
УДК 323.23:273.4:331.522.4“1942-1943”(1-074)(477) **MARCHENKO LIUDMYLA**
RECRUITMENT LABOR FROM UKRAINE THROUGH THE PRISM OF
AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES OF OCCUPATION
AUTHORITIES (1942-1943)

The article discusses German agitation and propaganda activities aimed at ensuring the recruitment of labor from the Ukraine to work in the Reich. Highlights the main propaganda techniques used by the occupation authorities of Reichskommissariat «Ukraine». Attention is paid to the role of occupation press, agitation leaflets and posters in spreading propaganda slogans among the population. Demonstrates the use of letters from ukrainian ostarbeiters in propaganda purposes.

Key words: recruitment, press, propaganda, labor, leaflets, posters, letters.

General problem definition. During the German occupation the territory of Ukraine became the source of both material and human resources for the Reich. Nazi leadership planned to solve the aggravation of economic problems during the war, by attracting man power from the occupied eastern territories.

At first, emphasis was made on recruitment of volunteers; however, their amount could not satisfy the growing needs of the Reich. That's why the mass exportation of workers became obligatory.

Providing manpower recruitment was one of the main assignments of large-scale propaganda campaign of occupation authorities. In the beginning, thank to communications work they succeeded to provide a pretty active volunteers movement.

Analysis of the main researches and publications. In the Soviet historiography the subject of German propaganda on the occupied territories was shown emphasizing its anti-Soviet nature. After Ukraine proclaimed its independence and opened "special funds" the broader subject research started.

Renowned historian M. Koval made a significant contribution into research of Ostarbeiters' question, in particular – recruitment methods [13; 14], and highlighting the role of propaganda in the occupation policies performance [15; 16]. Among the contemporary Ukrainian historians, certain aspects of German propaganda are designed by M. Myhailiuk [18; 19; 20; 21]. The Ostarbeiters' question is highlighted in the works of O. Potylchak [28], S. Halchak [4; 5], T. Lapan [17]. Information space formation [29] and ideological struggle in Ukraine during the occupation [40] are investigated.

However, until now the issue of recruitment of workers from Ukraine with help of propaganda did not get enough coverage.

Purpose of the research and methods of their implementation. Based on the analysis of promotional materials published by occupation authorities, and of archival sources, revealed are communications activities in the Reich Commissariat "Ukraine" aimed at recruiting manpower to work in Germany.

The main material presentation. The main source of information in the occupied territories were periodicals in Ukrainian. The report of the Kyiv Commissioner (4.03.1942) stated: "Newspaper is the most important tool of propaganda. Newspapers are issued in Ukrainian and printed in some cities. They occupy the most important sector in propaganda and they are the most widespread among the people, since they reflect the inner life of the local population" [39, арк. 40].

Ukrainian-language newspapers played a leading role in providing manpower recruitment. At the end of 1941, in the newspapers started to appear articles which depicted the happy life of German workers and the benefits of the German labor organization [32, November, 8th, November, 28th, November, 30th]. For example, it was described the situation of Soviet prisoners of war as if they were willingly working for the German economy and were incredibly satisfied with working conditions, life and food, which they did not know in the Soviet Union even in the peacetime [32, December, 4th].

At the turn of 1941-1942 in the newspapers appeared the announcements about labor recruitment for going to Germany, there the trip was shown as a favour for Ukrainians from Reich:

"The Bolshevik commissars destroyed your working enterprises to leave you without a salary and bread. The German people give you the option of useful and well-paid work" [December 6th, 31st]. From the pages of newspapers were heard promises of decent wages, which will depend on labor productivity, and favorable living conditions [10, January 25th].

German agitators tried to seduce people by all sort of wealth waiting for them in Germany: high earnings, the acquisition of skills and specialties, providing good food [24, January 18th].

Workers from Ukraine were offered wages at the same level as Germans. In addition, it was announced that each worker could keep the earnings on a special saving account and even earn interest.

