



Society. Document. Communication

Journal homepage: <https://sdc-journal.com.ua/en>
Society. Document. Communication, Vol. 8, No. 3, 34-43

Article's History: Received: 15.08.2023 Revised: 03.10.2023 Accepted: 08.11.2023

UDC 94:373.5(477) "1985/1991"

DOI: 10.69587/sdc/3.2023.34

Ideological aspects of the educational process in schools of the Ukrainian SSR in the conditions of liberalization 1985-1991

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Abstract. The need for a complete cleansing of Ukraine's socio-cultural space from Soviet ideological narratives today highlights the necessity to analyse key ideological concepts that were instilled in the younger generation through the system of general secondary education of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The purpose of the article is to analyse the ideological aspects of filling the educational process in schools of the Ukrainian SSR in the conditions of liberalization in 1985-1991, the search for an educational paradigm in the process of school reform. The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, scientificity, objectivity; analytical, descriptive methods, as well as the method of systematization and critical analysis were applied in the work. The article analyses the peculiarities of the ideological content filling of the educational process in schools of the Ukrainian SSR and the features of Soviet ideological education in the conditions of the proclaimed course of "perestroika" in 1985-1991, the search for an educational paradigm in the process of school reform. The ideological and educational strategy of the initial process, the main ideological narratives of the content filling of educational subjects, which were supposed to form "Soviet" patriotism and political consciousness of Soviet citizens, are analysed. It is established that an exclusive role in the educational process was assigned to the political education of teachers, and the unity of views in strategically important directions for the communist regime was ensured by censorship, which controlled the publication of educational and other literature. It is noted that the democratization of socio-political life, which intensified after the XXVII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the liberalization of the educational sphere became irreversible. Progressive teachers introduced new methods into school education, sought means of updating the educational process, experimented with new materials in the lessons of periodical publications. The special demand and need for updating were caused by disciplines of the Ukrainian studies cycle, and the most relevant in the educational environment became historical themes and previously banned topics of Ukraine's national life. The materials of this article can be practically applied for further research of the history of general education schools of the Soviet Ukraine in the complex period of socio-political and socio-cultural transformations of the "perestroika" era

Keywords: "perestroika"; transparency; school; educational process; communist ideology; educational work

Introduction

Education plays a key role in shaping the civic position and patriotism of the younger generation. Independent Ukraine since the early 1990s has inherited

many socio-cultural phenomena from the Soviet era, including significant Russification and the dominance of Soviet (largely Russian) narratives in the cultural and

Suggested Citation:

Adobash, V. (2023). Ideological aspects of the educational process in schools of the Ukrainian SSR in the conditions of liberalization 1985-1991. *Society. Document. Communication*, 8(3), 34-43. doi: 10.69587/sdc/3.2023.34.



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informational space. The processes of decommunization, which began on a large scale after the start of the Russian-Ukrainian war in 2014, marked the beginning of the cleansing of the socio-cultural space from the ideological legacy of the past. In this regard, communist ideological narratives, which were actively propagated through the education system of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the 1980s, laying down the worldview beliefs of the youth and shaping the political consciousness of the generation of Ukrainians who continued their civic and social realization in independent Ukraine, require in-depth analysis. Therefore, contemporary issues of nation-building, civil society formation, are still relevant today, to a large extent stemming from the Soviet past. The study of the ideological aspects of the educational process, the content filling of the educational process of the studied period, is also important in the context of the ongoing information war.

In the historiographical discourse, issues of Ukraine's social development in the studied period have been actualized. V. Danylenko & V. Kotsur (2021), revealing the key social problems of Ukraine's development in the specified period, prove the irreversibility of socio-cultural and political changes in the Ukrainian SSR and the Soviet Union as a whole during the second half of the 20th century, demonstrating the destructiveness of the social and national policies of the Soviet state. J. Bardashevska (2018) analysed the everyday life of the urban population, including its socio-cultural aspects, using Crimea as an example, and came to conclusions about the increase in crisis phenomena in the social sphere of life in Soviet society and the emergence of new trends in the socio-cultural sphere in the conditions of "perestroika". The appearance of commercial leisure establishments and the spread of foreign artistic production led to the formation of new value orientations, especially among young people, the transformation of state-church relations, and the revival of religious worldview, and so on. The researcher concludes that in 1985-1991, the state, through the cultural sector, continued its ideological influence on the population; on the other hand, the processes of "perestroika" led to a weakening of control over cultural life, and commercialization of the service sector led to a desire to satisfy consumer preferences (Bardashevska, 2018). In one of the chapters of the collective monograph "Sociocultural Preconditions of the Russian-Ukrainian War: Evolution of Russicism" (2023), the processes of Russification of culture as a means of destroying the national-cultural identity of Ukrainians are shown, where the authors partially summarize the state of Russification of various cultural sectors by the end of the 1980s (Kotsur, 2023).

