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THE ACCELERATION OF THE UKRAINIANS' ASSIMILATION DUE TO DELIBERATE NARROWING OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE: 60'S-70'S OF THE XXTH CENTURY

Abstract: This article investigates anti-Ukrainian language policy in Ukraine during the 60's – 70's of the twentieth century, whose main objective was artificial exclusion of the use of the Ukrainian language and the acceleration of the Ukrainians' assimilation. Narrowing the Ukrainian language in higher educational institutions of Ukraine was felt especially painfully, where the younger generation of the Ukrainians was trained and brought up. Teaching most special and general subjects in higher education resorted to Russian more and more frequently. Those features of Ukrainian higher education showed the wealth of the national language, culture, facilitated the study of their national history, promoted a national idea, the ideas of Ukrainian statehood were leveled under the influence of the Russification policy. Also, the paper examines the denationalization of the titular nation – the Ukrainian SSR by the media, which were a part of the informational space of the Soviet totalitarian state. The article reveals the destructive role of the media in narrowing the Ukrainian national outlook and “undermining” their social and psychological stability, showing a ban on national-patriotic materials in the Ukrainian printed word, radio, television. Russification of all spheres of the Ukrainian people significantly reduced the use of the Ukrainian language and formed the status of its inferiority and laid the basis for all intensive large-scale assimilation of the Ukrainians.

Keywords: Ukrainian language; Ukrainians; language policy; russification; denationalization; censorship; ideological dictates; national self-determination.

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FORMULATION OF SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The isolation from the world of Soviet society, the rule of totalitarian ideology and coagulating the processes of liberalization in the USSR during the 60's-70's of the twentieth century hindered the democratic changes in Ukraine. The main task of the state was to centralize and to russify the Ukrainian education and culture, the Ukrainian life on the whole. The main objective of the anti-national language policy was gradual and systematic destruction of the Ukrainian language, which further caused a sharp decline in its prestige and its perception as something minor and inferior.

The establishment and development of an independent, democratic Ukrainian state demands from historians understanding the historical experience of the past. In order to conduct the current language policy skillfully the previous lessons of history must be taken into consideration. Therefore, a comprehensive study of russification policy, decreasing the use of Ukrainian language, history of language development in Ukraine during the 60's – 70's of the twentieth century is very important and requires a special approach in the study.

RESEARCH ANALYSIS

The issues of Ukrainian language, national education and culture in the second half of the XXth century were covered partially in the works of authors such as I. Dziuba (2005), D. Horbachuk and O. Zubarev (2007), Yu. Kalganov (2014), I. Koliaska (1970), V. Koptilov (1963), T. Kutsayeva (2007), O. Sergiychuk (2002), O. Tyevikova (2010) and others. However, the studied issue remains unexplored in the scientific literature. This enables us to continue the study in this prospective field of research.

THE AIM OF THE ARTICLE

Thus, the purpose of this article is the research of accelerating the policy of assimilation of the Ukrainians as a result of targeted narrowing of the Ukrainian language during the 60's – 70's of the XXth century, analysis of the influence of social and political factors on the cultural and educational sphere of Ukrainian people, identifying the factors that hindered the development of Ukrainian language and accelerated the process of denationalizing Ukrainians in the outlined period. The study of the language policy in higher education of Ukraine, clarification of the destructive role of the media in narrowing the Ukrainian national outlook, display of the ban on manifesting national and patriotic issues in the Ukrainian printed word, radio, television.

