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**SOVIET AND GERMAN COLLECTIONS OF PHOTO ARCHIVE
FROM THE EINSATZSTAB REICHSLEITER ROSENBERG IN THE
IDEOLOGICAL FIGHT OF THE THIRD REICH AGAINST
BOLSHEVISM: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPOSITION
AND CONTENT, INFORMATION POTENTIAL**

The article highlights the composition of the service photo archive, created by the Special Command Force of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg at its Headquarter Main Office in Berlin during World War II, one part of which consisted of negatives on glass, taken out by the Special Command Force of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg from the All-Ukrainian Central Photo Film Archive in Kyiv in autumn 1943, the second one — photographs, made by members in the the Special Command Force of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg in the occupied territory of the USSR since 1942 until 1944. It analyzed the origin of these photographs, the content, their importance for the Nazi ideology and propaganda, as well as for the study of the history of war and occupation. The first attempts were made to reconstruct the composition of this Photo Archive, which was partially preserved. The attention is focused on the unexplained fate of original negatives in the postwar period.

Key words: *Second World War, occupation, the ERR, Photo Archive, ideology, propaganda, bolshevism.*

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**РАДЯНСЬКІ ТА НІМЕЦЬКІ КОЛЕКЦІЇ ФОТОАРХІВУ
ОПЕРАТИВНОГО ШТАБУ РОЗЕНБЕРГА В ІДЕОЛОГІЧНІЙ
БОРОТБІ ТРЕТЬОГО РАЙХУ З БІЛЬШОВИЗМОМ:
РЕКОНСТРУКЦІЯ СКЛАДУ Й ЗМІСТУ,
ІНФОРМАЦІЙНИЙ ПОТЕНЦІАЛ**

У статті висвітлено склад службового фотоархіву, створеного Оперативним штабом Розенберга при його Управлінні в Берліні під час Другої світової війни, одну частину якого склали негативи на склі, вивезені Оперативним штабом з Всеукраїнського центрального кінофотоархіву у Києві восени 1943 р., другу — фотографії, зроблені співробітниками Оперативного штабу на окупованій території СРСР з 1942 по 1944 рр. Проаналізовано походження цих фотографій, зміст, їх значення для нацистської ідеології і пропаганди, а також для дослідження історії війни та окупації. Зроблено перші спроби реконструювати склад цього фотоархіву, який зберігся частково. Акцентується увага на нез'ясованій долі оригінальних негативів у повоєнні часи.

Ключові слова: Друга світова війна, окупація, Оперативний штаб Розенберга, фотоархів, ідеологія, пропаганда, більшовизм.

The researches of the Second World War and occupation and over 70 years in the war do not lose their relevance but in light of recent events in the East of Ukraine and in Crimea, related to the occupation of the territory of Ukraine in the XXI century, such studies of historical experience in the field of agitation, propaganda and their use in education, upbringing, and public administration acquire the new meaningful content and form the need for study of this experience and its new understanding but a number of aspects are still described fragmentarily. For example, in Ukraine, they continue the research on issues, related to Nazi ideology and propaganda in the territory of the USSR in 1941–1944¹.

¹ Among the main publications see: Tytarenko D.M. *Kulturni protsesy v Ukraini u roky natsyistskoi okupatsii (zona viyskovoyi administratsii)*. Lviv, Donetsk, 2014; Salata O. *Formuvannya nimetskoho informatsiinoho prostoru v Reikhskomisariati Ukrainy ta v zoni viskovoi administratsii (cherven 1941–1944 rr.)*. Donetsk, 2010; Mayevskiy O. *Politychnyi plakat i karykatura yak zasoby ideolohichnoi borotby v Ukraini 1939–1945 rr.* K., 2018; Mykhailiuk M. *Ahitatsiino-propahandystska diialnist orhaniv nimetskoj okupatsiinoj vlady*

But the question, how the Germans used the materials, confiscated in the occupied territory of the USSR in anti-Bolshevik propaganda and political studies in the Third Reich, including not only books, magazines, movies but also photographs, has not yet been the subject of a separate study yet. As well as, for example, the use of photographs, taken by other German occupation structures in the occupied territories during the war. Although in some publications, both by Ukrainian and foreign researchers, there are the references to the fact that these materials were collected by Rosenberg's services². There is also the publication, for example, by Olha Kovalevska³, devoted to photos of the occupation period, made by the staff of the Special Command Force of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg (German: "Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg", hereinafter referred to the ERR), which are actually the first scientific research about of these photo documents. But O. Kovalevska only as a whole touches upon the origin of these sources, their content, in general, mentions the purpose of these photographs. To a large extent, this publication is related to the catalog, which was compiled by Halyna Bozhuk about positive image of photos, which was returned to Kyiv by the Federal Archives in Koblenz⁴ in 1997 and 2008. The catalog contains the certificate

sered naseleння Ukrainy (1941–1944 rr.): dys. kand. ist. nauk: 07.00.01 / Natsionalnyi pedahohichniy un-t im. M.P.Drahomanova. — K., 2006; Mykhailiuk M. Nimetska propahanda v Ukraini. Ukraina v Druhiy svitovii viini: pohlyad z XXI stolittia. Istorychni narysy. K., 2011, 644–658, and many others.

