

UKRAINE IS MODERN. SCIENTIFIC STUDIES OF THE PAST AND PRESENT

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Boiko Y., Bogatchuk S., Levchuk K., Belkin I., Manhora V., Manhora T., Durach O., Makarov Z.

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Monograph

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3. Activities of non-government organizations of commodity proucers of Ukraine under the conditions of reforming economic relations (90s of the 20 century)

3.1.1 Statement of the problem

With the declaration of Ukraine's independence, a transitional period in its history began. It consisted in carrying out radical changes in the political and economic systems of Ukrainian society. The most profound changes were to take place in the economic sphere. This is the revival of various forms of ownership and management, which required taking into account the interests of all sections of the population. Fundamental changes in the socio-economic course of the state were accompanied by a sharp decrease in the standard of living of citizens, the inability in the conditions of the socio-economic crisis to ensure the necessary concentration of material and financial resources for the rapid reformation of economic sectors.

The failure of state structures to ensure compliance with basic constitutional and legislative guarantees in the field of labor, employment, and social protection of the population increased tension in society, led to growing dissatisfaction with both the institutions of power and the nature of economic transformations carried out by them. In these conditions, trade union organizations, as the most representative public organizations of workers, had to prove to the power structures their position, their vision regarding the directions for overcoming the crisis and further social development. For this, trade unions of Ukraine needed to change the concept of activity, develop its new strategy and tactics in the conditions of democratization of society and economic reforms.

Associations of entrepreneurs, farmers, tenants, etc. are included in public organizations operating in the economic spheres. employers and private owners. They are the result of the self-organization of commodity producers, which contributes to increasing the structuring and self-regulation of the economy. Unlike trade unions, public associations of entrepreneurs faced other tasks, which consisted in the formation of corporate interests and awareness of the need to develop their own consistent and comprehensive economic policy.

3.1.2 Analysis of recent research and publications

The study of the forms and methods of activity of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine (FPU), the role of the trade union movement in the process of socioeconomic transformations in Ukraine during the 90s of the 20th century. dedicated to the scientific researches of H. Stoyan and H. Osovoy. Researchers emphasize that the FPU remained the main trade union organization with which government structures were reckoned and which influenced the socio-economic life of the state.[1]

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 - O. Stoyan believes. [2] The author paid the main attention to the analysis of the strategy and tactics of the FPU 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. When analyzing the above-mentioned studies, one should take into account the fact that their authors were trade union functionaries who headed the FPU for a long time. Therefore, the main attention in their scientific research was focused on the positive trends of the official trade union movement in Ukraine.

Organizational, economic and legal problems of the creation and functioning of farms in the process of market transformations were reflected in the works of agrarian economists. Thus, in the article of S. Amons, the main problems in the functioning of farms as one of the forms of management of the agrarian sector of the economy of Ukraine are identified, namely: imperfection of state support, insufficient land allotments for effective management, lack of mechanism of long-term lending.[3] S. Groshev focused considerable attention on the economic aspects of the development of the farming movement during the years 2000-2017, when the performance indicators of farms became economically and statistically significant. [4]

T. Melnychuk successfully applied historical-statistical methods to analyze the contradictory processes of formation and activity of farms in Ukraine for the period 1990-2010.[5] Whereas M. Zayachuk, trying to use economic and geographical

methods to study the process of formation of farming in Ukraine, used commonly used sources, which reduced the value of his research.[6]

However, researchers did not pay much attention to studying the activities of the Association of Farmers of Ukraine, which during the 90s of the XX century. was an expression of economic, social and political interests of farmers.

3.1.3 Development of the trade union movement

During the years of the economic crisis (1990-1999), the gross domestic product (GDP) of Ukraine decreased by 59.2 percent, the volume of industrial production - by 48.9 percent, the volume of agricultural production - by 51.5 percent, real wages decreased by 3 .82 times, and real pension payments - 4 times. The Ukrainian economy experienced the most significant losses in 1990-1994. During this time, the volume of GDP decreased by 45.6 percent, industrial production - by 40.4 percent, agriculture - by 32.5 percent. During 1994, the GDP fell by 22.4 percent. The financial system turned out to be completely unbalanced. Particularly painful were the consequences of hyperinflation, a record by world standards, which exceeded 10,000 percent in 1993. The state budget deficit was covered by the direct money issue of the National Bank of Ukraine. Only in 1994, the exchange rate of the Ukrainian ruble in US dollars decreased by 8.3 times.[7] According to the calculations of experts of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine, the purchasing power of salaries of employees of the public sector of the economy decreased by 4 times for the years 1991-1994. The average level of wages in May 1994 was equal to 59 krb. 1990. [8]

The failure of state structures to ensure compliance with basic constitutional and legislative guarantees in the field of labor, employment, and social protection of the population increased tension in society, led to growing dissatisfaction with both the institutions of power and the nature of economic transformations carried out by them. In these conditions, trade union organizations, as the most representative public organizations of workers, had to prove to the power structures their position, their vision regarding the directions for overcoming the crisis and further social development. For this, trade unions of Ukraine needed to change the concept of

activity, develop its new strategy and tactics in the conditions of democratization of society and economic reforms.

