



<https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2026.01.086>
UDC [323.23+329.18]:930.25(430.21)“1933/1945”

Nataliia KASHEVAROVA

Dr. Hab. in History, Senior Research Fellow
Department of Special Branches of Historical Science
and Electronic Information Resources,
Institute of History of Ukraine of the NAS of Ukraine
nataliya.kashevarova@gmail.com
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2426-0440>

“STAFF ROSENBERG” IN THE STATE SYSTEM OF THE THIRD REICH: IDEOLOGY IN ACTION

Purpose: to outline the problem of researching the personnel policy of Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg using the example of his immediate environment, as his group of associates, a holistic community that included employees of the state structures created by Rosenberg, both in the NSDAP and outside it. The methodology is based on the principles of historicism and impartiality. The study uses a wide range of methods, namely problem-thematic, comparative, chronological, and analytical-synthetic methods, involving source and archival studies, as well as special historical disciplines, primarily prosopography. **Novelty:** the problem is highlighted for the first time as necessary in a historical and prosopographic context, the focus of which is the study of a stable group of employees of the structures created or headed by A. Rosenberg — services within the NSDAP and the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories of the Third Reich. Until now, the subject of several scientific publications has mainly been the activities of individual institutions, and the problem of personnel policy has been studied only in a fragmentary manner, at the level of individual biographies. **Main results:** Employees of Rosenberg’s services in the NSDAP and the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories were connected not only by their place of work but also by several other criteria: origin, education, previous experience, and similar values and

Цитування: Kashevarova N. “Staff Rosenberg” in the State System of the Third Reich: Ideology in Action. *Український історичний журнал*. 2026. № 1 (586). С. 86—102. <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2026.01.086>

© Видавець ВД «Академперіодика» НАН України, 2026. Стаття опублікована на умовах відкритого доступу за ліцензією CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>)

views. They were mainly representatives of the intelligentsia; most of them belonged to the same generation and shared similar life experiences, such as Germans who emigrated from the former Russian Empire and the Baltic countries, of which Rosenberg himself was one. This contributed to the fact that they supported Rosenberg's ideological concept, disseminated it in party training, scientific publications, and the media, and thereby participated in the formation of the practical basis of the idea of the future occupation of other European countries, which Rosenberg tried to introduce into the administrative management of the occupied territories of the USSR. Most of them accompanied Rosenberg throughout his political career as a party and state figure, sharing his views and participating in the propaganda of his ideology and the implementation of its principles in state management in the Third Reich. Some of these individuals were considered experts on Eastern European countries, so they held key positions in several structures headed by Rosenberg, primarily in the Foreign Policy Department of the NSDAP, the Ministry of Occupied Eastern Territories, and the Rosenberg Operational Headquarters.

Keywords: *The Third Reich, ideology of National Socialism, Alfred Rosenberg, Foreign Ministry of the NSDAP, Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, personnel potential, World War II, Nazi occupation, Ukraine, Baltic countries.*

One of the complex scientific problems related to the history of the Third Reich and the Second World War, which still does not have proper, thorough, and comprehensive scientific coverage, is the study of the personnel composition of various state structures of the Third Reich and the associated role of the personal factor in the history of this period. This concerns both employees of German state institutions and authorities who were involved in the creation of the ideology of National Socialism, as well as representatives of various organizations at the middle level of administrative management. The latter, as a rule, are presented primarily in scientific publications in a fragmentary manner, in contrast to, for example, the significant number of studies devoted to the role of individuals who directly participated in the organization of the crimes of National Socialism.

An essential component of this research problem is the activities of a group of individuals known as Rosenberg's people, identified in historiography as the “Staff Rosenberg” [1, p. 18]. This term or, rather, the concept refers to the circle of closest associates of the famous representative of the top of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, hereinafter — NSDAP) Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg (1893—1946), who from the 1930s to 1945 worked in the structures he created — in the Foreign Policy Office of the NSDAP (Außenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP, hereinafter — APA) (1933—1942)¹, in the Commissioner of the Fuehrer for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Training of the NSDAP (Beauftragter des Fuehrers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP, hereinafter — DBFU) (1934—1945) and in the Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, hereinafter — ERR) (1940—1945) created under it, as well as in the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete, hereinafter — RMfdbO) (1941—1945). From 1933 to 1945, these structures employed

¹ The APA was formally dissolved only in 1945, along with other state structures of the Third Reich, but its actual activities were curtailed in 1942.

a varying number of employees: in APA, from 60 to 80 people; in DBFU, approx. 200; in RMfdbO, approx. 1000; in ERR — 350 (together with scientists and specialists recruited from other structures who performed specific research or search tasks at ERR)².

But in our study, we consider a stable narrow circle of Rosenberg's closest associates, who were employees of the aforementioned services, who supported his National Socialist ideas and views, including the concept of the existence of the so-called "Nordic race," which he associated with the Germanic peoples and the "myth of blood,"³ the existence of "historical rights" of this race to dominate other people, which Rosenberg developed into the idea of expanding "living space" for Germany at the expense of the territories of other countries and the exploitation of their resources, including by waging war, the basis of which was the ideological component — the fight against the so-called "main ideological enemies of National Socialism" — world Jewry, Freemasonry, Marxism and Bolshevism⁴. It was these ideas of Rosenberg, set out in his book "The Myth of the Twentieth Century" (1930), combined with the ideas of Adolf Hitler himself, which he set out in the book "My Struggle" ("Mein Kampf")⁵ (1925—1926), that in the early 1930s were laid down as the basis of the official ideology of the NSDAP. Rosenberg's people not only participated in the development of these ideas but also, notably, considered it their common mission. All of them had been members of the NSDAP since the late 1920s and early 1930s. They therefore supported Rosenberg in his vision of organizing ideological training in the party, where Rosenberg himself would have a central place, and which would permeate all structures of the NSDAP and, through it, the bodies of state administration, since all civil servants were to be members of the NSDAP. These individuals often held several positions in Rosenberg's services at the same time, for example, in the APA and DBFU, and from 1941 in the DBFU and RMfdbO, where they actually joined the system of governance in the Nazi-occupied territories of the USSR.

