Theater as a Cultural Lifeline during the Holocaust" (Virtual Talk, December 16, 2023), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IVsnSl0craY
67. Myers Feinstein, "Holocaust Survivors," 237.
68. Quoted in Aldouby et al, "Theater in Jewish DP Camps," 123. Italics added.

Ukraine in 1948, focusing on the unhappy fate of one Jewish family in particular.[69] The presentation of the play in the context of the DP camp allowed survivors to link their own suffering to the suffering of earlier Jewish martyrs.[70] The reviewer called this connection "the long, holy, golden chain, in which we are bound and put into the context of generations."[71] This contextualisation assisted in the development of a communal identity with deep roots in history.

There were also important connections being made to the more recent pre-war past. In early 1946, as conditions improved and scripts became available, DP theatre troupes began performing Yiddish classics.[72] Dramatic circles in Italy, for example, presented Sholem Aleichem's *Tevya the Milkman*, H.Leivick's *The Golem*, and S. Ansky's *The Dybbuk*.[73] These choices were characteristic of the plays being performed by DPs throughout Europe.[74] Yiddish plays were a bridge to the pre-war world and the theatre of survivors' parents, as well as survivors' own childhoods.[75] For non-urban survivors, these plays drew them back to a happier past; a time when they had homes and families. They created some connection with the old ways of life and with communities which were destroyed during the Holocaust.[76] The subject matter, such as a village milkman, or the folkloric Dybbuk, was familiar to DP audiences, and called up pre-war memories. The props, the costumes and the music of these performances were all reminiscent of the Jewish world of Eastern Europe prior to the war.[77] These connections, multi-faceted and rich, gave participants a sense of themselves as part of a continuum. They were thus encouraged to develop self-ideation as members of a longstanding Jewish community.

The Yiddish language, too, was an important element in this process. Yiddish was the mother tongue of the majority of survivors from Eastern Europe.[78] Hearing the Mame Loshn (Mother Tongue) on stage drew audiences back to the intimate environment of their homes and families.[79] It "served emotional ends as the language of lost parents and grandparents".[80] Since Yiddish was the most common linguistic denominator within the diverse community of refu-

69. Sholem Asch, *Kiddush Ha Shem* (New York: Arno Press 1975).
70. Myers Feinstein, "Holocaust Survivors," 235.
71. Quoted in Myers Feinstein, "Re-Imagining the Unimaginable," 48.
72. Myers Feinstein, "Re-Imagining the Unimaginable," 49.
73. Aldouby et al, "Theater in Jewish DP Camps," 123.
74. The Katzet Theatre performed two of Sholem Aleichem's plays (*Der farkishefter shnayder and Dos groyse gevins*); Deggendorfer DP camp presented Aleichem's *Shver tsu zayn a yid*; and MIKT adapted Aleichem's book *Der blutiker Szpas*, to name just a few.
75. Myers Feinstein, "Re-Imagining the Unimaginable," 48–49.
76. Myers Feinstein, "Holocaust Survivors," 226.
77. Fetthauer and Hirsch, "The Katset-Teater," 107.
78. Freda Hodge, "Using Yiddish Sources in Studying the Holocaust," in *Sources for Studying the Holocaust: A Guide*, ed. Paul P. Bartrop (New York: Routledge, 2023), 142.
79. Florsheim, "Yiddish Theatre in the DP Camps," 130.
80. Miriam Isaacs, "Yiddish in the Aftermath: Speech Community and Cultural Continuity in Displaced Persons Camps," in *Jewishness: Expression, Identity and Representation*, ed. Simon J. Bronner (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2023), 91.

gees, its use on stage positioned DPs as part of a shared cultural tradition, helping to create a linguistic community.[81] The use of Yiddish also assisted in establishing cultural continuity, which was helpful for survivors whose culture had been threatened along with their lives.[82] The Yiddish press in camps reflected the desire of many DPs to reject the languages of their European oppressors. In 1945, Wolf Kur wrote from Feldafing DP camp, asking "How long will we go on speaking Polish, Hungarian and other languages, the languages of our enemies?... If we were intelligent we would be ashamed to use the languages of those who made us suffer. There are those who speak miserable Polish. Is it not better to speak good Yiddish than bad Polish?"[83] Survivors like Kur saw Yiddish as an opportunity for Jews to unite as one community, united by language, rather than separated by their original national affiliations.

