

THE NATIONAL REVIVAL OF UKRAINIAN EDUCATION IN KHARKIV DURING THE NAZI OCCUPATION

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Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to study the peculiarities of the revival and development of national education during the Nazi occupation regime in Kharkiv. Conclusions.* National education during the Nazi occupation of Kharkiv experienced difficult times. On the one hand, it was developed by the local community, which tried to update the education of youth, relying on their beliefs, and on the other hand, it was hindered by the Nazis, who had a polar vision and aimed to use only specialists in the industrial sector that was beneficial to them. Thus, it can be stated that the aspirations of Ukrainians in the field of education can be considered to be of little success. The main reason for this should be viewed as the short-term nature of their activities – only two years. If we talk about the Ukrainian context of education at the primary, secondary, and higher levels, then it did not successfully create and implement a new national education. However, education was conducted in the Ukrainian language (as is known, language plays a significant role in forming national consciousness). In Kharkiv, the commandant's office banned almost all educational initiatives of the Dolenko group – from educational programs to the opening of a high school and the printing of textbooks. The approved programs for elementary school and courses from "Prosvita" did not meet their expectations in forming national consciousness in youth, especially children. Higher education became the most problematic. Some higher education institutions could still start teaching but with interruptions, inadequate funding, lack of students, and several other reasons.

Keywords: *Ukraine, Kharkiv, Nazi occupation, Ukrainian nationalism, OUN, national education, patriotism.*

The national idea is important for further developing Ukraine's sovereignty and expanding its prestige on the world stage. Therefore, any government pays great attention to forming the necessary worldview of the younger generation. In order for the national idea to be important in the understanding of the majority of citizens, national consciousness is cultivated and national identity is formed in educational institutions.

The revival of national consciousness and the establishment of Ukraine's sovereignty have prompted a rethinking of the role of the public in Ukrainian history and its role in the struggle for statehood and independence. In the context of national revival, the genesis of the development of Ukrainian patriotism in the Second World War has become a complex and controversial process in historiography from the point of view of interpreting certain phenomena and events. However, it is difficult to argue with the fact that the development of national education occupies a significant place in this process. Therefore, the issue of the influence of nationalism on education in Kharkiv during the Nazi occupation is what determines the relevance of this scientific research.

Based on this, **the article's relevance** is determined by the study of the contribution of a particular community of Kharkiv to the process of popularizing Ukrainian ideals through educational and cultural activities in 1941–1943.

The purpose of the article is to study the peculiarities of the revival and development of national education during the Nazi occupation regime in Kharkiv.

According to the set goal, the following main tasks were defined: to investigate and reveal the influence of the Nazi leadership on the education system (educational institutions, programs, and methodologies for them) in Ukraine, including Kharkiv during 1941–1943; to highlight main events and initiatives of the Dolenko group, which contributed to the spread of Ukrainianness in the education of Kharkiv; to analyze the consequences of the national revival of Ukrainian education in the city under study.

The geographical boundaries of the article cover the city of Kharkiv (Ukraine) in the borders of 1941–1943.

The state of scientific research development. Among all the works, the monograph of the specialist in the history of the Second World War, Anatoly Skorobogatov, "Kharkiv during the German occupation (1941–1943)" stands out [Скоробогатов, 2004]. Chapter 4 "Political Field of Occupied Kharkiv" of the mentioned work thoroughly covers the work processes of Ukrainian nationalists during the entire period of occupation. Also crucial for the article is the academic paper of Ukrainian historian Dmytro Tytarenko, devoted to the development of culture in Left Bank Ukraine during the years of Nazi occupation [Титаренко, 2014]. The monograph of the German professor of pedagogy Blanka Yerzhabkova "School affairs and school policy in the Reichskommissariat "Ukraine" (1941–1944) in the light of German documents" is considerable for the study of the legal framework for the activities of educational institutions in the German-occupied territories of Ukraine [Єржабкова, 2008]. A significant role in understanding the process of promoting ideological content among schoolchildren is played by the scientific works of Natalia Saltan and Oleksandr Saltan, who in their scientific articles shed light on the process of creating school programs on the world and native history, as well as geography, by Kharkiv teachers and scientists [Орленко, Салтан, Салтан, 2020; Салтан, Салтан, 2019].

Analysis of used sources. The source base of the research consists of published documents and materials, archival materials, and memories of event participants.

