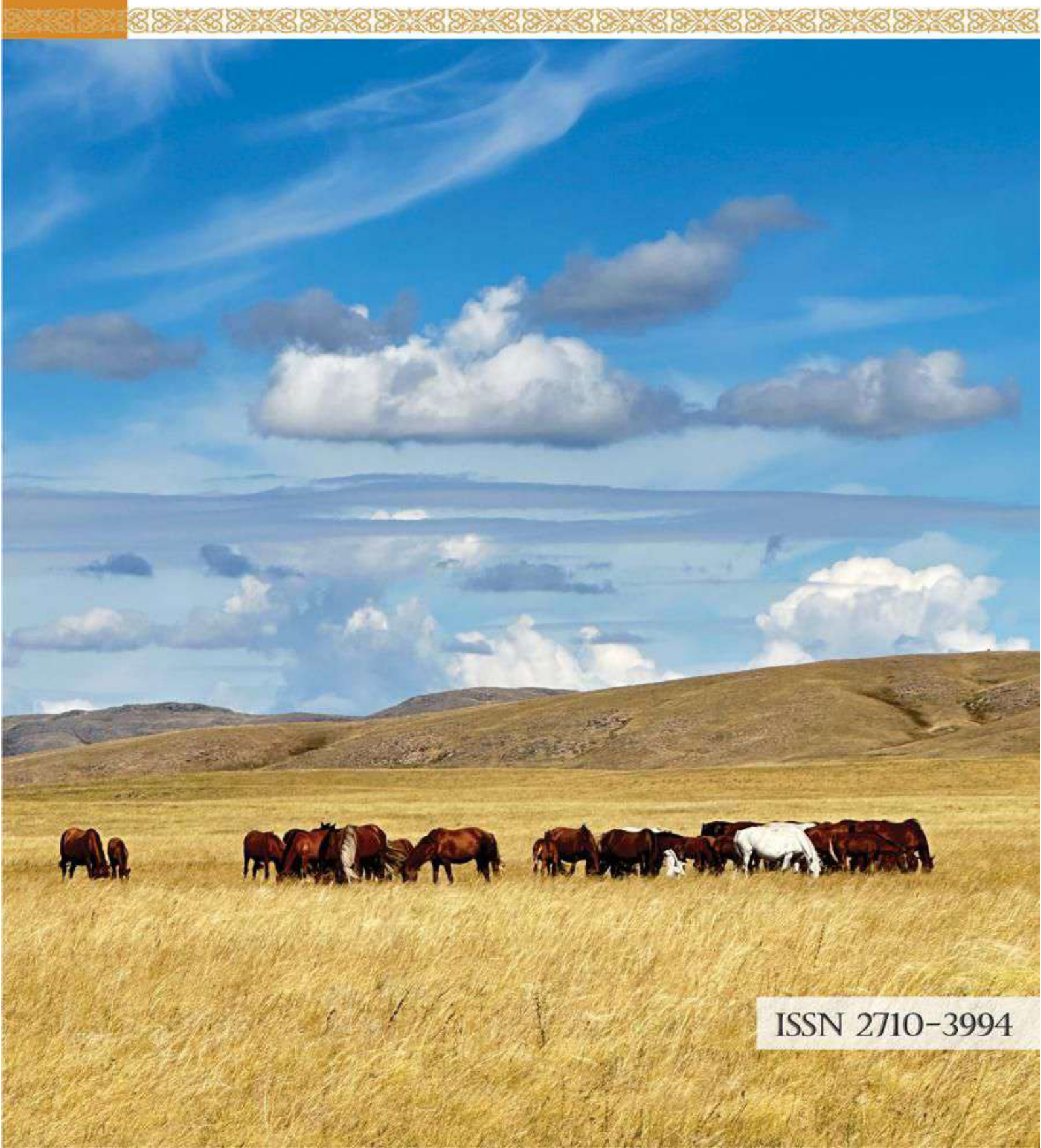


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AGITATION WORK UNDER THE GERMAN OCCUPATION: THE IDEOLOGICAL ROLE OF THE NEWSPAPER “NOVA UKRAINE” IN KHARKOV (1941–1943)

