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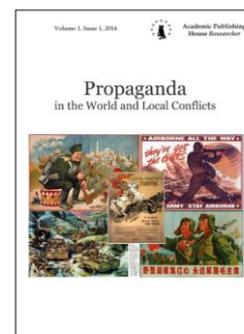
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Articles and Statements

The Advocacy Activities of the Foreign Emissaries in the North-Western Caucasus

Vladimir B. Karataev ^{a, *}

^a International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research, Russian Federation

Abstract

The article deals with advocacy of foreign agents in the North-Western Caucasus during the Caucasian war (1801–1864). Certain attention is paid to the external political reasons of emissaries' participation in the Caucasian War.

The documents of regional archives, namely from the State Archives of the Krasnodar region, as well as modern scientific literature served as materials for this article. A part of the archival sources is introduced for the first time.

The conclusion states that emissaries carried out diverse advocacy activities against the Russian Empire in the North-West Caucasus. Their work manifested in the spread of proclamations, instigating the Highlanders to fight against Russia, spread of false information and instructors' activities. The emissaries also took part in combat.

Keywords: propaganda, foreign agents, the Caucasian war, the North-West Caucasus.

1. Introduction

The study of the intelligence agencies activity during both wartime and peacetime traditionally causes interest. In this article we would like to pay attention to the activity of foreign emissaries on the territory of the Black Sea coast and methods used to counter them.

2. Materials and methods

2.1. The documents of regional archives, namely from the State Archives of the Krasnodar region, as well as modern scientific publications served as materials for this article. A part of the archival sources is introduced for the first time.

2.2. The methodological bases of the research are the principles of objectivity and historicism, assuming an unbiased approach to the analysis of the studied problem, a critical attitude to the sources, drawing conclusions by analyzing the facts, as well as presenting events and their development in the context of the historical period. This is especially important in considering foreign agents activities and methods used to counter them. In this work we applied scientific methods: logical, comparative factor analysis, etc., as well as statistical and typological special research methods.

* Corresponding author
E-mail addresses: evr2010@rambler.ru (V.B. Karataev)

3. Discussion

The conquest of the Black Sea coast is still insufficiently studied in Russian historiography, and the subversive activities of the emissaries are considered only fragmentally. The goals and milestones of annexation of the Black Sea coast area to the Russian State were not studied in Russian historiography until recent years, while we assume the study of the history of this process to be important and relevant. Insufficient study of the research problems of the Caucasian war resulted in a distorted understanding of the objectives, stages and methods of this war as well as its regional specifics. In our opinion this led to a distortion of the Caucasian War history.

This topic in the general context of the history of the Black Sea coast, the Black Sea region and the Caucasian war was studied by A.V. Shishov ([Shishov, 2005](#)), A.D. Panesh ([Panesh, 2007](#)), Y.A. Gordin ([Gordin, 2000](#)) and others in modern Russia. However, the most valuable ones for our research are the works of A.A. Cherkasov, V.I. Voroshilov ([Voroshilov, 2006](#)) and V.V. Degoev ([Degoev, 2009](#)).

In his monograph V.I. Voroshilov briefly described the course of the Caucasian War on the territory of Sochi. The work describes the landing operations and the construction of 4 fortifications. However, some of the author's conclusions are disputable. Thus, the author supports the common in the Soviet period point of view on the Highlanders' liberation war against Russia.

The work "Caucasus and the Great Powers in 1828–1864. Politics, war, diplomacy" by V.V. Degoev is the most complete study of the geopolitical factors during the Caucasian War today. This fundamental monograph contains huge national and also foreign factual material. The study presents a comprehensive idea of the importance of the Caucasus for Russia and other countries, mainly Turkey and England.

The work of A. D. Panesh investigates the role and place of the Circassian issue in the complex system of international relations of the nineteenth century. The main attention is drawn to the confrontation of Russia, Turkey and England in the North-West Caucasus. It also considers Shamil's Imamate activities in the context of the Russian policy in the Caucasus.

The way of life of a Russian soldier is described in the works of the following authors: S.V. Volkov ([Volkov, 2003](#)), V.G. Danchenko ([Danchenko, 2006](#)), A.M. Zaionchkovskii ([Zaionchkovskii, 2002](#)) et al.

Training, education, military service, welfare, living, social image, ideology, morality, duty, honor, etc. of a Russian officer are introduced in detail in the work "Russian officer corps" by S.V. Volkov. This study helps to evaluate the training of the Russian officers who took part in combat actions in the Caucasus.

In his monograph V.G. Danchenko discussed in details the Russian marines' history, including the preparations for landing operations, tactics of the units, landing techniques, etc. Certain attention is paid to the role of the Black Sea sailors (especially of M. P. Lazarev) in the development of naval landing theory.

The work of A.T. Urushadze ([Urushadze, 2013](#)), published in "Russkiy Arkhiv" magazine in 2013 contributed to understanding the historical sources range.

In 2014 a group of scientists under the guidance of A. Cherkasov attempted to study the Caucasian war through the prism of the publications of the pre-revolutionary magazine "Voennyi Sbornik". Having considered all genres of publications in the central military magazine of the Russian Empire, the authors concluded that this study helps to comprehend the nature of the conflict in the Caucasus. In addition, the study of the magazine publications contributed to the understanding of defensive and offensive operations as well as tactics, guerrilla warfare, etc. ([Cherkasov et al., 2014](#)).

4. Results

Russian-Circassian relations at the end of XVIII – the first third of the XIX century were full of events. It is known that in 1785 in the northwest Caucasus, the Adyghs' public and religious apparatus was violently destructed ([Cherkasov et al., 2016](#)). This was due to the emergence of the Turkish fortress of Anapa on the Adygh territory and the rebellion of Shiekh Mansour in Chechnya. As a result of these global changes in the Circassian world, the most numerous Circassian tribes (Natukhai, Shapsugs and Abadzekhs) turned from aristocratic to democratic, and Islam was spread by force on their territories, earlier being forbidden. It should be noted that Turkey's goal was to

spread its influence, as they needed a bridgehead for further combat operations against Russia. However, a series of military defeats of Turkey resulted in their acceptance of the Russian lands on the Eastern coast of the Black Sea from the estuary of the Kuban to the estuary of the Rioni river by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. Thus, the Turkish influence from Anapa on Adyghs stopped completely.

These events dramatically changed the mood within Adygeyan democratic society toward passivity and increased the attempts of the Circassian aristocrats to regain power over the common people (Cherkasov et al., 2014a). It is worth mentioning that the process of incorporating of the Circassian neighbors (Abkhazia) to the Russian Empire took place during this period as well as the establishment of a Russian outpost – the Djiget Gagra fortress in 1830.

However, during its advancement on the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus Russia faced foreign policy problems. Despite Turkey and Britain's recognition of the Russian authority over the designated areas, both of these states have sought by all means to prevent full strengthening of the Russian Empire in the North-West Caucasus. Both England and Turkey had their own compelling reasons.

Thus, Turkey feared the complete subordination of the Caucasus to Russia, followed by the further advancement of the Russians from Caucasus territory to Persia and the Middle East. In addition, Russia sought to turn the Black Sea into purely Russian and establish control over the Black Sea straits, which would threaten the existence of the state of Turkey. Persia made claims against Russia for the Caucasus region, but the two consecutive Russian-Persian wars (1804–1813 and 1826–1828) led to Persia's military defeat.

England pursued almost the same goal, because Russia's advancement in the south-east threatened the British territories in Asia (India, Pakistan, etc.). The United Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire began to provide covert help to the North-West Caucasus Highlanders (supporting them openly meant the failure of international agreements). Thus, the emissaries' participation in the events in the North-West Caucasus was influenced by foreign factors and not by the reluctance of emissaries to take part in life and destiny of the Circassian people.

Turkey could not act openly against the Russian Empire. As a consequence, the emissaries arrived in the North-West Caucasus. All activities of the emissaries were made to conduct advocacy for destabilizing the situation.

In September 1831, according to Russian agents, a Circassian Hanuk arrived from Constantinople to the Circassians, bringing "a lot of letters addressed to Shapsugs, Abadzekhs and Natukhai from the Turkish sultan" (GAKK. F. 249. Op. 1. D. 1165. L. 1).

The first case of the appearance of the British emissaries on the territory of the Black Sea coast was recorded in July 1834, when the British emissaries D. Urquhart and Captain Lyons visited Circassia (Panesh, 2007: 106). Since then, the emissaries' activity in the Black Sea region became permanent.

In the summer of 1836 the British schooner "Vixen", smuggling weapons, was detained by the Russian military brig "Ajax" off the coast of Circassia (Sudzhuk-Calais bay (Gelendzhik)) (Voroshilov, 2006: 171). British newspapers immediately burst into indignation against Russia accusing it of violation of navigation in the Black Sea. Britons even developed and published the so-called "The Circassia Declaration of Independence" in which the Highlanders of the Caucasus asked England and Turkey to support their fight against Russia (Panesh, 2007: 109). This Declaration was published in the "Portfolio", the official gazette of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, and Cherkessia was marked as an independent country on the map (Voroshilov, 2006: 171). At the same time sending "Vixen" to the region was an English provocation. This operation was carried out with the personal approval of Lord Palmerston – the British Foreign Affairs Minister. Direct preparations were carried out by Urquhart, and the role of executor was performed by James Bell, the "merchant". It was him whom the Russian authorities detained on board of the "Vixen". The situation with the detained British schooner, with smuggled weapons on board caused an acute crisis in Russian-British relations. Even Austria, France and some other countries were involved in this conflict. Russophobic sentiments were widely spread in London. The British even tried to hold military demonstration in the Black Sea, but the Turkish authorities did not go in the wake of his ally and refused to allow the British fleet to pass through the Black sea straits (Degoev, 2009: 87).

Both sides of the conflict, using gaps in international law as well as in their own legislations, tried to justify the legitimacy of their claims (Degoev, 2009: 70-102). As a result of this more than a year long confrontation, Russia came out victorious. The "Vixen" schooner was credited in the Black Sea Fleet and its crew with J. Bell was sent to Istanbul.

The emissaries of Great Britain and Poland worked on the territory of the Black Sea coast and Zakubanye region during the war. The Great Britain unofficially engaged in the containment of Russia in the Caucasus region and the Polish pursued their own goal – the independence of Poland.

The first measure the Russian administration undertook on the acquired territories was the establishment of a number of military fortifications. Facing the hostility of the Highlanders, the Russian administration changed the nature of their work and started trade with the Natuhaevtsi and the Shapsugs. However, the economic strengthening of these tribes provoked repressions by the more warlike tribe of Ubykhs. As a result, the trade relations almost completely ceased to exist. In 1837–1840 a Russian chain of fortifications was built on the coastal territory to establish contact with the local tribes and to terminate smuggling.

The emissaries often had a serious influence on the vital decisions of the Highlanders. For example, in 1836, during the gathering of the tribe representatives of the Natukhai and Shapsugs, near the Vardan tract, during which their accession to Russia was supposed to be decided, James Bell, the English emissary and his assistant arrived, giving a "certificate" and the banner of the King of England to the Highlanders and promising the protection of the United Kingdom and the Egyptian Pasha, as well as military assistance (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 20. L. 2). As a result, the Circassians refused to accept Russian citizenship.

Along with Bell, another British agent John Longworth landed on the Dzhiget shore, near Abkhazia. Longworth as well as Bell presented "certificates" to the Highlanders, in which the Highlanders were called to war with Russia and were promised military assistance. The English emissary was received with great honors by the Djigets and was escorted to J. Bell in Gelendzhik (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 16. L. 36).

The written statement and certificate obliged the Highlanders to come to Russians with a promise to stop raids on the border with Cherkessia, demanding Russians on their part to cease hostilities and demanding Russia, having no power over them, to acknowledge the independence of Circassia along with England and other countries. The British stated that if Russians do not cease hostilities "notify them that the allied fleet of the European powers and the Egyptian Sultan Pasha of 300 ships with landing troops and necessary ammunition will sail to Constantinople through Nago-Ishmael" (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 16. L. 37ob.-38).

May 15, 1836 deputies from Shapsugs and Natukhai arrived in Gelendzhik with a written offer to general Velyaminov and it was namely a determined denial of obedience and an announcement that the king of England took over the mediation between them and Russia (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 16. L. 37ob.).

In the autumn of 1836 several Turkish ships with military supplies approached the Circassian shore, one of them carried the documents to the British agents. Upon receiving the documents the agents started to call a meeting among the Trans-Kuban Circassians through the Natukhai elders. The idea of the meeting was the establishment of the universal Circassian alliance against the Russians. The first attempt to create such a union was unsuccessful, as the mountain Shapsugs (Big Shapsug), entered into a quarrel with the coastal Shapsugs (Small Shapsug) and Natukhai, and this event broke up the meeting (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 16. L. 38).

Another activity of emissaries was the recruiting of the deserters, mostly Polish. The first experience of such a recruitment was not successful, as the Circassians immediately turned deserters into slaves and sold them to Turkey for copper mines labor. However, with the strengthening of the Russian cruising and difficulties in selling deserters into slavery, their number among the Circassians increased dramatically, including those who were free, and participated in combat on the side of the Highlanders (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 16. L. 39).

Faced with the subversive work of emissaries, the Russian administration was forced to react. Thus, on July 16, 1838 the War Department of the Russian Empire authorized the issuance of a reward for the capture or elimination of emissaries, with the limit of 1 thousand chervontsi for one emissary (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 16. L. 32). In exceptional cases, the cost for an emissary increased. For example, on June 7, 1839 the reward for dead or alive J. Bell was 3 thousand roubles, and for his interpreter – 2 thousand roubles (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 16. L. 62).

Several organizations were engaged in gathering information on the emissaries' whereabouts. Among them there were the headquarters of the Separate Caucasus Corps, as well as the Russian Imperial mission in Constantinople. These organizations often provided very valuable and prompt information. Thus, according to a separate Caucasian Corps Staff, on January 22, 1839, 3 British engineers were planning to go to Circassia, met Langworth in Istanbul daily, who already had been there (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 16. L. 59-59ob.).

Advocacy materials, weapons, food supply, finance, equipment, etc. were sent to Circassia through the British agents. It was smuggled on chartered ships. Russian administration made considerable efforts to prevent smuggling. Thus, on March 29, 1841, Anrep, the Major General of the Ministry of War, who was acting the duties of the Black Sea coast Chief at that time, received a report informing that the Polish immigrant volunteers formed squads of up to 200 people all over Europe for landing on the coast territory and prepared to attack the Russian fortifications (AOAGS. F. 348. Op. 1. D. 6. L. 38-39). The scouts informed that the Polish were sponsored by the British. The Russian administration was particularly alarmed of the Polish artillery (it could cause serious harm to the fortifications of the Black Sea coast). In addition, the presence of Polish troops could be widely used in the advocacy activity on the territory of Circassia. All measures were taken to prevent the landing of the Polish, and as a result, the Polish troops never appeared on the territory of the Black Sea coast.

On July 5, 1845, the Chief of the Black Sea coast got a report from his assistant, stating that the emissary Ivan Ilinskii, a very enterprising young man, who had served in the French Legion in Africa, as well as in Portuguese and Spanish troops, was sent from Paris to Constantinople and then headed to the Caucasus (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 1). According to the other report, on April 22, Zvarkovsky, a Polish emissary, paid a visit to Suleiman Effendi (Shamil's representative) on the river Bugudyr (Trans-Kuban region) requesting a permission to redeem the prisoners and deserters from Polish owners. The author did not exclude that Ilyinsky and Zvarkovsky could be one and the same person (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 10b, 3).

In June-July 1845 Zvarkovsky came from Turkey and was in the Malozomeytsy land, but taken as a Russian spy, moved to the Shapsug land where he met Suleiman Effendi, who was sent by Shamil, and tried to acquire his trust, but Effendi still saw him as a Russian spy. Zvarkovsky had refuge in the Govgery aul, and stayed in the house of Tevtuh, one of the locals. One night, sitting by the window, he was shot with two bullets and believing himself to be close to death he asked for an interpreter and sent for Suleiman Effendi. Through an interpreter Zvarkovsky announced his title and the reason of his presence in the mountains and it was an order to Shamil. He added that two noble Polish were in service in the Caucasus in the troops, under the guise of sutlers, and soon two more emissaries would arrive from Turkey (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 5). The goal was to try to deceive the Polish with the dream of the restoration of the Kingdom of Poland. Such a full message indicated that the spy was in the closest circle of the Polish emissary.