The central place in scientific work was directly occupied by educational programs on the world, native history, and geography [KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 184; KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 190; KRSA. F. P-2982. In. 1. Case 378], which are stored in the Kharkiv Region State Archive (starting now – KRSA). "Letter file of the former Directorate of the NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR in the Kharkiv region on people who remained behind enemy lines during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945" of the Sectoral State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (starting now – SSU SSA) and personal investigative files of Petro Baida [SSU SSA. Case 99615; SSU SSA. Case 035099], became the basis of the study, highlighting the processes of formation of public and administrative structures that influenced the development of education and its condition in the city.

Archeographic collections of documents were important for writing the article. Among them, the collections of Olena Dyakova's "Kharkivshchyna during the Great Patriotic War" [Дьякова, 2011] and Volodymyr Kosyk's "Ukraine and Germany in the Second World War" [Косик, 1993], which covered the events that took place directly in Ukraine, in particular in Kharkiv, deserve the most attention.

Memories of nationally conscious people who survived the occupation and emigrated to

the West together with the Germans occupy a prominent place in the research. Lyubov Drazhevska, Oksana Solovei, and Yuriy Shevelov [Дражевська, Соловей, 1985; Шевельов, 2017] should be singled out, shedding light on educational processes directly in Kharkiv.

World War II was the colossal and most brutal military-political conflict in history. From the very beginning of the occupation of Ukrainian lands, one of the main tasks of the Nazis was to organize their own local government authorities. These administrative formations had a variety of objectives, from the exploitation of human and food resources to the establishment of total control over all spheres of life of the Ukrainian population. For this structure, the Nazis often used local Ukrainian public activists, one of whose duties was to normalize civilian life in the occupied territories quickly. The issue of the development of Ukrainian education in certain regions was closely linked to instilling national consciousness in the younger generation, and to the effort to defend the statehood interests of Ukraine.

Considering the defined problem, it is critical to remember that the attitude of Nazi officials to the development of education in the occupied territories was different. It can be characterized as categorically negative, but there are exceptions. Even Adolf Hitler did not deny the existence of school education for non-Germans in the occupied territories. He saw education as very limited – the students' knowledge was to remain at the superficial level of reading and writing skills to control the population. School education was meant to be paid for [Picker, 1976: 453–454], and in definite cases, such a practice was introduced.

In this regard, the principal legal act that defined the order and conditions for the functioning of educational institutions in the occupied territories was an order of the 7th Department of the military administration at the General Quartermaster of the General Staff of the Ground Forces dated December 29, 1941 (according to other sources, December 8, 1941 [Левченко, 2017: 193]). According to this document, it was allowed to study in primary classes and specialized schools – "all vocational, agricultural and forestry schools, courses for professional training of housewives, seamstresses, nurses" [quoted in Титаренко, 2014: 260]. It was forbidden to study in higher and secondary general education schools (gymnasiums and lyceums).

In contrast to secondary and vocational education, the existence of higher education for non-Germans contradicted the views of the Nazis and according to the order mentioned above, the educational activities of higher education institutions were prohibited [Титаренко, 2014: 260]. These included "universities and technical universities". Such education was forbidden and considered dangerous to Germany, or, in the words of A. Hitler: "a carrier of the revolutionary movement" [Косик, 1993: 347–348]. Their work was allowed only in industries experiencing a sharp staff shortage, such as medicine, transport, industry, agriculture, etc. [Потильчак, 2006: 783].

At the beginning of the occupation, the Nazis immediately closed all higher and secondary educational institutions, technical schools, and specialized schools [Косик, 1993: 549-450]. As they advanced into Ukraine and captured more and more food resources, they encountered an acute need for highly qualified specialists in the industrial and agricultural sectors. Therefore, the question arose of whether to allow the opening of professional secondary educational institutions for the local population. According to the "Rosenberg Directive to Reich Commissar Koch on Ukraine" of November 18, 1941, it was stated that elementary schools would be sufficient for Ukrainians. The possibility of creating professional (vocational) schools of agriculture and crafts with limited goals was also allowed [Косик, 1993: 543].

