Introduction

The current situation, which is observed in the global information space and has threatening trends for society, can be defined as a "problem of truth". It is particularly acute in the post-Soviet space, and in particular in Ukraine, in relation to which not only the military, but even more powerful information aggression from the Russian Federation is carried out in 2014. Ukrainian journalism was not ready for such a war, and there are a number of reasons that arise in the totalitarian Soviet system. One of the main things is that both Ukrainian and now hostile to it – Russian – journalism were formed on a single ideological doctrines and principles, in the same ideological system that usurped the right to the truth and for seven decades "washed the brains" of the entire society in the direction it needs. The consequences of this "brainwashing" were also observed during the election campaign of the President of Ukraine (January-April 2019), during which the problem of truth became especially acute and generated certain phenomena of social reflection that require separate research. It is also worth noting that the problem of truth in modern social communication is not only the transformation of its meanings in the public consciousness, the substitution of absolute values of the relative, which is characteristic of the postmodern age, but also the unpreparedness of the post-Soviet society to formulate a request for truth to journalism and properly perceive it.

Therefore, analysis of the methods, forms and means of influencing Soviet journalism on the society from the point of view of today has an important scientific and practical significance, since it allows us to identify the causes of certain social and communicative consequences of the controlled interaction of the society with the media, to follow the transformation of moral and ethical values and concepts, and also gives research material on the methodology and technology of the formation of mass communication effects.

Theoretical foundations

The problem of truth, truthfulness in Soviet journalism, was one of the first formulated by scientist in journalism of the Soviet and post-Soviet period (until 2008) V. Zdorovega [1]. The author distinguished the epistemological aspect of truthfulness, connected with the problems of reflection of reality in the human consciousness (when a person "holy believes in a lie, as in a truth") and a conscious falsehood.
caused by moral and political distortions of the consciousness of the individual. He called things their names - a conscious deception, a lie, etc. [1: 4, 5]. The problem of truth in a totalitarian society for V. Zdorovets was not an ordinary topic, as evidenced by a number of his works, in particular, “In Search of Truth, Confirmation of Beliefs” (1975) [2], “To Understand the Current Day” (1988) [3], “Truthfulness of Journalism (Epistemological and Moral and Political Aspects)” (1990) [1]. Neither of them is devoid of ideologized connotations (otherwise a publication in those days would be impossible) but the author tries to exit (and in some cases it succeeds) beyond the ideological standards of perception of reality. In the last of the above-mentioned works, he concludes: “First of all, it should be clearly stated: truth is the main, not the derivative principle of Soviet journalism” [1: 5], which by itself was courageous, since all the principles of Soviet journalism were subordinated to the principle of partyism. Next V. Zdorovets emphasized: “Today, the need for awareness of raising such a question as a theoretical error” [1: 6] is over. These definitions of V. Zdorovets were the truth that allowed Ukrainian journalists to go on a path to rethink the values, principles and priorities of the profession.

For comparison: the journalism of the post-Soviet Russia went somewhat differently. Russian scientist in journalism Ye. Prokhorov in the textbook “Introduction to journalism theory”, 2011, examines the principles of journalism, as before, from the standpoint of partyism, arguing that “the journalist’s party position ... determines the character of the journalist’s creative activity in all her spheres of directions”, and advocates the idea that this “party position if widely and fully developed its ideological and epistemological foundations, already contains, at least in the “collapsed” form, in its original form, the foundations of conceptual views of the entire spectrum samples of social life” [4: 114]. Therefore, the scientist subordinated the “truthfulness and objectivity” to this principle, imposed by the Soviet ideology. At the same time, the “problem of truthfulness” in the understanding of Prokhorov is only a “problem of factual validity (accuracy and completeness of facts)” [4: 118]. So, coming out of one – the Soviet – the womb, the Ukrainian and Russian journalism went in different ways: Ukrainian being focused on the civilized West and its freedoms, Russian subjecting to a new, modified ideological system based on old principles.