Zvarkovsky urged the Highlanders to continue their attacks on Russians, and not to accept resignation (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 7).

In October the scouts reported that Zvarkovsky recovered from his wounds and moved to the river Suko of the eponymous aul, from where he expected to leave for Turkey. According to the scout reports, the emissary feared for his life, hired people to guard his house at night, and did not even trust these people, every day bringing them to swear that they would faithfully protect his hideout. It was the fear for his life that urged Zvarkovsky to leave the land of the Circassians (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 23-23ob.).

At the same time the scouts found out that Ilinskii and Zvarkovsky was the same person. He was wounded for his bold demands to release Polish prisoners who were enslaved by the Chechens (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 26ob.).

Zvarkovsky staged his death in December 1845. Scouts informed that the Polish emissary Zvarkovsky wanted to reach a chekterma (merchant ship) illegally with several of his fellow countrymen and Natukhai, sailed from the estuary of the Vulcan river to the ship, but a sudden storm overturned the vehicle, resulting in death of Zvarkovsky and all the other passengers. His beached body was found and buried a few days later (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 68-68ob.).

However, at the end of February 1846 it was known that Zvarkovsky safely reached Turkey (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 90). He reached Constantinople on a smuggled chekterma¹ with 280 passengers on board, mostly girl captives (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 91).

Around the same time, it was found out that Zvarkovsky had another alias – Lenoir (in 1844 he made his way from Constantinople with a recommendation letter to the agent of Shamil (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 108).

A few months later, in June 1846 a representative of the Russian Imperial mission in Constantinople, reported that on 2 June the Polish emissary Adam Vysotsky (gunpowder production expert) secretly left for the Circassian shore. His features: approximately 45 years old, dark skinned, of medium height (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 100).

Despite the pursuit of a merchant vessel with Vysotsky on board by the "Pshad" corvette and the "Enem" brig, he was able to get to the shore safely. He was accompanied by another Polish man and a translator. Emissaries lived in the aul Haji Berzek-Keranduk. Vysotsky brought a lot of tools and instruments for the production of gunpowder, weapons and different firearm missiles. He promised the Highlanders to show them how to mine metal and salt. Vysotsky and his companion called themselves British. He was going to travel around the region, as Bell did, and offer his services to the people to help in their fight against Russians (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 114-114ob.).

Vysotsky was heading from Ubykhs to Shapsugs, and then to the Natuhaevtsi (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 114ob.).

In January 1847, the scouts reported that the Polish emissary Adam Vysotsky was found dead in the woods near the aul of Haji Keranduka Berzek, shot in the mouth from his own two-barreled gun on January 3 (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 133).

The Highlanders suspected the owner of aul, Haji Berzek-Keranduk in murdering Adam Vysotsky, who lived in his aul. Keranduk committed a murder driven by a desire to obtain Vysotsky's possessions. Two other people that accompanied him managed to escape to the mountains through Abkhazia disguised as servants (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 153).

In the future, the scouts provided more detailed information about the circumstances of the case. Before his death, Vysotsky lived at Berzek's where on the eve of last new year fell ill with a severe headache and some Armenian named Papa Dzhan, who was trading with the Ubykhs gave Vysotsky a medication. The Highlanders said that he was driven mad from this drug and after he was found dead in a ravine. They wanted to kill the Armenian, but he fled in an unknown direction (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 154-154ob.). Thus, with a considerable degree of probability it can be stated that the Polish emissary was eliminated on the territory of the Black Sea coast.

It should be noted that in addition to advocacy among the Highlanders, the Polish emissaries were also engaged in advocacy among the soldiers and officers of Polish nationality in the Russian fortifications, which influenced them to become deserters. So, in 1840, the Polish Annufriy Gartner escaped from the fortifications and began to cooperate with the Highlanders. In 1845, the former soldier was caught and convicted. In addition, a part of the Polish emissaries acted under the guise of traders, army sutlers, etc. (Karataev, 2014)

At the same time in the Russian Imperial mission in Constantinople it was known that a group of 15 to 20 Polish and foreign emissaries was trying to reach the Caucasian coast. The Russian mission notified the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey about it (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 137).

In February 1847 the Polish emissaries Yakusky, Mirevsky, Olevskii, Dambrinsky and Cheshevsky managed to reach Abkhazia during the summer of 1846 despite the counteractions of the Russian military administration (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 146).

In other words, the situation remained difficult in the North-West Caucasus. In 1847, it was found that many sheikhs came from Trans-Kuban communities and penetrated into the lands of the Ubykhs, in Abkhazia and even in the Free Svanetia, preaching Sharia law, Tariqa and calling for a general uprising against the Russian administration and that their teaching was widely spread (GAKK. F. 260. Op. 1. D. 559. L. 185).

¹ A small sailing boat.

5. Conclusion

The conclusion states that emissaries carried out diverse advocacy activities against the Russian Empire in the North-West Caucasus. Their work manifested in the spread of proclamations, instigating the Highlanders to fight against Russia, spread of false information and instructors' activities. The emissaries also took part in combat.

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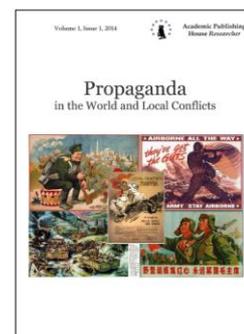
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The Annexation of Bessarabia and Bukovina in the Pages of the Soviet Periodical Press (based on the Materials from the *Krasnoye Znamya* Newspaper)

Konstantin V. Taran ^{a, *}

^a International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research, Russian Federation

Abstract

The article makes use of the materials of the Soviet periodical press to give an insight into the annexation of Bessarabia and Bukovina to the Soviet Union. It particularly focuses on the operations which involved airborne troops of the Red Army and the rhetoric adopted by the Soviet press.

The materials used include the issues of the *Krasnoye Znamya* (The Red Banner) newspaper published between July 2 and 10, 1940. The article also resorts to scientific works on the subject discussed, which helped reconstruct the overall picture of the events at the time.

At the end, the author concludes that the materials of the Soviet periodical press, describing the integration of Bessarabia and Bukovina into the Soviet Union, are an important source which allows us, in retrospect, to have a closer look at these events. The periodical press enables us to analyze fields of action the Soviet propaganda acted in, as well as the propaganda rhetoric in the pre-war period. In the annexation period, the *Krasnoye Znamya* newspaper covers the following key topics in its propaganda articles: 1. The invincibility of the Red Army, 2. The main mission of the Red Army is the Liberator army, 3. Blackening the previous history of the annexed territories and portraying a magnificent vision of the future.

Keywords: Annexation of Bessarabia and Bukovina, 1940, Soviet forces, *Krasnoye Znamya* newspaper.

1. Introduction

On June 28 – July 3, 1940, units of the Southern Front of the Workers 'and Peasants' Red Army completed an operation to annex Bessarabia and Bukovina to the Soviet Union. Following this operation, the Soviet Union received territories with an area of over 50 thousand sq. km and a population of more than 3.7 million people (Badakh, 2010: 96). Romania lost 17 % of its territory, and 18.9 % of the population. On August 2, 1940, a Law was passed on the formation of the Union of Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (Sulyak, 2015: 81).

2. Materials and methods

The materials used include the issues of the *Krasnoye Znamya* (The Red Banner) newspaper published between 2 and 10 July, 1940. It was a single sheet newspaper of the A3 format. Its price was 20 kopecks. The newspaper was considered to be the press organ used by the city committee of

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: taran.constantin@yandex.ru (K.V. Taran)

the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (AUCP B) and the Sochi city Council of People's Deputies. The newspaper had the circulation of 3.5 thousand copies. Its editorial office was located on 11, Voiskogo street, Sochi. The newspaper was printed in the Sochi USMK printing house. The article also resorts to scientific works on the subject discussed, which helped reconstruct the overall picture of the events at the time.

The study applies a retrospective method to evaluate the events in the annexation of Bessarabia and Bukovina in its historical continuity.

3. Discussion

The topic of the Soviet Union's annexation of Bessarabia and Bukovina was not sufficiently covered in the historiography. And today, the historiography on the question remains inadequate. Most studies provide only cursory mentions of this campaign by the Red Army in the context of the pre-war situation on the eve of the Great Patriotic War. For example, such works include publications by M.V. Dyachenko (Dyachenko, 2009), M.I. Meltyukhov (Meltyukhov, 2000), a work by S.V. Pechenkin (Pechenkin, 2012), works by V.V. Repin (Repin, 2004; Repin, 2009), and a monograph by G. Roberts (Roberts, 2006). One of the few scholars who specifically addressed the topic of the Soviet annexation of Bessarabia and Bukovina was a Ukrainian researcher, Yu. Badakh (Badakh, 2010).

4. Results

Materials, published in the *Krashoye Znamya* can be divided into three main thematic categories: 1. The invincibility of the Red Army, 2. The main mission of the Red Army is the liberator army, 3. Blackening the previous histories of the annexed territories and presenting a magnificent vision of the future.

1. The invincibility of the Red Army

The operation on the annexation of Bessarabia and Bukovina was manned by 32 rifle divisions, 2 motorized rifle divisions and 6 cavalry divisions. 11 tank brigades, 3 brigades of airborne troops, 14 corps artillery regiments, 16 artillery regiments HCR (High Command Reserve), 4 artillery battalions with air support were attached to them.

On June 28, Soviet rifle and tank units crossed the Soviet-Romanian border. On the morning of June 29, the 204th brigade of airborne troops was landed in the town of Bolgrad using 99 TB-3 aircraft of the 209th heavy air brigade. In total, 1372 people were air landed.

The *Krasnoye Znamya* reported July 2, 1940: "KIEV, June 29. Advancement of Soviet forces in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina is running smoothly. Today, the Soviet forces have entered the towns of Storozhinets and Hertz in Northern Bukovina, and occupied the Novoselytsia and Lipkany stations (both on the Prut River, south of Hawtin). Mechanized units approached the Prut River, 55 kilometers south-west of Mogilev-Podolsky, and entered the area of the Pyrlitsa town, 80 kilometers north-west of Kishinev. Parachuted airborne units occupied the city of Bolgrad in southern Bessarabia, a few kilometers away from the town of Reni, at the confluence of the Prut River and the Danube" (Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 2).

On June 30, the 201st airborne brigade (809 paratroopers) was airdropped in the Izmail city. The operation involved 44 TB-3 aircraft with 809 paratroopers on board. Of these, 240 people landed at the city airport and 509 people were parachuted. Three aircraft (60 people on board) had to return to their airfields due to technical reasons.

On July 1, units of the 204th airborne brigade occupied the Cahul town.

The use of airborne units allowed Soviet divisions to rapidly reach the new border with Romania. In this regard the newspaper reported: "KIEV, June 30. Soviet forces fulfilled their mission in the northern part of Bukovina and reached the established border with Romania.

In Bessarabia, Soviet forces are completing their entry to the area of the new border with Romania, that is, in the area of the Prut and the Danube Rivers. Mechanized units took control of the Ungheni railway station on the east bank of the Prut River, in front of the Jassy city. The motorized infantry supported by tanks entered the Cahul town on the Prut and to the Reni town at the confluence of the Prut and the Danube. Airborne units occupied the Izmail city on the Danube River.

Soviet forces are advancing everywhere as planned and without incidents” ([Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 2](#)).

2. The main mission of the Red Army is the Liberator army

An important focus in the news coverage of the annexation process was given to the creation of the Red Army's image as the “Liberator” Army: “VORONITSY VILLAGE, BESSARABIA, June 29. A village, typical for Bessarabia. There are miserable ramshackle huts of poor peasants, cramming near large and spacious kulak houses. A school, the only cultural institution in the village, is located in a tiny hut. Inhabitants wear shabby clothes. But today, their faces are radiating overwhelming joy and happiness. Units of the Red Army have just entered their village. Tanks rattled in, mechanized infantry also arrived. Jubilant cheers immediately went up over the village. It is difficult to find words to describe the delight with which the people greeted their liberators. Soldiers were literally showered with flowers.

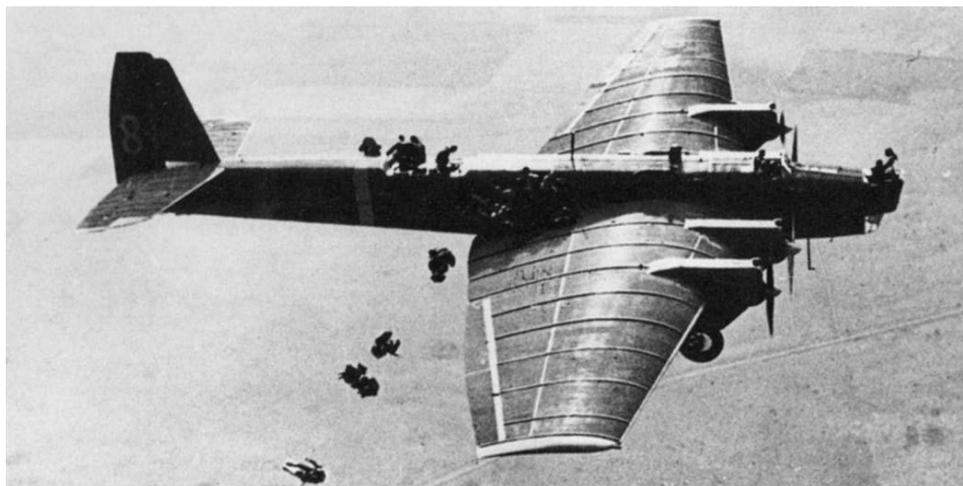


Fig. 1. The landing of troops from TB-3 aircraft

A rally started straight away without any fuss. Everyone, from young to old, gathered on the square in the center of the village. The villagers listened to the Red Army representatives eagerly, anxious not to utter a word. The speech by the Commissioner of the B. unit was more than once interrupted by jubilant cheers. He said that the dream of the working people of Bessarabia had come true – by the will of the Soviet people, they were reunited with the single family of Soviet citizens. Great interest was aroused by his account of a happy life that the collective farm peasantry led in the Soviet Union. The words of the commander, addressed to the rally participants, opened up prospects for their bright future.

When the commander finished, the floor was taken by Daria Tsyganyuk, an old peasant. Her fiery speech poured from her very heart.

“We have lived in the dark prison for 22 years. And you have been our only hope, our sons, our brothers, whom we could rely on and receive liberation. Many motherly thanks to you, red fighters. We, our children and grandchildren, thank you. Thanks to the man who has sent you, thanks to our dear Stalin!”

The rally ended. Cheers could be heard for a long time: "Long live Soviet power, long live dear Stalin!" The soldiers of the B. unit moved on, seen off by warm parting words.

First rallies of peasants and Red Army soldiers were carried out with the enormous enthusiasm in other villages of the Khotyn district” ([Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 2](#)).



Fig. 2. The soviet cavalry on the march on the road in Bessarabia. June-July, 1940

The topic of the meeting with the Soviet army now dominated the pages. For example, the newspaper reported that "the Red Army units crossed the Cheremosh River. People met them with red banners, flowers, and generous hospitality. In one Carpathian village, soldiers were welcomed by peasants with red roses. The men gladly accepted the flowers. Today, we have driven across entire Bukovina. Spontaneous rallies took place in villages, towns and boroughs. As peasants are kissing and hugging soldiers with tears in their eyes, they say:

"We have waited for 22 years, every day and finally our waiting is over. Thank you, thank you!

Our native Ukrainian language is once again spoken in cities and villages. Northern Bukovina is rejoicing" ([Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 2](#)).

Similar meetings took place in other locations throughout the integrated territory. In parallel to that, the propaganda rhetoric made efforts to identify aspects of the capitalist exploitation of the working population. "Bendery. For years, people of Bessarabia, forcibly torn from their homeland, have suffered under the yoke of the Romania. With hope, it looked at the Soviet Union and waited for liberation. The joyful day has come. The moment of the first meeting will long remain vivid in the memory. The population hospitably met its liberator – the Red Army – with flowers and red flags.

Jubilant residents welcomed the Red Army on the streets of Bendery. With tears of joy, people hugged each other and chanted heartily in the Ukrainian and Russian languages: "Long live the Red Army! Long live the Soviet country, long live great Stalin!"

