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**RECEPTION OF THE HOLODOMOR OF 1932 – 1933 IN THE PRACTICE
OF THE NAZI OCCUPATION REGIME IN UKRAINE AS A MEANS
OF FORMING THE MODEL OF HISTORICAL MEMORY**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research is to analyze the materials of the occupation periodicals, as well as the institutions of the German occupation administration's practice activities in Ukraine regarding the use of the facts of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 as a tool of propaganda influence and a means of forming a new model of historical memory of the Ukrainians. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of historicism, systematic analysis, objectivity and complexity, general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, methods of historical science and source*

studies, theoretical developments of modern research on propaganda and propaganda operations, the corresponding conceptual and categorical apparatus. **The scientific novelty** is determined by the attempt to form the author's concept of the Nazi propaganda's influence regarding the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 on the Ukrainians' historical memory formation, their denial of the imperial ambitions of the Russian imperialism. **The Conclusion.** In the occupied Ukrainian lands the Nazi policy was based on the intensive ideological support, which used the theme of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 as one of large-scale crimes of the Stalinist regime in order to implement a new model of historical memory in the mass consciousness of the Ukrainian society. The Ukrainian society found out the true scale of this tragedy owing to the propagandistic inspirations of the German authorities. In general, the Nazi propaganda blamed the Soviet government and its main socio-political support – the Jews, in particular, for organizing the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933. The German propaganda, based on the methods of suggestion, persuasion and argumentation, using true (in the case of the Holodomor) material, led to a certain deformation of the legal consciousness of the Ukrainians, the specific manifestations of which were legal conformism, legal nihilism and reborn legal consciousness. The collective historical memory of the Ukrainians, which was not completely destroyed by the Soviet authorities, the core of which was the Russian imperialism rejection in all its forms and manifestations, and the narrative of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933, formed by the German propaganda, manifested itself quite clearly during the period when Ukraine regained its independence.

Key words: Nazi occupation, propaganda, propaganda operation, Holodomor, Holocaust, historical memory, memory space, conformism, nihilism, legal consciousness.

РЕЦЕПЦІЯ ГОЛОДОМОРУ 1932 – 1933 рр. У ПРАКТИЦІ НАЦИСТСЬКОГО ОКУПАЦІЙНОГО РЕЖИМУ В УКРАЇНІ ЯК ЗАСІБ ФОРМУВАННЯ МОДЕЛІ ІСТОРИЧНОЇ ПАМ'ЯТІ

Анотація. Метою статті є аналіз матеріалів окупаційної періодики, а також практики діяльності установ німецької окупаційної адміністрації в Україні щодо використання фактів Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. як інструменту пропагандистського впливу й засобу формування нової моделі історичної пам'яті українців. **Методологія дослідження** базується на принципах історизму, системного аналізу, об'єктивності та комплексності, загальнонаукових методах аналізу й синтезу, методах історичної науки та джерелознавства, теоретичних напрацюваннях сучасних досліджень пропаганди і пропагандистських операцій, а також відповідному понятійно-категоріальному апараті. **Наукова новизна** визначається спробою формування авторської концепції впливу нацистської пропаганди у частині тематики Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. на формування історичної пам'яті українців, заперечення ними імперських амбіцій російського імперіалізму. **Висновки.** Нацистська політика на окупованих українських землях базувалася на інтенсивному ідеологічному супроводі, що за мету імплементацію у масову свідомість нової для українського суспільства моделі історичної пам'яті використовувала тему Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. як одного із наймасштабніших злочинів сталінського режиму. Саме завдяки пропагандистським інспіраціям німецьких властей українське суспільство дізналося про справжні масштаби цієї трагедії. Провина за організацію Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. покладалася на радянську владу загалом та її головну (у нацистській пропаганді) соціально-політичну опору – євреїв, зокрема. Німецька пропаганда, базуючись на методах навіювання, переконання та аргументації, застосовуючи правдивий (у випадку – Голодомору) матеріал, призвела до певної деформації правосвідомості українців, конкретними проявами якої стали правовий конформізм, правовий нігілізм і переродження правосвідомості. Не повністю знищена радянською владою колективна історична пам'ять українців, серцевиною якої було неприйняття російського імперіалізму в усіх його формах і проявах, та сформований німецькою пропагандою наратив Голодомору 1932 – 1933 рр. доволі рельєфно проявилися у період відновлення Україною незалежності.

Ключові слова: нацистська окупація, пропаганда, пропагандистська операція, Голодомор, Голокост, історична пам'ять, простір пам'яті, конформізм, нігілізм, правосвідомість.

The Problem Statement. Historical memory as a set of simplified knowledge and mass ideas about the past, society's reception of shared experience belongs to crucial elements of a social identity formation and is a means of self-identification of certain communities, including the national ones. Individual and collective reception of a particularly tragic past, which, moreover, is within the "horizon" of the space of memory, is actualized at critical moments of the historical process and is able not only to ensure homogeneity and consolidation of society, but also to direct all its potential to defeat the hostile political regime and ideology, the bearers of which historical memory preserves the guilt of committing an act of genocide or other type of mass crimes. We believe that the collective historical memory of the Ukrainian people, which was not completely destroyed by the Soviet government, the core of which was the Russian imperialism rejection by the majority, in all its forms, played an important role in the restoration of Ukraine's independence in 1991.

There are events in the history of every society, the memory of which remains forever in its collective self-consciousness. The Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 was one of these events for the Ukrainians – an unprecedented crime in European history, committed by the top leadership of the Bolshevik government of the USSR against the entire nation. Despite the active opposition of the Soviet totalitarian regime and official denials of the very fact of this national tragedy, the memory of it still remained at the level of individual and collective self-awareness, woven into the mental and spiritual matrix firmly, the very existence of the Ukrainians as an ethnic group. During the Soviet period, this post-genocide memory was unofficial, banned by the authorities, peripheral, but never completely forgotten. At the same time, no matter how paradoxical it sounds, the fact of the Holodomor influenced a mental matrix of a historical memory of the Ukrainians strongly during the extremely tragic and difficult period of World War II and the Nazi occupation. At that time, the Bolshevik occupation power was superseded by the Nazi occupation regime with its administrative formations in Ukraine, the same – no less cruel regime, framed in carefully thought-out organizational and legal forms: the District "Galicien" ("Halychyna"), the Reichskommissariat "Ukraine" and the Military Zone of Occupation. Different scholars analyzed the specifics of the Provisional Military Administration's area of responsibility in separate works (Honcharenko & Potylchak, 2021; Honcharenko, 2022; Honcharenko & Ivanenko, 2023). The Governorate of Transnistria was established on the territory of the southwestern Ukrainian lands and the left bank of the Dniester in modern Moldova, which was under temporary Romanian administration. At the same time, the supreme jurisdiction in this occupation formation belonged to Germany.

