

# FEATURES OF THE MANIPULATIVE STYLE OF THE SIBERIAN PRESS DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND CIVIL WAR IN RUSSIA\*

Irina S. KARABULATOVA\*\*

Tatyana KATTSINA\*\*\*

**Abstract.** *Our understanding of the results of the First World War is undergoing a second wind in connection with the rethinking of the past as a secondary interpretation of events. The press can be seen as a complex informational whole, in the structure of which the subtext played a significant role in manipulating public consciousness. This article analyses newspaper publications from Siberia in the period 1917–1921 with the aim of understanding the manipulative potential of the linguoinformeme of the anti-Bolshevik newspapers Nashe Delo (Irkutsk) and Golos Narodnoy Armii (Tobolsk). The choice of sources relates to their use of various manipulative strategies to target the various social strata of Russian society.*

**Keywords:** *press, Kolchak, Siberia, rebels, information, First World War.*

## Introduction

The lack of study into the topic of the First World War is due to the presence of ethnotrauma in the minds of Russians<sup>1</sup> due to the “shameful” peace treaties signed at Brest-Litovsk, which undermined all Russia’s victories in this war. Siberia at that time was a complex conglomerate, where both the Soviet power and the rebel White Guards coexisted. Periodicals of that period were not only a public source of information, but also played an important role in the life of Siberian society. The newspapers of that time reflected various aspects of the global conflict, published almost daily. The socio-political commitment of editors and publishers to one or another political camp dictated the choice of style of coverage when it came to articles on the war.

We can observe the exact opposite attitude to the First and Second World Wars in Russia: the results of the First War were undone, and the

---

\* This paper was financially supported by Ministry of Education and Science of Russian Federation on the program to improve the competitiveness of Peoples’ Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University) among the world’s leading research and education centres.

\*\* Peoples’ Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University), Moscow, Russian Federation; Institute of Physics and Technology (MIPT), Dolgoprudny, Russian Federation; e-mail: radogost2000@mail.ru, Karabulatova.is@mipt.ru.

\*\*\* Siberian Federal University; Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation; e-mail: katsina@list.ru.

<sup>1</sup> Osipov et al. 2016, p. 90; Karabulatova et al. 2017, p. 448.

results of the Second World War were carefully preserved and passed on to future generations.

The relevance of our work lies in the fact that the publications of the anti-Bolshevik press published during the Civil War in Russia were banned for a long time. The Civil War in Russia and the West Siberian Peasant Uprising coincided with the First World War, so there is confusion with the coverage of events. In addition, this situation had a significant impact on the regularity of publication, as well as on these periodicals' very existence.

The apocalyptic expectations of the early twentieth century were contradictory and grew rapidly. The official newspaper and “devil-skins”<sup>2</sup> proclaimed that now was the age of the triumph of ideology and propaganda. This was a time of clear elaboration of the enemy's image as a stable ideological and psychological structure.

Manipulative practices of information warfare were of paramount importance in the ideological and political struggle for a dominant position in society at the beginning of the twentieth century. Social catastrophes (wars, revolutions, epidemics) granted the mass media exceptional significance. The period of the First World War in Russia also coincided with the collapse of the Tsarist Empire and the Revolution, which entailed the collapse of the usual social institutions and the transformation of social norms and rules of etiquette. Such a social break in the foundations led to depression and deep frustration among the people, followed by an aspiration to analyse the situation and search for opportunities to influence it. Such situations provoke an increased demand for both the news itself and the means of its dissemination. It is no coincidence that the famous sociologist Pitirim Sorokin, in the book *Sotsiologiya revolyutsii*, stressed that one of the first and most prominent manifestations of revolutionary cataclysms is “speech emancipation,”<sup>3</sup> expressed in Vulcan-like mass protests and rallies. At the same time, one might observe a significant rise in the number of leaflets, newspapers and pamphlets of various perspectives, since freedom of speech and the press is an indispensable marker of such revolutionary eras.<sup>4</sup> As a rule, this kind of rise is followed by an inevitable fall, followed by an era of silence due to violence. This pattern repeatedly emerges when one examines certain nuances of the historical context surrounding the revolutions of various countries and centuries. It marks revolutionary processes that

---

<sup>2</sup> A devil-skin was a kind of popular pamphlet presenting *lubok* – hand-coloured printed images with propaganda slogans. The genre originated in Europe but gained great popularity in Russia. Censorship could not influence the free development of this form of communication, therefore they were called devil's sheets or devil's skins. This genre is considered a form of folk art, reflecting the life of peasants and workers.

<sup>3</sup> Sorokin 2005, p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> Antoshin 2021, p. 126.

manifest themselves in mass communication. However, it is not possible to understand the qualitative changes in the modes of functioning of the media without considering the specific conditions, forms, scales and rates of deformation of speech reflection. The period under review is interesting as a reflection of chaos, anarchy and unlimited freedom of the press, and as the formation of an effective tool of party and state propaganda after the establishment of Soviet power in the former Russian Empire.

The complexity of the period under review is due to the presumption of Marxist–Leninist historiography regarding the creation of a progressive Soviet periodical press system to replace the “failed” and independently dead “bourgeois press.”<sup>5</sup> Modern researchers do not risk creating full-scale generalizations, choosing instead a selective and mosaic presentation of this problem.

### **Materials and methods**

The interdisciplinary nature of our research requires attention to works written in various fields. Our research is interdisciplinary, so we turned to a range of methodological concepts to approach the problem.

The chronological framework of the study is defined by a significant historical event – the Siberian peasant uprising of 1918–1921. Since the Siberian press was a complex mix of multidirectional publications during this period, we limited ourselves to media that published alternative positions to the Soviet point of view.

We analyse the printed periodicals *Golos Narodnoy Armii* (Tobolsk), *Novaya Sibir'* (Irkutsk) and *Nashe Delo* (Irkutsk). This choice was not casual, it relates to the exceptional importance that these cities held in the socio-political life of Siberia.

These newspapers were carefully selected to represent the main ideological aspects of the publications of the Siberian Government, which had two military districts: Zapadny (Western), whose centre was in Tomsk (later moved to Novonikolaevsk) and Vostochny (Eastern), centred in Irkutsk. At the same time, Tobolsk province (which now lies within the boundaries of Tyumen region) was one of the powerful centres of “white terror” and “red terror,” which also determined our choice of Tobolsk publications for our analysis.

Strong anti-Kolchak sentiment led to a mass insurgent partisan movement in the Kolchak area, which developed in Western Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan in the spring and summer of 1919. These events were clearly reflected in the newspapers *Golos Narodnoy Armii* and *Nashe Delo*.

---

<sup>5</sup> Okorokov 1970, p. 109; Semenova 1977, p. 6; Volgin 1990, p. 8.

Our main research methods were: historical–linguistic, comparative–comparative, diachronic analysis, discourse analysis, text analysis, historical comparative analysis, history and genetics.

## Discussions

In the early twentieth-century period analysed here, the number of printed publications in Siberia was growing rapidly. This was associated with increased numbers of political actors in the country, such as the White Guards, Anarchists, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, among others. Such a variety of political forces in the historical arena could not but affect the ways in which events were described in the newspapers.

The transforming weight of catastrophic cataclysms (the First World War, the collapse of the Tsarist Empire, the rise Bolsheviks' rise to power, the Civil War, famine and epidemics) were reflected in Russians' picture of the world, creating a dominant depressive and pessimistic drive in the public consciousness.<sup>6</sup> Hence, in our opinion, such categorical assessments in Soviet historiography are at play in the designation of anti-Bolshevik forces as a “democratic counter-revolution” (the term of the ex-Menshevik, Ivan M. Maisky).<sup>7</sup> Everything that did not fit into the paradigm of Soviet–Bolshevik ideology was viewed through the interpretive focus of the democratic counter-revolution as the ideological course of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks under the conditions of the Civil War.

The divergence of political forces in post-Tsarist Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century exacerbated the apocalyptic mood in Russian society, causing a profound migratory exodus to foreign countries and forming an alternative version of the history of post-Tsarist Russia in its key moments in the emigrant environment, for example, with regard to the First World War, the October Revolution, the Civil War, repression, the Second World War, and so on.<sup>8</sup>

Western European and American historiography has tried to promote such alternative interpretations in the context of confrontation with Soviet communist ideology,<sup>9</sup> noting that post-Soviet Russian politics still uses Soviet ideology, albeit in a new terminological presentation.<sup>10</sup> Such rhetoric was, and remains, a vivid marker of the Cold War, which subsequently began to develop into the context of information warfare<sup>11</sup> (in other terminology:

---

<sup>6</sup> Zabolotny, Kamynin 1996, p. 113; Boykov, Merkushin 2003, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Ioffe 1982, p. 113; Chernyak 1987, p. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Avdoshkina 2012, p. 48; Antoshin 2021, p. 124; Chernyak 1987, p. 61; Lagunov 1991, p. 53; Menshikov 2000, p. 102; Ruan, Karabulatova 2021, p. 1504; Kotyukov 2012, p. 82.

<sup>9</sup> Szymczak 2008, p. 422; Pereira 1987, p. 51; Kennan 1958, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Brandenberger 2021, p. 569.

<sup>11</sup> Chamberlin 1958, p. 4; Dickey et al. 2015, p. 7; Lasswell 1927, p. 56.

hybrid information wars,<sup>12</sup> linguistic information–psychological wars).<sup>13</sup> Soviet historians positioned the propaganda of the First World War as an instrument of purposeful and effective “lies.” The preface to the Soviet edition of Harold D. Lasswell’s book<sup>14</sup> states that “propaganda is a lie from beginning to end, deliberately calculated deception of friends, enemies and outsiders, Jesuitism of the newest formation.”<sup>15</sup>

At the same time, the developed terms began to receive secondary interpretative semantic content in the historiography of the opposing sides.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the concept of “democratic counterrevolution” proposed in Soviet political science and historiography was widely used by Stephen M. Berk<sup>17</sup> in his works, which opened up opportunities for a secondary interpretation of concepts by Soviet historians. They acted similarly, relying on Vladimir Ilyich Lenin’s statement in his address to the workers during the Kronstadt mutiny in March 1921:

In recent days, of course, you have paid attention to the abundance of quotations in the newspapers, extracts from the White Guard press.... Why have our newspapers paid so much attention to this? Is this correct? Correctly. Because you need to know your enemy.<sup>18</sup>

For example, the Soviet Government press completely ignored the conscious participation of the peasants in the struggle against Aleksandr V. Kolchak, reducing the entire essence of it to ordinary criminality. This postulate was actively promoted by the cadet press. This stereotype became so strong that it was later produced in the works of Soviet and post-Soviet scientists.<sup>19</sup> This postulate was formed under the influence of detailed colourful descriptions of “atrocities” by cadet journalists.<sup>20</sup> The Russian researcher Darya L. Sheremet’yeva notes a surge in the interest from academics in the analysis of the anti-Bolshevik Siberian press in connection with the official “rehabilitation” policy as a historical source.<sup>21</sup>

Does this mean that the methods and techniques of mass psychological influence on society, formed in 1914–1921, have lost their relevance? Not at all. The methodology of manipulating public consciousness developed during

---

<sup>12</sup> Hoffman 2009; Karabulatova et al. 2015, p. 152.

