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Other style directions also have the right to exist. Even now, Uzbek theater masters in their creative research often use the same style as B. Yuldashev.

After the declaration of the Independence of Uzbekistan, in many performances staged based on plays by national playwrights, directors began to return to folk origins, to forgotten traditions, and widely used elements of folklore and ethnography. Performances based on the plays of E. Khushvaktov "Chimildik" ("On the first evening of the wedding" directed by T. Azizov and M. Abdullayev), "Betrothed games" (directed by T. Azizov, H. Makhmudov) at the "Uzbek National Academic Drama Theater" alternately appear , "Find you an old woman, father!" Kh.Khursandova (directed by M. Yusupov) at the Fergana Theater and many others. The performances of the period of independence clearly reflected the tendency to create a stage performance with elements of entertainment, to combine modern theatrical techniques and the style of traditional theater on the stage.

It should be remembered that for the modern Uzbek theater folk spectacle, traditional square performance is only one of the stylistic directions. There are also other trends and stage techniques that make the palette of modern Uzbek theater rich and multidimensional.

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### HISTORICAL SCIENCES

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# DEVELOPMENT OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS OF UKRAINE UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIO-POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS (1985-2000)

#### Abstract

The article, based on archival sources, published documents and materials, analyzes the development of youth organizations in Ukraine in the years of socio-political changes and transformations in the country. Historical and general scientific research methods were used.

**Keywords**: youth organizations, Komsomol, informal organizations of Ukraine, policy of "perestroika", independence.

Formulation of the problem. Youth organizations are an integral part of civil society associations, promote the involvement of young men and women in active political, social and professional activities, both in their own interests and for the benefit of society as a whole. During the years of rule of the communist regime in Ukraine, the social and political activity of young people was closely controlled by the ruling Communist Party and repressive bodies. Attempts to reform the socio-political system, begun by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985, led to inevitable changes in the activities of controlled youth organizations and to the emergence of alternative youth structures. A new stage in the development of the youth movement began with the proclamation of Ukraine's independence.

**The purpose of the article** is to study the transformation processes among youth NGOs in Ukraine during 1985-2000.

Historiography of the problem. The first attempts to analyze a new social phenomenon - youth informal organizations were mostly journalistic and descriptive. Scholars tried to find out the origins, the social base of youth associations. They believed that the impetus for the creation of informal associations was the intensification of socio-political movements in Ukraine, publicity 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") have existed in Ukraine since the 70s of the twentieth century.

In 1985-1987, most youth informal groups, feeling the easing of psychological and administrative pressure from Komsomol and Communist Party structures, united young people for leisure. Since 1987, the process of formation of organizations of socio-political, national-cultural, environmental orientation begins. The

formation of socio-political clubs served as an accelerator of the amateur social and political movement of youth. [1]

Some researchers have focused on the contribution of perestroika youth associations to the struggle for Ukraine's national democratic revival. Thus, I. Kolyaka believed that the main subject of the youth movement for democratic transformations in the society of perestroika was Ukrainian students. [2, p. 14-15]

Researchers have elucidated the origins and social base of youth organizations. Most of them believed that an important impetus for the creation of informal youth associations was the transformation of socio-political processes, the emergence of pluralism of political thought, the abolition of censorship. According to V. Golovenko, the deepening of the politicization of the youth movement took place after the constituent congress of the People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika. [3] Analyzing the causes of the Komsomol crisis in the second half of the 1980s, the researcher claims that under the totalitarian regime, the LKSMU(Leninist Communist Youth Union of Ukraine) acted as a structure that depended entirely on the ruling Communist Party. [4]

With the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, a number of scholars focused on the study of youth NGOs. Thus, since April 1991, youth issues have become dominant for scientists of the Ukrainian Institute for Social Research (until October 1997, it was called the Ukrainian Research Institute for Youth Problems). During the first six years of its activity, the staff of the institute has implemented more than 150 research projects and programs.

In 1997, O. Kornievsky and V. Yakushyk published a scientific study "Youth Movement and Political Associations in Modern Ukraine", which analyzed the changes that have occurred in the socio-political orientation of youth during the first years of independence. The authors argue that the crisis situation in

Ukrainian society has influenced the fact that the youth environment began to spread the focus on solving socio-economic problems by their own efforts, without hopes for help from state or public structures. [5, p. 2-3]

Presenting main material. Since the mid-20s of the twentieth century. The Komsomol (from the Communist Youth Union) remained the only officially recognized youth organization in Ukraine. It was seen as an amateur socio-political organization of youth, active assistant and reserve of the party. The Charter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), adopted at the XXVII Party Congress in the spring of 1986, stated that "the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union (Komsomol) operates under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." The work of local organizations of the Komsomol is directed and controlled by the relevant republican, regional, oblast, city and district party organizations ". [6, p. 244] In the second half of the 1980s, two tendencies were observed in the youth movement. The first was the deployment of destructive processes in the Leninist Communist Union of Youth of Ukraine (LKSMU), which was a structural unit of the Komsomol. The second is the emergence of youth organizations outside the party.

