

The Search for a New Jewish Identity in Response to Soviet Discrimination
A Brief Study of the Refuseniks from the Six-Day War until the End of the Perestroika (1967-1989).

Introduction

The discriminatory practices and arbitrary conduct of the Soviet authorities towards the Jewish national minority had a shattering impact on it in the years following the Second World War. However, the same abusive behavior by the Soviet authorities inadvertently provoked some positive reactions by the humiliated and much weakened Russian Jews as they sought to reconstruct their identity in the 1970's and 1980's. I have chosen to explore the case of the refuseniks since it is the best illustrative example of the overwhelming influence of the Soviet authorities upon the Russian Jewish identity. I will focus upon the period between the Six Day War in 1967 to the end of the Perestroika in 1989. In the wake of the Six Day War, a wave of enthusiasm for Israel led thousands of Soviet Jews to file their first visa requests for Israel, many of which were arbitrarily refused¹, giving rise to the refusenik movement. Soviet visa policy was not liberalized until the collapse of the regime in 1991.

Following the Israeli victory in the Six Day War, a new socio-political category emerged in the Soviet Union : the refuseniks. The name refusenik, or *otkaznik* in Russian, designated Soviet citizens who requested to emigrate to Israel and whose requests were rejected between the late 1960's and the end of the Perestroika in 1989.²

During this period, the Soviet emigration office, known as the O.V.I.R., wielded excessive³ power over the destinies of emigration visa candidates, in particular the Jewish ones. Either they were authorized to leave, or they were forced to remain and to accept job loss, social disgrace, and irreparable moral humiliation. In the second case, they became « refuseniks », and the visa refusal together with its administrative and social ramifications defined them as a group. Therefore, the refuseniks did not proclaim themselves to be refuseniks, but were

¹ It is nearly impossible to estimate the exact number of refuseniks on a yearly basis. In fact, the number of people authorized to emigrate to Israel varied considerably from one year to another. Furthermore, the waiting period for a visa was at least six months. Nonetheless, it is relatively clear that the number of refuseniks in Moscow rose from hundreds in the 1970's to thousands in the 1980's, at which time Soviet emigration policy tightened considerably.

² In the 1970's and 1980's the word « refusenik » was subject to varying interpretations in the West, where they were often grouped with political dissidents working toward democratic reform and Jewish activists agitating for a renewal of Jewish culture and values within the Soviet Union. Since the second intifada in 2000, one notices that the most recent interpretation of refusenik defines the group as conscientious objectors in the Israeli army. However, at the start, militating against the established order was never a primary goal of the Soviet refuseniks.

³ However, the USSR rationalized that the loss of its Jewish population would have caused the entire nation to lose vital physicians, educators, skilled laborers, plant managers, physicists, chemists, and other scientists essential to the Soviet national security and welfare. It could be noted that Russian Jews, once Europe's poorest, most isolated and most « backward » Jewish population, gradually assimilated into Soviet society under Stalin, becoming one of the most well-educated segments of the Soviet population. However, another reason behind that policy was a hostility toward Israel, ingrained anti-Semitism and the fear that if one national group will be allowed to break away from the socialist fold, others will follow.

defined by the unexplained rejections they received from the Soviet administration.¹, sometimes accompanied by flimsy justifications.

It could be that these rejections with their alienating consequences represented simply the ultimate discriminatory act by the Soviet authorities towards the Jews, following many other discriminatory acts towards them.

My research indicates that many Soviet Jews decided to apply for emigration visas to Israel as a last resort to preserve the tattered shreds of their dignity in response to Soviet discrimination : after suffering many years of discrimination by the Soviet authorities, the Jewish national minority was shaken in its sense of identity, and the refuseniks even more so following the rejection of their emigration visa requests. Secondly, I will focus upon the refuseniks' loss of their sense of identity. This identity loss ironically and paradoxically led the refuseniks to transpose onto the Jewish heritage the values pushed by Soviet propaganda during and after the Second World War.

From humiliation to the search for self esteem

Low Self-Image of the Refuseniks²

** National Discrimination against the Jewish Minority*

Like all Jews in the USSR, the refuseniks suffered from low self-image due to *de facto* institutionalized Soviet discrimination.

