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THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET PRESS IN CULTURAL-IDEOLOGICAL PROCESSES IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR (1945 – 1953)

Summary. The purpose of the study. In the article the role of the Soviet press in cultural-ideological processes in the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR in the post-Stalinist totalitarian regime has been analyzed. The authors characterize the materials of the All-Union, Republican, local Soviet press of 1945 – 1953, they investigate the forms and methods of press influence on cultural-ideological processes and socio-political atmosphere in the Ukrainian SSR. **The methodology of the article** is based on the use of general scientific methods of cognition of the object of research, with observing the principles of originality, objectivity, comprehensiveness, and historicism. **The scientific novelty** of the work is that using the methods of studying the contents of materials and the consequences of their publication, the authors analyse the influence of materials of the all-Union, central republican and local Soviet press on the deployment of repressions against representatives of science, literature, culture and art. They also research the influence of the press on the behaviour of both party-state bodies and ordinary citizens, and its role in shaping

the general socio-political atmosphere in society. **Conclusions.** The Soviet press in the post-war period has become the main instrument for promoting repression among the cultural and scientific workers. The printed periodicals of the Ukrainian SSR completely copied the technologies and techniques of the central newspapers and magazines. It imitated the all-union press both in the form of presentation of materials, and in its content. With the help of materials from the central all-union and the republican party newspapers and magazines, the start of the ideological campaigns were announced. The publication of the main legal acts aimed at the cultural and ideological sphere determined the official line of the party, and various printed materials of the newspapers and magazines formed the appropriate socio-political atmosphere, adjusted the behaviour of citizens and authorities at all levels.

Key words: press, role, Ukrainian SSR, cultural-ideological processes, zhdanovshchina.

РОЛЬ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ ПРЕСИ В КУЛЬТУРНО-ІДЕОЛОГІЧНИХ ПРОЦЕСАХ В УРСР (1945 – 1953)

Анотація. Метою дослідження є аналіз впливу радянської преси на суспільно-політичні, культурні процеси в роки ідеологічного наступу в СРСР та УРСР у повоєнний період сталінського тоталітарного режиму. Автори характеризують матеріали всесоюзної, республіканської та місцевої радянської преси 1945 – 1953 рр., досліджують форми та методи впливу преси на культурно-ідеологічні процеси та суспільно-політичну атмосферу в УРСР. **Методологія статті** базується на використанні загальнонаукових методів пізнання предмета дослідження з дотриманням принципів істинності, об'єктивності, системності, всебічності, історизму. **Наукова новизна** роботи полягає у тому, що, використовуючи методи контент- та дискурс-аналізу, автори аналізують вплив матеріалів всесоюзної, центральної республіканської та місцевої радянської преси на розгортання репресій проти представників науки, літератури, культури та мистецтва, на поведінку як партійно-державних органів, так і звичайних громадян, її роль у формуванні загальної суспільно-політичної атмосфери у суспільстві. **Висновки.** Радянська преса у повоєнний період стала основним інструментом розкручування репресій серед діячів культури та науки. Підцензурна періодика УРСР повністю копіювала технології, методики та прийоми центральних газет і журналів. Вона наслідувала всесоюзну як за формою подачі матеріалів, так і за їх вмістом. З допомогою матеріалів центральної всесоюзної та республіканської партійної преси оголошувався старт різноманітних ідеологічних кампаній. Публікація основних нормативно-правових актів, які були спрямовані на культурно-ідеологічну сферу, визначала офіційну лінію партії, а різноманітні друковані матеріали газет та журналів формували відповідну суспільно-політичну атмосферу, коригували поведінку громадян, органів влади усіх рівнів.

Ключові слова: преса, УРСР, культурно-ідеологічні процеси, ждановщина.

Problem statement. With the end of the Second World War, the restoration of an ideological control in the Soviet society became particularly important. Its temporary weakening was not connected with the temporal democratization of the social processes and the weakening of ideological influence in the USSR, and, first of all, by the irreconcilable struggle of the German and Soviet totalitarian regimes during the war years, which required the concentration not only of material forces, but also the significant ideological resources. However, since 1946, the All-Soviet Union campaign for the restoration of the ideological control, which was directed against the leaders of science and culture, began under the name of the initiator of the campaign – the secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) Andriy Zhdanov. The Soviet press played one of the main roles in these processes.