The crisis in the Komsomol of Ukraine began earlier than in the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU), a structural unit of the CPSU. On January 1, 1987, the republican Komsomol organization numbered 6 million 620 thousand people, or 70 percent of the youth of the Komsomol age. The social composition of the organization was as follows: 35.5 percent - workers; 6.3 percent - collective farmers; 17.1 percent - employees; 39 percent are pupils and students. During 1986, the number of organizations decreased by 121,544 people, [7, p. 2] which, in our opinion, correlates with the development of the informal movement among young people. It should be noted that informal groups began to emerge long before the announced course of perestroika. A number of youth organizations were established in 1956. They were united in the Committee of Youth Organizations of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (CYO). [3, p. 97]

The Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine considered the KYO to be the most effective form of uniting amateur youth groups under the ideological leadership of the Komsomol. In addition, youth organizations could realize their interest in international activities. In October 1988, the CYO of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic included 45 vouth groups. According to the Resolution of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the LKSMU of October 28, 1988, the CYO of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic performed the following functions: organization of international contacts of the Komsomol and other youth organizations with progressive youth organizations abroad; establishment of scientific and technical, economic relations, establishment of joint ventures; coordination of efforts in the struggle for peace. [8, p. 4]

The orientation of the CYO mainly to international contacts provoked criticism among Komsomol mem-

bers. At the XXXII conference of the Kyiv city organization of the Lenin Communist Youth Union of Ukraine, which took place in December 1989, the CYO of the republic wished to make more efforts in coordinating the work of various youth groups and organizations, rather than becoming an international commercial firm. [9, p. 14]

In the late 70's and early 80's of the twentieth century in Ukraine, under the influence of the mass culture of the West, groups of "hippies", "rockers", "punks", "metalists" began to form. Attempts by Komsomol activists to overcome such influence proved futile. The presence of radios, tape recorders, the appearance of the first VCRs created the technical conditions for the formation of a special youth subculture, which distanced itself from the official structures and committees of the Komsomol. These processes intensified during the declared "perestroika", when the authorities were forced to look for points of contact with the new generation of young people who acted outside the influence of the Komsomol. It turned out that a significant part of young people are united in informal groups. Thus, according to the Kherson City Komsomol in 1986-1987, 18.5 percent of young men and women were members of such associations. [10, p. 70]

The Communist Party leadership was particularly alarmed by the politicization of amateur organizations, their focus on socio-economic, national and historical and cultural issues. The Komsomol tried to reform its work, to take control of the informal youth movement, directing it to leisure. At the beginning of 1988, 105 self-supporting youth centers, 22 rock clubs, and 450 youth cafes were established under the committees of the Komsomol. [11, p. 192]

Attempts by the Komsomol to assist young people in solving the housing problem can certainly be considered positive. Considerable attention was paid to the construction of youth housing complexes (YHC). At the beginning of 1989, 8 multidisciplinary youth cooperatives, about 10 self-supporting youth associations, and 9 small-scale productions of building materials and goods for youth and children were established in the associations of YHC. In 1986-1988, more than 5,000 apartments were built by young people. 23 housing cooperatives were established in cities and 119 in villages. More than 30 thousand young men and women took part in the movement to create YHC. [12, p. 103]

Considerable attention was paid to scientific and technical creativity of youth (STCY). At the beginning of 1989, the Ukrainian Association of STCY Centers consisted of 86 centers under the auspices of Komsomol committees. They concluded more than 11,000 business agreements worth about 126 million rubles, of which 56.7 percent were fulfilled at that time. More than 52 thousand members of youth groups were involved in the implementation of agreements. [12, p. 105]

It should be noted that YHC and STCY centers could not fully solve the problems facing young people. The average salary of young workers and employees in the late 80's of the twentieth century was 120-140 rubles - almost twice lower than the average in the public sector. 70 percent of single mothers had a profit of 70

rubles per month, 6 percent - 25 rubles. The housing problem remained unresolved for most young people. 70 percent of young people who were forced to change jobs or professions did so because of housing problems. [13, p. 18-19]

In the late 80's and early 90's of the twentieth century the disintegration of the Lenin Communist Youth Union of Ukraine is intensifying. This was manifested in a further reduction in the number of organizations, in the withdrawal of a number of regional and city organizations of the Lenin Communist Youth Union of Ukraine from the republican, in the emergence of youth associations that openly declared the need to fight for Ukraine's independence, rejected communist ideology and cooperation with the CPU. The crisis of confidence in the Komsomol affected all regions of Ukraine.

