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**ORIGINS OF THE PEOPLE’S MOVEMENT OF UKRAINE –  
IVANO-FRANKIVSK REGIONAL CULTURAL  
AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY “RUKH”**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze the first independent public organizations of the Ukrainian SSR and the contribution to the state building on the example of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society (CSS) “Movement” (“Rukh” – (“Malyi Rukh”)) in the historical context, the revival of democratic processes in the region on the Ukrainian national soil, the cooperation with similar organizations in other cities of the UkSSR, the USSR and the diaspora. The research methodology is based on the fundamental principles of objectivity and historicism, which provide for the consideration of individual phenomena and processes in their development and a close connection with the system of relevant social relations. The historical facts have been*

considered against the background of the political processes, which imply the use of the comparative analysis method, owing to which, there has been clarified the essence of many significant events for the Ukrainian socio-political thought of this period. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that on the basis of the available press of that period, as well as previously unpublished sources from the archives of Ivano-Frankivsk National Organization of People's Movement of Ukraine (AIFNOPMU), the attempt was made to realize the process of forming socio-political organizations of the Ukrainian SSR, which by large-scale protests, formed the political consciousness and national pride. **The Conclusions.** A national democratic revival in Ukraine during the late 1980-ies took place by creating centers of socio-political organizations according to the scheme "from the bottom – upwards". Clubs, unions, committees, circles, associations, societies, parties complemented each other and inscribed the golden core in the national progress and functioned for the Ukrainian statehood. Numerous culturological "informal" associations, which began functioning in the Ukrainian SSR during the second half of the 1980-ies, set themselves one of the most important tasks – the revival of the Ukrainian culture, language, education and the state. Among culturological "informal" associations Ivano-Frankivsk Regional CSS "Movement" ("Rukh" ("Malyi Rukh")) stood out – a new type of organization – the state type in form and spirit. The historical merit of Ivano-Frankivsk regional CSS "Movement" ("Rukh") consists in the fact that this organization in a classical form and under its own name (which spread to all-Ukrainian), was formed by the public and was one of the sources (forerunners) of People's Movement (Narodnyi Rukh) of Ukraine at the end of 1987. Ivano-Frankivsk regional CSS "Movement" ("Rukh") worked actively with societies in most regions of the USSR, the republics of the USSR and the diaspora. The organization arose as a result of a public need and on the initiative of its founders, despite the obstacles made by the party-state apparatus. The "Rukh members" used various forms and methods of a political struggle, from popularizing the Ukrainian customs and traditions to mass political protests. They worked selflessly and sacrificially to restore the Ukrainian state. As a result of the elections on March 4, 1990 to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and the local Soviets of People's Deputies together with other national democratic organizations, the Society eliminated the communist regime from power and initiated decommunization processes. In the majority of the regions of Ukraine, these processes intensified only during recent years, but in Ivano-Frankivsk (Lviv and Ternopil regions) these processes took place during the beginning of the 1990-ies.

**Key words:** Ivano-Frankivsk Cultural and Scientific Society "Movement" ("Rukh" ("Malyi Rukh")), democratic processes, revival of Ukraine.

## ВИТОКИ НАРОДНОГО РУХУ УКРАЇНИ – ІВАНО-ФРАНКІВСЬКЕ ОБЛАСНЕ КУЛЬТУРНО-НАУКОВЕ ТОВАРИСТВО "РУХ"

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – в історичному контексті проаналізувати перші незалежні громадські організації Української РСР та вклад у державну розбудову на прикладі Івано-Франківського обласного культурно-наукового товариства (КНТ) "Рух" – ("Малого Руху"), відродження демократичних процесів у краї на українському національному ґрунті, співпрацю з аналогічними організаціями інших міст УРСР, СРСР та діаспорою. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на фундаментальні принципи об'єктивності та історизму, що передбачають розгляд окремих явищ і процесів у їх розвитку та тісному зв'язку із системою відповідних суспільних відносин. Історичні факти розглядаються на фоні політичних процесів, що передбачає застосування методу порівняльного аналізу, завдяки якому з'ясовано сутність багатьох знакових для української суспільно-політичної думки зазначеного періоду подій. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі доступних (тогочасна преса), а також раніше не опублікованих джерел з архіву Івано-Франківської Крайової організації Народного Руху України (АІФКОНРУ) здійснено спробу осмислити процес формування громадсько-політичних організацій Української РСР, які широкомасштабними акціями протестів формували політичну свідомість і національну гордість. **Висновки.** Національно-демократичне відродження в Україні наприкінці 1980-х рр. відбувалося через процес створення осередків громадсько-політичних організацій за схемою "знизу – вгору". Клуби, спілки, комітети, гуртки, асоціації, товариства, партії доповнювали один одного і вписали золоту серцевину в національному поступі та працювали на здобуття української державності. Численні культурологічні "неформальні" об'єднання, які почали

діяти в Українській РСР з другої половини 1980-х рр. ставили перед собою одне з найважливіших завдань – відродження української культури, мови, освіти, держави. Серед них виокремлювалось Івано-Франківське обласне КНТ “Рух” (“Малий Рух”) – організація нового типу – державницька за формою і духом. Історична заслуга Івано-Франківського обласного КНТ “Рух” полягає у тому, що саме ця організація в класичному вигляді й під власною назвою (яка й поширилася на всеукраїнську), сформувалася громадськістю і виступила одним із витоків (предтеч) створення Народного Руху України ще наприкінці 1987 р. й вела активну роботу з товариствами більшості областей УРСР, республіками СРСР, діаспорою. Організація виникла внаслідок суспільної потреби та за ініціативи її творців, всупереч перешкодам, які чинилися з боку партійно-державного апарату. “Рухівці” використовували різні форми і методи політичної боротьби – від популяризації українських звичаїв й традицій до масових політичних акцій протесту. Вони самовіддано й жертвовно працювали над відновленням Української держави. У результаті виборів 4 березня 1990 р. до Верховної Ради Української РСР і місцевих Рад народних депутатів разом з іншими організаціями національно-демократичного спрямування, Товариство усунуло від влади комуністичний режим та ініціювало процеси декомунізації. У більшості областей України ці процеси активізувалися лише останніми роками, а на Івано-Франківщині (Львівській та Тернопільській областях) це відбулося ще на початку 1990-х рр.

