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**PROCLAMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
AND WEST UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC UNIFICATION ACT:
THE PRESS RESONANCE IN HALYCHYNA**

Abstract. *The article focuses on the analysis of the Unification discourse in the Galician periodicals related to the Unification Act – the solemn proclamation of the Unification of the West Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) with the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR). The main thematic dominants have been highlighted with comparative parallels from the Trans-Dnieper publications, on the basis of the “press dialogue” consonant and debatable points have been outlined. **The object** of the study is the Galician editions “Narod”, “Republika”, “Republikanets”, “Nove Zhyttia” (all published in Stanislaviv), “Ukrayinsky Holos” (Ternopil), “Zolochivske Slovo”, etc. In order to compare the historical, cultural and ideological contexts, the texts of some Trans-Dnieper newspapers have been also included, in particular: “Renaissance” (Kyiv), “Vistnyk Ukrainskoyi Narodnoyi Respubliky” (Kyiv, Vinnytsia, Kamianets-Podilskyi), “Nova Rada” (Kyiv). **The purpose** of the research is to outline and analyse the main problem nodes of publications about Velyka Zluka (the Unification Act) in the Galician press space of the ZUNR era, to single out the vectors of influence on the public reception*

of this event, to trace the retransmission in magazines of unanimous and oppositional ideas, vision of the Unification process of by the Galicians and the Trans-Dneprians. **The methodological basis** is a comprehensive approach to the object of research – the use of analytical, comparative methods and content analysis in addition to general historical ones. An interdisciplinary approach combining historical and press studies is also relevant. **The Conclusions.** The analysis of publications proves the influence of historical, ideological and mental factors on the Unification Act of the UNR and ZUNR. In the Galician press the Unification discourse takes on different interpretive forms, as the articles are of a conceptual, informational and polemical nature, illustrating the desire for national unity and at the same time obstacles on the way to its realization. Comparative parallels with publications in the journals of the Ukrainian National People's Republic make it possible to avoid one-sidedness of evaluation and to present the Unification process in the format of a dialogue of the Ukrainians in Galicia and Naddniproshchyna.

Key words: the Ukrainian press, the Unification Act of 1919, the Ukrainian People's Republic, the West Ukrainian People's Republic.

ПРОГОЛОШЕННЯ СОБОРНОСТІ УНР ТА ЗУНР: ПРЕСОВИЙ РЕЗОНАНС У ГАЛИЧИНІ

Анотація. У статті проаналізовано дискурс соборності у галицьких часописах, пов'язаний із Актом Злуки – урочистим проголошенням об'єднання Західноукраїнської Народної Республіки (ЗУНР) із Українською Народною Республікою (УНР). Основні тематичні домінанти увиразнено компаративними паралелями із наддніпрянських видань, на основі “пресового діалогу” окреслені суголосні моменти та дискусійні. **Об'єктом дослідження** є галицькі видання “Народ”, “Республіка”, “Републіканець”, “Нове Життя” (усі – Станіславів), “Український Голос” (Тернопіль), “Золочівське Слово” та ін. З метою зіставлення історико-культурної ідеологічного контекстів залучено також тексти деяких наддніпрянських газет, зокрема: “Відродження” (Київ), “Вістник Української Народної Республіки” (Київ, Вінниця, Кам'янець-Подільський), “Нова Рада” (Київ). **Мета дослідження:** окреслити й проаналізувати основні проблемні вузли публікацій про Велику Злуку в галицькому пресовому просторі доби ЗУНР, виокремити вектори впливу на суспільну рецепцію цієї події, простежити ретрансляцію у часописах суголосних і опозиційних ідей, бачення процесу об'єднання галичанами й наддніпрянцями. **Актуальність та новизна** полягає у введенні до наукового обігу маловідомого пресового контенту, який відкриває нові аспекти історичних подій та їх суспільного сприйняття. **Методологічним підґрунтям** є комплексний підхід до об'єкта дослідження – використання, окрім загальноісторичного, також аналітичного, компаративного методів і контент-аналізу. Актуальним для статті є і міждисциплінарний підхід, що поєднує історичну та пресознавчу сфери. **Висновки.** Аналіз публікацій засвідчує вплив на Акт Злуки УНР та ЗУНР історичного, ідеологічного й ментального факторів. Дискурс соборності у галицькій пресі набуває різних інтерпретаційних форм, оскільки статті мають концептуальний, інформаційний та полемічний характер, унаочнюють прагнення до національної єдності і водночас перепони на шляху її реалізації. Компаративні паралелі з публікаціями у часописах УНР дають змогу уникнути однобічності оцінок та представити процес об'єднання у форматі діалогу українців Галичини й Наддніпрянщини.

