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EVERYDAYNESS OF THE UKRAINIAN VILLAGE IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE NAZI OCCUPATION REGIME OF 1941–1943 (ON THE MATERIALS OF THE LEFT BANK OF CHERKASH)

Abstract. Purpose. *The purpose of this investigation is to find out the main features of everyday life in the Ukrainian countryside under the Nazi occupation regime and to substantiate the provisions of its terrorist and misanthropic nature on the basis of archival and published sources, oral history, in the context of local wartime events.*

Scientific novelty. *We can see it in the introduction into scientific circulation of hitherto unknown archival and narrative sources, the publication of new facts of regional history on this basis, and the presence of original interpretive constructions.*

Conclusion. *According to the empirical material, the everyday life of the villages of the Left Bank of Cherkasy region under the Nazi occupation regime, despite certain peculiarities, generally fit into the all-Ukrainian context of that extraordinary era. Many villagers fell victim to Nazi terror, were subjected to forced deportations and all sorts of restrictions. The occupiers considered the village as the primary source of replenishment of the Reich's food resources, so they pursued a policy of shameless looting, inhuman exploitation, and deportation. The reform of agriculture declared by them was not realized due to the prevalence of Ukrainophobic intentions in the occupation policy. In the field of educational and cultural life, the occupiers consistently pursued a line of deintellectualization and spiritual zombies of Ukrainians. The facts of local origin presented in the article convincingly consistently reveal the anti-Ukrainian and inhumane nature of the Nazi occupation regime. The everyday life of the village at that time was characterized by the emergence of the problems of survival of the peasants under the occupation pressure.*

Given the epistemological prospects of the topic discussed in this article, it needs further study and diversification based on the involvement of new facts of regional history.

Key words: *occupation, occupation authorities, auxiliary police, “new order”, terror, Zolotonosha, “public yard”, taxes, Reich, “ostarbeiter”, “public schools”, tactics of “scorched earth”.*

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ПОВСЯКДЕННІСТЬ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СЕЛА В УМОВАХ НАЦИСТСЬКОГО ОКУПАЦІЙНОГО РЕЖИМУ 1941–1943 РР. (НА МАТЕРІАЛАХ ЛІВОБЕРЕЖНОЇ ЧЕРКАЩИНИ)

Анотація. Мета. На основі архівних та оприлюднених джерел, надбань «усної історії», в розрізі місцевих подій воєнного часу з'ясувати основні риси повсякдення українського села в умовах нацистського окупаційного режиму та обґрунтувати положення про його терористичну й людиноненавистницьку сутність.

Наукова новизна. Її вбачаємо в уведенні в науковий обіг досі невідомих архівних та нарративних джерел, оприлюднення на цій основі нових фактів регіональної історії, наявності оригінальних інтерпретційних побудов.

Методологія. Запропоноване дослідження виконано в руслі соціальної історії та воєнної антропології з використанням розгалуженого методичного інструментарію: аналізу, синтезу, компаративістики, персоналізації, історичної статистики та полідисциплінарних і мікрорівневих підходів.

Висновки. Повсякденність сіл Лівобережної Черкащини в умовах нацистського окупаційного режиму, попри певні особливості, загалом вписувалася в загальноукраїнський контекст тієї непересічної доби. Чимало сільських мешканців стали жертвами нацистського терору, піддавалися насильницьким депортаціям і усіляким обмеженням. Окупанти розглядали село як першочергове джерело поповнення продовольчих ресурсів Райху, тому проводили політику безсоромного грабунку й нелюдського визиску. Задекларована ними реформа сільського господарства не була зреалізована через провал в окупаційній політиці українофобських намірів. В освітньо-культурному житті окупанти послідовно проводили лінію на деінтелектуалізацію та духовне зомбіювання українців. Наведені в статті факти місцевого походження переконливо розкривають послідовно антиукраїнську й антигуманну сутність нацистського окупаційного режиму. Повсякденність тогочасного села характеризувалася виходом на передній план проблеми виживання селян під окупаційним пресом.

Ключові слова: окупація, окупаційна влада, допоміжна поліція, «новий порядок», терор, Золотоніщина, «громадський двір», податки, Райх, «остарбайтер», «народні школи», тактика «випаленої землі».