Thus, recognizing the truth and getting rid of the chains of communist ideology, journalism of independent Ukraine very quickly began to become a modernist, mastering liberty, freedom of expression. At the same time, as V. Rizun writes, “Western models of journalists’ activity were adopted: balanced, unbiased supply of information; journalism – business. But the social system of the West itself, the style of its life, and the principles of social development were not transferred to our soil. On a foreign ground, Western principles of journalism began to give distorted results: independent, free media with "tennis" and patronage of founders, authorities and other "owners" [5]. Stressing that the main issue for journalism is the moral and ethical problem, V. Rizun clearly states: "Professional journalism has one choice: objective, true, accurate reflection of social reality and the transfer of that reflection to others," and this according to the scholar, "obliges every journalist to make a choice between truth-beloved and scientist in reflecting life and gossip" [5]. Moreover, in journalism, according to V. Rizun, "there is no other mission in society than to serve its people through its true information, thus protecting the interests of people, their traditions, lifestyle, their culture" [6: 313]. Thus, the scientist determines the place of truth in journalism, and truthfulness – as an integral feature of a professional journalist.

However, in the real informational space and journalism, in particular, the picture looks different. G. Pocheptsov in the interview published on the website "Frazaua" on April 3, 2018 expressed a number of important thoughts about the present state of truth in society – not only Ukrainian, but also world-wide. He noted that "Modernism held up several great narratives", which in postmodernism scattered many small, "and we are now really floating in the streams of truths, not in the river of Truth. Modernism was for universal truth, postmodernism denies it – This is the destruction of a system of uniform world rules that allow one country to prove to others that their ideology is more correct" [7]. At the same time, having determined the priority of the information-virtual component, which journalism provided even during the Cold War, the researcher emphasizes that the war of the worlds was a war of narratives, and "great narratives involve people almost automatically". One of the producers of "great narratives" thinks the Soviet communist ideology. "The great narratives fell and crashed into dozens of little ones. So the giants became dwarfs, and now they can be walked over on" [7].

Speaking about the collapse of great narratives, G. Pocheptsov recognizes the decay of the truth. It is worth noting that according to research of American RAND Corporation [8; 9] and the Reuters Institute & University of Oxford [10], this decay is observed globally and negatively affects the policies and democracy of civil society. In particular, the decline of truth leads to the spread of populism. This phenomenon G. Pocheptsov explains as "the arrival of simple and understandable truths", which, as a result, "now the whole world was under the wing of populists, as all recent elections show. Populists find it easier to find the way to the voter's heart" [7]. And here, as it turns out, the truth of the populists themselves is no longer so important for their supporters. An explanation of this phenomenon is in another article of the author, where he stresses: "It is worth honestly acknowledging that even so much of our understanding of what is true is the obvious collapse of the whole mental model of mankind when people refuse to see what is real, preferring instead to see around what we want (our note – S.P.)" [11]. Therefore, it is quite natural that the fakes domination which "came as a reflection of many of the changes that human civilization undergoes, ... where everyone can choose the truth to the soul. And this is quite another truth since it is created under the consumer of information and not objectively" [12]. Speaking about the fact that "fake-boxes become dangerous when they are manufactured industrially, when there is a wave of deliberately created misinformation designed to influence someone's opinion", the researcher expressed a rather contradictory statement: "If the fake is not a deliberate deception, it is also truth, only some other. The truth that is needed by a little person and takes into account her point of view" [7]. To agree with this statement means to
accept that any subjective opinion of a "little person" can claim to be truth/verity. While truth, in spite of its distortion, the substitution and virtualization in the consciousness of society in the variety of relational fakes, continues to exist in absolute values and meanings, ignoring and misunderstanding which only pushes the truth to all the deeper social backings, but does not destroy, since it is not can do this.

G. Pochepstov, analyzing the information components of the Soviet and post-Soviet socio-systems, notes that, "despite the fact that" the USSR could compensate for its shortcomings as a propagandistic component that does not exist in the post-Soviet space", "both the Soviet Union and the post-Soviet space are unstable entities" [12:10]. However, the researcher does not conclude that it follows from the study: the instability of such different social systems – Soviet and post-Soviet – is explained mainly by the fact that both, and the other are based not on the truth, but on its ideological and/or relative substitutes.

The consequences of the loss of truth have been witnessed by the research of the independent analytical platform Vox Ukraine, which revealed that there was not a single truth-teller among the most ranking politicians in Ukraine (2018) [13]. However, the problem of the perception of the truth by society is no less a problem. Russian researcher M. Snegovaya called it a "trap of consciousness": "new information is perceived by us only when it does not threaten our political views or the integrity of our worldview", and therefore "it is difficult for us to abandon the ideas (albeit false) that underpin our worldview." And he explained: "the vulnerability of consciousness depends on the initial convictions of people" [14].