Peasants of the Makarovka village learnt that the Red Army was going to free them from the hated yoke and gathered at the edge of the village. Everyone, from young to old, was looking forward to see the advanced units. A girl, named Hanna Damerchuk, stood there with other villagers. When cheers subsided, she appealed to the commander with a complaint. The local landlord and the tenant tormented peasants and beat both children and adults, and tenant Zelmanovsky beat peasant woman Nazarova. Hanna asked to severely punish the tenant and begged that the soldiers not leave the village" ([Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 2](#)).

The press also paid attention to international consequences of the Soviet campaign and its reflection in the foreign press. For example, a news story, entitled "Bulgaria's reaction to resolution of Romanian-Soviet conflict," reported:

"SOFIA, June 30. Newspapers are dedicating whole pages to the peaceful resolution of the Soviet-Romanian conflict. All newspapers have published the TASS communiqué. They note the successful advance of the Soviet forces and the joy with which the population is meeting the Red Army.



Fig. 3. The soviet tanks BT-7 on parade in Kishinev. 4–6.07.1940

A Yugoslav newspaper *Vremya* stresses that all attempts by Romania to romanize Bessarabia for 22 years have failed. The newspaper writes in another article devoted to Bukovina: “During the Austro-Hungarian regime, Bucovina was one of the most neglected areas in the empire. It was abandoned, underdeveloped and led a wretched life in superstition and backwardness. The situation did not change under the Romanian rule. In this province, Romania tried to act only through the church. It turned out, however, that Bukovina is inappropriate for Romania.”

The press did not pass over the German periodical press and its interpretation of the Bukovina and Bessarabia events: “BERLIN, June 30. The German press has placed a number of articles devoted to the peaceful settlement of the Bessarabian question.

The *National Zeitung* newspaper writes: “The return of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to Russia completely eliminates the injustice of the Versailles Peace. Russia has never recognized the annexation of these areas and never doubted that these areas captured by armed force will again belong to her.

Although the Romanian government clearly understood that it was necessary to return Bessarabia, it constantly cast the issue aside. This issue repeatedly brought about the aggravation of the relations between the USSR and Romania.

A special meaning of the events is that remedying the territorial injustices in south-eastern Europe eliminates the possibility of future conflicts.”

A *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* editorial wrote: “The Bessarabian question, which marred relations between Russia and Romania even before World War II, is now resolved on the initiative of Russia. Bessarabia was part of Russia for more than 100 years (1812-1919)” ([Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 2](#)).

Meanwhile, the deployment of the Soviet troops on the new borders was completed by July 1. For example, the *Krasnoye Znamya* wrote: “KIEV, July 1. Soviet forces mounted defenses on the established border with Romania in northern of **Bukovina**. In **Bessarabia**, Soviet forces fulfilled their mission and reached the border with Romania all along the Prut and Danube” ([Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 2](#)).

In the article “In Soviet Bukovina,” a correspondent describes the entry of the Red Army into the Bukovina in brilliant colors: “CHERNOVTSY. The infinite avalanche of the Soviet army is moving along the five roads of Northern Bukovina armed with powerful weapons and equipment.

Infantry regiments are going, the cavalry are sweeping past, overland fortresses – tanks and armored vehicles – are passing. High in the sky – combat aircraft...” (Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 3). Particular emphasis is again put on the rapturous welcome of the Red Army: “The Liberator Army is received like own mother. Arrival of the Red is a happy event to everyone; soldiers are warmly welcomed and showered with flowers.

On the bank of the Prut River, on a high bridge, a huge crowd of peasants hail a column of cavalry. A woman in a worn-out linen shirt steps out on the bridge. She kneels, puts her hands to her heart, and makes a deep bow:

“Dear comrades, my dear...,” the woman muttered and burst into tears.

The column stopped. The fighter dismounted and pulled the woman from her knees. Continuing to cry, she tries to kiss the hand of the Red Army soldier. Gently pushing the woman away, the fighter unclasps an enamel badge with a portrait of Comrade Stalin from his shirt and hands it to the woman.

“That’s whom you should be grateful to!”

The woman takes the badge as a precious gift and kisses it.

... The cavalry long disappeared from sight, but the woman stands on the bridge for a long time, pressing to her heart the portrait of the leader.

Later we learned the story of the woman. Hanna Taderuk is a peasant from the Dubovny village. Her husband and she worked as hired farm laborers for many years until they bought a cow. But boyar Rumanian officers took away the cow from the poor Taderuks in the course of mobilization. Left without any means of livelihood, Hanna tried to drown herself in despair. The Red Army returned her life back to her, returned her the joy of life, which she never knew” (Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 3).

3. Blackening the previous history of the annexed territories and portraying a magnificent vision of the future.

The press also agitated Bessarabian peasants for joining the collective farm system (kolkhoz). For example, the article “A joyful meeting” described a meeting between members of a kolkhoz – collective farmers – and peasants from the annexed territory: «YASSKI VILLAGE, Odessa region, July 1. After they crossed by boat the Dniester, the guests – 20 Bessarabian peasants from the Krokmazy Chudarovo village – arrived to collective farmers from the farm 14 Richchya Zhovtnya (October the 14th). It is difficult to express in words how delightful the meeting was – cheers “Hurrah!”, “Glory to the Red Army”, “Long live our dear father Stalin”, handshakes, kisses.

A lively conversation started. The guests hung on every word of the collective farmers speaking of their prosperous life, the joys of the work at the collective farm and abundant harvests ripening in their fields.

“There is nothing we can say about our lives,” the guests said. All our wealth is patched clothes and poverty in each hut. We shall now live like people – in a Soviet way” (Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 3).

After military activities were completed, the time came to create a new government and Communist Party cells. For example, a short commentary “Rural interim committee” introduced the process: “TOLMACHI VILLAGE, Bessarabia. July 1. A group of collective farmers and senior officials from the Slobozia district, Moldavian ASSR, arrived in the locality. Village peasants greeted the guests with bread and salt. A rally was held yesterday, which was attended by 800 people. Speeches were made by laborer Kukol, peasant Barkar, clerk Smirnov and others. They vigorously welcomed the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet government, the Red Army and wise leader of peoples Comrade Stalin. Each mention of the dear name drew long thundering applause and cheers “Hurrah.”

The peasants elected an interim committee of 15 people. This was the first time when women were offered to participate in the social life and some of them were elected to the committee. Members of the committee are the best people in the village, who fought against the hated yoke of Romanian boyars. They include laborer Odorozha. He has languished in prison over 8 years for his underground political activities. He is 52.

“I have long thought that I am an old man,” he says. “Now I feel that has never been as young as in these historic days of the liberation of Bessarabia” (Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 3).

Already on July 4, Krasnoye Znamya published news items saying that the social and economic situation in the annexed territories had normalized. "SOROKI, July 2. People in the liberated town of Soroki have restored a normal life on the fifth day after the arrival of the Red Army.

In the rule of the Romanian occupation, the town was flagrantly disregarded, streets are dirty, roads crumble. Many streets are overgrown with weeds. The Romanian authorities have left the town a legacy of ditches dug in the middle of the streets.

The town is currently under reconstruction. The streets are being cleared of debris, ditches filled up, new roads laid. The town has arranged a hospital for 55 beds and is now refurbishing a facility for a movie theater. The brewery, 2 vegetable oil plants and 3 large mills are operating in the normal mode. All stores are open.

More than 800 unemployed residents have received jobs. There have been around one thousand jobless in here until recently. Only a few days will pass – and all of them will get a long-awaited work.

Hundreds of people living the town and nearby villages are turning to local authorities with various questions and suggestions. The youth propose to set up a theater and arrange a football pitch. Many peasants are complaining that the Romanian authorities have taken away their horses and cows. Wives and children of Bessarabian peasants mobilized in the Romanian army are asking to help their husbands and fathers return home.

Peasant committees have been organized in 25 villages of the Soroki district" ([Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 4](#)).

The newspaper also describes details of a Bendery rally: "BENDERY, July 2. The city stadium is festively decorated. The wind is stirring red flags. Columns of demonstrators are approaching the stadium. They are carrying with them portraits of party and government leaders. 5,000 new Soviet citizens – residents of Bendery – have come to the rally. The floor has been taken by railroad worker Melnichenko. He is gratefully thanking the Communist Party, Comrade Stalin and the Red Army for liberating the working people of Bessarabia from the yoke of the landlords and capitalists.

At the end of his speech, he exclaims: "Long live the great leader, beloved Comrade Stalin!" Enthusiastic prolonged applause is roaring in response.

Teacher Bychkov is making a speech on behalf of the intelligentsia. He is speaking of the miserable and powerless life of the working intelligentsia in Bessarabia under the rule of the Romanian boyars. Bychkov is urging the intelligentsia and all working people to honestly and selflessly devote themselves to work for the benefit of their socialist homeland.

Festivities were held after the rally, which lasted until late at night ([Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 4](#)).

The newspaper focuses on the subject of the life before and after the arrival of the Red Army in the short commentary "Tell us about the land": "KAMYANA VILLAGE, Northern Bukovina, July 2. On the road between Chernovitsy and Storozhnitsa, in a picturesque valley lies a large village – Kamyana. It has a happy time these days. The villagers with joy and delight greet the Red Army forces moving in a continuous stream.

A car stopped outside one of the huts in the village. Senior political instructor Chernenko gets out of the car.

A dense ring of peasants surrounded him, asking to tell them about the land.

They eagerly listen to Chernenko and his simple words, and then speak of what hard and hopeless lives they had under the heel of the boyars. Of 800 families in Kamyana, 400 had no land at all and 200 had starvation plots of 0.5 hectares.

Kamyana is a typical village in Northern Bukovina, which moaned under the unbearable burden of brutal exploitation and landlessness. Landlords and Romanian boyars, such as Flondr, Orenstein and others, who owned vast latifundia of dozens of thousands of hectares in meadow and forest lands, brutally took away last plots of land from peasants. In these acts, they were obligingly assisted by the Romanian authorities which imposed crippling taxes on Bukovina peasants.

A poor old man Shlemko of Kamyana says:

"We did not pay only for air. All other things were taxed. In addition to economic taxes, there were other taxes as well, such as: You did not get married until 27 – pay to the state, wives do not have children – pay for childlessness, and so on.

And now the land can be given to peasants for free, can't it?" The old hunched man asked overwhelmed with emotions.

"The land will be given! There are no and never will be landowners in the Soviet country."

The old man shook the hand of the political instructor.

"Be so kind, give Comrade Stalin, our heartfelt thanks for all, especially for the land," peasant Shlemko asked at parting" ([Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 4](#)).

Attention to the topic of the new annexed territories fell sharply after July 4. For example, on July 7, Krasnoye Znamya published a news item about the new life and new rules: "KISHINEV, July 5. The district executive committee is having office hours. The corridors are filled with groups of people engaged in animated conversations. They are discussing dozens of questions regarding state, public and personal issues. The new life, new government, and new rules – all this has raised a lot of pressing questions and a stream of proposals. Everyone is eager to help their Soviet authority and bring the Bolshevik order to towns and villages of the liberated land.

A representative of the Soviet government in Kishinev, Diorditsa, is receiving visitors. They are coming into a room, some are timid and fearful, others are confident and businesslike.

A woman is coming in with two children, one in her arms; the other is clinging to her skirt. The woman is haggard and thin, with deep-set eyes; she is speaking of her plight in a broken voice. The ramshackle ceiling in the basement, where she lived, has collapsed tonight. She is now on the street together with the children with no shelter. The woman is being soothed and asked questions. The representative of the district executive committee is giving an order to immediately provide her with a room in the apartment of one of the rich men that fled. The woman is leaving saying the words of profound gratitude.

23 years ago Andrey Kozhukhar, a peasant from the Otak village, former Orkavsky district, was a member of the provincial executive committee of the Council of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies for the Bessarabia province. After Romania occupied Bessarabia, he was severely persecuted by invaders. With a secondary education in economics and agriculture, Kozhukhar could not receive a job in his professional field for 22 years. Presently village peasants have appointed him as peasant delegate and sent him to the town to find out what will happen with the land, what they should do with wealthy peasants who have hidden the bread, and with the poor who have no bread. When he has entered the reception office, Kozhukhar has taken out a shabby paper from his pocket – a membership card of the Bessarabian executive committee, which he has kept in a pot under the hut floor for many years.

"Representatives of the district executive committee will come to your village," the delegate receives and explanation. They will help you choose a new rural authority and address your most urgent issues.

Dusted and tired, brothers Ilya and Davyd Lyudmer – foremen at a Jassy weaving factory, Romania, appear in the office; they have just arrived with their families in Kishinev.

"We want to live and work in the USSR, in our homeland," Ilya Lyudmer says. We are happy that we are here now. For years we have worked for the owner and now we want to work for the people, for ourselves. Both of us are inventors and innovators, and we ask to provide us jobs in our field – we want to become Stakhanovites.

The brothers are feeling excited when they are leaving the reception office of the district executive committee. They have come to their homeland, and it has not disappointed their expectations.

The stream of visitors is endless. From 8 in the morning until 1 after midnight, representatives of the district executive committee are dealing with major and minor matters" ([Krasnoye Znamaya. 1940. July 7](#)).

On July 10, the newspaper published the last news item on the situation in the annexed territories; it described the meeting between Soviet writers and people working in the artistic sphere in Kishinev: "KISHINEV, July 8. Soviet writers carried out a meeting with the city intelligentsia and art workers. The participants paid great attention to the presentation on the Soviet literature. Ukrainian writers Le, Tadvov, Fefer, Kucher and others read out their works.

Bessarabian writers and art workers in their speeches spoke about outrageous forms taken by the struggle of the Romanian occupation against the Russian culture. It prohibited performing the works by Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninov, Scriabin and other Russian composers.

“We had to perform the slopwork of mediocre Romanian composers or we were not allowed to work,” musician brothers Kogan said.

None of the local writers, who wrote in the Russian, Yiddish or Moldovan languages, was published.

Presently, the liberated people gets down to creative work with the help of representatives of the Soviet culture. The city is now organizing an art workers’ club” ([Krasnoye Znamya. 1940. July 10](#)).

After July 10, 1940, the Krasnoye Znamya newspaper published no reports on the life in Bessarabia and Bukovina – the territories became part of the Soviet state.

5. Conclusion

Summarizing the overview, it is necessary to note that the materials of the Soviet periodical press, describing the integration of Bessarabia and Bukovina into the Soviet Union, are an important source which allows us, in retrospect, to have a closer look at these events. The periodical press enables us to analyze fields of action the Soviet propaganda acted in, as well as the propaganda rhetoric in the pre-war period. In the annexation period, the Krasnoye Znamya newspaper covers the following key topics in its propaganda articles: 1. The invincibility of the Red Army, 2. The main mission of the Red Army is the Liberator army, 3. Blackening the previous history of the annexed territories and portraying a magnificent vision of the future.

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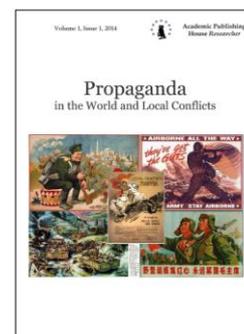
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Mass Collaborationist Print Media in the Kursk region during the German Occupation

Sergei Bogdanov^{a, *}, Vladimir Ostapuk^a

^a Belgorod State National Research University, Russian Federation

Abstract

The article is devoted to the organization of the German occupation authorities and their collaborators from among the local collaborators of large-scale psychological war against the population of Kursk region in 1941–1943. As the information base used in documents that are stored in the archives of the Russian Federal Security Service of the Office of the Kursk region and Belgorod region. Particular attention is given to the use of the German invaders mass of publications that began to emerge in the regional and in many regional centers of the Kursk region. The German command after the defeat near Moscow was forced to make certain adjustments to the policy of the occupation authorities for the development of civil and military collaboration in the population occupied Soviet territory. One such area was the intensification of mass propaganda of the population of the occupied territories, as well as Soviet prisoners of war. Considered filling newspapers with information materials, ways of presenting it. Identified individual stylistic features of the pro-Nazi newspapers published in Kursk frontline during the German occupation. It presents information on the individual editor in chief of the collaborationist mass of publications that appeared in the Kursk region in the occupation period.

Keywords: Kursk frontal area, the collaboration, the occupation, the German "new order", mass publications, psychological warfare, anti-Semitism.