There was pre-planned possibility of sending money to help relatives. In addition, it was noted that "savings of Ukrainian workers initially belong to their home country and do not stay in Germany" [27, November, 2d], "Workers from the East are working for their own future. Reich wants the workers to be able to secure their lives and the future under its durable protection" [10, November, 6th].

To "get acquainted" with the living and working conditions of Ukrainian workers, some Nazi officials of Reichscommissariat organized trips for Ukrainian peasants and urban residents to Germany. Of course, to avoid any surprises, such trips were carefully planned. People's experience of taking part in those trips was usually broadly reported in the press, discussed at local meetings, which were attended by the representatives of the occupation administration [1, August, 9th].

This testifies to the high expectations of the propaganda effect from those activities. As can be seen from the numerous newspaper messages, the trips were quite frequent, and people who participated in them were loyal to the new regime and who demonstrated their commitment by devoted work or some other merits.

It is natural, that people trusted the stories of countrymen the most, in comparison to other promotional tools. And German agitators knew it pretty well - that's why so much attention was paid to the coverage of current promotional trips and impression from them. As evidence of this, for example, the subject of articles in the newspaper Volyn from September-October 1942: "Impressions from a trip to Velykonimechchyna", "Visiting Ukrainian workers in the Reich", "Ukrainian workers in Eastern Prussia", "Meeting with Ukrainian workers from the Reich" [2, September 20, October 1, October 16, October 18]. These kind of articles were always assigned with a fairly large newspaper space that allocated them among other topics.

In periodicals there were often placed pictures of happy Ukrainian workers in Germany who were supposed to confirmed the words of agitators about good conditions in which Ukrainians live and work. For example, in the newspaper "Volyn" in July 1942 there were some pictures published and followed by a signatures of "Ukrainian girls in their free from labor minutes examine the beauty of German cities", "Ukrainian female-workers in Germany", "Ukrainian workers in Germany during meal time" [2, July, 16, July, 19, July, 23].

Similar photos were often placed in all the occupation news-papers, not only in central but also in local ones. Printed on them plots showed different aspects of workers' life, welfare and rest: "German hostesses buy here: Ukrainian women, working in Germany, are viewing the shop window with shoes", "Ukrainians at work in Germany", "Ukrainian female-workers in Germany", "Workers from the East at the agricultural work in the Reich" [8, January, 31st, July, 25th, August, 29th]. Some newspapers published even large picture stories about life of Ukrainians in Germany [23, August, 1st].

The most successful photographs were reprinted by several newspapers, and were replicated by means of leaflets and posters. Thus, became widespread the photographs "Kievers in Dresden", which was published in the newspaper "New Ukrainian word" [25, January, 6th, January, 9th], "Volyn" [3, February, 14th] and distributed in the form of a poster "Kiev girls are to work in Dresden" [9, 272 CII]. This fact one more time confirms the purposefulness and centrality of propaganda campaign.

The main motive of Nazi propaganda has always been the theme of German superiority in all aspects, the benefits of the German way of life and work. So, propaganda showed the work for Reich as a great opportunity for young people to adopt German experience and thus "eliminate moral exhaustion among your people" [24, January, 22d].

The positive image of Germany that was created in the press, was suppose to convince Ukrainian young people that the trip to this country is a great luck, the ability to take part in European achievements: "After all, this work gives a very joy of life, it re-educates boys and girls injured by Bolshevism into real Europeans who can work freely but responsibly. It makes real people from the former under-soviet citizens, [3, April, 18th], "In future, once you'll be asked if you have been to Germany. And it will be the best recommendation as majority will gain profession only in Germany" [26, June, 9th]. Propaganda leaflets called the youth to go to Germany and this way "to see the God's world, which has been blocked from you by Heeb-Bolshevists' tyrants ... To get acquainted with life of civilized peoples of Europe and learn all the skills of cultural work, cultural behavior, cultural life" [9, 627 ЛФ].

