

Monstrum horrendum,
informe, ingens,
cui lumen
ademptum.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.658

And it shall come to pass
in that day, that a great
horn shall be blown; and
they shall come that
were lost in the land of
Assyria, and they that
were dispersed in the
land of Egypt; and they
shall worship the Lord in
the holy mountain at
Jerusalem.

Isaiah 27:13

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Foreword

As might be expected by those familiar with the fashions of historiography, in recent decades scholars have turned from descriptions and analyses of the dominant and mainstream in the study of Russia and the Soviet Union to examining the marginal and deviant. In their zeal to “correct” the “errors” of their predecessors, revisionists sometimes do not just challenge previously accepted truths but reject them reflexively and uncritically. However, as Hegel might have predicted, a third wave of analysis sometimes comes along and navigates a middle course between the old and new orthodoxies. This judicious book is a case in point.

In some circles, the radical, rejectionist, and militantly communist Yiddish literature produced in the Soviet Union in the two decades before World War II was welcomed as a breath of fresh air. But following the war, it was mostly dismissed as hack work written for political reasons and without artistic merit. In recent years, a reassessment of this literature has been undertaken in an attempt to separate the wheat from the chaff and the lasting from the evanescent. In such a reassessment, the work of Pinkhas Kahanovitsh (“Der Nister”) looms large.

Der Nister was indeed “hidden” from the wrath of Soviet conformism and survived the scrutiny of ideological vigilantes longer than many of his contemporaries. He was the most un-Soviet of the Soviet Yiddish literary establishment. Deeply influenced by his traditional religious upbringing and explorations of Jewish mysticism, Der Nister’s prerevolutionary writings, delving into the fantastic and symbolic, were very far from what became the Soviet official aesthetic of “socialist realism.” Even after returning to Russia in 1925, Der Nister continued to write fantastic stories. When he moved toward a more Soviet thematic and style, he stood out from genuinely enthusiastic Stalinists, such as Itsik Fefer, by his focus on historical themes. Though

he was a member of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee during the war, after the war he seemed still aloof from the mainstream of Yiddish writing. Der Nister's trip to Birobidzhan, vividly portrayed and analyzed in this book, appeared to be firmly in line with the prevailing Soviet orthodoxy, but it may well have been, as Mishe Lev and Ber Kotlerman surmise, Der Nister's grasping for some last hope that Yiddish culture and the Soviet Jewish would survive the catastrophe that had befallen them during the war. Of course, within a year and a half, that hope was dashed with Der Nister's arrest and the liquidation of Soviet Yiddish culture and its leading lights.

This unusual book combines a description of Der Nister's journey to Birobidzhan, his own writings about it, and a transcript of the subsequent trial of the Birobidzhan "conspirators," who were supposedly and incongruously organized by Der Nister. It provides several unusual angles of vision by which we can view the complexities of the immediate postwar situation of Soviet Jewry. Based on new archival research and personal interviews, this book brings the reader as close as possible to the realities of postwar Soviet Jewish life as it was lived by different kinds of people. In turn, that can point to further developments, culminating in the massive Soviet Jewish emigration in the decades following 1971.

Der Nister's personal fate encapsulates the larger tragedy of Soviet Jewry. They were forced to live constantly with tensions between the tug of a rich religio-cultural tradition and a revolutionary new secular culture, between personal fulfillment and political obligation, and between dreams of new beginnings and crushing disappointments. This was compounded by the inability to express these tensions publicly and the hypocrisy forced upon people by a demanding, vigilant regime. The people emigrated and the regime collapsed, but not before it had claimed its victims.