The analysis of the problem contributes to the necessity of ensuring the pluralism of the press and depriving it of the ideological control both by the state and the financial groups, which is an indispensable condition for the development of democracy under modern conditions.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. The question of the role of the Soviet press in the political processes was reflected in the studies of a number of the authors. Thus,

O. Koliastruk considers the Soviet press as an ideological and propaganda instrument of power, a joint publication by the bodies of the party committee and the executive power of the correspondent levels, and hence the ideological dependence on them, and the monologue character of the functioning, and the censorship, and the limited dynamism and non-transparent nature of functioning (Koliastruk, 2003, pp. 8, 9).

Y. Kahanov considers the following: the mass media during the Soviet period were constructed in such a way as to introduce the new stereotypes, the myths, the slogans as guidelines for the action into mass consciousness, and «the use of template phrases and chanceries, the formalization of sentences at the subconscious level laid the appropriate standardized samples of thinking and behaviour» (Kahanov, 2011, p. 39; Kahanov, 2014, p. 218).

L. Masenko thinks that, with the help of the language of the totalitarian regime – the «newcomers», taking control of all media, the Bolsheviks launched a powerful ideological propaganda machine, where the false word became the main instrument (Masenko, 2017, p. 7). The role of satire and humor as a political tool in the ideological processes on the example of the magazine «Pepper» is investigated by K. Yeremeyeva (Yeremeyeva, 2018). The works of S. Shulzhenko, N. Siuruk, Yu. Kolisnyk (Shulzhenko, 2011; Siuruk, 2016; Kolisnyk, 2006) are also devoted to the various aspects of the functioning of the Soviet press during this period.

During the research, the authors carried out the content and discourse analyses of the materials of the all-union, central republican and local Soviet press, the normative legal acts of the party and the state bodies of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, which became the main sources of the research.

The publication's purpose is to analyze the influence of the Soviet press on the socio-political, cultural processes during the ideological attack in the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR during the post-war period of the Stalinist totalitarian regime. The purpose of the study involves the following tasks: the study of historiography and the source of the subject of the study; the analysis of the materials of the all-Soviet Union, the republican and local Soviet press during the specified period; the study of the forms and methods of the press influence on the cultural-ideological processes in the Ukrainian SSR, the social and political atmosphere in the republic.

Statement of the basic material. During the postwar period, the press, together with the radio, played the role of the main party horns. The main function of the media, including the press, is, of course, informative. At the same time, at all times, the press functioned in parallel with other functions: enlightenment, criticism, control, communication resource, etc.

The influence of the media (mass media) on society is so powerful that they are called it «the fourth power», proceeding from the theory of the division of powers into three branches. However, it is in the USSR, both under the totalitarian conditions and under conditions of an authoritarian political regime, that they became an instrument of repression, a means of instilling fear, an ideological inspiration for the concrete actions.

During the postwar period, the press continued to carry out the tasks that were put to it in the 1920-ies and 1930-ies: it transmitted the information to the ordinary citizens from the party and the state bodies (publishing the official legal acts, the appeals, the explanations, etc.); the press formed a public opinion by means of the appropriate blocks of the selected information, the analytical reviews, the satires and the cartoons; created the Soviet myths by presenting frank disinformation; announced the launch of the ideological campaigns to combat diverse «biases», the manifestations of the nationalism, the cosmopolitanism, the internal and external enemies, and the others.

During the post-war reconstruction, the totalitarian control over the mass media was gradually restored during the war years, and following all-union standards remained an indispensable feature of the republican press since the late 1920-ies. According to O. Koliastruk, «an obvious sign of the functioning of the press in the Ukrainian SSR was copying it with a central periodical, imitating its technologies, techniques and techniques, which in part acquired the nature of tracing both content and form» (Koliastruk, 2003, p. 12).

According to our observations, the sprouts of the future ideological repressions against the activists of science and culture in the Ukrainian SSR began to appear in the summer of 1946. And the very press itself played a major role. The theme of the central newspaper of the republic («The Soviet Ukraine») during the winter – the spring of 1946 was devoted mainly to the issues of rebuilding the industry, setting the order in collective farms, preparing the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the role of the party and J. Stalin personally in the victory, the celebration of the Soviet holidays, the post-war international relations, etc. The all-union party newspaper «The Pravda» also mentioned Ukraine exclusively in the context of the reconstruction of the national economy and the state-political processes by the middle of August of 1946. During this period, the periodicals continued to play the usual role of the transmitter of the socialist realism, which became the largest and only approved «a creative method» of the era, and depicted the Soviet society in distinct hierarchical images: the Leader – on the top, and below – «an ordinary Soviet man – an ordinary enthusiast of the construction of a new the world» (Merinov, 2015, pp. 58, 60).

