

## НОВИТНЯ ІСТОРИЯ

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### RESOURCE POLICY OF THE THIRD REICH IN THE REICHSKOMMISSARIAT UKRAINE: WASTE RECYCLING IN 1941-1943

*This article explores the assortment and primary methods of waste collection within the Reichskommissariat Ukraine during the occupation by Nazi forces. The Ukrainian occupational press serves as the primary source for this article. It demonstrates that the extraction of various resources and the plundering of material valuables were directed towards supporting the economic and military power of the Third Reich, with waste collection policies being one of its facets. To facilitate this activity in this realm, the Nazis utilized existing infrastructure within the territory of Ukraine, including warehouses, factories, and offices of Soyuzutyl, established on the eve of the Second World War, as well as the infrastructure of the consumer cooperative system. It is shown that the specificity of Ukraine lies in assigning waste collection duties to consumer cooperatives, which transformed into the primary suppliers of various raw materials for the needs of the Third Reich. Local administrations and individual cooperatives actively participated in this endeavor, and special associations were also established. Additionally, the occupying authorities sought to involve schoolchildren and the broader population, developing various incentive systems for this purpose, although the participation of these actors was minimal. The article examines the peculiarities of waste collection propaganda within the territory of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine, which was based on ideological motives such as gratitude for liberation from Soviet rule, as well as economic motives related to the need for waste to produce consumer goods for the local population by enterprises of the Nazi regime. It is argued that primary attention was given to collecting scrap black and colored metals, as well as bones, paper, and rags. The author suggests that the scale of economic plundering of Ukraine was much larger than commonly believed, yet acknowledges that this requires further in-depth research involving a wide range of archival sources.*

**Keywords:** waste, secondary use, World War II, Nazi Germany, occupation press, Jews, metals, paper, rags, bones.

During the aftermath of the Second World War, Ukraine suffered significant material losses. Equipment from numerous enterprises was either destroyed or transported to Germany, millions of heads of livestock and domestic poultry were lost, and numerous cultural and historical treasures were affected. Researchers estimate the losses incurred by the Ukrainian SSR at 285 billion RUB, or 100 billion US dollars at the prevailing exchange rate at the time, emphasizing that this constituted 40% of the material losses experienced by the USSR during World War II [1]. However, the economic aspects of the German occupation of Ukraine, which lasted from 1941 to 1944, have not yet been systematically examined. Specifically, this figure does not include the value of resources gathered by Nazi Germany within

Ukrainian territory to support the economic endeavors of the Third Reich. It can be surmised that the scale of economic exploitation inflicted upon Ukraine was considerably greater. The gathering of waste resources in Ukraine during the occupation remains overlooked by researchers thus far, yet this aspect presents prospects for reevaluating the damages inflicted upon occupied territories and countries, taking it into account.

This article aims to analyze the activities of the occupying authority concerning the collection of various waste materials within the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). The research focuses on the territory of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine which was established on its territory during the Nazi occupation. We intend to reconstruct the main directions and methods of this activity based on an analysis of Ukrainian press publications from the period of occupation spanning 1941-1943, which serve as the primary source for this investigation. It is important to note that this article will present facts published in several collaborationist newspapers that have a distinctly propagandistic nature, and their verification requires further comprehensive research. This study represents the initial step in the exploration of waste utilization and recycling in the territory of Ukraine during WW II and is aimed at revealing prospective avenues for further scholarly inquiry, which can be identified based on the provided sources. The article consists of three parts. The first part briefly examines the historiography of this scientific issue, the second part discusses the policy regarding secondary waste utilization in the Third Reich, and the third part focuses on the situation within the territory of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

### **Analysis of historiography**

The economic policies of the Third Reich in occupied territories have been thoroughly analyzed by both foreign scholars (R. J. Overy, T. Penter, D. Pohl, A. Tooze, Yvonne Badal, R. J. Evans, J. Richard, P. Staudenmaier, M. Harrison, R. J. Overy, C. Buchheim, J. Scherner, H.-J. Braun, G. D. Feldman, etc.) and Ukrainian scholars. The study of the Nazi occupation period began in the USSR immediately after the end of World War II and occupied a significant place in Soviet historiography. After Ukraine gained independence, this academic direction continued however it focused mostly on the territory of Ukraine. In the monograph "Ukraine in the Second World War and the Great Patriotic War (1939-1945)" published in 1998 by M. Koval, Germany's policy towards Ukraine was referred to as the economic warfare of the Third Reich [2].

