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The Life, Death, and Afterlife of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee

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ABSTRACT

The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (JAFC), established in the early phase of the Soviet-Nazi war as a propaganda unit, gradually developed links with foreign Jewish organizations and began to act as a body taking responsibility for Soviet Jewish citizens' interests. The turning point in the JAFC's destiny was the 1943 trip of its top representatives, Solomon Mikhoels and Itsik Fefer, to the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Britain. The success of their tour had encouraged the committee to extend the areas of its activity and, at the same time, had drawn a more attantive gaze of the Soviet secret police. In 1948, the decision came to close the JAFC and, concurrently or later, virtually the entire infrastructure of Jewish cultural life in the Soviet Union. In 1952, a group of Jewish intellectuals faced a secret trial, whose minutes are analyzed in the special section of East European Jewish Affairs. This article provides an introduction to the analysis presented in this special section.

KEYWORDS

World War II; Yiddish writers; Soviet Jewish policy; capital punishment; cold war

By June 1941, when the German army attacked the Soviet Union, the Jewish (in fact, Yiddish) sections at the Writers' Union, a heavily influential state-run organization of Soviet intelligentsia, united over one hundred intellectuals working in the domain of Yiddish culture. One of the sections was kept functioning at the central Moscow branch of the Union, the other two at its Ukrainian and Belorussian branches. The role of the sections became particularly salient following the devastation of Yiddish educational, cultural, and publishing institutions in the European part of the Soviet Union in the first months of the war. Apart from these literary associations, several professional theater troupes, the Moscow publishing house Der Emes (Truth), and the Kiev Bureau (*kabinet*) for Research on Jewish Literature, Language, and Folklore endured in Central Asia and Siberia after evacuation from war zones.

Although the Jewish sections maintained their presence in the Writers' Union, they blended to a large degree into the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (JAFC), whose activities began in August 1941 and took an institutionalized form in February 1942. At that time, the JAFC was based in Kuibyshev (now Samara), where many government agencies and foreign embassies had moved temporarily in apprehension that Moscow might fall. The JAFC's Yiddish newspaper *Eynikayt* (Unity) first appeared every ten days in Kuibyshev,

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beginning on June 7, 1942, and morphed into a weekly from September 1, 1942. By then, the committee and its periodical organ had relocated to Moscow, not a frontier city anymore. From February 22, 1945, *Eynikayt* would come out three times a week with a print run of 10,000, distributed mainly, but not exclusively, within the country.[1] Attempts to turn *Eynikayt* into a daily and to increase the cap imposed on its circulation failed to gain approval. Given the committee's limited exposure within the country, it is safe to assume that many, if not most, Soviet Jews never saw the newspaper and did not know that the JAFC even existed.

Yiddish writers, most notably David Bergelson, Itsik Fefer, Shmuel Halkin, David Hofshteyn, Aron Kushnirov, Leyb Kvitko, and Perets Markish, appeared as leading figures in the JAFC, whose name sounded deceptively like the re-emergence of an element of Jewish civil society. The Soviets had a long track record of establishing organizations with misleading facades to use them for interaction with foreign counterparts. In reality, the JAFC was not grassroots-initiated. Rather, the Central Committee of the Communist Party managed the formation of the JAFC as well as its four sister organizations: the All-Slavic Anti-Fascist Committee, and the similar committees of Soviet Women, Youth, and Scientists. Clearly, Soviet policy-makers deemed the Jewish sector of the propaganda front highly important and deserving separate attention.

The five committees were structural units of the Soviet Information Bureau (Sovinformburo), which was set up at the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on the third day of the war, June 24, 1941.[2] Solomon Lozovsky, a veteran Bolshevik and once head of the Jewish hatmakers' trade union in Paris, was appointed as the Sovinformburo's deputy director (from 1945, he served as director). A former director of the State Publishing House of Belles-Lettres, Lozovsky knew, or knew of, many Yiddish writers. In early 1943, Bergelson characterized the JAFC as "the organizer of [Yiddish] writers' work."[3]