² See.: Sebta T. Operatyvnyy shtab reykhshlyaytera Rozenberha ta yoho bibliotechna diyal'nist' v Ukraini: dzhereloznavchyi analiz. In: *Biblioteky Kyryeva u period natsyystskoi okupatsii (1941–1943)...*, 2004, 114–148; Hartung, U. *Verschleppt und verschollen : eine Dokumentation deutscher, sowjetischer und amerikanischer Akten zum NS-Kunstraub in der Sowjetunion (1941–1948)*. Bremen, 2000; Gutsul, N. *Der Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg und seine Tätigkeit in der Ukraine (1941–1944)*, 2013. Verfügbar unter http://geb.uni-giessen.de/geb/volltexte/2014/11002/pdf/GutsulNazarii_2013_07_02.pdf (zugriff am 09.01.2018).

³ Kovalevska O. Povsyakdennia okupovanoho Minska ochyma nimetskykh fotohrafiv: za materialamy Federalnogo arkhivu Nimechchyny ta TSDKFFA Ukrainy im. H.S. Pshenychnoho. URL: <http://www.historians.in.ua/index.php/en/galereya/2608-olga-kovalevska-povsyakdennya-okupovanogo-minska-ochyma-nimetskikh-fotografiv-za-materialami-federalnogo-arkhivu-nimechchini-ta-tsdkffa-ukrajini-im-g-s-pshenichnogo-chastina-1> (access date: 25.04.2019)

⁴ The Federal Archives of Germany is a structure that includes eight branches in different cities of Germany (since January 2019 they have one more branch in Berlin). The Federal Archives in Berlin, created in 1996 on bases at the heart of the Federal Archive in Potsdam (the main archive of the GDR), is now the main one but during the German division, the Federal Archives in Koblenz was the main archive of the Federal Republic of Germany and was not far from the capital of Germany, Bonn. The archive materials on cultural property, exported by the Americans from their zone of occupation during World War II were also deposited to it from National Archives of the United States until the 1960-ies inclusive. In the 1990-ies, there was a reorganization of the general archival fund, during which its part was removed from the

about origin and the fate of these materials⁵. In general, the history about transfer of photographs from the All-Ukrainian Central Photo Film Archive (now H. Pshenychnyi Central State Film Photo Phono Archive of Ukraine, hereinafter referred to as the TSDKFFA Ukrainy) from Kyiv to Germany, as well as the return of part of them to TSDKFFA Ukrainy, in general, has long been known⁶.

In 1993 Ukrainian scientists found the collection of photographs at Federal Archives in Koblenz as a part of the Bild fund⁷ (among photo collections of the archive in the archival fund "Bild 131") that were made mostly in the first half of the twentieth century in different cities of Ukraine. Each of the photographs was pasted on a piece of cardboard, on the second, reverse side of which the "Russian archive" was indicated (German: "Russisches Archiv").

As it was cleared up later, that was the way, how the photos, related to cities of Ukraine and taken by the ERR from the All-Ukrainian Central Photo Film Archive during the Nazi occupation of Kyiv, were marked. Seeing these photos by us in Koblenz in May 2019 also left no doubts in identification — each photo is pasted onto a sheet of cardboard about the size of A5 format, on the reverse side of which the following data are printed by typographical way: "the ERR", "Photo Archive", standard columns "Photo" (where the origin was indicated, it was here, where the "Russian Archive" was indicated for photographs from the All-Ukrainian Central Photo Film Archive), "Place and Date" (photo), and "Film Number and Photo Number" (the credentials in the ERR Photo Archive), "Department" (probably, the ERR Headquarter Main Office in Berlin).

Federal Archives in Koblenz and transferred to Berlin. In Koblenz, there were the funds of many state institutions, created after the war and the during division of the country, for example, federal ministries. Therefore, their signature contains letter "B" before numbers - fund number, which means "Bundes" — "federal", and the materials of the Third Reich and World War II period were sent to the Federal Archives in Berlin. But the Federal Archives in Koblenz remains the main storage place for photo collections of the entire Federal Archives of Germany. The composition and content of Ukrainian files as part of the collections from Federal Archives in Berlin and the Berlin State Library in 2006 was described by Tetiana Sebta: Sebta T. Ukrainika v Berlinskii derzhavnii bibliotetsi Prusskoi kurnoyi spadshchyny ta Federalnomu arkhivi v Berlini. *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 1–6 (2006), 200–234.

⁵ Kataloh fotopozytyviv, povernenykh ta peredanykh Federalnym arkhivom Nimechchyny / Derzh. arkhiv. sluzhba Ukrainy, TSDKFFA Ukrainy imeni H.S. Pshenychnoho; ukklad.: H.I. Bozhuk. K., 2013. The introductory article of the catalog in its general terms repeats the 2009 article on the return of these photos: Yemelyanova T. Z istoriyi povernennya fotodokumentiv TSDKFFA Ukrainy im. H. S. Pshenychnoho, vyvezenykh u roky Druhoii svitovoi viiny. *Arkhivy Ukrainy*, 2009, 1–2 (2009), 244–248.

