

1. Historiography and source base of studies of public organizations of Ukraine (1985-1996)

Introduction

The democratic progress of Ukraine involves the creation of conditions for the formation of a civil society, which can be defined as a set of non-state social relations and existing institutions that provide citizens with the opportunity to protect their rights, satisfy them and realize needs, life and social values. The viability and strength of democracy depend on constant dialogue between ordinary citizens and state structures, between voters and their representatives in the legislative and executive branches.

Public organizations act as an important tool of self-organization of various layers of society, aimed at the protection and implementation of the rights and freedoms of citizens, and are also a channel of representation of the entire spectrum of public interests in relations between citizens and the government. Thanks to such interdependence, the level of social and political culture of citizens increases, which makes it possible, if necessary, to resist illegal actions of the authorities, to exercise control over the internal and external policy of state structures.

The civilizational choice, which becomes a priority in the development of the Ukrainian state, requires a comprehensive study of the initiative of all layers of Ukrainian society, aimed at creating associations of citizens and participation in their activities.

Understanding the essence of the transformations of Ukrainian society requires taking into account the fact that the transition period from a totalitarian to a democratic regime in Ukraine began with the reforms of M. Gorbachev, was formed against the background of the struggle for the sovereignty and independence of Ukraine, and since 1991 the processes of state formation have unfolded. There was a need to rethink the historical past, develop a statist ideology, adapt social structures to the democratic principles of society's functioning, ensure political and ideological pluralism, create a

multi-system economy, and legislate the rights and freedoms of citizens. Therefore, transformations in Ukraine during 1985-96 meant: a change in the political regime and state system; the transition from the command-administrative planned economy to the market mechanisms of the country's socio-economic development; affirmation of national spiritual and cultural values.

The attention of modern researchers is mainly focused on the processes of Ukrainian state formation, the formation of multi-party system, which, undoubtedly, should continue to occupy an important place in the development of national historical science. However, at the same time insufficient attention is paid to public organizations of Ukraine, their origins, activities, interaction with power structures.

The study of the mentioned topic will provide an opportunity to reveal in depth the causes and consequences of the transformations of Ukrainian society, to find out the contribution of public organizations to Ukraine's achievement of state independence, to the development of civil society.

The first stage (1989-1991)

The accumulation of knowledge about the formation and activity of public organizations in Ukraine in 1985-1996 took place in several stages, directly related to changes and transformations in the political and legal status of the republic, social transformations and the development of democratic processes. Evaluations of public organizations by scientists depended on the socio-political situation, the presence of state and party censorship, pluralism of opinions, and the possibility of using archival and current sources.

The main subject of scientific research was the emergence, formation and activity of fundamentally new associations of citizens - not under the control of the Communist Party apparatus, which became known to the general public as informal organizations. In Soviet times, there could be no unification of citizens legalized as a public organization without a corresponding decision of Communist Party bodies. That is why the recognition of informal organizations in 1985-1990 that arose in Ukraine outside the influence of the Communist Party took place in a kind of legal vacuum, which began to be filled only with the cancellation of Article 6 of the Constitution of

the USSR and the permission of the authorities to register public associations in the fall of 1990.

The first attempts to carry out an analysis of a new social phenomenon - informal organizations - were mostly journalistic and descriptive in nature. At the same time, the pace of socio-political transformations in the republic was ahead of the historiographic novelty of researches, which focused mainly on informal youth associations (V. Kononov, I. Sundiyev, O. Kashcheeva, R. Apersyan, O. Donchenko, S. Shapoval) [1]. Scientists tried to find out the origins and social base of youth associations. They believed that the impetus for the creation of informal associations was the activation of socio-political movements in Ukraine, glasnost and the emergence of the first rudiments of political pluralism. O. Razumkov and S. Khodakovsky noted that informal associations of young people in the field of leisure ("hippies", "rockers") existed in Ukraine since the 1970s. In 1985-1987, the majority of youth informal groups, having felt the weakening of the psychological and administrative pressure of the Komsomol and Communist Party structures, united young people for the purpose of spending leisure time together. Since 1987, the process of formation of organizations of socio-political, national-cultural, ecological direction has been started. The formation of social and political clubs [2] served as an accelerator of the amateur social and political movement of youth. A number of authors (V. Shchegortsov, A. Kochetkov, A. Shchegortsov, L. Dyachenko) considered informal organizations in the context of a spontaneous social movement that operated outside the boundaries of officially existing institutions [3]. A. Gromov and O. Kuzin defined informal associations as voluntary, independent public formations that arose at the initiative of the "grassroots" and acted in the interests of their members, regardless of the purpose and nature of the association [4].

A. Kaminsky considered the activities of human rights defenders, former dissidents in the social and political life of Ukraine, their participation in the creation and activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Memorial Society, the Ukrainian Language Society named after Taras Shevchenko. The foreign researcher used the information materials of the Ukrainian service of Radio Liberty, materials of the Soviet

press and self-publishing, which led to a one-sided coverage of events with an emphasis on the political opposition of the newly created organizations to the Communist regime [5].

V. Lytvyn was one of the first to turn to the scientific analysis of social and political formations that arose in the late 1980s and early 1990s in Soviet Ukraine. The author studied the formation of multipartyism in Ukraine, analyzed program documents and the social base of newly created associations [6]. According to V. Lytvyn and O. Smolyannikov, the emergence of politicized public formations is conditioned by the need to express and protect the interests of various segments of the population, the presence of social discontent, opposition to official power, and to satisfy narrow-group and personal aspirations of some political leaders [7].

The formation of multi-party system in Ukraine in 1990-1991 aroused the increased interest of the general public in the program documents of informal associations, prompted researchers to understand the new socio-political phenomenon. A. Haran associated the beginning of multi-party formation with the publication of the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union in the summer of 1988 [8], while A. Slyusarenko and M. Tomenko believed that multi-party formation was initiated during the formation of the People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika [9]. In our opinion, the liberalization of the communist regime in 1988-1989 contributed to the spread of glasnost and manifestations of political pluralism. Informal associations, by the very fact of their existence, became opposition to the ruling regime. So until now the formation of political parties in Ukraine combined separate functions of political organizations with statutory activities.

Some historians of the Soviet era, rethinking the nature of the totalitarian state, turned to the process of nationalization of public organizations and found out the negative consequences for society. Thus, A. Bezborodov showed that the Red Cross Society of the USSR was fully subordinated to the decisions of state and Communist Party structures. This created problems with the recognition of the society as a full member of the world movement [10].

At the first stage of the development of the historiography of public organizations, scientists failed to fully reveal the role of informal organizations in the democratization of Ukrainian society, in the formation of the all-Ukrainian liberation movement and the creation of political parties. Scientific searches of the specified period are characterized by the weakness of the source base of research, the absence of a unified terminology, and the rapidity of the unfolding of socio-political transformations.

The second stage (1991-1996)

Only since the end of 1991 did Ukraine have the prerequisites for a thorough study of the processes that took place in the republic in 1985-1991. The researchers' attention was drawn to organizations that were active participants in the Ukrainian national liberation movement, champions of democracy and state sovereignty of Ukraine. One of the first works devoted to the analysis of the conditions and factors that influenced the emergence of politicized public associations in the republic was the monograph by K. Bogomaz [11]. The historian paid considerable attention to the examination of crisis phenomena in the Komsomol, to the analysis of changes occurring in the program documents, forms and directions of activity of nationalized trade unions. At the same time, the work had a number of omissions, in particular, the lack of references to archival materials, a narrow source base of research.

Some aspects of the creation and activity of informal associations were highlighted in the writings of V. Lytvyn, devoted to the formation and evolution of the modern political elite. The author was one of the first to use new arrivals to the state archives, which strengthened the argumentation of his conclusions. At the same time, the researcher provides data on the number of informal organizations in Ukraine for 1986 and 1987, but equates the concept of "informal" with "self-employed", which, in our opinion, is debatable [12].

The subject of A. Rusnachenko's research work was the birth and formation of an independent labor movement in Ukraine in the conditions of perestroika. The author believes that the labor movement was first of all a political movement that put forward socio-economic and general democratic demands. The unification of the labor

movement with national democratic organizations took place in the spring of 1991 under the slogans of the struggle for the independence of Ukraine. However, the author did not pay attention to the emergence of strike committees outside Donbas and the Lviv-Volyn coal basin [13].

