

Stanislav	3	121	44	0	95	35	0	26	9
Ternopil	1	75	57	0	70	46	0	5	11
Volyn	0	18	9	0	18	7	0	0	2

**Table 3**  
**Anti-Jew Leaflets Distributed by Western Ukraine**  
**OUN (1935–1937)<sup>32</sup>**

Provinces	1935	1936	1937
Lviv	0	9	8
Stanislav	0	49	28
Ternopil	4	13	13
Volyn	1	4	6
Total	5	75	55

Therefore, OUN did not have a clear doctrine regarding the economic component of the Jewish issue. However, the given above statistic data regarding anti-Jew actions implemented by OUN in 1930<sup>th</sup> allow drawing a conclusion that there was an open conflict between Ukrainian far-rights and Jewish minority. Most likely that tension aggravation in Ukrainian-Jewish relationships fueled by OUN (reaching its peak in the second part of 1930<sup>th</sup>) became one of the factors that, to one extent or another, had an impact on the relationships of two nations during the Second World War.

**Serhiy Hirik**  
**IMAGE OF HOLOCAUST IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE AND**  
**CONTEMPORARY ANTI-SEMITIC PROPAGANDA**  
**(UKRAINE AND RUSSIA CASE STUDY)<sup>1</sup>**

Holocaust image representation in the Ukrainian and Russian historiography and (especially) political journalism was ideologically charged for quite a long time. It was a result of long-term evolution of Shoah image representation both in the official discourse (historiography and political journalism during the Soviet era, and school textbooks in modern Ukraine) and in unofficial publications. During the Soviet time the latter was, first of all, limited to self-published books (*samizdat*), and then was converted into two different (author- and target audience-wise) groups of texts – serious academic historiography and high-quality political essays on the one hand<sup>2</sup>, and various anti-Semitic propaganda on the other hand.

**I.**

In the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the official Shoah image was determined by All-Union ideological trends. Immediately after the Second World War there was an important attempt made to include the Shoah image into the general memories about WWII. We mean the preparation of materials for “Chernaya Kniga” (“The Black Book”) by the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee. In spite of the fact that this project of Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman was not published in the USSR as a separate publication (the typeset of the book ready for publishing was taken down and the book was published much later), we can consider it partially implemented. Naturally, the Soviet readers could not get the English publication of the book, but (in fact, it is not mentioned in the up-to-date “Chernaya Kniga” publications) several pages from it were cited in Ilya Ehrenburg’s memoirs “Lyudi. Gody. Zhizn” (“People. Years. Life”) that was published several times in a mass edition and, thus, was available for interested readers. At that, I. Ehrenburg selected the most emotionally rich passages and owing to it, his audience had an opportunity to become familiar with the most conspicuous fragments of the banned text.

1. The article was firstly published in Ukrainian: Гірік С. Образ Голокосту в публічному дискурсі й сучасна антисемітська пропаганда (приклад України та Росії). *Проблеми історії Голокосту: науковий журнал*. Дніпропетровськ: Інститут “Ткума”, 2015. Вип. 7. С. 16–28.

2. Researches, political essays and documentaries included into this group of material we cover in brief since they are not propagandistic.

32. РГВА, ф. 464 к., оп. 1, ед. хр. 2601, л. 16–17.

This attempt could not but leave an imprint on the image of Holocaust hundreds of thousands readers had. Therefore, we can state at least a partial victory of one of the book's authors over censorship (Georgiy Aleksandrov, the Propaganda Division Head of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) initiated the ban and the final decision was made by Andrey Zhdanov, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, so the decision was made at the highest level). The ban was grounded by the statement that there was no big difference between Nazis' attitude to Jews and their attitude to "Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians and other nations of the Soviet Union"<sup>3</sup>. In fact, this statement can be considered to be not just the hushing up of Holocaust, but its blunt denial. For quite a long time this position was official. This was particularly evident when memory about WWII was being constructed in the mass consciousness, resulting in memorials erection, publication of strictly censored materials about military actions where, as the rule, the attention was paid to warfare instead of the life under Nazi occupation, and etc.

