JPR

'They were drinking, singing, and shooting': Singing and the Holocaust in the USSR

Alexandra Birch

Abstract: Most studies exploring the topic of music and the Holocaust focus on the camps and ghettos, the official music of the Third Reich, or on clandestine artistic creations under duress. But forced music was also employed as an additional tool of sadism and humiliation during shootings in the USSR. This article focuses on forced singing during mass shootings in the former USSR drawing on the field of Voice Studies to provide an analysis of music within a larger traumatic soundscape. Music in these instances served as entertainment for the perpetrators, and more significantly as racialized 'othering' of the victims for genocidal aims. The research organization Yahad in Unum's interviews in Belarus and Ukraine contain important details about specific incidents of music and violence including individual songs, use of instruments, and post-shooting musical sadism from bystander testimony. In this article, these additional testimonies are analysed together with Soviet Extraordinary Commission records to gain a complete picture of the shootings where forced music was documented. These testimonies are from different perspectives: from victims and bystanders. A Sound and Voice Studies perspective on this testimony can shed light on how forced music is indeed traumatic and show the differences in musical realities for victims, perpetrators, and bystanders. The study of forced singing has tremendous applicability in other contexts of violence and the long history of weaponized music. Focusing on music as a tool of warfare and genocide offers insight into perpetrators and perpetration beyond the context of the Holocaust.

Keywords: Holocaust, *Einsatzgruppen*, music, voice, race

Introduction

The most familiar site of memory of the Holocaust still seems to be Auschwitz, or in the East its Polish translation, *Oświęcim*. The Holocaust in the context of a mechanized system of deportation, ghettos and death camps was preceded by the individualized mass shootings of the *Einsatzgruppen*[1] and their

A tremendous thank you to USHMM where portions of this research were completed as an Alexander Grass Memorial Fellow in 2018-19. Also thank you to Stefanie Tcharos at UCSB for multiple detailed suggestions on the unique and varied implications of the voice in this setting, and to the reviewers and editors at the *Journal of Perpetrator Research* for their input.

Journal of Perpetrator Research 4.1 (2021), 171–191
DOI: 10.21039/jpr.4.1.85

collaborators. These shootings that followed the practice of 'One Bullet for One Jew' differed from the mechanized murder in the camps, and were very personal in nature for both the foreign occupiers and the locally conscripted police.[2] The psychological toll on the shooters eventually became too substantial,[3] and the 'Jewish Question' culminated in mechanized murder in the concentration camp system.[4] To compensate for this psychological toll, these shootings were mitigated by drugs[5],

1 *Einsatzgruppen* were 'mobile killing squads'– special action groups of the security police and intelligence units of the SS best-known for their role in mass shootings in the former USSR. They were divided into different units, A-L primarily working alongside different invasion campaigns in East-Central Europe and the USSR. Associated with the Holocaust, *Einsatzgruppen* A operated in the Baltic States, B in Belarus, C in Ukraine, D in Bessarabia, and E in Croatia. These paramilitary special action groups were largely the shooters in the Holocaust in these territories alongside *Wehrmacht*/German Army and local collaborators. This article primarily deals with reports from *Einsatzgruppen* B and C with tertiary reports from *Einsatzgruppe* D and related evidence from free time requisitioning from *Einsatzgruppe* A. A similar pattern of musical use also occurred with the other units, but is less-documented in the Soviet Extraordinary Commission files from the bystander perspective or by the Jewish Anti-Fascist committee. The role of the *Einsatzgruppen* and progression of the Holocaust is contextualized in the escalation to 'Total War' in Chapter 10 'Toward the Final Solution' of Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt's, *Holocaust a History* (New York: Norton, 2002), p. 259-284.

2 The psychological toll on the *Einsatzgruppen* was substantial. The policy of the invasion was that of 'One Bullet for One Jew' for efficiency of murder and preservation of military resources. This meant close range fire and murder and was a personalized way of conducting mass execution. Effectively, each member of a unit needed to shoot one person at close range. As bullets became scarce, and the psychological toll on the shooters became evident, other methods like gas vans were implemented. Additionally, further demanding tasks like the digging of graves or disposal of bodies was left to the victims themselves, the auxiliary police, local collaborators, or local bystanders. Father Patrick Desbois' research organization Yahad in Unum collects testimony from the last living bystanders from the Holocaust in the USSR (and now other genocide) to provide a more complete history of the 'Holocaust by Bullets'. Patrick Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets: A Priest's Journey to Uncover the Truth Behind the Murder of 1.5 Million Jews* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.53.

3 For example, in *Ordinary Men,* Christopher Browning discusses evidence that indicates that roughly twenty percent of shooters stopped at some point during the shooting, and that there was reluctance and denial to shoot children and infants. Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Holocaust in Poland* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 1998), p.59, 72.

4 Deborah Dwork, Robert van Pelt, *Holocaust a History* (New York, NY: Norton, 2002), p. 287. With the invasion of the USSR, Nazi Germany was faced with their self-proclaimed 'Jewish Question'. The central topic of the Wannsee conference, was how to 'purge' this new, and fertile territory, of these Jews efficiently and without psychological demand on the troops of the *Wehrmacht, SA, SS,* and *Einsatzgruppen*.

5 In Norman Ohler's *Blitzed,* the use of drugs to 'hold the front' at all costs is mentioned in analysis of Barbarossa and the drugs that bolstered the *Wehrmacht* and *Einsatzgruppen:* primarily Pervitin. Norman Ohler, *Blitzed: Drugs in the Third Reich* trans. by Shaun Whiteside (Boston, MA: Mariner Books, 2015), pp. 116-120. Music in a variety of situations involving alcohol is also discussed by Edward B. Westermann in Edward B. Westermann, *Drunk on Genocide: Alcohol and Mass Murder in Nazi Germany* (Cornell University Press, 2021). Indeed, an entire study could be devoted to the identity formation of the German military including music and other substances.

alcohol, and music. Troop song and free time music [Freizeitmusik] are the most often referenced categories of military music.[6] However, new scholarship has widened the scope to examine music as a mechanism of torture or part of a traumatic soundscape.[7] Approaching violent music through the prism of Voice Studies offers new insight into the embodiment of this torture and into the disconnect between a collective identity that was projected onto the victims and the individual voice. Newly collected bystander testimony, including that collected by the research organization Yahad in Unum, provides insight into the acts of musical sadism by the *Einsatzgruppen*.

