**The Holocaust Propaganda Machine in Soviet Periodicals, 1941 – 1945[[1]](#endnote-1)**

 The USSR entered the Second World War with the world’s most powerful propaganda apparatus, having twenty years of experience and a state monopoly on truth. All publications were subjected to a three-tiered system of censorship: personal, editorial, and official, with the common line of censorship determined at the highest level. In the Soviet Union at that time, there were five primary sources of official information: a) periodical publications, b) fictional literature, c) journalistic writing, d) films, and e) radio broadcasts. In this article, we will only be examining the Russian language periodical press, which was the most widely available print material in the USSR. These sources were entirely aimed at Soviet readers, as opposed to Yiddish language publications, which were in part intended to arouse sympathy in readers abroad.[[2]](#endnote-2) Verification of casualty statistics and authenticity of other published information is not the purpose of this article.

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Stalin: *“In fact, the Hitler regime is just a copy of the reactionary regimes that existed in Russia under the tsars. It is well known that the Nazis…are just as willing to organize medieval Jewish pogroms as the tsars were”.[[3]](#endnote-3)*

 Many researchers who wrote about the Holocaust in Soviet territory believed that the government either hid information about it or wrote very little. In his article, Karel Berkhoff presented a critical review of this assessment before going on to examine the coverage of such themes by several central newspapers.[[4]](#endnote-4) We have no reason to reconsider his review. We would add only that Mordechai Altshulerk, who later researched this theme based on the magazine Znamya and several Russian language newspapers, made his own contribution by asserting that the mention of Jewish victims depended on the author, editor, and censor.[[5]](#endnote-5)

 A more thorough review of periodicals already examined, as well as many other newspapers[[6]](#endnote-6) and other pre-war and wartime journalism, allows us to identify many nuances of Soviet media policy. They provide an answer to the following important question: Why did the central authorities grant relative freedom to publications about the Holocaust, when it was disadvantageous because of German propaganda about Jewish control of power in the USSR?[[7]](#endnote-7) The most likely answer is that covering the Holocaust, despite its inevitable costs, enabled Soviet propaganda to achieve the more important goal of demonstrating the brutality of its ideological enemy.

 Soviet publications set out on the path to war with fascist ideology quite early. In 1923, a collection of articles was published called “World Fascism”, which reported on fascist organizations in Italy and many other countries.[[8]](#endnote-8) In 1932, Maxim Gorky, in response to a piece in a Nazi newspaper that stated “We will legally slaughter Jews with the new laws we will enact when we come to power”, replied that “the European bourgeoisie in its current state of mind is fully capable of passing laws that not only authorize the complete extermination of the Jews, but the extermination of all who disagree with it…”.[[9]](#endnote-9)

 The Soviet press did not ignore the actions of Germany in November 1938. It published extracts from English and other foreign newspapers that reported on the anti-Jewish pogroms and arrests of Jews.[[10]](#endnote-10) On 18 November, even the newspaper *Pravda* devoted several editorials to these events.[[11]](#endnote-11) *Izvestia* published the pointed words of French communist Jacques Sadoul on the persecution of Jews in Germany.[[12]](#endnote-12) There was wide coverage of a protest rally against these pogroms organized by the Union of Writers and Architects on 27 November at the Great Hall of the Moscow Conservatory attracting close to two thousand people. In the following few days, similar rallies were held in Leningrad, Minsk, Kyiv, Tbilisi, Baku, Sverdlovsk, and other cities.[[13]](#endnote-13)

 The Soviet-German non-aggression pact (August 1939) interrupted these anti-fascist activities. In a sharp policy change, Glavlit arranged for the seizure of anti-fascist literature from libraries and bookstores. Even anti-fascist articles in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia were questioned.[[14]](#endnote-14) However, it is unlikely that these attempts to rehabilitate Germany were effective since its hostile image had been fostered in the USSR for more than a decade and a half. From the beginning of 1941, when it became apparent that conflict with Germany was unavoidable, the Kremlin returned to anti-German propaganda, albeit in a more moderate form. Gennady Kostyrchenko wrote that moral unpreparedness for the future war began to seem like a greater danger than the risk of provoking Germany into conflict. The Red Army was again being shown previously banned anti-fascist films. The Sergei Eisenstein film *Alexander Nevsky* about the war with German knights even received the Stalin Prize along with positive press reviews. And, at the end of April, Stalin even permitted Ilya Ehrenburg to publish *The Fall of Paris* uncensored.[[15]](#endnote-15) A more concrete change, of course, appeared in early June 1941 in a directive from the head of Glavpur (the Main Political Directorate) and simultaneously from the head of the Propaganda and Agitation Agency of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Alexandre Shcherbankov: “Several propagandists have stopped criticizing the fascist ideology hostile to Marxism, accepted the false theory of fascist economists on planned domestic management in Germany and Italy, and stopped exposing the reactionary politics of German imperialism directed at the subjugation and enslavement of other peoples”.[[16]](#endnote-16)

 After the German attack on the USSR, the media immediately returned to full-scale anti-fascist propaganda. Within a week the anti-fascist films *Professor Mamlok* and *The Oppenheim Family* returned to wide release.[[17]](#endnote-17) In the press, the Jewish topic appeared quickly, although it felt as if there was a lack of information about the occupying army’s attitude toward Jews, especially in Soviet territory. But even this limited information in the newspapers managed to reach Jewish families who were still trying to decide whether to run or not. Anya Makkabi-Yoresh recalls: “In the newspapers, there began to appear reports of German atrocities against civilians, and especially against Jews. That’s when we remembered rumors we had heard earlier from Polish refugees, but which we had not believed”.[[18]](#endnote-18) Leningrad resident Georgy Knyazev wrote in his diary in August 1941 that, fearing the rumors and newspaper reports of German atrocities against civilians, especially against Jews and communists, the 18-year-old daughter of one Jewish communist cried, repeating, “Mama, I want to live. I don’t want to die”.[[19]](#endnote-19)

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**Periodicals in 1941**

 From the first days of the German-Soviet war, authors and newspaper editors wrote with relative freedom about the Jews being the central victims of the German occupying regime. In addition, each of them was aware that those disagreeing with this approach could face sharp criticism from Agitprop (the Department of Propaganda and Agitation at the Central Committee of the Communist Party), led by Georgy Alexandrov, or even from the Secretary of the Central Committee Alexander Shcherbakov, who oversaw all propaganda. It is not known whether repressive measures were used, but everything points to a balanced approach in covering the issue of Jewish victims.[[20]](#endnote-20) It is unlikely that Shcherbakov disagreed with Stalin on this approach; from the 23rd to the 28th of June, the two of them spent six and a half hours together in meetings.[[21]](#endnote-21) There were reasons for the approach taken. In addition to the opportunity to demonstrate to the population the inhumanity of the enemy, the publications about the Jewish executions would help gain the strong support of Jews living overseas; this was important not only for the political and financial support but also for the support of the large number of intellectuals among them, whose support the Kremlin certainly counted on.

 The first wartime publications concerned Poland. On the 25th of June, a digest from the foreign press was published on the state of Jews in Polish ghettos.[[22]](#endnote-22) In the following two days, *Pravda* published several articles detailing the conditions in the Warsaw ghetto.[[23]](#endnote-23) On June 27th, *Sovetskaya Sibir’* reported about Jews in ghettos in both Warsaw and Lodz, and also about the burning of Jews during prayers at a synagogue in Dabrowa Gornicza.[[24]](#endnote-24) On the 29th of June, Shaul Gurfinkel reported about the Polish ghettos in the same paper.[[25]](#endnote-25) On August 4th, *Vechernyaya Moskva* reported the difficult situation of Jews in Poland and in particular the execution of 1,500 of them in Kholm.[[26]](#endnote-26) On 13 August, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* recounted the shooting of 500 Jews in Ostrow-Mazowiecka and 100 Poles and Jews in nearby Kalushin.[[27]](#endnote-27) On 27 August 1941, *Pravda* reported that Hitler’s troops burned 300 Jews to death in a synagogue in Bialystok.[[28]](#endnote-28) The intensity of these reports in the USSR is especially impressive in the context of Western publications about the extermination of Jews in Poland. As Dariusz Stola writes, London first learned of the shootings at the end of August 1941 and, even then, this information was limited to the town of Czyzew, near Lomz.[[29]](#endnote-29)

 Newspapers also reported on the Holocaust in former Romanian territories that had been incorporated into the Moldavian SSR and later returned to Romania. On August 12th, *Pravda* reported that in Balti, German and Romanian soldiers “shot nearly 200 elderly Jewish women”.[[30]](#endnote-30) On October 4th, *Krasny Flot* reported that during military action in the village of Krokmaz, all the Jews had been shot.[[31]](#endnote-31) On 29 November, TASS reported that, according to refugees in Turkey, 90,000 Jews had been tortured and killed in Romania since the start of the war, and a further 100,000 were deported to the left bank of the Dniester[[32]](#endnote-32), in the governorate of Transnistria.

 On 9-10 August, Sovinformburo reported that, according to eyewitnesses fleeing across the front, a prison camp had been created near Minsk for refugees caught on the roads. They were starving and were shot in batches. On 21 July, a group of forty-five Jews were forced to dig pits and were afterward bound and thrown into them. The Belarussians in the camp were ordered to bury the Jews alive, and when they flatly refused, the fascists shot both the Belarussians and the Jews.[[33]](#endnote-33) On August 11th, *Pravda* published a story about the occupation regime in Minsk that described the liquidation of Jews in one region of the city.[[34]](#endnote-34) Apparently, under the influence of publications about Minsk, *Izvestia* correspondent Moicej Genkin wrote that Jews across all the occupied Soviet territories were enduring severe torture and then being forced to dig their own graves, in which they would then be buried alive.[[35]](#endnote-35)

 On the 24th of August, at an anti-fascist “Rally of the Representatives of the Jewish People”, speeches were given by the actor Solomon Michaels, the director Sergej Eisenstein, the poet and translator Samuel Marshak, the writer Ilya Ehrenburg, the publicist Shakhno Epstein, and others. A report of the meeting was published under the headline: “Our Jewish Brothers from Across the World”; such wording would have been unthinkable before the war. There was talk of the heroism of Soviet Jews in the military, the need for international help, the importance of boycotting Germany, and the genocide being carried out by the occupying forces.[[36]](#endnote-36) In September, TASS published a review of a rally by the president of the Jewish Agency in Palestine Chaim Weizmann; among other things, it reported: “From the very beginning, Hitler designated the Jews his chosen victims”.[[37]](#endnote-37)

 Toward the end of August, in the words of a witness, the writer Vsevolod Ivanov told of the shooting of around thirty Jews in a town in Belarus.[[38]](#endnote-38) On September 6th, *Vechernyaya Moskva* published a story by a partisan commander in which twenty Jewish families in the village of Kolki and all the Jewish men in Stolin and Davidgorodok were executed.[[39]](#endnote-39) In *Pravda*, Oscar Kurganov wrote that in the city of K., Jews were required to wear white armbands, after which they were forbidden to enter shops, restaurants, and homes where Germans were present.[[40]](#endnote-40)

 On 17 September, TASS published a story about the situation of Polish Jews that had been printed earlier in the New York Times. It spoke of a high mortality rate from starvation in 300 Polish ghettos, where 3 million Jews were located. In the Warsaw ghetto, with its half million prisoners, the mortality rate jumped from 80 per day in May 1941 to 240 per day in July of the same year.[[41]](#endnote-41) The famous Soviet translator Maria Rozhitsyna wrote on 27 September in *Vechernyaya Moskva*: “Together with other thieves from the SS, Hans killed Poles and Jews in Poland. He drove women and children to the bridge over the river Visla. The vile criminal smashed the heads of children and threw their slashed corpses into the water”.[[42]](#endnote-42)

 At the end of August, *Pravda* reported on the shooting of 400 Jews in Kamenets-Podolsk.[[43]](#endnote-43) In the middle of November, the news agency Reuters published a story of 25,000 Jews being executed in Odesa.[[44]](#endnote-44) On 18 November, TASS republished a story from the Overseas News Agency, citing an unknown European correspondent, about the murder of 52,000 Jews in Kyiv.[[45]](#endnote-45) Ten days later, *Pravda* published an article by P. Stepanenko, which tried to generalize the national make-up of the victims: “Soviet citizens who have escaped from Kyiv tell of the horrible slaughter and pogroms committed here by the German invaders. …Within a few days, 52,000 men, women, elderly, and children were killed and torn to pieces. It wasn’t just Jews. Executioners from the Gestapo mercilessly disposed of all Ukrainians and Russians who have in any way shown their allegiance to Soviet power, Stakhanovites, members of the Osoaviakhim and MOPR, even Zhilkoop activists [housing cooperatives – A.K.] …”. In addition, the author wrote of reprisals against the Kyiv population in general, but also separately against Jews.[[46]](#endnote-46)

 After the first liberation of Rostov-on-Don, Ezra Vilensky published an article that said: “As everywhere, the Jews were paid special attention by the Germans. They endured special humiliation and insults. They were permitted to walk the streets only from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. …First, all Jews were ordered to sew a green star on their sleeves and to paint the same star on the doors of their apartments…The fascists who organized these pogroms were preparing for another extermination of tens of thousands of people. Fortunately, they didn’t have time”.[[47]](#endnote-47) The extermination of 500 Jews in Taganrog was detailed in an article by Martina Merzhanova and published in *Pravda*.[[48]](#endnote-48)

 Many reports indicated that the Jews were Hitler’s main victims, although they were not the only ones. And if the non-Jews were killed because of past activities, sabotage, or even intimidation, the Jews were killed purely for ethnic reasons. In an article on 26 September, the historian Grigory Anpilogov wrote: “…Special teams of stormtroopers and Gestapo have been created with the responsibility of mercilessly destroying communists, commissars, partisans, Jews, saboteurs, Soviet workers, activists, etc.”.[[49]](#endnote-49) Some authors or editors at various newspapers didn’t want or were afraid to draw an ethnic line between the victims. The secretary of the board of directors of the Union of Latvian Writers Yanis Niedre published details of killings in towns in Latvia without pointing out that most of the dead were Jews. However, in the last paragraph, he writes: “In Soviet Latvia, the fascists have brutally killed almost all the Jews”. He then goes on to provide details for several cities.[[50]](#endnote-50)

 Many crime reports personalized the Slavic victims by adding first and last names. The authorities used such tactics to try to counter the German propaganda claiming that only Jews and communists were being killed. The names of Jewish victims were rarely identified unless the deceased happened to be a well-known doctor, artist, or scientist. In 1942, for example, the newspaper *Krasny Flot* reported on the killing of Naum Balaban, who was the head of a psychiatric hospital in Simferopol.[[51]](#endnote-51) In 1943, the same newspaper reported on the murder in Pyatigorsk of Matvej Kolesnikov, a distinguished doctor of the RSFSR.[[52]](#endnote-52)