⁶ About the history on storage of the All-Ukrainian Central Photo Film Archive during the war, see also: *Kyyevo-Pecherska Lavra u chasy Druhoii svitovoi viiny: Doslidzhennia. Dokumenty / Uporyadnyky*: T. M. Sebta, R. I. Kachan. K, 2016.

⁷ German "Bild" — here means "photo".

These photos were arranged by the ERR in this way after they were exported since they were the basis for so-called "Photo Archive" of the ERR at one from the main departments of the ERR's Headquarter Main Office in Berlin, for their further use, especially in the field of study at NSDAP, propaganda and science. As it is noted by the head of the ERR Gerhard Utikal⁸ in his speech at the official meeting on Dec. 16, 1944 in Ratibor⁹: "This Photo Archive, created on the basis of Russian originals, is unique"¹⁰. The above-mentioned Bild 131 Fund was formed namely from these photos that had been returned to Germany already in the Federal Archives in Koblenz in the 1960-ies. They were mostly black and white photographs for the period of 1862–1940 (most of them refer to 1920–1939), mainly devoted to the topic of building the socialism, propaganda, economic life in Soviet Ukraine, etc. More than 500 photographs were made by officers of the ERR in 1942–1943, and they already capture the cities views during occupation, residents and their lives, and examples of local architecture.

In 1997, this collection was transferred to Ukraine. In 2008, over 230 units that belonged to the same documentary array and were of the same origin were transferred but not included into Bild 131 Fund¹¹. They are mostly in the mix of collections, for example, fund 1 (folders 68–70)¹². Among them there are not only the photographs of pre-war time but also photos, taken by the ERR during the occupation.

Most documentary archive by the ERR is stored in the Central State Archive of the Supreme Bodies of Power and the Government of Ukraine (Kyiv)¹³ (hereinafter referred to as the TSDAVO of Ukraine), in funds 3674,

⁸ The ERR was created at the initiative of Alfred Rosenberg but led by Gerhard Utikal (1912–1982), who since 1937 served as head at department of support for German literature at the Rosenberg Service, and in 1940 he became a member of the ERR. Since summer, 1940 until April 1941 he worked in occupied France, since April 1941 he headed the ERR's Headquarter Main Office in Berlin.

⁹ Ratibor (German: Ratibor) — now the Polish city of Raciborz (Poland: Racibórz). The main departments of the ERR Headquarter Main Office moved here in autumn, 1943 and the collection of negatives on glass from the All-Ukrainian Central Photo Film Archive was evacuated here. See: TSDAVO Ukrainy. F 3676. Op 1. Spr. 19. Ark. 8. The cites from appropriate document, being referred to, are mentioned hereinafter in brackets.

¹⁰ BArch, NS 30/211/199.

¹¹ According to the explanations by Martina Caspers (the conversation took place on May 15, 2019), who was a member in department (archive) of the photographs at the Federal Archives in Koblenz, the certain groups of photographic materials were returned from the United States and after return of this major array they were not included into Bild 131 Fund, and they were among other collections.

¹² The numbering can be changed as the collections have experienced a certain reorganization.

¹³ Collection of documents by the ERR.: [http://err.tsdavo.gov.ua/1/](http://err.tsdavo.gov.ua/)

3676, in the collection of microfilms CMF-8. The second part is in the Federal Archives in Berlin (Bundesarchiv Berlin), NS 30 Fund¹⁴. The ERR acted as one from organizations of Alfred Rosenberg and was associated with its structure, entitled "Commissioner of the Fusion for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Training of the NSDAP" (German: Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP). He is known for confiscation of cultural property in the territories of Europe, occupied by the Nazis. The ERR was created in the summer of 1940 to confiscate the cultural property in Belgium, France, the Netherlands but officially — to "save" the wealth of rich Jewish families that left these territories. When the military campaign started in the East, the ERR expanded its activities to the occupied territory of the USSR but was interested in collections of museums, libraries, archives, scientific institutions, higher education institutions¹⁵. The ERR exported mostly the printed products — magazines and books, most of which were supposed to form the basis of so-called Eastern Library of Rosenberg (German: Ostbücherei Rosenberg), devoted to the countries of Eastern Europe, and Bolshevism in particular. But photographs among all these materials took a separate place. According to the tasks of the ERR, set forth in the document for 1942¹⁶, one of the most important among them was to gather the materials in the occupied territories that could be useful in the ideological struggle against the Soviet state. Among them, in addition to library, archive and museum materials, there were "*archives of plate*¹⁷, *photo materials, paintings, various imaging materials*". The second important task was to conduct the ideological struggle, using the collected materials, especially during the war¹⁸. In addition, these materials were intended not only to "conduct the ideological struggle and propaganda," to illustrate the results of the ERR, primarily as an addition to the confiscation of cultural values¹⁹ but also to support the political training and propaganda at other institutions, among which the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories occupied a significant part in Wehrmacht; as well as for research activities.