The most substantial scholarship on forced music and the Holocaust focuses on the concentration camp system. Official music from the camps included the prisoner orchestras at Auschwitz-Birkenau and Sachsenhausen, and ensembles selected to create music specifically as musical sadism as at Janowska and Treblinka. Music was an integral part of most camps and included forced music 'on command', music for the entertainment of the guards and at the behest of the SS, but also clandestine music and music initiated by the prisoners as in block concerts.[8] Music in the camps is often described as a further act of sadism and torture, with the task of music creation seen as analogous to other work in the camps such as carrying corpses, erecting camp facilities, or performing hard labour. Musical sadism is specifically mentioned in connection to Janowska, where musicians could be killed at any time and music was performed for violent settings including selections and executions. Similarly, forced singing is specifically mentioned in survivor accounts of Treblinka and in descriptions of the torturous,

6 Reports on the *Einsatzgruppen* specifically distinguish between concerts and other established recreational options and 'free time music' [*Freizeitmusik* or *Freizeit Materialen*]. Certainly, there are mentions of officially sanctioned musical events like opera and concert attendance, but the vast majority of musical references are regarding this quotidian music making among the troops off duty and including troop song. Klaus-Michael Mallmann, Andrej Angrick, Jürgen Matthäus, Martin Cüppers, *Die Ereignismeldungen UdSSR 1941 Dokumente der Einsatzgruppen in der Sowjetunion I* (Darmstadt, Germany: WBG, 2011).

7 This includes new scholarship discussing music as a weapon itself. Suzanne G. Cusick, 'Music as Torture/ Music as Weapon', in *The Auditory Culture Reader*, ed. by Michael Bull and Les Back (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2020), pp. 379–393. Music is not always a transcendent object of beauty, but rather a sound that can be weaponized, a torture itself. Cusick specifically discusses weaponized music and detention in Suzanne G. Cusick, "You are in a Place that is out of the World…" Music in the Detention Camps of the 'Global War on Terror', *Journal of the Society for American Music,* 2 (2008), 1–26.

8 Guido Fackler, 'Music in Concentration Camps 1933–1945', trans. by Peter Logan, Music and Politics, 1.1 (2007), 2 <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mp/9460447.0001.102/—music-in-concentration-camps-1933-1945?rgn=main;view=fulltext> [accessed May 28, 2021].

musical whims of Kurt Franz.[9] Clandestine and prisoner generated music from the camps is occasionally presented as an attempt at the preservation of culture – a way for prisoners to hold onto dignifying practices in the camp. Yet, this humanizing view of music as spiritual resistance does not fully acknowledge the trauma of music production in the camps, with music mediating the horrific reality of the camps. A view of music as redemption in this context also validates suffering as being imbibed with some greater humanistic meaning: the ability to create music even in horrific conditions.[10]

However, the forced music from the camps, particularly singing, has an earlier Nazi origin in the forced music by the *Einsatzgruppen*. This included music created by bystanders, produced by recordings, or forced from victims themselves. Music was unlikely to serve as noise abatement at shootings, and rather served as a tool of racial othering at the point of violence. In these shootings, an incredibly macabre application of the voice becomes evident: victims forced to sing as accompaniment to their own murder. Forced singing is not unique to the Holocaust and has been used in the torture of prisoners from Pinochet's Chile to Stalin's Gulag and Kim's North Korean camps.[11] Examining forced singing through the prism of Voice Studies offers insight into the perpetrators' psychology during individualized shootings. How was music used as a tool for murder, rather than for noise

9 Katarzyna Naliwajek-Mazurek, 'Music and Torture in Nazi Sites of Persecution and Genocide in Occupied Poland, 1939–1945', *The World of Music, New Series*, 2 (2013), 33-36 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24318195> [accessed 28 May 2021]. Naliwajek-Mazurek chose Janowska and Treblinka specifically for analysis. These orchestras and other instances of musical sadism are well documented in memoirs which even mention specific songs. The USHMM archive also has many photos of the Janowska orchestra showing the piecemeal organization of the ensemble and documents that contain specific mentions of songs played at Aktions and selections. USHMM, *Members of the camp orchestra perform in front of a barracks*, Photo Archives, Photograph Number 71780, 1941-1943, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum courtesy of Herman Lewinter <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa5048> [accessed 17 May 2021].

10 Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005),pp. 6-11. Gilbert rejects this 'redemption arc' and instead presents music as part of the social history of the Holocaust. Her analysis provides insight into the individual and collective (temporal) experiences of the Holocaust using music as a medium of study. Gilbert primarily addresses music in camps and ghettos with particular focus on Poland.

11 Katia Chornik, 'Music and torture in Chilean detention centers: conversations with an ex-agent of Pinochet's secret police', *The World of Music* (2013), 51-65; Golfo Alexopoulos, *Illness and Inhumanity in Stalin's Gulag* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018); and Suk-Young Kim, *Illusive Utopia: Theater, Film, and Everyday Performance in North Korea* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010). In the case of the *Einsatzgruppen*, musical torture speaks to the psychological state of the perpetrators, but the testimonies from Yahad in Unum also give insight into the role music plays in the traumatic recall of bystanders.

abatement, or for mood elevation? What was the effect of forced singing on the victims? Specifically, how was the personalized human voice weaponized at the moment of violence? Most significantly, how did music create separate collective identities for victims and perpetrators?

Forced Singing – The Holocaust in the USSR

By September of 1941, the German army had advanced as far as Rakov, Belarus, near Minsk. The Jewish population was well established there with the Jewish Cemetery dating from 1642 and with Jews comprising more than 60 percent of the town by 1897.[12] On September 29, 1941 all the Jews of the ghetto were brought roughly two kilometers from Rakov and told to dig shallow pits. A Soviet witness testifies that they were told to sing while digging. Finally, one hundred and five people were selected and shot with the other Jews as an audience. When the remaining Jews were allowed to return to the ghetto, they were ordered by their Nazi tormenters to 'sing and dance' in celebration.[13] The idea of Jews dancing and singing traditionally joyful songs after the murder of their loved ones is the very height of psychological warfare and weaponization of the voice. The individual voice was here transformed into an instrument of oppression while simultaneously losing distinction and joining the collective subjugated identity. This scene provided additional entertainment and mockery for the German occupiers prolonging the sadism of murder in musical celebration. This scene has numerous parallels in the camp system, where forced singing was coupled with forced dancing as entertainment. For example, singing and dancing accompanied murder in the camps, as this form of 'entertainment' was practiced in the breaks between cleaning the gas chambers.[14] Here, Jews were reduced to a collective stereotype: not subjugated individuals, but a group of singing, dancing Jews.

