

DUKE UNIVERSITY

Durham, North Carolina

THE UNIQUE ORAL HISTORY OF A JEWISH FAMILY AFTER THE RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION WITH HISTORICAL CONTEXT

By Jacob Gregory Moroshek

Advisor: Professor Elena Maksimova

Russian Language and Culture Honors Thesis

2011

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	3
INTRODUCTION	4
JEWS ON THE TERRITORY OF THE SOVIET UNION BEFORE THE REVOLUTION	6
AT THE TIME OF THE REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR	11
UKRAINE’S TRAGEDY THROUGH THE EYES OF ELIAS TCHERIKOWER	16
BOLSHEVIK TAKEOVER	19
BOLSHEVIK PHILOSOPHY ON NATIONALISM	20
AFTER THE CIVIL WAR AND THE 1920’S	22
DECLINE OF THE SHTETL	28
FOREIGN AID	30
YIDDISH	32
RELIGION	32
1930’S	33
FROM INTERNATIONALISM TO A GREATER RUSSIA	36
BEFORE THE WAR	38
THE WAR	46
FAMILY ORAL HISTORY	
РОДОСЛОВНОЕ ДЕРЕВО	57
БАБУШКА ГЕНЯ	
ДО ВОЙНЫ	57
ВОЙНА	60
ПОСЛЕ ВОЙНЫ	62
ДЕДУШКА МИША	
ДО ВОЙНЫ	62
ВОЙНА	65
ПОСЛЕ ВОЙНЫ	65
АНТИСЕМИТИЗМ, АМЕРИКА, ИЗРАИЛЬ	68
ДЕДУШКА ЛЁВА	70
ИЗРАИЛЬ ГЛАЗАМИ МОЕЙ МАМЫ В ДЕТСТВЕ	73
OTHER FAMILY HISTORIES (COLLECTED PREVIOUSLY)	
МОРДУХ ФЕЙНБЕРГ	75
ЗЕЛДА КАУФМАН ЗАРХИНА	77
WORKS CITED	78

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Elena Maksimova for letting me be a part of your classroom every semester of every year. You inspired and taught me so much about Russian writing, language and culture and have been an invaluable mentor during the process of writing this thesis. Also I'd like to thank Professors Edna Andrews and Beth Holmgren for your patience and help in making this thesis happen and for being part of the evaluation committee. Finally, to my parents and grandparents: your love, care and support made this all possible.

Introduction

Historians love to argue which event of the 20th century was the most important. My history teachers here in the United States all unanimously agreed that it was the Russian Revolution (Nelson). My peers at the time knew very little about what this Revolution entailed except that the “Commies” took over. For me though, born seventy years after that event, in what was the Soviet Union, 1917 was a critical year in my family’s history. We went from being Jews of the Russian Empire, openly hated and persecuted, to the Jews of the USSR with a status much more vague and shifting throughout the next several decades.

My family’s immigration to the USA in 1991, most certainly ended at least several centuries of life on the territory of what used to be the Russian Empire. Even more dramatically, it is very likely that many of my relatives had resided in Eastern Europe since the Middle Ages. The focus of this thesis, however, is on the more recent oral histories of my closest relatives who lived almost all their lives in the Soviet Union. Through the stories of their brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, the story of Jews in the Soviet Union after the Revolution is told.

Growing up, these stories were oft repeated to me. They were significant to my parents because they explained their persecution as Jews, how that led them to seek an opportunity to leave, and therefore the reasons for why I should be grateful to be a citizen of the United States. No doubt, my parents’ and grandparents’ oral histories are the single greatest treasure I have and one of the greatest parts of my identity.

The purpose of my study of the Russian language and culture at Duke University has often been my desire to learn more about the society, history, and language of my family. With

this thesis I embarked on the study of my family's Jewish heritage in the Soviet Union. I sought to not only interview and understand the events that occurred in their lives, but also wanted a broad historical context. What follows is a brief look at Jewish life before and after the Revolution. After that are the interviews with my family members. The themes expressed in the historical overview appear again and again in the oral histories.

One of the most important themes is of course anti-Semitism. Both histories look at how this view changed over time. Other common points that a bilingual reader can infer are: migration in the Pale right before the Revolution; importance of Yiddish speech; small-business; changes to business life immediately after the Revolution and then again in the early 30's; how some family members had clear occupations and other did not; religion; how Jews after the Revolution became engaged in the Russian culture more than their parents ever did and participated in the Soviet lifestyle and heavy industry and the war; what education was like for these Soviet children; how they coped with family members that moved to America; joining the new labor fleet in the 30's; the war and the details of how certain members perished or fought; survival during the evacuation in Asia; understanding of what Zionism, Israel, and being Jewish means; and brief stories of their life after the war.

In short, my family was part of some of the most momentous events of the 20th century. The world wars, revolutions, pogroms, destructive purges, unpredictable and sudden changes in party policy toward Jews, and rapid upward and downward economic and social mobility. Before I began, I never came close to imagining the extent to which my family shares the tragic history of the Russian Jewish people. Through this work, I'd like to show that the stories of nations are made of the stories of each family and that each family's story mirrors the story of

their government.

Jews on the Territory of the Soviet Union before the Revolution

Historians (Pinkus xvii) divide the pre-Soviet period into three periods. First, the ancient period and the Middle Ages was when the earliest Jewish settlers came to Russia till the first partition of Poland. The early modern period runs from the first partition of Poland till the early 1880's. Then lastly, the modern era with its pogroms, formation of major political movements, and the Revolution.

The Polish partition in 1772 is one of the most crucial events in Jewish Eastern European History. Though there had been Jews on the territory of present day Soviet Union for centuries before that (Dubnov 33-36), the annexation of parts of Poland is when large masses of Jews became Russian subjects. Till this time, Russian Tsars did all they could to keep Jews out of their territories [unless they converted]. Catherine I formally expelled them from the country in 1727 (Gurland 246-50). In 1739, Jews were similarly ordered to leave all territories annexed from Ukraine and Belorussia (Ettinger 159). The animus towards Jews came from longstanding beliefs that Jews had killed Christ.

However, after the partitioning of Poland, nearly half a million Jews found themselves under Russian rule. To minimize their damage they were confined to the Pale of Settlement – which were areas that they were already living in, but now under Russian rule (Gitelman *A Century of Ambivalence : The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* XIV).

For the first half century after this, the Jews were able to carry on their traditional way of life pretty much without interference. However, this is the time when Russian hatred went from a:

“simple, primitive hatred based on the view of Jews as deicides into a set of more sophisticated, modern myths, encompassing a view of the Jews as participants in a conspiracy directed against the very basis of Christian civilization. This view predominated in the second half of the nineteenth century, but its foundations were laid in the period from 1772 to 1825,” (J. Klier xviii).

In 1825, Tsar Nicholas I came to power. In the thirty years of his reign he enacted over six hundred edicts, regulations, and ordinances. This was half of the legislation on the Jews in previous 232 years (Pinkus 17). The measures created harsh conditions that encouraged assimilation. His son Alexander II loosened some of his father’s policies for the military draft and on political rights for Jews. These improved conditions, but still were not the full equality that people sought.

The final pre-Soviet period between 1881 and 1917 witnessed the most drastic changes for Russian Jews up till that time. After the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, Alexander III became part of both the reactionary and conservative camps. Both were determined to prevent a revolution from happening in Russia. The conservatives wanted the government to control the situation without using revolutionary means. Dmitry Tolstoy, Minister of the Interior from 1882 to 1889, an openly anti-Semitic person, opposed pogroms and forced emigration as the means to strengthen tsarist rule. He believed methods like these weakened the regime (Rogger 29).

Alexander III and his son Nicholas II’s positions were a mix of this restraint and the reactionary policy. At this time, they were imbued with both the ancient Russian religious hatred of Jews as well as the modern anti-Semitic ideas coming from France and Germany (Maor 15-18). Alexander III had sixty five anti-Jewish laws, Nicholas II had fifty (Dinur 93-118). The result were regulations that forbade Jews to settle outside the cities and towns, build or

purchase homes for themselves outside the cities and towns, trade in liquor (Bramson 258-56). Though the Pale not covered by these laws, they increased competition within the Pale. Furthermore, because the Pale was periodically made smaller by excluding certain cities from its limits, the result was a constantly shrinking sphere of Jewish freedoms. Some of the other restrictive regulations included restricted admission to the state service (Bramson 441-42), restricted military service (Bramson 471-97), and harsh educational quotas (Pinkus 26). The Pale was finally abolished during the First World War, but only because many Jews had already been driven out by war.

Pogroms were also a constant presence during these years. They happened in and outside the Pale. The freeing of the serfs bred also bred friction. In 1881 alone, there were 215 places which constituted proof that there was a directing hand. There was also circumstantial evidence that emissaries from Moscow spread rumors and incited riots, and also to the existence of bands of rioters who went from town to town taking part in the pogroms (Vishniak 131).

Religion, education, and culture were also changing during this period. The process was accelerated by the development of Jewish socialist parties that were almost completely anti-religious. Jewish education continued to be in the heders that taught in Hebrew, and importantly, instilled in Jews a longing for Erez Israel (Schulman *A History of Jewish Education in the Soviet Union* 3). There was also the Talmud Torah that was run by the Kehillot under the surveillance of the authorities. It served poorer Jews and had more secular subjects (Rabinovich 10). Finally, here private Jewish schools that taught in the Russian language served mainly wealthy Jews. Some of the well-off were also able to attend Russian high schools (Schulman A

History of Jewish Education in the Soviet Union 23). Finally, the yeshivot continued to play a central role in higher education.

One of the biggest changes for Jewish society in these years was the interest of the Jewish youth in Russian. Abraham Cahan, a future New York journalist, spoke for many Jewish youngsters in the Pale when he described his fateful experience of growing up in 1870's in Vilna: "My interest in Hebrew evaporated. My burning ambition became to learn Russian and thus to become an educated person," (Slezkine 129). The greatest writers, artists, and Jewish leaders embraced their Russian equivalents. Levitan had Chekhov; Bakst had Diaghilev; and Pasternak had Tolstoy. For Pasternak, Tolstoy personified "the principle of love for one's neighbor," (Slezkine 134).

Starting in the 1860's, the inability of "fathers and sons" to get along became a central theme of intelligentsia culture. Young Jews who had abandoned their "blind fathers and sad, fussy mothers" were adopted by the fraternities of Russians who had also abandoned their parents (Slezkine 142). Together they created egalitarian, fraternal, socialist groups that would shape Russia in the decades to come.

Beginning in the 1890s the Jewish intelligentsia switched from populism to Marxism. It was a shift of the Russian peasant as the redeemer to the international proletariat. This proved even more popular amongst the "Jewish rebels" because it was consistent with their ideals of equality and brotherhood (Slezkine 148).

Around this time, the Bund gains prominence. It blended Marxism and nationalism. The Russian-educated Jewish intelligentsia would lead the Jewish people to their liberation by teaching them Russian or by making Yiddish a sacred language. It ultimately, was never as

popular as the other options because its' plans did not include a Jewish state (Larin 115, 31, 260, 62-63, 64, 65). Jewish nationalism was spurred on by pogroms, and did offer a vision of a state solution: Palestine. It was able to create a radical youth culture comparable to the Russian one, but attracted much fewer followers (Slezkine 149).

The role of Jews in Revolutionary organizations is a contested subject. Jews did not start the revolutionary movement, the student movement or the concept of Russian Socialism, but when they did join the ranks of these movements, they did so with great intensity. In the peak years of 1886-89, Jews accounted for between 25 and 30 percent of all activists (Slezkine 151). As Marxism became more popular, the Jewish role grew as well.

The Jews as a nationality had the most revolutionaries, but even more than that, they were the best at being revolutionary. Leonard Schapiro writes:

“It was the Jews, with their long experience of exploiting conditions on Russia’s western frontier which adjoined the pale for smuggling and the like, who organized the illegal transport of literature, planned escapes and illegal crossings, and generally kept the wheels of the whole organization running,” (Schapiro 270-71).

This remarkable rise did not go unnoticed in Russian society. Most agreed that Jews had an affinity for this new age. They knew the modern age with capitalism and revolution was bad and that Jewish ascendancy was bad as well. Thus, all but a few despised the Jewish involvement in these movements. Marxists on the other hand welcomed this new age and praised Jews for bringing it about. They despised both the peasant and the intelligentsia. To them, it was the transformation of society that mattered (Slezkine 161-62).

The above statistics may paint a picture that because Jews made up such large portions of these revolutionary organizations, the Jewish people overwhelmingly supported socialism or

revolution. In truth, the vast majority of Jews were not part of this movement and were swept up by it later.

At the time of the Revolution and Civil War

By 1917 approximately five million Jews resided in the Russian Empire making up four percent of the population. Many were now in regions occupied by Germany due to Russia's withdrawal from the First World War. Most Jewish people were concentrated in regions of the Pale of Settlement in what are now present-day Lithuania, Belarus, Poland, Moldova, Ukraine, and parts of western Russia. There they made up as much as one third of the cities and shtetls (Rowland 207-34; Slezkine 105).

Historical conditions in Russia required the majority of Jewish people to work in the *Cottage Industry* or as local merchants. Their feelings toward the governing majority hinged on how the majority perceived property rights. So even though they were persecuted by the regime, the Bolshevik plan to move away from private enterprise and local trade scared them even more (Mendes-Flohr and Reinharz 379).

Active Jewish participation in the Revolution itself is mostly exaggerated. Though the ranks of the Bolshevik party had many with Jewish descent, these men were anomalies amongst the wider fabric of Jewish life (Weber).

Another myth is that during the Civil War Jews were victimized by a certain group. In reality they were active political participants in both the Red and White camps. Those that joined the Bolsheviks were not ordinary Jews of the shtetl. They were as a rule internationalists, had received a university education, had assimilated into Russian life, were rebellious and most importantly were gladly willing to break their ties to Judaism as a religion. Russian became a

means to replace Yiddish and Hebrew (Slezkine 128-29). The writer Isaak Babel is a tremendous example of this trend. He was initially schooled in a traditional Talmudic education before the Revolution. He was also fluent in Yiddish, Russian and French. His biography states that:

"He was at home in Yiddish and Hebrew, and was familiar with the traditional texts and their demanding commentaries, [and] he added to these a lifelong fascination with Maupassant and Flaubert. His first stories were composed in fluent literary French. The breadth and scope of his social compass enabled him to see through the eyes of peasants, soldiers, priests, rabbis, children, artists, actors, women of all classes. He befriended whores, cabdrivers, jockeys; he knew what it was like to be penniless, to live on the edge and off the beaten track," ("Isaak (Ichak) Babel - Biography").

His life off the beaten track would take him to battles in World War I and into the sphere of the famous Maxim Gorky. He was a reporter for the Bolsheviks during the Civil War and then fought in the Polish-Soviet war of 1920, publishing his legendary novel *Red Cavalry*. His was a life of a Jewish Bolshevik during those times (J. D. Klier 310-12).

Most Jews, however, were not Marxists. The Marxism-Leninist ideology corresponded to Atheism. Thus, of the numerous Jewish political parties, only one supported the Bolshevik takeover. Zionists and even Jewish Social Democrats completely rejected Lenin. Those that did throw their support behind the Reds did so because they were promised equality and opportunity (Veidlinger 19).

As the Revolution began, Jewish antipathy toward the Bolsheviks was exacerbated by looting and attacks from the Red Army. Many supported the counterrevolution by taking up arms against Reds, others donated, and still others morally supported the opposition (Ausubel and Gross 251).

There was opposition to Bolsheviks from all tiers of Jewish society including officers in the Tsar's military. We find many Jewish names amongst the junior Kadets. They were charged

with defending the Winter Palace during the Interim Government. Among them are names like Goldman, Shapiro, Schwartzman, Epstein and others. In other words, Jews were not solely in the Bolshevik ranks. In fact, after the Bolshevik victories in Moscow and St. Petersburg, Jews were actively taking part in the formation of counterrevolutionary groups. At the first anti-Bolshevik uprising on October 29-30th, 1917, more than fifty Jewish Kadets were killed (Энгель "Евреи В Период Революции И Гражданской Войны").

Participation in the White ranks was initially easier for Jews because it did not necessitate leaving the faith or culture. Some were involved with the White Army during their Ice March and latter insurgency with the Cossacks. At the time, the Whites encouraged participation by releasing documents vocalizing their intention to create autonomous governing regions for Russian minorities – including Jews. A Jewish Commission under the leadership of M. Zilberpharb released a bill in 1917 that would serve as a roadmap for Jewish governance. This was easily the most democratic and fair legislation concerning Jews in the area of the former Empire (P. Kenez "The Ideology of the White Movement" 58-83).