¹⁴ You can view the information about the fund in Ivenio search engine on the Federal Archive website at: <http://www.bundesarchiv.de/>

¹⁵ Kashevarova N.H. *Diiálnist Operatyvnoho shtabu Rozenberga z vyvchennia natsystamy "skhidnoho prostoru" (1940–1945)*. CH. 1: Dzhereloznavche doslidzhennia. K., 2014.

¹⁶ The date on the document is missing but not earlier than October 1942 and not later than 1942.

¹⁷ This means both the plates with photo (negatives on the glass), and plates with records.

¹⁸ Kashevarova N. H. *Diiálnist Operatyvnoho shtabu Rozenberga*, CH. 1, 87–88.

¹⁹ BArch, NS 30/211/ 210.

As a result from activities of the ERR during five years, namely during 1940–1945, the ERR created several thousands of photo footage and published the photographs of them (currently about 4.5–5 thousands units are known, unfortunately, its full composition is unknown). More than three thousands photographs of Soviet origin in the form of negatives on glass were moved from the occupied territory of the USSR and also included into its photographic library. Thus, there were two groups of photographic materials (by origin) in the photo archive of the ERR's Headquarter Main Office. The first group consisted of photographs, made from Soviet negatives in the prewar period, which were removed by the ERR from Kyiv (the above-mentioned Russian archive). The second one is mainly the photographic materials, made by photographers from the ERR in 1942–1943 in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Minsk and many other cities of the occupied territory in the USSR, with the name of Rick²⁰, Lipke²¹, Kress²², etc., as a rule).

At present moment, these photo materials are scattered between various funds of the Federal Archives and various archives. Most of the photographs, made from Soviet negatives, are a part of Bild 131 Fund. As it concerns the ERR's own photographs, their first, the largest part is in the same Bild 131 Fund, the second one is in the mixed collections of photo documents by military and occupation structures (above-mentioned Fund 1), the third part, consisting of many hundreds got into B 323 Fund²³, and the fourth part that partly duplicates the positive image of photos, which are located in the Bild 131 Fund, but also contains those ones that have been preserved in only one copy, is stored at TSDAVO of Ukraine in Kyiv.

²⁰ This is Margarete Rick, who is marked with initials "F.R. Rick" in already mentioned catalogue. This is most likely a compiler error since "Fr. Rick "(as in the document) is a reduction from German "Frau Rick" that is translated as "Mrs. Rick". M. Rick, like W. Lipke, worked with photographs in the occupied territory of Ukraine and Byelorussia, in September, 1943 it was transferred from Kyiv to Berlin.

²¹ Wiltrud Lipke is a member of the "II C" Division of the ERR Headquarter Department „Accounting and Control”.

²² The photographer, who owns a part of the photos in the ERR's photo archive. But his initials, as well as service subordination, have not been identified by us yet.

²³ Title of the fund: "Treuhandverwaltung von Kulturgut bei der Oberfinanzdirektion München" (English: Trustee Administration for Cultural Property at the Regional Finance Office of Munich). Photos by the ERR in this fund cover the seizure of the ERR's cultural property in the occupied territory of Western Europe, for example, in France, as well as the presence of these cultural assets at the headquarters in Paris and in Germany, for example, in the Neuschwanstein castle in Bavaria. The exact number of photographs of this fund that belong to the ERR is currently difficult to determine since its part was still in the process of digitizing as of spring, 2019. You can view the scanned photo documents from this collection at the Federal Archives' website.

The printed photos of 105 films by the ERR were preserved at Bild 131 Fund of Federal Archives and 3676 Fund at TSDAVO. According to the stamp on each sheet, they all belonged to the ERR Main Working Group Ostland (German: Hauptarbeitsgruppe Ostland), with a central location in Riga. Chronologically, these photos cover the period since July, 1942 until May, 1944 inclusive, although most of them were made between November, 1942 and March, 1943, 14 films had no date. 63 from these 135 films are only at the Bild 131 Fund at the Federal Archives in Koblenz, while nine ones are only in case 139 in the first description of 3676 Fund at TSDAVO of Ukraine. Another 33 are kept in copies in both of these funds. There should be at least 135 films but there are no data about 30 films, as well as films themselves, neither in the Federal Archives, nor in TSDAVO of Ukraine. These films are numbered as it follows 9–13, 16–30, 32–35, 80, 115–119.

The information about importance of materials for the ERR, their role in propaganda and training can be found in various documents at the ERR's documentary array. Firstly, these are the orders, instructions and directives by ERR Headquarter Main Office and A. Rosenberg's related services. They included the task for the ERR about confiscation of various Soviet materials, including photographic materials, which might be useful in the ideological struggle against Bolshevism, as well as in order to create the libraries on issues of Jewry, Bolshevism, Freemasonry, with collections of photo materials, paintings, various imaging materials. Secondly, these are the reports and memos by officers of the ERR structures in the occupied territory of the USSR to the ERR Headquarter Main Office in Berlin, which reflect the process to review the collections, to confiscate them and to send the materials to the Reich. Thirdly, a lot of information is contained in the correspondence, both as an internal one — between the working groups of the Headquarters in the territory of the USSR with the Office in Berlin and in the external one, namely in the correspondence by the ERR Headquarter Main Office in Berlin with various organizations and government bodies, civilian and military structures.