Ключові слова: українська преса, соборність, Акт Злуки 1919 р., Українська Народна Республіка, Західноукраїнська Народна Республіка.

The Problem Statement. The press space is a wide field for recording, analyzing and understanding complex social processes, in particular those that continued during the turning points in our history. The periodicals of the Liberation Struggle highlight the state-building process on both banks of the Zbruch River and the difficulties that stood in the way of the Unification of Ukrainian ethnic lands within the borders of one state. It was about an external expansion of the eastern and western neighbours, as well as about mental and worldview differences of the Ukrainians themselves. The two empires, Austria-Hungary and Russia,

were state entities with different constitutional rights of citizens, which was reflected at the level of national self-awareness of the Ukrainians. The Unification Act of 1919 is an attempt to realize the centuries-old dream of national unity, to restore the status quo, appealing to princely times. That is why, informational press publications covering the Unification process of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the West Ukrainian People's Republic, usually contained a short historical excursion, described the course of celebrations in the towns of Galicia (in Ukrainian – Halychyna) and Kyiv, they had a distinct emotional component, although the majority of publications were quite similar. Some of them are of a conceptual nature, in particular, a series of articles by Mykola Yevshan in the newspapers “Narod” and “Nove Zhyttia”, in which there is elucidated not only the controversy of political processes of that time, but also the role of culture as the “basis of statehood” and at the same time the result of liberation struggle (all journalistic texts of Yevshan were included in the publication for the first time – Yevshan, 2020).

The Review of Recent Researches. The Unification Act of 1919 is comprehensively researched in the scientific publications in the context of related humanitarian disciplines. It is worth mentioning Ivan Hoshuliak's monograph “Thorny Path to the Unity (from the Idea to the Unification Act)” (Hoshuliak, 2009), thematic scientific collections, such as: “United Ukraine” (Reient, 2004 – 2006), “Sobornism as a Factor of Ukrainian State Formation (to the 90th Anniversary of the Unification Act)” (Pyrih, 2009), “Unification of Ukraine: History and Modernity” (Shaihorodskyi, 2023), “Problems of Studying the History of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 – 1921” (Verstiuk, 2019), etc., dissertation studies and numerous articles on the issues of historiography, source studies, law, personal studies. The 4-volume encyclopedic publication “Western Ukrainian People's Republic 1918 – 1923” (ZUNR. Entsyklopediia, 2018 – 2021), which was published on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the ZUNR, contains information about the press of that time, in particular in the context of Unification. Of great importance for our research is the bibliographical work of Ukrainian press historian Olesya Drozdovska (Drozdovska, 2001). However, the multi-volume edition “Ukrainian Press in Ukraine and the world of the 19th and 20th centuries” covers the content of these magazines the most fully (Romaniuk, et al., 2020, 2022), which is published by the Research Institute of Press Studies of the Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine. Some aspects of this issue are revealed in the works of Jan Fellerer (Fellerer, 2017), Konstantin Kurylyshyn, Vitaliy Vyzdryk (Vyzdryk & Kurylyshyn, 2022; Kurylyshyn & Haliv, 2024), Mykola Haliv, Volodymyr Halyk, Dmytro Shykitka (Haliv, Halyk & Shykitka, 2024). Important recommendations regarding internal criticism of sources, in particular press publications, are made in the work of Mykola Haliv and Vasyl Ilnytsky (Haliv & Ilnytsky, 2021).

Traditionally, the issue of Unification is actualized in jubilee years. Isolating precisely the press content of a narrow chronological aspect makes it possible to trace the chronology of the Unification of the UNR and ZUNR, echoes of the problems that were relevant at the time and their different receptions, differences in the interpretation of Unification in the ZUNR and UNR press, because the specificity of newspapers is that they are fresh even in a century.