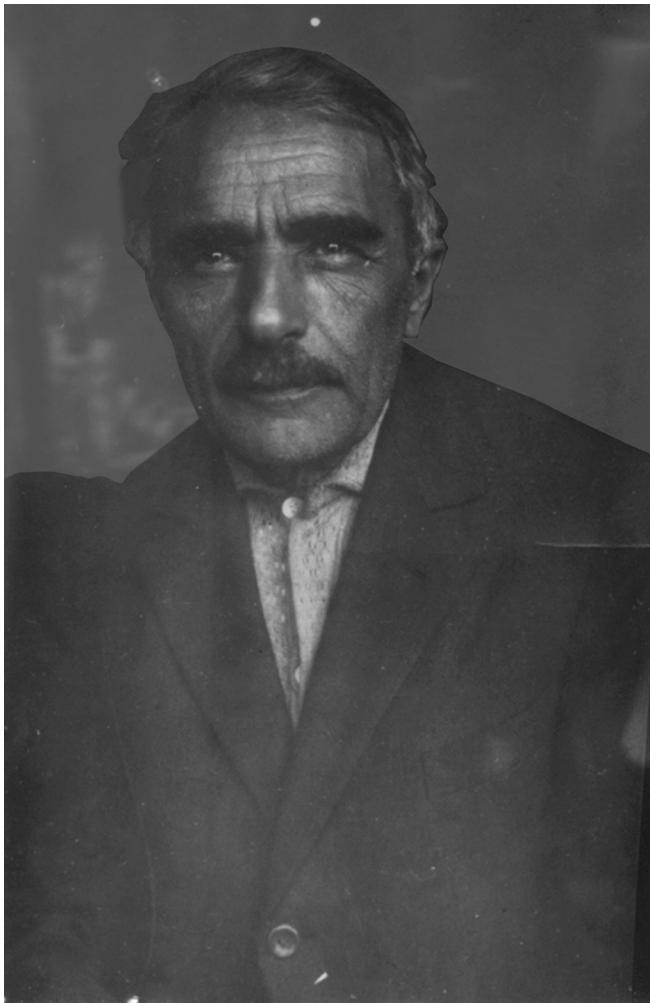
Zvi Gitelman

Note on the Translation and Transliteration

All the sources cited in the bibliographical references in this book are spelled out in the original language and orthography. Yiddish words, and Jewish names in the Yiddish sources, are given using the system of Latin transliteration of the YIVO Institute. Russian and Ukrainian titles are transliterated using the Library of Congress transliteration system, and Hebrew titles are given in a simplified Latin transcription. In order to make recognition simpler, capital letters in titles and personal names absent in Yiddish and Hebrew are entered in the transliteration. The names of literary works in Yiddish, Russian, and other languages are cited in English translation and in their original in Latin transcription upon their first appearance. The names of Russian, Yiddish, Hebrew, and other periodicals are given in the original in Latin transcription.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

Agitprop	<i>Otdel agitatsii i propagandy TsK VKP(b)/KPSS</i> (The CC CPSU Department for Agitation and Propaganda)
Ambijan	American Birobijan Committee, or American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobijan, USA
CC CPSU	<i>Tsentral'nyi Komitet Kommunisticheskoi Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza</i> (Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union)
GAEAO	<i>Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Evreiskoi avtonomnoi oblasti</i> (State Archive of the Jewish Autonomous Region), Birobidzhan
Glavlit	<i>Glavnoe upravlenie po delam literatury</i> (Central Office for Matters of Literature)
GOSET	<i>Gosudarstvennyi evreiskii teatr</i> (State Yiddish Theater)
JAFC	Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, USSR
JAR	Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan)
KOMZET	(Komerd, in Yiddish) <i>Komitet po zemel'nomu ustroistvu evreiskikh trudiashchikhsia</i> (Committee for the Settlement of Toiling Jews on the Land)
MGB	<i>Ministerstvo gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti</i> (Ministry of State Security)
MGETU	<i>Moskovskoe gosudarstvennoe evreiskoe teatral'noe uchilishche</i> (Moscow State Jewish Seminar of Theater)
MVD	<i>Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del</i> (Ministry of Internal Affairs)
Obllit	<i>Oblastnoe upravlenie po delam literatury</i> (Regional Office for Matters of Literature)
OZET	(Gezerd, in Yiddish) <i>Obshchestvo po zemel'nomu ustroistvu evreiskikh trudiashchikhsia</i> (Society for Settling Toiling Jews on the Land)
RGALI	<i>Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva</i> (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art), Moscow
RGASPI	<i>Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii</i> (Russian State Archive of Social and Political History), Moscow
YIVO	<i>Yidisher visnshaftlekher institut</i> (Institute for Jewish Research), New York