Certain aspects of educational development in a local context are discussed in the monograph by E. Buket *et al.* (2018), which concluded that the declared course of "perestroika" and the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident significantly influenced the life of the Vilne

village school and changed the format of the educational process. Local history materials from regional periodicals of the late 1980s to early 1990s (using the example of Pereiaslavshchyna) as a source of renewal of the educational process in secondary educational institutions of the Ukrainian SSR were analysed in the article by O. Tarapon (2022). The position and professional activity of the scientific and pedagogical intelligentsia of the Ukrainian SSR during the specified period are highlighted in the monograph by R. Potapenko (2021b), which, in particular, analyses the role of the pedagogical intelligentsia in the processes of democratization of education and the formation of the national socio-humanitarian space. By examining the transformation of the Soviet system of patriotic education through the work of scientific and pedagogical personnel and the school education system, the author concludes that the emphasis on national-patriotic education during the "perestroika" was influenced by the growth of national processes in the republic and the active stance of progressive educators in the processes of national revival. The issue of the position and activities of scientific and educational personnel in the conditions of ideological transformations caused by the perestroika was considered in a separate article (Potapenko, 2021a).

Overall, the problem of the development of general education schools has not become a separate subject of study in Ukrainian and foreign historiography. Further research is needed to examine the situation of school education in the conditions of liberalization and social transformations of 1985-1991, in particular, it is necessary to study the ideological component of the educational process. The purpose of the article was to analyse the ideological aspects of filling the educational process in schools of the Ukrainian SSR in the conditions of liberalization, 1985-1991, and to search for an educational paradigm in the process of school reform.

Materials and Methods

The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, scientific rigor, and objectivity. Analytical and descriptive methods, as well as methods of systematization and critical analysis, were employed. The principle of historicism allowed for the analysis of the ideological content of the educational process in accordance with the specific historical circumstances of the "perestroika" period, characterized on one hand by the efforts of state authorities to control scientific and educational processes, and on the other hand by the liberalization of social life and the democratization of the socio-cultural environment. Following the principle of objectivity, the author attempted to rely on concrete facts to demonstrate the key communist ideological elements in ensuring the educational process of secondary education in the Ukrainian SSR during the period of 1985-1991. The lower chronological boundary of the study was the April Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The upper chronological boundary was the collapse of the USSR and the loss of the status of Marxism-Leninism as the official ideology in the post-Soviet space.

This work is based on official historical sources, therefore the leading method used was the method of systematization and critical analysis, which helped to systematize the material from processed archival and printed sources, identify their ideological component in the work of secondary educational institutions, and analyse the ideological aspects of the work of schools in the Ukrainian SSR during the "perestroika" period as objectively and impartially as possible. The analytical method aimed to demonstrate the impact of the overall political strategy of democratization on the educational process and its gradual renewal. The descriptive method allowed for the identification of the most typical ideological narratives disseminated in the educational process of general education schools in the Ukrainian SSR, characterizing their communist content and orientation towards the cultivation of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Since the chosen topic has not been the subject of separate extensive research in scholarly literature, this work is based on published and archival primary sources. Valuable sources for studying the topic included materials from the Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine, containing official documents of the Communist Party of Ukraine and its ideological department, as well as educational institutions. The use of these archival documents allowed for the identification of certain directions of the state strategy for ensuring the representation of communist ideology in the publishing sphere. Among the normative legal sources, official materials from the "Collection of orders and instructions of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR" were used, which helped determine the specific ideological component of the educational work of schools in the researched period. Significant sources for studying the topic were journalistic materials, particularly articles from the newspaper "Soviet Education" – the organ of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the Ukrainian SSR, the state committee of the Ukrainian SSR on vocational and technical education, and the Ukrainian Republican Committee of the Trade Union of Education Workers, Higher Education, and Research Institutions. This publication informed about all components of educational development, including the state of ideological work in educational institutions. The study of this topic was conducted with the involvement of educational literature that demonstrates the ideological content of educational material (Dolenko *et al.*, 1980; Stepaniuk, 1985). Overall, the use of historiographic and historical sources allowed for the analysis of the ideological component of the educational process in the conditions of the liberalization course of 1985-1991.