**Ключові слова:** Івано-Франківське культурно-наукове товариство “Рух” (“Малий Рух”), демократичні процеси, відродження України.

**The Problem Statement.** After Mikhail Gorbachev’s coming to power in the USSR, the ideological pressure on the socio-political life of the state began to weaken. In 1985 “a fresh spring wind of change blew”. In the central press opinions appeared about the rehabilitation of prominent politicians, who disagreed to the “general line of the Communist Party”, the information about abuse during Stalin’s time – a total terror, waves of famines, large-scale deportations. The policy of publicity and democratization of the society added courage to the citizens and promoted the opportunity to raise their voice in defense of the Ukrainians. At the end of 1988, the party-Soviet authorities in the Ukrainian SSR considered the activities of supporters and activists of the Ukrainian Cultural Club to be the most dangerous (the first meeting of the club took place on August 6, 1987 in Kyiv cafe “Liubava” in Obolon under “the auspices of the Komsomol district committee”), Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia, Committee for the Protection of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Ukrainian Democratic Union, cultural and ethnographic association – “Lion Society” (Tovarystvo Leva), the Ukrainian Studies Club “Heritage”, the Amateur Historical and Cultural Association of Student Youth of Kyiv State University “Hromada”, the Native Language Society named after T. Shevchenko (a constituent assembly took place in Lviv on June 20, 1988, Roman Ivanychuk was elected a chairman) and the others. At the same time, there was already the Club of the Ukrainian Language Fans at the Writers’ Union of Ukraine. The International Committee for the protection of political prisoners, headed by M. Horyn, was formed in Lviv. The activities of these “informal” and many other organizations, which functioned in the UkSSR, gradually went beyond the few meetings dealing with the cultural and educational sphere (Maliarchuk, 2015).

On October 19, 1987, in Lviv, in the club of Lviv Forestry Institute, at the meeting of the creative intelligentsia and youth representatives of the city, an “informal” association of a cultural and ethnographic nature – “Lion Society” was formed. The official organizers were Lviv branch of the Cultural Foundation of the Ukrainian SSR, the Society for the Protection of Architectural and Cultural Monuments, and the Association of Youth Clubs under the Central Committee of the LKSYU. During the meeting, the suggestion to consider the “Lion Society” a branch of Kyiv Ukrainian Cultural Club was approved. The branches

of the organization soon began to function in Rivne and Lutsk. Orest Sheika became the first chairman of the “Lion Society”. Ihor Hryniv, Yaroslava Rybak, Ihor Markov, Levko Zakharchyshyn were among the members of the society. In April 1989, the first issue of the information bulletin “Postup” of the “Lion Society” was published. The editor of the bulletin was Oleksandr Kryvenko. The bulletin immediately took a clear democratic position. It became a popularizer of the ideas of a national revival, the restoration of the Ukrainian state and a tribune for opposition figures (Sushko & Olkhovskiy, 2009).

The national democratic revival in Ivano-Frankivsk region had its historical features. On December 19, 1987, the young patriots actually (legally June 22, a constituent assembly – June 30, 1988) organized the cultural and scientific society “Movement” (“Rukh” (“Malyi Rukh”)), headed by Markiy Chuchuk, a biologist. The “Great Movement” (“Velykyi Rukh”) in Ivano-Frankivsk region was created on August 12 (actually – August 13) 1989, headed by Mykola Yakovyna, an artist. The members of UHU had a high authority. The active work of these organizations created a favourable political background and gave impact to the revival of “Prosvita” in the form of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. Shevchenko as a mass socio-political organization throughout Ukraine. Dozens and later hundreds of people, who agreed to selfless work for the future of Ukraine joined the ranks of the CSS “Movement” (“Rukh”). Those, who supported openly the “sprouts of the new Ukraine” will never be able to forget that fateful and exciting time. The great people’s shift was basically to defend the historical truth – all the troubles of the Ukrainian people are the result of statelessness. Hence, the main task was to create (to revive) the own state. Preservation of a national memory requires paying tribute to the freedom fighters of their people, who, in addition to the labels “Bandera”, “Uniate”, “Westerners”, “Bourgeois nationalists” were given a new label – “extremists”, “movers” (“rukhyvtsi”), “democrats-shouters”. This is a worthy example of a selfless sacrifice to the Ukrainian nation and faith in building of the independent Ukrainian state. Unfortunately, many extraordinary personalities, who stood at the origins of the Ukrainian statehood and spirituality passed away. It is our civic duty to preserve the memory about them and, for the sake of justice, to engrave the activities of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh” (“Malyi Rukh”)) in the history.