<sup>13</sup> Kirichenko 2015, p. 201; Linebarger 2015; Skovorodnikov, Kopnina 2016, p. 44.

<sup>14</sup> Lasswell 1927, p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>16</sup> Mogilner 2014, p. 61; Miller 1986, p. 123; Lin 2017, p. 77.

<sup>17</sup> Berk 1973, p. 444.

<sup>18</sup> Lenin 1973, p. 139.

<sup>19</sup> Astrakhan 1973, p. 18; Belogurov 1997, p. 21; Berezhnoy 1975, p. 182; Senyavskaya 2006, p. 182.

<sup>20</sup> Zhilyakova 2009, p. 103.

<sup>21</sup> Sheremet’yeva 2011, p. 4.

the First World War was significantly improved in the period 1939–1945, and the results of the Second World War and the victories of communist ideology overshadowed the experiences of the First World War for many years. Today, these manipulation strategies are interpreted in a new way in the context of the introduction of digital technologies for managing public consciousness. However, the current turn to the search for new forms and methods of influencing a wide and selective target audience has again turned the spotlight on the developments of that time with the need for a secondary interpretation of the manipulative consequences of propaganda in the conditions of a new round of confrontation between ideologies.

In this regard, the need to filter sources and their interpretations, the subsequent creative analytical processing, and an understanding of the processes of decoding and assimilation of information return the researcher to the culture of working with texts from the press and other sources. We see an urgent need for the semantic decoding of texts in the context of the chronotope<sup>22</sup> since this kind of text analysis provides an understanding of events in their historical outline and with regard to their impact on public consciousness, both in Russia and abroad.

In our study, we relied on the concept of “source–text.”<sup>23</sup> This concept correlates with Roland Barthes’s theory of discourse (“connected text”) and his ideas about the impossibility of the historian gaining knowledge of objective reality by reading about it from a text (source).<sup>24</sup> We feel that the main content components of the representation of the “question of the First World War” in Russian periodicals do not determine the reliability of the reality of that time. Our goal is different: to characterize the mental construct formed by the “source text” in terms of its influence on the social attitudes of readers, their behavioural strategies, and the hierarchy of values.

We consider it relevant to turn to the ideas of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, who considered the periodical press as an instrument of social power. This is especially significant when referring to the content of the Russian newspaper periodicals around the time of the conclusion of the First World War. It was newspapers that determined the mood of the population and reflected the activity of political communities. Aleksandr I. Reitblat considered “thick” literary and scientific journals in this aspect.<sup>25</sup>

The political leaders implemented their own ideology of state structure; this was introduced into the public consciousness with the help of the media, by means of agitation and propaganda, combined with armed methods of

---

<sup>22</sup> Politov 2014, p. 53.

<sup>23</sup> Mokhnacheva 1979, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Bart 1978, p. 443.

<sup>25</sup> Reitblat 2009, p. 33–36.

struggle and the apparatus of state coercion, which began to be perceived in Siberia as the “White wheel of terror” and the “Red wheel of terror,” or “White water,” and “Red tide.”

## Results

The concept of “source text” allowed us to view the newspaper as a single text, as a single space, or, as we propose to designate this phenomenon, a complex informational whole of mass media discourse. We believe that the complex informational whole of mass media discourse, having appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century in the newspaper discourse of the media, is now experiencing a new round of development thanks to the hypertext space of electronic digital media.<sup>26</sup> A complex information whole contains a pronounced content–subtext aspect, which is created by polysemy, the possibility of secondary interpretation and polyphony of linguistic signs. This hidden subtext helps the author convey specific information to the reader, which, according to the creator of the text (author), will help the recipient to better understand the world.

The duality of the world – darkness–light, good–evil, war–peace – is presented through the prism of the worldview-based assessments of the editorial boards of the print media. The most complex information whole is realized by means of hypersyntax in the text space of a newspaper issue, in which any information in the form of a note, announcement or article acts as an element of the syntactic structure in accordance with the purpose of the general information message, being realized in the specific organization of the composition.



Fig. 1. Extract from *Nashe Delo*, 10 October 1919

<sup>26</sup> Karabulatova et al. 2021, p. 439.

Such organization of the newspaper space was typical for the mass media of that time in general. As we can see from **fig. 1**, the front page of the newspaper opens with announcements of performances and movie shows – *Capital Poison*, *Vase of Misfortune*, *White against Black* – followed by an editorial on the disposition of troops during the First World War.

Let us see how the newspapers changed and how much changed during the First World War and the Civil War in Russia, using the example of Siberian newspapers related to the Provisional Siberian Government and peasant rebels against the Whites and Reds.

First of all, the production team includes editors, authors, readers and sponsors (sponsors are spoken of in various kinds of advertisements in all newspapers). It creates each issue of the newspaper as a single text, in which announcements of upcoming performances are adjacent to the editorial column about the main events. It is a complex informational whole of a newspaper issue, as can be seen in the example of the newspaper *Nashe Delo*, 7 December 1918, editor Aleksandr G. Metelshin?

The rhythm of life and rapid eventual changeability is emphasized by the compositional solution, the arrangement of the texts of notes, articles and messages in the issue. For us, readers of the twenty-first century, the compositional arrangement of materials in the newspaper is unusual, which demonstrates the priorities of both the editorial office itself and the interests of the townspeople, the readers of the newspaper of that time. The newspaper *Nashe Delo* was published by the Society of Consumers and Workers of the Trans-Baikal Railway and the Society “Truzhenik-Kooperator” in Irkutsk, and the newspaper was freely sold at retail, as evidenced by its price: 50 kopecks in the city and 55 kopecks outside the city. Since the price announcement is at the very top of the newspaper, above its title, this suggests that the commercial component of publications was a priority. This assumption is supported by the fact that adverts are located immediately on the first page after the title. Priority adverts have graphic frames to help the reader differentiate their text from the rest of the content. For example:

Due to the difficulties of communication, Professor S. H. Robertson, who was supposed to deliver a series of lectures at the Provincial Male Gymnasium on December 6 and 7 of this year, was late. The exact date will be announced in the newspapers later.<sup>27</sup>

In this announcement, the name of Professor S. H. Robertson and his action (to be late, meaning “not to come on time, not to arrive”) are highlighted graphically: in bold and different sized letters.

---

<sup>27</sup> *Nashe Delo*, 7 December 1918, p. 1.



The very arrangement of announcements and topical news (about events on the front or the situation in the region) suggests that socio-political news is in the same class as economic announcements (announcements of sale) and announcements of the death of significant and respected citizens of the city or province. The people of Siberia have always been known their entrepreneurial streak, so the location of commercial announcements and those about performances and movies (posters) is higher than political news, indicating the priority of spheres of influence in the regional media space.

The text space of this issue of *Nashe Delo* immerses us in the eventful life of Irkutsk, which is emphasized by the widespread use of abbreviations, overcrowding, compressed information messages and a lack of pictures and illustrations, the semantic subtext unifying messages into a single text informational whole. First, we might consider how the compositional structure of the issue reflects the manipulative style of the newspaper's editorial office.<sup>28</sup>

The front page of the newspaper opens with announcements of performances, posters for theatres and artists. This kind of arrangement of posters is the norm for the newspaper, as can be seen if we compare it to other issues from 1918–1919. The theatrical repertoire itself is in tune with social sentiments both in Russia generally and in Siberia. Here we see advertisements for performances of *Nero (The Beast from the Abyss)*, *Don't Tell Me: He Died*, *Women, Mobilize*, *Vulture of the Old Fighter*, *Break*, *The Fruits of Enlightenment*, *Disenfranchised*, *Slave of Profit*, and so on. Moreover, the names of performances with emotional expression of a gender plan are grouped together, also forming a folded text of the gender information war for emancipation:

*Don't Tell Me: He Died* → *Women, Mobilize* → *Vulture of the Old Fighter* → *Break*  
→ *The Fruits of Enlightenment* → *Disenfranchised*.

It should be noted that the titles of the performances *Break*, *Fruits of Enlightenment* and *Disenfranchised* are combined into one announcement, and the name *Break* is highlighted graphically in comparison with other performances.

Social crises, as a rule, are accompanied by the experience of the mystical moment of the breakdown of epochs, hence the interest in the spheres of the sacred, which is reflected in the announcements of performances such as *The Tale of the Czech King* (and the inner mental reference in the subtext to the White Czech Movement is contained in the staging of the play “Legion” in Siberia, since the White Czech movement was designated as the Czech Legion), the mystical drama *Vampires* and the farce

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

*Lisa Patrikeevna*. There is also an announcement about seances held by the clairvoyant Mademoiselle Lucie (in other issues of this newspaper it is indicated that the clairvoyant Mademoiselle Lucie is a 12-year-old teenage girl who performs her actions in the theatre). These adverts are located at the very top, grabbing the attention of a potential recipient. The very arrangement of these announcements in a single row also forms a general subtext at the heading level: “old fighter” as a symbol of a soldier, “Czech king” as a reference to European culture, “vampires” as an enhancement of the mystical component of European folklore, “Lisa Patrikeevna” as an image of the Russian spirit that finds a way out of difficult situations in life.

These announcements are given in a solid text in one line, updating the archetypes of the reader’s background knowledge. Then there are announcements about the death of Irkutsk residents: the typesetter of the Irkutsk printing house, Konstantin Innokentievich Kogan, and a certain Tsipa Khaykelevna Frizer. These death announcements emphasize the implicit, but not expressed, maxim about the frailty and finiteness of life as one of the stages of the immortal soul. This assumption is further strengthened by the placement of official announcements of state food agencies of the Irkutsk and Yakut provinces as well as announcements of vacancies, services, and so on.

The news column from the editor on the front page is printed without any name or signature and covers events in Germany. However, it is placed immediately under the announcement of the play *Nero (The Beast from the Abyss)*, which makes it possible to draw analogies between the fall of the Roman Empire, the disastrous behaviour of Nero and the disintegrating Austro-Hungarian Empire under the policies of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The title of the play is arranged in such a way that the text of the political editorial article is clearly grouped under this advert, acting as the title of the article. The small print in the announcement of the performance indicates that it is “a colossal tragedy in 8 acts, staged by Mario Casarini, who created the paintings *Where are you going?* and *Spartak*.”<sup>29</sup> In addition, the typographic set of the name of the play differs significantly from the location and font of other performances: the name of the play *Nero (The Beast from the Abyss)* runs almost through the entire front page. The recipient, reading the materials in the order in which the editor arranged them, perceives the text about the balance of forces in the First World War as a kind of modern illustration to the ancient theme of the fight against eternal evil. Here, the subtext connects these two messages into a single related text, forming a complex information whole.