The attitude of the Whites towards Jews suddenly changed in the spring/summer of 1918 from that of tacit acceptance toward hostility. There were several reasons for this. First, extensive Jewish representation in the upper echelons of the Communist Party angered the Whites. Jews were often the commissars that implemented the policies of the Red Terror. Further, the inability of anti-Bolshevik Jews to make a significant difference in their communities; propaganda in non-Bolshevik controlled regions claiming all Jews are Bolsheviks; traditional xenophobia from the Russian Orthodox Church; and those that desired to commit pogroms conveniently enflamed these tensions (O. Budnitskii 751-72). As the White's faced

difficulties in their campaign, the old symptoms of 20th century anti-Semitism began to reappear. The rank and file men connected Jews to the dangers of the socialist revolution. Meanwhile, the leadership was helpless and unwilling to enforce policies that could alienate themselves to their men (Herbeck; Oleg Budnitskii).

1918 was a turning point for the Whites. Until that time, the majority of revolting regions against Bolshevik rule in areas along the Volga, Siberia, and Northern regions had political governance. Civilian control was able to mitigate widespread anti-Semitism. At the end 1918, the army leadership became convinced in the weakness of these organizations and instated marshal law under Admiral Kolchak and General Miller. Across the nation, many of the laws from the Russian Empire that promoted quotas or other racist measures were reinstated (Sack 575).

In the White Army, the more liberal and fair-minded cadets were replaced by officers that were filled with a Jewish antipathy like everyone else. The first to feel these effects were Jewish officers seeking to join the opposition forces. Jews in the White ranks were soon transferred from fighting divisions to the rear. Soon, Jews stopped joining the opposition army completely. In places like Ukraine for example, representatives of the Jewish community begged the leaders of the Volunteer Army to allow the Jewish officers to continue fighting, but General Denikin, afraid of dissension amongst his men, moved the Jewish soldiers to the reserve and eventually eliminated them completely. Though there were many educated Jews that disliked the Bolsheviks, they could not tolerate this return to the status quo by the Whites (Oleg Budnitskii).

Pogroms were the final nail in the coffin of relations between the vast majority of Jews

and the opposition army. The anti-Semiticly inclined Whites had especially harsh pogroms during their retreat from Ukraine to the Crimea from December 1919 till March 1920. During this time, the Whites would burn all Jewish homes that they found in their path. During the retreat and with the breakup of the German puppet regime of Skaropodsky, Ukrainian nationalists began a campaign to regain the Pale of Settlement. In the course of 1919, this developed into an all-out killing of Jews. As many as 150,000 to 200,000 Jews died as a result of these waves of pogroms in the Ukraine (Herbeck 175; Oleg Budnitskii). Alas, most of the fatalities came from neither the Bolshevik or White camps, but were suffered by the shtetl Jews who adhered to neither side. Only a few large cities like Odessa, Xarkov, Rostov, and Novocherkask escaped this fate, resulting from the presence of international organizations or embassies there (Slutsky). Without doubt, living in the Pale of Settlement in the period of 1918-1923 was harder than most places in the world. It was the area where most of the prolonged military conflict took place, and Jews were killed indiscriminately by Cossack armies, Russian White armies, Ukrainian nationalist forces, and anarchist peasant armies.

Sources disagree on whether White leadership was complicit in Pogroms or was not capable of stopping their occurrence. A Russian diplomat in Paris exclaimed in December 1919 that the agitation around him was liable to be fatal to the White Army cause, and that America could very well cease aiding the Volunteer Army (Энгель "Евреи В Период Революции И Гражданской Войны"). Indeed, many historians (Peter Kenez 310-11) believe that Denikin and some of his generals were concerned with the pogroms only in the sense that they undermined military discipline.

Ukraine's Tragedy through the Eyes of Elias Tcherikower

Modern Jews are fortunate that through the many periods of Russian history, there have been extraordinary scholars, writers, artists who have memorialized the times in which they lived. Unfortunately, while the most important Western European Jewish scholarship has been translated into English, only a fraction of Eastern European work is known in the West. My thesis stands on their shoulders. Sometimes their biographies and not just their works say a lot about those times.

Elias Tcherikower (1881-1943) was such a person. For his first ten years of publishing, he wrote in Russian switching then to Yiddish with occasional pieces in Hebrew and German. He was a chief contributor to the Russian language Jewish Encyclopedia along with his other works. He was a war refugee in the U.S. when the Revolution broke out in 1917. He returned to Petrograd, and then moved to Kiev. There, the newly organized Ukrainian State granted national, personal, and cultural autonomy to the Jews. He was there for the following years of civil war and pogroms (Schulman "Review: [Untitled]" 159-60).

He published *Anti-Semitism and Pogroms in the Ukraine 1917-1918*, in Yiddish and edited the study of pogroms of the *Voluntary Army* in Russian. He also wrote *The Pogroms in the Ukraine in 1919*, but it was only published in 1965. This is one of the most important works of the period because of its look at the movement for Ukrainian independence, and the unbiased analysis of what happened in Ukraine during those years. Given the later obfuscation and falsification of history by the Bolsheviks and Ukrainian nationals, this is a precious gem.

There was the declaration of Ukrainian independence, German occupation of 1918, dictatorship of Hetman, Skaropodsky, "liberation" at the end of 1918, and the establishment of

the Directory (Paneyko and J 336-38). In 1919 the Directory reaffirmed the declarations of the Rada (Ukrainian Parliament), that granted Jews not only full rights, but national personal autonomy! The Ukrainian Rada and Directory later declared that all nationalities in Ukraine had full and equal rights, and that the Jews were a nationality. A central Jewish body was established with representatives from the different Jewish political parties. There were bank notes with Yiddish inscriptions, Yiddish schools, teachers' institutes, theaters, a publishing house, and university. Astonishingly, during all these progressive steps supervised by the Ukrainian government, some of the worst anti-Jewish pogroms in history occurred (Schulman "Review: [Untitled]" 161).

The pogroms were carried out not by wild mobs, but by Ukrainian army itself! Tcherikower notes that the Directory consisted of Socialists and Liberals who did not approve the pogroms, but could do nothing to control the armies. He saw the culprits as the Atamans and the leader Commander-in-Chief Petliura. Tcherikower's major contribution was to disprove the popular historian argument that the reason for anti-Jewish sentiment was the lack of participation in Ukrainian independence movement (Schulman "Review: [Untitled]" 161; Tcherikower and Paul Avrich Collection (Library of Congress)).

He notes the real causes as the socio-economic conditions in Ukraine at the time and the historical tradition of scapegoating Jews that came from the 17th and 18th centuries. Jews were accused of sympathizing with Bolsheviks even though most Bolsheviks in Ukraine were Russian. Pogroms, however, were never carried out against Russians. In fact, it was in Jewish interest to support Ukrainian liberation and the progressive reforms. Ironically, Jews developed sympathy for the Soviet government later because it was seen as a way to end the mass killings

(Schulman "Review: [Untitled]" 161; Tcherikower and Paul Avrich Collection (Library of Congress)).

Tcherikower adds to the pages of history brilliant analysis and eye-witness reports of the towns and cities where pogroms took place and the people responsible for them. He tells of the numerous "heroes" who led armies not against Bolsheviks, but against unarmed women and children. Petliura used pogroms as a political maneuver to retain power, but instead it led to his demise. The Voluntary Army, so brave when it came to murdering Jews ran when it saw the approaching Bolsheviks. The pogroms led to a demoralization of the Ukrainian national movement. A French court found Shalom Schwarzbard innocent for his assassination of Petliura in Paris as revenge for the pogroms (Schulman "Review: [Untitled]" 162; Tcherikower and Paul Avrich Collection (Library of Congress)).

An interesting section of Tcherikower's book deals with how anti-Semitism permeated all sections and classes of Ukrainian society. Not just the nationalists, but also some of the Ukrainian Bolshevik military formations organized massacres of Jews. Fortunately, the Soviet government saw that pogroms demoralized the armies and they suppressed them with an iron hand (Schulman "Review: [Untitled]" 164; Tcherikower and Paul Avrich Collection (Library of Congress)).

Tcherikower's excellent scholarship in Yiddish mirrors the shifting language cultural trends in the Jewish world at that time. His documentation and life in Ukraine during the pogroms informs readers of the sheer brutality that happened at that time. His escape to Berlin in the early 1920's to publish his work is also informative of how many Yiddish scholars left after the seeds of the Revolution were harvested. Lastly, his study of Ukrainian pogroms

became a model for future Jewish writers who would analyze the complicity of Ukrainians to the Nazi massacre (Schulman "Review: [Untitled]" 164).

Bolshevik Takeover

The anti-Semitism that had gripped many layers of Russian society at that time threatened to become an even greater force. One of the leaders of the Russian Liberalism Movement, P.B. Struve wrote that,

“...the hatred toward Jews has permeated through the entire Russian people (it is animal-like even amongst the intelligentsia)... With anti-Semitism, as with any national movement, only a very powerful government can be effective,” (Pipes 210).

As history came to show, such a power did not exist amongst the Whites. Only the authoritarian Bolshevik regime could bring about this change.

Lenin aptly used what was happening for his benefit. He reasoned that the Revolution should be pitched to the most oppressed levels of society experiencing animosity from the Russian people (Page 342). These minorities became members of the Party, formed governmental organs, and filled the ranks of the Red Army. Latvian sharpshooters, Polish and Chinese units formed the elite of the new Army (von Hagen 335).

In the Red Army, entire army groups were created made up solely from Jewish members. Squads that ensured Jewish self-defense were transformed into regular units of the Red Army that went to the front. Rare cases of pogroms were immediately quelled by the Cheka in accordance with the Communist Party decree that sought to suppress the roots of the anti-Semitic movement (Энгель "Евреи В Период Революции И Гражданской Войны").

For Jews, the special Bolshevik support often meant the difference between life and death. Understanding this potential for loyal support, the Bolsheviks built their policy around

battling the elements that organized and supported pogroms. By doing this, they won favor in Jewish regions. Intelligent, educated, working, initiative taking Jews began working in the governmental bureaucracy (Schulman "Review: [Untitled]" 164).

Comparing the treatment of Jews during the Civil War provides an insightful example into the strengths of the different players in this conflict. The Whites were too weak to stifle the pernicious anti-Jewish sentiment shared amongst the masses of their majority, whereas the Bolsheviks, for a time, were able to squash these attitudes.

Bolshevik Philosophy on Nationalism

The Jewish place in Soviet society in the next few years depended largely on the Bolshevik's convoluted principles of dealing with minorities and nationalities. The main questions facing the Bolsheviks were as follows: did the Soviet Jews constitute a nationality similar to other nationalities in the multi-national Soviet state? Was the Soviet Jews' juridical-political status determined according to the Marxist-Leninist theory of nationalities, or solely in line with pragmatic political calculations (Pinkus 50)?

Lenin and Stalin were consistent followers of the line that Jews did not constitute a people but survived through history due to perpetuated anti-Semitism (Lenin 73). They did not believe in Zionism or the idea of Jewish nationality. Lenin also added that the Jews no longer existed as a people because it was impossible for a people to exist without a territory or a common language (Lenin 75). Stalin's definition of a nationality expressed in 1913 was that 'A nationality is a fixed human community existing historically on the basis of a common language, common territory common economic structure, and a psychic structure expressed in a common culture' (Stalin 296). Jews failed that test. Thus, the conclusion was that they were a sect (Lenin

313).

In addition to their opposition to a Zionist solution, Lenin and Stalin also opposed cultural national autonomy put forth by the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. Under this program, all the citizens of the state with different nationalities would be organized in national units and would be responsible for their own educational and cultural affairs while still being subservient to the state (Pinkus 51). They believed this would only increase separatism and would spread disunity. Socialism was supposed to solve the problems of nationalism. The most Lenin would accept was the drive for self-determination, but even that was only in theory. Thus, most minorities would be left with no choice but assimilate. However, the realities of the Civil War forced the Communist Party to come up with new solutions.

The solution was a policy called *Korenizatsiya*, "nativization" or "indigenization". It consisted of harmonizing the Soviet regime to the local people in ethnically non-Russian areas by introducing local language into all spheres of public life – education, publishing, culture, and government itself (Vihavainen 80).

The problematic situation of nationalities continued to evolve in the changing constitutional documents, Communist Party resolutions, laws, regulations, and decrees (Pinkus 52). It was altogether a constantly shifting medley of principles and policies. As it pertained to Jews, they were allowed to go through the process of *Korenization* after the Civil War and were not forced to assimilate immediately. Yiddish became the official language and organizations like the Jewish Section of the Communist Party (*Evseksia*) were born.

After the Civil War and the 1920's

World war, revolution, civil war, pogroms had left the economic life of Jews in shambles. Aside from the physical destruction, 70-80% of the Jewish population found themselves without work, and a million were displaced. Speculation was often the only means to survive, and that was strictly forbidden by the Soviets. The decimation even spread to the Jewish farming colonies that were usually self-sufficient. Thousands moved to Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Romania (Gitelman *A Century of Ambivalence : The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* 122).

Before the Revolution, Jews were mainly worked as local merchants or in the cottage industry. According to the census of 1897, 40% of the economically active Jewish population was engaged in trade and this was 70% of Russia's total merchant class (Rowland 207-34).

During War Communism during which there was a total control over all production and the free exchange of goods was banned, many of those part of the 40% segment became unemployed. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that, while fleeing pogroms and the Civil War, many families moved into larger cities. Cities had extreme poverty and unemployment. Those who attempted to improve their situation by opening small businesses were declared to be "exploiting the regime." Various methods of "protecting the Revolution" were used to punish the exploiters. These measures included: confiscating the tools of artisans, the goods of merchants, and even capital punishment. Thus, all efforts to create an organic urban economy failed (Roberts).

Those Jews that were punished for exploiting the regime, were "disfranchised" (lishentsi) and deprived of various rights ("Soviet Constitution"). One of these was political. Like

kulaks they had no right to elect and be elected to the soviets – the councils – that had power in Soviet Russia. They were also deprived of various civil rights. For example, they had to pay for all utilities in the communal homes and could not be members in unions. Only union members could receive free medical care, so they had to pay for that too. Their children were taken last to schools, and were not accepted into universities. They and their children could not work in factories and moreover could not be placed on labor registries that made finding jobs even harder. Thus, Jewish society became just as class stratified as it had been during Tsarist times, if not more. Only now, it was virtually impossible to move from one political class to another. A staggering 30% of the Jewish working-age population was “disfranchised” in the 1920’s. Because of these societal changes many Jews changed occupations and joined the working class. Still, there remained a huge mass of unemployed people especially among the young and the disfranchised. Thus, the ethnicity that suffered the most from the Soviet regime’s battle against the private economy was the one that partook in it the most – the Jews in Russia (Brovkin 30).

With the introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921, the situation changed dramatically. The former petty merchants threw themselves into the cottage industry and petty trade. However, the caveat was that any business venture under the communist regime was always a dangerous enterprise. There was a lack of protections for the private entrepreneur and any business required a great deal of thrift and care (Fitzpatrick, Rabinowitch and Stites 92).

The representatives of Russia’s old capitalist class that had remained in Russia after the revolution were used to working within a framework of laws that supported their endeavors.

They were unable to navigate the harsh conditions of the business environment under the NEP. Those, however, that had been accustomed to living on the edge of the law in unfavorable conditions became part of a new class of bourgeoisie. They were the only ones who could thrive in the new environment. Jews tended to be in the ranks of this new class, because they had to exist under draconian conditions before the revolution. In Belarus by 1926, for example, 90% of the private traders were Jewish. The visible success of Jews under NEP was noticed by the general population and fed anti-Semitic feelings (Ball 99-101).

With the NEP, Lenin's plan was to reconcile the public and private economies for the long haul. This promise was not kept. The war against the private economy continued in urban areas. In villages it led to famine in 1921-22. Thus, a "red-thread" passes through the entire history of the NEP (Davies, Harrison and Wheatcroft 111; Fitzpatrick, Rabinowitch and Stites 192).

Under Soviet law, Jews had the same de-facto rights as everyone else. In one of Lenin's decrees in 1918, he even directed that "all soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers' delegates to take such steps as will effectively destroy the anti-Semitic movement at its roots," (Weinryb). Under this protection, many Jews took to civil service, the Red Army, and Cheka-Ogpu. This did not mean that there was a national awakening toward Jews. On the contrary, they tended to be the chief victims of Lenin's vicious attacks on "class enemies", "exploiters and profiteers", and "anti-social groups" as these categories belonged to the largely Jewish trader class. Why the stark difference in treatment? One reason may be that the Jews that joined the Party apparatus were "non-Jewish Jews." They were able to put the interests of the Party ahead of the interests of their religion or people. Those that continued opening businesses in their community and

following their traditional lifestyles were enemies of the people (P. Johnson 448).

With the nascent Bolshevik state came the necessity to control the different nationalities that comprised the large Soviet empire. Communist “Sections” were organizations within the party that would represent the people of that ethnicity to that party. The Jews also had a Jewish Section – formally called the Jewish section of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or Evseksia for short (Pinkus 60).