The directive by the ERR Headquarter Main Office to local offices about urgent transmission of "Bolshevik materials" to the ERR Headquarter Main Office in Berlin, dd. March 16, 1942, already stated that the most important places in the occupied territories, where the employees of the ERR should be represented on photos²⁴. This was done, above all, for accounting purposes.

²⁴ TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Spr. 26a. Ark. 13. When drawing up the files of the cultural institutions in the occupied territory of the USSR (the so-called "Files Z"), it was recommended to paste a photograph of each building on a catalog card. Much of the Z file was preserved and was published in 1998: Kartoteka "Z" Operatyvnoho shtaba "Reykhsliayter Rozenberh". Tsennosty kultury na okkupyrovannykh terrytoryakh Rossyy, Ukrainy y Belorussyy. 1941–1942. M., 1998.

As of May, 1942, the ERR Headquarter Main Office already had a separate unit "Photographing", which was one of the five main departments — the ERR Headquarter Department "Use"²⁵ and the corresponding Photo Archive at it. The latter one along with the ERR's developments about Bolshevism and the USSR, should serve as a unique source for the study of the occupied eastern territories, a documentary array of history and culture in the countries of Eastern Europe. According to Mitteilungsblatt "Anordnungen und Mitteilungen" No. 3, dd. May, 8, 1942, all photographic materials, produced or collected by the ERR working groups in the occupied territories, should have been collected at the ERR Headquarter Main Office. It was also assumed that the photographs, created by the ERR for personal purposes while staying in the occupied territory of the USSR, at its request, in addition to the ERR Headquarter Main Office, could also be transferred to the archive of the Reich Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories, which "collects the relevant photographs to the materials of political, historical and ethnographic content", except those ones that were labeled as "secret" and which, accordingly, were forbidden to convey to other structures and services²⁶.

The photographers were referred to the auxiliary staff²⁷, and had to work on shooting, replicating, signing, accounting, etc. They worked both in the field, with working groups, and even with the so-called "Sonderstäbe" ("special headquarters")²⁸. According to the order by the ERR Headquarter Main Office No 69, dated 1943, the photographs, "taken by staff members during service or outside of their own funds or the ERR PP funds, if they are objectively related to the occupied territories and are not of pronounced personal nature, should be provided to the ERR Headquarter Main Office, in the ERR Headquarter Department "Accounting and Control" for review. If they were recognized as suitable for further use in education and propaganda, the right to use these photographs is passed to the ERR Headquarter Main Office. Moreover, if the photo was taken with the ERR tools (cameras, films, means for developing film, etc.), they belonged exclusively to the ERR. But if the

²⁵ German Abteilung Auswertung, or another translation option — the "Evaluation" department. But since 1943 this unit has been associated with the department the ERR Headquarter Department „Accounting and Control”. See.: TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Spr. 59. Ark. 396–397.

²⁶ TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Ark. 44–45.

²⁷ BArch, NS 8/260/56. There were also the scientific specialists, employees of the so-called "General Profile", technical staff.

²⁸ The structures at the ERR, in contrast to the working groups that were formed according to the territorial principle, were created pursuant to thematic principle, for example, the Science, Ancient History, Folklore, and the Visual Arts, etc.

photos were taken on your account on behalf of the ERR, then the material and processing costs must be compensated²⁹.

It is also known about existence of the photo lab at the ERR Main Working Group Ukraine (German: Hauptarbeitsgruppe Ukraine), with a place of stay in Kyiv³⁰. According to the plan of its work, it should evaluate the Soviet photographic materials, confiscated from the All-Ukrainian Central Photo Film Archive, take photos, process films, make photographs, replicate them at request for use, etc., and also send them to Berlin.

We can find the instructions what it was necessary to photograph in the first place from this document. So, among other things, as of October, 1942 in Kyiv, it was necessary to photograph "the typical residential buildings, constructed by the Bolsheviks and houses in the suburbs of Kyiv", churches of Kyiv due to the following positions: "a) *destruction and distortion, committed by the Bolsheviks; b) conversion of the churches' interior to archives, libraries, workshops; c) attempts to restore these churches, temporary altars; d) places, where the churches were once destroyed by the Bolsheviks, the modern appearance of these places.* "We should also have taken pictures of the working rooms and places that were used by the ERR as storage facilities, image of the material storage conditions, a workflow, for example: sending Judaic and Hebraic Studies from Podol to Germany", loading books to the car, reloading books into railway cars", Volodymyr Cathedral, conditions to arrange the journals in it (Library of the Academy of Sciences), "National Ukrainian Museum. Pictures of still existing samples for Bolshevik degenerated art, exhibitions of contemporary artists", the former Lenin Museum, etc.³¹. There were also the instructions for photographing by mobile teams of the ERR, according to which it was necessary to photograph the evidence of the destruction of historical and architectural monuments, churches, monasteries, etc. by the Bolsheviks, the standards, introduced by the Bolsheviks into clothing, housing and everyday goods, general purpose buildings (schools, universities, hospitals, sanatoriums, railway stations, district administrations, etc.), the population of the USSR in terms of anthropology, even the evidence of attitudes in the Soviet state and society towards the topic of death (farewell