A common and effective vehicle of workers recruitment to Germany was social pressure that was creating unbearable living conditions in the occupied territories. Against constant famished existence and lack of decent living conditions the more attractive looked the promises of food security for workers in Germany. In addition, the occupation authorities applied an effective trick, they promised to the volunteers to give them food for the trip (bread, sausage), right before leaving, at the point of departure [27, April, 27th]. It certainly was a strong argument for the people deprived of nearly all means of living.

In occupied territories in practice, there were no medical and health services and a sufficient number of medical establishments [5, p. 66]. Instead of it, Ukrainian doctors were called to go to the Reich to "constantly monitor the health of Ukrainians working in Germany" [27, April, 20th]. In this context, as an example, there is a published in the press extract about good sanitary conditions generously promised to workers by their agitators: "We had the opportunity to admire the youngest Ukrainian in the camp. He is two days old, mother and the child feel very well. A friendly doctor from the East, who together with her two colleague-men takes care of the workers health, told us about exemplary hygienic facilities in the camp" [11, April, 18].

Agitators generously promised to provide families of those who volunteered to work in Germany, with monthly cash and material aid. These actions were widely advertised in the press: "These people have families – women and children. But those who go, they are sure that their families will not be left to their fate, they will be provided with everything necessary" [24, 14 January], "Family members who remain will receive sufficient support" [1, January, 15th].

The effect of the promises was increasing if they were supported by some practical actions. Occupation authorities knew it that's why sometimes they fell back on certain promotional events. For example, 500.000th Ukrainian, who left Rivne for Germany to work there, was presented with a pocket watch. Everyone who was with him on the train received symbolic gifts from the representatives of the occupying authorities [2, August, 13th]. In Rivne, ordering to all women and girls to go to work at local shops, the German authorities promised that "women whose husbands are working in Germany will be treated gently and their special wishes will be taken into consideration" [9, 782 ЛФ].

The cornerstone of Nazi propaganda was anti-Bolshevism. Reich Commissar of Ukraine, Erich Koch wrote in the instructions for Commissars General of Brest -Litovsk, Zhytomyr, Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk and Gebits Commissars about introduction of censorship for German newspapers and magazines which were published in Ukraine during the occupation: "The supreme law for Ukrainian press is to write that the most important task of the German management is the treatment of wounds given to the country by Bolshevism ... It will be a positive assignment for the press – educational influence on people, to call them to work ... People should not forget that Ukraine gained her freedom by means of the blood of German people." [38, арк. 7].

Much attention was paid to description of Stalin's crimes in Ukraine, Germans were portrayed as "liberators" from the Bolshevism yoke, and that's why Ukrainians had to thank for their liberation by means of their work: "governed by a sense of gratitude to Great Germany which

liberated Ukrainians from the yoke of hated Heeb-Bolshevists. "It is possible to thank for all that only by a diligent work, as a minimum, at this historical and great time for the friendly German people." [24, February, 19th]. Besides, Ukrainians by means of their work for Reich were supposed to participate "in the fight of New Europe against Stalin" [27, May, 11].

Similar calls were heard from everywhere, including thousands of leaflets distributed among the citizens: "Great German people, led by their Fuhrer, took over the lead in the fight against bloody tyrants and enemies of all mankind. This battle is intended to free not only our Ukraine, but also the whole Europe from the red dragon. And our duty is to help to our liberator with all that we can, primarily – with our hard work" [34, apr. 13].

But even better motivation for voluntary departure to the Reich should have become an idea that working for the German economy is first of all working for the economy of Ukraine and it is necessary for the wellbeing of the motherland: "It is for sake of love to the motherland, wishing a better future for it, you must make sacrifices. For the motherland you have to learn work and live in a civilized manner" [24, February, 26th].