The Evseksia was established to popularize Marxism and encourage loyalty to the Soviet regime among Russian Jews. It was mostly comprised of old Bolsheviks of Jewish nationality. As described before, they tended to be non-Jewish Jews in that the Party ideology was paramount. Unlike the Zionists and Bundists who sought more autonomy for Jews in the Soviet Union, the Jewish section saw Jewish values and institutions as alien to Marxist ideology and the new society being built. This old society was to be eradicated as soon as possible. They targeted not only the Zionist movement and the Jewish religion, but even the Hebrew language. The society they were building was to be based instead on the secular Yiddish language. These steps of values and language changes were to pave the way for overall assimilation (Gitelman *A Century of Ambivalence : The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* 111-12). In the case of Yiddish, since it was already the daily language of Soviet Jewry, this transition for most people was not difficult.

The Evseki, workers for the Evseksia, had very ambitious goals in attempting to Sovietize Jews, and they would face tremendous challenges in doing so. First, the majority of the Jewish population was completely aloof from the revolutionary movement. Second, approximately 30% of them were unemployed. Even before NEP, many of them were forced to

work on the black market out of necessity. Third, Jews were excited for the instatement of NEP because it allowed them in many cases to return to their old forms of work. In the eyes of the Evseksia, such jobs furthered them from the proletariat and its working class peasantry. Fourth, the Evseksia was the organization tasked with the difficult job of battling Zionism, a bourgeois ideology, and Judaism a religion. Fifth, in the context of their battle with Zionism, they would have to face the Hebrew culture and a network of Yeshivas that was the most extensive in Europe before the Revolution (Энгель "Евреи Ссср В 20-Е Гр.").

Although the Party technically did not interfere in Jewish affairs, by utilizing the wide reach of the Sections, they actually had very powerful control. The reason for the Evseksia's power was their control of the "Jewish street." After all forms of political discussion and organization were forbidden, the Evseksia quickly became the only influential factor in the internal life of the Jewish community (Kadish 73).

The Evseki used a variety of tested Totalitarian methods to pacify the population. They controlled the press by closing all the newspapers that they did not control. Aggressive propaganda was employed. They coerced and finagled many in the Jewish workforce towards transitioning into agricultural labor. Zionists were pursued, books in Hebrew were removed from libraries, Hebrew theaters were shuttered, teaching in Hebrew became forbidden, and its estimated that 650 synagogues were closed in the 1920's (Gitelman *A Century of Ambivalence : The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* 115-16, 20).

One of the most sophisticated methods that religion was combatted was by opening a new church or synagogue. The 'Living Synagogue' was run by rabbis hired by the government who were ready to cooperate to the point of making a mockery of the prayers. The hope was to

provoke quarrels between the different synagogues and thus weaken the hold of religion. Since there's no central body controlling synagogue affairs, this effort had limited success (Pinkus).

Another goal of the Evseksia was to counteract NEP's pull on the Jewish population. This was a difficult prospect given that objectively, as much as seventy percent of the population was psychologically inclined to be NEPmen. The Evseksia knew that allowing large swaths of the Jewish Section of the party to be NEPmen was tantamount to admitting defeat. Because of this, the Evseksia paradoxically became one of the most active opponents of NEP. The Evseksia's efforts delayed the deployment of NEP to Jews by three years in some regions. Only in 1924 were the Evseki forced to oblige and formally allow NEP in all its towns. Thus, if NEP entered the Jewish sphere in the 1920's it was despite the work of the Evseksia, not because of it (Kadish 73-74).

All these changes by the Evseksia sought to dismantle the old way of Jewish life. And while these policies may have scared Jews in 1917, by 1918 or 1919, many of these issues seemed completely trivial compared to the other options.

What was the old Jewish life? Most certainly it was the traditional life in the shtetl. To the prerevolutionary liberal reformers and critics, the shtetl was regarded almost like a leper colony. Here the most undesirable parts of Jewish traditions and life seemed to hang on the strongest: traders, luftmentsshn, clerics. Discussed previously in broad strokes were the Evseksia's efforts to "face the shtetl," (Gitelman *A Century of Ambivalence : The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* 123). Given the resiliency of the shtetl's traditions over many centuries, it's sad that in less than a decade, they went from centers of culture to decay. Bauer writes that the Jewish cultural heritage was no match for a regime determined to

destroy the carriers of a tradition's cultural autonomy instead of through physical brutality. Second, the Soviets were highly effective because they not only used the stick, but also the carrot (Bauer 154).

Decline of the Shtetl

While there's no start point for the decline of shtetls in what was the former Pale of Settlement, the exodus of some of the most productive members of society into cities or abroad left behind a disproportionate number of widows, dependents, and charity cases (Bauer 4). The new economic system that outlawed bartering rendered the shtetl obsolete in its traditional role of being a link between the countryside and the cities. A survey done in 1924 of 43 shtetlekh in Belorussia found that only a quarter of the residents could claim a profession or business. In Ukrainian shtetl, half the loans made by the local bank could be paid back (Gitelman *A Century of Ambivalence : The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* 124). Overall, it was an even worse state of affairs than before 1914 or even the First World War.

In Ukraine as late as 1929, as much as one third of the Jewish population lived in Shtetlekh. It was a large enough part of the fabric of daily life that the Evseksia felt the devastation of these hamlets could lead to social and economic problems that could be exploited by opponents of Communism. Indeed, participation in the party was much lower in many of these regions (Gitelman *A Century of Ambivalence : The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* 126).

The tragedy of the shrinking population was that it left behind hamlets of the young and old. The old were too old to work, even if there were jobs. Of course many people under the

age of eighteen could be employed. The irony is that, the Evseksia hated shtetlekh, feared their disintegration, and simultaneously fought to remove all traces of the prerevolutionary economy still remained (Gitelman *A Century of Ambivalence : The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* 129).

The attack on religion in the shtetls left them without their heart. The Sabbath as the day off was eliminated; rabbis left and nobody would replace them... Slowly the new way of life became more accepted among the working class of the shtetlekh (*Di Shtetlekh Fun V.S.S.R. In Rekonstruktivn Period.*).

At the end of the 1920's the Communists were sure the future belonged to them. In less than a decade they had eliminated Jewish Political Parties, suppressed Zionism, Hebrew, had driven religion underground, and gained a monopoly of power on the "Jewish street." The Evsekii now had to answer whether the destruction of the traditional way of life would need to be followed by the creation of a new Jewish subculture with secularism and socialist internationalism at its core, or had the Jews progressed enough where this would only hinder their continued progress toward Lenin's vision (Gitelman *A Century of Ambivalence : The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* 132)? Many thought assimilation was happening and that programs specifically for Jews would not be helpful. Other activists in the Evseksia, often having a vested interest in the continuation of Jewish work, wanted continued tailored programs that would address the cultural and economic problems of Jews. Ironically, this helped maintain a Jewish self-consciousness and identity that may not have otherwise survived.

Foreign Aid

Outside far reaching power of the Evseksia and the Party, a few organizations were able to penetrate the Soviet regime's walls. The most important of these was the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee ("Joint.") From 1915, Joint began operating a chain of soup kitchens and clinics for traumatized areas in the Pale of Settlement. Initially it was only for war victims, but after the war, Joint widened its efforts to the hundreds of thousands of Jews who had lost their jobs. Though the New Economic Policy made a positive impact, many Jewish people still remained unemployed. By 1921 it was apparent that charity alone could not sustain the population in need. The unemployment rate was between thirty and forty percent (Colby et al. 686). One alternative was for Jews to become farmers. Dr. Joseph Rosen, who was a Russian-born agronomist helping run Joint's efforts in Eastern Europe, suggested to the Soviet officials that they allocate the 7 million acres of confiscated land in Ukraine and the Crimea to Jews. Formerly poor Jewish businessmen would be transplanted in large numbers and Joint would help fund the project and teach them to farm (Sachar 331-32).

The Soviet leadership was interested, less because of humanitarianism and more for the possibility of access to hard currency and the importance of Jewish public opinion abroad. The Society to Settle Working Jews on Land in the USSR was born in 1923 with the Russian acronym, OZET (Altshuler "Ha-Vaad Ha-Ziburi Ha-Yehudi Le-Ezrat Nifgaei Ha-Pogromim" 16-34). The project garnered the support of Joint, and in 1924 the Soviet government agreed to set aside 1 million acres in the Crimea and Ukraine's Kherson and Dniepropetrovsk districts. Joint's goal was to fund-raise \$10 million over ten years. Remarkably they met and exceeded this target. By 1934, \$14 million had been raised, 217 colonies were supporting 175,000 Jewish colonists. This

number exceeded the entire Jewish agricultural population of Palestine (Sachar 332).

The number fell to 110,000 by 1938 when Agro-Joint (the subsidiary of Joint) ceased its operations in the Soviet Union. This promising experiment's implosion was brought about by several factors. First, Collectivization reversed the original plan of private or cooperative land ownership. Second, the Ukrainian peasantry harassed and intimidated the settlers. Third, Stalin's consecutive Five-Year Plans offered industrialization and improvements for city life. Jewish had always loved town and cities, could not refuse these attractions (Sachar 333).

In the late 1920's, while the government encouraged the Agro-Joint project, the government began to explore parallel plans for Jewish farmers. This resettlement would be strategic in scope rather than economic. At issue was the cold and harsh region at the confluence of the Biro and Bidzhan rivers. The Soviets feared a future Japanese attack or Chinese claims to the land, and wanted a buffer region in what was now a sparsely populated land. Sending Jews there would fix several political and national problems, and the Communists were ready to provide concessions to entice settlers to move. Birobidzhan was proclaimed an oblast – an autonomous Jewish region, and that as soon as it encompassed one hundred thousand Jews, it would be transformed into a Soviet Jewish Republic (R. Weinberg). The territory's climate was harsh. Despite the 6,000 to 8,000 Jews that moved to the region annually, the project failed to evoke overall enthusiasm from Soviet Jews. All the freedoms could not offset climate and lack of construction machinery, cattle that could not survive the winters, and the lack of outside help made existence miserable for the settlers. At its height in 1936 it was 36,000. By 1939 less than 15,000 remained, and the Jewish role there was relegated to a footnote (Robert Weinberg 14-17).

Students of history know that the failure of the Bolsheviks to turn farmers of Jews was the same fate that many Tsars since Alexander II suffered.

Yiddish

Because of the push by the Evseksia, hundreds of libraries and dozens of museums were opened around the country that catered towards the Yiddish Jewry (Veidlinger 31). Among the most prominent writers and poets from this period were Babel, Mosaic, Hecht, Roizman, Utkin, and Marshak. Many Hebrew writers, on the other hand, left the country during this period (Greenbaum 135-37).

In many ways the Yiddish rebirth was not embraced by the people. Before the Revolution when there were few opportunities for Russian education and culture, Yiddish held its own. But with doors open to Russian society, they were happy to abandon Yiddish culture which they associated with the shtetl and a way of life that was taught to them as backward. Avoiding Yiddish was a way to avoid the confines of the Pale and to graduate into the wider Russian society (Gitelman *A Century of Ambivalence : The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* 142). A Yiddish newspaper in Minsk lamented how:

“The Jewish worker does not want to read a [Yiddish] newspaper. He will break his teeth, he will not understand a word, but give him Russian. A Jewish comrade begins to speak in Yiddish at a workers’ meeting – they don’t want to listen. And when she finishes, they translate, even though you can’t find a non-Jew here for love or money,” (Veker).

Religion

Though some of the religious trends during this decade have been discussed, summarizing it in one location will impart just how much Soviet policy changed over a small period of time. During the revolution and Civil War, anti-religious policies were mild due to the

need for the regime to combat hostile forces. The years 1921 to 1923 were when the Evseksia was the most active and aggressive. The campaign slowed down from 1924 till 1928 due to a new policy on nationalities [a change that also benefited religions] as well as a desire to improve diplomatic relationship with other nations. However, 1925 saw the creation of a new public body called 'The League of Unbelievers' that promoted anti-religious activity.

To summarize, the 1920's in the Soviet Union brought tremendous changes of different varieties for Jews. There was a new social composition, resettlement, changes in how people could practice their religion, disenfranchisement, Evseksia, and Yiddish. Whether or not these changes were positive is debatable. What is certain is that these changes were brought about with the Soviet regime's goal of penetrating the Jewish community with their ideology. In most cases they were successful.

1930's

The 1930's bring the final rejection of market-based economic development in favor of command and control methods of controlling the national economy (Pinkus 93). Politically, market freedoms would have led to a weakening of the total control the communist nomenklatura had over the people. Economically, peasants were reducing the size of their harvests to avoid over taxation, leading to a faltering economy (Lissner 149). The regime chose to take full control of the economy and thus put to rest and hope of political freedoms for the citizenry.

One theory argues that the new regime installed in Russia after 1917 preserved the autocratic tendencies of tsarist Russia: absolutism in politics, feudalist tendencies toward peasants such as confiscation of their surpluses etc. Going off of this theory, it becomes

apparent that other conditions would not have guaranteed the new dictatorship an easy existence in Russia, which was well understood by the policy makers and ideologues. When in the 1980's the Soviet people lost some of their dependence on the state and could dissent, the entire system collapsed (Энгель "Национальная Политика Ссср В 1930-Е Гг.").

For these reasons, the move away from market principles completed when the Politburo called the New Economic Policy a mistake in 1929 (Marquit 397). Collectivization then began in earnest. This was in effect a war of the Soviet government against its peasant class. Additionally, the nation moved full course toward constructing heavy industry (Lee 43) – to the detriment of its service sector and light industry. The gold standard was abandoned (Bordo, Schwartz and Research 625). And the prison labor system flourished (Jakobson 151).

In order to justify the new realities and hardships the country was facing, and to justify a pretext for reprisals against opponents within the Party, Stalin put forward the theory that the building of a socialist state would require class warfare (Shearer 20). There was an economic motive for repressions too. The move away from market principles and the desire for a grandiose socialist state required a free labor force. Thus, the Gulag decided, above all else, the means to solve the economic dilemma the nation faced (Khlevniuk 177).

The cessation of NEP hurt traditional Jewish industries. In Belorussia, 72.2% of Jewish youth was unemployed (Gitelman *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics; the Jewish Sections of the Cpsu, 1917-1930* 358). A serious problem was faced by Jews belonging to the category 'deprived of civic rights' (lishentsi). They were accused and convicted of exploiting the labor of others or had held political opinions hostile to the regime. This category of individuals came into existence during War Communism when as many as two thirds of all Jewish people lost

their rights (Y. Levin 89). Though many got their records cleaned during NEP, or were able to find a job for several years, the conclusion of NEP forced a great many lishentsi back into a perilous situation of fighting to survive.

The answer for many was to seek further education and to look for jobs in the government apparatus, industry, sciences, or arts. Many Jewish parents during this time emphasized the value of an education to their children (Pinkus 97). They remembered how difficult it was to receive an education before the Revolution and sought their kids to make up for the opportunities that they missed. The kids on their part sought to unburden themselves of the Jewish ghettos and enter city life. The phrase, "To be just like everybody else" was a popular saying amongst the young up and comers (Pinkus 95). The census in 1939 shows that these efforts were successful. 26.8% of the Jewish population had secondary education and 5.7% had professional education, compared to 8% and 0.6% respectively, for the rest of the population (Энгель "Национальная Политика Ссср В 1930-Е Гр.").

With their high levels of education, many Jews found jobs within the party apparatus (Pinkus 79). The purges of vast parts that same apparatus in the late 1930's, meant they were some of the most hurt by the repressions ("Vlast Sovetov"). An additional source of hate came from a sector of society that felt that Jews had taken their rightful jobs in the government apparatus. Indeed Jews were especially numerous in the Ministries of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, and Foreign Trade (Pinkus 83).

Surprisingly, at the height of public anti-Semitism in the late 20's, the government had a large-scale official campaign to fight against it. It was a concerted effort that included books, pamphlets, public meetings, plays, and films. Stalin even added the word anti-Semitism to the

resolution condemning nationalism at the sixteenth party congress in 1930, calling it a plague that needed to be fought (KPSS. CK. Institut marksizma-leninizma. 614). The truly Orwellian thing about the Soviet fight against anti-Semitism is how quickly they were able to reverse course based on political expediency. Just a few short years later during the show trials, the government once again would target Jews.

From Internationalism to a Greater Russia

There was a tremendous change in Soviet ideology during the 1930's. Whereas the 20's were filled with slogans of world revolution, proletarian internationalism etc., [and these slogans continued till the collapse of the Soviet Union], there was no enthusiasm and belief that this was true. Communists lost in three armed uprisings in Germany in 1919, 1921, and 1923 (Grant 12). They met the same fate in Hungary in 1919 (P. Kenez *Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets: The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary, 1944-1948* 192), Estonia in 1924 (Weiss-Wendt 16), and China 1926-27 (Wilbur 43). After Hitler's rise in Germany in 1933, even the most fanatical Marxists became convinced that the world revolution was a long ways away. They concluded that the USSR no longer depended on the "world revolution", the "world revolution" depended on the USSR. If Socialism was defeated in Russia, it would be defeated forever everywhere else. The switch in ideology was in line with what Lenin had advocated all along – that Marxists in Russia must ensure the success of the Soviet Union first and foremost (Jacobson 36-37).