---

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

We can judge the manipulation of the recipient's consciousness with the help of hidden subtexts thanks to the content–subtext information<sup>30</sup> of even these two publications. The arrangement of the parts of messages, which are, as it were, “embedded” into each other like a Russian nesting doll, the consistent use of concepts that form background knowledge from the personal-individual to the supranational and civilizational, enhance the manipulative linguistic information.

In a previous publication, we developed the concept of *linguoinformeme*, considering it as a “building element” for entering verbally expressed information into the mass media space, constructing a media image of a subject or object in a text in one or another accentological assessment, based on the social order or worldview of the author.<sup>31</sup> To one degree or another, *linguoinformemes* have a manipulative potential, directing the vector of interpretations of the information presented in a certain channel via clear marking and emotional colouring.<sup>32</sup> Here we see *linguoinformemes* such as “Germany – the Evil Empire,” “Germany – the Empire of the Abyss,” “Russia – the cleansing fire of the world” and “Russia – the saviour of human civilization.”

The *linguoinformeme* acts as a basic element of the lingo-mental structure of media discourse, which contains a certain statement conveyed by linguistic means, perceived by the recipient as true: “Germany is the focus of the chthonic forces of the Abyss” and “Russia is the cleansing fire of the forces of Light.” At the same time, the construction of media images takes into consideration the manipulative–pragmatic potential of the *linguoinformeme*, that is, assumptions about the typical features of the impact on the addressee during their perception of information. For the first time, we introduce the concept of the manipulative–pragmatic potential of the *linguoinformeme* in connection with the need to conduct a cognitive–pragmatic analysis of the structure of a complex information whole and understand the mechanism of influence of the content–subtext information layer in mass media discourse.

So, the first page of the issue draws a subtextual parallel between Germany and the archetypal Abyss, between Nero and Kaiser Wilhelm II. We propose to designate such combined messages as a single complex informational whole with several structurally expressed parts but connected by a single concept and content–subtext context. The beginning of the twentieth century was rich in the search for and the emergence of new forms of presenting information, both within the text and outside of it.

---

<sup>30</sup> Ruan, Karabulatova 2021, p. 1503; Hargood et al. 2018, p. 28301.

<sup>31</sup> Karabulatova et al. 2021, p. 235; Lagutkina et al. 2021, p. 1441.

<sup>32</sup> Ruan, Karabulatova 2021, p. 1505.

The analysed complex informational whole of this issue of the newspaper *Nashe Delo* forms the reader's attitude to Germany as the main foreign policy opponent of Russia, with the implication of Russia's superiority over Germany and the inevitability of Germany's defeat in the First World War. Germany is portrayed as a losing country that is in a state of transition to a socialist republic. The ruling circles of Germany are characterized by vivid images: "the thistle of militarism," "the armoured fist"/"reserved fist," "the powerful fist," "the autocratic militaristic kingdom," "a threat to all mankind."

Russia is opposed to Germany as a kind of fire of purification – a "fiery hurricane" that "shot up," "shattered" and "scattered to the wind" the forces of German militarism. The article contains the most charged images in the first two paragraphs, which set the psycho-emotional perception of the entire subsequent text. Then there are arguments about the imminent abdication of Emperor Wilhelm II from the throne and the course of the alleged revolution in Germany. Realizing that this information is a manipulative stuffing of fake information, the newspaper *Nashe Delo* points out that:

we are very poorly informed about the course of the revolution in Germany. The information received recently is confusing and contradictory. Some argue that the proletarian movement in Germany has the character of a socialist revolution.... Others, on the contrary, argue that the nature of the revolution is purely national, with the tasks not of a socialist transformation of society, but only of a democratic structure, with the complete preservation of private property.<sup>33</sup>

It should be noted that the issue of nationalization or preservation of private property was a cornerstone for Siberian society in terms of acceptance or rejection of the October Revolution and the Soviet Government. Siberia lived and developed quite autonomously and successfully, due to its remoteness from Moscow and Saint Petersburg, so the ideas of expropriation were not perceived by the hardworking Siberian peasantry, industrialists, merchants or even the intelligentsia. Even now, in the Russian folk picture of the world, Siberia continues to be perceived as something special, incomprehensible.

The isolation of Siberia is emphasized in the opposition to Moscow using the linguoinformeme "Siberia is not Moscow." This linguoinformeme emphasizes the special status of Siberia in the space of Russia and world geopolitics, for example: "News from Moscow. The Bolsheviks hope"<sup>34</sup> (allegedly about the spread of rumours by the Bolsheviks that Moscow will not be taken by the allies before spring); "The treasures of the mind are the

---

<sup>33</sup> *Nashe Delo*, 7 December 1918, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

property of the Sovdepiia”<sup>35</sup> (about the nationalization of the results of scientific, literary, musical and artistic creativity in Soviet Russia); or “According to Soviet Russia. The Bolsheviki and Germany”<sup>36</sup> (about the arrest of the Soviet delegation in Minsk who came to participate in a rally of German soldiers). This linguoinformeme is supported by reports about the increasing importance of Siberia in world geopolitics, for example: “The issue of the bon on the Chinese Road”<sup>37</sup> (about the inclusion in the turnover of the Russian–Asian Bank of the East China Railway bonds worth 1–10 rubles for 500 million rubles); or “In Harbin, on the orders of Omsk, the civil administration issued foreign passports to all five persons. The commandant of the train has a written order to hand them these passports in Changchun and declare that they are free to continue on their own.”<sup>38</sup>

The isolation of the Siberian self-consciousness is emphasized in articles such as “It’s time to open your eyes” (about the difficulties and prospects of the Trans-Baikal Railway); “Control over the Siberian railways” (about the transfer of all Siberian railways to the common use of Japan, China, Russia and America); “The issue of banknotes of the Northern Government of Russia” (as a message from Lyon with reference to the British Government about the beginning of the issue of their own money for Siberia and the equivalent value of the North Russian currency to the British pound sterling); “Activities of the Government” (on personnel changes in the Government of Siberia and the Siberian Military Army); “Arrest of the Chairman of the Supreme Council for the Supply of Allied Armies” (on maintaining legal regulation and law and order in Siberia); “Sanitary inspection of tanneries” (on the Siberian Government’s concern for workers and the regulation of labor standards in heavy industries) and so on.

This linguoinformeme is supported by the materials on the second and third pages of the newspaper’s issue, which are dedicated to the efforts of the Siberian Government to maintain order in Siberia and establish normal living conditions for Siberians. It is implemented in the sub-theme “The Siberian Government is the guarantor of peaceful life” in such notes as “For the opera tour,” “Lectures on Palestine studies,” “Congress of Beekeepers,” “Traditional Jewish evening,” “Glazkovo and electric lighting,” “Organization of the Zemsky Insurance Union,” “Congress of representatives of Siberian Jewish communities,” “Irkutsk circle of sports fans ‘Sanitas,’” “Payment standards for railway workers” and so on.

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

The main editorial article, “It’s time to open your eyes,” is located on the second page of the newspaper. It is written in the spirit of a satirical pamphlet, reflecting the situation of the Trans-Baikal Railway and criticizing the activities of its head Zurabov (initials or name are not specified). The railway served as the only possible connection between the regions of Russia and other countries. It emphasizes the role of Zurabov as an accomplice of the Japanese Government. The negatively coloured image of Zurabov as a representative of the forces of evil is depicted with the help of such manipulems<sup>39</sup> in the text as “a clay giant on his feet,” “a Harbin nurse,” “blesses the Japanese command,” and so on. Ordinary railway workers are opposed to Zurabov, they are in a position where they are dependent on him, but they declare the beginning of their struggle with the corrupt official (“you cannot be silent any longer!”) who must be displaced and thrown into the abyss (here again we see a reference to the announcement of the play about Nero, and to the editorial column about Germany as an Evil Empire). Ordinary railway workers are guileless and naive, “deceived by the kindness of a benefactor,” but when they realize that they have been deceived, they “open their eyes to the sad reality,” “begin to bicker” and then “break out of obedience” from under the “hegemony of Zurabov.”<sup>40</sup>

The actualization of the key meaning in the editorial article occurs through the mechanisms of creating irony and metaphor, along with the mechanisms of argumentation and associative activation of the meanings of the content–subtext layer of information. To this end, the author uses lexemes with a pronounced connotation: hegemony, web, black cloud, to wield, point to a place, wake up, turn red, and become bright red. The article ends with the appeal: “You can’t be silent any longer! Wake up railwaymen! It’s time to open your eyes!”<sup>41</sup>

The “discourse of struggle” expressed in this issue *Nashe Delo* continues with neighbouring articles such as “For the Zemstvo elections”; “To the appropriate address” (about a confrontation with printed publications of other political forces); “On our fronts” (operational reports from the Civil War fronts as of 4 December 1918); “After the war” (brief information about the situation abroad); and “In Germany” (about riots in various German cities and harbingers of the world revolution).<sup>42</sup>

The newspaper space of the Kolchak Government’s newspapers focuses on the need to create a separate state – Siberia – on the geopolitical map of the world. At the same time, the appeal to the minds of the Siberian

---

<sup>39</sup> Ruan, Karabulatova 2021, p. 1502.

<sup>40</sup> *Nashe Delo*, 7 December 1918, p. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

intelligentsia goes with the active introduction of the linguoinformeme “Foreign countries will help us.” Hence the saturation of the newspaper “canvas” with numerous reports about support for the Siberian Government from Western countries, primarily America, Great Britain and Japan, for example: “Release of funds” (at the expense of the British Government); “Siberian roads will be under the common control of America, Russia and Japan”; “Bread from the West”; “A detachment of Chinese troops has entered Blagoveshchensk”; “What Japan should do in Siberia”; “The Canadian Commission for economic Assistance to Siberia”; “Assistance from the American Red Cross”; “Representatives of the allied powers are developing together with representatives of the financial world a project of an international bank for Siberia”; “The Polish National Committee for Siberia and Russia”; “Japanese newspapers report that the Sakhalin railway will be built with American money,”<sup>43</sup> and so on.