The goals of article

To better understand the causes of the destruction of the truth and the social consequences of this phenomenon in the modern information space, we set out to explore the meaning of the truth laid down by the ideology of the Soviet era, and the forms and methods of realizing the principle of truthfulness and the formation of mass consciousness by journalism at that time. The object of research is the truth of a totalitarian society (USSR), broadcast by the mass media and propaganda (MMP) in society, the subject is the ideological meanings of the truth and the forms and methods of their dissemination in society through the system of MMP in order to form the consciousness of a mass Soviet man. Thus, our task is to find out what values and meanings were "truth" in the information space of the USSR, on what principles it was formed, as well as to identify the methods, means, technologies of the formation of ideological narratives and their rooting in the mass consciousness of totalitarian Soviet society. In the study, we use general scientific methods (analysis, deduction, induction, generalization), as well as a strategy of grounded theory.

Results and discussions

The problem of truth collectively contains four main problems: 1) the problem of understanding the truth (awareness of the nature of the phenomenon, characteristics, properties); 2) the problem of finding truth in specific situations (the ability to distinguish between truth and falsehood, methods, means, criteria); 3) the problem of communicating the truth by the subjects of mass communication to society (forms, methods, principles); 4) the problem of perceiving the truth (individual, mass audience, society) and social reflection. In the former USSR, all these problems were present, although the propaganda machine was creating a "unproblematic, ideal society" based on the principles of the ideological 'truth'. At the same time, "the truth" was one of the central ideologies of the totalitarian system, which actively promoted and supported through the network of Soviet MMP. Consider the above problems of truth in order. In this case, we will rely on theoretical scientific sources, empirical data of the author of this article and a number of author’s studies of the problem of truth as a social and communicative category of journalism.

1. The problem of understanding the truth. The roots of this problem - in the understanding of the true meanings of the truth as the concept and nature and the essence of the phenomenon of truth, as well as its features, characteristics, properties. The search for the absolute meanings of the truth led us to the conclusion that the truth is "a holistic, immutable, multicomponent and multidimensional transcendental phenomenon, it has a metaphysical nature" [15: 646]. However, in the minds of the overwhelming majority of people, in particular in the post-Soviet space, the truth is perceived at the level of commonly used meanings, fixed by dictionaries. Academic "Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language" (1970-1980) presents three basic definitions: 1) what corresponds to reality, the truth; 2) truthfulness, correctness; 3) justice; an order based on justice, the opposite of injustice; [16: 497-499]. Naturally, in a totalitarian state, where the communist ideology prevailed, metaphysical meanings of the truth could not have been. At the same time, in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary "truth" is defined as: 1) the body of real events, events, and facts: actuality; 2) the state of being the case; 3) often capitalized: a transcendent fundamental or spiritual reality [our note – S.P.] [17].

However, materialist philosophy and the Marxist and Leninist ideology of Soviet society formed "own truth" not only by restricting its understanding of immanent meanings, but transforming it into the needs of communist ideology.
The information space of the USSR was filled with "truth", but it was its own, party, albeit true. At the top of the ideological pyramid was the main mouthpiece of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – the newspaper "Pravda" ("The Truth") from which, according to the system of the Communist Party hierarchy, thousands of periodic "truths" diverged: for example, "Komsomolskaya Pravda" ("Komsomol Truth") – the body of the Central Committee of the Komsomol (Central Committee All-Union Communist Youth Union), "Pravda Ukrainy" ("Truth of Ukraine") – the body of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine), "Lenin'ska Pravda", "Kirovogradskaya Pravda" and others – the bodies of Sumy, Kirovograd and other regional committees of CPSU. If you add district, city, multi-media newspapers, then the coverage will be quite dense. A year before the collapse of the Soviet Union, 9434 newspapers, 2973 types of ballots, 1631 magazines, 94 collections and 75 "Bloknot Agitator" ("Agitator Notebook") were published in the country [18]. And, although not all the newspapers contained the word "truth" in the title, but all without exception were propagandists of the party ideology – the only "truth of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union)".

