

¹⁰ Там само. – Спр. 27624, арк. 41-48.

¹¹ Там само. – Спр. 6149, арк. 96-98.

¹² Там само. – Спр. 2780, арк. 83-87.

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SWEDES OF UKRAINA AS "VOLKSDEUTSCHE" – THE EXPERIENCE OF WORLD WAR II

Стаття присвячена вивченню характеру політики окупаційної нацистської адміністрації щодо шведського населення в роки Другої світової війни. Доведено, що головною метою надання шведам статусу фолькдойче була їх повна асиміляція серед німецького населення.

When the German army invaded the Soviet Union in late June 1941, they expected that persons of German background living in the occupied areas would support the German cause. There were many such persons and hundreds of thousands were farmers in Ukrainian provinces, and some had lived there since the New Russia region had opened for foreign colonization in the late eighteenth century. For some time the term "Volksdeutsche" had been used for the diaspora Germans in order to distinguish them from "Reichsdeutsche" who lived within Germany proper. For various practical reasons the German occupation authorities widened the concept of Volksdeutsche to also include persons who they believed could be Germanized if subjected to the appropriate treatment and re-education.

Among these potential Germans were the Swedish colonists in the Ukrainian village Staroshvedskoe (also Garnmalsvenskby, Altschweden-dorf which all meant Old Swedish village) who had been living alongside the Dnipro river about 100 kilometers north of Kherson since the reign of Catherine the Great. This was a small village of just under a thousand inhabitants with a majority being of Swedish ethnicity, but with some Germans and Ukrainians. There was also one Jewish family. The surrounding villages Muhlhausendorf, Schlangendorf, Klosterdorf were overwhelmingly inha-

bited by Germans, who arrived in the area 1804-1805 and some settled on land belonging to the original grant to the first Swedish colonists.

Sometime in November 1941 a German commissar arrived in the Swedish village and summoned all inhabitants to a meeting. At this time he offered the Swedes to apply for German identification papers which most of the Swedes did, but not some for instance Ukrainians married to Swedes. As Volksdeutsche they received some privileges in the form of larger food rations, but in turn they had obligations to collaborate and some became interpreters for the army, became auxiliary police or worked in the hospital in nearby market town of Berislav, which cared for wounded soldiers¹.

This article aims to describe the experience of the Swedes and their relations with the Nazi occupants.

The term "Volksdeutsche"

The political use of Volksdeutsche goes back to the 1920s and initially meant ethnic German living outside the Reich as citizens of foreign countries, living for instance in the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, the Volhynia province of Poland, Transylvania in Rumania or in the Baltic countries. Estimates claimed that there were 10 million Volksdeutsche throughout the world. These were divided into four categories. First were German communities that had been transferred from the Reich to other countries because of the peace treaties at the end of World War I. The second were German communities that belonged to the dissolved Austro-Hungarian Empire and that after the peace treaties found themselves in newly established states or in lands transferred to neighboring states. The third were Germans who had never been part of the German or Austro-Hungarian Empires and these were mostly inside the successor states after the break-up of the Russian Empire. The fourth category was German living outside Europe.

However, during World War II the concept was widened to include persons of non-German ethnicity, but who it was deemed possible to Germanize. The definition was "those with mixed but predominantly Aryan blood and capable of being Germanized, and who could apply for temporary Reich citizenship and then live under political surveillance for ten years before receiving full citizenship"². This included persons who were married to ethnic Germans, or who because of social or occupational status could be assimilated. Among these were the Swedes, who had a high valuation in the Nazi racial hierarchy.

The administrative praxis of realizing the ideals of "Volksdeutsche" was the creation of the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (short form VoMi) that

functioned from 1933 to 1945. From its inception the VoMi was exclusively part of the Nazi party, but in 1938 it became a state authority as well, even though it organizationally remained within the party. Hitler gave it responsibility for all activities dealing with "Volkstum" and "Grenzland" issues. It made decisions over and administered the funds that were allocated for Volksdeutsche activities. The highest leadership were longstanding party members and career officers of the SS, and this meant that Heinrich Himmler as commander of the SS had considerable influence. This influence became formalized when Himmler became the Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (RKFDV) in 1939, and from that time the VoMi was fully integrated into the SS³.

Hitler's decree of October 7, 1939 made Himmler Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums (Strengthening of Germanism) and gave him the following tasks. To bring Volksdeutsche back to Germany for resettlement, to remove what was seen as harmful elements of the population from the Volksdeutsche, and to plan the settlement of ethnic Germans in the conquered territories⁴.