In fact, since its establishment in 1922, the Soviet regime had been interested in classing ethnic groups and, in 1932, a passport system was adopted classing all holders by nationality on the fifth line of the first page. This was known as the « fifth point », and it facilitated national discrimination from the late 1940's until the end of the Perestroika. Moreover, and importantly, when the Soviet Union established an official policy on nationalities in the 1920's and 1930's, the Jewish national minority was underprivileged in comparison with other nationalities which received territories within the Soviet Union. Comprising a nationality without a viable territory³, Soviet Jews were immediately reduced to a position inferior to that of other landed nationalities in the USSR. Occupying the lowest position automatically led to administrative, social and cultural discrimination.

After the Second World War, these official acts encouraged prejudice against the Jews and created fertile grounds for national discrimination. Starting at the end of the 1940's, the Soviet government took actions against certain national minorities, and the Jewish national minority in particular. Actions against the Jewish national minority included the violation of their social and cultural rights. Quota systems limiting the number of Jewish candidates for

¹ Therefore, the refuseniks cannot properly be labelled dissidents. Indeed, political dissidents or liberal thinkers made a conscious political and moral choice to stray from the established order, without necessarily planning to leave the Soviet Union. Dissidents announced themselves as such without any administrative labelling involved. Another comparison may be made between the refuseniks and the activist Jews, which groups are also distinguishable. Not every refusenik worked to revitalize Jewish culture, but they all wanted to emigrate from the Soviet Union. To the contrary, all of the Jewish national activists deemed the revival of Jewish culture to be a priority, but not all of them wanted to emigrate to Israel.

² Problems of low self-image which affect every individual belonging to a minority group have a profound impact upon the self-comprehension of minority individuals. In effect, under the analysis of Norbert Elias, no individual develops without anchoring his or her identification in one or several groups (whether this anchoring continues or is later forgotten), or without a knowledge of praise for and scorn of the group he or she belongs to. See : Elias N. and Scotson J.L., *The Established and the Outsiders : a Sociological Enquiry into Community Problems*, London, 1965.

³ See : Robert Weinberg, *Stalin's forgotten Zion. Birobidzhan and the making of a Soviet Jewish Homeland*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998.

governmental posts¹ and the number of Jewish candidates accepted at institutions of higher learning were established and implemented in the 1950's². As most cultural rights in the Soviet Union were accorded based on entitlement to a territory, the Jewish national minority had no standing to make requests to establish Jewish cultural institutions³. After the war, under Stalin's directives, all the remaining Jewish institutions were liquidated.⁴

Furthermore, starting in the « Black Years » between 1948 and 1953,, Soviet authorities tacitly legitimized popular anti-Semitism through official tolerance of daily anti-Semitic behavior and commentary and regular conduct of virulent anti-Zionist campaigns, the most lengthy of which ran from 1968 to 1971.⁵. Officialized anti-Semitic propaganda played on engrained prejudices of the different Soviet social classes, progressively alienating the Jews from the rest of society.

The fact that the readership of the inflammatory anti-Zionist literature was mostly made up of refuseniks is ironic on two levels. First, they read this misinformation since it was virtually the only material available about Israel left after Soviet censorship⁶. Secondly, in paying for copies of Anti-Semitic literature, the refuseniks ironically supported the anti-Semitic Soviet press.

The refuseniks' exit visa denials, or *otkaz* in Russian, immediately banished them from Soviet society, both professionally and politically. They were systematically fired from their jobs and excluded from their professions, while their loyalty to the Soviet Union was simultaneously thrown into doubt, as they were viewed as potential conspirators against the regime.

¹ After the Second World War, for example, doors closed on career opportunities for the Jews as landed nationalities were favored for governmental posts of any importance based on the post-war « affirmative action » (*korenizaciâ*) reconstruction plan. A quota system limiting the number of Jewish candidates who could be hired in governmental services was established in 1956. The Jews were made to understand that their applications were no longer welcome for prominent positions in the Communist Party, army, foreign affairs departments, Soviet intelligence services, or any department involving national security.

² For example, the percentage of Jewish students at Moscow institutes of higher learning dropped from 3.16 in 1970-1971 to 1.57 in 1980-1981. See : N.de Witt, *Education and Professional Employment in the USSR*, Washington, D.C., 1961.

³ For example, out of 108 ethnic groups in the USSR, the Jewish national minority was practically the only group of any size (it was the eleventh largest group in terms of population) which was not allowed to open schools with classes taught in its mother tongue. More insidiously, and ominously, Jewish history was nearly omitted from Soviet textbooks, while the history of all the landed ethnic groups was covered at greater lengths. See : Elias Schulman, *A History of Jewish Education in the Soviet Union (1918-1948)*, Ktav and Brandeis University, 1971.

