

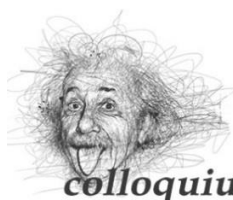


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CONTENTS

ARCHITECTURE

Демидов А. П., Гурьянов А. А. ТЕХНОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ НОВШЕСТВА БЕТОННЫХ РАБОТ НА ОБЪЕКТАХ ПРОМЫШЛЕННОГО И ГРАЖДАНСКОГО СТРОИТЕЛЬСТВА В ЗИМНИЙ ПЕРИОД.....	7
Demidov A. P., Guryanov A. A. TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS OF CONCRETE WORK AT INDUSTRIAL AND CIVIL CONSTRUCTION IN WINTER	7
Андрюшина Л.Е. ИННОВАЦИОННЫЕ ТЕХНОЛОГИИ В СТРОИТЕЛЬСТВЕ.....	9
Andryushina L.E. INNOVATIVE TECHNOLOGIES IN CONSTRUCTION.	9
Бабаев М.И. ИНЖЕНЕРНЫЕ СЕТИ В УМНЫХ ДОМАХ.	12
Babaev M.I. ENGINEERING NETWORKS IN SMART HOMES.....	12
Ковачевич Н. ЭКОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ АСПЕКТЫ МОДУЛЬНОГО СТРОИТЕЛЬСТВА.....	14
Kovachevich N. ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS OF MODULAR CONSTRUCTION	14
Седых С.А. КОНСТРУКТИВНЫЕ ОСОБЕННОСТИ ЗДАНИЙ СТАРОЙ ПОСТРОЙКИ. ПРИСТРОЙКИ, ВСТАВКИ, ВСТРОЙКИ.....	16
Sedykh S.A. DESIGN FEATURES OF OLD BUILDINGS. EXTENSIONS, INSERTS, BUILT-INS.....	16

ART

Бабаева С.Р. ПРОБЛЕМЫ ИСПОЛЬЗОВАНИЯ СОЦИАЛЬНЫХ СЕТЕЙ В МУЗЕЙНОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ.....	22
Babayeva S.R. PROBLEMS OF USING SOCIAL NETWORKS IN MUSEUM ACTIVITIES	22

HISTORICAL SCIENCES

Nefodov D. V. REGIME AND HISTORICAL SCIENCE IN THE KHRUSHCHEV ERA (1953-1964).....	26
Черепанова М.Р., Поліщук М.Г. НЕБЕЗПЕКА ДЛЯ ЖИТТЯ ЖІНОК ПІД ЧАС ВОЄННИХ КОНФЛІКТІВ: АНАЛІЗ ВПЛИВУ ВОЄННОГО КОНФЛІКТУ НА БЕЗПЕКУ ТА ДОБРОБУТ ЖІНОК.....	29
Cherepanova M.R., Polishchuk M. G. DANGER TO WOMEN'S LIVES DURING MILITARY CONFLICTS: ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF MILITARY CONFLICT ON WOMEN'S SAFETY AND WELL-BEING.....	29

NATIONAL SECURITY

Лісовський В. М. ЗОВНІШНЬОПОЛІТИЧНИЙ ІМІДЖ ЛІДЕРА УКРАЇНИ ЯК ЧИННИК ЗАБЕЗПЕЧЕННЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ БЕЗПЕКИ КРАЇНИ В УМОВАХ ВІЙНИ З РОСІЄЮ	32
Lisovskyi V. THE FOREIGN POLICY IMAGE OF THE LEADER OF UKRAINE AS A FACTOR IN ENSURING THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WAR WITH RUSSIA.....	32

PEDAGOGICAL SCIENCES

Білявська Т. М. ГРУПОВЕ НАВЧАННЯ В КОНТЕКСТІ МОВНОЇ ПІДГОТОВКИ МАЙБУТНІХ УЧИТЕЛІВ ПОЧАТКОВОЇ ШКОЛИ.....	36
Biliavska T. M. GROUP TRAINING IN THE CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE TRAINING OF FUTURE PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS.....	36
Егенисова А.К., Карабалина Д. ЗНАЧЕНИЕ КРУЖКОВ И ВНЕУРОЧНОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ В ВОСПИТАНИИ УЧАЩИХСЯ.....	39
Yegenissova A.K., Karabalina D THE IMPORTANCE OF CLUBS AND EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN THE EDUCATION OF STUDENTS	39

Karabitskova N.O., Uskova T.O.

THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF DISTANCE FORMATION OF STUDENTS' COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION..... 43

Карабітська Н.О., Ускова Т.О.

ТЕОРЕТИЧНІ АСПЕКТИ ДИСТАНЦІЙНОГО ФОРМУВАННЯ КОМУНІКАТИВНОЇ КОМПЕТЕНТНОСТІ СТУДЕНТІВ У ВИВЧЕННІ ІНОЗЕМНОЇ МОВИ У ВНЗ 43

Лісовська Т. А.

РЕЗУЛЬТАТИ ЕКСПЕРИМЕНТАЛЬНОЇ РОБОТИ З РОЗВИТКУ ЕСТЕТИЧНОЇ КУЛЬТУРИ МАЙБУТНІХ ФАХІВЦІВ СПЕЦІАЛЬНОСТІ «ДОШКІЛЬНА ОСВІТА» 46

Lisovska T.

RESULTS OF EXPERIMENTAL WORK ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AESTHETIC CULTURE OF FUTURE SPECIALISTS IN THE SPECIALTY «PRESCHOOL EDUCATION»..... 46

Тимченко А. А.

ВИЗНАЧЕННЯ РІВНЯ ГОТОВНОСТІ МАЙБУТНІХ УЧИТЕЛІВ ПОЧАТКОВОЇ ОСВІТИ ДО ЗАСТОСУВАННЯ ІНФОРМАЦІЙНО-КОМУНІКАЦІЙНИХ ТЕХНОЛОГІЙ (КОНСТАТУВАЛЬНИЙ ЕТАП ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ)..... 49

Tymchenko A.A.

DETERMINING THE LEVEL OF READINESS OF FUTURE PRIMARY EDUCATION TEACHERS FOR THE APPLICATION OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES (CONSTITUTIONAL STAGE OF THE RESEARCH)..... 49

TECHNICAL SCIENCE

Рыжкова Е.А., Ложкин Н.Д.

ТЕХНОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ ПРОЦЕСС ИЗГОТОВЛЕНИЯ СТЕКЛОВОЛОКНА..... 55

Ryzhkova E.A., Lozhkin N.D.

TECHNOLOGICAL PROCESS FOR MANUFACTURING FIBER GLASS 55

Петросов Д.А., Коротеев М.В., Андриянов Н.А., Поляков А.В.

МОДЕЛЬ ИСКУССТВЕННОЙ НЕЙРОННОЙ СЕТИ ДЛЯ УПРАВЛЕНИЯ ГЕНЕТИЧЕСКИМ АЛГОРИТМОМ В ПРОЦЕССЕ ПОИСКА РЕШЕНИЙ НА ОСНОВЕ ЗНАЧЕНИЯ ФУНКЦИИ ПРИСПОСОБЛЕННОСТИ ОСОБЕЙ ПОПУЛЯЦИИ 58

Petrosov D.A., Koroteev M.V., Andriyanov N.A., Polyakov A.V.

A MODEL OF AN ARTIFICIAL NEURAL NETWORK FOR CONTROLLING A GENETIC ALGORITHM IN THE PROCESS OF SEARCHING FOR SOLUTIONS BASED ON THE VALUE OF THE FITNESS FUNCTION OF INDIVIDUALS OF A POPULATION 58

Словінський В. К., Єлагін Г.І., Борсук О.В., Кришталь Д.О., Заїка П.І.

ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ ФАКТОРІВ НЕБЕЗПЕКИ ПРИ ВИГОТОВЛЕННІ І ВИКОРИСТАННІ ФОТОПОЛІМЕРНИХ ДРУКАРСЬКИХ ФОРМ 62

Slovinsky V. K., Yelagin G.I., Borsuk O.V., Krystal D.O., Zaika P.I.,

RESEARCH OF FACTORS OF DANGERS AT MAKING AND USE OF THE PHOTOPOLYMERIC PRINTED FORMS 62

PHILOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Альвердиева Г.З. Сулейманова Р. Н. Мамедова Г.Г.

ОСНОВНЫЕ ЖАНРЫ АКАДЕМИЧЕСКОГО ПИСЬМА..... 66

Alverdiyeva G.Z. Suleymanova R. N. Mammadova G.G.