Der Nister (Pinkhas Kahanovitsh, 1884-1950)
Courtesy of the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art

Preface

A year and a half before his arrest in Moscow, and three years before his tragic death in a labor camp hospital not far from the Arctic Circle, one of the most significant Soviet Jewish writers and, perhaps, one of the most studied today, Der Nister (Pinkhas Kahanovitsh/Kaganovich, 1884–1950), made a trip to Birobidzhan, the Jewish Autonomous Region (JAR) in the Soviet Far East. He traveled there on a special migrant train, together with a thousand Jewish Holocaust survivors, mostly from the Ukraine. This trip, made in the summer of 1947, is a rather well-known historical fact, usually portrayed in biographical essays about Der Nister as one of the significant events in his life. “Now, after the Holocaust, Der Nister viewed himself as being obligated to raise his voice in matters he had kept away from previously,” the prominent scholar of Yiddish literature Khone Shmeruk wrote about the writer’s journey.¹ However, what, in fact, had Der Nister wanted to say?

In February 2009, I found myself in Kibbutz Merhavia in the Galilee as a guest of Shalom Luria (who, unfortunately, has since passed away), the keen adept and translator of Der Nister from Yiddish into Hebrew. It was Shalom who asked the question above. He then proposed that I take it upon myself to “look the writer in the face” in this matter and publish my findings in the scholarly journal he edited.² During the second half of the 1940s, for a short period, the Soviet authorities enabled a renewal of mass Jewish resettlement in Birobidzhan.³

1 Hone Shmeruk, “Der Nister: hayav u-yetsirato,” in Der Nister, *Hanazir ve-hagdiya: sipurim, shirim, maamarim* (Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik, 1963), 46.

2 It was a Haifa University journal, *Hulyot/Ringen*, dedicated to Yiddish literature and its ties with Hebrew literature, which was folded after Luria’s death in 2011.

3 For the scholarly books devoted exclusively to the project, see Ya’akov Lvavi (Babitski), *Hahityashvut hayehudit be-Birobidzhan* (Jerusalem: Historical Society of Israel, 1965), Robert Weinberg, *Stalin’s Forgotten Zion: Birobidzhan and the Making*

My family was among those directly affected by this development, and so it had always attracted my interest as a topic for research. I was not as interested in the factual aspects of the episode (which are still far from being well known) as in the spiritual quests of those who participated in it. Der Nister, with his characteristic pathos, called these quests a matter of striving for “consolidation of the Jewish people” and “reconstruction of the broken wholeness.” The settlers themselves looked upon their move more simply. Thus, in my family there is a story about my grandfather on my father’s side (a former Red Army soldier whose first wife and small son were killed in a Nazi action) suddenly deciding to “go away *tsu undzerike* [to our own people]” after someone complained loudly in his presence that it was too bad that not all [the Jews] were killed.

Gradually I began to collect material. Apart from the travel notes written by Der Nister himself,⁴ and by the Yiddish newspaper *Eynikayt* correspondent Ilia Lumkis, who was traveling on the same train with the writer,⁵ two other items were available to illuminate those distant events with especial vividness and brilliance. One item was the reminiscences of the poet Isroel Emiot, whose manuscript I found, thanks to the prompting of Mordechai Altshuler of the Hebrew University, in the store rooms of the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem.⁶ The other item was the memoirs of the

of a Soviet Jewish Homeland: An Illustrated History, 1928–1996 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), Antje Kuchenbecker, *Zionismus ohne Zion. Birobidžan: Idee und Geschichte eines jüdischen Staates in Sowjet-Fernost* (Berlin: Metropol, 2000), and Ber Kotlerman, *In Search of Milk and Honey: The Theater of “Soviet Jewish Statehood”* (1934–49) (Bloomington, IN: Slavica, 2009). See also the special issue on Birobidzhan of *Jews in Eastern Europe* 3, no. 49 (2002).

