

Liubarets A. V.

Vandalism as a tool for Ukrainian politics of memory of Soviet monumental heritage (2009-2015).

The study is an analysis of vandalism (unauthorized destruction or damage) of Soviet monuments as a form politics of memory by Ukrainian influential agents of memory during the greatest prevalence of such actions (2009-2015). We will try to describe the role of the mass Ukrainian political forces and officials in both support of unauthorized demolition and damaging of Soviet monuments and its protection and recovery (because a resistance to vandalism is also a form of memory politics). The article will show linkages between spontaneous initiatives of monuments demolitions and memory politics of major Ukrainian memory agents.

Keywords: politics of memory, vandalism, monuments, Soviet legacy, memory studies.

Building of monuments is one of the oldest forms of state cultural politics. The most important functions of the monument are symbolic and ritual. They always have predominated its art or educational functions. Therefore, monument could be perceived as the tool of appropriation of city space by state and national elites. Traditional monuments marked city space as their own by appealing to national historical narrative.¹

Due to the fact that memorial monuments have symbolic and ritual meaning and serve to the strengthening of certain political identities and loyalties, practices of their intentional destruction or damage by opponents to regime or ideologies that they represent were common. The destruction of monuments have been common during revolutions and significant socio-political changes. In this case, destruction symbolized the death of the regime. The iconoclasm in the Byzantium in VIII-IX c.

¹ Чепайтене Р. Культурное наследие в глобальном мире / Европ. гуманитар. ун-т, Ин-т истории Литвы. – Вильнюс : ЕГУ, 2010 – С. 41.

was one of the first organized campaigns to destroy a particular group of cultural heritage objects. Iconoclasm also occurred during the Reformation of the XVI century as the fight against the prosperity of the Catholic Church. Since the French Revolution of the XVIII century, vandalism got political nature and started to be applied not only to religious objects of cultural heritage, but also to any symbols of previous regime (such as equestrian statues, tombs of nobles, portraits of monarchs). Destruction of monumental or art objects of the past was common in totalitarian regimes of XX c., for instance in the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, and also during revolutions aimed against them (the destruction of the Berlin Wall, the demolition of the Stalin monument in Budapest during the riot of 1956).

Modern scholars observe the gradual loss of ideological urgency of monuments as a form of cultural politics in the postmodern era. Among others factors, this is due to the weakening of the state's role in public life, strengthening of ideological pluralism and increasing of pragmatism in the planning of the urban space. Rasa Chepaytene wrote about a particular for post-Soviet countries tendency to ignore monuments, because in this region they were associated with previous regime and had totalitarian stylistic.²

Therefore, monuments in XXI century often become the part of everyday and inconspicuous urban space. Robert Musil analyzed how monuments created for drawing of public attention turn into the most invisible part of the city space. He called this phenomenon «invisible monuments».³ This explains why in Ukraine in different periods of time always were different rate of actualization of public attention to Soviet monuments and, accordingly the rate of its usability as objects of memory politics. There always was a need of political actualization that would provide some sense to "invisible" monuments.

² Чепайтене Р. Культурное наследие в глобальном мире / Европ. гуманитар. ун-т, Ин-т истории Литвы. – Вильнюс : ЕГУ, 2010 – С. 50-54.

³ Musil Robert. Posthumous papers of living author. Trans. Peter Worstmann. Hygiene: Eridanoss Press, 1987, p. 61.

Modern scholars characterize the vandalism as a symbolic practice of protest.⁴ However, researchers need to distinguish non-systematic individual acts of vandalism from those with systemic nature and ideological significance. Some scholars distinguish two concepts for defining of such practices - iconoclasm and vandalism. There is a need to note that we use the concept of "vandalism" without providing any evaluative connotations and use it to refer to any act of destruction or damage (both symbolic and real) of any kind of monuments, regardless of the motivation.

In this article, we will try to describe how leading actors of Ukrainian politics of memory (politicians and officials) treated an unauthorized demolition or damage of Soviet monuments, how they used the motive of support or counteract to vandalism in their politics of memory. Thus, we will make an attempt to answer the question to what extent acts of vandalism in this period could be perceived as spontaneous "grassroots" and uncontrollable.