The evolution of the trade union movement in the conditions of the independent Ukrainian state was influenced by two trends. The first was the strengthening of centrifugal processes in the trade union environment and the formation of new trade unions. In October 1990, the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Ukraine was established on the basis of the Ukrainian Republican Council of Trade Unions (since November 1992, the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine). Some sectoral trade union organizations refrained from joining the FNPU and began to act autonomously (trade union of railway transport and transport construction workers). By separating from the union of aviation workers of Ukraine, the unions of dispatchers, flight crew and engineering and technical workers were formed.[2, p. 574] During 1990-1991, new trade unions were created on the basis of strike committees: the Independent Trade Union of Miners, Solidarity Trade Unions of Ukraine, Free labor unions.

The second trend was manifested in the decrease in the number of trade unions. At the end of 1995, four types of public associations were active in the trade union space of the state. Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine (FPU) united 67 sectoral organizations and 26 regional inter-union associations with a total membership of 20 million 800 thousand people. [9, p. 7] This trade union structure was the legal successor of the Soviet trade unions, which at the beginning of 1989 included 25 million 700 thousand workers and employees. The main reason for leaving traditional trade unions, according to the head of the FPU O. Stoyan, was the despair of individual workers in the ability of trade union structures and, first of all, trade union committees to defend people's interests in conditions of a sharp decline in the standard of living.

The National Confederation of Trade Unions of Ukraine united the Solidarity trade unions of Ukraine, the trade union of journalists "Nezalezhnyst", the trade union of employees of the National Academy of Sciences, the trade union of employees of innovative and small enterprises, the Federation of trade union organizations of joint enterprises "Community" and "Solidarity" with a total number of 700,000 members. The third group of trade union organizations consisted of independent trade unions of

miners, pilots, air traffic controllers, engineering and technical workers of the "Ukrainian Airlines" company, military personnel and individual regional trade unions, united in the Association of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine - 80 thousand members.

Some trade unions acted independently. In particular, the All-Ukrainian Association of Solidarity of Workers, which, having structures in 22 regions of Ukraine, included only 15,000 workers, represented an insignificant force. The Federation of Representatives of Cooperative Workers and Other Forms of Entrepreneurship in Ukraine did not show a particular desire to cooperate with other trade union organizations.[9, p.8]

The Federation of Professional Unions of Ukraine remained the most influential among trade union associations. At the second (extraordinary) congress in November 1992, the Program and Statute of trade unions of Ukraine were adopted. The program expressed new conceptual approaches to the place and role of trade unions in new socio-political conditions. The first is the definition of the role of trade unions as organizations of social protection of employed people, in contrast to the doctrine of the "school of communism". The second is the dominance of the principles of social partnership in relations with state authorities, which provide for the conclusion of General and branch agreements, collective agreements. Use of methods of forceful pressure as necessary - protest actions, strikes, demands on the government. The third is the declaration of neutrality of trade unions in relation to political parties and movements and cooperation with them on specific issues of social and economic protection of workers. The fourth is the use, if necessary, of political methods of activity in order to protect the legitimate interests of trade union members. The fifth approach is to provide the organizational structure and principles of building trade unions with federal principles, delimiting the powers of different levels of trade union organizations.[10]

According to the statute, the FPU saw its main goal as demanding from state authorities, employers and their associations the implementation of economic and social policies that would ensure an efficient economy and a normal standard of living for trade union members, based on fair remuneration for work and social protection

poor people The Federation developed and implemented the policy of trade unions, expressed, represented and defended the interests of trade union members, member organizations included in it, in state authorities, local and regional self-government. As stated in the statute, all-Ukrainian industry trade unions could be members of the FPU; unions (associations) of trade unions of Ukraine, regional and inter-union associations. Article 17 of the charter guaranteed freedom of action and preservation of powers to collective members of the Federation in accordance with their charters and decisions. At the same time, the main attention of sectoral trade unions and associations members of the FPU should be focused on issues of wages, conditions of labor protection for workers, legal protection of the primary trade union organization, negotiations with employers and conclusion of sectoral tariff agreements.[11] The FPU included trade unions of workers of the agro-industrial complex (AIC) of Ukraine. The basis of their organizational structure is the interaction of three sectoral trade unions: a) workers in the agrarian sector; b) food and processing industry workers; c) village builders. The composition of the trade unions of the AIC of Ukraine testified that it is a voluntary, independent organization created to represent and protect the economic, social labor rights and interests of its members. In the new socio-economic conditions, the forms and methods of the organization's activity have changed. In order to achieve their programmatic goals and objectives, trade unions have acquired the right to: a) develop a unified policy for conducting negotiations with employers, concluding collective agreements, agreements in the agricultural sector, monitoring their implementation by owners and state administration bodies; b) send demands and proposals to state authorities and management bodies regarding changes or cancellation of laws or regulations that limit the rights and interests of trade union members and the adoption of new legislative acts aimed at the social protection of employees; c) monitor compliance by the owners or their authorized bodies with labor and housing legislation, the Law "On Labor Protection", provide trade union members with legal assistance; d) use the forms of conflict resolution provided for by current legislation to protect the rights and interests of trade union members: consultations, negotiations, meetings, demonstrations, picketing, strikes and other protest actions; e) strive to create safe

working conditions, ensure the protection of life and health of people; f) actively use mass media to highlight their tasks; f) create funds, mutual aid funds, credit unions necessary for the implementation of statutory activities; g) manage and control the use of social insurance funds, participate in the organization of sanatorium-resort treatment and rest for trade union members and their families.[12]

Thus, trade union organizations in independent Ukraine gained the right to conclude collective agreements with the administration of enterprises, institutions and organizations; the right to strike as a civilized form of protest and the right to dispose of one's property. At the same time, the statutes of the associations that were part of the FPU lacked an article prohibiting representatives of the administration of enterprises and institutions from being members of trade unions, which created conditions for the transfer of trade union organizations under the informal control of employers.

