Army in action, and reluctantly chose the Bolsheviks because they killed relatively few Jews or stopped killing them altogether.

During the approximately 1,500 pogroms, which took place primarily in Ukraine, perhaps as many as 150,000 Jews were murdered, 21 300,000 Jewish children were orphaned, thousands were wounded and permanently disfigured, thousands of women were raped, and Jewish property was looted or destroyed in its entirety. 22 Jewish historian Elias Tcherikower, who meticulously collected and recorded materials about these pogroms, defined the anti-Jewish violence of the civil war "one of the worse catastrophes that has ever shaken the fate of the greatest Jewish center in the world, ... which was devastated, shattered into pieces, and broken in its economic foundation." 23 And yet, despite the wealth of material available, the personal accounts, official reports, and statistics assembled by an array of different organizations and relief agencies active in situ at the time, the pogroms that took place in the territories ravished by the civil war are largely understudied.

Overshadowed by the Holocaust, and yet such a fundamental chapter to understand its wider implications, this history is not only largely absent from the narrative of modern Jewish history. 24 It is also not fully integrated into the study of the Soviet Jewish experience, into the study of the process of acculturation, assimilation, and Sovietization undergone by the second largest Jewish community in pre-Holocaust Europe. How did the pogroms of the Russian Civil War affect the choices made by those Jews who could not—or did not want to—flee the new regime in formation? How did the memory of the violence affect their identity and interact with the memory of pre-revolutionary anti-Jewish violence? What happened to the thousands of raped women who preserved in their memory the terror of their violation; how did they integrate this experience into their lives under Soviet power? 25 And how was this violence commemorated by the Soviet state and its citizens? How did this experience of trauma mark the choices made, for example, by Naum Gaivker, a six-year-old boy at the time of the Proskurov pogrom, who remembered the soldier who threatened to cut off his head, and who saw "that over there were heads, over there were hands, over there were feet. And all of his friends were killed off. And he, just a boy, stayed alive. It tormented him his entire life." 26

In answering these questions, this book captures the long-term impact of the trauma of the violence of the civil war on Soviet Jewry. On the one hand, the events of 1918–21 revived the memory of the pogroms of 1881–82 and 1903–6. On the other hand, this trauma left an indelible imprint on Soviet Jews' relationship with the Bolshevik state, with their neighbors, and shaped