It was obvious that the Ukrainian society was in a drastic need of both new models of social organization and a new model of memory space, which their occupiers set out to create and implement in the occupied territories under the new historical conditions. The model of "a new historical memory" was not only supposed to reveal to the Ukrainians their past, to explain the situation in which the society was until now, but also to mark the lines of behaviour in the ambiguous coordinate system of the Nazi occupation regime. At the same time, a specifically managerial logic of influence on the controlled society provided for not only the creation of a new legal system that would regulate the behaviour of the local population, but also certain procedures for the legitimation of the new regime.

It was precisely for the sake of legitimizing the new occupation regime in the Ukrainian society that its administrators were in a drastic need of such a delicate and precise tool as historical memory. It was about some correction of the memory space for the Ukrainians, primarily about its de-Sovietization. The new regime was "just", because it was purely

officially fighting against the Bolsheviks, who actually and repeatedly committed crimes against the Ukrainian people. Hence, the Nazi occupation authorities only had to show it to the local population, and no one had any doubts about the scale of the crimes. It should be noted that the Ukrainians' memory space began to change almost immediately right after the emergence of the new government, and it happened outside the conscious wishes of the occupying authorities, at the initiative of the active national intelligentsia primarily. The authorities offered a new system of values and coordinates of behaviour to the society, tried to prove the cruelty and inhumanity of the Bolshevik regime, based on the historical past, through the broadcasting channels available to it. In the case of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933, the factor of time worked for this task, because not much time passed since those tragic years. Hence, the Nazi occupation authorities were in charge of the first widespread informing of the Ukrainian society about the consequences of the Bolshevik crime of genocide.

The propaganda remained a dominant tool for the formation of a new model of memory space for the Ukrainian society in 1941 – 1944 as during the Bolshevik regime. It should be noted that we are not talking about propaganda as a means of solving the tactical tasks of the administration of subdued territories for the time being. The range of tasks of the new government's propaganda activities included the issues of informing local residents, preventing deviant manifestations and observing lawful behaviour from the point of view of the occupiers, forming its conformist model, as well as neutralizing the political and racial enemies of the Third Reich.

In our case, the Nazi propaganda on the occupied territories of Ukraine is considered primarily as a tool for correcting the space of memory, a means of forming a certain memorial practice determined by the ideological and political priorities of the new government.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. Despite the existence of quite a large number of historical narratives devoted to various aspects of the occupation regime of 1941 – 1944, the issue of forming a new model of historical memory of the Ukrainian society during the Nazi occupation remains practically uncovered. It is obvious that the Soviet historians and party ideologues did not even try to polemize in the discourse on the topics of the Bolshevism and Stalinism crimes committed against the Ukrainians in the 1930s, widely promoted in the occupied territories. The image of the communist totalitarian system was not impeccable, hence, in order not to aggravate the situation in the eyes of the world community and its own citizens, complete silence on this issue seemed to be the only “correct” way in Moscow. It is clear that at that time there was no question of reflecting the tragedy of 1932 – 1933 in the historical memory of the Ukrainian people. The historiographical situation in the indicated thematic niche changed nowadays noticeably. We have a fairly wide range of works in which the Nazi propaganda influence on the local population of occupied Ukraine was reconstructed. First of all, the authors of these studies were scholars, who studied the German information space during the period of 1941 – 1944 – O. Lysenko (Lysenko, 2011), T. Zabolotna (Zabolotna, 2008), M. Mykhailiuk (Mykhailiuk & Nesterenko, 2006), D. Tytarenko (Tytarenko, 2002), K. Kurylyshyn (Kurylyshyn, 2010), V. Nesterenko (Nesterenko, 2005). There was a significant group of works in which the subject of research was the Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda. As a rule, the above-mentioned studies, related to the general principles and main directions of the Nazi propaganda in the occupied territory. The majority of these authors believed that the effectiveness of the German propaganda was at a low level, because it contradicted the realities of the occupation regime. In our opinion, the Candidate's thesis, written by K. Dolhoruchenko was the only work that dealt with adequate

consequences of the Nazi propaganda on the local society of Ukraine as it covered the relevant activities of the “Vineta” special department. Thus, analyzing the effectiveness of the activity of this propaganda structure, the author of the work used methods and criteria on the basis of which it was generally possible to analyze this line of work of the occupation authorities. K. Dolhoruchenko, was not as unequivocal in her analysis as other researchers of this issue. There was a thesis about significant shortcomings in her research, primarily related to the inconsistency of propaganda with a real political and social situation in the country. It was as a “tribute” to the modern historiographical tradition, but, nevertheless, the scholar claimed that active propaganda became an effective a way of (de)forming public consciousness and behaviour, as it was convincing, informative, credible and reasoned (Dolhoruchenko, 2021, pp. 188, 199, 200).

According to the language of lawyers, the scholars don't pay much attention to the objective side of this issue. After all, neither the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 nor the Great Terror of 1937 – 1938, as well as other numerous crimes of the Bolshevik regime, were the fantasies' product of the employees of J. Goebbels' department. Those crimes were a terrible reality that the Soviet authorities hid from their own people, and the Nazi propaganda used it to fight against its political and ideological antipode. Hence, the publication of information content about the crimes of the Bolsheviks by the Nazi propagandists also had objective consequences, despite the specific goals of its distributors (anti-Bolshevism and anti-Semitism). And this was not so much informing about the fact of the Holodomor (few Ukrainians doubted this), but the fixation of this fact itself in the public discourse, which was the first step towards consolidating and legitimizing the concept of the Holodomor crime in the mass consciousness and collective memory of the people, ultimately a step to the formation of a new model of the historical memory of the Ukrainians.

The Methodology of the Research. Taking into account the state of scientific study of the issue on the Nazi propaganda influence in Ukraine in 1941 – 1944, **the purpose of the article** is to analyze the materials of occupation periodicals, as well as the institutions of the German occupation administration's practice activities in Ukraine regarding the use of the facts of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 as a tool of propaganda influence and a means of formation a new model of historical memory of the Ukrainians.