In various materials of the newspapers there continued to be created various images of the Soviet man. For example, the ideal image of a Soviet woman was created – a woman-guardian, a woman-worker, a young, full-fledged beauty collective farmer. The press, together with the visual arts, continued to create a visual reflection of the ideology, in which «the ruling elites solved two problems: they constructed a new social ideology and created the image for imitation» (Vinichenko, 2017, p. 166). The role of the newspapers as a transmitter of social ideas, attitudes and images was extremely high. Even under conditions of the post-war devastation and rebuilding of the economy, the state sought for the publication resources. For example, only in Drohobych Region in the autumn of 1945 there were 28 newspapers, containing materials that were aimed at persuading people of the Soviet system superiority (Popp, 2018, p. 149).

The republican press was the first one which began to accentuate attention to the ideological issues in the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, at the beginning of June in 1946 in «The Soviet Ukraine» there appeared the article «The Significance of Ideological Work under Modern Conditions» (the reprint of the article from «The Bolshevik» magazine), which was on the general questions of the ideological work in the USSR (Peredova stattia, 1946m, p. 1). On July 2, there was published the article «The Responsible Value of Ideological Work in the Masses», in which were the outlines of the upcoming campaign in culture – «people are waiting for their writers to create vivid images of the Soviet man», and «from the literature, the same people are waiting to show it the abomination of nationalism ... all kinds of manifestations of national limitations» (Peredova stattia, 1946, p. 1).

The the republican press was the first one to accentuate attention to the ideological issues in the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, at the beginning of June 1946 in «The Soviet Ukraine» there appeared the article «The significance of the ideological work under modern conditions» (the reprint of the article of «The Bolshevik» magazine). The article focused on the general question of the ideological work in the USSR (Peredova stattia, 1946m, p. 1). On July 2,

the article was published under the title «The Responsible Value of Ideological Work in the Masses», where the outlines of the upcoming campaign in the culture appeared – «the people expect their writers to create the vivid images of the Soviet man», and «the literature is expected to show, the abomination of nationalism ... all kinds of manifestations of the national limitations» (Peredova stattia, 1946, p. 1). The leading article of July 5, 1946 clearly defined the place of the press in the cultural-ideological processes – «the Soviet press – an instrument of the Bolshevik Party», «the duty of the newspapers – to start the Bolshevik critique of the mistakes of work in various fields of economic and cultural life of the country» (Peredova stattia, 1946, p. 1). Later on there appeared the article under the title «On Literary Criticism», in which the meaning of «the Soviet» literary criticism was emphasized. On July 19, 1946, in «The Soviet Ukraine» there was published the first open statement against Ukrainian literature and history – the letter of «the reader» S. Zahorovskyi «Some Thoughts on Social Sciences in Ukraine», in which the author pointed at the «narrow problems» of the literary criticism and criticized Ukrainian historical science for the lack of topics «concerning other republics of the USSR, as well as other countries» (Peredova stattia, 1946g, p. 2; Zahorovskyi, 1946, p. 4).

The study of the content of the newspaper «The Soviet Ukraine» of this period illustrates the following fact: a clear algorithm can be traced for preparing the readers, the society, the local authorities to the future ideological campaign. The main objective is to create an appropriate socio-political atmosphere that would determine the reaction and behaviour of both the average citizen and the lower level authorities. If the press materials at the initial stage of the campaign focused on the general issues of the ideological work, then they pointed at the specific «disadvantages».