There were many Zionists who would have preferred the use of Hebrew in stage productions, believing that it was the language of the future; the language of the putative state of Israel.[84] However, since the displaced people came from throughout Europe, and very few spoke Hebrew, it would have been impractical and unhelpful to present productions in a language that few among the audience understood. Yiddish, on the other hand, was a transnational language that facilitated communication between a range of refugees with different language bases.[85] So, there was a dichotomy between Yiddish as the language of the past, and Hebrew as the language of the future. Another dichotomy was recognized by the Katzet troupe. In choosing to present their first two cabaret shows in Yiddish, they were choosing to prioritise the therapeutic function of their theatre over the function of Hebrew in promoting Zionism.[86]

Finally, survivors engaged in creating stories out of their shared memories. As we have seen, DPs re-enacted the recent past, and did so by representing ghettos, concentration camp life, the partisan experience, and instances of personal loss, drawing on the multiple experiences of various survivors. Such communal story-building not only helped to create a sense of community,

81. Lewinsky, "On the Reconstruction of Jewish Culture," 199.
82. Isaacs, "Yiddish in the Aftermath," 86.
83. Kur, quoted in Isaacs, "Yiddish in the Aftermath," 90.
84. Lewinsky, "On the Reconstruction of Jewish Culture," 199.
85. Isaacs, "Yiddish in the Aftermath," 91.
86. Fetthauer and Hirsch, "The Katset-Teater," 103.

but also allowed members of the *she'erit hapletah* to contribute to the creation of "a coherent master narrative".[87] Whether consciously or not, participants were building the history of the Holocaust, and they were doing it together, as a community. This provided a basis from which survivors could identify themselves as part of the shared story, and thereby part of the community of surviving Jews. The creation of their communal identity was intrinsic to their healing.

Imagining a Future

In its final stage, theatre in DP camps turned away from the past, and began to look forwards. One role of the theatre was to provide audiences with the hope that they may be able to leave the Holocaust behind and build a better future.[88] It did this, in part, by staging plays with happy endings, implicitly telling audiences that even if life is dark at times, it can get better. Samy Feder did this very deliberately with the Katzet Theater in their adaptation of Sholem Aleichem's *Der farkishefter shnayder* (The Bewitched Tailor). Aleichem originally wrote the play with a tragic ending: the title character goes mad, suffers a terminal illness, and leaves his widow to care for their starving children.[89] Rewriting the ending of the play for Bergen-Belsen, however, Feder gave the tailor a reprieve, and allowed the family to live together in peace.[90] The theatre thus became a place where audiences were encouraged to imagine a happy future for themselves.[91]

Many theatre groups saw Palestine as an important feature of this imagined happy future. Zionism was a pervasive concern for Jewish DPs at the time, and camps resounded with debates about the politics and ideology of building a Jewish state.[92] Speaking about survivors during this period, Yehuda Bauer confirms that "their ideological direction was clearly, overwhelmingly, and right from the beginning, Zionist."[93] The idea of Palestine became completely enmeshed with hopes of salvation, identifiable as a sort of "civil religion" in the camps.[94] Certainly Aldouby, in Italy, was using theatre explicitly to spread a Zionist message. He saw it as a channel through which he could

87. Myers Feinstein, "Holocaust Survivors," 237.
88. Fetthauer and Hirsch, "The Katset-Teater,"107.
89. Sholem Aleichem, *The Bewitched Tailor [and Other Stories]* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958), 65ff.
90. Fetthauer and Hirsch, "The Katset-Teater,"106.
91. Myers Feinstein, "Holocaust Survivors," 233.
92. Koppel S. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany: A Study of the Jewish DP's," *Jewish Social Studies* 9, no. 2 (1947): 116.
93. Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 247.
94. Pinson, "Jewish Life in Liberated Germany," 117; Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust*.

expose a wide audience to Zionist values, and he wrote plays which represented Eretz Israel as a place of promise; a place where all DPs could experience a sense of belonging.[95] When some actors quit pursuant to arguments about Zionism, Aldouby began a new troupe and all members had to confirm in writing their willingness to pursue a Zionist agenda.[96] This new troupe, Tkumah, staged a play called "This Land", which presented Eretz Israel as a place where settlers could be pioneers, working the land as an act of self-redemption.[97] Feder, too, embraced Zionist themes, as did MIKT/MIT.[98] In Feldafing, the Amcho troupe staged "Blood and Fire", with a plot moving from the Holocaust to Zionism. This production made a connection between "the suffering of the Shoah and the need for a home in Palestine".[99] In all such instances, survivors were being offered a way forward; a picture of a happy future beyond the trauma of the Holocaust and the misery of the DP environment. Such forward focus was another aspect of theatre which assisted survivors in their healing.