MAIN GENRES OF ACADEMIC WRITING 66

Москаленко Д.О. Науковий керівник: Щербань Л. В.

ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ПЕРЕДАЧІ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОГО КОЛОРИТУ ТА ЗАСОБИ ВІДТВОРЕННЯ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ СВОЄРІДНОСТІ ПРИ ПЕРЕКЛАДІ РОМАНУ В. МАЛИКА «ПОСОЛ УРУС-ШАЙТАНА» 68

Moskalenko D.O., Scientific supervisor: Shcherban L.V.

FEATURES OF TRANSMISSION OF NATIONAL COLOR AND MEANS OF REPRODUCING NATIONAL SPECIFICITY IN THE TRANSLATION OF V. MALIK'S NOVEL "THE AMBASSADOR OF URUS-SHAYTAN" 68

Юсифли Арзу Несиф

ИЗУЧЕНИЕ ФРАЗЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИХ ЕДИНИЦ НЕМЕЦКОГО ЯЗЫКА КАК ЧАСТЬ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ 70

Yusifli Arzu Not sif

THE STUDY OF PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE AS PART OF THE NATIONAL CULTURE 70

PHILOSOPHICAL SCIENCES

Приходько С. В.

РОЛЬ ПИТАНЬ В АРГУМЕНТАЦІЇ: ЛОГІЧНИЙ АСПЕКТ 73

Prykhodko S.V.

THE ROLE OF QUESTIONS IN ARGUMENTATION: LOGICAL ASPECT 73

ECONOMIC SCIENCES

Malyzhenkov P.V., Maurizio Masi

INDUSTRY 4.0 ENABLING TECHNOLOGIES AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS ACHIEVING: CASE OF BLOCKCHAIN 75

Рубцова О.С., Гусарова Л.В.

ПИТАННЯ ВИЗНАННЯ ВИТРАТ ЕКОЛОГІЧНОЇ СКЛАДОВОЇ УПРАВЛІНСЬКОГО ОБЛІКУ 77

Rubtsova O., Husarova L.

RECOGNITION ISSUES OF COSTS OF THE ECOLOGICAL COMPONENT OF MANAGEMENT ACCOUNTING 77

Рухаленко А. Ю., Чухліб А. В.

АНАЛІТИКО-ПРОГНОСТИЧНА ОЦІНКА ВИРОБНИЦТВА ЗЕРНОВИХ КУЛЬТУР В УКРАЇНІ..... 82

Ruhalek A.Y., Chukhlib A.V.

ANALYTICAL AND PROGNOSTIC ASSESSMENT OF GRAIN PRODUCTION IN UKRAINE..... 82

JURISPRUDENCE

Байрак Н.В., Онищенко Є.В., Копилов Е.В.

РОЛЬ КРИМІНАЛЬНОГО АНАЛІЗУ В РОЗКРИТТІ ЗЛОЧИНІВ У ПЕРІОД ВОЄННОГО СТАНУ 85

Bayrak N.V., Onishchenko E.V., Kopylov E.V.

THE ROLE OF CRIMINAL ANALYSIS IN DISCLOSURE OF CRIMES DURING THE PERIOD OF MARTIAL STATE..... 85

Смілянecь Є.І., Білаш О.О., Науковий керівник, Копилов Е.В.

ЩОДО ОКРЕМИХ ПИТАНЬ ПРОВЕДЕННЯ ОПЕРАТИВНО - РОЗШУКОВОЇ ДІЯЛЬНОСТІ ПІДРОЗДІЛАМИ КРИМІНАЛЬНОЇ ПОЛІЦІЇ В УМОВАХ ВОЄННОГО СТАНУ 89

Smilyanets Ye.I., Bilash O.O., Supervisor Kopylov E.V.

CONCERNING CERTAIN ISSUES OF OPERATIONAL - INVESTIGATIVE ACTIVITIES BY CRIMINAL POLICE UNITS UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE STATE OF MARTIAL 89

Ведмеденко І.І., Сизов В.К., Копилов Е.В.

ЩОДО ОКРЕМИХ ПИТАНЬ ПРОВЕДЕННЯ НЕГЛАСНОЇ СЛІДЧОЇ РОЗШУКОВОЇ ДІЇ - ВІЗУАЛЬНОГО СПОСТЕРЕЖЕННЯ 93

Vedmedenko I.I., Syzov V.K., Kopylov E.V.