1. Introduction

Since ancient times, warring parties have actively used various means of information influence on their adversaries. While initially most of these included deliberately distributed rumors, in the late 19th – early 20th centuries, much increased use was made of a wide range of printed materials (e.g. leaflets, posters, brochures, newspapers). The start of World War II revealed that the arsenal of information influence tools, employed by governments in times of armed conflict to affect both the military and the population in occupied territories, became significantly larger and was substantially modified. Clear evidence of this can be found in events that took place in the territory the USSR temporarily occupied by German troops and their allies. The invaders then embarked on the work towards their strategic goals using a system of total terror against the local population, brutally suppressing the slightest displays of anti-fascist sentiments and activating a large-scale propaganda campaign. It is the latter component that is highlighted by this paper.

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: dr.bogdanov_sv@mail.ru (S. Bogdanov), ostapuk.bsu.edu.ru (V. Ostapuk)

2. Materials and methods

The scientific problem that this paper aims to address deals with an attempt to spotlight characteristics of propaganda activities, particularly those using mass collaborationist print media, undertaken by the German occupation authorities in the temporarily occupied territory of the Kursk region in 1941–1943. In parallel, the paper will also determine specific features of these media.

The paper adopts the method of quantitative analysis of archival materials (investigation and legal proceedings documents and captured documents) stored in FSS (FSB) territorial directorates for the Kursk and Belgorod regions. Essentially, the materials become subject for scientific examination for the first time. Another method used includes linguistic analysis of lexical and stylistic devices used by the mass collaborationist media which were published in the Kursk front-line zone between October 1941 and August 1943.

3. Discussion

Throughout the post-war period, the scale and types of cooperation with the German invaders, voluntarily offered by some Soviet citizens (collaboration), were generally glossed over by Soviet social studies. In the context of the topic discussed here, an exception, perhaps, is the work by I.A. Ivlev and A.F. Yudenkov (Ivlev, 1988).

O.V. Romanko, who describes the Soviet historiography on the problems of mass collaborationist propaganda printed in the USSR territory occupied by German troops, says in one of his monographs: "Soviet historical studies provided an eminently one-sided coverage of the German occupation policy in the Soviet territory. Specific topics were typically very extensively studied. These included the occupiers' crimes against the civilian population, economic and cultural plundering in the occupied areas, etc. On the contrary, despite the diverse literature on the occupation, Soviet researchers completely "overlooked" a number of its aspects, such as the revival of the church in the occupied areas, military and political collaboration of Soviet citizens, and methods and tools of psychological brainwashing of the population applied by Nazis. Even such seemingly well-studied topics as guerrilla movement and underground resistance were not all what the official historiography used to describe" (Romanko, 2009: 3).

Removal of the ideological constraints and declassification a large array of archival documents from the World War II period contributed to more intense research work on a wide range of issues that were previously inaccessible by Russian experts. At the turn of the 21st century, Russian history had to go through a crisis point when it created new methodology and approaches and received a large number of primary sources which enable us to redefine the phenomenon of active cooperation between Soviet citizens and German invaders in 1941–1945.

Researchers turned their attention to details of the active cooperation which individual Soviet citizens and German troops and their allies established in the temporarily occupied territory. Propaganda activities as part of in the general strategy in the psychological warfare waged by the German occupation authorities in the occupied territory of the Soviet Union, came into the focus of scientific research by V.A. Gorelkin, N.V. Filonenko, S.K. Bernev and A.R. Bormotova (Gorelkin, 2003; Filonenko, 2003; Bernev, 2008: 9-11; Bormotova, 2010).

Papers by V.A. Makedonskaya, T.D. Shvets, V.M. Shestova and O.L. Sorokina contained a significant amount of factual material on the psychological brainwashing by the German propaganda machine of the population in the occupied territories in order to develop its loyalty to Nazi Germany (Makedonskaya, 2011: 102-108; Makedonskaya, 2013: 144-149; Sorokina, 2014: 77-109).

Despite the considerable number of historical studies on a wide range of problems related to the Nazi propaganda in the occupied Soviet territories, articles that examine the efficiency and effectiveness of the Soviet counter-propaganda remain scarce. One of the few works is the article by A. Cherkasov and M. Shmigel (Cherkasov, Shmigel, 2013: 4-9).

Russian historians E.N. Shantseva, A.V. Tsvetkov, D.Yu. Astashkin and I.V. Gribkov accomplished a series of dedicated studies on the German propaganda in the temporarily occupied territories of the Soviet Union, which aspire to identify regional features of the pro-fascist mass print media produced by local collaborators engaged in for the purpose (Shantseva 2010: 55-59; Tsvetkov, 2012: 125-134; Astashkin, 2014: 9-12; Gribkov, 2015: 49-56).

Meanwhile, we still lack clear understanding of the massive amount of information on the characteristics of the civilian collaboration with the propaganda organs of the German occupation authorities in the Kursk front-line zone. An explanation is that virtually all materials on the former active accomplices of German invaders from this category of traitors to Russia (former agitators, editors for collaborationist newspapers, heads of propaganda departments in city and regional councils, created by the occupation authorities in the occupied territories) continue to be stored in the archives of the territorial offices of Russia's Federal Security Service (FSS), and researchers still have extremely limited access to them.

4. Results

At a meeting by A. Hitler with top party and military leaders of Germany, July 16, 1941, the leader of the German Nazis fostered the need to restore newspaper in the occupied USSR territories to be able to influence the local population ([GARF. F. 7445. Op. 2. D. 162. L. 441-443](#)).

One of the directives, released by the German command and published in large print Nazi edition "Feldtzeitung", said: "Victory in this war will be won, first of all, of course, with sword. But the victory of the sword should be secured with the complete victory of the German cause in the conquered land. Any good propaganda in favor of Germany accelerate our victory shedding as little blood as possible. It is necessary to remember that the entire population of the Soviet Union has accustomed to intense propaganda in two decades. So, the struggle against Bolshevism is a struggle with weapons in hand and polemics with the Bolshevik propaganda" ([RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 125. D. 167. L. 25](#)).

On the eve of World War II, a military propaganda agency was created in Nazi Germany under the Wehrmacht High Command – the military propaganda department ([Wedel, 1962: 20](#)).

Early in June 1941, Chief of Staff of the operational command of the Wehrmacht Supreme Command (OKW), Colonel General Alfred Jodl approved an OKW circular – Directive on the Use of Propaganda in Operation Barbarossa. The Directive defined key goals, forms and methods of propaganda efforts. The key goals of propagandist influence on the Red Army military and civilian population in the front-line zone included: intimidating the enemy, enhancing defeatism, creating a positive image of the Operation, undermining the authority of the state, military and political leadership of the USSR, fuelling discontent with the situation in the country among the civilian population, motivating people to loyalty to the Wehrmacht troops, etc. ([Dashichev, 1975: 134](#)).

Along with guidelines on the launch of the propaganda campaign against the Red Army, the document also contained a list of numerous propagandist activities targeted at the civilian population. The general basis of the propaganda effort among the civilian population was to be the message that Germany wanted to "liberate" the people living in the USSR from the "tyranny of the Bolsheviks." According to the Nazi propaganda, Germany's only adversaries were the Soviet government and the Communist Party. In addition to this message, which reflected the essential political goal of the aggression released by Nazi Germany, this propaganda was, however, designed to clearly explain to Soviet citizens that from now on it would have to work for the benefit of the Third Reich.

The Directive attached the overriding importance to the need to carefully conceal further goals of the war from the population at early stages. Neither future partition of the USSR nor the fundamental destruction of the socialist economy and social achievements should be mentioned in propaganda materials ([Myuller, 1974: 91](#)).

Before the start of the war against the Soviet Union, the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda published over 30 million leaflets and colorful pocket-size propaganda brochures in 30 languages of the USSR ethnic groups and prepared a number of propagandist radio broadcasts. By June 1941, there were 17 propaganda companies as part of the Wehrmacht forces ([History of the Second World War, 1974: 316](#)).

There were propaganda departments functioning in commandant's offices and council in occupied cities and major rural settlements. All German institutions, which operated in the occupied areas, were required to engage in propaganda matters.

The occupation authorities in the occupied territories promptly began paying careful attention to the information support for their activities. Analysis of RGASPI documents uncovers

the fact that collaborationist newspapers were launched almost everywhere in republican, provincial and district centers occupied by German troops (RGASPI. F. 1. Op. 2. D. 11. L. 65-67).

Invaders leveraged different techniques, methods and tools depending on the area occupied. For example, Z.A. Fedorova who reviews the massive ideological campaign started by the German command among the population of the occupied territory, says: "After taking Kalinin, the invaders quickly formed a powerful propaganda apparatus which consisted mainly of radio and newspapers... A big role was put on broadcasting: presenters read German newspapers, gramophone records were played back, and the repertoire included Russian folk songs along with German works" (Fedorova, 2014: 129).

In addition, developers of the German propaganda programming often gave the information allegedly received from Red Army soldiers who were left behind their units and were captured.

Despite the great costs incurred by Germany to conduct the propaganda war, it launched production of periodicals and other mass print media throughout the USSR territory occupied by German troops.

German invaders resumed the publication of pro-fascist newspapers and information leaflets and brochures almost everywhere in the Kursk front-line zone. The main purpose of these print media was to bring orders issued by the German command and collaborationist authorities, created by the occupiers, to the notice of the local population.

Special information boards were installed in typical places of mass gathering of people virtually in all major towns in the Kursk front-line zone. These boards displayed various propagandistic materials, such as pro-fascist newspapers, agitation posters, orders by the commandant's offices and local collaborationist authorities and so on.

Examination of the documents stored in the 4th department of the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) Directorate for the Kursk region (AUFSSB RF po Kursk. obl. F. 4th department of the NKVD Directorate. D. 228. L. 20) makes it possible to draw up a list of all pro-fascist mass printed media issued in this region during the German occupation (Table 1).

Table 1. The list of occupational newspapers published in the Kursk region between 1941 and 1943.

No.	Name of print edition	Years of publication	Place of publication
1.	Voskhod (a daily newspaper for Russians)	1941–1942	Belgorod
2.	Kurskiye Izvestiya (a weekly newspaper of the local government)	September 1942 – January 24, 1943	Kursk
3.	Novy Put (a newspaper for the population in the liberated areas)	1942	Lgov, Kursk region (from May 30, 1942 published in Kursk)
4.	Posev i Zhatva (a biweekly supplement to the Novy Put newspaper)	1942	Kursk
5.	Rylsky Novy Put	1941–1943	Rylsk, Kursk region
6.	Dmitrovskaya Gazeta	1942–1943	Dmitrovsk, Kursk region
7.	Novaya Zhizn (an official newspaper of the Sary Oskol district administration and city council)	1942–1943	Sary Oskol, Kursk region
8.	Golos Naroda (an official newspaper of the mayor's office of the Lokot national okrug which included the Mikhailovsky, Dmitrovsky and Dmitrievsky districts, Kursk region)	1942–1943	Volokonovka, Kursk region

The Novy Put (New Way) newspaper was initially published in Lgov, and from May 30, 1942 in Kursk. Since that time, its chief editor was G.I. Filshin who remained as chief and responsible

editor of the newspaper until January 1943. Starting from September 1943, the newspaper was renamed *Kurskiye Izvestiya* (Kursk News) (AUFBSB RF po Kursk. obl. F. AUD. D. 9515. L. 2).

Kurskiye Izvestiya was a 4-page news sheet for the occupied territory. It published regulations and orders by the Kursk city council, related to the city matters and people who lived there. The section Sketches on Kursk contained local materials on how the occupation authorities established a new life in Kursk, such as opening a library (*Kurskiye Izvestiya*, 1942: December 20), launching an inn for visitors from nearby villages (*Kurskiye Izvestiya*, 1942: November 29).

The position of chief executive editor was given to G.I. Filshin, born in the year 1881, in the Novezhnoe village, Oboyan district, Kursk province (Ivnyansky district during the war), to the family of a priest. He graduated from the Kiev Theological Academy in 1912 and was a teacher at a local university in Kursk. He was arrested by the NKVD in 1937 for "anti-Soviet agitation" but was released as there was no proof of his actions. The following fate was in store for Filshin. He escaped with German military units after Kursk was liberated by the Red Army and remained abroad until 1945. After returning to the USSR, he was arrested May 17, 1948 and soon was convicted by the MIA's military tribunal for the Kursk region under Art. 58-1 "a" of the RSFSR Criminal Code and sentenced to 25 years in a correctional labor camp with confiscation of property (AUFBSB RF po Kursk. obl. F. AUD. D. 9515. L. 3).

Official communications of the German High Command and propaganda articles for editorials of the occupation newspapers were received as ready-made texts already prepared for printing – bulletins from the Berlin OAD Press Office (Ostraum-Artikeldienst). Materials from the bulletin were widely utilized by newspapers and sometimes filled almost entire printed space. The bulletin's editor was Vilhelm Stein, a former press attache at the German Embassy in Moscow (RGASPI. F. 17. Op. 125. D. 178. L. 1-3).

Posev i Zhatva (Sowing and Reaping) seemed to be a purely agricultural newspaper but its powerful ideological potential was immediately visible. Articles urging local residents to make compulsory agricultural supplies to German troops (*Posev i Zhatva*. 1942. No. 4) and calls for copying German production processes (*Posev i Zhatva*. 1942. No. 1) were replicated by every issue of this newspaper.

Rylsky Novy Put (New Rylsk Way) published caricatures of I.V. Stalin and various pro-fascist propaganda materials.

Novaya Zhizn (New Life), a 4-page newspaper, was published in the town of Stary Oskol and appeared on a weekly basis. Its executive editor became V. Nikonov. The newspaper often reprinted materials from central German editions, mainly from the *Völkischer Beobachter*. A typical example is illustrated by the article World War 1942 (*Novaya Zhizn*, 1943: January 17).

Another newsletter widely distributed in Kursk was *Posledniye Novosti* (Latest News), a Russian language edition, published and delivered from Berlin (Kepov, 2002: 31). The above list should also include *Zarya* (The Dawn), a 4-page newspaper, which was also published in the German capital and sent to the occupied USSR area 2 times a week (on Wednesdays and Sundays). *Zarya* primarily focused on ideological materials (*Zarya*, 1943: July 28).

Kursk also regularly received an occupation newspaper *Rech* (Speech) published in Oryol (GOAPIKO. F. P-2. Op. 1. D. 223. L. 76).

During the German occupation, the following mass print media were published in the south-eastern part of the Kursk region: in Belgorod and Belgorod district – *Voskhod* (Sunrise) and in Prokhorovka district – *Zapadnye Vesti* (Western News).

Voskhod (Woszhod – Aufstieg) went out from late 1941 to early 1943. Its editorial office and printing house took the building of the former editorial office and publishing house of *Belgorodskaya Pravda* (Belgorod Truth) on Lenin Street. After all Belgorod streets were renamed – an accomplishment undertaken by the fascist invaders following the occupation of the city – the new address of the *Voskhod* printing house and the newspaper was 59, Field Marshal General von Brauchitsch Street and from March 1942 59, Bangofstrasse (Vokzalnaya).

This pro-fascist edition had two editors throughout its short history. Since February 8, 1942 (No. 15 of the newspaper), it indicated Ja. A. Morozov as the editor, and starting from September 6, 1942 (No. 56 of the newspaper), the latter was succeeded by V. Strakhov.

November 9, 1941 saw the first issue of the newspaper. It retained the same title that people who lived Belgorod knew very well – *Belgorodskaya Pravda*. However, the newspaper bore a new

slogan: "End of Bolshevism means the liberation of the Russian people", which existed until September 3, 1941.

Since mid-December 1941, the newspaper began to appear under a changed name – Voskhod. The first page of the renamed newspaper contained an explanation by the editorial office clarifying to readers the reason for the decision to modify the name: "On Sunday, December 14, 1941, the old name of the newspaper – Belgorodskaya Pravda – has passed into oblivion. The newspaper will now be entitled Voskhod. The title Belgorodskaya Pravda has been the last vestige of the Bolshevik rule in Belgorod, which we have dispelled. Under the new name Voskhod, the Belgorod population will be able to confidently move into the future, to a new life and new construction in the areas cleansed of the Bolshevik infection. Through the Voskhod newspaper, people will also take part in the life of Germany and other countries" (Voskhod, 1941: December 14). The editors thanked the people of Belgorod in advance materials they would send.