THE MAIN MATERIAL AND JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY RESULTS

Totalitarianism and the rule of official ideology led to the limited development of various life spheres of Ukrainians. This was the most clearly observed in the field of language use. At that time the language issue was covered by the "Law on languages equality in Ukraine" (June 1927), by the articles 40, 110 and 121 of the Constitution of the USSR (1936) and

by the similar articles 109 and 120 of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (1937). They allowed to design legislation acts, conduct proceedings and educational process in the native (Ukrainian) language. The Russian had an official status as an interstate language. Therefore, the commonly used languages on the territory of republic were Ukrainian and Russian, but the last one was implemented actively in the social life of Ukrainians. Until the XXI Congress of the CPSU (1959) russification was realized in two directions: approximation of Ukrainian to Russian and "substitution" of Ukrainian by Russian. The policy on the approximation of Ukrainian to Russian with the "perspective" of further fusion of languages pursued by the government, collapsed; therefore, it was decided to focus on the second program of russification – implementing Russian language as the language of interethnic communication (Sergiychuk, 2002, p. 4).

The Soviet government understood the importance of Ukrainian language as the basis for forming a nation, and tried to narrow possibly the sphere of its use. The Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR received a significant number of complaints. The Ukrainians expressed indignation because of existence of a large number of Russian language kindergartens and nurseries. "Going to a kindergarten, our children do not understand other language than their native (Ukrainian) language, and there can not be an educational method, if educators are speaking to them in Russian language" (Dziuba, 2005, p. 177). The official language policy contributed to an increase of Russian language schools and a simultaneous decrease of Ukrainian language ones. The number of Russian language schools increased, especially after the reform of 1958. On average, in one Ukrainian school there were 190 pupils, and in each Russian school – 524, even in Khmelnytsky, Zhytomyr, Vinnytsia, Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kyiv more than 50% pupils visited Russian language schools (Tyevikova, 2010, p. 289).

In Odessa in 1963-1964 school year there were 34 schools with Ukrainian language of education and 136 schools with Russian language of education, namely, two elementary schools with Ukrainian and four with Russian language of education, 14 eight-year schools with Ukrainian and 62 with Russian language of education, 18 secondary schools with Ukrainian and 70 with Russian language of education (Proceedings of the Meeting, 1963, s. 35).

Among eight-year schools with teaching a number of subjects in a foreign language in the senior school, according to the data of the Odessa Regional Department of Education in 1963-1964 school year there was no Ukrainian language schools and four Russian language schools (Proceedings of the Meeting, 1963, s. 39). According to the same data, among the opened special and boarding schools in the 1963-1964 school year there were no Ukrainian language schools while what was mentioned was the opening of the Russian language special boarding school № 88 for mentally retarded children in Kiev district of Odessa (Proceedings of the Meeting, 1963, s. 35). In the list of masters schools there were no Ukrainian language schools while what was mentioned was the opening of three Russian language ones in Odessa, namely two schools at the Dzerzhinsky plant and the Kirov plant and one school at the Vorovskyy garment factory (Proceedings of the Meeting of the Industrial Regional, 1963, s. 35). There were more Russian language schools in Lviv. In 1956 their percentage in this city was 52% and the percentage of Ukrainian languages schools – 43 % although there was a large number of ethnic Ukrainians in the population, namely: 85 % Ukrainians and 8,5 % Russians (Information and Reports, 1956, p. 24).

In Ukraine there was an intensive process of russification of the higher education. Since 1954 Ukrainian language was no longer a requirement for matriculation to universi-

ties in the Ukrainian SSR, which caused some difficulties for rural youth which took exams with “a significant Ukrainian accent” (Kruchynenko, 2007, p. 26). A negative influence on national education had the fact that the whole educational process in higher educational institutions of Ukraine was conducted mainly in Russian language although the Ukrainians amounted to over 60 % of all students (Panchuk (ed.), 1994, p. 320). In some universities of the Ukrainian SSR the Ukrainian language formed only 5 % of lectures (Rusnachenko, 1998, p. 52). In Kyiv schools 70 % of lectures were read in Russian (Slyusarenko, et al., 2002, p. 458). At the universities of such cities as Dnepropetrovsk, Odesa, Kharkiv except at the departments of the Ukrainian language and literature subjects were read mainly in Russian, and medical technical colleges, technical colleges, industrial, commercial, agricultural and economic universities of Ukraine were fully russified except for some universities in western regions (Koliaska, 1970, p. 123). As a result, the language situation in the Ukrainian SSR deteriorated.