The failure of the world revolution resulted in a move away from internationalism toward the philosophy of one great power leading all the rest. It was during this period that Stalin called the "Russian people the older brother of the large family of Soviet people,"

(Studies et al. 9). This change in philosophy leads to a gradual process of Russification of the entire system of education and culture in the USSR. This was particularly noticeable in Ukraine and Belarus which had schools administered in the native language of the town's population - Belarussian, Ukrainian, or Yiddish. After the shift in ideology, the only language spoken in these schools became Russian. And if there was any Jewish content left in the school books, it was anti-Jewish, against religion, anti-Jewish national elements and the tradition and history of the Jewish people. This was mirrored in the court system, police, and government agencies. By 1938, the RSFSR (with the exception of the Jewish Autonomous Region) was almost completely empty of all Jewish schools (Pinkus 110).

In the 1930's, the previous political structure of Jewish towns in the Ukraine and Belarus came to a head with national policies. The Evseksia had for years worked tirelessly to develop a Yiddish-based culture, interfering in almost all aspects of life in small towns. Now, they had to reconcile their previous work with the new policies of Russian nationalism. The only possible way to resolve this conflict within the Soviet bureaucracy was to create a separate Jewish territorial-administrative unit. With this purpose organizations like KOMZET and OZET, discussed previously, attempted to resettle Jews into compact regions of Ukraine, Belarus, and the Crimea with the goal that these small territories could later be made into autonomous regions or a republic (Altshuler "Ha-Vaad Ha-Ziburi Ha-Yehudi Le-Ezrat Nifgaei Ha-Pogromim" 202). To the leaders of the Evseksia, creating such regions would be the solution for all those Jews seeking to create a national home in Palestine. These projects were not successful (Pinkus 76). The repression of many members of KOMZET and OZET in 1937 rendered these organizations nonfunctional.

Before the War

During the 1930's, the more mature Soviet Union moved in a new direction in its national politics. First, this was tied to the Party's rejection of the ideal of the world revolution in favor of the idea that Russia is the great power instead of one of the players. Second, anti-Semitism was used by Stalin to create the symbol of the enemy in the eyes of the population that had historically been desirous of any kind of xenophobia against different forms of opposition, and historically this group was the Jews. Third, it was due to the rapprochement with Hitler.

The increasing ties with Hitler are especially important, because the alliance with Germany had a tremendous effect on changes in national politics at the end of the 1930's and the early 1940's right before the war.

According to Party members close to Stalin during that period, Stalin had a large appreciation for how quickly Hitler quelled his opposition (Lukacs 51). He not infrequently used Hitler as an example for his colleagues. Objectively, there was more in common between Fascism and Bolshevism than there was different in their ideologies, goals, and methods. Stalin was enthralled with how quickly the principles of National Socialism captured the hearts of the masses in Germany. Where the Bolsheviks had to spend years of revolution and civil war, the Nazis spent only a few months on working over their people with propaganda (Rayfield 261).

Clearly, the main obsession of Stalin and the majority of the Bolshevik leaders was power and not socialism. Not only that, but power at any cost. From this perspective, National Socialism looked much more attractive, because it was more effective in the struggle for power.

Stalin realized that blinding the masses with the illusion of superiority over another

people or nation, the creation of a national enemy, and then channeling the energy of the homeland against that enemy creates a situation ripe for the quelling of any opposition and the installation of totalitarianism.

One of the only differences between the two systems ideologically is the usage of propaganda of social inequalities vs. national inequalities. The other views on the molding of culture, religion, and the formation of the economic system of the state etc. were almost exactly the same. In Germany, the government grew to be a command economy just like the Soviet Union. Obviously, the full nationalization of the economy combined with the use of millions of prisoners as slave laborers, made the Soviet economic machine more docile and responsive in the situation of a full mobilization and war, and from this, the power of the Soviet dictator became even greater (Weeks 52).

Introducing the elements of fascism into the political system of Soviet Society, and the introduction of socialist elements into the economic system of Germany brought these two totalitarian states closer.

The main element of Nazism that was ideally suited for insertion into the Soviet machine was of course, anti-Semitism. In 1939 there was no word yet about genocide in Germany, but Kristallnacht had already happened, and extreme hatred of Jews was totally visible.

In *Main Kampf*, Hitler and later Goebbels expounded on their theory of the unique intelligence of the German race vs. the opposite race – that of the Jew. In Germany, any opponents of National Socialism were declared complicit with the Jews, which is reminiscent of Bolshevik principles (Thomsett 3).

Stalin didn't anticipate that Bolshevism also ranked up high among Hitler's principal enemies of humanity (Gordon 103), and that the living space for future Germans was planned to be in the east. Perhaps he hoped that Hitler would change his principles in return for an alliance with an ideologically similar movement of the Bolsheviks, or perhaps he hoped to strike the first military blow. Regardless, he was wrong. Both parties weren't going to abandon their doctrines and theories.

The first Soviet anti-Jewish acts mirrored the Nazis: Jews were removed from the government apparatus. The difference lay in the fact that official anti-Semitism, like any other form of racism was still declared a hostile and criminal ideology. Thus, inserting restrictive legislation against Jews, like in old Tsarist times, was never even considered. Because of this, everything was decided on the oral instructions that Stalin gave and the leadership of the CPSU. Thus, there was a great deal of gray area in the way that the USSR dealt with Jewish leaders. Any allegations of wrongdoing, or incorrect firing, due to allegedly a racial reason could be quickly identified as a libel (Pinkus 88).

Toward the end of the 1930's, the National-Russian elements in domestic and foreign policy soon led to personnel changes in all branches of the Party. Jews were removed from controlling sections of the Party and government apparatus. Due to the high level education of Jews in the Soviet Union, their representation in the middle part of the government apparatus, as well as science and education was a higher percent, so during the years of repression, these middle tiered jobs were also affected (Freedman and League 14).

In 1937, N. Ezhov performed the cleansing of Jews from the organs of the NKVD. By 1939, on the eve of the agreement with Germany, M. Litvinov, who supported an alliance with

France and England, is replaced with Molotov. Molotov upon arrival told everyone in the foreign affairs department that he would “once and for all end the synagogue here.” By the end of the thirties, just two Jews L. Kaganovich and L. Mehlis are left in the entourage of Stalin (Knight 87).

Ribbentrop returning from signing the non-aggression pact in 1939, reported to Hitler that Stalin in a conversation said he was determined to end the “Jewish domination” among the Soviet intelligentsia (Hitler and Trevor-Roper 119). Soon afterwards, the USSR released to Germany a group of Communists who had escaped from the Nazi regime, among them were many Jews. In actions like these, and elsewhere, Stalin started upon the path travelled earlier by Hitler. Nationalist-Russian elements in 1939-1941, both in internal and external politics, evolved into a politics of governmental anti-Semitism (Энгель "Евреи Ссср Накануне li Мировой Войны"). The pact was not just an alliance of two nations, but closeness in the way the two nations approached their Jewish population.

After the alliance was created, criticism of Nazi Germany became strictly prohibited . Even more outlawed was any discussion of Germany’s anti-Jewish sentiments. This led to many Russian Jews not knowing anything about the terrible things going on in the West. They were not ready for the German occupation, and some thought they could wait out the Nazis just like they waited out the First World War (Pinkus 88).

The “quiet” removal of Jews from leadership positions continued – not just in the Government apparatus but also institutions of culture, the arts, journalism, education, etc.

During these two years, any sort of Jewish nationalism was completely suppressed unless it was happening in Birobidjan. There, Party literature in Yiddish was printed and Jewish

schools were built (Pinkus 74-75).

On September 17th 1939, the Soviet Union effectively enters the war on Germany's side. German generals recall that Stalin was supposed to enter September 1st with Hitler, but Stalin preferred to be seen not as an occupier but the liberator of the people of Western Ukraine and Belarus as he entered Poland. By the time the USSR entered the war, the course of battle between Germany and Poland had already been decided and the world had condemned Germany for its aggression (BBC).

Thus, September of 1939 brought the USSR the addition of numerous territories including a Jewish population of 1.2 million people centered in Lviv, Rivne, Bialystok, Pinsk and Grodno. During September and October they also accepted refugees from Western Poland amongst who were another three hundred thousand Jews (Vashem). The German occupied zone contained approximately 1.7 million Jews.

Many of the Jews that now found themselves in Soviet lands were elated. First, they saw the Red Army as their saviors from German persecution. Second, socialist/communist ideology had pervaded Eastern Europe in the years before, and many Jews were avidly involved in the communist Party or other socialist groups. They thought the USSR was a type of "heaven on earth" or a "kingdom of equality and fairness." Overall, the Jews arriving on the Soviet doorstep were ready to accept the new socio-economic realities that they would be presented with. Unfortunately, the reality was much worse than they expected (Michlic).

Immediately, private enterprise including small business was destroyed. Those with a bourgeois origin were banned from receiving work. This included a significant number of Jews who had come from families that were shopkeepers, traders, etc. Synagogues were closed and

Rabbis were arrested for being members of the counter-revolutionary class. Religious schools were closed and many secular Jewish schools met the same fate. Jews were deprived of their legal rights and their property was nationalized. Political parties independent of being Jewish or non-Jewish were also eliminated (Brown 164-68).

On November 29th, 1939 refugees and people of nations that had just joined the Soviet Union were given the opportunity to become citizens. Those that refused were resettled into interior portions of the country, often to be arrested at a later date (N. Levin 346).

It is evident that Germany and the USSR's relation to Jews in their captured territories was similar in how Jewish Communities were closed down and their property was confiscated, but most certainly, the Soviet government never approached the overt genocide of the Nazis in the occupied territories (Pinkus 88). The Soviet actions were motivated by classism rather than nationalism. Of course, even at this time there were purely anti-Semitic actions, but they could not compare to the Germans (Shlapentokh, Shiraev and Carroll 19-21).

An example of obvious anti-Semitism on the Soviet side in the new republics was that the government encouraged Jewish representatives in the new regions to be replaced with Ukrainians or Belarusians. This was done under the guise of Jews not speaking Ukrainian or Belarusian well (D. Levin 52).

Jews in Eastern Europe found themselves between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, there was Germany with its extreme anti-Jewish policy, and on the other the Soviet Union where they were class enemies by virtue of their social status and history.

Most tragically, Jews were able to leave the German sphere of occupation till the middle of 1940, but in the Soviet Union, the "iron curtain" had finally fallen and those who tried to

escape had the real possibility of ending up in a Gulag.

A tremendous humanitarian crisis erupted in the no-man's-land between Russia and Germany. Refugees fleeing Germany to Eastern Ukraine or Belarus were often captured by the Red Army and transported back to the German side. Officially, the Germans refused to take them back, so the Red Army sent them back, usually threatening to shoot the refugees. The Germans would open fire on the returners. When the returners tried to go back to the Russian side, border guards would shoot them down. No-man's-land thus had thousands of people dying of hunger or getting shot. Only sometimes did the Soviet border open up briefly, where the majority of the refugees were arrested for espionage (Murphy 128-29).

To improve these migratory issues, Germany and the USSR signed a compact on November 16th, 1939 that allowed for the evacuation of the Ukrainian and Belarusian populations on the German side of the former Poland to the Soviet side. The text of the agreement spoke about the evacuation of citizens of those nationalities. Nothing was written about the Jews (Brandon, Lower and Museum 86).

At first, German authorities attempted to use the agreement to move Jews into the USSR with passports saying they were Ukrainians or Belarusians of the Judean faith. However, the Soviets refused to accept such persons. This was yet another blatant act of anti-Semitism by the Soviet state that cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of Polish Jews (Polonsky and Davies 26).

Many refugees refused to accept the November-December of 1939 offer of Soviet citizenship, not without reason, fearing to settle permanently behind the Iron Curtain, thus burying their hopes to reunite with family and friends after the war, or to abandon their estates

which would pay for their emigration to the United States or Palestine (Altshuler *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust: A Social and Demographic Profile* 325).

Stalin saw such figures as extremely unreliable and dangerous elements. They would be tasked with back-breaking labor in the mines of the Donbass or at worst arrest and exile to labor camps in Siberia. Their existence in Eastern Ukraine and Belarus was tremendously difficult. Their savings dried up, and the abolition of the Zloty as the currency made finding means of subsistence very difficult (Altshuler *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust: A Social and Demographic Profile* 325).

Many decided to return back to Germany. There were no other ways to exit the USSR. Such tragic decisions weren't just for those who experienced the Soviet Union's class warfare. Some Polish communists (including some Jews) gave up all hope of surviving the Soviet system. Some hoped to return to their families, some naively thought their fortunes or business would allow them to survive Nazi occupation. Some hoped to leave German occupied lands into another country other than the USSR (Altshuler *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust: A Social and Demographic Profile* 326).

They would frequently request the right to return to special German immigration bureau, where they would be rejected. As many as one hundred thousand were able to enter Lithuania before its occupation by the Red Army where they were aided by the organization "Joint." Many Jewish scholars and teachers also fled to Lithuania in those years through the porous Polish-Lithuanian border. However, after the Baltic States were occupied, most avenues of emigration were closed. Another three hundred fifty thousand Jews of the Baltic States now joined the Soviet empire. This was in addition to the one hundred thousand that were Polish

refugees. With Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina and other provinces, the Jewish population of the USSR between 1939-1940 increased by more than 2.17 million people, and approached the 5 million that it was under the Russian Empire (Mendelsohn 239-45).

The Soviet occupation brought the Jews of Western Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic States, Bessarabia, and Northern Bucovina fast changes in just two years, but they were lucky they did not live through lishenstvo, NEP, the resettlement movement, and political repression. Their previous life and social structures were gone forever, but on the other hand, more than two million people got the opportunity to survive and evacuate to the interior regions of the country away from the theater of battle. The obvious fault of the Soviet Union was their deliberate censorship of Nazi atrocities between 1939 and 1941, which cost the lives of millions of people.

The War

After the Second World War at the Nuremberg trials, it was noted that six million Jews perished (Davidson 104). Four of those million came from specialized points of extermination. Of the six million, four and a half died in Poland and the USSR. In Germany it was one hundred and twenty five thousand, Czechoslovakia two hundred and seventy seven thousand, Hungary four hundred and two thousand (Snyder 408-10).

By the time the Holocaust began in the Soviet Union, it was in what's known as the third stage. We must talk about these early events in Europe in order to understand the difference in what happened in the Soviet Union.

The Holocaust in Europe started in stages way before 1941. Between January of 1933 and August of 1939, is considered to be the first stage. Only Germany and its neighboring

territories were affected during this period. Throughout these years, the anti-Jewish climate in Germany steadily increased. Unlike the closed borders of the Soviet Union though, German Jews could usually travel. Even in October 1938 when their passports were declared invalid, Jews could still immigrate and simply had a large letter J in their passport. In this first phase of the Holocaust, Jews were not subjected to any physical harm and were free to travel outside the country. There was even a central agency created aimed toward helping Jews move outside the Anschluss area. After 1938 and Kristallnacht, Jews were forced into exile (Peace and Problems 47).

The second stage of the Holocaust was between September of 1939 and June 1941 – the start of the Second World War and Germany’s attack on the Soviet Union. The Eastern European continent was split in two, and Jews found themselves prisoners on competing sides (Sugar, Rothschild and Treadgold 4-6). Though the border was not necessarily closed, and this depended on the location mostly, movement became much more difficult once the war began.

For the Nazis, this was a period when they were unsure of what the final solution would be (Lang 94). In July of 1940, for example, the German Foreign Office discussed plans to resettle four million Jews of Europe in Madagascar. This plan was rejected in favor of physical extermination on the insistence of Hitler in March of 1941. Of course, there’s no question that by 1939 the Germans knew there would be a final solution to the Jewish problem. They just didn’t know what it would be (Christopher R. Browning 497-99).

The decision was made to concentrate the Jewish masses of the occupied territories (and then in Germany itself) in one compact area. Poland was ideal for Germany. It had become theirs under the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939. It was populated by Slavs who were

according to the Nazis, part of the lower races. Thus, it was the perfect testing ground for how to deal with the Jewish problem. The various methods Nazis tried included concentrating Jews in ghettos, segregation from the non-Jewish population, removal from all spheres of public life, confiscation of their wealth leading to their financial ruin, and bringing them to a state where becoming part of the slave labor force would be the only way to survive the ghetto (Rossel).

Like the Soviet Union's Evsektsiya, Nazis widely used Jews to be the executors of their policies through the Judenrat and Yudenpolitsay. These techniques and others like the yellow stars were first tested in the ghettos and then widely disseminated throughout Nazi-occupied Europe (Piotrowski 72).

Toward the end of the second phase of the Holocaust, over one million Polish Jews and thousands of Jews from Germany itself were concentrated in the ghetto. So while the official program for genocide had not yet crystallized, the heavy forced labor, impoverishment, inhumane living conditions, disease, and terror made the ghettos and labor camps sites of mass mortality (Piotrowski 24; Kramer and Headland 182).