Results and Discussion

Education has always been in the mainstream of all societal transformations, as qualitative changes in all spheres of state life are possible with a high professional level and civic consciousness of the population. The period of "perestroika" witnessed complex processes of ideological and value-based reformatting of the socio-cultural space in Ukraine. Education occupied a special place in these processes. Firstly, the Soviet regime paid exclusive attention to educational institutions as a means of shaping Soviet citizens, ideological upbringing of the younger generation, continuing to control the educational process, directing the educational-methodical work of educators, determining its substantive content, and so on. One of the primary tasks of the educational process in Soviet schools was patriotic education. Soviet ideological work aimed to cultivate "Soviet" patriotism, pride, and love for the motherland, readiness for self-sacrifice. At the same time, "Soviet" patriotism was based on the principles of state and Russian exclusivity, which led to isolation from other nations. Such educational strategy shaped "Soviet" patriotism, which lacked a place for national identity (Ovchar, 2008).

"Soviet" patriotism encompassed a range of values based on communist ideology and Soviet tenets, the teaching of which in educational institutions was closely monitored and adjusted by state authorities. For example, in 1986, the Ministry of Education of the USSR, analysing the issue of school performance (Taranenko, 1986a), determined the effectiveness of the educational work of teachers and schools not only by the level of subject knowledge but also by the ideological-political literacy of students, including their formed Marxist-Leninist worldview, ability to evaluate events in their country and abroad from a class perspective according to their age, and "resistance to the influence of bourgeois ideology". The tasks of ideological and educational work included students' assimilation of the norms of communist morality, knowledge and observance of Soviet laws and rules for students, social activism, collectivism, participation in the activities of pioneer and Komsomol organizations, school self-government, and so on. According to the recommendations of the Ministry of Education of the USSR, the education system was supposed to ensure the comprehensive and harmonious development of students, the organic interconnection of ideological-political, moral, labour, patriotic, international, and aesthetic education of students (Lavrut, 2020).

On the level of ideological control over the educational process and its substantive content within the framework of the overall Union interests, periodical materials provide evidence. For instance, in the newspaper "Soviet Education" on the eve of the declaration of the official course towards "perestroika" in March 1985, the Ministry of Education of the USSR gave detailed recommendations for the wide celebration in general education schools of the 80th anniversary of the 1905-1907

revolution in Russia, "as a significant event in the history of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, in the history of the world communist, workers', and national liberation movement". The proposed lecture topics were intended to cement in the minds of children the primacy of the Russian proletariat and the leading role of the Communist Party in progressive transformations both within the USSR and beyond its borders. The forms, methods of conducting events, and the patriotic-educational goal they were supposed to achieve were specified (Taranenko, 1986b).

The implementation of the party line in education in each region was regularly monitored, and corresponding decisions were made at the level of the Ministry of Education based on the results of inspections. For example, in the protocol "Decision of the Collegium of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR dated April 24, 1986", it was noted that in the course of implementing the reform of general and vocational schools in the Chernivtsi region, educational work, including the formation of a Marxist-Leninist worldview among students, was slowly being restructured. There was a lag in meeting the requirements for the study of the Russian language in national schools, and many students had not acquired the skills of fluent Russian language proficiency. The absence of significant changes in the methods and forms of educating students was noted, including insufficient levels of atheist work, superficial knowledge of students in matters of internal and foreign state policy, lack of knowledge of the symbols of the Soviet state by individual students, insufficient activity in the educational work of school collectives, and so on (Taranenko, 1986b). As a result of the inspection, the Collegium of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR decided to instruct the heads of the regional and district departments of public education of the Chernivtsi region to intensify work on restructuring the educational process and to focus efforts on implementing the decisions of the XXVII Congress of the CPSU and the XXVII Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, "to give a principled assessment to the directors of schools that do not ensure the proper level of work" and to demand from all school management levels the restructuring of educational work with students, involvement in its organization of school *Komsomol* and pioneer organizations.