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The article examines the content of the newspaper “Nova Ukraina” (“The New Ukraine”), published in Kharkov during the Nazi occupation of 1941–1943. *Goals and objectives.* The goal is to identify the editorial strategy employed under the conditions of the occupation regime. To achieve this objective, the study employs both general scientific methods and specialized historical and sociological approaches. The methodological framework is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, systematic analysis, and a multi-factor approach. *Results.* The “Nova Ukraina” was published in Kharkov from December 1941 to September 1943. A list of contributors included renowned Ukrainian writers and scholars, such as Ivan Bahriany, Yurii Boyko, Anatol Gak, Kostyantyn Dubnyak, Vasyl Dubrovsky, Arkadiy Lyubchenko, Oleksa Paradysky, and Yurii Shevelov. An analysis of the newspaper’s publications reveals their propagandistic nature. The articles primarily featured complimentary portrayals of the Nazis. At the same time, the newspaper actively promoted the Ukrainian language and culture. The newspaper consistently advanced a critical narrative of the Soviet regime, highlighting and reframing the most tragic episodes in Ukrainian history. Ukrainian culture. In every issue, Jews were presented as enemies of humanity, which points to the influence of German antisemitic ideology. Notably, the question of establishing an independent Ukrainian state was not addressed in the newspaper. *Conclusion.* The study concludes that “Nova Ukraina” functioned as a vehicle of nationalist propaganda with a distinctly pro-German, anti-Soviet, and antisemitic orientation. The newspaper reflected the ideological positions of segments of the Ukrainian intelligentsia who engaged in collaboration with the Nazi administration and was strategically employed to construct a favourable narrative of the occupation regime, thereby contributing to its discursive legitimization during the Second World War.

Keywords: Kharkov, Hitlerite occupation, Ukrainian nationalists, pro-Ukrainian propaganda, pro-German propaganda, “Nova Ukraina” newspaper

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НЕМІС ОККУПАЦІЯСЫНДАҒЫ ҮГІТ-НАСИХАТ ЖҰМЫСТАРЫ: ХАРЬКОВТАҒЫ «ЖАҢА УКРАИНА» ГАЗЕТІНІҢ ИДЕОЛОГИЯЛЫҚ РӨЛІ (1941–1943)

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Аңдатпа. *Kіріспе.* Мақала 1941–1943 жылдардағы нацистік оккупация кезеңінде Харьков қаласында шығарылған «Жаңа Украина» газетінің мазмұнын талдауға арналған. Зерттеудің мақсаты — оккупациялық режим жағдайында редакциялық стратегияны айқындау. Қойылған мақсатқа жету үшін жалпығылыми, сондай-ақ арнайы тарихи және социологиялық зерттеу әдістері қолданылды. Зерттеудің әдіснамалық негізін тарихилық, объективтілік, жүйелілік және көпфакторлылық принциптері құрайды. *Нәтижелер.* «Жаңа Украина» газеті Харьковта 1941 жылдың желтоқсанынан 1943 жылдың қыркүйегіне дейін жарық көрді. Тілшілердің қатарында Иван Багряный, Юрий Бойко, Анатолий Гак, Константин Дубняк, Василий Дубровский, Аркадий Любченко, Олекса Парадский, Юрий Шевелёв сынды белгілі украин жазушылары мен ғалымдары болды. Газет материалдарын талдау олардың үгіт-насихаттық сипатта болғанын көрсетеді. Ең алдымен, мақалаларда нацистерге арналған мадақтау материалдары басым болды. Сонымен қатар газет беттерінде украин тілі мен мәдениеті белсенді насихатталды. Бұдан бөлек, кеңес үкіметі қатаң сынға алынып, украин тарихының қайғылы беттері баяндалды. Әр нөмірде еврейлер адамзаттың жауы ретінде сипатталды, бұл жерде неміс антисемиттік идеологиясының ықпалын байқауға болады. Айта кету керек, газеттің ешбір нөмірінде тәуелсіз украин мемлекетін құру мәселесі көтерілген жоқ.

Қорытынды. Зерттеу нәтижелері «Жаңа Украина» газетінің анық прогермандық, антисоветтік және антисемиттік бағыттағы ұлтшылдық үгіт құралы болғанын дәлелдейді. Газет нацистермен ынтымақтасқан украин интеллигенциясының бір бөлігінің көзқарастарын бейнеледі және Екінші дүниежүзілік соғыс жағдайында оккупациялық режимнің оң бейнесін қалыптастырып, оны заңдастыру құралы ретінде қолданылды.

Түйін сөздер: Харьков, гитлерлік оккупация, украин ұлтшылдары, украиншыл үгіт, германдық насихат, «Жаңа Украина» газеті

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АГИТАЦИОННАЯ РАБОТА ПОД НЕМЕЦКОЙ ОККУПАЦИЕЙ: ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКАЯ РОЛЬ ГАЗЕТЫ «НОВАЯ УКРАИНА» В ХАРЬКОВЕ (1941–1943)