In 1989, the number of Komsomol organizations in the city of Vinnytsia decreased by 10,000 people. Admission to the Lenin Communist Youth Union of Ukraine decreased by 25 percent, especially among workers. [14, p. 62] From January to November 1990, the number of the Vinnytsia City Komsomol organization decreased by 9,000. During the reports and elections, more than 70 primary Komsomol organizations ceased to exist. [15, p. 6]

The number of the Crimean Komsomol organization from 1985 to June 1991 decreased from 250 thousand to 140 thousand members, including in 1989-1990 by 70 thousand people. Joining the Komsomol compared to 1989 decreased by four times, more than 400 primary organizations ceased to operate. [16, p. 14] During 1987-1990, the number of Komsomol members in the Kherson region decreased by almost a quarter among schoolchildren and by half among students. [17, p. 5]

It should be noted that the process of disintegration of Komsomol organizations in the East and South of Ukraine was less active than in the western regions. The reason for this was the significant popularity of newly established public organizations (Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society, Society of Lion, People's Movement of Ukraine, Memorial) among the youth of the western regions. In addition, according to V. Stetsiuk, in the Lviv region "among Komsomol functionaries of city and even regional scale there were many more or less nationally conscious young people brought up in their families in the national spirit, in respect not only for folk traditions, but in respect to the national liberation struggles of their parents and grandparents. "[18, p. 9]

In 1987-1989, the Lviv regional organization of the Lenin Communist Youth Union of Ukraine decreased by more than 65,000 people. The number of those wishing to become a member of the Lenin Communist Youth Union of Ukraine among workers and collective farmers decreased by 6.4 and 8.9 times, respectively. [13, p. 13] In addition, a significant part of the Komsomol members of the Lviv region was critical of the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union- Communist Party of Ukraine. Thus, the delegates of the Stryi city conference of the Lenin Communist Youth Union of Ukraine in November 1989

supported the resolution on the need to abolish Art. 6 of the Constitution of the USSR. [19, p. 91]

At the XXIV reporting and election conference of the Lviv regional Komsomol organization, which took place in December 1989, the need to fight for the adoption of the following principles was noted: freedom of establishment of organizations within the Constitution with the "notifiable" principle of registration; equality of legal and socio-economic status of each person in society, regardless of his membership in any organization; guaranteed equal right of all organizations to legislative initiative, economic and publishing activities. The conference appealed to the authorities with a request: to register the People's Movement of Ukraine, to exclude from all questionnaires when entering employment or training a clause on membership in the Komsomol, to provide effective assistance to all amateur groups operating in the region. [13, p. 32]

In the late 80's of the twentieth century In Ukraine, a number of youth organizations, alternative to the Komsomol, are emerging: the Lion Society, Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth, Sich, Parostky, Berkut, and others. In July 1989, the Union of Ukrainian Youth was established in Kharkiv. On August 19 of the same year, the Lviv Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth (UIUY) was established. The Kyiv branch of UIUY was organized on September 20, and the Ternopil branch on October 28. Y. Morhun, one of the leaders of the Ternopil branch of UIUY, acknowledged that the program of their activities is based on the declarative principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. [20, p. 91] During the period from August 1989 to May 1990, UIUY organized 27 mass socio-political actions, including 23 unauthorized, in which 64 thousand people took part. In 1990, UIUY supported 28 percent of the youth of Lviv, 30 percent - in Ivano-Frankivsk, 15 percent - in Donetsk. [20, p. 94]

The program of the Kyiv organization of UIUY, which was adopted in November 1989, clearly defined the main goal of the organization: "UIUY seeks to rebuild the Ukrainian Independent Conciliar State in all Ukrainian territories... UIUY unites young people regardless of their ideological worldview and political and group affiliation and stands on the basis of the political sovereignty of the Ukrainian State and the political independence of the Ukrainian liberation struggle."[21]

On May 27-28, 1990, the First All-Ukrainian Congress of UIUY took place in Ivano-Frankivsk, uniting 18 regional organizations into a single union. However, the number of UIUY at that time did not exceed 1 thousand people. [22, p. 333]

The social base of the newly created youth organizations was students. In 1990, there were 148 universities and 738 technical schools in Ukraine. Inpatient education covered more than 1 million people. [23, p. 13] In May 1989, the Student Brotherhood was established in Lviv, the main activities of which were the organization of the system of social protection of students, the impact on the quality of the student process, participation in socio-political life of universities, cultural and educational activities. The program principles of the new youth association were formulated at a rally

on August 31, 1989 in Lviv. The resolution of the rally noted: "Student fraternity in close cooperation with the People's Movement of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society, UIUY, the Lion Society, Plast fights for the revival of national education based on the experience and traditions of Ukrainian higher education and the societies of Prosvita, Sich, Sokil, Plast. The participants of the rally demanded to legalize the Ukrainian national symbols; to teach subjects in universities in the Ukrainian language; opposed the annual compulsory agricultural trials for students; supported the proposal to establish university councils on the basis of equal representation of teachers and students. [24, p. 16-17]