The analysis of the economic policies of the occupying authority has also been developed in the publications of O. Akunin, O. Zakharchenko, V. Orlyanskyi, I. Spudka, V. Naumenko, and O. Potylchakyc. Regional aspects of this policy have been examined by O.V. Tyshyn, T. Vynarchuk, V. Cherniavskyi, and others. The state of agriculture in the occupied territories is the subject of comprehensive work by O. Perehrest. The removal of cultural treasures from Ukraine by Germany and the ethno-cultural heritage have been addressed in their scholarly achievements by

V. Soloshenko and I. Muzichenko. Significant attention has also been devoted to the daily lives of Ukrainians under occupation by V. Shaikan, O. Udod, T. Vronska, D. Malakov, O. Honcharenko, and others [3].

Mainly Ukrainian researchers focus on the consequences of Nazi Germany's economic policies in Ukraine during the occupation period, crimes committed by the Nazis, the Holocaust etc. However, the issue of waste collection and secondary utilization has not been the subject of thorough investigations.

Foreign experts dedicate considerable attention to the resource policy of the Third Reich. According to Dieter Pohl, the notion of economically exploiting Ukraine was well-established among the political and military elites of Germany. Since the WWI, Ukraine has been perceived in German public opinion as the “granary” of Russia – a vital source of food supply [4]. However, the Nazis' interest in Ukraine extended beyond the agricultural sector. Similar to their approach in all other occupied territories, significant emphasis was placed on various resources, including waste, particularly metals. The preparation for war and large-scale military operations necessitated not only the establishment of a stable raw material base in the Third Reich but also its expansion. This led Nazi Germany, as early as the 1930s, to reassess the significance of many waste materials, considering them valuable raw materials for the war industry.

Foreign researchers on this topic (A. Berg, A. Tooze, H. Weber, C. Denton, R. Oldenziel, E. Vaupel, F. Preis, A. Sudrow, etc.) have extensively analyzed many aspects of waste utilization in the Third Reich. German researcher Heike Weber conceptualized this policy as a “national socialist waste exploitation regime”, which was based on the extraction of various resources and the plundering of material valuables to support the economic and military power of the Third Reich [5]. According to Adam Tooze, the Nazi vision of Germany's prosperity was closely tied to policies of expansion, war, and genocide. He argues that Hitler's delusional logic regarding the existential threat to the German race pushed Germany into war at a time when its economy was simply unable to support it [6]. Anna Berg argues that garbage and waste management practices played a central role in the politics of war and the development of genocide in the Third Reich and Nazi-occupied Europe [7]. She considers the Third Reich to be the first country in the world to set a political goal of achieving zero waste. By analyzing activities related to scrap and metal collection and the methods of the salvage industry in Germany and Nazi-occupied Europe, she argues that waste management and recycling were integral parts of the Nazi racial order and crystallized as a central strategy for managing the chaos of war. Hundreds of thousands of volunteers collected paper, bottles, scrap metal, kitchen waste, bones, and carcasses to expand the Reich's resource base and enhance the regime's capabilities for waging war [7]. However, unlike other countries worldwide that implemented supportive or mobilization measures during WWI and WWII, aiming to fully incorporate waste utilization in various sectors of the economy, Nazi Germany,

in its pursuit of resource acquisition, committed horrific crimes against humanity, including the Holocaust.

The military economy facilitated the adoption of a strategy involving the exploitation of forced labor and resource extraction through plundering, seizing “war booty”, or redirecting local production for military purposes. German forces looted not only industrial and agricultural raw materials but also waste materials. R. Oldenziel and H. Weber note that the model of development for the salvage industry was influenced by the First World War. In the eyes of the Nazi leadership, this war demonstrated numerous failures in economic management. Therefore, the Nazi regime sought to avoid repeating these mistakes at all costs and developed more efficient measures [8].

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They gradually displaced Jews, who had been involved in the collection of metal, scrap, and bones in the 1920s and early 1930s [9]. Upon coming to power, the Nazis began to remove Jews and other “undesirable elements” from this activity [7]. The German company “Goldschmidt” transformed during this period into one of the largest chemical companies in Germany and even imported used cans from other countries. By taking control of several smaller Jewish competitors as part of the Nazi regime’s “aryanization” process, it obtained a monopolistic position in the waste market [10].

As Jews were prohibited from engaging in scrap trading, Nazi officials replaced them with organizations affiliated with the Nazis and supported efforts to develop the waste recycling industry through a wide-ranging propaganda apparatus. Starting from the mid-1930s, the National Socialist People’s Welfare (NSV), the Hitler Youth, the League of German Girls, other Nazi organizations, as well as local branches, blocs, and district leaders initiated various actions to “rescue” household waste [7, p. 455].