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Аннотация. *Введение.* Статья посвящена анализу содержания газеты «Новая Украина», издававшейся в Харькове в период нацистской оккупации 1941–1943 годов. *Целью* является выявление редакционной стратегии в условиях оккупационного режима. Для достижения определенной в работе цели использовались как общенаучные, так и специально-исторические и социологические методы исследования. При этом методологической основой являются принципы историзма, объективности, системности и полифакторности, использовались как общенаучные, так и специально-исторические и социологические методы исследования. *Результаты.* Газета «Нова Украина» в Харькове выходила с декабря 1941 по сентябрь 1943 года. Среди корреспондентов были известные украинские писатели и ученые, такие как Иван Багряный, Юрий Бойко, Анатолий Гак, Константин Дубняк, Василий Дубровский, Аркадий Любченко, Олекса Парадский, Юрий Шевелёв. Анализируя газетные публикации, можно заметить их пропагандистский характер. Прежде всего статьи содержали комплементарные материалы о нацистах. Также в газете активно пропагандировали украинский язык и культуру. В то же время в статьях содержалась негативная критика советской власти, освещались трагические страницы украинской истории. В каждом номере евреи объявлялись врагами человечества. Здесь можно предположить влияние немецкой антисемитской идеологии. Следует отметить, что вопрос о создании независимого государства Украина на страницах газеты не поднимался. *Заключение.* Исследование позволяет утверждать, что «Новая Украина» представляла собой орган националистической пропаганды с отчетливо прогерманской, антисоветской и антисемитской направленностью. Газета отражала настроения части украинской интеллигенции, сотрудничавшей с нацистами, и использовалась как средство создания позитивного образа и легитимации оккупационного режима в условиях Второй мировой войны.

Ключевые слова: Харьков, гитлеровская оккупация, украинские националисты, проукраинская пропаганда, прогерманская пропаганда, газета «Новая Украина»

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Introduction

Throughout history, propaganda has played a central role in conveying ideas and ideologies. In the XX century, the press emerged as a vital component of the propaganda apparatus, serving as one of the primary channels of public communication and a key instrument of mass information. Newspapers became especially prominent as literacy rates rose, particularly in the absence of television. As a result, the number of newspapers and their circulation figures grew sharply compared to previous centuries.

Recognizing the profound influence of the printed word on public consciousness, governments, political parties, and civil society organizations across much of the world began publishing their own periodicals. These publications served as vehicles for disseminating ideological doctrines and political agendas, shaping psychological perceptions among the population, and actively reconfiguring collective historical memory.

Undeniably, the printed word functioned as an essential instrument for advancing specific ideological agendas. Articles that appeared to be apolitical or focused on mundane, everyday matters often served as effective vehicles for promoting governmental or party-driven messages. Propaganda was particularly salient during periods of historical upheaval, such as revolutions and wars, when the mobilization of mass support was instrumental in confronting and overcoming the enemy.

In the context of the Second World War, the opposing sides, fully aware of the pivotal role of propaganda, employed diverse mechanisms, methods, and technologies to shape public consciousness across both occupied and unoccupied territories. Nazi Germany, in particular, actively

used enlisted the support of its allies on these efforts, among whom Ukrainian nationalists featured prominently.

Surprisingly, since the 2014 Revolution of Dignity, Ukrainian state ideology has increasingly incorporated propaganda tropes and narratives originally developed by Ukrainian nationalists in the 1920s–1930s. Consequently, scholarly engagement with Ukrainian press materials from the period of Nazi occupation remains highly relevant. This relevance is further underscored by the ongoing historiographical reassessment of the Second World War in Ukraine, particularly regarding the political and ideological choices made by Ukrainian nationalists during that period and their lasting impact on contemporary national discourse.

The study aims to analyze the core content of the newspaper “Nova Ukraina”, published in Kharkov during the period of Nazi occupation between 1941 and 1943.

Materials and methods

In line with the research objective and the nature of the sources, the theoretical and methodological foundation of the study is based on the principles of historicism, objectivity, systematic analysis, and a multi-factor approach. A comprehensive set of complementary methods was employed, allowing for an in-depth and multidimensional analysis of the content of the “Nova Ukraina” newspaper within the historical context of the Nazi occupation of Kharkov (1941–1943).

The historiographical analysis contextualized the findings within broader academic scholarship, incorporating both Ukrainian and international contributors. The source critical approach served to enable a critical evaluation of the newspaper’s publications as historical sources, the reconstruction of its editorial strategy, and the assessment of external influences on its informational content. The historical-critical method was employed to identify the political, social, and administrative conditions of the newspaper’s operation. The concrete-historical approach adopted in this study is used to examine the 1941–1943 issues of “Nova Ukraina” in the broader context of the events of that period, with attention to the specific historical circumstances in which the newspaper operated and which were reflected in the topics covered by its correspondents.

Discussion

The investigation of propaganda practices during the Second World War continues to constitute a significant area of scholarly inquiry at the global level. Within Ukrainian historiography, notable contributions have been made by I. Gridina, O. Salata, A. Skorobogatov, D. Tytarenko, V. Shaykan, as well as by the author of this study.