No one expected people to volunteer for membership in the anti-fascist committees. Rather, officials in the party and state apparatus carefully selected and vetted candidates on the basis of professional and political criteria. Fefer later explained that he "was called upon to work at" the JAFC.[4] Markish recalled that he and other writers "were summoned to the Central Committee" in 1941.[5] By 1944, the JAFC had sixty-two members, which included authors (mainly, but not only, Yiddish), officers and generals, actors, artists, physicians, scholars, and representatives of the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan). The membership list included the Yiddish writers Khaim Grade, Rokhl Korn, and Avrom Sutskever, who, until 1939, were citizens of Poland.[6]

The role of chairman went to Solomon Mikhoels. Among the Jewish cultural elite, only Mikhoels, director of the Moscow State Yiddish Theater, and Markish, who headed the Moscow section of Yiddish writers, had the highest Soviet decoration, the Order of Lenin. Still, Mikhoels, a holder of the honorary title "People's Artist of the USSR," apparently was viewed as a more suitable person to fill the highly responsible position of the JAFC's chairman. The secret police could rely on "vigilant eyes," including Fefer, recruited as an informer. No doubt, he was not the only one. The committee's secretary, Shakhno (Alexander) Epshtein, formerly a Bundist and labor activist in the United States, made appearances abroad as a Comintern agent and later a Soviet intelligence operative in the 1920s and 1930s.[7] Ilia Vatenberg and his wife Chaika, staff members of the Sovinformburo and the JAFC, also were Soviet intelligence agents in the 1930s.[8]

International contacts across the ideological spectrum were of paramount importance for the JAFC's mission. As early as September 23, 1941, Bergelson wrote to Chaim Zhitlovsky, a prominent Russian-Jewish intellectual, who from the late 1880s, first in Russia and then in the US, had been a vociferous theorist of secular Jewish nation-building. Bergelson felt (or, knowing his carefulness and sagacity, was instructed) that he could ignore the Soviet iron postulate, according to which bourgeois, notably Zionist, ideologists fabricated the idea of a worldwide Jewish nation. He wrote:

> the great danger of destruction which presently menaces the entire Jewish people; the necessity to undertake a great action that should, in practical terms, demonstrate to the whole world that Jews, regardless of their dispersal, are a unified nation, of which each part is ready to defend the other not simply by collecting alms and writing elegies, but by being prepared to sacrifice life and shed blood for the other–all this is so important that divisive economic, social and even some ideological differences are pushed aside.[9]

The reaction to the formation of the JAFC exposed deep fissures among Jews in the West. Following a prelude event to the formal establishment of the JAFC—the meeting of Soviet Jewish writers and intellectuals, on August 24, 1941, and their appeal for unity with "Jewish brethren all over the world"—the New York Yiddish daily *Forverts* (Forward), a stronghold of socialist, notably Menshevik and Bundist, anti-Sovietism, ran a sarcastic editorial entitled "A Photo with an Appeal and Salt on Jewish Wounds." The newspaper commented that: "Only contempt should be felt for the appeal of Moscow writers. It is helpful that the group also has sent its photo, so one can see who is who." Applying its own yardstick, the *Forverts* distinguished three categories of the appeal signatories: first, those individuals who served the secret police when it persecuted Jews; second, those who welcomed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact; third, the "Communist court poets."[10]

The appeal found a diametrically different response in the American Jewish quarters not belonging to the Soviet-hostile constituency of the *Forverts*. On September 11, 1941, Zhitlovsky initiated a meeting, which resulted in the establishment of the Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists (CJWAS). Beginning on November 29, 1942, the CJWAS published its periodical, *Eynikayt*, a namesake of the newspaper of the JAFC. Following Zhitlovsky's death in May 1943, the CJWAS's leadership had to be reshuffled. Still, it looked very impressive: Albert Einstein was honorary president, best-selling Yiddish author Sholem Asch was president, the well-known Yiddish journalist and Sholem Aleichem's son-in-law Ben-Zion Goldberg was chairman, and the Jewish historian Raphael Mahler was vice-chairman.[11]

Meanwhile, the tragic destiny of the two leaders of the Polish Bund, Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter, added fuel to the fire raging in the American Jewish community. Arrested after fleeing to the zone under Soviet control, the two Bundists were freed in September 1941. Soviet authorities allowed them to establish contacts with the Polish embassy and with socialist circles, and to sign on as correspondents of the *Forverts*. Erlich and Alter's appeal to Stalin concerning the establishment of a Jewish anti-Hitler committee contributed to shaping the JAFC. And then, less than three months later, they were detained again, and disappeared from view.[12] In February 1943, amid the euphoria engendered by the victory at Stalingrad, Moscow released information about their deaths. Yet, socialists could not remain silent. "Of course we will protest, of course we will condemn before the entire world the crime that has been committed," wrote the *Forverts*.[13]