FPU inherited a significant material base from Ukrprofrada, which included an extensive network of sanatoriums, recreation centers, cultural centers and sports facilities. In 1991, 117 hotels, bases and camping sites with 50,000 places, 139 travel and excursion bureaus, 26 automobile companies, 29 restaurants and cafes, and construction organizations operated under the supervision of the Ukrainian Republican Council for Tourism and Excursions of Trade Unions.[2, p. 691] In particular, the property of FPU in the first half of the 90s is the joint-stock companies "Karpatkurortbud", "Start", "Odesaturist", "Energopolis" Joint-Stock Insurance Company, "Slovyanskyi Hotel", etc. In 1994, only one joint-stock company "Ukrproftur" brought more than 1 trillion to the Federal Public Fund krb profit.[13, p. 64] At the end of 1991, the FPU and the Social Insurance Fund of Ukraine created a closed-type joint-stock company "Ukrprofozdrovnytsia", to whose statutory fund all sanatorium-resort facilities that were under the trust of Ukrprofrad were transferred.[14] According to the results of 1995 and six months of 1996, trade union enterprises and institutions received 48 trillion. krb gross profit. About 50,000 workers were employed in the system of enterprises of the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine. In 1995 and 9 months of 1996, trade union medical, sanatorium-resort

facilities of the FPU treated and rehabilitated more than one million workers at a cost of tickets 30-40 percent lower than in similar facilities of other departments. According to the estimates of representatives of the FPU, trade union health workers had only 30 percent of the total number places in sanatorium-resort institutions of Ukraine, but provided their services to 63 percent of all vacationers, including 90 percent of children.[15]

Thanks to the commercial use of the property, the FPU used the resources necessary not only to maintain more than 20 thousand dismissed trade union functionaries. Constant financial income created favorable conditions for the successful performance of statutory tasks. Thus, the State Budget of Ukraine provided 2 trillion for the rehabilitation of children during the summer vacation of 1996. 360 billion rubles. Whereas, thanks to the Fund, more than 7 trillion have been accumulated. krb., which were sent to children's recreation. [16, p. 75]

During the first half of the 90s of the 20th century, the greatest attention was paid to the protection of social and economic rights of workers. The FPU was based on the fact that in the conditions of a socio-economic crisis, the role of the state is not limited to helping the disabled and low-income sections of the population. Social payments of the state were supposed to become a lever for the formation of social and economic infrastructure. The system of remuneration existing during the Soviet times did not reimburse part of the costs associated with both simple and extended reproduction of the labor force, as its organic addition, it provided for social payments from the state. The transition to the value assessment of social costs and their monetary compensation in the absence of many goods and services contributed to inflation, which turned social costs into a fiction. Therefore, the main goals of the social policy of the FPU declared the activation of the labor and economic policy of the population, the provision of a workplace to every able-bodied person and the creation of conditions that, depending on the results of work, would ensure the well-being of every employee and his family. In order to ensure normal working conditions for workers and social protection of the poor, the FPU used opportunities to influence the rule-making process in the state, carried out an examination of draft laws and other regulatory acts, and

developed its own draft laws. Thus, in 1993-1994, the specialists of the FPU worked out more than 40 draft laws, and 10 of their own projects were prepared. Among them are draft laws "On wages", "On the limit of low income", "On trade unions", "On the minimum consumer budget".[8]

A 40-hour work week was introduced in Ukraine at the end of 1993 under the pressure of trade unions. The concept of price liberalization, which was implemented by the governments in 1992 and the first half of 1993, did not include wage liberalization, which caused a sharp drop in the standard of living of the population and increased social tension in society. In January 1993, the FPU Council together with the Commission of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on social policy and labor adopted a joint resolution expressing concern about the state of affairs with social protection of the population. It criticized the government's actions to curb inflationary processes at the expense of cutting social programs, the loss of a number of guarantees enjoyed by low-income citizens. In particular, by the government's decision at the end of 1992, the indexation of the population's monetary income, benefits for pensioners for travel in city and suburban transport were canceled. The Cabinet of Ministers was recommended to establish fixed prices for essential food products; to officially approve the size of the minimum consumer budget and the poverty line not lower than the physiological subsistence minimum; increase the amount of assistance to citizens with low incomes; establish benefits for pensioners for travel in city and suburban transport, payment for housing and communal services, etc. [17, p. 11-14]

Market relations required the creation of new principles of social partnership, the establishment of a legal model of interaction between the government, employers and trade unions representing employees. In July 1993, the Law of Ukraine "On Collective Agreements and Agreements" developed with the participation of the Federal Labor Organization entered into force, according to which social and labor relations were put on a contractual basis. At the insistence of the trade unions, a tripartite body for permanent coordination of positions was created - National Council of Social Partnership. But during 1993-1996, the General Agreement was concluded only between the government and the trade unions.