The Results of the Research. As you know, the leading countries of the world, having a sufficient amount of information about the crimes of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine, in particular about the Holodomor organized by them, were in no hurry to announce these facts. At the same time, the leadership of Germany was perhaps the first among the leaders of the great powers of the world to recognize the de facto Bolshevik crime of the Holodomor in Ukraine. It is obvious that, it was done not out of sympathy for the suffering people, but rather to discredit their political opponents, as always in “big politics”. And as history showed, during the war with the Soviet Union the top of the Nazi Third Reich used the issue of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine primarily as an informational excuse for criticizing the ideology and practice of Bolshevism – its political antipode and main rival in the global military and political conflict for the achievement of world domination.

The Nazi occupation of Ukraine presented our people with a kind of moral choice: on the one hand, the claims of the Nazi propagandists that the Third Reich brought freedom to Ukraine turned out to be false, and on the other hand, the local society was introduced to the actions of the Soviet occupying forces, which were no less criminal than those of the Nazi regime that took place during the period of 1918 – 1941. At the same time, the Nazis

characterized the entire political line of the Soviet regime towards the Ukrainian people as criminal. In fact, the local population found itself between two totalitarian systems, because both sides of the geopolitical armed confrontation fought for influence over the population of occupied Ukraine, seeking to gain its support. Both the Soviet and the Nazi regimes built their own, diametrically opposed models of the historical memory of the Ukrainians. The very policy of the Soviet government towards the Ukrainian people was called criminal (*Zlochyny bilshovykiv shchodo ukrainskoho narodu. Holos Dnipra. 1941. 30 veresnia*). In fact, the local population found itself between two totalitarian regimes, the struggle between which was at its peak. Striving for the population support of occupied Ukraine, both totalitarian powers competed for influence over it. At the same time, both Stalinism and Hitlerism built their own, diametrically opposed in content but similar in character, models of memory space for the Ukrainians.

Focusing on the Ukrainian society under occupation, the anti-Soviet messages were quite effective in subjugating the natural desire of the Ukrainians to reclaim their historical memory as a condition for the future of the nation. This task was achieved due to the creation of a network of regional and local, mainly the Ukrainian-language, periodicals. From the point of view of the Nazi propagandists, it was the press that had to act as a public mediator for the Ukrainians “to remember” and reinterpret the dramatic and tragic pages of their Soviet past.

In periodicals, numerous materials on the historical subjects were published and they covered different times: from ancient times to the events of the 20th century. And one of the central themes, which was used actively and fully in the propaganda activities and practical work of the Hitlerite occupation administrations in the district “Galicien” (“Halychyna”), the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” and the military zone of occupation was the theme of the most terrible crime of Stalinism in Ukraine – the artificial famine of 1932 – 1933 organized by the Bolshevik leadership of the USSR. This informational excuse simply could not remain unnoticed by either the Nazi propagandists or the occupation administrators. Both the former and the latter perfectly understood that the moral and psychological influence caused by the wide publicity of the facts of this recent crime of Bolshevism could objectively contribute to the disposition of the local Ukrainian population against the Soviet government and the former party and economic functionaries, a significant part of whom could not evacuate and remained in occupation. The hopes of the Nazis to neutralize in this way the future Opir (Resistance) Movement, the population’s opposition to the occupation policy, as well as to contribute to “a final solution of the Jewish issue” were crucial motives for publicizing the facts about the Holodomor.

The fact that the truth about the Holodomor was heard in the German-occupied Ukraine can be partly seen as a journalistic, initial stage of the formation of the corresponding historiographical tradition. The fact is that together with the Wehrmacht, the structures of the OUN of both directions entered Ukraine, and the Western Ukrainian society and the Ukrainian political emigration did have information about the events in Ukraine in 1932 – 1933. Numerous nationally conscious Ukrainians, natives and residents of the western regions of the country, joined the journalist teams of the occupation periodicals in the east. The editorial team also included a part of the local intelligentsia – these were people, who knew about the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 not from stories, but from their own life experience. The goals and the objectives of the occupation administrators and nationalists coincided in this segment of the reconstruction of the truth about the life of Ukrainians in the USSR. After the administrators and nationalists were removed from the editorial offices of the periodicals, and

in some cases their physical liquidation, as happened for example with the editorial office of the “Ukrainske Slovo” (Kyiv), informational content about the Holodomor still continued to be heard in the materials of the occupation press. The Nazi propaganda exploited the above-mentioned topic actively and widely.

Despite the administrative partition of Ukraine by the Nazis and the creation of several occupation zones on its territory, stories about the Holodomor were one of the key in the topic of the press propaganda materials not only in the RKU or in the east of Ukraine under the control of the military authorities, but also in Galicia – on the lands that on September 1, 1939, were part of the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and whose Ukrainian population was not subjected to the Bolshevik torture by starvation. It should be mentioned that only the content of the publications differed to a certain extent: in the eastern Ukraine it sometimes relied on local material, and then Galicia’s periodicals reprinted mostly articles published by the press of the RKU or the military zone. At the same time, people were frequently reminded about the recent bitter experience of their life in the “Soviet paradise”, about how at one time Western Ukrainians collected aid for “starving brothers from Naddnyprianshchyna”. Hence, the thematic content about the famine of 1932 – 1933 as a crime of the Bolshevik government against the Ukrainian people, spread to the Ukrainian population in all German occupation zones. At the same time, the Holodomor issue became a powerful factor that really motivated and consolidated a part of society on the basis of anti-Bolshevism, and formed a new model of memory space for the Ukrainians for both the Germans and the nationalists.

The search for an effective version of the Nazi propaganda for the occupied territories of Ukraine led to the modification of its main concepts – the anti-Bolshevism and the anti-Semitism and the emergence of a completely new propaganda structure – the so-called “Jewish-Bolshevism”. Thus, as time passed by it was clear that the occupiers received a convenient and, quite efficient propaganda tool, which enabled the new authorities to identify the Jews, communists and workers of the Soviet penal authorities, to accuse them of persecuting the Ukrainian population, and to call themselves the “liberators” from a deadly “Jewish-Bolshevism virus”. According to this logic, all the crimes of the Stalinist regime committed against the Ukrainians were transferred exclusively to the Jews. Thus, the Nazi propagandists used a proven means of manipulating mass public consciousness, individual subconsciousness, and the moral and psychological attitudes of the local population. The occupiers used a similar algorithm to correct the Ukrainians’ memory space and to form a new model of vision of the historical past. Such kind of active use of manipulation and suggestion tools allowed the Nazis to adjust the occupied people’s space of memory in a certain way, to harmonize the model of the Ukrainians’ historical memory with their own propaganda concepts, already existing at the level of individual consciousness and subconsciousness.