In order to effectively implement Soviet patriotic education of schoolchildren, attention to political education of pedagogical personnel was intensified. For example, in the Rivne region alone, by the beginning of 1985, 697 schools of scientific communism were established, with approximately 14,000 employees enrolled; 90% of school directors and their deputies, as well as heads of preschool institutions, were approved as propagandists. Significant emphasis was placed on the assimilation by listeners of theory, methodology of ideological work, counter-propaganda, and scientific atheism. Illustrative is the title of the developed optional special

course for listeners, "Modern ideological struggle and basics of counter-propaganda among students of secondary general education school" (Sytnyk, 1985). To assist propagandists in the field of education, the central pedagogical press published materials on party care in the development of education in the Ukrainian SSR, for example, during the post-war *perestroika* and strengthening of the material base of Ukrainian schools, and so on (Stepaniuk, 1985).

Thus, the educational content in schools of the Ukrainian SSR was filled with ideologically "correct" substance. The leading thesis of communist propaganda was the assertion of ethnic "unity" of the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian peoples, aimed at accelerating the course of party-state leadership towards the assimilation of non-Russian population. Therefore, party bodies, educational and cultural-information structures, and so on, acted as means of Russification. The idea of the all-Soviet value of the Russian language was propagated, and in 1989, the Central Committee of the CPSU, by a separate resolution, legislatively established the status of the Russian language as state-wide, and in 1990, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted a law on the languages of the USSR, according to which the Russian language was granted the status of official (Danylenko & Kotsur, 2021).

The content of the school educational program of the investigated period is best reflected in the educational literature, namely textbooks. After all, it is the textbook that serves as the main publication for educational institutions, corresponding to the state program and providing a systematic presentation of the educational discipline. School textbooks carried not only informative content but also ideological and educational content. The materials of textbooks reflected Soviet values, aimed at fostering internationalism, love for the Soviet Motherland, respect for the leading structure – the CPSU, leaders of the Soviet Union, the beneficial influence of Russian culture on the Ukrainian one, and so on. For instance, the Ukrainian language textbook for the 4th grade in 1980 began with quotes from V. Lenin, party leaders, Russian and Ukrainian classics about language. And in the second paragraph "Affinity of the Russian and Ukrainian languages" the thesis about the common origin of the languages of the "fraternal" Ukrainian and Russian peoples was expressed: "Russian and Ukrainian languages are related (similar). This is explained by the fact that they (as well as Belarusian) originate from one language – Old Russian. Russian and Ukrainian peoples are fraternal, "so close in language, place of residence, character, and history". It was also emphasized here the joint efforts of these peoples in building communism. Selected tasks were intended to emphasize the close relationship between the Ukrainian and Russian languages: to translate words into Ukrainian and compare their pronunciation, to find and compare common words and their parts, based on the selected quotes, students were supposed to draw a conclusion about the significant

role of the “fraternal” Russian language as a “universally recognized world language”, a language of international communication and cooperation, a “bridge language” that unites peoples, “who shortly before that did not even know about each other’s existence”, a language that strengthens the position of other allied languages. Further along the textbook text, there are constant inclusions of Soviet terms, concepts (Lenin’s path, pioneer camp, collective farm, Komsomol members, five-year plan), highlighting the role of leading structures and their leaders (Communist Party, Lenin), characteristic emphasis on belonging to the Soviet order – Soviet Motherland, Soviet scientists, Soviet people, Soviet soldiers, and so on. Examples of texts about Soviet heroism during World War II are given, and so on. The authors did not overlook the important propagandist thesis about the “reunification” of Ukraine and Russia, the role of B. Khmelnytsky, who “forever reunited the Ukrainian people with the Russian people”, which became the guarantee of strong friendship between the “fraternal peoples”, and so on (Dolenko *et al.*, 1980).