Despite the removal of Jews from waste collection activities and the Holocaust that occurred in Europe, the Nazis for some time utilized those among them who had experience in this field. This not only underscores the importance of waste for the Third Reich but also highlights the high qualifications of some Jews, making them indispensable even during the Holocaust. For example, Witold Mędykowski provides evidence of Jews being used to collect metals in Poland. He asserts that there was a particular group of Jews in the country who stood out from all others – they were individuals involved in collecting salvage materials. Thousands of Jews were simultaneously hired to collect iron scrap and

non-ferrous metals, gathering a significant amount of this type of waste. For instance, in September 1940, 50,000 kg of scrap and 20,000 kg of metal were transported from one district, while 300,000 kg of scrap and 1,000 kg of metal were awaiting shipment. The importance of their work is indicated by the fact that until mid-1943, they were able to freely travel around the country; however, later they were sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp [11].

Several researchers have uncovered the specifics of waste collection and recycling in occupied territories in Western Europe. Charles Denton illustrated the situation in France from 1939 to 1945. He notes that although at the beginning of the war French propaganda mocked the attempts of the Nazis to develop the waste recycling industry as evidence of economic weakness, officials from the Ministry of Armaments followed Nazi Germany's lead by conducting salvage operations for collecting and utilizing scrap iron and paper, albeit keeping it hidden from the population [14].

These and several other studies on the resource policy of the Third Reich indicate that the Nazis' understanding of the importance of waste as additional raw material for the development of the German economy contributed to the expansion of tools for resource exploitation and extraction from occupied territories, often accompanied by repression against the population and the Holocaust.

### **Waste recycling in Germany before and during the WWII**

Waste recycling in Germany before and during World War II was not an invention of the Nazis. The understanding of the value of various wastes (such as bones, rags, and later metals, paper, and rubber) as secondary raw materials began to develop much earlier. In the second half of the 19th century, in many countries of Europe and America, there was an active collection of rags, which were the main resource for paper production, and bones, which were used in the sugar industry as fertilizer in agriculture. This activity was mainly carried out by Jews and Roma (rag and bone pickers). In the Russian Empire, particularly in the Pale of Settlement, Jews were also involved in this activity [15]. In the 1920s, many of them worked in Soviet companies engaged in waste disposal in Right-Bank Ukraine [16].

Although waste collectors, known as peddlers, existed in Germany as far back as the 19th century, WW I propelled this activity in Germany. In the 1920s, as mentioned earlier, waste collection in Germany was predominantly in the hands of Jews. Replacing them with other actors, the Nazi leadership from the autumn of 1936 sought to systematize and structure their efforts within the framework of the Four-Year Plan. Its publication contributed to the formation of a more comprehensive approach to resources. To reintegrate waste into production as resources, many items were termed secondary materials. The war further radicalized this trend and created a context in which achieving "zero waste" became state policy. The Imperial Ministry of Economy established the Imperial Commissioner's Office for the Utilization of Secondary Resources. Hermann Göring's appointment of Wilhelm Ziegler as Reich Commissioner for Scrap Utilization in the summer of 1937 intensified this activity [5; 9, p.120].

Residents of all cities with a population of over 35,000 were required to sort household waste at landfills, collect all materials suitable for recycling, maintain statistical records of waste quantities, and report on this monthly [14]. The following year, Czigler ordered the removal of wrought iron railings both on state-owned and private properties; wide-scale metal collection campaigns were also introduced, such as the “Iron Week”. In Saar-Palatinate, wrought iron fences, garden railings, and even iron crosses from gravestones were dismantled. In 1940, the Reich Commissioner’s Office for Scrap Utilization was established within the Ministry of Economics, headed by Hans Heck [9, p. 121]. In 1942, within this Reich Commissioner’s Office, a position of special representative for the extraction of horns and hooves was established [9, p. 123]. A series of orders and directives facilitated the systematic redirection of waste streams for the needs of the wartime economy. However, in pre-war Germany, not only metals were collected.

In 1936, the future Minister of Food and Agriculture, Herbert Backe, aggressively introduced a system to collect kitchen waste for use as animal feed, particularly for pigs. In March 1937, Hitler signed a law on the use of secondary materials, which granted the Minister of the Interior the authority to demand that secondary materials, including scraps and textile products, be cleaned, disinfected, or destroyed if necessary to ensure the health protection of the nation before returning to the economic cycle [7].

The German economy, especially after the campaign in Western Europe and to a greater extent after the beginning of the war with the USSR, was cut off from the supply of many key raw materials due to the blockade. Military production required important raw materials such as non-ferrous metals, so the Germans sought ways to obtain them from scrap collected from various old and unnecessary items. However, scrap collectors gathered not only metal scrap but also paper, rags, and many other types of waste. Groups of collectors, consisting of several individuals, had horse-drawn carts at their disposal, roaming the area in search of needed items or purchasing waste at low prices, which they then sent to special depots.