CONCERNING CERTAIN ISSUES OF CONDUCT OF CONFIDENTIAL INVESTIGATIVE SEARCH ACTION - VISUAL OBSERVATION .. 93

Тихенко Я.В., Гунько К.О., Чорна А.Г.

МОТИВАЦІЯ ТА ФАКТОРИ РИЗИКУ ОСОБИ, ЯКА ВЧИНЯЄ ДОМАШНЄ НАСИЛЬСТВО 96

Tyhenko Ya.V., Gunko K.O., Chorna A.H.

MOTIVATION AND RISK FACTORS OF PERSONS WHO PERMIT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE 96

Дубровський О.

АКТУАЛЬНЕ ПИТАННЯ РОЛІ ПРАВОВОЇ КУЛЬТУРИ В ЮРИДИЧНОМУ ПРОЦЕСІ В УМОВАХ СТАНОВЛЕННЯ ПРАВОВОЇ ДЕРЖАВИ..... 100

Dubrovskiy O.

CURRENT ISSUE OF THE ROLE OF LEGAL CULTURE IN THE LEGAL PROCESS IN CONDITIONS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LEGAL STATE..... 100

Курліков Т.Є., Жмурко Р.О., Копилов Е.В.

ПРАВА ТА ОБОВ'ЯЗКИ ПІДРОЗДІЛІВ КРИМІНАЛЬНОЇ ПОЛІЦІЇ, ЯКІ ЗДІЙСНЮЮТЬ ОПЕРАТИВНО-РОЗШУКОВУ ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ..... 104

Kurlikov T.E., Zhmurko R. O., Kopylov E.V.

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF CRIMINAL POLICE UNITS WHICH CARRY OUT OPERATIVE AND SEARCH ACTIVITIES..... 104

Литвин О.М., Кустов В.Ю., Науковий керівник: Копилов Е.В.

СУЧАСНИЙ ТАКТИЧНИЙ КРИМІНАЛЬНИЙ АНАЛІЗ 108

Lytvyn O.M., Kustov V. Yu., Supervisor:, Kopylov E.V.

MODERN TACTICAL CRIMINAL ANALYSIS..... 108

Мазанка Е.В., Гасімов Ш.Ю., Копилов Е.В. ЩОДО ОКРЕМИХ ПИТАНЬ ПРОТИДІЇ КІБЕРЗЛОЧИННОСТІ В УМОВАХ ВОЄННОГО СТАНУ	112
Mazanka E.V., Gasimov Sh.Yu., Kopylov E.V. CONCERNING CERTAIN ISSUES OF COMBATING CYBERCRIME UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE STATE OF MARTIAL	112
Манаков Д.О., Потапов Д.О., Копилов Е.В. СУБ'ЄКТИ ОПЕРАТИВНИХ ПІДРОЗДІЛІВ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ПОЛІЦІЇ УКРАЇНИ.....	116
Manakov D.O., Potapov D.O., Kopylov E.V. SUBJECTS OF THE OPERATIONAL UNITS OF THE NATIONAL POLICE OF UKRAINE	116
Поляков І.І., Сидоренко Н.С., Копилов Е.В. ЩОДО ОКРЕМИХ ПИТАНЬ ДОКУМЕНТУВАННЯ КРИМІНАЛЬНИХ ПРАВОПОРУШЕНЬ ПРОТИ ВЛАСНОСТІ В УМОВАХ ВОЄННОГО СТАНУ	120
Polyakov I.I., Sydorenko N.S., Kopylov E.V. ON CERTAIN ISSUES OF DOCUMENTING CRIMINAL OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY UNDER MARTIAL LAW	120
Томчук С.Д., Моїсєєнко Д.М. ВПЛИВ ТЕХНОЛОГІЙ ТА СУЧАСНИХ ЗАСОБІВ ІНФОРМАЦІЇ НА РЕАЛІЗАЦІЮ ПРИНЦИПУ ГЛАСНОСТІ	124
Tomchuk S. D., Moiseienko D. M. THE INFLUENCE OF TECHNOLOGIES AND MODERN INFORMATION MEANS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PUBLICITY PRINCIPLE	124
Філімоненко М.Ю., Фурса С.Ю., Копилов Е.В. ТАКТИЧНІ ПРИЙОМИ ВВЕДЕННЯ НЕГЛАСНИХ ПРАЦІВНИКІВ В ОПЕРАТИВНУ РОЗРОБКУ КРИМІНАЛЬНИМИ ПІДРОЗДІЛАМИ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ПОЛІЦІЇ УКРАЇНИ.....	127
Filimonenko M.Yu., Fursa S.Yu., Kopylov E.V. TACTICAL METHODS OF INTRODUCING UNDERGOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES INTO OPERATIONAL DEVELOPMENT BY THE CRIMINAL UNITS OF THE NATIONAL POLICE OF UKRAINE.....	127

