

## **“Teaching them different Jewishness”: Two Voices of Family Memory and the Search for a New Jewish Identity**

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The paper is devoted to the formation and transmission of family memory in the families of Russian-speaking Jewish immigrants in France and French Ashkenazi Jews, often descendants of Jewish emigrants from Russia in the first half of the 20th century. Due to the prevalence of marriages between representatives of these groups in our sample, we are interested in how they work with the collective memory of their groups, how they pass it on to their children. Our task was to identify common themes and “conflict” situations, as well as possible correction of the transmitted memory: in particular, the ways the transmission of traumatic memory occurs in these families. A series of in-depth interviews and participant observations were conducted with each couple during two years. The main discourses for the transmission of family memory were identified: emigration, transnationalism, language issues, Jewish identity, anti-Semitism, war, the Holocaust, religious issues, cultural differences, neo-Marranism, political identity. The results indicate that in these families we can see points of external and interiorized “conflicts”. In the case of external conflicts, the difference in memories and interpretations of the spouses is recorded. For example, among Russian-speaking Jews, the family memory of the war correlates with the narrative of Soviet social memory: of those killed at the front, relatives at the front, the Leningrad siege and rarely with the Holocaust. For Ashkenazi French Jews, this is primarily the Holocaust, Jewish social memory. The image of a Jewish soldier, despite the fact that almost every family (25% of Jews in France, including immigrants, were in the Resistance)<sup>1</sup> has an ancestor who participated in the Resistance, in their minds is almost exclusively associated with Israel. The memory of direct, armed or unarmed resistance to fascism, which is so important for Russian-speaking Jews, in the case of French Jews, is rarely transmitted to children.

It is problematic for both spouses to pass on traumatic memories of anti-Semitism to their children. The so-called “negative identity”; based on the anti-Semitism of the environment is the basis of Jewish identity in many families. On the part of the immigrant ex-USSR spouse, this is a memory of state anti-Semitism. On the part of the French spouse, this is the family memory of the Holocaust, fueled by the unfavorable contemporary situation regarding antisemitism in Europe<sup>2</sup>. However, the transmission, conscious or automatic [Neuburger, 2011:32]<sup>3</sup>, of negative identity is in conflict with the challenges the social norm poses to modern parents.

### Sample and Methodology

Marriages with Ashkenazi descendants of immigrants from the Russian Empire are currently leading in my sample. (10 marriages), followed by marriages of Russian-speaking Jews among themselves (7), followed by marriages with non-Jews (4), marriages with Sephardic people (3). The age of interviewees is between 24 and 85 years, but the core of the sample consists of people of 35-55 y.o. as I am mostly interested in interviewing married couples with young children. It should be added that the majority of marriages with "foreigners" in question are marriages in which the wife is Russian-speaking. The number of marriages with Ashkenazi, descendants of immigrants, was somewhat unexpected for me. In my opinion, such a considerable number of these marriages is associated with a similar identity situation among representatives of these two cohorts. Anti-Semitism plays a huge role in the self-identification of both although in the case of descendants of immigrants it is predominantly the Holocaust whereas in the case of Russian-speaking Jews it is primarily the soviet state anti-Semitism. Eventually, we can observe two traumatic transmissions in the same family.

Methodologically, my fieldwork consists of a series of in-depth interviews and a series of participant observations with several members of the same families, as well as a series of participant observations in other social situations, such as Jewish wedding, Jewish holiday celebrations in Russian-speaking and French-speaking Jewish communities, participation in family celebrations and Shabbat en famille. The circle of informants gradually expanded through the snowball method. As a result of the first series of fieldwork (January-June 2019), I conducted several exploratory interviews, formed a core of three families, with whom I continued to maintain contact and collect information for two years.

In the second series of fieldwork (October 2019-March 2020), I deliberately turned to the circle of persons not associated with the previous circle. I didn't set out to present an accurate sample of religious, secular, "cultural" Jews. Rather, my goal was to more fully present a

section of the Russian-speaking Jewish community of modern France. Therefore, both generally more religious representatives of the younger generation, and less religious, but more attached to the Russian-speaking community, older people, came into my field of vision. Continuing, with all the restrictions of the sanitary crisis of 2020-2021, to participate in the life of the community, as well as in rare family activities of informants from the first and second groups, I began the third series of interviews, mainly consisting of online interviews and online “mini-focus groups” with the participation of family members with whom one or more meetings had already been held. Family configurations are diverse: these are nuclear families, single parent families, blended families, also older partners with adult children.

Twenty one (21) of the interviews taken are FSU Jews; six (6) interviews with French descendants of Russian Jews; one (1) interview with a Russian convert married to a French Jew of Russian origin; one (1) interview with a French Sephardic Jew (2<sup>nd</sup> generation of immigrants from Morocco). The interviewees were chosen following my observations in the field, both offline and online (on social networks). A priori, the combination of these two sources, results in a slightly wider contact spectrum than the snowball method. Several topics were discussed during the interview: "self-representation" or self-identification as a Jew, a Russian or post-soviet, a Russian or post-soviet Jew, or rather by profession, by status, by family, by geographical origin; the practices and behaviors through which the actors confirm their identity (s), their links with Russia, their links with Israel, religious practices and their evolution since arriving in France, but also their life conditions and lifestyles in France, the education of their children, questions of language, bilingualism; their family relations in France, and also the way of keeping family relations at a distance.

During the participant observations, I was primarily interested in non-verbal automatic transmissions of memory and values, patterns of behavior, social status, and symbolic capital. Through conversation or through practices, parents preserve and pass on family memory, thus "fitting" children into the lineage. This allows tracing the process of social reproduction: along with the transmission of heritage, actors transmit their personal and / or family social status. Here we also see the need to analyze the correlation of the transmitted family histories with the social trajectories of agents.

Ways of preserving memories and objects associated with them were also under review: photo albums, “children's” boxes with little dear memorial objects, creating of a “child’s e-mailbox” and other forms of “time capsules”. This material clearly showed the "ratio" of two family memories transmitted by father and mother.

When analyzing interviews, I use the biographical method. The method suggests the collection and analysis of life stories of immigrants and, eventually, descendants of immigrants with varied family and social trajectories. These stories have been the subject of an in-depth analysis: an analysis of each story itself; a hypothetico-deductive approach to the integrity of the stories (by comparing the hypothesis and the various indicators defined with field data); an inductive analysis by identifying cross-cutting themes to all the stories. When interviewing younger generation I also asked the interviewees to draw their family, interviewee in the middle, and the relations between the members of the family with each other and with the interviewee. This method<sup>4</sup> allows to analyze the roles of family members in transmission, which is pertinent especially in immigration, when families can be split among countries.