The third page of *Nashe Delo* continues with brief coverage of events around the world, using the context of the opposition between Russia and Siberia: “The arrival of members of the Directory from Harbin”; “The Allied squadron anchored at Sevastopol” (from London); “The Polish Constituent Assembly”; “The violence of German troops over Poles”; “Control over the Siberian railways”; “The issue of banknotes of the Northern Government of Russia” and so on. At the same time, Siberia is designated in these publications as an exceptional independent territory from Russia. In this regard, articles such as “News of Bolshevik Russia,” “Treasures of the mind – the property of the Soviet Department,” “On our fronts” and “On Soviet Russia”<sup>44</sup> are indicative. They contrast Siberia and Russia in the minds of the recipients, describing, for instance, “the salvation of the Russians and us, the Siberians.”<sup>45</sup>

The fourth strip is devoted to the reflection of events at the regional level and a small proportion to adverts, closing the plot narrative as in a rondo. While on the first page we see in the centre at the top of the newspaper the advert “The Fairy tale of the Czech King. Extravaganza,” in the “basement” of the fourth and last page there is a note entitled “Far East. The fallen in spirit” on the results of the inspection of the Inter-Allied Sub-Commission, with the participation of the Czechoslovak command, of the situation on the railway and the decadent moods in certain military units from Khabarovsk to Kuenga. The manipulative style is implemented in the following turns of speech: “to throw off the stupor for the past evil”; “everything is not yet lost”; “one should not give up and look hopelessly into

---

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 4 December 1918, p. 6.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 11 December 1918, p. 8.

the future”; “salvation lies in the hard work now”; “faith in one’s own strength” and so on.

The space of the newspaper itself is compacted to the limit: each article smoothly flows into the next one, forming a single informational space of the issue’s text. The “image of the publication” itself forms the non-textual content of the “source text.” The formation of the “image of the publication” is influenced by a whole range of objective factors: 1) the program of the publication, i.e., its ideological platform; 2) the personality and worldview of the editor–publisher; 3) the specifics of “editorial” strategies; 4) the features of intra-editorial relationships; 5) the nature of interaction with censorship; and 6) the availability/lack of funding.

Each newspaper issue creates its own world which is based on the author’s personal feelings and thoughts – in other words, the editorial concept. The text space of a newspaper issue of the early twentieth century allows reality to exist in one or another embodiment, where the editor decides what should happen and what should not in the mental picture of the recipient’s world.

The very style of the newspapers of the Provisional Siberian Government of 1917–1921 is aimed at implementing interaction with the audience as a motivated and purposeful activity. For example, the differences between A. Kolchak and the Cossack Ataman Semenov were also reflected in the pages of newspapers. For example, during the confrontation, an article appeared on the editorial page of the newspaper *Nasbe Delo*<sup>46</sup> which began with the following phrase: “At last there is an opportunity to speak without any ambiguity about the ‘brave patriot’ Semenov and his associates.” Further, the discourse unfolded in a powerful negative discourse, forming the image of the enemy in the perception of recipients: “Semenovism as gangrene”; “it is not worth wasting printing ink on his personality”; “the system of whipping, torture chambers, robbery, outrages, oprichnina”; “their lawlessness”; “open disobedience and non-recognition of the Omsk authorities”; “Will the Omsk authorities be able to ruin this hornet’s nest”; “Semenov is an example of irresponsible power”; “clever networks of foreign influences”; “a cautionary example” and so on.<sup>47</sup>

While Germany (the personified world evil) and its ruler, Kaiser Wilhelm II, had previously been depicted as the number one enemy, as the First World War subsided, the Bolsheviks and Communists began to occupy the niche of the enemy. However, newspapers focused on the peasantry were more straightforward, with direct calls to action, unlike those of the Siberian Government, which tried to describe the work of the Kolchak Government

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 9 December 1918, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 1–2.



to normalize life in Siberia as positively as possible. The Kolchak Government's activity in this regard followed specific methods and means of implementation, which defined it as a system of interaction between the various parties involved. The result of this interaction was the very communicative space of the Siberian newspapers of the Government of A. Kolchak, which formed and reflected an alternative reality created by the tactic of interpreting the factual material used by the media.

Such an approach to the text space of a newspaper issue can be designated as a subjective or manipulative modality which has a variety of means of expression – grammatical, lexical, structural–compositional, graphic and so on.

We believe that the media during this period performed the function of an aggressive concept carrier capable of forming the public mood in Siberian society. At the same time, we observe a clear orientation towards the idiostyle of the leader of federal and regional significance.<sup>48</sup> Since the newspapers of the Siberian Government are guided by the laconic style of the military, we can assume that they also reflect the idiosyncrasy of the Supreme Ruler of Siberia, Aleksandr V. Kolchak.

This trend can be observed both in the official newspapers of the Siberian Government (such as *Sibirskiy Vestnik*) and in societal newspapers (such as *Nashe Delo*).

The interpretation in the anti-Bolshevik Siberian newspapers of 1917–1921 manifested in two cardinal directions: 1) the creation of an alternative communicative space of anti-Bolshevism; 2) the creation of a communicative product with a general and regional anti-Bolshevik orientation.

The manipulative style of the anti-Bolshevik Siberian newspapers reflects the universal manipulative power of deliberate distortion, which we consider to be a manifestation of reality correction. As an example, let us consider the newspaper of the Peasant People's Uprising of 1921, *Golos Narodnoy Armii*.<sup>49</sup> By itself, this issue looks more like a leaflet, familiar to ordinary people from the trenches of the First World War.

The style of addressing the reader appeals to the strongest feelings: fear for one's own life and one's loved ones. Hence the following images: "death penalty," "murders without trial," "shootings of civilians," "brutal reprisals of drunken commissars," "torture and robbery," "brazen mockery of the arrested," "freedom of searches," "rise up against rapists"<sup>50</sup> etc. The emotive style of the appeal can be described as vividly saturated and expressive.

---

<sup>48</sup> Pashin 2018; Brinyuk 2013, p. 167.

<sup>49</sup> *Golos Narodnoy Armii*, 10 March 1921, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.



Fig. 2. Extract from *Golos Narodnoy Armii*, 10 March 1921

The mechanism of argumentation is associated with the associative activation of the content–subtext interpretation of meanings; for this purpose, expressively coloured lexemes are used, “hitting” the psycho-emotional sphere of the reader. The pronounced anti-Soviet orientation of *Golos Narodnoy Armii* pursued the goal of a political struggle against the Bolsheviks and their supporters. It is not by chance that the newspaper writes: “A communist is your enemy. A non-party Red Army soldier is your friend and brother.” The main method of manipulating the recipient’s consciousness is the antithesis, which sets the desired emotional reactions, namely, anger, hatred and the desire to fight. The antithesis uses a bright and sharp contrast of images: “Do you want freedom?” – “Look at what freedom really means for the Communists.”<sup>51</sup> Then there is the unfolding of a chain of images that inflate negative emotions in the recipients. It is natural that the appeal ends with a call to join the ranks of the People’s Army.

The General Staff of the People’s Army published the newspaper *Golos Narodnoy Armii* (editor Alexandr Goryunov) in the period of the anti-Bolshevik West Siberian peasant uprising of 1921 in Tobolsk. These popular outrages were concentrated in Tobolsk and Yenisei provinces, which, in our opinion, illustrated the prolonged effect of the ideas of the people’s will since the time of Yermak and the exiled Decembrists.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Prygun 2016, p. 1788.



Fig. 3. Extract from *Golos Narodnoy Armii*, 1 March 1921

According to experts, the propaganda work was superior in its effectiveness to the activities of the Bolsheviks.<sup>53</sup> *Golos Narodnoy Armii* positioned terror as a forced retaliatory measure. Describing the battles for the village of Krotovo in the Ishim District (now the Ishim district of the Tyumen Region), “The remaining and hidden Communists” it stated, “were shot when they were discovered, now in response to their atrocities.”<sup>54</sup> We conclude that the type of thinking of the concept carrier determines the conceptual picture of the world, which, in turn, will affect the thinking of the collective linguistic personality of millions of people.

The “either you or them” editorial uses hardcoded manipulation with the clear message that “Either you kill, or they kill you!”: “Now, brothers, peasants, there can be no retreat, now one of two ... Victory or death – there can be no third.”<sup>55</sup>

Opponents of Bolshevism in Western Siberia published at the same time the so-called “Partisan Memo,” which offers a vivid example of the manipulation of the recipient’s psycho-emotional reaction by cultivating intransigence and generating feelings of hatred and revenge towards the enemy (the communists). We present some of the provisions from this “Memo”:

<sup>53</sup> Lagunov 1991, p. 87.

<sup>54</sup> *V Ishimskom uyezde* 1921, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> *Ili vy, ili oni* 1921, p. 1.

- 1) You are a partisan; you took up arms voluntarily and therefore you are in the communist's account as a volunteer. Remember this and do not expect mercy.
- 2) Don't let the enemy come to his senses, crush him at every step. Ambush, damage to the telephone, telegraph, railway in the rear and the destruction of communications and intelligence of the enemy – this is your constant combat mission.
- 3) Remember that the enemy must be destroyed, and not driven from place to place.
- 4) The enemy is a communist. A non-partisan Red Army soldier is your brother.
- 5) With each new day, the forces and weapons of the enemy are decreasing, and the partisans are gaining.<sup>56</sup>

The manipulative tactics of conducting editorial policy and correcting facts represent a form of axiological manipulation that involves two main directions:

1) manipulation of significance (up to total depreciation, with implementation in such techniques as generalization, exploitation of the “genus – species” hierarchy, personalization, introduction of new words and expressions);

2) manipulation of positive/negative assessment (expression of direct and indirect assessment of any phenomenon or object with the creation of axiological contexts, metaphorical attribution, analogies, ridicule, Euphemia, levelling negative connotations filled with positive associations).

An example of manipulation is the note “Partisan Memo” – “The Atrocities of the Communists”<sup>57</sup> which was written based on data from peasant intelligence that the Ishim communists gathered 22 priests in the outskirts of the city of Ishim who were immediately shot. The shocking content reinforces the message to the audience: “And so the communists do not recognize anything sacred, no laws, trampling on everything sublime, they act worse than robbers and animals.”<sup>58</sup> At the same time, the unnamed correspondent is silent about the facts of brutal terror in relation to the communists, Soviet workers, and members of their families in the same province of Tobolsk.<sup>59</sup>

Ignoring the content–subtext layer in the informational messages of newspapers of the early twentieth century can lead to erroneous interpretations which manifest themselves as the designation of newspapers of that time as information leaflets with a lack of coherence and poor internal

---

<sup>56</sup> *Pamyatka partizana* 1921, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> *Golos Narodnoy Armii*, 16 March 1921, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Ishimets* 1921, p. 1.

<sup>59</sup> Shishkin 2000, p. 423.

logic of composition. The complex informational whole that appears in the newspapers of that time actively uses subtexts which can be reconstructed in linguoinformems that combine themes and motives. At the same time, the content of linguistic information can be involved in a semiotic algorithm for expanding themes and motives, including understanding the subtext in the secondary interpretation of information in the print media of the early twentieth century.