A major problem was that far from all ethnic Germans who were automatically assumed to be Volksdeutsche were attracted to the ideas of resettlement or Germanization in the form of loyalty to Nazi ideology. In many parts of Eastern Europe the occupation authorities had considerable difficulty in overcoming the lack of full enthusiasm in joining up. Sometimes these problems were interpreted as cultural differences caused by being separated from the Reich resulting in a lack of discipline, shirking of hard work, small interest in racial theories, which contributed to making them poor soldiers. There are very many accusations that the Volksdeutsche of Poland and Ukraine did not share the values that the Reichsdeutsche held high. From the start of the occupation people were encouraged to apply or register themselves as Volksdeutsche, if an ethnic German did not register this was assumed to indicate hostility and these persons risked being punished⁵. New appeals for registration had to be sent out regularly because of inadequate response. Thus the mere classification by the occupants that a people or village was Volksdeutsch is not enough to assume automatically that they were fully collaborating.

However, people did have to apply for Volksdeutsche status and those non-Germans who were deemed suitable for Germanization had only a temporary standing and they did have to behave in a politically correct manner. In the Nazi ideology this would include active expression of anti-Semitism⁶.

The Swedes on the eve of World War II

In the village of Staroshvedskoe there lived under a thousand persons, of which about 500 were of Swedish ethnicity. This small number is affected by the repatriation to Sweden of the majority of the inhabitants in 1929 (a few hundred returned a few years later) and the arrest and liquidation of a large number of adults during the Stalin terror. There were a few other Swedes living in nearby villages, particularly Hoffenthal. Most of the Swedes were connected to the collective farm "Shvedkompartai" (short for Swedish Communist Party) that had started in 1930. Annual reports gave the size of population, the amount of fields under cultivation, the number of animals, the yield and so on in great detail⁷.

The Swedes living in the village had many traumatic events in their recent past. In the mid-1920s the major part of the population had been repatriated to Sweden. However, after a few years a sizeable proportion of them had difficulty adjusting and several hundred asked and were permitted to return to the Soviet Union⁸. Naturally, this was used as a propaganda success by the Soviets⁹, but the Swedes soon found themselves caught up in the Stalinist terror, because they maintained contacts with relatives in Sweden. In 1937 the secret police arrested 30 persons accused of being spies and they were liquidated. In 1938 the school, which had up to then had instruction in Swedish language was forbidden and replaced with a Ukrainian school. There was thus no reason for excessive loyalty to the Soviet Union. There was, of course, a communist functionary present, and there was a network of informers who had made the accusations against those arrested in 1937.

As the war broke out young men were forced into the army and most tractors, bicycles, horses and cattle were confiscated and taken with the retreating Soviet authorities. A few weeks before the arrival of the German army, the Soviets also attempted to deport the ethnic Germans from the area to the interior of Russia. The Swedes were relatively spared this measure, but still about 54 persons - mainly Germans - were deported from the village. A few managed to return. The frontline passed very close to the village as the Germans set up a pontoon bridge over the Dnipro River nearby and this brought the village under fire on some occasions. On August 25, 1941 the German army reached Gammalsvensky¹⁰.

World War II

The German invasion of the Soviet Union reached the Swedish village in the middle of August 1941. Altschwedendorf found itself in a newly formed administrative province, Generalbezirk Nikolajew, administered

from the city of Nikolaev, a major naval base on the Black Sea. This district had an area of 46,880 square kilometers and a population of 1,920,253. The nearby market town of Berislav was the administrative center for the Berlislaw Gebiet with 100,200 inhabitants. Berlislav itself had 7,1000 inhabitants¹¹. Here there was a concentration camp in Berislav for four thousand civilians existing from August 1942 to March 1944 and another short-lived civilian concentration camp was in even closer Kachovka village. The schoolhouse was used for a while as a prison for prisoners of war¹². There does not appear to have been a ghetto or concentration camp for the local Jewish population, one can assume that they were quickly exterminated. And there was a hospital for wounded German soldiers. For some period a unit of Romanian soldiers was based in the village and had their anti-aircraft artillery in the fields.