 **Periodicals in 1942**

 In 1942, following Stalin’s lead, Soviet ideologues continued to represent racial theory as a natural evolutionary step of imperialist society.[[53]](#endnote-53) Supposedly, it was only thanks to the revolution that tsarist Russia managed to escape fascism. In March 1942, the historian Sergej Kovalyov wrote: “Tsarism taught the Russian people to have contempt for foreigners. Tsarist *oprichniks* organized bloody Jewish pogroms. But fascism, with its hateful racial theories, its medieval Jewish ghettos, and its mass killing of Jews, has left tsarism far behind”.[[54]](#endnote-54) Further building on Stalin’s premise that fascism is a manifestation of imperialism, the philosopher A. Leontyev argued that, in Germany, the highest race is represented only by the capitalist elite, not all German people, and for them, race theory is only a tool for distracting the masses from the class struggle. Further, he writes: “The Nazis made their anti-Semitic pogrom preaching the most important element of their system of fooling and deceiving the masses…Mockery and persecution of the Jews, unpunished robberies and murders of innocent people – all of this served as a kind of university of atrocity”.[[55]](#endnote-55)

 On 6 January 1942, a note by Molotov, the People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs, was sent to all embassies located in the USSR “regarding the widespread thieving, ravaging of the population, and monstrous atrocities by the German authorities on the Soviet territories taken by them”. Based on the facts published in the article by Stepanenko, either Molotov himself or someone acting on his behalf awkwardly reworded the memo so that it looked more like: “German bandits killed and tore to pieces 52,000 men, women, elderly, and children, mercilessly disposing of all Ukrainians, Russians, and Jews who in any way showed their allegiance to Soviet power”. It seems the Jews were not killed exclusively for ethnic reasons, but, as with everyone else, they were killed because of their loyalty to the Kremlin. It is unlikely that Molotov would have consciously decided not to accuse the Nazis of a racist approach to the Jewish question[[56]](#endnote-56) – this would have contradicted the chosen propaganda line. That there was no such refusal can be seen not only from new articles in the press, but also from his own note, which contained the story of the killing of Jews in Kyiv, including children of all ages, as well as statistical data on the murder of Jews in Lviv, Odesa, Kamenets-Podolsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Mariupol, and Kerch. At the same time, while reporting about executions in several different cities, Molotov did not specify the ethnic composition of the victims, among whom Jews constituted the overwhelming majority. This note was published in several newspapers.[[57]](#endnote-57)

 In the same issue of *Pravda* that contained the Molotov Note, there was an article by Martina Merzhanova titled “In Liberated Feodosia”, which reported: “…All the Jews of the city were ordered to make their way to the anti-tank ditch by the sea. There, the children were taken from their mothers and had a kind of soporific applied to their lips and, now sleeping, were returned to their mothers. And then, gunfire. The killed and wounded, together with the living sleeping children, were then buried in a hole”.[[58]](#endnote-58) A correspondent for *Krasny Flot*, Simone Livshits, also wrote of Feodosia: “…Then the Jewish population were ordered to appear at the meeting point, taking only what they could carry and only enough food for two days. The gathered Jews were led out of the city where, along the road, they were beaten with gunstocks and whips. The Germans opened fire on them with three machine guns. …The fascist monsters committed similar violence upon 230 Crimeans”.[[59]](#endnote-59)

 Somewhat earlier, *Pravda* wrote about the Holocaust in Kerch: “Every day the bodies of executed Jews lay strewn about the cemetery. Many of the corpses had heads, arms, or jaws torn off”.[[60]](#endnote-60) The poet and journalist Alexander Romm, brother of a famous film director, provided these details: “The Germans posted an order on buildings in Kerch stating ‘All Jews, regardless of age, must appear in Sennaya Square on 29 November. Bring all documentation and three days’ rations. …They were taken to prison”. The author went on to describe the conditions there and the stages of the acts of destruction.[[61]](#endnote-61) At the same time, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* published a letter from surviving Kerch doctors with Jewish surnames. The letter, which had obviously had the ethnicity of the victims redacted, reported: “Order Number 4 in the city of Kerch required thousands of citizens, regardless of gender or age, to gather at Sennaya Square with three days’ worth of provisions. All those who gathered were taken to prison. Then…they were brutally executed”.[[62]](#endnote-62) The crowning moment of the memorialization of the victims of Kerch was a poem published in *Krasnaya Zvezda* by the poet Ilya Selvinsky called “I Saw It”.[[63]](#endnote-63) The poem contains the lines: “And here is a tormented Jewish woman, her child by her side…Now the enemy is powerless against them…”. The verse ends with the lines: “Seven thousand bodies!... Jews…Slavs…There are no words for this. Fire! Only fire!”. The fact that Jews were listed before Slavs was outside the normally accepted protocol of the time.

 On January 1, 1942, *Pravda* published an article by N. Ilyinsy stating: “The Nazis drove them to the ghetto, banned the Jews from going to the market or city center, required them to wear humiliating armbands. In Kaluga, the times of the Black Hundred Jewish pogroms have returned”.[[64]](#endnote-64) On January 10th, *Vechernyaya Moskva* reported on the murder of a large Jewish family named Baum (10 people) in Plavsk and that in Odoev in the same region of Tula, Jews were ordered to wear armbands with a blue five-pointed star and to perform heavy labor.[[65]](#endnote-65) On 15 January, *Pravda* published an order found during the liberation of Kalinin written by Walter von Reichenau, commander of the German Sixth Army, in which he pointed out the need to rid the Germans of the Asian-Jewish danger.[[66]](#endnote-66) Karlov, who was nearby in a partisan regiment, wrote of the Holocaust in Smolensk: “Recently, the Germans committed another bloody massacre against the Jews. They were all driven to Sadka Street. …From there they were taken in closed buses to Gedeonovka where a large pit had already been prepared…The dead were buried together with the living, and for some time the earth swayed amidst the sound of moans. This was the fate of 1,860 Jews – women, children, elderly”.[[67]](#endnote-67)

 On 12 September, *Pravda* reported: “In February in Pskov, all Jews were summoned – women, children, and the elderly – and all of them, nearly a thousand people, were brutally tortured in a quarry in the village of Vaulina…”.[[68]](#endnote-68) This article was notable as the first to inform the wider public about Hitler’s policy toward the Roma: “Now, the German gendarmerie in the vicinity of Pskov has set about the destruction of the Roma, who, according to fascist race theory, must be exterminated in the first wave”.[[69]](#endnote-69)

 On the 25th of January, *Krasny Flot* published an article by Ivan Miroshnichenko which stated: “After entering Yevpatoria, the Nazis carried out mass executions of Jews there. The fascists struck children in the head with their gunstocks”.[[70]](#endnote-70) Several days later, the same newspaper published an excerpt from a diary found in Crimea belonging to a German officer named Erich Heise. On 26 September, there was the following entry: “Yesterday the SS shot 160 Jewish civilians…”. On 14 October, he wrote: “At lunchtime, a transport left with 1,900 people, 834 of whom arrived only this morning. I directed the Jews to the stormtroopers, having first taken their coats and boots”. On 4 December, Heise took part in another mass execution of Jews.[[71]](#endnote-71) On April 10th, *Krasny Flot* published a summary from a Crimean partisan newspaper, which mentioned the execution of all the Jews from Sudak by Romanian soldiers.[[72]](#endnote-72) In May, an article by Mejer Kogut described the persecutions in Simferopol: “Jews who, by chance, survived the massacre were moved by the fascists to a specially chosen region in the outskirts of the city. Even now the German thugs are still methodically exterminating the Jewish population”.[[73]](#endnote-73)

 On 4 February, *Pravda* published an article about victims in Lozov (Kharkiv region) that reported: “The Nazis carried out a terrible massacre of Jewish people. By order of the German command, all Jews were gathered in an empty lot and shot”.[[74]](#endnote-74) On the same day, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* also wrote about the execution of Jews in Lozov.[[75]](#endnote-75) On April 15th, Ivan Miroshnichenko reported in *Krasny Flot* that on the first day after taking Taganrog, the fascists executed nearly 3,000 Jews there.[[76]](#endnote-76) Several months later, the same author reported on the execution of 9,000 Jews in Mariupol.[[77]](#endnote-77)

 The February 4th *Izvestia* contained an article by Lev Dubrovitsky telling of the execution of Jews in Starobin (Minsk region).[[78]](#endnote-78) In an article published on April 15th, Petr Lidov briefly reported on the execution of the Jewish population in Minsk.[[79]](#endnote-79) *Pravda* correspondent Michael Sivolobov, a specialist in partisan units, wrote about the condition of Jews in the Minsk ghetto and about the constant liquidations there.[[80]](#endnote-80) Several days later, he reported the extermination in Bobruisk, Starobin, and Lyuban of 20,000, 700, and 700 Jews respectively, and also all of the Jews in Glussk, Parichi, Ozarichi, Domanovichi, and Stariye Dorogi.[[81]](#endnote-81)

 On 24 April, *Pravda* published an article about a press conference for foreign correspondents citing a speech by the second deputy People’s Commissar for Foreign Affairs and deputy leader of the Sovinformburo Solomon Lozovsky with the statement: “Hitler has made it his task to destroy the Jewish people and he puts this into action in occupied countries and regions, completely exterminating the Jewish population”.[[82]](#endnote-82) On 28 April, newspapers published a new Molotov Note “On the monstrous atrocities, brutalities, and violence of the German-fascist invaders in occupied Soviet regions and on the responsibility of the German government and military command for these crimes”. However, Jews were not singled out in the note; in reports of mass executions, they were represented as “civilians”.[[83]](#endnote-83)

 In May of 1942, many newspapers published an appeal “to Jews of the whole world” from representatives of the second meeting of “representatives of the Jewish people”. In particular, the appeal stated: “In the cities they have captured, the Nazis are martyring Jews, Jewish women, Jewish children, and Jewish elders. Before they kill them, the Nazis torture the men, rape the women, and beat the children in front of their mothers. They bury the living and then mock their graves”.[[84]](#endnote-84) In June, newspapers published a large article by the writer Michael Sholokhov, in which he retold the story of a former prisoner-of-war. According to the story, a German officer pulled prisoners from a formation who appeared to him to be Jews and shot them.[[85]](#endnote-85) This unequivocally showed that Jews were shot based on race.

 I. Pavlovsky wrote in February: “The fascists subject the Jews to a particularly subtle persecution. In Krasav (Latvia), the Germans shot all the adult Jews, and buried the children alive”.[[86]](#endnote-86) The murder of 25,000 Jews by the Nazis in the Latvian SSR and the displacement to the Riga ghetto of 29,000 Jews were reported by *Izvestia* on 20 June, citing the Federation of Jewish Charitable Communities in London, who originally received their information from a refugee.[[87]](#endnote-87) A report published in the same issue from the Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Latvian SSR Vilis Latsis spoke of the execution of the Jewish population in Latgale (a historical region in eastern Latvia).[[88]](#endnote-88)

 Throughout 1942, the Soviet press continued to publish reports on the Holocaust in other countries. In May, TASS reported on the crimes of Hungarian soldiers in Yugoslavia: “In a concentration camp near Subotica, 15,000 Serbs and Jews – men, women, and children – live outside behind a barbed wire fence without food or drink. The captives were forced to eat grass and drink their own urine”.[[89]](#endnote-89) In August, TASS reported that the French Prime Minister Pierre Laval was helping the Nazis deport 10,000 French Jews to a concentration camp in Eastern Europe.[[90]](#endnote-90) In September, TASS further reported the violent arrest of 28,000 Jews in France.[[91]](#endnote-91)

 On 10 December, TASS distributed a story about an appeal made to Roosevelt from American Jewish organizations, which spoke of the extermination of two million European Jews and the deadly threat to five million others. The president replied that on the day of reckoning, he would hold the guilty to strict account.[[92]](#endnote-92) Possibly as a result of this appeal, a joint declaration “On the extermination of the Jewish population of Europe” was released on 18 December by the governments of Belgium, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Greece, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, the USA, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the French National Committee.[[93]](#endnote-93)

 On 19 December, the front pages of newspapers ran an extensive statement called “On the implementation of the Nazi plan for the execution of the Jewish population of Europe”, which was authored by the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Affairs reporting to Molotov. After a review of the dynamics of the Jewish extermination in Europe, mainly in Poland, it went on to describe the situation in occupied territories in the USSR. Central to the article was a sentence with its second half highlighted in bold: “Moreover, the Nazis and their accomplices are rapidly carrying out their specific plan for the complete elimination of the Jewish population in the occupied territories of Europe”. It reported further that Hitler intended, by the end of 1942, to put four million Jews in concentration camps in Poland and then exterminate them. The article provided details that demonstrated the Soviet government’s high level of access to information. For example, it reported on the use of Hungarian Jews in special work battalions for various dangerous or difficult tasks, such as clearing minefields. For the first time, the article also provided specific numbers of murdered Jews in Radom, Kielce, Chenstochowa, Petrokov, Riga, Sarny, Lutsk, Rokitno, Berezno, Kostopol, among others.[[94]](#endnote-94) During this time, central newspapers were publishing reviews of Western coverage of the Holocaust by media and politicians.[[95]](#endnote-95) A statement issued from the chairman of the World Jewish Congress reported that Hitler had given the order to execute all four million Jews in Europe (80% of whom were in Poland) and that half of them had already been exterminated.[[96]](#endnote-96)

 In January 1942, citing the Overseas News Agency, TASS reported that: “The death rate in the Warsaw ghetto has reached colossal numbers. More than 400 Jews are dying daily from hunger, cold, and sickness”.[[97]](#endnote-97) In February, TASS reported that Jews in the ghettos of Warsaw and Lublin had not received food or fuel since autumn, dooming the prisoners to death. In Lomza and Jaslo, the Nazis shot 6,000 and 600 Jews respectively.[[98]](#endnote-98) In September, *Vechernyaya Moskva* reported that in the Warsaw ghetto 300-400 people were dying of hunger every day.[[99]](#endnote-99) On December 13th, a note was published from the Polish government reporting that more than one-third of the 3,130,000 Jews who had been living in Poland before the war had been executed.[[100]](#endnote-100) On 20 December, Boris Belogorodsky wrote: “The German soldiers are especially brutal to the Jewish population, systematically carrying out Hitler’s plan to eradicate all Jews. More than a million Jews – adults and children – have already been executed by the Germans in Poland”.[[101]](#endnote-101)

**Periodicals in 1943**

 The balanced approach of calling out the Jews as victims of the Nazi massacres was especially evident in short newspaper reports from the territorial offices of the ChGK (Chrezvychainaya Gosudarstvennaya Komissiya, Extraordinary State Commission, which was created to assess the Nazi atrocities), published in 1943-1945. Although ChGKs in almost all the liberated regions had access to materials indicating that the Jewish population was the central target of Nazi massacres, not all the short communiqués mentioned the Jews. These short reports for newspapers were prepared by Agitprop, and the decision of whether to mention the Jews or not rested with its boss Georgy Aleksandrov.[[102]](#endnote-102) As we will see later, in 1944-1945, brochures and books were printed in the USSR containing details compiled by the ChGK, in several of which Jews were identified as the primary victims. It turns out that the government had a stricter approach to calling out Jewish victims, specifically in newspapers, which were more accessible to the reading public.