A significant contribution to the coverage of the processes of formation of democratic organizations was made by O. Haran[14]. The researcher considered the political aspects of the activity of informal organizations of Ukraine: the Ukrainian Language Society named after Taras Shevchenko, "Memorial" society, "Green World" ecological association. The author summarized the processes of formation of the People's Movement of Ukraine against the background of social transformations that took place in the second half of the 80s of the 20th century. Historian V. Kovtun, through the prism of personal sympathies, described the process of transformation of the People's Movement of Ukraine from a community-wide association that fought for Ukraine's sovereignty and state independence into a political party[15].

Some researchers focused on the contribution of youth associations during the perestroika period to the struggle for the national-democratic revival of Ukraine. Thus, I. Kolyaka believed that the main subject of the youth movement for democratic transformations in the society during perestroika was the Ukrainian student body [16].

Scientists investigated the origins and social base of youth organizations. Most of them believed that transformations in social and political processes, the emergence of pluralism of political opinion, and the abolition of censorship were an important impetus for the creation of youth informal associations. According to V. Golovenko, the politicization of the youth movement deepened after the founding congress of the People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika[17]. The researcher, analyzing the causes of the Komsomol crisis in the second half of the 80s of the 20th century, claims that the LKSMU in the conditions of the totalitarian regime acted as a structure that was completely dependent on the ruling communist party[18].

A significant contribution to the study of the youth movement in Ukraine was made by M. Holovaty. The scientist revealed the factors and features of the formation of new youth associations in the process of establishing Ukrainian statehood;

considered the ways of formation, features, character and implementation mechanism of the state youth policy; assessed the place of youth organizations in the political system of modern Ukraine; noted the participation of young people in the development of the economy, spiritual life, activity of legislative and executive structures. Of fundamental importance is the author's conclusion that the state youth policy is a unique mechanism through which state structures enter into relations with young people, contribute to the realization of their interests, requests and needs [19]. At the same time, researchers of the youth movement did not pay close attention to studying the forms and methods of amateur youth associations under the leadership of the Komsomol.

The birth and development of environmental associations in Ukraine in the second half of the 80s and early 90s of the 20th century, their place in the system of social associations were considered in the works of L. Ughrin [20]. Analyzing the peculiarities and trends of the development of informal environmental organizations in the context of the environmental movement, the researcher proposed a new term - "non-traditional public associations" in contrast to the nationalized public organizations (associations), which were a component of the Soviet political system [21]. In our opinion, the definition of "informal organizations" should be understood in the context of socio-political changes during the perestroika period.

S. Kurykin characterizes the period of 1985-1990 as a "buffer", considering Gorbachev's perestroika as nothing more than an attempt to partially liberalize the Soviet regime. The author rightly claims that the organizations that had the status of "public" in Soviet times were instruments in the implementation of party-state policy. Meanwhile, the non-governmental organizations that arose due to a real public initiative were called "informal" by party ideologues. The researcher believes that a special role in the creation of non-governmental organizations was played by associations aiming to protect nature and the environment, in particular the "Green World" association. The author dwells on the transformation in 1988 of the Committee of Youth Organizations of Ukraine, which operated under the auspices of the Central

Committee of the LKSMU. In 1988, almost 50 informal organizations of various directions emerged from its composition [22].

It should be noted that F. Jos, O. Kropyvko, N. Honcharuk, S. Kolomiys, O. Kadenyuk continued the studies focused on evaluating the evolution of public organizations and their place in social and political activity. The chronological boundaries of their works are limited to the first half of the 90s of the 20th century. At the same time, F. Jos defined the definition of "public organization" as a voluntary association of citizens, which is formed mainly based on professional interests and contributes to solving tasks in accordance with their statutory requirements [24]. The researcher focuses on the activities of professional unions, youth and women's organizations, creative unions and associations of consumer cooperation. However, in our opinion, it is problematic to attribute consumer cooperation to public organizations, because the activity of a public organization, as a rule, is directed to the protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens, to the realization of their interests in the non-profit sphere.

O. Kropyvko analyzes the participation of public organizations in the reform of the agro-industrial complex under the conditions of the introduction of market relations. The researcher's statement about belonging to public associations of the Ukrainian Fund for the Support of Peasant (Farm) Farms is debatable. The activity of the fund shows that it is a state specialized structure that performed the functions of implementing the state policy to support peasant (farming) farms. In our opinion, the judgment regarding the impracticality of classifying associations by areas of activity is also controversial, since the registration of public organizations in the Ministry of Justice by name did not reflect their functional focus [25]. Meanwhile, according to the instructions for conducting state statistical reporting, the direction of activity and the socio-demographic composition of the members of the public organization (veteran, charitable, environmental, etc.) must be taken into account. Since a number of public organizations have acquired the right to preferences from the state, this has affected their classification.

Changes in the social and legal status of public associations, the need to summarize the achievements and development problems of individual public organizations contributed to their discussion at scientific conferences, seminars, and "round tables". A prominent place in the discussion was occupied by the problems of the functioning of citizens' associations in the conditions of a market economy, [26] the peculiarities of legislative support for the activities of public organizations, [27] the development of the trade union movement in the conditions of a social and economic crisis [28].

So, the second stage of historiography is characterized by the appearance of historical works, the authors of which sought to summarize the contribution of public organizations to the struggle for Ukraine's independence, studied their role in the democratization of public life, environmental protection, and participation in the reform of industrial relations. The study of historical events on the "hot tracks" enriched the works with the aura of a complicit in the events, but was weakened by the lack of used archival sources.

The third stage (1996 - to date)

The third stage of research into the history of public organizations of Ukraine began in 1996. A number of factors contributed to this: first, the adoption of the

Constitution of Ukraine, which guaranteed the right of citizens to join public organizations. Secondly, state archival institutions conducted significant work on summarizing documents and materials of public associations. Researchers had the opportunity to study the events that took place in 1985-1996, using a significant array of source information. Conditions have been created for an in-depth analysis of the processes of emergence and activity of public organizations. Thirdly, an important feature of the new stage was that the authors of the works were not only scientists, but also activists of public associations, workers of non-governmental research institutions.

Thanks to the involvement of Ukrainian researchers in the international scientific and educational space, the level of theoretical generalizations increased. The subject of discussion was the actual topics of the creation and activity of public organizations of entrepreneurs in the conditions of economic transformations, [29] the formation of civil

society in Ukraine, [30] the prospects of cooperation between public organizations and political parties in the context of the Eastern European experience [31].

Thus, at the first Forum of Public Initiatives held in Lviv in October 1998, the concept of the existence of "three sectors" in a democratic society was considered. Forum participants agreed that the public sector should encompass government institutions, provide citizens with national security and social welfare; the private sector should include associations and enterprises operating on the basis of the principles of a market economy, while the "third sector" unites non-governmental, non-profit organizations, each of which is guided by its social, religious or ethnic mission and aims to help citizens in their participation in the democratic process and the development of public initiative [32].

In our opinion, public organizations are an integral part of the "third sector" of Ukraine, but the specifics of legal regulation of their activities require a clear separation of public organizations from other associations of citizens. The lack of a balanced legal approach in the use of commonly used terminology leads to the substitution of concepts. In particular, T. Andrusiak interprets the term "public organization" in a broad and narrow sense. The researcher believes that, in a broad sense, these are all structures that make up the "third sector", which, together with non-state enterprises, form the basis of civil society. They include all religious, professional, cooperative and other organizations, as well as political parties. Public organizations in the narrow sense are organizations whose purpose is to promote the interests of society or the interests of members of this organization in such areas as health care, education, science, culture, art, providing assistance to socially vulnerable sections of the population, environmental protection, human values and human rights [33]. In our opinion, "public organizations in the broad sense" correspond to the definition of "association of citizens", while "public organizations in the narrow sense" are purely public organizations.

The collective monograph "The third sector in Ukraine: problems of formation", prepared by scientists of the Ukrainian Institute of Social Research, highlighted the development of the "third sector" as an integral component of civil society. Special

attention is paid to the political essence of the phenomenon, historical, cultural and legislative conditions of its formation in Ukraine. The identification by researchers of information on the number of public organizations (including local branches) with the number of associations that make up the "third sector" of Ukraine [34] is controversial.

In the study and coverage of the legal status of public organizations, sources of their financing, consequences of activity during the 90s of the XX century. a notable contribution was made by O. Sydorenko [35]. However, the researcher, analyzing the current archives of the State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine, did not pay attention to the significant quantitative discrepancy between registered public organizations and those that reported on their activities, which makes it difficult to objectively assess the development of civic activity during the 1990s.