However, while we can consider the cited internal Communist Party document as the one denying Holocaust, the image of being "under the Nazi" in the Soviet public discourse was a bit more flexible. It was sort of Holocaust hushing up. In some USSR republics it was almost total, for example, in the Ukrainian SSR, where the authorities in general did not distinguish the Jews from the total number of the Soviet people perished during WWII; some other republics hushed the issue up to some extent, for example, in Estonia some researchers mentioned in their papers that Nazi policy of the Jews extermination was different from their approach in dealing with mainstream population of the republic. This finding concerns not only the academic literature, but also the popular one, the cinematograph and etc. This position became especially evident after 1947–1948. (NB! A year prior to the anti-Semitic campaign in the USSR). Before that time, the information about the Jews execution for being Jews managed to find its way to publications. For example, the brochure "Zlodeiania nemtsev v Kieve" ("Nazi Atrocities in Kyiv") of Kuzma Dubyna, a Ukrainian historian (1945): out of more than 40 pages of this brochure just five paragraphs are dedicated to the mass killing of the Jews in Babi Yar<sup>4</sup>. Later even such kind of information became impossible to publish.

3. Докладная записка агитпропа ЦК А. А. Жданову по вопросу издания "Черной книги", accessed 19 February 2019, <http://www.alexanderyakovlev.org/fond/ issues-doc/69319>.

4. Дубина К. Злодействия немцев в Киеве. Б.м.: Политиздат, 1945.

A bit different (but at the level of inflections, not approach) was the monument erection policy. The attempt of the authorities to dilute Shoah in the tragedy of other nations of the USSR was less widespread in this domain compared to narrative materials. As a rule, the inscriptions on monuments erected at mass killing spots did not contain any information that specifically the Jews were killed there. It was true even for very special spots for the Jews' collective memory. However, the exceptional situation of the Jewish population in the occupied territories during WWII was indirectly distinguished – not at the level of monumental inscription meaning (it was impossible to write something different from what was prescribed by the authorities), but by the fact of availability of inscription in Yiddish<sup>5</sup>.

Naturally, the authorities did not have total control over the collective memory about WWII times. Written texts (even corrupted due to major censoring, like Anatoly Kuznetsov's novel "Babi Yar", or Yevgeny Yevtushenko's poem of the same name and etc.) and purely artworks, like Dmitri Shostakovich's Symphony No. 13 "Babi Yar" with Yevtushenko's poem set to it, were striking phenomena of the cultural life. However, memorial events such as the ones in Babi Yar<sup>6</sup>, in spite of the dissidents' response, remained almost unnoticed by population masses. Surely the ordinary people knew about extermination of the Jews who lived next door to them (or their parents) before the war and this fact conflicted with officially nourished image of the life during the war.

The audio and video materials (incl. unofficial movies) created during "Thaw Period" and in the beginning of "Era of Stagnation" could be distributed only like self-published materials and were destined to limited audience. A limited number of copies was made of a newsreel shot during a Memorial Event in Babi Yar at the suggestion of Helii (Yevhen) Sniehirov, a Ukrainian dissident (due to unauthorized organization of filming of this event he lost his position of the Head Editor of the Ukrainian Newsreel and Documentary Studio and went on working as a Movie Director<sup>7</sup>). The pictures and speeches from such events reached a bigger number of people, however, their number was not sufficient at all to cover

5. We should not overrate the importance of this factor since at that time not all non-Jews were able to identify for sure the Jewish letters.

6. See: Хруслінська І., Тима П. Діалоги порозуміння. Українсько-єврейські взаємини. Київ: Дух і літера, 2011. С. 91–113 (записи інтерв'ю з Євгеном Сверстюком і Іваном Дзюбою).

7. It was mentioned by Viktor Nekrasov, see: Некрасов В. "Патроны для расстрела" Гелия Снегирева. Рецензия. *Новое русское слово*. 1984. 25 марта; Снегирев Г. Набой для розстрілу. Нью-Йорк–Торонто, 1983. С. 482. Rafail Nakhmanovich, a Movie Director, who took part in filming did not mention it (see his interview: Рафаїл Нахманович: Бабі Яр–1966: як це було, accessed 17 February 2019, <http://maidan.org.ua/static/mai/1159455143.html>).

at least notable audience. In spite of that, the fact of filming itself, as well as the mentioned and the following Memorial Events in Babi Yar promoted this spot to become a place of special significance for the collective memory of (not only) the Ukrainian Jews, the Ukrainians in general and the Kyivans in particular.