Mobilization of resources during WWII encompassed not only manpower, food products, raw materials, and substitutes but also waste. Until 1940, the Nazi regime systematically sought to increase its raw material base by harnessing materials that could be used secondarily. The population was urged to donate various household items and objects. The main focus was on materials that could be useful for weapon production and the development of war-related economic sectors: iron and metal scrap, paper, and textiles.

In the pre-war period, the Reich collected 650,000 tons of paper, 55,000 tons of scrap metal, 8,000 tons of rags, 2,000 tons of bones (from canteens and the food industry), and 1,200 tons of metal scrap. The wartime economic “exploits” of secondary materials significantly exceeded the peacetime level. In total, the Reich processed 240,637 tons of secondary textiles, of which 188,336 tons were rags (mostly waste from commercial textile enterprises, requisitioned from domestic

production). In February 1944 alone, the Nazis transported 8,526 tons of various secondary materials from occupied territories to the Reich. In March 1945, a total of 63,250 tons of textiles were collected from domestic sources [7, p. 460].

In the Ukrainian press for July 1942, we found information that “in Germany, there were [possibly for the first half of 1942] collected: 5,680,145 men’s suits, jackets, vests, pants, and coats, 4,414,743 pieces of women’s dresses, skirts, blouses, etc., as well as a very large quantity of underwear and other items. In total, 51,467,400 kg of textile waste was collected, which will be recycled. This quantity is enough to clothe approximately 2,5 million men and 2 million women” [15, p. 4].

The robbing of resources from the Soviet Union was carefully planned, as indicated by the “Directives for the Administration in the Newly Occupied Territories” (the so-called “Green Folder”) by G. Göring. Although this document emphasizes the use of occupied territories to obtain agricultural products and oil, as well as the main directions for preserving certain industrial sectors, this activity also included the collection of resources for their secondary use for the needs of the German army.

As Ivan Vetrov notes, the management and exploitation of the Ukrainian economy were carried out both through military channels and civilian occupation authorities. The plundering of the occupied territories was overseen by the Ministry of National Economy of Germany, the Ministry of Armaments and Ammunition, and the Economic Staff of the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht. From the end of 1941, numerous staffs of labor brigades and labor agencies were also included in this system to provide the military economy of Germany with sufficient labor resources. By order of G. Göring dated September 6, 1941, the position of General Inspector for the Confiscation and Utilization of Raw Materials in the occupied eastern territories was introduced [16, p. 96-100]. Although formal overall management of the economy of the occupied territory was carried out by civilian administration, it was done under the direct leadership of the military authority.

### **Waste collection in the occupied territories of Ukraine**

Due to its developed agriculture and abundant natural resources, Ukraine was primarily seen by the Nazis as a raw material base that could supply the Wehrmacht army with food. As German researcher Dieter Pohl writes, the idea of economic exploitation of Ukraine was well known among the political and military elites of Germany. Since the WWI, Ukraine in the public opinion of Germany was imagined as the “breadbasket” of Russia - as an important source of food supply [4]. However, as sources testify, significant attention was also paid to other types of raw materials.

In June 1941, a position was created within the Third Reich for overseeing the collection and utilization of raw materials and other materials crucial for wartime needs in the occupied eastern territories. This position was known as the Commissioner for Scrap and Old Metal Extraction in the Occupied Territories. It was held by Major Shu, the commander of a special military-economic unit [17]. This initiated a systematic and large-scale operation to collect metal scrap in the occupied

territories, which was strategically important for Germany. The task was to collect metal scrap from all areas under civilian administration. The occupying authorities expected the population to demonstrate a willingness to make sacrifices, thus showing their understanding of the importance of the “European struggle against the Soviets” [18, p. 2].

The development of waste collection policies in the territory of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine relied on the use of Soviet infrastructure and mechanisms established in the USSR during the 1930s, where the main actors in this activity were the all-Union institution “Soyuzutil” and the system of consumer and industrial cooperation embodied in Vukoopsilka. Nothing is surprising about this. As Heike Weber asserts, the formation of the national socialist waste exploitation regime began, among other things, with the utilization of existing infrastructure in Germany at that time and the revival of various popular practices in imperial Germany [5].

To collect scrap materials immediately after the occupation of Ukrainian territory, the system of consumer cooperation was restored, and procurement offices were established within consumer cooperatives and district consumer cooperatives. To expedite the organizational stage, at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, regional administrations transferred all property, goods, and other valuables belonging to consumer cooperatives and state trade in the Ukrainian SSR to the newly established consumer cooperation [19, p.2].