A considerable intensification of the politics of memory in Ukraine started from 2005 and was linked to the cultural politics of Viktor Yushchenko. However, in the early years of his presidency, significant debates on the demolition of Soviet monuments hadn't happened. In 2009, the President issued a decree about celebration of the anniversary of 1932-1933 famine. It contained a requirement of monuments demolition to organizers of famines and mass repressions in Ukraine. That same year, Lenin was declared as involved in organization of the Holodomor in Ukraine in the early twentieth century by the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance. Thus, the effect of the law was spread also to the numerous statues of Lenin in Ukraine.

On June 30, 2009 occurred the most sensational before 2013 incident of vandalism against the monument of Lenin. A group of activists, representatives of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, in the night broke the face of a statue of Lenin on the Bessarabian Square in central Kyiv and posted videos of their actions

⁴ Скороходова А.С. Вандализм // Социологический журнал. 1999. № 3-4, с. 49-67.

on the Internet. They called Lenin as "the executioner of the Ukrainian people" and explain their actions as fulfilling of the presidential decree on the demolition of Soviet monuments. This monument wasn't the largest in Ukraine, however, its location in the city center made it one of the most prominent Soviet monuments that significantly increased public attention to it.

After this incident Communist Party of Ukraine organized protection of monument and announced the raising of funds for its restoration. Kyiv city state administration has allowed party to restore the monument at their expense. During the opening of the restored statue of Lenin in November 27, 2009 a conflict occurred between activists of CPU and party «Svoboda». «Svoboda» activists poured red paint on the monument.⁵

The presidential party "Our Ukraine" in the statement about Lenin monument demolition on its website urged activists to act within the law. However, they haven't condemned the vandalism and called it as "an act of national despair".⁶ The Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko, who addressed to the politics of memory in her political career much rarer than the President, but also identified herself with national historical narrative supported activists, who damaged the monument. At the annual meeting of the Ukrainian World Congress she called them as "the true patriots, who have done good work," and promised to eliminate monument from the state register of immovable monuments.⁷

The proceedings against activists who damaged monument by articles «hooliganism» and «damage to the monument of national importance» led to a wave of protest among right-wing political movements. In July 3, 2009 a number

⁵Активисты "Свободы" облили краской отреставрированный памятник Ленину в Киеве // Цензор.net / Режим доступа: http://censor.net.ua/news/106271/aktivisty_quotsvobodyquot_oblili_kraskoyi_otrestavrirovannyyi_pamyatnik_lenin_u_v_kieve

⁶Наша Україна назвала пошкодження пам'ятника Леніну актом національного відчаю // Кореспондент / Режим доступа: <http://ua.korrespondent.net/ukraine/887951-nasha-ukrayina-nazvala-poshkozhdhennya-pamyatnika-leninu-aktom-nacionalnogo-vidchayu>

⁷Тимошенко назвала справжніми патріотами руйнівникві пам'ятника Леніну // TSN.ua /Режим доступа: <http://tsn.ua/ukrayina/timoshenko-nazvala-spravzhnimi-patriotami-ruinivnikiv-pam-yatnika-leninu.html?page=3&items=25>

of Ukrainian right-winged parties and organizations (particularly «Svoboda», Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, UNA-UNSO, “Prosvita”, “Pora”) formed the so-called «Committee of decommunization». Its objectives were identified as "the protecting of participants of «attempted murder of Lenin monument» and similar actions and fight against occupying totalitarian symbols and names".

The trial against destroyers of Lenin monument ended only in 2013 under the other authorities. According to its sentence, activists have received from 2 to 3 years of imprisoning. Since the end of 2010 after coming to power of Viktor Yanukovich vandalism against Soviet monuments becomes more frequent and suspected in committing it got stricter punishments. Rarely activists had the opportunity to dismantle the monument. So, oftenly, they managed to damage it (destroy only a part of monument, usually the head), pour paint on it or damage the pedestal. Therefore, it was often not the immediate dismantling of the monument by activists, but more the attracting of the attention of local authorities to this issue or simply the delegitimization of its symbolic meaning.