As I am interested in the role of family transmission in the construction of identity, I also focus on interviews with parents and children of the same family. Interviews with representatives of different generations of the same family make it possible to identify relevant points of automatic and voluntary transmission [Poisson, 1993:74], to follow the transformation of family memory and the construction of identity in relation to one's Jewishness, that is to say "the fact and the manner of being Jewish" [Memmi, 1966: 68] and to the range of "Judaisms" [Bordes-Benayoun, 2015:7]. The transmission of belonging to a certain social class also attracts my attention, as the immigration factor sometimes plays a key role in the dilemma the parents face : their own position after the immigration is rarely the same as in the country of origin [De Villiers, 2009: 206]<sup>5</sup>.

I study the variations of Jewish self-identification of brothers and sisters, but also their multiple identities, taking into consideration their experience of transnationalism, multilingualism, a specific multiculturalism of diaspora along with possible "outdated" self-identifications used among secondary diaspora (like "bundists"<sup>6</sup> or "misnageds"<sup>7</sup>): the phenomenon to which A. Muxel gave the name of "archeological memory" [Muxel, 1996], and possible traumatic family memories related to immigration or other difficult pages of family history. Forgetting and refusal to transmit is also an object of this study. It is quite often that a memory about emigration is erased or hugely edited with just several stories allowed to be told [De Villiers, 2009: 212, Gousseff, 2001]. It is done for multiple reasons, one of which is to force one's children to integrate as soon as possible. In the case of Russian Jews there also exist never transmitted memories on emigration, but also family memories about The Second World War, Soviet State Anti-Semitism, The Shoah, The GULAG and other traumatic and even controversial memories.

### Negative identity renders transmission of trauma obligatory

My task was to identify common themes and “conflict” situations, as well as possible -willing or unwilling - correction of the transmitted memory: in particular, how the transmission of traumatic memory occurs in these families. A vast majority of Ashkenazi Jews in France are not strictly observant religious Jews. Despite the fact that in the life of most of them, especially with the emergence of their own family and children, there is a certain level of attention to the Jewish tradition: it can be Jewish holidays, Jewish cuisine or Jewish books for children, mostly they are not members of the Jewish community, never or very rarely attend synagogue, do not observe religious precepts such as kosher or prayers. It is also worth noting that in France, despite the serious large-scale debate of last decades, it is still widely believed that being Jewish means being an observant religious Jew. Thus, my informants, both Russian-speaking immigrants and French, find themselves in a rather difficult position of identity searches and contradictions: they live in France, consider themselves Jewish, but they are not religious. The so-called "negative identity" based on the anti-Semitism of others is often the basis of Jewish identity in these families:

“My Jewishness makes itself felt only in everything that is related to mass murder of Jews during the war. I can neither watch movies nor read books on this topic. Any anti-Semitic demarches annoy me very much whether they be statements or actions. Obviously, I feel like a Jew only when Jews are offended”.<sup>8</sup>

Many informants point out that it was fundamental for them to find a spouse with a similar identity. Due to the fact that the reaction to anti-Semitism is the basis of their identity, it is problematic, but at the same time necessary for both spouses to pass on the traumatic memory of anti-Semitism to children:

“I suffered so much from anti-Semitism in school, in my youth, that I had a moment like in “Gone with the Wind”. At the prom night, I looked up and thought to myself that I would do absolutely everything possible to prevent my children from going to Soviet school. It was a nightmare. And it happened, yeah, that I left, I had a baby in America. And at one point he comes up to me and he says to me, Mom, what is anti-Semitism? I think – good heavens! For me, as a Russian-speaking and European Jew, self-identification as a Jew and anti-Semitism are inseparable. For me, Jewishness is in opposition, in resistance. Partially. Americans don't have this confrontation. This clearly oxidizes their Jewish identity to some extent. It is different. And when my son asked me this question, I said to myself, now I am for a lot of work, because I have a lot to explain to him”.<sup>9</sup>

Negative identity, defining oneself through anti-Semitism (one can often hear the expression that anti-Semitism is the cement that holds the Jewish people together), in fact, confronts a person with a paradoxical choice: transferring to children the traumatic experience of anti-Semitism as the basis of identity or oblivion, rejection of his own Jewish identity in order to not transmit this trauma to children. Here is an excerpt from an interview with a Soviet Jew severely traumatized by Soviet anti-Semitism.

“One of those moments for which I love France is that in this country I go unnoticed, and no one sticks labels on me from the first contact ... My two children from my second marriage ... for a long time I didn't tell them anything about my Jewishness. I decided to tell them only before I was baptized. They were both in their thirties. I was very worried, because they were convinced that I was Russian. And suddenly I tell them that I am a Jew, despite the fact that the concept of a Jew in France is interpreted in a completely different way. After all, it is interesting for me to answer your questions, although they harass me like an old wound. But you have nothing to do with it: it's just life... ”<sup>10</sup>

Resuming the above, the traumatic memory that is likely to be transmitted by post-soviet Jews includes the Great Patriotic war (Leningrad siege, deaths in the family and country-wide, victory); State anti-Semitism (university quotas, careers blockage, doctors' plot<sup>11</sup>, Stalinist repressions), double life. In their turn, the French Ashkenazi Jews are likely to transmit the memory of the Holocaust, Nazi occupation, Resistance, hiding, cover-up. With all that, the unfavorable situation with anti-Semitism in contemporary France<sup>12</sup> raises an actual security question for many.

### Two chapters of Jewish memory about the war: The Holocaust and the battlefield

As part of this presentation, I would like to dwell in more detail on how the memory of the war is transmitted. This focus is associated, in particular, with the fact that, despite the fact that for both cohorts, the memory of the war is extremely important and undoubtedly a priority for passing on to children, *what* is important for them and how they transmit, is obviously different.

“For me, May 9<sup>th</sup> is a holy day. My grandfather was a tank commander. He was literally the war hero, and a veteran. He moved with Soviet troops from Brest to the Reichstag. The whole crew were awarded Heroes of The Soviet Union, except for the commander – clearly: he was a Jew. But he had the Medal of the Red Banner. Anyway, he was a real hero, for whom the sky was the limit. And each year on May 9<sup>th</sup> he just drank and cried. In France, this holiday has always been celebrated on the sly. Well, it is quite evident: France collaborated. Anyway, for some time my husband failed to understand why it was so important for me. And me, how can I not celebrate it? I have to drink, I have to sing songs, watch films about this war, I have to tell my children all this all over again. My husband's family

had finally an absolutely different war experience, the one from its “western end”. His parents were among those hidden children of the war. His grandfather, however, was in the Resistance. But still, they lived through a completely different war. <sup>13</sup>

We can see that among Russian-speaking Jews, the family memory of the war correlates with the narrative of Soviet social memory: the memory of those killed at the front, relatives at the front, and the siege. In emigration, this “Russian” part is often strengthened, being one of the manifestations of homesickness. It is also important to note that the Holocaust is a relatively new topic for Russian-speaking Jews over 40; they were not recipients of this family transmission in childhood.