In addition to food products such as potatoes, vegetables, fruits, dried fruits, mushrooms, honey, beeswax, wild berries, acorns, medicinal plants, eggs, poultry, skins, furs, horsehair, bristles, wool, horns, hooves, down, and feathers, they were also tasked with collecting and recycling scrap materials, including rags, old rubber footwear, and other rubber products, paper, scrap of non-ferrous and ferrous metals, bones, scraps, and more [20, p. 4].

A typical example is the Poltava Oblast Consumer Cooperative Union, which was one of the largest in Ukraine. It comprised 44 district consumer cooperatives of the region, including 55 rural consumer societies. Its activities covered a territory with a population of about 2 million people, and it employed 7,180 workers and officials. To fulfill the tasks of the occupational authority, it established a network of procurement offices and collection points, along with their authorized representatives in villages, for collecting raw materials locally. The structure of such offices typically consisted of units such as an egg base, vegetable, trade, and procurement departments. The latter was responsible for collecting salvageable materials, scrap metal, and medicinal plants. For example, the Myrhorod Procurement “Zahotutil” office had a profit of 23,400 RUB as of August 14, 1942 [21, p. 2].

In the Kyiv region, the task of “immediately opening procurement points in the district center and each village for purchasing from the population” was set by Resolution No. 4 of the Kyiv Regional Administration on November 21, 1941 [20, p. 4]. In Kyiv itself, the Procurement Office for Industrial Raw Materials of the



Kyiv District Consumer Cooperative was established on December 12, 1941. It was intended to supply all enterprises, institutions, cooperatives, organizations, as well as private individuals who were legally engaged in the processing of industrial raw materials [22, p. 4]. As of February 9, 1943, the Kyiv District Consumer Cooperative already had 18 collection points for waste materials, where they purchased discarded clothing, cotton, fur, linen waste, non-ferrous metals, bottles, and pharmaceutical glassware. In return, they provided the population with salt and matches equivalent to 50% of the value of the surrendered rags and 25% of the value of the paper [23, p. 4]. To give an idea of the scale of procurement activities, let's consider the example of the Pervomaiska (May Day) office. Its annual plan for 1942 included: 1,180,130 eggs, 7 tons of cherries, 700 kilograms of rubber, and 2.5 tons of non-ferrous metal [24, p. 4].

Additionally, various procurement enterprises were established. For example, on August 28, 1942, in the capital of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine, Rivne, the Society for Procurement and Processing of Old Materials and Waste in Ukraine was established with a charter capital of 1 million RUB. It was responsible for organizing the procurement and processing of various old materials and waste in Ukraine and by enterprises operating in this field [25, p.2]. The main focus was on procurement of iron and non-ferrous metals – copper, zinc, bronze, tin, scrap, paper, and rubber. Scrap metal was transferred to Major Shu's headquarters, high-quality fabric scraps to the "Textile Industry Development Society of Bialystok", and items unsuitable for yarn production, as well as old paper, to paper mills in Ukraine [26, p. 2].

A series of articles in the occupation press allows us to conclude that the German authorities managed to reproduce in Ukraine the cycle of waste recycling – from collection and sorting to processing. For this purpose, existing pre-war infrastructure such as warehouses, shops, and processing plants of the "Soyuzutil" enterprise established in the USSR in 1932 was utilized. Procurement offices sought to engage former employees of this enterprise who, for various reasons, remained in the occupied territory, as well as anyone familiar with "the condition of secondary raw materials and willing to work in this industry" [27, p. 2]. In cities and villages, teams of waste collectors were established to serve either individual large enterprises or rural areas. They would supply the collected waste from collection points to district bases, support points, or directly to central warehouses. From there, the waste would be sent to central sorting warehouses – factories of the "Soyuzutil" enterprise in Kharkiv, Hlukhiv, Konotop, Stalino, Simferopol, and other cities. After sorting, the waste materials were sent to the respective factories for further processing; for example, bones and old paper went to Melitopol, scrap metal went to Klinty etc. [28, p. 2].

We are unable to reproduce the social portrait of waste collectors in the occupied territories, which has not yet been the subject of research. Undoubtedly, some individuals were engaged in or periodically joined this activity for ideological or economic reasons. In our view it is worth examining this issue from the perspective

of both political and economic collaboration, meticulously analyzing various socio-economic contexts.

From the first months of the occupation, there was agitation for the collection of raw materials and waste disposal. For instance, as early as October 18, the Dnipropetrovsk newspaper “Vilna Ukraina” wrote that “the collection and utilization [of waste] are of great importance. No piece of paper, glass, leather, or metal should be wasted but should be recycled. There are whole tons of works of ‘leaders’ alone. And these works and portraits would be useful; they could be raw materials for a new pen. It is necessary to establish this business now” [29, p. 2].