December 8 - 10, 1989 at Kyiv State University (KSU) named after Taras Shevchenko, the constituent congress of the Ukrainian Student Union (USU) took place. 167 delegates from 13 cities of Ukraine took part in its work. The most numerous were delegations from Kyiv - 69 people, representing 9 universities and Lviv - 49 people (6 universities). Among the delegates were representatives of the "Student Brotherhood" (Lviv), "Free Wave" (Odessa), "Left Front of Independent Students" (Dnepropetrovsk). The main report was made by student S. Kirichenko. He formulated the following requirements: the abolition of Article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR, the independence of the Ukrainian Sich shooters as a socio-political organization from power; abolition of social science courses and state exams in Marxism-Leninism; deideologization of education; free establishment of religious associations in universities; introduction of spiritual education; liquidation of State Security Committee (KGB) departments in universities. [25, p. 218]

In December 1989, members of the Student Brotherhood initiated a movement to abolish state exams in social sciences. Thus, on December 18, 1989, a warning strike of students took place at the Lviv Polytechnic Institute under the slogans: "Get out of the curriculum social disciplines!", "Democratic elections of the Rector of the institute." Similar events took place in other universities of the city. [26, p. 19]

An important sign of the development of the youth movement was the desire for cooperation of newly formed youth associations of Ukraine with colleagues from the Ukrainian diaspora. On August 23-24, 1990, the First World Conference of Ukrainian Youth Organizations was held in Bilyi Bor (Poland), which was attended by representatives of UIUY, the Ukrainian Student Union, the Lion Society, Plast, and the Sich Society (Ukraine); UIUY, Ukrainian Youth Union, Plast (Poland), UUY (USA, Germany, Australia, Canada) and a number of other organizations. The work of the conference was of an introductory nature. On August 3-4, 1991, Kyiv hosted the Second World Conference, which was attended by 180 delegates from 35 youth associations of Ukraine and the diaspora. [19, p. 117] The Political Resolution adopted at the conference expressed a sharp rejection of the new union treaty. It was noted that "true democratic and socially just system in Ukraine is possible only in an independent state built on the principles of democracy, in accordance with domestic traditions, spiritual and cultural values, ethical values and historical desires and needs of the Ukrainian people." [27, p. 82]

The crisis in the Komsomol of Ukraine, the separation of the leadership from the majority of young people, led to apathy and frustration of a large number of members of the organization. The emergence of small but bureaucratic informal associations, which began to fight openly for influence over the youth, did not change the work of Komsomol structures for the better. Attempts to radically renew the organization were not supported by most Komsomol officials. M. Tomenko, who at that time was a graduate student of KSU of Taras Shevchenko, in his speech at the XXXII conference of the Kyiv city organization of the Young Communist League of Ukraine in December 1989, suggested two possible ways to reform the Komsomol. The first was the separation of several organizations on the basis of the LCYUU and the division of property and the media. The second required the suspension of membership in the LCYUU and the creation of a transitional body, which gave the opportunity to propose several programs, and then reorganize the regions on the basis of these programs. [9, p. 37] But the proposal was not supported by the conference delegates. The LCYUU, as a youth organization that had operated in the Soviet system for decades with the support of party and state authorities, could not accept the new "rules of the game" imposed by perestroika. Attempts to cover all young people with their structures, various rallies and demonstrations of a declarative nature, the emergence of the Komsomol nomenclature, for which being in the LCYUU in a leading position was the first step to the top of party power - all this spoke of a systemic crisis.

At the XXIV Congress of the Young Communist League of Ukraine, which took place in Kyiv on June 10-14, 1990, an attempt was made to reform the Komsomol, forms and methods of organization. A resolution was adopted to supplement the name of the LCYUU "Youth for Democratic Socialism" (YDS). The Program adopted at the congress noted that the LCYUU (YDS) is a voluntary association of young men and women into an independent socio-political organization of the youth of Ukraine. It was emphasized that the Union is a continuation of the best traditions of the all-democratic, communist and socialist international movement. The program outlined the political position of the Komsomol, which consisted in defending and promoting socialist values among young people. [22, p. 314] The program reflected changes in the position of the Komsomol leadership regarding interaction with the CPU. "To achieve its goals, the union builds relations with the Communist Party on the principles of political partnership, full organizational independence, mutual respect and comradely trust." [22, p. 316]

The delineation of political orientations could not rule out the fact that in the Komsomol, as noted in the Political Report of the Central Committee of the LCYU of Ukraine of the XXVI Congress of the LCYUU "there are supporters of different views - from orthodox-communist, social-democratic, anarcho-syndicalist to openly anti-socialist. In fact, members of the LCYUU are already focusing on different political structures...