⁴ In November 1948, all remaining Jewish institutions, including the Moscow Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, were shut down, and most of the functionaries, including the most important Yiddish writers, were arrested. In August, 1952 thirteen Yiddish writers were executed. Moreover, in the last years of Khrushchev's leadership, a campaign of militant atheism was launched against all religions, with a heavy impact on Jewish institutions. Only an estimated sixty-two synagogues remained open in 1966. Soviet authorities used their broad grant of powers to exercise control over the synagogues which remained open, and constantly dispatched informers and agents to infiltrate them. See : Joshua Rothenberg, *The Jewish Religion in the Soviet Union*, Ktav and Brandeis University, New York, 1971, p. 46.

⁵ In order to discredit the State of Israel, anti-Semitic stereotypes appeared in political cartoons, books and television programs. The Soviet Union's national discrimination went even further, when it started equating Zionism with Nazism at a 1966's session of the United Nations.

⁶ See : Arlen Blûm, *Evrejskik Vopros pod Sovetskoj Cenzuroj, 1917-1991*, St. Petersburg, Peterburskij Evrejskij Universitet, 1996 (Arlen Blum, « Jewish Problem under Soviet Censorship, 1917-1991 »). At least, one hundred Anti-Zionist books or pamphlets were published and distributed in the 1960's and the 1970's. The most famous among them was Trofim Kitchko's *Sionism bez Prikras* (« Zionism without Embellishment ») published in Kiev in 1963. See : *Bulletin on Soviet and East-European Jewish Affairs*, London, n°3, January 1969.

** The Use of the Word « Jew » and its Perception by the Refuseniks*

Comments and looks directed at the Jews were as damaging as habitual social and professional rejection. For example, profound humiliation resulted from the negative undertone with which the word « Jew » (*Evrej*) was most often pronounced. In his unpublished memoirs, Iossif Begun¹, one of the most prominent refuseniks, examines this particular point and explains it in part by word choices in Soviet propaganda. While other nationalities were addressed in clear terms, Jewish nationality was most often omitted or indirectly hinted at, for example by over-emphasizing obviously Jewish-sounding names and patronyms..

It was as if the very word « Jew » took on an indecent and undignified cast. Jews had great difficulty saying the word *Evrej*, which means Jew in Russian, without embarrassment. In fact, the word « Jew » was naturally associated with the humiliating behaviors it provoked. Begun writes of having been struck by the incision of one response he had heard to the question « who is Jewish ? ». The response was : « what is it to be a Jew ? It is to have been beaten as a child because you were Jewish. »² A second example of this phenomenon can be found in the response of the Muscovite refusenik Nina Brumberg³ to the question : « What does it mean to you to be a Jew ? ». She replied : « Pain »⁴.

The Refuseniks' Reaffirmation of their Jewish Identity and Quest for Self-Esteem

** Jewish Identity as a Haven for Individual Dignity*

Many Russian Jews who were to become refuseniks had suffered identity loss following years of officialized discrimination and were actively seeking a new identity. After some soul-searching and, often, some discussions with their fellow Jews, they decided to reaffirm their Jewish identity and concretize this reaffirmation by filing exit visa requests for emigration to Israel. Many soon-to-be refuseniks took the risk of a visa request denial, knowing full well that the consequences of such a denial would be disastrous. The exit visa request was most often viewed as a point of honor by the refuseniks, an expression of personal dignity to be made at all costs.

One interesting account of such a quest for self-esteem comes from the Soviet Jewish writer and literary critic Grigori Svirski. At a meeting of the Writers' Union in 1971, he discussed the reasons for his decision to relocate to Israel with his family, despite the fact that he was fifty years old and a well-known writer in the USSR. His decision cost him his career. He enumerated the countless humiliations to which he had been subject because he was Jewish. He concluded his speech by confirming his Jewish identity, stating his intention to become an Israeli writer :

« Of course I don't know Hebrew and I will doubtless never be able to write in Hebrew, certainly I will always remain a man of Russian culture (...) but, whatever happens (...) I'll say, no, (...) I'll shout it, if all human *dignity* hasn't died in me : I am Jewish ! »⁵

¹ Iossif Ziselevitch Begun was born in Moscow in 1932. He worked as a mathematician and radio engineer. He applied for a visa in 1971 and his application was rejected. He was one of the most active proponents of Jewish self-education and of study of Hebrew and the author of works in the Jewish Samizdat Journal. He was arrested in 1977 on charges of parasitism and exiled to Siberia. Shortly after serving of sentence, he was arrested a second time and sentenced to three years of internal exile. He now lives in Jerusalem and Moscow.