The anti-Semitic component of the unofficial public discourse in the Ukrainian SSR of the Soviet times was much less widespread. Essentially, the only notable material of such kind was a book of Matvii Shestopal "Yevrei na Ukrainskii" ("Jews in Ukraine") that was self-published in 1976<sup>8</sup>. The tone of this book did not differ from that of the Soviet official propaganda, being just a bit more undisguised in the author's wording. At the same time, semiofficial anti-Semitic publications were widely spread (formally they were anti-Judaic or "anti-Zionist") among which the "works" of Trokhym Kychko occupied a special place<sup>9</sup>.

Therefore, we can state that within 1960–1980 the memory about mass extermination of Jews during WWII existed in collective consciousness in spite of the official policy and was spreading by sharing memories of the Holocaust witnesses with their families or by self-published texts (naturally, the latter was used only by small number of the social-minded clerisy).

The situation in the Russian SSR was different because, first of all, the percentage of the Jews in the republic's population was really negligible compared to that of in other republics of the European part of the USSR. Taking into account the mentioned fact and the fact that Nazi troops occupied a relatively small part of the Russian SSR, the extent of Holocaust in it was smaller than in Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic States<sup>10</sup>. Correspondingly, the number of witnesses of this crime among the population was smaller. At the same time, the spread of anti-Semitic materials was wider, especially in 1980<sup>th</sup> in the Russian self-published material domain where the leading place was occupied by Valerii Yemelianov's book "Desyonyzatsiya" ("Dezionization"), rich

8. Шестопал М. Євреї на Україні (історична довідка). Київ: Орієнти, 1998. In four years after the first publication the book was republished by the notorious higher educational establishment Interregional Academy of Personnel Management (IAPM) along with some other books of the similar content.

9. See: Костырченко Г. Тайная политика Хрущева: власть, интеллигенция, еврейский вопрос. Москва: Международные отношения, 2012. С. 222–230, 284–296.

10. The situation in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic where Kingdom of Romania's ruling was restored in the part of its territory in 1941–1944 was completely different compared to the mentioned republic, thus we do not mention it herein.

in neopagan elements. The level of radicalism of this author's statements is much higher than that of the book of M. Shestopal, mentioned above<sup>11</sup>.

In the second part of 1980<sup>th</sup> the memory of Shoah was to the greater extent mainstreamed by the authorities themselves, as well as newly established Jewish NGOs. Just during the last years of the Soviet Union existence it became a part of the collective memory of not only those who remembered Holocaust due to its role in the history of their own families, but practically of all the people interested in history.

## II.

In the modern Ukrainian historiography Shoah image is determined by the influence of various factors. It is clear that the position of all serious researchers and columnists without any exception as well as the authorities' official point of view acknowledge the scale of the Ukrainian Jews tragedy: authorities and local governments take part in financing of Holocaust memorials restoration, the officials participate in Memorial Events organized by Jewish NGOs, and etc. At the same time, the specificities of the contemporary Ukrainian public discourse dictate the certain trends in Holocaust image including its representation in high school textbooks. Say, the Jews shooting in Babi Yar is mentioned only in few sentences in the high school textbooks<sup>12</sup>, i.e. the number of the stories about Holocaust is limited by "bare minimum"<sup>13</sup>.

As for the academic domain and political journalism (they often interrelate as a lot of historians, incl. Yaroslav Hrytsak, Andrii Portnov, Nataliia Yakovenko and others speak through the media, have their own blogs in the most popular information resources, and etc.), we can make even more interesting observations. Very important is interweaving of Holocaust remembrance with Holodomor (Famine) remembrance of the majority of the Ukrainians and the efforts to provide their comparative analysis as a part of Genocide Studies (this discipline is not well-developed in Ukraine, though there are several specialized periodicals and research institutions). Some Jews, first of all, the ones living outside Ukraine, consider such efforts to be Shoah relativisation or diminishing

11. The ideas, stated in this book, the author shared since the beginning of 1970<sup>th</sup>, finalizing the text of his "research" at the end of the decade. In more details: Вишневская Ю. Православные, гевалт! Синтаксис. Париж, 1988. Вып. 21. С. 85.