The purpose of the research is to outline and analyse the main problem nodes of publications about Velyka Zluka (the Unification Act) in the Galician press space of the ZUNR era, to single out the vectors of influence on the public reception of this event, to trace the retransmission in magazines of unanimous and oppositional ideas, vision of the Unification process of by the Galicians and the Trans-Dnieprians.

The research methodology is based on a comprehensive approach – the use of analytical, comparative methods, content analysis in addition to general historical ones. The historical method makes it possible to outline the preconditions and ideological essence of political disagreements that arose during the Unification Act, specifics of the social resonance of these events. The comparative approach forms the principle of a “press dialogue”, makes it possible to compare the political situation in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires in historical retro and perspective. The interdisciplinary component combining historical and press studies is also relevant.

The Results of the Research. The press, as a mirror and driver of social and political events, stood at the origins of important historical acts of modern times, one of which is the declaration of Unity of Ukraine in January of 1919. The ethnic attraction among different representatives of the same nation, which was in different state formations, led to the formation of a common historical and cultural space. Numerous journalistic and analytical journal publications contributed to the construction of geographical, ideological and worldview bridges over the Zbruch river: “Materials published in the Western and Eastern Ukrainian press convincingly testify that the unity-state movement was observed in Naddnistriansky and Naddnipriansky Ukraine in 1918. For example, the proclamation and existence of the Ukrainian People’s Republic had a great impact on the Galician Ukrainians (Zavalniuk, pp. 13–14). A brief review of the periodicals of the ZUNR era and the sequence of their establishment was given by Lonhyn Tsehelskyi in the article “Development of the Ukrainian Press” (Tsehelskyi, 1918, p. 3).

Back in 1848, the Main Ruthenian Council in Lviv in the “Appeal to the Ruthenian People” published in “The Zoria Halytska” magazine, Part 1, declared the following: “We, the Ruthenians of Galicia belong to the great Ruthenian people, who speak one language and make up 15 million, of which one and a half million inhabit the Galician land” (Vidozva do ruskoho narodu, 1848, p. 1). The T. Shevchenko Days celebrations, which spread across Galicia from the 60s of the 19th century, had a strong influence on the formation of the idea of Unity. The cult of the poet contributed to the spiritual unity of the Ukrainian nation and became one of the key factors in the state-building process. World War I gave the peoples of Central-Eastern Europe, which were previously part of the empires, a chance to gain state independence, but for the Ukrainians, realization of this chance was complicated by the armed claims of neighbours from the East and West. Certain obstacles were created on the way to political unification by differences in political priorities as a result of a long stay of the Ukrainians within different state systems. The constitutional freedoms that the Ukrainians had in Austria-Hungary were made possible through political activity in Parliament, the national press, the Societies “Prosvita”, “Native School”, “The T. Shevchenko Scientific Society” and the others to form a certain public consensus on the issue of statehood. The political struggle for equality on the basis of the current constitution continued, “stubborn resistance against national and social enslavement under the wings of Austrian administrative power, which was observed in Polish hands, all the nationally creative work of several generations before the war had to develop national consciousness of people to a level at which the competition for the highest ideal of each nation would be born” (Kuzma, 1931, pp. 7–8), – noted Oleksa Kuzma in the book “November Days of 1918”. Therefore, in the periodicals published in Western Ukraine in 1919, the Unification issue with Great Ukraine was among the priorities. On the other hand, in the Dnipro region, where a cultural and political life could not develop normally as a result of the Valuyev circular and the Emsky decree, press and

book publishing in the native language was prohibited, nation-oriented intelligentsia were harshly persecuted, such a consensus could not be formed. Publications in the Ukrainian language were published only in 1905, and after the outbreak of World War I they were again banned by the government. During the Liberation Struggle, although the issue of unification was discussed, the focus was on the inter-party struggle, the situation on the fronts, and informing about current events.