Analyzing social and political processes in post-Soviet states, scientists come to the conclusion that the peculiarity of their development is the slow transition from totalitarian regime to civil society. In particular, this opinion was expressed by A. Fartushny [36]. American political scientists E. Arato and D. Kogen believe that the concept of "civil society" gained special importance from the mid-70s of the 20th century. They interpret such a social phenomenon as an extraordinary historical achievement, since it provided for "a strategy of transforming dictatorial regimes - first in the East, and later in Latin America - based on ideas about self-organization of society, restructuring of social relations outside the networks of state authoritarianism." D. Pilon, who in the mid-90s of the XX century. was directly involved in the program of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), considered it necessary to promote the deployment of broad education in post-communist societies, which would contribute to the acceleration of the construction of civil society. In practice, this meant providing support in the creation of voluntary non-governmental organizations designed to protect and implement the rights and freedoms of citizens[38].

O. Chuvardynskyi in his dissertation research emphasizes that the economic basis of civil society consists of various forms of ownership, private capital, and market infrastructure. Whereas a political prerequisite for the formation of a civil society is the presence of political parties, interest groups, public organizations, and non-state mass

media. Their active formation in Ukraine began in the second half of the 80s of the 20th century. and lasted until the beginning of the 21st century[39].

A. Matviychuk considers public organizations as a factor in the formation of civil society in Ukraine. He proposes to define a public organization as a formalized independent (non-governmental) non-profit association of citizens, aimed at the realization of various collective interests and the protection of collective rights, which, in our opinion, does not fundamentally differ from the term used in the Law of Ukraine "On Association of Citizens". The classification of public organizations by areas of activity, in which the author singles out: public associations of entrepreneurs, should be considered debatable. public organizations of social justice and charity; socio-political organizations, movements and human rights organizations; trade unions and creative unions [40].

O. Lavrynovych admits that non-state non-profit public organizations during the 90s of the 20th century. tried to attract the attention of the legislative and executive authorities, as they were in a complete legislative blockade and were unable to develop independently. The author conditionally divides public organizations into two groups. The first group of public organizations used the support of the state, was actually created by state (departmental) structures, taking care of clan or departmental interests. Another group consists of public organizations formed on the basis of the initiative of citizens, their activity and interests [41]. R. Karplych, analyzing the state of development of public initiative in the western region of Ukraine, divides public organizations into three categories: organizations that existed on the territory of Western Ukraine until 1939 and resumed their activities in the conditions of Ukraine's declaration of state sovereignty; public organizations that were created during the Soviet regime and underwent a significant transformation. The third group of organizations was created during the independence of the Ukrainian state, and it develops mainly due to foreign financial and organizational assistance [42].

E. Zakharov took their organizational structure as the basis for the classification of non-governmental organizations. It divides all non-governmental organizations of Ukraine into associations and foundations. Associations include associations of

citizens created to realize their interests, while foundations aim to accumulate funds to achieve certain goals. Classification according to the purpose of activity divides non-governmental associations into two groups: associations that serve public interests (ecology, education, assistance to the poor, health care, human rights) and organizations that seek to protect or realize the rights and freedoms of their members : trade unions, political parties, associations of industrialists, sports associations, etc. Regarding the areas of activity of non-governmental organizations, E. Zakharov singles out: political (parties, socio-political movements, human rights organizations, organizations that take care of elections and referenda); economic (trade unions, unions of entrepreneurs and commodity producers, credit unions); organizations dealing with the spiritual sphere of society (religion, creativity, culture, national relations, science); associations that take care of the social sphere (family and marriage, children, youth, ecology, physical education and sports) [43].

According to L. Kormych and D. Shelest, public associations help state structures in solving various problems of socio-demographic groups. Scientists considered the typology of socio-political associations and movements, emphasizing the public interests of their activities. Based on this approach, the following are distinguished: 1) in the economic sphere (trade unions, business associations); 2) in the social sphere (association of veterans, disabled people, charitable unions); 3) in the field of leisure (sports unions, philatelist unions, etc.); 4) in the field of science, religion and culture (churches, scientific associations, creative unions); 5) organized groups in the political sphere (environmental movements, protection of the rights of women, national minorities, etc.). The researchers rightly noted that under the conditions of the effective functioning of public associations, it is possible to adequately reflect the interests of various socio-demographic groups, access to a legitimate legal space, which increases the level of political balance and stability in society. Under the conditions of the effective activity of public organizations, a counterbalance is created to the strengthening of abuses of power, authoritarian and radical attitudes, ultimately leading to the normal functioning of society [44].

M. Latsiba, analyzing the state of development of civil society in modern Ukraine, came to the conclusion that three main groups of public organizations were formed and continue to operate since the time of the Soviet Union. The first is mass associations of socially vulnerable sections of the population, which were often created at the initiative of the authorities: organizations of veterans, women's associations, organizations of victims of the Chernobyl disaster, etc. The researcher refers to the second group of human rights organizations whose main goals were the fight against totalitarian regimes and the protection of human rights. The third group consisted of environmental organizations, which began to emerge en masse in 1986. During the times of independent Ukraine and the support of international structures, a new generation of non-governmental organizations was grown, tentatively called the "grant sector" since the main source of their funding was international grants [45].

The analysis of the informal movement in Ukraine in 1987-1989, its emergence and activity is carried out in the works of O. Boyk [46]. The author elucidates the reasons for the appearance of informal associations, pointing to the deep essence of this phenomenon - "the development of civil society structures, the formation of relations between people, not mediated by the state [47, p. 62]." Highlighting among informal associations the Ukrainian Language Society named after Taras Shevchenko, the historical and educational society "Memorial", the ecological association "Green World", the researcher is of the opinion about the deployment in Ukraine in the second half of the 80s of the 20th century. of the classical formula of the development of national movements, according to which the first two stages are the return of historical memory and the revival of the language of the people, and the third stage is the emergence of political organizations waging a struggle for national liberation [48].

A. Rusnachenko examines the process of formation of informal associations in Ukraine in the context of the formation of the national opposition, singling out the period of 1985-1991 as the last stage of the Ukrainian national liberation movement. The main organizational structure of the movement became the Ukrainian Language Society named after Taras Shevchenko, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, which transformed into the Ukrainian Republican Party and the People's Movement of

Ukraine [49]. In our opinion, the social and political activity of the Society of the Ukrainian Language named after Taras Shevchenko should be evaluated in view of the association's statutory goals.

Russian historian A. Sosnylo claims that the informal movement in the USSR began to form in 1986-1989 and became a reaction of society to the changes that occurred during the period of perestroika. The researcher considers 1987 to be the starting point for the formation of political pluralism in the USSR, when, after the January plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, which announced the party's course for the democratization of society, the weakening of the political regime began: criminal prosecution for political motives was stopped and the majority of prisoners of conscience were amnestied, practically canceled ideological censorship, and the period of glasnost began in January 1987 [50]. The subject of research by M. Bagmet and S. Soroka was the peculiarities and results of the socio-political activity of informal youth associations of Ukraine in 1985-1991. The authors prove that with the beginning of perestroika, the power structures changed their attitude towards informal youth initiatives, tried to establish ideological and organizational control over them [51].

The Department of History and Ethnology of Ukraine of the Odesa National Polytechnic University, headed by G. Honcharuk, became a real center for studying the formation and activity of the NRU. The political aspects of the movement's activities, its participation in the state-building process, the contribution of the NRU to the development and adoption of the Constitution of Ukraine in 1996, Ukrainian-Russian relations through the prism of the activities of the NRU during 1989-1998 are given in the works of G. Honcharuk, O. Shanovska, Yu. Videnka, O. Mardarenko's dissertation work [52].

Since the second half of the 90s, a number of works on the history of Ukraine of the 20th century have appeared. They were distinguished by a high degree of generalization and considered the activities of public organizations during the period of perestroika through the prism of participation in the national-democratic movement, paying particular attention to political informal associations [53]. Thus, in the collective work "Ukraine: political history of the 20th - beginning of the 21st century."

the main achievements of informal associations were recognized as their active participation in the process of national revival, the publication of new ideas and information on the painful problems of our time, the education of new political leaders, and the expansion of the base of the democratic movement. The process of withdrawal of a part of informal organizations from "culturalism and enlightenment" and the transition to political activity is considered as a natural phenomenon [54].