Conclusion

Theatre in DP camps was a great deal more than simply a couple of hours of entertainment. It was a powerful medium which played a significant role in the recovery of Jewish Holocaust survivors while they inhabited the liminal space of post-war DP camps. The therapeutic benefits of theatre, while not yet researched or scientifically analysed, were inherently understood by a community which found both solace and emotional release in the theatre.

Jewish DPs engaged with themes of resistance and revenge in DP theatres; they were able to reimagine a Jewish role in the Holocaust which transcended that of victimhood. Resistance thus became woven into the shared narrative of the Holocaust which was being created by the DP community through theatre. Additionally, the very act of participating in artistic endeavours, in defiance of Nazi efforts to eradicate them, and often on German soil, was a redemptive act for many survivors. It achieved, in some way, the revenge they desired.

95. Aldouby et al, "Theatre in Jewish DP Camps," 106, 108, 153.
96. Aldouby et al, "Theatre in Jewish DP Camps," 129.
97. Aldouby et al, "Theatre in Jewish DP Camps," 143–44.
98. Myers Feinstein, "Re-Imagining the Unimaginable," 44.
99. Myers Feinstein, "Re-Imagining the Unimaginable," 45.

These same performances were also fundamental in the development of a post-war Jewish identity. As the *she'erit hapletah* re-engaged with the culture and community of European Jewry, they found continuity with the stories of their own pre-war pasts, and their ancestral pasts. This occurred through the performance of traditional plays, the use of the Yiddish language, and the representation of pre-war life in cities, towns and shtetls. Identifying with a long history of Jewish suffering and resilience gave strength to those seeking to rebuild their lives after the Holocaust.

In the final stage of theatre production in DP camps, themes began to shift towards the future, and performances reflected a deliberate focus on the nascent state of Israel. This encouraged survivors to look forwards. It inspired movement, both physical and metaphorical, away from the horrors of the Holocaust, and the challenges of DP camp life, and into a new milieu filled with hope and promise. Zionist themes presented a version of existence wherein Jewish people were empowered to take control of their lives and be involved in a positive, shared mission to create something new. That the new state would be a place of sanctuary for Jews added to the psychological benefits of such representations within the theatre.

Through the work of companies like Katzet, MIKT/MIT, Tkumah and Amcho, the *she'erit hapletah* were offered therapy through theatre, slowly regaining their sense of self, their sense of community, and their hope for the future.

References

Aldouby, Achinoam, Michal Peles-Almagor, and Chiara Renzo. "Theater in Jewish DPs Camps in Italy: A Stage for Political and Ideological Debate on Aliyah, Zionism and Jewish Identity." *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History. Journal of the Fondazione SDEC* 21, no. 1 (2022): 103–54.

Aleichem, Sholem. *The Bewitched Tailor and Other Stories*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958

Asch, Sholem. *Kiddush Ha Shem*. New York: Arno Press, 1975.

Bauer, Yehuda. *Rethinking the Holocaust*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Berger, Joseph A. "Displaced Persons: A Human Tragedy of World War II." *Social* Research 14, no. 1 (March 1947): 45–58.

Biber, Jacob. *Risen from the Ashes*. 1990. Reprint, San Bernadino: The Borgo Press, 1990.

Bluhm, Hilde O. "How did they Survive? Mechanisms of Defense in Nazi Concentration Camps." *American Journal of Psychotherapy* 53, no. 1 (1999): 96–122.

Caplan, Debra. "Yiddish Theater as a Cultural Lifeline during the Holocaust." Presented at the Virtual Talk, December 16, 2023. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IVsnSl0craY.

Charny, Israel W., ed. *Holding on to Humanity – The Message of Holocaust Survivors: The Shamai Davidson Papers*. New York: NYU Press, 1992.

Cohen, Boaz. "The Jewish DP Experience." In *The Routledge History of the Holocaust*, edited by Jonathan C. Friedman. New York: Routledge, 2011: 412–22.

Doherty, Muriel Knox. *Letters from Belsen 1945: An Australian Nurse's Experiences with the Survivors of War*. London: Unwin Hyman, 2000.

Feder, Samy. "The Yiddish Theatre of Belsen." In *Belsen*, edited by Irgun Sheerit Hapleita Me'Haezor Habriti, 157–58. Tel Aviv: Irgun Sheerit Hapleita Me'Haezor Habriti, 1957.