Problem statement. Among the leading problems of domestic historiography, the history of the German-Soviet war occupies a prominent place. After all, the matrix of historical research is also projected onto modern society, and historical phenomena have the ability to stimulate social processes from a distance of many decades. The study of military issues seems especially motivated in view of Ukraine's current state of war, which was unleashed against it by the Russian Federation. Turning to the analysis of the events of 80 years ago allows us to establish certain analogies of the events, to single out their specifics, and, most importantly, to take into account the lessons of the past as much as possible. From the mentioned issues, the topic of the situation of Ukrainian society under the conditions of the Nazi occupation regime stands out in relief due to its human dimension. In this connection, a micro-level slice of the history of the under-occupation Ukrainian village on the example of events in regional history is considered appropriate.

Research analysis. The problem outlined by us has become the subject of consideration by modern

Ukrainian researchers. At the comprehensive level, O. Perehrest thoroughly researched the general trends of the situation of the Ukrainian village during the war, whose works were carried out on a vast source massif and contain convincing conceptual generalizations^{1, 2, 3}. The regional section of this problem is carried out in the works of local historians M. Ponomarenko⁴, M. Prylipko⁵, the authors of this publication^{6, 7}, as well as in the fundamental local history book «Cherkashchyna. The history of the region and its population»⁸. However, the study of the problem in local history works is fragmentary and incomplete, which makes it necessary to deepen and expand heuristic efforts.

In view of the above, the **purpose** of this investigation is to find out the main features of the everyday Ukrainian village under the conditions of the Nazi occupation regime and to substantiate the position about its terrorist and misanthropic nature, based on archival and publicized sources, «oral history» assets, in the context of local wartime events. The territorial continuum of the proposed study is determined by the borders of the modern Left-bank Cherkasy region (Zolotonisky district),

1 Перехрест О. Сільське господарство України в роки Великої Вітчизняної війни (1941 – 1945 рр.). Київ : Б. в. 2010. 150 с.

2 Перехрест О. Українське село 1941–1945 рр.: економічне та соціальне становище. Черкаси : ЧНУ ім. Б. Хмельницького. 2011. 668 с.

3 Перехрест О. Сільське господарство України в період нацистської окупації. Україна в Другій світовій війні: погляд з XXI ст. : історичні нариси. (Кн. 1). Київ. 2011. 668 с.

4 Пономаренко М. Золотоніщина. Золотоноша : Б. в. 1998. 80 с.

5 Приліпко М. Чорнобаївщина. Велична історія рідного краю (від найдавніших часів до сьогодення). Черкаси : Вид. Чабаненко Ю. А. 2008. 538 с.

6 Голиш Г., Пономаренко М. Золотоніщина в роки Великої Вітчизняної війни 1941–1945 рр. Черкаси : Відлуння-плюс. 2000. 240 с.

7 Голиш Г., Лисиця Л. Подорож Златокраєм : нарис історії Золотоніщини та її поселень від давнини до сьогодення. Черкаси: Вертикаль. 2018. 580 с.

8 Масненко В., Поліщук В. Черкащина: історія краю та його людності. Черкаси : Вид. Ю. Чабаненко. 2017. 698 с.

chronologically by the period of the Nazi occupation of the region (September 1941 – September 1943).

The statement of the basic material. After the retreat of units of the 26th Army of the South-Western Front from the Cherkasy Left-bank, on September 19-21, 1941, Hitler's troops entered the then regional centers of Zolotonosha, Helmyaziv, Drabiv, Chornobay, Irkliiv, and Kovalivka. The region was occupied by units of the 257-th division of the Wehrmacht, while in some villages the Nazis were met with bread and salt by groups of local residents, mostly from among those dissatisfied with the Soviet government. Since then, the period of Nazi occupation began in the Zolotonosha lands, which lasted two years and a few days in total. Already in the coming days, the occupiers drove the inhabitants of the villages to the central squares and German officers appeared before them (through an interpreter). It was ordered, under the threat of execution, to immediately surrender all selected weapons and military ammunition, not to provide any shelter to the surrounding Red Army men, Jews, or communists. Columns of Soviet prisoners of war who were encircled near Cherkasy and captured were driven through the villages. Dozens of them after filtering (commanders, commissars, Jews, seriously wounded) were shot in front of the villagers⁹.