MEDICAL SCIENCES

Дутка Д.А., Ясніковська С.М. ВЕДЕННЯ ЗАВМЕРЛОЇ ВАГІТНОСТІ.....	132
Dutka D.A., Jasnikovska S.M. CONDUCTING A FROZEN PREGNANCY	132
Malyshevska O., Koshkin O. HYGIENIC ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM OF NOMACHICAL INFECTIONS IN DENTAL INSTITUTIONS	135
Shakhova O.O., Tarnavska S.I., Yonyk V.V., Moskaliuk M.I., Zhulavska L.V., Yehorova M.V., Dorofeieva A.-A.I. MUMPS: CAUSES, SYMPTOMS, FEATURES OF THE COURSE OF THE DISEASE IN CHILDREN, TREATMENT AND PREVENTION OF THE DISEASE (literature review).....	139
Shakhova O.O., Tarnavska S.I., Harasevych O.S., Halchenko B.O., Melnychenko O.O., Bilinskiy N.S. MEASLES: CAUSES, SYMPTOMS, FEATURES OF THE COURSE, TREATMENT AND PREVENTION	141
Докійчук Н.Ф., Ясніковська С.М. ЗАГРОЗЛИВИЙ АБОРТ, ЯК НАСЛІДОК ВПЛИВУ ЗОВНІШНІХ І ВНУТРІШНІХ ЧИННИКІВ НА ВАПТНІСТЬ ЖІНКИ	143
Dokiichuk N.F., Jasnikovska S.M. THREATENING ABORTION AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE INFLUENCE OF EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL FACTORS ON A WOMAN'S PREGNANCY.....	143
Horbatiuk I., Ruda T.D., Sichkar I.B. CORONAVIRUS INFECTION IN TEENAGERS. CLINICAL CASE FROM PRACTICE	146
Rakhmanov T.O., Mirzarakhimova K.R., Yusupova F.M., Abduqodirov X.J., Xasanov A.A. AMONG THE POPULATION CARRIES AND ITS PREVENTION	148
Вечерка Е.Е., Печеряга С.В. РЕКОМЕНДАЦІЇ ЩОДО ЛІКУВАННЯ ВАПТНИХ ІЗ РЕВМАТОЛОПЧНИМИ ЗАХВОРЮВАННЯМИ	151
Vecherka E.E., Pecheriaha S.V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE TREATMENT OF PREGNANT WOMEN WITH RHEUMATOLOGICAL DISEASES	151

Гермак В.М., Печеряга С.В.

ЕФЕКТИВНІСТЬ ЗАСТОСУВАННЯ ТРАНЕКСАМОВОЇ КИСЛОТИ ПРИ АНОМАЛЬНИХ МАТКОВИХ КРОВОТЕЧАХ 155

Hermak V.M., Pecheriaha S.V.

EFFECTIVENESS OF TRANSEXAMIC ACID APPLICATION IN ABNORMAL UTERINE BLEEDING 155

Печеряга С.В., Пелих А.-М.М.

СУЧАСНІ АСПЕКТИ ДІАГНОСТИКИ ДИСПЛАЗІЇ ШИЙКИ МАТКИ (ОГЛЯД ЛІТЕРАТУРИ)..... 158

Pelykh A.-M., Pecheriaha S.

MODERN ASPECTS OF THE DIAGNOSTIC OF CERVICAL DYSPLASIA (LITERATURE REVIEW) 158

Shahova O., Poklitar I., Zub E., Vasyliuk A., Hodorog A.

PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CLINICAL PHENOTYPES OF CYSTIC FIBROSIS AND NEW ADVANCES IN TREATMENT..... 161

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REGIME AND HISTORICAL SCIENCE IN THE KHRUSHCHEV ERA (1953-1964)

Abstract

The article analyses the situation of Soviet historical science in the second half of the 1950s - the first half of the 1960s. The shifts in political dynamics and their ramifications on the endeavors of Soviet historians are delineated. The article expounds upon the distinctive features of the partial democratization observed in socio-political and scientific spheres, elucidating the incremental reduction of this democratization towards the conclusion of the examined period.

Keywords: Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, "Thaw", XX Congress of the CPSU, democratization, historiography, M. Khrushchev

Following the demise of J. Stalin and a prolonged struggle for singular authority, the ascendancy of M. Khrushchev inevitably led to adjustments in both the republic and the entirety of the USSR. Notably, Khrushchev's confidential address in February 1956 during the XX Congress of the CPSU left an indelible mark not only on the assembly's attendees but also resonated throughout the entire nation. This impact persisted despite the official publication of the report's text. A more temperate version of the report's key theses was publicly disseminated through the CPSU Central Committee's resolution on June 30, 1956, titled "On Overcoming the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences." The decisions emanating from the XX Congress not only initiated the process of de-Stalinization and the liberalization of various facets of social and political life, commonly referred to by contemporaries as the "thaw." The historical significance of the 1956 party congress, from the perspective of scholarly inquiry, primarily lies in halting the proliferation of Russian great-power chauvinism. This chauvinistic stance had notably fortified its position during the postwar decade with the backing of the "Father of Nations."

Nonetheless, in our assessment, simplifying the connection between historical science and the Soviet government to historians merely executing the directives of party congresses and resolutions from the Central Committee oversimplifies the intricate and multifaceted nature of this subordination. This standpoint is substantiated by endeavors to alter the state of affairs in the field of social sciences, evident even before the convening of the XX Congress of the CPSU. For instance, as early as 1953, the theses presented by the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee in "Fifty Years of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1903-1953)" highlighted the imperative to eliminate the propagation of the idealistic theory of the cult of personality. In October 1953, during the session of the Department of

CPSU History of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, a critique of the cult of personality was articulated in general terms, and theses aligned with the spirit of J. Stalin's cult underwent a critical reassessment.

The resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU of 24 December 1953 "On serious shortcomings in the work of the State Publishing House of Political Literature" negatively assessed the historians' constant use of extensive quotations from Stalin's works and speeches, the poor disclosure of the collective leadership role of the party, and noted the negative trend manifested in the practical lack of progress in the study of the history of Soviet society, in particular the role of the masses in history, and the lack of monographic works. In 1954-1955, a number of decisions were made regarding the participation of Soviet science representatives in the work of the International Sociological Association and the International Political Science Association in order to establish contacts with foreign scholars who held "progressive" views and to "get to know ideological enemies better". Thus, under the influence of J. Stalin's death, the virtually bloodless struggle for power and the first rehabilitations, latent changes began to take place in the minds of some representatives of the social sciences even before the XX Congress of the CPSU. However, we are not talking about any cardinal shifts. After all, despite the "thaw" in all spheres of social and political life, the basic principles and approaches to historiography remained unchanged in the constitution of Soviet historiography. At the same time, the most "blatant" ideologemes of the Stalin era interpretation of the past were definitely rejected. However, the Russian-centric conception of history was still preserved.

M. Suslov's and A. Mikoian's speeches at the XX Party Congress harshly criticized the social sciences, accusing Soviet historians of spreading dogmatism, detachment from life, and the negative influence of the cult of personality. Academician H. Pankratova and President of the Academy of Sciences O. Nesmeianov

acknowledged the validity of the criticism. M. Khrushchev's report "On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences" also criticized and called for a revision of the scientific dogmas formulated during the Stalin era.

The end of the Stalin's dictatorship brought with it severe measures involving direct physical elimination to suppress any expression of dissent. The democratization of social and political life, especially in the first years after the XX Congress of the CPSU, contributed to the increase in historians' creative freedom. The general warming in the national policy of the center towards the Ukrainian SSR as the "second among equal" republics of the Soviet Union and Ukrainian Soviet historians in particular resulted in the foundation of the Ukrainian Historical Journal (UHJ) in 1957, which became the first professional historical journal in the republic since the mid-1930s. In addition to the UHJ, the all-Union *Istoriia SSSR* (History of the USSR) (1957), *Novaia i Noveishaia Istoriia* (Early Modern and Modern History) (1957), and *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* (Issues of CPUS History) (1957) began to be published, and the number of university and institute collections was constantly increasing.