Fetthauer, Sophie, and Lily Hirsch. "The Katset-Teater and the Development of Yiddish Theater in the DP Camp Bergen-Belsen." In *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music, and Postwar German Culture*, edited by Tina Fruhauf and Lily Hirsch, 97–120. New York: Oxford Academic, 2014.

Florsheim, Ella. "Yiddish Theatre in the DP Camps." Yad Vashem Studies 40, no. 2 (2012): 107–35.

Giere, Jacqueline Dewell. Wir sind unterwegs, aber nicht in der Wüste. Frankfurt am Main: Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität zu Frankfurt am Main, 1993.

Grossmann, Kurt R. The Jewish DP Problem. New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1951.

Hanak, Werner. "The Katset-Teater: 'Concentration Camp Theater' in the Bergen Belsen DP Camp." In Our Courage: Jews in Europe 1945-48, edited by Kata Bohus, Atina Grossman, Werner Hanak, and Mirjam Wenzel, 214–19. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020.

Harrison, Earl G. “The Plight of the Displaced Jews in Europe.” *PennCareyLaw*. Washington, DC: The White House, September 29, 1945. https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/4998-the-plight-of-the-displaced-jews-in-europepdfpdf.

Hodge, Freda. “Using Yiddish Sources in Studying the Holocaust.” In *Sources for Studying the Holocaust: A Guide*, edited by Paul P. Bartrop, 142–53. New York: Routledge, 2023.

Isaacs, Miriam. “Yiddish in the Aftermath: Speech Community and Cultural Continuity in Displaced Persons Camps.” In *Jewishness: Expression, Identity and Representation*, edited by Simon J. Bronner, 86–104. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2023.

Kaplan, Marion A. *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany*. Oxford University Press, 1999.

Königseder, Angelika, and Juliane Wetzel. *Waiting for Hope – Jewish Displaced Persons in Post-World War II Germany*. Translated by John A Broadwin. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2001.

Lavsky, Hagit. *New Beginnings: Holocaust Survivors in Bergen-Belsen and the British Zone in Germany 1945-1950*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002.

Lewinsky, Tamar. “On the Reconstruction of Jewish Culture in Germany’s American Occupation Zone.” In *Our Courage - Jews in Europe 1945-48*, edited by Kata Bohus, Atina Grossman, Werner Hanak, and Mirjam Wenzel, 196–213. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020.

Marrus, Michael R. *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Myers Feinstein, Margarete. *Holocaust Survivors in Postwar Germany, 1945–1957*. Cambridge: Cambridge Publishers, 2014.

———. “Re-Imagining the Unimaginable: Theatre, Memory and Rehabilitation in the Displaced Persons Camps.” In *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence*, edited by David Cesarani and Eric J. Sundquist, 39–54. London: Routledge, 2011.

Nowak, Katarzyna. “Recivilising Refugees: Material Culture and Displacement in Transitions from War to Peace in Displaced Persons Camps in Post-Second World War Europe.” *S:I.M.O.N* 10, no. 1 (2023): 4–22.

Ouzan, Francoise. “Rebuilding Jewish Identities in Displaced Persons Camps in Germany 1945-1957.” *Bulletin Du Centre de Recherche Francais a Jerusalem* 14 (2004): 98–111.

Patt, Avinoam. “‘Laughter through Tears’: Jewish Humor in the Aftermath of the .” Holocaust In *A Club of Their Own: Jewish Humorists and the Contemporary World*, edited by Eli Lederhendler and Gabriel N Finder, 113–31. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Pinson, Koppel S. “Jewish Life in Liberated Germany: A Study of the Jewish DP’s.” *Jewish Social Studies* 9, no. 2 (1947): 101–26.

Schachter, Daniel L. *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001.

Wolhandler, Joseph. "On a Concentration Camp Stage: Bergen-Belsen Players Depict Horrors of Their Internment Stark Realism Audience Reaction Therapeutic Value." *New York Times*, June 30, 1946: Section A, p1. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1946/06/30/107143092.html?

Zamarion, Z. "A Shaliach in Belsen." In *Belsen*, edited by Irgun Sheerit Hapleita Me'Haezor Habriti, 153–81. Tel Aviv: Irgun Sheerit Hapleita Me'Haezor Habriti, 1957.

Author Biography

Dr Kip Green is a senior educator and historian at the Sydney Jewish Museum. Their daily work involves teaching about the Holocaust as well as moderating Holocaust Survivor presentations. Kip has presented at national and international conferences on the topics of Holocaust education and theatre in Jewish Displaced Persons camps after World War Two. They are currently researching the shoes of Holocaust victims, as well the role of emotion in Holocaust education.