In 1941, the Ukrainian society looked deeply demoralized. It happened due to the military defeats of the Red Army and also large-scale social experiments conducted by the Soviet authorities during the entire period of the Bolshevik rule in Ukraine. It took a long time for the “foreign” and occupying power, which in 1918 was brought in with bayonets from the Bolshevik Russia, not least owing to the New Economic Policy and Ukrainization, to be legalized in the eyes of the majority of the Ukrainian society. The subsequent social experiments of the Bolsheviks with tragic consequences, for example, famine terror, waves of deportations and mass repressions, led to fundamental deformations of the Ukrainian society, the field of its memory and, ultimately, to the formation of a new, “Soviet” model, the historical memory of the Ukrainians. At the same time, the individual subconsciousness

continued to preserve stereotypes, one of which was domestic anti-Semitism. A significant social distancing between the Ukrainians and the Jewish community in the UkrSSR contributed to the preservation of this phenomenon in public consciousness. Hence, the Nazi propaganda spread the slogan of the “Jewish-Bolshevism” and it was accepted due to previous propaganda actions. In the summer of 1941, many people blamed the Jews not only for committing the crimes of the Bolshevik regime, but also the military defeat of the Red Army. The presence of such sentiments in the non-public discourse was particularly recorded by the NKVD’s operational reports, based on the results of intelligence work among the population of Kyiv on the eve of the occupation (Vronska, Kentii, Kokin, Lysenko & Smyrnov, 2004).

According to the authors, when determining the background against which the memory space correction processes unfolded, it is necessary to take into account the crisis moral and psychological state of the Ukrainian society during the first weeks and months of “a new order”. The military defeats and the retreat of the Red Army, as well as the first large-scale repressions by the occupation authorities, were factors of influence here. Along with this, the realities of “the total war with Bolshevism” gave grounds to talk about the existence of political, social, moral and psychological prerequisites for the reception of the mass terror of the Nazis by a part of the population of Ukraine not as something extraordinary, apocalyptic and repulsive, but as an ordinary manifestation of war. It does not mean that a certain part of the population (except those who did not perceive the anti-Semitic measures) approved the punishers’ actions completely. The reality was that under the conditions of a direct threat to the life of a specific person in society, as a protective reaction, peculiar behavioral strategies for survival under war conditions were gradually formed: getting used to the Nazi terror, negligence, indifference, inertia and passivity. This mental matrix of the behaviour of yesterday’s Soviet citizens, on which the reality of the wartime was superimposed, was formed by the dramatic and tragic events of the interwar history of Ukraine, which were affected by mass political terror, genocide-famine and repression against real and pretended enemies. They brought in a devaluation of a human life, formed a psychology of collective guilt and responsibility. In addition, the denial of elementary civil rights to the representatives of entire social groups was an everyday phenomenon during the pre-war USSR. But obviously, the Holodomor was the most tragic reminder of the Soviet reality. The tragic events of 1932 – 1933, known and understood by almost every Ukrainian, apparently accumulated the vast majority of the anti-Soviet theses from the columns of the occupation periodicals.

The occupiers’ propaganda impulses, which were aimed at transforming the consciousness of the Ukrainians, were nothing more than an informational and psychological influence. According to the definition, information-psychological influence is the production and dissemination of special information aimed at having a positive or negative impact on the functioning and development of the information-psychological environment of society, the population’s psyche and behaviour, which is directed mainly to the emotional sphere of consciousness. At the same time, the process of reception by the object of informational and psychological influence is quite specific, because only reception and memorization function in it, but comprehension almost does not take place (Saienko, 2015). Despite this, the occupation propaganda also used a mechanism of persuasion, which not only transmitted informational content, but also analyzed it using a system of logical proofs. When applying the mechanism of persuasion, the rational sphere of a person’s consciousness is included, which in turn involves his active participation in the process of cognition. Persuasion is effective if the examples are given based on analogies, evidence, include statements of

famous people, authoritative for the audience, and if they coincide with previously learned opinions and assessments.

K. Dolhoruchenko believed that the Nazi occupation propaganda had all the signs of a permanent information and propaganda operation. The Ukrainian society as a whole was the main focus of the Nazi occupation propaganda; it had a controlled and well-thought-out character. The actual information attack was intended to suppress any manifestations of rational or critical thinking in society. Classic methods of the Nazi propaganda were: assertion and repetition, suppression and distortion of facts, methods of half-truths, destruction of authority, labelling, and demonization of the enemy (Dolhoruchenko, 2021, p. 91). Taking into consideration the above-mentioned set of characteristics, the German propaganda regarding the local population of occupied Ukraine looked like informational and psychological, manipulative actions of a negative, and sometimes destructive, nature. Their goal was to devalue the Soviet-Bolshevik ideas, to undermine and weaken a moral and psychological state of population, to provoke ideologically motivated people to commit illegal actions for the purpose of undermining or destroying the Soviet socio-political system. Propaganda theorists tried to determine the formula for the effectiveness of the propaganda influence and enumerated three fundamental principles: propagated ideas should be of interest; informational content should be simple and clear; the purpose of propaganda determines the methods of its implementation (Dolhoruchenko, 2021, pp. 93, 170).

Even a cursory review of the titles of the editorial and author articles of the occupation press in 1941 – 1944 makes it possible to make sure that informational and propaganda stories about the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 were key in the subject matter of its materials, in particular those aimed at such a wide readership as the Ukrainian peasantry. The following was clearly emphasized: the artificial famine organized by the Bolsheviks in Ukraine in 1932 – 1933 became the apogee of the offense inflicted on the Ukrainians by the Soviet authorities, and the blame for the organization of the Holodomor was unequivocally on Yo. Stalin and his supporters. One of the expressive emotional moments present in diverse press materials devoted to the Holodomor theme was the motive of revenge against the Bolshevik authorities for the death of innocent people. The press materials also included assessments, understandably most often emotional, because of the scale of the artificial famine organized by the Stalinist regime in Ukraine. For example, in the columns of the “Ukrainske Slovo” issued on November 4, 1941, this famine was characterized as “unprecedented in history” (Zub za zub. Ukrainske slovo. 1941. 4 lystopada), and in 1933 the Holodomor was called as the terrifying figure of “starving” (Kazka i diisnist. Podolianyn. 1941. 4 hrudnia). № 25. S. 3). It is known that many publications were published in a verse form (Trydtsiat tretii. Chasopys. Literaturno-mystetska hazeta. (Khabne). 1943. 1 zhovtnia).