A significant contribution to the study of the process of formation of public organizations in Ukraine during perestroika is the dissertation research of O. Horbachova, which focuses on the analysis of the socio-political activities of national educational organizations (the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society, "Heritage", "Community", Society Lev), environmental ("Green World"), historical and educational ("Memorial", Ukrainian Cultural Club), youth (Ukrainian Student Union, Student Brotherhood, Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth) organizations. A prominent place in the work is devoted to the study of the activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the People's Movement of Ukraine, and their further transformation into political parties. However, changes in the social and legal status, forms and methods of activity of nationalized public organizations under the influence of social transformations, the process of formation of associations of national minorities, the development of the labor movement, and the creation of women's and veterans' associations remained outside the scope of the study [55].

The journalistic intelligence of V. Pikhovshek and S. Kononchuk should be considered a kind of monitoring of socio-political processes in Ukraine in 1994-1996. The source basis of the study was the informational messages of the Ukrainian mass media and the results of scientific searches of non-governmental research organizations [56].

The dominant trend in the research of public organizations at the third stage of historiography is characterized by the concentration of researchers' efforts on their coverage according to the directions and content of their activities. In particular, a number of scientists focused on the study of youth public organizations. Thus, since April 1991, youth issues became dominant for scientists of the Ukrainian Institute of

Social Research (until October 1997, it was called the Ukrainian Research Institute of Youth Problems). During the first six years of its activity, the staff of the institute implemented more than 150 scientific projects and programs [57].

In 1997, O. Kornievskiy and V. Yakushyk published a scientific report "Youth movement and political associations in modern Ukraine", in which they analyzed the changes that occurred in the socio-political orientation of young people during the years of the state's independence. The authors prove that the crisis situation in Ukrainian society influenced the fact that among the youth environment, the orientation towards solving socio-economic problems by their own efforts began to spread, without hopes for help from state or public structures [58]. The researchers classified youth public organizations according to the main goals and areas of activity, distinguishing the following groups (types): organizations focused on solving multifaceted social and economic problems of youth; youth charitable organizations; youth "stylistic" organizations that intended to protect and implement non-political initiatives (ecological, cultural, artistic, sports, etc.); associations that educated nationally conscious intellectuals; children's and youth organizations; associations of young people who pay the main attention to social and political activities; youth organizations of religious orientation; informal youth organizations and alternative lifestyle groups; youth associations created on a national basis [59]. In our opinion, the disadvantage of the proposed classification is its excessive detail. In addition, practice shows that the statutory principles do not always coincide with the real affairs of the organization.

A number of researchers devoted their work to those public organizations whose activities had a significant impact on the course of social and political processes in Ukraine in the second half of the 80s of the 20th century. I. Kryvdina examined the activities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, which the author assesses as a catalyst for democratic processes in Ukraine [60]. Formation of the Donetsk organization of the Ukrainian Language Society named after Taras Shevchenko was described by V. Biletskyi, one of the founders of the enlightenment movement [61]. The history of the "Prosvita" society in Volyn from the time of its creation to the mid-90s of the 20th

century. was studied by B. Savchuk [62]. Ya. Seko emphasizes that during 1988-1989 there was an intertwining of informal cultural organizations with the so-called "official" Soviet intelligentsia, which led to the emergence of a powerful all-Ukrainian organization - the Society of the Ukrainian Language named after Taras Shevchenko [63]. O. Shanovska, analyzing the relationship between the authorities and the intelligentsia during the years of perestroika, singles out two groups of the Ukrainian intelligentsia: the radical-oppositional one, represented by former dissidents and their followers, and the moderate-reformist one. The second group did not have a clear ideological concept and the necessary political experience, which did not allow the intelligentsia to become an active and full-fledged subject of politics [64].

S. Zaremba reviewed the activities of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments from the moment of its creation until the end of the 90s of the XX century. The researcher noted the special role of the association in preserving the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people under the conditions of the Soviet regime. At the same time, the causes of crisis phenomena in the activities of the organization during the first years of independence remained outside the scope of the study [65]. V. Taboransky considered the process of revival of the historical and local history movement in Ukraine, which was evidenced by the formation of the All-Ukrainian Union of Local History in March 1990 [66].

The use of charitable organizations to support Ukrainian culture and restore the traditions of charity in Ukraine is analyzed in the articles of O. Hrytsenko, M. Dmytrenko, and O. Yasya. According to researchers, in modern society, various layers of the population are involved in charity, which contributes to the interaction of the state and public organizations in solving social and cultural problems [67].

The national and cultural revival of ethnic minorities of Ukraine was studied by I. Mashchenko [68]. The author proves that the activities of national cultural associations in the 1990s. began to focus on the revival, preservation and development of national traditions, nurturing a caring attitude to cultural heritage, protection and development of the native language.

In the context of building a democratic state, researchers analyze the interethnic relations of Ukrainians and Russians living in Ukraine. M. Shulga, V. Snizhko, O. Rozumkov addressed the study of the interaction of the two ethnic groups, investigating the situation of Russian culture in modern Ukraine, the participation of national cultural and educational organizations in the preservation and development of the culture of the Russian minority, the ethnic origin and linguistic and cultural self-determination of Ukrainians and Russians in borders of Ukraine. O. Rozumkov made a valid statement that the presence of conflict in Ukrainian-Russian interethnic relations exists at the level of public leaders, while at the level of mass public consciousness, the state of relations between peoples remains stable [69].

A significant contribution to the study of the process of self-organization of ethnic minorities was made by L. Loiko, who singles out three stages of the formation and development of the national-cultural movement in Ukraine. The researcher attributes the first stage to the end of the 80s - mid-90s of the 20th century. Its characteristic feature was the desire of ethnic minorities to create national and cultural organizations, expand the network of local associations, and the need to realize the rights and interests of representatives of their national group. At the second stage (the second half of the 1990s - the first years of the 21st century), the tendency of eccentricity and fragmentation of national-cultural societies dominated. While the third stage, which has been unfolding since 2002, is characterized by the active participation of public organizations of a national and cultural orientation in solving national problems [70].

The return and resettlement of the Crimean Tatar people deported in 1944 to Ukraine remains an important factor in achieving historical justice and realizing the ethnic minority's right to live on their land. The formation of the Crimean Tatar human rights movement was considered by O. Volobuev [71]. The study of the process of repatriation and settlement of the Crimean Tatar people in Ukraine and Crimea was carried out by Yu. Tyschenko and V. Pikhovshek. A prominent place in the book is the coverage of the development of the Crimean Tatar movement during the 90s of the 20th century. [72]. The participation of Crimean Tatar public organizations in solving

the national and educational requests of their people, promoting the integration of Crimean Tatars into Ukrainian society during the 90s of the 20th century. are analyzed in the articles of A. Seitmuratova, B. Parakhonskyi, N. Belitzer, V. Prytula, Yu. Bilukha, and A. Yelovych [73]. At the same time, the authors emphasize that Ukraine alone bears the entire burden of expenses related to the accommodation of deportees. Yu. Buznytskyi, L. Lytovchenko examine the sources of financial support for public organizations of the Crimean Tatar people during the 90s of the 20th century. [74].

Formation of the "Afghan" movement during the 1980s and early 1990s. S. Chervonopyskyi, head of the Ukrainian Union of Afghanistan Veterans, is investigating in Ukraine. He focuses on the fact that the official support for the amateur "Afghan" movement was provided only in 1987-1988 and was intended to oppose them to informal associations, to proclaim the organizations of internationalist warriors as carriers of Soviet patriotism [75]. The declaration of Ukraine's independence contributed to the development of a new strategy and tactics for the existence of the "Afghan" organization. "After the events of 1991, we decided to "fight" for our "Afghan" Committee in the parliament, because we understood that without state support, it would be difficult for the veterans' union to fight for its existence," noted S. Chervonopyskyi [76]. So, the head of the public organization admitted that the activity of the Ukrainian National Security Agency in the first years of Ukraine's independence depended on constructive cooperation with state structures.

The work of I. Krasyl'nikov, S. Grigoriev, H. Galkin, and L. Besarab is dedicated to the development of veteran organizations in the capital of Ukraine [77]. Analytical research on the veteran movement of Ukraine in the 90s of the 20th century, carried out by V. Ablazov, who at that time was the deputy chairman of the Committee for Veterans of War and Military Conflicts under the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, stands out. The author claims that the real level of social protection of veterans and the number of organizations that declare it are not mutually related. The lack of a requirement for public organizations to have a fixed membership in the Law of Ukraine "On Association of Citizens" became the main reason for the emergence of veteran

organizations, which, apart from leaders and management apparatus, do not have real members [78].

