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**LEGAL PERIODICALS FOR CHILDREN IN THE TERRITORY
OF THE GENERAL DISTRICT “VOLYN-PODILLIA”
DURING THE NAZI OCCUPATION**

Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to analyze the subject matter, ideological and educational potential of legal children’s periodicals that were published in the territory of the general district of “Volyn-Podillia” during the Nazi occupation. The research methodology consists of general scientific and special historical methods. The research is based on the principles of historicism, scientific objectivity and a problem-chronological approach. The scientific novelty consists in the fact that, on the basis of primary sources, the thematic and content issues of legal children’s periodicals, which were published in the territory of the general district of “Volyn-Podillia” during the Nazi occupation, have been analyzed in detail. The Conclusion. It has been determined that in the territory of the general district “Volyn-Podillia”, which was part of the Reich Commissariat “Ukraine”, during the Nazi occupation, several specialized legal Ukrainian-language periodicals for children were published: “Orlenia”, “Ukrainska Dytyna”, “Shkoliaryk” and “Shkoliaryk’s Leaflet”. At the same time, there were “children’s pages” in some contemporary universal periodicals. The chief editors of*

the magazines were journalists, teachers, cultural and public figures known at that time. The children's magazines under analysis were distributed in different regions of Ukraine. Taking into account the conditions under which schoolchildren of that time lived – the lack of textbooks, children's literature, impossibility of attending school and the lack of full-fledged education – publications were a significant educational tool that contributed to education and development, awareness in various fields, and encouraged creativity. Since the publishing houses operated under control of the occupation authorities, the magazines simultaneously served as a platform for the spread of the Nazi ideology and propaganda work. Each of the above mentioned magazines for children had a certain structure, which provided for the presence of a number of permanent and changing sections. The thematic and genre palette of children's publications was quite diverse. Materials on the history of Ukraine, geography, Ukrainian literature, mathematics, etc., recommended for use in the educational process, were published. An important component of children's periodicals were illustrations that served to illustrate the text, some of them contained a corresponding ideological direction, some – simply decorated the pages. Despite the propaganda, anti-Soviet orientation of the publications and orientation that everything German is the best, the magazines were sufficiently informative, interesting, educational and contributed to education, upbringing and development of school children.

Key words: children's periodicals, the Nazi occupation regime, general district "Volyn-Podillia".

ЛЕГАЛЬНІ ПЕРІОДИЧНІ ВИДАННЯ ДЛЯ ДІТЕЙ НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ ГЕНЕРАЛЬНОЇ ОКРУГИ “ВОЛИНЬ-ПОДІЛЛЯ” У ПЕРІОД НАЦИСТСЬКОЇ ОКУПАЦІЇ

Анотація. **Мета дослідження** – проаналізувати тематику, ідеологічний та освітній потенціал легальної дитячої періодики, що виходила друком на території генеральної округи “Волинь-Поділля” в період нацистської окупації. **Методологію дослідження** складають загальнонаукові та спеціальні історичні методи. В основу роботи покладено принципи історизму, наукової об’єктивності та проблемно-хронологічний підхід. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі періоджерел досить детально проаналізовано тематично-змістове наповнення легальної дитячої періодики, що виходила друком на території генеральної округи “Волинь-Поділля” у період нацистської окупації. **Висновки.** Простежено, що на території генеральної округи “Волинь-Поділля”, що входила до складу рейхскомісаріату “Україна”, в період нацистської окупації виходили друком декілька спеціалізованих легальних українськомовних періодичних часописів для дітей: “Орленя”, “Українська дитина”, “Школярик” та “Листок школяра”. Крім того, “дитячі сторінки” були передбачені у деяких тогочасних універсальних виданнях. Головними редакторами часописів були знані тогочасні журналісти, педагоги, культурні й громадські діячі. Досліджувані нами дитячі журнали поширювалися у різних регіонах України. Зважаючи на умови, в яких перебували школярі того часу, – нестача підручників, дитячої літератури, неможливість відвідування школи і відсутність повноцінного навчання – видання були значимим освітнім інструментом, що сприяв вихованню та розвитку, обізнаності у різних сферах, закликів до творчості. Оскільки видавництва діяли під контролем окупаційної влади, журнали водночас слугували майданчиком для поширення нацистської ідеології та агітаційно-пропагандистської роботи. Кожен із названих часописів для дітей мав певну структуру, що передбачала наявність низки постійних та змінних рубрик. Тематично-жанрова палітра дитячих видань була досить різноманітною. Тут публікували матеріали з історії України, географії, української літератури, математики тощо, рекомендовані для використання в освітньому процесі. Важливим компонентом дитячих періодичних видань були ілюстрації, що слугували унаочненню тексту, окремі з них мали відповідне ідеологічне спрямування, деякі просто прикрашали сторінки. Незважаючи на пропагандистську, антирадянську спрямованість видань та орієнтацію на те, що все німецьке – найкраще, вони були достатньо інформативними, цікавими, пізнавальними і сприяли навчанню, вихованню та розвитку дітей шкільного віку.