For Ukrainian researchers, this scientific problem is also relatively new and relevant, since its solution will allow, first of all, to trace and analyze the actual contribution of various individuals, less known to both the scientific community and the general public, but no less critical, to the ideological component of the concept of Nazi occupation,

² The figures are taken from R. Bollmus and E. Piper, A. Zellhuber, and P.-K. Grimsted. They are indirect since, firstly, the internal structure of these services was regularly reorganized, and, secondly, not all documents related to personnel have survived to our time, so most of these figures reflect the personnel composition as of a specific date, and the planned staffing schedule could differ from the actual one.

³ Here, this concept was directly related to the more famous Nazi slogans "Blood and Honor" ("Blut und Ehre") and "Blood and Soil" ("Blut und Boden").

⁴ For more on Rosenberg's ideological concept, see in his most famous work, "The Myth of the 20th Century: An Evaluation of the Spiritual-intellectual Confrontations of Our Age": *Rosenberg, A. Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Wertung der seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit*. München: Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1930. 670 pp. and in a number of his publications from the 1920s—1930s, a significant part of which is devoted to international politics, anti-Semitism, Bolshevism, etc.

⁵ See the complete edition (in two books): Hitler, A. *Mein Kampf*: 2 Bde in 1 Bd. München: F. Eher Nachf., 1943, 782 s.

starting in fact from the 1930s, as well as to enrich the source base of their research with new sources, access to which for Ukrainian researchers has long been difficult or even impossible, also taking into account the modern process of digitizing archival documents and placing them in the open access.

We have already outlined the topic of the activities of employees of various Rosenberg structures in the Third Reich in our previous publications⁶, but in historiography, it has not been formulated as a research problem; accordingly, it has not been adequately studied. It was also not considered by other researchers, both Ukrainian and foreign, despite the large number of publications devoted to the history of the Third Reich, the ideology of National Socialism, World War II, and the Nazi occupation⁷.

The concept of "Staff Rosenberg" itself is not scientific or widespread, but it can be found both in German documents from the Third Reich and in several post-war publications.

In German archival sources, this concept is found in documents of other services within the NSDAP structure and outside it, primarily in documents of those institutions that competed with the Rosenberg services for influence in the party⁸, for example, in the sphere of ideological education of NSDAP members and in the realm of foreign policy. Opponents or competitors of Rosenberg opposed themselves to the APA and RMfdbO, for example, the Office Ribbentrop (Büro Ribbentrop) in the NSDAP, which also dealt with issues of German foreign policy and had advisory functions, or the Foreign Office (das Auswärtige Amt), etc., and used this concept to emphasize the "separateness" and ideological unanimity of this group of people from Rosenberg's entourage, their devotion to him and the common cause. Thus, its appearance reflects the existence of an intra-party struggle, which was later transferred to the sphere of administrative management, to the activities of the RMfdbO, which Rosenberg headed. This also affected the battle for control over cultural values in the occupied territories of the USSR, where Rosenberg's interests were represented by his ERR. Therefore, in German documents from the Second World War, "Staff Rosenberg" was referred to not only as employees of the RMfdbO but also as employees of the ERR.

Thanks to this, the concept of "Staff Rosenberg" also entered post-war historiography, first in German, and later in English-speaking, where it can be seen in publications devoted to issues of state administration in the Third Reich and various concepts of governing the territories of Europe occupied by Nazi Germany, primarily in light of the well-known confrontation between the concepts of Rosenberg and Hitler's inner circle regarding the governance of the occupied territories of the USSR, mainly Ukraine. Thus,

⁶ See, first of all: Kashevarova N. Alfred Rosenberg's Ideological Services in the Third Reich: Archives, Sources / edited by H. Boriak; NAS of Ukraine, Institute of History of Ukraine. Kyiv, 2024. 451 p. (in Ukrainian).

⁷ A significant part of the problems related to the history of the Third Reich, the Second World War, and the Nazi occupation are well-covered in the historiography, and many scientific publications are officially available in open access on the Internet. In this publication, we do not provide a corresponding historiographical review, neither scientific nor widespread, but it can be found in both.

⁸ Here and further on, the word "party" means the NSDAP, unless otherwise specified.

in English-speaking historiography, one can find the expression “Staff Rosenberg,” but here it is equated with the German “Dienststelle Rosenberg” [1, p. 18]. But we believe that this is not correct, since the name “Dienststelle Rosenberg” in abbreviated form in party documents was DBFU⁹. In addition, the interconnectedness of the Rosenberg party services was one of the reasons why the Soviet researcher V. Bukhanov, who was one of the first in the late 1980s to gain access to the mass of Rosenberg service documents in the Central State Archives of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in Potsdam¹⁰, did not immediately understand their structure and system of subordination. Because the documents of all Rosenberg services were concentrated in one fund, he made some inaccuracies in his research, and his publications were later cited by other scholars in the post-Soviet space¹¹.

Most publications featuring representatives of A. Rosenberg’s inner circle are either directly related to the coverage of Rosenberg’s biography and activities, or the functioning of certain structures created or supervised by him — APA, DBFU, ERR, RMfdbO, as well as the Nordic Society (Nordische Gesellschaft), etc., where the fate of these individuals and their contribution to the functioning of the Nazi system are presented against the background of coverage of other issues. First of all, these are the following monographs: “Alfred Rosenberg: Hitler’s Chief Ideologist” (“Alfred Rosenberg: Hitlers Chefideologe”) by E. Piper [2], “Alfred Rosenberg: Pioneer of the Holocaust — a Biography” (“Alfred Rosenberg: Der Wegbereiter des Holocaust — eine Biographie”) by V. Koop [3], “Our Administration Leads to Catastrophe...: The Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories and the German Occupation in the Soviet Union 1941—1945” (“Unsere Verwaltung treibt einer Katastrophe zu...: das Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete und die deutsche Besatzungsherrschaft in der Sowjetunion 1941—1945”) by A. Zellhuber [4], “Rosenberg’s Office and Its Opponents” (“Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner”) by R. Bollmus [5], “Alfred Rosenberg in National Socialist Foreign Policy: 1933—1939” (“Alfred Rosenberg in der nationalsozialistischen Aussenpolitik, 1933—1939”) S. Kuusisto [6] and others¹².

