

## National Policy of German Authorities in Belarus (1941–1944)

### Vācu varas iestāžu nacionālā politika Baltkrievijā 1941.–1944. gadā

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The article characterizes the national policy of the German authorities in different zones of the occupied Belarus. The author explores the general and special aspects of its implementation, shows the main components of national and ethno-social problems, which existed among the local population. Special attention is devoted to questions like realization of genocide, action for strengthening the role of the local Germans, educational, religious and cultural policy. The author notes that German authorities had sought to exploit the complex realities of a multi-ethnic community in the country, however, cultivation of tension between different ethnic groups did not render the expected results.

**Keywords:** Belarus, German occupation, national community, national policy, German – Soviet war.

Raksts veltīts Vācijas varas iestāžu nacionālās politikas raksturam dažādās okupētās Baltkrievijas daļās. Autors pievērš uzmanību kopīgajam un atšķirīgajam politikas īstenošanā un atklāj starp vietējiem iedzīvotājiem pastāvošo nacionālo un etnosociālo problēmu galvenos aspektus. Īpaša uzmanība veltīta tādām problēmām kā genocīds, darbība vietējo vāciešu lomas nostiprināšanai, izglītības, reliģiskā un kultūras politika. Autors atzīmē, ka Vācijas varas iestādes paredzēja izmantot valsts multi-etnisko iedzīvotāju sastāvu iekšējo nesaskaņu veicināšanai, bet saspilējuma veicināšana starp dažādām etniskām grupām nedeva gaidītos rezultātus.

**Atslēgvārdi:** Baltkrievija, Vācijas okupācija, nacionālā kopiena, nacionālā politika, vācu–padomju karš.

The theme of the Second World War today remains among the most unique in modern historiography. Despite a significant amount of research, there still are some questions that remain scarcely explored. The history of national communities of Belarus during the German occupation is among them. Under the definition of *the national community*, the author understands the non-titular ethnic groups

who lived in the region for a long time, upheld the intercultural contact, and influenced the historical processes in Belarus.

This article illustrates the nature of the national policy of the German occupation authorities in different zones of occupation of Belarus on the example of the historical destinies of national communities. They consisted of Reich Commissariat (*Reichskommissariat Ostland* (Generaldistrict *Generalbezirk Belarus / Weißruthenien* and *Lithuania / Litauen*) and Reich Commissariat *Ukraine* (Generaldistricts *Volhynia-Podolia / Wolhynien und Podolie* and *Zhytomir / Shitomir*), Province of *East Prussia* (District *Bialystok*) and Rear Area of the Army Group *Centre / Rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte*. The author describes the features of the national and cultural situation of the peoples of the country, shows the main components of national and ethno-social problems which existed among the local population.

It should be noted that left out of sight were the pages of history concerning the participation of representatives of different nationalities in the partisan movement, the activities of the Lithuanian, Latvian and other police battalions in Belarus.

## Question of genocide

The insufficiency and fragmentary character of sources do not allow to claim the full disclosure of the problem. Unfortunately, it was impossible to find sufficiently complete information regarding the history of the Roma and Latvians. The studied materials have allowed the author to arrive at the findings stated below. It is well known that the Jews and Roma were subjected to almost complete destruction in all occupation zones.

There were differences in the views of the German authorities regarding the

migration processes of Jews. These relations have been quite liberal in the western part of Belarussian Polesie (the part of the Generaldistrict *Volhynia-Podolia*). For example, settlers continued to arrive in Pinsk until May 1942. Occupation authorities of District of *Bialystok* considered that movement of the Jewish population is unreasonable. Police controlled the location of the Jews. Local authorities could give permission for resettlement only in extreme cases, in agreement with the District administration.<sup>1</sup>

The level of extermination of the Jewish population differed from zone to zone. In zones under the military command, the Jews were almost utterly destroyed before the end of 1941: in Mahileu – 10 000, Vitebsk and Babruisk – 20 000 each, Barysau – 8000, Polack – 7000.<sup>2</sup> The destruction process in the western territories of Belarus was more continuous. 30 000 Jews lived there at the end of 1942.<sup>3</sup>

In the autumn of 1942, the most large-scale actions were carried out on the territory of the Generaldistrict *Volhynia-Podolia*.