A typical article is “Collect Waste Materials”, in which the author pointed out that valuable raw materials – thousands of tons of colored and black metal, broken glass, and paper lying around corners without any benefit – should be collected. For this purpose, economic organizations should establish collection points for waste materials, where the city’s population could deliver them [30, p. 2]. In later publications of such articles, the authors appealed to anti-Soviet sentiments, which, in their opinion, were supposed to be present in Soviet citizens who, for various reasons, remained in the occupied territories: “By collecting all waste materials, you increase the military potential, strengthen the military-industrial might of Germany and its allies in the fight against Bolshevism, accelerate victory over it, and bring the time of peace closer. No piece of old rag, paper, or metal should be wasted in vain”. The Nazis, through the mouths of Ukrainian collaborators, declared that “Ukrainians must show their gratitude to the German command for liberation from Soviet oppression and actively participate in the metal collection”. Therefore, the population, albeit somewhat reluctantly, responded to this call and parted with items that could be dispensed with in their households but were crucial at the time for arming the German army and its allies [31, p. 4]. Accordingly, typical advertisements resembled the following: “Many residents of Kyiv have already delivered their waste of colored metal and rubber to collection points. When you also have such waste, do not keep it to yourself, but immediately hand it in!” [32, p. 2].

In the summer of 1943, a promotional campaign titled “Today – waste, tomorrow – goods!” which was held in the Ukrainian press indicated that waste materials were not only used to support the German war industry but also for the production of consumer goods such as clothing, various household items [33, p. 2], agricultural implements, tractors, and household goods [34, p. 2]. This attempt aimed to position this activity as a care for the Ukrainian population. The collaborators considered this an additional argument to encourage the population to collect waste more actively.

The Nazi authorities attempted to involve a wide range of actors in the activity of collecting scrap metal, including house wives, janitors, schools, disabled organizations, and mutual assistance committees [35, p. 4].

The occupation authorities sought to incentivize the population and organizations to engage in this activity by introducing reward vouchers. Depending on the type of raw material residents of the occupied territory delivered, a different number of

points was accrued. According to the decree of Deputy Gebietskommissar von Hemmingen, for every 10 Reichsmarks spent, the following points were accrued for the delivery of waste materials: for colored metals – 48 points; rags – 60 points; rubber – 60 points; old paper – 120 points; phonograph records – 36 points; bones – 72 points; down and feathers – 30 points; horns and hooves – 96 points; bottles – 30 points; shot – 80 points. These points, indicating the amount collected, could be used in German shops to purchase goods at fixed prices. In Dnipropetrovsk, collection points were to pay 2,5 Reichsmarks per kilogram of copper, 1,5 Reichsmarks per kilogram of brass, 2,15 Reichsmarks per kilogram of aluminum, 1,9 Reichsmarks per kilogram of German silver, and 1,2 Reichsmarks per kilogram of lead [16, p. 96-97]. Enterprises received certificates indicating the quantity of delivered raw materials, based on which their rewards were to be calculated. The money received by industrial enterprises for waste materials was intended to be used for the benefit of workers and officials, for example, for arranging communal facilities, aiding in the organization of gardens, etc. [36, p. 4].

Authors of articles in the Ukrainian collaborationist press stated: “Our schools can play a significant role in collecting waste materials. To achieve this, it is proposed that each school establish a collection point for waste materials. Students will contribute to these collection points, benefiting not only their own families but also neighboring families without school-aged children” [36, p. 4].

Furthermore, schoolchildren were expected to assist in collecting waste materials (such as paper, colored and black metals) and medicinal plants during summer vacation [37, p. 2]. This announcement reflects an aspiration to implement in Ukraine the experience of involving schoolchildren in waste collection, as practiced in Nazi Germany, where this phenomenon was widespread.

As Heike Weber and Charles Denton write, in German schools in the late 1930s, positions of waste educators were established to oversee the waste collection process and deliver them to local businesses dealing with rags and bones. In 1941, a new incentive system was introduced, rewarding points and prizes to the best-performing students and schools. German students annually collected between 22,000 and 26,500 tons of bones. It can be assumed that German students were motivated by a sense of patriotism, as these campaigns were conducted under the slogan “Germany needs resources!” [9, p. 125].

However, the motivation of Ukrainian schoolchildren was different. It was believed that “the children, in gratitude for their liberation from Bolshevik pioneer groups and the Komsomol, would gladly collect colored metals” [38, p. 4]. We have found information that in the Malovistivka district of the Kirovohrad region, on May 15, students collected 2,500 kg of colored metals [38, p. 4]. We do not have information confirming the widespread participation of Ukrainian students in such actions, apart from the publication of this fact in the newspaper “Ukrayinske Slovo”. However, it can be assumed that such cases were not widespread, as students were primarily utilized for agricultural work. For example, according to V. Hnidy, in the

village of Bilenke on the island of Khortytsia and the restored farms “Zaporozhets” and “Sich” from Zaporizhzhia, over 900 students were sent to work. Additionally, 700 students worked in household farms [39].