The author addressed the readers with a rhetorical question in one of the typical publications: “Where did these people go?” These are millions of Ukrainian peasants, who died of hunger in 1931 – 1934, when a famine was artificially organized throughout Ukraine by order of the cannibal Stalin, when entire villages died of hunger, when all people walked around swollen from hunger, when there were cases of cannibalism in many villages”. People were reminded that in the 20th century they became “cannibals” (Holod 1933 roku. Holos. 1941. 10 lypnia.). The authors of newspaper articles recreated the chronology of those tragic events, often calling specific villages, whose residents had the highest mortality rate. The same applied to the publication of the memories of eyewitnesses of those tragic events (Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1933 r. (spohad). Sambirski visti. 1941. 28 serpnia). The overestimation of the number

of artificial famine victims was a characteristic feature of such publications (Korotenko V. Shtuchnyi holod na Ukraini v 1933 rotsi. Ukrainski visti. 1942. 2. travnia). Moreover, the numbers sometimes differed: from 7 – 8 million (Sviatotatti i vbyvtsi. Horokhivski visti. 1943. 10 kvitnia) to 10 million (De znyklo 10 milioniv ukrainsiv? Dzvin. 1941. 24 zhovtnia; Koshyk I. (1941). V yednosti – syla narodu. Ukrainske slovo. 31 zhovtnia), and even more dead (Kinets bilshovytskii panshchyni. Vilna Ukraina. 1941. 14 zhovtnia.). For example, in the editorial of the newspaper “Ukrainskyi Donbas” issued on March 10, 1942, we read about 13,200,000 Ukrainians who died of hunger, but “[...] and not a single Jew and communist died of hunger [...]” (Ukraina v zmini podii vsesvitnoi istorii. Ukrainskyi Donbas. 1942. 10 bereznia). In May of 1943, the newspaper “Volyn” wrote that every person died in 3.5 seconds during the peak of the famine in Ukraine. Later on the author of the editorial added the following: “[...] But the Jews did not suffer from starvation and only mocked and laughed at the dead [...]” (Slukhaite, Ukraintsi i nikoly toho ne zabuvaite. Volyn. 1943. 9 travnia). In other publications, it was noted that 4,8 million people died of the famine of 1932 – 1933, which was 18,8% of the entire population of Ukraine (Holodom khotily zamoryty Ukrainu Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1932 – 1933 rokakh. Nova Doba. Berlin. 1943. 30 travnia; Orhanizatsiia holodu. Holos. 1942. 20 hrudnia). In some places, these statistical data were specified on the example of individual villages of Ukraine (Do statystyky Holodu. Holos. 1942. 1 lystopada).

Despite the obvious propagandistic nature of such materials, the Ukrainians, nevertheless, connected logically and clearly the prerequisites, causes and events of the Holodomor with the Bolshevik forced collectivization and political repressions of the 1930s. It is obvious from the content of the publications: their authors clearly understood that it was initiated by Yo. Stalin personally and the artificial Holodomor organized by the Bolshevik authorities in Ukraine became one of the methods of subjugating the Ukrainian peasantry through collectivization (Spravzhnie oblychchia bolshevyzmu. Visti Lohvychchyny. 1942. 25 hrudnia). According to the authors of the editorial materials, the Ukrainian peasant-owner was the main political obstacle to the implementation of the Soviet government’s plans to subjugate Ukraine. It was noted that this circumstance became the main reason for the unprecedented terror of hunger (Stalinova brekhnia pro kolektyvizatsiiu. Ivankivski visti. 1943. 28 sichnia). Practically, all publications on the subject of the Holodomor linked the reasons for its organization to the Ukrainian peasantry’s resistance to Stalin’s policy of collectivization (Holod na Ukraini 1921 i 1933 roku. Ukrainskyi visnyk. 1944. 2 lypnia), demonstrated the foreignness and hostility of the collective farm system to the very nature of the Ukrainian peasant, (Serp i molot – smert i holod. Donetska hazeta. 1942. 15 bereznia), who was “driven to the collective farm by hunger” (Vidstalykh biut. Donetska hazeta. 1943. 24 sichnia).

Another, no less important reason for the organization of the Holodomor crime, the newspaper publications call the lack of political disloyalty and support of the Ukrainian peasantry for the Soviet (in the interpretation of that time – the “Jewish”) government (Holod na Ukraini v 1933 r. Holos Novhorod-Sivershchyny. 1942. 16 zhovtnia). The logic of this discourse was based on the thesis that although all the peoples of the USSR suffered from the Bolshevik government, only the Ukrainians were punished the most severely. Ukraine was the greatest danger to the Kremlin regime, along with a multimillion-strong community of single-person peasants and “a constant and irresistible desire for its national liberation” (Mohyly. Vasylykivski visti. 1943. 9 veresnia) Hence, the artificial famine campaign was nothing more than Moscow’s revenge on the Ukrainian people, who did not want to become slaves of the “Jewish-Bolsheviks” (Ukraina i Moskva. Ukrainske slovo. 1941. 16 zhovtnia),

did not want to become a collective farm worker voluntarily (Selianska polityka bilshovykiv. Ukrainske slovo. 1941.16 zhovtnia), and became revenge on the Ukrainians, who did not want to “turn into speechless and submissive slaves” (Strashnyi 1933 rik. Desiat rokiv tomu. Khabnivski visti. 1943. 8 lypnia). The laconic formula used to explain the causes of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 was the following: “Moscow needs Ukraine, not the harmful Ukrainians”: (Nyshchennia ukrainsiv. Umanskyi holos. 1941. 21 veresnia.). At the same time, only the Ukrainian peasantry became the object of Stalin’s persecution. But the peasants of other Soviet republics did not suffer from famine (Batih holodu [Ukrainskyi visnyk. 1944. 27 serpnia.). Famine came to Ukraine along with Moscow state (Orlyk Iv. Holod. Zemlia: tyzhnevnyk ukrainskykh silsko-hospodarskykh robitnykiv u Nimechchyni. 1944. 1 veresnia).