12 'Raków', *The Untold Stories: The Murder Sites of Jews in the Former USSR*, <https://www.yadvashem.org/untoldstories/database/index.asp?cid=248> [accessed 30 July 2020].

13 Report on Rakov, RG 22.002M, 7021-83-14, *Soviet Extraordinary Commission Files*, US Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Washington DC.

14 Naliwajek-Mazurek, 'Music and Torture in Nazi Sites of Persecution and Genocide in Occupied Poland, 1939–1945', 38. Here, the scene of forced dance and music comes from the testimony of *Sonderkommando* Rajchman in Treblinka. Laure Guilbert addresses forced dance in camps and ghettos in several publications including: Laure Guilbert, Ruth Eshel, Judith Brin Inbger (eds.), 'Dancers under Duress. The Forgotten Resistance of Fireflies', in *Mahol Akshav/ Dance Today, The Dance Magazine of Israel*, 36 (2019), 11-16.

Nearly 300 kilometers away in Motol, Belarus, Jews were not given the opportunity to return to the ghetto to 'celebrate' the murders of their loved ones. Rather, as groups of ten people were shot in a field, a witness reports that the Jews waiting their turn were 'ordered to sing [a Jewish song] together'.[15] For hours, while the Germans murdered 1400 men, they were 'accompanied' musically by their own victims. The women and children silently watched the murders of the husbands, brothers, and fathers of their community as well as the religious advisors and rabbis. This forced singing did not create a stereotypical image of joyful Jewish music, but it also failed as a lament; rather, it encouraged the shooters, making a mockery of the victims' grief and terror. The song the bystander recalled is a joyous dance, but in this macabre setting, it became a horrible dance for the condemned. The collective group of Jewish men musically accompanied the individuals being shot. Interestingly, the women watching were expected to remain silent and to keep their terrified children silent as well. Sonically, this created three groups among the victims: the singing group of Jewish men anticipating their own murder, the individuals being executed, and the silent Jewish women. The men were murdered as a collective – in groups of ten – with the bystander specifically recalling that the only Jews singing were those waiting. The agency and uniqueness of the individual voice was removed and subsumed into the group, which only served the perpetrators in further conceiving of their victims as a collective subaltern identity.[16] Similarly, the bystander's only specific memory of the men's voices was the singing, the musical violence. Hence, the only 'permitted' sound for Jews was to sonically contribute to their own subjugation. The violence directed against the community was accompanied by the creation of this communal subaltern voice; the hatred rooted in a racialized perception of the community without individual specificity. The individual voice was lost in the collective; silenced by both blending with a collective sound and by murder. The soundscape also gradually shifted throughout the day as the singing diminished with fewer men remaining. The remaining voices would

15 Interview in a report from Motol, RG22.022M: 7021-90-27. Soviet State Archives (ChGK), Gosudarstvenii Arkhiv Russiskoe Federatsi (GARF), Moscow, Russia.

16 Cf. Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), p. 64. Ochoa Gautier presents listening as central to the production of voice, language, and music. As part of her analysis of Latin America and the Caribbean, she addresses the entanglement of the political and the musical and the creation of personhood and belonging. The political discussion of the voice is also applicable in understanding hierarchies of sound and violence.

also likely grow increasingly fatigued and hysteric. This musical recollection of the bystander is significant, as it speaks to the musical sadism of the perpetrators while also illustrating the perceived collective identity of the victims.

A Jewish survivor from Slonim, Belarus also remembers singing, but as he faced his own death. Kneeling at the edge of a pit filled with the bodies of hundreds of his neighbors and family, he was one of two hundred people waiting to be killed. Before the Germans fired, they shouted for all those kneeling to 'sing the 'Communist Internationale' in Hebrew or Yiddish […]. Additionally, this survivor recalls, 'they were drinking, singing, and shooting.'[17] This survivor's testimony is extraordinary. He survived only by falling into the pit in fear as the shooting began, digging himself out at night, and fleeing to the partisans in the forest. The singing of the perpetrators that this survivor mentions is not specified, as he does not mention a particular song. Even so, clearly two musical distinctions are created: the perpetrators were not singing the Communist Internationale, but were using music amongst themselves as they were shooting. Music was a tool of victimization and entertainment, and there seems to be the creation of two sonic identities. Even with the tremendous trauma of the event, its musical recollection was so substantial to the victim that it remained in his post-war consciousness to become part of his testimony. Interestingly, the musical recollection in the testimony was intended to be victimizing sound – the survivor recalled the forced song precisely. The specificity of this recollection is also indicative of the psychological trauma inflicted by the extra-musical mandate at the point of violence.

In these testimonies from Belarus a common theme of singing and the agency of the voice at the moment of violence emerges. In the testimony of the Jewish survivor from Slonim, the specific recollection of the Communist Internationale particularly stands out, both in specificity of the memory and in the choice of the forced song. The choice of this Communist anthem directly reflects the Fascist anti-Semitic association of Bolshevism with Judaism. This hatred is specific and musically manifested to 'other' victims and perhaps even projects a military directive against Communism for the shooters. The specific request to sing in Hebrew or Yiddish both characterizes and mocks the victims, as the song would have been best-known in French. Many Soviet Jews did not speak Hebrew, a religious language separated from the vernacular

17 Records from the *Einsatzgruppen* in the Soviet Union, Testimony from Belarus, B162-3410, NS Hauptarchiv der NSDAP, Bundesarchiv, Berlin, Germany.