Ключові слова: дитячі періодичні видання, нацистський окупаційний режим, генеральна округа “Волинь-Поділля”.

The Problem Statement. During the difficult period of the Nazi occupation of the territory of Ukraine, a special direction of publishing activity was the children's press. Several legal Ukrainian-language magazines for children were published, which, given their specificity, performed informational, campaigning-propaganda, educational developmental and educational functions. Under the conditions of complete dependence on the German administration and strict censorship, the editorial boards, led by journalists, teachers, public figures and representatives of the cultural sector, who were well-known at that time, tried to balance between ideological guidelines and real needs of children. That is why, substantive and illustrative content of the magazines was quite diverse, but the emphasis on educational materials was clearly visible. In contrast to pro-German topics, articles on the history of Ukraine and native region were published. Materials on Geography, Ukrainian literature, Mathematics, etc., were important for the formation of key and subject competencies of children.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. In historiography, the issue of legal periodicals content for children, which were published in the territory of the general district of "Volyn-Podillia" during the Nazi occupation, was analyzed fragmentarily and for the most part, in the context of considering educational processes and various aspects of the functioning and role of the press at that time. In this aspect the research of the Ukrainian historians, is represented by publications of M. Mykhailiuk (Mykhailiuk, 2001), A. Zhyviuk (Zhyviuk, 2004), I. Pavliuk (Pavliuk, 2005), R. Radchuk (Radchuk, 2006), K. Kurylyshyn (Kurylyshyn, 2007, 2010), O. Salata (Salata, 2010, 2020), V. Hinda (Hinda, 2012), V. Danylchuk (Danylchuk, 2012), V. Yaremenko (Yaremenko, 2012), V. Mysan (Mysan, 2013), O. Honcharenko (Honcharenko, 2022) and the others. Therefore, a number of aspects related to the thematic and genre specificity of children's magazines, the analysis of textual and illustrative materials, the possibilities of their use in the educational process, etc. are not analyzed by scholars.

The purpose of the research is to analyze the subject matter, ideological and educational potential of legal children's periodicals that were published in the territory of the general district of "Volyn-Podillia" during the Nazi occupation.

The Results of the Research. During the Nazi occupation, a number of legal Ukrainian-language periodicals were published on the territory of the general district "Volyn-Podillia", which was part of the Reich Commissariat "Ukraine", which, according to the classification suggested by K. Kurylyshyn, can be divided by problem thematic, target and readership issues into magazines: universal, normative, economic, as well as newspapers and magazines for children, youth and women (Kurylyshyn, 2010, pp. 5–6).

The functioning of the legal Ukrainian-language press took place under conditions of dependence on the German administration and was considered by it as a significant means of mass information in the aspect of agitational and propaganda activities. Therefore, the content of publications was determined by the contemporary requirements of the occupation authorities and had a clearly defined ideological focus (Mykhailiuk, 2001, pp. 644–651).