 Karel Berkhoff believes that from 1943, Soviet Jews were rarely mentioned among the victims. As evidence, he points to a short report published in *Pravda* by the ChGK titled “Atrocities of the German-fascist cannibals in Rostov-on-Don”, and also to Stalin’s use of the phrase ‘civilians’ in 1943 when referring to the victims.[[103]](#endnote-103) In fact, compared to 1941-1942, in 1943 Jews were not less frequently mentioned in reports about victims. In January 1943, *Izvestia* published a letter to Stalin from Samuel Chobrutsky, the head of the Moscow Jewish Community. After assurances of love for the leader and the Red Army, as well as relating a personal donation to the defense fund and a call to Jews to follow his example, Chobrutsky wrote: “I cannot unsee the shadows of millions of my murdered Jewish brothers nor their innocent spilled blood, I cannot unhear their voices calling out for revenge…”.[[104]](#endnote-104)

 Also in January, a piece was published in *Trud* about the murder of Jews in Velikiye Luki.[[105]](#endnote-105) At the beginning of February, *Krasny Flot* published an article describing the murder of more than 300 Jews in Elista.[[106]](#endnote-106) Also in February, *Izvestia* reported the execution of 400 Jews in Kursk.[[107]](#endnote-107) In April, central newspapers published a short memorandum from the ChGK in the Smolensky region that reported the execution of a hundred Jews in Sychevka[[108]](#endnote-108), however, the exterminations of Jews in other parts of this region were ignored.

 In February, a correspondent from TASS wrote that in Rostov-on-Don the Nazis had executed 15,000-18,000 Jews.[[109]](#endnote-109) In the same month, many newspapers published an open letter to Stalin from the Rostov-on-Don authorities stating that the fascists had exterminated thousands of Jews in the region.[[110]](#endnote-110) In September, Ruvim Moran mentioned the extermination of all Jews living in Taganrog.[[111]](#endnote-111) Also in September, an appeal to Stalin from the residents of Taganrog was published referencing the total extermination of the Jewish population.[[112]](#endnote-112) On the other hand, on 17 December 1943, *Pravda* dedicated more than a page to the court proceedings in the trial of Germans responsible for the mass murders in Kharkiv and Taganrog and didn’t even mention the Jews.[[113]](#endnote-113)

 In February, *Izvestia* published a large article by Olga Voitinskaya about letters from partisans in Eastern Belarus sent by plane from behind enemy lines. Special attention was given to a letter from a member of the Young Communists League named Vera, who related to one of her brothers-in-arms that during the execution of the Jews, she ran into the forest. They fired shots at her but missed. All her family were killed. Vera would sometimes stay with classmates and often suffered from hunger until she joined the partisan detachment.[[114]](#endnote-114) A. Verbitsky wrote an article in August about the occupation of Gomel, stating: “First, they completely destroyed the families of communists, front-line soldiers, and Jews”.[[115]](#endnote-115) At the end of December, *Krasnaya Zvezda* published an article reporting that during the first year of the occupation of Gorval, the Nazis killed all the Jews, including small children.[[116]](#endnote-116) At the same time, excerpts from a German corporal’s notebook were published, in which he wrote about the execution of 250 Jews in Stary Bykhov.[[117]](#endnote-117)

 Within the context of references to the extermination of Jews, an excerpt from an article by the prose writer and war correspondent Boris Yampolsky stands out for its breadth. Thrown in among the Belorussian partisans for a month, he was able to learn much about the Holocaust: “…A strange person comes toward me. Young, but with gray hair, he is carrying a violin and a rifle. It is the famous Jewish violinist and poet S. Just before the war he and his wife returned from a tour of the Netherlands, Belgium, and South America. He alone survived the ghetto of the Jewish town of Lokhva in Western Belarus. The fate of the Jews in Belarus is horrible. In the woods, I met refugees from Brest, Minsk, Grodno, Slutsk, Gomel, and Lepel. All of them said the same thing: there is not one Jew left alive anywhere – neither old nor young. In some places they burned them alive, in others they led them out to the outer regions and shot them with rifles next to the anti-tank ditches. In Starye Dorogi, they were passed through an electric stove and were electrocuted. I, myself, saw this electric stove with my own eyes. In Bobruisk and Mozyr, they were poisoned in gas chambers. In the woods, I met Jews from Warsaw, Hamburg, Budapest, Rotterdam, Vienna – lone survivors out of hundreds of thousands who were brought here to work and then tortured, shot, and buried alive”.[[118]](#endnote-118)

 On 20 February, the authorities of one of the liberated regions in Voroshilovogradsky district wrote in an open letter to Stalin: “In the village of Novonikolsky a kolkhoz shepherd, Parmid David, was tortured and shot just for being a Jew”.[[119]](#endnote-119) In July, F. Artyushenko wrote in an article that in November of the previous year, the invaders executed more than 3,000 Jews in the outskirts of Voroshilovograd.[[120]](#endnote-120) In the latter part of February 1943, D. Antonov, G. Krylov, and Yakov Tsvetov (real surname Tseitlin) published articles in which they mentioned the extermination of 14,000 Jews in Kharkiv.[[121]](#endnote-121) In November, *Ogonek* mentioned the extermination of all Jews in a prisoner-of-war camp in Khopol (Poltava region).[[122]](#endnote-122) However, in *Izvestia* on 18 December, the writer Leonid Leonov, referring to a trial of Nazi criminals in Kharkiv, only mentioned Jews as being among other victims; and the Ukrainian writer Maxim Rylksky, in an article “The Trial of the Death Chambers” didn’t mention them at all, while promising punishment for the murder of 30,000 Kharkivians: “But none of the executioners, murderers, and torturers of the Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Russian – Soviet people – will escape this [punishing – A.K.] sword”.[[123]](#endnote-123)

 In April, A. Krutov mentioned the extermination of Jews in Odesa in 1941.[[124]](#endnote-124) On 27 October, A. Alinin reported the murder of more than 20,000 Jews in an article about Dnepropetrovsk.[[125]](#endnote-125) Talking about the liberation of Kyiv in *Krasnaya Zvezda*, Konstantin Bukovsky on 6 November mentioned the extermination of tens of thousands of Jews there.[[126]](#endnote-126) Two weeks later, the same newspaper published a large article by Alexander Avdeenko and Petr Olender titled “Babi Yar”. And, although it mentions that the German authorities ordered not only Jews but communists and “workers in Soviet institutions” to gather at the assembly point, it is clear from the description of the rows of people marching to the place of execution that the overwhelming majority were Jews.[[127]](#endnote-127)

 In February, Anatoly Kalinin wrote that in Stavropol all the Jews had been executed. Further, the author claimed that the goal was the execution of the entire population of the city.[[128]](#endnote-128) A short report from the ChGK in Stavropolsky region on 5 August 1943 reported the execution of 2,000 Jews in Kislovodsk.[[129]](#endnote-129) At the same time, a detailed article, “Brown Nightshade”, was published by a member of this commission, Alexej Tolstoy, in which he wrote: “In North Caucasus, the Germans killed the entire Jewish population, the majority of whom had been evacuated during the war from Leningrad, Odesa, Ukraine, and the Crimea”. This was followed by a story about the persecution and extermination of Jews in Mineralnye Vody, Essentuki, Pyatigorsk, Stavropol, and Kislovodsk.[[130]](#endnote-130) Perhaps this was the most dramatic description of the Holocaust in the USSR in all the war years, but apparently, someone “at the top” considered this to be too much, so in December of the same year, Tolstoy’s article about the atrocities in Kharkiv emphasized the murder of Russians, but the Jews were not mentioned at all.[[131]](#endnote-131) In May, an article was published by F. Medvedev, in which he told of the extermination in Armavir (Krasnodar region) of three and a half thousand Jews.[[132]](#endnote-132) In August, G. Tarasenko published an article on the extermination of Jews in mobile gas chambers in occupied Sevastopol.[[133]](#endnote-133)

 In April, a large article by Vilis Latsis was published, in which he noted the murder of all Jews and Roma in the cities and villages of Latgale.[[134]](#endnote-134) A week later, *Pravda* published an article citing *The Manchester Guardian* that contained a short report of the extermination of Jews in Riga.[[135]](#endnote-135) In July, TASS reported from Stockholm that a pro-fascist newspaper in Kaunas complained that Lithuanians were providing food and money to Jews who had been driven into the ghetto.[[136]](#endnote-136) In August, *Vechernyaya Moskva*, citing a Swiss newspaper, wrote about the extermination of Jews in the Baltic countries.[[137]](#endnote-137)

 Many times in 1943, newspapers published reports about the extermination of Jews in Poland, citing the news agency Reuters and English newspapers.[[138]](#endnote-138) In April, V. Lvovsky writes about the situation in Poland and references the extermination of almost 2 million Jews there.[[139]](#endnote-139) In December, M. Mikhailov wrote an article about Poland: “The Germans confined the Jews to the ghetto and systematically exterminated them”.[[140]](#endnote-140) However, he didn’t even mention the Warsaw ghetto uprising. In the same year, TASS reported several times from Istanbul about Bulgarian anger over the deportation of Macedonian and Thracian Jews through Bulgaria to Poland for extermination and the use of Bulgarian Jews in heavy forced labor.[[141]](#endnote-141)

 Stories of Jewish resistance in occupied territories were not very welcome, but another important reason for its rare mention was the scarcity of information. However, other than quotations from speakers at Jewish anti-fascist rallies and several articles by Ehrenburg, Grossman, and Poletskis, which are discussed below, the exception was the Warsaw ghetto uprising. On 1 June, citing the press agency Reuters, TASS reported: “For more than three weeks, storm troops and German army units have besieged the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw and are hitting it with heavy gunfire. German planes have brought down a hail of high-explosive and incendiary bombs on the quarters of the ghetto…The population of the ghetto fights back against the Germans, setting fire to industrial concerns and German military supply warehouses. More than 1,000 Germans have been killed in street fighting. All regions of the ghetto are surrounded by police…”.[[142]](#endnote-142)

 In 1943, Ehrenburg’s articles concerning the extermination of Jews were also published, as we will see below. In 1943, newspapers continued to keep their readers up to date with reactions to the Holocaust abroad. These were statements from parliaments or government institutions condemning the mass killing of Jews and demanding the punishment of the criminal perpetrators.[[143]](#endnote-143) In November, the central newspapers published a speech from the U.S. Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, addressing the American Congress. It particularly referenced the tripartite conference in Moscow, which issued a joint declaration about the responsibility of the Nazi leadership for crimes against “people of all races and religions, of which the most terrible of Hitler’s wrath was brought upon the Jews”.[[144]](#endnote-144)

**Periodical Publications in 1944 and the First Half of 1945**

 In this period, short reports from the ChGK were often published about the Nazi’s atrocities, which were less about the Holocaust than the reports from correspondents visiting the liberated cities. On 11 March 1944, on behalf of the ChGK, newspapers published directives from the head of the Reich Security Main Office, Reinhardt Heydrich, on the extermination of various categories of the Soviet population; paragraph 8 specifically called out “Soviet-Russian intellectuals and Jews”.[[145]](#endnote-145)

 In April of 1944, the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee gathered in Moscow for the third meeting of “representatives of the Jewish people”. The reports indicate that speakers largely talked about the contribution of Jews to the resistance, although there was some mention of genocide victims. Before moving on to the topic of the resistance, Ehrenburg said that there were no more Jews in Kyiv, Warsaw, Prague, or Amsterdam. And a quote from Fefer’s report included the phrase: “The fascists want not only to exterminate our people; they would have us disappear in shame…”.[[146]](#endnote-146)

 On July 9, 1944, during the Vilnius operation, the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR Yustas Poletskis wrote: “The Jews did not go to their deaths resignedly but fought valiantly against the German invaders. In the Vilnius ghetto, they formed a partisan detachment…Breaking free from the ghetto, the Jewish partisans derailed the troop train and blew it up with mines they made in the same ghetto…”.[[147]](#endnote-147) Jews from the ghetto were exterminated in a suburb of Vilnius called Panary (now Paneriai). After their liberation, two women who had fled there and gone into hiding with a Lithuanian family, told a correspondent from TASS, Evgeny Patner, about the extermination of tens of thousands of Jews.[[148]](#endnote-148) Leonid Vysokoostrovsky wrote that three Jews he met in Vilnius were all that remained of the Jewish population of the city.[[149]](#endnote-149) Immediately after the liberation of the city, Kostas Korsakas also mentioned the ghetto and the extermination of its prisoners.[[150]](#endnote-150) At the end of August, *Vechernyaya Moskva* reported on the mass killings in Ponary, including all the Jews in the Vilnius ghetto.[[151]](#endnote-151) At the beginning of August, correspondents from *Izvestia* wrote that immediately after the occupation of Kaunas, 30,000 Jews were exterminated.[[152]](#endnote-152) In early October 1944, *Vechernyaya Moskva* mentioned the extermination of Jews, among other ethnicities, in Narva (Estonia).[[153]](#endnote-153)

 In June 1944, the director Alexander Tairov told *Literatur i Iskustva* about his meeting with the poet-partisan Avrom Sutzkever from whom he learned about the conditions the 80,000 trapped Jews had to endure, and how, despite the daily reprisals and bullying, the prisoners continued to live; they existed there in four underground theaters.[[154]](#endnote-154) In October, in the same newspaper, Sutzkever himself wrote a large article describing the extermination of Jews in Vilnius. Viewing this liquidation as part of Hitler’s overall program of extermination of the Jews and their culture, the author touched on the invaders’ destruction of ancient scrolls, Jewish archives, and gravestones at the Šnipiškės cemetery. He further wrote about the armed prisoner resistance in the ghetto, and how a task group managed to save some of the Jewish archives, books, and artifacts, as well as Mark Antakolsky’s sculpture “David”.[[155]](#endnote-155)

 In contrast to these publications and what Ehrenburg wrote in Ponary (see below), a short statement from the ChGK of the Lithuanian SSR published in December of this year was almost completely silent about the Holocaust. Reporting the extermination of Soviet citizens in Ponary, Fort No. 9, and other places, the statement mentioned Jews only once, listing them last among the victims after five other ethnicities.[[156]](#endnote-156) However, in *Pravda* on the first page of the same issue, the editors presented the destruction somewhat differently: “The Nazis…began with executing all the Jews. Then they began to fill the graves with people of all nations – anyone who lived in Lithuania”.[[157]](#endnote-157)

 Unlike Lithuania and some other regions, the newspaper statement from the ChGK on Latvia, published in April 1945, was given a separate section – “Bloody massacre by the Germans against the Jewish population of the Latvian SSR”. This was the most complete regional summary of the Holocaust printed during the war. It gave examples of the extermination of Jews, talked of the conditions in the Riga ghetto, the events that took place there, and the sites of executions; it also reported witness accounts from the Daugavpils ghetto and told of the sterilization of Jewish women in mixed marriages.[[158]](#endnote-158)

 In August of 1944, *Vechernyaya Moskva* published an article from a TASS correspondent from Pskov reporting that the invaders had executed 3,000 Jews of the city near the Vaulinsky Heights.[[159]](#endnote-159) In the same month, while reporting on the exterminations in Pinsk in October 1942, Andrei Tsetsorin listed Jews last among those killed. Because of this understatement, the reader may have been confused as to why two families – the Ratnovskys and Kuifs – who figured later in the story, ran from the line of those marching to their execution and hid in the small basement of two old women for twenty months.[[160]](#endnote-160) The writer Pavel Blyakhin spoke with these old Polish women on 23 July. In his diary, he refers to the rescued as “two Jewish families – Kupner and Radnovsky”.[[161]](#endnote-161)