Yiddish and commercial Russian or Belorussian inside the Tsarist Pale of Settlement.[18] The selection of this particular song also functions as a signifier of subalternity for the perpetrators. There are three significant musical points of analysis demonstrating these signifiers. The first musicological point of analysis is the use of 'Jewish' languages. The second is the cultural association of Communism with the representative Jews kneeling at the edge of the pit. While the upbeat march of the music intended for the glory of Communism becomes poignantly grim against the murderous backdrop, the musicological content of the song remains secondary to the sociopolitical signifiers of Communism and Jewishness projected on the individual. The shooters, drinking, shouting, and singing, seemed in good spirits for their murderous task, united in a common enemy and cause. Music and the musically created vocal other bolstered this sense of self for the shooters while simultaneously tormenting the victims.

This weaponized use of music occurred in nearly every country occupied by divisions of the Third Reich. In their analyses of Reserve Police Battalion 101's shootings in Poland, both Christopher Browning and Daniel Goldhagen refer to forced singing, and both of them comment on the same incident of musical brutality: Bekemeier, a disliked officer, forced Jews at Łomazy to crawl through a puddle while singing. When an old man became exhausted, Bekemeier shot him in the mouth. Both Browning and Goldhagen use this incident to show the brutality of the 'ordinary' soldier. However, where Browning focuses on the extent to which this sadistic officer was also vilified and feared by his own troops and Poles[19], Goldhagen repeatedly uses this and other such incidents to indicate what 'fun' the perpetrators had and that they iplicitly approved of the tactics.[20] Upon analysis of many such instances of forced singing and music at the point of violence, the true reasons of 'musical' violence may be somewhere in the middle. Browning's assessment of the unique sadism of specific soldiers holds given the volume of literature about reluctant shooters, and the surrounding information that mass murder was only possible with the assistance of drugs, alcohol, and other music elevators including music. However, the claim Goldhagen makes about the perpetrators 'having fun' also has credence. For

18 Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

19 Browning, *Ordinary Men*, p. 152.

20 Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), p. 236.

the sadistic among the shooters as well as the reluctant, this sort of forced music making helped them to compartmentalize the victims as something distinct and 'other'. The materiality of the voice was here used to manifest preconceived racial tropes. The brutality therefore, is directed and employed with particular racialized intent, not in a blind rage. The murder of the elderly Jewish man also specifically included the murder and silencing of his voice. This 'othering' of the victims is arguably an essential step in genocide and its justification. The change in vocal agency forces the victims not only to entertain, but to other and further victimize themselves. There is also an implicit psychological projection of power for the sadistic among the shooters in being able to physically recreate the racial trope of the 'Musical Jew' in real time.[21] A hated officer like Bekemeier who already viewed Jews as subhuman thus saw a manifestation of his racial perceptions: a filthy, mud covered, elderly Jewish man who was acting as Jews do – singing. The testimony about Bekemeier parallels accounts of other sadistic guards or commandants like Franz (Treblinka) and Höss (Auschwitz) engaged in musical sadism. The spontaneity of musical sadism throughout the SS shows the institutional nature of weaponized music. Here, music served as a perception-altering tool of murder alongside its physical counterparts: drugs and alcohol. Indeed, music goes further than simply mitigating the shootings for the perpetrators – forced music substantiated the murderous ideology at the point of violence.

The humiliation of singing is echoed in other testimony from bystanders. In a 2011 interview with Yahad in Unum, Yevstafi Z. from Smordva (Ukraine), recalls how Jews 'were subjected to abuse and humiliation […]' and 'another time, while they were being escorted, they were forced to sing a song.'[22] As Jews were marched in a column to their deaths, the abuse of forced singing stood out to this bystander seventy years later. Another bystander, Petro K. from the same village, recalls the same incident in a video testimony recorded with Yahad in Unum: 'They were escorted by the *Schutzmann* police who forced them to sing a Jewish song. I don't know what the song said.'[23] Petro K. not

21 A self-made term, here the concept of a 'Musical Jew' is discussed within a larger frame of Jewish alterity and violence.

22 'interview with Yevstafi Z.', *Yahad Map Online*, 12 July 2011 <http://www.yahadmap.org/en/#village/smordva-smordwa-rivne-ukraine.273> [accessed 20 July 2020].

23 'interview with Petro K., *Yahad Map Online*, 12 July 2011, <www.yahadmap.org/en/#village/smordva-smordwa-rivne-ukraine.273> [accessed 20 July 2020]. It is unclear whether Petro K. was unable to understand the text of the music because the song was in Yiddish or Hebrew, or whether the trauma of the event or temporal distance to the event has clouded his memory.

only mentions the forced singing, but also sings part of the song for the interviewer. The song musically sounds like Jewish, specifically Hassidic, celebration music as used in weddings, and would have been vocal originally. Here, the bystander testimony recounts two important musicological elements. First, the song is identified as 'Jewish' not by linguistic features but by those singing and by the music itself – it 'sounded Jewish'. Second, the bystanders' reaction was to the embodied voice – hearing the voices of their neighbors and friends. The voice remained a point of personalized recall linking the bystanders to the community that was murdered. Being forced to sing Jewish music clearly delineates music that is for the 'free time' of the troops and music for humiliation of the victims. Here, the music forced during violence was racial and religious in nature. There is a musicological othering, as the music itself is different from German classical music and is identifiably Jewish, presumably in melody. Again, music is used as a tool of identity: music ascribed to a class of people deserving persecution. It is abundantly clear that this music was not intended for noise abatement. On the contrary, villagers would be more inclined to look and see why people were singing outside, as in the case of the two bystanders. Bystanders also mention the personalization of the voice and ascribe characteristics like 'neighbor' and 'friend' to the victims. The hearing of individual voices rather than instrumental music had a profound effect on bystanders. It is also clear that this music was not meant to evoke a heroic or mood elevating stimulus for the shooters or to placate the victims. Instead, this music is another example of music weaponized to torment and humiliate the victims further and create an atmosphere of incitement for the perpetrators.

The Third Reich, commanded by musically obsessed leaders with Teutonic fantasies of their own, ensured that the troops tasked with the utter destruction of the Soviet peoples and state were well equipped.[24] As the Germans advanced, the units of *Einsatzgruppen A* and *B* were

Based on the body-language of the interview and his singing of the song, it is a response to trauma and blocking the event, in my opinion.