At the same time, Russia itself acts as a lost paradise, and the military confrontation between the Bolsheviks and the White Guards is designated as tests sent down from Above, the overcoming of which will lead once again to prosperity.<sup>60</sup> This reference to the mythologems of the “popular/folk Christianity” of Russian culture fuelled anti-Bolshevik sentiments both in the White Army and among the Russian population that sympathised with it. The researchers point out that the exploitation of the stereotypes of “popular Christianity” and “popular Islam”<sup>61</sup> is a common manipulative strategy<sup>62</sup> in media discourse.

The Irkutsk White Guard press demonstrated a slightly different strategy of manipulating public consciousness. We see here an emphasis on the Chosenness of God and the Messianic role of Kolchak’s White Guard army in the fight against Bolshevism. The newspaper *Novaya Sibir* appeared in Irkutsk in 1918, considerably later than *Vostochny Krai*, which had been published since 1906.

White Guard newspapers regularly printed decrees and orders of the Kolchak Government and set out the official point of view of the “White movement” on events, while simultaneously condemning the Bolsheviks; they considered the “Red partisans” to be petty criminals, robbers and thieves. These newspapers were targeted at the middle class and the intellectuals of Siberian society.<sup>63</sup> At the same time, White Guard propaganda did not consider the freedom-loving spirit of the Siberian intelligentsia and the remoteness from the European centre, since Siberia had formed its own mentality and its own socio-economic structure which was discordant, in many respects, with the standards of the socio-economic life of the European part of Russia.

Accordingly, the Siberian press during the period of confrontation between the Bolsheviks and the White Guards actively used manipulative

---

<sup>60</sup> Shevelev, Konev 2015, p. 154.

<sup>61</sup> Karabulatova et al. 2014, p. 16; Sayfulina et al. 2013, p. 494.

<sup>62</sup> Shagbanova et al. 2016, p. 57.

<sup>63</sup> Krebs 2009, p. 38; Shevelev 1999, p. 195; Offord 2012, p. 163; Smele 2006, p. 202.

tactics of correcting reality and inducing cognitive distortions.<sup>64</sup> This ensured the attention of the potential target audience and granted a certain power over the public consciousness of the population of Siberia.

## Conclusions

Our analysis of Siberian anti-Bolshevik newspapers published during the First World War and the Civil War has shown that the press of that period was looking for ways to influence the consciousness of recipients, employing methods from the graphic to the stylistic, using a complex informational whole. The manipulative style of the press applied to the coverage of a wide variety of information: from the internal policy of the region conducted by the Interim Government to international relations, and from small intraregional issues to world problems that originated during the war. The manipulative style in the analysed newspapers uses linguoinformems as specific directives that are aimed at introducing the recipient into the world picture. At the same time, an important role is played by the content–subtext layer of information, which actualizes a particular vector of associative perception of media messages.

We distinguish the following universal manipulative tactics used in periodicals of 1917–1921 in the confrontation between the Bolsheviks and the White Guards: 1) tactics of converting real facts into information events (manipulems with the chronotope of the event; manipulems with a locus in the chronotope; manipulems with system and structural connections; subject–object manipulems); 2) tactics of adapting the target audience to the perception of corrected reality (manipulems with the communicative principle of truth, details; reputation capital of the information source; authority of information).

The agitation and propaganda activities of the warring parties in Siberia (participants of the popular resistance against Kolchak in 1919, the Bolsheviks and the rebels of the West Siberian Peasant Uprising of 1920–1921) used a manipulative style which depended on the target audience. A sharp antithesis and a directive style with a rigid type of coding were the priority for *Golos Narodnoy Armii*. The use of detailed metaphors, stringing together plots, and a complex informational whole was characteristic of the newspapers of the Provisional Siberian Government. The mechanism of forming the image of the enemy in the Siberian periodicals of the early twentieth century manipulates the content–subtext layer of information with a gradual injection of negative emotions: from the demonization of Germany to its depreciation. Subsequently, a similar technique was used to create the

---

<sup>64</sup> Karabulatova 2020, p. 211; Kattsina, Karabulatova, 2020, p. 251; Ruan, Karabulatova 2021, p. 1503.

image of the “internal enemy” (Bolsheviks, communists, etc.). The linguo-phonemes used in Kolakov’s periodicals subsequently formed the basis of stable mythologems of Russian public consciousness (of the type: “Foreign countries will help us.”)

At the same time, the anti-Kolchak and anti-communist periodicals of the peasant rebels actualize the “spiritual bond” in relation to the need to save Russia and Russia as the saviour of the world. The dichotomy of the ideological orientation of newspapers is clearly represented in such newspapers as *Golos Narodnoy Armii* (Tobolsk), *Sibirskiy Listok* (Tobolsk) and *Novaya Sibir* (Irkutsk). The content of these Siberian periodicals shows that they and other newspapers served as an ideological mouthpiece in building the image of the enemy, calling for the use of physical violence against ideological opponents. The Kolchak newspapers reflected the higher level of education of the target audience. At the same time, as a propaganda mouthpiece, they used manipulative technology to correct the displayed facts and subordinate the general line of editorial policy in order to mould and correct the recipient’s perception of reality.

Representatives of the opposing sides used agitation and propaganda elements of the information war in the struggle for the Siberian society. Manipulative strategies and the specifics of the goals, motives, socio-political views and social psychology of Siberians were directly reflected in the coverage of the events of the confrontation between the Siberian society and powerful external forces.

### Bibliographical Abbreviations

- Antoshin 2021 – Alexey Antoshin, *The Democratic Press of the Civil War during the White Movement in the Urals and Trans-Urals*, in *QR*, 9, 2021, 1, p. 123–137.
- Astrakhan 1973 – Khanan M. Astrakhan, *Bol'sheviki i ikh politicheskiye protivniki v 1917 godu*, Leningrad, 1973.
- Avdoshkina 2012 – Olga V. Avdoshkina, *Rossiyskiy revolyutsionnyy protsess i politicheskiye partii v emigrantskoy istoriografii 1920-1930-kh gg.*, in *Vestnik Tomskogo*, 4 (20), 2012, p. 47–50.
- Barthes 1978 – Roland Barthes, *Tekstovaya lingvistika. Novoye v zarubezhnoy lingvistike*, vol. VIII, Moscow, 1978, p. 442–449.
- Belogurov 1997 – Sergey B. Belogurov, *Istoriya voyennoy periodicheskoy pechati v Rossii (XIX - nachalo KHKH vv.)*, abstract of PhD thesis, Military University of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, Moscow, 1997.
- Berezhnoy 1975 – Aleksandr F. Berezhnoy, *Russkaya legal'naya pechat' v gody pervoy mirovoy voyny*, Leningrad, 1975.

- Berk 1973 – Stephen M. Berk, *The Democratic Counterrevolution: Komuch and the Civil War on the Volga*, in *CASS*, 7, 1973, 4, p. 443–459.
- Boykov, Merkushev 2003 – Vladimir E. Boykov, Vladimir I. Merkushev, *Istoricheskoye soznanie v sovremennom rossiyskom obshchestve: sostoyaniye i tendentsii formirovaniya*, in *SV*, 2, 2003, p. 5–22.
- Brandenberger 2021 – David Brandenberger, *Global and Transnational in Form, Soviet in Content: The Changing Semantics of Internationalism in Official Soviet Discourse, 1917–1991*, in *RR*, 80, 2021, 4, p. 562–580.
- Brinyuk 2013 – Nadejda Y. Brinyuk, *Odnodnevnyaya gazeta «Kappelevtsy» kak fragment propagandistskoy politiki kolchakovskogo pravitel'stva*, in *Vestnik SPb*, 3, 2013, 16, p. 165–173.
- Chamberlin 1958 – William Henry Chamberlin, *Forty Years of Soviet Communism*, in *RR*, 17, 1958, 1, p. 3–10.
- Chernyak 1987 – Eduard I. Chernyak, *Eserovskiy organizatsii v Sibiri v 1917 – nachale 1918 gg.: (K istorii bankrotstva partii)*, edited by Izrail' M. Razgon, Tomsk, 1987.
- Dickey et al. 2015 – Jeffrey V. Dickey, Thomas B. Everett, Zane M. Galvach, Matthew J. Mesko, Anton V. Soltis, *Russian Political Warfare: Origin, Evolution, and Application*, Monterey, 2015.
- Ili vy, ili oni* 1921 – *Ili vy, ili oni (o zverstvakh kommunistov)*, in *Golos Narodnoy Armii*, 19 March 1921, p. 1.
- Ioffe 1982 – Genrikh Z. Ioffe, *Ot kontrrevolyutsii «demokraticheskoy» k burzhuazno – pomeschich'ey diktature*, in *Istoriya SSSR*, 1, 1982, p. 108–119.
- Ishimets 1921 – Ishimets (pseudonym), *Beschinstva kommunistov*, in *Golos Narodnoy Armii*, 20 March 1921, p. 1.
- Hargood et al. 2018 – Charlie Hargood, David E. Millard, Mark J. Weal, *The Thematic Modelling of Subtext*, in *MIA*, 77, 2018, p. 28281–28308.
- Hoffman 2009 – Frank G. Hoffman, *Hybrid vs. Compound War*, in *Armed Forces Journal*, 1 October 2009, <http://www.armedforcesjournal.com/hybrid-vs-compound-war>.
- Karabulatova 2020 – Irina Karabulatova, *The Manipulation of the Public Consciousness through Russian Press Coverage of Events around the Paris Peace Conference, 1918–1920*, in Sorin Arhire, Tudor Roşu (eds), *The Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920) and Its Aftermath: Settlements, Problems and Perceptions*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2020, p. 209–226.
- Karabulatova et al. 2014 – Irina Sovetovna Karabulatova, Elena Nicolayevna Ermakova, Galina Alexandrovna Shiganova, *Astana the Capital of Kazakhstan and Astanas in Siberia as a Linguistic-Cultural Aspect of the National Islam of Eurasia*, in *Terra Sebus*, special issue, 2014, p. 15–30.
- Karabulatova et al. 2015 – Irina S. Karabulatova, Pavel V. Barsukov, Ilnur V. Akhmetov, Olga V. Mamatelashvili, Faiz F. Khizbullin, *“Network Wars” as a New Type of Deviation Processes in the Modern Electronic and Information Society in the Context of Social and Economic Security*, in *MJSS*, 6, 2015, 6(3), p. 150–159.
- Karabulatova et al. 2017 – Irina Sovetovna Karabulatova, Julia Nikolayevna Ebzeeva, Nurbiy Aslanovich Pocheshkhov, *The Repressed Caucasians'*