The negative reaction of many American Jews to the Erlich-Alter controversy could be one of the factors in the mind of Soviet functionaries, when they decided to send a Jewish delegation to the United States, although mobilization of public opinion for opening the Allies' "Second Front" in Europe certainly was the most pressing concern for the Soviet Union. This mission, whose preparation began in March 1943, had no precedent. No Soviet Jewish cultural figures visited America in the entire interwar period. Bergelson's American sojourn in 1928–1929 can be seen only as an approximation to a Soviet Jewish intellectual's visit. Although Bergelson by then described himself as a Soviet writer, he was living in Berlin and holding a Lithuanian passport.[14]

Judging by the available sources, the idea of inviting Soviet Jewish intellectuals was first raised by Einstein in a conversation with Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Ambassador to the US, who relayed it to Moscow. The JAFC suggested to form a delegation of six people: (1) Mikhoels, (2) Epshtein, (3) Fefer, (4) Efim Dyskin, a hero of the Soviet Union, (5) Boris Iofan, a leading architect, or Alexander Frumkin, a prominent scientist, and (6) David Oistrakh, a virtuoso violinist. The Central Committee selected only two delegates: Mikhoels and Fefer.[15]

After spending the second half of 1943 traveling in the United States and making short appearances in Canada, Mexico, and England, Mikhoels and Fefer returned as different people, people with a mission. Their public and private meetings with a wide array of people, including leaders of Jewish organizations, became their induction into the world of international and specifically Jewish politics. The trip, hugely consequential for the committee and all its members and associates, had charged Mikhoels and Fefer (after Epshtein's death in July 1945, the latter would become the JAFC's secretary) with confidence that they could make history.

As a result, the JAFC, initially established for purely propagandistic purposes, began to be involved in political issues, most notably lobbying for a Soviet Jewish republic in the Crimea, a place long on the wish list of Jewish activists.[16] The Crimean project of Jewish autonomy began with a good deal of success in the 1920s, but lost its steam in the 1930s, being eclipsed by the ill-fated Birobidzhan venture. Some of the JAFC's members hoped, however, that it might have new life in the postwar period, gaining support of the Soviet government and American sponsors. These hopes did not materialize: following the deportation of Tatars and other peninsula's ethnic residents summarily accused of collaboration with the enemy, the cleansed areas were repopulated predominantly by Russians.[17]

From 1944 onwards, the JAFC increasingly fulfilled functions of a public organization by, for example, responding to requests to help solve various problems and grievances, which dogged Jews during and after the war. Some members of the committee called on broadening the scope of activities. Particularly outspoken was Boris Shimeliovich, the medical director of Moscow's Botkin Hospital. In October 1944, during a meeting of the JAFC's leading figures, he characterized their organization as the "so-called Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee," and criticized its unwillingness to address more urgent tasks than producing and distributing propaganda materials.[18] Like many Soviet intellectuals, Shimeliovich apparently believed that the war had created an environment more conducive to individual initiative, and that the tragedy of the Holocaust permitted them to cross previously uncrossable lines.

Indeed, for a while authorities reluctantly turned a blind eye to the committee's going beyond its narrow brief, probably following the adage *à la guerre comme à la guerre*,

anything goes during the war. However, Mikhoels and other committee members realized that the wartime "license" to expand their province of activity and to flirt with worldwide Jewish unity had become more restrictive after 1945. The archive of the JAFC contains an undated letter draft to Stalin, signed by the editorial board of the *Eynikayt*. It is not clear if this petition was sent, but it illuminates the thinking of its signers. They suggested, in particular, to replace the title *Eynikayt* with *Heymland*.[19] The word *heymland*, "homeland," a Soviet-time coinage, became particularly popular during the war.[20] Ultimately, *Heymland* would become the title of the short-lived Yiddish literary almanac (1947–1948), published under the auspices of the Writers' Union.

