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Ukrainian oppositional press during the late 1980s – the early 1990s: social-communicative aspect

Українська опозиційна преса кінця 1980-х – початку 1990-х років: соціально-комунікативний аспект

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Abstract

The article is researched with the problem of the socio-communicative influence of the Ukrainian opposition press of the late 1980s and early 1990s on Soviet and post-Soviet society. The researchers established that the founders of such publications were activists of public organizations, including the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the People's Movement of Ukraine. The role of the famous Ukrainian political figure, dissident and journalist Vyacheslav Chornovil in the development of the press service of the UHU has been clarified. Namely, V. Chornovil initiated the establishment of “Ukrayinskiy Visnyk”, the independent information agency UNVIS. During 1989-1990 members of opposition organizations established press services network in Moscow, Kyiv and Lviv, and also actively cooperated with well-known information organizations such as Radio Liberty. The independent information agency UNVIS created by Vyacheslav Chornovil with like-minded people became an important factor in the establishment of a number of independent

Анотація

У статті досліджено соціокомунікативний вплив на радянське і пострадянське суспільство української опозиційної преси кінця 1980-х - початку 1990-х років. Дослідниками встановлено, що засновниками такого роду видань стали активісти громадських організацій таких, як Українська Гельсінська спілка і Народний Рух України. З'ясовано, роль постаті відомого українського політика, дисидента і журналіста Вячеслава Чорновола в розбудові пресової служби УГС. Саме, В. Чорновіл став ініціатором заснування «Українського вісника», інформаційної незалежної служби УНВІС. Упродовж 1989-1990 рр. члени опозиційних організацій утворили мережу прес-служб у Москві, Києві та Львові, а також закордоном активно співпрацювали з відомими інформаційними структурами, такими як наприклад, Радіо Свобода. Утворена інформаційно-пресова служба УНВІС Вячеславом Чорноволом із одностороннім ставленням стала важливим фактором до

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newspapers and publications, and foundation of self-publishing libraries.

Keywords: independent press, People's Movement of Ukraine, self-publisher, activists, dissident.

Introduction

The Ukrainian self-published press was founded still in 1929. A well-known Ukrainian historian and journalist Vakhtang Kipiani connects this event with the name of the Kharkiv writer Ivan Bagrianiy, who had published an "Ave Maria" collection and had put, instead of the name of the publishing house, the word "Self" in the publisher's imprint. The author distributed his books into small book selling stores, and then informed his friends of where these books can be bought. Later on, however, the Soviet authorities still learned about these copies and confiscated them.

The phenomenon of self-publishing was renewed during 1964-1965 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region by a group of activists headed by Zynoviy Krasivskiy. They created a magazine "Will and Motherland". The magazine consisted of 13-22 typewritten pages and was issued quarterly. In the conditions of the underground, publishing of such a magazine was quite a difficult process not only because of the pressure of authorities, but also because of the technical difficulty of the copies' making up (Salaban, 2019).

During the 1980-1990, the newly-based public and political associations in the Ukrainian SSR started launching their own network of self-published underground periodicals, which gradually became the basis for creating an independent press of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian self-publishing can be classified according to thematic genres: religious, sports, musical, humorous, as a mass media and political one. In our study, we will examine the oppositional self-publishing during the 1980s – 1990s, because it became the main instrument of enlightenment and anti-propaganda to the Soviet Union's totalitarian model. Opposition organizations actively used various leaflets, ballot papers and newspapers in their fight against the communist authorities.

Literature Review

Among the latest scientific studies of this problem, we can name the academic works by

заснування ряду незалежних газет і видань, створенню бібліотек самвидаву.

Ключові слова: незалежна преса, Народний Рух України, український самвидав, активісти, дисидент.

historians O. Bazhan, V. Danylenko, V. Derevinskiy, A. Kaminskyi, G. Kasianov, S. Kulchytskyi and others.

Another group of scientific studies includes the works of O. Obertas, V. Derevinskiy, V. Kipiani, A. Kozhanov, Ya. Seko, O. Shanovska and O. Shypotilova.

More substantially the theme of the self-publishing was examined in the monograph by O. Obertas "Ukrainian Self-Publishing" (Obertas, 2010). However, as to the historian Ya. Seko's opinion, this monograph places the research emphasis on the texts' analyzing and so there can be no talk about making any serious estimation, with the origins of the Ukrainian self-publishing remaining as vague as the Andromeda nebula (Seko, 2012). The monograph is focused not so much on the circumstances of place and time, but on the complex of problems of the essence and characteristic features of the self-publishing. In meanwhile, for an average reader, a statement that the self-publishing was created by the men of the sixties is quite sufficient to be believed to (Kozhanov, 2014).