⁹ However, it should be noted that in German historiography, there is also some confusion related to the existence of several Rosenberg departments within the NSDAP. Here, the DBFU sometimes appears as Amt Rosenberg and Dienststelle Rosenberg. In foreign-language historiography (English, Ukrainian, Russian, etc.), confusion is often associated not only with the simultaneous existence of these two services in the NSDAP, but also with the translation of their names from German.

¹⁰ This archive was created in the Soviet occupation zone, in Berlin (Potsdam) in 1946, and included the collections of the former German Reichsarchiv (1919).

¹¹ However, it was his project and dissertation research (in two parts) that became one of the first thorough publications devoted to the history of National Socialism, based on a broad source base and centered on the figure of Rosenberg and the activities of his services. See: Bukhanov V.A. Hitler’s “New Order” in Europe and Its Collapse (1933—1945). Yekaterinburg: Ural Publishing House, 2013. 466 p. (in Russian).

¹² In general, the historiography of both the history of National Socialism and the Third Reich, and, directly, that which covers the biography of Rosenberg, the concept of National Socialism he created, and his place in the system of state and party management, is represented by numerous publications. But since it is beyond the scope of our study, we do not cover it here.

Among the scientific publications containing elements of historical-prosopographical research, there are mainly studies related to individual institutions of the Third Reich and their employees, for example, "Self-assertion — adaptation — equalization¹³ — involvement¹⁴: Prussian State Library and German library work 1933—1945" (*Selbstbehauptung — Anpassung — Gleichschaltung — Verstrickung: Die Preußische Staatsbibliothek und das deutsche Bibliothekswesen 1933—1945*) [7], or with a separate professional community: "Almost forgotten 'eastern mission': German archivists in the General Governorate and the Reichskommissariat Ukraine" ("Ein fast vergessener "Osteininsatz". Deutsche Archivare im Generalgouvernement und im Reichskommissariat Ukraine") by S. Lehr [8], "Historians under National Socialism. German historical science and the 'Volkstumskampf' in the East" (*Historiker im Nationalsozialismus. Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft und der "Volkstumskampf" im Osten*) [9], "Excavations for Germany: Archaeology in the Shadow of the Swastika" (*Graben für Germanien. Archäologie unterm Hakenkreuz*) [10]. There are also publications devoted to the role of the Baltic Germans in the political and cultural life of Germany in the first half of the 20th century, for example, the collective work "Baltic Germans, the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich" (*Deutschbalten, Weimarer Republik und Drittes Reich*)¹⁵.

This group of scientific studies is small, and against this background, several publications on individuals who worked in the Rosenberg structures stand out. First of all, these are the books "The Rosenberg Elite and Their Descendants: Academics¹⁶ in the Third Reich and After 1945" ("Rosenbergs Elite und ihr Nachleben: Akademiker im Dritten Reich und nach 1945") by E. Henschke [11], "Meyer. Between Loyalty to the Kaiser and Nazi Crimes. Sketches of the Biography of a German Citizen" ("Meyer. Zwischen Kaisertreue und NS-Täterschaft. Biographische Konturen eines deutschen Bürgers") by H.-J. Priamus [12], publications by M. Munke, devoted to the political biography of G. Leibbrandt [13], articles by G. Schöbel, covering various aspects of the biography of H. Reinert [14], etc.

Special attention is also paid to scientific and popular-science Internet resources, primarily the portal of the German scientific project "Employees of National Socialist Ministries" ("Beamte nationalsozialistischer Reichsministerien"), dedicated to the administrative top of the Third Reich. The portal presents biographies of employees of the administrative apparatus of its ministries, as well as several other scientific publications prepared within the framework of the project, which is part of the research program "German Central Authorities and National Socialism" ("Die zentralen deutschen Be-

¹³ In the original German, the word "Gleichschaltung" is translated as "unification", "standardization", "equalization", but here it means forced involvement in the system, the transformation of the individual into the collective.

¹⁴ Here in the original, the word "Verstrickung" means "ties", with an emphasis on the interweaving of ties.

¹⁵ *Deutschbalten, Weimarer Republik und Drittes Reich*, Bd. 1, Köln; Weimar; Wien: Böhlau, 2008, 442 pp. *Deutschbalten, Weimarer Republik und Drittes Reich*, Teil: Bd. 2, 2008. 455 pp.

¹⁶ This refers to individuals with higher university education.

hörden und der Nationalsozialismus”), which was funded by the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media of the Federal Republic of Germany¹⁷.

The source base for research into the activities of the “Staff Rosenberg” is archival materials of various origins, stored in state archives and in the collections of scientific and cultural institutions in Germany. The central documentary mass is stored in the German Federal Archives (Berlin, Koblenz). In the German Reichsarchiv in Potsdam in the Soviet zone of occupation after the war, in one fund 62 Di 1 “Rosenberg Service” (“Dienststelle Rosenberg”), the materials of DBFU, APA, ERR, the Nordic Society, and partly RMfdbO were combined. After the unification of Germany, the funds of this archive were combined with the funds of the German Federal Archives, created in Koblenz in 1952, in a single institution — the current Federal Archives. This archival fund was then divided into several funds within the Rosenberg structures. It is in their composition that most of the documents containing personal data and information about the activities of people who worked in the Rosenberg services are concentrated. The main ones are the following funds: NS 8 (“Kanzlei Rosenberg”), NS 15 (“Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP”), NS 30 (“Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg”) and NS 43 (“Außenpolitisches Amt”) [15, p. 46—48], as well as the funds of the occupation administrative bodies, primarily RMfdbO — Fund R 6. But many documents about the activities of these individuals can be found in other Federal Archives funds, mainly those that present materials from other institutions where they worked at different periods, as well as those with which the Rosenberg services maintained working relations. It should be noted separately that the ERR archive is currently divided; the most significant part is stored in funds 3474 and 3676 of the Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine (Kyiv) (hereinafter — TsDAVO of Ukraine). Most of these archival materials are presented in digitized form on the portals of the German Federal Archives and the TsDAVO of Ukraine.