Ukrainian historians have increasingly prioritized the study of the impact of both Nazi and Soviet propaganda on civilian populations during the period of the Second World War (the German-Soviet War), focusing on those residing in both occupied and non-occupied territories. This dual propaganda effort – carried out simultaneously by the Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union on either side of the front line – has become a central theme in historiographical inquiry. A prominent contribution to the field has been made by doctor of historical sciences O. Salata, who is recognized as a leading authority on this subject. Her extensive research includes several scholarly publications, notably two monographs: “The Formation of the German Information Space in the Reichscommissariat “Ukraine” and in the Military Administration Zone (June 1941–1944)” and “Information confrontation between Nazi Germany and the USSR in the Occupied Territories of Ukraine (1941–1944)” (Salata, 2010; Salata, 2020b). In her conceptual approach to propaganda, Salata draws on the theoretical perspectives of Western European scholars, framing propaganda as an essential instrument of governance that appeals primarily to emotions rather than reason (Salata, 2008: 329).

In the monograph “Collaborationism on the Territory of the Reichscommissariat “Ukraine” and the Military Zone during the Second World War” (Shaykan, 2005), the author explores the complex nature of collaborationism in Ukraine, seeking to delineate the boundary between conscious, voluntary cooperation and forced compliance with the occupying authorities. Following the

publication of this work, the terminology in Ukrainian scholarly discourse began to shift: the emotionally charged terms "betrayal" and "traitor" were increasingly replaced by the more analytical concepts of "collaboration", "collaborator". At present, the former lexemes are rarely encountered in academic historiography in Ukraine.

This issue is particularly pertinent in the context of the activities of Ukrainian nationalists during the Second World War, who engaged in cooperation with the German occupation authorities and contributed to the implementation of the Nazi administrative system at the local level.

The thematic analysis of the "Nova Ukraina" newspaper requires consideration of the scholarly contributions of D. Tytarenko. In his candidate dissertation, the scholar examined the content of periodicals published by the Nazi administration in various settlements across Eastern Ukraine. In subsequent publications, the historian shifted his focus toward cultural processes occurring under German occupation, broadening the scope of inquiry to include additional categories within his research domain (Tytarenko, 2014). Particularly noteworthy is the collection of documents he published in the journal "Hileya" (Tytarenko, 2010), which provides clear evidence of the direct influence of German propaganda on the press issued in the occupied territories under the auspices of Ukrainian nationalist organizations. This documentary material, in turn, raises doubts about O. Salata's assertion that "German propaganda had little impact on Ukrainian nationalists" (Salata, 2010: 28).

The monograph "Kharkov During the German Occupation (1941–1943)" by historian A. Skorobogatov deserves particular scholarly attention. It is widely recognized as a foundational study of the city's wartime history and is frequently cited in academic discourse dealing with the German occupation of Ukraine. While the work offers only a limited analysis of the editorial activities of "Nova Ukraina", this is largely attributable to the author's stated objective – to reconstruct the everyday lives and behavioral patterns of various segments of the Kharkov population, including collaborationists, the Resistance members, and those who maintained a neutral stance, all within the framework of the well-known dictum "the time chose us." Nonetheless, the monograph identifies prominent members of the editorial board and contributing journalists, and provides a general assessment of the newspaper's ideological orientation (Skorobogatov, 2004: 209–261).

In addition to Ukrainian scholars, the contribution of German historians is also noteworthy.

Among the numerous researchers in this field, particular attention should be given to the works of Frank Grelka (Grelka, 2005) and Jörn Hasenclever (Hasenclever, 2010). Their scholarship offers in-depth analyses of the activities of Ukrainian nationalists across various regions of Ukraine in the first half of the XX century, including their presence and influence in Kharkov.

Results

Recognizing the pivotal role of propaganda, the German High Command began developing its informational strategy even prior to the invasion of the Soviet Union.

On June 6, 1941 – approximately two weeks before the commencement of hostilities – a Directive was issued by the Commander-in-Chief of the General Staff of the German Armed Forces regarding propaganda policy. This document explicitly stated that "Germany's enemy is not the peoples of the Soviet Union, but solely the Jewish-Bolshevik government," thus laying the ideological groundwork for the forthcoming military campaign (Директива начальника Штаба верховного командования вооруженных сил Германии по вопросам пропаганды в период нападения на Советский Союз. 6 июня 1941 г.).

On December 16, 1942, Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories Alfred Rosenberg issued the "Supplementary Directives on the Implementation of Propaganda in Ukraine." These guidelines called upon propagandists and journalists to intensify anti-Moscow, anti-Bolshevik, and broadly anti-Russian sentiments. Particular emphasis was placed on the need to remind Ukrainians of the famines and political repressions of the 1920s and 1930s. The document also stressed the importance of instilling the notion that German soldiers were heroically sacrificing their lives for the benefit of the Ukrainian people.

It is worth noting that several weeks prior to the invasion of the Soviet Union, the Nazi command mobilized Ukrainian nationalists from Western Ukraine, organizing them into Sonderkommandos (Корчак-Городиський, 2003: 10). These units were primarily tasked with facilitating the establishment of the Nazi "new order" in the occupied localities by pacifying the civilian population and assisting in the creation of local administrations loyal to the German authorities.