**The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications.** Much has been written about the People’s Movement of Ukraine by domestic scholars. The state idea of independence, catholicity, and independence matured in the minds and hearts of many generations of the Ukrainian patriots. Among the first scientific works that laid the foundation for the analysis of the problem of the Movement’s place in the socio-political life of Ukraine are the works of O. Haran “Kill the Dragon: From the History of the Movement and New Parties of Ukraine” (Haran, 1993), Yu. Kurnosov “Dissent in Ukraine (the 60-ies – first half of the 80-ies of the XXth century)” (Kurnosov, 1994), H. Kasianov “Disagree: the Ukrainian Intelligentsia in the Resistance Movement during the 1960-ies – the 80-ies in Ukraine” (Kasianov, 1995) and the others. They contain the fragments of letters, statements, appeals, which allow to convey the revolutionary pathos of those turbulent years more accurately. The research achievements in this issue are “summarized” by the publication of one of the organizers of “Movement” (“Rukh”), the developer of the concept of its activities – V. Iskiv “Purpose of the Movement” (Iskiv, 2018).

A number of researches are devoted to the congresses of the People’s Movement of Ukraine and the role of the organization in gaining the Ukrainian independence. Scholars assess the Rukh phenomenon as a non-manufactured monument to the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the concerned public. In scientific works various questions of history of Ukraine are raised,

the factual processes and events with involvement of the archival documents are stated. In their works well-known politicians: V. Chornovil, I. Drach, L. Lukianenko, D. Pavlychko, V. Yavorivsky, M. Horyn, B. Horyn and the others elucidated the ideological and political origins of the People's Movement of Ukraine, the reasons for its actualization, interethnic relations, which matured in the thoughts and feelings of patriots.

Unfortunately, there is a conceptual disagreement in European historical and political thought regarding the essence of those events and the prospects of a strategic partnership with Ukraine. Except the foreign journalism of that period, this topic has not yet found a proper interpretation in scientific circles, with the exception of the Ukrainian diaspora representatives. In general, Ukraine is mentioned as the margin of European geopolitics.

The first attempts to elucidate the formation and development history of the most powerful socio-political organization at the end of the 80-ies and the beginning of the 90-ies of the previous century in Ivano-Frankivsk were made by the researchers from Kolomyia region “Kolomyia Territorial Organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine “Pokuttia” 1989 – 1992” (1993) and Sniatyn region “Sich of Pokuttia” (Koval, 1996) under the general editorship of V. Koval. In 2001 Tysmenytsia district organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine published the book “At Dawn of National Revival” (Karpov & Yefimchuk, 2001) under the general editorship of Yo. Karpov and Ya. Yefimchuk. Valuable historical documents, photographs, as well as personal reflections and conclusions are contained in the work of V. Ivasiuk “Kalush Society “Renaissance”-“Movement” (Ivasiuk, 2009). This combined name is not accidental. Kalush city party committee called the society another “honorary name” – “Rukh Gang”. In his book “History of Kalush and Kalush Region in Dates, Figures and Interesting Facts” M. Kolomyiets testifies: “January-February of 1989. The Ukrainian Language Society named after Taras Shevchenko “Renaissance”, which, under the guise of the society charter, practically performed the role and functions of the “Movement” in Kalush region” (Kolomyiets, 1996, p. 179).

The collection of documents by M. Yakovyna “Chronicle of the Movement: from the “Third Soviets” to Independent Ukraine” (Yakovyna, 1993), which was published in a poor circulation in Lviv – began to systematize the source base of the socio-political processes in Ivano-Frankivsk region. A special place was taken by the collection of documents, official materials, testimonies of the press about the coup d'état committed by the so-called Emergency Committee in August of 1991 “Chronicle of Resistance” (Taniuk, 1991). L. Taniuk, a compiler, submitted chronologically the documents of resistance to the junta, the reports from the regions, the statements by the political parties and other materials related to these three days in history. The literary and documentary edition of V. Plakhta and N. Dymnich “The Unbreakable Warrior of the Christ” (Plakhta & Dymnich, 2016) characterized the life and spiritual work of Pavlo Vasylyk, the bishop of Kolomyia-Chernivtsi eparchy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church – a legend of the catacomb Church, the initiator of the famous “Statements about Coming out of the Underground”.

For more than three decades – 33 years that passed since the foundation of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh”), the scientific research by M. Pankiv claims for scientific excellence in the history of the Society (Kuhutiak, 2009). It is important to note that Mykhailo Pankiv, the associate professor of Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Honorary Chairman of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Organization of the National Union of Local Historians of Ukraine, in the article “Participation of the Staff of Ivano-Frankivsk Museum of Local Lore in the Ukrainian Patriotic Movement at

the End of the 80-ies – the Beginning of the 90-ies of the XXth Century” made the attempt to elucidate the history of this society in a separate chapter “Scientific and Educational Society “Movement”. The research contains some inaccuracies in the names of the participants and the superficial presentation of the material is not documented.

In 1990, for one of the authors of the article (O. Maliarchuk), it was the practice for a school historian-beginner to participate in the activities of Kalush Association of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. Shevchenko “Renaissance” and to be one of the organizers of the children’s union “Sokoliata” in Kalush, Ivano-Frankivsk region. In 2020 the book “Kalush City Council of the First Democratic Meeting: History in Documents” was published (Maliarchuk, Vidlyvanyi & Ketsmur, 2020), in which the “Movement” (“Rukh”) issues of the region were outlined.

**The purpose of the article** is to elucidate in the historical context formation of the first independent public organizations in the Ukrainian SSR and the contribution to the state building on the example of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh”), (“Malyi Rukh”), the revival of democratic processes in the region on the Ukrainian national soil, cooperation with similar organizations in other cities of the UkSSR, the USSR and the diaspora.