On the ground, some secretaries of Komsomol committees are also members of UIUY and do not hide their intentions to break up the Komsomol" [28, p. 76-77]

Against the background of a progressive decline in the number of Komsomol republican organizations - compared to 1987, the number of admissions decreased by almost half, the number of Komsomol decreased by 1 million 300 thousand people [28, p. 82], there was an increasing "transformation" of the Komsomol from the socio-political to the commercial structure of Komsomol functionaries and various commercial organizations that were created under it in the late 80's of the twentieth century. In 1990, 509 self-supporting formations operated under the LCYU (YDS), which made it possible to increase the amount of funds in the organization's bank accounts from 66.8 million rubles in 1989 to 175.9 million rubles at the end of 1990. [3, p. 101]

The peak of political and social activity of young people in 1990 was the student hunger strike in Kyiv on October 2-17. It was attended by 154 students (119 students and 120 people who served the tent camp went on hunger strike) with demands: the resignation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Ukraine V. Masol, early elections to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, Ukraine's refusal to sign the Union Treaty, nationalization of Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Komsomol's property, return to Ukraine of young men who served in the military abroad. [29, p. 141] Although the demands of the hunger strikers were partially done (V. Masol's resignation), the impact of the action on young people was significant. First, a number of regional Komsomol organizations supported the student hunger strike. Thus, on October 13, 1990, at the VI Plenum of the Kyiv City and Regional Committees of the Young Communist League of Ukraine (YDS), a political statement was issued stating "We oppose consideration of a new union treaty before the adoption of a new Constitution of Ukraine. We demand the resignation of the government of V. Masol, as one that does not have a constructive and realistic program, is not supported by the people. " [30, p. 90]

Secondly, centrifugal processes intensified and began to threaten the unity of the LCYUU. At the XXV Extraordinary Conference of the Lviv Regional Organization of the LCYUU (YDS), held on October 27-28, 1990, a resolution was adopted stating: "Taking into account the opinion of the members of the Komsomol of the LCYUU regional organization (YDS), district committees of the LKSMU (MDS), on the establishment of a new youth organization of Lviv region on the basis of Lviv regional Komsomol organization, the conference approves: To consider the XXV extraordinary conference of Lviv regional organization of Lviv DYU (MDSL) [31, p. 120] The DYU Declaration stated: "We want to build a sovereign united Ukraine. We proclaim with our slogan - the interests of youth, civil society, and national consent. "[31, p. 147]

Third, the hunger strike contributed to the consolidation of student organizations in Ukraine. On March 30-31, 1991, the Union of Ukrainian Students (UUS) was formed at the unifying congress. A resolution was adopted expressing concern that none of the provisions

of the Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of the USSR "On the requirements of starving students" on October 17, 1990 was fulfilled (except for the resignation of V.A. Masol). [32, p. 142]

In the autumn of 1990, the Ivano-Frankivsk and Zakarpattia regional Komsomol organizations changed their name and adopted new statutes. At an extraordinary joint conference of the Vinnytsia city and district organizations of the LCYU (YDS), held on October 17, 1990, it was noted that the union today includes people with social-democratic, anarcho-syndicalist, and communist views. Therefore, the mention in the title of the communist orientation of the union narrows the social base of the organization. [15, p. 7] A course was taken for the gradual depoliticization of the youth union, which should focus on the functions of the youth union - partial payment of vouchers, material support for youth actions and charity. The Komsomol was to become an interest-based organization that would pay close attention to working with internationalist soldiers, environmental groups, and building the YHC. The conference adopted a resolution according to which the Vinnytsia City Organization of the Young Communist League (VYCL) changes its name to the Democratic Union of Young Vinnytsia (DUYV) [15, p. 32], remaining part of the Komsomol. In a speech at the conference of the first secretary of the Vinnytsia regional committee of the LCYU (YDS) M. Koval, it was noted that the only real political force with which the Komsomol cooperates is the Communist Party, UIUY does not so much express the interests of young people as it implements the program of those political forces that finance, support and have been at the origins of this organization. [15, p. 18]

The leadership of the Democratic Youth Union of Lviv Region (DYUL) had a fundamentally different political position. A. Shlapak, Chairman of the DYUL Council, became a member of the Party of Democratic Revival of Ukraine and maintained friendly relations with the national-democratic leadership of the region. A committee on youth affairs was established at the Lviv Regional Council to better cooperate with youth groups. In December 1990, the committee addressed the youth of the region: "It is legitimate to pose the dilemma as follows: to be or not to be imperial structures and politics. If the youth of Lviv region is involved in such structures, it thus supports the empire. Therefore, we appeal to everyone, regardless of their nationality, religion and social status... Either you want to live in a free state, or you like the empire? Either you remain part of the Komsomol, which is completely connected with the CPSU, which declared war on the democratically elected government, or you leave this organization, as the DYUL does today? "[33, p. 86]

In November-December 1990, the DMSL re-registered members of the LCYU(YDS) in the Lviv region. A total of 39,700 members of the LCYU were reregistered, accounting for 24 percent of all registered Komsomol members. Of these, 11,200 people identified themselves as members of the DYUL, while 2,700 remained directly in the LCYU(YDS). [34, p. 11]

