

THE IMAGE OF THE "HERO" IN THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET PRESS: INFLUENCE ON THE FORMATION OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND IDENTITY

Martynova Iryna

Head of the Department
of History of Ukraine
Phd in History, Associate Professor
H.S. Skovoroda Kharkiv National
Pedagogical University

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7715-9245>

Yareshchenko Artur

history teacher
Kharkiv Private Lyceum
"First Ukrainian School",
graduate student
of the Department of History of Ukraine
H.S. Skovoroda Kharkiv National
Pedagogical University

ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3670-4582>

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Abstract. *The article attempts to analyze the phenomenon of creating/recognizing "heroes" - prominent personalities within a certain community - with the help of such a powerful source of information dissemination as newspapers. This process is considered within the framework of the formation of the historical consciousness of a given community, namely, the figures of past figures rather than contemporaries are studied.*

The idea of prominent figures of the past and their honoring foster a sense of national pride, actualize certain values, and encourage certain actions. In authoritarian and totalitarian societies, all these factors force the current political elite to control the process of forming historical consciousness and the images of such "heroes."

In the Soviet Union, the pantheon of heroes of the past was formed under the strict control of the party and its leaders. The Soviet press created heroes - outstanding personalities who, through their activities and creativity, brought a "brighter future" closer, "fought against the exploiters," defended the rights of the common people, organized and led the masses in their struggle. Certain criteria were used to determine such individuals, namely, how much their activities met the interests of the masses and illustrated the theory of class struggle.

Sometimes figures already recognized by society were included, as was the case with Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Taras Shevchenko, Hanna Skovoroda, Ivan Franko, and other well-known Ukrainian writers and political figures. Their works, and sometimes their biographies, were subject to reinterpretation or even falsification to suit the prevailing ideology and current slogans. This, for example, happened to B. Khmelnytsky. In the works of all the above-mentioned figures, confirmation of the ideologeme of "friendship of nations" was found.

The Soviet Ukrainian press also fulfilled an important task of the state and the authorities: the creation of "new heroes." The publications, in our opinion, followed a certain pattern. All of these

"heroes" were at the origins of Bolshevism, were associated with the social-democratic labor movement, were fascinated by Marxism from a young age, and were engaged in agitation and propaganda activities, for which they were arrested, imprisoned, and exiled to Siberia by tsarist gendarmes. Separate mention should be made of publications about "soldiers of the revolution" and "red commanders" who "heroically fought" on the fronts of the civil war, liberating Ukraine from the enemies of the Soviet system, the "Hetmans and Petliurists." Thus, the real "new heroes" of Soviet Ukraine at that time were those who destroyed the Ukrainian liberation movement and established Soviet rule.

Key words: *historical consciousness, press, "new heroes," historical narrative, identity.*

The idea of history is an important component of the group identity of a community that considers itself a nation. Historical knowledge is the basis for the creation of a community, its legitimization and identification. A significant role in this process is played by "historical biography," both in the broad sense (history of the state, people) and in the narrow sense (biographies of prominent representatives of this community). These ideas are not static; they are constantly changing and transforming. The process of constant construction and reinterpretation of historical narratives takes place within any group that shares a common identity. As a result of the long period of statelessness, the "historical biography" of the Ukrainian people is full of historical myths and stereotypes that were created and forcibly and manipulatively implanted in the minds of citizens during the Soviet period.

The establishment of the Soviet system also took place through the introduction of a new system of values into the mass consciousness, which relied on the propaganda of images of revolutionaries: if it was a question of history, then of fighters against the shackles of the tsar, if it was a question of the present, then of Soviet people, builders of socialism. Prominent individuals-politicians, representatives of the social elite that was significant at a certain time, scientists, and cultural figures-have always occupied a special place in the development of any society.

Thomas Carlyle, a famous historian and philosopher of the nineteenth century, noted in his works that heroes and celebrities are a very important element of any culture, because there is no better and time-tested way to stabilize social and political order than the worship of heroes [6]. T. Carlyle also pointed out the connection between the types of heroes and the types of culture in which they exist. The topic of heroes and heroism is actively discussed in historiography by representatives of various social sciences. The influence of cultural context on the typologization of heroes is noted, and a certain community develops its own image of a hero. Some believe that heroes do not exist, but only communication about them (American cultural critic Lance Streit) [14]. One way or another, the influence and importance of certain individuals in history and the present is undeniable. Given the certain validity of the remark that a hero exists if there is communication about him or her, the study of the problem is related to certain texts. We are considering only one type of texts about heroes: newspaper articles, which are quite widespread and therefore influential. The purpose of our study is to analyze the process of glorification of certain personalities by Soviet ideology and propaganda in order to erode Ukrainian national identity and form a new identity through the press.