Personal sources occupy an essential place in the source base. First of all, among them, it is worth noting the diary of A. Rosenberg himself [16], where his like-minded people and representatives of his immediate environment are mentioned, as well as the diaries and memoirs written by employees of his services, for example, the memoirs of O. Bräutigam [17], which are a valuable source regarding their life and activities, professional connections, even taking into account a certain degree of subjectivity of such documents as sources. A lot of personal information is also found in the reports of W. Koeppen, Rosenberg’s personal referent, which he sent to Rosenberg from Hitler’s headquarters [18], etc.

But unlike scientific studies, some of which are given above as an example, our study is devoted to highlighting this topic as a new research problem and, in fact, for the first time — in a historical-prosopographic aspect, because prosopography as a special historical discipline studies not only sources of a biographical nature, but also “individual traits

¹⁷ The program consisted of several scientific projects and covered leading universities and scientific institutions in Germany.

and qualities, social and ethnic origin, family ties, career, various life circumstances, etc. to create portraits of individuals or groups united by certain common criteria” [19]¹⁸.

Several groups can be conditionally distinguished within “Staff Rosenberg”. The first was represented by employees of the DBFU and APA, who were mainly German citizens who grew up in Germany (as opposed to Volksdeutsche). Their activities before the Second World War were primarily focused on ideological training within the NSDAP, a system that was “fused” with the state administrative system. Within the APA, they dealt with foreign policy and economics. At the same time, within the DBFU, they were responsible for various thematic areas related to party teaching, such as church history, archaeology, literature, German studies, etc. Among these individuals, first of all, were Rosenberg’s personal assistants and aides — Thilo von Trotha (1904—1938) and Werner Koeppen (1910—1994). T. Thilo von Trotha oversaw the so-called “Nordic” direction in the APA and was associated with the Nordic Society, and was also the editor of Rosenberg’s scientific publications. After his death, his place was taken by W. Koeppen, who also headed Rosenberg’s office and who, for some time, was his liaison at Hitler’s headquarters. In addition to them, this group of people includes the famous economist and entrepreneur Werner Daitz (1884—1945), the author of the concept of the “economy of large regions” (Großraumwirtschaft), who headed the foreign economic policy department at the APA, an expert on the Bronze Age and the archaeology of settlements, archaeologist Hans Reinerth (1900—1990), head of the “Ancient History” department of the DBFU and chairman of the Imperial Union for Early History (Reichsbund für Deutsche Vorgeschichte) (1933—1945), Rosenberg’s deputy as minister of the occupied eastern territories and state secretary of the RMfdbO Alfred Meyer (1891—1945), and others.

The second group is represented by individuals who, mainly, worked first in the APA, and later in the RMfdbO, and by origin, with rare exceptions, were Volksdeutsche — Germans from territories outside Germany¹⁹, in particular, from the territory of the former Russian Empire, like Rosenberg himself. They were considered the so-called “experts” on issues of Eastern Europe, the Baltics, and especially the USSR [13]. But the very concept of “expert” here is ambiguous, since the circle of such individuals in the interwar period included not only specialists in various fields of knowledge, for example, in history or Slavic studies, but also quite often — representatives of the intelligentsia from emigrant circles who were born and lived in the former Russian Empire and the USSR, and immigrated to Germany in the interwar period, and were considered to have

¹⁸ See also: Myronets N., Starovoitenko I. Prosopography. *Special historical disciplines: a reference book: a teaching aid for students of higher education* / I.N. Voitsekhivska (ed. author), V.V. Tomazov, M.F. Dmytrienko [and others]. NAS of Ukraine. Institute of History of Ukraine. Kyiv: Lybid, 2008. Pp. 424—431 (in Ukrainian).

¹⁹ The term “Volksdeutsche” referred to individuals who were ethnic Germans by origin, but were born, as a rule, in German colonies in other countries and had the corresponding citizenship. The term “Auslandsdeutsche” referred to Germans who had German citizenship but permanently resided outside its borders. The term “Reichsdeutsche” referred to a German citizen of the Third Reich who was born in and had lived in Germany permanently.

personal experience of living in Eastern Europe and corresponding, broader knowledge of the countries of this region. The first area in which such individuals became deeply involved was foreign relations [20]. It should also be noted here that in modern German historiography, such experts are often called “experts on the Ostforschung” (“research on the east”). This term appeared in the 19th century and referred to the study of the German cultural heritage of the countries of Central, Eastern, and North-Eastern Europe (the Baltic countries), as well as the historical ties of these lands to Germany. From the second half of the 1930s, such studies received a new impetus for development in the Third Reich, but also acquired a highly politicized content, since they were later laid at the basis of the Nazi doctrine of expansion to the east of Europe and now also covered a range of issues related to the USSR²⁰.

The central figure in this group was Georg Leibbrandt (1899—1982). He was born and raised in the German colony of Hoffnungsfeld in the Odessa region (now the village of Torosove). In addition to Odessa, he studied in Estonia and served as a translator during the First World War since he knew several languages. He moved to Germany in 1919. In the 1920s, he studied theology, history, and philosophy, was engaged in scientific and journalistic activities²¹, and traveled to the USA, Canada, and the USSR for educational purposes. From 1933, he worked at the APA as head of the “eastern” department²², and from 1941 to 1943, he headed the Main Department “Politics” of the RMfdbO (in 1943, he transferred to military service in the naval forces of the Third Reich)²³.

During his work at the APA, Leibbrandt was engaged in collecting and organizing information about the USSR and the German colonies in the former Russian Empire, thanks to which he actually ensured the functioning of the anti-Bolshevik direction in the APA, and through Rosenberg, he contributed information to the preparation of the future occupation policy of the Third Reich. He even initiated a series of publications dedicated to the USSR, which was called the “Library of the Eastern Space” (“Bücherei des Ostraumes”), and also supervised many other thematic publications of the APA.