**The Statement of the Basic Material.** From the available historical sources – the Soviet periodicals there “follows” the erroneous opinion that the articles in the newspaper editions “The Komsomolsky Prapor” in May of 1988 generated the creation of the Society. According to publications in the press, there is a virtual, not a real coverage of events and facts. The decision to found the Society was made in 1987, and the first meeting was held in the building of the Medical Institute (in the corner of modern King Danylo and Mazepa Streets) in a narrow circle of people (as it was mentioned in the article by Mykhailo Pankiv and directly by the testimony of the initiators of the creation – Markiyan Chuchuk, Yaroslav Shevchuk and Zinovy Duma). According to the resolution of the bureau of the regional committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine, the Society is the “result” of the efforts of the local Komsomol members and owing to them the Society received its “official status” before its own formal official creation (proclamation) at the constituent assembly on June 30, 1988. This is a classic casuistry in the style of the party-Soviet totalitarian bureaucratic system. Ivano-Frankivsk regional CSS “Movement” (“Rukh”) (“Malyi Rukh”) was not the brainchild of the Komsomol, it was created by the indifferent Ukrainian community of Prykarpattia.

At that time, amateur forms of citizen participation in the socio-political life of the USSR were allowed. They were created in the Ukrainian SSR regardless of the “efforts” of the party-Soviet bodies. According to the current legislation, only a legal entity could create a legal entity. The Society needed a status – an account and a seal, without which a public activity was impossible. The Society immediately built its work on the general principles of civilization – “we went to the people”, “we condemned extremism regardless of nationality”. In fact, the party-Komsomol functionaries were of the following opinion: “If a certain process cannot be stopped, it must be led!” for the purpose of control, subsequent collapse and destruction. It didn’t work out. Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh”) (the associate member of Ivanno-Frankivsk regional organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine) headed by Yaroslav Shevchuk still functions nowadays.

In the official Western Ukrainian press of the second half of the 80-ies of the XXth century the notes on various democratic actions began to be published more and more often. Thus, in the newspaper “The Komsomolsky Prapor” (a body of Ivano-Frankivsk regional committee of

the Young Communist League of Ukraine) dated May 5, 1988, L. Bondar's appeal “Respond, Enthusiasts” was published: “Back in December last year in the hall of Ivano-Frankivsk V. Stefanyk Pedagogical Institute there was held a charity concert by the group “Do not Grieve!” from Lviv “Lion Society”, but still the thoughts do not leave me not only about the “Evening of Sung Poetry”, but also about the Society that unites around itself energetic, talented and dedicated young people ... The basis of the society consists of the club of young scientists, the political club “Dzerkalo”, the amateur theater “Meta” and the group “Don't Be Sad!”, who performed in front of Ivano-Frankivsk residents last year. As you can see, our close neighbours give charity concerts not only in Lviv region, but also in our region. And this is good. But I would not like to think that Ivano-Frankivsk is poorer in talent. And I am sure that Ivano-Frankivsk residents will soon illustrate their abilities in a similar way. Only for this purpose it is needed (necessary!) to gather and unite people only around some important (according to the conviction of like-minded accomplices) issue, and to create a similar society or amateur association (the name does not matter) with its own premises, charter, emblem, etc.”

In the newspaper “The Komsomolsky Prapor” dated May 28, 1988 in the correspondence of the journalist, the writer V. Hanushchak “They are Encouraged by Creative Anxiety. Notes from the Xth Meeting of Creative Youth” there is a separate paragraph stating that the speaker, criticizing the passivity of young people and the conservatism of club workers, focused on the problems of youth leisure, raised the issue of working with informal associations in the region, the latest of which seems to be the newly established “Movement” (“Rukh”) in Ivano-Frankivsk”. Is this for the first time in the history of the newspaper that Vasyl Hanushchak, a public figure, perpetuated the “Movement” (“Rukh”) with his critical view on the pages of the newspaper?

The editorial board in the section “Resonance” (“The Komsomol Prapor” of May 31, 1988) stated that “after the publication in our newspaper of L. Bondar's appeal “Respond, Enthusiasts!” the editorial office received only two reviews. “We are!”. “For the uninitiated, this may have meant little, but for us, the appearance in Leonid Bondar's “The Komsomol Prapor” (Thursday, May 5) of the call “Respond, Enthusiasts!” was a pleasant surprise. Firstly, Thursday is the day of our planned and traditional meetings. Secondly, it turns out that we have like-minded people. The fact is that the “Lion Society” is not the only one – its twin, the “Rukh” Society, was born in Ivano-Frankivsk. The idea of its creation arose at the end of last year, and the impact for its implementation was the performance of the group “Do not Worry!”. Nowadays, the Society consists of 16 people, not indifferent to the past, present and future, who have their own statute, worked out in scrupulous and long disputes, so far modest achievements and significant problems. The defining feature of its activity is an absolute voluntariness and selflessness. Any citizen, who agrees to comply with the requirements of its charter, may become a member of the Society. And the statute obliges to a social activity, which extends to art, science and a social, political life ... We hope that the publication will attract the attention of all those are interested in the activities of the Society and encourage them to join our work. Thus – the “Movement” (“Rukh”). The “Movement” (“Rukh”) – it is progress, the “Movement” (“Rukh”) – it is formation. The initiative group of the Society “Movement” (“Rukh”) consists of the following members: R. Bahriy, a teacher; Ya. Shevchuk, an architect; M. Chuchuk, a biologist; R. Levytsky, a teacher; S. Bondarenko, a student; B. Kindratyshyn, an architect; V. Leniuk, a historian; Z. Duma, a historian; S. Ostash, a student; L. Prokopiuk, a student; V. Homza, a student; H. Stashkiv, an artist”.

The name of the society – “Movement” (“Rukh”), which spread throughout Ukraine and far beyond its borders, was proposed by one of the initiators of its creation and the

chairman for almost thirty years – Yaroslav Shevchuk. Markiyany Chuchuk was elected the first chairman, but in connection with his transition to diplomatic work in 1993, Yaroslav Shevchuk was elected the chairman.