Immediately after their arrival, the occupiers began to establish management of the occupied territories. A German military-civilian and Ukrainian auxiliary administration was created in Zolotonyshchyna. The structure of the local occupation administrative vertical was as follows: the district headed by the Gebit Commissioner (Zolotonisky Gebit, which was part of the Kyiv General District) – the district under the authority of the head of the district administration (as before the war – Zolotonisky, Helmyazovsky, Irkliivsky, Chornobayivsky) – village starostats. The Kovalivskyi and Drabivsky districts were included in the Pyryatinskyi debitage¹⁰. The functions of the village administrations (starostas) included the implementation of resolutions, orders, and orders of the occupation authorities regarding the collection of monetary and in-kind taxes on products and clothing, organizing the work of public yards, mobilizing villagers to perform labor duties, as well as facilitating the sending of young people to the Nazi Reich¹¹.

Elders were usually appointed willing peasants from the categories repressed by the Soviet authorities, who showed firm determination to

faithfully serve the Reich. However, the occupying power assumed certain miscalculations in the staffing of this management structure. Yes, in the village Ya. Velichka was initially appointed as the village headman of Den'hy, but as soon as the occupiers found out about his past (at one time he was a collective farm activist, a member of the Communist Party), he was immediately shot. Instead, P. Globa, who, from the point of view of the German authorities, had an «impeccable application form» (as deposed) became the new head of the three-person¹². As for the auxiliary police, the sources of its formation were quite diverse. Of course, its ranks were primarily those who suffered from Soviet power, and in this case the motives of revenge prevailed. Among the volunteers, there were also those who considered this formation as a law enforcement body (the insight came later). Some young people considered joining the police as a way to avoid being sent to Germany. Cases of violent mobilization of local residents to police ranks were not unique. It is known from the memories of old residents that a resident of the village was brutally beaten for refusing to serve in the police. s. Den'hy D. Sushchenko (teacher), as a result of which he became disabled and later died.

The police unit of terrible fame, if not the most brutal in the region, came to be in the village. s. Den'hy, the personnel of which fluctuated in different years between 10 and 15 people. Its leader was V. Nosenko, who came from a family of repressed people, was filled with a thirst for revenge and deserted from the ranks of the Red Army at the beginning of the war. In total, 27 villagers passed through the police service in this village (they were in its ranks from two months to two years)¹³.

Despite certain illusions and hope that the «new order» would bring a better life, the peasants quickly had the opportunity to see the terrorist nature of the occupation regime. The very first commandment of the invaders was the general destruction of bearers of communist, later nationalist ideology, Soviet activists, Jews, as well as those suspected of supporting the Resistance movement. The cases when such people were handed over to the occupation authorities by their fellow villagers became quite widespread. In order to encourage such «humane» acts, a considerable reward was provided from the occupiers: 10,000 krb.¹⁴.

People from the villages were driven to Zolotonosha and shot on the territory of the beet post or military town. O. Frolova, an eyewitness of those events, recalled: «...They (prisoners - author)

9 Спогади І. С. Сушенка, 1924 р. н., с. Деньги. *Особистий архів Голиши Г. М.*

10 Масненко В., Поліщук В. Черкащина: історія краю та його людності. Черкаси : Вид. Ю. Чабаненко. 2017. С. 477–478.

11 Гончаренко О., Лисенко О., Першина Т. Система управління окупованими територіями України. *Україна в Другій світовій війні: погляд з XXI ст.* 2011. №1. С. 322–323.