Within the territory of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine, primary attention was devoted to metals, which served as raw materials for weapon production. Both industrial scrap metal (metal scraps remaining at Soviet industrial enterprises) and household scrap metal were collected. Various items made of copper, nickel, tin, brass, zinc, bronze, new silver, tombac, ashtrays, wall decorations, bronze decorations, jars, boxes, plates, pitchers, cauldrons, trays, household items, especially kitchenware, bird cages, candlesticks, samovars, tableware, door plates, metal advertising signs, clasps, window locks, hooks, grilles, gates, balustrades, figures, old weapons, and so on, were collected [40, p. 2].

Massive requisitions of various metal products were also carried out. In May 1942, an author of one article wrote that “there were many different colored metals in the form of scrap, damaged utensils, tools, decorations, etc., in cities and villages. This valuable metal, mostly unnecessary for the population, is lying wastefully in closets and basements. But it is necessary for the military industry of Germany” [40, p. 2]. It can be assumed that such calls encouraged requisitions of such items.

It is worth emphasizing that in the occupied territories, popular methods of mobilizing the population and workers of the waste disposal system, such as mass campaigns (monthlies), were used, similar to those in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. The first large-scale campaign for collecting scrap metal unfolded in May-June 1942 on the initiative of the Reichskommissar of Ukraine. In the territory of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine, the collection of waste materials was entrusted to the existing department of industrial economy within the Third Main Department, and in the representations of the General Commissars – to the departments of industrial economy. To intensify this process, a labor commission was also established, which included deputy heads of the SS and police, the commander of the armed forces, Major Schu. Under the general and regional commissioners, labor headquarters existed to engage responsible workers from the local population in this activity. The “Soyuzutyl” store in Rivne became the place of accumulation for waste materials [41, p. 2].

In all populated areas, relatively short deadlines were announced for its implementation. For example, in the city of Kamyanske, the deadline for delivering scrap metal to enterprises and households was set from May 10 to May 30, 1942, and for the general population from May 10 to June 10, 1942 [41, p. 2]. The mayor of the city of Bila Tserkva and the Bila Tserkva district, Maykivsky, issued an order on June 28, 1942, regarding the diligent collection of colored metals. The population did not rush to comply with the orders of the occupying authorities, as he stated that if voluntary collection did not yield the desired results, house-to-house checks and forced collection of colored metals would be implemented. Village elders, and in Bila

Tserkva specifically, the Housing Department, were instructed to collect and deliver all colored metals within a week, by July 5 [42, p. 2].

In July 1942, at the direction of the Stadtkommissar in Kyiv, a large-scale collection of available waste material took place, including old iron, steel, unusable cars, canned boxes, various small broken metals, and so forth. The collected scrap metal was transported to four railway stations: Kyiv-Tovarnyi, Kyiv-Pechersk, Kyiv-Petryvka, and Kyiv-Lukyanivka, where special platforms were allocated for this purpose. All companies, institutions, district chiefs, and housing administrations participated in the collection of metal waste. According to the Stadtkommissar's order, they were required to immediately commence the transportation and delivery of waste material using their means, free of charge. In the housing administrations, building managers and precinct inspectors of the public order service were responsible for this matter. They organized the collection and transportation of metal waste to the tram tracks. Residents of each building were also required to help collect all available waste in the yards, streets, and premises. The organization of waste collection and delivery in the Municipal Administration was entrusted to the city secretary, and in the districts, to the district secretaries [43, p. 4].

In the autumn of 1942, the collection of other types of waste materials intensified in Ukraine. At the end of September and the beginning of October, a series of orders were issued by the general commissars to “all institutions, organizations, and private individuals who had cellars or other places for storing waste materials, to immediately submit announcements to the procurement and sales office and transfer all waste materials to its disposal”, [44, p. 4] indicating the low pace of voluntary submission of waste materials by the population. Companies involved in the collection of metals, as well as other types of waste materials, were also organized in 1943.

At present, we are unable to ascertain the effectiveness of these measures, the level of public participation in waste collection during the occupation, and the overall volume of their disposal. Generalized data in this area is currently lacking, and we can only imagine it based on several facts. For instance, in the Pervomaiskyi district of Mykolaiv Oblast in the first half of 1942, a plan was set to collect 52,000 kg of scrap black metals and 700 kg of colored metals. In Kyiv, from January to May 1942, 284 tons of colored metals were prepared and dispatched to corresponding factories according to work orders. Within just six days of one month, 26 tons of metals were prepared, including 7 tons in the Borodyanskyi district and 9 tons in the Makarivskyi district [45, p. 4].