The largest ghettos on the territory of the Generaldistrict *Belarus* and the Generaldistrict *Volhynia-Podolia* were dissolved only in the autumn of 1942: by October 15–18 in Brest (about 17 000 inhabitants), by October 29 – November 1 in Pinsk (about 18 000 persons).<sup>4</sup>

The last action of the Jews' extermination in the western regions of Belarus dates back to September of 1943. 2 700 people from the town of Lida were sent to Majdanek and Sobibor extermination camps on September 17–19, 1943. Jews from the labor camp in Navahrudak (350 persons) were executed later.<sup>5</sup>

The acute need for qualified personnel in some cases was the reason why Jewish specialists were still alive even after the "final solution of the Jewish question". Small groups of Jews (from a few dozen to

a few hundred people) used to work before the end of the occupation.

The question of the attitude of the non-Jewish population toward the Jews is one of the painful issues in the history of the Holocaust. Researchers assess the level of anti-Semitism in Belarus during the occupation as rather low compared to the neighboring countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Ukraine, Poland).<sup>6</sup> There were numerous cases of asylum and assistance provision to the Jews by local residents.<sup>7</sup> The names of 808 natives of Belarus were on the List of Righteous Among the Nations recognized by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem in 2016.<sup>8</sup>

Terrible ordeals of the Jewish people were not able to break their courage. They received medical and social assistance in places of confinement. Synagogues remained open and religious activities were carried out. Educational classes for children were organized.

The Jews of the ghetto resisted bravely. Underground organizations operated in some of the ghettos (Minsk, Baranavichy, Babruisk, Brest, Vileyka, Hrodna, Slonim and other places). The members of the youth organizations of various political persuasions participated in resistance. We know about the uprisings in the ghettos of some cities: Niesvizh (July 22, 1942), Mir (August 9, 1942), Lakhva (September 3, 1942), Kamianets (September 9, 1942), Tuchynka (September 23, 1942), Klezk (July 21, 1943). Inmates offered armed resistance in the ghettos of Hlybo-kae, Kobryn, Navahrudak, Liakhavichy and other places. Jews fled alone and in groups from the camps and ghettos. The survivors joined the partisans.

According to some researchers, mobile killing units (*Einsatzgruppen*) received orders to begin the executions of the Roma in the newly occupied territories of the Soviet Union in August of 1941. They were regarded as parasites and non-working

elements, were accused of spying and helping the partisans. The occupation authorities perceived the Roma as danger to the German troops and civilians.<sup>9</sup> Mass exterminations of the Roma were carried out in Smolensk and Lida in August of 1941.<sup>10</sup>

According to the order № 24 of the Commandant of the Generaldistrict *Belarus* Gustav von Bechtolsheim issued on November 25, 1941:

*“Jews must disappear from the face of the earth, the Roma to be exterminated also. Captured Gypsies should to be shot on the spot. If any large gypsies’ camps or nomadic camps are found, one should immediately notify the chief commandant of the Wehrmacht or SS and police indicating the exact time and place.”*<sup>11</sup>

In the rear areas of the army, the groups “Centre” and “North” acted out the instructions according to which the Roma who were sedentary for at least two years were not affected but placed under constant supervision; nomadic Roma were taken to mobile killing units (*Einsatzgruppen*) and sent to concentration camps.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, unlike the Jews, the Roma were not sought out on purpose. The executioners caught the Roma during the raids, denunciations, inspections of prisons and in the temporary camps. It is known that the Roma were forced to remain in the concentration camps of Brest and Uzda.<sup>13</sup>

### **Promotion of Volksdeutsche and assistance to muslims**

German authorities tried to assist the small community of local Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) in every way. The question of cultural and education policy of the

German authorities concerning this population in different regions of the occupation of Belarus long remained disregarded by historians. The study showed that the national policy of the occupation regime regarding the *Volksdeutsche* in Belarus was carried out taking into account the characteristics of the region. Archival materials do not attest to the existence of the “fifth column” of the *Volksdeutsche* in the territory of Belarus, and the mass cooperation of this group with the occupation authorities, who sought to bring them to serve in various administrative bodies. Particular attention was paid to development of education and upbringing of younger generation. Schools for children of the *Volksdeutsches* were opened in various areas of occupied Belarus, it was considered as a primary task. These schools sometimes were the only existing educational institutions in a particular area. During the retreat of the Nazi troops in 1943–1944, almost all of the German population was evacuated to Poland and then to Germany. The most recent information about the *Volksdeutsche* from Bialystok and Grodno dates back to the spring-summer of 1944.