The real ideological attack began on the pages of the newspaper «The Soviet Ukraine» from July 20, 1946. It should be noted that it began almost a month before the first normative acts of the CPSU (b) and the CP (b)U related to a cultural-ideological sphere (The Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) on the report of the Central Committee of the CPU (b) of Ukraine «On the preparation, selection and distribution of the leading party and the Soviet personnel in the Ukrainian party organization» of July 26, 1946, and the Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) «About magazines «The Zvezda» and «The Leningrad» from August 14, 1946). In the article «Against the nationalist tendencies in literature studies criticism», «The Essay on the History of Ukrainian Literature» edited by S. I. Maslov and E. Y. Kyrlyuk, issued by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in 1942 – 1943, was subjected to a crushing criticism. The main accusation was «the nationalistic views», which was reflected in the Essay ... and the lost «connection of the literary process with the social class processes, the class struggle» (Kopytsia, 1946a, p.3). In the next issue of the newspaper in the continuation of the article it was stated that «this tendency simply to the embrace of the theory of M. Hrushevsky about the non-bourgeoisie of the Ukrainian nation» (Kopytsia, 1946b, p. 3).

In a few days in the newspaper there came the massive critique of the the first volume of «History of Ukraine» (1943), which was prepared by the historians at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and had «great disadvantages and mistakes coming from «the school» of Hrushevskyi» (Kovalov, 1946, p. 3). The scientific legacy of the prominent Ukrainian historian and statesman M. Hrushevskyi was discredited in the same issue of the newspaper in the article by M. Petrovskyi «To reveal the nationalistic perversions in the history of Ukraine (on the anti-scientific theory of M. Hrushevskyi and his school)

(Petrovskiy, 1946, p. 4) was discredited by the end to expose nationalist distortions in the history of Ukraine (on the anti-scientific theory of M. Hrushevskiy and his school).

Concurrently, the ideological work was launched by the printed organ of the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine (SRPU) – «The Literary Newspaper». On July 4, 1946, it was written in the newspaper «On some flaws in modern Ukrainian literary studies», it was pointed out that «the Ukrainian public demands from the Soviet literary scholars a profoundly scientific Marxist coverage of the history of Ukrainian literature», on July 11, it reported on the discussion of «The Essay ...» at the meetings of the party organization The SRPU, and soon it severely criticized the Essay on the History of Ukrainian Literature, the «school» of M. Hrushevskiy, «wrong antilenin allegations» in the articles and brochures of O. Doroshkevych, S. Braslavskiy, E. Kyrylyuk, I. Pilhuk; the «bourgeois-nationalist conception» of O. Dovzhenko, L. Smilyanskyi, O. Kundzich, T. Masenko was severely criticized as well (Le, Stebun, 1946, pp. 3, 4; Peredova stattia, 1946a, p.1; Peredova stattia, 1946e, p. 1).

The Ukrainian writers were already in the atmosphere of fear, the expectation of consequences, the justification, the criticism and self-criticism during the period of the publication of the decree of the Central Committee of the CP (b)U «On distortions and mistakes in the coverage of the history of Ukrainian literature in the Essay on the History of Ukrainian Literature» dated August 24, 1946 (printed in the republican press on September 1, 1946) (On Perversion, 1946: 1). But some writers dared to defend themselves, defending the «right to mistake» (P. Panch and Y. Horodskiy), for which they were immediately subjected to the devastating criticism.

It seems that the CPSU (b) did not appreciate the «seriousness» of criticism of literature and history in the republican press. Thus, on November 13, 1946, a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine was held, at which the question of harvesting, the preparation for sowing and grain procurement was considered in the usual manner (Peredova stattia, 1946f, p. 2). However, the relevant conclusions were made at the level of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b). On July 26, 1946, the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) issued the Decree «On the Preparation, Selection and Distribution of Leading Party and Soviet Personnel in the Ukrainian Party Organization». The higher party leadership not only considered the work of the Central Committee of the CP (b)U with the staff unsatisfactory, but also pointed out that «in a number of the published books, in the magazine and newspaper articles, in oral speeches of certain Ukrainian historians and writers, the harmful bourgeois-nationalist views are traced». Some historians and literary critics try to revive the bourgeois-nationalist concept of historian M. Hrushevskiy and his «school» (Postanova TsK VKP (b) za zvitom TsK KP (b) Ukrainy, 2009, p. 483). It should be noted that according to our observations, the all-Union press, including by the end of August 1946, did not actively raise the issue of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, and the above mentioned Resolution of the CPSU (b) was not published in the press.

