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**FOUNDATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE FIRST “RUKH” CELL
IN UKRAINE (1987 – 1991)**

Abstract. *The purpose* of the study is to elucidate, based on scientific literature, periodicals, memoirs, and archival documents, the process of creating the very first “informal” public organizations of the Ukrainian SSR in 1987 – 1991, to characterize their contribution to the creation of the NRU and state development using the example of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh”. **The research methodology** is based on heuristics, reconstruction, and interpretation in order to create a holistic picture of historical events using critical analysis. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that, based on “express-information” from special issues of the socio-political centre of The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the memoirs and diaries of Oksana Olshanska and Oleh Maliarchuk, the process of forming the most influential socio-political organization of a new type at that time – The People’s Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika (NRU, Rukh) – has been elucidated, and the experience gained in the field of national patriotic education has been highlighted. Using the example of The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society

“Rukh”, established de facto on December 19, 1987, and legally – on June 22, 1988, the activity process from the first cultural and educational events to political actions has been studied. **Conclusions.** In the history of Ukraine, the “Rukh” (NRU) embodies the Ukrainian patriotism during the collapse of the Soviet Union and the proclamation of independent states. Owing to it, we have prominent political and state figures, and leaders of local communities. The youth educated in the NRU were preparing to take up arms to fight for the independence of Ukraine and against a spiritual, occupational enslavement by Russia. The forms and methods of work of “informal” organizations activists of Ukraine, tempered by generations of patriots, must develop in accordance with the challenges of today, adapt and modernize with the latest technologies. During the large-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, they fight with weapons in their hands in the ranks of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and are engaged in volunteer activities. Many Ukrainian patriots joined them, hoping to use their example and initiatives to involve as many citizens of our country as possible in building a powerful Ukrainian world as a counterweight to the “Rusky mir”. It is necessary to consolidate the Ukrainians around the national state idea in order to survive the war and build a strong state. And this will be facilitated by knowledge of history, the printed Ukrainian word, the use of the Ukrainian state language and, without any doubt, the patriotic spirit of people. In fact, from the very beginning of its creation, The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh” is a legal political organization. The main historical merit of the “Rukh” was and remains the creation of an environment for educating people in a national patriotic spirit for the realization of themselves as the Ukrainians. The historical mission has been accomplished, and our duty is to preserve the memory of the outstanding sons of Ukraine and their selfless work.

Key words: national idea, revival of Ukraine, People's Movement of Ukraine (NRU), Rukh.

СТВОРЕННЯ ТА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ПЕРШОГО ОСЕРЕДКУ “РУХУ” В УКРАЇНІ (1987 – 1991)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – на основі наукової літератури, періодики, спогадів, архівних документів розкрити процес створення найперших “неформальних” громадських організацій Української РСР 1987–1991 років, охарактеризувати їх вклад у створення НРУ та державну розбудову на прикладі Івано-Франківського обласного культурно-наукового товариства “Рух”. **Методологія дослідження** – евристика, реконструкція та інтерпретація, щоби критичним аналізом створити цілісну картину історичних подій. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що на основі “експрес-інформації” зі спеціальних випусків громадсько-політичного центру Івано-Франківського обкому компартії України, доповнених спогадами зі щоденників Оксани Ольшанської “Все це пишу на колінах” та Олега Малярчука, розкрито процес формування найвпливовішої на той час громадсько-політичної організації нового типу – Народного Руху України за перебудову (НРУ) та виокремлено напрацьований досвід у справі національно-патріотичного виховання. На прикладі Івано-Франківського обласного культурно-наукового товариства “Рух”, створеного фактично 19 грудня 1987 року, а юридично – 22 червня 1988 року, досліджено процес діяльності від проведення перших культурно-освітніх заходів до політичних акцій. **Висновки.** Отже, в історії України “Рух” (НРУ) символізує український патріотизм у часи розпаду Радянського Союзу та проголошення незалежних держав. Завдяки йому маємо видатних політичних, державних діячів, очільників місцевих громад. Вихована НРУ молодь готувалася взяти до рук зброю для боротьби за незалежність України та супроти духовного, окупаційного поневолення з боку Росії. Форми та методи роботи активістів “неформальних” організацій України, загартовані поколіннями патріотів, мусять розвиватися відповідно до викликів сьогодення, адаптуватися та модернізуватися новітніми технологіями. У час широкомасштабного вторгнення Росії в Україну вони зі зброєю в руках воюють у лавах Збройних Сил України, займаються волонтерською діяльністю. До їхнього складу долучилися чимало українських патріотів, аби своїм прикладом та ініціативами залучити якомога більше громадян нашої держави будувати потужний український світ на противагу “руському міру”. Необхідно консолідувати український народ навколо національної державницької ідеї, щоб вистояти у війні та побудувати міцну державу. Фактично від початку створення Івано-Франківське обласне культурно-наукове товариство “Рух” було легальною політичною організацією.