Analysis of the Ukrainian press allows us to conclude that the Third Reich utilized waste materials quite extensively. Among scrap metals, the most important was the scrap of non-ferrous metals such as bronze, brass, aluminum, and their various alloys, which were used in military industry [36, p. 2]. Woolen rags were used to produce new fabrics, clothing, and threads; cotton rags were used to make paper, cardboard,

bags, and various stationery. Waste rags were used for stuffing mattresses, pillows, and wiping materials [46, p. 4].

Bones were used in the production of a wide range of goods, including soap, lubricating oil for machinery, explosives, candles, varnish and glue, insulation materials, printing inks, cosmetic products, fertilizers, feed for poultry [47, p. 3], canned broth and consumer powders [48, p. 3], bone charcoal, and bone meal for the sugar industry and agriculture. One of the bone processing plants, located between Kovel and Kostopol, processed 10 tons of bones per month, yielding 6 tons of bone charcoal [49, p. 4].

The recycled old paper was used in the production of insulation pipes, gaskets or building panels, casings, spools, paper linoleum, crates, various utensils, bicycle handles, military gearboxes, and bottles (by the end of 1942, 25 million pieces were sent to the front), hammers for the leather and rubber industry and pest control in agriculture, machine cleaning apparatuses, crepe paper for packaging and blackout purposes, and more. The majority of waste paper was utilized in the production of corrugated paper, which was used to make boxes [50, p. 3]. The collaborationist press claimed that “every 20 tons of old paper saved about 60 cubic meters of timber, which is almost a hectare of commercial forest”, thereby adding ecological arguments to the secondary use of paper.

Old rubber boots, various plastic rubber products, and vinyl records were used in the chemical industry; bottles and broken glass in the glass industry; flax waste and short fiber cotton, leather scraps, felt, pig bristles, and horsehair for textile production, leather, and haberdashery items; apricot pits were used in perfumery [35, p. 4].

Thus, the economic exploitation of Ukraine by Nazi Germany during WWII was broader than commonly believed. It included the extraction of many waste materials that were valuable raw materials for the development of various sectors of the wartime economy. Local administrations, agricultural cooperatives, various societies, enterprises, institutions, and individual citizens living in both urban and rural areas were involved in this activity. An appropriate infrastructure was created, based on the pre-war infrastructure formed in the USSR. However, questions remain unanswered regarding the motivation of the main actors involved in waste collection, the operations of enterprises in their processing within Ukraine, mechanisms for collecting various types of waste materials, and the outcomes of this activity, which could serve as prospects for further research.

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**Перга Т.Ю. Ресурсна політика Третього Рейху в Райхскомісаріаті «Україна»: вторинне використання відходів у 1941-1943 рр.**

Ця стаття досліджує асортимент і головні методи збирання відходів на території Рейхскомісаріату «Україна» під час окупації нацистськими військами. Джерельною базою статті є українська окупаційна преса. У статті показано, що видобуток різноманітних ресурсів і розкрадання матеріальних цінностей був спрямований на підтримку економічної та військової могутності Третього рейху, а політика збирання відходів була одним з її напрямів. Для налагодження цієї діяльності в цій царині нацисти використали існуючу на території України інфраструктуру – склади, фабрики та офіси «Союзутиля», створені напередодні Другої світової війни, а також інфраструктуру системи споживчої кооперації. Продемонстровано, що специфікою України є покладання обов'язків збирання відходів на споживчі товариства, які перетворились на основних акторів постачання різної сировини для потреб Третього Рейху. До цієї справи активно долучалися місцеві адміністрації та окремі кооперативи, також створювалися спеціальні товариства. Також окупаційна влада намагалась залучити школярів і широкі верстви населення, розробляючи для цього різні системи заохочення, однак участь цих акторів була незначною. Розглянуто особливості пропаганди збирання відходів на території Рейхскомісаріату «Україна», яка полягала в ідеологічних мотивах – вдячності за визволення від радянської влади, та економічних – потребі відходів для виробництва підприємствами нацистського режиму товарів народного споживання для місцевого населення. Стверджується, що головну увагу було приділено збиранню брухту чорних і кольорових металів, а також кісткам, паперу та ганчіркам. Автор припускає, що масштаби економічного пограбування України були набагато більшими ніж прийнято вважати, однак визнає, що це потребує подальших глибоких досліджень із залученням широкого кола архівних джерел.

**Ключові слова:** відходи, вторинне використання, Друга світова війна, нацистська Німеччина, окупаційна преса, євреї, метали, папір, ганчір'я, кістки.