Characteristically also, official reports of the JAFC focused exclusively on the achievements which reflected its—and other anti-fascist committees'—narrow remit of turning out materials. In four years between August 1941 and August 1945, the JAFC sent 23,125 texts of various size, provenance, and scope to 264 foreign periodicals in thirteen countries and territories, most notably the United States, Mandated Palestine, Canada, and Great Britain.[21] These impressive statistics should prove the committee's continued usefulness and safeguard it from liquidation after the war. In October 1945, Mikhoels assured his colleagues that the JAFC had a future. Moreover, he intimated that from January 1, 1946 the committee might get permission to function independently from the Sovinformburo, fulfilling modified functions and publishing a daily newspaper with a higher circulation.[22] In July 1945, Lozovsky supported or even initiated the idea of postwar transformation of the five anti-fascist committees.[23]

By the end of 1946 the future looked so bleak that the JAFC had prepared a plan for its phasing out. The plan suggested: (1) to keep at the Sovinformburo a small unit—*Yidishe sovetishe prese-agentur* (Jewish Soviet Press Agency)—staffed by nine people, and (2) to establish two positions of Jewish *referenty* (specialists), one at the Foreign Commission of the Writers' Union, and one at the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, or VOKS.[24] Ultimately, however, this scheme was shelved and the JAFC continued to work until its cruel termination in 1948. First, in January, Mikhoels met death in a staged accident. Second, from November onwards, repressions devastated the entire infrastructure of Jewish cultural life: the committee, the newspaper *Eynikayt*, the publishing house Der Emes, and one by one all the remaining institutions of Yiddish culture, aside from the newspaper *Birobidzhaner shtern* (Birobidzhan Star) which endured in the confines of the lost world of the Jewish Autonomous Region. The Jewish sections at the Writers' Union had disappeared for good too.

"Scriptwriters" of the secret police had prepared narratives of Jewish conspiracies. In April 1949, at the World Peace Congress in Paris, the writer Howard Fast, then a towering figure in the Communist Party of the United States of America, listened to one of the scare stories as it was being told to him by Alexander Fadeev, chairman of the Soviet Writers' Union. It went like this: the American Jewish Appeal and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee had formed an anti-Soviet front and recruited "ghetto Jews" in the Soviet Union to act as their agents. When Fefer, one of the "ghetto Jews," visited, he also found himself caught in the spy web. On his return, Fefer succeeded in luring almost all members of the committee into the conspiracy. Mikhoels, however, remained loyal to Soviet ideology and threatened to denounce them. Therefore Fefer organized Mikhoels's liquidation in Minsk.[25] In later retellings of this and similar pieces of fiction,

Mikhoels also turned into an enemy, serving as a link between American agencies and the doctors who plotted to murder Soviet state and party leaders.[26]

At the time when Fadeev was feeding Fast with misinformation, key figures of the committee had been arrested on farcical charges of anti-Soviet conspiratorial activity and spying on behalf of foreign powers. More people would find themselves in prison later, being accused as a rule of bourgeois nationalism. In the majority of cases, they would soon be sentenced and sent to labor camps. Thus, the Yiddish writer Der Nister did not attract much attention from the investigators, who focused on the cases of Bergelson, Markish, Fefer, Kvitko, and Hofshteyn. Six months after Der Nister's arrest on February 19, 1949, he was found guilty of "criminal ties with nationalists and anti-Soviet agitation" and sentenced to ten years in a labor camp, where he died in June 1950.[27]

A relatively small group of people, only fifteen of over one hundred arrested, not all of them most prominent members of the JAFC, faced the central trial, held from May 8 to July 18, 1952. There is no clear answer to the question why it was necessary to try in secret, but using the methods honed in the 1930s, during public show trials. Did the judges had to provide compelling proof for some top officials? According to a report sent from Moscow to the Department of State, the "Soviet ruling group" lived "in atmosphere of constant psychotic mistrust and suspicion" and that "serious difference of opinion on policy matters exist[ed] in the Soviet hierarchy up to and including the Politburo."[28] On the other hand, a convincing indictment could be used to answer requests from, say, foreign communists.