24 The history of music in the Third Reich is substantial. The command, most notably Hitler, von Papen, Goering, Goebbels, and Eichmann all saw Germanic music and art as essential elements of their statecraft and identity formation. This perspective of the arts ultimately is translated to the troops and the citizenry with clear national directives on what music was appropriate, what is German music vs. that of the 'other', and with music infused into celebrations and political events before and throughout the war. Additionally, the German sense of self and music often was presented as a sharp dichotomy against the Soviet sense of self, Judeo-Bolshevism, and inherently degenerate art. Consider: Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

issued explosive powder, foodstuffs, and a hand grenade in each pack with battalion leaders carrying free time and leisure materials including 'radios and music' for their intellectual maintenance.[25] As can be seen from the documents of the *Einsatzgruppen*, for example, the memoranda, radios and music for leisure took military priority alongside survival essentials such as food and weaponry. Certainly, this draws special attention to the materials 'appropriate' for a soldier of the Reich according to military policy – music rather than sport equipment for example, and the attention to culture of every citizen even at the front. *Einsatzgruppe A* made special mention of disruptions to music and communications in the same memo that addressed lack of specialized food.[26]

If the *Einsatzgruppen* carried with them radios, and many also carried or found personal instruments including harmonicas, how did the music during shootings differ? The 'official' music issued to the troops was similar to that of troop song: a psychological boost and promotion of good morale. Official music from radios or requisitioned instruments was a common free time activity. But there is a clear delineation between the leisure materials including music and official dispatches and the music correlated to violence, specifically used for torture or psychological manipulation. This violent music was certainly intended as an element of degradation and psychological warfare and in the perpetrators' psyche linked to the ability to inflict pain on others.[27] The resulting 'music' had a racially-charged and violent undertone, and was personalized by the voices of the individual victims. The primary use of music at shootings was the personalized torment of the voice and the link of this voice to a sense of communal 'self'.[28] The *Einsatzgruppen* had victims dig their own mass graves and accompany their own murder – forced singing remained the most common musical torment. Analysis of forced singing further reveals the role of the sinister racial trope of the 'Musical Jew' as a powerful tool of othering and identity formation culminating in violence.

25 Klaus-Michael Mallmann, Andrej Angrick, Jürgen Matthäus, Martin Cüppers, *Die Ereignismeldungen UdSSR: 1941 Dokumente der Einsatzgruppen in der Sowjetunion I* (Darmstadt, Germany: WBG, 2011), 57 v. 19.8.1941, pp. 312-314.

26 Ibid., 137 v. 24.11.1941, p. 832.

27 Suzanne G. Cusick, p. 382.

28 Ben Macpherson, et al., 'What is Voice Studies', in *Voice Studies: Critical Approaches to Process, Performance and Experience*, ed. by Konstantinos Thomaidis and Ben Macpherson (New York and London: Routledge, 2015), p. 205.

The 'Musical Jew'

The othering of victims is a significant and necessary part in the creation of the perpetrator mindset. Musical 'othering' of the victims not only serves to elevate the perpetrators and create a distance to the victims. It also functions as a psychological justification in that it contributes to the manifestation and realization of the racial trope into reality. A lingering anti-Semitic picture of a Jew exists in visual representation throughout Central European history well into the twentieth century.[29] In a genocidal context, the image of 'Jew' is a racially essentialized version of a community. This essentialized and stereotypical image is a stand-in for actual interaction with individuals and worth consideration for its musical potential. Racialized, what 'Jew' means is almost always a caricaturized man, dressed in an 'Orthodox' aesthetic with visible *tzitzit*[30] and *payot*[31], with a large nose and simple grin, and nearly always dancing with other men or playing an instrument. This visual representation thus contains musical elements as well as physical attributes and religious signifiers. These representations can still be seen today in statues and paintings of Jews available in gift shops in Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Russia. However, this image, and its musical undertones have practical applicability in analysing violent music from the Holocaust. Jews are negatively most associated with their secular music, dances and songs of the Hassidic movements, and celebration music. This trope of a Jew has resonance with other violent racial tropes and stands in

29 A particularly excellent study of the representation of Jews in stylized graphics comes from Salo Aizenberg, *Hatemail: Anti-Semitism on Picture Postcards* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2013). The personal correspondence of individuals shows how far reaching this visual representation was in a common and popular mindset. Rather than propaganda images or targeted hatred, these more quotidian interactions with anti-Semitism show how pervasive it was in the cultural and social histories of different countries. Also, in the pre-nation state Europe, this image was a transnational and widely accepted subaltern definition. This text is particularly compelling in that it traces the history of the image from the 1800s through the 1900s and engages with related images, including those in propaganda, newspapers, and media.

30 Ritual garment with visible knotted fringe worn by observant Jews and donned as a part of daily prayer. Although a *tallit* (larger prayer shawl) also has *tzitzit* attached. Most observant Jews wear *tzitzit* (or Yiddishized tzitzis) as a quotidian part of their clothing acknowledging a commitment to the '*mitzvot* and commandments of the Torah in dress.

31 Sidelocks of hair often worn curled by observant Jews to honor the prohibition against shaving certain points of the head. Stylized *payos/payot* differ by rabbinical and ethnic tradition and are not merely a Chassidic practice, but theoretically a commandment which applies to all Jewish men. Modern Chassidish circles still associate animosity toward *payot* from the outside world with memory of the Holocaust. This style of hair is only associated with Jews, and as such is worn as both an internal Kabbalistic connection to God, but also a social signifier of connection to Jewishness or *Yiddishkeit*.

sharp contrast to the German sense of self propagated by the National Socialists. In this representation, everything about the Jew is different from the German: a different religion, a different dress, religious and perceived arbitrary adherence to laws of Kosher food, and, sonically, the association with *Klezmer,* religious chanting, and wedding music rather than Beethoven and Wagner. The common representations of this sort of Jewish musicality include Jewish men singing syllabically in unison, or unintelligibly in unison, playing the violin or clarinet, and dancing in a circle. All of these stereotypes have a basis in actual Jewish music: circle dancing which is common in Hassidic communities, Jewish men singing separately from women as a matter of modesty and religious practice, and violin and clarinet as the most popular instruments of the Klezmer ensemble. It is also worth emphasizing that the trope is almost always associated with Jewish men, without a female counterpart. The manifestation of a 'musical Jew' at the point of violence is a powerful tool of othering. This trope has roots dating back to the 1500s and often conflates all Jews with a caricature of a Jew from a rural and backward setting.