In May 1993, the Cabinet of Ministers and trade unions of Ukraine concluded the General Tariff Agreement for 1993. According to the agreement, the Cabinet of Ministers undertook to make decisions on issues of remuneration, formation and regulation of the consumption fund with the participation of trade unions; to develop and implement, in agreement with trade union organizations, a mechanism for adjusting the minimum wage, pensions, and scholarships depending on the increase in prices for consumer goods and services; to develop the low-income limit as a social standard for determining persons in need of assistance from the state, etc. The government has undertaken to jointly study the state of underemployment with trade unions and develop proposals for a mechanism of social guarantees for workers who have lost their jobs. In turn, the trade unions undertook to promote the activities of the labor collectives of enterprises to ensure an increase in production volumes, strengthening of labor discipline, and to refrain from organizing strikes on issues, the resolution of which was not provided for in the agreement.[18]

Trade union committees monitored the implementation of the General Agreement. Thus, in February 1996, the FPU presidium reviewed the implementation of the General Agreement between the Cabinet of Ministers and trade unions in 1995. Of the 68 provisions of the agreement that were subject to control, 20 were fully fulfilled, 19 were partially fulfilled. The implementation of the provisions of the General, sectoral and regional agreements, collective agreements, for the first time during the years of the crisis, contributed to the growth of real wages in the national economy (for 1995 - by 131.4 percent). At the same time, as a result of the government's evasion of effective regulation of financial circulation, the crisis of nonpayment of enterprises during the second half of 1995, the number of violations of the current legislation regarding the terms of payment of wages increased rapidly. Delays in the payment of wages reached 3-4 months, the amount of debt amounted to 86 trillion. krb., or two-thirds of the monthly wage fund in Ukraine. Hidden unemployment in the form of reduced working hours and forced unpaid vacations continued to spread at state-owned enterprises. An additional factor in increasing social tension was the government's increase in tariffs for housing and communal services

since January 1996.[19] In response, on February 21, 1996, the Presidium of the Federal Labor Union called on trade unions of all branches to hold an All-Ukrainian protest action, during which about 5,000 enterprises and institutions stopped work for one hour. 250 rallies were held in the central squares of cities and towns of Ukraine.[20] Despite the scale of the protest actions, their effectiveness was low and did not pose a real threat to the authorities. Crisis phenomena in the economy of Ukraine continued, which caused the second wave of trade union protests - in the fall of 1996. About 1.5 million people took part in it. In the resolution of the participants of the all-Ukrainian protest, it was noted that the government's flawed social and economic policy, the basis of which is the cutting of social programs and guarantees, leads to an increase in poverty not only among socially vulnerable sections of the population, but also the basis of society - working citizens.[21]

Among other trade unions, the Independent Trade Union of Miners (ITUM), whose representatives led the spontaneous demonstrations of Donbas miners in the summer of 1993 and 1996, stood out for their considerable activity in conducting strikes. At the same time, in 1996, the ITUM spoke together with the coal industry workers' union, which was part of the FPU. On July 3, the miners of Donbas blocked the highways, and the miners of Pavlograd sat on the rails, which caused a harsh reaction from the authorities. The head of the Donetsk strike committee, M. Krylov, was arrested and sentenced to two years in prison for organizing mass riots. [22]

In the first half of the 1990s, the FPU positioned itself as a public structure neutral in relation to political parties and movements. This was facilitated by the significant authority of the union in society, an extensive network of trade union organizations, financial self-sufficiency thanks to property accumulated over decades. This made it possible to take an active part in the social and political life of the country. The Trade Union Platform for the elections of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine emphasized that "trade unions are not political organizations, they do not seek power. And only the catastrophic situation of the workers of Ukraine forces us to fight for proper representation in the parliament".[46] During the election campaign, trade union organizations supported 240 candidates, including 129 trade union workers. As a result

of the elections, only seven functionaries of the Federal State Police were elected as People's Deputies of Ukraine. During the work of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the second convocation, FPU specialists through their deputies submitted sixteen draft laws, worked on thirteen draft state programs, over 360 draft laws related to social and economic protection of the population.[2, p. 588]

Deputies from trade unions participated in the drafting of the Constitution of Ukraine. Thanks to their persistence, Article 36 was adopted, which guarantees the right of citizens to participate in trade unions in order to protect their labor and socioeconomic interests, which was absent in the first draft of the Basic Law. In total, trade union representatives submitted more than 300 general comments and suggestions to the special commission for finalizing the draft Constitution. At the same time, the trade unions lost the right of legislative initiative, the right to report the heads of enterprises to the trade unions and to determine the expediency of the tenure of this or that head.[23]

During 1995-1996, the conflict over the Social Insurance Fund of Ukraine intensified. The fund was created in February 1990 thanks to the joint resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and the Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Ukraine "On the Management of Social Insurance". The fund was in the hands of professional unions and accumulated funds that went to pay for sick leave, help with the birth of a child, and reduced the cost of travel for workers for treatment and recovery. The board of the fund included representatives of the Independent Trade Union of Miners, the Council of the Federation of Workers of Cooperatives and Other Forms of Entrepreneurship, the Council of Trade Unions of Customs Authorities of Ukraine, and the Railway Workers' Union, but the final say in the distribution of funds accumulated by the fund belonged to the representatives of the FPU. In 1995, the fund's activities covered 17 million employees with a budget of UAH 644.2 million, which was 15 times more than the budgets of the corresponding funds of the trade union associations independent of the FPU. The main item of payments remained temporary disability benefits - UAH 282.2 million. Considerable attention was paid to improving the health of workers and members of their families.