In general all Volksdeutsche were under the protection of the Wehrmacht and their villagers had to set up posters on their houses certifying their ethnic status. Any soldiers caught plundering or damaging the Volksdeutsche property were to be shot¹³. The Swedish journalist Gunnar Müllern, who wrote for the at that time pro-German newspaper *Aftonbladet*, visited Gammalsvenskby in October 1941 and saw a large official sign in German, Russian and Ukrainian languages declaring the village under the special protection of the German army and that anyone who harms the villagers would be shot¹⁴. Given the chaos that accompanied the military occupation, this protection was very valuable. There were further general privileges in the form of rations that were double the size of the Ukrainians. They also were given the first priority to confiscated Jewish property, clothing and other valuables.

Nazi authorities commission Karl Stumpp, an ethnic German born near Odessa, to lead a detailed inventory of all Volksdeutsche living in the Ukrainian lands. This unit of 80 investigators was known as Sonderkommando Dr. Stumpp. This involved painstaking work in regional and local archives, checking church registers and making genealogical tables and commentaries in order to identify for the Nazi's racially valuable stock¹⁵. Part of this work was later published in book form and one of the sections included without any sign of hesitation the Swedish district of Alt-Schwedendorf as a full part of the inventory¹⁶. Stumpp's inventory indicated an original population of 46 families from the island of Dago said to be located "near Sweden" (but actually an island off the Estonian coast) and an additional 14 families from Danzig and its environs.

It is unclear just in what way the ethnic Swedes were classified within the categories of Volksdeutsche. With all probability the Swedes should

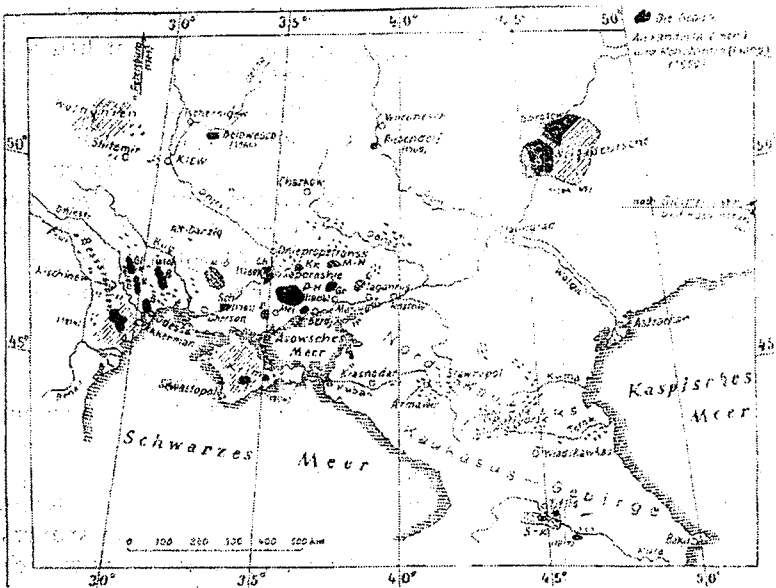
have fallen into the category of those with "Aryan blood" capable of being Germanized and who could be given temporary Reich citizenship during a ten year probationary period. However, many early documents simply ignored their complicated Swedish origins and called them unconditionally Germans. The village report form (Fragebogen Nr. 4 "Dorfbericht") that the Kommando Dr. Stumpp completed for "Alt-Schwedendorf" in August 1942 indicated that the population was 480 "Deutsche" and 68 Ukrainians. It also filled in the questions for how many Germans were present in the village in 1804, 1864, 1882, 1904, 1936 and 1941. Nothing on the form spoke of Swedish ethnicity even though the form gave this possibility through entry in the column for "Others", but this was left blank. Thus the form gave no indication that the village despite its name was composed of anything except Volksdeutsche, and that it had been so for more than a century¹⁷. In actuality there were at that particular date 265 persons of Swedish origin living in the village and they made up the largest ethnic group, together with 215 ethnic German inhabitants along with 68 Ukrainians. The Swedes had been in conflict with the neighboring German for generations as keeping up the Swedish language in school and church was a hard-fought battle. They had successfully maintained their Swedish uniqueness and thus had avoided deportation during World War I, and it had help to give them security when Ukrainian partisans under Machno were targeting German villages. Thus being termed Volksdeutsche would not normally have been an attractive proposition for the Swedes.

The occupation authorities assumed the Swedish village and its surrounding environment to be a very safe area. After the genocidal elimination of Jewish colonists there remained a rather dense concentration of ethnic Germans in the district. As such it was an attractive point to build the type of Volksdeutsche settlement that the Nazis had been planning.