“We knew nothing about the Holocaust. I grew up five hundred meters from the ravine in which the Jews of my city were shot. I didn't know anything about it. There was a stella with a six-pointed star, which stood very modestly at the edge of the ravine. In general, the six-pointed star was considered something shameful, therefore, it seems to me, they tried not to look at it. And yet, often this monument was smeared over, painted over, covered with some kind of graffiti. My sister and I had a very difficult time at school: we got everything there: group beatings, boycotts. My class and I once went to the park, approached the ravine, I saw this stella up close for the first time. I saw that it was "in memory of Soviet citizens who were shot by the Nazis." I saw this star. And I saw the faces of my classmates, they were grinning, giggling, watching me look at this stella. They were amused that I stood and looked at this stella. I remember that for sure. I grew up five hundred meters from this ravine and I did not know anything about it. Until I came across this stella myself. <sup>14</sup>

This other informant emphasizes the fact that all she knew about the Holocaust being a child she “overheard” in rare conversations among the family members:

“I knew that the Germans did not like Jews. That Jews were shot. But I did not know the scale, I knew that my grandmother had been taken to the Gestapo. But again, nobody told me this. Only when I hid under the table, I could hear something”.<sup>15</sup>

The informants agree on the fact that Perestroika, which for most of them coincided with their maturity brought about a stream of new information about the Holocaust.

“At the same time, I knew nothing about the Holocaust. Only after Perestroika, when, you know, they began to talk a lot. But seriously, I really found out what had happened only when I left the country”.<sup>16</sup>

We should also mention the fate of “The Black Book of Soviet Jewry”, the core book about the Holocaust in the USSR. Written by journalists Ehrenburg and Grossman, it was banned for many decades in the USSR, and was not published until 1991 (Ukraine) and 1993 (Russia). However, even in post-Soviet time the book, although it became famous, has been read by few, mainly by specialists.

“Already in the 90s I read the Black Book. This was probably the hardest book, I read it for a very long time. I then fell into the first depression, probably. I always read voraciously. This book killed me. I remember some scenes, whole sentences.”<sup>17</sup>

“The Black Book seems to have been missed and forgotten. At the same time, in the nineties, post-Soviet Jews at first learned about the Holocaust in Europe, Poland, etc. Western books. The Black book is unbearable. It is unbearable for a person with at least some degree of humanity. And I can tell, I’ve read a lot about the Holocaust. It is very truthful. There are practically no artistic techniques in it that would soften the perception.”<sup>18</sup>

To the contrary, in the case of French Jews, this is primarily the Holocaust, Jewish social memory that has been transmitted about the war period. According L. Lazare [Lazare, 1987:22],<sup>19</sup> 25% of Jews in France (340.000), including immigrants (40% of the Jewish population of the country in 1941), participated in the Resistance. Despite the fact that in almost every family there is an ancestor who participated in the Resistance, the image of a Jewish soldier is associated in their mind almost exclusively with Israel. It seems that the memory of the Resistance, in particular, of the armed resistance to fascism, which is so important for Russian-speaking Jews, in the case of French Jews, is hardly transmitted to children. However, the memory of the Holocaust in the context in which it was formed during the years when our French informants or their parents were children also differs from what we see now. Interestingly, in the first twenty to thirty years, the French official “picture” of the Holocaust was very similar to the Soviet one. This is important for us, as it affects the “blind” or, better to say, mute zones that still exist in the family transmission in this regard. We know that the Soviet press, Soviet propaganda in all the testimonies related to the Holocaust and sometimes to Jews at the front systematically and consistently replaced the word “Jews” with the words “Soviet citizens”. Exactly the same thing was happening in France. A. Wiewiorka's description of the history of the creation of a monument to the victims of Nazism at the Père la Chaise cemetery, where the ashes of 180,000 French victims were buried in Birkenau could serve as an example. None of the speakers at the opening indicated that the victims were Jewish. However, speakers mentioned that almost all the victims had been communists. They also talked about the Soviet “Army of workers and peasants”, which had liberated Auschwitz<sup>20</sup>.



## The discourse of the motives of the Red Army and the Resistance Jewish soldiers

It is well-known that not just manifesting of one's Jewishness but even mentioning it received the rebuff from the leadership of the Red army. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee was not allowed to focus on the "heroic service of Jews in the Red Army" in its publications. the idea of creating Jewish formations to fight the Nazis, which was advocated by the Committee was also rejected. It must be said that such "bashfulness" was also characteristic of the policy of the French Communist Party during the Resistance. Nevertheless, at some point separate Jewish Resistance groups appeared in FCP, partly because of anti-Semitism, and partly because of language difficulties.

M. Altshuller [Altshuller, 2010:244] points out that the topic of the struggle of the Soviet Jews against the Nazis requires careful research on "whether this struggle was caused by specifically national factors and motives, and if so, to what extent, in other words, how legitimate it is to talk about the struggle of Jews against Nazism".<sup>21</sup> Annette Wieviorka [Wieviorka, 1997: 490] asks a similar question: "Did the resistance activists find "extraordinary consolation" in the fact that "the salvation of the Jews and the salvation of communism were interconnected?"<sup>22</sup>