On June 22, 1988, the cultural and scientific society Rukh was officially registered in Ivano-Frankivsk (Resolution of the Bureau of the Regional Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine B-18/15 of June 27, 1988. 1. To establish an amateur society “Rukh” at the regional committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine ...”), i.e., the society was called “amateur” (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 20). According to the political situation at that time, the CPU regional committee supported the initiative, guided by the understanding of the need for a close contact with “informals”, to whom special attention was paid at the XXth Congress of the Komsomol. The resolution of the bureau of the regional committee of the Komsomol approved the “General Provisions”, which became the basis of the Statute of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh”).

Since then, the Company received the official status of a legal entity. The constituent meeting of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh” took place on June 30, 1988. The protocol of the Constituent Meeting of the Society dated June 30, 1988 (10 people present at the meeting): Leonid Bondar – a teacher; Markiyany Chuchuk – an assistant; Roman Levytsky – a teacher; Volodymyr Homza – a student; Volodymyr Kovalchuk – an engineer; Bohdan Briansky – a student; Yaroslav Shevchuk – an architect; Roman Bahriy – a teacher; Zinoviyy Duma – a historian; Oleksandr Semeniuk – a serviceman, as well as spectators and guests. Premises of the regional art museum. Markiyany Yevhenovych Chuchuk was elected a chairman by a secret ballot (5 votes), Yaroslav Mykhailovych Shevchuk was elected a deputy chairman (5 votes), and Roman Vasyliovych Levytsky was elected a chairman (3 votes) (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 25).

Soon the sections of the Society began to function: a historical and local lore, folklore and ethnography, environmental, linguistic and literary, artistic, socio-political, the Jewish culture. Subsequently, a research and restoration center was organized for the study, conservation and restoration of monuments of a material culture. The number of the Society members increased sharply. Every Tuesday and Thursday the meeting of the Society was attended by 40 – 60 people. Despite this, the Society did not have its own premises and was forced to conduct its work in the premises of the city and regional committees of LKSY of Ukraine, the local lore and art museums, or out-of-doors. These factors did not interfere with the work of the Society. Under such conditions, there were a number of problems of an organizational and financial order. In particular, the lack of space to store archives, accounting documents, the Society’s cash register, seals and, etc. In search of premises, the Society’s management many times, but without any positive result, for a year and a half appealed to the housing maintenance department, housing maintenance sections No. 6, 8, 9, 11 of Ivano-Frankivsk.

From the historical path, the question arises: which mass event held by the Society to be considered the first? We are not talking about the events with a political connotation. There was a natural evolution of views in the organization – from cultural, educational, environmental to political. The answers to these questions are partially given in the already mentioned publication of Mykhailo Pankiv and the memoirs of the first chairman of the Society – Markiyany Chuchuk.

Among the first ones, we should include: on December 19, 1987 the concert of the group “Do not Grieve” in the premises of Ivano-Frankivsk V. Stefanyk Pedagogical Institute; in May of 1988, the celebration of T. Shevchenko’s days in the city house of culture No. 3



(a director – Stepan Henza) in the village of Mykytyntsi; the intention to give a financial assistance in the construction of a dormitory for children of the Ukrainian community in Poland – schoolchildren of the only Ukrainian primary school named after Taras Shevchenko in Poland in Biaiy Bor; on July 28, the letter was sent to the Ukrainian Society branch in Krakow; on August 27 the evening concert, dedicated to the memory of I.Ya. Franko, which took place in Ivano-Frankivsk in Franko Street near the monument to the poet; on September 3, the conservation of the remains of fortifications (a former fortress wall) of Ivano-Frankivsk in Fortress Lane; on September 8, the letter to "Heritage"; October – collection of signatures "ADDRESS TO THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE USSR" (the letter addressed to the Presidium of the Verkhovna Rada of the UkSSR and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR against the development of new enterprises of the Kalush production association "Chlorvinil" together with "Occidental Petroleum") – 4003 citizens opposed the development, the originals of the signatures are kept in the archive; on October 11, the letter was sent to Sambir to the V. Kobilnyk Society; on October 13 the letters with proposals for the exchange of newspapers in the cities of Lutsk, Vinnytsia and Minsk; on October 18, the letter to Taras Shevchenko Society of the Native Language Fans of Sambir and Lviv; on October 23 the collection of signatures in Shevchenko Street regarding the granting the status of the state language to the Ukrainian language and participation in the reporting and election conference of the "Lion Society" (Z. Duma, M. Chuchuk, I. Andrusiv, Ya. Shevchuk, R. Levytsky, V. Kimakovych were sent); on November 19 at 5 p.m. the evening "Feast of Kolomyika", which took place in the city House of Culture No. 1 in Shevchenko street, 1; on On November 26, the Estonian Cultural Foundation invited CSS "Movement" ("Rukh") to a concert of the Ukrainian Fellowship; on December 20 – congratulations to the "Oberih" Society in Chernivtsi (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1) and the others. The newspapers were exchanged with almost all regional centers of the Ukrainian SSR, the capitals of the Baltic republics, as well as Moscow and Leningrad.

The first attempts to implement the CSS "Movement" ("Rukh") open political demands can be dated to the records of the meeting at the beginning of December of 1988. Thus, there is the "RECORD OF THE MEETING" of December 6, 1988, Item. 6 – "Rally in Memory of the Victims of Stalinism. Correction of the Statement for its Implementation. The text is prepared by R. Hladysh" (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 35).

"RECORD OF THE MEETING" of December 18, 1988. Item. 1. "Z. Duma – about how the permission to rally was refused. As the statement was not registered, to re-submit it in the prescribed form and in the prescribed order. In parallel, to insist on a written response to the first application" (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 41).