12 Спогади М. Я. Басая, 1925 р. н., с. Деньги. *Особистий архів Голиши Г. М.*

13 Спогади І. С. Сушенка, 1924 р. н., с. Деньги. *Особистий архів Голиши Г. М.*

14 *Українське слово.* 1941. 13 грудня.

were taken out in batches of 120 people, placed near the funnels ... and shot. When the funnels became overflowing with corpses, then the Germans began to throw the shot into the well, which was in the yard of the beet depot»¹⁵. In November 1941, an action was held to identify the Jewish population on the territory of the region. All these unfortunate people were driven to the tracts of Yarka and Strunkivka, where they were shot). In total, more than 3,500 Jews, including the elderly, women and children, became the victims of «Zolotonsky Babynyn Yar» (6, 32–33).

Already at the end of 1941, the occupiers destroyed 81 inhabitants of Helmyazov, 32 of Bubnivska Slobidka, 28 of Bohdans, 20 each of Pleshkans and Podstavaks, and 18 of Kalenyk¹⁶. The occupiers carried out new terrorist actions in the following year. For example, residents of s. Den'hy 1942 brought three big waves of bloody massacres. Just in time for Christmas, the occupiers, together with the local police, staged a roundup during which 36 local residents were arrested, suspected of being disloyal to the regime or having links with the partisans. They were sent to Zolotonosha, where V. Nosenko «sorted» these condemned: who would go to the barbed wire – therefore, to death, and who would go to the cell: there was a glimmer of hope for life. Only five were lucky, the remaining 31 were shot in the prison yard after being tortured, and mostly this was done by the s. Den'hy executioner V. Nosenko together with his policemen.

After the «bloody Christmas» in Den'hy, a new doomsday came, this time on Vasyl (the old New Year of 1942). On the initiative of the same V. Nosenko, another punitive action was carried out under the formal pretext of identifying and killing partisans. Hungarian punitive squad arrived in the village, and on that terrible day, 9 people from Dengiv were shot dead right on the streets of the village. The days of July 25 and 26, 1942, when the punishers and the local police caught 43 villagers in Den'hy and sent them to Zolotonosha, were engraved in the memory of the local residents. After another «sorting», in which the village headman P. Globa took part together with V. Nosenko, 36 people were shot. Among these innocent victims was the local teacher R. Yoffe and her young son¹⁷.

From July 25 to 31, 1942, the occupiers conducted a kind of «cleansing», during which the

remnants of the party-Soviet active in all districts of Cherkasy's Left Bank were arrested and shot. 7 national patriots who promoted the idea of an independent Ukraine were also shot¹⁸. In March 1943, the so-called «The Bakaiv Tragedy». From the village 63 nursing home wards were taken from Bakaivka to Zolotonoshi, and all these infirm people were destroyed¹⁹.

Sometimes the executioners resorted to barbaric methods of killing local residents. Thus, the punishers drowned several dozen activists of Drabiv in reservoirs near the villages of Svichkivka and Mykhailivka²⁰. In Zolotonosha, the occupiers harassed the prisoners with shepherd dogs, which dismembered people's bodies. The arrested were also driven through rows of stakes pointed at the top, as a result of which many died in terrible agony²¹. A 90-year-old resident of the village of K. Demchenko's Den'hy was burned alive in his house together with his disabled son Mykhailo. And her fellow villager, 80-year-old M. Prokopenko, was doused with gasoline by the police and burned in a pit²². The above facts convincingly testify to the terrorist and misanthropic essence of the Nazi «new order». There is no statute of limitations on these heinous crimes against humanity.

The occupiers, relying on collaborationists, took a number of measures to improve economic life. In this regard, the village was of interest to them primarily as a source of replenishment of the food resources of the Reich. Issues of agriculture were dealt with in the districts of Hebitsladswirt, and in the districts of Kraisländwirt, in addition to the occupation, the Ukrainian civil apparatus of land management and agricultural production also operated²³.

Although the Nazis announced the «final end of the collective farm system» already in the first days of the occupation, they were in no hurry to eliminate it. In the end, they introduced the so-called agrarian reform in accordance with the announced agrarian reform. «public yards» were essentially a copy of the collective farm, and therefore just as convenient a form of robbery of the peasants. As under the collective farm system, the agricultural enterprise was divided into production teams. The former state farms were transformed into state estates (for example, in the villages of Vesely Khutor, Velyka Burimka, Krasenivka, Stary Kovrai, Tarasivka)²⁴,

15 Німецькі окупанти на Полтавщині (1941–1943 рр.). Полтава. 1947. С. 24.