This truth was held "firmly and immutable" by a powerful system of propaganda influence, which took up every person almost from birth and led the social steps, passing "from hand to hand": kindergarten-school-university-work-home/family”. Radio, which was in almost every home, woke up at 6 am, captured attention, and then through the relevant software products affected various categories of the population, paying special attention to the younger generation ("Pionerskaya zorka", "Starshoklasnyk", etc.). At the same time formed the only correct ideological worldview, a way of thinking, values and even motives. There was a total massification of Soviet society. By means of mass communication influence, in particular through suggestion and emotional infection, MMP, on the instructions of the CPSU, was called "to raise the virgin", "to lay the BAM" (Baikal-Amur railway), "to develop taiga", "to build "white cities" in the polar circle". The heroization of everyday life is a characteristic feature of Soviet propaganda.

In fact, already in those days, the means of television, radio and the press, guided by a powerful propaganda machine, created a virtual picture of "happy life" and the creation of a "bright future" of the Soviet people. In fact, the truth of Soviet journalism was an exaggeration, an imitation, the creation of a "bright future" of the Soviet people. Journalism, not the truth, who sought out true values and understanding of the truth, who sought out true values and meanings of the truth and were guided by the truth as the defining value and criterion of moral choice in their lives. About them we will say below, but here we note: the main thing that distinguished these personalities from among others is their firm position, which is not based on their own ambitions or some other interest, but on the truth - absolute, not relativistic, the ability to delineate the truth from fake and live the truth.

2. The problem of finding the truth in specific situations. "One of the main tasks of the journalist is to find the truth and make it public" [20:19]. It was problematic in Soviet journalism not so much because the truth was seen only as "real, objective facts and their reflection in practical life, art, science, .. journalism" [2:25] but above all because the ideology itself, though declared, but was not interested in journalistic investigations and searches for the truth. The contradiction between the declaration of principles and the practice of journalism in the USSR is clearly manifested in Lenin's thesis: "We need complete and true information. But the truth should not depend on who she should serve" [21:46]. However, in fact, in Soviet journalism, the truth was put exactly at the service of the CPSU, party ideology, and journalists were urged not to seek the truth, but to look at reality and see the "truth" from a clearly defined angle – the principle of partyism.
The usual practice was when the journalist was given an urgent task to prepare a response to the decision of the last plenum of the Central Committee or the regional committee of the CPSU, for example, a young person according to the following criteria: gender female, Komsomol, industrial worker, leading figure of production. The procedure for resolving this issue was also worked out: the journalist went to the party committee of the enterprise, where he received the “nominee” of the advanced worker, talked with the secretary of the party organization, then with the worker, wrote the material of the necessary content, familiarized the “author” with the text (but even this was not done by all journalists) and filed for publication. The level of truthfulness, the degree of embellishment, exaggeration, and reflection in such situations was determined by the internal conscience and values of the journalist. Even in those circumstances, every journalist had the choice: to write a lie, to cover up the pressure of ideology, not to write, defending his own dignity. True, there was the opportunity to write true materials on topics that did not contradict the party ideology. Through them, depending on their own worldview, spiritual values, priorities and skills, the journalist could bring important information to the public, revealing the other, invisible sides of life, inducing reflection, analysis, non-standard thinking.

The problem of finding truth by the journalist in specific situations is the complexity of distinguishing between truth and falsehood, separating it from forgery and falsifications. To do this, it is necessary: 1) first of all to know and understand the true meaning and absolute meaning of the truth, to understand its nature (see p.1); 2) have reliable criteria for finding the truth and socially responsible assessment of facts, phenomena, actions; 3) be motivated, aimed at finding and defending the truth, truth-centered personality.

Within the framework of our study of the essence and absolute meanings of the truth, we conclude that the essential features and characteristics of the truth as a holistic, multidimensional and multicomponent metaphysical phenomenon are basic for the formation of socially-communicative criteria of truth necessary for the identification of the truth of the word, the truth of thought, the truth of action in journalism [15:644-652]. At the same time, a journalist necessary to realize the truth as the guiding value of the moral and professional choice of the individual, as well as understanding the principles of the mechanism of socially oriented action of the truth. These findings are of practical importance for journalistic education.