The creation of the All-Ukrainian Organization of War Disabled Persons and the Armed Forces in 1993, its organizational structure and participation in the social protection of war disabled persons and the Armed Forces are described by V. Bondaruk, M. Lebedynskyi, P. Mashkovets, and V. Sushkevich [79]. The authors believe that the separation of the association from the Organization of Veterans of Ukraine was aimed at protecting the special status of disabled war veterans and their right to state support, which they had until 1987, when all categories were included among the members of the Ukrainian branch of the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans veterans - war invalids, war veterans, labor veterans, pensioners. The authors objectively assess the organization's capabilities, pointing out that the main source of funding remains budget revenues.

The situation with social protection of victims of the Chernobyl disaster was considered in the works of V. Pylypenko, G. Mimandusova, and O. Vyshniak. The researchers focused on studying the socio-psychological condition of the victims, analyzed the sources of assistance to the liquidators of the accident and resettlers from the exclusion zone. At the same time, the process of formation of public organizations that united the victims of the Chernobyl disaster, their participation in the legislative process aimed at solving the social problems of "Chernobyl residents", and protecting their legitimate interests [80] remained out of the attention of researchers.

The strike movement of Ukrainian miners in 1989-1999 was studied by S. Kuzmina. The author identified the socio-economic, political and psychological reasons for the emergence of the labor strike movement within the framework of the unified Soviet state, in the conditions of the development of Ukrainian statehood and in the years of independence. According to the researcher, an important consequence of the first period (1989-1991) of the labor movement was the formation of trade union organizations independent of the party-state bureaucracy [81].

The research of H. Stoyan was devoted to the clarification of the forms and methods of activity of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine, the role of the trade

union movement in the process of socio-economic transformations in Ukraine during 1992-1997. The researcher emphasizes that the union remained the main trade union organization with which the government structures were reckoned and which influenced the socio-economic life of the state [82]. A qualitatively new period in the history of the trade union movement, marked by its return to the original purpose of trade unions - the social protection of workers' rights, began in 1990 - believes O. Stoyan, who is a co-author of the fundamental historical study "Essays on the History of Trade Unions of Ukraine" [83]. The author paid the main attention to the analysis of the strategy and tactics of the trade union in the conditions of the introduction of market relations. The difficult dialectic of trade union centers' relations with state structures is highlighted. At the same time, the study did not pay attention to the creation and activity of trade unions that were not part of the FPU. The lacuna in the history of the trade union movement was filled by O. Golubutskyi, Yu. Dokukin, and V. Kulyk, who studied the history of formation and peculiarities of the relationship between the FPU and alternative trade unions in Ukraine during the first years of independence [84].

I. Usichenko, Yu. Vilenskyi, A. Khabarova, O. Zagranichnyi examined the activity of a charitable public organization - the Red Cross Society of Ukraine. The authors point out that only with the declaration of independence of Ukraine, the Society was able to become an independent non-governmental and non-party organization and integrate into the international structures of the Red Cross, but they do not analyze the reasons for the significant decrease in the number of members of the organization during the 90s of the XX century, the reorientation of the Society to the use mostly financial assistance from international charitable structures, changing the forms and directions of interaction between the state and the Society in providing assistance to the needy [85].

L. Smolyar devoted her works to the emergence of new women's associations of Ukraine. The researcher emphasizes that the development of democratic processes since the second half of the 80s of the 20th century, the emergence of new political and public structures became the real basis for the activation of the women's movement in Ukraine. L. Smolyar singles out four groups of women's organizations: a) traditional

women's associations that emerged on the basis of those organizations that operated in Ukraine at different times and in different areas; b) socially oriented women's organizations; c) organizations of business women; d) organizations of a feminist orientation. In our opinion, the separation of business women's organizations into a separate group has a declarative, gender-specific nature to a large extent, these associations essentially belong to organizations of a feminist orientation [86].

O. Yarosh examines the role and place of women's associations in the social and political life of Ukraine in the 90s of the 20th century, focusing on their participation in the processes of state formation [87]. According to G. Laktionova, the activities of many women's organizations are too politicized, since the organizations are focused on supporting certain political parties and fulfill their orders. According to the author, the women's movement stands out not because women participate in it, but because it has specific, special goals and tasks, the implementation of which helps women gain the freedom to choose their life path, realize themselves as individuals, and create normal living conditions for themselves and their children [88].

The socio-ecological problems of Ukraine in the second half of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s became the object of research by S. Vasyuta and I. Pogribny. Scientists evaluate the environmental policy in Ukraine during the time of Soviet power as a state-imperial one, reveal the consequences of the Chernobyl tragedy for the environment and the health of the population, dwell on the social causes of the environmental crisis. According to the researchers, the lack of effective agreement between the authorities and public organizations does not contribute to the greening of various spheres of life in our country [89].

M. Aleksievets believes that the association "Green World" during the 90s of the 20th century. was a kind of coordinator of the efforts of environmental organizations and influenced public opinion and the consciousness of citizens [90]. Such a statement has little evidence, since the peak of popularity and influence on the public consciousness of the "Green World" association fell at the end of the 80s of the 20th century. S. Fedorynchyk justifiably emphasizes that during the 90s of the 20th century. the environmental movement had no clear leader and was largely dependent on

financial assistance from Western charitable foundations and organizations [91]. At the same time, representatives of Western funds were poorly acquainted with Ukrainian realities, so the efficiency of using the provided funds was not high.

Research sources and their characteristics

The study and coverage of the history of the formation, development, and transformation of public associations in Ukraine from the time of perestroika to 1996 became possible thanks to the use of documents and materials of different origins that make up the source base of the research. The basis of the source base is archival and published documents, which are supplemented by materials of the State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine, periodical publications of public organizations, and sociological research data.

It is advisable to classify the used sources into several groups. The first group consists of the Constitution of Ukraine, legislative acts and normative-legal documents of the highest state authorities of Ukraine - the Verkhovna Rada, the Cabinet of Ministers, Decrees of the President of Ukraine, which form the legal basis of society, and also regulate the activities of public organizations of Ukraine. In turn, two subgroups should be distinguished from the first group of sources:

1) laws and regulatory acts that determined the legal status and powers of public organizations in 1985-1991. Until October 1990, the procedure for the formation and operation of public organizations was determined by legal acts of the early 1930s, which restrained public initiative, did not correspond to the pace of social transformations, and protected the totalitarian and repressive government [92]. The initiated democratization and glasnost policy in the times of perestroika contributed to the formation and development of the informal movement, caused the need for a significant update of the legislative support for the activities of public associations [93];

2) legal documents that regulated the process of formation and activity of public organizations in the conditions of independent Ukraine. These are, first of all, the Law of Ukraine "On Associations of Citizens", [94] Government Resolutions that regulated the procedure for legalizing associations of citizens and registering their symbols [95].

The researcher analyzed normative legal acts that provided preferences for certain types of public organizations [96]. The used legislative acts are published in the Bulletin of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, newspapers, separate brochures, in thematic collections of legislative and normative acts.

The second group of sources includes materials stored in state archives, collections of documents, materials of current archives of public organizations. The archives of Ukraine provide a wide opportunity to study the documentary heritage of the creation and activity of public associations in Ukraine in 1985-1996. Most of the documents on this issue are stored in the Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine (CSAVO of Ukraine), the Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administrations (CSAVO of Ukraine) and in regional state archives.

A significant array of archival materials and documents from the period 1986-1991 is concentrated in the Central Committee of Ukraine (fund 1 "Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" and fund 7 "Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine"). During the preparation of the study, the following were analyzed:

1) Official documents of the Communist Party and Komsomol structures (minutes of meetings of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine; reference materials for the speeches of the leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine; minutes of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine; materials of congresses, conferences, plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, regional committees and the Kyiv City Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine);

2) Informational and analytical documents (information from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to the Central Committee of the CPSU; reports from regional committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Kyiv City Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on the implementation of resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine; reports on the social and political situation in the republic, prepared by departments of the Central Committee

of the Communist Party of Ukraine; results of sociological studies; analysis of the activities of opposition parties to the Communist Party of Ukraine associations);

3) Materials of state bodies and nationalized public organizations (information and certificates of the heads of state structures and public organizations - the Verkhovna Rada, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, the prosecutor's office, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian SSR, trade unions, the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR, scientific institutions of the republic, the Red Cross Society of the Ukrainian SSR, the Charity and Health Fund "I, the Republican Council of Women, etc.);

4) Materials of public associations not controlled by the Communist Party of Ukraine (statutes, programs, statements, declarations, materials of congresses and conferences, speeches of opposition representatives).