² Interview with Iossif Begun, Moscow, February 2002.

³ Nina Rafailovna Brumberg was born in Moscow in 1938. She taught mathematics , while translating the works of I.B.Singer into Russian. She received her first exit visa denial in 1979, and the second in 1981. IN 1985, she was authorized to emigrate but she finally decided to remain in Moscow, where she lives today. She continues her translation work and participates actively in the projects of the « Kholokost » organization.

⁴ Interview with Nina Rafailovna Brumberg, Moscow, February 2002.

⁵ Grigori Svirski, « Potchemu », (« Why ? »), « Memorial » archives in Moscow, p.8, my translation.

It should be noted that the refuseniks' quest for national self-affirmation and relocation to Israel was an abstract one. In reality, they knew hardly anything about daily life or the political system in Israel, as no accurate books or literature on the subject were available to them, due to Soviet censorship. Indeed, Svirski's account is by no means unique, and many of the refuseniks spoke in the same terms, admitting their lack of knowledge of their intended destination, while affirming their Jewish identity and intention to retain what was left of their dignity.

** The Refuseniks' Rejection of their Own Cultural Past*

Yiddish culture¹ held little or no interest for the refuseniks² for the following reasons. First, their parents had abandoned their Yiddish culture to embrace the new Soviet one. Therefore, as children, the refuseniks were barely exposed to Yiddish culture. Secondly, they were greatly influenced by the Soviet disdain for Yiddish culture, which conjured images of the poor provincial towns (*mestecka*) of the Pale of Settlement³ and « reactionary », outmoded ways of thinking. Thirdly, they did not find Yiddish culture useful or even related to their current concerns, which were emigration to Israel and reacting against the national discrimination practiced by the Soviet regime.

Therefore, the refuseniks represented a group which had both shed its family past, and suffered identity loss. They began searching for a new culture, a new identity, new ways to define themselves. Trapped in a society where they were no longer welcome, with no exit, and no access to Hebrew literature, they paradoxically turned to the very society which discriminated against them in their search for ideals and values.

The Transposition of Soviet Values onto Jewish history

Secondly, I will discuss the interiorization of Soviet ideals by the Russian Jews, and their unconscious transposition of the Soviet ideals onto the Jewish cultural heritage.

Exposure of the First Generation of the Refuseniks to War Propaganda and its Effects on Them

As paradoxical as it may appear, the national views of the first generation of refuseniks, born in the 1930's, were in great part the product of pre-war and Second World War Soviet propaganda. The qualities attributed to *homo sovieticus*⁴, such as willingness to sacrifice himself for a collective ideal, the defense of honor, war heroism and serving his homeland, were at the core of Soviet educational system and became fundamental references for most children and teenagers of the time.⁵ Therefore, the narration of Jewish history and representation of Israel by the refuseniks and Jewish activists have been quite selective and biased by the transposition of the major Soviet values advocated by the Soviet propaganda.

¹ The refuseniks' samizdat journals and underground literature most often valorized ancient and contemporary episodes of Jewish heroism, at the expense of Modern Eastern-European Jewish history and Yiddish culture.

² Exceptions included novels and short stories by Sholem Aleikhem and Isaac Babel, which were very popular in the Soviet Union at the time.

³ After the partition of Poland of 1772, nearly half a million Jews found themselves under Russian rules. The laws of 1795 and 1835 confined them to the « Pale of Settlement », essentially the areas that they were already inhabiting but that had now come under Russian sovereignty. The Pale was suppressed in 1917.

⁴ See : Zinoviev Alexander, *Homo Sovieticus*, Boston : Atlantic Monthly Press, 1982.

⁵ See : Weiner Amir, *Making Sense of War, the Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevic Revolution*, Princeton University Press, 2001. See also : Schulman Elias, *A History of Jewish Education in the Soviet Union*, New York : Ktav Publishing House, 1971.

** Valorisation of Self-Sacrifice*

Notably, the valorisation of self-sacrifice to a collective ideal explains why particular interest has been taken in the Masada episode¹ which involved the collective suicide of the Jewish defenders of the Masada fortress under siege by the Romans, in 74.

** Idealisation of Heroism, Service to One's Country and People*

The idealisation of war heroism was evident to children whose families had been able to keep a *Tanakh*² or the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. These children could read about war heroism, by studying the Maccabee³ revolt against Hellenistic deculturation in 167 and the Bar Kochba⁴ uprising against the emperor Hadrian in 132.