"RECORD OF THE MEETING" of December 20, 1988. Item. 3. "Z. Duma – about the refusal to hold a rally in memory (*crossed out* – Stalin victims) of Stalinism. It was decided to submit a new statement".

#### STATEMENT

We, the initiative group consisting of: Hladysh R. V., Duma Z. E., Mykytyn Z. I., Olshanska O. O., Semaniuk Y. I. (all members of the cultural and scientific society "Movement" ("Rukh")), ask to allow the rally to commemorate the victims of Stalinist terror on Sunday, December 25, 1988, in Ivano-Frankivsk ... (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 51).

"RECORD OF THE MEETING" of December 22, 1988. Item. 3. "H. Volosheniuk proposed to hold the speeches-debates at the factories of our city, these actions will become an advertisement of the society, the creation of new branches of the "Movement"

(“Rukh”). Ya. Shevchuk suggested the creation of a group at the socio-political section, as well as to make a programme of the above-mentioned section for holding debates”. Item. 4. “Ya. Mazurok made the suggestion to ask for the premises for “The Nativity Scene”, as well as to make posters for “The Nativity Scene”. Ya. Mazurok took samples for the publishing house”. Item. 5. “Zakhariya V. V. made the speech on the preparation of the evening dedicated to O. Oles, asked for help in decorating the stage” (Evening in memory of the poet O. Oles took place on December 23, 1988 in the House of Culture No. 1 in Shevchenko Street in Ivano-Frankivsk) (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 58).

“RECORD OF THE MEETING” of December 29, 1988. Item. 5. “Andrukhiv I. proposed to create a political – propaganda theater”. Item. 6. “Duma Z. Proposed to purchase materials, as well as to consider slogans for the rally”. Item. 7. “Shevchuk Ya. read some amendments to the draft statute of the Society of Supporters of the Ukrainian language”. Item. 8. “The suggestion of the society members to create and justify the sign and flag of the society. This case was entrusted to V. Kimakovych and V. Mykytiuk” (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 64).

“RECORD OF THE MEETING” of January 3, 1989. Item. 1. “Ivasiv was heard on the issue of the men’s choir organization at the society. Chuchuk Ya. and Duma Z. took part in the discussion. It was decided to appoint a day for listening to people, who wish to take part in the Chapel (Wednesday, January 25 at 6:30 p.m., Radianska Street, 10). To make an announcement”. Item. 2. “They discussed the preparation for holding a rally in memory of the victims of Stalinism: a) prepared announcements; b) discussed the organizational issues”. Item. 3. “The board of the society reported on the preparation of the “Nativity Scene”. The city committee of the party in the person of Koryta and Shukailo evade the event” (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 70).

“RECORD OF THE MEETING” of January 5, 1989. Item. 1. “Ivasiv proposed to name the men’s choir “Red Viburnum”. Item. 2. M. Chuchuk spoke on the issue of holding the “Nativity Scene” (“Vertep”). The city department of culture forbade the city houses of culture to accept participants of “The Nativity scene” (“Vertep”). The telegramme was sent to the Cultural Foundation in Kyiv. Yu. Shevchuk told about the meeting with Comrade Sliusar, who stated: “Vertep is the propagation of religion”. Item. 3. The meeting with Koretan and Lukaschuk from the city committee of the party on the issues of holding the “Nativity Scene” (“Vertep”), the rally in memory of the victims of Stalinism – we revealed Koretan’s and Lukaschuk’s negative attitude to these events. R. Hladysh told about it” (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 75).

“RECORD OF THE MEETING” of January 10, 1989. Item. 1. “M. Chuchuk made the report on the press received by the society. He reported on a meeting in the city executive committee on the issues of “Vertep” and the rally in memory of the victims of Stalinism” Item. 2. “The representative of the Latvian Ukrainian n/k society “Dnipro” spoke about the work of the society”. Item. 4. “The Society considered the issue of participation in the preparation of the evening dedicated to the 175th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko’s birth” (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 77).

The Executive Committee of Ivano-Frankivsk City Council of People’s Deputies, by decision of January 13, 1989, No. 20, cancelling the previous decision of January 11 No. 2, decided: To give consent to the “Rukh” Cultural and Scientific Society to hold the rally in memory of the victims of Stalinist repressions on January 29, 1989, from 3:00 pm till 5:00 pm in the Park of Culture and Recreation named after T. H. Shevchenko (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 79).

The events related to the first rally were summarized by Bohdan Biletsky's article "No Time Limit" / "No Expiry Date" ("Комсомольський прапор" від 4 лютого 1989 р.) "CRIMES of Stalinism are the Crimes against the Humanity", "Shame on Stalin's Executioners" – the rally in Ivano-Frankivsk was held under such slogans. The rally to commemorate the victims of Stalin's repressions was postponed twice by the city executive committee. The reasons for this are now difficult to name, but the event, which was organized by the cultural and scientific society "Movement" ("Rukh"), was unusual for the region ... Hundreds of the city residents came to Taras Shevchenko Park of Culture and Recreation. Some people were interested in how the people's will would be illustrated, the others wanted to hear about those terrible times from the eyewitnesses, the very victims of the executioners of "the leader of all times and peoples" ... People came up to the tribune with tears in their eyes ... Leonid Bondar, a young Ivano-Frankivsk composer, performed his own song "Innocent Victims of Stalinist Repressions", R. V. Hladysh, a member of the Rukh cultural and scientific society, read the address to the participants of the rally. In the address there were figures of mass Stalinist repressions in our country, the victims of Precarpathian region were mentioned. How many of them? Who will undertake the difficult investigation of these crimes – scientists, writers, or maybe we, journalists? At least in the speeches of scientists such a desire was not heard. D. V. Shlemko, M. K. Fihlevsky, S. M. Chapuha provided new facts, made suggestions. O. S. Hryhoriev, Doctor of Economics, believed that the "Movement" ("Rukh") Society, instead of indulging, digging into Stalinism, should better deal with the environmental issues and the struggle for disarmament and peace. And according to Volodymyr Hrytsak, a young worker of the cement and slate plant, the initiative group of the society took on a heavy burden – the burden of Truth. Oksana Vasylets, a poet from Odesa, dedicated her poem to the victims of Stalinism. The participants of the rally listened to the speech of Yaroslav Rybak, the Executive Secretary of Lviv "Lion Society", with interest. Our guest, in particular, noted that according to the programme, this was not the rally, but rather a regular meeting. I cannot disagree with this statement. Not enough facts, few emotions, two hours allotted, probably, did not allow many more to speak, to take the floor. However, the first step was made and some suggestions, such as the creation of the Ukrainian language society in the region, should be listened to".