It was published in press, the speech of the General Commissioner for labor division in Saukel Reikh in which he, agitating people go to work in Germany, snobbishly stressed that it is necessary first of all for the welfare of Ukraine: "After all, the German plants are manufacturing those plows and tractors which are used to work the land in Ukraine, and in German agriculture they are breeding cattle, horses, that are necessary for the development of animal breeding in Ukraine. In addition, from Germany they bring seed grain for Ukraine. That is why any Ukrainian should know that by working at German factories and at German rear area he/she creates the basis for his/her country reconstruction" [27, June, 15th].

Another attractive promise for Ukrainian workers was possibility of gaining valuable qualifications and professions, which was again shown by propaganda as a great favor of the German people to a friendly Ukrainian people: "I must admit that Ukrainians who go to Germany do not satisfy the qualification requirements in Germany. That's why, the first 6-8 weeks of working at a company they would perform the simplest tasks in educational work-shops, and when they get trained a little, they are distributed in the field" [24, February, 22d].

For those Ukrainians, who get to work in German households, especially women, propaganda promised a unique opportunity to gain the skills and knowledge necessary for future housewives: "Think about it, how much you can learn in Germany, how helpful it will be for you when you get married. A man always wants to have a good hostess. So: go to Germany!" [33, March, 5th].

Germany was shown as an advanced high-tech country and it is through working here it was possible to contribute to the latest technologies: "Who knows in Ukraine all sorts of electrical devices that are regular in each German building? Everywhere in the kitchens there are water pipes and furnaces are heated with electricity or gas" [12, November, 26th]. Have become popular propaganda posters, which depicted Ukrainian girls working around the house with different appliances - iron, vacuum-cleaner, meat-grinder claimed that "Working at German households is a joy!" [9, 379 CII].

One of the most common propaganda techniques to tempt the naive people to go to the foreign land was the use of the letters of Ukrainians who already were in Germany. Propagandists knew that this kind of information first-hand, "from theirs", will be received best by public. Pages of Ukrainian-language press, which was the main source of information in the occupied territories were full of passages from ostarbeiters' letters. It seemed that they wanted to share their admiration, and satisfaction from labor in the Reich. In reality, it was nothing more than planned propaganda moves. When leaving for work in Germany Ukrainians were warned by their recruiters that at wartime post office operates with a lot of difficulties, and that's why their letters home may be received with delays. In addition, Germans restricted correspondence by rules of sending mail. Officially Ukrainian ostarbeiters were allowed to send only two postcards per month. Letters of

Ukrainians from Germany are full of complaints about the introduction of these rules [36, арк. 13, 16, 19, 32, 40].

Press published a miserly percentage of letters, which went through full censorship and could only confirm agitators' promises of "paradise life" in the Reich. Centralized letters submission for publishing in the news-papers of different levels can be confirmed by the fact that usually the same letter was re-printed by many publishers. It is not clear whether these letters were real or just a successful fabrication of German propagandists.

Ostarbeiters' letters but for being published by press, were also distributed in the form of propaganda leaflets and posters. Posters usually were very colorful, illustrated with photographs as the confirmation of described in letters wonderful living conditions in Germany. Contently posters were filled with information from one or some letters. This way, the poster "Ukrainians in Germany. In letters to their family they talk about their impressions and worries" [9, 567 СІІ] contained fragments from 13 letters. The text was supported by photographs that illustrated the life of Ukrainian workers.

Very often replicated posters published only one letter. It was usually accompanied by a propaganda appeal to join the construction of a new Europe via work in Germany. Such posters usually clearly stated the name of the sender: "So writes Valia Krapyva from Germany" [9, 513 СІІ], "A letter from Mykola Bondarenko, who works in Germany" [9, 299 СІІ], "Galia Zaslavska writes a letter from Germany" [9, 267 СІІ]. So, people had to see a real man behind this letter, a countryman, who can be trusted.