Therefore, only in the textbook are the main ideological theses promoting communist ideology included. They dominated in educational literature until the late 1980s and aimed to educate Soviet citizens with internationalist views and pride in the Soviet homeland. It is indicative that even in the conditions of the liberalization course of “perestroika” and “glasnost”, with increased societal demand for historical truth, changes in the content of textbooks occurred rather slowly. Textbooks on the history of both the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR presented the material using a formation-based approach, with an emphasis on the “common” history of the “three fraternal peoples” – Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian – their common struggle against external and internal class enemies, and the desire for reunification with the progressive “fraternal” Russian people. The emphasis was on revolutionary events and class struggle as the driving force of human development, with mandatory emphasis on the progressive role of the CPSU Central Committee and party leaders, primarily the figure of V. Lenin. Illustrations and quotes, included examples, appealed to the heroization of party-Komsomol themes, the Soviet homeland, and so on (Potapenko, 2021b).

In this context, it is worth mentioning the role of censorship in the Soviet information space, which aimed to ensure unity of opinion in strategically important directions for the communist regime. The liberal course declared by the policy of “perestroika” led to a certain relaxation of censorship. However, the leadership of the Soviet republics, including Ukraine, continued to try to control the publishing of scientific and educational literature. If, at the request of the intellectual elite of Ukraine, the authorities agreed to publish previously banned works or “unpopular” topics, corresponding political and ideological accents were necessarily set. For example, before the reissue of D. Yavornytsky’s work

“History of the Zaporizhian Cossacks” (in 3 volumes), the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR received a relevant directive from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to add an introductory article, notes, and scientific comments to the publication regarding the evolution of D. Yavornytsky’s views from liberal-bourgeois to Marxist, certain “deficiencies” of his worldview, and to emphasize the critical analysis of the scientist’s work and some of his scientific approaches (Department of Science and Educational Institutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine *et al.*, 1987).

A key moment for societal changes was the XXVII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (February 25 – March 6, 1986), during which the General Secretary of the USSR M.S. Gorbachev (1986) in his political report noted the increase in bureaucracy, stagnant phenomena in all spheres of social life, and pointed out the direction of change – the improvement of social relations, the restructuring of thinking, the cultivation of a new psychology, and dynamics as the basis of development. Educational institutions were to play a key role in improving the preparation of youth for life, work, and the upbringing of conscious builders of a new society. Simultaneously, a movement towards an international community on the basis of a unified ideology and political tasks, a course towards the convergence of nations, and distancing from national isolationism were proclaimed. Therefore, a separate point of M.S. Gorbachev’s (1986) political report was dedicated to the issues of the connection between ideology and life, fidelity to Marxist-Leninist ideas, the development of social consciousness, and the means of achieving them.

The decisions of the congress by the country’s leadership were considered so important that their content and main theses were recommended for study in subjects taught in secondary schools. In April 1986, the Ministry of Education of the USSR approved the instruction “On the Organization of Studying and Explaining to Students of Secondary Schools the Materials of the XXVII Congress of the CPSU”. The purpose of these methodological recommendations was to help teachers convey to each student the “essence and spirit” of the congress, the significance of its decisions for Soviet society, and for the “entire world development”. According to the conviction of the education authorities, the ideas of the congress, organically woven into the content of social-humanitarian and natural sciences, were to become an important means of shaping the Marxist-Leninist worldview, political culture, labour, and social activity of students. Starting from the elementary grades, educators were to introduce children to the work of the XXVII Congress, the plans and deeds of Soviet people who implement the decisions of the Leninist party, with the aim of forming civic consciousness, fostering “feelings of love for the homeland of Lenin, October”, the native land, and the desire to participate in collective

work. Let's pay attention to the alignment of ideological accents: 1 – fostering love for the “homeland of Lenin” – i.e., Russia, 2 – love for the native land – i.e., the smaller Homeland. Thus, there was a blurring of national identity, affiliation with Ukraine as a cohesive national organism, a separate republic, etc.

Further in the methodological materials, it was emphasized that it is necessary to explain the important role of the party congress in the life of everyone, as the best representatives of the communist activists are delegated to it to determine the future prospects of the country's development, improvement, and acceleration of the pace of development of all sectors of the economy. It is necessary to educate through examples of selflessness of Soviet working people, to show the progressive leading role of communists and the party, who defend peace worldwide, strengthen the friendship of all “fraternal peoples” of socialist countries, and working people worldwide. Within each subject, teachers were to provide vivid examples of positive changes in the country, the life, and work of Soviet people. Methodological recommendations provided clear guidance on the corresponding work within each subject, paying particular attention to the socio-humanitarian cycle of disciplines, primarily history, and specific recommendations for presenting materials in each class.