²⁹ TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Spr. 59. Ark. 259–260. In Ukrainian see: Kashevarova N. H. *Diiálnist Operatyvnoho shtabu Rozenberga*, Ch. 2, 263, 265

³⁰ The ERR Main Working Group Ukraine with an average staff of 40 people was one of two largest main working groups in the ERR. At present moment there are no data among documents by the ERR about existence of a photo lab at the ERR Main Working Group Ostland with its seat in Riga. We assume that this was due to the fact that the Baltic republics as of summer, 1941 were a part of the USSR since summer, 1940, then there was no large-scale evidence for actions of the Soviet regime.

³¹ TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Spr. 219. Ark. 427–428.

to the dead, funeral, burial, cemetery)³², evidence for contribution of citizens of German origin into development of architecture and the whole culture), etc.³³.

The active work was carried out in the museums of city Kyiv — the individual objects of art and expositions of the then Kyiv museums of Western and Eastern Art were photographed³⁴, State Museum of Ukrainian Art³⁵. Thus, the letter by officer in the ERR Main Working Group Ukraine, H.-J. Rudolf, to the ERR Headquarter Department "Accounting and Control" in Berlin, dd. March 15, 1943, noted: *"Our employee Einsatzfuhrer Goiny made the pictures of the most important Bolshevik paintings at Ukrainian Museum in Kyiv³⁶. The photos are indicative from political and artistic point of view. They give a good idea about development of painting in time in the USSR and could sometimes later be presented at the exhibition in Germany as important documents of Bolsheviks art and worldview³⁷. In the Museum of Eastern European Art³⁸ Goini took at least 30 photographs of porcelain samples from museums collections³⁹.*

Fixing the testimonies to the Soviet daily life — mass development, public living conditions, and, if possible, photographing the living conditions of the party elite during the interwar period — takes the important place. Thus, in spring, 1943, the group of the ERR officers visited Mezhykhiria near Kyiv, where it inspected the former country houses of party functionaries and statesmen of the Ukrainian SSR — V. Balitskyi, G. Petrovskyi, P. Postyshev, S. Kosior, which were built in the midst of the 1930-ies and were abandoned during the occupation period. They made some photos, which were added to bring the message of this trip⁴⁰. This should have emphasized the gap between the daily life of the party and state elite and the majority of ordinary citizens in the Ukrainian SSR.

It is also interesting that inter alia the instructions to the ERR researchers include the directive to use the photos from the All-Ukrainian Central Photo

³² To the topic of the spiritual life of Soviet citizens.

³³ TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Spr. 27. Ark. 239–240.

³⁴ Currently Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Art. Many photographs of its exposition from occupation period are kept at Bild 131 Fund.

³⁵ Before the war, Kyiv State Museum of Ukrainian Art (now the National Art Museum of Ukraine).

³⁶ This means about 73 shots.

³⁷ TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Spr. 27. Ark. 185.

³⁸ In 1942, Kyiv State Museum of Ukrainian Arts was merged with the collection of Russian art under the general title "State Museum of Eastern European Art".

³⁹ TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Spr. 31. Ark. 63–64.

⁴⁰ See more about the document and its translation into Ukrainian in: Kashevarova N.H. *Z istoriiadianskoho povsiakdennia druhoyi polovyny 1930-kh rokiv: mezhyhirski dachi partiinykh funktsioneriv za nimetskymy danymy 1943 r.* K., 2018. Available at: <http://resource.history.org.ua/item/0014189>

Archive, while illustrating the research on housing, developed by them in the USSR: *"The material can be advantageous due to individual photographs from the Bolshevik Photo Archive in Kyiv"*⁴¹.

The photos, taken by the ERR employees in 1942–1944, contain the views of settlements in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union during the occupation, mainly in 1942–1943, — streets, many buildings, population, life and everyday life. The cities of Belarus are represented most of all: Minsk — views of the city, the building of the Opera and Ballet Theater, the Academy of Sciences of the BSSR and V.I. Lenin library, the Palace of Pioneers, House of Technology, churches, University Quarter, etc.), Mohylev — architectural sights of the city, churches, city library with working premises, city theater, St. Nicholas Cathedral, the building of the Pedagogical Institute, buildings of several secondary schools and dormitories, among which there are also the “former school of the NKVD”, a suburb, etc., as well as photographs of the population, mainly children and old people.

Many photos are devoted to the cities of the Baltic countries — Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The following cities are presented, in particular, Tallinn (Revel⁴²) — types of city destruction, medieval city and fortification towers, city streets, Tartu (Dorpat) — the university and adjacent buildings, churches and schools; Riga — Riga Castle, House of Blackheads, Riga Cathedral, open-air museum of folk architecture and life in the suburbs of Riga, Kaunas — Military Museum, churches, old town quarters, town hall and the square in front of it, views of Trakai (Troky), as well as smaller settlements.