In 1996, trade union committees distributed 150,000 discounted tickets (with payment of 10-20 percent of the cost) for rest and treatment in health facilities, which were built by trade unions using the funds raised. At the same time, 72.3 percent of the property was created at the expense of trade union funds, 14.3 percent of the Social Insurance Fund.[24]

Representatives of the "Solidarity" trade union and the Solidarity Trade Unions of Ukraine accused the FPU of misusing the funds of the fund, stressing that only the functionaries of the FPU and the administration of enterprises and institutions have the opportunity to receive a discounted ticket for rest and treatment. In response, on the initiative of the members of the FPU, People's Deputies of Ukraine O. Stoyan, L. Vernyhora, Yu. Donchenko, N. Pimenova, the Commission on Social Policy and Labor in December 1995 turned to the General Prosecutor's Office with a request to check the use of social insurance funds independent of FPU trade unions. The FPU refused to participate in the development of the draft law "Basics of the legislation of Ukraine on social insurance", according to which the Social Insurance Fund was supposed to become an independent state structure. The representatives of the FPU argued their position by the lack of the necessary organizational and material resources in the state in the conditions of the economic crisis, which will lead to the destruction of the fund, and the need to preserve the right for trade unions to manage part of the social insurance funds.[25]

3.1.4 Public organizations of commodity producers

At the end of the 90s of the XXth century, according to the estimates of a non-governmental research organization - the Center for Anti-Crisis Studies - there were about 70 organizations of commodity producers at the all-Ukrainian level.[26, C.9]

In February 1992, the Ukrainian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (UUIE) was established. The predecessor of the union was the Association of Industry, Construction, Transport and Communications "Ukraine". The strategic goal of the newly created association of industrialists, entrepreneurs and employers of Ukraine was to protect the rights and interests of national business. Effective support of the domestic producer, constructive influence on the state socio-economic policy,

promotion of the achievements of industry and science, the possibilities of their use in the conditions of market relations, dissemination of professional knowledge and acquired experience determined the main directions of the organization's activities. At the beginning of 1993, the central and regional structures of the UUIE included 2,082 collective members and over 300,000 individual members. Regional associations or branches of the Union operated in 18 regions of Ukraine.[27] Since 1994, within the framework of the TACIS technical assistance program, the Agency for the Development of Entrepreneurship has been operating at the USPP, the purpose of which was to promote the economic growth of Ukraine through organizational support of small and medium-sized enterprises.

Crisis phenomena in the economy of the state caused the active participation of UUIE in social and political life. At the IV congress of the organization in April 1994, the worsening of the socio-economic situation in Ukraine was ascertained, the economy of which actually entered the phase of the collapse of production. Only in the first quarter of 1994, industrial production decreased by a third. Most Ukrainian enterprises worked 2-3 days a week. At the congress, demands were made to the representatives of the authorities regarding the need to hold consultations with the UUIE in order to find ways to overcome hyperinflation, the crisis of the financial and credit system, a decrease in production, and a sharp decline in the population's life. The Congress called to support the candidacy of L. Kuchma, who at that time headed the UUIE, for the post of President of Ukraine in the June 1994 elections.[28]

The Association of Ukrainian Banks (AUB) was founded in 1989. During the 90s of the XX century, it included more than 70 percent of operating banks. The activity of the public structure was aimed at solving the problems that stood in the way of the development of the Ukrainian banking system in the conditions of economic reform this is legislative regulation, tax policy of the state, relations with the National Bank. AUB lobbied the interests of the banking sector in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, participating in the development and introduction of amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On Banks and Banking Activity".[29, p. 22]

But the driving motive for the unification of bank representatives in a public organization was the need to protect their rights in relations with state structures. Thus, in 1998, the tax administration issued an order according to which banks had to systematically inform the supervisory authorities about their operations. With the support of UUIE lawyers, AUB appealed the order in court. The Union of Tenants and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine was established in 1990. The main directions of the association's activity were defined as: advisory and legal assistance and practical assistance to members of the union in the development of entrepreneurial activity; submission of proposals to state authorities regarding legislative acts aimed at regulating the activities of the domestic producer; provision of informational advisory assistance to members of the union on economic and legal issues. The union contributed to the formation of the Confederation of Employers of Ukraine, took part in the drafting of the Tax Code, and signed the General Agreement with trade unions. [26, p. 36,59] Changes in the political and economic systems of the country radically affected the processes in the agricultural sector - one of the most important components of the national economy of Ukraine.