This trope becomes dangerous in its realization in a genocidal setting. There is a community conflation of the voice that allows for projected tropes and racialism, specifically through choralities and groups of voices in unison. Where an individual may be humanized through hearing their voice, association with a group as a vocal whole is somewhat dehumanizing, associating individuals with their contribution to the sonic group rather than their particular subjectivities or individuality. Specifically in the German *Denkweise*, choral singing embodied the crystallization of nationhood and a practical and symbolic way of affirming the German nation.[32] German national identity as constructed by the Third Reich is intrinsically linked to music and a sense of self.[33] This music includes secular and recreational music for entertainment, but also the formality of classical music which is dominantly German, anchored by the musical titans Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms. The aesthetics of classical music mirror other philosophical debates in Germany with music tied to the political from the Enlightenment and Kant to the late Romantics, and ultimately into the formation of

32 Steven Connor, 'Choralities', *Twentieth-Century Music* 13 (2016), 18.

33 Celia Applegate, *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 3-10.

National Socialism.[34] Outside of the classical realm, music was thrown into sharp political relief as a signifier of identity in the interwar period. One such element was the association of political (youth) communities with musical genres – *Swingjugend* were associated with Americanism, progressivism, and most notably – anti-fascism. Similarly, the music of the *Hitler Jugend* and *Bund Deutscher Mädel* focused specifically on building ideological cohesion and community with a musical emphasis on folk songs with repurposed lyrics for the Third Reich.[35] In the musical racialization and othering of Jews, two distinct 'Musical Jews' emerge: an abstract, caricaturized 'Jew' as portrayed in the wartime propaganda, and the material consequences of this abstraction for German Jewish intellectuals, including musicians.

The *Reich's* musical policy is reflective of musical nationality from leisure materials of troops to official concerts for the command. Groups of Jewish men singing epitomized the Other with the structure of power represented in ideals (or not) of sound[36]; they represented dangerous choralities of men resembling nothing of the German voice or *Volk*. It is also significant that the fear and hatred seems to be uniquely of Jewish men, and as a group or a collective. The initial differentiation between German and Jewish musical identity in this context is linguistic. Soviet Jews were told to sing specifically in 'Jewish' languages including Yiddish and Hebrew. However, the primary distinction is not musical, but racial – who is singing? Voice Studies is a valuable lens to understand this racial othering. The individual voice is characterized by a particular grain, timbre, language, gender, and projection. However, the individual voice is literally blurred and lost within collective sound – either with non-vocal sound that is louder, or with the merging of collective voices. In the context of forced singing of collectives, the individual identity and

34 George Mosse proposed that the intensity of German national sentiment was crystallized in figures like Nietzsche and Wagner, and that the romantic positivism was a clear connection to later origins of National Socialism. Wagner, long associated with the Third Reich and Hitlerian fantasy, is also one figure alongside Franz Liszt and later Richard Strauss in a significant aesthetic (Kantian) divide between 'absolute' and 'programmatic' music. Figures like Brahms wrote 'absolute music' without programmatic subtext. Regardless, philosophy from Kant to Adorno and even Arendt is pivotal to understanding music from the respective era. George. L. Mosse, 'The Mystical Origins of National Socialism', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22 (1961), 81.

35 Primary sources including the text by Nazi musicologist Herbert Gerigk specifically detail the political content of these songs – the use of music as a vital part of physical and mental training of the youth. The emphasis musically was on singing as a unified group and defining a sense of group identity. See: *Lieder in Politik und Alltag des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. by Gottfried Niedhart, and George Broderick (Frankfurt: Lang, 1999).

36 Nina Sun Eidsheim, 'All Voice, All Ears', in *Sensing Sound: Singing & Listening as Vibrational Practice* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), p. 144.

voice are blurred with a collective sound and collective identity. This collective identity is subjugated to racial violence, and the uniqueness of the individual is lost in the creation of a communal trope. Jewish men are seen as something to be destroyed, where Jewish women are dangerous for their ability to have inter-racial children with ethnic Germans and to have fully Jewish children of their own. Similarly, Jewish children were seen as a threat as the next generation of this 'subhuman' race. Jewish men faced specific fears, and often could not pass as belonging to another race. Men could be outed by everything from circumcision to lack of conscription orders. The unique gendered differences of persecution in the Holocaust have been separately studied, but here the significant divide is between the concept of a German masculinity and a Jewish masculinity.[37] The concept of German chorality is perceived as community while Jewish chorality is seen as other and dangerous. Combined with the anti-Semitic 'musical Jew' trope, a powerful sense of a dangerous Other is manifested through forced singing. This conflict is fundamentally one of identity – German versus subaltern - with possibilities for this conflict to manifest musically. If a caricature of this Jew exists in the *Zeitgeist* of the advancing German military, how does this image affect Jews at the moment of violence?

The creation of tropes, particularly in aid of violence, may be seen as lingering colonial power and manifestation of abstract systems on individuals. Nazism and Stalinism have colonial implications between Hitler's 'colonial de-modernization'[38] of the USSR, mutual annihilation, and genocidal racism. Functionally, resource driven advancement in areas like Ukraine are reflective of larger colonial structures between National Socialism and the USSR and similar to colonialization outside of Europe. As such, colonial violence against ethnic minorities, like Jews, is part of the structure of power and whiteness in this framework. This racial framework is also similar to other colonial constructions of subaltern conditions and supremacy of settlers. Here, Jews are the other, with the white default that of the 'Aryan Third Reich'. Through colonialization and a recasting of the collective, voice contributes to

37 An excellent study looking at the unique threat to German Jewish men and their experiences during the war was recently published by Sebastian Huebel. There are also many accounts of women and children and their wartime accounts and specific trauma. See: Sebastian Huebel, 'Disguise and Defiance: German Jewish Men and Their Underground Experiences in Nazi Germany, 1941-1945', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 36.3 (2018), 110-141.

38 Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2010), p. 416.