Leibbrandt was closely associated with Volksdeutsche Arno Schickedanz (1892—1945) and Eugen Dürksen, a native of Odessa. A. Schickedanz, who was born in Riga, met Rosenberg while studying in Revel (now Tallinn), and in 1923 had already joined

²⁰ For more details, see: Burleigh, M. *Germany Turns Eastwards. A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich*. 1988. Cambridge University Press, 2001. 400 p.; Burkert, M. *Die Ostwissenschaften im Dritten Reich. Teil 1. Zwischen Verbot und Duldung. Die schwierige Gratwanderung der Ostwissenschaften zwischen 1933 und 1939*. Wiesbaden: Verlag Otto Harrassowitz, 2000, p. 77.

²¹ As early as the 1920s, his following works were published: “German Colonies in Kherson and Bessarabia” (“Die deutschen Kolonien in Kherson und Bessarabien”) (1926), “Immigration from Swabia to Russia in 1816—1823.” (“Die Auswanderung aus Schwaben nach Rußland 1816—1823”) (1928), “Sources for the Study of the History of the German Ethnic Community in Russia” (“Quellenforschungen zur Geschichte des deutschen Volkstums in Rußland”) (1929).

²² This department dealt with issues of Eastern European countries.

²³ In 2017, the Federal Archives of Germany formed G. Leibbrandt’s personal fund No 1851 from materials transferred to the archive by his family.

the NSDAP and headed the Berlin bureau of the newspaper “Völkischer Beobachter”. In the APA, he became the head of the administrative apparatus. He was responsible for relations with representatives of emigrant circles who had left for Germany from the territory of the Russian Empire or the USSR [2, pp. 290—291]. In 1940, he was transferred to the Reich Chancellery as Rosenberg’s liaison, but in 1941, he transferred to the RMfdbO. Like Leibbrandt, he was engaged in collecting information about foreign countries and establishing contacts with various émigré circles on behalf of A. Rosenberg. Dürksen also contacted representatives of diplomatic circles and state institutions regarding the political credibility of individual figures, representatives of the Polish and Ukrainian emigration, etc.²⁴

In fact, they also provided other NSDAP services with information on the Soviet republics, sometimes even strategic — for example, in the relevant department of the APA, there were several thematic collections dedicated to the USSR — cartographic, biobibliographic, etc. They worked with press and printed materials from various countries, prepared analytical reports, selections from periodical materials, lectures, and scientific publications. Among the APA documents were materials devoted to the Ukrainian national movement of the interwar period, which featured representatives of the Ukrainian emigration, their correspondence with Rosenberg’s authorized persons, for example, Arno Schickedanz, and internal correspondence of APA employees on this issue²⁵.

Later, when the emphasis among the Rosenberg party services shifted from the APA activities due to changes in German foreign policy to the activities of the DBFU, some of the APA materials that Leibbrandt and his staff collected as part of the APA were transferred to the DBFU official archive, for example, a large annotated file on individuals — representatives of the authorities and the public from various European countries and the USSR, the so-called “Cultural and Political Archive” (Kulturpolitisches Archiv)²⁶.

With the outbreak of the war, the lawyer and diplomat Otto Bräutigam (1895—1992) joined this group, although he was not a Volksdeutsche. In 1920, he joined the staff of the Foreign Office of the Third Reich, so in the 1920s, he worked in German consulates in various republics of the USSR, first in the Caucasus, then in Ukraine (Kharkiv, Odesa), and from 1928 in Russia (Moscow), where he met Rosenberg. In 1943, he replaced G. Leibbrandt as head of the RMfdbO’s Main Department of Politics. Due to his professional career, he was considered an expert on the Soviet Union. From the late 1930s, some of them, such as G. Leibbrandt, often moved from one Rosenberg service to another, and during the war, to the RMfdbO, or held several positions simultaneously. But it was this principle that ensured the continuity of the political line and the consistent implementation of Rosenberg’s plans, first in party activity and ideology, and then in the management of the occupied territories. Like Rosenberg, Leibbrandt, and

²⁴ Some of the materials prepared by O. Dürksen are stored in file No. 2 of the NS 43 fund of the Federal Archives of Germany.

²⁵ Currently, these materials, primarily correspondence, are part of the above-mentioned NS 43 fund of the German Federal Archives (APA fund).

²⁶ Some of it was stored in the NS 15 fund of the Federal Archives.

Schickedanz, back in the 1930s, actively opposed a possible union of Germany with the USSR, and even opposed the Ribbentrop — Molotov Pact, because they believed that one of the main lines should be the “disintegration” of the USSR by supporting the idea of partial autonomy of the peoples that were part of it. Repeatedly at state meetings in the first half of 1941, they also publicly expressed an anti-Semitic position. However, Leibbrandt believed that “after the German invasion, repressions against communists and Jews from the population should be expected” [21, pp. 131—132]²⁷. In January 1942, RMfdbO employees Leibbrandt and Meyer also participated in the Wannsee Conference, the primary goal of which was to develop a common decision on the future fate of Jews in Nazi-occupied territories, which was held under the chairmanship of the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt). With the creation of the ERR in 1940 to confiscate cultural property in the territories occupied by Nazi Germany, and with the creation of the RMfdbO in 1941, a redistribution of personnel involved in work in the occupied territories of the USSR took place within the Rosenberg services. Some of the people who worked at the DBFU took up positions in the ERR; others, mainly from the APA, moved to the RMfdbO, and still others joined the ERR as specialists in various fields of knowledge (history and archaeology, Slavic studies, museum studies, library studies, archival studies, etc.). Hence, the ERR staff included both Reichsdeutsche and Volksdeutsche who had experience of living or studying in the USSR, which, in the opinion of the ERR leadership, allowed them to work more efficiently.