Party «Svoboda», which got seats in the parliament in 2012 made a great contribution to this trend. Party leader Oleh Tyahnybok in 2013 publicly declared his readiness to support the spontaneous demolition of Soviet monuments: *«There is a law under which all totalitarian symbols should be eliminated. But for some reason this law is not enforced. So the community would do it, we would destroy them by ourself... We showed an example of what to do when the law is not executed. And now we are receiving photographs and reports from different regions».*⁸

Vandalism of Lenin monuments in 2010-2013 was carried out by small groups of performers secretly. Most of activists weren't residents of towns where they committed vandalism. This fact was the reason for criticism by defenders of the Soviet legacy. They appealed that the status of Soviet monuments should be

⁸ "Уявляєте, щоб в Берліні стояв пам'ятник Гітлеру?" - Тягнибок про знищення Леніна // gazeta.ua / Режим доступу: http://gazeta.ua/articles/politics/_uyavlyayete-schob-v-berlini-stoyav-pamyatnik-gitleru-tyagnibok-pro-znischennya-lenina/487534?mobile=true

determined by local communities. MP from the Communist Party Alexander Prysyzhnyuk said that «*In any case, local community, rather than visiting bunch of vandals should decide the fate of a monument*». He also said that locals are often involved to the fundraising of the restoration of monuments.⁹

«Svoboda» activists also found no clear support in monuments demolition among others opposition parties. One of the leaders of the opposition Vitali Klitchko stated that «at the time of total corruption in Ukraine the fight against monuments should be on the background». He also mentioned that he will try to convince Svoboda MPs in this idea.¹⁰

Destroyed or damaged monuments often were restored by local authorities or by local departments of the Communist Party. Just a month after the demolition was restored "scandalous" Lenin monument in city Okhtyrka (in its demolition MP from Svoboda I. Myroshnychenko was personally involved). On June 10, 2013 the official website of the Communist Party reported about the restoration of the monument in village Dmytrashkivka in Vinnitsa region at the expense of villagers.

¹¹ So, as we can see, both monuments which demolition caused public outcry and less known monuments usually were restored after acts of vandalism. Lenin monument in villages and small towns could be the only local memorial. Thus it haven't perceived by many residents as "alien" or "other one" and was a factor of regional identity. Besides, actions of activists faced the oncoming resistance, led by the Communist Party of Ukraine and part of pro-government politicians.

Vandalism of Soviet monuments in Ukraine wasn't limited only to vandalism of the Lenin monuments. The most prominent case of vandalism of World War II memorials in Ukraine was "symbolic vandalism" of the eternal flame at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the Park of Glory in Kyiv. Member of marginal radical

⁹ Серета С. В Україні – Ленінопад: пам'ятники вождю падають один за одним // Радіо Свобода / Режим доступу: <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/25225395.html>

¹⁰ Кличко: "На тлі корупції не час боротися з пам'ятниками" // Історична правда / Режим доступу: <https://www.istpravda.com.ua/ukr/short/2013/04/29/122338/>

¹¹ Пам'ятник В.І.Леніну відновлено на Вінниччині // КПУ / Режим доступу: <http://www.kpu.ua/uk/57773/pamyatnik-v-i-leninu-vidnovleno-na-vinnichchini>

right-winged organisation «Brotherhood of St. Luke» H. Sinkova in December 2010 made a performance by frying eggs on it and shot a video of her actions. The official statement of organisation called the action as the protest against the "pagan temples eternal flame" and misuse of gas in country.

This case has gained significant media publicity and had been used by the "party of power" as an instrument of its politics of memory. The appointment of judge Rodion Kireev, who became known for judging the case of former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko on gas contracts with Russia, added political implications to this case. This indicated the importance of this case for the government and the political conditionality of sentence.

The defendant was tried for two years. Firstly, she was accused of hooliganism, than the article was changed to «desecration of the burial», which provides stricter punishment. Police even asked for official confirmation of the information about burial of the remains of dead soldiers near the Eternal Flame. In October 2012 activist was sentenced for 3 years of imprisoning. Two police officers were dismissed from the police as a result of investigation offense.¹²

Comparatively hard sentence for an act which even haven't included the physical damage to monument and lack of protests against sentence demonstrate the importance of this aspect of the Soviet legacy for society. The symbolic act of vandalism of the eternal flame, built in memory of fallen soldiers punished much harder than some cases of direct destruction or damage of other Soviet monuments, including the monument to Lenin. This observation shows the boundary that defines the level of public loyalty to different objects of Soviet monumental heritage.