As previously mentioned, in each city the occupiers tried to recruit local people for leading positions who would work in their interests. Kharkiv was no exception. The most influential

political force in Nazi-occupied Kharkiv was the Group of Local Nationalists under the leadership of Volodymyr Dolenko (starting now – Dolenko's group) and the representatives of the Western Ukrainian nationalist movement who arrived in the city – the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (supporters of Andriy Melnyk) (starting now – OUN(m)) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (supporters of Stepan Bandera) (starting now – OUN(b)). When the OUN members arrived in the city, they did not consider the local nationalists to be an influential political force, so they tried to develop their activities independently [**Скоробагатов, 2004: 180**]. Later, OUN(b) was banned due to the anti-German position of the movement's leaders and went underground. OUN(m) arrived in Kharkiv legally and at the beginning of the occupation its representatives held center positions in the civil administration. In general, a small number of nationalists from the West arrived in Kharkiv and therefore they did not play a significant role in the life of the city. In addition, they were unknown in Eastern Ukraine and many Russians were living there, which influenced the local foundations of Ukrainian nationalism, which had a moderate version regarding the formation of Ukraine as a separate state.

Based on this, it is worth noting that the OUN did not handle education in Kharkiv, but by the Dolenko group, as they were a more influential social and political formation in the city. Their numbers in pivotal administrative positions eventually became the majority. The reason for this was a better understanding of the local mentality, and therefore a more effective implementation of the measures of the occupation government.

When the Nazis occupied Kharkiv on October 24, 1941, a two-tier administration was formed. On the one hand, full power belonged to the German military command (the commandant's office), and on the other hand, the Kharkiv City Administration (starting now – the KCA) was created by local civilian citizens. The KCA was subordinate to the commandant's office and coordinated all decisions and measures with its representative.

The KCA had formed structural units that managed all spheres of socio-economic life. The regulation of education issues was also not overlooked. For this purpose, the Germans created a relevant education department in the KCA structure. Petro Dryha headed this department, and its staff mainly consisted of specialists who had some experience working in the field of education before the occupation of the city. Their task was to organize the educational process in the city, taking into account Nazi ideological approaches and restrictions.

The Department of Education of the KCA was not the only institution that was involved in the development of education in the city. The permission of the German commandant's office to create public organizations was considered essential for establishing the priority of Ukrainianness in the society of Kharkiv. This made it possible to resume the work of "Prosvita" headed by Professor of History Vasyl Dubrovskiy (in 1922, the Soviet government closed this organization as "bourgeois"). Its governing body became the "Hromadskiy komitet" (in the translation from Ukrainian "Public Committee"). Both organizations became an important center for the unification of nationally conscious intelligentsia of the city – Dolenko's group and representatives of both factions of the OUN; promoting the Ukrainian national movement, the revival of Ukrainian identity, and influencing educational processes in the city.

On November 7, 1941, the school commission began its work at the "Hromadskiy komitet". When "Prosvita" was officially restored on December 12, 1941, a department with the same name was also created in its structure [**Казимір, 2011: 97; Чугуй, 2008: 91**]. It is important to note that these departments worked together and duplicated each other. Their main difference was that the "Hromadskiy komitet" was an underground organization, while "Prosvita" became the center of the national unification of Ukrainians. However, according to the peculiar hierarchy,

"Prosvita" was lower than the "Hromadskyi komitet" and played the role of its executive body.

The head of both school commissions was Professor of Pedagogy Oleksandr Popov. The commission at "Prosvita" consisted of teachers and people related to the educational sector. Its members were involved in the selection of national staff for positions in schools and school governing bodies, and they also compiled programs and curricula [SSU SSA. Case 99615: 161back]. The work of these commissions was vital. It allowed to ensure a Ukrainian composition of the teaching staff and promote the relevant culture and language in educational institutions.

The Department of Education and members of the "Prosvita" society were tasked with rebuilding the old Soviet school, creating "people's schools" in the new conditions that would provide free general education to children from 6 to 14 years of age for at least four years [Скоробагатов, 2004: 164; KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 184: 1]. According to the Regulation of the KCA "On the People's School," the national education of children is the primary goal of the creation of this type of school: "The school sets itself the goal of educating Ukrainian children as faithful sons of the nation and the State, irreconcilable fighters for the happiness of the Ukrainian people; to educate in children the best civic virtues on which the national Ukrainian society is built, to give students a systematic course of general education" [KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 184: 1].