Materials on the development of the informal movement in Ukraine are thematically important. The author analyzed information from regional committees of LKSU on informal youth associations for 1987 (f. 7, d. 20) and analytical report notes to the minutes of meetings of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of LKSU (f. 7, d. 18), which discussed the facts of anti-communist activity informal youth groups during 1984-1987, as well as statements, manifestos, draft programs, proposals of youth socio-political clubs operating in 1987-1988. Fund 1 (description 11) analyzed the information of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to the Central Committee of the CPSU, references of regional committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the Council of Trade Unions of the Ukrainian SSR, the Central Committee of the LKSMU, the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR about the development of amateur associations in Ukraine and their participation in social and political life during April 1988 - December 1989 years

Information from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, regional committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine, reports, materials for the speeches of secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine about the socio-political situation in the republic, about the actions of national-democratic forces, the holding

of rallies, pickets, and student hunger strikes in October 1990 are in the Central Committee of Ukraine.

It should be noted that the main attention of Communist Party analysts was paid to associations that were considered politicized, and their activities undermined the Communist Party's monopoly on power. They included: the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the People's Movement of Ukraine, the "Memorial" society, the Society of the Ukrainian Language named after Taras Shevchenko. The CDAGO of Ukraine concentrates information on constituent congresses, conferences of public and political organizations, the draft program and statute of the People's Movement of Ukraine, an analysis of the social base of supporters of the Rukx, information of regional committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine on the creation and activity of regional organizations of the Rukx during 1989-1991. A significant number of cases contain information on the elections of the People's Deputies of the USSR in 1989 and on the preparation and conduct of the elections to the Verkhovna Rada and local authorities of Ukraine in 1990. They contain recommendations of party-communist bodies on opposing representatives of opposition social and political organizations, which won a majority in local council elections in a number of regions of Ukraine.

Fund 1 (description 32) of the Ukrainian Labor and Social Committee contains materials testifying to the course of the miners' strike in 1989, in particular, detailed information sent to the republican bodies of the Central Committee of the CPSU about the union of strike committees of Donbas, a joint meeting in Moscow in August 1989 of strike committees and workers' committees of Kuzbass, Donbas, Kemerovo, Prokop'ivska, about the participation of the national-democratic forces of Ukraine in the creation of strike committees in the regions of the republic, the emergence of independent trade unions, reforming of traditional trade union structures.

The aggravation of inter-ethnic conflicts in the USSR at the end of the 80s of the 20th century. encouraged the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to take a more objective approach to the study of the national and cultural requests of the national minorities of Ukraine. In fund 1 (description 32) of the Ukrainian National Center for Social and Economic Affairs, there are proposals from the Institute of Social

and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries on problems of international relations; working materials of the Society of Hungarian Culture of Transcarpathia. The archive contains information from the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet public about the creation of the Jewish cultural societies in Ukraine, information about the situation in the republic's national and cultural associations; about the Kurultai of the Crimean Tatar people. Available reports of the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR testify to the growing attention of state structures to the rights of national minorities in the republic.

Information on the development of the environmental movement in Ukraine, on the environmental situation in the Ukrainian SSR, the texts of the speeches of the leaders of environmental organizations, the demands of the participants of environmental rallies, the charter of the "Chornobyl Union", materials of the conference, congresses of the environmental association were analyzed in the TsDAGO of Ukraine (fund 1, description 32) "Green World" and the Constituent Congress of the Green Party of Ukraine.

The study of archival sources shows that the emergence of socio-political organizations not under the control of Communist Party structures, the aggravation of the political confrontation between national-democratic organizations and the ruling party in 1989-1991 prompted the leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine to search for new forms and methods of interaction with public organizations. Changes were taking place in the structure of the party committee apparatus of the Communist Party of the Republic, centralized control over regional departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, television and radio broadcasting, and publishing was strengthened. A number of materials testify to the participation of employees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in the creation of satellite public associations.

In fund 1 (description 32), materials, analytical references, information on the formation of the youth student movement, theses of the speeches of activists of student public associations at the founding congress of the Ukrainian Student Union were studied.

Documentary materials characterizing the activities of LKSM during 1985-1991 were analyzed in Fund 7 "Central Committee of LKSM of Ukraine". Most of the materials consist of transcripts, protocols, and reference materials of Komsomol congresses, plenums, and meetings of the bureau of the republican Komsomol organization (description 18). As well as protocols, resolutions of plenums of regional committees and the Kyiv City Komsomol Committee (op. 19), which contain materials on the creation of democratic youth unions in Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk regions; speeches by members of the reformist wing of the LKSU; resolutions of regional Komsomol organizations regarding the assessment of the socio-political situation in the republic and statements in support of the demands of starving students. The materials of the fund reflect the strengthening of the Communist Party's control over the activities of the regional committees of the LKSU at the beginning of 1991.

Materials on the activities of public organizations of Ukraine in the period 1985-1996 were studied in the funds of the Central State Archive of Higher Authorities and Administration of Ukraine (CSAVO of Ukraine). Regarding the information load, the documents are divided into two groups. The first includes funds of public organizations of Ukraine, which for a long time were a component of the political system of the USSR, in particular, fund 4760 "Ukrainian Republican Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments". The fund stores the materials of the V congress of the society (December 1986) - the report of the chairman of the board academician P. Tronko, transcripts and resolutions of the congress. An important source of the society's monument protection activities during 1986-1987 are letters, appeals, reports to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, the Chairman of the Board of the Soviet Cultural Fund. Documents and materials revealing the activities of the Red Cross Society of Ukraine during 1985-1990 are stored in fund 4616 "Central Committee of the Red Cross Society of the Ukrainian SSR". They include data on the number of primary organizations, the numerical composition of the society during 1985-1987; activities of the Red Cross charity service; the main methods of informational and propaganda activities of the society during the perestroika period; critical remarks of activists, reports on the society's

activities in 1988. Available documents testify to the activity of the charity service of the society in the regions of Ukraine, participation in helping victims of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant during 1990.

The second group of materials is concentrated in fund 1 "Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine". The researcher's attention was drawn to description 22 (Department of Commissions), which reflects the participation of public organizations in law-making activities in 1991-1996. The fund contains documents on public participation in the preparation of draft laws, which became the basis of legal support for the functioning of citizens' associations in Ukraine. In particular, proposals and comments of political parties, people's deputies of Ukraine, public organizations regarding the Law of Ukraine "On Association of Citizens". The files contain proposals and comments regarding the resolution of the Law of Ukraine "On Charitable Activities and Charitable Organizations", an alternative draft of the Law "On Non-Profit Public Organizations and Their Activities", which were prepared by activists of public organizations. Drafts of the Law of Ukraine "On Professional Creative Workers and Creative Unions" are stored together with the minutes of the meetings of the Verkhovna Rada Commission on Culture and Spirituality.

Local associations of the Association of Farmers of Ukraine took an active part in the development of bills aimed at the development of new forms of farming in the countryside and the support of the farming movement, which is reflected in Spr. 1873 and 1884 of the same description.

Description 22 contains materials on the participation of public organizations in the development and introduction of changes to the Laws of Ukraine, which determined the special legal status and preferences of the state for the most vulnerable sections of the population of Ukraine in the context of the economic crisis. In particular, the proposals of disabled people's organizations, the decisions of the Commission on Social Policy and Labor, the speeches of people's deputies, are directed to the development of changes to the Law of Ukraine "On the Basics of Social Protection of Disabled People in the Ukrainian SSR". A significant array of information is contained on the development of draft laws on the status of war veterans and guarantees of their

social protection. Public organizations of victims of the Chernobyl disaster were particularly active in law-making activities. All-Ukrainian public organization "Soyuz Chornobyl of Ukraine", other public organizations expressed wishes for improvement of the legislation, informed state structures about misuse of public funds intended to help the victims.

Appeals of public organizations to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, in particular, regarding the difficult socio-economic situation of pensioners and veterans, are stored in fund 1 of the Central Committee of Ukraine; of environmental organizations with appeals to the Commission on Environmental Policy to establish cooperation in environmental protection, to facilitate environmental expertise in the area of a possible environmental disaster.