'racial fuzziness' where ambiguity and othering allow for violence.[39] The voice and its manifestations may reinforce or create a sense of racial distinction. This distinction may be a 'reading' of the voice in externality or a reflection of a created race by the individual, with different implications for why and how the voice is shaped to fit a concept of race. As such, 'whiteness' is a function of the cultural, economic, and vocal with specific imagined attributes of what creates the dominant and what creates the other. The racial 'imagination' may be realized in the material voice both by the external listener and the creator of the voice.[40] The perception of a situation and its aurality or soundscape may include the voice, and racial othering of communities. The way a scene is heard by perpetrators or victims is also reflective of colonialism in sound.[41] The implied power structures of colonialism are reflected in expectations of the voice and vocal projections of violence.

Conclusions

Music, especially forced singing, at the moment of violence seems a significant hallmark of mass shootings in the USSR. Nazified concepts of 'Germanness' in music serve as a sharp contrast to the singing of victims in the moment of execution. Indeed, the binary of perpetrator and victim is reinforced by a cultural binary of 'German' and 'other' aiding in genocide. The construction of Jews as an essentialized racialized Other removed actual interactions with individuals and created the monolithic racial hatred essential to genocide. Part of creating this Other is the trope of a 'Musical Jew', a simple caricature similar to propagandistic images. The musical component of this trope associated Jews with music and dancing, and thus a visual conception crossed into a sonic realization.

The voice in violence can be heard communally without simultaneously hearing the 'grain' or character of the individual voice.[42] Jews were identified as a collective, executed as a collective, and accompanied their execution as a collective voice. Indeed, the musical enactment

39 Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, p. 53. Ochoa Gautier casts this 'racial fuzziness' in Central and South America, but much of the racial tension analyzed vocally is also applicable in Ukraine.

40 Nina Sun Eidsheim, *The Race of Sound: Listening, Timbre, and Vocality in African American Music* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), p. 187.

41 Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, p. 52.

42 Roland Barthes, 'The Grain of the Voice', in *Image, Music, Text*, trans. by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977), p. 182.

of trauma here removes the character of the individual and assigns collective meaning. The uniqueness of the individual becomes lost in the racialized construction of the whole: here the construction of the whole as a realized trope. The personal and unique qualities of the voice serve as painful areas for attack as the individual voice becomes merely a part of community projections of stereotypes and trauma. The individual victim's experience is not the recorded experience in archives. Rather, the voice recorded is that heard by a bystander, or worse, forced by a perpetrator. It is impossible to understand the voice of the victim in this context outside of the oppressor's perspective of how that voice was used and remembered. This interpretation is particularly fraught in systems with unequal, or here genocidal, power dynamics.[43]

Furthermore, the scene of genocide may be portrayed differently through different auralities. The scene as recorded in aural memory is the aural record of a bystander or perpetrator. One sound, forced singing, is especially heard differently by victim and perpetrator. For victims the voice emerges from themselves and joins a mass of like individuals. They lose their voice to a collective identity after vocalizing. The perpetrator has no sense of the individual voice and hears only the collective, here with racialized intent. The bystander differs in that they hear only the collective but often without racialized intent or with a parallel community identification. The violence experienced literally and vocally by victims and bystanders is thus a different topography of sound than the one heard by the perpetrators. Forced singing reinforces a victim collective and the erasure of the individual voice before the genocidal erasure of the individual. Perpetrators experience the victim's voice from a distance, the trauma of forced singing does not emerge from them individually or as a collective and is exclusive to the 'other' identity at the scene. Trauma also substantially affects the way sounds are heard and how the sounds are experienced.[44] Victims certainly would have a different perspective of their own voice, as well as other non-vocal sounds: grass, gunshots, screams. A different course of analysis, but worth mentioning here, is the role that trauma plays in additionally magnifying or erasing certain sounds or events. The voice used to create tropes reinforces dehumanizing power structures and results in the weaponization of the voice as a tool of genocide.

43 Ana Maria Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality: listening and knowledge in nineteenth-century Colombia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), pp. 23-24.

44 Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, p. 52.

Forced singing is, as mentioned earlier, not unique to the Nazi occupation, nor to the musical sadism in the Holocaust. Forced musical activities were distinct from professional musicians preserving music, propagandistic music, entertainment music of the troops, clandestine music in the camps and ghettos, and other contributions to the soundscape of the Holocaust. Musical sadism and the specific use of the victims' voice was intended for further torture of the victims and has a longer history in weaponized music. Hitherto unstudied testimonies from Yahad in Unum and other collections provide insight from the bystander perspective into the use of forced singing by the *Einsatzgruppen*. Victims of shootings in the USSR were forced to sing in accompaniment to their own murder, while digging graves, and in macabre compelled celebrations following *Aktions.* The violent music created by victims also served as perverse entertainment for the troops in comparable ways to forced music in the camp structure. The trope of a 'Musical Jew' was literally manifested for the perpetrators in that Jews were singing in accompaniment of their own demise. As such, the abstract racial essentialization of Jews had a sonic realization at the point of violence. A Voice Studies analysis can thus on the one hand reveal additional aspects of the burden and trauma of singing for the victims, and on the other shed light on the power structures as they manifest in soundscapes of violence, as it considers the differences in what victims and perpetrators hear and create. The colonial power structures which allow for genocide are also reflected sonically in the layout of a scene. Finally, the initial question of identity and racial othering returns in the conflation of individual victims with a racialized whole. Music is a cultural signifier of these larger binary identities: 'German' and 'Other'. The voice contributes to a 'racial fuzziness' and erasure of individual identity as the embodied individual voice ultimately contributes to a sonic community. In these shootings, forced singing erased the individual voice in favor of a racially essentialized group identity before the literal erasure of individuals in genocide.