These data indicate the real political activity of young people. The vast majority of young men and

women in the Lviv region not only rejected the traditional Komsomol, but did not accept the new, completely reformed youth organization. It is not only the emergence and activity of such alternative Komsomol organizations as UIUY, Student Brotherhood, Sich, Plast and others. Only a few thousand people were members of these associations. The vast majority of young people showed a strong antipathy to participation in any organizational structure. This phenomenon can be seen as a kind of reaction to the "voluntary coercion" of participation in public affairs during the years of Soviet rule. Similar trends were observed in other regions of Ukraine. Distrust of any organizations and public institutions is growing among a significant number of young people. To the question of a sociological survey conducted in Zaporozhye in late 1990, "What organization do you think can express or protect your interests?", Young people gave the following answers: Communist Party of the Soviet Union - 2 percent, Leninist Communist Youth Union of Ukraine translation - 2 percent, trade unions - 7 percent, new parties - 15 percent, deputies - 17 percent, the Movement, informals - 18 percent, no organization - 35 percent. [35, p. 8]

Disappointing for Komsomol and party functionaries were the results of a survey of young people conducted in early 1991 in the Odessa region. Significant trust in the CPU was expressed by only three percent of respondents (despite the fact that 65 percent of respondents were members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Komsomol). Thirty percent of those polled believed that the party was undecided on the country's further development. 58 percent of young people considered perestroika a period of temporary mistakes that did not solve anything. The most acceptable model of the future society for 50 percent of respondents was a deideologized state, which should primarily be focused on universal values. Only 12 percent of those polled supported the communist perspective, and 15 percent supported the socialist choice. Orientations to bourgeois values were preferred by 16 percent of respondents. [36, p. 61-64]

Several options for the future development of the Komsomol were considered at the V Plenum of the Zaporizhia Regional Committee of the LCYU (YDS) in February 1991. The first option was to de-ideologize the Union, the organizational structure of which could be a broad association of organizations of the "left" orientation, which would be part of it on the rights of collective membership. It was a matter of creating an "umbrella" structure where organizations would make decisions based on consensus, which would recommended to all members. The second option was unexpected and frank. "With the creation of a unified state system for youth, the need for any youth organization, including the Komsomol, will disappear... Until now, the role of the state department for youth affairs was performed by the Komsomol, and only at the expense of the privileges granted to it by the party-administrative system in exchange for propaganda among the youth of the CPSU policy. Today, the real power passes to the Soviets, the benefits of the Komsomol are annulled, it is simply unable to solve the social problems of young people." [37, p. 11] The third option was supported during the "round table" of representatives of regional organizations of the republic. Its essence was to end the "period of disarray and swaying", to determine ideological guidelines, strengthening the organizational unity of the Komsomol. [37, p. 12]

The changes that took place in the Komsomol of Ukraine could not escape the attention of the CPU. At the XXVII Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the first (and last) stage of which ended on June 23, 1990, documents were adopted according to which the party was to operate in conditions of multiparty system, new political and economic realities. The Program Principles of the Communist Party of Ukraine outlined new approaches to interaction with public organizations. "Considering the Leninist Communist Youth Union (YDS) as an independent socio-political youth organization, a political and ideological ally, the closest reserve of the Communist Party of Ukraine, we will help renew the Komsomol, strengthen its authority and increase its role among young people." [22, p. 34]

In most regions of Ukraine in early 1991, joint plenums were held, meetings of the bureau of the regional committees of the LCYU(YDS) and the CPU, which considered the socio-political situation in Ukraine and the possibility of further joint action. The resolution of the Bureau of the Kherson Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Bureau of the LCYU Regional Committee (YDS) of March 23, 1991 stated: "To demand from party committees and Komsomol committees to intensify their joint actions to improve all work with youth on the principles of ideological unity, recognition of socialist choice, mutual trust, ensuring political and organizational independence of the regional Komsomol organization, mutual assistance and cooperation" [38, p. 7] Restoration of broken corporate ties between the party and the Komsomol nomenclature led to the fact that the reform of the Komsomol was virtually suspended.

On April 10, 1991, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party received a note from the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine outlining the principles of youth policy to be used by parties in practice. Emphasis was placed on the fact that anti-communist infusions have become widespread among young people. According to various polls, more than 50 percent of young people do not support the activities of the CPU (although among working and student youth, this percentage is much higher). In the event of an election, only 15 percent of young people were ready to vote for the Communist Party. It was noted that in Ukraine there are almost no youth organizations ready for constructive cooperation with the CPU. [39, p. 115] The spirit and letter of the document testified to the final choice of the political course of the Komsomol of Ukraine for cooperation with the CPU.

On May 17-18, 1991, the Third Conference of the LCYU (YDS) took place in Kyiv, which was attended by more than 600 delegates. In order to fully control the course of the conference, the right to a casting vote was given to 199 members of the Central Committee and

the Central Committee of the LCYU (YDS), who were not elected delegates.