By the beginning of the war with the USSR, the Nazis had developed a plan for the mass elimination of "undesirable elements." These undesirables were made up of Communists, Red Army political officers, representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia, and of course the Jews as the carriers of Bolshevism. Unlike the previous two phases where there was opportunity for escape, the Jews in the USSR faced the immediate danger of death and extermination (C.R. Browning 618).

Its characteristic of the Soviet Union, primarily in the territories annexed in 1939-1940, that the Germans faced a phenomenon that they hadn't previously encountered in the other

countries they conquered. The local residents immediately began to actively cooperate with them not only by identifying Jews, but actually participating in the murders themselves. This was the case in the territories of Lithuania, Latvia, Western Ukraine, as well as the inner regions of the Soviet republics (E. A. Johnson 108). This is explainable not only by the long history of these regions' anti-Semitic traditions, but also by the perceptions of the local people that Jews were connected to the Communist regime. Many Jews had earlier actively welcomed the arrival of Red Army and cooperated with the Soviet authorities on matters of removing the "bourgeois elements."

As a result of the German occupation of Soviet territory, the Germans now controlled an area where two million Jews resided. Given the speed of their advance, the ignorance of Soviet Jews for the anti-Jewish policies of Germany [due to the censure of information in the USSR on the eve of war], as well as the interference of the NKVD and border troops (Werth 226), most Jews in the western regions perished in the ghettos and concentration camps.

In late 1941 and 1942 the Jewish provincial populations Baltic republics were decimated. By the time the Germans were driven out, 70% of Latvian Jews, 90% of Lithuanian Jews, and Estonia's small population was completely gone (Ehrlich 1018).

In January of 1942, the highest echelons of the Reich met to discuss the logistics of the final solution in the German town of Wannsee. Subsequently, extermination camps began to be built in Poland such as Auschwitz, Treblinka, and many others. Jews from ghettos were transported there for extermination (ha-mishpaṭim and ha-meḥozi 2128).

By the end of 1942, the process of closing the ghettos began. All the citizens of the ghetto had already been transported to the concentration camps, so the old ghetto was

unnecessary. In 1943, Germany declared itself “free of Jews,” and like them, many other European cities were approaching the same status (Crowe 187).

The fourth stage of the Holocaust took place between fall and winter of 1943 till May of 1945. Labor shortages, the economically senseless murder of millions, and some losses in the war caused some waves within the Nazi elite regarding the question of the final solution.

Meanwhile individual SS units, after the defeat of Stalingrad, began to implement the scorched earth policy – killing the surviving Jews on retreat (Levin 41). Himmler issued an order in 1943 to use the surviving Jews in the interests of the war effort. At one point, Himmler even offered to free the Jews in exchange for a peace treaty (Arendt 59). This illustrates that there was some confusion among the Nazis in regards to the final solution in the months when the tide of war shifted.

In the last stages of the war, when Germany’s defeat was inevitable, some Nazi leaders tried to use Jews as a bargaining chip, while Hitler continued to demand the total annihilation of the survivors. The fast approach of the Red Army from the east forced the Nazis to frantically liquidate their ghettos, removing the traces of their atrocities (Schneider 136).

During the Soviet Campaign, the German commanders took special interest in Jewish Russian soldiers. They were seen as the standard bearers of the Bolshevik spirit. Erich von who commanded the 11th Army issued an order that the “Soldier must understand the importance of punishing the Jewish soldier for he is the essence of the Bolshevik Terror,” (Berenbaum and Peck).

The war was more difficult for Soviet Jewry. The border was closed, so unlike those that were able to escape Germany and Poland, there was no such opportunity in the Soviet Union.

In addition, the Soviet Union's strict censorship led to a majority of Jews not even knowing the danger they faced when Germany invaded. As a result, a greater percent of Soviet Jews died than the Jews of other nations. Paradoxically, Jews that lived in the Western regions of Belarus, Ukraine, the Baltic states, Bessarabia, North Bukovina that had been repressed in the aftermath of Molotov and Ribbentrop, were now alive because they had been forcefully removed from those areas. Jews in Estonia were also lucky, because Estonia was the only country invaded by the Germans in the fall of 1941 instead of the summer. Thus, three quarters of the Estonian Jewry was able to evacuate into the interior regions of the USSR (Ehrlich 1018).

One of the biggest casualties of the Second World War was the Yiddish culture and civilization of the USSR. The occupied territories were the fortress of Yiddish society, and they were obviously destroyed. It cannot be emphasized enough how important Yiddish had been to the national identity and culture of Soviet Jews. Thus the Holocaust had tremendous ramifications for the survivors of the war. They would return to villages that were empty and a lack of people who spoke the language of their people. The very identity of Jews in the USSR was inevitably changed forever (Checinski).

In terms of resistance, the occupied territories frequently saw Jewish partisan groups. They were often made up of families that had fled the ghetto. There was not, however, any move to unite the Jewish partisans under the Soviet military leadership. In fact, there were frequent confrontations between the normal partisan groups and the Jewish partisans. This was because the Soviet leadership did not trust the Jewish partisans. This antipathy even found its way into official documents of that period. It was so hostile at times that the more anti-Semitic partisan groups often attacked the Jewish partisans (Smilovitsky 1-28)

Another differentiator between the USSR and Europe was that the Soviet Union was unique from any other nation in that there did not exist a single centralized secret organization whose purpose it was to help Jews. Neither the Soviet government nor the Communist Party did anything to notice and help the plight of local Jewry (Freedman 62). As a result, Jews had to take action on their own to help the prisoners of the ghettos. Jewish partisan groups and the underground Jewish antifascist groups organized the illegal delivery of food and other goods into the ghetto. Even inside the ghetto, life went on. Underground groups continued their daily prayer and the education of children.

Jewish resistance groups were formed in many of the major cities of Belarus, Lithuania, and Ukraine. They obtained weapons and attacked German military storage depots and workshops. The ghetto prisoners that worked outside the walls helped by sabotaging the work they were doing (Smolar 10).

The Minsk and Vilnius ghettos had functioning underground presses which released their own literature and periodicals. How amazing that during the Nazi terror and the isolation of the ghetto, they still managed to establish links with each other. In this manner, the Vilnius ghetto was able to establish connections with the ghettos of Warsaw and Bialystok (Epstein 156).

The main goal of the Jewish underground was to save Jewish lives. Transporting people who escaped the ghetto into the forest required the help of the non-Jewish population. However, this kind of help was rarely provided in the USSR. If it was afforded, it was only in small quantities. In Belarus where anti-Semitism was traditionally less wide-spread, a certain amount of Jews were able to be extracted and saved. For example, due to the heroic efforts of

the Byelorussian partisans, approximately four hundred young people were saved from the Lithuanian ghetto. However, the commanders of these partisan groups then refused to take these individuals into their Party without any weapons. In Ukraine, there was even less help due to the massive antipathy the local population had toward Jews.

The Red Army itself had around four hundred and fifty thousand Jews serving in its ranks with another twenty five to thirty thousand in the partisans. Out of all of these, two hundred and twenty of them were promoted to general and admiral. One hundred and twenty Jews received the Hero of the Soviet Union medal for their heroism during the war (Epstein 170-77).

As the war progressed, the government's attitude toward Jews changed. It was decided that they were to be used for the widespread mobilization of international forces that would aid the Soviet Army. The idea was to spread the seed of propaganda that a second front needed to be opened, and that the USSR was accepting all forms of help.

On December 15, 1941 the Jewish Antifascist Committee (JAC) was created, with Solomon Michaels presiding over it. The Committee was composed of prominent Jewish intellectuals and scientists that were famous in the West. The vision was for the organization to become an international representative of Jews living occupied under Nazi tyranny as well as the USSR, USA, and Great Britain. It would mobilize Jews around the world to help the occupied Jews and the many refugees; as well as spurn the creation of other antifascist groups in the Allied countries. They also communicated closely with members of the Polish and English delegations who demanded, for instance, the immediate investigation into the whereabouts of the soldiers and leaders from Poland. They were obviously dead in the Katyn Forest, but in the

meantime, Stalin was worried enough to create this Jewish organization that could act as an intermediary (Rubenstein and Naumov 200-01).

JAC was immensely successful. In the United States, more than two thousand Jewish committees were created dedicated to helping the USSR financially. Later they were joined into a broad Jewish Aid Group to the USSR. Similar committees were also started in England, Canada, and Mexico (Rubenstein and Naumov 206).

As the war continued, the JAC became keenly aware of the increased anti-Semitism brought on by the conflict and the difficult situation of Jews in the liberated territories. The leaders of JAC became determined to turn their organization into a lobbying tool to represent Soviet Jewry in front of the Soviet government. Once again, the idea of a Jewish autonomous region in Crimea or the Volga entered into the conversation (Rubenstein and Naumov 209).

At the third plenum of the JAC in April of 1944, P. Marques expressed his strong dissatisfaction with the fact that JAC only engaged itself in fighting fascist propaganda abroad. He believed that:

“For the sake of our antifascist propaganda [for Jews abroad], the Antifascist Committee’s greatest job should be tackling fascism inside our own country.”

Naturally, this was not part of Stalin’s plans. He did not need any political organization inside the USSR other than the CPSU. Moreover, it only worked to strengthen his hatred of Jews, and ultimately led to the downfall of the JAC (Freedman 62).

By 1943 Stalin had decided that simple Marxist ideology was inadequate to raise the spirit of the Russian people over the enemy. He needed a national-patriotic idea. The idea was that Russian people are the older sibling in the family of Soviet people, and that they are the “guiding force of Soviet society.” In order to promote the Russian national supremacy ideal,

famous Russian generals of the past including Suvorov, Nakhimov, and Kutuzov had medals named after them. Instead of the "International," a new anthem befitting a great power was introduced. Even Churches and religion were for the time-being somewhat restored and less frequently attacked as symbols of Russian nationality (Энгель "Холокост И Евреи Ссср").

In accordance with this policy, Jews were tacitly excluded from the state apparatus, the army political department, the diplomatic corps, higher education, and cultural institutions. Ridiculously, in 1942 when the fate of the country was at stake on the front lines of the war, the Office of Propaganda quipped that the main problem in Soviet art is that the heads of various cultural institutions are non-Russians, particularly the Jews. They would then go on to mention the Jewish surnames, so that these individuals would be removed. As a result of this move to remove Jews from the cultural sphere, in the years of the war, there was a cleansing of Jews from theatres, orchestras, and other cultural institutions. The removals did not reach epidemic proportions most likely because in the years of the war massive prison resources were not as necessary as before. It was more effective to have a civilian population that was aiding in the war effort (hence the reason that there were not any large repressions during the war). It is likely that Stalin was also afraid of a negative international response (Ro'i 102-06).

In 1944-45, the Party took on a stronger line of anti-Semitism. The initiative came from the upper echelons and encompassed large swaths of the population. In many liberated towns, the local government did not return confiscated homes and apartments to Jews, thus not letting them return from the evacuation. They prevented to restoration of Jewish collective farms, schools, and did not distribute the resources they received from the JDC (Ro'i 263).

The anti-Semitism was especially strong in the Crimea, where Jews were pointedly

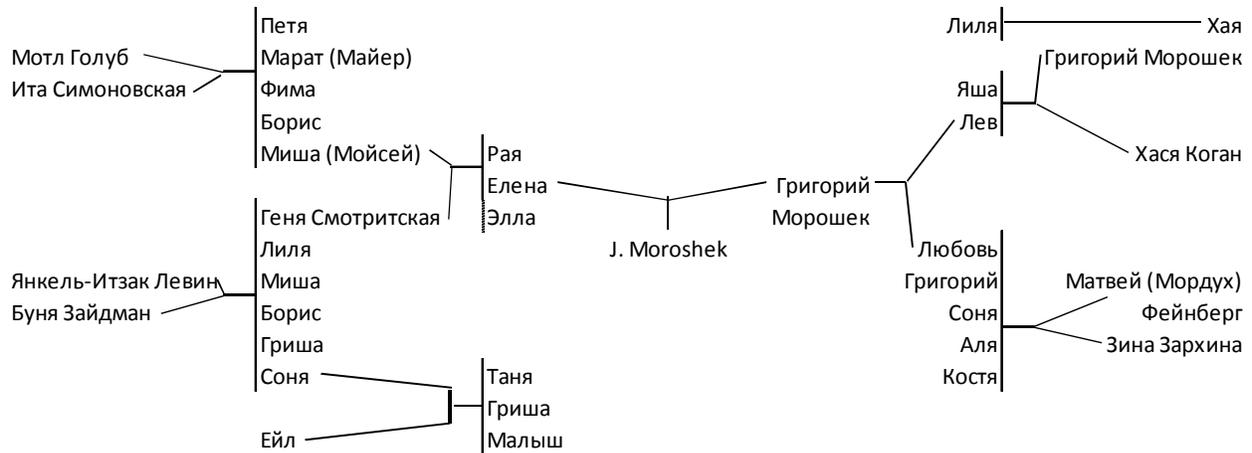
refused from work. This was to stop the JAC initiative of creating a state there. Thus, the Soviet anti-Semitic campaign was gradually gaining strength (Rubenstein and Naumov 20).

The result of the war for Soviet Jewry was: five hundred thousand Jews that served in the Red Army – forty percent of whom paid the highest price, one hundred and fifty six Heroes of the Soviet Union (Ziltserman), three million Jews died overall in the Soviet Union (Ellman and Maksudov 671-80), the death of the Yiddish civilization (Fishman 352), more than two hundred senior military commanders (Энгель "Холокост И Евреи Ссср"), and a new onset of state approved anti-Semitism in both the big cities and the periphery (Weiner 647).

Unlike Jews in Europe, Israel, and the United States, Jews of ex-Soviet and CIS countries do not perceive the Holocaust as a factor in their national identity. The reason is two part: first, Soviet ghettos were almost completely destroyed unlike those of Europe, so no one was left to remember the atrocities. Second, there was tremendous information censorship by the Soviet authorities during and after the war about the catastrophe that had befallen Soviet and European Jewry (Tabory 295-99).

The annihilation of Yiddish culture and the absence of the Holocaust as one of the main factors in national self-identification, led to the fact that in the postwar USSR anti-Semitism was the main feature of Jewish self-identification. The interviews with my family below build on this fact. These chronicles provide a personal insight into the feelings and emotions of life during and after the War.

Family Oral History



Бабушка Геня

До Войны

К сожалению, 10-е и 20-е годы XX-го века не оставили слишком многих очевидцев.

Даже очень старые на сегодняшний день люди были тогда маленькими детьми.

Итак вот что мне удалось узнать. Мой прадедушка Янкель-Итзак Израиль-Беркович Левин родился в 1888 году в польском городе Радом. Двойное имя (а посему и двойное отчество после революции) были распространены среди евреев Российских губерний. Мы находим их в книгах Шолом-Алейхема, но к сожалению память о них давно стёрта. Я не нахожу двойных имён на родословных деревьях.

Ещё до революции прадед переехал из Польши в Белорусию с женой Буней и тремя детьми - Соней (1912 года рождения), Гришей (1913), и Борисом (1915). Семья говорила по-польски и, конечно, на идише. В Минске, где еврейское население составляло большинство, знание русского языка было не обязательным. Прадедушка был портным. Он шил кожаные пальто и кофужу. До 30х годов он имел собственный магазин,

где продавал изготовленную продукцию. И даже нанимал двух помощниц. В Минске родились трое младших детей - Миша в 1918 году, Лиля в 1921 и Геня (моя бабушка, автор всех воспоминаний) в 1923 году. В 1927 году в семье случилось огромное горе - утонул первенец Гриша.

Бабушка Геня помнит, что все дети в семье рано начинали работать. Ей единственной из всех детей удалось до войны закончить школу. Борис помогал отцу, Миша уехал в Москву и танцевал в ансамбле Мойсеева. Вся семья гордилась его талантом. Лиля и Соня после семилетки работали машинистками. Сталинские репрессии к счастью не коснулись бабушкиной семьи. Хотя один эпизод кажется просто невероятным. У дедушки была сестра, которая уехала в Америку и брат, уехавший во Францию. К сожалению, фамилия Левин так же распространена у евреев как Иванов или Петров у русских. Так что до сих пор никакие попытки найти давно потерянных родственников ни со стороны моей семьи, ни со стороны других родственников пока успехом не увенчались. Да, так вот история. Сестра, уехавшая в Америку, прислала своему брату, моему прадеду в начале 30х годов 5 золотых монет. Продав эти монеты, дед должен был вывезти семью в Америку. Деньги были получены и хорошенько спрятаны. Но каким-то образом о них узнали власти. Пришли в дом, устроили обыск. Деньги не нашли, но забрали прадеда в тюрьму.

По версии моей тётки Раи, его по-видимому не "оформили" официально, чтобы напугать и присвоить монеты. Так оно и вышло. Через некоторое время прадед послал домой записку с просьбой отдать монеты. Когда это было сделано, его выпустили.