On August 15–17, 1946, a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks)U was held, at which M. Khrushchov, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b), pointed at the drawbacks s in the work with the personnel, at a small number of articles on the theory and history of Bolshevism in the republican newspapers «The Truth of Ukraine» and «The Soviet Ukraine», he drew attention to the attempts to revive the bourgeois-political conception of M. Hrushevskiy in some books, magazines, newspapers and the works of Ukrainian historians and writers. M. Khrushchov

criticized the drawbacks in the work of institutes of history, language and literature of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Peredova Stattia, 1946, p. 2).

On August 21, 1946 after the publication of the decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) «On the magazines «The Zvezda» and «The Leningrad» in the newspaper «The Pravda» (August 14, 1946), the flywheel of the ideological repressions was officially launched.

It should be singled out that the official reaction of Ukrainian writers and historians to criticism was somewhat belated. Only on September 5, 1946, the information about the meeting of Kyiv writers was published, at which K. Lytvyn, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, criticized the materials of the magazines «The Homeland», «The Dnipro», «The Soviet Lviv», «the right to an ideological mistake» of P. Panch, Y. Horodskyi, the unsatisfactory work of the CPSU government (Peredova stattia, 1946b, p. 3). On August 27, 1946, it was announced in the press that «the board of the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine did not become the creative center of the literary process, the center for the development of the acute, principled criticism and self-criticism among the Soviet writers» (Peredova stattia, 1946l, p.1). And the very plenum of the CPSU took place only on September 15, 1947.

It is obvious that the entire Soviet press was within a single hierarchical structure. Under conditions of the censorship and control, those printed publications, which stood at the highest hierarchical level (first of all, the party press), regularly pointed out the drawbacks in the work of other editions. Thus, on August 24, 1946 in the newspaper «The Pravda» the article appeared under the title «On the Vulgar Writings of One Magazine (the magazine «The Pepper/Perets» №№ 1–12, 1946)», which instead of satire and humor spread «vulgarity» and «zuboskalstvo» (Peredova stattia, 1946d, p.1). On August 29, 1946, one of the central republican newspapers – «The Soviet Ukraine» – was criticized. In the article «Wrong Speech of the Newspaper «The Soviet Ukraine», the feuilleton, written by O. Vyshnya, «Let's Make Mistakes!», was criticized at dismantling the «theory» of the right to the ideological mistakes (Peredova stattia, 1946c, p. 3). In its turn, «The Soviet Ukraine» regularly raised the issue on the printed materials of the republican newspapers and magazines. On October 9, 1949, it accused «The Literary Newspaper» that it had not taken the clear instructions of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) about the damage caused by «the substitution of a fundamental Bolshevik critique to unprincipled, rotten friendship» (Peredova stattia, 1949, p. 3). However, according to our observations, the latter only during the second half of 1946 reviewed the materials of the magazine «The Dnipro» (October 13, 1946), «The Soviet Woman» (November 2, 1946), «The Motherland» (December 26, 1946). In some period of time, the Ukrainian central press, in unison with the all-Union, began to find the ideological drawbacks of its colleagues and fully reiterated the methodology of the work of the all-Union press.

It should be noted that the publications of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) and the printing of the «critical» materials in the press were considered by the leaders of the party and the state bodies, the mass media, various creative unions as a direct signal to action. Some of them did this without questioning the activity of the Communist Party, the others – because of fearing of criticism. Some acted on the principle – it's better self-criticism than the criticism from the top and the negative consequences for a career. In the study K. Yermieieva cites the words of the caricaturist of the well-known Ukrainian magazine «The Crocodile» B. Yefimov, who recalled that published in the all-Union party newspaper «The Pravda», the advanced articles were considered «not merely the thought of the editorial staff of the

newspaper, but the political setting, the non-appeals directive of the Central Committee of the party» (Yeremieieva, 2018, p. 65).

In the course of the post-war period of ideological processes the press set the tone of the repression. In some cases, it directly sought for «the enemies of the people» and gave grounds for the publication of another resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) or the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b)U, in the others – crushed criticism after the publications of the party decisions.

The technology of the public opinion formation by the press concerning the support of the ideological campaign was well elaborated and had a well thought-out algorithm of the actions. The party and the state authorities continued to use all the arsenal of the vocabulary of a totalitarian society in the language of the press and the legal regulations. And the quicker the flywheel of the repression was untwisted, the more ruthless the language became. Together with the long-used nominees of the enemies contingent (for example, «the bourgeois nationalists») new («homeless cosmopolites», «the low-worshippers», «the doctor-killers») were introduced. The use of the new nominations of the enemies, the use of metaphors, the brutalization of the official-business and journalistic broadcasting became the norm. The researcher L. Masenko points out that «the demonization of the mythical enemies of the Soviet power was not limited to the practice of using labels with the sharp negative semantics. The context in which the propaganda represented the hostile groups was «enriched» by the additional pejorative vocabulary» (Masenko, 2017, p. 115).