People's schools were divided into primary (1–4 grades) and higher (5–7 grades). Among the general subjects, Ukrainian language and literature, history, German, mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural science, geography, calligraphy, gymnastics, singing, and drawing were taught. However, it is crucial to note that the occupation authorities could change school programs, subjects, and curricula. By the end of autumn 1942, work had been completed in 18 schools in the city to prepare for the opening of 5–7 grades [Орленко, Салтан, Салтан, 2020: 132; KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 184: 12].

The opening process of schools did not begin immediately after the creation of the KCA. It is known that in the spring of 1942, the teaching staff was finally agreed upon, and the schools began to operate only in the fall and only in primary schools [Дражевська, Соловей, 1985: 27–28]. As reported by the memoirs of Yu. Shevelov, it is known that it was not possible to open a full-fledged 7-year school due to the ban of the German commandant's office [Шевельов, 2017: 449].

It was planned to open three types of schools – two secondary schools, 20 people schools, and four vocational schools [Дьякова, 2011: 131]. 267 teachers were involved in the 20 (according to some sources, 23 [Дражевська, Соловей, 1985: 28]) people schools. Up to 40–42 people could study in each class. Students who were 12 years old and had finished the 6th grade could enroll in specialized vocational schools without exams, and students who had completed the 7th grade could enroll in secondary vocational schools by exam [KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 184: 2, 6]. In Kharkiv, it was also planned to open a paid secondary school. These included the so-called secondary schools, gymnasiums, and real schools, which cost 200 rubles per year in 1941/1942 [KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 184: 10]. Since this cost was too high for most families in the city, people gave priority to free people schools.

As a result, people schools only covered a small part of the city's children. According to registration data in December 1941, there were 44,247 children of school age, of whom 8,967 studied in people schools (20.2 %) [Скоробагатов, 2004: 308]. In total, 8–9 thousand students were registered in 1942–1943, but only 60 % attended school, and sometimes much less [Скоробагатов, 2004: 164]. In addition to general education schools, six primary vocational and six music schools operated in Kharkiv at the beginning of 1943 [Скоробагатов, 2004: 309]. It is

also known about the Kharkiv Art and Craft School, where on January 1, 1943, 125 people were studying [**Паньок, 2016: 344**].

Ukrainian patriotic education became one of the main foundations of the educational process. The Department of Education's members created teaching programs for all disciplines and subjects. Some of which were aimed at patriotic education. According to the Regulation of the KCA "On the Primary School" "love and respect for one's homeland, for everything that connects with the ideals of our people, with its past, with its traditions" became one of the necessary standards of the primary school, which students had to adhere to [**KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 184: 6**].

The primary goal of history study was to impart national awareness and patriotism to students. In order to create programs and methodological guidelines for historical subjects in people schools, a commission was created at the Department of Education of the KCA, headed by V. Dubrovskiy, and included eight other persons: V. Derzhavin, A. Kadevalov, B. Lvov, O. Kiktyev, A. Myakshin, G. Yushchenko, I. Kravchenko, and L. Aleksandrenko [**Салтан, Салтан, 2029: 117**]. In the explanatory note to the course of native history in grades 3–4 for 1942, it is stated that "the main thing is to interest children in their native antiquity, to instill in their hearts the spark of patriotism, to develop in them a national feeling and respect for the deeds of their ancestors" [**quoted in KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 190: 2**]. The recommendations presented Ukrainians as enslaved by the anti-Ukrainian policy of the USSR; the period from 1919 was interpreted as a Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine, and 1941 as liberation [**quoted in KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 190: 2, 43**]. In the explanatory notes to the programs of modern history for grades 6–7, it is indicated that the teacher must "give an idea of the course of the historical process of European development without going into the details of the history of the revolutionary movement" [**quoted in KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 190: 14**]. For example, it included the course of the English Civil War (1642–1651), the history of Prussia, the Treaty of Versailles (1919), etc. [**quoted in KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 190: 14back, 40back**]. The study of the history of the Russian Empire and the USSR was not conducted.