That is why individual representatives of the group of “Staff Rosenberg” also appear in publications devoted to the problem of cultural values displaced as a result of the war, where “Staff Rosenberg” were considered ERR employees who competed with representatives of other Nazi structures for cultural values in the Nazi-occupied territories (primarily museum and library collections)²⁸. This mainly refers to either the leaders of the main working groups of the ERR that worked in the occupied territories and the leadership of its Headquarters in Berlin (Stabsführung), or to individual specialists responsible for various thematic areas of its work.

Among them, the following individuals can be cited as examples: the head of the ERR Gerhard Utikal (1912—1982); the already mentioned archaeologist H. Reinert, the head of the Ancient History Special Staff (Sonderstab Vorgeschichte) at the ERR; the librarian Gerhard Wunder (1908—1988), who became head of the library for the city of Düsseldorf in 1935, and to the ERR in 1940, worked in France and the Baltic countries, and later at its Headquarters in Berlin, where he oversaw issues related to the ideological processing of materials confiscated by the ERR on the territory of the USSR; the head of the ERR “Estonia” working group, the Baltic German Georg von

²⁷ This issue is covered in more detail in the work of E. Piper, “Hitler’s Chief Ideologist,” where he analyzes the views of Leibbrandt and Schickedanz with quotes from relevant documents.

²⁸ For more on the activities of the ERR in the occupied territory of the USSR, see: Kashevarova N.H. The ERR Activities on the Nazi Ostraum Study (1940—1945). Part 1: Source study research. Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, 2014. 552 p. Ead.: The ERR Activities on the Nazi Ostraum Study (1940—1945). Part 2: Documents. Kyiv: Institute of History of Ukraine, 2014. 992 p.

Krusenstjern (1899—1989) [22]²⁹; the librarian Alexander Himpel (1893—1982), a native of St. Petersburg and an employee of the Libraries Special Staff (Sonderstab Bibliotheken) at the ERR. Among the ERR documents, in particular, very valuable sources — the detailed reports of G. von Krusenstjern³⁰ and the reports of A. Himpel — have been preserved³¹. The figure of G. von Krusenstjern appears more and more frequently in various publications, although this is mainly due to his activities as a Baltic genealogist and local historian, who researched the history of the German nobility in the Baltic countries and created an extensive archive of visual sources related to the German heritage in this region. The latter contained photographs or photographic reproductions of architectural examples from the Baltic countries and historical maps of the region (approx. 15 thousand units).

Among these individuals, a special place belongs to Georg Winter (1895—1961), a famous German archivist, the first director of the German Federal Archives (1952—1960), who in 1942—1943 headed the Archives Special Staff (Sonderstab Archive) at the ERR, and from October 1942 — the Provincial Administration for Libraries, Archives, and Museums under Erich Koch’s Reichskommissariat Ukraine (Landesverwaltung der Archive, Bibliotheken und Museen beim Reichskommissar für die Ukraine)³².

Generally, Rosenberg built his concept of managing the occupied territories of the USSR based mainly on the experience and knowledge of Germans from the former Russian Empire. This was a strategically sound approach. This concept could be very successful in the long run, given how Rosenberg saw the development of the RMfdbO administrative apparatus on the ground and advocated the introduction of an administrative policy in line with the “soft” exploitation of these territories, including by involving the local population against the background of autonomization, which, of course, does not justify the exploitative nature of such an approach and its ultimate goal, especially since this concept of Rosenberg, despite his personal views on the management of the territories occupied by Germany, was entirely consistent with the general policy of the Third Reich, aimed at exploitation and destruction. But this concept was not appropriately implemented not because it was weak or unviable, but rather because by the beginning of World War II Hitler had already leaned towards a different, more rigid, aggressive and expansive policy towards the territories occupied by the Nazis, aimed at obtaining

²⁹ See also: Salupere, M. Georg von Krusenstjern und seine Tätigkeit im Einsatzstab Rosenberg (1941—1942). URL: <http://www.aai.ee/abks/Wiewares.html> [Last access: 01.12.2025]. In Russian-language publications, he appears as “Georgiy Ottonovych von Krusenstern” (Георгий Оттонович фон Крузенштерн) — this refers to “Russian-language” publications, not only “Russian” ones, since some information about him is available in Russian on the Internet resources of the Baltic countries.

³⁰ The originals of Krusenstern’s reports are stored in the TsDAVO of Ukraine, in the fund 3676.

³¹ For more on A. Himpel, see: Kashevarova N. Ukrainian libraries during the occupation of the Second World War times (based on reports of a German librarian Alexander Himpel). *Manuscript and Book Heritage of Ukraine*. 2016. Issue 20. Pp. 294—326 (in Ukrainian).

³² Regarding the life path of G. Winter, see the obituary: Rohr, W.: Georg Winter. *Der Archivar*. Band 14 (1961), Heft 3 (Juli), S. 179—190.

various resources as quickly as possible, which was advocated by the closest representatives of the top leadership of Nazi Germany at that time — Göring, Himmler, Goebbels, etc. Thus, the RMfdbO was deprived of a significant part of its independence, for example, in the field of police control and the exploitation of labor resources, etc., which, later to some extent, gave grounds to consider it a weak and ineffective structure³³.

In addition, the fact that Rosenberg himself was not only a Baltic German but also surrounded himself with people from the former Russian Empire played a particular role. This also became one of the main reasons why his party members and rivals in the political struggle in the NSDAP and in Hitler's entourage did not consider him a "purebred" German. This is one aspect of the scientific problem we are outlining: the position of the Volksdeutsche within the Third Reich's system of state administration.

But at the same time, both the Volksdeutsche and the Reichsdeutsche from Rosenberg's immediate environment were mainly in the shadow of his political figure. The generalized term "Staff Rosenberg" in relation to them, from our point of view, somewhat levels out both their personal contribution to the development of Nazi ideology and their individual responsibility for participating in the work of the system of state administration in the National Socialist system. But they were engaged in the practical side of implementing the ideological basis of National Socialism, and some of them were even involved in the ideological component of the Holocaust or the plundering of the cultural values of the countries occupied by the Nazis. Therefore, their role, both individually and as a group of people as a whole, deserves in-depth research, including historical and prosopographical, which involves creating a "portrait" of this group of people united by a common ideology, views, goals that they pursued, as well as the institutions that they represented.