A significant body of scholarly literature is devoted to the problems of forming the historical consciousness of Ukrainian society. V. Yaremchuk wrote about the construction of the official image of the Ukrainian people's past in Ukrainian Soviet historiography in his monograph [47]. In his opinion, the complex of governmental ideas about the Ukrainian past was finally formed in the

period between the death of J. Stalin and the twentieth Congress of the CPSU and found its fullest embodiment in the resolution of the highest authorities of the USSR "On the 300th anniversary of the reunification of Ukraine with Russia", which V. Yaremchuk analyzes in detail, mentioning the figure of B. Khmelnytsky.

"The power of the imperial discourse, provided by a variety of institutions - from schools to universities, from daily newspapers to literary magazines, from the Orthodox Church to the Academy of Sciences" was noted by M. Ryabchuk in his scientific and journalistic work [35]. This force, in his opinion, helped to maintain the colonial character of Ukrainian Soviet statehood. The process of identifying and popularizing heroes important for Ukrainian society in Soviet times was partially covered in the collective study "Heroes and Celebrities in Ukrainian Culture" [14. P.13-85; 97-167; 234-249]. In particular, the authors of the study noted that the longer a certain heroic figure exists in the national culture, the more modifications and transformations occur to it. This is due to the fact that different cultural, social, political, even age groups have different ideas about heroism, about the main life values, about the essence and purpose of the nation, the national state; they evaluate certain historical events, figures, and cultural phenomena differently. Because of this, it is sometimes easier to reinterpret the role and significance, or even the biography, of a hero already established in society. This happened in Soviet times with such Ukrainian historical figures as Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Taras Shevchenko, Lesya Ukrainka, Ivan Franko, and others. Thus, the topic of the development and imposition of prominent personalities and heroes on the historical memory of Ukrainian society continues to be under-researched.

Under the control of the Communist Party, Soviet historiography and the Soviet press created heroes - prominent personalities of the past who, through their activities and creativity, somehow brought a "brighter future" closer, fought against exploiters, defended the rights of the common people, organized and led the masses in their struggle. It is true that communist ideology declared the masses to be the main driving force of social progress, but where would they be without leaders and leaders? Therefore, considerable attention was also paid to the role of the individual in history. Certain criteria were used to determine such individuals, namely, how well their activities met the interests of the masses and the theory of class struggle. The biographies and activities of such figures, chosen by Soviet ideology and propaganda, were discussed in the Soviet press.

These were undoubtedly the leaders of popular uprisings. Of the Ukrainian figures, Ustym Karmaliuk received special favor from Soviet propaganda [15]. A folk hero, an implacable fighter against the oppressors, he fully fit into the Soviet narrative of "class struggle." He definitely had to take a place in the pantheon of worthy representatives of the Ukrainian people of the past. Among the political figures worthy of representing the heroic past of the Ukrainian people were B. Khmelnytsky and D. Halytsky [2; 15; 40]. In the context of the then national policy of the Soviet government, the glorification of B. Khmelnytsky's activities is quite understandable. His main virtue was defined as the conclusion of a treaty with the Muscovy. According to the "Theses on the 300th Anniversary of the Reunification of Ukraine with Russia," the purpose of the Cossack-Peasant War against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was the desire of the Ukrainian people, led by B. Khmelnytsky, to unite with the Russian people [44]. The ideologue of "friendship of peoples," formulated in Stalin's time, received a new impetus [48].

The mention of Danylo Halytskyi in the press was due to the appearance of a historical novel by A. Khyzhnyak, which was criticized in the "Soviet Ukraine" by Candidate of Historical Sciences K. Stetsiuk. In his opinion, the portrayal of Kyivan Rus as "the cradle of three fraternal peoples" was positive; the definition of Hungarians, Poles and the Catholic Church as enemies of the Ukrainian people, and Danylo Halytskyi as, on the one hand, a statesman and warrior, and on the

other, an exploiter [40].