On December 18, 1990, the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR adopted the Resolution "On Land Reform", according to which from March 15, 1991, all lands of the Ukrainian SSR were declared subject to land reform. Local councils of people's deputies, the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR were instructed to register citizens who wish to organize a peasant (farm) economy. On the basis of the inventory materials, part of the land that was not used for its intended purpose was transferred to the composition of the land reserve for the next provision as a priority to citizens for the organization of farms.[30, p.100]

Therefore, the reforming of the agrarian sector began with the land reform, which contributed to the establishment of pluralism of ownership and management, the revival of the farmer as a master with the right to dispose of the land, his property, and produced products. The development of farming in Ukraine took place with considerable difficulties. Factors restraining the development of farms in Ukraine were: small plots of land allocated to farmers; lack of necessary livestock, equipment,

seed materials; undeveloped market of agricultural machinery and products; lack of effective state aid; non-implementation of the legislative acts adopted in support of farming in full, unresolved issue of training and retraining of future farmers. Thus, as of July 1, 1992, farmers owned only 0.3 percent of agricultural land. On average, 20 hectares of land were assigned to each household, of which 17 were arable. 44 percent had no agricultural land at all. Two cattle, three pigs, two sheep, and 20 poultry belonged to the farm. Indicators characterizing the availability of agricultural machinery among private owners remained very low. On average, there is only one tractor for two farms, one truck for three farmers, and a combine harvester for 20 farmers.[31]

Despite the difficult circumstances that accompanied the process of revival of the owner in the village, farms achieved significant results. If, as of November 1, 1991, there were 1,700 farms on 27,000 hectares of land in Ukraine, then at the beginning of 1997 there were more than 35,000 farmers working on 835,000 hectares of land, which was 2 percent of agricultural land. or 15 percent of reserve lands. At the same time, in 1996, farmers harvested 1.6 percent of cereals, 2 percent of sugar beets, and 3 percent of sunflowers.[32, p. 1]

An important role in the formation of the farmers' movement was played by the Association of Farmers of Ukraine (AFU), created in February 1991. The formation of the citizens' association was prompted by the dissatisfaction of activists of the farming movement with the lack of effective actions of local councils to register those willing to create a farm. The main goal of the association was to help establish the private family sector of agricultural production. AFU openly came out in support of the course to speed up the processes of privatization of the agro-industrial complex, the removal of any legislative restrictions on the size of land plots of farms. In his speech at the 7th Congress of the Association in February 1997, the president of AFU M. Shkarban noted that "in Ukraine, reform is needed not only to increase the efficiency of agricultural production. It should strengthen the spiritual content of the Ukrainian peasant through love for his own land".[32, p. 2]

In its activities, the AFU, protecting the interests of private rural commodity producers, appealed to the Verkhovna Rada, the President and the Prime Minister of Ukraine regarding the improvement of legislative support for the establishment of farming and the strict implementation of already adopted legal acts. Taking into account the practical experience of implementing the Law of Ukraine "About peasant (farming) economy, representatives of the AFU took an active part in improving the "farming" legislation, demanded acceleration of reforms in the agrarian sector. Thus, in 1993, the Krasnolymansk Farming Association proposed to exempt farmers from bank loan payments for 5 years, and postpone loan repayment for three years. The Sumy regional organization of the AFU was concerned about the introduction of value added tax for farmers; allocating meager allotments, which cannot be profitable, for those wishing to create a farm; lack of sale of agricultural machinery necessary for farmers; attempts of some heads of collective farms to evict farm families from houses belonging to collective farms. The Vinnytsia regional organization of the AFU proposed introducing AFU representatives with the right to a decisive vote in the district land commissions; not to limit the size of the farm, if they are scientifically based and correspond to a certain specialization (growing of grain, technical crops, horticulture, animal husbandry); guarantee the allocation of up to 70 percent of reserve land for farmers; educate children of farmers at the expense of the state. [33, p. 125-126]

The demands of local farmers' organizations were accumulated in the legislative proposals of the People's Deputy of Ukraine, President of the AFU M. Shkarban. During the first half of 1993, the proposals were repeatedly discussed by the working group on the preparation of the Law "On Amendments and Additions to the Law of Ukraine "On Peasant (Farm) Economy", at meetings of the Commission on Revival and Social Development of the Village and Agro-Industrial Complex and in the Ministry of Agriculture. In the final version of the Law, out of eight proposals, only two were fully taken into account - the reserve lands were restored and a real farm fund was created on their basis, and the reserve lands unused by farmers were leased to former users for one year.[33, p.228-230]

M. Shkarban noted the contribution of People's Deputies of Ukraine S. Plachinda, M. Porovskyi, I. Zayets, V. Filenko, O. Barabash, M. Horyn, V. Shevchenko, B. Yaroshynskyi and the parties they represent in protecting interests farming movement. In particular, People's Deputy, member of the AFU Council V. Shevchenko sent a parliamentary appeal to the Prime Minister of Ukraine regarding the observance of government guarantees regarding the financing of the development of Ukrainian farming. In the appeal, it was noted that Article 35 of the Law of Ukraine "On Peasant (Farm) Economy" obliges to plan funds in a separate line in the state budget for the needs of the Ukrainian State Fund for the Support of Peasant (Farm) Economies - a state institution called, according to the legislation, to act as a guarantor implementation of programs for the development of farming, crediting of farms, allocation of land plots, scientific and information support for farming, etc. The state budget for 1996 provided meager funds, but the government did not allocate them either, financing the needs of the Fund by 15.78 percent. The draft State Budget for 1997 did not provide for funding of the Fund's activities at all. "Many farmers do not have a single tractor, but are deprived of the opportunity to obtain bank loans even on unfavorable terms, as banks no longer recognize the Fund's guarantees. Meanwhile, farmers are, for the most part, yesterday's collective farm workers, who do not have financial savings or property, thanks to which they could purchase tools of production," V. Shevchenko stressed.[34]