Besides, the work of O. Shanovska, focused on the research of the Ukrainian self-publishing – which had turned into a powerful and popular reaction to the Soviet ideology as well as its moral and ethical outlook – has also become a valuable contribution to this study. As to O. Shanovska, the self-publishing highlighted the main ideological trends of the opposition movement in Ukraine during the 1960s-1980s. Publications of the self-published press hit their peak within 1965-1972, whereas an especial influence and importance was reached by "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" that emerged in 1970. So the historian O. Shanovska, in her scientific study, came to the conclusion that the Ukrainian self-published press served as a means of the Ukrainian people self-affirmation, and so the self-published editions' spreading reflected the continuing struggle of Ukrainians for their national self-determination during those violent decades (Shanovska, 2017).

Purpose and importance of the article

The purpose of the study is to carry out, on the basis of materials of periodicals as well as archival and published documents, a comprehensive historical analysis of the process of formation of the Ukrainian oppositional self-published press during the late 1980s – the early 1990s; to estimate the level of mutual influence between printed editions of the above mentioned topics and social-political processes taking place in the Ukrainian SSR.

The researchers set themselves the following tasks: to assess the state of the scientific study; to reveal the influence of socio-economic and political factors on the process of formation of the Ukrainian oppositional self-published press during the late 1980s – the early 1990s; to analyze the interrelation between the republican authorities and the opposition press during the last years of the USSR existence; to summarize their research's results and outline the scope of their further searches.

Methodology

The theoretical and methodological basis of the article consists of the historical, interdisciplinary and systematic approaches, as well as principles of historicism, ideological pluralism, etc. – which made it possible to reveal, with a sufficient completeness, the specifics of the formation and functioning of the Ukrainian oppositional self-publishing press during the late 1980s – the early 1990s.

One of the basic principles the researchers were guided with while making their study was the principle of historicism. This principle implies taking into account of the specific historical conditions under which the examined processes take place, in order to avoid anachronisms and false generalizations. Implementation of the principle of historicism in conformity with the desired goal makes it possible to identify the main tendencies of appearing and functioning of the periodicals of the above mentioned topics based on a number of facts obtained from the research work's source base.

Compliance with this principle determines the sequence and continuity of the process of formation of the system of the Ukrainian oppositional self-published periodicals, formed on the ideological soil of the dissident self-publishing, was embodied in numerous publications of the informal movement and developed in the form of a wide network of

independent publishing houses of national democratic orientation. The substantiation of the main ideological principles of most representatives of national-democratic political orientation (this applies also to the thematic content of their relevant editions) within the framework of the principle of historicism makes it possible to realize the origins of their programmatic provisions (thematic headings, main slogans) as a logical embodiment and response to the Ukrainian population's socio-cultural and daily living needs of that time period. The forms of existence and development of the off-censorial (informal) press, that is, the self-published press – the opposition press as such, during the 1980s – 1990s, are an adequate consequence of quite specific historical conditions and circumstances.

The study's systematic approach promotes adequate defining of the scientific problem, outlines an effective strategy of its research. The implementation of the systematic approach involves the research of the system's genesis (in this case, it is a network of national democratic printed editions) and examining of the level of its relationship with other systems (for example, with the all-Ukrainian mass media network), the regularities of the elements' combining into a single system, etc.

In the study, the national and democratic movement is also regarded as an especial system (for example, the system of ideological principles) in a broad sense, within which the activity of its separate units – press organs of the organizations, which make this activity – is taking place. Thus, examination of the issue of structural forming and development of the Ukrainian oppositional self-published periodicals can't be considered complete without analysis of similarities, essential manifestations of liberation movement in particular, and social-political, as well as economic situation in the state upon whole.

While studying the history of the press of the People's Movement of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the Ukrainian Republican Party and others at the turn of the 80-90s of the 20th century, the researchers adhered to an interdisciplinary approach. Thus, the scientific research made by the specialists in political science, philology and sociology makes it possible to significantly enrich the methodological basis and conceptual apparatus of the study.