Communist Party of Ukraine actively looked for Soviet military monuments and reported about acts of vandalism and destruction of even the smallest of them. On the official website of the Communist Party the destruction of a small monument to

¹² Жінками, які осквернили Вічний вогонь, зайнялася міліція // Історична правда / Режим доступу: <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2010/12/22/10324/>

Soviet soldiers on the local cemetery by local high school students was connected to fact that "fascism in Ukraine is grown and thriving."¹³

Euromaidan radically changed the politics of memory and public perception of Soviet monuments in Ukraine and launched a wave of so-called "leninopad" - massive demolition of Lenin monuments in 2014-2015. The first of them was demolished in Kyiv during the People`s *viche* (a weekly mass protest on Maidan) on 8 December 2013. This event attracted much publicity and was widely covered in Ukrainian and international mass-media. Comparisons of the monument demolition with destruction of the Berlin Wall became widespread. Monument demolition became one of the symbols of the Euromaidan.

Direct initiative of monument demolition came from activists of "Svoboda". Party has claimed responsibility for this act. Yuri Miroschnichenko in his blog wrote that after an unsuccessful attempt of monument demolition on 1 December 2013 (during the first massive protest of the Euromaidan), on behalf of Oleg Tyahnybok party members developed a plan of monument demolition and coordinated their actions with others movements.¹⁴ However, it took place in the presence of a large number of people and was described by media as spontaneous.

At the same time, the leaders of other opposition parties represented on Euromaidan denied any involvement in this act, though most of them supported or at least not condemned it. One of the opposition leaders Yuriy Lutsenko on his page in Facebook commented this event «Fall of the monument is a visual completion of the USSR. Life is Soviet barrack, lightly decorated with yellow-blue flags, is finished. Foundation of the new Ukraine is started».¹⁵

During December 2013 demolition of the monument in Kyiv had received mixed reactions even among people who supported Euromaidan. According to

¹³ Люди, будьте бдительны! // КПУ / Режим доступу: <http://www.kpu.ua/uk/50102/lyudi-budte-bditelny>

¹⁴ Мірошніченко І. Річниця ленінопаду. Як це було. // Українська правда. Блоги / Режим доступу: <http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/miroshnychenko/5485d8f1ad48d/>

¹⁵ У соцмережах активно обговорюють знесення пам'ятника Леніна в центрі Києва // Обозреватель / Режим доступу: <http://ukr.obozrevatel.com/society/26537-u-sotsmerezah-aktivno-obgovoryuyut-znesennya-pamyatnika-lenina-v-tsentri-kieva.htm>

opinion polls of the company Research & Branding Group, 67% of Kyiv residents reacted negatively to the demolition of the Lenin monument, 69% called it an act of vandalism. Support of Euromaidan in Kyiv, at the same time, according to the survey, reached 67%.¹⁶

Also demolishing received sharp criticism from a number of pro-government politicians. Some of them expressed willingness to restore the monument. Communist leader P. Symonenko said «We will restore it as soon as everything will rest». The governor of the Kharkiv region Mikhail Dobkin promised to create fund for monument restoring and donate 50 thousands hryvnas on it.¹⁷

Partly events of December 8, 2013 can be considered as typical for revolutionary events and mass protests. The destruction of monuments or buildings that embodied the previous regime or were associated with it often becomes part and symbol of protest movements against regimes. However, on the other hand, the events of December 8, 2013 were rather unique. Because protesters destroyed monument, which wasn't build by ruling regime and isn't directly representing their ideology and identity (Party of Regions didn't identify themselves directly with communism and the Soviet legacy, as the Communist Party did). Thus, Soviet legacy as a symbol of Yanukovych and his regime to some extent could be seen as attributed characteristics. Vandalism of Lenin monument has gained massive and spontaneous nature later, namely in January and February 2014 during the sharp confrontation on the Euromaidan. Thus, the largest number of demolitions happened on February 21 (50 monuments) and February 22 (140), following the most violent confrontations of Euromaidan. Overall, during the summer of 2014,

¹⁶ Большинство киевлян поддерживают Евромайдан, однако осуждают снос памятника Ленину - опрос // Корреспондент / Режим доступа: <http://korrespondent.net/kyiv/3278799-bolshynstvo-kyevlian-podderzhvauit-evromaidan-odnako-osuzhdauit-snos-pamiatnyka-lenynu-opros>