Works Cited

Aizenberg, Salo, *Hatemail: Anti-Semitism on Picture Postcards* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2013)

Alexievich, Svetlana, *Last Witnesses: An Oral History of the Children of World War Two* (New York, NY: Random House, 2019)

Alexopoulos, Golfo, *Illness and Inhumanity in Stalin's Gulag* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018)

Applegate, Celia, *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002)

Barthes, Roland, 'The Grain of the Voice', in *Image, Music, Text*, trans. by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977)

Beirens, Maarten, 'Voices, Violence and Meaning: Transformations of Speech Samples in works by David Byrne, Brian Eno and Steve Reich', *Contemporary Music Review*, 33 (2014), 210-222

Browning, Christopher, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Holocaust in Poland* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 1998)

Chornik, Katia, 'Music and Torture in Chilean Detention Centers: Conversations with an Ex-agent of Pinochet's Secret Police', *The World of Music* (2013), 51-65

Connor, Steven, 'Choralities', *Twentieth-Century Music*, 13 (2016), 3-23

Cusick, Suzanne G., 'Music as Torture/ Music as Weapon', in *The Auditory Culture Reader*, ed. by Michael Bull and Les Back (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2020), pp. 379–393

——, '"You are in a Place that is out of the World…" Music in the Detention Camps of the "Global War on Terror"', *Journal of the Society for American Music*, 2 (2008), 1-26

Droit, Emmanuel, 'The Gulag and the Holocaust in Opposition: Official Memories and Memory Cultures in an Enlarged Europe', *Vingtième Siècle: Revue d'histoire*, 94 (2007), 101–120 <https://www.cairn.info/journal-vingtieme-siecle-revue-d-histoire-2007-2-page-101.htm> [accessed 30 July 2020]

Dwork, Deborah, and Robert van Pelt, *Holocaust: A History* (New York, NY: Norton, 2002)

Desbois, Patrick, *The Holocaust by Bullets: A Priest's Journey to Uncover the Truth Behind the Murder of 1.5 Million Jews* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

Eidsheim, Nina Sun, *Sensing Sound: Singing & Listening as Vibrational Practice* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015)

——, *The Race of Sound: Listening, Timbre, and Vocality in African American Music* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018)

Fackler, Guido, 'Music in Concentration Camps 1933–1945', trans. by Peter Logan, *Music and Politics,* 1.1 (2007) <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/mp/9460447.0001.102/—music-in-concentration-camps-1933-1945?rgn=main;view=fulltext> [accessed May 28, 2021]

Förester, Jürgen, 'Ideological Warfare in the Early Phase', in *Germany and the Second World War. German Wartime Society 1939-1945: Politicization, Disintegration, and the Struggle for Survival,* ed. by Jörg Echternkamp and others, 20 vols (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008), IX, 524–537

Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007)

Gilbert, Shirli, *Music and the Holocaust: Confronting Life in Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Guilbert, Laure, Ruth Eshel, Judith Brin Inbger, eds, 'Dancers under Duress. The Forgotten Resistance of Fireflies', *Mahol Akshav/Dance Today: The Dance Magazine of Israel*, 36 (2019), 11-16

Huebel, Sebastian, 'Disguise and Definace: German Jewish Men and Their Underground Experiences in Nazi Germany, 1941-1945', *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, 36.3 (2018), 110-141

Kim, Suk-Young, *Illusive Utopia: Theater, Film, and Everyday Performance in North Korea* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010)

Macpherson, Ben and others, 'What is Voice Studies', in *Voice Studies: Critical Approaches to Process, Performance and Experience*, ed. by Konstantinos Thomaidis and Ben Macpherson (New York and London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 203–217

Mallmann, Klaus-Michael, Andrej Angrick, Jürgen Matthäus, and Martin Cüppers, *Die Ereignismeldungen UdSSR: 1941 Dokumente der Einsatzgruppen in der Sowjetunion I* (Darmstadt, Germany: WBG, 2011)

Mosse, George L., 'The Mystical Origins of National Socialism', *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 22 (1961), 81–96

Nathans, Benjamin, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002)

Naliwajek-Mazurek, Katarzyna, 'Music and Torture in Nazi Sites of Persecution and Genocide in Occupied Poland: 1939–1945', *The World of Music: New Series*, 2 (2013), 31-50 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24318195> [accessed 28 May 2021]

Niedhart, Gottfried & Broderick, George. eds, *Lieder in Politik und Alltag des Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1999)

Ochoa Gautier, Ana Maria, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014)

Ohler, Norman, *Blitzed: Drugs in the Third Reich,* trans. by Shaun Whiteside (Boston, MA: Mariner Books, 2015)

Snyder, Timothy, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2010)

Steinweis, Alan E., *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (University of North Carolina Press, 1993)

US Holocaust Memorial Museum, 'Kiev and Babi Yar,' *Holocaust Encyclopedia,* <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/kiev-and-babi-yar> [accessed 21 July 2020]

US Holocaust Memorial Museum, 'The Nazi Persecution of Soviet Prisoners of War,' *Holocaust Encyclopedia* <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/nazi-persecution-of-soviet-prisoners-of-war> [accessed 21 July 2020]

'Raków', *The Untold Stories: The Murder Sites of Jews in the Former USSR* <https://www.yadvashem.org/untoldstories/database/index.asp?cid=248> [accessed 30 May 2020]

'Interview with Petro K.', *Yahad Map Online*. 12 July 2011 <www.yahadmap.org/en/#village/smordva-smordwa-rivne-ukraine.273> [accessed 20 May 2020]
'Interview with Yevstafi Z.', *Yahad Map Online.* Interview 12 July 2011 <www.yahadmap.org/en/#village/smordva-smordwa-rivne-ukraine.273> [accessed 30 May 2020]
Zauzmer, Julie, 'Holocaust Study: Two-thirds of Millennials Don't Know What Auschwitz Is', *The Washington Post*, 12 April 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/acts-of-faith/wp/2018/04/12/two-thirds-of-millennials-dont-know-what-auschwitz-is-according-to-study-of-fading-holocaust-knowledge/> [accessed 15 May 2020]

Archival

Records from the *Einsatzgruppen* in the Soviet Union. Testimony from Belarus. B162-3410. NS Hauptarchiv der NSDAP.Bundesarchiv, Berlin, Germany.
Interview in a report from Motol. RG22.022M: 7021-90-27. Soviet State Archives (ChGK). Gosudarstvenii Arkhiv Russiskoe Federatsi (GARF). Moscow, Russia.
Report on Rakov. RG 22.002M. 7021-83-14. *Soviet Extraordinary Commission Files.* US Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives. Washington DC.
USHMM. 'Members of the camp orchestra perform in front of a barracks.' Photo Archives. Photograph Number 71780. 1941-1943. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum courtesy of Herman Lewinter. <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa5048> [accessed 17 May 2021]

Alexandra Birch is a professional violinist and scholar of recovered music from genocide. She holds a DMA from Arizona State University and is currently a PhD student at UC Santa Barbara.