Nationalists paid considerable attention to patriotic education through geographical disciplines. The first draft of the educational programs for geography was developed on June 20, 1942, by Professor V. Anisimov of Kharkiv University [**Орленко, Салтан, Салтан, 2020: 118**]. In the explanatory note to the geography program for grades 5–7, emphasis was placed on the study of the subject from the point of view of geopolitical principles: issues of nation-building (including Ukrainian), condemnation of the Bolshevik policy of enslaving peoples and socialism, studying the political map of the world during World War II (emphasis was placed on the allies and enemies of Germany, on neutral and solidarity countries), as well as the political and territorial structure of Germany. In the 7th grade, the course of geography of Ukraine was taught according to the program, which was linked with history. In addition to the general characteristics of the country's geography, wars in which Ukrainians participated should be mentioned, and it was also noted that "all geographical features of Ukraine emphasize its belonging to Western Europe" [**KRSA. F. P-2982. In. 1. Case 378: 4–15**]. It is worth mentioning that A. Hitler treated the study of geography as an unimportant subject: "The content of geography lessons should consist only of the fact that the capital of the Reich is called Berlin and that every person should visit Berlin at least once" [**quoted in Picker, 1976: 454**]. In general, geographical science was also studied during the Soviet era as part of natural history and social studies and was not studied as a separate subject [**Орленко, Салтан, Салтан, 2020: 117**].

In our opinion, the analyzed draft curricula and recommendations for history and

geography in people's schools should be the main subjects with elements of patriotic education among young people. Especially history. In terms of content, historical programs in the context of Ukrainian nationalism look restrained and were developed by V. Dubrovskiy primarily as anti-Soviet with features of Nazism and anti-Semitism. This is seen, for example, in the thesis that Ukrainians "from the most ancient times [...] belong to the Indo-European race, that is, to the Aryans, having the closest blood and language to other Slavic tribes, Lithuanians and Germans" [quoted in **KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 190: 18**], as well as in the use of terms such as "Jewish organizations", "Jewish capital", "Jewish-Bolshevik machinations", etc. It is quite likely that such an opinion on the national identity of Ukrainians and the open use of words that discriminated against and humiliated Jews were written to pass the Nazi censoring and not to emphasize the belonging of Ukrainians to the pseudo-scientific and racist concept of Aryans. It is important to remember the context of the historical period and the political conditions in which the referred programs were created. V. Dubrovskiy did not want the plans for a new concept of history teaching to be rejected, so he took this step.

It can be assumed that the mentioned draft programs for the historical and geographical cycle for people schools in Kharkiv were not approved by the occupying administration of the city due to their incompatibility with the ideological guidelines of the Nazis. But even if they had been approved, it would only have been for the 1943/1944 academic year, and on August 23, 1943, the Red Army liberated the city.

In addition to the curricula and recommendations for these programs, the publication of textbooks was also planned. This was the responsibility of the school committee of the "Prosvita" society. At least it is known that in the spring of 1942, textbooks on history and the Ukrainian language were prepared, but the Germans banned them and printed their own [Чугуй, 2008: 91].

Censorship also took place in the selection of literature for the courses. There are known cases where, in the draft curricula, textbooks from the pre-revolutionary period or the period of the Ukrainian War of Independence (1917–1921) were recommended for use [Орленко, Салтан, Салтан, 2020: 130]. However, teaching took place mainly according to Soviet textbooks with political censorship or according to new textbooks printed by order of the German authorities.

The Department of Propaganda of the KCA, headed by Volodymyr Kryvenko, was also involved in the amount of textbooks suitable for teaching from January 5, 1942. Experts engaged in censorship and writing textbooks were carefully checked by the Department of Staff of the KCA and recommended by authoritative persons for approval by representatives of the German command. For example, the history textbooks were compiled by Vasyl Dubrovskiy. Yurii Shevelov and Dmytro Solovei created the Ukrainian grammar textbooks for 5th through 7th grade. Sava Chavdar compiled the Ukrainian language textbooks. And the geography textbooks were compiled by Kost Dubniak [Єржабкова, 2008: 96; Орленко, Салтан, Салтан, 2020: 118; Салтан, Салтан, 2019: 117; Скоробогатов, 2004: 196; Шевельов, 2017: 450, 678].

Yu. Shevelov believed his textbook "should have been short, concise and built according to the scheme of Soviet grammars, only with a different selection of examples, a different political orientation" [Шевельов, 2017: 450]. Such adjustments were a constant practice.

Soviet textbooks were used in elementary school, where "portraits of Lenin, Stalin, etc. were pasted over, sentences, phrases, drawings, etc., unacceptable from the point of view of the occupation authorities were covered up" [quoted in Скоробогатов, 2004: 196]. In the problem book on arithmetic, some terms were corrected (for example, "collective farm" to "farm", "pioneer" to "schoolboy", etc.) [Посохов, 2012: 478].