"RECORD OF THE MEETING" of February 9, 1989. Item. 5. "M. Chuchuk spoke about the situation with the delegation to the All-Ukrainian Conference of the Society of Fans of the Ukrainian language named after T. Shevchenko. Only one mandate was allocated by the regional committee for the "Movement" ("Rukh") society. RESOLVED: a representative of "Rukh" with an official delegation does not go to the conference. To send a telegramme to the conference" (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 2, p. 17).

In the spring of 1989, the local branches of "Movement" ("Rukh") began to appear in various settlements of Ukraine. In Ivano-Frankivsk, such a socio-political organization had been functioning for more than a year. Its activities were not limited to educational and cultural events and the territory of the region. In fact (at the end of 1987) and legally (June 22, 1988) the society functioned and carried out active socio-political activities and became a full member of the People's Movement of Ukraine for reformation (it was the founder of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Movement). The scientific historical literature substantiates the statement that the most active were the inhabitants of Ternopil region (in our opinion, this issue is debatable!). N. Kindrachuk's scientific argument is that in Ukraine the first one (officially) was created Ternopil regional organization of "Movement" ("Rukh"), the founding conference of which took place on March 24, 1989. Mykhailo Levytsky, the poet, became the head of the regional

organization. Lviv Regional “Movement” became the second organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine. Its founding conference took place on May 7, 1989. On July 1 of the same year, the founding conference of Kyiv organization of the the People’s Movement of Ukraine took place in the Republican House of Cinema (Kindrachuk, 2013, p. 40).

In 1989, the rapid activities of public organizations began, which played a key role in the national democratic processes in the UkSSR and gave impact to the creation of opposition parties to the CPSU – CPU. The activities of UHU, The Ukrainian Language Society, “Movement” (“Rukh”) became the legal basis for the organization and legalization of functioning centers in villages and cities of Ukraine. From the information of the State Security Committee No. 5 / 3-2021 dated 04.05.1989 with the stamp “confidential” – to comrade I. H. Postoronko, the first secretary of Ivano-Frankivsk regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine: “Recently, politicization of some amateur groups has been noted, in particular, the scientific and cultural society “Rukh”. Some of its members try to act alternatively in relation to public organizations, to establish links with extremist groups in other cities of the country” (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 2, p. 58).

From the materials to the archives of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Organizations of the People’s Movement of Ukraine, you can learn about the cooperation with different organizations of the UkRSR, the USSR and the diaspora. On November 1, 1988 the text of the letter was approved at the meeting of the CSS “Rukh” of Ivano-Frankivsk: “To the Estonian People’s Front! With the aim of a better quality awareness of a modern social life in Estonia, the formation of direct contacts and possible cooperation in the field of culture and science, the cultural and scientific society “Rukh” appeals to the Estonian People’s Front through its representative A. K. Liutiuk and asks for assistance and help to receive the “Bulletin of the People’s Front” regularly” (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 1, p. 104). Thus, in the letter to Kamianets-Podilsky Society “Creativity” dated 18.07.89, 2/75, it is stated: “Dear Sirs, the Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh”) seeks to establish a close and reliable cooperation with you. We believe that at the first stage the mutual exchange of information is the most important for both sides. We are most interested in the following topics: the organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine; the problems of elections of deputies in your city; the organization of large-scale actions by you (rallies, demonstrations, etc.); the possibility of establishing ties with the progressive forces of Moldova; the information about the most important events in your region. For our part, we promise all possible information assistance and advice! We wish you success! Markiy Chuchuk, the chairman of the Rukh Cultural and Scientific Society “Movement” (“Rukh”) (AIFROP MU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 2, p. 72).

The founding assembly of Ivano-Frankivsk regional organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine for reformation was to take place on the 12th of August, but due to the death of the society member it was postponed on August 13, 1989. On the day of the founding conference, one of the organizers of the CSS “Movement” (“Rukh”), Roman Levytsky, died. He was attacked and fatally injured the day before. At the founding conference of Ivano-Frankivsk regional organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine, a temporary statute was adopted, a coordination council and delegates from the region were elected to the Founding Congress of the “Movement” (“Rukh”). The Coordinating Council elected Mykola Yakovyna, the artist, the chairman of the regional organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine (“Great Movement”), Roman Luchytsky and Ivan Shovkov –the deputies.