Informational influence on the population had to be carried out starting from childhood. For this purpose, in particular, the publishing of specialized magazines for children and youth was allowed on the territory of the general district "Volyn-Podillia", such as: the magazines "Orlenia" (under the patronage of the Ukrainian publishing house "Volyn"), "Ukrainska Dytna" (published by the publishing house "Kostopilski Visti"), "Shkoliaryk" (published by the Ukrainian Department of Education and Training in Dubno) and "Shkoliaryk's Leaflet" (published in Shepetivka/Slavuta). It is known that the mentioned above magazines were

published from the autumn of 1941 to the end of 1942 with the frequency of issues – once or twice a month. The cost of copies ranged from 50 kopicks up to 4 krb (Kurylyshyn, 2007, pp. 138–142, 347–350, 534–536). The chief editors of the magazines were journalists, teachers, cultural and public figures known at that time.

In addition, in some universal legal Ukrainian-language periodicals there were the so-called “children’s pages”. For example, separate issues of the newspaper “Ukrainskyi Holos” of 1942 and 1943, which was published in the town of Proskuriv, contained an appendix called “Page for a Schoolboy” (Ukrainskyi holos, 1942a, 1942b, 1942c, 1942d, 1942e, 1942f, 1942g; 1943a).

The first magazine for Ukrainian schoolchildren, which began to be published in the occupied territories that were part of the general district “Volyn-Podillia”, was the fortnightly “Shkoliaryk”, which was edited by a poet, a playwright, a journalist, a director, a teacher, a compiler of the Ukrainian language textbooks and of literature – Avenir Kolomiets. As L. Holovata mentioned, – “against the background of other periodicals for school youth that appeared in the Reichskommissariat “Ukraine” at the time, the “Shkoliaryk” magazine was advantageously distinguished by the fact that it was devoid of servile articles directed at the German occupiers. The periodical turned out to be generally imitative, but, disregarding official prescriptions, it was filled with non-circular propagandistic interspersions, which were supposed to advertise prudence and moderation of the editorial board in relation to the regime’s policy, but with materials traditional for the Ukrainian pre-war magazines of Galicia – about the state symbols, princes, heroes of Bazaar, etc.” (Holovata, 2017, pp. 291–293).

A specialized periodical for school youth aged 7 to 14 was the monthly “Ukrainska Dytyna”, which was edited first by the University student Hryhoriy Rybak, and later by Roman Danylevych, the priest and active educator. As it was noted in Issue # 1, due to the lack of technical capabilities, it was not “expensive, colourful book full of artistic illustrations, but a modest, ordinary notebook of 8(12) pages, in which a child can read about different things, about life in God’s world, about life in one’s own world” (Ukrainska dytyna, 1942a, p. 1).

The most powerful among the above mentioned children’s magazines was “Orlenia”, which, according to I. Pavliuk, was “the only “thick” (32-page) magazine for children of the war period in the lands of Volhynia, Polissia, Kholmshchyna and Pidliashia” (Pavliuk, 2005, p. 63). Petro Zinchenko, a journalist, a teacher, an illustrator, a graphic artist, who later edited the newspaper “Volyn” was responsible for its publication (Rudenko & Bereziuk, 2010). Much hope was placed on this magazine, and its objectives were defined as follows: “May it become a true friend of every Ukrainian child. Let it provide not only entertainment, but also good advice, let it awaken national consciousness and teach us who we are and whose children we are, let it become a book that no one among a younger generation can do without” (Orlenia, 1941, p. 32).

Under the conditions of educational sector reformation, the Nazi occupation authorities prohibited the use of the Soviet literature and school textbooks. However, preparing new editions required time and adequate resources, which were in a short supply. In order to solve this problem to some extent, teachers were recommended to use children’s magazines for teaching. For example, in July of 1942, the general commissar, and later the education departments of the Volyn-Podillia general district, instructed heads of schools to organize subscriptions to children’s publications. In particular, it was noted that at least 5–10 copies of the “Orlenia” magazine were needed per school and one copy for each teacher (Ukrainskyi holos, 1942a, p. 3; 1942b, p. 3). This instruction also concerned other press for children.

Therefore, the content orientation of children's publications was determined, on the one hand, by the need for informational influence and the main types of activities of a child (a play and study), on the other hand, by the main tasks of an adult addressee (upbringing, education, entertainment), etc. (Syromlia, 2020, p. 169).