The Transposition of Soviet Values onto Jewish History Constituted a Psychological Defense to :

** The Anti-Semitic Myths of the « Great Patriotic War »*

Referring to ancient history in this way enabled Jews to mentally arm themselves against fictitious stories of cowardly Jews who avoided going to the front during the Second World War.⁵ The evacuated Jewish children, whose close relatives risked their lives at the front or joined partisan groups, had to endure the telling of stories denying the Jewish presence and heroism at the front and the contribution of Jews to the combat effort. These calumnies were even more intolerable for children who had grown up amidst Soviet propaganda of self-sacrifice and sacrifice for one's country. For those who worshipped the legendary heroes of the Soviet Union, it became essential to prove that Jews were neither cowards nor traitors.

** The « Excisionary Memory » of the Second World War (Amir Weiner)*

After the end of the Second World War, the Soviet authorities created fertile grounds for an « excisionary memory » a term introduced by the American historian Amir Weiner. An « excisionary memory » is one which remembers what it wants to remember and « forgets » what it wants to forget, thereby transforming reality according to personal interests⁶. Post-war Soviet propaganda methodically executed a historical revisionist plan, to the great detriment of the Soviet Jewish population. On the one hand, Jewish participation in the war effort and Jewish acts of heroism were systematically excluded from publications. On the other hand, in

¹ Jerusalem had fallen four years earlier, and the Masada Jews mounted a tough opposition to the Romans : preferring death to slavery, the besieged Jews abandoned the citadel to the enemy, thereby marking the end of the great Jewish revolt against the Empire (66-74).

² The *Tanakh* is the Hebrew Bible. The first of its five books is the Torah (or Pentateuch), the core sacred writings of the ancient Jews, traditionally understood to have been written by Moses under divine inspiration.

³ The great crisis of Jewish life in the Hellenistic age arose in the middle of the second century B.C. under the Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Antiochus' abolition of Jewish worship provoked the revolt of the Maccabees (167 B.C.) whose guerilla tactics ultimately compelled Antiochus and his successors to compromise with the Jewish leaders.

⁴ The first Jewish revolt against Rome under the emperors Vespasian and Titus, in A.D. 66, culminated in the destruction of Jerusalem in 70. The second Jewish revolt, known as the Bar Kochba revolt, began in 132 against the emperor Hadrian.

⁵ See Amir Weiner, the chapter four in part II « Memory of Excision, Excisionary Memory », *op.cit.*, pp. 191-235. See in particular the section titled « Hierarchical Heroism : Where Have All the Jews Gone ? », pp. 216-235.

⁶ Following the Bolshevik revolution, the new government invested itself with full power to censor all publications in the Soviet Union. The publication of news, facts and history was subject to official review and was filtered. Either news, facts or history agreed with the State ideology, and were thus valid and publishable, or they did not, in which case they were invalidated and suppressed.

a flagrant revisionist move, the 4.5 million Soviet and Polish Jews who were massacred by the German army from 1941 to 1945 disappeared. While the deaths were acknowledged, the victims became Soviet, Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian in all publications¹.

The Valorization of Jewish Heroism in the Narration and Representation of Jewish History by the Refuseniks

In response to Soviet omissions of Jewish history in Soviet textbooks in general and Jewish heroism during the « Great patriotic War » in particular, the refuseniks and Jewish activists over-emphasized heroic acts in Jewish history in their speeches and writings. For example, on the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Soviet victory over the Nazis, in 1973, a Russian Jewish activist by the name of G.M.Manevitch, delivered a speech before a secret assembly of the refusenik underground, in a forest on the outskirts of Moscow. His speech perfectly illustrates the transposition of Soviet ideals of heroism onto Jewish history. After opening his speech with multiple specific examples of Jewish heroism in the Second World War, he proceeded to extend his discussion of heroic acts to the whole of Jewish history. Notably, he made references to the bravery of the Jews in the Czar's army, the heroism of Jewish soldiers in the War of 1812, in the Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878, and in the First World War.

Conclusion

To conclude, with their history of humiliation by the Soviet regime and society, their visa request rejections, job loss, and the ensuing loss of self-esteem, the refuseniks were searching for a new identity. Rejecting their own cultural past, they cut themselves off from their history but were suffering humiliations in their present situations. With no exit and no hope for a better future, they started reconstructing their own identities in two major ways.