Основна історична заслуга КНТ "Рух" – виховання народу в національно-патріотичному дусі для усвідомлення себе українцями. Свою історичну місію вони виконали, а наші обов'язок – зберегти пам'ять про видатних синів України та їхню подвижницьку працю.

Ключові слова: національна ідея, відродження України, Народний Рух України.

The Problem Statement. The political opposition associations and societies were the harbingers of independence in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (UkrSSR) in mid-1988. In the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, there were the following political opposition associations: the Ukrainian Culturological Club, the Ukrainian faction of the Democratic Association, and the People's Union for the Promotion of Perestroika, which, according to the organizers' plan, were to unite on one platform the amateur associations "Hromada", "Zelenyi Svit", and "Spadshchyna". In the cities of the Ukrainian SSR, nonconformist associations became increasingly popular and widespread, acquiring a political colour. Thus, in Kharkiv there was founded "The Association for the Protection of Free Labour", in Poltava – "The Rally Committee", in Sumy – "The Sumy Regional Committee for the Promotion of Democratization", in Kamianets-Podilskyi – "Tvorchist" ("Creativity"); in Vinnytsia – "Istyna" ("Truth"); in Odesa – "The Democratic Association for the Promotion of Perestroika", in Yalta – "The Association of Good Will", etc. In the all-Ukrainian political environment, the western region of the Republic stood out, where Lviv deservedly took the lead – the Ukrainian Galician Piedmont. However, whether Galicia became the dreamed-of Ukrainian Piedmont (according to Mykhailo Hrushevsky's apt metaphor) or not, historians and politicians still argue. However, in Lviv, different currents of the then public discourse united, represented by The Ukrainian Helsinki Union, The Committee for the Protection of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, "The Lion Society" also known as "Tovarystvo Leva", The International Committee for the Protection of Political Prisoners, The Discussion and Political Club, The Democratic Front for the Promotion of Perestroika. Other Western Ukrainian regions tried to keep up with Lviv. In Ternopil – "Noosphere", "Vertep", "Hromada Podilskyi Krai Ternopilshchyna"; in Chernivtsi – "Sich", "Oberih", "Zelenyi Rukh of Bukovyna"; in Rivne – "Peresvit"; in Lutsk – "The Lion Society"; in Uzhhorod – "The Society of Hungarian Culture of Transcarpathia", The O. Mytrak Society; in Ivano-Frankivsk – The Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" (CST "Rukh" – "Malyi Rukh").

"Informal" organizations were alternative to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – Communist Party of Ukraine (CPSU-KPU). The "informal" organizations had closely intertwined areas of activity – ethnographic, historical, ecological, religious, and political. The majority of them were organizationally structured and legally registered, numbering a hundred or two active members led by charismatic leaders. At the same time, there were certain organizational peculiarities, forms, methods, and accumulated experience.

What was the activity peculiarity of one of the first "informal" organizations – The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" (CST "Rukh" – "Malyi Rukh")?

Review of Recent Sources and Research. Among the scholars-historians, the future Professor, Doctor of Historical Sciences Ihor Andrukhiv, the author of thorough studies on the history of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the national liberation struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, took direct part in the Society activity from the first months of its foundation. The books and articles on a patriotic content were published by the activists of the Society, historians, local historians, and journalists: Leonid Bondar, Vasyl Hanushchak, Petro Arsenych, Mykhailo Kolomyiets,

Ihor Deichakivskiyi, Zinovy Duma, Roman Hladysh, Ivan Havrylovych, Roman Ivasiv, Mykhailo Pankiv, and the others.