In the aspect of "development" of a "new school" of that time, it was about changing the concept of education and upbringing. The Soviet model, which provided for "pioneers and Komsomol members, red flags, slogans, social campaigns, voluntary and paid spies and informers..." was called unacceptable, and the basis of new transformations was to be "God and Motherland". The anti-Soviet orientation of the textual and pictorial materials was clearly visible. The emphasis was mainly on the fact that "after the overthrow of the Jewish-Bolshevik regime, silence and peace reigned in Volyn..., economic life was revived..." (Ukrainska dytyna, 1942, pp. 1–12; Orlenian, 1941a, p. 7; Kotsur, 2021, pp. 156–163).

Each of the mentioned above magazines for children had a certain structure, which provided for the presence of various thematic permanent and changing sections. For example, in the "Ukrainska Dytyna" magazine there were the following sections: "Grandfather's Conversations with Children" – stories about the origin of Christianity, the importance of the Church, native land, instructions on rules of conduct, respect for parents; "Grandmother's Fairy Tales for Hryts and Hannusia" – Ukrainian fairy tales and fairy tales of the peoples of the world; "Pages of a Primer for a Small Schoolboy" – stories, poems, riddles; "Life and Science" – scientific and cognitive materials; "Entertainment and Jokes" – riddles and humour; "Children's Creativity" – the best works of children sent to the editorial office; "Answers of the Editor Board" – communication of the editor board with contributors. Also, "Songs to Learn by Heart" and "Choice of Readers" were published for primary school children students (Ukrainska dytyna, 1942, № 1–10).

The magazine "Orlenia" included the sections: "Native Literature" – biographical references and works/fragments of works of domestic writers and poets (L. Hlibov, I. Kotliarevskiy, P. Kulish, T. Shevchenko, U. Samchuk, I. Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, Marko Vovchok, etc.); the magazine "Historical Calendar" – chronology of historical events; the magazine "In Short about Everything" and the magazine "To Help a Young Technician" – scientific and educational materials, which were often supplemented with research and inventions of the German scholars; the magazine "Games and Entertainment" – crosswords, puzzles, riddles, charades, joke problems, tongue twisters, puzzles; the magazine "Creativity of our Readers" – riddles, poems, stories of young readers. The literary trend, in general, was quite powerfully represented on the pages of all the magazines mentioned above.

Despite the fact that these were children's publications, the occupation authorities used them as a platform to spread the Nazi ideology. Editorial boards of legal periodicals could not ignore this, although they did a lot to make the information presented less expressed (Honcharenko, 2021, pp. 151–156). War topics were mandatory for coverage, which were in the headings: "Review of War Events" (the magazine "Ukrainska Dytyna"), the magazine "What's New in the World" (the magazine "Orlenia"). In addition, articles devoted to the German victories were periodically published, in which there was mentioned the beauty and greatness of Germany, an advanced way of life. Everything German was shown as the best. All this was done with the aim of forming a favourable attitude towards this country in the young generation.

In the context of campaigning and propaganda direction, a number of articles were quite indicative. In particular, the article "Youth Organization in Germany", reinforced by an illustrative photo of J. Goebbels during "a friendly conversation with German youth", called

on Ukrainian schoolchildren to receipt “Hitler Jugend” as an example and organize according to this model (Orlenia, 1941b, pp. 5–7). In order to bring the information as close as possible to a young reader and make a psychological impact more effective, the publications “Bavaria – the Most Beautiful and Interesting German Country”, “The Glorious Bavarian City of Nuremberg” and the others were presented in the format of a letter from a newspaper reader – Ukrainian schoolboy, a member of a German children’s organization who got to Bavaria, visited a school there and talks about some peculiarities of education, as well as about various aspects of life abroad, about their traditions, which are different from the Ukrainian ones, about workers from Ukraine who work there and are delighted with this country (Orlenia, 1942a, p. 12; Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942f, p. 3; Pohorielov, 2019, pp. 38–55).