The activities of public associations in the regions of Ukraine are reflected in the materials of the funds of regional state archives of Ukraine. Fund P-3 "Lviv Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" of the State Archive of the Lviv Region stands out for its special information content. Documents and materials from their archive were used:

1) information from official government structures about the deployment of an informal movement, information about the socio-political situation in the Lviv region, about the creation of strike committees at enterprises and educational institutions, holding rallies and demonstrations by national democratic organizations; reference materials on the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth, youth associations "Plast" and "Sich", the activities of the "Student Brotherhood", the Democratic Union of Youth of the Lviv region, on the revival of the "Native School" society, materials of Russian national and cultural societies of the Lviv region were analyzed;

2) analytical materials of Communist Party structures, which make it possible to find out the opinion of the public of the region regarding informal public organizations and the activities of Communist Party functionaries; consequences of elections to the Verkhovna Rada and local authorities; development of the political situation after the elections. The fund stores information on republican sociological research, in

particular, the analytical reference "The Communist Party of Ukraine in the Stage of Renewal", which was prepared in April-May 1990 under the label "Secretly".

3) materials of public organizations - statements, declarations, statutes of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, regional society of the Ukrainian language named after Taras Shevchenko, the Memorial Society, the Union of Internationalist Warriors of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Lviv Regional Union for the Protection of Citizens' Rights (strike committee), the Lviv Oblast Women's Association, the draft statute of the Union of Women of Ukraine, the statute of the Union of Ukrainian Women, the final statement of the Lviv Meeting of Representatives of National democratic forces of the USSR (April 1988).

In the fund PR-102 of the State Archive of the Zaporizhzhia region, materials on amateur formations that operated in the region in 1986-1989 were analyzed. Information about the deployment of regional structures of the NRU, TUM named after Taras Shevchenko, women's associations; materials of the founding conference of the Society of Russian Culture "Rus", which took place in Kyiv in March 1990. The materials of the PR-157 fund were studied, where the minutes of the meetings of the office of the Zaporizhzhia City Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, information about the support of the leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine to the initiative of veterans of the Great Patriotic War regarding the holding of the "Brotherhood" march in the summer of 1991 were studied. The PR-24 fund of the same archive stores the minutes of conferences and plenums of the Zaporizhzhia regional committee of the LKSMU. The researcher analyzed documents about the emergence of military-patriotic associations and clubs among teenagers during 1985-1989, the results of sociological surveys of young people conducted in 1989-1991, materials of the last XXVI regional conference of the LKSMU from October 26, 1991, and the creation on its basis Zaporizhzhia Union of Youth.

The materials and documents stored in the State Archive of the Vinnytsia region were used, in particular, the minutes of conferences and plenums of the Vinnytsia City Committee of the LKSMU were analyzed, located in the fund P-399 "Vinnytsia City Committee of the LKSMU". Worthy of attention is the information about the

unification of youth clubs created under the city committee of LKSMU, as well as the materials of the extraordinary conference of the Vinnytsia City Komsomol Committee, at which a decision was made to rename the city Komsomol organization to the Democratic Youth Union of Vinnytsia. Fund P-136 "Vinnytsia regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" stores materials on the development of the informal movement in the region, instructions to party committees on forms and methods of countering the structures of the People's Movement, recommendations to law enforcement agencies on responding to unauthorized rallies of democratic forces.

In fund P-6119 "Vinnytsia Regional Organization of the Ukrainian Society of the Blind "UTOS" of the same archive, the statute and conference minutes of the Charity and Health Fund, created by the Vinnytsia Territorial Organization of the UTOS in 1993, were analyzed. The documents used inform about the existence of problems in the relationship between public organizations and state structures in the conditions of independent Ukraine.

Documents and materials that reveal the mechanism of formation of the republican organization of veterans of war, labor and the Armed Forces and the transformation of the association into the Organization of Veterans of Ukraine are located in fund P-6156 "Vinnytsia Regional Council of War and Labor Veterans".

In fund P-4956 "Vinnytsia Regional Committee of the Red Cross Society of Ukraine", the researcher used the materials of the annual consolidated reports on the activities of local organizations of the society from 1986 to 1996, which made it possible to outline changes in the organization's status, forms and methods of activity in the first years of independent activity organizations. The fund contains certificates of the regional organization of the Society on providing assistance to victims of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant for the years 1989-1997. Resolutions of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Red Cross Society of the Ukrainian SSR, which are stored in the same fund, became an important source of information about the results of the activities of the Red Cross Society of the Ukrainian SSR in 1985-1986.

Analysis of the composition of the regional organization of the "Knowledge" society, references, information on the topic of lecture propaganda, implementation of the organization's financial plan during 1985-1986 are in the fund R.-5346 "Vinnytsia Regional Organization of the "Knowledge" Society. The speeches of the organization's activists, the resolutions of the plenum meetings of the board of the regional organization of the society, the transcript of the discussion of the new charter of the republican organization (1990) are stored there.

In the fund P-4197 "Zhytomyr Regional Organization of the Society "Znannia" of the State Archive of Zhytomyr Region, the materials of the plenums of the board of the organization for the years 1990-1991 were used, which reflect changes in the activities of the local organization in the conditions of the democratization of Ukrainian society.

Fund P-3853 of the Zhytomyr Regional Committee of the Red Cross acquaints us with new forms and methods of TCH activity in conditions of independence, indicators of cooperation with government structures in order to improve medical and social assistance to the population of Ukraine.

In the State Archives of the Kyiv Region, the materials of the P-1 fund "Kyiv City Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" were analyzed, in particular, an appeal to the participants of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU, representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the Ukrainian studies club "Heritage" with a call to restore the state status of the Ukrainian language in the republic. There is also information on the development of the informal movement in Kyiv, materials on the creation of women's councils, information on rallies and demonstrations in Kyiv during 1990 - the first half of 1991 (description 88). In the fund P-5 "Kyiv Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" of the same archive, an analytical note was analyzed, which refers to the results of an all-Union sociological survey conducted in November 1989, a certificate on the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the Ukrainian Cossacks in the Dnipropetrovsk and Zaporizhzhia regions. Available materials on the socio-political situation in Kyiv (January-June 1991), the development

of the women's movement in the Kyiv region (description 117) and materials of the founding conference of the Chernobyl Echo Union (description 118) were also used.

In the funds P-1 "Crimean Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" and P-147 "Crimean Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine", which are preserved in the State Archives in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the researcher's attention was drawn to materials about the deployment of an informal movement in the Crimean region and attempts to counter the Communist Party structures for the return of Crimean Tatars to their homeland, which led to confrontation with Crimean Tatar organizations and complicated international relations. Materials on the preparation and holding of the referendum (January 20, 1991) on the status of Crimea and the relationship to the Union Treaty indicate that the local Communist Party leadership was the organizer of the action that threatened the territorial integrity of Ukraine, deliberately prepared public opinion for a possible confrontation with the authorities of the republic, if it did not will sign the Union Treaty.

Information about the participation of the public in the struggle to stop the construction of the Crimean nuclear power plant and the implementation of a comprehensive environmental examination of the project confirms the influence of the environmental movement in 1988-1989, with which not only local but also all-Union power structures were forced to reckon with.

The work uses materials and documents included in collections. Among them is the collection "Modern Political Parties and Movements in Ukraine", compiled in 1991 by employees of the Institute of Political Studies under the leadership of I. Kuras. The collection includes program documents and statutes of the parties and a number of socio-political organizations created at the time of the release of the collection (NRU, Peasant Union, Union of Workers of Ukraine for Socialist Reconstruction, LKSU, Plast, Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth, Student Brotherhood, Ukrainian Student Union) [97].

A significant source of information on the development of youth organizations in Ukraine during the period of perestroika is the collection of materials on youth

associations active in Ukraine in 1991 [98], prepared by V. Golovenko and M. Pashkov, and the handbook "Youth Movement in Ukraine", published by the collective of the Ukrainian of the Institute of Social Research, which contains information about all-Ukrainian youth public organizations, including their programs and statutes, which actively declared themselves as of July 1, 1997 [99]. Documents and materials about the situation of youth in Ukraine during the 90s of the XX century, the development of the network of youth organizations, the analysis of political preferences and participation of youth in social processes are included in the results of annual research of the aforementioned institute [100].