At the same time, in order to stop a whole Pleiad of Soviet historians from perceiving dosed and exclusively controlled liberalization as a completely new socio-political formation that seemed completely to break with the despotic Stalin's tyranny and "come down to earth", in the same year of 1957 the staff of one of the leading professional historical publications suffered a demonstrative defeat. We are talking about the Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee of 9 March 1957 "On the Journal "Voprosy Istorii (Issues of History)". Officially, the journal staff was accused of deviating from the principles of party membership as outlined by Lenin. Unofficially, they were accused of too much destalinization and independence of research opinions. The fate of the journal staff became a model for all Soviet historians, without exception, as a warning against arbitrariness and deviation from the officially sanctioned doctrinal framework on any matter.

Later, choosing between the "carrot" and the "stick", Khrushchev's leadership shifted the emphasis to the "carrot" – material and moral rewards for those researchers who "correctly" studied history. Scholars were a stratum that was completely materially dependent on the authorities. In addition, in the second half of the 1950s, the field of science held the foremost position in terms of salaries, surpassing that of engineering and technical professionals, as well as the compensation in other sectors such as industry and construction. Moreover, the historical domain served as a wellspring for staffing party structures and reciprocally functioned as a "reserve airfield" following state and party engagements. These conditions inevitably heightened the allegiance of the scientific personnel and, consequently, influenced the trajectory of their chosen research and its inherent characteristics.

The lack of free access to primary sources in archives remained one of the Soviet historians' main problems. Therefore, the declassification of some archival fonds in the Khrushchev era contributed to the expansion of the source base of works. However, like

all measures of the Thaw, the state of archival affairs is controversial. Classified fonds continued to be an integral part of it. In order to process materials from special fonds, one needed to have permission from the security authorities, which was rarely issued.

M. Khrushchev's significant reassessment of the administrative factor resulted in the establishment of an organizationally formalized coordination system for scientific research. In September 1958, the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences approved a seven-year work plan for the historical sciences, one of the main areas of which was the study of the history of the construction of socialism and communism in the USSR. In 1961, the Institute of History of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences began to operate problematic scientific councils, the system of which was constantly changing as new research areas emerged. These councils were involved in the development of current and long-term planning, supervised dissertation topics, and organized scientific conferences, sessions, and symposia. The importance of the latter as a means of communication in historical science increased significantly in the second half of the 1950s. In addition to direct scientific results and the publication of conference proceedings, such events contributed to the formation of an informal, uncontrolled climate among historians [1, p. 120]. Thus, in 1960, Kyiv hosted the all-Union conference on "The CPSU Activities on the International Education of Workers in the Period of the Widespread Construction of Communism". In 1961 the all-Union conference on "The CPSU and Mass Organizations of Workers in the Period of the Widespread Construction of Communist Society" was held in Moscow. The all-Union conference on "Changes in the Social Structure of Soviet Society" [2] was hosted in Kyiv in 1965. Also, the conferences were held in Drohobych [3], Ivanovo [4], and other cities.

The XX Congress of the CPSU openly assigned Soviet historians the status of "fighters of the ideological front". The year 1959 was marked by the creation of a special circular, which was marked "for official use" and published under the title "The main problems of the development of historical science in the Ukrainian SSR for 1959-1965". Of particular importance to this event is the fact that the document was prepared not by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR or even by higher party bodies, but by a newly formed special Coordination Commission on History, which was subordinated to the Coordination Committee for Social Sciences, and which was accordingly entrusted with "coordinating" well-known functions. This resolution stimulated a number of activities. Thus, in July 1959, a meeting was held at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which set the task for historians of the Ukrainian SSR to "turn to the problems of the present, which are dictated by the interests of the unfolding communist construction". The following year, in 1961, the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution "On the Tasks of Party Propaganda in Modern Conditions" and its analogue, the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the State of Ideological Work in Ukraine and Measures to Improve It". The resolution effectively mandated both

the research institutions of the Ukrainian SSR and university science representatives to prioritize and concentrate on the examination of contemporary issues. It emphasized the creation of comprehensive works intended to "theoretically arm our personnel" and facilitate the practical resolution of the objectives associated with communist construction.

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