After the occupation of Kharkov on October 25, 1941, the German military authorities established a municipal administration, which included a propaganda department. From December 7, 1941, this department began issuing its official press organ – the newspaper "Nova Ukraina". Despite a generally tolerant attitude toward the appointed officials from the local pro-Ukrainian milieu, the German military administration exercised strict control over their activities. Each newspaper issue was subject to rigorous pre-publication censorship by a representative of the military commandant's office, who authorized the release of specific content. Editorial work was directly supervised by the Propaganda-Staffel "U", the German propaganda unit responsible for overseeing ideological compliance and coordinating press operations in the region.

Although the editorial team of the "Nova Ukraina" was granted a limited degree of autonomy, all journalistic activity had to be coordinated with a curator appointed by the German military administration. Editorial materials required prior approval, which inevitably provoked discontent among contributors. Nevertheless, in order to avoid potential sanctions or repression, compliance with the occupation authorities' directives was obligatory.

The establishment of the newspaper in Kharkov was initiated by Petro Sahaidachny, a native of Galicia and a member of the Ukrainian Military Organization and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Andriy Melnyk. As noted by Yu. Shevelyov, although Sahaidachny was a "figure without a face or a voice" (Шевельов, 2017: 441), nonetheless proved to be a competent professional in the field of journalism. Considerable assistance in launching the publication and shaping its political, predominantly pro-Ukrainian nationalist, orientation was provided by members of the Melnyk faction of the OUN who arrived in Kharkov alongside the German occupying forces. Among them were Bohdan Konyk (appointed chief of police), Dr. Oliynyk, and beginning on the latter half of 1942, Sonderführer Ivan-Yurii Kostyuk, who was affiliated with the German Propaganda Department "U" (Титаренко, 2014: 340, 341; Шевельов, 2017: 282).

Following its establishment, the editorial board of "Nova Ukraina" was initially led by Petro Sahaidachny. However, from April 19, 1942, editorial leadership was assumed by the Kharkov intellectual Vsevolod Tsarynnyk. Oleksandr Bilosvit was appointed as the secretary. Among the key editorial staff were prominent local writers, philologists, and journalists, including Yurii Boyko, Arkadiy Liubchenko, Mykola Ohloblin, Viktor Tsarynnyk, Sofia Shadkovska (the latter two being the brother and spouse of the editor-in-chief, respectively) (Дьякова, 2014: 440; Рыбальченко; Титаренко, 2014: 340-341). According to Yu. Shevelov "the soul of the editorial office and its principal driving force was Mykola Ogloblin, later known in emigration as Mykola Globenko" (Шевельов, 2017: 282). Overall, the editorial team comprised 68 officially employed journalists (Grelka, 2005: 428).

The newspaper "Nova Ukraina" was issued daily, excluding Mondays and the following public holidays. The newspaper's circulation fluctuated between 25,000 and 70,000 copies (Дьякова, 2014: 440), with approximately 450 issues documented. Although a complete set of the publication has not been preserved, available evidence indicates that the newspaper was in circulation from December 7, 1941, to September 9, 1943. While originally considered to be a local Kharkov publication, the editorial office was relocated to Poltava, and on the eve of the city's first liberation from German occupation on February 16, 1943, it did not return thereafter. Subsequently, from January 23 to March 12, 1944, the newspaper was published in Vinnytsia, after which it ceased to exist.

In Kharkov, the newspaper received institutional and ideological support from members of the Ukrainian cultural and educational society "Prosvita", which resumed its operations shortly after the German occupation of the city. Moreover, a considerable number of representatives of the Ukrainian cultural intelligentsia – both from Kharkov and the other regions of Ukraine – contributed to the publication. Reports on local life were regularly submitted by employees of municipal and district administrations, as well as by village chiefs. Among the contributors were prominent writers and scholars, including Ivan Bahriany, Yurii Boyko, Anatol Gak, Arkadiy Lyubchenko, Ulas Samchuk, historian Vasyl Dubrovsky, philologists Oleksa Paradysky, Yurii Shevelyov, geographer Kostyantyn Dubnyak, economist Volodymyr Anisimov, bandurist Hryhoriy Bazhula, and others. The newspapers also featured poetic works by Yurii Blokhin, Vasyl Borovoy, Oleksa Varavva, Oleksa Veretenchenko, Dmytro Nytsenko, and Yevhen Malanyuk, among others.

Incidentally, the language used in the newspaper featured lexical forms uncommon for the residents of Kharkov at the time. Among them, there were expressions such as "veliyocipedes", instead of velocipedes ("bicycles"), "Soviyetsky" as an alternative to "radiansky", "vyrobnia", instead of "vyrobnictvo," i.e., production, and "Evropa", instead of "Europe". Furthermore, certain normally indeclinable nouns, such as "kino" ("cinema"), "biuro" ("office"), were subjected to declension.