At the XXVII Congress of the CPSU, M.S. Gorbachev (1986) voiced a course towards further democratization and openness as the basis for the “psychological” restructuring of cadres, with truth as the guarantor of progressive progress. The course of openness essentially defined the direction of liberalization of the educational process in the country. The educational space was influenced by general societal tendencies that arose as a result of the democratization of the intellectual environment, enlivening national processes in the republic. As researchers V.M. Danylenko & M.K. Smolnitska (2011) rightly assert, political democratization affected the consciousness of the population of different ages – from school and student youth to pensioners, indicating a wide range of views on current events in the country and polar socio-public positions – from moderate to openly radical. Despite the attempts of the party leadership to control not only political processes but also socio-cultural ones, societal attitudes were changing. Progressive teachers introduced modern methods into school education, sought ways to renew the educational process, and experimented with new materials from the press and television in their lessons. On the other hand, a certain opposition, which engulfed society under the influence of openness, slogans of criticism and self-criticism, penetrated the school environment through the active part of students (especially senior classes), forcing even conservative teachers to adapt to the demands of the time. The activation of religious consciousness among the population contributed to the growing interest in the religious-ritual culture of Ukrainians. As a result, by

1989, there was a decline in the authority of official communist ideology. This was felt, first of all, in terms of improving the party-political work of leading cadres, which always received considerable attention. In the materials of inspections, there was talk of a decline in the educational level of subjects such as “Scientific Communism”, “Party Building”, “Historical Experience of the CPSU”, etc. (Povidash, 1991; Potapenko, 2021b).

Special demand and the need for renewal were provoked by disciplines of the Ukrainian studies cycle (history of Ukraine, Ukrainian language, and literature), which underwent the most significant ideological distortions and oppression in the previous period. Historical topics became the most relevant in the public environment; the unveiling of previously forbidden historical documents and themes sparked interest in society and strengthened the demand for truth. Society, and primarily its intellectual elite, which had lost old ideological landmarks, eventually began to demand the truth. Thus, the Archaeological Commission of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, which resumed its activity, began preparations for the publication of works by authors previously effectively banned – M. Hrushevsky, D. Yavornytsky, V. Antonovych, D. Bahalii, and others (Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine *et al.*, 1990).

The updating of the content of the educational process in the Ukrainian-centric direction was facilitated by the scientific developments of national scientists, materials of progressive periodicals, such as “Literary Ukraine”, “Ukrainian language and literature in school”, etc., as well as materials of local periodicals, which began to actively publish local history topics. For example, materials from the Pereiaslav periodicals from the late 1980s to the early 1990s became an alternative source for updating the educational process of secondary educational institutions of the Ukrainian SSR. The local history section, where materials on the history of Pereiaslav were published, provided the opportunity for their use in history and literature lessons, helped to form new approaches to educational work based on national principles (Tarapon & Adobash, 2022). Overall, among the materials of literary and artistic and socio-political publications of the studied period, materials of historical nature predominated, aimed at filling the “blank spots” of Ukrainian history and returning banned names (about the Holodomor of 1932-1933, liberation struggles of the early 20th century, Stalinist terror, suppressed revival, etc.) (Danylenko & Smolnitska, 2011). Significant attention in the pages of periodicals was paid to the issues of Ukrainization of education and the role of the school in the processes of national revival, which marked the beginning of a broad intellectual dialogue on language and culture (Danylevsky, 2020).

The policy of glasnost contributed to the opening of archives, the emergence of new, previously forbidden information, and also spurred increased demand from society for historical truth. Children remained the

litmus test of all complex social transformations, as generational shifts occurred, typical of transitional historical periods, such as the "perestroika" period. Teachers found themselves in challenging conditions in search of a new educational strategy, which, on the one hand, had to correspond to the state development program and, on the other hand, meet the demands of society (especially the youth), which were changing rapidly, becoming more demanding, or even radical.