The Germans did not allow textbooks on Ukrainian literature to be printed. D. Solovei, as

the director of the publishing house "Ukrainian Book" tried to get permission from the German authorities to print a Ukrainian primer, reading book, and other textbooks for school. But it did not work [Чуруй, 2008: 91].

According to a preliminary assessment by the representatives of the Department of Education of KCA, schoolchildren in the 1st grade were fully provided with educational literature, 2nd grades – by 70%, 3rd–4th grades had only separate textbooks, and in the 5th–7th grades the issue of textbooks was significantly worse [Орленко, Салтан, Салтан, 2020: 132].

Analyzing school curricula also planned to teach the Law of God in people's schools and gymnasiums [KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 184: 12–14]. The Orthodox clergy and representatives of Ukrainian nationalist movements made attempts to organize religious education for young people. For this purpose, the study of the Law of God was introduced in educational institutions at primary and secondary levels. The Educational Department of the KCA developed a 40-hour curriculum for this subject. The explanatory note stated that the teaching of the Law of God is aimed at instilling in children a pious attitude to temples, respect for priests, teachers, parents, elders, "[...] and above all, love for God, for the Christian faith, for our native Ukrainian Orthodox Church" [quoted in Волошин, 1997: 73]. A teacher of the Law of God must necessarily be included in the staff of a people school [KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 184: 2]. In Kharkiv, the teaching of the subject began in the 1941/1942 academic year. Two hours a week were allocated for its study. However, discipline was excluded from the curricula due to their prohibition by the occupation commandant's office, and, presumably, the subject was replaced by civics [KRSA. F. P-2892. In. 4. Case 184: 12].

The conditions for learning in schools were difficult. Fighting and occupation led to the significant destruction of infrastructure, including school buildings. The Nazi city administration did not fully provide the necessary supplies for education. The lack of paper, glass, furniture, chalk, fuel, and other teaching materials made the learning process even more difficult. Classes were held in unequipped premises or even at teachers' homes. The number of schools was significantly reduced (135 schools existed before the occupation [Посохов, 2012: 365]). Some children had to walk long distances to school every day. These trips were exhausting, especially for children. Most of the rooms were not heated or lit (the temperature was so low that the ink froze [Посохов, 2012: 476]), and the children themselves were exhausted by the war and forced to stand in line for food for the whole family on an equal footing with adults [Скоробогатов, 2004: 164; Дражевська, Соловей, 1985: 28]. All these difficulties and adverse conditions jeopardized the ability to obtain quality education and created significant asperities for the entire educational system.

It is acknowledged that by the end of the 1942/1943 academic year, there were only 3,541 students in the schools [Скоробогатов, 2004: 197]. The quality of training in secondary vocational schools was significantly inferior to the educational institutions in Soviet times. In addition to the reasons mentioned above, this was also influenced by restrictions on education for Ukrainians [Потильчак, 2006: 783].

According to the memories of Leontina Alksnis, who studied at the Kharkiv Elementary People's School No. 13, it is known that Ukrainian and German languages, arithmetic, singing (both Ukrainian and German songs) were studied daily at the educational institution, and gymnastics were done in the yard before classes. Classes in the school began with the choral reading of a poem in praise of A. Hitler. Natural science, geography, drawing, and calligraphy were taught less often. Lessons were conducted in Ukrainian. A portrait of A. Hitler hung in a frame in every classroom against the backdrop of the flag of the Third Reich with the inscription

at the bottom "Führer – Befreier!" (in translation "Leader – Liberator!") [Посохов, 2012: 477-478].

In the city, preparatory courses were also held. From the memoirs of V. Hurkevich, a docent at Kharkiv University, it is known that O. Popov wanted to open the first Ukrainian male gymnasium at "Prosvita" headed by the docent of geography Derevyanko. It was never destined to start working due to the ban of the German command [Дьякова, 2011: 132].

However, in the fall of 1942, preparatory study courses for 25 students for the Kharkiv School of Agronomists were still open in the walls of "Prosvita". Anatolii Chervynskiy became the head of the classes and also taught logic and Latin. Vasyl Dubrovskiy taught Ukrainian history, Khoma Riabokin taught mathematics, Yuliia Kholodniak taught German, Yurii Shevelov taught Ukrainian, and O. Popov taught literature [Скоробогатов, 2004: 197]. According to the memoirs of Yu. Shevelov, the courses lasted only two months [Шевельов, 2017: 467–468]. He described them as follows: "And this was, beyond any doubt, an illegal action because education in Kharkiv was banned and at a higher than primary school level – even more so. [...] and these were happy hours for me and perhaps for some of them" [quoted in Шевельов, 2017: 467].