A number of writers and poets of the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries were selected from the pantheon of prominent figures of Ukrainian culture: H.S. Skovoroda, T.H. Shevchenko, I. Franko, Lesya Ukrainka, O. Kobylanska, B. Hrinchenko, and others.

"A passionate desire to unite the Ukrainian lands into a single whole and reunite them with great Russia" was found in the works of H.S. Skovoroda. Many of the great philosopher's ideas were close to Soviet society, although sometimes his works were interpreted in the necessary ideological direction [5;42].

Taras Shevchenko occupied a special place among prominent personalities of Ukrainian origin. The Bolshevik leadership, taking into account the activity of the Ukrainian liberation struggle and the process of forming the Ukrainian nation, decided to lead what could not be stopped, but to direct it in the direction necessary for the ruling system. Taras Shevchenko was the most suitable person to play the role of a symbol of Ukrainian Soviet identity. He was already extremely popular and also had the ideal background: a peasant from the serfs, a revolutionary, a critic, and a victim of the tsarist regime, as noted by Soviet leaders. [21; 34].

Literally every year, Soviet newspapers published articles dedicated to Taras Shevchenko, but 1961 and 1964 were special. Almost the entire issues of "Soviet Ukraine" of March 10, 1961 and March 9, 1964 were devoted to the "world jubilee", and there is even a note "Ilyich loved him"[10;29]. Taras Shevchenko criticized tsarism and called for the overthrow of the autocracy. This is what attracted communists to his work. An analysis of publications dedicated to the poet also reveals some unexpected accents. Thus, in the article "Eternally Alive in the People" he is called "a champion and singer of friendship between peoples," and his "love for the Russian people and its leading representatives" is especially emphasized. For Ukrainians, Taras Grigorievich has always been a great authority, and the ideology of "brotherhood" put into his mouth was supposed to be a significant lever of influence on public opinion.

Along with Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, the "great stonemason," enjoyed special favor with the Soviet Ukrainian press [3; 16; 23]. Everyone knows his socialist views. At the same time, only those aspects of his work and life were emphasized that were useful for the existing system. During this period, Ivan Franko's granddaughter Zynovia Franko published a book entitled Ivan Franko, an implacable fighter against Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, which she was hardly proud of later. P. Tychnya's article with the same title was devoted not so much to the work and activities of Ivan Franko as to criticizing the Ukrainian national movement in the Western Ukrainian lands and asserting the idea that the poet's political activity was aimed at fighting not only the "Muscovites" but also the "Narodovtsi," Y. Bachynsky, Y. Romanchuk, M. Hrushevsky, and all those who fought for Ukrainian statehood. All these figures were called "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists." [16]

These articles about Ivan Franko were a manifestation of the struggle against the collective memory of the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia. Attempts to show that one of its most prominent representatives allegedly did not perceive it, was an opponent of autonomy and Ukrainian statehood in general creates a false picture of the past. I. Franko had ideological differences with certain political figures, but they agreed on the main thing: the Ukrainian people should be free and have their own state. This idea was hostile to the Soviet system, so the coverage of Ivan Franko's political activities was falsified. He was portrayed as a supporter of Russian culture, of the very "indestructible brotherhood."

As a rule, publications dedicated to prominent figures in Ukrainian history were tied to anniversaries. The year 1963 was rich in anniversaries: The 100th anniversary of O. Kobylanska's

birth, the 50th anniversary of Lesya Ukrainka's death, and the 100th anniversary of B. Hrinchenko's birth. The republican press reacted accordingly to all these significant dates [4; 25; 33; 7; 39; 11]. The main virtues of literary figures were defined as democracy, love of people, glorification of the people's struggle against the oppressors, critical attitude to property, the rich, tsarism, and they were also noticed in a great love for Russian culture and literature and called fighters against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". At the same time, we know B. Hrinchenko as a prominent representative of the "community movement." His activities are rather mildly called "idealization of the cultural activities of the intelligentsia." In general, B. Hrinchenko was "lucky" to have his "Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language" in the Lenin Library [33].