In the beginning of the occupation the Germans appointed Kristian Wilhelmsson Utas, a local Swede, as village alderman. At first the Germans, according to the Swedes had treated them "very well and they stood under the protection of the German army"¹⁸. However, less than one year later he was replaced by a German named Friedrich Wittmann. The reason was said to have been political. A German from a nearby village replaced a Swede as the chairman of the collective farm. This indicates certain scepticism towards the loyalty of the Swedes¹⁹.

In May of 1942 the Germans revised their General Plan Ost for the administration of the occupied Russian territories²⁰. One of the novelties was the planning of a few concentrated German settlement centers in the Ukraine that would bring together the scattered settlements and even iso-

lated individuals. The background was partially to be able to form a self-defense based on these populations, but the other was to intensify the cultural, educational, and political Germanization and to make it easier for the Ukrainian Germans to socialize and find marriage partners. These areas were to be made purely German in the shortest time "in kürzester Frist rein deutsch werden". Therefore it was necessary to move as many as possible of the ethnic Germans to these designated areas²¹. These resettlements were still underway, when the German army began its retreat in 1944.



Map of German Settlement Areas in Russia prepared by Dr. Karl Stumpp and published in *Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland nach Russland in den Jahren 1763 bis 1862* (7th edition 1995). 24. Explanation: areas marked with diagonal lines are to be exclusive main settlement areas (Mutterkolonien) and the dark areas are to be daughter colonies (Tochterkolonien). The dots indicate isolated colonies. The Schwedengebiet Daughter is designated by the abbreviation Sch (1782) just above the Crimean peninsula along the Dniestro River. There is some confusion in Stumpp's text as the map gives a dark area indicating a daughter colony, but the explanatory text beneath the map lists it among the mother colonies, but there are a

number of places marked with double diagonals and these are listed as daughter colonies. It is possible that the dark areas indicate an intermediate stage as a colony having the potential to expand into a large mother colony.

The Swedes were placed right in the middle of one of these concentration areas. A map now in Nikolaev archives shows red rings around the proposed concentration areas and one began just to the north of Berislav and thus included the Swedish village and its German neighbors²². On a map published by Stumpp, the Swedish area is also categorized as one of the large "Daughter colonies" and is designated "Schwedengebiet", which is quite unique and is the only German area mentioned that had a non-German core²³. As a designated Siedlungsgebiet it was to be completely free from Jewish population. A special SS-squad was placed in the neighboring village of Schlangendorf to execute Jews and functionaries of the Soviet authorities or informers. The previous communist functionaries, such as Petter Kristiansson Utas, were arrested and shot, after the villagers denounced them. The same was the fate of some of the village informers Julius Teodorsson Annas and Michka Krakovski (despite his name a Swedish speaker) who had participated in the Stalinist terror, who were sentenced to death and also shot and then let to hang for three days in the village center²⁴.

Gammalsvenskby was so geographically important that the Nikolaev branches of Hitler Jugend and Bund Deutsches Mädel held their annual summer camps in the vicinity and paraded through the village in 1943 and had planned to return in 1944. In connection with the summer camps the authorities organized mass meetings bringing together parents, Nazi officials, and army officers²⁵. In May 1943 German language newspapers reported that the population of many surrounding villages came to "Schwendendorf" to deliver presents to be delivered to wounded soldiers. The girls had baskets of colored eggs to send to their relatives and all the mothers came with – according to the local newspaper the wish to "convey to the wounded a greeting... The soldiers have liberated us, and we are so grateful for that"²⁶.

Articles in the local newspaper Deutsche Bug-Zeitung indicate that Volksdeutsche support for the Nazi occupation was not as strong as expected. There were several major points of contention and they were relevant even for the Swedes. First the Germans did not dissolve the collective farms and return the land to the former owners, as they had expected. Instead the collective farms continued as before, but delivering to the military authorities. Second, the Nazis did not support religious life and gave

no help to rebuilding churches or religious education. A third point was unique to the village, namely that the occupation authority would not support Swedish language in any form, but insisted on German only.