¹⁷ Добкін дасть 100 тисяч гривень на нового Леніна// TSN.ua / Режим доступа: <http://tsn.ua/politika/dobkin-dast-100-tisyach-griven-na-novogo-lenina-yakogo-povalili-tupi-vuyki-324305.html?page=4>

according the statistics of web-site leninstatues.ru was demolished 376 monuments.¹⁸

Against the vandalism of Soviet monuments have traditionally protested the Communist Party, the political weight of which significantly marginalized in 2014. We know at least three cases of reconstruction of destroyed Lenin monuments by the local departments of the Communist Party in the 2014-2015 (Hrebinka¹⁹, Semenivka of Chernihiv oblast²⁰, Vesele of Zaporizhia oblast²¹). However, all of these monuments were removed again in 2015-2016 after the adoption of «decommunisation laws».

Government, which replaced the government of Viktor Yanukovich mostly supported the demolition of Lenin monuments. Spontaneous nature of Leninopad demonstrated that decommunisation initiatives could have significant mobilization effect, which could be used as political resource. Head of Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance Volodymyr Vyatrovych called the Leninopad an element of “spontaneous de-Sovietisation” and linked it with the reluctance of politicians to “break with the totalitarian past.”²² President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko after the demolition of Lenin monument in Kharkiv said that it had to happen sooner or later and linked it with major Ukrainian cultural heritage of the city: *«Could it happen otherwise in a city where Ukrainian heart have always beaten, and Ukrainian though has always generated?»*²³

¹⁸ Памятники Ленину, снесённые на Украине с декабря 2013 года (список, фотографии) // Памятники Ленину / Режим доступа: <http://leninstatues.ru/leninopad>

¹⁹ У Гребінці відновили зруйнований пам'ятник Леніну // Міський сайт Гребінки / Режим доступу: http://www.grebenka.com/news/u_grebinci_vidnovili_zrujnovanij_pam_39_jatnik_leninu/2014-11-07-3011

²⁰ На Чернігівщині комуністи відновили пам'ятник Леніну // TSN.ua / Режим доступу: <http://tsn.ua/ukrayina/na-chernigivschini-komunisti-vidnovili-pam-yatnik-leninu-477928.html>

²¹ На Запоріжжі відновили зруйнований пам'ятник Леніну // Вголос / Режим доступу: http://vgolos.ua/news/na_zaporizhzhii_vidnovyly_zrujnovanyu_pamyatnyk_leninu_178293.html

²² Демонтаж пам'яток радянським діячам буде підтримано на офіційному рівні, - В'ячеслав Кириленко // Урядовий портал / Режим доступу: http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=247865172&cat_id=244276429

²³ Порошенко: Повалення пам'ятнику Леніну в Харкові мало статися рано чи пізно // УНІАН / <http://www.unian.ua/politics/995009-poroshenko-povalennya-pamyatnika-leninu-v-harkovi-malo-statisya-rano-chi-pizno.html>

Additionally, majority of Ukrainian political forces in 2014-2016 supported the demolition of Soviet monuments. The main manifestation of this was the adoption of decommunisation laws, which included demolition of monuments to Soviet statesmen. All of parliamentary parties that formed the ruling coalition voted for this law. In August 23, 2014 MP and head of his own party Oleg Lyashko with a group of activists dismantled Lenin monument in Severodonetsk.²⁴ Famous Ukrainian politicians directly linked prevalence of Soviet monuments with separatism and Russian aggression. One of the authors of the decommunisational laws and «speaker» of parliamentary party «Samopomich» Hanna Hopko noted «Why aggression is happening in the East? Because a lot of Soviet monuments located there».²⁵

As we can see, by 2014 vandalism of Soviet monuments as a tool of memory politics was perceived only by right-radical political forces. Others parties that shared national historical narrative were less involved in discussions about Soviet monuments and didn't support unauthorized ways of monuments demolition.