An opportunity to be a student depended on ideological factors. The relevant authorities conducted interviews with applicants, personal cases were studied in detail, seeking information about their whereabouts and that of their relatives during the occupation, about the relationship with the Germans, Ukrainian nationalists or activists of Ukrainian nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, about the presence of repressed family members and so on (same inspection conducted among teachers) (Tyevikova, 2010, p. 158). The curriculum was subordinated to high school plans of full-scale socialism construction and ideological education, the emphasis was placed on the formation of the materialist worldview and sense of commitment to the Communist Party, the disclosure of reactionary ideology of “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism”.

The history of Ukraine was not taught in higher educational institutions, “and one could not understand anything that actually happened in Ukraine from books on the history of Ukraine, they said nothing apart from the number of issued treatises and dates of the party congresses. Every year in the USSR they produced tens of thousands of graduates with a degree in “History” who had no idea about the history of the land where they studied...” (Palyi, 2011). Higher educational institutions of Ukraine performed the function of policy advocacy, history of the CPSU and the communist education of workers. Among the educational and scientific literature published in Ukraine and with which the universities were provided or had the largest circulation was the history of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, which at that time was considered a valuable source of scientific research in any field of knowledge.

Exclusion of the native language from the use was assisted by the book publishing policy of the Soviet government. The percentage of Ukrainian printed production was less than the half of all publications. For example, as of 1960 3844 of 7889 units of printed books and booklets in Ukraine were published in Ukrainian language. Five years later (in 1965) the situation has worsened, only 2998 of 7251 units of printed books and booklets were published in Ukrainian language (Tyevikova, 2010, p. 286). Ukrainian scientific literature suffered as well. Whereas 1962 the Academy of Sciences of the USSR published 950 scientific works, the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR issued only 142,87 published in Russian language (Shtepa, 2005, p. 190).

A similar situation was with textbooks. According to the data of the Book Chamber of Ukrainian SSR, as of 1963 “The Techvydav” issued 121 books in Russian language and only 32 – in Ukrainian language (including textbooks for Russian universities – 11, for

Ukrainian universities – 1); “State Publishing House of Literature in Construction and Architecture” issued in the same year 122 books in Russian language and 11 – in Ukrainian language; “The Medvydav” – 188 and 54, and among 102 national interagency scientific collections 86 were issued in Russian language and 16 only – in Ukrainian language (Dziuba, 2005, p. 143).

In the late 60's of the XXth century there were almost no Ukrainian textbooks in higher educational institutions of the Ukrainian SSR (Kutsayeva, 2007, p. 38.) since only some leading universities had the right to publish scientific and academic books which were under strict state control. They had to make long-term plans on the number of printed pages per year and receive the consent of the Supreme Soviet. For example, while a Ukrainian Journal of the Lviv State Franko University of physical and technical series in 1967–1968's issued only 550 copies, the similar publication of Moscow University (in Russian) had a circulation of 2,5 thousand copies (The Approved Consolidated Financial Plan, 1965, s. 23). The works in the Ukrainian language stayed in the offices because they did not have the censor's permission, and many supporters of Ukrainian words were dismissed. In the late 70's of the XXth century in Ukraine there were spread 27 journals devoted to the issues of education, out of which only three were published in Ukrainian (Horbachuk, et al., p. 179). Thus, the Ukrainian reader was denied the opportunity even to get acquainted with Ukrainian printed word themselves.

This disappointing situation in the national language policy contributed to the restoration movement in defense of the native language. Thus, the majority of the III Plenum of the Writers Union of Ukraine, which was held in Kyiv on the 10-11th January 1962, spoke about the decline of Ukrainian language and culture, criticized the educational law, which assumed the right to choose the language of education (The Report of the Department Science, 1962, pp. 6-7). The general state of Ukrainian language in society was also the main question at the Republican Conference on Culture of Ukrainian Language in Kiev in 1963, which was organized by the Taras Shevchenko Kyiv State University and the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. Its members condemned the theory of nations' bilingualism, spoke persistently about widening the use of Ukrainian language and the removing artificial barriers to its development (Koptilov, 1963, p. 2). O. Dovzhenko wrote with sadness about the infringement on Ukrainian language: “In the fortieth year of building socialism in the capital of the forty-million Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the teaching sciences is held in Russian language. This is not anywhere in the world... What an unheard-of immorality... What a cruel deception... What a pity, what a shame...” (Dovzhenko, 1994, p. 413).