16 Державний архів Черкаської області (далі – ДАЧО). Ф. Р-87. Оп. 1. Спр. 25. Арк. 20.

17 Тарасенко П. Відверніться від них, люди. *Вісті з України*, 1972. 20 січня.

18 Центральний державний архів громадських об'єднань України. Ф. 166. Оп. 2. Спр. 34. Арк. 1.

19 Величко Е. Трагедія в доме престарелих. *Удар по врагу*. 1943. 1 октября.

20 Драбів. *Історія міст і сіл. Черкаська обл.* Київ: Вид УРЕ. 1972. С. 170.

21 Німецькі окупанти на Полтавщині (1941–1943 рр.). Полтава. 1947. С. 27.

22 ДАЧО. Ф. Р-680. Оп. 1. Спр. 4. Арк. 3.

23 Перехрест О. Сільське господарство України в період нацистської окупації. Україна в Другій світовій війні: погляд з XXI ст.: історичні нариси. (Кн. 1). Київ. 2011. С. 479.

24 Приліпко М. Чорнобаївщина. Велична історія рідного краю (від найдавніших часів до сьогодення). Черкаси: Вид. Чабаненко Ю. А. 2008. С. 375.

and MTS (in particular, Helmyazivska, Zolotoniska) were reorganized into agricultural bases. All these enterprises were under the control of German district commandants.

The crop wedge had about the same appearance as before the war, although it was expanded with poppy and tobacco crops. The occupation authorities brought to the agricultural enterprises annual plans for mandatory supplies of grain, potatoes, vegetables, meat, milk, and eggs to the Reich and unconditionally demanded their implementation.

After the actual failure of the autumn agricultural campaign, the occupation authorities resorted to extraordinary measures to organize sowing in the spring of 1942, which was reflected in the special circular of E. Koch «Regarding the spring sowing campaign of 1942» (February 18, 1942).

Payment for labor in the estates was made in the form of the same working days, which were slightly more filling than in the collective farms (1.5-2 kg of bread per working day). The chairman's monthly remuneration was 80 working days, the foreman – 40, and the rank-and-file – depending on labor participation and output.

Although all restrictions were removed from the development of personal subsidiary farms and they received a private status, in fact they also became primarily a source of replenishment of the food resources of the Reich. Peasants suffered from an overwhelming burden of all kinds of taxes: in the Reichskommissariat «Ukraine» they paid more than 12 of their types: per capita, household, as well as for each horse, cow, and even dog and cat. O. Perehrestom calculated that in 1943. For example, horse owners were taxed with annual fines in the amount of 240 krb. for each head. The total amount of taxes paid by the peasants of Poltava region reached 3112 kr. from each yard²⁵.

Taxes in kind were also raised: compulsory deliveries of agricultural and animal husbandry products by peasant farms were established. Peasants were obliged to hand over grain, vegetables, peas, beans, berries, meat, milk, eggs, fish, fodder, and all this was strictly controlled by the occupation authorities. District Administration for Agriculture forbade the peasants to grind grain until the plan for filling the grain to the seed and insurance funds was implemented²⁶. The order of the commandant of the city of Zolotonosh from January 15, 1942 became characteristic in this regard: «Whoever does not hand over milk to the butter factory will be fined up to 10,000 rubles, and whoever sells milk will be shot»²⁷.

However, despite the harsh punitive measures of the occupiers, there was a significant failure to fulfill the plan for the supply of agricultural products. Thus, at the end of 1942, the commandant of the Drabiv district, K. Becker, stated in his report that the plan for the donation of eggs by local authorities and the population was only one-third fulfilled²⁸.

Slaughter of livestock in private farms was carried out only with the permission of the headman and in specially designated places for this purpose. At the same time, it was allowed to keep only 25% of the products from the completed mandatory supply plan for personal needs. It was strictly forbidden to slaughter breeding animals, beef and dairy cows, farrowing sows, and working oxen. In the case of «illegal» slaughter, the meat was confiscated, and the guilty were subject to punishment²⁹.