The conference noted the fact that the number of the Komsomol of Ukraine decreased in 1985-1991 from almost 7 to 3.7 million people. Most delegates reaffirmed the Union's status as a socio-political organization. It was clearly stated that the LCYU (YDS) supports the activities of the CPU. The democratic faction, which mainly included representatives of Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Zakarpattia oblasts, Kviv, and the Komsomol organization of the Chornobyl NPP, opposed the line of refusing to further reform the Komsomol. The Democratic faction declared the decisions of the conference optional. The withdrawal from the LCYU (YDS) was announced by the Komsomol organization of the Chornobyl NPP. On May 12, 1991, the same decision was made by the regional conference of the Democratic Union of Youth of Lviv Region. [39, p. 132-134]

The events of August 19-21, 1991, the banning of the Communist Party, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the declaration of independence of Ukraine, the end of the political role of the Komsomol put the Union on the path of choice: either the organization dissolves or it reorganizes. The logical conclusion of the deepening crisis in the LCYU (YDS) was the XXVII Congress of the Union, which took place in September 1991. The congress supported the resolution on the termination of the LCYU (YDS) and the creation of a fundamentally new organization - the Union of Youth Organizations of Ukraine (UYOU). The main purpose of UYOU is to promote the self-realization of a young person, his social protection, expression of the interests of members of the organization. UYOU activities are aimed at uniting young people to build a sovereign democratic Ukraine, youth participation in the formation and implementation of state youth policy, to create conditions for youth participation in solving their own problems, including by supporting and developing youth entrepreneurship. [40, p. 119] In organizational terms, the UYOU was based on the principles of unification of youth regional and republican organizations on the basis of a cooperation agreement.

New youth associations emerged on the basis of regional Komsomol organizations. Thus, on October 26, 1991, at the XXVI Conference of the Zaporizhia Regional Komsomol Organization, the Zaporizhia Youth Union was established. The speeches of the plenum delegates noted that the new youth organization should become a non-political, independent, amateur organization that would solve the problem of creating social, economic, legal conditions and guarantees for the formation and development of young people. The Declaration of the new youth organization noted: "New economic and political conditions require young people to be able to form their worldview and adapt to society. No youth policy of the state is able to operate effectively in the absence of amateur and diverse youth movement." [41, p. 21]

In a fundamentally new socio-economic conditions was the development of youth organizations in Ukraine in the 90s of the twentieth century. First, the legal framework for the activities of youth associations

is gradually being formed. On December 15, 1992, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the Declaration "On General Principles of State Youth Policy in Ukraine", the main tasks of which were to study the situation of youth, create the necessary conditions for strengthening legal and material guarantees full-fledged social formation and development of youth. [42, p. 46]

The Law of Ukraine "On Promoting the Social Formation and Development of Youth in Ukraine" of February 5, 1993 defined the legal status and guarantees of the activities of youth public organizations. The state guaranteed not only the right of young people to establish public organizations, but also their right to make proposals to the executive authorities and local self-government bodies on issues of social formation and development of youth. Article 15 of the Law was important for the formation and development of the youth movement, according to which the right to finance programs and projects of youth organizations, grants and subsidies, free use of youth organizations and foundations of buildings, structures, land and other property and local self-government.[42, p. 75]

The next stage in the institutionalization of the youth movement in Ukraine was the adoption in December 1998 of the Law on Youth and Children's Public Organizations. It clearly defined the concepts of "youth NGO" and "children's NGO", detailed the rights, status and forms of state support of the above organizations. According to Article 10 of the Law, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, when approving the state budget of Ukraine, provides for a separate line of expenditures to support the union, members of which are most registered all-Ukrainian youth and children's NGOs, as well as regional, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Kyiv and Sevastopol city youth unions and children's organizations. [42, p. 131]

Secondly, during the 1990s, a youth organization was formed, uniting the majority of all-Ukrainian and a significant part of local youth and children's organizations – the Ukrainian National Committee of Youth Organizations (UNCYO). On July 14, 1992, fourteen all-Ukrainian youth organizations of Ukraine approved the charter of the new youth association. The purpose of the Committee was to promote the development of youth organizations, coordinate the youth movement in Ukraine and its integration into the international youth movement, involve young people in the state-building process and participation in civil society in Ukraine, create conditions for young people's self-realization and involve young people to solve general social problems. [40, p. 29]

The special role of UNCYO in the youth movement was enshrined in the Law of Ukraine "On Children's and Youth Organizations." It is through UNCYO that state funding of youth projects and programs has taken place since 1999, which contributes to the expansion of the Committee's membership. If in 1997 UNCYO included 28 all-Ukrainian youth and children's organizations and 19 regional associations, at the beginning of 1999 the union united 46 all-Ukrainian organizations and was represented in all regions of