As a means of assimilation and russification of the Ukrainians Soviet leadership has actively used the media, which traditionally belonged to the leadership in the field of ideological influence on the society and personality. Aware of this fact, the Soviet government has actively used this function of the media to promote their political interests and manipulation of mass consciousness of the Ukrainians. In such a situation national identity and historical memory of the people, the need and the ability to think critically were lost, which led to the education of people who are incapable of forming an opinion.

In the period under study the Ukrainian press has suffered devastating destruction, the brutal political pressure on intellectuals was intensified, everything that contained Ukrainian was swept away, ideological denationalization occurred, russification increased, which greatly reduced the scope of the Ukrainian language while reducing it to the rank of

inferiority. Since 1959 the issue of the Ukrainian written word decreases while the number of the Russian-language continues to grow. Forming 17% of the USSR population, the Ukrainians could count on only 4,3% of Ukrainian products (Vovk, 2008, p. 129). They significantly reduced print runs of many periodicals and their information material that the broad masses of the population could understand. The most interesting and important publications came out in Russian publications while the Ukrainian ones had to repeat often annoying and uninteresting topics. This situation led to the loss of readers and, accordingly, to the reduction of circulation of the Ukrainian printed word, and this, in turn, became a convenient excuse to close Ukrainian publications. Ukrainian products were in demand in western region of the republic and in rural areas. Based on the official data of the Book Chamber in 1963 in the Ukrainian SSR among the urban Ukrainian language newspapers 36 newspapers were printed and 42 in Russian. Among the newspapers of collective and state farms they printed 214 in Ukrainian and 37 – in Russian (Kalganov, 2014, p. 216). During the 70's of the XXth century the share of Ukrainian magazines in the USSR declined from 46 % to 19 % (Yekelechyk, 2011, p. 241).

Ukrainian-language newspapers and magazines in Poland and Czechoslovakia gave the coverage of the issue of the discrimination of the national language, where a large number of Ukrainian emigration lived. Thus, the magazine "Our culture" which came out in the city of Warsaw, informing its readers about the First Slavic Archaeological Congress (September 1965, the city of Warsaw) stated: "The Congress was pleased to hear the report made not only the languages of big Slavic peoples but also smaller as Bulgarians, Croats, Slovaks... among all the nations represented in Congress only Ukrainian pronounced all the reports not in native but in Russian" (Kalganov, 2014, p. 216). Soviet propaganda was not conducive to fostering a sense of national dignity and pride, did not inculcate love for the Ukrainian language, traditions, customs and culture.

It should be noted also that many of the Ukrainian written word was of low quality because only 1% of Ukrainian products was issued by polygraph enterprises with the state seal of quality (Vovk, 2008, p. 108). However, only the readers were concerned about this situation as Derzhkomvydav SSR even in the second half of 1970's did not take comprehensive measures to improve the technological level and product quality for enterprises under his control (Proceedings of the Meeting of the Minister Council, 1977, s. 41). In addition, financial conditions of the workers of Ukrainian printed products were much worse than those of Russian employees. For example, a salary of chief editor of "Fatherland" in the study period was 1,500 rubles. And the editor's salary of the journal "Oktyabr" – 6000 rubles (Kalganov, 2014, p. 217). A similar situation is shown by the member of the Ukrainian literature at the Union of Soviet Writers F. Kravchenko, "Executive Secretary of Ukrainian Republican magazine receives 120 rubles per month, and executive secretary of the regional Russian ("Don", "Climb") – 180 rubles. Why? Explain impossible!... But abroad all this is "noticed" and they make of this "policy"... recently, "Voice of America" was playing on the fact that the difference in pay of the journalistic work, they say, has the same reasons: the Ukrainians were viewed as less valuable employees" (Kalganov, 2014, p. 217).