Моя прабабушка Буня была домохозяйкой - растила детей, держала на себе дом. Она очень страдала от желчно-каменной болезни. То что сегодня медицина исправляет чуть ли не за один день - три дырочки в животе и иди на работу на следующий день, тогда было тяжелейшей болезнью. Прадед и прабабушка даже ездили в Москву на консультацию к знаменитому хирургу. Но он отказался делать операцию - боялся инфекции в послеоперационный период. Антибиотиков тогда ещё не было.

К середине 30х годов кустарное производство было запрещено и прадед вступил в артель. Бабушка помнит, как много он работал. Поскольку дом и работа прадеда были практически всегда в одном месте, бабушка не помнит досуга. Её отец работал всегда. Позже уж будучи взрослой женщиной бабушка никогда не хотела иметь в доме швейную машинку, потому что она отождествляла её с каторжным трудом. Однако перед войной жизнь семьи наладилась. Из детей живущих дома осталась только моя бабушка. Борис уехал к дяде (брату отца) в Саратов, Миша - в Москву, Лиля - в Западную Беларусию. Соня на вышла замуж за Ейла. Ейл был значительно старше Сони. Он работал мастером на машиностроительном заводе имени Кирова. Многие годы спустя там работала сама бабушка Геня. У Сони и Ейла перед самой войной было трое детей - Танечка, Гришенька и только что родившийся малыш,, которому ещё не успели дать имя. Моя бабушка Геня очень любила своих племянников и часто с ними возилась. В доме появился какой-то достаток. Почему-то достаток всегда отождествлялся с маслом, яйцами и шоколадом. Наверно в тот период они стали доступны. Бабушке Гене купили жаккардовое пальто и платье для выпускного вечера. Она закончила школу в 1941 году.

Война

С самого рождения я слышал эту историю. Я слышал её так много раз, что мне кажется я был очевидцем тех событий. До войны у бабушки были подружки, за ней красиво ухаживал однофамилец Илья (Люта) Левин. Им пророчили скорую свадьбу и бабушке завидовали, что ей не придётся менять фамилию. Выпускной вечер удался на славу. Они мечтали и танцевали, и договорились сходить сфотографироваться на память. И даже сдали моей бабушке деньги на фотографии. Но началась война. Люту забрали на фронт. Он погиб в первые дни войны. Поскольку прадед был из Польши в доме несколько раз останавливались евреи, бежавшие из Польши. От них прадед узнал о том, что фашисты убивают евреев. К сожалению, этот факт замалчивался советским правительством. Люди не знали о том, что их ожидает и многие решили остаться. Мой прадед знал, что нужно уезжать. Лиле удалось вернуться в Минск в первые же дни войны. Но как уехать? Ведь прабабушка Буня была так больна. Прадед решил во что бы то ни стало найти машину. К огромному несчастью Соня с Ейлом решили взять детей и идти пешком. Как только они ушли, прадед нашёл машину. Бабушка Геня бежала за ними и кричала "Соня, Ейл, вернитесь!" Но они уже затерялись в толпе и скрылись из виду.

Они погибли - Соня, Ейл, Гришенька, Танечка и мальчик, которому ещё не успели дать имя. По-видимому они не могли долго идти с тремя маленькими детьми под бомбёжками и вернулись домой. Может быть они надеялись, что прадедушка с семьёй всё ещё не уехал. После войны прадед нашёл в Минске людей, которые их знали в гетто. Эти люди рассказали как Соню и детей погнали на расстрел, когда Ейл был на принудительной работе вне гетто, как Ейл обезумел от горя и отказался жить. Он был светловолосый, совсем не похож на еврея. Друзья с завода предложили сделать

поддельные документы и вывести его из гетто. Он отказался. Он сказал "Мне не нужно жить если нет Сони и детей".

В 80х годах бабушка Геня работала на заводе Кирова. В течение многих лет она ходила на работу и с работы мимо мемориальной доски, никогда не читая, что на ней написано. Но однажды её взгляд схватил имя Ейла... Как же она плакала в тот вечер.

Но тогда в тот июньский день никто из оставшихся не знал, что им больше не удастся увидеть Соню и её семью. Прадед нашёл машину, заплатил шофёру. Шофёр отказывался ждать. В машине (открытом грузовике) уже сидели несколько семей. Они уехали не взяв ни одежды ни обуви, ни еды на дорогу.

Шофёр обещал довести всех до Москвы. Но где-то возле Смоленска остановил машину и велел всем выходить. Он решил вернуться в Минск и ждать немцев. Всё-таки его уговорили, отдав ему все оставшиеся деньги, довести хотя бы до железнодорожной станции в Смоленске. К счастью, в Смоленске всем удалось забраться на открытую платформу. Ехали несколько суток, но всё же доехали до Москвы. Встретились с Мишей и все вместе поехали к Борису в Саратов, а оттуда ещё дальше на Восток - в Казахстан. До 44го года они жили в казахском городе Кзыл-Орда, все вместе в маленькой комнате. Бабушка Геня спала на столе. Она должна была рано вставать и освобождать стол - её отец должен был работать. Он покупал списанные шинели, телогрейки. Перешивал их, перелицовывал. Впрочем, опять не дал семье умереть от голода. В эвакуации умерла прабабушка Буня. "От горя" говорит бабушка Геня. Она чувствовала, что Соня с семьёй погибли.

После Войны

После войны прадед вернулся в Минск. Его дом был занят чужими людьми. Они пригрозили убить его если он только попытается вернуть свой дом. Пришлось начинать всё с начала. Прадеду удалось купить часть дома. Там не было никаких современных удобств - воды, газа, канализации, отопления. Воду надо было приносить в вёдрах из колонки, нужно было топить печь, туалетная будка была только в соседском дворе. По-настоящему мылись только раз в неделю - приходилось далеко идти в баню. В этом доме жила семья моей бабушки Гени до 1971 года. В 1951 году прадед умер во сне. "Как святой". Он всегда был очень полным человеком, у него было высокое давление.

После войны только одна моя бабушка оказалась в Минске. Лиля и Миша осели в Ташкенте. Борис вернулся в Саратов. Теперь я знаю, чьими именами названа моя двоюродная сестра Таня (тоже внучка бабушки Гени), Бэлла, дочь Бориса, Софа, внучка Бориса, мой троюродный брат Гриша, внук Бэллы.

(Smotristkaya; Y. Moroshek)

Деушка Миша

До Войны

Мой деушка Мойсей или как все его называли Миша (отец моей мамы) родился в 1924 году в типичной, очень бедной еврейской семье в маленьком городке Речица на юге Беларуси. Даже не зная географии, только по названию города можно судить, что где-то недалеко протекала река. Это был Днепр. Рядом с домом был замечательный песчаный пляж. Речица была почти абсолютно еврейским городком- там говорили исключительно

на идише. Дедушка Миша был третьим ребёнком в семье. Кроме него прабабушка Ита и прадедушка Мотя (Мотл) имели ещё 4 сыновей их звали - Фима, Петя, Борис и Марик.

Моё представление о жизни семьи до войны наверно идеалистическое - прабабушка покупала свежие продукты на базаре и каждый день готовила обед, дети учились, купались в Днепре и были во многом предоставлены сами себе. Наверно всё не было так уж радужно, но так мне всё описал дядя Марик (так мы все называем брата дедушки Миши).

Прадедушка Мотя работал в разных местах, но, как я понимаю, определённой профессии не имел. До революции он был приказчиком в магазине, а после находил работу в разных артелях. Наверно он был очень умным и талантливым человеком. В молодости сам научился играть на скрипке, и уже в довольно преклонном возрасте быстро освоил пианино, гораздо быстрее, чем его внук, для которого это пианино было куплено. Он был не просто нерелигиозным, а наоборот воинствующе анти-религиозным человеком. В семье бытует история о том как в Йом Кипур его застали в погребке жующим и чуть не развели с прабабушкой. Но к счастью не развели.

В 70-х годах домик в Речице и маленькую квартиру в Бресте, где жил дядя Борис со своей женой Ниной и двумя сыновьями, было решено обменять на большую 3-х комнатную квартиру в Бресте. Прабабушка Ита и прадедушка Мотя переехали в Брест и жили там с Ниной и Борисом до самой смерти. Они наверно считались долгожителями по советским меркам - прабабушке было больше восьмидесяти, а прадед дожил до 92 лет. Наверно от того, что мой прадед пережил столько, он никогда не утратил способность самостоятельного и критического мышления. В 70х и 80х он, уже будучи совершенным

стариком ловил "голоса"- передачи радиостанций Голос Америки, БиБиСи, Свободная Европа. В пограничном Бресте их не удавалось заглушать так же успешно как в глубине страны. Он делал это вопреки возражениям Бориса и Нины. Они боялись, как боялись все. Иногда информация, услышанная прадедом, каким-то образом просачивалась в Минск. В основном прадед устраивал "политинформацию" на идише, когда мой дед Миша приезжал в Брест. Пару раз моя мама ещё ребёнком была вместе с деушкой, но не зная идиша, она ничего не поняла. Было ли им удобнее говорить на идише, или прадед не доверял моей маме? Почему все боялись, а прадед нет? Трудно сказать. В доме моей мамы всегда говорили "это официальная версия, но на самом деле...". Я думаю, что прадед со своим вольнодумством очень способствовал такой атмосфере.

Итак, дедушка Миша жил до войны в Речице. До третьего класса он учился в еврейской школе. Преподавание всех предметов велось на идише. Потом постановили, что школа становится русской. Но при этом все учителя остаются работать на своих местах. Конечно люди не могли перестроиться на новый язык по мановению волшебной палочки или по постановлению свыше и время от времени сбивались опять на идиш. Дедушка Миша часто вспоминал как учитель пытаясь утихомирить класс начинал: "Тише дети, тише". А потом разгневанный кричал: "Штыл зол зайн!". Что на идише означает "Чтобы тихо было!" К чему привело такое преподавание? Дедушка Миша никогда не научился писать по-русски без орфографических ошибок. Впоследствии когда он уже занимал довольно ответственный пост и должен был писать доклады сначала тётя Рая, а потом и моя мама исправляли эти ошибки. Дедушка шутя называл их "мои внештатные секретарши".

Война

Семью постигло горе раньше чем многие другие семьи - в 1940 году погиб старший сын Фима в войне с Финляндией. В начале 1941 года дедушке было 17 лет - так что в армию его призвали не сразу. Он ещё успел вместе с семьёй эвакуироваться в Волгоградскую область. Он воевал: освобождал Будапешт, а потом был на Дальнем Востоке, в Корее и Китае, имел боевые награды. Он очень не любил вспоминать о войне и просто отделивался от вопросов одним словом: "мясорубка". 9-е Мая, День Победы был для дедушки вторым днём рождения. Заводской комитет ветеранов каждый год устраивал на 9-е мая загородные пикники. Впрочем дедушка пил очень мало и редко, плохо переносил алкоголь. Но на 9-е считал своим долгом выпить, "как все" хоть очень часто и страдал после этого. Наверное в армии дедушке было очень тяжело - провинциальный худенький еврейский паренёк, который к тому же не очень чисто говорил по-русски.

К счастью, никто из оставшихся четырёх братьев не погиб. Но ни один из них больше не вернулся в Речицу.

После Войны

Дедушка Миша приехал в Минск, теперь уже старший брат Петя - в Днепропетровск, Борис - в Брест, Марик - в Киев. 4 брата разъехались по четырём разным городам. Пока их родители ещё жили в Речице, они часто туда наведовались, привозили детей на летние каникулы. Поездки в Речицу летом - это одно из самых светлых воспоминаний маминой сестры Раи. Прабабушка и прадедушка не могли прожить на свою мизерную пенсию, и каждый из братьев ежемесячно посылал деньги родителям.

Когда дедушка попал в Минск, он довольно долго не мог найти себя. Он снимал комнату в доме и пробовал работать сначала набивщиком матрасов, а потом кочегаром на паровозе. Но ни одна из этих работ ему не нравилась. Однажды он увидел объявление о наборе на курсы бухгалтеров, и решил попробовать. Там давали стипендию и обещали трудоустроить по окончании курсов. На этих курсах он встретил бабушку Геню, которая судя по фотографиям была в то время красавицей. Бабуша вспоминает, что вначале у неё не было и мысли о дедушке. Он был такой худой и несчастный. Его было жалко. Он был полуголый и всегда голодный. Она знакомила его со всеми своими подружками. Но как то получилось, что они оказались парой. Их вместе распределили на работу в тюрьму в пригороде Минска - посёлке Новосады. Они поженились в 1951 году. Для бабушки это был уже второй брак, у неё была 5-летняя дочь Элла. В 1951 году умер прадедушка Янкель-Ицка, так и не дождавшись рождения внучки Раи. Дедушке и бабушке удалось вернуться в Минск, в дом прадедушки. Как вспоминает бабушка, жили очень-очень бедно. Ели маргарин, а масло покупали только детям. Дедушка Миша работал на велозаводе бухгалтером, а бабушка вместо бухгалтера стала кассиром. Кассиру нужно было ходить в банк в середине дня. А значит можно было на минутку забежать домой и покормить детей. Зарплаты у всех были мизерные. Впрочем, так бабушка сменила профессию. До войны дедушка Миша успел закончить только 9 классов. 9 классов и курсы бухгалтеров - было его образование. Бабушка Женя закончила 10 классов, почти закончила Московский педагогический институт. Она училась в Кзыл-Орде на историческом факультете. Почему она не стала учительницей истории? У неё не было такого призвания. Институт был выбран "из того что было". Бабушка боялась

распределения в деревню и не пошла сдавать госэкзамен. То есть она бросила институт перед самым его окончанием. Бабушка очень хотела, чтобы дедушка пошёл учиться в институт. И все братья его хотели. Он был последний из них, кто ещё не получил высшего образования. Больше всех настаивал брат Петя. Он стал учителем математики в Днепропетровске и был самый образованный в семье.

Вобщем дедушка пошёл учиться дальше - сначала в 10й класс вечерней школы, а потом в институт народного хозяйства на вечернее отделение. Дедушка учился, а бабушка "создавала ему условия". Она взяла на себя всю домашнюю работу: приносить воду из колонки, покупать дрова и брикет, топить печь, готовить, стирать, водить детей в баню. Ко всему прочему она умудрялась работать и ещё забегать покормить детей. Дедушка тоже работал как каторжный, но по другому. Утром шёл на работу, потом в институт, а потом ещё ночью занимался. Тётя Рая вспоминает, как она маленькой девочкой просыпалась, видела, что горит свет - они все жили в одной большой комнате, радовалась, что папа дома, и засыпала обратно.

Так героическими усилиями они закончили институт - дедушка учась, а бабушка "создавая условия". В 1964 году дедушкин институтский товарищ, главный бухгалтер инструментального завода перешёл на новое место - завод вычислительных машин имени Орджоникидзе, а на своё место порекомендовал дедушку. Так дедушка смог получить должность, соответствующую его новому образованию. Он проработал главным бухгалтером инструментального завода около 25 лет. Моя мама родилась в 1965 году. Бабушке и дедушке уже было за сорок и ни о каких детях они не думали, но так уж вышло. Элла вышла замуж в 1966, её первый сын родился в 1967. В 1971 году завод выделил

дедушке благоустроенную 2-х комнатную квартиру близко от центра города. Эта маленькая квартира - 30 квадратных метров была огромным счастьем. Не надо было больше носить воду, топить печь, можно было мыться в ванной сколько влезет. Бабушка говорит, что только с получением квартиры они зажили по-человечески.

(Golub; Smotristkaya; Y. Moroshek)

Антисемитизм, Америка, Израиль

Чувствовали ли они антисемитизм? Безусловно. Моя мама вспоминает, как она с отцом (ей тогда было лет 12) ехали на другой конец города к сослуживцу дедушки по фамилии Грандо. Каким-то образом Грандо получил копию письма, написанного начальником отдела кадров завода Кругловым и адресованного в райком партии. Это был страшно антисемитский опус. Маме кажется, что только прочитав это письмо, она поняла, что антисемитами бывают не только дети, но и взрослые. В письме евреи обвинялись во всех проблемах на заводе. Указывался процент евреев в заводоуправлении, а также указывалось на факт, что их совсем нет среди рабочей массы, перечислялись все евреи завода - все по фамильно - дедушка и Грандо включительно. Дедушку тогда вызывали на заседание райкома (хоть он и не был членом партии, никогда не хотел вступать в партию, отбивался от неё изо всех сил), но, к их чести, ничего ему не сделали. Хотя и Круглого тоже не осудили за ярый антисемитизм.

Росли дети, а потом и внуки. Мои двоюродные брат Дима и сестра Таня, дети тётки Раи были самыми обожаемыми внуками на свете. Дедушка баловал их до невозможности. Для них у него не было слова "нет".