 In early July 1944, the film director Mikol Sadkovich published an article “Unconquered Minsk”, where he wrote of the ghetto: “Everything was here: violence and humiliation, torture and death. On the first night of the pogrom, the Nazis executed more than 15,000 Jews, and for several months in 1941-1942 they exterminated 92,000 Jews…”.[[162]](#endnote-162) A few days later, after the liberation of the city, the correspondent A. Mitrokhin stated that the entire Jewish population had been executed.[[163]](#endnote-163) In the same issue, the newspaper *Vechernyaya Moskva,* in an editorial column about Minsk, reported on the extermination of all Jews.[[164]](#endnote-164) On the same day, the well-known biblical scholar Nikolai Nikolsky, an eyewitness to the events in Minsk, wrote in *Krasny Flot* of the complete extermination of all Jews.[[165]](#endnote-165)

 The chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Belarussian SSR Panteleimon Ponomarenko pointed out that among the 120,000 victims in Minsk were “several tens of thousands of Jews transported to the Minsk ghetto from Hamburg”, but did not mention local Jews.[[166]](#endnote-166) On the same newspaper page was an article by the writer Vadim Kozhevnikov, who, in an article about the Minsk victims, spoke more concretely: “To this place…the fascists executioners brought the Jewish population from all over Europe. And, defenseless, the innocents were killed in ‘gas chambers’ in Trostyanets region”.[[167]](#endnote-167) At the beginning of August, an open letter to Stalin from the residents of Minsk was published, which spoke of the extermination in Minsk of all the local Jews – 50,000 people and deported Jews from Hamburg, Warsaw, and Lodz – and another 40,000 people.[[168]](#endnote-168) In September of the same year, central newspapers published a short report from the ChGK in Minsk on the ghetto in the western part of the city, and of the 100,000 Jews there and their subsequent humiliation and execution.[[169]](#endnote-169)

 In March 1945, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* published a letter to a soldier at the front from a recovering comrade. He called for revenge for Belarus and noted that in his native town of Senno, Vitebsky region, the Germans had executed around 300 Jews.[[170]](#endnote-170) In April of the same year, *Krasny Flot* reported on a girl named Lyuba Krechmar, whose family had perished together with other Jews in Minsk, while she had been sent to a prison camp in Sopot, not far from Gdynia. She recounted: “Only around ten to fifteen of us survived, and even then, we were left unable to walk”.[[171]](#endnote-171) This was probably a reference to Nazi experiments. At the end of May, the central newspapers published a statement from the chairman of the Belarussian delegation to a United Nations conference in San Francisco, Kuzma Kiselyov, who pointed out that in his republic the fascists had exterminated around 400,000 Jews.[[172]](#endnote-172) One day earlier, at the same conference, the chairman of the Ukrainian delegation, Dmitri Manuilsky, referenced the total extermination of Jews in Ukraine.[[173]](#endnote-173)

 Perhaps the most detailed and dramatic picture of the massacre of the Jews was presented to readers by Boris Glebov in July 1944: “For three years, the occupying Germans almost completely wiped out the Jewish population of Glubokoye and the whole Vileisky region…First, they executed the Jews in villages, hamlets, and towns. The only ones left living were doctors and qualified craftsmen. But then it was their turn. In the summer of 1942, up to 2,000 Jews of all ages, some carrying babies, were marched to the market square in the city of Glubokoye. Suddenly, guns hidden behind the houses opened fire. …The survivors were squeezed into the ghetto in a quarter near the market on Vilenskaya Street to be dealt with later…”.[[174]](#endnote-174) In February 1945, TASS printed a witness account from a captured German officer for the New York Times about the extermination of 15,000 Jews in Brest from September to December 1942.[[175]](#endnote-175)

 Much has been published about the Holocaust in Romanian-controlled Transnistria. In April 1944, immediately after the liberation of Odesa, two articles by Vladimir Rudny were published, which described in some detail the extermination of 54,000 Odesan Jews as well as Jews from Bessarabia and Moldova by the Germans and Romanians in Berezovka, Domanevka, Bolshoi Vradievka, and Bogdanovka.[[176]](#endnote-176) V. Kurbatov mentioned the shooting of tens of thousands of Odesan Jews in these same places.[[177]](#endnote-177) In late May, the writer Leonid Sobolev reported on the extermination of 54,000 Jews of the Odesa region and Bessarabia by Romanians in Bogdanovka.[[178]](#endnote-178) At the same time, Tatyana Tess wrote about the Romanian general who said, right after the occupation of Odesa, that all Jews would be exterminated.[[179]](#endnote-179) But in the Report of the ChGK for Odesa Region published in June, in the section on executions, Jews were listed only as “Soviet citizens”.[[180]](#endnote-180)

 In April 1944, Leonid Kudrevaty wrote of the deportation of Jews from Moldova and Northern Bukovina to the Bershad ghetto. In 1941 and 1942 alone, according to former prisoners, nearly 20,000 Jews died of typhus and hunger. Children died of thirst, and many prisoners were shot by the German and Romanian soldiers.[[181]](#endnote-181) In June 1944, the writer Ilya Konstantinovky published his essay on the liberation of Moldova. He told about the Romanians robbing the Roma and shooting many of them, and also of the deportation of Bessarabian Jews to the death camps at Transnistria.[[182]](#endnote-182) In September 1944, Anatoly Kalinin wrote from Romania that there were rumors of hundreds of Yassi Jews being taken away and killed in an extermination camp near Lublin.[[183]](#endnote-183)

 On 17 May 1945, TASS reported on the trial of thirty-eight military prisoners in Romania. In the indictment brought against the governor of Bukovina, General Kalotesku, it was written that, together with his assistants, he was guilty of the murder of 44,000 Jews deported to Transnistria. Another accused was Izopesku, the prefect of Galati County. He was charged with the extermination of more than 50,000 Jews, 4,000-5,000 of whom were burned alive. Several other Romanian officers were charged with lesser Jewish mass murders and robberies.[[184]](#endnote-184) The following day, military judge Manase was charged with signing the order to exterminate 16,000 Odessa Jews, and Izopesku was additionally charged with the execution of 72,000 Jews in four concentration camps in Transnistria.[[185]](#endnote-185) The next day, in a court in Bucharest, there was testimony that 16,000 Jews in Berlovka and 8,000 in Bershad had been shot on the order of the Romanian administration in October 1941.[[186]](#endnote-186)

 On January 8, 1944, authors describing the liberation of Berdichev mentioned the execution of 300 Jews there. Their children were burned in bonfires built in excavated pits. They referenced tens of thousands of Jews who were later executed on Bald Mountain, but without identifying the ethnicity of the victims.[[187]](#endnote-187) In April, Mikhail Shur wrote from liberated Simferopol: “The cannibals indiscriminately killed not only all the Jews and Roma but all families of mixed race. These were killed first”.[[188]](#endnote-188) In September, an article on the restoration of the Mariupol region told how local peasants fed the Jews, who were placed in specially built camps.[[189]](#endnote-189) In October, Yakov Farfel referenced the extermination of 700 Jews in the city of Khorol (Poltava region).[[190]](#endnote-190)

 In March 1944, the writer Viktor Poltoratsky, generalizing, mentioned the execution of “10,000 Ukrainians, Poles, and Jews” in a gorge near Chernivtsi.[[191]](#endnote-191) In April of the same year, with the front moving closer to Lviv, he recalled a story told by a refugee from there who said that immediately upon the arrival of the Germans, the anti-Jewish pogrom started in the city, during which thousands of women, elderly, and children were killed, with the remaining being herded to the ghetto.[[192]](#endnote-192) At the end of July, the writer Boris Lavrenyov wrote of the arrival of the Red Army to the den of the fascist beast, who would answer for the gallows, gas chambers, and victims of the ghetto; “for all the beastliness unseen since the creation of the world, we will make the Nazis pay in full”.[[193]](#endnote-193) The ChGK for Rovensky region published a short statement in May 1944 that mentioned Jewish victims only once, and then it was only after three other groups. But in December 1944, the ChGK for Lviv region published a detailed description of the conditions in the ghetto and the execution of 136,000 Jews.[[194]](#endnote-194)

 In April of 1944, TASS reported on the arrest of 50,000 Jews in Hungary.[[195]](#endnote-195) In July, TASS quoted a statement made by Cordell Hull about the mass extermination of Jews in Hungary.[[196]](#endnote-196) In October, TASS reported on preparedness for a mass execution of Jews in Hungary.[[197]](#endnote-197) In February 1945, TASS reported on the discovery of several thousand corpses in the region of a former ghetto on Kazinski Street in Budapest.[[198]](#endnote-198)

 On the 25th of July 1944, many Soviet newspapers published the “Manifest to the Polish People”, written by members of the pro-Soviet “Polish Committee for National Liberation”. In part, it talked about the German responsibility for the execution of Jews.[[199]](#endnote-199) In early August, Vasily Grossman wrote from Poland about the Jews: “Almost all were strangled or killed, from newborn babies to the very oldest people. They burned the dead bodies in ovens…I was told that there were more than 3,000 such death factories in Eastern Poland and Silesia. …One of them…in the station at Sabibur…”.[[200]](#endnote-200)

 On the 10th, 11th, and 12th of September in the same newspaper, Konstantin Simonov published a long story about a concentration camp located two kilometers from Lublin. He was obviously referring to Majdanek – the first working death camp to be liberated by the Allies. The writer spoke about the deportation of the first two thousand Jews from Lublin to the camp in the autumn of 1941. In April 1942, another 12,000 Jews and political prisoners were sent there from Slovakia. In May, they were sending transports from Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Germany, as well as from the Lublin ghetto and others nearby. In December, several thousand Jews and Greeks were delivered there from Auschwitz, and, later, Poles and Ukrainians from other places. In May 1943, a group of 60,000 arrived from the Warsaw ghetto, and in the second half of the year, prisoners from the camps at Dachau, Buchenwald, and others were sent there. The author believed that most of the prisoners were Poles, followed in equal proportions by Russians, Ukrainians, and Jews. After them came the French, Italian, Dutch, and others.[[201]](#endnote-201) According to Berkhoff, this article was read on the radio.[[202]](#endnote-202) Several days later, the writer Boris Gorbatov also published an article about Majdanek. In contrast to Simonov, he wrote more about the humiliation of the prisoners and the method of their extermination. Gorbatov didn’t provide statistics, but from his text, it may be understood that most of the victims were Jews.[[203]](#endnote-203)

 In September 1944, *Pravda* published a statement from the POW Lieutenant General Moser, who had served as field commandant in Lublin since the end of 1942. Referring to Majdanek, he said that it was called a concentration camp, or Jewish camp because the first people gathered there were mostly Jews; later other ethnic groups joined them. As a combat officer (who apparently came to Lublin after being wounded) he was always outraged at the extermination in Majdanek in 1943-1944 of hundreds of thousands of people, including women and children. Moser wrote about his willingness to provide testimony about what he knew of the atrocities and urged his subordinates to do the same.[[204]](#endnote-204)

 Immediately after the Red Army moved into Polish territory (within the 1940 borders) the Polish-Soviet Emergency Commission was created for investigating Nazi war crimes. In September 1944, the commission published a communique on Majdanek. Referring to the camp prisoners, the authors listed Jews, brought there from various European cities, as well as 4,000 Soviet Jewish POWs. Turning then to Berlin’s general policy toward the occupying territories, the authors noted that the concentration camps, including Majdanek, were also places for the indiscriminate extermination of the Jewish population.[[205]](#endnote-205) It is possible that the participation of Emil Sommerstein, who was the head of the military reparations department of the *Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego* (Polish Committee of National Liberation), as well as the Central Committee of Polish Jews,[[206]](#endnote-206) among the main participants on the commission, prevented the Agitprop from excluding Jews from the text this time. In December 1944, the trial of the captured administrators of Majdanek began. A TASS report on this cited evidence of the deportation of 40,000 Jews from the Warsaw ghetto to Majdanek for extermination.[[207]](#endnote-207)

 Majdanek is connected to one of the most dramatic publications of the Holocaust. A letter from a captured Soviet soldier, Mikhail Bezprozvanny, to his family was discovered in a barracks window groove around the end of the war in April 1945. He wrote about how he had been captured, about how he had managed to survive, about how 20,000 Jews were killed, and 300 others left behind, including him. By March 1944, at the time of writing the letter, only fifty of the three hundred remained alive. He wrote that the end was near given the camp’s liquidation. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* passed the letter on to his wife and son, who had returned to Kyiv after the evacuation; his daughter died in Tashkent, unable to survive the hardships of the evacuation.[[208]](#endnote-208)

 In January 1945, an editorial in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* wrote: “Hunger and death ruled in Warsaw. The murder of 300,000 Jews in the Warsaw ghetto…- is it possible to ever forget this!”[[209]](#endnote-209) At around the same time, the writer Natan Rybak mentioned the victims of the Warsaw Ghetto, who were suffering from hunger; but speaking of the Warsaw dead in Majdanek, Treblinka, and Auschwitz, he did not distinguish the Jews separately.[[210]](#endnote-210) In February 1945, Lev Slavin talked about routine in the Lodz ghetto, of the periodic executions, and the fact that only 900 of 250,000 prisoners survived.[[211]](#endnote-211) In March of the same year, *Stalinsky Sokol* mentioned the extermination of Jews in the Warsaw ghetto.[[212]](#endnote-212)

 The topic of resistance was also touched upon. In February 1945, *Ogonek* published the recollections of a Polish Jew about the camp “Treblinka 1”. The editorial introduction stated that Jews were brought there for extermination from all over Europe. The author described in detail the procedure for the extermination of the deported prisoners. At the beginning of August 1943, camp workers began an uprising, in which 700 Jews were killed and 200 managed to escape. Most of the fugitives were killed fighting their pursuers.[[213]](#endnote-213) On May 3, 1944, *Pravda* published a summary of a speech by the Polish physicist Ignace Zlotowski, delivered at an American-Soviet friendship rally in New York. Criticizing the actions of the Polish leadership in London, who then had a strained relationship with the Kremlin, he noted that they had yet to order the supply of weapons for the heroic rebels in the Jewish ghettos.[[214]](#endnote-214) In January 1945, Y. Olshevsky, in his article on the liberation of Warsaw, mentioned the Jewish resistance in the Warsaw ghetto.[[215]](#endnote-215)

 On March 24, 1944, TASS, citing the English Information Ministry, reported that 60,000 Jews from Greece, 50,000 from Czechoslovakia, Moravia, and Slovakia, and 60,000 from the Netherlands, Belgium, and France were taken to a crematorium in Auschwitz.[[216]](#endnote-216) In late October, TASS reported on the special abuses of Jews in Auschwitz.[[217]](#endnote-217) In November, TASS published a report from the U.S. War Refugee Board, which stated that gas chambers had killed 1.7 million Jews over two years, and 8,000 Jews from Krakov in Birkenau since March 1943.[[218]](#endnote-218) On 20 January 1945, TASS printed an extract from a Polish newspaper in London with the story from a former Polish prisoner about the immediate massacre of Jews upon arriving in Auschwitz.[[219]](#endnote-219)