At the VI Congress of the AFU in February 1996, a submission to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine was approved. In it, farmers drew the attention of legislators to the inadmissibility of creating such legislative acts in which double understanding and interpretation is possible. Thus, in the Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of December 20, 1991, confirmed by the Resolution of June 24, 1993 "On the Procedure for Enacting the Law of Ukraine "On Peasant (Farm) Economy" and Amendments to the Law of Ukraine "On Peasant (Farm) Economy", farmers "as a rule" should be provided with land not far from home. At the local level, farmers received land for 5-10 km, which created problems for executive authorities when allocating funds for the construction of roads and other infrastructure elements.[35]

Local associations of AFU, cooperating with state structures, contributed to the development of the farming movement in the regions. Thus, during 1992, the board of the Farmers' Association of the Kherson region, together with representatives of the State Fund for the Support of Peasants (farms), contributed to the sending of state funds to pay for land development projects of farm allotments, issued guarantees for loans to farmers. The creation of a production farming infrastructure was initiated, which included a number of processing small enterprises, workshops, districts and the formation of a trade network.[36] In the Poltava region, the Association of Farmers headed by S. Lyho fought for the right of farmers to receive a share of reserve land. At the end of 1992, out of 150,000 hectares of reserve land, only 6,000 hectares became the property of farmers. Most of the land was redistributed for personal subsidiary management at the initiative of the Council of Collective Agricultural Enterprises (former Council of Collective Farms) of Poltava region. Peasants who aspired to become owners of their land were allocated worse land that was unsuitable for farming without special agrotechnical and reclamation measures. For the implementation of advanced technologies for the production of plant and animal products, the Association of Farmers of the Poltava region together with the Peasants' Union organized individual training of farmers.[37]

Most of the heads of regional associations contributed to the creation of district associations of farmers, small insurance companies and banking structures, and contributed to the development of industrial cooperation. Thus, dozens of farmers from the Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, and Chernivtsi regions were members of the "Ratai" cooperative for growing hybrid corn seeds. During 1993-1995, hundreds of tons of grain were grown with a yield one and a half to two times higher than in nearby collective farms.[38]

In order to protect the interests of farmers and quickly implement market reforms in the agrarian sector, the AFU intensified its participation in the social and political life of Ukraine. The resolution of the 6th Congress of the AFU (February 1996) recommended the members of the association to more boldly use political opportunities to fulfill statutory tasks, to be active participants in political movements of a national-

democratic direction. The congress called on the members of the AFU by all means to contribute to the establishment of the Peasants' Democratic Party (SDP) as the program closest to farmers' problems. It was recommended to all the lower ranks of the association to take part in the development of a joint election program with the SDP and to actively prepare for joint participation in the next elections.[39] It should be noted that the next year at the regular congress of the association, the need for party building was not mentioned.

For successful management, farmers need qualified advice from agricultural specialists, introduction of advanced technologies into production, recommendations of leading scientists. To provide advisory assistance to farmers, AFU has gained significant international support, in particular, from the American Business Association, the Canadian Technical Assistance Bureau, the German, the Netherlands, and other governments of the European Community through the TACIS programs.[38] AFU became the initiator of holding conferences, seminars, "round tables" devoted to agrarian reform, improvement of land relations, solving the issue of training farmers, improving economic relations between farmers and the state. So, in Kyiv on October 22-23, 1992 at the Institute of Agrarian Economy named after Shlichter, a scientific and practical conference dedicated to the development of farming in Ukraine was held. Scientists from the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine, the Institute of Mechanization and Electrification of Agriculture, the Institute of Irrigation Agriculture, the Institute of Fodder, the Institute of Animal Husbandry of Steppe Regions, and a number of agricultural universities took part in the conference. The conference approved the "Recommendations for the organization of peasant (farm)" developed by scientists farms in Ukraine", "Cost norms for growing agricultural crops in farms" and "Methodology for calculating the optimal size of peasant (farm) farms".[40]

The pages of the newspaper "Nash Chas" and the magazine "Silski obryi", whose publishing house was founded by AFU, contained the materials of the Association's congresses, appeals to the Verkhovna Rada, the Government of Ukraine, printed information on the development of regional associations, recommendations of

scientific and practical conferences, which contributed to the popularization new forms and methods of farming in the countryside.

The Peasants' Union of Ukraine (PUU), which represented itself as an organization created on the grassroots initiative of all rural producers - representatives of collective farms, state farms, farmers and other land users - had a different view on the future of the agricultural sector of Ukraine, the pace and direction of reforms. The head of the PUU I. Mozgovyi singled out the main principles and directions of activities of the Peasants' Union in the first years of agricultural reform: "First, we protect everyone who lives and works in the countryside... Second, we proceed from the fact that the rise of rural farms should become a material and technical base and personnel. Thirdly, ... the driving force behind the recovery of the domestic economy from the crisis is only agricultural production... Fourthly, we advocate all forms of labor organization and all forms of ownership. And categorically against revolutionary processes in agricultural production."