12. Стецевич К. "Націєтворення" держави переходного періоду – на прикладі українських шкільних підручників. *Історична освіта: європейський та український досвід. Викладання національної історії в школах Центральної та Східної Європи*. Київ: К.І.С., 2007. С. 277–278.

13. The only exception is one of the textbooks published recently: Шупак І. Всесвітня історія. Новітній період (1939–2011 рр.): підруч. для 11 кл. загальноосвіт. навч. закладів. Запоріжжя: Прем'єр, 2011. This textbook includes a separate section dedicated to Holocaust.

of its extent. However, at the same time, the word “Holocaust” in mass consciousness of the non-Jews is considered to be identical to term “Неноцид”. In the result, they start to use this term with respect to Holodomor. For example, a collection of memories of those who survived Holodomor in 1932–1933 arranged by Yurii Mytsyk (7 volumes, Kyiv: Kyiv-Mohyla Academy Publishing House, 2003–2010) was published with a title “Ukrainskyi Holokost 1932–1933. Svidchennia tykh kto vyzhyv” (“Ukrainian Holocaust. Testimonies of Those Who Survived”). In its turn the majority of Ukrainians are quite sensitive to any attempts to encroach on Holodomor remembrance or attempts to diminish its scale. Discussions about this event are often politicized and their tone ceases to be academic giving the room for political jugglery.

In spite of this, the constant interest to the issues connected to Shoah is noticeable in contemporary Ukraine. Dozens of researches and political essays are published that reflect Shoah problems to different extent (it is hard not to mention the essays of Yaroslav Hrytsak<sup>14</sup> and Andrii Portnov<sup>15</sup>).

At the same time, in line with purely scientific papers and high quality political essays published are politicized papers somewhat in the style of scientific ones. In this connection we would like to mention the popular-science book of Volodymyr Viatrovych “Stavlennia OUN do yevreiv: formuvannia pozysii na tli katastrofy” (“OUN Attitude to Jews: Shaping the Opinion at the Time of Catastrophe”<sup>16</sup>) that won a number of very negative reviews<sup>17</sup>. Such kind of “scientific”, would-be scientific and political essays appeared due to both unintentional misapprehensions and open attempt of some experts to gloss over participation of certain groups

14. Грицак Я. Голодом. Життя, смерть та інші неприємності: статті та есеї. Київ: Грані-Т, 2010. С. 118–135, see also a few essays in other collection of his texts: Грицак Я. Страсті за націоналізмом. Київ: Критика, 2011. С. 219–260 (essays “Незрозумілій Голодом”, “Мовчання не по-європейськи”, “Голодомост попросту”, “Голодомор і Голокост: виклики колективній пам’яті”; in the publication these works are placed in a row to form a holistic thematic block from them).

15. Портнов А. Голодомор 1932–1933 гг. как вызов для теории геноцида: интеллектуальные генеалогии современных дебатов. Уражнения с историей поукраински. Москва: ОГИ; ПОЛИТ.РУ: Мемориал, 2010. С. 162–216; Портнов А. Концепції геноциду та етнічних чисток: західні наукові дискусії та місце в них українських сюжетів. Україна модерна. Ч. 13 (2). Київ: Критика, 2008. С. 82–114.

16. В'яtrович В. Ставлення ОУН до євреїв: Формування позиції на тлі катастрофи. Львів: Ms, 2006. The organization that published this book, placed its full-text version in open access: В'яtrович В. Ставлення ОУН до євреїв: Формування позиції на тлі катастрофи, accessed 19 February 2019, [http://www.cdvr.org.ua/sites/default/files/archive/jevreji\\_0.pdf](http://www.cdvr.org.ua/sites/default/files/archive/jevreji_0.pdf).