The very first issue of the "Nova Ukraina" newspaper clearly delineated the ideological trajectory of the publication. In the editorial article "On the Ruins," editor-in-chief Petro Sahaidachny articulated the guiding mission of the newspaper: "On the pages of our newspaper, we shall discuss the most pressing concerns of all segments of the Ukrainian population, concerning the Ukrainian nation. We shall forget neither persons nor events. To all, and in every matter, we shall offer ways and means to emerge from hardships, to endure this difficult time, and to attain our rightful life" (Нова Україна: December 10, 1941, December 7) In attributing the calamities that befell Ukraine during the 1920s and 1930s, the author placed principal blame on the Soviet authorities, while also directing accusatory rhetoric toward Jews and Russians. This discursive framing signaled the editorial board's clear intent to construct a revisionist narrative, portraying the Soviet era in an unequivocally negative light and initiating the construction of a toxic and demonizing image of the Jewish population. As for the depiction of Russians, it was characterized more by implicit hostility than explicit antagonism. This relative moderation can be attributed to the enduring influence of Soviet internationalist ideology among the Kharkov residents and the limited temporal scope available to the editorial team for cultivating ethnic antagonism. As such, despite its ideological alignment with German occupation propaganda, the newspaper refrained from inciting open Russo-Ukrainian interethnic confrontation during the early period of its publication.

And although the above-mentioned article by P. Sahaidachny did not explicitly articulate the editorial board's stance toward the German occupiers, a prominent thematic direction quickly emerged: the glorification of the German administration and its activities in the occupied territories. In the first issue, a brief note titled "Kharkov to the Führer Adolf Hitler" was published stating that "the Ukrainian population of the liberated city of Kharkov, on behalf of entire Left-bank Ukraine, has sent a congratulatory telegram to the Führer and the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Great Germany, Adolf Hitler. With propound gratitude, the Ukrainian population of the city of Kharkov expressed their deepest and most sincere gratitude to Adolf Hitler and, in his person, to the Great German People and the Glorious German Army for the liberation of the Ukrainian people from the Jewish-Moscow communist tyranny" (Нова Україна: 1941, December 7). The telegram particularly states that from now on, "the Ukrainian people joyfully look toward their bright future, in which, through their labor, numbers, and talents, they will assume their rightful place in the rebuilding of a new, just order in a free Europe." This formulation clearly illustrates the propagandistic strategy of aligning the Ukrainian nationalist narrative with the ideological and political agenda of Nazi Germany (Нова Україна: 1941, December 7).

The newspaper included a number of regular sections. Naturally, the central one was "Reports from the High Command of the German Armed Forces, From the Führer's Headquarters". These reports were published at the center of the front page of each issue and provided updates on

the situation at the front. Other sections included "Briefly", "Short News", "Minor Feuilleton", "City Chronicle", "Across Ukraine", "From the Economic Life of Europe", "From the Past", and others. However, unlike front-line bulletins, these were published irregularly. The titles of the sections speak for themselves. For example, the "Briefly" and "Short news" sections featured one-sentence reports on various global events, while "Across Ukraine" covered developments in different regions of the republic. Particular attention should be paid to the "Minor feuilleton" section, where the authors satirized opportunists (Нова Україна: December 10, 1941, December 23), speculators (Нова Україна: April 10, 1942, April 1), nostalgia for the Soviet past (Нова Україна: December 10, 1941, December 7), reluctance to work for the occupiers (Нова Україна: 1941, December 7), and the oral transmission of rumors (Нова Україна: 1941, December 18), among other themes.

From the very first issue, the newspaper assumed a distinctly ideological character, serving as a vehicle for the dissemination of contemporary political, social, and humanitarian standards promoted by the occupying authorities.

A recurring theme throughout all issues of the newspaper was the glorification of the Wehrmacht and Führer Adolf Hitler and his allies. Especially effusive praise was published around the time of Hitler's birthday, when contributors extolled his wisdom and foresight, portraying him as a "liberator" (Нова Україна: April 10, 1942, April 20), a "statesman" and a "military commander" (Нова Україна: April 10, 1943, April 20).

The glorification extended to the Wehrmacht, whose purported invincibility was a recurring motif in the newspaper's wartime rhetoric. Journalists exclusively reported on the victories of German forces, systematically omitting any mention of their defeats. Notably, the editorial team remained silent on the German retreat from Kharkov in February 1943, coinciding with their own evacuation to Poltava. Similarly, the final liberation of Kharkov by Soviet forces in August 1943 was left unacknowledged. On August 23rd, the "Nova Ukraina" newspaper issue was not released. The editions of August 22 and August 24 featured headlines such as "The Great Battle in the East continues" and "Yesterday Bolsheviks Lost 409 Tanks and 73 Aircraft," perpetuating the illusion of German dominance (Нова Україна: August 10, 1943, August 22, 24).