As it was above-mentioned, the Soviet authorities were exclusively responsible for the organization of the Holodomor. However, in the Nazi interpretation, this topic also received a distinct anti-Semitic tone. The role of the one and only socio-political support of the Bolshevik regime was assigned exclusively to the Jews by the Nazi propaganda. Therefore, the anti-Semitism was a mandatory component of almost all press materials on our topic. It was in the paradigm of the inter-racial struggle of the Ukrainians (“Aryans”) and the Jews (“Semites”) that the Holodomor events of 1932 – 1933 were considered. Who was responsible for the Holodomor organized by the Soviet regime? The answer was unequivocal – “The Jews will pay for their numerous crimes against the happiness and peace of mankind. The day will come when they will be punished all over the world” (Viina i zhydy. Ivankivski visti. 1943. 29 chervnia).

As it was evidenced by the contextual analysis of the press publications during the occupation period, editorial and author’s materials united by the theme of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 were always in the newspaper columns during the occupation period. These motives, abundantly diluted with the anti-Soviet and the anti-Semitic propaganda rhetoric, were present both at the beginning of the occupation and during the retreat of the German troops.

Taking into account the spread of the paradigm of extreme anti-Semitism in the occupation press of Ukraine in 1941 – 1944, the question may arise as to whether the so widely promoted concept of “the Jewish Bolshevism” was a peculiar justification of the Nazis for the Holocaust, organized and carried out by them in the occupied Ukrainian territories almost openly? In our opinion, the occupation administration did not even try “to legitimize” the policy of genocide against the Jews in the eyes of the local non-Jewish population. The Nazis did not need any approval, and they were equally unconcerned with the local population of Ukraine’s disapproval of the fact of the total extermination of the Jews. The algorithm of actions was simplified to the elementary: society was faced with this fact and no communication on this matter was not only not allowed, but could not be in principle. The analysis of the content proved that the propaganda campaign against “the Jewish Bolshevism” during the period of occupation was in no way synchronized with actions to exterminate the Jews, but actually had a permanent character – similar structures sounded like before the actions for “a final solution of the Jewish issue”, during mass murders, and after committing it.

The sources testified that the actualization of the subject of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 during the studied period was far from being limited to the level of its use as an effective propaganda tool in occupation periodicals. In 1941 – 1944, other propaganda practices became widespread, which, in particular, used the grassroots initiative of the local Ukrainian subsidiary administration. Thus, the practice of officially honoring the memory of innocent Ukrainians killed by holding prayers at the places of the Holodomor victims’ mass burials was introduced. The sermons preached by the priests, the public speeches

delivered by the German and local authorities' representatives were mandatory elements of such events. The above-mentioned elements reminded people of the collective suffering from the Soviet government. At the same time, measures were taken to visualize this space of memory: commemorative crosses and signs were installed at the places of mass burials of the Holodomor victims (Sectoral state archive of the Security Service of Ukraine – SSA SSU, f. 6, c. 72467-FP, pp. 55–57), graves with memorial crosses were created (Hidno vshanuvaty pamiat pomerlykh vid holodu 1933 roku Tarashchanski visti. 1943. 08 serpnia.; Pryklad Myrhorodshchyny (pamiatnyk u seli Marchenkakh pomerlykh 1943 roku) Sumsnyi visnyk. 1943. 23 lypnia). The basis of the commemorative actions was a religious service, at the end of which the priests addressed the parishioners, who in their sermons did not forget to remind the faithful about the Soviet reality, in particular, about the artificial famine organized by the Stalinist authorities in Ukraine (SSA SSU, f. 6, c. 71876-FP, p. 115).

Mass memorial and political events honoring the victims of the Bolshevik terror were practiced in all regions of occupied Ukraine. Taking into consideration, that not much time passed separating them from the war, and the acuteness of the local society's reception of the mass murders by the Soviet authorities, the Nazis used their revelations with all their might to discredit the communist system and win the favour of the autochthonous inhabitants. We are inclined to think that such local memorialization practices, such as commemorating the victims of the Holodomor, in terms of their impact (determined primarily by their prevalence and nationwide coverage) exceeded the much larger one-off actions of the occupiers to spread information about the crimes of the Bolsheviks in the public space.

The use of the issue on the artificial famine of 1932 – 1933 by the occupying institutions in Ukraine had purely applied significance, and even more so if we consider such a discourse in the context of the Nazi plans for the future development of the eastern space. First of all, this concerns the activities of the Operational Headquarters of A. Rosenberg in the occupied territories of Ukraine. It was this agency that initiated the study of the demographic consequences of the Holodomor. Two scholars S. Sosnovskyi and B. Rudenskyi did the calculations independently and used scientific methods of demography exclusively in order to obtain a more objective picture of the scale of the artificial famine. The results of their calculations differed. Thus, according to B. Rudenskyi in 1933, 5,5 million people died of famine in Ukraine. According to his colleague, direct demographic losses amounted to 4,5 – 5,0 million people, and another 2,5 million people were the so-called anthropological consequences of the Holodomor (Marochko, 2018). One thing, which draws attention is the statistical correspondence of the results of these studies with the data of modern scholars studying the issue of demographic consequences of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 in Ukraine. It could be applied to the research carried out by S. Sosnovyi especially, whose statistical calculations actually coincided with the modern scholars' evaluations. Despite the fact that the above-mentioned demographic studies were carried out under the seal of “secret”, their general results were published in the occupation periodical. It should be noted that excerpts from the work of S. Sosnovyi were published in many periodicals of the occupation zones of Ukraine (Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1932 – 1933 rr. Kostiantynohradski novi visti. 1942. 16 hrudnia; Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1932 – 1933 rr. Myrhorodski visti. 1943. 3 chervnia; Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1932 – 1933 rr. Nizhynski visti. 1942. 5 hrudnia; Pravda pro Holod na Ukraini v 1932 – 1933 rr. Nova Ukraina. 1942. 8 lystopada).