Specific stylistic similarities of individual collaborationist editions and regional Soviet newspapers of the pre-war years were indicated by historian S.K. Bernev: "In order to lend their print products greater credibility, the German propaganda agencies tried to preserve Soviet titles, formats, fonts, and style in newspapers" (Bernev, 2008: 9).

Similar processes took place in many temporarily occupied territories of the USSR. For example, a collaborationist newspaper *Za Rodinu* (For the Motherland) went out in the Leningrad region between the autumn of 1942 and the summer of 1944. A thorough study by D. Astashkin into the entire array of materials published in the print edition revealed that "... the population in the occupied Novgorod territory received the collaborationist press in the familiar style and only propaganda messages changed. Instead of the customary praise of Communists, the press regularly published accusations against the "Bolshevik yids" (Astashkin, 2014: 10). According to him, this can be explained by the fact that this newspaper was created by the same authors who were engaged in the journalistic activity in the North-western RSFSR before the war.

Analysis of the file of collaborationist Voskhod, which was published in Belgorod, identifies the following qualities characteristic of this print edition throughout its existence.

1. Each issue of the newspaper was imposed into pages based on one and the same pattern. First pages were devoted to official communications of the German authorities and front-line summary reports, which covered the success of Nazi Germany and its satellites, demonstrating the inevitable victory of the Axis Powers. Here are some of the headlines of such articles: "German forces in Rostov", "German forces approaching Stalingrad", "Fortress of Hong Kong in the hands of Japan", "Japan at the door of Australia." At the same time, not even the tiniest news of the German defeat or casualties near Moscow and Stalingrad could be found in any of the newspapers. They at best sparingly informed of the tactical retreat planned by the German army.

2. A former active collaborator of the German invaders, V. Samarin, wrote in his recollections: "The German propaganda ... had two very primitive lines: 1. The German army liberated the Russian people. 2. The blame for all sufferings of the Russian people should be put on Jews" (Svershilos. Prishli nemtsy (It has happened. Germans came), 2012: 283).

These two lines can be also traced in individual articles in the Voskhod newspaper. For example, an editorial entitled "24 years of Bolshevism" said: "The day before yesterday marked 24 years of the Bolshevik terrorist regime... The Russian worker was promised that the Bolshevik revolution would break out to ensure the general freedom and equality. But what did this freedom and equality look like? Russian peasants were deprived of their land and farms which they acquired over the years of hard legal work. The entire peasantry were repeatedly doomed to severe famine. All those, who resisted the insane Bolshevik regime, were shot in batches or exiled to certain death in Siberia...

Russian workers did not receive the paradise which he was promised in long-winded speeches but received a hell... With a starvation diet and miserable wages, Russian workers had to live year by year while yids ran affairs in Moscow and lived a life of luxury at the expense of Russian workers and peasants. The yids and yid parasites were supported by the State Political Directorate which drowned all discontented citizens in the riches of Karelia and Siberia... End of Bolshevism is the beginning of freedom of the Russian people!" (Voskhod, 1941: November 9).

3. The German propaganda continuously promoted the proposition that the actual enemy of Russians were "bandit elements." The occupational propaganda referred these to the as anti-fascist

underground resistance, Soviet patriots and guerrillas. Therefore, pro-fascist periodical publications that appeared in occupied Belgorod in 1941–1943 were often filled with materials which classed guerrillas as criminals who targeted their activities at undermining the "resurgent life."

4. A considerable amount of material described the "construction of a new life" and achievements of the new pro-German rule. For example, the article "On the road to a complete recovery" in the Voskhod issue dated April 5, 1942, wrote: "...the interrupted school process has been resumed, some artisans and craftsmen are working freely, houses are being repaired, streets cleared and so on." The newspaper published announcements informing of the opening of the city library and stores, of the beginning of studies in schools, of new productions in the Belgorod Drama Theatre or movie shows in the cinema.

Late in January 1942, the newspaper launched a new column – Answers to Readers where officials representing the occupation authorities and the collaborationist leadership of the city council responded to various questions regarding daily needs, such as "When will the market resume its work?", "When will electric lighting be installed in city apartments?", "When will we be able to travel by train to Kharkov?" and similar questions. As the newspaper gave no names of the authors of the questions, it is currently impossible to find out whether Belgorod residents actually asked these questions or they were invented in the editorial office. As for the answers, the editorial office said that they were received from the German city commandant, Hauptmann Sauer and assistant mayor I.I. Rozhkov.

5. The Voskhod newspaper reflected large-scale programs to "reform the Russian village," initiated by the German command. The attempts to reform the Russian village are demonstrated in the following headlines: "Liquidation of collective farms," "First steps of the new village," "Manage and use the land as the owner!", "The peasantry is Europe's vital force," "Wages in the public estates."

6. The highly militarized economy of fascist Germany had to cope with a burning need for labor after World War II began. Addressing this challenge was a major goal set before the occupation authorities and their accomplices from the number of active collaborators. A massive propaganda campaign was launched at the local level.

The newspaper heavily propagated a "comfortable and decent life" for those who would choose to go to work to Germany. The point is that the population to be sent to work in Germany was first mobilized in the occupied south-eastern part of the Kursk region on a voluntary basis. Headings of such articles speak for themselves: "Russian workers travel to Germany," "The European unemployed find jobs in Germany," "Delegation of peasants in Berlin."

Calling on the population in the occupied USSR territory to go to work for the Third Reich, the German propaganda machine promised to provide previous jobs back at home after a one-year employment, free transportation there and back, meals throughout the trip, working clothes and salaries on an equal basis with German workers. To sound more convincing, the newspaper published letters from Russians who left to work in Germany as follows: "We like our work, we live in new barracks, got new clothes, and live well" (*Voskhod*, 1942: October 9).

The occupation authorities in the Stary Oskol district put actively in practice one of the lines in the economic policy adopted by Nazi Germany in the occupied territories – the mobilization of workforce for the needs of Nazi Germany.

Here we should cite the full text of the document – an announcement by the Stary Oskol occupation authorities dated September 14, 1942: "A Job Center is now operating on Glavnaya street, 48, in Stary Oskol. All local organizations and other public institutions, as well as private enterprises are now allowed to hire workers of any specialization only if they have been sent by the Job Center.

Applications for workers are submitted at the Job Center by employers in person. This mediation is provided by the Job Center free of charge from the opening of the Job Center. Any employments are prohibited, except for those provided by the Job Center, even if the work is to be done for military units and is free of charge.

All able-bodied residents of the above settlements, aged between 16 and 45, of both sexes, who are not currently on permanent service in military units, are required to report for registration at the Job Center" (*AUFSSB RF po Belgor. obl. F. 10. Gr. 1. Op. 3. D. 10. L. 57*).

According to estimates made by K.A. Shevyakov, 5,623 thousand people were sent to Germany for forced labor. Of them 3 million died of starvation, excessively hard labor and torture (*Lyudskiye poteri (Casualties)*, 1995: 180). Of course, these statistics could not be disseminated in mass pro-fascist publications appeared in the occupied territories.

The German occupation authorities were increasingly focused on the collaborationist print media at the local level. The Voskhod newspaper came out once a week (on Sundays) first seven months; from July 1942, it was published twice a week (Thursdays and Sundays); from September 8, 1942 four times a week (Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Sunday), and from October 20, 1942, the newspaper began to come out every day, except on Monday. The newspaper constantly increased its circulation – from 10 thousand to 27 thousand copies. The price of the 2-page newspaper also grew – 10, 30, and 50 kopeks and when it started to appear on 4 pages, the price already reached 1 ruble. Subscriptions to Voskhod could be bought at the printing house's office.

For the pro-fascist newspapers published in the Kursk front-line zone to be able to reach the population, heads of the localities were obliged to distribute them among the people living in the occupied settlements. For example, every month, the Oboyan District Administration allocated to the head of the Chekmarevka village 20 copies of the pro-Nazi newspaper Voskhod, published in Belgorod. It was the duty of the village head to disseminate this edition among the population for 15 rubles per newspaper. Money earned from the sale of the newspaper, the head should transfer to the Oboyan District Administration (*GAKO. F. P-3580. Op. 1. D. 54. L. 76*).

5. Conclusion

Russian historiography on the World War II collaboration has been demonstrating a surge in interest to the problem among Russian researchers in recent years.

Massive propaganda activities launched by the Nazi occupation authorities, with collaborationist printed editions as active participants, on the one hand, aimed to create chaos and spread panic in the minds of the people living in the occupied territory and on the other hand to inspire their loyalty to Nazi Germany and bring them to worship its leader – Adolf Hitler.

An analysis of archival documents uncovered by the USSR state security services shows that large-scale propaganda efforts taken by the German command among Soviet citizens in the Kursk front-line occupied by the German army set the goal of planting the ideology of submission to the Third Reich as one of its priorities. And "seeds" of the Nazi propaganda sometimes found fertile soil.

For propaganda purposes in the occupied Kursk region, the German command made use not only of newspapers. A number of brochures, such as "Who is Hitler" and "For them, the war is already over," were published in significant circulations. The following books: "Adolf Hitler and children," "Adolf Hitler and workers," "Hitler – liberator," "What is the German superiority," "Why Europe wins," "Modern Germany," "Work in Germany," "Struggle against Bolshevism is the duty of each patriot," "War and new order," "Socialism of penal labor," "The new order of land use" (*AUFSB RF po Kursk. obl. F. 4th department of the NKVD Directorate. D. 228. L. 15-24*).

However, with the progressive introduction of the overall system of terror, humiliation of national dignity and complete sacking of material resources in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union, the overwhelming majority of Soviet citizens, who found themselves in the occupation, realized the true nature of the German invaders. This fundamentally changed the attitude of the local population to the occupiers, and no propaganda was able to overcome it.

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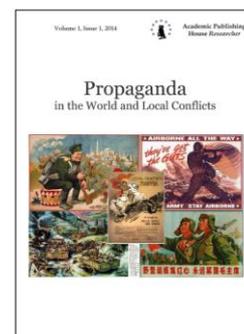
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Dynamic Lighting Atrocities Occupiers and their Collaborators in the Soviet Press in 1943: the Question of the Preparation of the Information Krasnodar Process

Irina G. Tazhidinova^{a, *}

^a Kuban State University, Russian Federation

Abstract

The article examines the processes of mediatization that accompanied the trials of war criminals in the USSR. As an example, a first public trial of accomplices of the Nazi invaders, held in July 1943 in the city of Krasnodar. Content analytical research publications in the regional newspaper "Bolshevik", covering the problems of enemy atrocities in the temporarily occupied territories of the Soviet Union, allowed to reveal the role of the Soviet print media in the preparation process of Krasnodar. This role was to discharge hatred of the enemy on an emotional level; objective basis for this and acted statistics detailing the atrocities of the Nazis in the liberated from the occupation of the territories of the country. Dynamics of publications on this topic are also stimulated by the need to produce the desired effect in the international community, to respond to the provocation "information events" by the Nazis.

Regarding the process of presentation of Krasnodar in the Soviet press it concluded that it was distinguished by the magnitude, integrity and compliance with the ideological standards. This feed topics of war crimes in the territory of the USSR and the coming retribution for them possible to effectively tackle current domestic and foreign policy objectives.

Keywords: The Second World War, the German fascist invaders, collaborators, crime, Krasnodar trial in 1943, the Soviet newspaper, media policy, content analysis.

1. Introduction

A severe shortage of sources on the topic has been reported by researchers involved in exploring the preconditions for and the dynamics and consequences of the Soviet Nuremberg Trial, the term used to denote a series of open trials of the Nazi German invaders and their Soviet collaborators, commencing with the Krasnodar trial held July 14 through 17, 1943. The trial's official documentation (i.e., materials from the interrogations and court proceedings) has been declassified only partially (Astashkin, 2015: 98), while doubts have also arisen over its credibility (Sorokina, 2005: 50). As for unofficial sources (e.g., notes from trial participants), historians have, generally, been skeptical about locating and introducing these into scholarly discourse (Bourtman, 2008: 246). Faced with this state of affairs and guided by their objectives, present-day researchers exploring the Soviet trials of Nazi war criminals have resorted to sources like documentary films covering such trials and made attempts to locate and get in touch with eye-witnesses and actual participants in those cases (Voisin, 2012). In any case, research is complicated by the time distance

* Corresponding author
 E-mail addresses: tajidinova@yandex.ru (I.G. Tazhidinova)

and the well-known fact of the mythologization of events of the World War III period, something that has remained entrenched, even after the change of regime, both in Russian public consciousness and in academic historiography. The above complications should, however, not thwart researcher efforts in this respect and, as is pointed out by I. Bourtman, "...should not lead us to overlook Soviet military tribunals as a topic for research – as Western scholars have tended to do". The analysis of these court proceedings, in Bourtman's view, may not only contribute to a number of "histories" (World War II and Holocaust) but also shed light on the Soviet system itself (Bourtman, 2008: 246; Brody, 1994). No less productive than the study of the matter's judicial aspect is the examination of the processes of mediatization which accompanied the trials of war criminals held in the USSR. These open trials may have had a strategic significance from the perspective of the Soviet leadership's media policy, and, consequently, bringing to light its aims, functions, instruments, and effects appears to be of a certain scholarly value.

2. Materials and methods

2.1. Those exploring propaganda materials on war criminal trials may find it worthwhile to make organic use of content-analysis of texts from the Soviet media. The primary unit of analysis in this study are newspaper articles, news reports and stories published in the *Bolshevik* (the press organ for the Krasnodar Krai Committee, the City Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), and the Krasnodar Krai Council of Workers' Deputies; circulation – 60,000 copies) which cover instances and provide estimates of atrocities (acts of violence and crimes) committed by the Nazi German invaders and their collaborators. By covering the year 1943, the study makes it possible to examine the situation in its dynamics and, what matters the most, "relative" to the events of the Krasnodar trial.

2.2. The study's methodological basis is grounded in the principles of objectivity and historicism, which presuppose taking an unbiased approach to the analysis of issues under study, assuming a critical attitude toward sources drawn upon, as well as examining specific phenomena in the context of specific historical settings. A comparative-historical method has made it possible for the author to compare the Krasnodar trial with trials held in other regions across the nation that followed it.

3. Results and discussion

It is worth concurring with D.Yu. Astashkin in that the open trials of the Nazis and their collaborators held in the USSR stand in the shadow of the Nuremberg tribunal (Astashkin, 2015: 98). For this and a few other reasons (a shortage of sources and a lack of variety in them; the ideological factor preventing you from taking a well-rounded look at issues related to collaborationism), the topic has seen too little research on the part of national historians. And no exception, in this respect, has been made regarding the 1943 Krasnodar trial either. The trial did receive some coverage in an article by G.S. Stepanenko (Stepanenko, 2010: 161–165), which is focused on the topic's legal aspect. It is also worth noting that there is a special publication available that is based on an array of "declassified documents" dealing with arranging and staging the trials of collaborators in Kuban in 1943 (Kuban during the Great Patriotic War, 2005: 417–423). When it comes to exploring the Krasnodar trial, it, definitely, pays to draw upon some of the summarizing works by lawyers regarding individual criminal liability for war crimes committed in the USSR during World War II (Epifanov, 2001), as well as works on collaborationism (Kovalev, 2009). As for interest in the topic on the part of foreign scholars, the issue of the first open trial held in Krasnodar has been researched by I. Bourtman (Bourtman, 2008) and V. Voisin (Voisin, 2012).

There has clearly been a paucity of research into the way these trials were presented in the Soviet media at the time. A rare publication lending itself to this area of research is the article written by D.Yu. Astashkin which covers the open trial of the Nazi war criminals held in Novgorod in 1947 (Astashkin, 2016: 8–11). It may be worth assuming that it becomes necessary to monitor the publications on atrocities committed by the Nazis once one makes an attempt to figure out the way information on those was communicated to the population (how often, in what volumes, in what form, etc.) across the chronological timeframes "before" and "after" the trial, which took place in July 1943 in the city of Krasnodar. It is not unlikely that this kind of analysis might actually help clear away some of the fog regarding the issue of whether or not the media policy pursued by the

Soviet government was a perfectly deliberate step from the outset or whether or not it, rather, was developing spontaneously, under the influence of specific circumstances.