State-building processes in Ukraine continued against the background of attempts to substantiate the national issue in Europe at the end of the war theoretically. The fate of any nation ceased to be an internal matter of the state-empire and became the matter of the nation itself. The publications of Kyiv daily the "Vidrodzhennia" emphasized that Ukraine had the right to national self-determination within its ethnographic boundaries, according to "Wilson's 14 points", and the basis of this process was laid by the Universals of the Ukrainian Central Rada. The solution of the "Ukrainian issue" within the borders of the former Russia is not final, because "the Ukrainian people live... also within the borders of Austria-Hungary" (Kyiv, 1918, p. 1), therefore, in the future, the lands of Galicia, Chełm region, Bukovyna, and the Ukrainian part of Bessarabia claimed by the Poles, the Hungarians, and the Romanians should be included in Ukraine. However, the Ukrainian Central Rada did not initially prioritize the construction of an independent united Ukrainian state: "This is proven by its universals, where in the first place everything is the matter of rebuilding the entire Russian empire, and also the members of the Central Rada admit that influence" (Do problemi, 1936, p. 4). Such a trend was often considered a consequence of the influence of Mykhailo Drahomanov's ideas on a whole generation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. According to a modern historian I. Hoshuliak, "a recognized leader of the liberation movement [Mykhailo Hrushevskiy] considered national territorial autonomy, by which he understood the unification of all ethnic Ukrainian lands into one territorial unit, to be the most appropriate form of organization of the state life of the Ukrainian people during the period under consideration" (Hoshuliak, 2009, p. 119). Such an approach a priori envisaged the federation with Russia of other ethnic Ukrainian lands, and therefore it is difficult to call it a state one. The socialist government of the Ukrainian People's Republic expressed concern about the declaration of a "bourgeois dictatorship" in Galicia and sought unifying trends on a social, rather than a national, basis: "Without violating the rights of the Galician peasantry and workers to organize their own internal life, the Socialist Government, in the interests of the working people, must firmly proceed to establish a single government of workers in both regions of the Republic" (Halytski Spravy, 2019, p. 2).

Worldview and mental differences were so tangible, emphasized M. Yevshan in the article "Ukrainian Borders" in the columns of the newspaper "Narod", that a formal declaration of unification could not overcome them: "In addition to the solemn declarations about the Unification Act, in addition to the pathetic declarations about the two brothers who stung the same sheaf, there is still a strong political, and even stronger and almost insurmountable cultural and spiritual border or rather borders at this time. From abroad, as if from behind a fence, our native brothers are looking at, sending polite telegrams to each other, but still keeping gendarmerie in reserve" (Yevshan, 1919, p. 2). Everyone is afraid that the other will not attack his house and take away power, so he tries to "take care" of his brother and establish the correct order, in his opinion.

In the context of covering the revival of Ukraine's statehood, magazines appealed to the traditions of the princely era – this ensured historical legitimacy. In the newspaper

“Republikanets” in a leading article “United Ukraine (the Editorial Board dedicates it to the Proclamation of Unification of both Ukrainian Republics by Vysoka Rada)” regarding the decision made on January 3, 1919 it was emphasized: “Until the modern wave, the Ukrainian politics did not have such a mature point of view. On January 3, 1919, the Ukrainian nation declared clearly and decisively: We want to belong to Kyiv! We want the unity of the lands of Volodymyr the Great, we want the state unity of all my ethnographic territories!” (Zyednana Ukraina, 1919, p. 1). In the article “Great Holiday of Unity in Kyiv (January 22 and 23, 1919)” it is noted that Kyiv is the city of independent Ukrainian princes, where for hundreds of years our people served “cunning enemy raiders”, now it has once again become “the capital of a great Ukrainian state from the Don to the Sian” (Velyke sviato, 1919, p. 1). A detailed description of the city, decorated with national flags, the Triumphal Arch at Sofia Square, decorated with the coats of arms of Ukrainian lands, highlighted the epochal nature of the event. Vasyl Pachovskyi also referred to ancient times as an argument for the restoration of statehood in the article “Historical Right to Unification of Ukrainian Lands”: even when Oleh Vischyi went to Tsrarhorod, “the white Croats (inhabitants of Galicia) and Dulibs (inhabitants of Volyn and Chelm region) took part in this campaign, the second time our lands were united with Kyiv under Volodymyr the Holy, the third time it was done by Yaroslav the Wise, the 4th one – under the rule of Roman Mstyslavovych” (Pachovskyi, 1919, p. 3). For the author, this was not a journalistic pathos: he devoted all his work to unraveling a “mystical riddle of his people”, and his epic “The Golden Gate” with its antagonistic images of the Knight Michael and Mark the Accursed embody the dichotomy of loyalty and betrayal, life and death. The author sincerely believed that the opinion of Ukrainians would decide the fate of Eastern Europe when they realize the right of their statehood.