17. For example: Курило Т., Химка І. Як ОУН ставилася до євреїв? Роздуми над книжкою Володимира В'яtrовича (В'яtrович В. Ставлення ОУН до євреїв: формування позиції на тлі катастрофи. Львів: Ms, 2006. 140 с.). Україна модерна. Ч. 13 (2). Київ: Критика, 2008. С. 252–265.

of the Ukrainian population in Holocaust. It is indicative that at places of the Jews mass extermination the old Soviet memorials to unknown “Soviet citizens” coexist with the new ones containing information that the majority of these citizens were the Jews, as well as difference between texts in Ukrainian and Hebrew<sup>18</sup> on these monuments (the examples are given by Omer Bartov<sup>19</sup>).

However, at the same time in the beginning of 2000<sup>th</sup> the number of anti-Semitic publications where the issue of Holocaust took one of the leading positions increased in the domains existing far away from the academic mainstream (though sometimes having the formal research status). The majority of such publications are small-circulation brochures of fringe far-right groups. However, in the second half of 2000<sup>th</sup> their number sharply decreased. The “intensity” of anti-Semitism of such publications differs dramatically depending on the target audience. It is especially intense, with an accent on racial aspect, in the publications of “Perekhid-IV” magazine authors. We should mention the book of Ihor Kahanets “Ariiskyi standart” (“Arian Standard”) where the author underlines the undesirability of mixed marriages, mentions telegony as if it really exists, states that Jesus Christ was not a Jew and etc. Thus, he repeatedly mentions the myths that became popular in Nazi Germany<sup>20</sup>. In Interregional Academy of Personnel Management (IAPM) publications released around 2007 the main accent was placed on “anti-Zionist” narrative<sup>21</sup>, though sometimes the publishing house of this higher educational establishment republished the old texts with elements of religious Judophobia<sup>22</sup> or social anti-Semitism<sup>23</sup>. The religious aspect takes

18. The memorials built after 1991 has inscription in Hebrew instead of the ones in Yiddish that was usually used at the Soviet times.

19. Бартов О. Стерті. Зникаючі сліди євреїв Галичини в сучасній Україні. Київ: Український центр вивчення історії Голокосту, 2010.

20. Каганець І. Арийський стандарт. Київ: А.С.К., 2004. This book was republished in 2014. We have not had an opportunity to look through it yet.

21. “Персонал” проти сионізму: статті. Київ: МАУП, 2002; Діалог цивілізацій: сіонізм найбільша загроза сучасній цивілізації: матеріали Четвертої Всесвітньої конференції. Київ, 3 червня 2005 р. Київ: МАУП, 2006.

22. Інаріон (митрополит). Про Закон Мойсеєв даний і про Благодать та Істину в Ісусі Христі вілених / упоряд., передм., пер. із старослов'ян. мови В. Яременко. Київ: МАУП, 2004. 176 с. This religious and polemical material was based in Old and New Testaments contrasting (the “Law” and the “Grace”). In content is not Judophobic, but it easily takes on correspondent characteristics when its text is interpreted in a certain way.

23. Пчілка О. Викинуті українці: До жидівсько-української справи. Київ: МАУП, 2006. This book is a collection of anti-Semitic articles of Olena Pchilka, a well-known writer and public person, the mother of Lesya Ukrainka and the sister of Mykhailo Drahomanov.

a central role in publications of various neo-pagan groups. Such authors use anti-Semitism as a tool in their rhetoric against Christianity stressing its descending from Judaism. The authors that belong to such groups do not touch the issue of their attitude to Holocaust in every publication. Some of them consider Holocaust denial or major understatement of its extent to be “universal perception” stating it with no rationale whatsoever.

But at the same time anti-Semitic rhetoric is negligible in the modern Ukrainian music culture. Some music bands popular among neo-Nazis include anti-Semitic slogans and phrases along with sacrilegious allusions to Holocaust, but the number of such songs is negligible<sup>24</sup>.