We could also come across the appeals to a kind of “social justice” in the form of cruel retribution to the offenders of the Ukrainians among the methods of propaganda work

practiced by the Nazi occupation administration at local places. This trend gained particular momentum in the first months of the Nazi rule, but it did not stop thereafter. We are talking about the formal justification of the physical extermination of that part of the communists, the Soviet nomenclature and the so-called “activists”, who committed crimes against the Ukrainian people, but due to various reasons and life circumstances were unable or unwilling to evacuate. According to the logic of the occupation authorities, large-scale crimes of these people were supposed to legitimize punitive actions in the eyes of local population. Those people, who did not do anything bad were usually exonerated from criminal liability and could even serve in the police or local administration. The occupying authorities pursued at least two goals by doing this: exterminating their overt and hidden enemies and seeking loyalty from the local population. Therefore, the statements and appeals of the local population to the occupation authorities with requests to punish their offenders were usually directed “to the Gestapo”, which did not predict anything good for those involved (Honcharenko, 2020). The executions of these people usually took place in public, and their main method, and not by chance, was the hanging of the condemned. The above-mentioned method of execution was supposed to emphasize that the criminal is being executed, who does not deserve a “noble” execution by shooting. Such kind of visualization of the delineated space of death of the Ukrainian crimes’ perpetrators stayed in the memory of local residents for a long time. The practice of the occupation regime demonstrated that the “cleansing” of the local society from the “former” was widespread and lasted from the first to the last day of the occupation. Even on the eve of evacuation, when death sentences seemed to be “business as usual”, the occupation administration continued to collect signatures from locals about their attitude towards the arrested persons. It should be noted that the cases when people stood for the arrestees to be exonerated from criminal liability were not isolated.

The above-mentioned facts quite logically lead to reflections on the Nazi propaganda strategy effectiveness both on the specific behaviour of people under the conditions of occupation and on correction of the space of memory, on formation of new memorial practices determined by ideological and political priorities of the occupation authorities. Did the Nazi manage to achieve at least some success in this activity? Currently, the question remains open. Modern scholars emphasize the fact of extremely low effectiveness of Hitler’s propaganda influence on the population of the occupied Soviet territories, while analyzing the issue. In this case, a logical question arises regarding the scientific motivation of such studies. Indeed, why do we have to waste time and make intellectual efforts, if the problem is irrelevant, even more so, “trivial” and was “covered/clarified” in historical science long ago?

According to the authors of the article, such statements are nothing more than a certain “shy tribute” of modern researchers to the Soviet historiographical tradition. In addition to this confirmation, there is another “side of the coin” of this discourse. Historians, who study the politics of the Holocaust believe that, on the contrary, the Nazi propaganda reached some success, which was manifested, in particular, in the formation of such phenomenon of the occupation era as collaborationism (Honcharenko, 2021, pp. 149–161). For example, A. Podolskyi expressed the diametrically opposite, but, in our opinion, insufficiently substantiated statement that it was the Nazi propaganda that contributed to the participation of the local non-Jewish population in spontaneous massacre and murders of the Jews. In his opinion, the propaganda basis of such actions was precisely the accusation of the Jews for the crimes of the Stalinist regime (Podolskyi, 2007). Based on this paradigm, the historian considered Stalin’s crimes as a provocative factor that, under the corresponding

Nazi propaganda, contributed to the outbreak of the anti-Semitism in the occupied territories (Podolskyi, 2003). I. Hridina made an attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of occupation propaganda. According to the scholar, the Nazi propaganda had a significant impact on the population of the occupied regions of Ukraine, and there was practically no person in the country, who did not feel the influence of Germany's ideological machine (Hridina, 2009, p. 130).

The obvious controversy of the outlined discourse prompts the authors of the article to express some remarks on this matter, which will obviously require discussion and clarification. Despite the current state of domestic humanitarianism, which reluctantly says goodbye to the Soviet legacy of black and white, victimized reflection of the occupation past, such discussion is necessary.

The fact that it was the Nazi occupation administration that was the first authority to legitimize the Holodomor discourse in Ukrainian society is obvious and undeniable. Despite the fact that this information content was interpreted by the Nazi propaganda by mixing in an anti-Bolshevik and anti-Semitic component, the objective facts about the tragedy of the Ukrainians Naddniprianshchyna in 1932 – 1933 became available to the general public precisely because of occupiers' will. Moreover, the level of this discourse quickly grew from journalistic to scientific and theoretical. The Ukrainians learned a lot about the fact of the artificial famine itself from the pages of the occupation periodicals – everyone in Ukraine knew about it, who reached the age in 1932 – 1933, which made possible, even if uncritical, awareness of what they experienced. The most important thing was that society finally got access to an alternative version of history, which, despite the other extreme, turned out to be not so far from reality. The editorial and author's materials on this topic informed familiarized a reader of the causes of the Holodomor-genocide, its organizers and direct executors, reported data about the demographic consequences of this crime of Stalinism partly exaggerated, and sometimes close to objective.

Unlike the Jews, the reality of the occupation left the Ukrainians with much better chances of survival under the war conditions, provided, of course, that they renounce resistance and maintain loyalty to “a new order”. The facts show that the collective massacres of the Nazis against the Ukrainian population, widespread during the years of occupation, were almost exclusively in the nature of retaliatory actions for the actions of the Soviet partisans and saboteurs against the occupiers. In this context the “people's avengers” acted essentially as the provocateurs who, carrying out attacks on the military and the occupation administration within the boundaries of populated areas, then usually sat in places of permanent dislocation, having neither the strength nor, apparently, the desire to oppose the punitive actions of the Hitlerites. The tragedies of thousands of residents of dozens of villages and towns burned by the Nazis in Ukraine are an illustration of this vile tactic.

The Nazi propaganda used the Holodomor topic fully, using the chance provided by the tragic reality of the pre-war Soviet history (Honcharenko, 2022, pp. 58–73). The artificial famine organized by the Stalinist regime in Ukraine in 1932 – 1933 acted both as a completely self-sufficient plot among a number of other crimes of the Bolshevism, and as one of the convincing arguments for discrediting the Soviet government in general (Honcharenko, 2022, pp. 108–119). This broader context led to the reasons for the organization of a large-scale famine relief campaign by the Soviet authorities. In the occupation periodicals discourse, the main reasons for its inspiration were the opposition of the Ukrainian peasantry to the policy of collectivization and revenge against the Ukrainians for their desire to gain independence in 1918 – 1920. The press materials of the time interpreted the Holodomor organized by the Bolsheviks as another stage of the aggressive war of Bolshevik Russia against Ukraine.