 After the liberation of Auschwitz on 27 January 1945, the atrocities committed there were investigated by the Soviet ChGK with the participation of several Western European and Polish doctors and engineers. Its official report didn’t refer to the victims’ ethnicity, apart from a reference to a “gypsy camp”. Instead, it identified the nationality of the victims.[[220]](#endnote-220) For many years afterward in the USSR, if something was written about Auschwitz, it would almost always generalize the victims. However, this approach was not widespread in foreign sources about Auschwitz. In April 1945, TASS summarized a conversation between a correspondent of the Associated Press and the former chairman of the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party who talked about the extermination of 5 million Jews in Auschwitz and how he himself was sent there along with 500,000 other Hungarian Jews, of whom only 100,000, including himself, survived. Moreover, 45,000 Jews from Salonika (Greece) perished in Auschwitz, according to some of the survivors among them.[[221]](#endnote-221) When a collection of documents was published in 1946 called “Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union during the Patriotic War”, which referenced publications from the Washington War Refugee Board about the gassing of 1.7 million Jews in Auschwitz and Birkenau, editors added a phrase stating that these camps held people from all nationalities.[[222]](#endnote-222)

 At the end of March 1945, Roosevelt issued a statement that referred to the extermination of European Jews saying that the upcoming trial of those responsible would not only be for the direct murderers, but also their accomplices in satellite countries.[[223]](#endnote-223) In April, TASS, citing American newspaper correspondents reporting from liberated Buchenwald, reported that 12,500 French Jews and 2,500 Hungarian Jews had been deported there.[[224]](#endnote-224) At the end of June, Roosevelt’s address to the U.S. Congress was published, in which he referred to Hitler’s mad desire to wipe the Jewish race off the face of Europe.[[225]](#endnote-225)

**Ilya Ehrenburg’s Approach to Reporting the Holocaust**

 Jews comprised a large proportion of writers and journalists covering the war from the front – 24.2% in March 1944.[[226]](#endnote-226) Judging from the diaries left behind, the Holocaust did not leave them indifferent. Therefore, as we have already seen, they wrote disproportionately more about mass executions, and many wrote about the extermination of Jews. But several preferred to use the term “civilian” or, more often, they “diluted” Jewish victims with other ethnic groups, indicating Jews were in no way the primary victims.[[227]](#endnote-227) As an example, after the liberation of Theodosia, the TASS correspondent Mark Turovsky wrote: “Many were asked to gather their suitcases and turn up for relocation. When the summoned were gathered in one place, the fascists began to take old people, women, and children in groups and straight away abused them, shot them. This was the fate of hundreds of people – Russians, Ukrainians, and Jews”.[[228]](#endnote-228) David Novoplyansky, writing in detail about the executions in Babi Yar, used only the word “people” when referring to the prison camp victims.[[229]](#endnote-229) After the liberation of Majdanek, Evgeny Krieger, talking about the camp victims, listed them in the following order: “Russians, French, Serbs, Dutch, Jews, Poles, Ukrainians, Greek…”.[[230]](#endnote-230) The system of generalization was called for, on the one hand, out of fear of being accused of nationalism, and on the other hand from fear that anti-Semitism would grow if the population thought the German ambition to exterminate the Jews was a primary reason for the war.

 Sometimes even Ehrenburg utilized generalization. At the beginning of the war, he even asked the head of Sovinformburo (the Soviet Information Bureau) Shcherbakov to publish an article by a Russian writer, either Sholokhov or Tolstoy, exposing the myth that Hitler’s anger was directed solely at Jews. Kostyrchenko writes that this was supposedly followed by an almost complete withdrawal of information about atrocities against the Jews.[[231]](#endnote-231) In reality, this claim is false, as we have already seen above, and will see further below.

 It should be mentioned that after the German attack, notable Soviet historians and writers immediately began to invoke the heroic history of the Russian people.[[232]](#endnote-232) On July 13, 1941, Alexander Shcherbakov and Lev Mekhlis prepared a special program of publications under the name “How the Monster Hitler Perceives the Russians and Slavs”. Approved by Stalin, its first issue included twenty-one articles by famous writers, poets, historians, artists, and public figures from the Slavic community.[[233]](#endnote-233) In addition, the Slavic press campaign included additional articles and publications of appeals and calls for Slavic rallies.

 At a meeting with the Jewish public on August 24, 1941, Ehrenburg himself said: “…Hitler hates us more than anything. …They are killing children in front of their mothers”.[[234]](#endnote-234) However, in October 1941, Ehrenburg wrote that the Nazis’ statements that they hate only Jews were a lie; in fact, they hated all peoples: Russians, Serbs, Poles, and French.[[235]](#endnote-235) In July 1942, he wrote: “The Germans write in their pamphlets that they are only fighting against the Jews. Who do they think they are fooling? We all know that in Istria live only Russians, that in the villages of Orlovsky region sacked by the Germans there is not one Jew, that there are in fact few Jews in this country, and that for every Jew tortured by the Germans, there are fifty tortured Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarussians. Why do the Germans speak of Jews? They are counting on some naïve individual believing them, thinking: “I’m no Jew, nothing will happen to me”.[[236]](#endnote-236) Reporting on the details of the extermination of 1,600 Jews in Piryatin, he wrote in 1943: “Why did the Germans kill Jews? Celebrated question. In this same Piryatin, they killed hundreds of Ukrainians. They killed hundreds of Belarussians in the village of Klubovka. They are killing French in Grenoble and Greeks in Crete”.[[237]](#endnote-237) In May 1942, in an article about the SS, he wrote that even before the war, meaning before June 1941, the Nazis killed hundreds of Jewish children and hanged thousands of Poles.[[238]](#endnote-238)

 One senses that it wasn’t easy for Ehrenburg to hold on to generalization. In August 1944, he wrote: “Bolshoi Trostyanets near Minsk was one of the ‘death factories’. There they were killing Soviet soldiers, Belarussians, Jews from Minsk, from Vienna, from Prague…There were ‘death factories’ in Ponary, near Vilnius, and in Belzec, near Rava Ruska, and in Novy Dvor and Sabibur. Trainloads of Jews came from France, from the Netherlands, from Belgium…At the ‘death factories’ they killed Jews, they killed Soviet POWs, they killed Russians, Belarussians, and Poles. In Vilnius, entire streets ‘went to Ponary’. The executioners had a schedule: on some days kill Jews, on others kill Poles; there were ‘Russian days’…Jews lived in the village of Yekaterinopol; they were all killed…”.[[239]](#endnote-239) In the same month, Ehrenburg wrote: “They are not only murderers and child killers, but they have also now become genocidists, and for the first time have committed mass murder against the Jews. Having dealt with the Jews, they turned against others. Thus, in Vilnius, having killed 80,000 Jews, they killed 40,000 Poles in the same Ponary.”[[240]](#endnote-240) At the end of 1944, speaking of the executions in Devyaty Fort, he rightly pointed out that the Nazis brought 11,000 Jews there for extermination from the Kaunas ghetto. However, he referred to the Jews deported there for extermination from Western Europe as “French”, “Austrian”, “Belgian”, and “Czech”.[[241]](#endnote-241)

 From autumn 1942, Ehrenburg stepped away from the equalizing line more and more. In September 1942, in an article about France, he wrote: “Petain and Laval, acting on Hitler’s orders, began executing Jews”.[[242]](#endnote-242) In February 1943, he wrote: “In Kursk, there were 400 Jews. The Germans killed them. Jewish babies had their heads smashed against stones, thus saving cartridges…”[[243]](#endnote-243) On 24 April of the same year, he wrote about the murder of one and a half thousand Smolensk Jews in gas chambers.[[244]](#endnote-244) In October, the writer referenced the execution of Jews from Kozelets (Chernihiv region).[[245]](#endnote-245) In April 1944, according to Sutzkever, Ehrenburg talks about the killing of 80,000 Jews in the Vilnius ghetto and the resistance movement there.[[246]](#endnote-246) Ehrenburg’s stories about Jewish deaths were often accompanied by stories of Jews being saved by non-Jews.[[247]](#endnote-247)

 In July 1944, Ehrenburg talked about the extermination of 1,200 Jews in Rakov and 90,000 Jews in Panary. He wrote about the resistance in Vilnius: “In the ghetto, where the condemned Jews were held, there was an underground operation…They set about their work: they set fire to German warehouses, buried mines on the train tracks, killed Germans when they could. They planned an armed escape from the ghetto…500 Jewish boys and girls managed to escape. They joined a partisan detachment…I saw Vilnius university students Rakhil Mendelson and Emma Gorfinkel with hand grenades, girls, who knew literature well and who once nestled with books, now living a life in battle”.[[248]](#endnote-248)

 With all his authority, Ehrenburg didn’t always overlook the theme of Jewish resistance in his works. He recalled how, in the summer of 1943, he was asked to write an article for Sovinformburo and one of Shcherbakov’s assistants had crossed out some lines referencing the actions of Jewish Red Army soldiers. This motivated a meeting between Ehrenburg and Shcherbakov, who offered the eminent publicist a compromise version.[[249]](#endnote-249) Most likely, this incident was linked to the personal position of the assistant, since newspapers reported on the exploits of soldiers with characteristically Jewish names.[[250]](#endnote-250) Shcherbakov then encouraged publications that glorified heroes from national minorities as role models, and Jews, though in a more moderate form (and almost always without emphasizing their nationality), were part of this project.

 As early as November 1942, as part of a series of publications about various ethnicities in the war, Ehrenburg published an article called “Jews”, in which he argued that Russian Jews had not become the harmless target that Hitler envisioned. The writer gave examples of Jewish heroism in the Red Army, avenging the deaths of their compatriots.[[251]](#endnote-251) It is known that in 1943, Ehrenburg began to gather material for writing the “Black Book” of Jewish victims. Jews often wrote to him, sharing their grief and telling of the deaths of family members or compatriots.

 In December 1944, in a discussion on the pages of Pravda with a German newspaper, Ehrenburg writes about the extermination of Jews, which four years later would be classified as genocide: “In every captured country and region, the Germans killed all the Jews: from old to young. Ask a German prisoner, by what right did his compatriots exterminate six million people, and he would answer: ‘They are Jews. They are black (or redheads). They have different blood’”.[[252]](#endnote-252) This may be the first time this iconic number appeared in the Soviet press. In a discussion with Western European newspapers, Ehrenburg published the April 1945 article “Enough!”, in which he wrote: “Once the misfortune of one wronged man shook the conscience of humanity. This was the Dreyfus Affair: one innocent Jew was condemned to imprisonment in a fortress, and the world was outraged; Emile Zola was indignant, Anatoli France, Mirbeau, and with them the best minds of all Europe spoke out. The Nazis killed not one, but millions of innocent Jews. And there are people in the West who criticize our dry, modest accounts as hyperbole…”.[[253]](#endnote-253)

**Conclusion**

 The central authorities permitted reports of the German policy of genocide of the Jewish population in the occupied territories. This was deemed necessary to demonstrate the moral superiority of the Soviet system and to compromise the Hitler regime. Publications about the Holocaust helped to achieve the fervent support of Soviet and foreign Jews. At the same time, the authorities tried to strike a balance between referring to Jews as the primary victims and referring to them as one of many victims of the crimes against the Soviet people. This balancing act was dictated by the fear that the idea of Jews being the only victims of aggression would grow within the population. Often, even Ehrenburg took this same approach in his many publications. But he often wrote of the Holocaust, especially from the second year of the war. He and several other Jewish authors wrote about the Jewish resistance – a theme the propaganda authorities were less tolerant of.

 In just the four years of the German-Soviet war, Soviet newspapers and journals, brochures, and books in the Russian language printed several hundred references to the persecution (usually the extermination) of Jews in original articles. Considering the large number of publications identified, Mordechai Altshuler’s claim that Soviet mass media representation of the Holocaust during the war was comparable to that of the West [[254]](#endnote-254) may require re-evaluation.

 For several years after the war, the authorities continued to hold on to the balanced approach, largely because of the coverage of the Nuremberg trials.[[255]](#endnote-255) Two weeks after the victory, an article was published about child heroes, among them 11-year-old Musa (Abram) Pinkenzon. While in the village in Ust-Labinsk (Krasnodar region), as he and his father were being taken as Jews to be shot, he asked to play his violin one last time. This was permitted, but when the boy began to play “Internationale” (the Soviet anthem until 1944), they shot him.[[256]](#endnote-256) From the end of the 1940s, due to the Cold War and the anti-Semitic processes in the USSR, the topic of the Holocaust in the Russian language press has almost disappeared.[[257]](#endnote-257)

1. All places and republics are referred to according to their names during WW2. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. 30% of Eynikaut’s subscribers were overseas. Arkadi Zeltser, “How the Jewish Intelligentsia Created the Jewishness of the Jewish Hero: the Soviet Yiddish Press” in *Soviet Jews in World War II: Fighting, Witnessing, Remembering*, edited by Harriet Murav and Gennady Estraikh (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2014), 105. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. I.V. Stalin, “Doklad k 24-letii͡u Velikoĭ Okti͡abrʹskoĭ sot͡sialisticheskoĭ revoli͡ut͡sii”, Pravda, 7 November 1941, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Karel Berkhoff, “Total Annihilation of the Jewish Population”: The Holocaust in the Soviet Media 1941-1945, *Kritika* 10:1 (2009), 62-65 [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Mordechai Altshuler, “The Holocaust in the Soviet Mass Media During the War and in the First Postwar Years Re-examined,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 39, no. 2 (2011), 17. Unfortunately, the author rarely listed the pages of his newspaper references. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. For this paper, the following newspapers were used: *Pravda, Izvestii͡a, Komsomolʹskai͡a pravda, Krasnai͡a zvezda, Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva, Krasnyĭ voin, Krasnyĭ flot, Stalinskiĭ sokol, Literaturnai͡a gazeta.* Of the provincial newspapers, Sovetskai͡a Sibirʹ was used. When reporting Jewish themes, this newspaper showed little independence, keeping mainly to publishing TASS press releases and repeating relevant articles from *Pravda* and *Izvestii͡a*. This approach was used by other provincial newspapers, so we can say with a high degree of confidence that not using them in this study is not likely to have affected the findings. For technical reasons, the footnotes do not replicate articles from different editions. Of the magazines, *Ogonëk* was used. Note that *Ogonëk* would sometimes publish photographs of Jewish victims without indicating their ethnicity. Because of this ambiguity, such magazine publications, as well as newspapers that referred to the victims only as “Soviet people”, were omitted from this research. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. For more on this type of German propaganda, see, for example, Serhy Yekelchyk, “The Civic Duty to Hate: Stalinist Citizenship as Political Practice and Civic Emotion (Kiev, 1943-53),” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 7, no. 3 (2006), 535; Karel C. Berkhoff, *Motherland in Danger: Soviet propaganda during World War II* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2012), 165. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. *Mirovoĭ fashizm: sbornik stateĭ* (Editor N. Meshcheri͡akov)*, (Moskva-Petrograd: Gosizdat, 1923).* [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. Maksim Gorʹkiĭ, *Publit͡sisticheskie statʹi* (Leningrad: OGIZ, 1933), 331. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. See, for example, Jenkins, “Razgul fashistskikh pogromshchikov”, *Izvestii͡a*, 11 November 1931, 2; “Evreĭskie pogromy v Germanii”, *Pravda*, 13 November 1931, 5; “Evreĭskie pogromy v Germanii”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 15 November 1938, 1; “Gonenii͡a na evreev v Germanii”, *Pravda*, 17 November 1931, 4; “Zverstva fashistskikh banditov”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva,* 22 November 1938, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. “Fashistskie pogromshchiki i kannibaly”, *Pravda*, 18 November 1938, 1; M. Olʹgin, “Vesʹ mir vozmushchën zverstvami fashistskikh pogromshchikov”, ibid. The collection *Protiv fashistskoĭ falʹsifikat͡sii istorii* (pp.10-12) also described the Kristallnacht pogroms. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Jacques Sadoul, “Fashistskie pogromshchiki za rabotoĭ”, *Izvestii͡a,* 12 November 1938, 2; Jacques Sadoul, “Antisemitskie zverstva germanskikh fashistov”, *Izvestii͡a*, 14 November 1938, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. “Sovetskai͡a intelligent͡sii͡a vyrazhaet svoë vozmushchenie i negodovanie evreĭskimi pogromami v Germanii”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva,* 28 November 1938, 1; “Mitingi Sovetskoĭ intelligent͡sii: v Leningrade, Kieve, Tbilisi”,  *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 29 November 1938, 1; “Sovetskai͡a intelligent͡sii͡a protestuet protiv evreĭskikh pogromov v Germanii”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 1 December 1938, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Arlen Bli͡um, “Otnoshenie sovetskoĭ t͡senzury (1940-1946) k probleme Kholokosta”, *Vestnik Evreĭskogo universiteta v Moskve*, No. 2 (9), 1995, 156-158. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. Gennadiĭ Kostyrchenko, Taĭnai͡a politika Stalina (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye otnoshenii͡a, 2001), 219-220. For more about Stalin’s call on 24 April 1941 to Ilya Ehrenburg and permission to publish “Padenie Parizha” without censorship see Ilya Ehrenburg, Sobranie sochineniĭ v devi͡ati tomakh (Moskva: Khudozhestvennai͡a literatura, 1967), volume 9, 265. The novel was published in the spring of 1942. Ibid. 262. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. *1941 god: V dvukh knigakh,* volume 2, editor V. P. Naumov (Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyĭ fond “Demokratii͡a”, 1998), 302. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Even in the provinces. See the film poster: Sovetskai͡a Sibir’, 28 June 1941, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Makkabi- Ĭoresh