В 1989 году уже в разгар перестройки дедушку пригласили работать в кооператив. Он "вышел на пенсию", то есть ушёл с завода, и начал зарабатывать "хорошие деньги" в кооперативе. Его опыт и знание законов очень помогли только что организовавшемуся предприятию. Этот кооператив включал в себя серьёзных химиков и бизнесменов, которые буквально с нуля организовали выпуск нужных людям фильтров для воды. В 1991 году бабушка и дедушка вместе с моими родителями и по их просьбе эмигрировали в Америку. По правде говоря, им не очень хотелось уезжать в Америку. Большая часть жизни, какой бы тяжёлой она ни была, прошла в Советском Союзе. Только год или полтора, как дедушка начал прилично зарабатывать. Они прекрасно понимали, что у них в возрасте (далеко за 60) уже не было шансов выучить английский. Но все таки, они поехали ради своих детей и внуков. До самой смерти дедушка всё ещё скучал и говорил о том, что было бы если бы они не уехали - наверно он всё бы ещё работал. Дедушка организовывал доминошные бои среди таких же пенсионеров, пристрастился к рыбалке, много ходил и читал. Он очень любил приезжать к нам и возиться со мной. Но поскольку он не водил машину, это не удавалось делать очень часто. Один раз дедушка отважился и сам полетел в Израиль к тёте Рае. Он говорил потом об этой поездке долгие годы. В 1999 году он неожиданно стал жаловаться на боли в животе. Врачи ничего не могли найти. Только потом обнаружили рак лёгких. 2 месяца спустя после ужасных мучений дедушки не стало.

В прошлом году у двоюродного брата Димы родилась девочка - но уже в Израиле. Её назвали Мика в честь любимого дедушки Миши. И так наша семья пустила новые корни далеко от нашей старой жизни в России.

(Smotristkaya)

Дедушка Лёва

История моего дедушки Лёвы всегда казалась мне немного странной и непоследовательной. Например, как получилось, что он был в детском доме а его старший брат Яша не был. На этот вопрос дедушка бысто объяснял всё послевоенным голодом, но у меня всё равно оставалось чувство какой-то недоговоренности. Наконец-то дед заполнил белые пятна и рассказал то, что он никогда и никому не рассказывал - даже своему единственному сыну.

Он родился в 1933 году в Дороганово. Это был маленький посёлок, скорее даже железнодорожная станция в Белоруссии недалеко от Минска. Маму дедушки звали Хасей, папу - Гришей, старшего брата - Яшей. В начале лета 1941 года родители привезли 4-х летнюю Лилю, племянницу Хаси "в курортное место, на свежий воздух". Когда началась война, семья эвакуировалась в Волгоградскую область, деревню Фролово. Лилечку, конечно, взяли с собой. В 1942 году от тифа умер отец Гриша, и Хася осталась с тремя маленькими детьми на руках. У неё, что было характерно для женщин того времени, не было никакой специальности. Они голодали. Бабушка кормила детей мороженой картошкой, оставшейся после того как уже был убран урожай. Маленькая Лилечка очень понравилась замужней, но бездетной почтальонше. Она знала, что девочка - неродная дочь беженки, и предложила удочерить девочку. Хася подумала, что так будет лучше и для ребёнка- всё-таки она попадёт в семью, где есть ещё двое взрослых, и для неё - ей будет легче прокормить своих мальчиков.

Когда освободили Белоруссию, семья вернулась в Дороганово. Теперь вместо 5 человек вернулись только трое. Хасина сестра с мужем, настоящие родители Лили

погибли в Минском гетто. В приёмной семье Лиле было очень хорошо. Её удочерили по всем правилам. Не было и речи о том, чтобы забрать её назад в Белоруссию. Так она и осталась в Волгоградской области. Контакт с её приёмными родителями был потерян. До конца своих дней Хася вспоминала Лилю и всегда говорила: "я оставила девочку".

Когда Хася вместе с Яшей и дедушкой Лёвой вернулись в Дороганово, ей удалось забрать назад свой старый дом. Потом объявилась корова, принадлежащая Хасе. Кто-то узнал корову в колхозном стаде, сообщил Хасе. Она смогла получить деньги за корову. Деньги уходили очень быстро. Нужно было находить новые средства к существованию. Хася начала ездить в Минск и покупать коробки с красителями для одежды. Эти красители продавались только в Минске, но пользовались большим спросом в сельской местности. Кому понадобилось доносить на несчастную вдову? Кому мешало её мелкое предпринимательство? Короче, Хасю судили за "спекуляцию". Крестьяне, которые с удовольствием покупали у Хаси красители, потом с удовольствием давали показания на неё в суде. Хасю осудили на 5 лет. Она провела в тюрьме 4 из них. Дедушке Лёве уже 77 лет. В 2009 году от сердечного приступа умер 80-летний Яша. До сегодняшнего дня дедушка Лёва никогда не рассказывал, как его маму посадили в тюрьму, как она вышла оттуда с подорванным здоровьем. Это и было то самое белое пятно от которого шли все недоговорённости и непонятности в его судьбе. Я говорил с дедом по телефону и не видел этого. Но потому как дрожал его голос, мне кажется, что из глаз у него текли слёзы. Я заверил его в том, что история с красителями нисколько не опорочила его маму в моих глазах. Что ни в одной нормальной стране это бы не заслуживало тюремного заключения,

и что делала это она с огромным риском, чтобы не дать умереть своим детям от голода. По-моему, деду стало легче после того, как он мне всё рассказал.

И так, Хасю посадили в тюрьму в 47-м году. Яша и Лёва остались одни. У Хаси был брат Абрам. У Абрама была жена Дора и двое своих детей - Галя и Яша. Абрам жил с семьёй в Минске. Он приехал в Дороганово и забрал племянников к себе. Жизнь в доме Абрама была нелегка для дедушки. Он часто устраивал своим детям "баню", то есть лупил их ремнём по любому поводу. Дедушка Лёва его очень боялся. И хотя ему "баню" никто не устраивал, он чувствовал, что в один прекрасный день это неизбежно. Он решил бежать. Сел на поезд. Сейчас он уже не помнит куда он ехал, какие у него были планы. Сняли его с поезда уже в Осиповичах (Минская область), сначала отвели в детприёмник, а потом вернули в семью Абрама. Но вскоре после этого, то ли в наказание Абраму, что он не смог уследить за племянником, то ли в наказание самому дедушке Лёве, его поместили "в хороший детский дом". Там действительно хорошо кормили, но дети там были непростые. Драки, курение - это было на каждом шагу. Когда дедушке исполнилось 16 лет, его послали в Ленинград учиться на токаря. В 18 лет забрали в Армию. Он 2 года служил на крайнем Севере, в тяжелейших условиях. Отслужив, он решил вернуться к своей маме, которая уже вышла из тюрьмы и Яше, тоже закончившим службу в армии. Хася и Яша снимали комнату в Минске. Яша уже работал. Дедушка тоже начал работать на заводе Чкалова. Оба брата рано женились. Дедушка Лёва ушёл жить в семью бабушки. Первая жена Яши, Нина, умерла при родах. Ребёнок выжил. Яша женился вторично. Со второй женой, которую тоже зовут Ниной, он прожил до своей смерти в декабре 2009

года. Яша и Нина забрали к себе и ухаживали за полностью парализованной, лежачей Хасей в течение 10 лет.

Эта история не была бы законченной, если бы я не рассказал, как они нашли Лилю. Они её не могли забыть. Они ездили во Фролово. Там им сказали, что муж почтальёнки умер, и она куда-то уехала вместе с Лилей. Никто не знал куда. Тогда они начали писать в разные газеты. И Лиля откликнулась. Она увидела объявление в "Комсомольской Правде". Таких объявлений в те годы печаталось много. "Война раскидала людей" - это была расхожая фраза. Лиля нашлась. Даже мой папа помнит, как она впервые приезжала в Минск в начале 60х, какое это было счастье. Конечно, она ничего не помнила о своих настоящих родителях, не знала, что родилась в еврейской семье. Она очень любила свою приёмную маму и заботилась о ней. Она вышла замуж и до сих пор живёт в Волгограде, несколько раз приезжала в Минск, и один раз даже была у нас в Америке. Дедушка и Лиля до сих пор остаются близкими и родными людьми, посылают друг другу посылки, пишут по старинке письма.

(L. Moroshek; G. Moroshek)

Израиль Глазами Моей Мамы В Детстве

Моя мама Елена (Лена) родилась в 1965 году. Её сёстрам на тот момент было 13 и 18 лет. Когда ей был год, вышла замуж Элла, а когда ей было 8, вышла замуж Рая. Так и получилось, что она вроде не была единственным ребёнком в семье, а вроде бы и была. С 6 лет она росла в "шикарных" условиях - квартире со всеми удобствами. Если не считать того времени, когда Рая с мужем должны были жить вместе с бабушкой и дедушкой и мамин диван поставили в спальне у родителей. Тогда это было в порядке вещей.

С первого класса и до окончания института мама была отличницей. Она говорит, что это было защитной реакцией организма на окружающую среду. Если ты не можешь ответить на оскорбление с позиции силы, ты должен как-то заставить окружающих уважать себя за что-то другое. Ну хотя бы казаться умным. В конце третьего класса мамина первая учительница Галина Викторовна посоветовала бабушке и дедушке перевести её в математическую школу. Они последовали её совету. С четвёртого класса мама ездила на городском автобусе в математическую школу. В этой школе в самом центре города было много учителей-евреев. Учителя математики, физики, русского языка и литературы, истории и обществоведения, черчения, труда все были евреями. Самыми уважаемыми учителями в школе были Борис Израилевич, учитель истории, инвалид войны, без ноги, маленький, лысый и необычайно умный человек- мамин кумир и Софья Исааковна, учительница математики, так неохотно ставившая пятёрки, как будто она что-то отрывала от себя. Это были прекрасные учителя, не жалевшие ни своего времени, ни сил. Маминым самым любимым предметом была математика. Самым ненавистным - политинформация.

Это был конечно не урок, а так пересказ газетных статей - полчаса, раз в неделю. Оценок за политинформацию не ставили, никто к ней не готовился, приносили газеты и читали какую-нибудь статью за 5 минут до начала. А статьи эти были обычно очень скучные и неинтересные - старые новости о партийных съездах и победах социализма. Но где-то в шестом или седьмом классе на политинформациях начали очень сильно ругать "сионистского агрессора", то есть Израиль. И хотя наверно даже Ольге Ивановне, классной руководительнице, обсуждение таких новостей не очень нравилось, но всё-таки

приходилось в этом участвовать. Мама говорит, что по крайней мере, её не разу не заставляли пересказывать гадости об Израиле. В этом она видит такт и сочувствие своей классной руководительницы. Но даже, когда об Израиле говорил кто-то другой, ей казалось, что все смотрят только на неё, она краснела до корней волос, как будто она была каким то образом причастна к тому, что делает Израиль.

Эти политинформации оставили в памяти чувство ужасного стыда, когда хотелось сделаться невидимой, убежать или хотя бы залезть под парту. Мама поделилась с деушкой Мишей своими переживаниями. И тогда дедушка рассказал ей много хорошего об Израиле. Как Израиль организовался, как выжил, о том, как "наши" одержали победу в неравных войнах, и о том, какое это было чудо. Он взял с неё слово, что она ни словом не обмолвится об услышанном в школе. Мама была очень горда тем, что знает то, чего не знает никто другой в классе, а может и во всей школе. Но больше всего она гордилась тем, что дедушка доверял ей как взрослой. Больше мама уже не краснела за Израиль, а наоборот сидела на политинформациях с высоко поднятой головой.

(Y. Moroshek)

Other Family Histories (Collected Previously)

Мордух Фейнберг

Мордух родился в деревне Постовичи Стародорожского района в 1902 году. Вместе с семьёй перехал в Старые Дороги после революции 1917 года. Там он учился, а затем работал. 1925 году женился на Зелде Кауфмовне Зархиной 1901 года рождения. В семье родилось пятеро детей, все до войны 1941 года. До войны Мордух работал в различных заготовительских организациях. В марте 1939 года Стародорожский военкомат

призвал его на трёх месячные военные сборы, проходившие под городом Слуцком в Белоруссии. Старшему сыну Константину в это время 13 лет, младшим близнецам по два месяца. Дом был деревянным с печным отоплением, без водопровода, канализации, телефона с различной живностью соответствующей тому периоду времени.

За неделю до окончания сборов военную часть, в которой служил Мордух, направили в Польшу на освобождение Западной Белоруссии. Часть прошла пешком до реки Буг, а затем остановилась охранять уже Советскую границу до декабря 1939 года, когда началась война с Финляндией. Тогда военную часть погрузили в товарные теплушки (товарные вагоны с печками буржуйками) и отправили на финский фронт. Мордух воевал на передовой с первых дней до конца войны. За 6 дней до окончания войны его ранило разрывной, отравленной газом пулей. Из за ранения он находился в госпитале более полугода (рана долго не заживала) и вернулся домой инвалидом, не пригодным к военной службе. Однако в начале войныс Германией 1941-1945 годов, его призвали и направили в роту охранять большое военное нефтебензионное хранилище, где он находился до конца войны.

В начале 1946 года семья (кроме сына Константина) вернулась домой в Старые Дороги. Мордух получил пенсию по инвалидности, но по возможности подрабатывал семья была большая. Семья переехала в Минск в 1950 году. Часть детей уже выросла, их нужно было учить дальше. Погиб в 1961 году в автокатастрофе. Похоронен в Минске на Московском кладбище.

("Geni")

Зелда Кауфман Зархина

Зинаида (Зелда) Кауфмановна Фейнберг (урождённая Зархина) родилась в деревне Макаричи Стародорожского района Минской области в семье деревопромышленника Зархина. Семья Зархиных после революции 1917 года также переехала в местечко Старые Дороги. Отец Зинаиды, Кауфман Зархин (год рождения не известен) умер и похоронен в Старых Дорогах в 1925 году. Захоронение не сохранилось. Мать Хая умерла в 1936 году в Старых Дорогах, и там же была похоронена. Захоронения не сохранилось.

("Geni")

Works Cited

- Di Shtetlekh Fun V.S.S.R. In Rekonstruktivn Period.* Minsk: Belorussian Academy of Sciences, 1932. Print.
- "Geni". 2009. <Error! Hyperlink reference not valid.>
- "Isaak (Ichak) Babel - Biography."
<[http://jewage.org/wiki/he/Article:Isaak \(Ichak\) Babel - biography](http://jewage.org/wiki/he/Article:Isaak_(Ichak)_Babel_-_biography)>.
- "Soviet Constitution." 1924. Print.
- "Vlast Sovetov." 1936. Vol. 9 (10). Print.
- Altshuler, M. "Ha-Vaad Ha-Ziburi Ha-Yehudi Le-Ezrat Nifgaei Ha-Pogromim." *Shvut* 1982: 16-34. Print.
- . *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust: A Social and Demographic Profile.* Centre for Research of East European Jewry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998. Print.
- Arendt, H. *Eichmann and the Holocaust.* Penguin Books, 2006. Print.
- Ausubel, Nathan, and David C. Gross. *Pictorial History of the Jewish People ; from Bible Times to Our Own Day Throughout the World.* 1st rev. ed. New York: Crown, 1984. Print.
- Ball, Alan M. *Russia's Last Capitalists : The Nepmen, 1921-1929.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. Print.
- Bauer, Y. *The Death of the Shtetl.* Yale University Press, 2010. Print.
- BBC. "1939: Germany Invades Poland
- German Forces Have Invaded Poland and Its Planes Have Bombed Polish Cities, Including the Capital, Warsaw." *BBC* 1939. Print.
- Berenbaum, M., and A.J. Peck. *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Re-Examined.* Indiana University Press, 2002. Print.
- Bordo, M.D., A.J. Schwartz, and National Bureau of Economic Research. *A Retrospective on the Classical Gold Standard, 1821-1931.* University of Chicago Press, 1984. Print.
- Bramson, Gimpelson;. "Zakony." 1. Print.
- . "Zakony." 2: 441-42. Print.
- Brandon, R., W. Lower, and United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization.* Indiana University Press, 2008. Print.
- Brovkin, Vladimir N. *Russia after Lenin : Politics, Culture and Society, 1921-1929.* London ; New York: Routledge, 1998. Print.
- Brown, A. *The Rise and Fall of Communism.* Ecco, 2009. Print.
- Browning, C.R. *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942.* University of Nebraska Press, 2007. Print.
- Browning, Christopher R. "Nazi Resettlement Policy and the Search for a Solution to the Jewish Question, 1939-1941." *German Studies Review* 9.3 (1986): 497-519. Print.
- Budnitskii, O. "Jews, Pogroms, and the White Movement: A Historiographical Critique." *Kritika-Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 2.4 (2001): 751-72. Print.
- Budnitskii, Oleg. "Jews, Pogroms, and the White Movement." (2001).
<<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/kritika/v002/2.4budnitskii.html>>.
- Checinski, M. *Running the Gauntlet of Anti-Semitism: From Polish Counterintelligence to the German/American Marshall Center.* Devora Pub., 2004. Print.
- Colby, F.M., et al. *The New International Year Book.* Dodd, Mead and Co., 1920. Print.
- Crowe, D. *Oskar Schindler: The Untold Account of His Life, Wartime Activities, and the True Story Behind the List.* Basic Books, 2007. Print.
- Davidson, E. *The Nuremberg Fallacy.* University of Missouri Press, 1998. Print.
- Davies, R. W., Mark Harrison, and S. G. Wheatcroft. *The Economic Transformation of the Soviet Union, 1913-1945.* Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. Print.