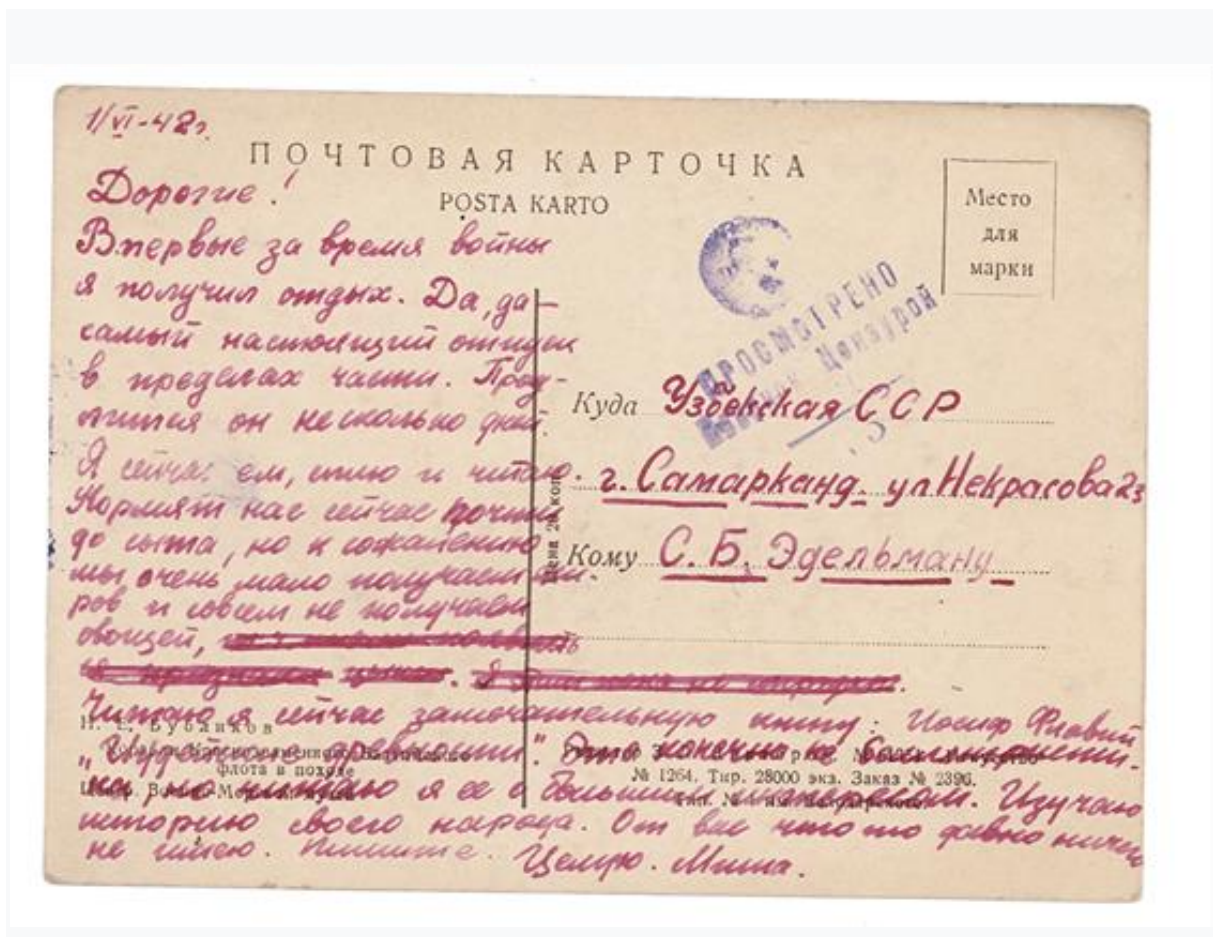
In my opinion, such a study does not seem epistemologically possible due to the very complex "identity tangle" of both Soviet and Central European Jewish migrants in France at that time. The following quote from the speech of "a Jew Mashkov" at a regular military meeting (1944) shows this problem explicitly. "The Germans in the summer of 1941 destroyed not only my entire family, but the entire Jewish population in a Jewish shtetl in Belorussia. I swear that I will mercilessly destroy the fascist monsters, brutally avenge my people, for all the atrocities the fascists committed on the Soviet soil."<sup>23</sup>

Soviet Jewish journalists also used the ambiguity of the expression "my people" to "fool the censor", as in the USSR it was also a question of censorship. Numerous testimonies show that any emphasis on one's Jewish origin, the division into "Jewish" people and "Soviet" people could lead to all sorts of troubles. For example, here is an excerpt from an essay about the memoirs of G.Mirlin, a soldier of the Red army. "During the war, Mirlin, as we understand from his text, is not guided by a specifically Jewish motivation (or at least, after five decades, he does not write about it in his memoirs). This is surprising, because Mirlin went with the troops from Rzhev to Berlin and then Prague, across all of Ukraine, where his wife's relatives lived. Nor does he mention the mass extermination of Jews when describing the liberation of

Poland. Even in letters to his wife, he never raises this topic. Perhaps he understood the rules of the game and did not want to stand out, climbing higher and higher on the career ladder (he ended the war as a lieutenant colonel of intelligence). Even in letters to his son, born shortly before 1941, he notes that the letters to children are read by military censorship."<sup>24</sup>

Let us cite, however, as a counterexample, a postcard sent home from the front by another soldier, M. Edelman. Here, among other things, he writes that he began to read the fundamental work: "Antiquities of the Jews" by Josephus: "I am now reading a wonderful book: Josephus Flavius "Antiquities of the Jews." This, of course, is not fiction, but I am reading it with great interest. Studying the history of *my people*".

"Antiquities of the Jews", in fact, is one of the central works that constructed Jewish heroic national identity. And, of course, this is about the people, about the ethnos<sup>25</sup>.



The texts published by the JAC were aimed to fight the myth about cowardly Jews hiding from the front, evacuating, that was wide-spread already by the middle of the war. It was then when a famous journalist Ilya Ehrenburg decided to launch a series of publications on this topic. However, this idea was rejected by the authorities with the explanation that special mentioning of the exploits of Jews would mean showing off. Taken together, the policy of the authorities, the anti-Semitic military myth, and the news of atrocities against the Jewish

population, and often the horrors of the Holocaust seen with their own eyes, pushed Jewish soldiers to rethink their own role in this war and their own identity.

In France, during the war, Jewish soldiers encounter similar identity contradictions. It was the immigrants who were the most numerous among these Resistance fighters. This involvement was driven by several factors, both sociological and political. It is also important to note that for a Central European Jew (and most of the Jewish immigrants in France were of this origin) being a communist and not giving up one's Jewishness was not a contradiction. The integrationist point of view of the Communist Party however made them decide on their identity. It is also worth noting that an important part of the Jewish Resistance was Zionists. And, for example, The "Joint" Committee, which was the main supplier of funds for the Jewish resistance, refused to subsidize Jewish PCF battalions to prevent subsidies from being paid to communist groups.

#### After the war: memory and heritage

« J'ai mis tellement de temps pour oublier... »  
(Collette, The French Resistance fighter)<sup>26</sup>

Despite the official rejection of the topic of Jews at the front and war-period anti-Semitism, during the war and first post-war years, a series of brochures devoted to Jewish hero soldiers at war were published by "Der Emes" (in Yiddish). As M. Makarova<sup>27</sup> mentions, probably, the goal of these publications was to evoke Jewish national pride. There were also several publications during the War, also by "Der Emes". Among them "Jews and the Great Patriotic War" (1941). To the contrary, the right-after-the war exhibition devoted to the same topic and thoroughly prepared by the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee never happened, being banned by the Soviet authorities.

Why would it be important for us to understand how Soviet and French Jews perceived their participation in military operations? Despite the fact that, probably, their attitude and their assessment of the situation has changed over time, nevertheless, their motivation plays an important role in how they perceived the war and their participation in it. And what and how they told their children and grandchildren about it. In a nutshell, their experience and their further analysis of this experience affects their descendants' perception of war.

All these internal contradictions, as well as a rather serious post-war outflow of the Resistance participants to Palestine, the emergence of the State of Israel confused the

relationship in the Jewish resistance during the war even more. In short, then it was easier not to remember.