In the materials of the occupation press the Ukrainian peasantry was depicted as a speechless victim of the Bolshevik regime, thrown into the maelstrom of the Holodomor. The majority of newspaper publications did not mention any confrontation with the authorities, and descriptions of peasant uprisings against the participants of which armed local communist units, artillery and aviation used were rare. It is quite obvious that the occupiers, wanted to compromise the Bolshevik government in the eyes of the Ukrainians, did not want to awaken the spirit of resistance in this people. The line beyond which thirst for revenge and hatred of the Bolsheviks could easily turn into the same feelings for another occupier was very thin, and parallels between the two regimes under the conditions of war and the reality of occupation did not lack.

Unless the oversight of censorship can be explained by the appearance in the press (in particular in publications that were under the influence of the OUN underground of both directions) of individual materials in which the lack of national unity and political leadership was cited as one of the reasons for the Bolsheviks' impunity against the Ukrainians in the 1920s and 1930s, and also mass fear of the Soviet power. In these publications, we could come across not only the terror of famine, but also other crimes of the Bolsheviks – forcible collectivization, dekulakization, and mass repressions. The above-mentioned crimes were explained as tools used by Bolshevik Russia solely for the purpose of exterminating the basis of the Ukrainian nation – the peasantry, in order to ultimately make the national-state revival of Ukraine impossible in the future.

Despite the Nazi's real goals, the most important thing that the German occupiers did to fix the space of the Holodomor in the historical memory of the Ukrainians was the official publication of this information by the authorities legitimate under the international law of war. Under the conditions of an acute information blockade, in which the population of occupied Ukraine was, a reminder of real events from the not-so-distant past triggered the mechanisms of fossilizing the memory of this tragedy at a subconscious level. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned, it does not seem surprising that a significant number of Ukrainians, nevertheless, feared the return of the Soviet regime more than the Nazi occupation authorities.

“Hitler's truth” about the Holodomor had a meaning understandable to an average person. Simple answers to complex everyday questions are always positively received by society. Despite the fact that the Nazi occupation regime turned the Ukrainian society against itself with its brutal actions, the elements of some correction of the space of memory of the Ukrainians formed during that period, as well as stereotypes, turned out to be quite durable. Could it be that the level of anti-Semitism in Ukrainian society increased against the backdrop of material and household problems during the first post-war years. Even more, there were recorded numerous cases of domestic conflicts on this ground, not isolated direct physical clashes with the Jews. In this context, we support the K. Dolhoruchenko's opinion that the result of the purposeful permanent information and propaganda operation of the Nazi in the media space of the occupied Ukraine was the launch of an irreversible process of negation, distortion and deformation of the public legal consciousness of the Ukrainians, which took the form of legal conformism, legal nihilism and reborn legal consciousness (Dolhoruchenko, 2021, pp. 130–138).

The Conclusion. The Nazi policy in the occupied Ukrainian lands was based on intensive ideological support, which was supposed to ensure, first of all, a complex process of legitimizing “a new order”; second of all, to form the basis for the loyalty of the local population and effectiveness of mobilization resources of the occupation structures, third of all, a systematic discrediting of the Bolshevik ruling elite in the USSR and its policies.

The Nazi occupation administration used the topic of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 as one of the large-scale crimes of the Stalinist regime in order to implement its own ideological guidelines in the mass consciousness and to form a new matrix of historical memory for the Ukrainian society. The Ukrainian society found out the true scale of this tragedy owing to the propagandistic inspirations of the Nazi occupation authorities.

The Nazi propaganda blamed the Soviet government and its main socio-political support – the Jews, in particular, for organizing the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933. The exploitation of the thesis about the hostility of “the Jewish Bolshevism” for both the Ukrainians and the Germans was aimed at creating a favourable background for “the final solution of the Jewish issue”, as well as the successful implementation of a large-scale programme “development of the eastern conquered territories”, which were supposed to become “a living space” for the German colonists.

The Nazi occupation propaganda, based not only on methods of persuasion and argumentation, but also on methods of suggestion and manipulation, using truthful (in the case of the Holodomor) material, led to a certain level of deformation of the legal consciousness of the Ukrainians, concrete manifestations of which were legal conformism, legal nihilism, and reborn legal consciousness. If the Soviet authorities, who returned to Ukraine due to a widespread use of repressive and punitive means, managed to neutralize these negative consequences of the occupation, then in the case of widely publicized facts of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933, they remained latent in public consciousness of the Ukrainians. The collective historical memory of the Ukrainians, which was not completely destroyed by the Soviet authorities, the core of which was the rejection of the Russian imperialism in all its forms and manifestations, and the image of the Holodomor of 1932 – 1933 formed by the Nazi propaganda were quite clearly reflected during the period of Ukraine’s independence restoration in 1991.

Hence, the Holodomor issue of 1932 – 1933, along with other crimes of the Stalinism committed against the Ukrainians, became for the Nazis one of the informational reasons used to legitimize the occupation regime and implement their tactical and strategic goals in the war quite effectively. Relying on available channels of informing the population (mainly local occupation periodicals), the occupation administration in Ukraine exploited the real facts of the Bolshevik crime of the Holodomor actively, which were fresh in the minds of the Ukrainians. At the same time, the Nazi propagandists used a tried and tested tool – manipulation of mass public consciousness, individual subconsciousness and moral and psychological attitudes of local population. The active use of tools of manipulation and suggestion allowed the Nazis to adjust the memory space of the occupied people in a certain way, to harmonize the model of historical memory of the Ukrainians with their own propagandistic concepts. The facts of the Holodomor were presented in the context of the policies of the Soviet regime in the 1930s, and the blame for the organization of the famine was on the Bolshevik government in general and, in particular, on the Jews as its “main socio-political support”.

One of the objective consequences of the Nazi propaganda, the assessment of which in modern national historiography is now acquiring an increasingly distinct positive connotation, was a tangible correction of the memory space of the Ukrainians in the direction of filling it with a new content and meaning clusters, where the memory of the crime of artificial famine committed by the Bolsheviks occupied one of the key positions. On the other hand, the occupation reality dictated the conditions under which the changes above-mentioned in the structure of the memory space took place even without the conscious desire

of the new government, primarily at the initiative of an active part of the nationally conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia. Even with the restoration of the Soviet domination in Ukraine at the final stage of World War II, certain elements of the model of historical memory of the Ukrainians adjusted during the years of occupation at the level of individual and collective consciousness continued to exist latently during the Soviet period. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain a rapid revival of the Holodomor memorial practices in Ukraine in the second half of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s.

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