Among Ukrainian cities on these photographs in six films you can see Kyiv, in particular, Khreshchatyk with a destroyed part and adjacent quarters, Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, Assumption Cathedral, Volodymyr Cathedral, St. Sophia Cathedral (with interior inclusive), the opera house in the former Korolenko Street (now Volodymyrska Street), Volodymyr the Great monument, rotunda at Askold's grave, a railway station building, etc., as well as Kharkiv — Taras Shevchenko monument, then Dzerzhynskyi Square (during occupation — German Army Square, now — Freedom Square), Gosprom building and so on. These films are dedicated to the travel by officers from the ERR Main Working Group Ostland through Kyiv to Kharkiv since November, 6 until 12, 1942, where it was planned to hold a meeting of the heads at the main departments of the ERR Headquarter Main Office and the leaders of the main working groups on collection of various materials in the USSR and their processing. The staff of this main working group is also listed as the authors of the photographs (the head at the ERR Main Working Group Ostland Otto Nerling, Hans Maier and

⁴¹ TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Spr. 63. Ark. 90.

⁴² Hereinafter, the name of the city is indicated in brackets in German document, as a rule, this is the old German name.

others). Russian cities are also presented in photos, for example, Smolensk (Peter and Paul's Temple, library, clinic, GPU house, etc.), views of Pskov.

Some photopositives present the office premises of the ERR units, photos of employees, workflow — viewing materials, cataloging, packaging and moving the cultural values.

These photographic materials were intended not only for use by the ERR but also for distribution among other Nazi services and structures. The Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, the Reich Ministry of Science, Education and Culture, the Reich Institute for Film and Images in Science and the Classroom (Reichsanstalt für Film und Bild in Wissenschaft und Unterricht), and others addressed to it (there are more than 80 organizations in the ERR documents).

As of at the end of 1944, the photo lab at the ERR Headquarter Main Office in Berlin produced at least six thousands photographic prints and 10 thousands enlarged photos⁴³, which were used by various departments of Alfred Rosenberg Commissioner of the Führer for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Training of the NSDAP for propaganda purposes, in preparing curricula, courses, individual lectures and reports, films. In addition, a large number of photographs was added to the manuscript "The Truth About Religion in Russia"⁴⁴, prepared in the ERR Headquarter Main Office.

The Main Office for Schooling and Training at NSDAP regularly organized various educational activities of ideological content for party members, political leaders at various levels, and military men. There was a separate curriculum with many so-called "Imperial training topics". Such events regularly took place in the Third Reich and at the level of various party districts. The ERR employees were periodically invited to take part as speakers, and during the report they often used Soviet photographs for illustrative purposes⁴⁵. An example is a series of reports by Gerhard Wunder on the topic of Jewry, for example, "The Jew and Bolshevism," with which Gerhard Wunder was invited by one of the centers of the political doctrine at the NSDAP in Berlin-Dahlem⁴⁶, Herbert Will — "Methods of Propaganda in Soviet Russia" (April, 1943, Berlin), Heinrich Härtle — "Education and Science in the Soviet Union" (February, 1943 — Nuremberg; April, 1943 — Munich, Cologne)⁴⁷, Otto Klein — "Museology in the Times of Bolshevism" (January, 1943, Berlin), etc.

⁴³ BArch, NS 30/211/228.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Spr. 211. Ark. 106–112.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Spr. 2. Ark. 14.

⁴⁷ Ibid. Spr. 211. Ark. 111.

Another form to use the Photo Archive materials is the propaganda exhibitions. Often they were combined with political training. The ERR itself organized the separate exhibitions to illustrate its work (with its own photographs) and for propaganda purposes (by Soviet photographic materials). The photos of expositions for such exhibitions are preserved. Among the main topics as a rule there were Soviet propaganda, agriculture, industrialization, Stakhanov's movement, achievements by national economy of the USSR, interwar architecture of Soviet cities, public living conditions, etc. An example is the exhibition for officials of the General Commissariat of Belarus in Minsk, which was visited by Commissioner-General Wilhelm Kube⁴⁸, exhibition in the ERR Headquarter Main Office in Berlin for party officials (February, 1943), which Alfred Rosenberg himself visited⁴⁹. Others created various services for Alfred Rosenberg, for example, the Office for Exhibitions. In particular, on March 3, 1943 the exhibition was planned in Munich, which was devoted to the 10th anniversary of the Nazi Party coming to power, where, within one of the exhibits, the ERR was supposed to present the photographs of the institutions, where its employees worked and photos of the workflow, as well as destroyed Soviet cities⁵⁰. An example of the exhibition, combined with training in the Nazi Party, is the exhibition, devoted to the party meeting on training in Würzburg in May, 1944, where they presented the overview of the work by the ERR and its exposition on Bolshevism. In addition, small collections of photographs were intended for training sessions in 12 cities of the Reich⁵¹.

All these photographic materials are the valuable historical sources on the history of war and occupation, and Soviet photographs, being taken out, shed the light on formation of mechanism for Nazi ideology and propaganda. But, unfortunately, still few historians refer to this array of photographs, although in recent years the introduction of new sources into the scientific circulation has continued, for decades they have been in the public domain.