Results and Discussion

Before starting examining the scientific intelligence, we will consider the definition of the notion of “self-publishing” as it is interpreted by historians. A well-known researcher of the Ukrainian dissident movement of the late 1960-1980s Oleg Bazhan admits that “self-publishing” is an uncontrolled by the state means of distributing of the off-censorial literature: prohibited fictional, philosophical and socio-political works of Ukrainian and foreign authors, reprints of religious (liturgical) books as well as Ukrainian pre-revolutionary and emigration publications; declarations, petitions, pleas and letters of the participants of the Ukrainian national liberation movement of the 1960-1980s (Bazhan, 1998). Thus, creation (rewriting by hand and set on carbon paper, photocopying, reproduction on printing machines, rotaprints, hectographs, etc.) and distribution (transmission from hand to hand through friends or like-minded people, by mail, by putting stealthily to others’ doors) of different from the official ideological narratives original journalistic, prosaic and poetic works, in which the deformations of the Soviet society were analyzed, were considered by the Ukrainian intelligentsia as a peculiar form of the implementation of the speech freedom guaranteed by the Soviet constitution, as an “intellectual” resistance to the Communist regime in the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR (Bazhan, 2013).

There are 3 stages in the history of the Ukrainian self-publishing. The first stage is a literary one; it implies literary-critical articles which, for various reasons, could not be published in Ukraine (the early 1960s). The second stage is the emergence of political articles and spreading of anonymous “denunciatory” journalism (1963-1968). The third stage includes the spreading of self-published policy documents as well as socially significant texts with authors’ signatures (2nd half of the 1960s-1980s). (Bazhan, 1998).

The main topics of the Ukrainian 1960-1980s’ self-publishing were the USSR national policy, the problem of the Ukrainian language functioning, manifestations of anti-Soviet resistance and the state of civil freedoms in the Ukrainian SSR. Among the main documents of the political self-publishing, distributed in an underground way in Ukraine, was an article by Ye. Proniuk (1964) “The state and tasks of the Ukrainian liberation movement” and the work by I. Dziuba (1970) “Internationalism or Russification?”. Thanks to the self-publishing, in Ukraine during 1960-1970 circulated the works

“The Mischief of Being Clever” and “Justice or Recurrence of Terror?” by V. Chornovil, etc (Bazhan, 2013).

Since 1970, “Ukrayinskiy Visnyk” (chief editor – V. Chornovil), an off-censorial literary publicistic magazine focused on human rights’ defense topics, started being published; the magazine touched upon the social-political problems of the Ukrainian society and provided specific examples of persecution of differently-minded ones by the authorities. At the end of 1976, over 3 thousand documents (by both Ukrainian and Russian dissidents) of self-published literature were issued in Ukraine (Chornovil, 2009).

The main self-publishing centers were Kyiv, Lviv, Ternopil, Kharkiv and Cherkasy. There was also a church self-publishing, whose editions faced the highest dissemination among the believers of the denominations that were unregistered and prohibited by the authorities, that is, the Evangelical Christians-Baptists, Pentecostals, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah’s Witnesses and Greek Catholics (Derevinskiy, 2010).

The widespread dissemination of the self-published editions stimulated the political leadership of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR to start developing the measures “On Counteraction the Illegal Distribution of Anti-Soviet and Other Harmful Materials”, approved by the decisions of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Central Committee of the CPU in June-July 1971. Despite the strong counteraction of the ruling authorities, during the 1960-1980 the self-publishing remained a political factor that influenced the social-political situation in the Ukrainian SSR, contributed to the consolidation of national-patriotic forces and served as a means of disseminating of objective information about Ukraine (Zinkevich & Obertas, 2010).

In the days of “the Gorbachiov’s restructuring”, the Ukrainian SSR faced a widespread dissemination of the self-published periodicals: newspapers, magazines, bulletins and almanacs. Among the most famous Ukrainian opposition editions of 1989-1990 there were “Vilne Slovo”, “Golos Vidrodzhennia”, “Evshan-Zillia”, “Kafedra”, “Postup”, etc.

And now let us examine in more detail the process of forming of the oppositional self-published press in the Ukrainian SSR during the late 1980s – the early 1990s. The development of the national-democratic movement at that time

took place under extremely unfavorable conditions of the informational vacuum caused by the Soviet Communist Party's monopoly on the mass media system. Thus, to a large extent, the efficiency and effectiveness of most non-governmental organizations depended on their ability to create alternative communication channels with public. Under such circumstances, the oppositional press not only performed the functions of a propagandist of a particular association's ideas, but also turned into a single possible form of participation in the political life of the country. A showpiece of examining the problem of information and publishing activities of the opposition movements of the second half of the 1980s – the early 1990s can serve the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (since April 1990 – Ukrainian Republican Party). Given the significant contribution of the Union leaders to the struggle for the Ukrainian society democratization, establishment of civil rights, formation of a multiparty system and development of an independent state, the issue of the information and publishing work of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Ukrainian Republican Party is quite significant.