The Soviet Ukrainian press also fulfilled an important task of the state and the authorities: the creation of new heroes. Since the "Great October Socialist Revolution" and the "Great Patriotic War" were defined as the central, key events of the Soviet period of history, the main "new heroes" were people associated with the process of establishing Soviet power and the events of World War II. The nature and number of publications indicate the priority of perpetuating and glorifying the Bolshevik Party members involved in the events of 1917-1921 [27-28; 12; 13; 18; 22; 24; 30; 26; 30; 1; 9; 43; 41; 45; 38].

The vast majority of these publications are biographical in nature and, in our opinion, follow a certain pattern. All of these "heroes" were at the origins of Bolshevism, were associated with the social-democratic labor movement, were fascinated by Marxism from a young age, and were engaged in agitation and propaganda activities, for which they were arrested, imprisoned, and exiled to Siberia by the tsarist gendarmes. Some of them - Y. Sverdlov, M. E. Bauman, I. V. Babushkin, D. Manuilsky, G. Petrovsky, M. Olminsky - were in exile [28; 22; 24; 1; 43; 41]. It is emphasized that neither prisons nor exile distracted them from the political struggle. Thus, M. E. Bauman collaborated with "Iskra", established ties with the Kyiv Social-Democratic Organization, spread communist ideas in Ukraine, escaped from Lukianivska prison, outwitted the gendarmes, went to Switzerland, participated in the Second Congress of the RSDLP, returned to Russia, participated in the 1905 revolution, when he died during a rally [41]. I. Babushkin went almost the same way. The next important milestone in the biographies of these figures was the preparation of the so-called "proletarian revolution" and participation in it. According to newspaper publications, a special role in the establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine was played by Artem (F.A. Sergeev), M. Skrypnyk, H. Petrovsky, Y. Kotsiubynsky, D. Manuilsky, and others [27; 13; 18; 30; 9; 43].

During this period, the Ukrainian Soviet press published several articles about Artem (F.A. Sergeev), which described his biography and events related to Ukraine. One of the articles, "Our Artem," is a memoir about him by P.A. Zaryvaiko, a Kharkiv worker who, after the proclamation of Soviet power in Ukraine, became the first Soviet director of the Kharkiv Locomotive Plant [30]. The information about the author of the memoirs is also, to some extent, an example of the creation of a "new hero"-an ordinary person, a worker who, thanks to Soviet power, became the director of an enterprise. By the way, every article about a Soviet figure necessarily mentioned the person's social background. The vast majority had the same ideal "worker-peasant" background for Soviet times. And if they did not, it was modestly stated that they came from the intelligentsia.

Quite large articles were devoted to Y. Kotsiubynskyi and M. Skrypnyk, who "laid the first stones in the building of socialism" under Lenin's leadership, but were unreasonably accused of "nationalism" and forgotten [27;18]. Thus, they were returned to the pantheon of Soviet heroes - the creators of Soviet Ukraine.

Separate mention should be made of publications about "soldiers of the revolution" and "red commanders" - V. Chapaev, I. Yakir, S. Budyonnyi, H. Kotovskyi, O. Parkhomenko, M.

Tukhachevskiy, P. Dybenko, O. Dundych, and Y. Hamarnyk [26; 31; 37; 45; 8; 38]. Their biographies differ somewhat from the previous ones in the absence of information about their intellectual activities. But all of them "heroically fought" on the fronts of the Civil War, liberating Ukraine from the enemies of the Soviet system - "Hetmans and Petliurists, Denikin, Wrangel, and the Bialopolists." Thus, the real heroes of Soviet Ukraine at that time were those who destroyed the Ukrainian liberation movement. It was written about S. Budyonnyi that "both old and young know about the legendary feats of the cavalryman," and the word "Budyonovets" became the personification of a brave fighter. The military careers of these "heroes" are also dizzying: from a mercenary to the First Deputy People's Commissar of Defense. Some of them died back in 1919-1921, "giving their lives to the revolution," while others were repressed in the late 1930s during the Great Terror. In the 1960s, the press took part in the rehabilitation of these individuals. Along with this, articles and notes were published about real heroes - participants of the Second World War who fought against the Nazis [19-20; 32].