Regional branches of the People’s Movement of Ukraine were established in the majority of the regions of Ukraine. This process ended in Kyiv on September 8 – 10, 1989, when

All-Ukrainian Founding Congress of the People's Movement of Ukraine for reformation was held. The Congress was held in the Palace of Culture of Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, which was attended by 1109 delegates from 1120 elected, who represented a 280000 community of activists. The Congress adopted the Declaration on the Establishment of the People's Movement of Ukraine for reformation, the Programme and the Charter, the appeal “To the People of Ukraine”, the statement “About Elections”, the appeal: “To all non-Ukrainians in Ukraine”, “Against anti-Semitism”, “In Support of the Aspirations of the Crimean Tatar People”, “To the Ukrainians, who live in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR and choose Russian as their native language”. Ivan Drach was elected the chairman of the “Movement” (“Rukh”), Mykhailo Horyn, Serhiy Konev and Volodymyr Yavorivsky were elected the deputies.

On October 10, 1989, Ivano-Frankivsk Regional CSS “Movement” (“Rukh”) numbered 156 members. Among them, 75 people had diplomas of higher and incomplete higher education (historians, engineers, economists, architects, lawyers, teachers – 12, researchers, doctors – 8), workers – 45. 69 people had certificates of a secondary education, secondary special education. There is the following information in the column “Date of Joining the Society” (the date is indicated only for those people, who joined during June-October of 1989): June – 3; July – 19; August – 46; September – 19; October – 11 (98 people totally). That is, the ranks of the Society officially increased more than three times during this period (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 3). As Yaroslav Shevchuk noted in the article “If Rights are not Given, they are Obtained” (the newspaper “Halychyna” of September 19, 1991): “The society was whipped and slandered sarcastically by all the “true newspapers” of that time, beaten by the riot police (OMON) and militsiya, and it was even killed for the truth it defended at that time and stands for the truth now”.

**The Conclusions.** In Ukraine, the People's Movement of Ukraine was formed organizationally from the All-Ukrainian Society of the Ukrainian Language named after Taras Shevchenko. However, Ivano-Frankivsk region had its own historical feature, which consisted in the fact that it was here that the “Rukh idea” crystallized in “a pure form”. Thus, among 58 delegates of the Founding Congress of the People's Movement of Ukraine for reformation from Ivano-Frankivsk region (two could not come) – 23 people, or 40% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko. From Kyiv region among 199 delegates, respectively – 47 people, or 24% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko; from Kherson region among 18 delegates accordingly – 7 people, or 39% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko; from Cherkasy region among 27 delegates – 7 people, or 25% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko; from Kharkiv region among 23 delegates accordingly – 6 people, or 26% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko; from Donetsk region among 25 delegates accordingly – 10 people, or 40% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko; from the Crimean region among 9 delegates – 5 people, or 55% were the members of the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. H. Shevchenko, etc. (Zherebetskyi, 2009). One and the same person could simultaneously belong to several societies, associations, parties.

The peculiarity of the socio-political life of Ivano-Frankivsk region consisted in the fact that there were formed and functioned actively in the region such societies as Ivano-Frankivsk regional CSS “Movement” (“Rukh”) with subsidiaries (in Kolomyia – “Postup”, in Rohatyn – “Dzvin”, in Oleshkiv village in Sniatyn region – “Renaissance”, in the village of Otyniya,

in the village of Yamnytsia), the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine. Ivano-Frankivsk Regional CSS “Movement” (“Rukh”) at the same time became the founder of the National Organization of the People’s Movement of Ukraine for reformation and the Ukrainian Language Society named after T. Shevchenko, “Memorial”, “Green World” and the others. The society “gave strength” to all other political organizations and parties that emerged in Ivano-Frankivsk region. At large industrial enterprises, the state institutions and organizations there were formed public political organizations massively – strike committees and associations of the People’s Movement of Ukraine for reformation, which were registered according to by the relevant decisions of the executive committees of the city and district councils of deputies of Ivano-Frankivsk region.

Various amateur public associations interfered in the political life of Ukraine actively: clubs, societies, unions, organizations, associations, parties that claimed to gain power. In Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Ternopil regions, many local councils were dominated by non-communist deputies, who had almost all the power. The “Movement” (“Rukh”) turned into an openly anti-communist organization based on the nationalist ideology. The communists, their party committees and organizations launched a fierce campaign against the “democratic forces” (in particular, against the “nationally limited” democratic bloc – the “band bloc”, “separatists”), “nationalist ideology”, “Bandera supporters”. Ideas of a civil peace and non-violence, ensuring human rights, spiritual and national cultural revival, the transition to a socially oriented market economy, other democratic goals and universal values, but not political ambitions or ideological dogmas, could bring different positions closer, reach compromises, unite most people in concrete steps out of the crisis. The CPSU and its branch of the CPU in their programme documents defended the “process of a revolutionary reformation”, “the approval of the democratization process of the society”, “publicity” and were “the first” ones, who (in the West, this was done systematically, especially during the Cold War) condemned the cult of Stalin, Khrushchov’s “voluntarism” and Brezhnev’s policy of “stagnation”. Taking the responsibility for mistakes, miscalculations in the socio-political development of the USSR, recognizing the criminal activities of the party leadership during the 30–50-ies of the XXth century, the party proclaimed “the renewal” and called for “the renewal of the society as a whole”. People began not only to think freely in a whisper manner, but also to express their thoughts and views openly, often diametrically opposed political views, all stopped “unconditionally supporting the general line of the Communist Party”. A qualitatively new generation entered the arena of the political struggle.

The problem of the formation of mass public organizations during the second half of the 1980-ies, both in the western region and throughout Ukraine, their cooperation with the societies of the Baltics, the Caucasus and other republics of the USSR and the diaspora, requires a separate historical study. The formation of regional organizations of the People’s Movement of Ukraine differed significantly in the regions of Ukraine.

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