During the period of liberalization in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the second half of the 1980s and early 1990s, significant transformations took place in the ideological aspects of the educational process in schools. Various sources, including research, articles, and publications, provide an opportunity to understand the multifaceted nature of these processes and their impact on society and the educational system. Yu.O. Kakhanov (2019) examined the evolution of perceptions of the ideal representative of Soviet society in the Ukrainian context. He revealed changes in the perception of socialist ideology during the years of liberalization and their impact on school curricula and educational methods. Such scholarly work has significant value in the context of studying the evolution of ideological and cultural aspects in Ukrainian society during the Soviet era. However, it should be noted that the research may be limited in the context of its own specificity and methodology used by the author.

O.A. Shanovska (2008) added a new aspect to understanding the influence of cultural initiatives on educational processes. She emphasized the importance of creative associations in shaping new cultural practices and identity, which could be reflected in changes in school programs and teaching methods. The research is characterized by a unique approach to studying the impact of cultural initiatives on cultural revival during the period of restructuring. It deeply analyses the role of creative associations in shaping cultural practices and identity. O.P. Zhaluk (2015) examines the role of club institutions in the process of shaping national consciousness and cultural revival in Ukrainian society. This work highlighted the importance of the role of school clubs in educating the younger generation and shaping national identity. Additional sources, such as the works of E. Lysa (1990), O. Demchenko (1991), and V.G. Shevchenko (1990), point to the importance of the contribution of the intellectual and cultural elite to the creation of a new educational system and its influence on the formation of national consciousness. All these studies and publications have provided a better understanding of the processes and the importance of understanding the ideological aspects of the educational process in the conditions of liberalization from 1985 to 1991 in Ukrainian schools and emphasized the diversity and complexity of transformations in society and the educational system, as well as the significant impact of the intellectual and cultural elite on the formation of Ukrainian national and cultural identity.

Moreover, works related to the socio-political development of Ukraine during the "perestroika" transformations of 1985-1991 show the course of political reforms and changes in public sentiment that influenced the liberalization of the educational process. The author shares the opinion of V.M. Danylenko & M.K. Smolnitska (2011) that political democratization affected the consciousness of people of different ages – from school and college students to pensioners, demonstrating a wide range of views on current events in the country and polar social positions – from moderate to openly radical. The author also believes that it was the youth who actively responded to changes in society, which contributed to the irreversibility of socio-cultural changes towards liberalization.

The majority of works related to this discourse are only tangentially related to the topic under investigation, providing insights into the political course of restructuring and socio-political changes under the influence of democratization processes. Works addressing the social aspects of the history of the specified period demonstrate changes in social attitudes in conditions of liberalization and the course towards openness; however, they do not directly address the issue of democratization of school education. The most informative on the chosen topic are the works of R. Potapenko (2021b), where certain aspects of ideological changes in the educational and upbringing process are revealed through the prism of the position and activities of the scientific and educational intelligentsia. The author agrees with the researcher's assertion that at the beginning of the restructuring, scientific and educational institutions remained instruments of ideological education for youth, and educators were supposed to transmit the state ideology to society. Only the relaxation of ideological state pressure laid the groundwork for the humanization of the educational process. The author examines all levels of education – from school to higher education.

In summary, regarding the topic of ideological aspects of the educational process in schools of the Ukrainian SSR during the liberalization of 1985-1991, it can be noted that this period was characterized, to some extent, by significant transformations in the field of education, which occurred against the backdrop of general political changes. Liberalization somewhat led to the emergence of new ideas and approaches in educational programs, promoting greater freedom in the educational process. Changes in ideological perceptions influenced the content of educational materials and approaches to upbringing, opening the doors to greater diversity and openness. However, it is worth considering that this period was also accompanied by significant challenges and contradictions associated with the transition from the old ideology to new approaches, which required the adaptation of the educational system to new realities.