“This is part of the diaspora, if you will. This is part of accepting the position of society on oneself. In the USSR they did not talk about the Holocaust, and here it was better not to remember many things, moreover, these were often unbearable memories. My grandmother was tortured by the Gestapo in front of her children. And after the war, it was generally not customary to talk about war here [in France], not to provoke a civil war immediately after the world war”.<sup>28</sup>

Subsequently, in the 1960s, there was a rise in interest in the topic. But of the three books of memoirs published between 1970-1973, two describe only the actions of Jewish communist organizations and leave aside the actions of other groups<sup>29</sup>; as for the third<sup>30</sup>, it is, on the contrary, strongly Zionist, since its author believes that the culmination of the Resistance was the creation of the state of Israel. A scientific approach to this topic does not appear until the mid-eighties. But it is important for us to understand exactly how memory was spread and inherited, and not scientific research in this area.

As the historian O. Budnitsky [Budnitsky, 2010] notes, “These are already different people, those who write and tell the story, not at all the same as what they were during the war. Life experience, environment, books read and films seen, decades of propaganda - all this cannot but affect the content of written or spoken texts. Sometimes war veterans, without even noticing it, insert some scenes from the films they watched into their stories, sometimes they argue with fiction they have read or seen after the war.”<sup>31</sup>

Despite the fact that their perception of the events and even their memories could have changed with time, we have considered the direct experience of participants and contemporaries of war and military operations, as well as their interpretations of this experience after the war. Now, I would like to concentrate on how the next generations of their families work with the memory they have inherited.

It is worth mentioning that in the USSR, the "canonization" of the memory of the war, the construction of an official social memory of the war, the "myth" of the war, was consistently developed already in the 1960s<sup>32</sup>. In the Brezhnev's era one could witness the emergence of numerous films, monuments, Victory Parades on the 9<sup>th</sup> May (before that period there were hardly any), patriotic education at school contained a lot of The Great Patriotic war. So, it is fair to assume that the following generations somehow inherit their family memory (this complicated set of memory, pride, shame, censorship, trauma and oblivion) as well as the State official memory of the war, developed in the Brezhnev's period.

The following passage expresses the combination of both main topics of the war: the Holocaust and the battlefield, but in fact, Jewish and interiorized soviet official memory about the war.

“Then I fell into all this [the theme of the Holocaust], when I left, I began to read about it. I feel like I carried the knowledge of the Holocaust with me all the time. And at the same time, the fact that my grandparents resisted this horror, that my grandfathers fought, that my grandmother was a military nurse, she worked in a hospital throughout the war, all this gave me a completely different status, a different attitude, a sense of heroism. I have a very strong sense of the Holocaust, but also a sense of military heroism. I can’t look at the Motherland Calls statue without my eyes watering. I cannot hear war songs. I cannot finish a single military song. Even “A holiday with tears in one’s eyes”. Because for me it is very, very important. This is what my grandfathers did, not that they won there, but that they stood up under the bullets. My grandfather went to war, he was 15 years old. He was on fire in a tank, and everyone around him was on fire. Probably because of compassion it is so important to me.”<sup>33</sup>

The informant mentions soviet war songs, the famous statue Motherland Calls and quotes a line from a Brezhnev’s time song, dedicated to the memory of the war and the 9<sup>th</sup> May “a holiday with tears in one’s eyes”. Other informants stress out the profound difference in the perception of the war years between themselves and their French spouses.

“But we look differently. We have a perception of the war that shaped the nation. No matter how we relate to the USSR, this war shaped the nation. This was not the case in France: they didn’t have this “There is a people’s war, there is a holy war” [a quote from a very well-known Soviet war song]. There was no catalyst to unite Jews with the French in the struggle. And anti-Semitic laws even before the war. After the war, there was practically a civil war here. Those who resisted and those who collaborated, they almost strangled each other here.”<sup>34</sup>

Sometimes, through different military experiences of older relatives, family relationships of their descendants can even be problematized. The echo of the Holocaust can shape the behavior and the self-awareness of the descendants of French Jews.

“Did your family history affect you as a child? – Yes, of course, for a lot of reasons, because when you’re in kindergarten, when you don’t have grandparents, it’s unique. Well, until the age of 16-17, not having any of grandparents is exceptional, people find it weird, and children like me, we found ourselves weird<sup>35</sup>.

“My mother hammered it into my head that everyone survived at war because they were hiding. My mother told me: the fact that you exist today is a miracle. And I thought, in fact, I am here by accident,

my life is not normal. And my parents are living abnormal lives. And I asked myself if I have the right to exist at all? ”<sup>36</sup>

Subconsciously, the informants put the two Jewish war experiences of their ancestors in a sort of opposition to one another. The heirs of the Soviet (to a large extent officially constructed) social memory oppose to the hiding experience transmitted to the French Jews by their grandparents.

“I’ll tell you why we fought over the Holocaust. My husband has a part of the family off Treblinka. His family history is a map of concentration camps. We once talked with him about the Holocaust, he told me: what do you know? Nobody from your family died in camps. And it hurt me very much. Because you can not appropriate death. Nobody has the right. In the same way that I have no right to appropriate the heroism of my grandfather”<sup>37</sup>.

“My husband has a completely different feeling, because his parents were hidden children. The Holocaust affected them in a different way. These are people who tried to survive during the war. They have complete indifference to someone else’s life, because they needed to save theirs. When you live like this for years, it becomes a habit. They are very kind people, but at some point you see that they can cut everything off, because the most important thing is to save your life. They *survived*. Mine behaved completely differently. They *resisted*. Well or badly, but they resisted. These are completely different positions.”<sup>38</sup>

### Transmitting traumatizing memory to one’s own children

We know that the externalization of personal memories is an important contribution to the restructuring of the transmitted memory corpus. The texts and images that groups create are associated with the individual memories of the members of these groups – whether they are contemporaries of the events or those who inherit this memory. These memories are then reformulated, edited and presented in specific forms. In fact, we can say that individuals remember repetitive patterns of events that are subject to external influences and undergo changes over the years. And at this point oblivion appears not as an inability to remember, but as an ability not to remember. As a sociologist of memory Anne Muxel<sup>39</sup> notes, the phenomenon of “oblivion” plays a decisive role in family memory and transmission, its function in a conflict situation can be the interiorization of new values, finding ways to “reconcile” conflicting values, as well as rethinking and “correcting” the transmitted memory.

What to pass on to children. How to raise them. What should one say to them about being Jewish? How to convey your knowledge and experience, your trauma, without injuring them

and making them live “somebody else’s life.” These are the questions many informants ask themselves.

“If I don’t explain to them the Holocaust, if I don’t explain how important it is to remain Jewish, then all these generations will come to naught. If I pass on traditions, worldview, philosophy – if I pass on all this, but I do not tell what it cost to keep it, then my teenage son will not realize the value of the thing and why it is so necessary to hold on to it.”<sup>40</sup>

There is also some part of the memory that the ancestors did not want to be transmitted, the memories they might have told their spouses at the moment of “weakness” or even never shared with anybody, but there were other witnesses. The war evidence and the war experience is full of such memories/oblivions, that are transmitted discreetly between generations.