3. The problem of truth reporting (truth delivery to society). V. Zdorovega outlined the problem of reporting truth in the journalism of the Soviet era: “There is a ceremonial gloss, anxiety to violate vital life problems, analyze conflicts, retreat from the truth of life” [3: 182], “there are images of people, some small problems, even collisions, but there is no fullness of the truth” [3: 183]. And he explained: “In every way we declare our materialistic outlook, we were too idealistic to approach the lives of our fellow citizens. In our works, including in journalism, perhaps, first and foremost, in it almost nobody thought about how to live, how to earn money for bread and bread, what to wear and where to live. People chose professions, places of residence and work or study, guided by some kind of fictitious romantic stimuli, rather than vital life interests. The girls join to the milkmaids, not to the institute, not because they had to earn and somehow live and support the family but because they were from childhood in love with cows. Yes, and the cows in our sketches milked, added weight not because they had feeds, but because the milkman showed them favor and often stroked behind of their ears” [3:183].

The author understood: the truth is that the girls, as well as the boys, remained in the village not because they “fell in love” with cows, pig farms or tractors, but because them just did not issue a passport to keep in the village, because without You will not get a passport or institute, nor will you work for a job in the city. The Soviet system skillfully created this supposedly “light” reality, but not in reality, but drawing the hands of journalists with the necessary “picture of life”. So the double standards were formed, and at all levels and in all spheres. Closed, separated from all over the world society did not see another life and did not know it, but because it blindly believed. While in civilized countries journalism developed in a democratic way and formed socially-oriented professional principles and standards, the system of the MMP of the USSR was a structural part of the ideological and propaganda machine and worked for its purpose. Soviet-era journalism could speak the truth only with permission, and only from party positions. Naturally, under such conditions, generations of journalists formed a certain ideological worldview and self-censorship, a journalist, becoming a victim and an instrument of ideological massification, losing a compass of true values, and voluntarily writing what was needed for a party that was “passable”. After analyzing the communist model of the press, F. Siebert, T. Peterson, W. Schramm came to the conclusion that the Soviet media do not have their own moral principles. Their moral foundations, whatever they may be, are the moral foundations of the state. They are a tool “on stand-by” and they respectfully and deftly follow the party-line crypts and state directives [22:180].

Those who looked at the world not from the standpoint of the “party line”, but from the point of view of truth, very quickly fell into the lists if not “enemies of the people”, then unreliable, became dissidents and prisoners for the truth. To such belonged Ye. Sverstiuk, who wrote: “The main revolution took place in the concepts. It can be compared with the splitting of the atomic nucleus and with an uncontrolled reaction. The word from the instrument and the symbol of truth turned into an instrument of deception … Return to truth is possible only through conscience and only with faith in the Absolute” [23:90]. In a collision with the “truth” of the totalitarian system, the value foundation of a publicist who spent twelve years in Soviet camps became known to him by metaphysical truth – the truth of God, which governed his life and career choices and was greatly realized in a journalistic position. Despite all the
prohibitions of the system, his word crossed the boundaries and spread throughout the world, with pain in his heart opening the truth about Soviet realities. It belongs to him the words: "We stand before the problem of returning the word of the emanation of the Divine Logos." [23:99].

The Belorussian journalist and the writer of Ukrainian origin S. Alekseeivych, who in Soviet times began to study the history of the Great Patriotic War from the point of view of not party but the truth due to the frank memories of its participants, was not printed until a Perebudova (The Restructuring) in USSR took place. With the collapse of the USSR, the "non-gloss" truth, published in her documentary books, struck the world, and in 2015 she became Nobel laureate in literature. Alekseeivych described her position as follows: "I do not just write. I collect, see the human spirit where suffering creates from a small person a great person. Where a person grows up. And then it is for me not a dumb not an unlucky proletariat of history. Its soul opens. So what is my conflict with the authorities? I understood: a big idea needs a small person, it does not need great. For such a person it is unnecessary and uncomfortable. Hard for processing. And I’m looking for it. I’m looking for a little big person. Humble, trampled, offended, after passing Stalin’s camps and betrayals, it still won. Made a miracle." [24:24].