The newspaper also portrayed Germany's allies – Italy, Japan, and other "Rome – Berlin – Tokyo Axis" nations – in a consistently positive light. According to its editorial stance, the governments of these countries and those that had adopted a policy of neutrality during the 1930s and 1940s, were depicted as pursuing wise and far-sighted political strategies by supporting Adolf Hitler in his struggle against the Soviet Union and its Western allies, namely the United Kingdom and the United States. In contrast, these Allied powers were subjected to persistent criticism and negative portrayal throughout the publication.

A considerable number of historical and statistical contributions authored by specialists across various disciplines were published in the newspaper. A prominent focus of the publications was the systematic critique of the Soviet policies and governance. Even prior to the issuance of Alfred Rosenberg's directives, the Kharkov press featured a wide range of explicitly anti-Soviet articles. Significant attention was devoted to the coverage of the political repressions of the 1930s, the Holodomor of 1933, and the harsh living conditions in Soviet correctional labor camps. Many of these pieces were written by individuals who had personally endured such experiences – for instance, Vasyl Dubrovsky, who had been imprisoned in the BAM (Baikal-Amur Correctional Labor Camp) from 1934 to 1939 (Нова Україна: May 10, 1942, 19, 22).

Particularly worth mentioning is the article by the head of the economic and statistical department of the Kharkov city administration, Stepan Sosnovy, "The truth about the famine in Ukraine in 1932–1933". Published in the "Nova Ukraina" on November 8, 1942, the article constituted a rigorous scholarly analysis. Using statistical data published in the USSR, the author, a scientist-agronomist-economist, examined the origins and consequences of collectivization, with particular attention to its detrimental effects on the Ukrainian peasantry. The article gained considerable resonance and was reprinted multiple times in 1943 in other newspapers of occupied Ukraine, in 1950 – in the newspaper "Ukrainski Visti" published in the city of Novy Ulm (Germany), and in 2008 – with a foreword by doctor of historical sciences D. Tytarenko in the proceedings of the

All-Ukrainian Scientific and Theoretical Conference "Ukrainian Periodicals: History and Modernity" (Титаренко, 2008: 443-452). Such publication distribution proves it is a rather serious scientific study and has not lost its relevance even today.

A considerable number of publications in "Nova Ukraina" were marked by pronounced xenophobic content, particularly targeting Jews and Russians. There was scarcely an issue of the newspaper that did not mention the Jewish-Bolsheviks. Articles frequently focused not only on members of the Soviet government of Jewish descent but also on the purported Jewish ancestry of political leaders in the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as individuals within their circles. These texts emphasized the allegedly detrimental influence of their ethnic background on the policies of individual states and, by extension, on the course of global affairs (Нова Україна: December 10, 1941, December 21).

In promoting Ukrainian culture and history, scholars contributed articles dedicated to prominent figures of the Ukrainian past. A particular emphasis was placed on writers and literary figures such as Taras Shevchenko, Hryhoriy Kvitka-Osnovyanenko, and Andrian Kashchenko. On May 17, 1942, the newspaper's first page was dedicated to Symon Petlyura. The "Great Ataman" editorial commemorated the assassination of "the leader of our people during the liberation struggle, the Chief Ataman S. Petliura" (Нова Україна: 1942, May 17). Another noteworthy event from the period of the national-democratic revolution – the Battle of Kruty – was memorialized in the issue dated January 29, 1943.

Several articles in "Nova Ukraina" were devoted to the suppression of the Ukrainian language. The first of these, titled "Enslaved language", appeared in the third issue on December 11, 1941. The authors, philologists Yu. Shevelev and V. Tsebenko, who wrote under the pen names of G. Shevchuk and V. Netay, respectively, discussed the corruption of the Ukrainian language through excessive infiltration of Russian linguistic elements.

Thus, the editorial board of the newspaper disseminated a positive image of Germans and Ukrainians, while simultaneously constructing a negative portrayal of Jews and Russians.

An analysis of the "Nova Ukraina" newspaper reveals a deliberate omission of the socio-economic hardships in the German-occupied Kharkov region. While the newspaper frequently depicted the Holodomor of 1932–1933 as part of its anti-Soviet narrative, it remained entirely silent on the famine of 1941–1942, despite ample evidence that the editorial staff endured severe food shortages. This is substantiated by the memoirs of D. Nytchenko and Yu. Shevelov (Нитченко, 1990: 280; Шевелев, 2017: 282). P. Baibak, the head of the Merefa rural district, provided a particularly vivid account of this situation: "The employees of the administration, printing press, and editorial office were constantly suffering from extreme cold, hunger, and material deprivation. Working in overcoats and hats.<...> Everyone was visibly suffering from starvation – yet remaining steadfast in their ideological and professional commitments..." (Байбак, 1985: 274).