An important component was a historical issue, which contributed not only to informing children about various events, periods of history, about notable figures, but also to a patriotic upbringing of youth and love for the homeland. Thus, the magazine “Orlenia” (1942, № 1–3; № 5; № 8–10) included the stories “Yaroslav the Wise”, “Kyiv in the Time of Princes”, “Ukrainian Army in the Time of Princes”, “Liberation Struggle of our Ancestors”, “Baptism of Ukraine-Rus”, essays about Khmelnytskyi period, about S. Petliura (Honcharenko, 2022, pp. 109–118) and the others. The monthly periodical “Historical Calendar” helped navigate dates and events.

In the magazine “Shkoliaryk” there were published the following stories: “The Wise Princess”, “The Town of Dubno”, “The Oldest Inhabitants of the Ukrainian Land”, the poetry “Love your Native House”, the poems “Ivas Reads the History of his Native Land”, “Children, Learn”. At the same time, the “National Anthem” was published (Shkoliaryk, 1941a, 1941b), in an accessible form, the essence and significance of Ukrainian symbols (“Signs of Power and Statehood”), etc. were highlighted. The editors of the publication “Ukrayinska Dytyna” also offered relevant thematic materials on the history of Ukraine for readers. Here we find “Historical Memories in January”, “Kruty”, “Yaroslav the Wise”, “How Zaporizhzhia Sich Rose” (Ukrainska dytyna, 1942; Yaroslav Mudryi, 1942; Yak povstala, 1942), etc. All these texts helped teachers to a great extent in teaching a new subject at that time – History of Ukraine.

Religion and Geography of Ukraine were among the new subjects introduced into the curriculum. Therefore, religious, natural and geographical aspects became an important component of children’s magazines and children’s pages in universal periodicals during the occupation period. In particular, the periodicals we find stories about the origin of Christianity, about Christmas, the Resurrection of Christ, about the meaning of the Church, images of saints, numerous prayers, poems and stories of a spiritual and moral content, carols (Molytva, 1942; Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942a, p. 3; Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942b, p. 3; Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942e, p. 3; Orlenia, 1942d, pp. 1–5; Orlenia, 1941c, pp. 30–31; Orlenia, 1942a, pp. 28–29).

The articles “Was Columbus the first in the New World?”, “About Comets – Tailed Stars” were useful in the aspect of forming children’s geographical competence (Ukrainyskyi holos, 1943a, p. 3), “Why are there Phenomena: Fog, Clouds, Dew, Rain, Snow” (Chomu tuman, 1942, p. 3), “The Moon” (Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942f, p. 3), “About the Earth and the Sun” (Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942e, p. 3), “Relief and its Image on Maps” (Orlenia, 1942b, pp. 28–29) and the others. Numerous publications about nature were informative.

Mathematical exercises published in children’s magazines were also of a quite interesting content, often close to the life of schoolchildren, such as: “How Many Seedlings are Needed”, “Broken Window” (Ukrainyskyi holos, 1942e, p. 3). Tasks were periodically published which

could be used as handouts at lessons. Explanations were added to more complex tasks (Orlenia, 1942a, p. 31). The articles for young technicians were informative and at the same time practically oriented.

In the magazines the editorial boards also included recommendations regarding the use of interesting forms of work with schoolchildren, for example, organization of school theatres. To help in this matter, there were submitted scripts of plays with detailed instructions for their staging, and there was also published staging of songs, etc. (Orlenia, 1941a, pp. 21, 30). In terms of arranging educational environment, they included advice on using books, magazines in classrooms (Shkoliaryk, 1941b).

On the pages of children's periodicals, there was also focus on physical education, hygiene and their importance in every person's life, considering that "Ukraine needs strong and healthy people". Textual information with instructions for maintaining physical condition were complemented by illustrations that demonstrated step-by-step algorithm for doing one or another exercise (Orlenia, 1942a, pp. 25–27). For educational purposes, materials related to the rules of "good behaviour" were published, interesting visual tasks were offered to check knowledge of "good behaviour" (Shkoliaryk, 1941b). Therefore, an educational component took its proper place in children's magazines. They were sufficiently powerful and were represented by a significant amount of educational, cognitive and developmental materials.