Considering our analysis we can conclude that the conditions of truth reporting (truth delivery to society) are: 1) first of all the aim of the journalist to search the truth in each particular situation; 2) awareness of the essence of the truth, its absolute features, characteristics and social and communicative consequences; 3) knowledge of the criteria for determining the truth and the ability to distinguish truth from false; 4) professional possession of the methods, means, techniques of communicating the truth to society in a non-distorted form. 4. The problem of truth perception. We consider the problem of perception of the truth in two aspects: the perception of the truth in the Soviet days and post-Soviet times. In the first case, this perception (ideological truth) was actively and purposefully formed, constantly fueled, deprived of an alternative; in the second – there was a change and/or destruction in the new political and economic realities. However, 28 years after the collapse of the USSR, we can say using the words of V. Zdorovega: "Psychological inertia is a great force. The reasons that give rise to a certain phenomenon disappear, but it continues to live in inertia." [3:234]. In the modern postmodern society, there are still stereotypes of thinking and evaluation of reality and even algorithms of action, were formed by the Soviet system. The political and economic system has changed, and the values that were formed by falsehood have collapsed rather quickly. The society was choked with freedom, which did not know what to do, and partly understood it as permissiveness. According to the theory of "closed mind" by M. Rokeach, consciousness, prone to dogmatism and unconditional conquest of authority, was not able to separate the content of information from the source of this information and evaluate them separately. When evaluating and analyzing information, dogmatism willingly "relies on authority and reluctant to question the authority." [25].

Thus, after the collapse of the USSR, an independent Ukraine inherited a spiritually devastated society with a disoriented national identity and a destroyed system of values, which in its vast majority did not get used to thinking independently, and even more so critically, based on a real value basis. The imitation of "independent thinking" and "decision-making" took place within the limits defined, allowed, and actions - on the principle: "like all". At the same time, the biblical imperative: "You will not be with the majority to do evil. And you will not speak about the lawsuit, inclined to the majority to overthrow the truth" (Ex.23: 2) - prompts every person to make choices and act not according to the usual stereotypes of the mass mentality, but to make decisions in truth. And for this purpose it is necessary to understand that it is true and to realize its meaning both for the individual person and for the society. Another Biblical imperative points to the way of obtaining freedom through truth: "And you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free!" (Jn. 8:32).

"Do not depart from the truth, no matter how sorry it was. This lesson must be taken from the events of the past" [3: 235]. In a widespread and aggravation of information wars, this requirement is even more urgent. Determining the information war as "the most intelligent version of the military confrontation, since both the subject and the object of influence here are the human mind", G. Pocheptsov draws attention to the fact that "both strength and weakness are laid down in the cognitive capabilities of man" [12:7]. These "cognitive capabilities" have explaining not only the many consequences of post-Soviet journalism and post-journalism of the present day, but also the futility of waiting for rapid change for the better. To improve the situation, you need to learn how to speak and perception the truth, critically and comprehensively analyze. However, one should understand that it is easier to raise the whole country from the ruins than to reborn thinking which is prone to atrophy. You can quickly feed the people and the whole nation but "closed mind" to "open" [25] cannot quickly be changed.

Conclusions

The results of the study revealed the need to return society as a whole and journalism, in particular, to understanding, perceiving the essential meanings of the truth and, first of all, its metaphysical nature. This poses a serious challenge to journalist education: to form a truth-centered, socially responsible personality of a journalist-professional, guided in his professional activities not by own or corporate but socially important interests and goals, the decisive principle of which is the truth.

The problem of truth in social communications requires complex research and systemic resolution. In particular, the essential features and characteristics of the truth as a holistic, multidimensional and multicomponent metaphysical phenomenon, the principles and mechanism of the action of truth in social communications additional research requires, the formation of truth criteria on this basis and their implementation in journalistic activities. The determine the place of the truth in the system of value orientations for future journalists and practitioners is important for developing, correcting and improving educational programs. "It’s not easy to understand the truth, to know. But no less difficult is the truth to speak, to defend. Need the appropriate -- quality, quality of the fighter, knight of the
trut” [2:10]. No less serious challenges are facing the public either: Is Ukrainian society ready to request journalists for the truth and able perceive the truth as it is, and not what it want to hear? “A society that wants to know the truth about itself must not only have the courage to listen to it, but also develop, approve such laws that would guarantee journalists the opportunity to perform professional duties” [2:10].

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