Based on the data of the State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine, the author's team under the general leadership of V. Lytvyn prepared the text of the Message of the President of Ukraine to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on the internal and external situation of the state in 2000. The Message reviewed the results of the socio-economic development of Ukraine for 1990-1999, which made it possible to use official information about the consequences of the crisis for the Ukrainian economy and citizens. A significant part of the Message is occupied by statistical tables, in particular, the table "Number of legalized associations of citizens (1992-1999)" is included, the name of which is not correct. It contains data only on the number of political parties, all-Ukrainian and international organizations, while the absolute majority of public organizations operated at the local level [101].

In the collection "National relations in Ukraine in the 20th century." used documents that characterize the formation of public organizations of national minorities of Ukraine: Resolution of the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR dated February 22, 1991 "On the state of work of state administration bodies to create conditions for the development of the cultures of national minorities of Ukraine", Declaration of the Rights of Nationalities of Ukraine dated November 1, 1991, Resolution of the first All-Ukrainian International Congress [102]. The collection "National Processes in Ukraine: History and Modernity" used information on the number of national and cultural societies in Ukraine at the beginning of 1995, the ethnic composition of the population of Ukraine as of 1989 [103].

In 1998, a collection of documents and materials dedicated to the 130th anniversary of Prosvit named after Taras Shevchenko [104]. The collection contains information on the activities of the Language Commission of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, a report on the founding conference of the TUM named after Taras Shevchenko, texts of speeches at conferences by O. Honchar, D. Pavlychk, R. Ivanychuk, the Society's statutes, materials of the 5th congress of the educational organization, etc.

An important source of information about the reaction of public organizations to the attempted coup d'état in the USSR (August 19-21, 1991) was the collection "Chronicle of Resistance" (edited by L. Tanyuk), in which official documents of state structures, informational materials, appeals, appeals, statements were selected movements, parties and organizations opposed to the communist regime [105].

Information reflecting the development of public associations during the years of independence is stored in the current archive of the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine. Reporting form No. 1-OG (tables No. 5-8) provides analytical information on the sources of funding and expenses of citizens' associations, the total number of members of organizations and the composition of management staff, the activities of citizens' associations and the number of official events held by them during 1996-2000 years. The archive contains consolidated data on legalized public organizations with international, all-Ukrainian and local status (including local branches).

The author used the results of sociological research, materials of the current archives of non-governmental research organizations of Ukraine, in particular, the research of the Innovation and Development Center "Development trends of the third sector in Ukraine", which reflects the registration of public organizations in Ukraine during 1991-1999. The results of the annual all-Ukrainian polls of the Democratic Initiatives Foundation - "Ukrainian Society 1994-2000" allow to assess the state of public activity of Ukrainians and their membership in public and political organizations. A survey of public opinion (July 1999), conducted by the Center for Innovation and Development with the support of the Ch.S. Mott Foundation, made it possible to analyze the attitude of the population to public and charitable organizations.

The lack of new arrivals to archival institutions was partially compensated by materials from the current archives of local organizations. In particular, the research used documents about the activities of the Red Cross Society of Ukraine in 1993, materials of the organization's XVIII congress, analysis of the experience of local branches during the 90s of the 20th century.

An important group of sources consists of bulletins, newsletters and periodicals, the founders of which are public organizations. In particular, materials about the activities of the RCS of Ukraine can be found in the columns of the Information Bulletin of the National Committee of the RCS of Ukraine for the years 1990-1993. Information about the development of the informal movement in 1987-1990 was included in the self-published press. The materials of the People's Union for the Promotion of Perestroika, the "Union of Marxists", the Kyiv association "Vyborets" are published in the columns of the non-partisan magazine "Paths" (Kyiv, 1989). The formation of the NRU structures and their participation in the struggle for the independence of Ukraine are discussed in the NRU publications "Free Speech" and "Studentsky Visnyk". The program of the Kyiv SNUM organization was printed in the self-publishing company "Zamkova Gora". Literary Ukraine was the real mouthpiece of the opposition forces to the CPSU-CPU during the perestroika period, which gave the general public the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the materials of the NRU congresses and the speeches of leading Ukrainian poets and writers. The newspaper published program materials and statutes of TUM named after Taras Shevchenko, "Green World" association, "Memorial" society, program documents of the Ukrainian Scientific Association, appeals, appeals and appeals, information from constituent meetings, etc.

Resolutions of congresses, congresses, decisions of plenums, concepts of further development and speeches of activists of public organizations during the first half of the 90s of the 20th century. were included in various periodicals: "Tribune" (Znannia Society), "Monuments of Ukraine" (Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments), "Tretiy Tost" (Ukrainian Union of Veterans of Afghanistan), "Veteran of Ukraine" (Organization Veterans of Ukraine), "Herald of Chornobyl"

(Soyuz Chornobyl Ukraine), "Nash Chas" (Association of Farmers of Ukraine), "Profspilkova Gazeta" (Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine), "Selyanska Spilka" (Peasant Union).

Conclusions

Thus, the accumulation of knowledge on the history of the emergence and activity of public organizations of Ukraine in 1985-1996 took place in three stages. The first stage - 1989-1991. The attention of scientists was focused on the analysis of youth informal organizations and on highlighting the goals and tasks of new politicized public associations. Journalism, descriptiveness, fragmentation, weakness of the source base, and political aggravation are characteristic of contemporary scientific intelligence.

At the second stage (1991-1996), researchers, using materials from current archives and periodicals, highlighted the political aspects of the activities of public organizations, their participation in national-democratic transformations, the struggle for sovereignty and independence of Ukraine. The first studies devoted to associations of citizens by types and directions of their activity appear. Governmental and non-governmental research organizations - the Ukrainian Research Institute of Youth Problems (later the Ukrainian Institute of Social Research), the Ukrainian Independent Center for Political Research, and the Democratic Initiatives Foundation - are beginning to study the civic activity of the population and the political situation in the country.

At the third stage (1996 - the beginning of the 21st century), a significant number of documents and archive materials are introduced into scientific circulation, further detailing, classification and filling of gaps in the study of the history of certain types of public organizations (environmental, youth, women's, etc.) are carried out. In the scientific literature, a wide debate has unfolded about the role and place of public organizations of Ukraine in the formation of civil society. Using financial assistance from foreign foundations and organizations, non-governmental research organizations studied the state of development of Ukrainian civil society organizations, their relations with the state and business structures (Center for Innovation and Development),

analyzed legislative acts that determined the development of public organizations (Pylip Orlyk Institute of Democracy, Institute for the Transformation of Society).

It was established that during the 90s of the XX century. scientific centers for the study of public organizations began to be formed. Thus, H. Goncharuk, having initiated in Odesa a study of the history of the formation of the NRU, its participation in state-building processes, thematically united a number of young researchers. In the Academy of Labor and Social Relations of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine, the history of trade unions of Ukraine is studied. The current state, history of the emergence and activity of youth organizations remains the object of research by scientists of the Ukrainian Institute of Social Research. The Ukrainian Independent Center for Political Studies examines the legal aspects of the activities of citizens' associations in Ukraine, the cooperation of civil society organizations and state structures.

However, important aspects of the history of public organizations in Ukraine remained out of the attention of the research community, in particular: the regional aspect of the emergence of citizen associations in 1985-1989; causes of the crisis of nationalized public organizations; transformation of public organizations of the Soviet system into structures independent of Communist Party influence; attempts by the leadership of the CPSU-CPU in the conditions of political pluralism to create public associations that would be under the influence of the ruling party; need analysis of achievements and miscalculations of public organizations in the first years of Ukraine's independence; interaction of public organizations and newly created political parties in socio-political processes; the activity of public organizations in the social protection of the population of Ukraine in the conditions of the economic crisis of the 90s of the 20th century. and during the formation of market relations; legal institutionalization of public organizations in independent Ukraine; financial, material and organizational influence of power structures, international funds on the development of public initiative in Ukraine during the first half of the 90s of the 20th century.

The analysis of primary sources shows that they provide the necessary basis for an objective scientific study of the history of the emergence and activity of public

organizations in the conditions of the transformation of Ukrainian society and the development of a democratic country. It should be noted that documents and materials of the period 1985-1991 became available to researchers mostly from the second half of the 90s of the 20th century. The management of most public organizations, which were created and operated during 1991-1996, did not comply with the requirements of the legislation regarding the archiving of documents. Therefore, the author filled the gaps in information about the activities of public organizations based on current archives, data of the State Committee of Statistics of Ukraine and periodicals. The author believes that the available sources make it possible to define the research task and successfully solve it.

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