ПЕРВЫЙ СУДЕБНЫЙ ПРОЦЕСС

по делу о зверствах немецко-фашистских захватчиков и их пособников на территории гор. Краснодара и Краснодарского края в период их временной оккупации

14 июля в гор. Н. на Северном Кавказе в Военном Трибунале под председательством полковника юстиции г. Майорова Н. Я. и при государственном обвинителе генерал-майоре юстиции г. Яценине Я. И. началось слушание дело о зверствах немецко-фашистских захватчиков и их пособников на территории гор. Краснодара и Краснодарского края в период их временной оккупации.

По настоящему делу преданы суду по обвинению в преступлении, предусмотренном ст.ст. 58-1 „а“ и 58-1 „б“ Уголовного Кодекса РСФСР (измена родине): Клазов И., Котомцев И., Ластовина М., Мисаи Г., Набоко Ю., Павлов В., Парамонов И., Пушкирев Н., Речкалов И., Тищенко В. и Тучков Г.

Обвиняемые защищают по назначению от суда члены коллегии защитников – Назаревский А. И., Якуненко В. И., Казначеев С. К.

В вечернем заседании Военного Трибунала было оглашено обвинительное заключение.

Обвинительное заключение подробно воспроизводит жуткую картину массовых убийств ни в чем неповинных советских людей, которые были тысячами уничтожены немецко-фашистскими захватчиками, временно оккупировавшими Краснодарский край.

Данными предварительного следствия установлено, что все эти убийства, зверства, насилья и грабежи проводились частями и карательными органами 17 немецкой армии под командованием генерал-полковника Руоф.

Непосредственное руководство и осуществление всех этих зверств было возложено на краснодарское гестапо, во главе с шефом гестапо немецким полковником Кристианом.

В состав гестапо входила особая карательная команда тайной полиции под наименованием „Зондеркоманда СС-10-а“, которая непосредственно и осуществляла все эти злодеяния.

Следствием установлены факты: издевательства над арестованными и сожжения заключенных, содержащихся в подвалах краснодарского гестапо; массовых убийств больных Краснодарской городской больницы, Березинской лечебной колонии, а также детской краевой больницы, расположенной на хуторе Третья речка Кочеты, Усть-Лабинского район.

Наконец, следствием установлены факты удушения окисью углерода на специально оборудованных автомашинках – „душегубках“ многих тысяч советских людей.

„Зондеркоманда СС-10-а“ представляла собой карательную команду гестапо, насчитывавшую около 200 чел. Начальником указанной „Зондеркоманды“ являлся шеф гестапо – немецкий полковник Кристиан, а его непосредственными помощниками в деле истребления советских людей были немецкие офицеры: Раббе, Бессе, Сарго, Сальге, Ган, Эрих Мейер, Пашен, Винц, Ганс Мюнстер, немецкие военные врачи тюрьмы и гестапо – Герц и Шустер, а также сотрудники гестапо – переводчики Якоб Эйкс и Шертерлаан.

Кроме того, гестапо были завербованы и принимали участие во всех зверствах привлеченные в качестве обвиняемых по настоящему делу предатели – Тищенко В., Тучков Г., Речкалов И., Ластовина М., Пушкирев Н., Мисаи Г., Набоко Ю., Парамонов И., Котомцев И., Павлов В., Клазов И.

Произведенным расследованием установлены следующие конкретные факты злодеяний, совершенных в Краснодарском крае немецко-фашистскими захватчиками.

Вскоре после занятия Краснодара, в результате систематических облав и массовых арестов мирных жителей, подвалы краснодарского гестапо были до отказа переполнены заключенными. Никакого следствия по делам этих сотен и тысяч ни в чем неповинных людей не производилось. Арестованные подвергались самым изощренным пыткам и избиениям, причем судьбу их лично решал своей властью шеф гестапо полковник Кристиан, который и давал приказы о физическом уничтожении арестованных.

Начиная с осени 1942 года, немцы начали применять для уничтожения советских людей специально оборудованные автомашины, которые получали известность среди населения под наименованием „душегубки“.

„Душегубки“ представляли собой крытые 5-7-тонные грузовики серого цвета с дизель-мотором. Эти машины были обиты внутри оцинкованным железом и снабжены в задней части кузова двухстворчатой, герметически закрывающейся дверью. В полу кузова находилась решетка, под которой проходила труба с отверстиями, соединявшаяся с выхлопной трубой мотора. Отработанные газы дизель-мотора, содержащие окись углерода высокой концентрации, поступали в кузов машины, вызывая быстрое отравление и смерть от удушения помещенных внутри людей.

По нескольку раз в неделю, а в январе месяце, перед отступлением немцев из Краснодара, по два-три раза в день „душегубки“ загружались арестованными из подвалов лаяния гестапо, помещаемого по улице Орджоникидзе, 61. Погрузкой обычно руководил заместитель шефа гестапо, он же начальник гестаповской тюрьмы, капитан Раббе. Перед этим арестованные раздевались, а затем по 60-80 человек загружались в „душегубку“, дверь которой герметически закрывалась, и машина, простояв несколько минут со включенным мотором, направлялась к противотанковому рву, расположенному за заводом измерительных приборов. „Душегубку“ обычно сопровождал конвой полицейских из „Зондеркоманды СС-10-а“. В противотанковом рву производилась выгрузка и беспорядочное закапывание людей, которые были уже умерщвлены газом в пути следования машины. В машину обычно загружались мужчины, женщины и дети совместно.

Несмотря на то, что немцы пытались закопиривать этот чудовищный метод истребления советских людей, с течением времени жители, проживавшие по соседству с гестапо, а через них и местное население, узнали о назначении этих машин.

Узнали также о „душегубках“ и арестованные, которые при посадке в машину начали оказывать сопротивление, оглашая двор гестапо криками и воплями, в связи с чем их вталкивали в машину посредством насилья. Крики несчастных вскоре

(Окончание на 2 странице)

Fig. 1. Bol'shevik. 1943. № 147(1744). 16 iyulya.

It stands to reason that in presenting the issue of Nazi crimes committed in the temporarily occupied territory of the Soviet Union through 1943, the Soviet print media were following the objective course of events; as the Red Army liberated the nation's towns and villages, it exposed ever-newer crimes committed by the enemy army, with this information becoming available to the unlearned population – mainly, through the newspapers. However, one may rightfully assume that over time, in terms of volume, form, and placement, these materials were bound to be regulated increasingly more thoroughly, with a “natural approach” of sorts (i.e., a disposition to put out the latest facts about the enemy's atrocities in a mostly unprocessed or quite erratic fashion) gradually giving way to sound structuring and thorough changes in the content of the majority of publications. The latter relied now increasingly more upon reports of atrocities, included upbeat clarion calls, and ended with conclusions.

Among the publications featured in the Bolshevik in the month of January, 1943, there are 9 items dealing with the issue of “atrocities”. These, for the most part, are news items from special correspondents for TASS, stationed with the army in the field, that are based on their own eyewitness accounts or those of someone else who had been to the occupied areas. Half of the materials relate the atrocities committed by the Nazis in Kuban's stanitsas, and the other half – those committed in other regions of the Soviet Union. Most of the time, materials of this kind appeared on the newspaper's second page, in its lower portion (known to be of relatively lesser significance for the readers). In January, there were no front-page stories or news items of state concern dealing with the subject. It was only once that as many as 3 articles were combined into an issue's topical collection (a sign of the topic's priority).

It is characteristic that while the terms “brutalities (atrocities)” and “brutes (beasts)” were actively used in the paper's headlines, they were hardly ever utilized in the actual texts. The definitions employed in the texts in relation to the Germans and Romanians are a lot more diverse and, as a rule, reveal the actual specifics of their crimes: “murderers”, “rapists”, “plunderers”, and “incendiaries”. Used as generalizing terms are the words “occupiers” and “thugs”, while the term “henchmen”, which later became highly popular with the Russian press, is not used that often yet.

МЕСТЬ НАРОДА

Судебное следствие закончено. Прокурор—генерал-майор юстиции Яченин произнес блестящую обличительную речь, полную гнева, которым переполнены сердца всех сидящих в зале суда, всех трудящихся, всего нашего народа.

Вновь невидимо встали на скамье подсудимых не пойманные еще немецкие злодеи в мундирах тайной полиции, вновь с презрением упоминались имена проклятых навеки немецких офицеров, оставивших на кубанской земле свои кровавые следы.

Точно под лучами прожектора стал виден шеф гестапо полковник Кристман, ариец, умевший насиловать женщину в своем кабинете, пытать советских граждан в подвалах, вешать людей в станциях и городах, рассылать страшную машину «душегубку» то в больницу, то в колонию, то за детьми...

В луже крови, с засученными рукавами стоит этот ненасытный палач перед нашими глазами. Он не мог найти утешения в крови. Он смеялся, когда вешали девушку в хуторе, лично «планировал» рейсы «душегубки». Полковник германского гестапо не гнушался ничем: ни пытками, ни насилем, ни убийствами. Всюду он успевал. Лично вешал, лично убивал, лично насилывал женщин в своем страшном кабинете.

Офицер германского гестапо Герц, напавший на себя благородный халат врача, разезжал по больницам и руководил истреблением больных в «душегубке».

Этот подлец, осквернивший звание врача, спокойно наблюдал, как сажают маленьких детей в страшную серую машину, спокойно глядел на горящих в подвалах гестапо людей и так же спокойно смотрел в глаза матери, молящей о спасении своего ребенка. Очень спокойно... Когда дети были удушены и выброшены в яму—доктор Герц вернулся в детскую больницу, поужинал, выпил вино и уехал на новую «операцию».

Капитан Раббе—знаток, своего грязного дела, мастер пыток, ловко набросивший петлю на шею девушке в хуторе Курундупе, командовавший на виселицах станции Крымской, как на параде, бывший женщиной ногами в грудь,—типичный немец, в совершенстве познавший искусство истреблять людей.

Офицеры Босс, Сарго, Сальге, Винц и другие—каждый на своем посту,—у виселиц, у ям, у «душегубки», в подвалах,—с немецкой аккуратностью вешали, расстреливали, душили, загоняли иголки под ногти, скальпировали, насиловали, издевались над русскими, над советскими людьми.

Они не сидят еще на скамье подсудимых, не пойманы пока. Они еще издеваются над русскими, украинцами, белорусами, душат своими костлявыми пальцами наших детей, матерей, братьев, роют еще ямы для своих жертв, льют кровь и шагают по трупам.

Но предупреждение, сделанное по их адресу советским прокурором, прозвучало грозно!

Они будут пойманы. Настанет час, когда палачи и их Германия будут держать ответ за свои злодеяния перед нашим народом.

А для этих уже час настал. Они пойманы и избиты.

С презрением смотрят на них все. Никто не верит их раскаяниям.

Изменники! Это страшное слово, как приговор народа, повисло над их головами.

И поэтому, когда один из подсудимых в последнем своем слове просит суд оставить ему жизнь и послать на фронт,—в зале слышится движение, шум, реплики. Кто-то кричит:

— Обойдемся!

Предателей Тищенко, Речкалова, Пушкарева, Мисана, Напцока и других, сидящих на скамье подсудимых,—никогда не забудут краснодарцы, анапцы, гостогавцы, никогда не забудут рабочие, колхозники,

отцы и матери удушенных детей, жены расстрелянных мужей, братья повешенных девушек. Никогда. Их имена будут прокляты навеки. Ибо они сами, сознательно, добровольно лизали пыльные сапоги Кристмана, сами закапывали замученных советских людей, надежно охраняли «душегубку», вталкивали в нее женщин и стариков.

Сейчас эти людишки хотят предстать жертвами коварных методов гестапо, безвольными людьми.

Никто им не верит.

Каждый раз, когда подсудимый старается найти смягчающее его вину обстоятельство, в зале слышится шум.

Это и понятно. В зале сидят люди, знающие краснодарскую яму у завода измерительных приборов, люди, нашедшие там своих детей, отцов, матерей. В зале сидят живые свидетели «душегубки», за которую особо ответит гитлеровская Германия.

Сегодня утром к зданию театра, в котором происходит судебное заседание, подошел старик Никита Иванович Бронник. Он обратился к часовому с просьбой:

— Пустите меня в зал. Я хочу слышать приговор над убийцами моей жены и моей дочери...

В зале много таких.

Председатель Военного Трибунала—полковник юстиции Майоров читает приговор суда. Зал вслушивается в каждое слово. Приговор с неумолимой последовательностью говорит о трагедии, которую пережили невинные советские люди.

Военный Трибунал приговорил: повесить Тищенко, Речкалова, Пушкарева, Мисана, Напцока, Котомцева, Кладова и Ластовину; сослать в каторжные работы Парамонова, Тучкова и Павлова сроком на 20 лет каждого.

Это приговор советского народа, приговор честных до ей. Поэтому он был встречен аплодисментами и шумом одобрения.

М. МЕРЖАНОВ.

Fig. 2. Bol'shevik. 1943. № 149(1746). 18 iyulya.

As for those who collaborated with the Nazi German invaders, there are just two articles talking about this, although the information provided about those people is quite detailed (their names, addresses, and social background and the elements of their crime). Considering the fact that it was not customary at the time for the Russian newspapers to make public the names of German military personnel involved in committing specific villainies, the “portraits” of collaborators may have been of great interest to their readership. An interesting fact is that the authors of those articles made it a matter of necessity to bring up the “dirty past” of the collaborators, which was already tainted with anti-Soviet sentiment. For instance, one was able to learn that the chief of police of the Nizhnebakanskaya stanitsa, named Kurs, had worked as a police officer back under the Tsar, while village chief Pobegailo had been in jail for engaging in counterrevolutionary activity (Bolshevik, 1943: January 14, January 29).

On the whole, the Bolshevik's January materials are characterized by a denunciatory tone, although the authors do not always provide a conclusion to their stories. Thus, for instance, the retaliation motif is present in just 4 items out of 9, while it was not very clear what kind of retaliation was expected; what *was* clear is that it was up to the Red Army to do the retaliating, which it could do en passant in the course of liberating the country's regions. As regards things like the reasons behind the atrocities, the need to apply legal sanctions to war criminals, and making appeals to the international community, the authors mention none of that and seem to be focused on just informing the public of the specifics of those crimes and their victims.

In February, the Bolshevik registered the largest number of publications on the topic of atrocities by the Nazi German invaders, which was due to the uncovering of facts about them in the course of liberating Krasnodar and other populated localities within Krasnodar Krai. There was an information breakthrough not only in terms of quantity (26 publications) but quality as well; in

addition to a few one-off publications about the Nazis' inhumane atrocities, the newspaper also ran 3 copious topical collections about them (always published on the second page). These collections were related content-wise to front-page items featured in specific issues ([Bolshevik, 1943: February 13, February 17, February 26](#)). These materials had iconic titles which combined the topics of Nazi atrocities and due retaliation for them. The retaliation motif was also given more relevance via 2 large illustrations (an extremely rare practice for the paper to adopt at the time) aimed at amplifying the topical blocks. These drawings ("Warrior, Retaliate!" and "The Joy of Liberation") unequivocally suggested that the aggrieved population pinned its hopes on the army.

The issue of criminally prosecuting the Nazi German invaders had still yet to be brought up, although reports of atrocities, drawn up on site, were now featured in the paper on a regular basis. Instances of collaborating with the Nazis were also passed over, the sole exception being the article "Traitor" featured in the 'Out of the Courtroom' section, devoted to the case of military driver Barikov. By tradition, the story emphasized the collaborator's kulak background, although it did not say anything about the crime's elements ([Bolshevik, 1943: February 27](#)). It was reported that the NKVD military court sentenced the criminal, as a traitor to the homeland, to death by firing squad. Thus, it was for the first time ever that the Bolshevik carried a story on court proceedings in the case of a collaborator. This, however, did not result in such stories appearing in the press often in the months that followed – there were no materials on collaborating with the enemy published in the period from March to June.

Virtually all of the February materials covered the developments in the Nazi occupation of Krasnodar Krai. The newspaper featured stories depicting the gruesome atrocities committed in the cities Kropotkin, Goryachy Klyuch, and Armavir and in many Kuban stanitsas. Some general outlines of crimes committed by the occupiers in the very capital of Kuban were provided in the front-page article "Our Krasnodar!" and the article by editor-in-chief I.I. Yudin "Krasnodar Today", and already on February 26 the paper published the first-ever news item containing some specifics on the victims of those crimes ([Bolshevik, 1943: February 14, February 21, February 26](#)). Concurrently, many of the articles harped persistently on the need to restore the region and its living conditions back to normal. The authorities were thus getting the minds of the people set on dealing with the issues at hand, with the trend intensifying toward the summer, the time of crop harvesting.