At the time we are studying, the direct participants in the events related to the construction of the Soviet system could share their individual memories of these events with the public. The press published interviews and memoirs of such people. The monopoly on information and censorship determined the content of such publications, so they confirmed the monolithic nature of the movement toward a new workers' and peasants' system, the heroism of the proletariat and the Bolsheviks, and the genius of the party leaders.

A special place in the pantheon of new heroes was occupied by those who had personally seen Lenin. Their memoirs were published to create a mythical image of the "ever-living Lenin". These are the memoirs of S. Hopner, O. Sniegov, Y. Yakovenko, and others [12; 36; 46]. A professional historical essay on the establishment of Soviet power in Katerynoslav is the memoirs of S. Hopner, a member of the RSDLP since 1903, who was personally acquainted with Lenin. She later became a doctor of historical sciences and made a real party career. From O. Sniegov's memoirs we learn about the armed struggle between Bolshevik units and the troops supporting the Central Rada in Vinnytsia. His story suggests that the Bolshevik units were well-organized and armed, while the Central Rada troops were a bunch of bandits who were always retreating. Such rhetoric is inherent in all memoirs.

An example of the creation of the myth of "meeting Lenin" was the memoirs of Yakovenko, who returned from the front to Starodub in 1918 and was elected chairman of the district party committee. It contains all the necessary elements of this myth: the simplicity and genius of the "leader," the way he explained how to build the Soviet system, his kindness and the attention he paid to ordinary people [46].

An interview with Trokhym and Oleksandra Kabannyk, an exemplary family of "old Bolsheviks," is very interesting [36]. The natives of the village of Khodorkivka, Kyiv province, began conducting Bolshevik agitation among the peasantry before 1917; Trokhym was a participant in the First World War, and they took part in the establishment of Soviet power and the Ukrainian Civil War. All this time they not only promoted communist ideas but also fought for their realization. At the time of the interview, the couple was already retired: Oleksandra had retired as director of the Kyiv Medical Institute, and Trokhym was a retired lieutenant colonel of justice. Their story is also an example of the social elevators opened by the Soviet government. It is a vivid propaganda story about the "heroes of our time."

All these personal stories were meant to demonstrate the details of the struggle for the power of the Soviets, its popular character, and what this power gave to ordinary people, how it changed their social situation. The stories of the "old Bolsheviks," the builders of socialism, made a

significant contribution to the creation of the image of the leader.

Thus, the policy of the Soviet political elite in the field of national culture was focused on the use of understandable and attractive images for citizens. Bringing to the forefront a relevant hero from the recent past and interpreting his image accordingly was supposed to set the right course for Ukrainian national identity, to create the "right" guidelines for the public consciousness of Ukrainians. That is why so much attention was paid to the figures of Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, L. Ukrainka, and other writers of pre-revolutionary times. The use of symbolic images was ultimately meant to serve the purpose of popularizing the dominant ideology.

As for the creation of new heroes, Soviet Ukrainians had to realize and remember that the "leader of the world proletariat" had associates who, together with him, created the party and this state. A pantheon of heroes was being formed who implemented Lenin's plans in Ukraine. Newspapers had special sections for this purpose, such as the section "Fighters of the Leninist Guard" in Soviet Ukraine in the 1960s." An analysis of publications dedicated to such individuals shows the following. There was a glorification of people who were somehow involved in the establishment of Soviet power and who did not spare their lives for this. Preferably, these individuals were associated with the Bolshevik party and ideology before 1917. This emphasized the continuity of the "struggle for socialism." An important criterion was the social origin of the "hero." As in the case of various historical events, a person was mentioned in connection with the anniversary of his or her birth or death.

In 1962-1964, Soviet Ukraine published a number of biographical articles on Soviet party leaders who were repressed during the "Great Terror." They described the deeds of these figures "in the name of the revolution" and noted that they were subjected to repression insidiously and unfairly. They were actualized and brought out of repressive oblivion. In fact, among all the characters mentioned by the Ukrainian Soviet press, very few were truly Ukrainians, especially in the history of Soviet statehood. In the pre-Soviet past, people who were already popular in public opinion and historical consciousness were chosen, and their activities were filled with content that corresponded to the realities of the Soviet present. A certain stereotype of a hero who fought for Soviet power was created. The press, due to its accessibility and mass appeal, transmitted the same "imperial, colonial," now Soviet historical narrative to Ukrainian Soviet society.

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