- Karabulatova et al. 2021 – *Ethno-Trauma Expressed as “Light” and “Darkness” in Selected Writings of Idris Bazorkin*, in *Terra Sebus*, 9, 2017, p. 447–459.
- Kattsina, Karabulatova 2020 – Irina S. Karabulatova, Margarita D. Lagutkina, Natalia V. Borodina, Maria A. Streltsova, Aleksey O. Bakhus, *Formation of Ethnosocial Identity in the Matrix of Media Discourse*, in *AI*, 10, 2021, 43, p. 234–247.
- Kennan 1958 – Tatyana Kattsina, Irina Karabulatova, *Social Control of Offences by Minors: Perception and Interpretation in Early Soviet of Russia (1917–1921)*, in *Terra Sebus*, 12, 2020, p. 243–262.
- Kirichenko 2015 – George Kennan, *The Czechoslovak Legion: II*, in *RR*, 17, 1958, 1, p. 11–28.
- Kirichenko 2015 – Aleksandr V. Kirichenko, *Informatsionno-psikhologicheskiye voyny: sovremennyye tendentsii i tekhnologicheskiye vozmozhnosti*, in *Acmeology*, 56, 2015, 4, p. 209–214.
- Kotyukov 2012 – Konstantin L. Kotyukov, *Rokovoye razdeleniye: Russkaya voyennaya emigratsiya v period Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyny na okkupirovannykh territoriyakh Sovetskogo Soyuza i Yugoslavii: istoricheskoye issledovaniye*, edited by Georgy A. Kumanev, Moscow, 2012.
- Krebs 2009 – Tatyana Viktorovna Krebs, *Sovetskaya Rossiya v izobrazhenii belogardeyskoy pechati (po materialam omskikh gazet)*, in *ONV*, 78, 2009, 3, p. 36–38.
- Lagunov 1991 – Konstantin Ya. Lagunov, *Dvadsat’ peryy: khronika Zapadno-Sibirskogo krestyanskogo vosstaniya*, Sverdlovsk, 1991.
- Lagutkina et al. 2021 – Margarita D. Lagutkina, Irina S. Karabulatova, Irina P. Savchuk, Sofia V. Onina, Murshida E. Nurgaliyeva, *Siberia as a Trigger of Geopolitical Conflictogenic Media Discourse*, in *JSFU*, 14, 2021, 10, p. 1436–1454.
- Lasswell 1927 – Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, London, New York, 1927.
- Linebarger 2015 – Paul M. A. Linebarger, *Psychological Warfare*, New York, 2015.
- Lenin 1973 – Vladimir I. Lenin, *Rech’ na Vserossiyskom s’yezde transportnykh rabochikh 27 marta 1921 g.*, in *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, vol. 43, 1973.
- Lin 2017 – Yuexin Rachel Lin, *White Water, Red Tide: Sino-Russian Conflict on the Amur 1917–20*, in *HR*, 90, 2017, 247, p. 76–100.
- Menshikov 2000 – Mikhail O. Menshikov, *Pis’ma k russkoy natsii*, Moscow, 2000.
- Miller 1986 – Martin A. Miller, *The Russian Revolutionary Emigres, 1825–1870*, Baltimore, 1986.
- Mogilner 2014 – Marina Mogilner, *New Imperial History: Post-Soviet Historiography in Search of a New Paradigm for the History of Empire and Nationalism*, in *RECEO*, 2, 2014, 45, p. 25–67.
- Mokhnacheva 1979 – Marina P. Mokhnacheva, *Problemy istorii Rossii v demokraticeskikh zhurnalakh vtoroy poloviny XIX veka (1859–1884 gg.)*, abstract of PhD thesis, Moscow State Historical Institute, 1979.
- Offord 2012 – Derek Offord, *The Response of the Russian Decembrists to Spanish Politics in the Age of Ferdinand VII*, in *HC*, 13, 2012, p. 163–191.
- Okorokov 1970 – Andrey Z. Okorokov, *Oktyabr’ i krakh russkoy burzhuaznoy presy*, Moscow, 1970.

- Osipov et al. 2016 – Gennady Osipov, Irina Karabulatova, Gennady Shafranov-Kutsev, Lyudmila Kononova, Bigaysha Akhmetova, Ekaterina Loskutova, Gulsina Niyazova, *Ethnic Trauma and Its Echo in Today's Mental Picture of the World among the Peoples of the Post-Soviet States: An Interethnic Conflicting Discourse Unfolding in Russia's Ethnolinguistic Information Space*, in *CACS*, 17, 2016, 2, p. 87–94.
- Pamyatka partizana* 1921 – *Pamyatka partizana*, in *Golos Narodnoy Armii*, 16 March 1921, p. 1.
- Pashin 2018 – Vasily Petrovich Pashin, *Novyye dokumenty o deyatel'nosti atamana G. M. Semonova na Dal'nem Vostoke v period s 1923 po 1928 g.*, in *Rossiya i ATR*, 2, 2018, 100, p. 155–177.
- Pereira 1987 – Norman G. O. Pereira, *White Power during the Civil War in Siberia (1918–1920): Dilemmas of Kolchak's "War Anti-Communism,"* in *CSP*, 29, 1987, 1, p. 45–62.
- Politov 2014 – Andrey Viktorovich Politov, *Ontologicheskiiy smysl ponyatiya khronotopa v filosofskikh ideyakh A. Ukhtomskogo i M. Bakhtina*, in *Antinomies*, 14, 2014, 4, p. 50–62.
- Prygun 2016 – Elena V. Prygun, *"Love ... Fatherland and Freedom!"*, in *JSFU*, 8, 2016, p. 1783–1789.
- Reitblat 2009 – Aleksandr I. Reitblat, *Ot Boya k Bal'montu: ocherki po istorii chteniya v Rossii vo vtoroy polovine XIX veka*, Moscow, 2009.
- Ruan, Karabulatova 2021 – Yongchen Ruan, Irina S. Karabulatova, *The Experience of the Loss of the Motherland by Representatives of Russian Emigration in the Chinese Provinces (1905–1917)*, in *Bylye Gody*, 16, 2021, 3, 1501–1510.
- Sayfulina et al. 2013 – Flera Sagitovna Sayfulina, Irina Sovetovna Karabulatova, Ferits Yusupovich Yusupov, Ilgam Gusmanovich Gumerov, *Contemporary Issues of Textual Analysis of Turkic-Tatar Literary Monuments of Western Siberia*, in *WASJ*, 27, 2013, p. 492–496.
- Semenova 1977 – Nina Mikhailovna Semenova, *Periodicheskaya pechat' Sibiri kak istochnik po istorii "demokraticheskoy" kontrrevolyutsii*, abstract of PhD thesis, Tomsk State University, 1977.
- Senyavskaya 2006 – Yelena S. Senyavskaya, *Protivniki Rossii v voynakh XX veka: evolyutsiya "obraza vraga" v soznanii armii i obschestva*, Moscow, 2006.
- Shagbanova et al. 2016 – Khabiba Shagbanova, Irina Mkrtumova, Irina Karabulatova, Vladimir Nifontov, *The Use of Communication Technologies of Oppose Political-Religious Terrorism as an Ethnosocial Deviation in the Contemporary Information-Digital Society*, in *CACS*, 17, 2016, 2, p. 54–61.
- Shevelev 1999 – Dmitry N. Shevelev, *Rol' antibol'shevistskoy periodicheskoy pechati v formirovanii obraza Sibirskoy armii (po materialam pechati Sibiri 1918–1919 gg.)*, in Boris G. Mogilnitsky (ed.), *Istoricheskaya nauka na rubezhe vekov*, Tomsk, 1999, p. 195–196.
- Shevelev, Konev 2015 – Dmitry N. Shevelev, Konstantin A. Konev, *"Za Rossiyu i za obshebeye delo slavyanstva": ofitsial'naya i propravitel'stvennaya pechat' beloy Sibiri o formirovanii na yeye territorii karpatorusskikh voinskikh chastey*, in *Rusin*, 4 (42), 2015, p. 143–167.
- Sheremet'yeva 2011 – Darya L. Sheremet'yeva, *Gazety Sibiri v period "demokraticheskoy kontrrevolyutsii": konets maya - seredina noyabrya 1918 g.*, abstract of

- PhD thesis, Institute of History of Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Novosibirsk, 2011.
- Shishkin 2000 – Vladimir I. Shishkin, *Za Sovety bez kommunistov: krest'yanskoye vosstaniye v Tyumenskoy gubernii: 1921: Collection of documents*, Novosibirsk, 2000.
- Skovorodnikov, Kopnina 2016 – Aleksandr P. Skovorodnikov, Galina A. Kopnina, *Lingvistika informatsionno-psikhologicheskoy voyny: k obosnovaniyu i opredeleniyu ponyatiya*, in *PL*, 1, 2016, p. 42–50.
- Smele 2006 – Jonathan D. Smele, *Civil War in Siberia: The Anti-Bolshevik Government of Admiral Kolchak, 1918–1920*, New York, 2006.
- Sorokin 2005 – Pitirim Sorokin, *Sotsiologiya revolyutsii*, Moscow, 2005.
- Szymczak 2008 – Robert Szymczak, *The Vindication of Memory: The Katyn Case in the West, Poland, and Russia, 1952–2008*, in *PR*, 53, 2008, 4, p. 419–443.
- V Ishimskom uyezde* 1921 – *V Ishimskom uyezde (So slov ochevidttsy)*, in *Golos Narodnoy Armii*, 8 March 1921, p. 1.
- Volgin 1990 – Aleksandr P. Volgin, *Burzhuaŕnaya pressa Sibiri i kolchakovschina*, abstract of PhD thesis, Tomsk State University, 1990.
- Zabolotny, Kamynin 1996 – Evgeny B. Zabolotny, Vladimir D. Kamynin, *K voprosu o meste “novogo napravleniya” v otechestvennoy istoriografii*, in Anatoly T. Shashkov (ed.), *Problemy istorii Rossii*, Ekaterinburg, 1996, p. 112–115.
- Zhilyakova 2009 – Natalia V. Zhilyakova, *Istoriya tsenzury gazety “Sibirskaya zhizn” 1894–1919*, in *Vestnik Tomskogo*, 3, 2009, p. 102–105.