Special issues of the public and political centre of the Ivano-Frankivsk regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, although they were made to order, nevertheless contained “express-information” and analysis from various “political camps”. The collections of materials prepared by Mykhailo Tokarenko, a consultant to the socio-political and educational centre of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, provide statistical data on membership in various socio-political associations, a description of their leaders and supporters, which were to be used in the further work of the lecture groups. Special collections were compiled for the ideological department of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (SAIFR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 5596).

Numerous studies by various authors focus on the creation and activities of the People's Movement of Ukraine: Oleksiy Haran (Haran, 1993), Yuriy Kurnosov (Kurnosov, 1994), Heorhiy Kasianov (Kasianov, 1995), Vsevolod Iskiv (Iskiv, 2018), Stepan Kobuta (Kobuta, 1998), Mykola Yakovyna (Yakovyna, 2022), Oleh Maliarchuk (Maliarchuk, 2023), Roman Levyk (Levyk, 2025) and the others. Oleh Maliarchuk, a member of the Kalush Ukrainian Language Society “Vidrodzhennia” since 1990, History teacher at the secondary school No. 5 in Kalush – Professor at Ivano-Frankivsk National Technical University of Oil and Gas was a peer-reviewer of thorough scientific publications: The “Prosvita” Society of Prykarpattia. Volume I. History and Modernity. Edited by S. Volkovetsky. Ivano-Frankivsk: Publishing House “Prosvita”, 2018. 844 p.; Ivano-Frankivsk Education: Past and Present. In Three Books. Book 3. Edited by M. I. Hutsol. Ivano-Frankivsk: Misto NV, 2024. 856 p.

It is common knowledge that teaching History is about educating and bringing up a conscious citizen who respects his native land and cultural heritage. The establishment of national ideology and Ukrainian statehood requires analyzing the essence of historical events and drawing appropriate conclusions regarding the understanding of the current political situation both in Ukraine and the world. Domestic scholars Volodymyr Sabadukha and Mykhailo Kosylo emphasize the theoretical and methodological basis that “the conflict between the impersonal and the personal in every historical era and in the history of every people has its own form and specificity, but its content remains unchanged. History is the struggle between the impersonal and the personal” (Sabadukha, & Kosylo, 2022, p. 209).

The purpose of the study is to elucidate, based on scientific literature, periodicals, memoirs, and archival documents, the process of creating the very first “informal” public organizations of the Ukrainian SSR in 1987 – 1991, to characterize their contribution to the creation of the NRU and state development using the example of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh”.

Research Results. From the historical path travelled, it is necessary to understand the following: when was the society founded, what activities did it deal with, how did the evolution from cultural and educational events to acts of civil disobedience occur, when was the first political rally held? The answers to these questions are given by the direct founders and organizers of the initiative groups of “informals” and their leaders – Markiyan Chuchuk, Zinovy Duma, Yaroslav Shevchuk, Mykola Yakovyna, and local historians.

In the article “How it All Began”, in the newspaper “Halychyna” 127–128 (1409 – 1410) of August 23, 2001 a journalist Roman Hladysh wrote the following: “A student Serhiy Bondarenko suggested the idea of creating an informal association in Ivano-Frankivsk on the analogy with the Lviv “Lion Society” to Markiyan Chuchuk, a lecturer at the local

Medical Institute. He also invited the art band "Ne Zhurys" to Prykarpattia in the autumn (December 19 – *Author* O. M.) of 1987. After the concert of Lviv art band, which took place at the Pedagogical Institute, young Ivano-Frankivsk residents – Markiyan Chuchuk, Serhiy Bondarenko, Yaroslav Shevchuk, Zinoviy Duma, Leonid Prokopiuk organized the group that initiated the birth of an informal association in our region" (Gladyshev, 2001). Oleh Maliarchuk, as a fourth-year full-time History student at Vasyl Stefanyk Pedagogical Institute, had the opportunity to be present at this concert of Lviv bards in the assembly hall. The diary contains a relevant entry describing Andriy Panchyshyn's performance and his songs: "Sviato Zlodiia" ("The Thief's Feast"), "Slymachok" ("Snail"), "Brekhnets" ("Liar"), "Spid". Owing to the personal diary, it is possible to find out the exact date: not "in the autumn", as Roman Gladyshev indicates in his publication, but on December 19, 1987, which is confirmed by other sources.