Occupation authorities allowed the population to carry out religious rites. On the territory of the Reich Commissariat of Belarus, they sought to promote religious rites of Muslims. They granted the necessary permits for their activity.

The main reason for such a policy was the loyalty of the Tatar population to the authorities. By opening Orthodox, Catholic, and Evangelical churches, and mosques, the German authorities intended to preserve national isolation of the Tatars, Germans, Poles, Russians. In turn, the clergy championed nationalist ideas and called for rebirth of ethnic values. At the same time, the representatives of other faiths and nationalities were declared enemies.

### **Encouragement of altercations between ethnic groups in Generaldistrict Lithuania**

The occupation authorities skillfully used the altercations between various ethnic groups. The situation in the western regions of Belarus was particularly tense. The German propaganda tried to incite Belarusians and Lithuanians against the Polish population, presenting Poles as chauvinists that hinder national and cultural development of other ethnic groups.

German authorities fomented hatred against the Poles among the Lithuanians living on the Belarusian lands attached to the Generaldistrict *Lithuania*. German authorities supported the Lithuanian administration's activities directed against Belarusians and Poles. This activity was based on the tensions between Lithuanians and those nations. Polish and Belarusian schools were closed, representatives of these nations were dismissed from the institutions. Any manifestations of Polish culture (including books, scientific meetings and historical monuments) were being eliminated.<sup>14</sup>

Pre-war Lithuanian citizenship applied only to a small part of the Belarusian land attached to the Generaldistrict *Lithuania*. Those without the citizenship were to be captured to work in Germany. Lithuanian administration used this circumstance with diligence. Lithuanians tried to include the Poles in the lists of people sent to work in Germany. German colonization of Lithuanian lands was the second method of combat against the Poles. The instruction for establishing a “German Fund (*fundusz* – Polish)” of land for “the most active” of Poles as well as Russians, Jews, and – in some cases – Lithuanians entered into force in the summer of 1942 in the Generaldistrict *Lithuania*. Only the Lithuanians, whose property was included in the “German

Fund” could obtain land with buildings, equipment in other areas. As a rule, these lands were confiscated properties of the local Polish inhabitants. “Activity” of the Poles was determined by the following factors: the use of Polish language at home; indication of Polish nationality in passport; accessory to Polish economic and cultural organizations before the war; reading Polish press.<sup>15</sup>

The eviction of Poles and transfer of their farms to the families which arrived from “Kovnos Lithuania” (territory of pre-war Republic of Lithuania) began on the territory of the Generaldistrict *Lithuania* with December of 1942.<sup>16</sup> The persecution of Polish population led to its mass migration from the Generaldistrict *Lithuania* to the territory of Generaldistrict *Belarus* and to the General Government (*General-gouvernement*) in the first months of the occupation.<sup>17</sup>

## Standing of Polish population

Historical facts attest to a plight of civilian Polish population in Belarus during the German – Soviet War. Ordinary citizens and local government officials were involved in the ethnic conflict. Solution of social issues was a major objective of the first group. The construction of national autonomy was the primary goal of the local officials. The Catholic and Orthodox clergy also participated in this conflict.

The conflict had a significant ideological support from the occupying authorities. It was manifested in the school issue. At first, the occupation authorities sided with Poles, but after a few months their attitude toward this ethnic group became extremely negative. On the one hand, ordinary people fell victims to development of the national movement of Belarusian collaborators, and on the other, to the Polish

national movement. Cultural development of Poles on the Belarusian lands was actually brought to standstill. A considerable part of the Polish *intelligentsia* (both secular and spiritual) was exterminated.<sup>18</sup>