“When I was already an adult, my mother told me – my grandfather never talked about this – that when they entered Potsdam, immediately after the victory, they shot men, women, children, and then drove over them with a tank. He was in Bogdanov’s army. They were called “bandits”, they did what they wanted. It turns out such a contradiction. A three-dimensional picture with which it is not clear how to be. There is a heroic picture and dirt. Both are true. We know both. And the fact that we “liberated” half of Europe? What about this? I cannot say that I am proud of the victory. Because it’s too embarrassing. I cannot say that I am ashamed because I have done so much. I am proud of my two grandfathers. Everything they did during the war, they did for their family. For my crazy Jewish family. Grandfathers, yes, they hated watching Soviet films about the war, because “it was all lies.”<sup>41</sup>

We see in this interview excerpt a rejection or condemnation of events or analysis of events related to social memory. The desire to evaluate actions and events in the life of the country and / or people in relation to their own family, a wish to stay at the “family” level. “He did it for his family,” “I know, the most important thing for him was his family,” etc. But there are also other difficult subjects, related to the family and social memory of the former USSR, over which certain informants stumble and have to decide whether it is worth transmitting them and what for.

“I only learned a year ago that my late grandfather was in the NKVD<sup>42</sup>. At the same time, he was the son of an “enemy of the people”. You know, it's impossible not to mention it. It would mean that I don't talk about my family. Nothing matters but your family. I do not know what my grandfather did in the NKVD, I suspect that it was nothing good. Because he always told some tales and jokes even about the war, some songs that they sang in a military band. He never said anything about the NKVD. He couldn't tell anything good about this job.”<sup>43</sup>

Answering the question “why transmit such traumatizing, awkward memories” informants often talk about the lineage and the necessity of knowing one’s roots, which means knowing the history of the country one’s relatives used to live in.

“Without this, it is also impossible to understand previous generations. I tell my children a lot about their grandparents. They inhabit their folklore. “Tell me about Shunik, tell me about Monya.” I loved my grandparents very much. If I only tell funny stories, if I don't tell what they really were, and they were real during the war and real during anti-Semitism. Then they will remain as guignol characters. That will take away a lot from my children, from their self-awareness.”<sup>44</sup>

Sometimes it might even sound that it would be the trauma itself that the parents seek to share to pass their Jewish identity on to their children. This transmission of the trauma without traumatizing the recipient can be considered as one of the characteristic features of the Jewish identity transmission in non-observant Jewish families.

“My husband and I talk about upbringing all the time. I recently thought about how to combine Yiddishkeit and the task of raising a happy person. My elder daughter will soon be eight years old. And I understand that I cannot talk to her about the Holocaust. I just can't find a moment to introduce the theme. But I know this is absolutely necessary. Because if I don't give it to them, they won't be able to become full-fledged Jews. My experience was different. I was traumatized by anti-Semitism. My husband and I are both traumatized by our Jewishness, but in different ways. I am forty-six years old, sometimes I do not sleep at night, because I again dream of the faces of my classmates. I feel that everyone wants to hurt me and no one loves me. I don't know how to transmit this to my daughter. How not to injure. But I have to give it because it is part of the tradition. If I don't give it, then everything that my mother, my grandmother, her grandmother did - then all this is in vain. Being Jewish, especially being a Jewish woman, is a big burden. Because you bear all this responsibility on yourself. Because you have to pass it on. ”<sup>45</sup>

#### Jewishness as disgrace. Neo-Marranism

A certain number of informants mention their own, or, more often, their older relatives’ feeling of shame while their Jewishness was mentioned, or made obvious. In their childhood they often witnessed behavior related to such shame: not pronouncing the word “Jew” (there were often various substitutes for the J-word, like “one of us”, etc) or avoiding Jewish symbols.

“But firstly, the six-pointed star is a shameful symbol, they tried not to look at it, they tried to get away from it. My mother told me that in her childhood she had been ashamed of being Jewish. Jews tried to ignore the six-pointed star if they saw it somewhere. Not to notice it. As at a naked person - you try not to look”<sup>46</sup>.



The direct natural transmission of the culture and traditions and other specific Jewish knowledge didn't take place either, giving way to "Marran-like" practices.

If I asked to tell about Jewish history, customs, my grandmother tightly pressed her lips together and did not say anything. They were very afraid. Even after Stalin, Khrushchev, or anyone else. And so strange - they were afraid, but appreciated one's Jewishness. It was so important. Also, home celebrations. Quietly for Hanukkah they used to give us haneke-gelt. She knew when Jewish holidays took place. She had a calendar: they brought her one from Moscow".<sup>47</sup>

"I grew up on Gefilte fish and chicken broth. And at the same time, my grandmother could tell me that she was not Jewish. Hiding in the basement synagogues. If you weren't hiding, the only thing left for you was your way of life. On Friday, for some reason, we all had dinner with our family, it was not called Shabbat, but it was still a very important moment in the life of our family. It was very different from non-Jewish others. "<sup>48</sup>

One can notice that most interviewees oppose the so-called neo-Marranism of their families, indicating that especially for non-observant Jewish children it is still easier nowadays to follow some Jewish traditions and to have certain interests related to their Jewish identity, like Jewish clubs, activities, and even Jewish schools etc.

"My sister and I, we lived in the imperative 'keep silence and hide', there was no need to show who we are, etc. I have experienced the trauma of my parents, who transferred it to me. I don't want this injury to be passed on. "<sup>49</sup>

"We had a completely different attitude towards Jewry than children can have today, frankly, us too. It was the Jewish world within French society. It was ... now, we are here in a Jewish restaurant, with our older relatives, Holocaust survivors, speaking Yiddish, or French with a strong Yiddish accent and then, five minutes later, we were going out, playing with our neighbors downstairs, who were ethnic French, Catholic and so on. They did not know anything about what we were doing five minutes earlier, and it did not concern them, and it was convenient for everyone. "<sup>50</sup>

This "neo-Marranism" is also present in what the older generation passed on to Russian-speaking Jews. For example:

"I understand now that the adults knew something. But there was a tradition not to emphasize anything Jewish. Moreover, never in my life would my family designate themselves as Russians [in their Soviet passports]. Well, never in my life. Ruled out. But not to accentuate, because it is dangerous. "<sup>51</sup>

It is also characteristic of post-soviet Jews to re-consider their practices and/or their identity, as well as analyze the pattern of their upbringing in their families after they have children of their own in new circumstances.