Manipulating the public consciousness of the peasants, the occupation authorities announced the solemn transfer of land to them for homestead farming, and as a result demonstrative gatherings were held in large villages. Such an event with the participation of Denhi people took place on the day of the Resurrection of Christ in the village of Bogushkova Slobidka (the old name was returned during the occupation of the village of Chapaevka) at the stadium crowned with a large portrait of A. Hitler. The course of this odious action was pompously covered on the pages of the collaborationist newspaper «Zolotonisky Visti». Heideman, Gebitslandwirt Commissioner and Gebitslandwirt Büchner, who were present here, made propaganda speeches, and then a solemn handing over of documents for ownership of 678 hectares of land to 929 peasant households took place.

The occupation authorities organized the distribution of warm winter clothes for the German soldiers by the population. At the same time, both monetary payment for each surrendered unit and bonuses were provided. Thus, the reward for a voluntarily surrendered jacket was 50-400 krb, and the premium was 2 liters of vodka and a kilogram of terry cloth, for felted felt 50-120 krb, 1 liter of vodka and 2 kg of terry cloth, for cotton pants 50-120 krb, per kg vodka and shags. Whoever surrendered a cargo sled in a harness received up to 1,500 krb in payment and 3 liters of vodka and a kg of shag as a premium³⁰.

During the occupation, there were shops in the villages, but their range of goods was extremely poor: only rye bread, soap (with significant interruptions), and also shovels, pitchforks, and knives were sold.

25 Перехрест О. Сільське господарство України в період нацистської окупації. Україна в Другій світовій війні: погляд з XXI ст. : історичні нариси. (Кн. 1). Київ. 2011. С. 479.

26 Голиш Г. Пономаренко М. Золотоніщина в роки Великої Вітчизняної війни 1941–1945 рр. Черкаси : Відлуння-плюс. 2000. С. 27.

27 Німецькі окупанти на Полтавщині (1941–1943 рр.). Полтава. 1947. С. 40.

28 Козоріз В. Драбів і Драбівщина : нариси з історії рідного краю. Черкаси: Вертикаль. 2019. С. 545.

29 Українське слово. 1942. 11 лютого.

30 ДАЧО. Ф. Р-1842. Оп. 1. Спр. 4. Арк. 133.

The peasants suffered from a shortage, or even a lack of salt, sugar, matches, kerosene, clothes, and shoes. At that time, direct trade or barter prevailed³¹.

As for monetary settlements, they were initially carried out in Reichsmarks. In the spring of 1942, the Central Issuing Bank of Ukraine began operating in Rivne, which issued its own banknotes – «Ukrainian» roubles, which also appeared on the Left Bank of Cherkasy – from June 1. These occupation banknotes in the denominations of 1, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 500 krb were in circulation only on the territory of the Reich Commissariat «Ukraine», and their purchasing power was not high³².

In the fall of 1941, the construction of the Grishino-Rivnenskaya railway was resumed in the territory of the region, while, along with the involvement of local residents, the labor of Soviet prisoners of war from the «Kiev cauldron» who were brought to Zolotonishchyna in large batches was widely used. To install the track, tarred beech and pine sleepers and 9-meter rails brought from the dismantled railways of Belgium occupied by the Nazis were used. The rails were laid according to Soviet standards: 1,524 mm wide, which somewhat did not coincide with European standards (the track width was narrower there).

The works were supervised by civilian German railway engineers. In the village The s. Den'hy was used to equip a turnout and a half-station with a paneled wooden warehouse. A small station was built between the villages of Khvyliv and Sorochyn. Already in the fall of 1942, the monorail began to operate; from time to time, a German train called «cuckoo» ran from Velikiy Kanivtsi to Kaney. They mainly transported building materials, grain, soil (chernozem) for further shipment to the Reich. However, this more than episodic use of the railway in our region, as well as its further construction, stopped after some time³³.

During the period of sub-occupation, such a concept as «ostarbeiter» – «eastern worker» appeared. This was the name given to those former Soviet citizens who worked in Germany at industrial or agricultural facilities, in private German farms. Initially, leaving for the Reich was a voluntary matter and a limited group of rural youth used this right. However, as the problem of labor resources in the Reich worsened, the occupiers resorted to violent mobilization methods. It should be noted that the

occupiers usually did not take married people to the German «paradise» and this became the reason for a real wedding «boom» in the villages³⁴.