Obviously, the outlines of the future information and press service of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union were formed almost simultaneously with the founding of the Union itself on July 7, 1988. The formation of personnel policies, as well as the material and technical base of the Union's information structures is closely connected with the activity of V. Chornovil and "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" which he headed.

In meanwhile, the operative materials of the KGB management in Lviv region indicated that already in the 1988 summer, the Union's members actively sought an apartment or house to be rent for the editorial office of the "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk". At that time, V. Chornovil "persistently sought the possibility of increasing of the "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" circulation and new methods for its distribution ... he expected to receive an automated printing device with a mini-computer from abroad". Since "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" enjoyed a high demand among the population and became a subject of speculation (price for one copy in the black market reached about 120-150 rubles), the KGB's information and analytical department suggested the financial control bodies and the Department Against Misappropriation of Socialist Property should have been switched to the investigation of the activity of the magazine's editorial staff (Kozhanov, 2014).

The Ukrainian Helsinki Union's press service started working in July 1988 with the following membership: V. Chornovil (the head of the press service, the editor of the "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" magazine), V. Barladianu (a member of the "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" editorial board), M. Goryn (a member of the "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" editorial board), S. Kyrychenko (a member of the "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" editorial board), V. Shevchenko (a member of the "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" editorial board), P. Skochok (a member of the press service), S. Nabok (responsible for the publishing of the newspaper "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk"), Ya. Kendzior (responsible for the cinema and photo network) and T. Chornovil (responsible for tape recorder editions). For the communication with the mass media, responsible in Kyiv were M. Gorbai, L. Lokhvitska, O. Shevchenko; in Lviv – B. Goryn, in Moscow – A. Dotsenko. Financing of the press service and the magazine's publishing was made at the expense of voluntary donations of readers (the size of those donations amounted to 20-250 rubles). In addition, some funds were transferred to the press service by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union's foreign representation and the human rights organization "Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine" (Kozhanov, 2014).

At that time, the search for the most effective method of informing the Ukrainian society continued. In particular, it was planned to release "a thick" version of "Visnyk" quarterly, and "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk – Express" (a magazine of a smaller format containing actual materials on the Ukrainian socio-political events) – twice a month; besides, between the releases of "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk – Express" the leaflets of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union's press service were issued. Thus, in particular, during July-August 1988, 15 informational and journalistic leaflets that told, in a timely manner (on the second-third day) about the events hushed up or distorted by the official press, were published. The press service leaflets were sent to the addresses of both official as well as off-censorial mass media organs of the USSR and abroad.

In January 1989, work on the formation of the information bureau of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union's press service in Kyiv (headed by S. Nabok) and Moscow had begun. The Moscow's correspondent office of the Union was headed by A. Dotsenko. On the initiative of M. Muratov (a Union's member who had earlier represented the "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" correspondent office), the Moscow's press

bureau of the Ukrainian Press Agency (UPA) was founded (Danilenko, 2011).

M. Muratov used to send the information received from Ukraine to the "Freedom" radio station and the Ukrainian Central Information Service (USIS) in Munich; besides, M. Muratov actively cooperated with T. Kuzio, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army's Director in London. From T. Kuzio, he often received and then brought over to his Ukrainian press service colleagues the necessary office equipment: computers, printers, facsimile devices, etc. Thanks to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the informational materials about the most important events in the Ukrainian SSR, collected by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union's members, came to the British mass media and the Australian radio listeners.

At the meeting of the All-Ukrainian Coordination Council of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union on January 21, 1989, the head of the press service of V. Chornovil was also made responsible for the technical means of the Union, as well as for the contacts with its Kyiv, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Ivano-Frankivsk, Moscow branches. Simultaneously, V. Chornovil held the post of a responsible editor of "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk". Ye. Proniuk, a famous patriot and intellectual, became the head of the information center of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, coordinating its activity: he carried out control over the large-scale subscription campaigns and communication with a number of regions (Chornovil, 2009).

In 1989, material and technical capabilities of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union's press service were extremely limited. The Union had six computers (among them – three "Toshiba-1000", two – "Toshiba-1200PB" and one – "Spark"), six printers ("Epson-RX-850", "Brother" and "Diconix") and one xerox ("Develop-100", printing speed – 5 pages per minute) (Kozhanov, 2014).