In addition, as already noted, the outlined scientific problem is multifaceted. It opens up prospects for further highly novel scientific studies relevant to Ukrainian researchers on the war and occupation. Thus, the solution of this problem involves, among other things, solving the following tasks: 1) analyzing the connections between various structures and institutions in the system of power and administration of the Third Reich, both in Germany itself and in the territories occupied by the Nazis, and, accordingly, introducing new data into scientific circulation; 2) highlighting the role and contribution of individuals who were employees not only of the Rosenberg party services, but also of the RMfdbO, to the creation and spread of the ideology of National Socialism and, through their work in the RMfdbO, to the administration of the occupied territories; 3) outlining the role and place of the Volksdeutsche, emigrants from the territory of the former Russian Empire, including from the territory of modern Ukraine, in the policy of the Third Reich, which would also contribute to the study of contacts between the top government officials and representatives of emigrant circles from various Europe-

³³ This issue remains debatable and requires further in-depth research. For more information, see: Zellhuber, A. *Unsere Verwaltung treibt einer Katastrophe zu: das Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete und die deutsche Besatzungsherrschaft in der Sowjetunion 1941—1945*. München, 2006. 414 p.

an countries, among whom were also figures of the Ukrainian national movement. This would contribute to the mutual enrichment of Ukrainian and German historiographies, primarily by providing data on the place and role of these individuals within the Third Reich's state system in the 1930s and on their contributions to administrative management during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine during the war.

After the war, most of the people representing the “Staff Rosenberg” were not prosecuted, except for a few who were involved in the Nuremberg Trials and several related trials organized by the American side. Among them, in addition to A. Rosenberg, R. Scholz, and G. Utikal as representatives of the DBFU and ERR, G. Leibbrandt as an employee of the Rmfdbo [15, pp. 364—366]. Several more people, in particular A. Schickedanz, A. Meyer, and W. Daitz³⁴ committed suicide [23]. But some of them, representing the sphere of culture and science, continued to work in their profession after the war. For example, O. Bräutigam returned to work at the Foreign Office of the Third Reich, H. Reinert was for a long time the director of the open-air historical and archaeological museum in Unteruhldingen (Pfalhbaumuseum Unteruhldingen)³⁵, G. Winter became the first director of the Federal Archives, and A. Himpel continued to work as a librarian after the war. Therefore, it may be promising to study the experience of these individuals' post-war return to a democratic society and the professional sphere.

* * *

Staff of the Rosenberg's services in the NSDAP — the Foreign Policy Office, the Commissioner of the Fuehrer for the Supervision of the Entire Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Training and the Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce created under it, as well as the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories — were connected not only by their place of work, but also by their origin, education, previous experience, similar values and views. Most of them were representatives of the intelligentsia. They had higher education, belonged to the same generation, and shared similar life experiences, such as German emigrants from the former Russian Empire and the Baltic countries, of which Rosenberg himself was one. This contributed to the fact that they shared common views, based on Rosenberg's own ideas about the superiority of the German nation, its “historical rights” to expand at the expense of the territory and resources of other countries, and were devoted to a common cause. Due to their origin, life, professional experience, and knowledge of several languages, some of these individuals were considered experts on the countries of Eastern Europe, primarily the USSR. Hence, they held key positions in a number of these structures, often simultaneously, actually participating in the formation of the practical basis of the Third Reich's concept of “expansion to the East”, which Rosenberg already tried to introduce during World War II in the administrative management of the occupied territories of the USSR. Therefore, this publication will contribute to the actualization of a significant research problem,

³⁴ The latter died under unclear circumstances.

³⁵ The museum is based on a reconstruction of a Bronze Age settlement built on stilts on the shore of Lake Constance in the town of Unteruhldingen.

which has novelty and broad prospects for further research for specialists in the history of the Third Reich and World War II and will allow for a comprehensive consideration of the problems of studying the personnel composition of the Nazi services created by A. Rosenberg, and the role of the personal factor in a common historical and prosopographical aspect.

REFERENCES

1. Kay, A. *Exploitation, Resettlement, Mass Murder: Political and Economic Planning for German Occupation Policy in the Soviet Union, 1940—1941*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2006. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3167/9781845451868>.
2. Piper, E. *Alfred Rosenberg: Hitlers Chefideologe*. München: Blessing, 2005 [in German].
3. Koop, V. *Alfred Rosenberg: Der Wegbereiter des Holocaust — eine Biographie*. Köln / Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2019. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7788/9783412506469> [in German].
4. Zellhuber, A. *Unsere Verwaltung treibt einer Katastrophe zu...: das Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete und die deutsche Besatzungsherrschaft in der Sowjetunion 1941—1945*. München, 2006 [in German].
5. Bollmus, R. *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner: Studien zum Machtkampf im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem*. München: R. Oldenburg Verlag, 2006. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1524/9783486595543> [in German].
6. Kuusisto, S. *Alfred Rosenberg in der nationalsozialistischen Außenpolitik, 1933—1939*. Helsinki, 1984 [in German].
7. *Selbstbehauptung — Anpassung — Gleichschaltung — Verstrickung: Die Preußische Staatsbibliothek und das deutsche Bibliothekswesen 1933—1945*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Vittorio Klostermann GmbH, 2014. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783465142133> [in German].
8. Lehr, S. *Ein fast vergessener "Osteinsatz." Deutsche Archivare im Generalgouvernement und im Reichskommissariat Ukraine*. Düsseldorf: Droste, 2007 [in German].
9. Haar, I. *Historiker im Nationalsozialismus. Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft und der "Volkstumskampf" im Osten*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666359422> [in German].
10. *Graben für Germanien. Archäologie unterm Hakenkreuz*. Stuttgart: Theiss Verlag, 2013 [in German].
11. Henschke, E. *Rosenbergs Elite und ihr Nachleben: Akademiker im Dritten Reich und nach 1945*. Köln: Bohlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, 2020. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7788/9783412519254> [in German].
12. Priamus, H.-J. Meyer. *Zwischen Kaisertreue und NS-Täterschaft. Biographische Konturen eines deutschen Bürgers*. Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2011 [in German].
13. Munke, M. *Vom Scheitern eines Experten: Georg Leibbrandt im Nationalsozialismus. Osteuropa. Vermessene Welt: Osteuropaexperten im 20. Jahrhundert*. 2017. 67 (1/2): 107-119 [in German].
14. Schöbel, G. *Hans Reinert: From Archaeologist to Reichsamtsleiter (1918—1945). L'archéologie nazie en Europe de l'Ouest*. Gollion: Infolio Ed., 2007. Pp. 45-59.
15. Kashevarova, N.H. *Ideolohichni sluzhby Alfreda Rozenberga u Tretiomu raikhu: arkhivy, dzherela*. Kyiv, 2024. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15407/book6-0018612> [in Ukrainian].
[Кашеварова Н.Г. Ідеологічні служби Альфреда Розенберга у Третньому райху: архіви, джерела. Київ, 2024. 451 с. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15407/book6-0018612>].
16. *Alfred Rosenberg. Die Tagebücher von 1934 bis 1944*. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2015 [in German].