אניה מכבי-יורש, כוכב לא-יכבה . תל-אביב: הקיבוץ המאוחד, 1991, 83. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Georgiĭ Kni͡azev, *Dni velikikh ispytaniĭ: Dnevniki 1941-1945* (St. Peterburg: Nauka, 2009), 138. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Shcherbakov’s position clearly shows that he took this approach. See Berkhoff, Motherland in Danger, 164. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Calculated from: *1941 god…*, 428-430. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. “V t͡sarstve terrora i bespravii͡a”, *Izvestii͡a*, 25 June 1941, 4. For the full quote see Altshuler, “The Holocaust…,” 126. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. I͡Ulii͡a Barlit͡skai͡a, “Gitlerovskie razboĭniki v Varshave”, *Pravda*, 26 June 1941, 6. This article was reprinted in Sovetskai͡a Sibir’, 28 July 1941, 4; Tadeush Krushevskiĭ, “Nenavistʹ k germanskim okkupantam bezgranichna: Pisʹmo iz Varshavy”, *Pravda,* 27 June 1941, 6. For the almost full quotation from this see Altshuler, “The Holocaust…,” 126-127. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. S. Borisov, “Pod pi͡atoĭ germanskogo fashizma”, *Sovetskai͡a Sibir’*, 27 June 1941, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. Shauėlʹ Gurfinkelʹ, “Chto takoye fashizm”, *Sovetskai͡a Sibir’*, 29 June 1941, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. “Gitlerovskie zverstva v Polʹshe”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva,* 4 August 1941. 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. M.R., “Zverstva fashizma”, *Literaturnai͡a Gazeta*, 13 August 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. “Ot sovetskogo informbi͡uro”, *Pravda*, 27 August 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Dariusz Stola, “Early News of the Holocaust from Poland”, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11, no. 1 (1997), 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. V. Ocharov, “Fashistskie razboĭniki”, *Pravda*, 12 August 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. P. Arkadʹev, “Zverstva rumynskikh merzavt͡sev”, *Krasnyĭ flot,* 4 October 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. “Neslykhannye zverstva rumynskikh varvarov”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 29 November 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. “Nemet͡sko-fashistskie zverstva v Breste i Minske”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 9 August 1941, 1; also *Pravda*, 10 August 1941, 4; also *Sovetskai͡a Sibir’*, 10 August 1941, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. “Izdevatelʹstva li͡udoedov”, *Pravda*, 11 August 1941, 5. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. M[oiseĭ] Genkin, “Izvergi i marodery”, *Izvestii͡a*, 15 August 1941, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. “Bratʹi͡a evrei vo vsëm mire!”, *Izvestii͡a*, 26 August 1941, 3. However, Kapitsa was not a Jew. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. “Otkliki na obrashchenie Evreĭskogo mitinga v Moskve”, Krasnyĭ *flot*, 23 September 1941, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Vcevolod Ivanov, “Shchit slavy”, *Izvestii͡a*, 29 August 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. N.L., “Sila narodnoĭ nenavisti”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 6 September 1941, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. O[skar] Kurganov, “Na ulit͡sakh, zani͡atykh nemt͡sami”, *Pravda*, 30 October 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. [Chaim Shoshkes], “Bedstvennoe polozhenii evreev v Polʹshe”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 17 September 1941, 4; also, *Pravda*, 17 September 1941, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Marii͡a Rozhit͡syna, “Gitlerovskie golovorezy”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 27 September 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. “Ot sovetskogo informbi͡uro”, *Pravda*, 31 August 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. “Rumynskie zverstva v Odesse”, *Pravda*, 16 November 1941, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. “Zverstva nemt͡sev v Kieve”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 18 November 1941, 3; also, *Pravda*, 19 November 1941, 3; also, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 November 1941, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. P. Stepanenko, “Chto proiskhodit v Kieve”, *Pravda,* 29 November 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. Ė[zra] Vilenskiĭ, “V osvobozhdënnom Rostove”, *Izvestii͡a*, 2 December 1941, 3. For the almost full quotation from this, see Altshuler, “The Holocaust…,” 137. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. M[artyn] Merzhanov, “Zverstva nemt͡sev v Taganroge”, *Pravda,* 25 December 1941, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. G[rigoriĭ] Anpilogov, “Krovavye zlodei͡anii͡a fashistskikh merzavt͡sev”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 26 September 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. I͡Anis Niedre, “Gitlerovt͡sy istrebli͡ai͡ut latyshskiĭ narod”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 25 December 1941, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. *Krasnyĭ flot*, 10 May 1942, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. G. Denisov, “Po sledam fashistskogo zveri͡a” *Krasnyĭ flot*, 3 February 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. In his May Day text, Stalin said that the fascists were not, in fact, nationalists, but imperialists, whose goal was to suck the blood from other countries. Iosif Stalin, “Prikaz narodnogo komissara oborony”, *Pravda*, 1 May 1942, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. S[ergej] Kovalëv, “Padenie t͡sarizma: K 25-letii͡u Fevralʹskoĭ revoli͡ut͡sii 1917 goda”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 12 March 1943, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. A. Leontʹev, “Nat͡sionalizm, kak maska razboĭnichʹego gitlerovskogo imperializma”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 6 May 1942, 3-4. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. Arkadij Zelʹt͡ser thinks that this was a conscious transition. See Arkadkj Zelʹt͡ser, “Tema "Evrei v Babʹem I͡Aru” v Sovetskom Soi͡uze v 1941-1945 godakh”, in *Babin I͡Ar: Masove ubivstvo i pam’i͡atʹ pro nʹogo,* edited by Vitalii Nakhmanovich (Kiev: Ukrainsʹkiĭ t͡sentr vivchenni͡a istorii Golokostu, 2012), 93-94. [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. For example, see *Pravda*, 7 January 1942, 1-2; *Izvestii͡a*, 7 January 1942, 1-2; *Sovetskai͡a Sibir’*, 8 January 1942, 1-2. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. M[artyn] Merzhanov, “V osvobozhdënnoĭ Feodosii”, *Pravda*, 7 January 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. S[emën] Livshit͡s, “To chego zabytʹ nelʹzi͡a”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 11 January 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. “Krovavye zverstva nemt͡sev v Kerchi”, *Pravda*, 5 January 1942,2. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. Aleksandr Romm, “V osvobozhdënnoĭ Kerchi, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 24 January 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. O. I. Golʹdina, D. I͡A. Veshkovet͡skai͡a, Z. I͡A. Giller, F. G. Bli͡akher, R. B. Perit͡s, “Chudovishchnye zverstva fashistov v Kerchi”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda,* 8 January 1942, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. Ilʹi͡a Selʹvinskiĭ, “I͡A ėto videl”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 27 February 1942, 2. For analysis see: Maxim Shrayer, I saw it: Ilya Selvinsky and the Legacy of Bearing Witness to the Shoah (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2013). Also in 1942, the government released a poster showing photographs of the victims of Kerch along with the lines: We will not forget, we will not forgive! (Moskva: Goskinoizdat, 1942). [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
64. N. Ilʹinskiĭ, “Kaluga vzi͡ata!”, *Pravda*, 1 January 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
65. V. Aref’ev, “My ne zabudem izuverstv vraga”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 10 January 1942, 2. Referring to the same article, Mardkhai Al’nshuler wrote about the extermination of Jews in Tula and the surrounding area. See Altshuler, “The Holocaust…,” 136. Actually, Tula wasn’t occupied during the war. [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
66. “Chudovishchnyĭ prikaz gitlerovskogo generala” *Pravda*, 15 January 1942, 2; *Zverstva nemet͡sko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov,* 2nd issue (Moskva: Voennoe izdatelʹstvo, 1942), 5-7. For more information on the publication of the order, see Berkoff, “Total Annihilation…”, 74-75. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
67. N. Karlov, “Boet͡s! Beĭ bez poshchady nemet͡skikh palacheĭ!: V Smolenske”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 15 November 1942, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
68. V. Gromov, V. Fëdorov, “Na Pskovshchine”, *Pravda,* 12 September 1942, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
69. Ibid. Until this time it was thought that the first mention of a Roma genocide in the Soviet press was in *Krasnai͡a Zvezda* on 13 April 1943, 4. For more about this: Mikhailo Ti͡agliĭ, “Tragedіi͡a vinnikh zhertv? Pam'i͡atʹ pro genot͡sid romіv u povoєnnіĭ Ukraїnі”, uamoderna.com/pdl-min/tragediya-vinnix-zhertv-pamyat-pro-genoczid-romiv-u-povoennij-ukraini-chastina-2-znannya-dlya-zovnishnogo-zastosuvannya-abo-nadvodna-chastina-ajsberga-kanali-informaczii-i-formuvannya-kartini-okupaczii, 1 December 2020. Unlike the article in *Pravda*, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda* only listed Roma among the victims and said nothing about the racist motivation for the extermination. [↑](#endnote-ref-69)
70. I[van] Miroshnichenko, “Chudovishchnye zverstva gitlerovskikh merzavt͡sev v Krymu”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 25 January 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
71. “Palach rasskazyvaet o svoikh zlodei͡anii͡akh”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 27 January 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
72. L[azar’] Lagin [Ginzburg], “Gazeta krymskiĭ partizan”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 1 April 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-72)
73. M[eĭer] Kogut, “Zverstva nemt͡sev v Krymu”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 10 May 1942, 2. Two months later this correspondent was killed. [↑](#endnote-ref-73)
74. I͡A[kov] Makarenko, “V Lozovoi”, *Pravda*, 4 February 1942, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-74)
75. M. Kotov, V. Li͡askovskiĭ, S. Vasilʹnit͡skiĭ, “Lozovai͡a”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 4 February 1942, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-75)
76. I[van] Miroshnichenko, “Chudovishchnye zverstva gitlerovt͡sev v Taganroge”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 15 April 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-76)
77. I[van] Miroshnichenko, “Zverstva nemt͡sev v Mariupole”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 25 June 1942, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-77)
78. L[ev] Dubrovit͡skiĭ, “Bukhgalterii͡a palacheĭ”, *Izvestii͡a*, 4 February 1942, 2. For more on this publication see also: Berkhoff, “Total Annihilation”, 75-76. [↑](#endnote-ref-78)
79. P[ëtr] Lidov, “Na razvalinakh Minska i Vitebska”, *Pravda*, 15 April 1942, 2. In June 1944, this correspondent was killed. [↑](#endnote-ref-79)
80. M[ikhail] Sivolobov,, “Chto proiskhodit v Minske”, *Pravda*, 11 December 1942, 2. For an almost full quotation from this, but with the wrong author’s name, see Altshuler, “The Holocaust…,” 140. [↑](#endnote-ref-80)
81. M[ikhail] Sivolobov, V. Bobruĭske, *Pravda*, 16 December 1942, 2. For a an almost full quotation from this, but with the wrong author’s name, see Altshuler, “The Holocaust…,” 140. [↑](#endnote-ref-81)
82. “Na ocherednoĭ press-konferent͡sii inostrannykh korrespondentov”, *Pravda*, 24 April 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-82)
83. *Izvestii͡a*, 28 April 1942, 1-3; *Pravda*, 28 April 1942, 1-3. [↑](#endnote-ref-83)
84. For example: “K evrei͡am vsego mira”, *Pravda*, 25 May 1942, 3; also, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 26 May 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-84)
85. Mikhail Sholokhov, “Nauka nenavisti”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 23 July 1941. [↑](#endnote-ref-85)
86. I. Pavlovskiĭ, “Kak nemt͡sy khozi͡aĭnichai͡ut v Latvii”, *Pravda*, 20 February 1942, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-86)
87. “Dikie prestuplenii͡a gitlerovskikh li͡udoedov”, *Izvestii͡a*, 20 June 1942, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-87)
88. “Rech’ deputata Vilisa Lat͡sisa”, *Izvestii͡a*, 20 June 1942, 3-4. The extermination of Jews in Riga was also mentioned in another newspaper article: N. Sergeeva, “Pol’sha – gitlerovskiĭ “Dom smerti”, *Pravda*, 21 April 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-88)
89. “Chudovishchnye zverstva vengerskikh okkupantov v I͡Ugoslavii”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 14 May 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-89)
90. “Antisemitskie meroprii͡atii͡a pravitelʹstva Vishi”, *Pravda*, 13 August 1942, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-90)
91. “Chudovishchnye nasilii͡a gitlerovskikh li͡udoedov nad evrei͡ami vo Frant͡sii”, *Pravda*, 9 September 1942, 3; also, *Izvestii͡a*, 9 September 1942, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-91)
92. “Otvet Ruzvelʹta na obrashchenie amerikanskikh evreĭskikh organizat͡siĭ”, *Pravda*, 13 December 1942, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-92)
93. *Izvestii͡a*, 18 December 1942, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-93)
94. “Ob osushchestvlenii gitlerovskimi vlasti͡ami plana istreblenii͡a evreĭskogo naselenii͡a Evropy”, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 December 1942, 1; Also, *Vneshni͡ai͡a politika Sovetskogo Soi͡uza v period Otechestvennoĭ voĭny: Dokumenty i materialy*, volume 1, (editor R. Magid), (Moskva: Gospolitizdat, 1944), 287-293. Information for Molotov on the persecution of Jews was gathered several weeks earlier by the head of the 4th NVKD Directorate, Pavel Sudoplatov. See *Ukrainskie nat͡sionalisticheskie organizat͡sii v gody Vtoroĭ Mirovoĭ Voĭny*. Editor A. N. Artizov, (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2012), volume 1, 551-552. [↑](#endnote-ref-94)
95. “Zai͡avlenie chlena angliĭskogo parlamenta Silvermena”, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 December 1942, 4; “Angliĭskai͡a pechatʹ ob istreblenii evreĭskogo naselenii͡a gitlerovt͡sami”, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 December 1942, 4; “Iden o provodimom gitlerovskimi vlasti͡ami istreblenii evreĭskogo naselenii͡a Evropy”, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 December 1942, 4; “ Oglashenie v palate lordov deklarat͡sii ob istreblenii gitlerovt͡sami evreĭskogo naselenii͡a Evropy”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 20 December 1942, 4; “Prisoedinenie Kanady k deklarat͡sii ob”edinënnykh stran ob istreblenii gitlerovt͡sami evreĭskogo naselenii͡a Evropy”, *Pravda*, 21 December 1942, 4; “Zai͡avlenie novozelandskogo premʹer-ministra Frėzera”, *Pravda*, 21 December 1942, 4; “Shvedskai͡a gazeta ob istreblenii gitlerovt͡sami evreĭskogo naselenii͡a”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 22 December 1942, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-95)
96. “Zai͡avlenie predsedateli͡a Vsemirnogo Evreĭskogo kongressa”, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 December 1942, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-96)
97. “Zverskoe khozi͡aĭnichanʹe nemt͡sev v Varshave”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 9 January 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-97)