Despite a decrease in the frequency of appearance of materials on occupier atrocities committed on Soviet soil in the Bolshevik's March issues, as compared with February, a total of 16 publications, there was an upsurge in the sentiment of hatred toward the invaders, with victim statistics getting more copious. Firstly, attention was revived to atrocities committed by the enemy in other parts of the country. This applies to Smolensk Oblast and, especially, a neighboring region, where atrocities were committed on a major scale. The story of how persistently and methodically the Nazis were "destroying the city of Rostov-on-Don" (based on incomplete estimates, there were 18,000 casualties) took up the Bolshevik's front page of the March 16, 1943 issue (a reprint of the front-page story from the Pravda newspaper and the Atrocities on Rostov Soil Report) ([Bolshevik, 1943: March 16](#)).

Secondly, the paper's March publications reflect in a more detailed and documented fashion now the atrocities committed by the Germans in the territory of Kuban itself. Quite representative are the titles of the paper's front-page stories ("We Shall Retaliate!" and "We Shall Retribute the Murderers!"), which are becoming increasingly more spiteful and saturated with calls to action. In its publications, the paper is citing specific reports of atrocities committed in certain populated localities and eyewitness accounts by the victims' relatives. It is in March that the paper publishes photos of the bodies of victimized residents of Krasnodar, i.e. a month and a half after the city was liberated. Right then it also makes public the number of people murdered in various ways: 13,000 women, old people, and children ([Bolshevik, 1943: March 21, March 28](#)). However, the issue of bringing the criminals to justice is still too far on the back burner. No names of these criminals have been provided in the press as yet. Whilst the Atrocities on Rostov Soil Report indicts German city-major Major General Kittel, who was in charge of the mass decimation of the area's civilian population, the Krasnodar City Committee Report has yet to bring charges against anyone specifically.

The above-ascertained trend toward "nurturing a bitter hatred of the enemy" will remain the Bolshevik's top objective through the following months, although there is a marked decline in the

number of publications on atrocities. Thus, for instance, through April 1943 the paper published 11 materials on Nazi atrocities in the temporarily occupied territory of the Soviet Union and just 5 of them dealt with atrocities committed on Kuban soil. On the other hand, it is in April that the Soviet press (including the Bolshevik) ran a series of stories that rebutted and parried the charges of committing the Katyn Massacre brought by the ministry headed by Goebbels. The author has already spoken about this “information excuse” as a factor for the change in the stance of the Soviet leadership which may have sped up the staging of the first trial of war criminals ([Tazhidinova, 2016: 285–293](#)).

Indeed, it is of importance in the context of this topic that the exposure of the “slander and provocations of Goebbels cuisine” on the matter took up a significant place in the Soviet press. And the Bolshevik regional newspaper, obviously, did not stay on the sidelines; through April 1943, a third of its materials dealing directly or indirectly with atrocities committed by the Nazis in the Soviet Union was devoted specifically to providing a response to the “wretched fabrications of the German Fascist henchmen” regarding the mass graves outside Smolensk. These materials, obviously, got into the regional press from the central one (News items from Sovinformburo and TASS; front-page articles from the Pravda and Izvestia) ([Bolshevik, 1943: April 16, April 20, April 21, April 27, April 28](#)). Curiously enough, the Soviet leadership’s take on atrocities committed by the German Fascist invaders inside their country was expressed in those materials more lucidly than it was done in many other publications dealing with these very atrocities. Whilst most of the period’s materials were dominated by the propaganda component, here information was delivered in an analytical manner, with attempts made to come up with logically well-structured responses to the Germans’ accusations.

In the spring, the paper displayed a new trend by announcing a couple of activities covering the topic of atrocities: photo showcases to be set up on the streets of Krasnodar, at the Pushkin Krasnodar Krai Library, and at the Sochi Krai Studies Museum and a collection of materials on Nazi atrocities in Kuban to be released by the Bolshevik publishing house (circulation – 8,000 copies, price – 1 ruble) ([Bolshevik, 1943: April 13, April 17, May 30](#)). This channel of the paper’s activity “worked” to facilitate the information-related and emotional preparation of the trial, the time for which was drawing nearer.

In May, the Bolshevik ran 9 stories on atrocities committed by the Nazi German invaders, 6 of them (a front-page article and a topical block accompanied by a photograph) published in the paper’s May 12, 1943, issue, which marked three months since the liberation of Krasnodar. Still, it is worth noting that on the cusp of the spring and summer one witnesses a marked decline in the Bolshevik’s coverage of the topic of Nazi atrocities – which figures, considering the mobilization-mindedness of the Soviet press. Firstly, much had been said on the topic at that point already and it was time the paper focused on the other major objective – to encourage the krai’s working people to engage in restoring its economy and helping the front (all the more reason being the time of crop harvesting drawing nearer). Secondly, the Soviet press was keenly addressing the more pressing issues on the national agenda – the second state loan and the results of the war’s two years gone by. Anyhow, the Bolshevik brought up none of the atrocities topic in a period of a month and a half (May 13 through June 25), and, in essence, it was virtually impossible to predict at that point the nearing of the first-ever Soviet military tribunal trial of war criminals in Krasnodar based on publications run in the region’s major newspaper at the time.

Only in late June, i.e. just two weeks before the trial, the Bolshevik started giving the public a taste of the upcoming proceedings. The most general hint of the intention to “bring the German villains to justice” was provided in the June 26 issue (a reprint from the Pravda). It neighbored with the copious material “From ESC [Emergency State Commission]” presented in the form of several reports of an investigation into crimes committed by the occupiers in the various regions of the country, including the plunder of cultural valuables in Pyatigorsk and mass murders of the civilian population in Kursk and Kharkiv Oblasts. The Emergency State Commission spoke of the personal liability of a number of individuals from the German command for the war crimes committed (with no collaborators being mentioned). An item that focused the public’s attention on the activity of the Emergency State Commission was lengthy material on the work of the Krasnodar Krai Committee concerning the ascertainment and investigation of atrocities committed by the German Fascist invaders ([Bolshevik, 1943: June 26](#)).

As far as the actual period of July 1943, which saw the staging of the USSR's first-ever open military tribunal trial of war criminals, throughout the proceedings the topic of atrocities was limited to just the materials of the trial itself. These materials passed copiously through four of the paper's issues, being complemented with some concomitant material along the way (a front-page article and several opinion pieces by prominent correspondents visiting from Moscow) ([Bolshevik, 1943: July 16, July 17, July 18, July 20](#)). As a matter of fact, the final countdown of hours before the trial commenced back on July 13, 1943, when the paper's first page ran a communication from the Emergency State Commission on atrocities committed by the German Fascist invaders in the city of Krasnodar and Krasnodar Krai. The document summed up the main body of information on atrocities committed by the occupiers in the krai and featured the names of some of those who did it (12 Nazi Germans and 5 Soviet traitors). It concluded with the words: "The ECS has submitted all of the materials it received dealing with the monstrous atrocities committed by the German Fascist invaders in Krasnodar and Krasnodar Krai to the Public Prosecutor of the Soviet Union so as to get these crimes investigated and bring the guilty to justice" ([Bolshevik, 1943: July 13](#)). And, although the communication listed the names of just 5 collaborators (the number ultimately reaching 11 defendants, as we know now), with two of the names written incorrectly, the events developed quite rapidly, the high-profile trial being just 24 hours away.

The historic materials of the Krasnodar trial, held July 14 through 17, found reflection not only in the nation's regional print media but all of the Soviet media as well. To this day, these materials remain the main source of information on the course and characteristics of the first open Soviet military tribunal trial of war criminals, which explains the particular interest in them among researchers. No less important is the other layer of information which, as was mentioned earlier, accompanied the trial materials – opinion pieces purposively focused on the defendants ("henchmen"). Considering the fact that the photos of these individuals never really got into the Soviet press (one of the distinctive characteristics of the Krasnodar trial), the actual content of this information appears to be of particular importance in research.

To help cover the first trial of collaborators with the Nazis, the authorities enlisted the services of top newspaper journalists. It, above all, is worth mentioning special correspondent for the Pravda Elena Kononenko, who would virtually rivet her attention and that of the readership to the defendants' bench, which featured "11 members of a hit squad and spies from SS-Sonderkommando 10a, led by German henchman Colonel Christmann". An important fact is that at the end of the article the reader is suggested to visualize someone else behind the backs of the arrested collaborators – "those who are not present in the courtroom today but whom the Soviet people are trying likewise...". Thus, the bottom-line was that the Krasnodar proceedings represented also a "trial of the whole of Fascist Germany" and next to the 11 defendants there should have stood General Ruoff, Chief of the Krasnodar Gestapo Colonel Christmann, or henchman doctor Herz, i.e. those whom the punishing hand of Russian justice had yet to get hold of ([Bolshevik, 1943: July 17](#)). In the pursuit of maximum justice for all those occupiers who were found guilty of atrocities committed in Kuban, Kononenko was followed by another prominent journalist – combat correspondent for the Pravda Martyn Merzhanov ([Bolshevik, 1943: July 18](#)).

Of particular significance is the issue of the effects of the Krasnodar trial, which may be determined through content-analytical research. As for overcoming the "internal dissonance", which the authors construe as the topic of collaborationism being an uncomfortable one for the government to discuss, the sufficiently keen public interest in the topic's coverage (drummed up via the Krasnodar trial) was making it possible now to remove it from public discourse (where it was brought up rarely and unsystematically as it was) – so as to stop sowing doubts in people's minds and distracting them from resolving the issues at hand. In this regard, it is revealing that through the remaining portion of 1943 (i.e., more than 5 months) the Bolshevik hardly runs any stories on acts of collaboration committed in the region. The only exception is making public the names of several traitors who worked for the Germans in the city of Novorossiysk ([Bolshevik, 1943: October 3](#)). That being said, acts of collaboration that took place outside the region within the chronological timeframe under examination are mentioned in the paper just once – when in December 1943 it publishes the materials of the Kharkiv trial, taking part in which as a defendant, alongside a group of Nazis, is SD Sonderkommando driver M. Bulanov ([Bolshevik, 1943: December 17, December 18](#)).

However, apart from domestic political issues, which the Soviet government normally resolved using the print media, there also were foreign political ones to tackle. The latter could be

pushed into the foreground, as often was the case through the momentous, in many respects, year 1943. Based on the findings of this study, the overall dynamics and character of publications on the topic run in the Soviet press were determined, in large part, by an orientation toward drawing the attention of the international community to the issue of atrocities that had been committed by the Nazi Fascist “henchmen”, were still being committed, and were even getting more severe in light of the war’s nearing finale.

4. Conclusion

Thus, the findings of the author’s content-analysis of materials published in the Bolshevik regional newspaper through 1943 attest to an amplification of the “policy of retaliation” propaganda. The period under review (especially, the first half of 1943) witnessed a massive heightening of hatred toward the enemy at the emotional level; the objective basis for this was a body of statistics and detailed accounts of atrocities committed by the Nazis in areas that were being liberated from German occupation. The dynamics of publications on the subject were also stimulated by the need to produce the necessary effect in international circles and provide a response to provocative “information excuses” on the part of the Nazis. It goes without saying that the Soviet leadership’s primary objective, which it intended to resolve through, inter alia, its media policy, was to prevent the Nazi “henchmen” from fleeing their responsibility to face criminal charges for their inhumane deeds.

The USSR’s first open trial of war criminals, held in Krasnodar in July 1943, made sure the subject of the Nazis’ criminal responsibility became a standing item on the global agenda. The presentation of the Krasnodar trial in the Soviet print media was distinguished by its scale, integrity, and full alignment with the era’s ideological standards. It was this way to deal with the topic of war crimes committed on Soviet soil and retaliation awaiting such war criminals that helped the government resolve effectively most of the issues related to the nation’s internal and foreign affairs.

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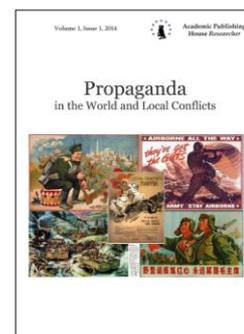
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Archetypes and Propaganda

Christo Kaftandjiev^{a, *}

^a Sofia University “St. Kl. Ohridski”, Bulgaria

Abstract

Some of the major archetypes and their application in various mass communications (in propaganda, advertising, journalism, etc.) are analyzed in the article. At the beginning the notion “archetype” is defined as matrix in our subconscious that makes us to act a certain way from the standpoint of our greatness.

Classification of archetypes is proposed, namely physical (light/darkness; dry/wet); spatial (right/left; up/down; center/periphery; symmetric/asymmetric; inside/outside); biological (man/woman; strong/weak; young/old; beautiful/ugly; big/small; healthy/sick); psychological (honest/villain); social (we/others; freedom/slavery; order/chaos; rich/poor; known/unknown; nature/machine; work/pleasure); cultural (paradise/hell; clean/dirty etc.).

The main characteristics of the different archetypes are unconsciousness, mythologicalness and biological, and cultural conditioning. Archetype light/darkness and archetype left/right are analyzed in details on the basis of many examples of various communications and propaganda.

The reason for their efficiency and very high spread is not so much in unscrupulous communicators – writers, journalists, propagandists, clergy, politicians, etc., but in the natural predisposition of each of us to this type of communication. Archetypes give us a simple answer to all questions, don't bother us with mental efforts and fit perfectly to the dark side of our subconscious thinking.

Keywords: archetype, appeal of power, subconsciousness, light/darkness, left/right, large/small.

1. Introduction

Archetypes are one of the main elements on the basis of which is done the powerful and dangerous building of propaganda.

The reason for their impact is in the fact that most of the people:

- are poorly educated;
- think on the basis of stereotypes;
- think dichotomously – only in black and white;
- are intoxicated by the idea of his/her own power.

One of the most striking evidence of the universality of archetypes in world culture is that they are used actively everywhere and in all times.

The same is true even for the postmodern journalism and especially for the contemporary advertising and other marketing communications.

* Corresponding author

E-mail addresses: christokaftandjiev@yahoo.com (Ch. Kaftandjiev)

For this reason, the study of archetypes is of key significance for the effectiveness of different communications.

2. Materials and methods

The analyzed communications are propaganda, political journalism, advertising, architecture and religious architecture. There were used the following works as sources: Bashlar, 1988; Veber, 1992; Eliade, 1994; Zhizn; Kiseleva; Kempbell, 2002; Lotman, 1990; Markova; Meletinski, 1995; Mifologicheskije; Pakkard, 2004; Rafail; Toporov; Uspenski, 2000; Florenskii, 1993; Yazykova.

The main research method is semiotic. Semiotics is a science based on linguistics with its rich and highly effective conceptual apparatus, developed over thousands of years.

One of the major research approaches in this case is based on dichotomy. On this basis the famous Russian linguist Trubetzkoy arranged and classified the phonemes.

3. Analysis of scientific literature on archetypes

The main directions in research in this regard are the following:

- Appeals of power:

Some of the most important studies here are these of Max Weber (1992) and Vans Pakkard (2004).

- Theory of myths:

Among the most important reserches are those of Mircea Eliade (1994), Joseph Campbell (2002), Yurij Lotman (1990), Eleazar Meletinskij (1995), and Toporov.

- Semiotics:

Ideas from the books of Gaston Bachelard (1988), Pavel Florenskij (1993), Raphail and Boris Uspenskij (2000) are used in the article.

- Archetypes:

The main cited papers in the case are of Inna Kiseleva, Olga Markova and Jazykova.

The division of this topics is somewhat arbitrary. There are for example many ideas regarding archetype in the books on semiotics and theory of myths, etc.

4. Result

4.1. Definitions of archetypes

Archetype (from old Greek – model, example) is a matrix in our subconscious that makes us to act a certain way from the standpoint of our greatness. This is done without understanding why we act in this way. That is, we decide on a subconscious level how to think and how to act.

The leading archetypes are the abstract oppositions':

- strength/weakness;
- good/evil.

In different situations they acquire various specific dimensions.

The archetype is a psychological phenomenon with archaic origin that defines and nourishes our mythological thinking.

The essence of this thinking is that we as individuals are the greatest and we are the masters of universe.

The archetype is formed and structured during the human evolution.

The concept of archetype is used in 1919 for the first time.

Basic characteristics of archetype

The archetype has some basic characteristics – unconsciousness, mythologicalness, biological and cultural conditioning.