On August 29, 2020, in the park near the monument to the "Russka Trinity" in Ivano-Frankivsk, Oleh Maliarchuk met with Markiyan (appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to Pakistan. He came to the funeral of his father Yevhen Vasyliovych) and his wife Tetiana Chuchuk. Markiyan Yevhenovych recalled: "The idea of the society, which was not yet called "Rukh", was conceived at the end of 1986. At that time, I conducted lectures for medical students and made remarks about public life in the country. Students, among whom Serhiy Bondarenko stood out, often asked: "What can be done to somehow unite people around spirituality in Ukraine?" I'm not talking about gaining independence. Similar processes took place in Lviv. "The Lion Society" is meant. In order to create something, you need people, because a few people are not enough. The first public event was our organization of the concert by the band "Ne Zhurys!" (Maliarchuk, 2021, p. 26).

A significant historical source was Leonid Bondar's publication "Respond, Enthusiasts!" in the newspaper "Komsomolskyi Prapor" (the printed organ of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Youth Union) dated May 5, 1988: "Back in December last year, a charity concert by the band "Ne Zhurys" of the Lviv "Lion Society" was held in the hall of Ivano-Frankivsk V. Stefanyk Pedagogical Institute, but I still have thoughts not only about that "Evening of Sung Poetry", but also about the society that unites energetic, talented and selfless young people around it... But I wouldn't think that Ivano-Frankivsk region is poorer in talent. And I am sure that Ivano-Frankivsk residents will soon show their abilities in a similar way" (Bondar, 1988, p. 1). The same newspaper published the correspondence of a writer Vasyl Hanushchak: "They are inspired by creative restlessness. Notes from the 10th Gathering of Creative Youth" dated May 28: "The speaker, criticizing the passivity of youth 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 newest of which, it seems, will be the recently created society "Rukh" in Ivano-Frankivsk" (Hanushchak, 1988, p. 1). Was it not for the first time that a public figure Vasyl Hanushchak, thus engraved the word "Rukh" for history? The newspaper's editorial office stated in the "Resonance" column of May 31, 1988: "The thing 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 impetus for its implementation was the performance of the band "Ne Zhurys!". Now in the Society there are 16 people who are not indifferent to the past, present and future, who have their own charter, developed in meticulous and long disputes, so far modest achievements and significant problems" (Rezonans, 1988, p. 1).

The Society announced itself in 1988 and held a number of events. In May, the celebration of Shevchenko Days in the city House of Culture No. 3 in Myktyntsi. Fundraising for material assistance in the construction of a dormitory for children of the Ukrainian community in Poland. In the city of Bily Bor there was the only Ukrainian primary school named after T. H. Shevchenko. On August 27, 1988, an evening concert dedicated to the memory of Ivan Franko was held in Ivano-Frankivsk in Franko Street near the monument to the poet. Since September there had been organized conservation work on the remains of the bastion in Fortechny Lane, in Ivano-Frankivsk. During October, the Society collected citizens' signatures against the development of new industrial enterprises of the Kalush Production Association "Chlorvinil" together with the company "Occidental Petroleum". The letter, signed by 4,003 people, was addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. On October 23, in T. Shevchenko Street there was organized a collection of signatures regarding granting the Ukrainian language the state status and participation in the "Lion Society" conference, and Markiyan Chuchuk, Zinovi Duma, Ihor Andrukhiv, Yaroslav Shevchuk, Roman Levytskyi, and Viktor Kimakovych were the delegates of this conference. On November 19, the party "Sviato Kolomyiky" was held in the city House of Culture No. 1 in T. Shevchenko Street. At the same time, there was an active exchange of newspapers, literature, letters and consultations. Thus, on December 20, the head of the "Oberih" Society in Chernivtsi, the poet Mykola Buchko, was invited to Ivano-Frankivsk to exchange activity experience (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 2).