Speaking about national education in Kharkiv, it is crucial to consider the particularities of the work carried out by higher education institutions. Higher education institutions were not rehabilitated in territories subordinate to the Military Administration Zone (the Zone of Military Government). At the beginning of the occupation, it was planned to resume education at the city's Polytechnic, Commercial, Pedagogical, and Engineering-Economic Institutes. However, they operated temporarily and were closed in December based on the order above of the 7th Department of the military administration at the general quartermaster of the General Staff of the Ground Forces [Левченко, 2017: 194].

Although it is known that in the middle of 1942, the National Art Institute, the M. Lysenko National Conservatory, and the Dokuchaiev School of Agronomists were opened in Kharkiv [Левченко, 2017: 194].

The conservatory under the leadership of V. Komarenko was almost the only musical higher education institution in Ukraine where education was actually conducted. In the summer and September of 1942, the student and teaching staff of the conservatory gave over 200 concerts for the German armed forces only [Скоробогатов, 2004: 309].

The Kharkiv Art Institute, at the initiative of the German command, received the status of national. The educational institution was headed by the Ukrainian artist M. Kozik. According to the data of the modern researcher Tetiana Panyok, at the institute, albeit limitedly, the restoration of Ukrainian fine arts traditions begins [Паньок, 2016: 342]. A team of teachers and students painted portraits of prominent Ukrainian figures, political posters, posters, icons, etc. [Паньок, 2023].

In the summer of 1942, the already mentioned Kharkiv School of Agronomists began operating under the leadership of Semen Vorobiov. Education was conducted in two faculties: agronomy and mechanization of agriculture. 178 students were enrolled in the first year of the agronomy faculty, and 211 students were enrolled in the mechanization faculty [Голікова, 2020]. However, the school operated, rather, at the initiative of the local commandant's office as a secondary vocational institution to replenish professional employees in the field of agriculture.

The city's higher education institutions did not conduct education but worked as research institutes and had leaders from among the Ukrainian intelligentsia. In general, preference was given to Ukrainian nationally oriented workforce and teachers without a communist past when hiring [Паньок, 2016: 346].

Conclusions. National education during the Nazi occupation of Kharkiv experienced difficult times. On the one hand, it was developed by the local community, which tried to update the education of youth, relying on their beliefs, and on the other hand, it was hindered by the Nazis, who had a polar vision and aimed to use only specialists in the industrial sector that was beneficial to them.

Despite the negative attitude of the German leadership towards the restoration of domestic education, a strong circle of Ukrainian intelligentsia rallied in Kharkiv. They held most of the center positions in the city, which allowed them to carry out their work in the field of enlightenment through the city's administrative structures (including the Department of Education of the KCA) and the "Prosvita" society. They tried to reorganize the Soviet type of education and open educational institutions of a new type – people schools. Some scientists developed projects for programs for academic disciplines, some of which aimed at the national education of youth. Among these, the historical and geographical cycle programs are worth noting. The educational process was subjected to radical changes, including a review of programs, teaching methods, and the ideological orientation of schools. Among higher educational institutions, only art institutes operated, so access to higher education was limited. The Germans tried to exercise strict control over education to ensure the subordination of national education to Nazi ideals and the goals of the occupation.

Thus, it can be stated that the aspirations of Ukrainians in the field of education can be considered to be of little success. The main reason for this should be viewed as the short-term nature of their activities – only two years. If we talk about the Ukrainian context of education at the primary, secondary, and higher levels, then it did not successfully create and implement a new national education. However, education was conducted in the Ukrainian language (as is known, language plays a significant role in forming national consciousness). In Kharkiv, the commandant's office banned almost all educational initiatives of the Dolenko group – from educational programs to the opening of a high school and the printing of textbooks. The approved programs for elementary school and courses from "Prosvita" did not meet their expectations in forming national consciousness in youth, especially children. Higher education became the most problematic. Some higher education institutions could still start teaching but with interruptions, inadequate funding, lack of students, and several other reasons.

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