While speaking about the conditions under which the Union had to carry out its information and publishing activity, L. Lukyanenko, the head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, recalled: "An obstacle to increase the efficiency of all three press centers of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union is the lack of an all-Ukrainian network of permanent professional correspondents of the Union and the delay in informing. Continuation of an unfair partocratic monopoly on the mass media does not allow the Ukrainian Helsinki Union to buy a printing house, have access to state radio and television (Kipiani, 2011). Thanks

to the help of the representatives of our diaspora, now almost all branches are provided with portable dictaphones, there is a dozen of computers and several camcorders. The lack of technical culture leads to a frequent output of computers. The Executive Committee has failed to establish the training of the necessary specialists to assure the technically competent operation of such equipment" (Lukyanenko, 2010).

Among the editions founded by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union during 1989, it should be mentioned "Vilna Dumka" (published since September, Lutsk), "Gomin Bukovyny" (since October, Chernivtsi), "Sobornist" (since October, Boryslav), "Shliakh do Voli" (since December, Rivne) and "Obizhnyk" (Kyiv).

It is to be admitted, at that time, the Union had actually "monopolized" all the information space which remained beyond the state control: thus, the Union published over 90% of all the circulation of the Ukrainian self-published periodicals. The activists of the Union's centers were members of the majority of editorial offices of the Ukrainian off-censorial magazines.

However, at the same time, the influence of self-published press on the Ukrainian society should not be overestimated. The development of an independent press was constantly hampered by a chronic lack of funds, semi-legal status (freedom of the press was proclaimed only in June 12, 1990, by the Law "On Press and Other Mass Media"), lack of access to the printing base, and the use of administrative pressure by the state authorities in their struggle against nonconformity. Thus, the self-published editions could just rarely boast of their one-time circulation exceeding 1000 copies.

In March 1989, a landmark event took place: "Golos Vidrozhennia", one of the first oppositional off-censorial newspapers in the Ukrainian SSR, was published. The newspaper was made and edited, with his own hand, by S. Noboka, a well-known Ukrainian journalist, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. Among other informal editions, the newspaper distinguished not only in its form (its circulation, printed in Vilnius, exceeded 10 thousand copies), but also in content. The thematic filling of the newspaper consisted of the materials of social-political, cultural and national historical issues. The newspaper highlighted the actual Ukrainian and foreign news, published the Ukrainian Helsinki Union's policy documents of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the People's

Movement of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Republican Party and other democratic associations.

The newspaper's editorial staff paid a particular attention to the problem for human rights' violation in the USSR. The editorial board of the "Voice of Renaissance" included V. Chornovil, O. Shevchenko, S. Riaboshapka, L. Lohvytsia and L. Miliavskiy (Zinkevich & Obertas, 2010).

During 1990, the network of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union's editions increased significantly due to the growth of number of the press organs of the Union's regional and district centers. The 1980-90 election campaign stimulated the emergences of numerous newspapers, ballots and leaflets that provided the Ukrainian democratic forces with necessary information support in the parliamentary elections' process. It is to be admitted, within 1990, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Ukrainian Republican Party founded 34 printed editions, including "Tsentralna Rada" (a Kyiv nonstructural edition of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, chief editor O. Avramenko), "Sobornist" (a Boryslav interregional newsletter of the Ukrainian Republican Party, chief editor V. Tsvietkov), "Kayala" (a Donetsk fiction and publicistic magazine, chief editor Ya. Gomza), "Lvivski Novyny" (information and publicistic newsletter of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (since 1991 owned by the Ukrainian Republican Party, editorial board: B. Goryn, B. Krutniv, G. Levytska and others), "Karpatska Ukrayina" (a Mukachevo independent edition, since 1990 owned by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union), "Volia" (an edition of the Chernighiv regional organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party) and others.

At the beginning of that year, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union was struck with a crisis – what made the head of the press service V. Chornovil create an organization being independent of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union – the Ukrainian Independent Publishing and Information Union (UNVIS). The statement on the UNVIS creation in January 9, 1990, informed about an intention to create a structure that, with the very first opportunity, will be able to move to a large-scale activity on a cost accounting basis. The tasks of the Ukrainian Independent Publishing and Information Union were set as follows:

- regular publication since January 1990 of the magazines "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" and "Ukrayinskiy Vopros" (Moscow), the newspaper "Golos Ukrayiny" and a weekly

periodical "Informator" as independent press multi-copy organs;

- creation of The Library of "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk", that is, a printing house to publish original books and brochures mainly of the social-political series;
- creation of a correspondent network and transmission on a contractual basis of the information to the press and radiotelegraphic agencies, as well as some separate publishing houses in the USSR and other countries;
- organization of joint publications or reprints of products of other publishing groups or informal organizations, as well as organization of reprinting their and own products in other countries.