“It was only when I met my husband that I realized that one needs to have a vision to transmit one’s Jewishness. Judaism used to be mine, but I was selfish about it. Yes, my son participated in the Sabbaths and so on, but that’s all. And with this new marriage, I realized that - yes, indeed, I have a child to bring up. And I let him not be a Jew. I basically did the same thing that they did to me in my house. I reproduced the same pattern: silence. And when I first met my husband, I thought - why am I doing this? It’s not scary any longer, it’s already possible. I won’t be punished for that”.<sup>52</sup>

François de Singly [Singly, 2017]<sup>53</sup> writes about the challenges modern parents are facing. The first challenge is social: it is associated with the transmission of cultural heritage, values, norms and traditions. The second challenge is related to the modern norms of family psychology and childhood psychology: the child must be happy, she must be able to fully realize herself.

“Each generation is different from the generation of its parents. And I absolutely do not want to traumatize them the way our parents and grandparents traumatized us. To live in fear - no way. I want them to be Jews and at the same time live an ordinary happy life. I do not know if this is possible, but I will try ”<sup>54</sup>

It can be assumed that the very fact of emigration plays a special role in the growth of interest in the study of history and family heritage. In this case, the process of building family "belonging", like the reconstruction of the past, becomes fundamental in the process of building identity. François de Singly mentions the conflict between personalization and "socialization" as well as the tension that lies between social reproduction and personal identity. Indeed, the informants talk about a common "value system", "moral code", "moral norms", "value orientations" of the Eastern Ashkenazi / Russian-speaking Jews and their descendants. There is a discourse for the transmission of these "norms" and "standards", including the standard of high social status: academic success, career success, numerous broad ties, that is, cultural and social capital. Their desire to “look good” is understandable against the backdrop of a close-knit and developed Sephardic community. Immigration contributes to the fact that it is family and social memory that comes to the fore, the memory of generations of European Jews, which is cultivated and preserved for transmission to descendants. However the need to transfer cultural heritage, values and traditions, which for Jews is an important marker of social status are sometimes in contradiction to modern norms of childhood psychology: the child should be

happy and integrated into society. The desire of certain informants to break up with “hiding” and “negative identity”, to “teach children a different Jewishness,” a different identity, which often the informants themselves do not possess, reminds us of the role of oblivion in family memory, which helps to come to something new through transmission, preserving the image of the past.

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<sup>1</sup>Lazare, L. (1987). *La résistance juive en France*. Stock.

<sup>2</sup> See for example Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism - Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU (2018): <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/experiences-and-perceptions-antisemitism-second-survey-discrimination-and-hate>.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Neuburger, *Le mythe familial*, Paris, ESF., 2011 [1995], p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> The method is borrowed from the study: Billaud, S., Gollac, S., Oeser, A., Pagis J. (2015). *Histoires de famille. Les récits du passé dans la parenté contemporaine*.

<sup>5</sup> De VILLIER J. *Les rapports de genre à l'épreuve de la transmission. La représentation du couple chez les descendants d'immigrés marocains* in *Migrations société* 2009 / 3-4 (N° 123-124) PP.205-224 (P.206).

<sup>6</sup> Bundism is a secular socialist Jewish movement originated in The Russian Empire in 1897. Initiated as a trade union and a political party of Jewish proletariat, later Bund also focused on promoting Jewish cultural autonomism and Yiddishism: Yiddish language and Yiddish culture as core values. Therefore, Bund opposed itself to Zionism – the movement which promoted emigration to Palestine as a solution for the harsh social and political situation for Jews in Europe.

<sup>7</sup> Misnagdim was a religious movement that raised in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a classic rabbinical opposition to the Hassidic movement, which they considered heretical.

<sup>8</sup> *Interview* (2020) with an informant (F) born in Saint-Petersbourg in 1958, an interpreter, divorced (two marriages 1) with a Russian Jew, 2) with a French Askenazi Jew). Two children aged 32 and 25. In France since 1989.

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<sup>9</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Dniepropetrovsk in 1975. A singer. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. Has a son aged 17 from the first marriage (with an American Jew) and two daughters, aged 8 and 5 in her second marriage. Emigrated from Ukraine in 1990 (USA). In France since 2012.

<sup>10</sup> *Interview* (2020) with an informant (M) born in Siberia (in exile) in 1950. Lived in Moscow. An interpreter. Divorced. Married twice: 1) to a French Ashkenazi Jew 2) to a German-Latvian. 3 children aged 46, 25 and 27. In France since 1976.

<sup>11</sup> Doctor's plot was a part of Stalin's antisemitic repressions campaign in the late 1940s and until 1953.

<sup>12</sup> See for example Experiences and perceptions of antisemitism - Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU (2018): <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/experiences-and-perceptions-antisemitism-second-survey-discrimination-and-hate>

<sup>13</sup> *Interview* (2020) with an informant (F) born in Omsk in 1973. A historian. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. One child aged 7. In France since 2013.

<sup>14</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Dniepropetrovsk in 1975. A singer. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. Has a son aged 17 from the first marriage (with an American Jew) and two daughters, aged 8 and 5 in her second marriage. Emigrated from Ukraine in 1990 (USA). In France since 2012.

<sup>15</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant born in Kiev (Ukraine) in 1970. A cartoonist. Married to a Russian Jew. One daughter aged 9. Emigrated to Israel in 1990. In France since 2005.

<sup>16</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in 1973 in Vinnitsa (Ukraine). Married to a descendant of Russian Jewish immigrants of the 1920s. Two children aged 13 and 10. In France since 1991 (marriage). A French and Israeli citizen. Initially emigrated to Israel in 1990.

<sup>17</sup> *Interview* (2020) with an informant (F) born in Chisinau in 1974, an interpreter, married to a French Jew, 2 children aged 11 and 12. In France since 1992 (studies).

<sup>18</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Dniepropetrovsk in 1975. A singer. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. Has a son aged 17 from the first marriage (with an American Jew) and two daughters, aged 8 and 5 in her second marriage. Emigrated from Ukraine in 1990 (USA). In France since 2012.

<sup>19</sup> Lazare, L. (1987). *La résistance juive en France*. Stock.

<sup>20</sup> Wiewiorka, A. (1997). Graver dans la mémoire in Benbassa, E. (Ed.), *Transmission et passages en monde juif*. pp. (487-507). Publisud.

<sup>21</sup> Altshuller M. (2010). The struggle of Jews against Nazism and the participation of Jews in hostilities in the USSR: Soviet and Western historiography [Bor'ba evreev s nacizmom i uchastie evreev v boevyh dejstviyah v SSSR: sovetskaya i zapadnaya istoriografiya ] in Romanovsky, D., Zilberklang, D. (eds.) Jewish participation in the fight against Nazism and Jewish resistance [Uchastie evreev v bor'be s nacizmom i evrejskoe soprotivlenie]. Yad Vashem. p. 244. (cit. ex. Makarova, M. (2020). How much Jewish is in Jewish testimonies about the Great Patriotic War: on the material of the war letters of G. Mirlin and the works of L. Samoilov [Skol'ko evrejskogo v evrejskih svidetel'stvah o Velikoj

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Otechestvennoj vojne: na materiale frontovyh pisem G. Mirlina i sochineniya L. Samojlova]. Unpublished).