After the events of winter 2013-2014, massive demolition of Soviet monuments ceased to be a topic that interested exclusively right-wing political movements. Illegal demolition of monuments after 2014 has not been criticized by politicians loyal to the national historical narrative. This contrasted to their position about this topic in previous years. The main impetus for this was a spontaneous wave of Lenin monuments demolishing in 2014 («leninopad»), which started as a sign of solidarity with the Euromaidan. Also it was contributed to marginalization of political forces that were the main defenders of the Soviet cultural heritage in Ukraine. Also, these changes in attitude to Soviet monumental heritage can be associated with higher levels of "legalization of violence" in the political and cultural space of Ukraine in 2014.

²⁴ У Сєвєродонєцькy хочуть покарати Ляшка за повалєного Лєнїна // Історична правда / Режим доступу: <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2014/08/27/144412/>

²⁵ Ганна Гопко: Радянськї пам'ятники – причина агресїї на сходї // Подробности. / Режим доступу: <http://podrobnosti.ua/2029858-ganna-gopko-radjansk-pamjatniki-prichina-agres-na-shod.html>

During researched period, each of the memory politics agents that raised question of damage or protection of Soviet monuments tried to portray relevant initiatives as the one that maintains public request. At the same time, most of the spontaneous acts of vandalism were catalyzed by actions of massive political parties or heads of state (such as Decree of the President about the demolition of Soviet monuments in 2008, demolition of Lenin monument in Kyiv by activists of «Svoboda» in December 2013). None of the wave of vandalism can't be considered as fully spontaneous and organized "from below". However, the mistake would be consider «leninopad» and others acts of vandalism of Soviet monuments only as "imposed from above" and as a result of manipulation of certain political groups. Despite the "invisibility" of the most of the Soviet monuments, various political forces often found support in some society groups to preserve or demolish monuments.

REFERENCES

1. Aktivisty "Svobody" oblili kraskoy otrestavrirovannyiy pamyatnik Leninu v Kieve (2009, 27 November). Retrieved from: http://censor.net.ua/news/106271/aktivisty_quotsvobodyquot_oblili_kraskoyi_otrestavrirovannyi_pamyatnik_leninu_v_kieve (in Russian)
2. Bolshinstvo kievlyan podderzhivayut Evromaydan, odnako osuzhdayut snos pamyatnika Leninu – opros (2013, 19 December). Retrieved from: <http://korrespondent.net/kyiv/3278799-bolshynstvo-kyevlian-podderzhyvavit-evromaidan-odnako-osuzhdavit-snos-pamiatnyka-lenynu-opros> (in Russian)
3. Chepaitene R. (2010), *Kulturnoe nasledie v globalnom mire*, Vilnius. (in Russian)
4. Demontazh pam'yatok radyans'kym diyacham bude pidtrymano na ofitsynomu rivni, - V'yacheslav Kyrylenko. (2015, 12 January). Retrieved from:

http://www.kmu.gov.ua/control/uk/publish/article?art_id=247865172&cat_id=244276429 (in Ukrainian)

5. Dobkin dast' 100 tysyach hryven' na novoho Lenina (2013, 19 December). Retrieved from: <http://tsn.ua/politika/dobkin-dast-100-tisyach-griven-na-novogo-lenina-yakogo-povalili-tupi-vuyki-324305.html?page=4> (in Russian)

6. Hanna Hopko: Radyans'ki pam"yatnyky – prychna ahresiyi skhodi (2015, 21 April). Retrieved from: <http://podrobnosti.ua/2029858-ganna-gopko-radjansk-pamjatniki-prichina-agres-na-shod.html> (in Ukrainian)

7. Ishchenko V. (2011), Fighting fences vs fighting monuments: politics of memory and protest mobilization in Ukraine / *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, Vol. 19, № 1/2, 369–395.

8. Klychko: "Na tli koruptsiyi ne chas borotysya z pam"yatnykamy" (2013, 29 April). Retrieved from: <https://www.istpravda.com.ua/ukr/short/2013/04/29/122338/>(in Ukrainian)

9. Komunisty okhoronyatymut' Vichnyy vohon' vid lyubyteliv yayechni (2011, 6 July). Retrieved from: <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2011/07/6/45038/> (in Ukrainian)

10. Lyudi, budte bditelnyi! (2013, 25 February). Retrieved from: <http://www.kpu.ua/uk/50102/lyudi-budte-bditelny> (in Russian)