4 See below in this book.

5 Ilya Lyumkis, *Eshelonen geyen keyn Birobidzhan* (Moscow: Der Emes, 1948).

6 Emiot’s manuscript no. 544 from the collection of documents of the Israeli governmental liaison organization “Nativ” is held in the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem (hereinafter: Emiot, CAHJP). The manuscript is much more detailed than its published version, Yisroel Emiot, *Der birobidzhaner inyen (khronik fun a groylike tsayt)* (Rochester, NY: Sol Bogorad, 1960), and than its English translation, Israel Emiot, *The Birobidzhan Affair: A Yiddish Writer in Siberia* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1981).

poet Yosef Kerler.⁷ It seems that these two poets were among the persons closest to Der Nister during the time of his Birobidzhan tour. Their highly emotional approach helped me greatly to “look the writer in the face” more intently.

Then, when I received an invitation to speak at the Der Nister conference to be held at Oxford’s St. Hilda’s College in August 2012, I became seriously involved. Preparing my paper,⁸ I reread once again the materials of Investigation Case No. 68, conducted by the Khabarovsk Directorate of the USSR Ministry of State Security (MGB) in 1949–50, where the name of Der Nister is mentioned more than once. These materials were given to me by Mikhael Zozulya, a doctoral student at the Bar Ilan University’s Center of Yiddish Studies. He did so at the request of Mark Miller, now deceased, son of one of the figures implicated in the case. In the mid-1990s, not long before immigrating to Israel, Mark got the opportunity to look at the case’s documents in the former archives of the KGB in Khabarovsk and to photocopy that part of them concerning his father, the Birobidzhan Yiddish writer Buzi Miller. From the six bulky volumes of the investigation, Mark chose about one hundred pages. He did not limit himself to records of the investigations of his father exclusively, but he made an effort to take a more or less representative sample, including documents touching upon other persons involved in the case, such as the Yiddish writers Heshl Rabinkov, Luba Vasserman, Ber Slutski, and Isroel Emiot, the Yiddish theater actor Faivish Arones, and the JAR Regional Executive Committee Resettlement Department employee Shimen Siniavski-Sindelevich. They were all arrested in July–October 1949 and sentenced in absentia by the Special Council of the USSR MGB on May 31, 1950, in Moscow to ten years in labor camp.

7 Yoysef Kerler, “Der Nister (1884–1950),” in *Geklibene proze (eseyen, zikhroynes, dertseylungen)* (Jerusalem: Yerusholaymer almanakh, 1991), 109–24.

8 For the abridged version of the paper, see Kotlerman, “We Are Lacking ‘A Man Dieth in a Tent’: Der Nister’s Search for Redemption in the Summer of 1947,” in *Uncovering the Hidden: The Works and Life of Der Nister*, ed. Gennady Estraikh, Kerstin Hoge, and Mikhail Krutikov (Oxford: Legenda, 2014), 174–84. The editors of this collection organized the abovementioned conference.

By a malicious twist of fate, just several days after the pronouncement of this sentence, Der Nister died in a special camp for political prisoners, located in the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, about fifty kilometers from the Arctic Circle. However, his name continued to appear in trials that ensnared other Birobidzhaners, including figures active in Jewish culture and former public leaders of the JAR. In the very beginning of 1956, all the accused in the “Birobidzhan Affair” were released from prison ahead of schedule and later restored (rehabilitated in Soviet terminology) to the state of acquittal. Two of the accused, the writer Ber Slutski and the former chairman of the JAR Regional Executive Committee, Mikhail Levitin, died before their release.