In April 28, 1943 nearly two years after occupation began there were still appeals for stragglers among the ethnic Germans to register themselves officially. "Es gibt viele Familien in der Ukraine, die der Abstammung nach deutsch sind. Vom Schicksal bin und her geworfen, durch Heirat mit einheimischen Volkstum durcheinandergewürfelt sind viele Familien - oftmals zwangsweise - dem Deutschtum fremd geblieben. Die Heimat ihrer Ur- und Grossväter war Deutschland. Die deutsche Abstammung ist oft nur durch mündliche Überlieferung bekannt geworden. Jede derartige Familie muss sich darüber klar sein, dass das deutsche Blut, die Vorfahren und demnach die deutsche Abstammung nicht verheimlicht werden dürfen. Wo eine Familie weiss, dass sie väterlicher- oder mütterlicher seits deutsche Vorhaken hat, muss sie sich bei ihrem zuständigen Gebietskommissar als „Volksdeutsche“ melden. Es ist falsch, zu denken, dass nur der deutsch ist, der neben seiner deutschen Abstammung auch die deutsche Sprache richtig spricht. Jede Sprache kan erlernt warden. Der zuständige Gebietskommissar wird jeden Volksdeutschen, der sich bei ihm zur Feststellung für die Aufnahme in die deutsche Volksgemeinschaft meldet, beraten und helfen"²⁷.

This lack of response was particularly evident in the matter of schooling. Nikolaev authorities made a very unsuccessful attempt to inventory persons who could be used as school teachers in the Volksdeutsche schools. Very few teachers proved to be available. Also there was very poor rates of attendance by the pupils. A general appeal was made to remind the ethnic Germans of their patriotic duty: „der Schulbesuch nicht nur als eine äussere Pflicht erscheint, sondern dass sie das Bewusstsein gewinnen, dass sie nur mit der Ausbildung und Erziehung ihrer Kinder zu tüchtigen Männern und Frauen ihre Aufgabe als Deutsche im Ostraum voll erfüllen können"²⁸. The Swedes were not allowed to set up a Swedish language school, but instead in 1942 a school using German language in instructions was established and 72 pupils attended its 4 classes²⁹.

A few among the Swedes worked as interpreters, drivers, three were village-police part of the gendarmes, some were Hilfpolizei and so on. There was a home-guard self-defense unit that according to the army regulations should be made up of "reliable German men". The home-guard set up in the autumn of 1942 in Gammalsvenskby included 45 men who lacked uniforms, and even the obligatory armband with a swastika, but did have Mauser-type rifles. They patrolled the area against partisans. As yet it is not

possible to document the activities of this home-guard. Trials of persons who were later rehabilitated were released for research in 2000-2003. They show that the promised extra rations to Volksdeutsche did not materialize: "I admit that as Volksdeutsche have once received a special food ration (pasta, sugar, soap and vodka), but it was only once", testified Maria Valdemarsdotter Utas. The prosecutor, however, would exaggerate the provisions. Emma Devjatko (born in Gammalsvenskby) was accused of "freely accepted German citizenship and became Volksdeutsch, she could speak German and helped the Nazis with translations, her children went to the German school. She got much food from the Germans and the Nazis presented her and her family with a villa". Six persons in the Norberg family were sentenced to exile for "voluntarily accepting German citizenship and having a portrait of Hitler in their house"³⁰.

Some Swedes were active in resisting the Nazis. Maria Hinas was arrested and imprisoned in 1942 for protecting the "enemy" as she had hidden a Jewish girl Miriam, who was the daughter of the village shoemaker Jankel. She was seized by a Swede who was village police and he took Miriam to the head of the German authorities, who had her shot³¹.

By late 1943 it had become obvious that the German army would not be able to stop the advance of the Red Army. But many desperate measures were taken. In September 1943 there was a collective recruitment for villagers in the area, aged from 18 to 60 years, who could volunteer to join the Waffen-SS. Some who enrolled complained later that they had been coerced to join. These troops were evacuated by rail to Germany. After harvest and in connection with the German retreat many Swedes were evacuated west. Transport began on October 26, 1943. Some of them were placed in farms in the province Warthegau in occupied Poland. Others were placed in camps in Germany and worked in industries. Some of the ethnic Swedes returned to Gammalsvenskby after World War II was over and often they were sentenced to exile in the Suzunski district of Novosibirsk oblast. A few of them were rehabilitated in 1989.

The Nazi treatment of the Swedes shows great consistency. The Swedes were categorized automatically as Volksdeutsche. However, the experience was not particularly fruitful in the short term. Ethnic German soon replaced the first Swedish functionaries appointed by the Germans. As Volksdeutsche the Swedes were protected by the German army and some employment possibilities were opened. Only the shortness of the period of occupation of only two years hindered the occupation authorities from turning the Swedish district into the ethnic German homeland, that

was the Nazi aim, and that naturally would have meant the full assimilation of the ethnic Swedes.