Therefore, the issue about further promulgation of these materials remains to be urgent. But at the same time, a number of issues remain open; require studying, first of all, the issue about loss of photographic documents that during the war came to Germany or about the modern place of storage for those documents that could potentially persist. Thus, in the cumulative fund of the All-Ukrainian central photo film, as of at the first half of 1941, 117,502 photographic documents were in permanent storage⁵². According to the

⁴⁸ Ibid. Spr. 139. Ark. 27–27 zv., 28–28 zv. See: TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Spr. 139. Ark. 43–43 zv, 44–44 zv.

⁴⁹ BArch, NS 8/260/83–84.

⁵⁰ TSDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3676. Op. 1. Spr. 22. Ark. 161.

⁵¹ BArch, NS 30/211/223.

⁵² Yemelianova T. Z Specified work, 244.

documents from TSDAVO of Ukraine in September-October, 1943, the Nazis during evacuation from Kyiv removed the entire documentary file of this archive to Ratibor, which at the time of city occupation was kept in one from premises of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, and later was moved by the Germans to the premises of schools in Prorizna Street, 17⁵³. But, on the other hand, according to the documents of the ERR in autumn, 1943; its employees took 75,000 negatives to Ratibor with All-Ukrainian Central Photo Film Archive⁵⁴.

Another reporting document by the ERR, dd. May, 1942, states that in May of the same year "*using a truck by 12 times... we managed to transport to the school premises in Darwin Street*⁵⁵ [...] *about 80–90 thousands photo negatives on glass with a card file that applies to them*"⁵⁶. And the memorandum by the ERR, dd. September, 1942, states that "*while transporting the photo archive from Lavra (under the direction of Pg.⁵⁷ Lange) there were many photos, left in it, especially the catalog cards with positive stickers, as well as films. They lie mixed on the floor in a rather poor condition*"⁵⁸. As a result from search work, only 50 thousands photo-negatives and a photo library were returned to Kyiv⁵⁹.

The photo documents, returned in 1997 and 2008 to TSDFFKA of Ukraine were not the original negatives on glass but photo positives, which were again reproduced in the Federal Archives in Koblenz, where they made the double negatives from positives, which were transferred from the USA, and the positives for transfer to Ukraine were reproduced already from them. Thus, the location of the original negatives on the glass is still unclear. According to some assumptions, they can still be stored in the National Archives of the United States. The location of the negatives by the ERR itself, from which the photographs and positives were made as part of Bild 131 Fund at the Federal Archives in Koblenz and positives of photo in case 139 of the first description at 3676 Fund in TSDAVO of Ukraine are unknown. Besides, after occupation during the work of Extraordinary State Committee to Investigate German-Fascist Crimes Committed on Soviet Territory, there was a tendency to write off almost all losses to the actions of the Nazi occupiers, although in fact some

⁵³ *Catalog of photopositives, returned and transferred by the Federal Archives of Germany, p. 4.*

⁵⁴ Hartung U. *Verschleppt und verschollen*, S. 187. Translated into Ukrainian, see: Kashevarova N.H. *Diialnist Operatyvnoho shtabu Rozenberga...* Ch. 2, 543. The word "plates records" appears in the document but we are talking about glass plates with negatives.

⁵⁵ Secondary School No 132 in Darwin str., 2

⁵⁶ *Kyyevo-Pecherska Lavra u chasy Druhoii svitovoi viiny, 641.*

⁵⁷ German abbreviation "Parteigenosse", in translation: "Comrade of the Party".

⁵⁸ *Kyyevo-Pecherska Lavra u chasy Druhoii svitovoi viiny, 649.*

⁵⁹ *Kataloh fotopolytyviv, povernenykh ta peredanykh Federalnym arkhivom Nimechchyny, S. 4.*

collections of libraries, archives and museums were destroyed during the fighting actions, fires, and looting, etc.⁶⁰.

Another important area of further work is the search for photographic materials, related to Ukraine during the war, in the collections of German archives, as well as further processing of photo collections in Koblenz. The photos, related to Ukraine, may be in other collections, for example, mixed ones. In addition, the work with photos, taken in this archive, suggests that here the photos of Ukraine can be marked as "South Russia" (Kharkiv, Kherson, Mykolaiv, etc.) or "USSR". There are the errors in the names, some photos are mistakenly identified. Therefore, these meetings require the in-depth research: identification, clarification, correction of errors. This work will expand the base of sources for research during the Second World War and occupation in Ukraine, make a significant contribution into the study on use of photographic documents by the Nazis for propaganda purposes not only in the territories, which they occupied during World War II but also in the Third Reich.

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⁶⁰ See for example: Kot S. Maroderstvo iak faktor rozhrabuvannia, vyvezennia ta znyschennia kulturnykh tsinnosti na okupovanii terytorii Ukrainy pid chas Druhoii svitovoi viiny (1941–1944 pp.). *Krayeznavstvo*, 1 (2010), 29–42.

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