According to incomplete data, more than 5,550 young men and women were taken abroad from Zolotonsky district³⁵, 1,527 from Irkliivsky, and 5,448 from Chornobayivsky³⁶. In particular, from Helmyazov – 270, Bubnivska Slobidka – 250, Den'hiv – 240, Kovray – 200, Kalenyky – 133, Hladkivshchyna – 115, Bohdaniv – 77³⁷.

In the Reich, slaves were subjected to grueling work, inhuman conditions, hunger and disease. This is what the «star worker» from the village wrote to her aunt. s. Den'hy M. Pugach: «I work in a mine... My work is very difficult and very dirty, and the food is as follows: bread in the morning, liquid soup for lunch, soup in the evening. I'm already so depressed that I don't even want to breathe... They didn't try anything, except for that disgusting soup with husks». And her fellow villager, P. Pugach, complained in a letter to her father Anton: «I go to bed with tears... But only our will, which is at work, is like birds in a cage»³⁸.

Many natives met their death in captivity. For example, according to p. 15 people lost such irretrievable s. Den'hy. For example, N. Mynenko's life ended due to poisoning at a chemical plant, O. Fesenko's death was due to a serious illness, and O. Petrov, V. Ignatenko, P. Pugach and M. Khymenko were killed for opposing the Germans or for their connection with the Resistance movement. Another 9 ostarbaiters from Dengi died during bombings by Soviet and allied aircraft or went missing³⁹.

The educational and cultural policy of the occupiers was characterized by a cynical attitude towards the spiritual destruction of Ukrainianness. A. Hitler repeatedly emphasized: «... General education is a putrid poison... The vast masses of slaves will be given the benefit of remaining illiterate»⁴⁰. Such approaches were most consistently implemented in the Reich Commissariat «Ukraine». On January 12, E. Koch's directive came into force, which allowed classes to begin in February 1942 only in elementary («folk») schools, which were supposed to cover children under the age of 11. And in all subsequent directive documents, it was emphasized the need to limit education only to the primary level and to give students an extremely primitive minimum of knowledge⁴¹.

31 Спогади І. С. Сущенка, 1924 р. н., с. Деньги. *Особистий архів Голиши Г. М.*

32 Смолий А. та ін. Україна в Другій світовій війні: погляд з ХХІ ст.: історичні нариси. (Кн. 1). 2011. С. 453–454

33 Голиш Г. Пером публіциста : вибр. нариси, статті, інтерв'ю. Черкаси: Вертикаль. 2019. С. 238–239.

34 ДАЧО. Ф. Р-680. Оп. 1. Спр. 11. Арк. 19.

35 Голиш Г. Пономаренко М. Золотоніщина в роки Великої Вітчизняної війни 1941–1945 рр. Черкаси : Відлуння-плюс. 2000. С. 27.

36 Приліпко М. Чорнобаївщина. Велична історія рідного краю (від найдавніших часів до сьогодення). Черкаси : Вид. Чабаненко Ю. А. 2008. С. 376.

37 ДАЧО. Ф. Р-87. Оп.1. Спр. 5. Арк. 53.

38 ДАЧО. Ф. Р-98. Оп.1. Спр. 57. Арк. 57.

39 Архів старостату с. Деньги.

40 Краль В. Преступления против Европы. Москва : Мысль. 1968. С. 13.

41 Центральний архів вищих органів влади і управління України. Ф. 3676. Оп. 1. Спр. 232. Арк. 3.

«Folk schools» opened in the region in the spring of 1942 worked irregularly and often stopped their work for various reasons. Collaborative newspapers were full of «justifications» for such actions, for example: «the Reichskommissar closed schools ... for reasons of public health or because of the lack of «educational material suitable for the education of young people». There were also «clarifications» that demonstrated the hypocrisy of the occupiers, such as: «school work is a less important task than establishing a new order»⁴².