Illustrations were an important component of children's periodicals. Black-and-white "sketches" served to illustrate the text, some of them contained a corresponding ideological direction, some – simply decorated the pages of children's periodicals. There were also portraits/photos of writers, politicians, historical figures (both Ukrainian and German), pictures of German planes, equipment, and victorious fragments from the life of the military. In order to increase interest of young readers in magazines, the title pages were designed well, especially the magazine "Orlenia". Certain drawings were intended for colouring, templates were included with instructions for making various handicrafts with your own hands, for example, Christmas tree ornaments. For the development of attention and thinking, it was suggested comparing "pictures" and finding differences, recalling proverbs to the given pictures, coming up with poems or stories, describing pictures, working on "business cards", "mysterious pictures", riddles, etc. (Orlenia, 1941a, pp. 12, 16, 32; Orlenia, 1941b, pp. 23, 24, 29; Orlenia, 1942c, p. 16).

Visual materials of the children's press represent agricultural, Ukrainian, patriotic (Ukrainian symbols, ornaments, the Cossacks, boys and girls in embroidered dresses, folk musical instruments, sown, fertile fields, rural houses, towns with their architecture, landscapes), pro-German (German cities, streets, buildings) and anti-Soviet topics. In order to form an extremely negative image of the Bolsheviki, they used one of the effective means of information warfare – caricatures. In particular, the caricature "Bolshevik Runs Away", published in the "Orlenia" magazine (Orlenia, 1941b, p. 23), mocked and humiliated the Soviet government by comparing it to rats that were expelled and drowned in the Dnieper. At the same time, the image was intended to make readers feel disgusted.

The use of a significant amount of illustrative materials of an appropriate thematic load was an important means of influencing the consciousness of children, because illustration helps a child learn about the world, influences formation of moral values, aesthetic ideals, deepens understanding of a literary work, certain social processes, which the German administration focused on.

The children's magazines under analysis were distributed not only in Rivne region, but also in many other regions of Ukraine and received favourable reviews from colleagues and readers. For example, in January of 1942, an article with a brief description of the "Orlenia" magazine appeared in the "Free Word" periodical, which was published in Drohobych, part of "Halychyna" district. There should be emphasized the fact that this monthly periodical had been published since October of 1941 and was quite voluminous. "The content of the magazine is educational, sincerely national, and at the same time very diverse. In addition to occasional poems and stories, there are political reviews, and columns: literary, natural, geographical, historical, "to help a young technician", games and entertainment, etc. The magazine as a whole is interestingly edited, with knowledge of children's psychology, the articles are richly illustrated. With its content, it is best suited for young people in the senior classes of the national school. We sincerely congratulate a good start of our brothers from Volyn and wish them the best of success in their educational work" (Orlenia – chasopys dlia ditei, 1942, p. 4). We find similar reviews in other publications.

The Conclusion. Thus, during the period of the Nazi occupation children's periodicals were a special sphere of publishing activity. At that time, few legal Ukrainian-language magazines for children were published, which increased the demand for existing publications. Taking into account the conditions under which schoolchildren of that time lived – the lack of textbooks, children's literature, impossibility of attending school and the lack of full-fledged education – publications were a significant educational tool that contributed to education and development, awareness in various fields, and encouraged creativity.

The thematic and genre palette of children's publications was quite diverse. The magazines published short historical calendars, excerpts from works of art, sketches, plays recommended for staging, songs, carols, poems, stories, fairy tales, information on the history of Ukraine, materials of a scientific and cognitive nature, tasks for intellectual development (riddles, puzzles, charades, joke tasks), etc. The contents of the magazines echoed to a certain extent. Despite ideological instructions and censorship of the occupation authorities, editorial teams tried to convey a key message to readers, the essence of which was that training and education are important. And this importance is clearly visible in the children's press. Therefore, despite educational, propagandistic, anti-Soviet orientation of the periodicals and orientation that everything German is the best, the magazines were interesting and contributed to the development of children of all ages.

In the further study of the mentioned above issue, it will be appropriate to do a comparative analysis of the children's press, which was published in various administrative and territorial districts during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine, a detailed analysis of ideological and educational component, etc.

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