This all happened at a time when the Soviet press wrote about a "cosmopolitanism" that had ostensibly spread as a malaise among intellectuals, too often with auspicious Jewish surnames. Not a word, however, appeared in the press about the liquidation of Jewish institutions and the persecution of many of their employees. Some Western observers even saw the public disappearance of Yiddish cultural figures as part of the struggle against the so-called bourgeois cosmopolitanism.[29] Indeed, this term appears in the vocabulary used by the judges during the trial of JAFC. Thus, the presiding judge told Fefer that the JAFC had replaced proletarian internationalism with cosmopolitanism, and Fefer replied: "There were no conversations about cosmopolitanism."[30]

Cosmopolitanism was a serious charge, making a person unemployable and unpublishable, but as a rule it did not lead to imprisonment, let alone capital punishment. Abolished in May 1947, capital punishment was reintroduced in January 1950 for anti-state crimes such a treason and espionage. In Soviet practice it meant that, "in order to follow due process of law," prosecutors and judges constructed farcical cases of treason and espionage for people who *had to be executed*. For instance, in Kiev in the fall of 1952 several Jewish shadow economy dealers were sentenced to death by firing squad for "economic counter-revolution." It helped that Stalin, whose word was law, said in 1926, "A thief who steals the public wealth and undermines interest of the economy is like a spy and traitor, if not worse."[31]

As a result of the May-July 1952 trial, thirteen people, among them five Yiddish writers, received capital punishment sentences for collecting and sending sensitive information on behalf of imperialist agencies. The sentence was carried out on August 12, 1952. It is no coincidence that the group of the accused included Ilia and Chaika Vatenberg, and Leon Talmi, who did not play anything close to key roles in the work of the JAFC.[32] However, it was important that they spent many years of their life in the United States. Bergelson, Hofshteyn, Kvitko, and Markish also lived abroad. In insular Soviet society,

such people were deemed highly suspicious. Contacts with foreigners, including the American Communist Yiddish editor Paul Novick and the Soviet fellow-traveller Ben-Zion Goldberg, both recast as intelligence operatives, "reinforced" the indictment.

In November 1955, the sentences were posthumously annulled, because the material of the case did not contain evidence of treason, espionage, and other counterrevolutionary crimes.[33] In March 1956, information about the August 1952 tragedy became public abroad. Leon Crystal, a special correspondent of the *Forverts*, had gleaned it from bits and scraps during his visit to Moscow.[34]

Jewish activists struggled to find an acceptable description for the executed Soviet cultural figures. The discussion became particularly intense when Alexander Pomerantz, a former American Communist, published a book whose title alluded to the Mishnaic Ten Martyrs.[35] His critics, however, argued that the legendary Jewish martyrs faced death for their ideological non-conformism, whereas the JAFC and its members were loyal to Stalin's regime.[36] Ultimately, the trope of the Yiddish writers' martyrdom was widely accepted after August 1976 international Yiddish conference in Jerusalem. In a special resolution, it appealed to all Jewish communities to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the execution.[37] In the climate of the Cold War, the former bitter ideological enemies became respected and commemorated martyrs.

In the Soviet Union, it was not allowed to remind the regime about its specifically anti-Jewish repressions, especially the fact that the trial and execution that happened in 1952 was only officially admitted in 1989.[38] The *Russian-Yiddish Dictionary* published in Moscow in 1984 contains a clandestine epitaph to the victims of the execution: the entry *dvenadtsatyi* (twelfth) is illustrated through the combination of words "on the twelfth of August." After 1989, access to archival material on the JAFC became possible. Moreover, an abridged edition of the trial proceedings has appeared in print, first in Russian and then in English.[39] However, many aspects of the trial have awaited scholarly treatment. This special section of *East European Jewish Affairs* does just that.

The Soviet-speak of the condemned intellectuals, loyal to the Stalinist regime, made the drama of the trial particularly bewildering. I remember my conversation with Chone Shmeruk, the Israeli historian of Yiddish literature and Yiddish literary life, whose many-faceted research included important publications on Soviet writers. He found the reading of the 1994 Russian volume of the trial minutes so distressful and disheartening that he decided to exclude Soviet topics from his further studies.

Arguably for the first time, four scholars, Anna Schur, Harriet Murav, Alice Nakhimovsky, and Alexander Nakhimovsky, have applied methods of literary and linguistic analysis to the minutes of the trial. The presentation of earlier results of pioneering research took place in November 2016, at the annual convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies.

Notes

1. "Otchet o deiatel'nosti Evreiskogo antifashistskogo komiteta v SSSR," *fond* R-8114, *opis'* 1, *delo* 1064, State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF).
2. See Petrova, *Antifashistskie komitety v SSSR, 1941–1945*.
3. Bergelson, "Velt-tribune far yidishe sovetishe shrayber," 4.
4. Rubenstein and Naumov, *Stalin's Secret Pogrom*, 81.
5. Ibid., 120.