A similar situation was observed on the land belonging to the Generaldistrict *Volhynia-Podolia*. The mood of Polish population in Polesie was severely depressed. The remaining Polish *intelligentsia* in the cities by the summer of 1943 was scarce. The difficult financial situation exacerbated the depression of this group even further. Relations of other ethnic groups with the local Polish population became increasingly aggravated and hostile. Local Poles accused Ukrainians and Belarusians of killings in Polesie and reproached them in anticipation of the return of Soviet power. The national conflicts did not occur in the cities. Instead, the struggle for influence continued between national communities, as the staff in the structures of the administration and other institutions was mixed: Polish – Ukrainian – Belarusian – Russian. “*Not to mention the Germans in senior positions.*”<sup>19</sup>

The revision of occupation policy towards the Polish population occurred in the end of 1943. This was due to the changes at the front (after the liberation by the Red Army, some south-eastern territories of Belarus). The occupation authorities abandoned the anti-Polish course and attempted to establish cooperation with the Polish resistance movement *Armia Krajowa*. The agitation for the purpose of bringing to the anti-Soviet struggle was being conducted among Poles. For example, January 28, 1944, the Germans arrived in Ivie and “*urged Poles to conclude an alliance with them, since the Soviet Union broke off relations with Britain and the United States.*”<sup>20</sup> Germans promised to restore the Polish government in return for their support in the war.

The treatment by the Ukrainian administration of Poles improved in the beginning of 1944 in those Belarusian territories, which were part of the Reich Commissariat "Ukraine". The assistance was provided to the poor Polish families.<sup>21</sup> The attitude of the authorities of the Generaldistrict *Lithuania* toward the Polish population changed for the better in the second half of 1943. Tolerance towards Polish language was higher. Confiscation of farms from Poles decreased. Specifically, those Lithuanians, who took the Polish household, could express their consent to retain the site of the former land owner.<sup>22</sup>

### School education and the national question

Schools were among the most effective pathways of influence on the consciousness of the population under occupation. Education policy had its specifics in various zones of occupation. The prewar network of Russian educational institutions with a small number of schools teaching in the Belarusian language was actually preserved in the eastern regions, which were under the control of Army Group "Centre". Ukrainization was carried out in the south of Belarus (Generaldistricts *Volhynia-Podolia* and *Zhytomyr*). Belarusization was carried out in the central regions of Belarus (Generaldistrict *Belarus*). These processes of school "nationalization" in the areas inhabited by the members of other ethnic groups did not contribute to equanimity. The population boycotted the schools, conducting under-cover classes in their own language.

The German authorities were conducive to the opening of Polish schools in the Reich Commissariat "Ukraine" at the beginning of the occupation. For example, two Polish schools were prepared for opening

in Pinsk (with two Belarusian and two Russian schools).<sup>23</sup>

In 1942, Polish schools in occupied Belarus (Generaldistricts *Volhynia-Podolia* and *Zhytomyr*) were closed. Children of the Poles in Brest region (as estimated by the occupation authorities, about 20% of the total number of children) were required to attend Belarusian or Ukrainian schools.<sup>24</sup> However, the population did not consent to sending their children to a school with Ukrainian language of study. This policy virtually phased out at the end of 1943 and early 1944.<sup>25</sup>

### Characteristics of Pro-Ukrainian policy

Pro-Ukrainian policy of the occupation authorities in the territory of Reich Commissariat *Ukraine* allowed Ukrainians to expand cultural and educational activities. Ukrainian committees of mutual aid in the cities of Brest, Luninets, Ivanava, Dragichyn were active in 1941–1942. They consisted of a number of departments, who controlled education, health, agriculture, post and other spheres.<sup>26</sup> Committees carried out extensive cultural and educational activities. The cultural and educational society *Prosvita* was reinstated. Occupation authorities paid great attention to the development of Ukrainian periodicals. Circulations of newspapers were significant. For example, in August 1942, the four issues of "Pinska hazeta" came out in overall circulation of 59 460 copies.<sup>27</sup>

The fact that the share of the titular nation in these areas did not exceed 1% during the Ukrainization on the Belarusian territory was not taken into account. A material of the census, which was held in autumn 1941, gives some idea of the figures characterising this ethnic group.