### III.

In Russia an outbreak of the anti-Semitic propaganda, including Holocaust denial and even the attempts to justify it, occurred in the second part of 1980<sup>th</sup>. It happened due to the increase in popularity of the writers connected to “Nash sovremennik” magazine, as well as due to establishing of “Pamyat” organization and etc. during the preceding decades<sup>25</sup>. Similar to Ukraine the ideas advocated by neo-Nazis did not infiltrate into the official public discourse remaining purely fringe-dwelling for quite a long time.

At the end of 1990<sup>th</sup> and in 2000<sup>th</sup> Holocaust denial became one of the elements of the Russian mass culture. At this time records of certain bands and solo singers focusing on anti-Semitism and Holocaust have been circulating among some groups of population different in structure and having different beliefs.

For our review we selected three of them who differ in the style and target audience to demonstrate the difference of their attitude to Holocaust.

The most noticeable among such music bands is “Kolovrat” (this word denotes a Slavic symbol similar to the swastika). This band does not support Holocaust denial, but instead they try to advocate the idea of its justification among their audience. This idea is a mission statement of one of their program songs – “Geroi ROA” (Heroes of Russian Liberation Army) (album “Era Pravoi Ruki” (“Era of the Right Hand”) (2002)):

*Славяне тоже сражались  
в отрядах СС*

*The Slavs also fought  
in the ranks of SS*

24. See more about Ukrainian right-wing radical music bands: Бідочко Л. Інструменталізація радикальної музики. Про музику право радикальних гуртів України. *Спільне*. 2012. Ч. 5: Політекономія расизму. С. 161–163.

25. See more: Лакер У. Черная сотня: происхождение русского фашизма. Москва: Текст, 1994.

*За чистоту арийської  
крові.*

*Теперь они дремлют за  
чертой небес,*

*Но снова встанут на бой,  
лишь позови. [...]*

*Смерть шагает по русской  
земле,*

*Мать-Европа во власти  
жизда.*

*Подонки пируют в нашем  
древнем Кремле,*

*За бедою приходит беда.*

*For purity of the Arian blood.*

*Now they are dozing behind  
horizon,*

*But if you call them, they will  
become a fighting squad. [...]*

*The death is marching along  
the Russian land*

*Mother Europe is Heeb-  
ridden, brother.*

*Scums are feasting in our  
ancient Kremlin,*

*One misfortune comes up  
on the neck of another.*

The active members of neo-Nazi groups are the main audience of this band, but among those who listen to their songs there are a lot of people who are not, in fact, their supporters. The number of people who listen to their songs in Russia judging from geographical location of the members of their official fan-club in “VKontakte” social network is approximately ten times bigger than the number of their fans in Ukraine<sup>26</sup>.

Aleksandr Kharchikov, a neo-Stalinist singer, demonstrates neo-Nazi rhetoric of a different type. He writes lyrics for his songs that represent a combination of the Russian imperialism, nostalgia for the USSR of Stalin times (this idea is the main one and exists in most of his songs, while A. Kharchikov himself advocates Stalin’s cult reduced to absurdity), as well as brutish anti-Semitism, Ukrainianophobia and anti-Americanism. This person openly denies Holocaust (the song “Mif o Kholokoste” (“The Myth of Holocaust”), album “Grazhdanskaya Vojna” (“The Civil War”) (2009)):

26. 10553 compared to 1027 as of February 27, 2015. See: [https://vk.com/kolovrat\\_band](https://vk.com/kolovrat_band), accessed 31 January 2019.

<i>Поднимается вопрос вновь о Холокосте</i>	<i>The Holocaust issue is raised again,</i>
<i>Я и слова-то такого раньше не слыхал.</i>	<i>Before I have not even heard of it.</i>
<i>А теперь сидят в Кремле незваные гости</i>	<i>Uninvited guests are in the Kremlin</i>
<i>И гудосять – их народ – сильно пострадал!</i>	<i>Grumble: "Our nation was badly hit!"</i>
<i>Что-то не припомню я – чтоб жиды страдали</i>	<i>I do not remember the Heebs suffering,</i>
<i>Их в окопах под Москвой было не видать!</i>	<i>In Moscow trenches there were no Heeb ranks!</i>
<i>Правда – "пятую колонну" малость потрепали,</i>	<i>True, the "fifth column" was thinned out a bit,</i>
<i>Да и Гитлер их кубышки вздумал пощипать</i>	<i>And Hitler dipped into their piggy banks.</i>