## LISTA ABREVIERILOR

- Abgadiyat** – Abgadiyat. Brill. Writing and Scripts Center (Bibliotheca Alexandrina).
- ACD** – Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis. University of Debrecen.
- Acmeology** – Acmeology. Mezhdunarodnoy akademii akmeologicheskikh nauk, Rossiyskoy akademii obrazovaniya, kafedry akmeologii i psikhologii professional'noy deyatel'nosti Akademii pri Prezidente RF (RANKhiGS), Tsentra akmeologicheskikh issledovaniy. Moscova.
- ActaAC** – Acta Archaeologica Carpathica. Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. Cracovia.
- ActaMN** – Acta Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei. Cluj-Napoca.
- ActaMP** – Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău.
- AD** – Archaeological Dialogues. Cambridge.
- AÉ** – Archaeologiai Értesítő a Magyar régészeti, művészettörténeti és éremtani társulat tudományos folyóirata. Budapest.
- AI** – Amazonia Investiga. Editorial Primate. Colombia.
- AIIAI/AIIX** – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol” Iași (din 1990 Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol” Iași). Iași.
- AIIGB** – Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu”. Series Historica. Institutul de Istorie „George Barițiu” Cluj-Napoca.
- AKÖG** – Archiv für Kunde österreichischen Geschichts-Quellen. Wien.
- Alt Schaessburg** – Alt Schaessburg. Muzeul de Istorie Sighișoara.
- AnAcad** – Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice. Academia Română. București.
- AnB** – Analele Banatului (serie nouă). Muzeul Național al Banatului. Timișoara.
- Angustia** – Angustia. Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni. Sfântu Gheorghe.
- Antinomies** – Institute of Philosophy and Law Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Ekaterinburg.
- Antiquity** – Antiquity. Durham University.
- Apulum** – Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii. Alba Iulia.

Lista abrevierilor

<b>ArchKözl</b>	– Archaeologiai Közlemények. Pesten.
<b>ArchMéd</b>	– Archéologie médiévale. Centre de Recherches Archéologiques Médiévales. Caen.
<b>ArhMold</b>	– Arheologia Moldovei. Institutul de Arheologie Iași.
<b>Arkheologiya</b>	– Arkheologiya. Kiev.
<b>Arrabona</b>	– Arrabona. Xántus János Múzeum. Győr.
<b>AS</b>	– Annals of Science. Taylor & Francis. Abingdon-on-Thames (UK).
<b>Astra Sabesiensis</b>	– Astra Sabesiensis. Despărțământul Astra „Vasile Moga” Sebeș.
<b>ASUI</b>	– Analele Științifice ale Universității „Al. I. Cuza” din Iași. Istorie. Iași.
<b>ATF</b>	– Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis. Muzeul Țării Făgărașului „Valer Literat”. Făgăraș.
<b>AUASH</b>	– Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica. Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918” din Alba Iulia.
<b>AUASP</b>	– Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Philologica. Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918” din Alba Iulia.
<b>AUB</b>	– Analele Universității București. Istorie. Universitatea București.
<b>AUVT</b>	– Annales d’Université Valahia Târgoviște, Section d’Archeologie et d’Histoire. Târgoviște.
<b>AVSL</b>	– Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde. Sibiu.
<b>BAM</b>	– Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae. Iași.
<b>Banatica</b>	– Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan. Reșița.
<b>BAR</b>	– British Archaeological Reports (International Series). Oxford.
<b>BarbSz</b>	– Barbarikumi Szemle. University of Szeged.
<b>BB</b>	– Bibliotheca Brukenthal. Muzeul Național Brukenthal. Sibiu.
<b>BCȘS</b>	– Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești. Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918” din Alba Iulia.
<b>BerRGK</b>	– Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Frankfurt am Main.
<b>BiblThrac</b>	– Biblioteca Thracologica. Institutul Român de Tracologie. București.
<b>BICS</b>	– Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Institute of Classical Studies. The University of London’s School of Advanced Study. London.
<b>BI-PSA</b>	– Biblioteca Istro-Pontică, Seria Arheologie. Tulcea.
<b>BMA</b>	– Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis. Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba Iulia.

<b>BMN</b>	– Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis. Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei. Cluj-Napoca.
<b>BMRBC</b>	– Buletinul Muzeului Regional al Basarabiei din Chișinău.
<b>BMS</b>	– Bibliotheca Musei Sabesiensis. Muzeul Municipal „Ioan Raica” Sebeș.
<b>Boabe de grâu</b>	– Boabe de grâu. Revistă de cultură. București.
<b>BS</b>	– Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis. Institutul pentru Cercetarea Patrimoniului Cultural Transilvănean în Context European. Sibiu.
<b>BSNR</b>	– Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române. Societatea Numismatică Română. București.
<b>BULR</b>	– Boston University Law Review. Boston University School of Law. Boston (Massachusetts).
<b>Brukenthal</b>	– Brukenthal. Acta Musei. Muzeul Național Brukenthal. Sibiu.
<b>Byzantion</b>	– Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines. Peeters Publishers. Louvain.
<b>ByzF</b>	– Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik. Amsterdam.
<b>Bylye Gody</b>	– Bylye Gody. Cherkas Global University Press. Washington.
<b>BYULR</b>	– Brigham Young University Law Review. J. Reuben Clark Law School. Provo (Utah).
<b>CACS</b>	– Central Asia and the Caucasus Studies. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Islamic Republic of Iran. Tehran.
<b>CAF/FHA</b>	– Cahiers d'Archéologie Fribourgeoise. Freiburger Hefte für Archäologie. Zürich.
<b>CAH</b>	– Communicationes archaeologicae Hungariae. Budapest.
<b>Caietele ARA</b>	– Caietele Ara. Asociația „Arhitectură. Restaurare. Arheologie”. București.
<b>Caietele CIVA</b>	– Asociația Cercul de Istorie Veche și Arheologie, Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918” din Alba Iulia.
<b>Calitatea vieții</b>	– Calitatea vieții. Institutul de Cercetare a Calității Vieții. București.
<b>CASS</b>	– Canadian-American Slavic Studies. Brill. Leiden.
<b>CCA</b>	– Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. cIMEC. București.
<b>CCDJ</b>	– Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos. Călărași.
<b>CEJC</b>	– Central European Journal of Geosciences.
<b>CH</b>	– Construction History. The Construction History Society. Ascot (UK).
<b>CI</b>	– Cercetări istorice. Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei. Iași.
<b>Concept</b>	– Concept. Universitatea Națională de Artă Teatrală și Cinematografică „I. L. Caragiale” din București (UNATC). București.

Lista abrevierilor

- CR** – Caietele restaurării. Asociația Art Conservation Support. București.
- Crisia** – Crisia. Muzeul Țării Crișurilor. Oradea.
- CSMÉ** – A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyvei. Muzeul Secuiesc al Ciucului. Miercurea Ciuc.
- CSP** – Canadian Slavonic Papers. Taylor & Francis. Abingdon-on-Thames (UK).
- Dacia** – Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie. București, I (1924)-XII (1948). Nouvelle série: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne. București.
- DLJ** – Duke Law Journal. Duke University School of Law. Durham (North Carolina).
- DLR** – Denver Law Review. University of Denver Sturm College of Law. Denver (Colorado).
- Dolgozatok** – Dolgozatok az Erdély Nemzeti Múzeum Érem – és Régiségtárából. Kolosvár (Cluj).
- DOP** – Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Dumbarton Oaks. Trustees for Harvard University.
- Drobeta** – Drobeta. Seria Etnografie. Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier. Drobeta-Turnu Severin.
- DSȘ** – Dări de Seamă ale Ședințelor. Comitetul Geologic. Institutul Geologic. București.
- EMúz** – Erdélyi Múzeum. Erdélyi Múzeum az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület. Kolozsvár (Cluj).
- EphNap** – Ephemeris Napocensis. Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei Cluj-Napoca.
- Eurasia Antiqua** – Eurasia Antiqua. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Eurasien-Abteilung. Berlin.
- FK** – Földtani Közlöny. Budapest.
- FK** – Földrajzi Közlemények. Magyar Földrajzi Társaság.
- FolArch** – Folia Archaeologica. Magyar Történeti Múzeum. Budapest.
- FVL** – Forschungen zur Volks -und Landeskunde, Sibiu.
- GAS** – Geophysical Research Abstract. European Geosciences Union (EGU).
- Gemina** – Gemina. Revista Muzeului Bănățean din Timișoara.
- Geoarchaeology** – Geoarchaeology. An International Journal.
- GRBS** – Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies. Duke University. Durham.
- Harvard LR** – Harvard Law Review. Harvard Law School. Cambridge (Massachusetts).
- HC** – Historia Constitucional. Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales de Madrid, adscrito al Ministerio español de la Presidencia, y el Seminario de Historia

- Constitucional “Martínez Marina” de la Universidad de Oviedo.
- Hierasus** – Hierasus. Muzeul Județean Botoșani.
- Historica** – Historica. Centrul de Istorie, Filologie și Etnografie din Craiova.
- HK** – Hadtörténelmi Közlemények (Évnegyedes folyóirat a magyar hadi történetírás fejlesztésére). Quarterly of Military History. Budapest.
- HLR** – Houston Law Review. University of Houston Law Center. Houston (Texas).
- HR** – Historical Research. Institute of Historical Research. University of London.
- HT** – The History Teacher. Society for History Education. Long Beach (California).
- IAA** – Istoriko-arkheologicheskij al'manakh. Armavir, Krasnodar. Moscova.
- Ialomița** – Ialomița. Studii și cercetări de arheologie, istorie, etnografie și muzeologie. Muzeul Județean Slobozia.
- IGC** – International Geological Congress. Prague.
- Istros** – Istros. Muzeul Brăilei. Brăila.
- JAHA** – Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology. Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei. Universitatea Tehnică Cluj-Napoca.
- JAMÉ** – A Jóna András Múzeum Évkönyve. Nyíregyháza.
- JAS** – Journal of Archaeological Science. Elsevier.
- J. Biogeogr.** – Journal of Biogeography. Edited by Michael N. Dawson.
- JIA** – The Journal of Indian Art. W. Griggs & Sons. London.
- JKKCC** – Jahrbuch der Kaiserl. Königl. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale. Wien.
- JLSt** – Journal of Lithic Studies. Edinburgh.
- JSFU** – Journal of Siberian Federal University. Humanities & Social Sciences. Siberian Federal University. Krasnoyarsk.
- JWP** – Journal of World Prehistory. Kluwer Academic.
- Kavkazskii sbornik** – Kavkazskii sbornik. MGIMO MID Rossii. Moscova.
- Közlemények** – Közlemények az Erdely Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából. Kolosvár (Cluj).
- Kratkie** – Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscova.
- LCP** – Law and Contemporary Problems. Duke University School of Law. Durham (North Carolina).
- LȘ** – Lucrări științifice. Institutul de Învățământ Superior Oradea.