98. “Evreĭskoe naselenie Polʹshi obrecheno na golodnui͡u smertʹ”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 17 February 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-98)
99. E[vseĭ] Kaplanskiĭ, “Chto proiskhodit v Varshavskom getto”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 8 September 1942, 3; also, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 9 September 1942, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-99)
100. “Nota polʹskogo pravitelʹstva o zhertvakh gitlerovskikh zakhvatchikov”, *Pravda*, 13 December 1942, 4; also *Krasnyĭ flot*, 13 December 1942, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-100)
101. B[oris] Belogorskiĭ, “Polʹsha vo vlasti gitlerovskikh palacheĭ”, *Izvestii͡a*, 20 December 1942, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-101)
102. Marina Sorokina claims that Andrei Vyshinskii, then First Deputy People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs, participated in the editing process with Aleksandrov. Marina Sorokina, “People and Procedures: Toward a History of the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in the USSR” in *The Holocaust in the East: Local Perpetrators and Soviet Responses*, edited by Michael David-Fox, Peter Holquist, and Alexander M. Martin (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014), 138-139. [↑](#endnote-ref-102)
103. Berkhoff, “Total Annihilation…”, 83. [↑](#endnote-ref-103)
104. Samuil Chobrut͡skiĭ, “Moskva, Kremlʹ, tovarishchu Stalinu”, *Izvestii͡a*, 13 January 1943, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-104)
105. Berkhoff, “Total Annihilation…”, 83. [↑](#endnote-ref-105)
106. G. Denisov, “Po sledam fashistskogo zveri͡a”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 3 February 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-106)
107. A. Bulgakov, “Kursk segodni͡a”, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 February 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-107)
108. *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 6 April 1943, 1; *Pravda*, 7 April 1943, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-108)
109. B[oris] Afanasʹev, “V Rostove na Donu”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 26 February 1943, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-109)
110. [Matveĭ] Motinov i Dvinskiĭ, “Verkhovnomu komandui͡ushchemu velikomu Stalinu”, *Pravda*, 22 February, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-110)
111. R[uvim] Moran, “V Taganroge”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 1 September 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-111)
112. “Verkhovnomu Glavnokomandui͡ushchemu Marshalu Sovetskogo Soi͡uza tovarishchu Stalinu ot trudi͡ashchikhsi͡a goroda Taganroga”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 5 September 1943, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-112)
113. “Sudebnyĭ prot͡sess o zverstvakh nemet͡sko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov na territorii Kharʹkova i Kharʹkovskoĭ oblasti”, *Pravda*, 17 December 1943, 1-2. [↑](#endnote-ref-113)
114. O]lʹga[ Voĭtinskai͡a, “Pisʹma, napisannye krovʹi͡u” *Izvestii͡a*, 26 February 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-114)
115. A. Verbit͡skiĭ, “V rasterzannom Gomele”, *Pravda*, 18 August 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-115)
116. N[ikolaĭ] Shbankov, “And Berezinoĭ”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 26 December 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-116)
117. “Priznanie gitlerovt͡sa”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 29 December 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-117)
118. B[oris] I͡Ampolʹskiĭ, “30 dnej v tylu vraga”, *Izvestii͡a*, 16 October 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-118)
119. *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 20 February 1943, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-119)
120. F. Arti͡ushenko, “Vosstanovlenie narodnogo khozi͡aĭstva v Voroshilovogradskoĭ oblasti”, *Izvestii͡a*, 8 July 1943, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-120)
121. V[alentin] Antonov, “V Khar’kove”, *Izvestii͡a*, 24 February 1943, 3; G. Krylov, “Chudovishchnye zlodei͡anii͡a nemt͡sev v Kharʹkove”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 24 February 1943, 2 (see the almost full quotation from this in Altshuler, “The Holocaust…,” 143); also, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 25 February 1943, 3; I͡A[kov] T͡Svetov, “Khar’kov v ėti dni”, *Pravda*, 28 February 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-121)
122. L[eonid] Orlovskiĭ, “Lager’ smerti (Iz zapisok vracha)”, *Ogonëk*, 20 November 1943, 8-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-122)
123. Leonid Leonov, “Primechanie k paragrafu”, *Izvestii͡a*, 18 December 1943, 3; Maksim Ryk’skij, “Sud and dushegubkami”, *Izvestii͡a*, 18 December 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-123)
124. A. Krutov, “Zverstva v Odesse”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 2 April 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-124)
125. A. Alinin, “Dnepropetrovsk, den’ vtoroĭ”, *Izvestii͡a*, 27 October 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-125)
126. K[onstantin] Bukovskiĭ, “Kiev 6 Noi͡abri͡a”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 7 November 1943, 4. See the quotation from there, but with an incorrect newspaper date: Altshuler, “The Holocaust…,” 145. [↑](#endnote-ref-126)
127. A[leksandr] Avdeenko i P[ëtr Olender], “Babiĭ I͡Ar”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 20 November 1943, 3. Six months later, the newspaper correspondent, Major Olender, was killed. [↑](#endnote-ref-127)
128. Anatoliĭ Kalinin, “Semero Smelykh” *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 7 February 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-128)
129. “O zlodei͡anii͡akh nemet͡sko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Stavropolʹskom krae”, *Pravda*, 5 August 1943, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-129)
130. Aleksej Tolstoj, “Korichnevyĭ durman”, *Pravda*, 5 August 1943, 2; Also, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 5 August 1943, 2; also, *Stalinskiĭ sokol*, 6 August 1943, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-130)
131. Alekseĭ Tolstoĭ, “Palachi”, *Pravda*, 17 December 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-131)
132. F. Medvedev, “To, chego nelʹzi͡a zabytʹ, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 9 June 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-132)
133. G. Tarasenko, “My otomstim za tebi͡a, Sevastopolʹ!”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 18 September 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-133)
134. Vilis Lat͡sis, “Sovetskai͡a Latvii͡a pod gnëtom nemet͡skoĭ okkupat͡sii”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 13 April 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-134)
135. N. Sergeyeva, “Polʹsha – gitlerovskiĭ ‘dom smerti’”, *Pravda*, 21 April 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-135)
136. “Naselenie Litvy vozmushcheno antisemitskimi meroprii͡atii͡ami gitlerovskikh izvergov”, *Izvestii͡a*, 31 July 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-136)
137. “Gitlerovskiĭ terror v Latvii, Litve i Ėstonii”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 5 August 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-137)
138. “Gitlerovt͡sy istrebli͡ai͡ut evreĭskoe naselenie Polʹshi”, *Pravda*, 23 January 1943, 4; “Iden o massovom terrore gitlerovt͡sev” *Pravda*, 12 March 1943, 4; “Zhertvy gitlerovskikh li͡udoedov v Polʹshe”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 13 April 1943, 3; Sergeeva, “Pol’sha…”, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-138)
139. V. Lʹvovskiĭ, “Polʹskiĭ narod protiv Gitlera”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 22 April 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-139)
140. M. Mikhaĭlov, “Soprotivlenie nemt͡sam v Polʹshe”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 2 December 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-140)
141. Burnoe zasedanie bolgarskogo parlamenta”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 31 March 1943, 4; “Vozmushchenie v Bolgarii beschelovechnymi meroprii͡atii͡ami vlasteĭ protiv evreĭskogo naselenii͡a”, *Pravda*, 14 April 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-141)
142. “Gitlerovskiĭ terror v Varshave” *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 1 June 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-142)
143. *Izvestii͡a*, 12 March 1943, 4; *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 12 March 1943, 3; *Pravda*, 21 March 1943, 4; *Izvestii͡a*, 21 March 1943, 4; *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 21 March 1943, 4; Burnoe zasedanie bolgarskogo parlamenta”, *Izvestii͡a*, 31 March 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-143)
144. “Rech’ Khėlla v kongresse SShA”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 20 November 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-144)
145. “Soobshchenie ChGK: Direktivy i prikazy gitlerovskogo pravitelʹstva i germanskogo voennogo komandovanii͡a ob istreblenii sovetskikh voennoplennykh i mirnykh grazhdan”, *Izvestii͡a*, 11 March 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-145)
146. *Pravda*, 5 April 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-146)
147. I͡Ustas Polet͡skis, “Dni velikoĭ radosti”, *Izvestii͡a*, 9 July 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-147)
148. Evgeniĭ Ratner, “V Vilʹni͡use”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 15 July 1944, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-148)
149. L[eonid] Vysokoostrovskiĭ, “Na ulit͡sakh Vilʹni͡usa”, *Izvestii͡a*, 14 July 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-149)
150. Kostas Korsakas, “Serdt͡se Litvy”, *Pravda*, 14 July 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-150)
151. G. Molotkov, Panary, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 26 August 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-151)
152. L[eonid] Kudrebatykh, Z[inovij] Ostrovskiĭ, “Kaunas osvobozhdën”, *Izvestii͡a*, 2 August 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-152)
153. P. Nikitich i G. Tomashevskiĭ, “Sledy narvskoĭ tragedii”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 4 October 1944, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-153)
154. Aleksandr Tairov, “Dukhovnoe oruzhie”, *Literatura i iskusstvo,* 22 June 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-154)
155. A[vrom] Sut͡skever, “Osvobozhdenie podzemnykh muzeev”, *Literatura i iskusstvo*, 7 October 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-155)
156. “Soobshchenie ChGK o prestuplenii͡akh gitlerovskikh zakhvatchikov v Litovskoĭ SSR”, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 December 1944, 2; also, *Pravda*, 20 December 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-156)
157. “Nemet͡sko-fashistskie zverstva v Litve”, *Pravda*, 20 December 1944, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-157)
158. “Soobshchenie ChGK o prestuplenii͡akh nemet͡skikh zakhvatchikov v Latviĭskoĭ SSR”, *Izvestii͡a*, 5 April 1945, 2-3; also, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 5 April 1945, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-158)
159. “Li͡udi sovetskogo Pskova”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 8 August 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-159)
160. Andreĭ T͡Set͡sorin, “Po sledam nemet͡skikh li͡udoedov”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 9 August 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-160)
161. *Literaturnoe nasledstvo: Sovetskie pisateli na frontakh Velikoĭ Otechestvennoĭ voĭny*, editor I. I. Anisimov (Moskva: Nauka, 1966), volume 2, 270. [↑](#endnote-ref-161)
162. Mikola Sadkovich, “Nepokorënnyĭ Minsk”, *Izvestii͡a*, 2 July 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-162)
163. A. Mitrokhin, “Osvobozhdena stolit͡sa Belorussii”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 4 July 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-163)
164. “4 ii͡uli͡a”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 4 July 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-164)
165. Nikolaĭ Nikolʹskiĭ, “Belorussii͡a osvobozhdaetsi͡a”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 4 July 1944, 3. This same fact was mentioned in *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*. See N[ikolaĭ] Prokof’ev, I͡A [kov] Milet͡skiĭ, “Sredi razvalin stolit͡sy”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 4 July, 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-165)
166. Panteleĭmon Ponomarenko, “Osvobozhdenie Belorussii”, *Pravda*, 5 July 1944, 3. These lines from Ponomarenko were quoted in an editorial note “5 ii͡uli͡a”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 5 July 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-166)
167. Vadim Kozhevnikov, “Pervye chasy”, *Pravda*, 5 July 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-167)
168. “Ot trudi͡ashchikhsi͡a goroda Minska, ot minskikh partizan i partizanok pisʹmo velikomu vozhdi͡u narodov – Verkhovnomu Glavnokomandui͡ushchemu marshalu Sovetskogo Soi͡uza I.V. Stalinu”, *Izvestii͡a*, 5 August 1944, 2; also, *Pravda*, 5 August 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-168)
169. “O zlodei͡anii͡akh nemet͡sko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov v gorode Minske”, *Pravda*, 20 September 1944, 3; also, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 September 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-169)
170. Mikhail Gorbachëv, “Mstite za Belorussii͡u” *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 25 March 1945, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-170)
171. A[bram] Ponevezhskiĭ i E[vgeniĭ] Kamenet͡skiĭ, “Palachi i nevolʹniki”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 10 April 1945, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-171)
172. *Pravda*, 25 May 1945, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-172)
173. *Izvestii͡a*, 24 May 1945, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-173)
174. B[oris] Glebov [Grigorosulo], “Nemet͡skiĭ palach v Glubokom…”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 29 July 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-174)
175. “Amerikanskiĭ zhurnalist o zverstvakh nemt͡sev”, *Stalinskiĭ sokol*, 21 February 1945, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-175)
176. Vl[adimir] Rudnyĭ, “Pervyĭ denʹ v osvobozhdënnoĭ Odesse”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 12 April 1944, 3; Vl[adimir] Rudnyĭ, “Odesskie katakomby”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 25 April 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-176)
177. Vl[adimir] Rudnyĭ, “«Pervyĭ denʹ v osvobozhdënnoĭ Odesse”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 12 April 1944, 3; Vl[adimir] Kurbatov, “Vchera v Odesse”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 12 April 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-177)
178. Leonid Sobolev, “Dorogami pobed: V Odesse”, *Pravda*, 31 May 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-178)
179. Tatʹi͡ana TĖSS, “Ėto bylo v Odesse” *Izvestii͡a*, 30 May 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-179)
180. “Soobshchenie ChGK o zlodei͡anii͡akh, sovershennykh nemet͡sko-rumynskimi zakhvatchikami v gorode Odesse i raĭonakh Odesskoĭ oblasti”, *Izvestii͡a*, 14 June 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-180)
181. L[eonid] Kudrevatykh, “Po doroge nastuplenii͡a: Bug-Dnestr-Prut”, *Izvestii͡a*, 2 April 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-181)
182. I[lʹi͡a] Konstantinovskiĭ, “Zemli͡a Moldavii”, *Izvestii͡a*, 10 June 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-182)
183. An[atoliĭ] Kalinin, “V Rumynii”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 5 September 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-183)