120 Ukrainians (0.3% of the population) lived in Pinsk, in Luninets – 81 (0.7%); in Zhabchinsk district – 70 (0.2%); in Luninets *volast* – 103 (0.5%).<sup>28</sup>

The figures were changing significantly during the occupation period. The action for re-registration documents of the local Ukrainian population was deployed on the territory of Polesie in August 1941. Its purpose, according to the Ukrainian Committee of mutual aid, which by this time had begun to operate in Brest and other cities, was recommencement of recording the Ukrainian origin of those who due to political circumstances were incorrectly recorded as Poles, Belarusians or even “local” (*tuteishym*).<sup>29</sup> As a result, in “one of the *uyezd* around the railway line Brest – Luninets”, according to the official census conducted by the Germans in 1941, there were 16 Ukrainians. In 1942, the number suddenly jumped to 7000, but in 1943 dropped to 2400. In 1944, there were 800 Ukrainians on the territory of the *uyezd*.<sup>30</sup> The sharp increase in the number was caused by inclusion of these areas in the Reich Commissariat *Ukraine* and carrying out the policy of Ukrainization by the occupation authorities. However, changes in occupation policy have led to a subsequent drop in the number of Ukrainians.

Increased activity of the partisans and other armed groups of various political and national orientations was observed with the development of military operations of the Red Army’s liberation of the Belarusian land. Ukrainians massively joined the partisan movement. Hence, the attitude of the occupation authorities toward Ukrainians in early 1944 changed. The occupation authorities in Brest reduced the funding of the Ukrainian Committee by half and refused to support the Ukrainian church. At the same time, the Ukrainians altered their attitude toward

the authorities. Those who held positions in the local administration sought to resign and leave the territory.<sup>31</sup>

### **Support of Russians and Russian collaboration**

The Russian population of the country also drew attention of the German authorities. On the one hand, there was a fight against the Russian intelligentsia as a disseminator of influences of Bolshevik Russia. Consequently, Russian population lost work and its living conditions deteriorated. On the other hand, the German authorities tried to support local Russian nationalists, white emigrant organizations. Russian population was distinguished by its civic activity in comparison with other ethnic groups. The Russian Committee of mutual aid acted in Brest throughout the period of occupation. The Committee conducted cultural and educational activities among the Russian population.

National cultural policy of occupation authorities on the territory of Belarus, which was controlled by the military command and was a part of the Rear area of the army group “Centre”, was significantly different from the one implemented in the areas under control of the civil administration. This is especially noticeable in the absence of forced “nationalization”. The German command did not attempt to carry it out in the areas where military formations of Russian collaborations were deployed. The main manipulation of propaganda among the population of these areas was giving a rise to Russian sentiment.

The authorities did not enforce opening of Belarusian and Ukrainian schools in the area under control of the military administration. The newspaper *Novyj put’*, which was being published in Homel in

Russian, reflecting the results of academic year 1942/1943, wrote:

*“Beneficial effect on the success and behavior of pupils clearly had the fact that teaching in most school districts is carried out in the native Belarusian language. Homel and Terekhovsk districts where Russian schools dominate are an exception in this regard.”*<sup>32</sup>

Russian volunteer battalion took custody of the folk school (*narodnaja shkola*), which was opened in the fall of 1942, Hlusk. It *“has rendered a lot of assistance in organizing the work of the school”*.<sup>33</sup>

At the end of academic year 1942/1943, the students of classes 5 and 6 in Vitebsk and region took an exam of Russian language as the end-of-year examination. The 7<sup>th</sup>-graders passed the exam of the Russian language as their final examination.<sup>34</sup>

Newspapers were published in Russian, Russian theaters and Russian schools were dominant, concerts of ensembles performing Russian songs and dances were organized, German films with subtitles in Russian were shown in cinemas in the territory of Belarus, which was under the control of the military command. Vitebsk newspaper *Novyj put'* in March 30, 1942 informed its readers that

*“with today’s issue, our newspaper will be published only in Russian. Each week, we will publish a special leaflet in Belarusian language for our Belarusian readers. It will dedicate the greatest attention to the issue of Belarusian national culture”*.<sup>35</sup>

The occupation authorities realized that the Belarusian people are permanent residents of a particular area but overall considered the respective territory as Russian. The figures characterising the population of Vitebsk in 1942 published in the

press indicated that the authorities were aware of the ethnic situation:

*“according to statistical data, the permanent residents in the city on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May this year: the entire population – 40 788 persons. [...] The city’s population is distributed according to the ethnic composition, as follows: Belarusians – 33 978; Russian – 3368; Poles – 1059; Ukrainians – 446; Germans – 196, other – 741”*.<sup>36</sup>

Obviously, Russians accounted only for 9.9% of the city’s population. The entire propaganda campaign was conducted in Russian. Russian language was taught in schools. Concerts dedicated to the works of Mozart, Glinka, Tchaikovsky were being constantly presented alongside with the Belarusian music (choral, solo and dance performances) in concert programs at the Belarusian People’s House (opened October 1, 1941).<sup>37</sup> City Library in Babruisk, which was opened by the decree of Field Commandant’s Office and the Propaganda Department on April 14, 1943, bore the name of the Russian poet Alexander Pushkin.<sup>38</sup>

The attention was drawn to the younger generation of non-titular ethnic group in the critical last months of occupation with the aim of finding support among the local population. The Russian Youth Union was established in May 7, 1944, in the town of Barysau. It *“unites young people of Russian nationality within the territory of the “Centre” Army Group and the Generaldistrict Belarus”*.<sup>39</sup>

The data on the Latvian population are insufficient. Occupants did not consider Latvians as the natives of this land, consequently, their policy was aimed at repatriation of Latvian population to the territory of the Generaldistrict *Letland (Latvia)*. In July 1943, the Repatriation Commission of the Latvian national assistance operated in Vitebsk.



## Conclusions

During the three-year occupation of Belarus, there was a radical change in German politics towards such groups and thus also the self-perception of the multiethnic population. It is already known that, in times of social unrest, and especially during wars, national identity and the need to be different becomes particularly pronounced. Strengthening of ethnic identification patterns leads to unification under national auspices and the differentiation of society into “us” and “the others”. By promoting this tendency, the German occupiers took advantage of the complex situation of a multi-ethnic society, applying the tried-and-tested tactic, – divide and rule. The priorities for action were clear: the dominance of “Aryan residents” was

underpinned by the exploitation of large parts of the Slavic population and the genocide against Jews, Gypsies and “useless Slavs”.

In dealing with such sensitive issues as national identities, the author is aware that it is impossible to create an accurate map of national conditions for the time of war, which is characterized by a variety of migratory flows.

It can be said with certainty that significant differences were observed in the position of national communities in different occupied areas of Belarus. Reinforced cultivation of tension between different ethnic groups did not bring the expected results. Ordinary people did not tend to participate in the political games of collaborators. They had to find ways to survive in the harsh conditions of the occupation together.

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- <sup>24</sup> IRINA ELENSKAJA. Dokumenty gosarhiva Brestckoj oblasti o shkol'noj politike okkupacionnyh vlastej, 1941–1944 g. (istochnikovedcheskij obzor). In: Berascejski hranograf 1999, Issue 2, p. 240.
- <sup>25</sup> DZMITRY KRIVOSHEJ. Ukrainskij jetnos na territorii Belarusi v uslovijah okkupacii (1941–1944 gg.). In: Istorychni i politologichni doslidzhennja. Vydannja Donec'kogo nycional'nogo universytetu, istorychnyj fakul'tet 2008, No. 1–2, s. 87–95.
- <sup>26</sup> Forms of members of the Ukrainian mutual Committee in Brest (22.05.1942.–30.07.1942.). DABrV, 202-1-2, pp. 4–22.
- <sup>27</sup> IRINA ELENSKAJA. Nemeckaja politika ukrainizacii Belorusskogo Poles'ja. 1941–1944 gody. In: Zagaroddze – 3. Minsk 2001, s. 211.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibidem, s. 209.
- <sup>29</sup> Appeal of the the Ukrainian mutual Committee in Brest to the General commissar of Brest district. November 1941. (In Ukrainian). DABrV, 202-1-3, p. 3.
- <sup>30</sup> The Government Delegation for Poland (Delegatura Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na Kraj). Report on the situation of the eastern lands from April 1944 (in Polish). AAN, 202/III-195-1, p. 89.
- <sup>31</sup> The Government Delegation for Poland (Delegatura Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na Kraj). Report on the situation of the eastern lands from January 1944 (in Polish). AAN, 202/III-193-1, p. 164.
- <sup>32</sup> Novyj put' (Gomel'), 14.08.1943, s. 3.
- <sup>33</sup> Novyj put' (Bobrujsk), 03.07.1943, s. 4.
- <sup>34</sup> Belaruskae slova (Vicebsk), 15.05.1943, s. 4.
- <sup>35</sup> Novyj put' (Vitebsk), 20.03.1942, s. 4.