This author, based on the photo taken during his shows, is popular among the elder people who support “communist” beliefs and use the Soviet symbols together with the Russian Empire symbols (so called “imperka”, i.e. white-yellow-black standard). In the beginning of 2000<sup>th</sup> this person was a member of the fringe neo-Stalinist party “Russian Communist Workers’ Party – Russian Party of Communists”, and in 2000 he was a candidate of this party to the State Duma of the Russian Federation<sup>27</sup>. The geography of his fans is the same as that of the fans of “Kolovrat” band, however the number of his fans is smaller by times<sup>28</sup>.

A band “Ansambl Khrysta Spasytelia – Mat Syra Zemlia” (“Christ the Saviour Band – Mother Earth”) stands apart from other far-right music bands. In contrast to the mentioned above musicians the lead singers (stage-names are Kseniia Hitler and Starukha Izerhil) mock Holocaust in their lyrics thus completely desacralizing it. However, they

27. Список кандидатов в депутаты Государственной Думы Федерального Собрания Российской Федерации четвертого созыва, выдвинутых политической партией “Российская коммунистическая рабочая партия – Российская партия коммунистов”, accessed 31 January 2019, <http://gd2003.cikrf.ru/gd2003/201sp>.

28. 1256 members of his fans registered in “VKontakte” live in Russia, and 112 – in Ukraine. See: <https://vk.com/xarchicov>, accessed 31 January 2019.

have the same attitude to Orthodox Christianity, though they present themselves as Orthodox fundamentalists. The content of their songs and videos accompanying them is absurd, so it is not possible to take them as the serious propaganda. This fact along with open sarcasm characteristic for the majority of their songs and the constant use of obscenities enlarge their potential audience. At the same time, we can take them as the distorting mirror reflecting views of the real Russian fundamentalists. The phrase “There was no Holocaust, but it will happen for sure” pronounced between songs by the front man dressed in female clothes and having stage-name Starukha Izerhil shall be understood as un-PC joke, but not as a serious statement<sup>29</sup>. However, such “humor” does not make the lyrics less extremist, because some categories of their listeners might take the words too literally. The extermination of Jews in future mentioned in the song “Sinagoga” (“Synagogue”) (album “Osatanevshaia pravednost” (“Possessed Righteousness”, 2007)). In this song it is stated that “It’s all always the Jews’ fault” (the song “Evrei” (“Jews”), album “Lai griadushchego Kholokosta” (“Future Holocaust Scolding”)).

The audience of this band is much diverse than that of the mentioned above musicians with straightly fascist views. The number of their listeners from Ukraine is noticeably higher than the number of Ukrainian listeners of “Kolovrat” band or A. Kharchikov, making up around 1/7<sup>30</sup>. This number includes a lot of people with anti-Nazi views who take this band’s lyrics “a contrario”, like more or less appropriate mocking of their own statements<sup>31</sup>.

The above review allowed systematizing various evidences of anti-Semitism in the public discourse and mass culture of Ukraine and Russian and characterizing the target audience for such kind of materials. It was determined that Holocaust and its denial or justification is what the authors of anti-Semitic texts are often focus on, however this problem is often treated as some kind of “universal perception”. The majority of anti-Semites take the statements about Holocaust being a myth on trust treating it as statements that do not require any rationale at all.

29. It is clear both from the lyrics the absurdity of which is evident and from the band members’ statements during the interviews. For example, see: Те, кто запрещает наши концерты, оказывают нам бесплатную услугу, accessed 31 January 2019, <http://www.timeout.ru/spb/feature/35562>.

30. 1649 of Ukrainian citizens and 10789 of citizens of Russia in the band’s fan-club in “VKontakte” social media. See: <https://vk.com/ahsimsz>, accessed 31 January 2019.

31. The author of this article repeatedly heard positive remarks with respect to this band when people of leftist leanings were exchanging their opinions in private conversations.