Lista abrevierilor

- Marisia** – Marisia. Studii și Materiale. Muzeul Județean Mureș. Târgu Mureș.
- Marmatia** – Marmatia. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Baia Mare.
- Materialy** – Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii. Tavria.
- MCA** – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice (serie nouă). Academia Română. Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan”. București.
- MemEthno** – Memoria Ethnologica. Centrul Județean Pentru Conservarea și Promovarea Culturii Tradiționale Liviu Borlan Maramureș. Baia Mare.
- Mittheilungen** – Mittheilungen der K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale. Wien.
- MJSS** – Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences. Rome.
- MLJ** – Mississippi Law Journal. The University of Mississippi School of Law. Oxford (Mississippi).
- MLR** – Michigan Law Review. University of Michigan Law School. Ann Arbor (Michigan).
- MN** – Munții Noștrii. București.
- MT** – Mediaevalia Transilvanica. Muzeul Județean Satu Mare.
- MTA** – Multimedia Tools and Applications. Springer.
- MuzNaț** – Muzeul Național de Istorie a României. București.
- NAV** – Nizhnevolzhskij arkheologicheskij vestnik [The Lower Volga Archaeological Bulletin]. Volgograd State University.
- Nemvs** – Nemvs. Alba Iulia.
- NLO** – Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie. Moscova.
- NPNP** – Novoe proshloe / The New Past. Southern Federal University. Rostov-on-Don.
- NULR** – Northwestern University Law Review. Northwestern University Pritzker School of Law. Chicago (Illinois).
- NumKözl** – Numizmatikai Közlöny. Budapesta.
- OC** – Orientalia Christiana. Roma.
- ONV** – Omskiy nauchnyy vestnik. Omsk.
- OSR** – Obshchestvo. Sreda. Razvitie (Terra Humana). Tsentr nauchno-informatsionnykh tekhnologii Asterion. Sankt-Petersburg.
- ÖZBH** – Österreichische Zeitschrift für Berg- und Hüttenwesen. Wien.
- PA** – Patrimonium Apulense. Direcția Județeană pentru Cultură, Culte și Patrimoniul Cultural Național Alba. Alba Iulia.
- Palynology** – Palynology. The Palynological Society.
- PL** – Ural State Pedagogical University. Ekaterinburg.

<b>Pontica</b>	– Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie. Constanța.
<b>PR</b>	– The Polish Review. Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America. New York.
<b>Probleme economice</b>	– Probleme economice. Organ al Comitetului Superior Economic. București.
<b>PZ</b>	– Prähistorische Zeitschrift. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie. Berlin.
<b>QR</b>	– Quaestio Rossica. Ural Federal University. Ekaterinburg.
<b>Quat.Int</b>	– Quaternary International. The Journal of International Union for Quaternary Research. Elsevier.
<b>RA</b>	– Revista Arhivelor. Arhivele Naționale ale României. București.
<b>RB</b>	– Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Județean Bistrița-Năsăud. Bistrița.
<b>Realitatea ilustrată</b>	– Realitatea ilustrată (sau Lucrurile așa cum le vedem cu ochii). Cluj (1927-1928), ulterior București.
<b>RECEO</b>	– Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest. Institut des Sciences Humaines et Sociales. Paris.
<b>REF</b>	– Revista de etnografie și folclor. București.
<b>RESEE</b>	– Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes. Academia Română. București.
<b>RevArh</b>	– Revista Arheologică. Centrul de Arheologie al Institutului Patrimoniului Cultural al Academiei de Științe a Moldovei. Chișinău.
<b>Revue du Nord</b>	– Revue du Nord. Archéologie. Revue d'Histoire et d'Archéologie des Universités du Nord de la France. Lille.
<b>RHSEE/RESEE</b>	– Revue historique du sud-est européen. Academia Română. București, Paris (din 1963 Revue des études sud-est européennes).
<b>RI</b>	– Revista de Istorie (din 1990 Revista istorică). Academia Română. București.
<b>RJMD</b>	– Romanian Journal of Mineral Deposits. București.
<b>RM</b>	– Revista Muzeelor. București.
<b>RMI</b>	– Revista Monumentelor Istorice. Institutul Național al Patrimoniului. București.
<b>RN</b>	– Revue Numismatique. Société française de numismatique.
<b>RossArk</b>	– Rossijskaya Arkheologiya. Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscova.
<b>Rossiya i ATR</b>	– Rossiya i ATR. Institut istorii, arkheologii i etnologii narodov Dal'nego Vostoka vo Vladivostoke.

- RR** – Dal'nevostochnoye otdeleniye Rossiyskoy akademii nauk. Vladivostok.  
**RREI** – The Russian Review. University of Kansas. Lawrence.  
**RRH** – Revue Roumaine d'Études Internationales. Academia Română. București.  
**RRHA** – Revue Roumaine d'Histoire. Academia Română. București.  
**Rusin** – Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts. Academia Română. București.  
**SA** – Obshchestvennoy assotsiatsiyey „Rus” (Kishinev). Tomskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet. Tomsk.  
**SAI** – Sovetskaya Arkheologiya. Moscova.  
**SAO** – Studii și articole de istorie. Societatea de Științe Istorice și Filologice din România. București.  
**Sargetia** – Studia et Acta Orientalia. Societatea de Științe Istorice și Filologice din RPR. București.  
**SCIATMC** – Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis. Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane. Deva.  
**SCIV(A)** – Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Teatru, Muzică, Cinematografie. Institutul de Istoria Artei „G. Oprescu”. București.  
**SCN** – Studii și cercetări de istoria veche (din 1974, Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie). București.  
**SCȘMI** – Studii și cercetări de numismatică. Institutul de Arheologie București.  
**SGEM** – Sesiunea de Comunicări Științifice ale Muzeelor de Istorie. București.  
**SlovArch** – SGEM. International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConference. Conference Proceedings. Sofia, Albena.  
**SMANS** – Slovenská Archeológia. Archeologický ústav SAV. Nitra.  
**SMIM** – Southampton Monographs in Archaeology, new series. Southampton.  
**SN** – Studii și materiale de istorie medie. Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga” al Academiei Române. București.  
**SoveEtno** – Schäßburger Nachrichten. HOG Informationsblatt für Schäßburger in aller Welt. Heilbronn.  
**SP** – Sovetslaya Etnografiya (1931-1991) (vezi și Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie). N. N. Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscova.  
**SP** – Studii de Preistorie. Asociația Română de Arheologie. București.

<b>StComCaransebeș</b>	– Studii și Comunicări de Istorie și Etnografie (continuă cu Tibiscum. Studii și Comunicări de Etnografie - Istorie), Caransebeș.
<b>StComSibiu</b>	– Studii și Comunicări. Arheologie-Istorie. Muzeul Brukenthal. Sibiu.
<b>StComSM</b>	– Studii și comunicări. Muzeul Județean Satu Mare.
<b>STP</b>	– Slavery: Theory and Practice. Cherkas Global University Press. Washington.
<b>Stratum plus</b>	– Stratum plus. Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology. Chișinău.
<b>Studii</b>	– Studii. Revistă de istorie (din 1974 Revista de istorie și din 1990 Revista istorică). Academia Română. București.
<b>Studime Historike</b>	– Studime Historike. Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës. Instituti i Historisë dhe i Gjuhësisë. Tiranë.
<b>SUBBB</b>	– Studia Universitatis „Babeș-Bolyai”, Series Biologia. Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai” Cluj-Napoca.
<b>SUBBG</b>	– Studia Universitatis „Babeș-Bolyai”, Series Geologia. Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai” Cluj-Napoca.
<b>SUCSH</b>	– Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica. Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” Sibiu.
<b>SV</b>	– Sotsiologiya vlasti. Rossiyskaya akademiya narodnogo khozyaystva i gosudarstvennoy sluzhby pri Prezidente Rossiyskoy Federatsii. Moscova.
<b>Terra Sebus</b>	– Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis. Muzeul Municipal „Ioan Raica” Sebeș.
<b>TESG</b>	– Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie. Royal Dutch Geographical Society. Utrecht.
<b>The Celator</b>	– The Celator: Journal of Ancient and Medieval Coinage. Lancaster (Pennsylvania).
<b>Thraco-Dacica</b>	– Thraco-Dacica. Institutul Român de Tracologie. București.
<b>Tibiscum</b>	– Tibiscum. Studii și Comunicări de Etnografie și Istorie. Muzeul Regimentului Grăniceresc din Caransebeș.
<b>TLR</b>	– Tulsa Law Review. The University of Tulsa College of Law. Tulsa (Oklahoma).
<b>TxLR</b>	– Texas Law Review. University of Texas at Austin School of Law. Austin (Texas).
<b>Transilvania</b>	– Transilvania. Centrul Cultural Interetnic Transilvania. Sibiu.
<b>TV</b>	– Tyuremnyy vestnik. Izdanie Glavnogo tyuremnogo upravleniya. Sankt-Petersburg.
<b>Tyragetia International</b>	– Tyragetia International, serie nouă. Muzeul Național de Arheologie și Istorie a Moldovei. Chișinău.
<b>Țara Bârsei</b>	– Țara Bârsei. Muzeul „Casa Mureșenilor” Brașov.

Lista abrevierilor

- UCLR** – The University of Chicago Law Review. The Law School of the University of Chicago. (Illinois).
- UCLALR** – UCLA Law Review. UCLA School of Law and the Regents of the University of California. Los Angeles (California).
- UPA** – Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie. Berlin.
- VDB-MB** – Veröffentlichungen aus dem Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum. Bochum.
- Vestnik instituta** – Vestnik instituta: prestuplenie, nakazanie, ispravlenie. Vologodskii institut prava i ekonomiki Federal’noi sluzhby ispolneniya nakazanii. Vologda.
- Vestnik SPb** – Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo instituta kul’tury. Sankt-Peterburgskiy gosudarstvennyy institut kul’tury. Sankt-Petersburg.
- Vestnik Tomskogo** – Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Istoriya. Tomskiy gosudarstvennyy universitet. Tomsk.
- VHA** – Vegetation History and Archaeobotany. The Journal of Quaternary Plant Ecology, Palaeoclimate and Ancient Agriculture. Official Organ of the International Work Group for Palaeoethnobotany.
- VKZ** – Vserossiiskii kriminologicheskii zhurnal/Russian Journal of Criminology. Federal State Budgetary Educational Institution of Higher Education Baikal State University. Irkutsk.
- VLR** – Vermont Law Review. Vermont Law School. South Royalton (Vermont).
- WASJ** – World Applied Sciences Journal, (Education, Law, Economics, Language and Communication). International Digital Organization for Scientific Information. Pakistan.
- WLJ** – Washburn Law Journal. Washburn University School of Law. Topeka (Kansas).
- WLR** – Washington Law Review. University of Washington School of Law. Seattle (Washington).
- WMLR** – William & Mary Law Review. William & Mary Law School. Williamsburg (Virginia).
- WNELRW** – Western New England Law Review. Western New England University. School of Law Springfield (Massachusetts).
- WSNC** – World of the Slavs of the North Caucasus. Krasnodarskii gosudarstvennyi universitet. Krasnodar.
- YLJ** – The Yale Law Journal. Yale Law School. Danvers (Massachusetts).
- Ziridava** – Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica. Muzeul Județean Arad.

**ZMY**

– Zhurnal ministerstva yustitsii. Tipografiya pravitel'stvuyushchego senata. Sankt-Petersburg.

**Zographe**

– Zographe. Revue d'art Médiévale. Institute d'histoire de l'art. Faculté de Philosophie. Belgrad.