184. “Obvinitelʹnoe zakli͡uchenie po delu 38 voennykh prestupnikov v Rumynii”, *Izvestii͡a*, 17 May 1945, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-184)
185. “Sud nad voennymi prestupnikami v Rumynii”, *Izvestii͡a*, 18 May 1945, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-185)
186. “Na prot͡sesse 38 rumynskikh voennykh prestupnikov”, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 May 1945, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-186)
187. A[rkadiĭ] Rostkov i A[leksandr] Ustinov, “V Berdicheve”, *Pravda*, 8 January 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-187)
188. M[ikhail] Shur, Rasplata, *Pravda*, 30 April 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-188)
189. A. Kolosov, “Stroiteli”, *Pravda*, 27 September 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-189)
190. I͡A [kov] Farfel’, “Vozrozhdenie goroda”, *Krasnyĭ voin*, 4 October 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-190)
191. V[iktor] Poltorat͡skiĭ, “Samolët letit na Chernovit͡sy”, *Izvestii͡a*, 30 March 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-191)
192. V[iktor] Poltorat͡skiĭ, “Chto proiskhodit vo L’vove”, *Izvestii͡a*, 6 April 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-192)
193. Boris Lavrenëv, “ Golos nasheĭ pobedy”, *Izvestii͡a*, 28 July 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-193)
194. “Soobshchenie ChGK po ustanovlenii͡u i rassledovanii͡u zlodei͡aniĭ v gorode Rovno i Rovenskoĭ oblasti”, *Izvestii͡a*, 7 May 1944, 3; “Soobshchenie ChGK po ustanovlenii͡u i rassledovanii͡u zlodei͡aniĭ na territorii Lʹvovskoĭ oblasti”, *Pravda*, 23 December 1944, 2. Reports about the Lviv region, as well as others like it, were published in many newspapers, but in *Izvestii͡a* the phrase about the extermination of more than 130,000 people in the ghetto was printed on the editorial front page. See “Mshchenie i smertʹ palacham Lʹvova”, *Izvestii͡a*, 23 December 1944, 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-194)
195. “Ėvakuat͡sii͡a vengerskikh gorodov”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 7 April 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-195)
196. “Zai͡avlenie Khėlla po povodu zverstv gitlerovt͡sev”, *Pravda*, 16 July 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-196)
197. “Polozhenie v Vengrii”, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 October 1944, 4; also, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 19 October 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-197)
198. “Zverstva nemet͡skikh i vengerskikh fashistov v Budapeshte”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 23 February 1945, p. 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-198)
199. See, for example, from 25 July 1944: *Izvestii͡a*, 3; *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 3; *Krasnyĭ flot*, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-199)
200. Vasiliĭ Grossman, “V gorodakh i selakh Polʹshi”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 6 August 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-200)
201. Konstantin Simonov, “Lager’ unichtozhenii͡a”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 10 August 1944, 3. The British correspondent Alexander Werth was incorrect when he wrote that Simonov’s article was published in *Pravda*. See Alexander Werth, *Russia at War, 1941-1945* (New York: Carrol and Graf, 1984), 890. In fact, an article about Majdanek by Boris Gorbatov was published in *Pravda*. [↑](#endnote-ref-201)
202. Berkhoff, “Total Annihilation…”, 92. [↑](#endnote-ref-202)
203. Boris Gorbatov, “Lagerʹ na Maĭdaneke”, *Pravda*, 11 August 1944, 2; 12 August 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-203)
204. “Zai͡avlenie nemet͡skogo generala Mozera komandovanii͡u Krasnoĭ Armii”, *Pravda*, 3 September 1944, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-204)
205. “Kommi͡unike Polʹsko-Sovetskoĭ Chrezvychaĭnoĭ komissii po rassledovanii͡u zlodei͡aniĭ nemt͡sev, sovershënnykh v lagere unichtozhenii͡a na Maĭdaneke v gorode Li͡ublina”, *Pravda*, 16 September 1944, 2-3. [↑](#endnote-ref-205)
206. Sommerstein was an important figure in Stalin’s plan to legalize the so-called Lyublinskoye government, which he had created. Albert Kaganovitch, “Stalin’s Great Power Politics, the Return of Jewish Refugees to Poland, and Continued Migration to Palestine, 1944-1946,” 59-94. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies,* 2012, no. 26(1), 82. [↑](#endnote-ref-206)
207. “Sud nad palachami Maĭdaneka” *Pravda*, 2 December 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-207)
208. A[leksandr] Rutman, S[emën] Krasilʹshchik, “Pisʹmo, naĭdennoe v lagere smerti”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 4 April 1945, 2. I haven’t been able to verify whether this article was first published in the Army newspaper *Sokol Rodiny*, which both authors published. [↑](#endnote-ref-208)
209. “Novye pobedy sovetskogo oruzhii͡a”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 18 January 1945, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-209)
210. Natan Rybak, “Varshava”, *Stalinskiĭ sokol*, 20 January 1945, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-210)
211. Lev Slavin, “Po dorogam nastuplenii͡a”, *Izvestii͡a*, 9 February 1945, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-211)
212. L[eonid] Lerov [Rozinov], “Varshava segodni͡a”, *Stalinskiĭ sokol*, 28 March 1945, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-212)
213. S. Reĭzman, “Kombinat smerti v Treblinke”, *Ogonëk*, 28 February 1945, 11-12. [↑](#endnote-ref-213)
214. “Professor Zlotovskiĭ o politike polʹskogo pravitelʹstva”, *Pravda*, 3 May 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-214)
215. I͡U. Olʹshevskiĭ, “Slava geroi͡am-osvoboditeli͡am”, *Izvestii͡a*, 18 January 1945, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-215)
216. “Germanskiĭ lagerʹ smerti v Polʹshe”, *Izvestii͡a*, 24 March 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-216)
217. “Lagerʹ smerti v Osvent͡sime”, *Izvestii͡a*, 27 October 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-217)
218. “Soobshchenie Amerikanskogo Upravlenii͡a po delam bezhent͡sev o zverstvakh nemt͡sev v Polʹshe”, *Izvestii͡a*, 29 November 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-218)
219. [A. Doroshevich], “Gosudarstvennyĭ lagerʹ smerti v Osvent͡sime”, *Izvestii͡a*, 20 January 1945, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-219)
220. “Soobshchenie ChGK po ustanovlenii͡u i rassledovanii͡u zlodei͡aniĭ nemet͡sko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov i ikh soobshchnikov v Osvent͡sime”, *Pravda*, 7 May 1945, 2-3. [↑](#endnote-ref-220)
221. “Zverstva nemt͡sev v kont͡sentrat͡sionnom lagere v Osvent͡sime”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 17 April 1945, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-221)
222. *Vneshni͡ai͡a politika Sovetskogo Soi͡uza v period Otechestvennoĭ voĭny: Dokumenty i materialy*, (editor S. Maĭorov), (Moskva: Gospolitizdat, 1946), 630-631. [↑](#endnote-ref-222)
223. Zai͡avlenie Ruzvelʹta”, *Pravda*, 26 March 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-223)
224. “Amerikanskai͡a pechatʹ o zverstvakh nemt͡sev”, *Vecherni͡ai͡a Moskva*, 26 April 1945. 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-224)
225. “Spet͡sialʹnoe poslanie prezidenta SShA Ruzvelʹta kongressu SShA”, *Pravda*, 28 June 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-225)
226. Of 579 writers and journalists reporting from the front whose ethnicities were known to the Writer’s Union, 140 of them were Jews. There were additionally 179 on the front line who didn’t declare their ethnicity. See *“My predchuvstvovali polykhanʹe…”: Soi͡uz sovetskikh pisateleĭ SSSR v gody Velikoĭ Otechestvennoĭ voĭny* (otvetstvennyĭ sostavitelʹ Z.K. Vodopʹi͡anova), volume 2, book 2. (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2015) 111-112. The proportion of Jews among them was hardly any less. [↑](#endnote-ref-226)
227. See: D[avid] Novopli͡anskiĭ, “Neslykhannye zlodei͡anii͡a fashistov v Kieve”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 10 December 1941, 3; S[olomon] Opershteĭn, “Chto proizkhodit v Dnepropetrovske”, *Izvestii͡a*, 18 April 1942, 3 (see about this article: Berkhoff, “Total Annihilation…”, 76); G[rigoriĭ] Plotkin, “V Mineralʹnykh vodakh”, *Pravda*, 18 January 1943, 3; Al[eksandr] Fridli͡anskiĭ i Al[ekseĭ] Zakharov, “Tragedii͡a mestechka Li͡ady”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 20 October 1943, 2; E[vgeniĭ] Kamenet͡skiĭ, “Chto tvori͡at gitlerovskie zlodei v Krymu”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 30 August 1942, 3; D[avid] Zaslavskiĭ, “Dushegubki”, *Pravda*, 17 December 1943, 3; D[ziga] Vetrov (Vetrov, David Kaufman), “Ėtogo ne zabytʹ”, *Izvestii͡a*, 31 May 1944, 3; Evgeniĭ Kriger, “Put’ k Nemanu”, *Izvestii͡a*, 16 July 1944, 2; Aleksandr Chakovskiĭ, “Bikernikskiĭ les”, *Izvestii͡a*, 19 October 1944, 3. The first four correspondents of central newspapers were simultaneously editors or assistant editors of front-line newspapers. [↑](#endnote-ref-227)
228. M[ark] Turovskiĭ, “V osvobozhdënnoĭ Feodosii”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 7 January 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-228)
229. D[avid] Novopli͡anskiĭ, “Neslykhannye zlodei͡anii͡a fashistov v Kieve”, *Komsomolʹskai͡a Pravda*, 10 December 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-229)
230. Evgeniĭ Kriger, “Nemet͡skai͡a fabrika smerti pod Li͡ublinom”, *Izvestii͡a*, 12 August 1944, 2. Although Kriger was listed as a Russian in his documents, David Shneer is probably right in considering him a Jew: David Shneer, *Through Soviet Jewish eyes: photography, war, and the Holocaust* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 154. [↑](#endnote-ref-230)
231. Kostyrchenko, *Taĭnai͡a politika Stalina*, 225. [↑](#endnote-ref-231)
232. Emelʹi͡an I͡Aroslavskiĭ, “Velikai͡a otechestvennai͡a voĭna sovetskogo naroda”, *Pravda*, 23 June 1943, 4; Alekseĭ Tolstoĭ, “Chto my zashchishchaem”, *Pravda*, 27 June 1941, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-232)
233. “*My predchuvstvovali polykhanʹe…”, volume 2, book 1, 29.* The only non-slav on this list seems to be the historian Evgeniĭ Tarle, who was supposed to write the article “Gitlerovskai͡a politika kolonizat͡sii na Vostok”. Perhaps the editors assumed that it would be difficult to guess his ethnicity from his surname. [↑](#endnote-ref-233)
234. “Bratʹi͡a evrei vo vsëm mire!”, *Izvestii͡a*, 26 August 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-234)
235. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Vystoi͡atʹ!”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 12 October 1941, 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-235)
236. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Igroza”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 17 July 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-236)
237. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Zemli͡a Piri͡atina”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 26 November 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-237)
238. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Ikh ispravit mogila”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 10 May 1942, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-238)
239. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Nakanune”, *Pravda*, 7 August 1944, 3. For an English translation of all articles see: Joshua Rubenstein, “Il’ia Ehrenburg and the Holocaust in the soviet Press,” in *Soviet Jews in World War II: Fighting, Witnessing, Remembering*. Edited by Harriet Murav and Gennady Estraikh, 36-56. (Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2014), 45-51. [↑](#endnote-ref-239)
240. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Narod i voĭna”, *Krasnyĭ flot*, 10 August 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-240)
241. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Devi͡atyĭ flot”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 27 December 1944, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-241)
242. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, ”116”, *Pravda*, 20 September 1942, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-242)
243. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Novyĭ pori͡adok v Kurske”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 26 February 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-243)
244. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Za cheloveka”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 24 April 1943, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-244)
245. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Delo sovesti”, *Pravda*, 29 October 1943, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-245)
246. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Torzhestvo cheloveka”, *Pravda, 29 April 1944, 4.* For an English translation of all articles see: Rubenstein, “Il’ia Ehrenburg and the Holocaust…”, 42-45. On Sutskever’s testimony see: Hannah Pollin-Galay, “Avrom Sutzkever's Art of Testimony: Witnessing with the Poet in the Wartime Soviet Union,” *Jewish Social Studies* 21, no. 2 (2016), 1-34. [↑](#endnote-ref-246)
247. Ėrenburg, “Novyĭ pori͡adok v Kurske”, 4; “Miting predstaviteleĭ evreĭskogo naroda”, *Pravda*, 5 April 1944, 2; Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Torzhestvo cheloveka”, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-247)
248. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Put’ k Germanii”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 20 July 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-248)
249. Ėrenburg, *Sobranie sochineniĭ*, volume 9, 377. [↑](#endnote-ref-249)
250. See, for example: N. Lanin, “Derzost’ podvodnika”, *Krasnij flot*, 18 March 1943, 3; I͡A. Makarenko, “Tverdoĭ postupʹi͡u”, *Pravda*, 17 March 1944, 4. [↑](#endnote-ref-250)
251. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Evrei”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 1 November 1942, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-251)
252. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Pomnit’!”, *Pravda*, 17 December 1944, 3. For an English translation of all articles, see: Rubenstein, “Il’ia Ehrenburg and the Holocaust…”, 51-56. [↑](#endnote-ref-252)
253. Ilʹi͡a Ėrenburg, “Khvatit!”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 11 April 1945, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-253)
254. Altshuler, “The Holocaust…,” 167. [↑](#endnote-ref-254)
255. For example, published in the fall of 1945 was the brochure “K sudebnomu prot͡sessu nad glavnymi nemet͡skimi voennymi prestupnikami” (Editor N. I. Strakhov), (Penza: publisher of the newspaper “Stalinskoe znami͡a”, 1945), which spoke of the Wermacht’s practice of exterminating many peoples of the USSR, “especially Russians, Belarussians, Ukraintsev, and widespread extermination of Jews”. Although the expression of killing “civilians” was used for almost all references to the extermination of Jews, an exception was in Kamenet͡s-Podolʹska (p.14). See also: “Prot͡sess glavnykh nemet͡skikh voennykh prestupnikov v Ni͡urnberge”, *Krasnai͡a Zvezda*, 20 December 1945, 3; Mikhail Gernet, *Prestuplenii͡a gitlerovt͡sev protiv chelovechnosti* (Moskva: I͡Uridicheskoe izdatelʹstvo, 1946); *Sudebnyĭ prot͡sess po delu o zlodei͡anii͡akh nemet͡sko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov na territorii Latviĭskoĭ, Litovskoĭ i Ėstonskoĭ SSR* (Riga: Knigoizdatelʹstvo i tipografii͡a No 2 VAPP, 1946). [↑](#endnote-ref-255)
256. Elena Kononenko, “Slava sovetskim deti͡am!”, *Pravda*, 21 May 1941, 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-256)
257. For more on this topic in the given years, see: Zvi Gitelman, “History, memory and politics: The Holocaust in the Soviet Union”, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 5, no. 1(1990), 23-37. [↑](#endnote-ref-257)