Schools were usually located in adapted premises or private residences. and their programs were limited to reading, writing, numeracy, physical education, and manual labor. Minor residents of the region from under one ideological totalitarian press – the Bolshevik one – fell under another, in many respects related to the first one – the Nazi one. The education system in schools was completely consistent with the Nazi doctrine of forming in Ukrainians a sense of slavish obedience and readiness to cooperate with the German authorities. «The teacher must instill in students love for the friendly German people, who, having sprinkled the Ukrainian land with the blood of their soldiers, wrested Ukraine from the bloody Jewish-Bolshevik clutches», – such recommendations flooded the collaborative periodicals⁴³.

The realization of such educational goals was facilitated by the appropriate design of school interiors, which included portraits of A. Hitler and slogans such as: «Hitler is the liberator of Europe», «Whoever helps the Führer helps himself», «Work for the benefit of the Reich is an obligation connection of a Ukrainian» etc.⁴⁴.

During their hasty retreat in September 1943, the occupiers used scorched earth tactics and tried to leave a desert behind. At the same time, they were guided by the criminal order of the supreme command of the Wehrmacht «On the methods of carrying out destruction during the retreat of military units», which specifically stated the following: «... All structures and supplies should be completely destroyed in the abandoned territory... Burn all the houses without exception; to blow up furnaces in houses with the help of hand grenades, to make wells unusable by destroying the lifting device, and also by throwing dirt into them...; to burn haystacks with straw and hay, as well as various kinds of supplies; to blow up agricultural machines and poles of stationary wire lines; sink ferries and boats...»⁴⁵.

Terrible were the consequences of carrying out this criminal order in Zolotonyshchyna as well. So, the German torchbearers mercilessly burned the village. 492 houses out of 658 are in Den'hy, 449 out of 994 in Chapaevtsi, 72 out of 87 in Lypivsky, 72 out of 90 in Zalizki, and in the village of All 130 houses of local residents were burned with crosses⁴⁶.

The peasants were forced to evacuate to the Right-bank and were driven like cattle across a pontoon bridge and then through Cherkasy. In the end, the exiles ended up in the right-bank villages; here they were settled by 10-12 people in local houses without any means of livelihood. Only a part of the residents of the Left-bank managed to avoid forced expulsion: they hid in the nearby forests and swamps⁴⁷.

The conclusions. As it follows from the empirical material involved in this study, the everyday life of the villages of the Left-bank Cherkasy region under the conditions of the Nazi occupation regime, despite certain peculiarities, generally fit into the all-Ukrainian context of that unique era. Many villagers became victims of Nazi terror, subjected to forced deportations and all kinds of restrictions. The occupiers saw the village as a primary source of replenishing the food resources of the Reich, therefore they pursued a policy of shameless robbery and inhumane exploitation. The agricultural reform declared by them was not implemented due to the prevalence of Ukrainian-phobic intentions in the occupation policy. In the field of educational and cultural life, the occupiers consistently followed the line of deintellectualization and spiritual zombification of Ukrainians. The facts of local origin presented in the article convincingly reveal the consistently anti-Ukrainian and anti-human nature of the Nazi occupation regime. The everyday life of the village at that time was characterized by coming to the fore, first of all, the problems of survival of the villagers under the occupation press.

The research segments touched upon in this exploration are far from exhausting the entire diversity of rural everyday life during the occupation period, and therefore, in view of the epistemological perspective, they require further study and diversification precisely on the basis of the involvement of facts of regional history.

42 Дзвін. 1942. 25 січня.

43 Українське полісся. 1942. 21 січня.

44 Державний архів Київської області. Ф. Р-2362. Оп. 6. Спр. 44. Арк. 13.

45 Преступные цели – преступные средства : докум. об оккупационной политике фашистской Германии на территории СССР (1941–1945 гг.). Киев, 1968. С. 326.

46 Голиш Г. Пономаренко М. Золотоніщина в роки Великої Вітчизняної війни 1941–1945 рр. Черкаси : Відлуння-плюс. 2000. С. 92.

47 Спогади П. С. Бузунар, 1919 р. н., с. Деньги. *Особистий архів Голиша Г. М.*

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