- Dinur, B. Z. "Dmuta Ha-Historit Shel Ha-Yahadut Ha-Rusit U-Boayot Ha-Mehkar Ba." *Zion* 22 (1957): 93-118. Print.
- Dubnov, S. *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*. Print.
- Ehrlich, M.A. *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture*. ABC-CLIO, 2009. Print.
- Ellman, Michael, and S. Maksudov. "Soviet Deaths in the Great Patriotic War: A Note." *Europe-Asia Studies* 46.4 (1994): 671-80. Print.
- Epstein, B.L. *The Minsk Ghetto, 1941-1943: Jewish Resistance and Soviet Internationalism*. University of California Press, 2008. Print.
- Ettinger. "Medinat Moskvah." Print.
- Fishman, J.A. *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival: Perspectives on Language and Ethnicity*. Mouton, 1985. Print.
- Fitzpatrick, Sheila, Alexander Rabinowitch, and Richard Stites. *Russia in the Era of Nep : Explorations in Soviet Society and Culture*. Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991. Print.
- Freedman, Robert Owen. *Soviet Jewry in the 1980s: The Politics of Anti-Semitism and Emigration and the Dynamics of Resettlement*. Duke University Press, 1989. Print.
- Freedman, T., and B'nai B'rith. Anti-defamation League. *Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union: Its Roots and Consequences*. Freedom Library Press of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1984. Print.
- Gitelman, Zvi Y. *A Century of Ambivalence : The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present*. 1st ed. New York: Schocken Books : Distributed by Pantheon Books, 1988. Print.
- . *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics; the Jewish Sections of the Cpsu, 1917-1930*. Princeton, N.J.,: Princeton University Press, 1972. Print.
- Golub, M. "Reflections on Golub Family." Ed. Moroshek, J.2010. Print.
- Gordon, S.A. *Hitler, Germans, and the "Jewish Question"*. Princeton University Press, 1984. Print.
- Grant, R.G. *Communism*. Evans, 2005. Print.
- Greenbaum, Alfred A. "Hebrew Literature in Soviet Russia." *Jewish Social Studies* 30.3 (1968): 135-48. Print.
- Gurland, I. *Evreiskaya Starina*. Vol. 21909. Print.
- ha-mishpaṭim, Israel. Miśrad, and Israel. Bet ha-mishpaṭ ha-meḥozi. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem*. The Ministry, 1994. Print.
- Herbeck, Ulrich. "National Antisemitism in Russia During the 'Years of Crisis', 1914–1922." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 7.3 (2007): 171-84. Print.
- Hitler, Adolf, and Hugh Trevor-Roper. *Hitler's Table Talk 1941-44 : His Private Conversations*. London Weidenfeld and Nicolson,1953. Print.
- Jacobson, J. *When the Soviet Union Entered World Politics*. University of California Press, 1994. Print.
- Jakobson, M. *Origins of the Gulag: The Soviet Prison Camp System, 1917-1934*. University Press of Kentucky, 1993. Print.
- Johnson, E.A. *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans*. Basic Books, 2000. Print.
- Johnson, Paul. *A History of the Jews*. 1st U.S. ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1987. Print.
- Kadish, Sharman. *Bolsheviks and British Jews : The Anglo-Jewish Community, Britain, and the Russian Revolution*. London, England ; Portland, Or.: F. Cass, 1992. Print.
- Kenez, P. *Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets: The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary, 1944-1948*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. Print.
- . "The Ideology of the White Movement." *Soviet Studies* 32.1 (1980): 58-83. Print.
- Kenez, Peter. "Pogroms and White Ideology in the Russian Civil War." *Pogroms : Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*. Eds. Klier, John and Shlomo Lambroza. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992. 310-11. Print.

- Khlevniuk, O.V. *The History of the Gulag: From Collectivization to the Great Terror*. Yale University Press, 2004. Print.
- Klier, John. *Russia Gathers Her Jews : The Origins of the "Jewish Question" in Russia, 1772-1825*. DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986. Print.
- Klier, John D. "The Jewish Question in the Reform Era Russian Press, 1855-1865." *Russian Review* 39.3 (1980): 301-19. Print.
- Knight, A. *Beria: Stalin's First Lieutenant*. Princeton University Press, 1995. Print.
- KPSS. CK. Institut marksizma-leninizma. *Kommunisti*Českaja Partija Sovetskogo Sojuza V Rezoljucijach I Rešenijach S*Ezdov, Konferencij I Plenumov Čk : (1898-1953)*. 7-e izd. ed. Vol. 2. Moskva: Politizdat, 1953. Print.
- Kramer, N., and R. Headland. *The Fallacy of Race and the Shoah*. University of Ottawa Press, 1998. Print.
- Lang, B. *Act and Idea in the Nazi Genocide*. Syracuse University Press, 2003. Print.
- Larin, I. U. *Evre*I I Antisemitizm V Sssr*. Moskva,: Gos. izd-vo polit. lit-ry, 1929. Print.
- Lee, S.J. *Stalin and the Soviet Union*. Routledge, 1999. Print.
- Lenin, Vladimir Il'ich. *Polnoe Sobranie Sočineni*I*. Izd. 5. ed. 55 vols. Moskva,: Gos. izd-vo polit. lit-ry, 1958. Print.
- Levin, D. *The Lesser of Two Evils: Eastern European Jewry under Soviet Rule, 1939-1941*. Jewish Publication Society, 1995. Print.
- Levin, I. *His Majesty's Enemies: Great Britain's War against Holocaust Victims and Survivors*. Praeger, 2001. Print.
- Levin, N. *The Jews in the Soviet Union since 1917: Paradox of Survival*. New York University Press, 1990. Print.
- Levin, Y. "Di Valn in Di Ratn in 1925-1926 Yor." *Di Roite Velt*. 1927. 89. Print.
- Lissner, Will. "Land Socialization in Soviet Agriculture, 1917-1949." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 9.1 (1949): 145-59. Print.
- Lukacs, J. *June 1941: Hitler and Stalin*. Yale University Press, 2006. Print.
- Maor, Izchak. *She'elat Ha-Yehudim Be-Tnu'a Haliberálit Veha-Mahapkhanit Be-Rusia (1890-1914)*. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1979. Print.
- Marquit, E. "Political and Economic Consequences of the Attempted Socialization of Agriculture in the Soviet Union." *Nature, Society, and Thought* (2006): 397. Print.
- Mendelsohn, E. *The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars*. Indiana University Press, 1987. Print.
- Mendes-Flohr, Paul R., and Jehuda Reinharz. *The Jew in the Modern World : A Documentary History*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. Print.
- Michlic, Joanna. "The Soviet Occupation of Poland, 1939–41, and the Stereotype of the Anti-Polish and Pro-Soviet Jew." 144 pp. <<http://www.lehigh.edu/~inber/sovietoccupation.pdf>>.
- Moroshek, G. "Reflections." Ed. Moroshek, J. Plymouth2011. Print.
- Moroshek, L. "Reflections." Plymouth2011. Print.
- Moroshek, Yelena. "Personal Reflections." Ed. Moroshek, Jacob2010. Print.
- Murphy, D.E. *What Stalin Knew: The Enigma of Barbarossa*. Yale University Press, 2006. Print.
- Nelson. "Most Important Event of the 20th Century." Ed. Moroshek, J. Golden Valley2005. Print.
- Page, Stanley. "Lenin and Self-Determination." *University of London. School of Slavonic and East European Studies* 28.78 (1950): 342. Print.
- Paneyko, Basil, and N. B. J. "The Conditions of Ukrainian Independence." *The Slavonic Review* 2.5 (1923): 336-45. Print.
- Peace, American Jewish Committee. Research Institute on, and Post-War Problems. *The Jewish Communities of Nazi-Occupied Europe*. H. Fertig, 1982. Print.

- Pinkus, Benjamin. *The Jews of the Soviet Union : The History of a National Minority*. Soviet and East European Studies. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Print.
- Piotrowski, T. *Poland's Holocaust: Ethnic Strife, Collaboration with Occupying Forces and Genocide in the Second Republic, 1918-1947*. McFarland, 2007. Print.
- Pipes, Richard. *Struve, Liberal on the Right, 1905-1944*. Russian Research Center Studies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980. Print.
- Polonsky, A., and N. Davies. *Jews in Eastern Poland and the Ussr, 1939-46*. Macmillan in association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1991. Print.
- Rabinovich, S. "Evreiskaya Shkola." 11 (1904): 10. Print.
- Rayfield, D. *Stalin and His Hangmen: The Tyrant and Those Who Killed for Him*. Random House Publishing Group, 2005. Print.
- Ro'i, Y. *Jews and Jewish Life in Russia and the Soviet Union*. F. Cass, 1995. Print.
- Roberts, Paul Craig. *Alienation and the Soviet Economy : The Collapse of the Socialist Era : With a New Introduction*. Independent Studies in Political Economy. 2nd ed. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1990. Print.
- Rogger, H. "Tsarist Policy on Jewish Emigraton." *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 1973: 29. Print.
- Rossel, Seymour. "The Ghettos 1939-1945." <<http://www.rossel.net/Holocaust07.htm>>.
- Rowland, R. H. "Geographical Patterns of the Jewish Population in the Pale of Settlement of Late 19th-Century Russia." *Jewish Social Studies* 48.3-4 (1986): 207-34. Print.
- Rubenstein, J., and V.P. Naumov. *Stalin's Secret Pogrom: The Postwar Inquisition of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee*. Yale University Press, 2005. Print.
- Sachar, H.M. *A History of the Jews in the Modern World*. Alfred A. Knopf, 2005. Print.
- Sack, Arkady Joseph. *Struggling Russia. A Weekly Magazine Devoted to Russian Problems. Vol. 2*. Ed. U.S., Russian Information Bureau in the: New York, 1919. Print.
- Schapiro, Leonard. *The Role of the Jews in the Russian Revolutionary Movement*. London: Slavonic and East European Review, 1961. Print.
- Schneider, G. *Exile and Destruction: The Fate of Austrian Jews, 1938-1945*. Praeger, 1995. Print.
- Schulman, Elias. *A History of Jewish Education in the Soviet Union*. New York,: Ktav Pub. House, 1971. Print.
- . "Review: [Untitled]." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 57.2 (1966): 164. Print.
- . "Review: [Untitled]." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 57.2 (1966): 159-66. Print.
- Shearer, D.R. *Policing Stalin's Socialism: Repression and Social Order in the Soviet Union, 1924-1953*. Yale University Press, 2009. Print.
- Shlapentokh, V., E. Shiraev, and E. Carroll. *The Soviet Union: Internal and External Perspectives on Soviet Society*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Print.
- Slezkine, Yuri. *The Jewish Century*. Princeton University Press, 2004. Print.
- Slutsky, Yehuda. "Pogroms." *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 2008. Print.
- Smilovitsky, Leonid. "Antisemitism in the Soviet Partisan Movement, 1941–1944: The Case of Belorussia." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20.2 (2006): 207-34. Print.
- Smolar, Hersh. *The Minsk Ghetto : Soviet-Jewish Partisans against the Nazis*. New York: Holocaust Publications, 1989. Print.
- Smotristkaya, G. "Reflections." Ed. Moroshek, Jacob 2010. Print.
- Snyder, T. *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. Basic Books, 2010. Print.
- Stalin, Joseph. "Sochineniye." 2 (1913): 296. Print.
- Studies, Joint Committee on Slavic, et al. *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*. American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, 1991. Print.
- Sugar, P.F., J. Rothschild, and D.W. Treadgold. *A History of East Central Europe: East Central Europe between the Two World Wars*. University of Washington Press, 1974. Print.

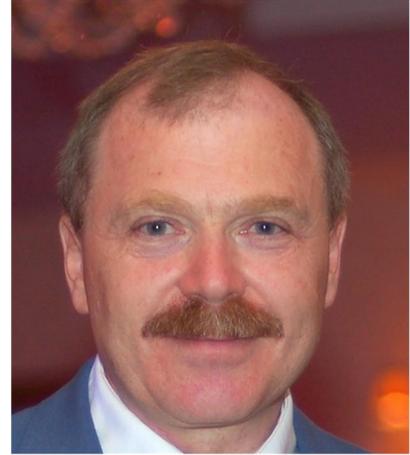
- Tabory, Ephraim. "Jewish Identity, Israeli Nationalism, and Soviet Jewish Migration." *Journal of Church and State* 33.2 (1991): 287-99. Print.
- Tcherikower, Elias, and Paul Avrich Collection (Library of Congress). *Di Ukrainer Pogromen*. 1965. Print.
- Thomsett, M.C. *The German Opposition to Hitler: The Resistance, the Underground, and Assassination Plots, 1938-1945*. McFarland, 2007. Print.
- Vashem, Yad. "Escape of Jews from Poland to the Soviet Union".
<<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/escpol.html>>.
- Veidlinger, Jeffrey. *The Moscow State Yiddish Theater : Jewish Culture on the Soviet Stage*. Jewish Literature and Culture. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000. Print.
- Veker, Der. *Der Veker* February 16, 1923 1923. Print.
- Vihavainen, Timo. "Nationalism and Internationalism. How Did the Bolsheviks Cope with National Sentiments?" *The Fall of an Empire, the Birth of a Nation : National Identities in Russia*. Eds. Chulos, Chris J. and Timo Piirainen. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2000. 80. Print.
- Vishniak, Mark. *An International Convention against Antisemitism*. New York, 1946. Print.
- von Hagen, Mark. *From the First World War to Civil War, 1914–1923*. A Companion to Russian History: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. Print.
- Weber, Mark. "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's Early Soviet Regime ".
<http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v14/v14n1p-4_Weber.html>.
- Weeks, A.L. *Stalin's Other War: Soviet Grand Strategy, 1939-1941*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003. Print.
- Weinberg, R. *Stalin's Forgotten Zion: Birobidzhan and the Making of a Soviet Jewish Homeland : An Illustrated History, 1928-1996*. University of California Press, 1998. Print.
- Weinberg, Robert. "Purge and Politics in the Periphery: Birobidzhan in 1937." *Slavic Review* 52.1 (1993): 13-27. Print.
- Weiner, Amir. "The Making of a Dominant Myth: The Second World War and the Construction of Political Identities within the Soviet Polity." *Russian Review* 55.4 (1996): 638-60. Print.
- Weinryb, Bernard D. "Anti-Semitism in Soviet Russia." *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917*. Ed. Kochan, Lionel. 2nd ed. London, New York,: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1972. ixv, 377 p. Print.
- Weiss-Wendt, A. *Murder without Hatred: Estonians and the Holocaust*. Syracuse University Press, 2009. Print.
- Werth, A. *Russia at War, 1941-1945*. Dutton, 1964. Print.
- Wilbur, C.M. *The Nationalist Revolution in China, 1923-1928*. Cambridge University Press, 1983. Print.
- Ziltserman, L. "A Desperate Campaign to Remember Soviet Jewish War Heroes Races against Time." *The Jewish Daily*. October 03, 2008 (2008). <<http://www.forward.com/articles/14278/>>.
- Энгель, В.В. "Евреи В Период Революции И Гражданской Войны." (2001).
<<http://jhistory.nfurman.com/russ/russ001-13.htm>>.
- . "Евреи Ссср В 20-Е Гр." (2001). <<http://jhistory.nfurman.com/russ/russ001-14.htm>>.
- . "Евреи Ссср Накануне И Мировой Войны." (2001).
<<http://jhistory.nfurman.com/russ/russ001-16.htm>>.
- . "Национальная Политика Ссср В 1930-Е Гр." (2001).
<<http://jhistory.nfurman.com/russ/russ001-15.htm>>.
- . "Холокост И Евреи Ссср." (2001). <<http://jhistory.nfurman.com/russ/russ001-17.htm>>.



Елена (Голуб) Морошек



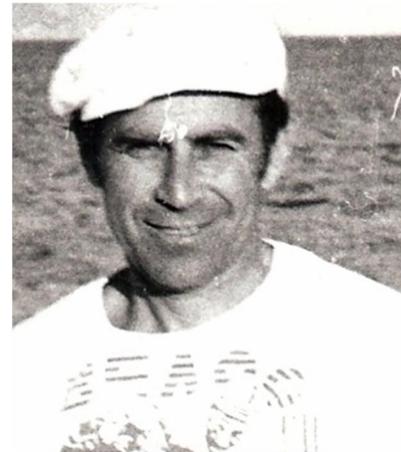
Jacob (Евгений) Moroshek



Григорий Морошек



Хася (Коган) Морошек



Лев Морошек



Любовь (Фейнберг) Морошек



Геня Смотровитская



Миша (Мойсей) Голуб



Марат (Майер) Голуб