Notes

¹ Criminal trial no. 546 (began June 28, 1945), Fond R-4033, Op. 7, Case 804, State Archives of Kherson. There were more criminal trials, but only those for persons who have been rehabilitated have been released to researchers. Thus some of the more serious forms of collaboration cannot yet be documented.

² Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2005), 263.

³ Valdis O. Lumans, *Himmler's Auxiliaries. The Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle and the German National Minorities of Europe, 1933-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1993) 44-45, 133-134.

⁴ Isabel Heinemann, *Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut. Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas* (Göttingen: Wallstein 2003).

⁵ Buchsweiler, 310-316.

⁶ Doris L. Bergen, "The Nazi Concept of 'Volksdeutsche' and the Exacerbation of Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe 1939-45", *Journal of Contemporary History* vol. 29 (1994), 569-582.

⁷ R 2764-1-1122 for 1937; 2764-1-25 for 1936.

⁸ Jörgen Hedman & Lars Ahlander, *Historien om Gammalsvenskby och svenskarna i Ukraina* (Stockholm: Dialogos 2003), 208-222; P.F.Roth, „Angebliche Ruchwanderung schwedischer Kolonisten nach südrussland“ report in PA, German Embassy Moscow A2I Kurze Mitteilungen wirtschaftlichen und sonstigen Inhalts September 15, 1931.

⁹ There was even a proposal in 1952 to make a Soviet movie film about their return to socialism, see Alexander Dovzhenko, *The Poet as Filmmaker. Selected Writings edited by Marco Carynyk* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press 1973), 168-169.

¹⁰ Hedman, *Historien om Gammalsvenskby*, 324-325.

¹¹ R 2033-2-25 Statistical description of Berislav town October 1, 1943, State Archive Nikolaev.

¹² Dovignik pro tabori, tyormi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941-1944) (Derzhavnii komitet archiviiv Ukraini: Kyjiw 2000), 181,257.

¹³ Meir Buchsweiler, *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine am Vorabend und Beginn des Zweiten Weltkriegs – ein Fall doppelter Loyalität?* Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte, Universtat Tel-Aviv Bd. 7 (Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag 1984) 298-299.

¹⁴ Article in *Aftonbladet* October 26, 1941; Gunnar Müllern, Det har inte statt i tidningen (Stockholm: Meden 1942), 249.

¹⁵ Eric. J. Schmaltz & Samuel D. Sinner, "The Nazi Ethnographic Research of Georg Leibbrandt and Karl Stumpp in Ukraine, and its North American Legacy", *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* vol. 14 (Spring 2000) 28-64.

- ¹⁶ Karl Stumpp, *Die Auswanderung am Deutschland nach Russland in den Jahren 1763 bis 1862* 7th. Edition (1995), 808-823.
- ¹⁷ Jörgen Hedman & Lars Ahlander, *Historien om Garmalsvenskby och svenskania i Ukraina* (Stockholm: Dialogos 2003) gives photo of this document on p. 323.
- ¹⁸ He served as guide for the visting reporter in Gunnar Müllern, *Det har inte statt i tidningen* (Stockhom: Medens 1942), 244-250.
- ¹⁹ Hedman, 342.
- ²⁰ Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2005), 262; Isabel Heinemann, *"Rasse, Siedlung, deutsches Blut": Das Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS und die rassenpolitische Neuordnung Europas* (Gottingen: Wallstein 2003), 451; Buchsweiler, 335.
- ²¹ SS Obergruppenführer and General der Polizei Prützman to the higher SS- und Polizeiführer in Russia November 7, 1942, R 2033: 2-10 State Archive Nikolaev.
- ²² R 2033-2-8 proposal for new boundaries from May 1942, dated January 8, 1942, State Archive Nikolaev.
- ²³ Stumpp, *Die Auswanderung*, 24.
- ²⁴ Hedman, 349.
- ²⁵ Deutsche Bug-Zeitung August 7, 1943.
- ²⁶ Deutsche Bug-Zeitung May 5, 1943.
- ²⁷ Deutsche Bug-Zeitung April 28, 1943.
- ²⁸ Circular to all Gebietskommissars May 11, 1943 "Volksdeutsche Schulwesen"; R 2033-3-5, p. 57, State Archive Nikolaev.
- ²⁹ Hedman, 340.
- ³⁰ State Archives Kherson oblast, Fond R-4033, list 1-4, 1-5, 5-2, 7-1, 7-3.
- ³¹ Hedman, 335.

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