The publication of the materials of the Khabarovsk investigation available to us is important in itself, especially in light of the fact that the stenograph of a similar *nepravednyi sud* (“unjust trial,” to use Vladimir Naumov’s phrase) has been published, that is, the stenograph of the notorious Moscow trial, known as the “Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee’s Case,” in which charges were brought against the Yiddish writers David Bergelson, Perets Markish, David Hofshteyn, Itsik Fefer, Leib Kvitko, and others.⁹ And if, in the latter case, we are dealing with statements made by the accused during the actual court proceedings, then the Khabarovsk materials enable us to gain insight into how the pretrial preparations for similar cases were conducted. The obviously fabricated character of the “Birobidzhan Affair,” which became one of the elements in the anti-Semitic campaign orchestrated in the USSR in 1948–53, cannot be demonstrated today with any greater clarity. The investigators acted brutally in their efforts to break the spirit of the accused, using various types of physical coercion, such as punishment cells and nighttime interrogations. Today, in the court of history, the “confessions” and mutual recriminations beaten out of these exhausted,

⁹ Vladimir Naumov, ed., *Nepravednyi sud: poslednii stalinskii rasstrel: Stenogramma sudebnogo protsessa nad chlenami Evreiskogo antifashistskogo komiteta* (Moscow: Nauka, 1994); also Joshua Rubenstein and Vladimir Naumov, eds., *Stalin’s Secret Pogrom: The Postwar Inquisition of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press/The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2001).

intimidated, and humiliated persons—who, with their last bit of strength, resisted the pressure being put upon them, and sometimes even managed to compel their inquisitors to change tactics—by no means reflect badly upon them. They reflect, rather, the inhumanity and cruelty of the Stalinist system, which tried to conceal its immorality behind a farcical imitation of legality, and in doing so spawned a countless multitude of innocent victims. The records of the interrogations of the Birobidzhaners have also a clearly anti-Semitic tone that underlines all the more distinctly the perversity of that system, whose prosecutors turned both the leading cultural figures of the “Soviet Jewish Statehood” (the regime’s own creation) and Jewish culture in general into outlaws. Furthermore, this was done at a time when the Holocaust and the war against Nazi Germany were fresh and painful memories. It is not necessary to look for any signs of guilt in the figures interrogated. Peter Maggs of the University of Illinois, an expert on Soviet law, expresses this conclusion forcefully and concisely when giving his evaluation of the procedure followed in the arrest and sentencing of Der Nister. He writes, “These documents certainly do not tell the truth, let alone the whole truth . . . because they are based on what George Orwell called ‘THE BIG LIE.’”¹⁰

The materials of Investigation Case No. 68 reveal that Der Nister was cynically chosen by the MGB investigators to play the fabricated role of organizer and catalyst sent by the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee to set up what the MGB called the “anti-Soviet nationalist grouping in Birobidzhan”—whose existence the investigation ostensibly aimed to prove. However, these materials not only reflect the jesuitical character of the criminal charges brought against the Birobidzhaners connected with Der Nister. Directly and indirectly they also reveal many details about Der Nister’s acts while in Birobidzhan, and give some glimpses of his conception of a postwar Jewish renascence. The writer formulated this vision more clearly in his previously unknown notes (called herein “Birobidzhan Manifesto”), the last that have reached us from

¹⁰ Peter B. Maggs, *The Mandelstam and “Der Nister” Files: An Introduction to Stalin-era Prison and Labor Camp Records* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), 3.

Der Nister's creative legacy, which are being discussed for the first time in this book. Without the territory the Jews could call their own, Der Nister said, the Jewish people were like "a soul without a body or a body without a soul, and in either case, always a cripple."¹¹

The materials relating to Investigation Case No. 68 are valuable in their own right, both as a vivid example of state-supported anti-Jewish policy in the USSR in the late 1940s to the early 1950s and as a companion piece to the materials relating to the "JAFC Case."¹² At the base of this book, however, lies the contextualization of these materials in connection with Der Nister, in particular, and this dictated the work's structure.