11. Miroshnychenko I. Richnytsya lyeninopadu. Yak tse bulo (2014, 8 December). Retrieved from: <http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/miroshnychenko/5485d8f1ad48d/>(in Ukrainian)

12. Mysil R. (1987) *Posthumous papers of living author*, Trans. Peter Worstmann. Hygiene: Eridanoss Press, p. 61.

13. Na Chernihivshchyni komunisty vidnovyly pam"yatnyk Leninu (2015, 19 August). Retrieved from: <http://tsn.ua/ukrayina/na-chernigivschini-komunisti-vidnovili-pam-yatnyk-leninu-477928.html>(in Ukrainian)

14. Na Zaporizhzhzi vidnovyly zruynovanyy pam"yatnyk Leninu (2015, 21 April). Retrieved from:

http://vgholos.ua/news/na_zaporizhzhzhi_vidnovyly_zruynovanyy_pamyatnyk_leninu_178293.html(in Ukrainian)

15. Nasha Ukrayina nazvala poshkodzhennya pam"yatnyka Leninu aktom natsional'noho vidchayu (2009, 1 July). Retrived from: <http://ua.korrespondent.net/ukraine/887951-nasha-ukrayina-nazvala-poshkodzhennya-pam-yatnika-leninu-aktom-nacionalnogo-vidchayu> (in Ukrainian)

16. Pam"yatnyk V.I.Leninu vidnovleno na Vinnychchyni (2013, 8 July). Retrived from: <http://www.kpu.ua/uk/57773/pamyatnik-v-i-leninu-vidnovleno-na-vinnichchini>(in Ukrainian)

17. Pamyatniki Leninu, snesyonnyie na Ukraine s dekabrya 2013 goda (spisok, fotografii) (2013, 8 July). Retrived from: <http://leninstatues.ru/leninopad> (in Russian)

18. Poroshenko: Povalennya pam"yatnyku Leninu v Kharkovi malo statysya rano chy pizno (2014, 12 October). Retrived from: <http://www.unian.ua/politics/995009-poroshenko-povalennya-pamyatnika-leninu-v-harkovi-malo-statisya-rano-chi-pizno.html> (in Ukrainian)

19. Skorohodova A. (1999), Vandalizm, *Sotsiologicheskij zhurnal*, 3-4, 49-67 (in Russian)

20. Tymoshenko nazvala spravzhnimy patriotamy ruynivnykvi pam"yatnyka Leninu. (2009, 20 August). Retrived from: <http://tsn.ua/ukrayina/timoshenko-nazvala-spravzhnimi-patriotami-ruinivnikiv-pam-yatnika-leninu.html?page=3&items=25>(in Ukrainian)

21. U Hrebintsi vidnovyly zruynovanyy pam"yatnyk Leninu (2014, 7 November). Retrived from: http://www.grebenka.com/news/u_grebinci_vidnovili_zruynovaniy_pam_39_jatnik_leninu/2014-11-07-3011(in Ukrainian)

22. U Syevyerodonets'ku khochut' pokaraty Lyashka za povalenoho Lenina (2014, 27 August). Retrived from: <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2014/08/27/144412/>(in Ukrainian)

23. U sotsmerezhakh aktyvno obhovoryuyut' znesennya pam"yatnyka Lenina v tsentri Kyieva (2013, 9 December). Retrived from: <http://ukr.obozrevatel.com/society/26537-u-sotsmerezhah-aktivno-obgovoryuyut-znesennya-pamyatnika-lenina-v-tsentri-kieva.htm>(in Ukrainian)

24. "Uyavlyayete, shchob v Berlini stoyav pam"yatnyk Hitleru?" - Tyahnybok pro znyshchennya Lenina. (2013, 16 March). Retrived from: http://gazeta.ua/articles/politics/_uyavlyayete-schob-v-berlini-stoyav-pamyatnik-gitleru-tyagnibok-pro-znischennya-lenina/487534?mobile=true (in Ukrainian)

25. V Ukrayini – Leninopad: pam"yatnyky vozhdyyu padayut' ody za odnym (2014, 9 January). Retrived from: <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/a/25225395.html> (in Ukrainian)

26. Zhinkamy, yaki oskvernyly Vichnyy vohon', zaynyalasya militsiya (2010, 22 December). Retrived from <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/short/2010/12/22/10324/> (in Ukrainian)