<sup>36</sup> Novyj put' (Vitebsk), 21.07.1942, s. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>38</sup> Novyj put' (Bobrujsk), 10.04.1943, s. 4.

<sup>39</sup> The Statutes of the National Russian Youth Organization (in German), without date. Nacyjanalny archiu respubliki Belarus, 385-2-5, 67. pl.

## KOPSAVILKUMS

Nacistu okupācijas laikā Baltkrievijā tās daudz nacionālais iedzīvotāju kopums pārcieta radikālas izmaiņas savā dzīvē un apziņā. Vācijas okupācijas iestādes plānoja izmantot savās interesēs Baltkrievijas multietniskās iedzīvotāju kopienas komplekso raksturu. Kā zināms, romi un ebreji tika pakļauti gandrīz pilnīgai iznīcināšanai visās okupācijas zonās. Ebreju iedzīvotāju iznīcināšanas pakāpe dažādās okupācijas zonās atšķīrās, bet tajā pašā laikā, atšķirībā no ebrejiem, romi netika mērķtiecīgi meklēti, lai viņus iznīcinātu. Eksekūciju īstenotāji denunciaciju rezultātā sagūstīja romus reidos, pārbaudot cietumus un ieslodzījuma nometnes.

Vācijas varas iestādes visiem līdzekļiem atbalstīja vietējos Baltkrievijas vāciešus (*Volksdeutsche*), kuru skaits gan bija neliels. Pētījums atklāj, ka okupācijas režīma nacionālā politika attiecībā uz viņiem tika īstenota, ņemot vērā konkrētā reģiona īpatnības.

Okupanti atļāva iedzīvotājiem īstenot reliģiskos rituālus. Atverot pareizticīgo un katoļu baznīcas, mošejas un protestantu lūgšanu namus, okupanti centās saglabāt nacionālās atšķirības starp dažādām Baltkrievijas etniskajām grupām: tatāriem, poļiem, vāciešiem un krieviem. Okupācijas varas iestādes prasmīgi izmantoja pretrunas starp šīm dažādajām etniskajām grupām. Īpaši saspringta situācija veidojās Baltkrievijas rietumu daļā. Vācijas okupācijas varas propaganda noskaņoja baltkrievus un lietuviešus pret poļiem, cenšoties atspoguļot poļus kā šovinistus, kuri ierobežo citu etnisko grupu nacionālo un ekonomisko attīstību. Vēstures avotos minētie fakti apstiprina poļu civiliedzīvotāju smago situāciju Baltkrievijā vācu-padomju kara laikā. Skolas bija viena no visefektīvākajām apziņas un noskaņojuma ietekmēšanas formām okupācijas apstākļos, lai gan izglītības politikai dažādās okupācijas zonās bija atšķirīga specifika. Dažādās okupētās Baltkrievijas daļās tika atvērtas skolas vietējo vāciešu (*Volksdeutsche*) bērniem. Tas tika uzskatīts par ļoti svarīgu uzdevumu.

Okupācijas varas iestāžu nacionālā kultūras politika Baltkrievijas teritorijā, ko kontrolēja militārā pavēlniecība un kas bija armiju grupas "Centrs" aizmugures zona, būtiski atšķīrās no tās, kas tika īstenota reģionos, kurus pārvaldīja civilā administrācija. Tas īpaši izpaudās tādejādi, ka nebija novērojama mērķtiecīga pārtautošana.

Uzspiestā nesaskaņu kultivēšana starp dažādām etniskām grupām nedeva gaidītos rezultātus, tauta nepiedalījās okupācijas varas iestāžu un kolaborantu politiskajās spēlēs. Baltkrievijas iedzīvotāji atrada veidus, kā kopā izdzīvot Otrā pasaules kara un okupācijas smagajos apstākļos.