6. "Otchet o deiatel'nosti Evreiskogo antifashistskogo komiteta v SSSR."
7. Pozniakov, *Sovetskaia razvedka v Amerike, 1919–1941*, 524–5; Estraikh, *Evreiskaia literaturnaia zhizn' Moskvy*, *1917–1991*, 147.
8. Fliat, "Po kom molchit internet."
9. Sherman, "David Bergelson (1994–1952)," 58
10. "A fotografye mit an oyfruf un zalts oyf yidishe vundn," *Forverts*, August 27, 1941, 4.
11. "Sholem Ash derveylt prezident fun yidishn shrayber-komitet," *Eynikayt* (New York), June 3, 1943, 13.
12. "Viktor Alter getoyt in sovet-Rusland," *Forverts*, March 5, 1940, 1; "Erlikh un Alter, firer fun poylishn 'Bund', vider arestirt in Rusland," *Forverts*, December 19, 1941, 1; Redlich, *War, Holocaust and Stalinism*, 166–7; Soyer, "Executed Bundists, Soviet Delegates."
13. Soyer, "Executed Bundists, Soviet Delegates," 305.
14. See Estraikh, "David Bergelson in and on America," 205.
15. Redlich, *War, the Holocaust and Stalinism*, 74.
16. Ibid., 264–7. For the Crimean project, see, in particular, Dekel-Chen, *Farming the Red Land*.
17. Seitova, "Trudovaia migratsiia v Krym (1944–1976)."
18. "Protokol soveshchaniia Evreiskogo antifashistskogo komiteta, 24 October 1944," GARF, *fond* R-8114, *opis'* 1, *delo* 1053, 4–5.
19. "TsK VKP(b). Tovarishchu Stalinu," GARF, *fond* R-8114, *opis'* 1, delo 923.
20. Spivak, *Di shprakh in di teg fun der foterlendisher milkhome*, 9–10.
21. "Biulleten' o deiatel'nosti Evreiskogo antifashistskogo komitetta v SSSR (avgust 1941 g. – avgust 1945 g.)," GARF, *fond* R-8114, *opis'* 1, *delo* 1063.
22. "Protokol zasedaniia Prezidiuma EAK, 23 October 1945," GARF, *fond* R-8114, *opis'* 1, *delo* 1053, 6–7.
23. Redlich, *War, Holocaust and Stalinism*, 297–8.
24. "Plan meropriiatii v sviazi s predpolagaemym prekrashcheniem deiatel'nosti Evreiskogo antifashistskogo komiteta v SSSR," GARF, *fond* R-8114, *opis'* 1, *delo* 1062.
25. Estraikh, *Yiddish in the Cold War*, 30–1.
26. See, e.g., "Arest gruppy vrachei-vreditelei," *Izvestiia*, January 13, 1953, 4; "Shpiony i ubiitsy razoblacheny," *Literaturnaia gazeta*, January 13, 1953, 1.
27. Estraikh, "Der Nister's 'Hamburg Score'," 22.
28. Department of State, "The Chargé in the Soviet Union (Beam) to the Department of State, Moscow, January 14, 1953."
29. See, e.g. Salisbury, "Jewish Writers in Soviet Active," *The New York Times*, July 26, 1956, 5.
30. Rubenstein and Naumov, *Stalin's Secret Pogrom*, 89.
31. London, "Days of Anxiety;" Gordon, "Soviet Union."
32. Fliat, "Leon Tal'mi."
33. Rubenstein and Naumov, *Stalin's Secret Pogrom*, 504.
34. Estraikh, *Yiddish in the Cold War*, 18–9.
35. Pomerantz, *Di sovetishe haruge-malkhes*.
36. Yefroykin, "Di umgekumene yidishe shrayber in sovet-Rusland," *Forverts*, May 12, 1963, section 2, 5.
37. *Barikht fun der velt-konferents far yidish un yidisher kultur*, 234–5.
38. See *Izvestiia TsK KPSS* 12 (1989): 34–40.
39. Naumov, *Nepravednyi sud*; Rubenstein and Naumov, *Stalin's Secret Pogrom*.

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