17. Bräutigam, O. So hat es sich zugetragen... Ein Leben als Soldat und Diplomat. Holzner Verlag, Würzburg 1968 [in German].
18. Herbst 1941 im “Führerhauptquartier”: Berichte Werner Koepfens an seinen Minister Alfred Rosenberg. Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 2002 [in German].
19. Tomozov, V.V. Prosopohrafiia. Entsyclopedia istorii Ukrainy. T. 9. Kyiv, 2012. 40-41 [in Ukrainian].
[Томозов В.В. Просопографія. Енциклопедія історії України: Т. 9: Прил — С. Київ: Наукова думка, 2012. С. 40—41].
20. Kusber, J. Expertenkulturen im Wandel. Osteuropaexperten und Politik im 20. Jahrhundert. *Osteuropa. Vermessene Welt: Osteuropaexperten im 20. Jahrhundert*. 2017. 67 (1/2): 59-66 [in German].
21. Struve, K. Deutsche Herrschaft, ukrainischer Nationalismus, antijüdische Gewalt: Der Sommer 1941 in der Westukraine. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2015. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110360226> [in German].
22. Kuhr-Korolev, C., Schmiegelt-Rietig, U., Zubkova, E. & Eichwede, W. Raub und Rettung: Russische Museen im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Köln: Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Cie, 2019. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7788/9783412504298> [in German].
23. Kashevarova, N. Crimes Against Cultural Heritage: The Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg and the Nuremberg Trial. *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*. 2020. 1: 143-154. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2020.01.143>.
[Kashevarova N. Crimes Against Cultural Heritage: The Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg and the Nuremberg Trial. *Український історичний журнал*. 2020. № 1. С. 143—154. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2020.01.143>].

Received 10.12.2025

Наталія КАШЕВАРОВА

докторка історичних наук, старша наукова співробітниця,
відділ спеціальних галузей історичної науки
та електронних інформаційних ресурсів,
Інститут історії України НАН України (Київ, Україна)
nataliya.kashevarova@gmail.com
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2426-0440>

«ЛЮДИ РОЗЕНБЕРГА» У ДЕРЖАВНІЙ СИСТЕМІ ТРЕТЬОГО РАЙХУ: ІДЕОЛОГІЯ В ДІЇ

Мета: окреслити проблему дослідження кадрової політики райхсляйтера Альфреда Розенберга на прикладі його найближчого оточення як його групи соратників, цілісної спільноти, яка включала співробітників створених Розенбергом державних структур як в НСДАП, так і поза нею. **Методологія** базується на принципах історизму та неупередженості, у дослідженні застосовується цілий комплекс методів, а саме проблемно-тематичний, порівняльний, хронологічний, методи аналізу, синтезу, із залученням методів джерелознавства та архівознавства, спеціальних історичних дисциплін, передусім просопографії. **Новизна:** проблема висвітлюється вперше як важлива в історико-просопографічному контексті, у центрі якої — дослідження стабільної за складом групи співробітників структур, створених або очолюваних А. Розенбергом — служб у складі НСДАП та Міністерства у справах окупованих східних територій. До сьогодні предметом низки наукових публікацій виступала, в основному, діяльність окремих установ, а проблема кадрової політики вивчалася лише фрагментарно, на рівні дослідження біографії окремих осіб. **Основні результати:** співробітники служб Розенберга

в НСДАП та Міністерстві окупованих східних територій були пов'язані між собою не лише місцем роботи, а й низкою інших критеріїв — походженням, освітою, попереднім досвідом, схожими цінностями й поглядами. Вони були представниками інтелігенції, більшість з них належала до одного покоління і мала схожий життєвий досвід, як, наприклад, німці-емігранти з колишньої Російської імперії та країн Балтії, яким був і сам Розенберг. Вони підтримували його ідеологічну концепцію, поширювали її у партійному навчанні, наукових публікаціях, у засобах масової інформації, і тим самим брали участь у формуванні практичної основи концепції майбутньої окупації інших країн Європи, яку Розенберг намагався запровадити в адміністративному управлінні окупованими територіями СРСР. Більшість з них супроводжувала райхслайтера протягом всієї його політичної кар'єри як партійного та державного діяча, поділяючи його погляди, а також брала участь у пропаганді його ідеології та реалізації її засад у державному управлінні в Третьюму райху. Деякі з цих осіб вважалися знавцями країн Східної Європи, тому вони обіймали ключові посади в низці структур, які він очолював, наприклад, у Зовнішньополітичному відомстві НСДАП, Міністерстві окупованих східних територій, а також при Оперативному штабові.

Ключові слова: Третій райх, ідеологія націонал-соціалізму, Альфред Розенберг, Зовнішньополітичне відомство НСДАП, Міністерство у справах окупованих східних територій, кадровий потенціал, Друга світова війна, нацистська окупація, Україна, країни Балтії.