A similar pattern of selective reporting can be observed in the coverage of political repressions. While depicting the brutality of the NKVD officers, the correspondents of "Nova Ukraina" consistently avoided addressing the atrocities committed by the German occupiers against the local population. The newspaper remained silent on instances of torture and executions targeting dissenters, as well as on the mass killings in Sokolnyky and near the village of Podvorki outside Kharkov. Most notably, no mention was made of Drobytsky Yar – a site where, according to recent estimates, up to 20,000 people were executed, the majority of whom were Jewish.

The analysis of the content published in "Nova Ukraina" reveals a pronounced propagandistic agenda that permeated the newspaper throughout its period of operation. The editorial line was explicitly designed to incite interethnic hostility, particularly between Ukrainians and Jews, and to cultivate strong anti-Soviet sentiment among its readership. Representations of the Nazi regime were consistently laudatory: Germany, the Wehrmacht, and Adolf Hitler were portrayed in an exclusively positive light, while the German military was framed as a liberating force and a natural ally of the Ukrainian people in their supposed struggle against Bolshevism. The newspaper also propagated the idea of future economic recovery under German guidance, urging the local population to endure the immediate hardships caused by military operations, the destruction of housing and industrial

enterprises. These sacrifices, it was argued, would lead to improved living conditions following the expected defeat of the Soviet Union. Crucially, "Nova Ukraina" did not directly advocate for Ukrainian statehood. The notion of national independence was not explicitly articulated in any of its issues. However, retrospective claims, such as those made by contributor P. Baibak, asserting that the newspaper served as "a beacon and a platform for the Ukrainian independence idea" (Байбак, 1985: 273), are not supported by the publication's documented content. Instead, the editorial policy remained firmly embedded within the ideological and strategic framework of the Nazi occupation authorities.

A separate point of scholarly interest concerns the extent to which the German ideological vision of the present and future of various nations within the concept of Greater Germany influenced Ukrainian national ideology. Historian D. Tytarenko has published the document "Supplementary Directives on the Implementation of Propaganda in Ukraine", issued by the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Regions, Alfred Rosenberg. Although the directive was dated on December 16, 1942, its provisions reflect rhetorical and thematic elements that had already been present in the pages of "Nova Ukraina" since 1941. The document explicitly called for "inciting hatred toward Moscow", "reviving memories of the death by famine of millions," and emphasized that "the regeneration of the country would in any case require many years of German governance, and that Germany, by shedding its precious blood to ensure its governance, had saved the Ukrainians from destruction" (Tytarenko, 2010: 480–481). These documentary findings directly contradict the hypothesis advanced by O. Salata, who argued that German ideology exerted little to no influence on the propaganda disseminated by Ukrainian nationalists (Salata, 2010: 28).

Local historian R. Rybalchenko contended that the inhabitants of Kharkov eagerly read the newspaper, with large crowds often gathering around the editorial display stand, as the newspaper was regarded as "the only source of news, the living Ukrainian word" (Рибальченко, 2005: 62). Nevertheless, this assertion warrants critical reflection. During the occupation, a substantial number of leaflets circulated throughout the region, while information, particularly regarding the front lines and events in the Soviet rear, was frequently disseminated through informal oral networks. Such unofficial channels of communication drew disapproval not only from the German occupiers but also from the editorial staff. This is evidenced by satirical criticism of oral information exchange in one of the published feuilletons, as discussed earlier. (Нова Україна: December 10, 1941, December 11).

Conclusion

Although the Kharkov newspaper "Nova Ukraina", was formally issued under the authority of the municipal administration and primarily staffed by local residents, its editorial content was strictly supervised by the German military command's Propaganda-Staffel "U". Despite attempts by some contemporary Ukrainian historians to distinguish Ukrainian nationalist propaganda from that of the German occupation authorities, the available evidence indicates their substantial overlap. The editorial policy of the "Nova Ukraina" was distinctly propagandistic, advancing a pro-Ukrainian and pro-German agenda while simultaneously promoting anti-Soviet, anti-Semitic, and occasionally Russophobic narratives. A central goal of the editorial strategy was to cultivate hostility toward the Soviet authority and to intensify tensions between Ukrainians and Jews. Nazi Germany and Adolf Hitler were consistently portrayed in a favorable light, with the German army depicted as liberators and allies of the Ukrainian people. This ideological alignment can be partly explained by the fact that many contributors had experienced persecution under the Soviet regime and therefore supported the Nazi "new order". As a result, a number of editorial staff members emigrated to Western Europe in 1943. Despite its propagandistic character, the publication offers primary material for contemporary researchers examining the mechanisms and discourses of wartime propaganda and ideological influence in Eastern Europe during the Second World War.

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