A real "discovery" for German propaganda became letters Ghalia Zaslavska, which were published in the press, on posters and postcards. A volume poster-picture story about her life in Germany was prepared "I live in a German family and feel good" [9, 553 СІІ].

An active exploitation of the image of a girl by Nazi agitators urged the Party and Soviet propaganda organs to publish counter-propaganda materials. In the plan of the Propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (tentative Summer-Fall 1942) as a separate point was said that it is necessary to prepare a separate leaflet called "Galina in Germany." On the first page of the card there was supposed to be placed the photo of Galina advertized by Nazi propaganda. In the middle, there were planned to be published letters of the girls from Germany with negative testimonials about the living and working conditions [35, арк. 27]. After all, this card was distributed in 1943 [37, арк. 1].

It should be noted that but for direct calls to go to Germany, promises of good working and living conditions, food, high wages, etc., indirect propaganda influence has been widely used, such as creating an image of blossoming Germany, cultural and civilization centre, the best place to live and work, and visiting it was shown as a great happiness. This kind of imposition was achieved by showing films about German lifestyle, publication of articles and photographs in the news-papers, eyewitness stories. Almost in all the newspapers there were special sections, such as "Picturesque Germany", "From Germany's life", the materials printed there, at first glance, did not have any direct load of propaganda, but they were intended to create an image of a place which is definitely needs to be visited.

Conclusions. Thus, the most widespread and successfully-used means of propaganda was Ukrainian-language newspapers and periodicals as the press was completely under control of the occupation authorities, it was distributed on large territories, it covered general population, and it was the only source of information available in the occupied territories.

After outlining the main propaganda techniques used to ensure the recruitment of manpower, we should note that at the beginning propaganda efforts were quite effective. However, the recruitment did not become widespread, and the number of volunteers did not meet the Reich's needs of the workforce.

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Вербовка трудовых ресурсов с Украины сквозь призму агитационно-пропагандистской работы оккупационных властей (1942-1943 гг.).

В статье рассматривается германская агитационно-пропагандистская деятельность, направленная на обеспечение вербовки трудовых ресурсов Украины для работы на территории рейха. Освещаются основные пропагандистские приёмы, используемые оккупационными властями рейхскомиссариата «Украина». Уделено внимание роли оккупационной прессы, агитационных листовок и плакатов в распространении среди населения пропагандистских призывов. Пока-зывается использование оккупационными властями писем от украинских оstarбайтеров в пропагандистских целях.

Ключевые слова: вербование, пресса, пропаганда, рабочие, листовки, плакаты, письма.

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Вербування трудових ресурсів з України крізь призму агітаційно-пропагандистської роботи окупаційної влади (1942-1943 рр.).

У статті розглядається німецька агітаційно-пропагандистська діяльність, спрямована на забезпечення вербування трудових ресурсів України для роботи на тери-торії рейху. Висвітлюються основні пропагандистські прийоми, що застосовувалися окупаційними властями рейхскомісаріату «Україна». Приділена увага ролі окупаційної преси, агітаційних листівок та плакатів у розповсюд-женні серед населення пропагандистських закликів. Показується використання окупаційною владою листів від українських оstarбайтерів в пропагандистських цілях.

Ключові слова: вербування, преса, пропаганда, робітники, листівки, плакати, листи.

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С.А. Буряк

**НАУКОВО-ПЕДАГОГІЧНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ А.А. ВОВКА У КИЇВСЬКОМУ
ДЕРЖАВНОМУ ПЕДАГОГІЧНОМУ ІНСТИТУТІ ІМЕНІ О.М. ГОРЬКОГО
(1944 – 1956 рр.)**

Досліджено наукову та педагогічну діяльність українського історика, кандидата історичних наук А.А. Вовка у Київському державному педагогічному інституті імені О.М. Горького та його внесок у розвиток радянської історичної освіти та науки.

Ключові слова: історична освіта, наука, педагогічна діяльність, інститут.