<sup>22</sup> Wieviorka, A. (1997). Graver dans la mémoire in Benbassa, E. (Ed.), *Transmission et passages en monde juif*. pp. (487-507). Publisud.

<sup>23</sup> From Arkadi Zeltser's presentation at a Center Sefer's International Winter school (2021).

<sup>24</sup> Makarova, M. (2020). How much Jewish is in Jewish testimonies about the Great Patriotic War: on the material of the war letters of G. Mirlin and the works of L. Samoilov [Skol'ko evrejskogo v evrejskih svidetel'stvah o Velikoj Otechestvennoj vojne: na materiale frontovyh pisem G. Mirlina i sochineniya L. Samojlova]. Unpublished.

<sup>25</sup> On Jewish Identity and Military service during the Great Patriotic War see also: Makarova, M. (2019). The Memory About an Unknown Pogrom [Pamyat' o neizvestnom PogRome?] in *Fol'klor i antropologiya goroda*, II(1–2), 164–187.

<sup>26</sup> A quotation from “Collette”, an Oscar-nominated (2021) documentary about a former French Resistance member Colette Marin-Catherine.

<sup>27</sup> Makarova, M. (2020). How much Jewish is in Jewish testimonies about the Great Patriotic War: on the material of the war letters of G. Mirlin and the works of L. Samoilov [Skol'ko evrejskogo v evrejskih svidetel'stvah o Velikoj Otechestvennoj vojne: na materiale frontovyh pisem G. Mirlina i sochineniya L. Samojlova]. Unpublished.

<sup>28</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (M) born in France in 1960 (a descendant of Russian-Jewish immigrants of the 1920s), a university professor, married to a Ukrainian Jew, two children aged 5 and 8.

<sup>29</sup> Diamant, D. (1971). *Les Juifs dans la Résistance française, 1940-1944*, Paris, Ed. du Pavillon ; Ravine, J. (1973). *La résistance organisée des Juifs en France, 1940- 1944*, Paris, Julliard.

<sup>30</sup> Latour, A. (1970). *La résistance juive en France*, Paris, Stock.

<sup>31</sup> Budnitsky, O. (2010, May). Jews at war [Evrei na vojne]. *Lekhaim*, 5 (127).

<sup>32</sup> See for example Aleksei Popov. (2019, May) No One Believes the Colonel: The Glorification of the Military Portions of Brezhnev's Biography as a Tuning Fork of Historical Memory. NLO .

<sup>33</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Dnepropetrovsk in 1975. A singer. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. Has a son aged 17 from the first marriage (with an American Jew) and two daughters, aged 8 and 5 in her second marriage. Emigrated from Ukraine in 1990 (USA). In France since 2012.

<sup>34</sup> *Interview* (2020) with an informant (F) born in Omsk in 1973. A historian. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. One child aged 7. In France since 2013.

<sup>35</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (M) born in Paris in 1966. A businessman. Married to a Ukrainian Jew. Two kids aged 13 and 6.

<sup>36</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (M) born in Paris in 1960. An engineer. Married to a Russian Jew. Five kids aged 12-25 y.o.

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<sup>37</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in 1973 in Vinnitsa (Ukraine). Married to a descendant of Russian Jewish immigrants of the 1920s. Two children aged 13 and 10. In France since 1991 (marriage). A French and Israeli citizen. Initially emigrated to Israel in 1990.

<sup>38</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Dniepropetrovsk in 1975. A singer. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. Has a son aged 17 from the first marriage (with an American Jew) and two daughters, aged 8 and 5 in her second marriage. Emigrated from Ukraine in 1990 (USA). In France since 2012.

<sup>39</sup> Muxel, A. (1996). *Individu et mémoire familiale*. Nathan (Essais et Recherches), La Découverte.

<sup>40</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Kiev in 1983. A writer. Married to a French Jew. 2 children aged 10 and 13. In France since 2009.

<sup>41</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Dniepropetrovsk in 1975. A singer. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. Has a son aged 17 from the first marriage (with an American Jew) and two daughters, aged 8 and 5 in her second marriage. Emigrated from Ukraine in 1990 (USA). In France since 2012.

<sup>42</sup> The secret police organization of the USSR. Is known for its central role in political repressions in Stalin's era.

<sup>43</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Dniepropetrovsk in 1975. A singer. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. Has a son aged 17 from the first marriage (with an American Jew) and two daughters, aged 8 and 5 in her second marriage. Emigrated from Ukraine in 1990 (USA). In France since 2012.

<sup>44</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Kiev in 1983. A writer. Married to a French Jew. 2 children aged 10 and 13. In France since 2009.

<sup>45</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Dniepropetrovsk in 1975. A singer. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. Has a son aged 17 from the first marriage (with an American Jew) and two daughters, aged 8 and 5 in her second marriage. Emigrated from Ukraine in 1990 (USA). In France since 2012.

<sup>46</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in 1973 in Vinnitsa (Ukraine). Married to a descendant of Russian Jewish immigrants of the 1920s. Two children aged 13 and 10. In France since 1991 (marriage). A French and Israeli citizen. Initially emigrated to Israel in 1990

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Interview* (2020) with an informant (F) born in Kharkov in 1989. Married to a French Sephardi Jew. An art-critique. Has a 5 y.o. son. In France since 2008.

<sup>49</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (M) born in France in 1960 (a descendant of Russian-Jewish immigrants of the 1920s), a university professor, married to a Ukrainian Jew, two children aged 5 and 8.

<sup>50</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (M) born in Paris in 1966. A businessman. Married to a Ukrainian Jew. Two kids aged 13 and 6.

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<sup>51</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Moscow in 1977. Emigrated to the USA at the age of 13. A lawyer. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. Has a 18 y.o. daughter. In France since 2000.

<sup>52</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (F) born in Dniepropetrovsk in 1975. A singer. Married to a French Ashkenazi Jew. Has a son aged 17 from the first marriage (with an American Jew) and two daughters, aged 8 and 5 in her second marriage. Emigrated from Ukraine in 1990 (USA). In France since 2012.

<sup>53</sup> Singly de, F. (2017). *Sociologie de la famille contemporaine*. Armand Colin.

<sup>54</sup> *Interview* (2019) with an informant (M) born in France in 1960 (a descendant of Russian-Jewish immigrants of the 1920s), a university professor, married to a Ukrainian Jew, two children aged 5 and 8.

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Image: Archive of the Jewish Museum and Tolerance Center, Moscow, Russia