V. Voshchevskyi, deputy head of the PUU, was more categorical: "... the main thing is that we must preserve large agricultural producers. We can discuss what kind of organizational form the former collective farms should turn into (whether they will be joint-stock companies, or some kind of unions, associations), but the main task, which must be solved as soon as possible, concerns a purposeful state policy to preserve a large producer of goods"[41, p. 4-5]

Therefore, the PUU, speaking on behalf of collectives of collective farmers, workers and specialists of state farms, representatives of other enterprises serving agriculture and processing its products, sought slow, evolutionary changes in the agrarian sector of Ukraine, tried to adapt the collective farm-state farm system to market relations. At the same time, they referred to the proven practice of the developed countries of the world, that only large agricultural enterprises can integrate and use advanced technologies that would not find application in small-scale production. Large commodity producers will be able to plan and finance costs for the development of agricultural production. The state should direct subsidies to effective owners, regulate prices for agricultural products.[42]

The PUU advocated the creation of equal political and legal conditions for the development of various forms of labor organization and management on land (collective farms, state farms, farming, private rental farms, etc.), emphasizing that collective forms of management will be gradually reformed. The PUU paid considerable attention to solving social, cultural and educational problems, which should contribute to the revival and improvement of the demographic situation in the countryside. Yes, during the 90s of the XX century, representatives of the Peasant Union advocated improving the quantitative and qualitative composition of applicants to agricultural higher educational institutions and creating conditions for rural youth to receive education, which contributed to the adoption of the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "On the training of specialists for work in rural areas" in June 1999. The specified document provided for the quota of places upon admission to higher educational institutions for the training of specialists from among rural youth within the limits of the state order, and ensuring their employment according to the specialty upon completion of the study period.

Since 1993, the enterprises that made up the material and technical base of the public association operated in the structure of the PUU. Yes, for initiatives the chairman of the union I. Mozgovoi, the Peasant Investment Company "Sinkom" was created, which in 1996 had 34 branches. Efforts to attract funds from Western investors initiated the creation of the Ukrainian Agrarian Investment Fund. In 1996, SSU began cooperation with Agronaftaprodukt corporation. In the same year, 250,000 tons of oil and 170,000 tons of crude oil were delivered to oil refineries. Oil products made from it were sent to the countryside and became an important stabilizing factor in providing fuel for machinery during the harvest period.[43] At the same time, the Ukrainian League of Entrepreneurs of the Agro-Industrial Complex expressed concern over the introduction in 1995 of the value-added tax for imported light petroleum products, which led to an increase in their price by 25-35 percent. League proposed not to tax light petroleum products, herbicides, agricultural machinery, and spare parts that are imported for the needs of agricultural producers.[44, p.1-2]

The lack of unity in the views on the dominant forms of labor organization and ownership in the agricultural sector prevented the consolidation of public organizations that expressed the interests of different strata of the Ukrainian peasantry. Thus, in 1993, the attempt of the PUU and the Council of Collective Agricultural Commodity Producers to hold an All-Ukrainian Extraordinary Peasant Congress failed. At the congress, the ways and methods of protecting the interests of the Ukrainian peasantry in the conditions of the economic crisis, the creation of the Agrarian Union, which should unite the largest organizations of rural commodity producers, were to be considered. AFU refused to participate in the work of the congress, accusing the heads of collective farms and directors of state farms of stalling land reform. The situation was complicated by the different political orientation of public organizations. If the AFU cooperated with national-democratic associations from the moment of its creation, the PUU announced cooperation with the Peasant Party, the Socialist and Communist Parties, which, according to H. Chepurny, "can ensure that a significant number of deputies pass to the parliament in the upcoming elections from the workers, in particular from the peasants."[45]

3.1.5 Conclusion

Social protection of workers was declared as the main activity of trade unions of Ukraine in the conditions of economic reform. The lack of unity of the trade union movement, conflicts between the leaders of trade union associations, and the disbelief of a part of the workers in the possibilities of trade unions as defenders of their interests hindered the complete fulfillment of the assigned task. The Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine remained the largest in terms of numbers, financial and organizational capabilities. The FPU took an active part in political processes in Ukraine, showing some restraint in contacts with political parties and preferring dialogue with the government.

Public organizations of industrialists, entrepreneurs and commodity producers sought to identify and generalize the obstacles that were on the way to a market economy; made proposals regarding the necessary measures of state economic policy, regarding the direction and pace of reforms; ensured the operational exchange of

political and economic information between association members and between associations. The largest and most influential organization of industrialists and entrepreneurs was the UUIE, which united production managers, the board of directors and business representatives.

Reforming the agricultural sector of Ukraine contributed to the revival of the farming movement, which needed significant organizational and financial support. In the conditions of the economic crisis, the state could not fully perform the functions of protection and development of new forms of farming in the countryside, which led to the formation of the Association of Farmers of Ukraine. Agrarian and land reforms in Ukraine were complicated by the opposition of the AFU and the Peasants' Union regarding the directions and pace of reforms.

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