First, and as a final defense to the discriminatory practices of the Soviet regime, they reaffirmed their Jewish identity by filing visa requests to emigrate to Israel even when they knew that the chances of obtaining one were slight. Secondly, and ironically, just as the Soviets revised world history, the Jews started revising their own. Influenced by Soviet propaganda about self-sacrifice, service to the homeland, and heroism, they transposed these Soviet ideals onto the Jewish cultural heritage.

The refuseniks' decision to emigrate to Israel was often made without any knowledge of their destination. Certainly, the truth must have been that having suffered humiliation and the officialized negation of their existence as they had, any destination, even an abstract one, had to be better than where they were.

¹ The sinister aspect of this act has never been satisfactorily explained. What is clear is that the Soviet Jews who perished in the Holocaust suffered the most heinous double injustice : while they lived, they witnessed the negation, through humiliation and persecution, of their lives ; when they were killed, their very deaths were negated, as they became other people with other nationalities in all reported information. It can be noted that historians have traditionally ascribed this flagrantly revisionist act to the ideological position of the Soviet regime : identification of the Holocaust victims as Lithuanian, Polish, Soviet corresponded to Soviet ideals of the collective group and internationalism. However, this still does not explain the deliberate omission of the nationality of the real victims from the list.

Résumé

L'article analyse l'influence singulière et paradoxale des autorités soviétiques sur l'identité juive russe en U.R.S.S. de 1967 à 1989, depuis le réveil national juif consécutif à la victoire d'Israël dans la guerre des Six Jours jusqu'à la toute fin de la Perestroïka. L'étude porte sur la trajectoire identitaire des refuzniks, des citoyens soviétiques qui se sont vus arbitrairement refuser leur demande d'émigration en Israël. La quête identitaire et nationale des refuzniks semble s'offrir comme une réponse à la fois à la politique soviétique des nationalités et aux relents antisémites de la propagande officielle. En effet, les demandes de visa pour Israël apparaissent souvent comme le dernier recours possible pour préserver une dignité nationale et une estime de soi bafouées par l'arbitraire du régime. Corrélativement, les Juifs soviétiques se mettent à transposer les valeurs soviétiques d'héroïsme et de sacrifice de soi sur leur propre héritage culturel en réaction à la propagande soviétique et à ses mythes antisémites promus depuis la Seconde Guerre Mondiale.

Summary

This article analyzes the influence of the Soviet authorities upon the development of the Russian-Jewish identity from the Six-Day War in 1967 until the end of the Perestroïka in 1989. Specifically, it focuses upon the impact of Soviet national discrimination on the refuseniks, the Soviet citizens who applied for emigration visas to Israel and whose requests were arbitrarily rejected. It appears that the refuseniks' search for their national identity and dignity was paradoxically shaped and enhanced by the discriminatory practices and anti-semitic propaganda of the Soviet authorities. In fact, many Soviet Jews decided to emigrate to Israel as a last resort to preserve their own national self-esteem shattered by the abusive behavior of the Soviet power and society. Concurrently and ironically, the Soviet Jews started to transpose onto their Jewish heritage the values promoted by the Second World War Soviet propaganda both as a result of their identity loss and as a defense to the anti-semitic myths of the « Great Patriotic War ».

Sarah Fainberg, Normalienne (Ulm), titulaire d'un DEA d'Analyse Comparative des Aires Politiques de l'IEP Paris intitulé « Les Refuzniks moscovites de la guerre des Six Jours à nos jours : l'identité juive comme réponse aux autorités soviétiques », Sarah Fainberg poursuit sa thèse sous la direction de Dominique Colas. Sa recherche, nourrie d'une enquête de terrain menée aux États-Unis, en Israël, en Russie et en Ukraine, porte sur les trajectoires identitaires des Juifs russes, de l'ère Brejnev à nos jours. Après avoir étudié à l'Université Hébraïque de Jérusalem et enseigné au Collège Français de Saint-Pétersbourg, elle parachève actuellement son travail bibliographique et son enquête de terrain à New York, où elle est visiting student à l'Université de Columbia.

Principales Publications :

« Les Juifs en Ukraine : entre protestations d'amitié et proclamations antisémites », *L'Arche*, n°559, pp. 92-96, octobre 2004.

« Identité et mémoires juives comme réponses aux autorités soviétiques : le cas des Refuzniks », *Altalena*, n°1, pp. 60-62, mai-juin-juillet 2004.

« Memorial ou l'émergence d'une société civile en Russie », site internet du CERI : <http://www.ceri-sciences.po.org>, mai 2002.