The realization of the idea of universality gives the Ukrainians a unique historical chance that cannot be missed: other peoples will respect us more, but our enemies will try to enslave us again with a greater zeal – this controversy formed the basis of the publication of the newspaper “Ukrayinsky Holos”. The acquisition of statehood can put an end to a systematic destruction of the Ukrainian elite by the Russian authorities: “The dream of our great-grandfathers, grandfathers and fathers, the burning desire of our fighters, who sowed the fields of their native country with their bones, or died in the kazymates and taigas in Siberia, the great idea of unifying Ukraine became a reality” (Bo pora tse velykaya yest..., 1919, p. 1). The editors interpreted the concept of unity as the resurrection of Ukraine and its forty million nation: “Borders have collapsed between us, there are no more Russian, Galician, Bukovyna and Hungarian Ukraine, there are not even two Ukrainian Republics – there is only one large Ukrainian Republic”, which is equal in size to the former Austria-Hungary, and also the first in Europe in terms of wealth.

The concept of “border” – political, ideological, mental – becomes in M. Yevshan’s interpretation a kind of marker, antithetical to the concept of “unity”. The traditions of the princely times are interpreted rather as a negative legacy, actualizing the concept of a civil strife, the practice of dividing the state into separate principalities and transferring them to their sons or boyars as a “private property”. The tendency to secession was inherited by the following generations: “And when we look at those borders (especially the Galicia-Kyiv border) from such a historical perspective, which we found in the wave of the solemn Unification of the two Ukrainian Republics (and not yet the united republic of Magyar, Bukovyna, etc.), then the matter will not seem so easy that it can be decided by any act” (Yevshan, 1919, p. 2). The editors of “Vistnyk Ukrainskoyi Narodnoyi Respubliky”, an organ of the Ukrainian People’s

Republic, also noted in the context of the background of the process that this was rather a declaration without necessary legal processes: the UNR and the ZUNR pursued separate foreign and domestic policies and had independent administrative bodies. In the socio-political plane, the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic focused on the "working masses", and the ZUNR – on the intelligentsia, industrialists and clergy, called "bourgeoisie" for ideological reasons. Nevertheless, the proclamation of the Unity was interpreted as a long-awaited and necessary unification of "two torn parts of one national body, related by the same political and social ideals, one great goal and one immeasurable national grief of the working Ukrainian masses of Galicia and Naddnyprianshchyna" (Obiednannia, 1919, p. 2). The sequence of the Unification process of the two states in the legal sphere, distribution of powers between the Ukrainian National Council, the Directory and the State Secretariat, a personal representation in the authorities was highlighted in the article "Who has Power in Ukraine?" (Kho maye vlast na Ukraini?, 1919, p. 7), published in the "Narod" newspaper.

The Unification Act as a resonant historical event was widely covered in the columns of the Galician press, which after the November Revolution of 1918 and the declaration of the ZUNR "stood in the position of Ukrainian statehood, subordinating all other issues to it" (Krevetskyi, 1919, p. 2). The leading article "By the Publishing Committee" of the magazine "Nova Rada" (Lviv) aimed at "concentrating the work around one hearth – the good of the dear Motherland, United Nenko Ukraine". We just need to show the society its tasks in the modern era and awaken a sense of civility" (Vid vydavnychoho komitetu, 1919, p. 1). And although the prospects for the realization of Ukraine's independence became less and less realistic over time, the editors emphasized that "the Ukrainian people will not retreat from their ideal of united Ukraine" (Polshcha i Halychyna, 2020, p. 1). This thesis was addressed both to the Polish occupation authorities for the purpose of warning and to the readers for the purpose of their moral support. The admonition to fight for one's rights, without turning "on the wrong side", was echoed in other editorials as well.