Part One, with the writer's 1947 trip to the JAR as its background, is devoted to a historical and literary analysis of Der Nister's writings, thoughts, and real deeds in the aftermath of the Holocaust. Also included in Part One is a complete translation of Der Nister's impressions of his journey on the migrants' train, which became a literary memorial to the postwar Jewish migration to Birobidzhan.

Part Two concentrates on the formulation of the charges against Der Nister and the Birobidzhan Yiddish writers associated with him. It includes the translation of fourteen records of interrogations, testimonies, and confrontations, along with several accompanying documents. In addition, a photocopy of Der Nister's "Birobidzhan Manifesto" in the original Yiddish is presented as an appendix to the book.

I would like to express my profound gratitude to all the people who helped me in this project. I thank first of all Shalom Luria, z"l, for his proposal to "look the writer in the face," and Yaakov Ro'i of Tel Aviv University for encouraging me to study the postwar resettlement in Birobidzhan as a whole. Special thanks are due to the Yiddish writer Mishe Lev, z"l, and to the composer Sergo Bengelsdorf, son of the

¹¹ Der Nister, "Birobidzhan," Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), f. 3121, op. 1, d. 32. See Appendix, 255.

¹² For the connection between the two cases, see Shimon Redlich, *War, Holocaust, and Stalinism: A Documented History of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the USSR* (Luxembourg: Harwood, 1995), 150.

poetess Luba Vasserman, the only witnesses of Der Nister's trip with whom I had occasion to talk, for sharing with me their valuable recollections, and also to Mark Miller, z"l, without whom the records of the Birobidzhaners' interrogations in the prison cells of the Khabarovsk MGB would never have reached us. I thank Mikhael Zozulya for copying the interrogation records and Ekaterina Melnik for typesetting them on the computer; Aleksandr Frenkel, director of the St. Petersburg Jewish Community Center, for the help he rendered in working with the materials of the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg; Vera Knorring, archivist of the Russian National Library's Yiddish collection; Mordechai Altshuler of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem for supplying information about Isroel Emiot; Zvi Mark of Bar Ilan University, for consultations on questions of Hasidism; Daniela Osatsky-Shtern, director of the archive of the Mordechai Anielewicz Memorial Holocaust Study and Research Center in Givat Haviva, for help in working with the Shlomo Perlmutter collection; Arkadi Zeltser, director of Yad Vashem's Center for Research on the History of Soviet Jews during the Holocaust, for help in working with Yad Vashem's archives; Anna Sorokina, teacher at the Moscow "Poly-Cultural Center," for help in working with the Der Nister collection at the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art in Moscow; and to the English translators, Irwin Michael Aronson of Raanana, Shifra Blass of Neve-Tsuf, and Sara Davolt of Kfar HaNassi. I also thank the patient archivists and other employees of the National Library of Israel and the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem, the Bar Ilan University's Wurzweiler Central Library, the Mehlmann Library at the Tel Aviv University's Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, the Oral History Division of the Hebrew University's Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry in Jerusalem, the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, the State Regional Museum of Local History and Lore in Birobidzhan, and the State Archive of the Jewish Autonomous Region in Birobidzhan, the Documentation Department of the Musée d'Orsay in Paris, and the YIVO Institute in New York. Special thanks are due to the Academic Studies Press staff and the editor of the

“Jews of Russia and Eastern Europe and Their Legacy” series, Maxim D. Shrayer, and to the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research and its rich library at the University of Cape Town, my sabbatical home in the last months of my *Der Nister* project. Thank you, my friends and family, for your support. And, last but not least, I owe a special debt of gratitude to my great-grandmother, Luba Pievski, who saved our family during World War II—her image constantly accompanied me during my work on this book.

Ber Kotlerman

Part One

Der Nister's Journey from
Moscow to Birobidzhan



Jewish new settlers on the Birobidzhan train station, 1947/48

Courtesy of Rimma Lavochkina, St. Petersburg, Russia

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