Unconsciousness

That means that we don't understand in a logic way the archetypes characteristics – and we accept without thinking at all. We believe that they are true on an intuitive level. So, we are blocking our rational and logical thinking in this regard.

Mythologicalness

It is the brainchild of our irrational thinking.

The appeals of power are in the essence of the myths. Each of us consciously or subconsciously thinks that she or he is the greatest.

Therefore, the actual state of affairs does not affect the way in which we interpret them in our subconsciousness.

Biological and cultural characteristics

They also affect the archetypes.

One of the main archetype is right/left. We put positive phenomena in the right area and the left is left only for losers (lefthanders). No doubt that this dichotomy is related to the functions of the right and left hand. For most of us, the right hand is stronger and more skillful. This determines its positive characteristics.

Archetypes are influenced by gender characteristics as well. Opposition man/woman is not universal but it is genderly determined. For many men, women are evils. But from the perspective of women, men are also quite disgusting.

4.2. Classification of archetypes

The two leading archetypes and are structured in the following abstract oppositions:

- good/evil;
- strong/weak.

We actualise these two leading archetypes by the help of numerous more specific oppositions:

Physical:

- light/darkness;
- dry/wet, etc.

Spatial:

- right/left;
- up/down;
- center/periphery;
- symmetric/asymmetric;
- inside/outside, etc.

Biological:

- man/woman;
- strong/weak;
- young/old;
- beautiful/ugly;
- big/small;
- healthy/sick, etc.

Psychological:

- honest/villain, etc.

Social:

- we/others;
- freedom/slavery;
- order/chaos;
- rich/poor;
- known/unknown;
- nature/machine;
- work/pleasure, etc.

Cultural:

- paradise/hell;
- clean/dirty etc.

These are some of the most important oppositions, but others are also possible.

4.3. Archetype light/darkness

White light



Fig. 1. With gratitude

The krasnoarmeets (bolshevik soldier) is shining as the sun. This is because he is emanation of divine powers – according to Bolshevik ideology. He is in the highest position (second archetype), bigger than the little enemies and he is much more powerful than them (the third archetype).



Fig. 2. With gratitude

The Crystal Cathedral is in California. It is for 2 736 believers and it has more than 10 000 glass rectangles. The idea of the glasses is the abundance of light. The reason is that light is a sign of the Lord.

It is not by chance that the Catholic cathedrals are with huge colorful vitrages through which jets of shining light make miracles with the enchanted believers. This is why so many Russian churches are painted white as well.

4.4. Gold light



Fig. 3. With gratitude

Golden light is part of many persuasive communicative approaches and also it is used actively by Bolshevik propaganda.

Lenin is in the center and he is shining in golden light. A muscular worker is in the bottom right corner – also in gold light. The right is strongest and best point in the opposition "right – left".

The sick, old and gray-haired peasant is in the left. The peasants from the standpoint of communist ideology are a little bit suspicious.

On the top are the heavenly triumphant horses from bolshevik paradise.



Fig. 4. With gratitude

Stalin is in the center and he is illuminated by the divine light (the first archetype). He is also painted slightly higher than other persons (the second archetype).



Fig. 5. With gratitude

Light is the sign of the divine. The golden light is the sign of super divine. Here we see Fragonard painting "The Cradle". Lovely lady, wrapped in golden light, swinging happily in heaven. Here Fragonard used also some other archetypes - these of light, beauty, center, height and nature.

4.5. The darkness



Fig. 6. With gratitude

Scary and dark Teutonic warrior was staring at us from the dark propaganda poster from the first world war. The soldiers of the Wehrmacht are incarnation of terror, evil and dark creatures from hell.



7a



7b

Fig. 7a, 7b with gratitude

Amnesty International in the two ads is convincing us that the arms' trade is out of control. We see the awful war hell interpreted by iconic metaphors – guns are like tsunamis (Fig. 7a) and tornadoes (Fig. 7b). Everything is gray-black and the scary Armageddons immersed peaceful cities into the black and dirty hell of suffering and death.



Fig. 8. With gratitude

The Play Station ad shows also the military hell. It's all black, dirty and full of German soldiers and swastikas. Very clearly we see the Wehrmacht uniforms in the ruined London.

4.6. Light and darkness



Fig. 9. With gratitude

Two archetypal oppositions – light (hence paradise and above) and darkness respectively – hell and below are used in this ad of suitcases. We are in heaven in the passenger cabin. We are lying and the beautiful hostesses-goddesses and angels work for us. They bring drinks, books, playing the harp, etc.

In the dark luggage compartment bellow wild and scary red devils slam down on our precious suitcases, put them in iron machines and fire.



10a



10b

Fig. 10a, 10b. With gratitude

In both outdoor ads is used the communicative approach of intertextuality – when we take other previously created texts in order to make our own communications.

In this case the admen used the poetry of stained-glass windows (vitrages) of Gothic cathedrals. Through them the divine light reached the poor humans. This light is a symbol of higher powers, goodness and purity.

The same is the archetype in these Ariel ads. The ordinary housewives are achieving the divine enlightened and clean paradise with the help of this simple washing powder.

4.7. Archetype right/left in ideological communications



Fig. 11. With gratitude

The archetype right/left is often used in Bolshevik propaganda. On the left (weak) part is the emperor and accordingly – slavery, exploitation, etc. On the right (strong) part are the soldiers of Red Army and freedom. In the center is enlightened sailor-bolshevik.

Other archetypes are used as well. In the upper left is the imperial eagle – the symbol of slavery and in the upper right is the sun – a symbol of goodness and justice.



Fig. 12. With gratitude

On the right side is the slender, handsome and illuminated by the rays of the sun communist soldier (krasnoarmeets). The word “krasnoarmeets” contains meaning of red color. Red in Russian culture is not only sign of color but also a sign for beauty. On the left side is weird capitalist – ugly, greedy, obese and dressed in black. In this way the artist used at least three archetype – right/left; beautiful/ugly and light/darkness.



Fig. 13. With gratitude

Both workers and poor peasants are important for the Bolshevik ideology. However, workers are substantially more valuable. So, the worker is in the right side of poster.



Fig. 14. With gratitude

The tension between two representatives of senior Bulgarian orthodox clergy is expressed here by archetype right/left.

The priest in the right side is the right one – all in light and gold, he occupies more space and his arms are wide open (i.e., he is welcoming and not hiding anything).

The priest in the left side is the villain – In black, narrowed eyes and drinking a lot of wine.



Fig. 15. With gratitude

The Red Army soldier is in the top right. He is handsome, strong and powerful – threaded onto the bayonet into the head of Hitler. The Nazi is tiny, ugly and bony as death. Moreover, he is in the left, bottom edge of the plate.



Fig. 16. With gratitude

Kim Ir Sen (the ultimate North Korean leader) is on the right side, he is taller than his son and he is with bright clothes – three archetypes. His son (minor political figure) is on the left side, not as tall as the father and the son is with darker clothes.

5. Conclusion

The reason for their efficiency and very high spread is not so much in unscrupulous communicators – writers, journalists, propagandists, clergy, politicians, etc., but in the natural predisposition of each of us to this type of communication.

Archetypes give us a simple answer to all questions, don't bother us with mental efforts and fit perfectly to the dark side of our subconscious thinking.

Therefore archetypes communications will survive and will live to the end of the world.

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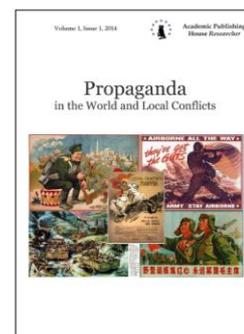
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Reviews

Postage Stamps in Propaganda: the German Secret Services and Repressive Apparatus

Timur A. Magsumov ^{a, *}

^aInternational Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research, Russian Federation

Abstract

The review analyzes the book by Yuriy N. Logvinenko, entitled *German Secret Services and Repressive Apparatus between the 7th and 20th Centuries: A Literary and Historical Study through the Lens of Philately*, published in 2014. The book by Logvinenko is one of the few works which look at the German propaganda and the way it is represented in postage stamps. The reviewer considers this literary and historical study as a scientific and journalistic work which includes all basic elements of scientific research, is written in simple and clear language and richly illustrated. These factors, taken together, are sure to generate widespread interest to the book. The author primarily focuses on the secret services and repressive agencies which operated in Nazi Germany, as well as describes the history of German espionage and investigation operations in the Middle Ages and modern times, and the country's security services in the 5 decades between its division and reunification. The reviewer emphasizes the importance of the personalistic perspective adopted in the book, its respect to the German history, vivid historical and philatelic sketches on a variety of subjects, and patriotic and educational value of the work. The book also outlines possibilities of using the materials for learning purposes.

Keywords: security services, philately, propaganda, Germany, history, review, monograph.

The range of problems in the history of secret services and repressive agencies, chosen by Logvinenko for his literary and historical research, now both attracts historians and fascinates the general reader and is undoubtedly of popular, scientific and political interest. The array of works on the history of German repressive bodies and secret services has remarkably diversified in recent years with the flow of books on the Nazi period becoming exceptionally wide. This massive scale is largely caused by legends and mysteries that the state and political history of the Third Reich was shrouded in (Krinko, 2012: 75) and which were generated by the lack of sources or by their classified nature. The subject examined by Logvinenko encompasses the entire German history. This defines the significant role of the topic in understanding the true character of current international relations.

* Corresponding author
E-mail addresses: nabonid1@yandex.ru (T.A. Magsumov)

Logvinenko has already established himself as the author of the work *History of the Russian Espionage and Investigations through the Philatelist's Eyes* (Logvinenko, 2012), which brought him the Award of the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) in Literature and Art.



Fig. 1. Book cover

I should start straight with a rather controversial point that I will try to resolve myself. Logvinenko designed his research (Logvinenko, 2014) in the form of scientific and popular work, as evidenced already by its subtitle — *A Literary and Historical Study through the Lens of Philately*. However, this does not in the least diminish the merits of the author who has made serious efforts to collect, compile and systematize the large scientific material and select stamps. Logvinenko makes skilful use of ego sources as well as Russian and foreign literature, and on this basis, endeavors to provide a comprehensive reconstruction of the objective history of the German secret services and the repressive agencies. The exploration accomplished by the author features a thorough study into storylines, in-depth analysis, historical and psychological authenticity and kaleidoscopic integrity of the presentation without any emphasis on sensationalism of the information provided. The extensive range of issues addressed by the book demonstrates the author's vision of the structure and activities pertaining to the secret services and repressive agencies as a complex multi-level system. The author's style is characterized by scientific correctness regarding predecessor studies and accuracy in citing all major works.

Materials in the book are concentrated in three chapters of unequal size: "Espionage and criminal investigations from old Germanic kingdoms to the Kaiser's Germany," "Hitler's secret services in the fight for world domination under the shade of the swastika," "Security services in post-war Germany: a half-century history of violent confrontation." This architectonics fits logically to the topic. With its rich content, this book takes the reader on a journey on the progression of the German secret services and repressive authorities from the period the state was first founded up to our days. The book offers convincing evidence that the German intelligence services have carried out ambiguous and elaborate activities. It also spotlights their specific features both at different stages of historical development and in policies towards various countries, shows black and terrible pages of their history and uncovers facts that German intelligence agents can be proud of.

There is no doubt that the study is an excellent source that gives an insight in a spectrum of historical problems which reflect the great historical heritage of Germany and the German nation. The literary and historical examination brings to light such problems as the evolution of the German secret services during the reign of Frederick the Great, the successes that the Prussian intelligence and counterintelligence services notched in the unification of Germany, a tactical victory won by the German secret services to withdraw Russia from World War I, and a strategic defeat which led Germany itself to a catastrophe. The book delivers a scientific perspective on the stagnation of the special services in the Weimar Republic and their tremendous power in Nazi

Germany. All these issues are discussed by the author in the context of key social and political processes which took place in Germany in that period and the international situation in the world.

The geographical boundaries set in the title cover much more areas mainly in Europe. This enables the author to track down specific aspects of the work done by the German special services in different countries. This is particularly noticeable in the work of concentration camps in areas which suffered from ethnic conflicts.

Great finesse characterizes large-scale sketches of pivotal events in the Russian and European history during World War II. These events provided a plethora of philatelic materials. Pages of the book are filled with numerous stamps, directly or indirectly, related to the Nazi secret services and SS, the memory of the victims of Nazi concentration camps and death camps, the Holocaust and Nazi punitive operations against civilians. We think that the elaborate organization of the state apparatus in Nazi Germany (Litvin, Titova, 2015: 18) can be better arranged in a separate list of abbreviations at the end of the book.



Fig. 2. A stamp dedicated to the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact

The last chapter deals with main challenges of our time, and the experience of efficiently responding to them, in one degree or another, is really helpful for today's special services to work towards methods, forms and approaches in the accomplishment of cope with certain tasks. These include putting together teams for newly established special services in western and eastern areas, intercepting undercover Nazi secret service networks by victor countries all over the world, as well as intelligence and subversive operations by FRG and GDR special services.

The book comes to a completely reasonable conclusion on a large historical legacy that the German secret services took with them to the 21st century. However, it is important to emphasize the great respect that the author shows to the GDR secret services for their operational excellence, allegiance to the Soviet Union and commitment to the principles which they continued to champion even when they faced political persecution after the unification of the country.

Logvinenko picks up a comprehensive selection of personalities which make the historical memory of the nation come to life. The book mentions many female names, such as N. Krupskaya, A. Kollontai, G. Peti, Z. Kosmodemyanskaya, Princess Mafalda of Savoy and many others. In this connection, an index of personalities abundantly represented on the pages of the book, would be highly instrumental in dealing with it.

Importantly, the stamps lavishly used in the book are not merely illustrative material. Being dedicated to specific historical facts, events or prominent figures, they help link and assemble a lot of different thematic pieces into a single narrative. The book also gives entertaining details on the stamps themselves. For example, the book recounts a curious story how the British intelligence issued counterfeit German stamps in 1943, when they replaced a portrait of Hitler with a portrait of

Himmler on the 6 pfennig stamp of 1941 in order to split the top leadership of the Third Reich. The operation eventually failed because no one noticed the substitution. The stamps were too identical in design, while the popularization of leaders was in line with the general propaganda campaigns and raised no questions.

I am sincerely grateful to the author for his efforts to imbue his book with a feeling of national pride, enhanced national identity and the experience of belonging to a victorious nation. In a broader sense, the book lifts the veil on the core ideas behind the national consolidation of the Russian super ethnos, so clearly manifested in the Great Patriotic War. The study suggests having a closer look at possible developments in the dialogue between Russia and Europe and makes the reader feel that many of our positions are not that distinct because of our long-lasting coexistence.



Fig. 3. A stamp dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Battle of Kursk

Being a teacher, I would like to define the didactic value and methodological perspectives of the work. Texts easily understandable by high school students (aged 16 and above) and university students, numerous personalities covered, and, especially, an impressive number of stamps are the outstanding benefits the book will bring to the educational process. I hope that the stamps depicting historical events and figures will become an integral part of the academic literature in history, as it was the case with caricatures. It is important to avoid creating a general reminder on how to work with stamps. On the other hand, a selected set of stamps introduced as illustrative material with structured assignments in certain paragraphs in textbooks and workbooks, in combination with individual texts from the book can become a good starting point for student research.

The book, despite its large format and considerable size, is easy and interesting to read. And it is not only about superb technical design – perfect hardcover, coated paper, creative layout – but, most importantly, about thorough proofreading and editing. It is gratifying to see that the author successfully manages to reach the general reader by applying a simple and clear style to his texts.

The book creates a sense of immersion, providing a captivating reading experience of a "historical" novel. This, coupled with carefully selected and well-analyzed illustrative material and verified historical facts, forms a solid platform for an integrated scientific effort to popularize history, based on the professional excellence which is so often amiss in the turbulent flow of mass historical and pseudo-historical literature. The personal, passionate, touch of the author in the descriptions of various events and phenomena not only makes the text more vivid but also allows the reader to "get the feel" of the history and witness the events and processes. At the same time, with the author's competent and impartial attitude to the narrative and the wealth of diverse factography, readers can form their own opinion about the events described by the book. The peer-reviewed publication is a well-documented and heavily illustrated account of history, which embraces both the German secret services and repressive apparatus and a wider picture – the overall military and political past of Europe and parts of Asia.

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