Petro Karmanskyi was present during the celebrations at Sofia Maidan, representing the Ukrainian National Council, which is why the events of January 22 in Kyiv were the most accurately covered in the columns of "Ukrayinsky Holos", which he edited for some time. In addition to general visual impressions presented according to chronology ("at 11 o'clock in the morning, the Ukrainian military infantry units began to arrive at the square and music sounded"), the article "Celebratory Proclamation of the Unity of Galicia with Ukraine in Kyiv" contains a detailed description of the mood of the thousands at Maidan eager to witness a unique historical event. Many even, like the evangelical Zacchaeus, climbed trees at the square and nearby streets. Representatives of Galicia and Bukovyna, delegations from ministries and other institutions, church leaders took their places, members of the Directory arrived by car, the national anthem of Ukraine sounded with shouts of "Glory!", and the ceremony was led by the artist Sadovskyi. Protocol details, enlivened by apt comparisons and an almost artistic style, betray the pen of a young music editor. "The Ukrayinsky Holos" called on Galicians to join the all-Ukrainian issue, because "today we are something united and indivisible; one blood and one body" (Karmanskyi, 1919, p. 2).

Mykola Holubets' article in "Zolochivske Slovo" was no less emotionally strained. The emphasis is not on the chronicle of events, but on its historical regularity as the realization of T. Shevchenko's prophetic visions: "What Shevchenko dreamed of in his Siberian slumbers, what so many hearts, big and small, sighed for, what was the ultimate goal of the efforts of entire generations – the Ukrainian State – is appearing before our eyes" (Holubets, 1919, p. 1).

Celebrations in Kyiv were preceded by celebrations in Stanislaviv and district towns of the ZUNR. The articles “Unification of the Ukrainian Republics” in “Narod”, “Celebratory Tour of the Proclaimed Unification of Ukraine” in “Strytskyi Vistnyk”, “Sviato u Nashomy Horodi” in “Zolochivske Slovo”, “Historical Event” in “Holos Kalusha” and the others highlighted the support of Galicians for the decision of the Ukrainian National Council on Velyka Zluka.

If the Naddnyprianska press interpreted the national liberation primarily in the context of the end of Russian enslavement, then the Naddnistrianska press – the Polish one. The newspaper “Strytskyi Vistnyk” wrote that the Ukrainian National Council was on the way to fulfilling the will of those glorious sons of Ukraine, “who, whether with weapons in their hands or political action from six centuries, ever since the Polish annexationists tore apart the living body of the Ukrainian people, they have been making every effort to reunite all Ukrainian lands into one whole” (Ideal tsiloi natsii, 1918, p. 4). The editors of Kamianets-Podilskyi magazine “Zhyttia Podillia” in the context of assessing the historical significance of the Unification Act also strongly opposed the federation with Russia proclaimed by the provisional workers’ and peasants’ government, as well as against the Romanian occupation of Bukovyna, Polish claims to the Chełm region and Podlachia. There was also a sharp criticism of the left-wing parties, which sought to introduce the dictatorship of the working proletariat (without the peasantry) in Ukraine and implement the ideas of a worldwide international: “The idea of the Ukrainian state system, the idea of the development of culture, education of the Ukrainian people through the formation of a native school, disappeared from their worldview and became so secondary and insignificant that it is embarrassing to even talk about it in a “serious” party meeting” (Kamianets na Podilliu, 1919, p. 2).

M. Yevshan noted the existence of another social conflict in Galicia, when “the masses of the people, for example, in recent times were clamoring for a unity “with Ukraine”, but the advanced intelligentsia did not want it” (Yevshan, 1919, p. 2). Such a generalization should not be taken as an ultimatum, the author obviously had in mind not the entire intelligentsia, but the ambassadors to Viennese Parliament who did not support the idea of the November Zryv. In the newspaper “Respublikanski Visti” (Vinnytsia), against the background of a historical excursion about the national revival in Galicia, the role of Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko in it, it was also noted that not all Ukrainians sought unification: “When the war broke out, all the youth rallied under the banner of the unity of all Ukrainian lands and the independence of Ukraine. However, the politicians still maintained their positions, and although the general programme proclaimed the independence and unification of the Ukrainian lands, they still pursued an Austrophile policy” (K. M., 1919, p. 1). These words from the article “Unification of Ukraine” depict a somewhat different axis of oppression than that of Yevshan: not the intelligentsia and the masses, but the youth and leading politicians. The ambassadors really hoped to the last that the Austrian government would officially transfer power to the Ukrainian National Council, so they arrived in Lviv on November 2-3. Instead, Dmytro Vitovskyi, considering the decision of the Poles to transfer the liquidation commission from Kraków to Lviv, considered it necessary to immediately seize power first, and he did it on November 1, 1918, because he considered it a matter of national honour. For the ambassadors, this action could be “unnecessary, and even compromising and dangerous ventures”, according to Vasyl Paneiko (Paneiko, 1928, p. 1).