In March 23, the Constituent Assembly of the Organization took place in Lviv. The Assembly members listened to, and, after having discussed, adopted as a basis a draft statute of the Union, proposed by V. Barladianu. The Assembly then elected the Board of UNVIS as well as managers of services, employees and technical workers, appointed the editors of the magazines "Ukrayinskiy Visnyk" and "Ukrayinskiy Vopros" (Moscow), the newspaper "Golos Ukrayiny" and the weekly periodical "Informator".

Alongside with V. Chornovil, the head of the newly formed Union, the founders of the UNVIS were members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union – V. Barladianu, A. Dotsenko, S. Naboka, Ya. Kendzior, S. Matsko, O. Shevchenko and V. Yavorskiy.

The association of journalists and writers closely cooperated with all patriotic forces of Ukraine – the People's Movement of Ukraine, "Memorial", Ukrainian Language Society, "Zeleniy Svit", Ukrainian Helsinki Union, etc.

The new political reality imposed on the leadership of the Ukrainian Republican Party the need to create printed organs of the All-Ukrainian scale. So, as of early 1991, the editions "Vyzvolennia" and "Samostiyna Ukrayina" were founded.

A newspaper "Samostiyna Ukrayina" (chief editor V. Goloborodko) enjoyed the highest circulation among all the newspapers founded by the Ukrainian Republican Party; it had been started to be published in February. The publisher's imprint of the newspaper informed that the edition would be published in Ukrainian and English, and in the future also in French and

German. The newspaper contained original works of Ukrainian historians, philosophers, writers and political analysts.

However, the organizational and thematic level of “Samostiyna Ukrayina” didn’t correspond to the requirements put to the Party’s official newspaper – mainly because the newspaper was published irregularly at the start.

A new chief editor, I. Kravchuk, was appointed in quiet a short time; thanks to his efforts, the newspaper started being published each week. Later on, after acquiring a new accommodation, the Ukrainian Republican Party’s leadership allotted two rooms to the editorial office – yet even that was not enough for its normal work. Moreover, with a rise of the communication services’ price, “Samostiyna Ukrayina” became on the verge of closing. The situation was saved by the Ukrainian Republican Party’s Secretariat, which allocated the necessary 100 thousand rubles in support of the newspaper (Kozhanov, 2014).

In February, “Vyzvolennia”, a newspaper of the Ukrainian Republican Party’s Secretariat, started being published on the initiative of R. Koval (in 1990, the newspaper was titled “Prapor Antykomunizmu”). In his summary report at the Second Congress of the Ukrainian Republican Party in June 1, 1991, L. Lukyanenko noted in relation to “Vyzvolennia”: “Because of the political immaturity of its author, R. Koval, and because of my having not controlled it whatsoever, a number of doubtful, or even directly false articles were published in the newspaper – the articles which created a completely wrong perception of our party among the readers. As it seems, for a new Party’s leadership, this newspaper may become a place for the theoretical articles to be printed at, until the Party becomes able to launch its own magazine” (Lukyanenko, 2010).

In what concerns the magazine, it should be noted that the Republicans from the very beginning tried to create a powerful socio-political edition such as “Ukrayinskiy Visnyk”, the edition which would cover the theoretical principles of the national ideology, the views of the Party’s leaders and works on patriotic topics. For this purpose, a number of unsuccessful attempts had been made to turn a famous self-published magazine “Poroghy” (chief editor Ivan Sokulskiy) into a party printed organ. It is to be admitted, the problems of the theory and political practice of the Ukrainian Republican Party were partially represented in “Respublikanets”, the

magazine which started being published since 1991 by the Lviv Department of the Ukrainian Republican Party.

In addition to the above mass media organs, during 1991, the Ukrainian Republican Party’s local centers founded 10 other editions. In July, “Vyzvolniy Shliakh” (a newspaper of the Brody district Party’s center) and “Ogliadach”, as well as “Gomin Voli” (press organs of the Nadzbrachanska organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party and the People’s Movement of Ukraine) were published. The Party’s information and press service also published “URP-Inform”, a press bulletin with the content of three weekly meetings of the Secretariat of the Ukrainian Republican Party, as well as other important information. Besides, at that time, newspapers of the Ukrainian Republican Party’s regional centers – “Za Nezalezhnist” (Ivano-Frankivsk), “Nezalezhnist” (Lviv) and “Ternystiy Shliakh” (Ternopil), which had been founded still in 1990 – continued being published (Kozhanov, 2014).