The groundless ideological repressions required the active myth-creation, the creation of a cohort of the internal and external enemies. For example, at that time, the all-Union and the republican central and local Soviet newspapers were actively involved in the creation of the myth of the Jewish rebellion against the supreme leadership and in fact promoted both the state and the domestic anti-semitism. Thus, another explosion of the anti-semitism in the Soviet society took place after the publication of the TASS information on the «Arrest of a group of the doctors-killers» in «The Pravda» newspaper on January 13, 1953. The analysis of the text of the message points at its anti-Jewish orientation. It is confirmed not only by Jewish surnames, but also by convincing conclusions that «most of the terrorist group's members were associated with an international Jewish bourgeois-nationalist organization» «Joint» that was allegedly created by the US intelligence to provide the material assistance to the Jews in other countries» (Peredova Stattia, 1953a, p. 1). In the editorial of the same newspaper, «Mean Spies and Murderers under the Mask of Professors-Doctors», it was also noted that «the disclosure of the conspiracy of the doctors-poisoners is a blow to the international Jewish Zionist organization» (Peredova stattia, 1953c, p. 1). Similar information was duplicated by other central all-Union newspapers. So, on the same day, the newspaper «The Izvestia» published the article «Killers under the mask of doctors», which, using the language of the TASS message, continued to expose «conspiracy» (Peredova stattia, 1953d, p. 1). The Republican and local press reacted immediately to this direction of struggle with «the internal enemies». The next day already in the article «Mean Spies and Murderers under the Mask of Professors-Doctors» the information about «the criminal conspiracy» was posted by the newspaper «The Soviet Ukraine» (Peredova stattia, 1953b, p. 1). Within a few weeks, the publishing agency of the Vinnitsa Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine («The Vinnitsia Pravda») in the article «The Zionist Agency of American Intelligence» informed the most distant village of the region about «the crimes of a terrorist group of the pest doctors, disclosed by the state security organs of the Soviet Union» (Peredova stattia,

1953e, p. 2). Under the similar scheme there developed the «discussion» concerning the cosmopolites, the drawbacks in science, the distortions in history and literature, etc.

Conclusions. Thus, the Soviet republican press in the postwar period remained the unchanging link in the censorship hierarchical structure of the USSR press, where all-union party newspapers and magazines were at the top of the hierarchy. In its work it used the forms and the methods of work characteristic of the central one. During the postwar period, it continued to play the usual role of the tool for the formation of the ideological guides, the myths and the images. However, during the deployment of «Zhdanovshchyna», it became the main initiator of the promotion of repression among Ukrainian culture and science activists.

The main forms of work of the republican press under conditions of the cultural-ideological processes of 1945 – 1953 were the publication of basic legal acts of the central and republican party and the state authorities, reprinting materials of the central press, deploying the «discussion» on the tasks set by the party, publishing reports on the work of the party bodies and organizations, etc. The linguistic and stylistic means of influence of the normative acts and printed materials, the appeals and theses, the caricatures, the photographs, the feuilletones were among the main arsenal of techniques for the formation of the Soviet images and myths.

The publication of the main legal acts, which were directed at the cultural and ideological sphere, determined the official line of the party. The various printed materials of the newspapers and magazines contributed to the development of the «discussion», formed the corresponding socio-political atmosphere, adjusted the behaviour of the citizens, and the contemptuously rough language, along with an acute caricature, aimed at the formation of the negative images of the internal enemies – the bourgeois nationalists, the low-worshipers, the cosmopolites, etc. Sometimes the press began to fight the deviations of the Stalinist course, even before the publication of the official decisions by the party and state bodies. However, there remains to be analyzed whether they did it having the official sanction of the authorities, or following the instructions concerning the need for «Bolshevik critique of the failures of work». In addition, our article does not detail the complex hierarchical links between the Soviet Ukrainian press of the republican and local levels, the party and special industry periodicals, which undoubtedly fulfilled their role in the post-war repressions against the activists of science and culture.

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