Conclusions

During the period under study, education played a key role in societal processes; in the Soviet state, it served not only an educational function but also an ideological and educational one, serving as a means of shaping Soviet citizens and exerting ideological influence on the younger generation. Therefore, even amidst the liberalization of societal processes, the authorities continued to control the educational process, determine its substantive content, and direct the educational and methodological work of educators. The content of school education was determined by communist ideology and the task of instilling Soviet values in the younger generation and "Soviet patriotism". Educational materials aimed to cultivate in students a sense of internationalism, friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union, instil the idea of the unity of the "fraternal" Ukrainian and Russian peoples, demonstrate the beneficial influence of Russian language and culture on the national development of the republics, and reinforce the thesis of the primacy of the Russian proletariat, the leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders in the development of society, and so on. School subject materials were based on the principles of scientific communism, a formation approach, and included examples aimed at reinforcing Soviet terms and corresponding political clichés. Political education of teachers played an exceptional role. Regular monitoring of the results of educational work in educational institutions in various regions of the republic was conducted, the results of which were considered at the level of the Ministry of Education. Consensus on strategically important directions for the communist regime ensured censorship, which allowed for the control of the publication of scientific and educational literature. Therefore, even in conditions of glasnost, the publication of previously banned literature, demand for which was growing among the intelligentsia, took place cau-

tiously and under the supervision of the relevant Soviet structures, which made the "correct" emphases and comments.

However, the liberalization of the educational process overall, and schools in particular, has led to irreversible changes. The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1986 and the speech by General Secretary M. Gorbachev outlined a course for accelerating the restructuring of socio-economic processes, democratization, and transparency. At the same time, there was still a declared course towards internationalization and the convergence of nations, which meant the practical continuation of the Russification of the cultural and educational space. Despite the efforts of party leadership to control political and socio-cultural life, societal attitudes were changing. Progressive teachers introduced modern methods into school education and sought ways to renew the educational process. Since the majority of textbooks still carried ideological baggage, the liberalization of periodical publications, which focused on historical themes, filling in the "white spots" of Ukrainian history, language issues, and processes of national revival, contributed to the renewal of the content of educational work. Local publications' ethnographic sections helped educators form Ukrainian studies approaches to the educational process. The specifics of ideological work in secondary educational institutions require detailed elaboration and expansion. Further analysis is needed on the social attitudes of student youth, changes in their ideological beliefs under the influence of new phenomena in social and cultural life.

Acknowledgements

None.

Conflict of Interest

None.

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Ідеологічні аспекти навчального процесу в школах УРСР в умовах лібералізації 1985-1991 рр.

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Анотація. Потреба повного очищення соціокультурного простору України від радянських ідеологічних наративів актуалізує сьогодні необхідність проаналізувати ключові ідеологічні концепти, що прищеплювалися підростаючому поколінню через систему загальної середньої освіти Української Радянської Соціалістичної Республіки. Метою статті є аналіз ідеологічних аспектів наповнення навчального процесу в школах Української РСР в умовах лібералізації 1985-1991 рр., пошуків навчальної парадигми в процесі реформи школи. Методологія дослідження ґрунтується на принципах історизму, науковості, об'єктивності, у роботі застосовано аналітичний, описовий методи, а також метод систематизації та критичного аналізу. У статті проаналізовано особливості ідейного змістовного наповнення навчального процесу в школах Української РСР та особливостей радянського ідеологічного виховання в умовах проголошеного курсу «перебудови» 1985-1991 рр., пошуків навчальної парадигми в процесі реформи школи. Проаналізовано ідейно-виховну стратегію начального процесу, основні ідейні наративи змістового наповнення навчальних предметів, котрі мали формувати «радянський» патріотизм та політичну свідомість радянських громадян. Встановлено, що виключна роль в освітньому процесі відводилася політичній освіті педагогів, а єдність думок у стратегічно важливих для комуністичного режиму напрямках забезпечувала цензура, котра контролювала видання навчальної та іншої літератури. Установлено, що демократизація суспільно-політичного життя, що активізувалася після XXVII з'їзду Комуністичної партії Радянського Союзу, лібералізація освітньої сфери стала незворотною. Прогресивні вчителі привносили в шкільну освіту новітні методи, шукали засобів оновлення освітнього процесу, апробували на уроках нові матеріали періодичних видань. Особливий запит і потребу оновлення викликали дисципліни українознавчого циклу, а найбільш актуальною в освітньому середовищі стала історична тематика та заборонені раніше теми національного життя України. Матеріали даної статті можливо практично застосовувати для подальшого дослідження історії загальноосвітньої школи радянської України в складний період суспільно-політичних та соціокультурних трансформацій доби «перебудови»

Ключові слова: «перебудова»; гласність; школа; освітній процес; комуністична ідеологія; навчально-виховна робота