The newspaper “Holos z nad Buhu” (Sokal) in the article “The Holiday of Unification of Ukraine” also mentions T. Shevchenko’s “presence” in the epochal days in Kyiv, testifying

to the aforementioned relationship between the cult of the poet and the concept of statehood: "From the very morning, the city took on a solemn appearance. Houses are decorated with carpets, portraits and busts of Shevchenko, national ribbons and flags" (Sviato obiednania Ukrainy, 1919, p. 1). And the publication about the Labour Congress in Kyiv focuses on the episode of the head of the delegation from the ZUNR, Dr. Lonhyn Tsehelskyi, delivering Charter on Unification and shouts of "Glory!"

The gathering of forces is a necessary condition for a successful state policy, especially when this gathering is spontaneous. Kyiv became the "centre of gravity" of the nation, soldiers from the Kuban, Bessarabia, the Crimea, Bukovyna, Halychyna, Chełm region and other lands shed their blood on its streets, defending the capital. The war mobilized the Ukrainians, making them feel like a single nation. The Unification Act was also made possible by the military victory of the Ukrainian Sich riflemen, who had been hardened in battles since 1914 and were, according to the definition of scholars, the army without a state, just like the UPA. A modern historian Mykola Lazarovych observed: "With their achievements and self-sacrifice, the riflemen wrote heroic pages in the annals of the fighters' achievements for the freedom of Ukraine. Bright stages of self-sacrificing work aimed at awakening and establishing a sense of national dignity among the Ukrainians, and the idea of the state unity and the state independence are also associated with the USS" (Lazarovych, 2024). In a situation where the UNR was threatened by danger from all sides, the Sich riflemen played a significant role not only in the victories of the Ukrainian army, but also in the national self-awareness of the people of Naddniprianshchyna.

The proclaimed creation of a united Ukrainian state provided for its protection. In the article "Independence of Ukraine and the Entente", Mykhailo Halushchynskyi updated the issue of the role of international support. In his opinion, it is not worth counting on the help of the Entente, nor on Russian democracy (ironically called "good Russians" today), because "Russian democracy in relation to the Ukrainian national movement is not different from Russian reactionary circles" (Halushchynskyi, 1919, p. 1). This thesis is reminiscent of Vynnychenko's well-known statement that the Russian democracy ends where the Ukrainian issue begins. As for the Entente, M. Halushchynskyi appealed to the recent situation, when German troops entered Ukraine with the consent of the Central Rada, but did not find forces on which they could rely. Therefore, the primary task is the formation of an anti-Bolshevik front by the Ukrainians themselves to preserve statehood. Was this approach constructive? From the height of time, we know not only how much the help of other countries weighs in today's war, but also that Poland will involve the French Haller army, aimed at fighting with the Bolsheviks, to destroy the ZUNR, and that the withdrawal of German troops from the territory of Ukraine will coincide with times with the advance of the Red Army in the East. Because the Directory government never managed to find a common language with the Entente states. These events testify to the cyclical nature of history, encourage its study in order to avoid the mistakes of the past.

The Conclusions. The analysis of publications is the basis for conclusions about the influence of a wide range of factors: historical, ideological and mental on the Unification Act of January 22, 1919. The articles about Unification in the newspapers of the ZUNR era are of a conceptual, informational and polemical nature, illustrating both the desire for national unity and the obstacles that stood in the way of its realization. Comparative parallels with publications in the journals of the Ukrainian State and the Ukrainian People's Republic make it possible to avoid one-sidedness of assessments and to present the Unification process in the format of a dialogue of the Ukrainians of Galicia and Naddniprianshchyna.

The press evidence about the spontaneous movement towards national unity, connected with the historical memory of the people, which has survived despite 300 years of enslavement, examples of a heroic self-sacrifice, as well as theoretical considerations about the ways of national development do not lose their spiritual and intellectual value, but need updating and rethinking under new historical conditions.

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