As of June 1, 1991, the information and press service of the Lviv regional organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party functioned in Lviv. In previous years, the service consisted of three press bureaus in the cities of Kyiv, Lviv and Moscow. With the emergence of the possibilities of contacting directly the foreign mass media – for example, the radio “Freedom” – the Kyiv’s press center turned into an information agency “Respublika”. The agency, though being not subordinated to the Ukrainian Republican Party, worked closely with it. It is to be admitted, the Moscow press bureau had already lost its previous significance, therefore, only a representation of the information and press service remained in that region (Derevinskiy, 2011).

Compared to the period of “semi-legal” existence, the conditions of informational activity of the Ukrainian Republican Party in early 1990s didn’t undergone any significant change. The problem of finding of working rooms for the editorial offices of the newspapers “Samostiyna Ukrayina” and “Vyzvolennia” besides, the information press service did not have enough necessary equipment (computers, offset machines, xeroxes), it also lacked professional staff who could be involved in collecting information in the regions. The editorial groups of the Ukrainian Republican Party’s most local editions were forced to constantly get adapted to hard economic conditions. Thus, for example, “Nezalezhnist”, a

newspaper of the Lviv regional organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party, during 1990-1991 changed its place of publication three times: the issues 1, 2 (1990) and 3 (1991) were printed in Pustomyty; issues 4-8, 10, 11 – in Nesteriv; issue 9 – in Striy, Lviv region. The newspaper “Galytskyi Visnyk” was typed in Borshchiv, but published in Chortkiv. “Respublikanets Chernighivshchyny”, an edition of the Chernighiv regional organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party, was published as a supplement to “Za Nezalezhnist” (an Ivano-Frankivsk newspaper)

The People’s Movement of Ukraine, initially a public political organization, and later on, a party, became an ideological foundation of the Ukrainian oppositional self-published press (Kulchytskyi, 2010). In different Ukrainian regions, the Movement established press organs of its regional organizations. Thus, the first issue of “Golos Karpat”, the newsletter of the Carpathian Zonal Department of the People’s Movement of Ukraine for the Restructuring, was published in June 1989. The issue contained a resolution on the formation of the Lviv regional organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine For the Restructuring, whose Presidium included a poet R. Bratun, a People’s Deputy of the USSR I. Vakarchuk, as well as O. Blokh, M. Golubets, M. Goryn and others.

In July 1989, the first issue of the Kyiv’s “Visnyk Rukhu” was published. The issue contained an appeal to the readers noting that this newspaper could not be bought in a street-kiosk, it couldn’t be told about in a daily review of the press on the radio, either. Because this newspaper was an independent one, whose purpose was to bring to the reader’s audience the truth about the Movement, to attract as many people as possible. The newspaper was issued by the editorial group of the Ukrainian People’s Movement, the Ukrainian Society “Memorial” and “Spadshchyna”, a Ukrainian Culture and Lifestyle Club. Besides, in July, “Vilne Slovo”, a newspaper of a number of groups of the People’s Movement of Ukraine, was published. It contained information on the change of the name “Visnyk Rukhu” into “Vilne Slovo”, and an article “For the Unity of All Good and Honest People” by Ivan Drach, which affirmed that “the Movement lives” and that “its existence is necessary”. Besides, the newspaper also contained an appeal to the people of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on the fact of dissemination of defamatory rumors about the Movement, telling: “Don’t believe the deception stories about the Movement! The Movement is

hope; the Movement is unity of people”. The document was signed by Ivan Drach, Dmytro Pavlychko, Volodymyr Yavorivskiy, Vitaliy Donchuk and Leonid Sanduliak. On its pages, the newspapers reported that in July 9, 1989, the Constituent Assembly of the People’s Movement of Ukraine of the city of Chernighiv and the Chernighiv region took place (Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine (n/d), p. 11).

At that time, an edition of the Lviv regional organization “Viche” was published. The second issue of the newspaper contained an analytical article by M. Kosiv, dedicated to the problem of formation of the People’s Movement of Ukraine and its political confrontation with the authorities’ organizations (Danylenko, 2018).