Ukraine. About 400 local youth and children's organizations cooperated with UNCYO. [43, p. 96]

Since 1995, UNCYO has been a member of the Council of European National Youth Committees of the Council of Europe and represents this organization in Ukraine. At the beginning of 2000, the board of UNCYO included representatives of youth organizations of various political orientations: V. Benderis -Chairman of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Youth, A. Bilous - Chairman of the Association of Young Ukrainian Politicians and Political Scientists, Y. Kryvoruchko - Chairman of the Young People's Movement. V. Missoura - Chairman of the Socialist Youth Congress, A. Polyit - First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Leninist Communist Youth Union of Ukraine, O. Starynets - First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Youth Union and others. In early 2001, V. Ryabika was elected as a Chairman of the UNCYO, who also headed the Department of Youth and Family Policy in the State Committee for Youth Policy, Sports and Tourism of Ukraine. [42, p. 378]

UNCYO, together with the Ministry of Family and Youth Affairs of Ukraine and the Conference of Ukrainian Youth Organizations at the World Congress of Ukrainians, facilitated the holding of the World Congress of Ukrainian Youth Organizations (WCUYO) in August 1998.

The IV Congress was held on August 21-23, 1998 in Kyiv under the slogan "The future of Ukraine is in the hands of young people!" It was attended by 168 representatives from 43 all-Ukrainian youth and children's organizations and 258 - from more than 200 regional associations. 47 people represented organizations of the Ukrainian diaspora from 22 countries. [44, p. 7]

The report of the member of the organizing committee of the Congress, chairman of the Union of Ukrainian Students (UUS), first deputy chairman of UNCYO V. Berezovsky noted the important role played by public youth associations in the process of socialization of youth, intensification of their activities in solving their socio-economic problems. The purpose of the IV Congress of WCUYO was to coordinate the efforts of the Ukrainian youth movement in involving young people in state-building processes, developing and discussing their own approaches to Ukrainian politics and economics; promoting the implementation of initiatives during the aggravation of the economic crisis, social and political instability in society; education of young men and women in the patriotic and Christian spirit on the basis of national traditions, deepening cooperation between youth organizations, between youth associations and the state. [44, p. 13-14]

Thus, a characteristic feature of the Ukrainian youth movement of the 90s of the twentieth century there are two trends in the development of youth associations. The first was to increase the number of youth and children's organizations. The second trend comes down to the fact that public youth associations are small in composition. Most of them are small, unknown young and do not enjoy the authority and prestige. According to a survey conducted in 1997, only 7.8 percent of young men and women surveyed participated in activities conducted by youth organizations. [43, p. 97] It

should be noted, that the attention paid to youth by youth organizations and the media refuted the idea of political passivity of youth. Thus, if 25 percent of young people came to the 1994 presidential election, then almost 70 percent came to the 1999 presidential election. [45, p. 18]

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### TRADE STAGE OF EASTERN EUROPEAN COLONIZATION (XVI - XIX centuries)

#### Abstract.

The article is devoted to the peculiarities of the formation of the colonial system in different regions at the trade stage. The emergence of Europeans greatly influenced the East. Although it did not appear immediately on the internal structure of society and did not affect all regions, it brought the constant presence of a new force and changed the foreign policy situation. Initially, Europeans were perceived in the East as another force, not always equally powerful, but always incomprehensible (in terms of its values and aspirations) and alienated from local society. But despite the fact that the vast majority of eastern states continued to live in their traditional world, European colonization inevitably drew them into the world market system.

Keywords: colonialism, East, Europeans, trade, conquest.

The beginning of the European invasion of the East coincides with the era of the Great Geographical Discoveries - a period of expanding world ties, especially trade. For two centuries, European navigators, first Portuguese and Spanish, then Dutch, English and French, paved the way to the East - to Africa, India, Southeast Asia and the West - to South and North America, the Antilles, discovered Australia. Russian explorers went deep into Siberia and reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

The aim of the article is to find out the peculiarities of the formation of the colonial system in different regions at the first, trade stage of colonialism, to determine the reasons for the transition of European countries from trade with Eastern countries to their conquest.

Various aspects of the problem of colonialism were studied by Vasiliev L.S. [1]. The study of colonial rivalry between European countries were: Khazanov A.M. [2,3]., Novopashina L.Yu. [4], Zagorodnikova T.N [5], Subbotin V.A. [6]. The missionary movement was studied by: Ognetov I.A. [7]., Nikitin M.D. [8], Tsendina A.V. [9], Balezin A.S. [10].

The great geographical discoveries, and with them the colonial expansion, were initiated by Portugal and Spain, countries that were not the most economically and politically developed. This raises the question of why the Crusaders' movement to the East, which continued in Europe throughout the Middle Ages, or the naval expansion of the Arabs into China did not cause such rapid changes in world development as the Spanish-Portuguese expansion. The answer to this question