A Soviet television played an important role in the process of assimilation and russification of the Ukrainians during the 60's – 70's of the twentieth century. In November, 1952 in the city of Kiev Ukraine's first television station was launched, and later they started working in the city of Kharkiv and Donetsk. It should be noted that the production of Soviet television was under the watchful supervision of government and the Communist Party bodies,

so the TV stations were able to broadcast only information that corresponded to the Soviet social ideology and politics, in other words – conducted mass propaganda ideological principles of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Thus, TV concerts almost always started with songs about Lenin and the Communist Party: “Praise the Communist Party”, “The name of Lenin”, “March of communist labor brigades” etc. (Kasymenko (ed.), 1960, p. 845). On the then television, they often showed “old” Bolsheviks, production innovators, ministers, directors of enterprises seeking to eliminate all national differences in the USSR and promoted the creation of a new “single Soviet people” and the greatness of the dominant Russian language – “commonly understood language”.

As a means of denationalization, indoctrination and assimilation of the Ukrainians Soviet authorities also actively used radio, because about 90 % of the Ukrainians listened to the radio daily (Zhuravliov, 1979, p. 16). In particular, national radio much of their air-time gave to the broadcast from the city of Moscow, which was conducted only in the Russian language, all other programs, too, were mostly Russian-speaking (Dziuba, 2005, p. 141). The authorities of the Ukrainian SSR decided on what the listener should listen to and what not. An event that took place in the 1970's can serve as evidence of this when in the Great Hall of the Moscow Conservatory the Soviet radio broadcasted the concert, in the program of which Ukrainian carols were included. The concert was broadcast just till Christmas carols singing, before them the air was off (Demydenko, 1993, p. 156). Governments exerted hard pressure on SSR radio workers and watched that “no cases of ideological failures and political mistakes” were transmitted on air (Reports of Regional Committees of the Communist Party, 1970, ss. 18, 31). Usually, all materials were scrutinized by radio editor, and those that belong to the “critical issues”, were revised by agitation and propaganda department of the Communist Party regional committee of a particular area Reports of Regional Committees of the Communist Party, 1970, ss. 20).

The cinema was almost completely in Russian language as well. Ukraine did not produce any films in Ukrainian language (Krupnyk, 2002, p. 79). Only after the Russian language version of the film was approved in Moscow, a Ukrainian language version could be created. The processes of russification and ideologization affected the theater, in which almost all the performances were in Russian language. A strict control of the government led to monotonous and dull posters repertoire displaying the same performances. Such performances as “The Knife in the Sun” of I. Drach, “That was how perished Huska” of M. Kulish and many others were not displayed in the studied period (Vovk, 2008, p. 106).

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, based on what was mentioned above, we can draw the following conclusions. The 60's – 70's of the twentieth century were characterized by an active, purposeful russification the life of Ukrainians pursued by the leadership of the CPSU – CPU based on the general principles of an Soviet totalitarian state. Russification of all life spheres of Ukrainian people reduced significantly the use of Ukrainian language and formed the status of its inferiority and laid the basis for an intensive, deliberate denationalization and assimilation of Ukrainians. Rapidly a process of higher education in Ukraine underwent russification, which has been deprived of national orientation, lack of influence of ideology and the state monopoly on education. Teaching most special and general education

in higher educational institutions of USSR was increasingly done in Russian. The attempts to develop Ukrainian traditional elements of national education were primarily challenged. The daily media promoted the image of the Soviet people, brought Soviet patriotism, imposed the Russian language and the sense of teamwork that did not contribute to the development of Ukrainian national identity and national separation. The number of the Ukrainian written words has dramatically reduced, whose share was less than half of all publications.

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