In August 1989, the first issue of “Dumka”, a newspaper of the Kirovograd coordinating council of the People’s Movement of Ukraine, and the third issue of “Na Spolokh”, an edition of the People’s Movement of Ukraine in Kharkiv, came out into the world. “Dumka” placed an appeal “To the Countrymen – Kirovogradgers” telling about the beginning of publication of the region’s newspaper and informing about the People’s Movement of Ukraine. In meanwhile, “Na Spolokh” contained greetings from Volodymyr Yavorivskiy to the participants of the conference of the Kharkiv regional organization; the conference was held in early September 1989. The newspaper, in its heading “Our Position”, contained an appeal to the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR as for the CPU attempts to preserve its privileges in the election campaign. The newspaper also contained an announcement on the All-Ukrainian Constituent Congress of the People’s Movement of Ukraine For the Restructuring.

“This event will have an epoch-making value for our people”, pointed out the newspaper’s publishers Volodymyr Sagaidachniy, Mykola Khvyliya and Valentyna Ovod in the announcement. It is to be admitted, the surnames were possible to be not true, if taking into account the time of the newspaper’s release (Kaminskyi, 1990).

On the same month, a newspaper “Rada”, the edition of the Rivne regional organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine for the Restructuring, was firstly published. The newspaper contained information on the conference of the Rivne regional organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine for the Restructuring dated July 22, and the list of

speakers, including Mykola Porovskiy, Mykhailo Goryn, Vasyl Chervoniy, Volodymyr Soroka and others. The newspaper also contained a sample of events, the resolution of the Constituent Conference and an article "What is the People's Movement of Ukraine for the Restructuring Needed for" by V. Shkuratiuk (Kasianov, 1995).

The Ivano-Frankivsk regional organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine for the Restructuring also had its own printed organ; thus, the first issue of "Galychyna" edition contained a Resolution on the creation of the Ivano-Frankivsk regional organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine in August 12, 1989. The chosen regional council of the Movement included: Yuriy Andrukhovych, Petro Arsenych, Zinoviy Duma, Mykola Yakovyna and others, 30 persons in total (Danilenko, 2011).

The Resolution contained a decision to publicize the documents approved by the Conference, including the appeal to the region's citizens.

In December 1989, "Chornomor'ia", the newspaper of the Mykolaiv regional organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine, was published for the first time (Kozhanov, Shypotilova, 2017). The issue contained the greetings upon the occasion of the New Year and Christmas holidays, the resolution of the Constituent Congress of the People's Movement of Ukraine on the national symbols, the article of Viacheslav Chornovil "The Wait is Over" and the first comment in the September 1989 Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU. A reply "The Memory a la Mykolayiv" was the reaction to renaming of the Plekhanivska Street into the Potiomkinska Street in October 1989 (Shypotilova, Loginov, 2019).

Alongside with the editions published only by the People's Movement of Ukraine, there also were the editions published by various informal organizations which had been the precursors of the Movement, and whose ideological orientation was as that of the Movement in a broad understanding of the term. Besides, those editions contained a great factual material on the Movement's public activity.

The tendency of consolidation of national democratic forces is traced on the pages of "Dzvin", the publication of the Ternopil regional society "Memorial". Thus, in the newspaper's August issue it is noted: "In June 21, 1989, the first meeting of the heads of the People's

Movement of Ukraine and the regional society "Memorial" with the Soviet and party leaders of the city took place in the Philharmonic of the city of Ternopil. In their speeches, the representatives of public organizations unanimously expressed claims to the city's heads on their repressive actions against the organizations of the Movement, "Memorial" and their supporters.

Conclusions

Taking into account the above, it is to be admitted that a significant number of regional editions of the People's Movement of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Republican Party failed to survive the hard time of the first post-Soviet years. In the researched period, only the central mass media, which received a financial support from the Party's governing bodies, continued to be published relatively stable.

Thus, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Ukrainian Republican Party and the People's Movement of Ukraine played a key role in the formation of the Ukrainian independent periodicals in the late 1980s. Being outside the control of censorship bodies, the Union's press focused the attention of society on the most urgent problems of the Soviet reality, thus having deserved trust and significant commitment of the citizens. Having had united under the leadership of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union - the Ukrainian Republican Party and the People's Movement of Ukraine, the nonconformists managed to create a wide network of off-censorial mass media, which covered all regions of the Ukrainian SSR and made it possible to promptly inform the public about the activity of the organization and actual social-economic issues. The off-censorial editions learned the whole experience of political struggle and the organizational potential of the former political prisoners and dissidents, created a single possible tribune for the speech of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. It is from this tribune that the goals and objectives of the opposition movement were proclaimed.

After the reorganization of the Union into a political party, its former informal editions became the printed organs of the Ukrainian Republican Party, continuing to serve to the cause of the Ukrainian state's development and to promulgate the ideological principles of all the national-democratic forces of the country.

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