The archival materials (meeting records) indicate that the implementation of the political demands of the Society dates back to December 6, 1988. The initiative group began preparing the first mass rally several months earlier. After long ups and downs, it was postponed twice. On January 29, 1989, a rally in memory of the victims of Stalinist repressions was held in the Taras Shevchenko Park of Culture in Ivano-Frankivsk. The rally was held under the slogans "The crimes of Stalinism are crimes against humanity", "Shame on Stalin's executioners" (AIFROPMU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 4).

On February 11–12, 1989, a founding conference was held in Kyiv at the Republican Cinema House, at which the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society (TUM) was founded, and the poet Dmytro Pavlychko was elected its chairman. Later, this Society became the basis of the All-Ukrainian Taras Shevchenko Society "Prosvita". Two delegations were sent from Ivano-Frankivsk region, one delegations consisted of the representatives of the regional committee of the Communist Party and the other one – "Rukh". In her memoirs "I Write All this on my Knees" Oksana Olshanska recalls: "Ivan Drach did not know our Society's address, and there was not any. He sent invitations to the conference for our members to Stepan Pushyk's address, and he delivered our invitations to the regional party committee. The authorities decided to send "their delegation" to the conference. And apparently they didn't forget about us – one invitation to the "Rukh" Society. Zenyk Duma refused to go and they chose me". Marko Putko recalls: "Our Rukh delegation included Yaroslav Shevchuk, Roman Gladyshev, Yaroslav Zakharia, Antin and Marko Putko, and the others. During the break, at the conference, we took the seats of the regional committee delegation in the hall..." (Maliarchuk, 2021, p. 56). By the way, the invitations stated: "to participate in the work of the Republican Constituent Conference of The T. Shevchenko Mother Tongue Society".

On February 12, 1989, The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Society "Rukh" sent Decision No. 2/9 to the chairman of the board of The Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society, Dmytro Pavlychko. "On the basis of the existing Department of the Ukrainian Language

and Literature and the existing Folklore and Ethnographic Department of the Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh", on the basis of its Statute and the Statute of the T. H. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society, to found the primary centre of the Ukrainian Language Society in Ivano-Frankivsk" (AIFROMPU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 3, p. 5).

On April 15, 1989, the founding conference of The T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society in Ivano-Frankivsk region was held in the then House of Political Education. The hall was overcrowded, with delegates from all districts of the region. The conference was attended by the then First Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Zinoviy Kuravsky, who was not given the chance to make a speech. The conference was moderated by Mykola Lesiuk, Head of the Department of the Ukrainian Language at Vasyl Stefanyk Ivano-Frankivsk State Pedagogical Institute. The first chairman of the Society was the writer Stepan Pushyk, the deputies were Stepan Shulepa and Mykola Lesiuk, and the executive secretary was Antin Putko. At the same time, it was unanimously voted to make The T. Shevchenko Regional Society of the Ukrainian Language a collective associated member of the People's Movement of Ukraine (NRU) for Perestroika.

The first branches of the NRU began to appear in various cities and villages of the Ukrainian SSR in the spring of 1989. In Ivano-Frankivsk region, such an "informal" organization, as defined by the authorities, officially operated for almost a year and carried out active work. Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" is one of the founders of both The T. Shevchenko (TUM) and The People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika in the region. On February 23, the meeting minutes state: "There was a discussion of proposals for collecting signatures in support of The People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika" (AIFROMPU, f. 1, d. 1, c. 6, p. 55).

The Ivano-Frankivsk Society "Rukh" together with other patriotic formations organized regular trips to the eastern and southern regions of Ukraine for agitation purposes. The artistic troupes and bands founded by the Society "Rukh" performed with in various regions of Ukraine with much success: The Galician Young Theatre-Studio, the "Sich" band, and the "Chervona Kalyna" choir of the Prosvita People's House. The troupes and bands saw their main task in the revival and popularization of banned dramatic works, sacred music, Cossack, Sich riflemen and insurgent songs. In its performances the theatre was accompanied by the male choir "Chervona Kalyna" (led by Andriy Stavnychy – a grandson of the writer Andriy Tchaikovsky, and then – Volodymyr Zvarun). The videofilms "Chronicle of Demianovy Laz", "Holodomor in Ukraine" were also on (Maliarchuk, 2021, p. 55).

On May 14, 1989, in the village of Voskresintsi, Kolomyia district, during the opening of the monument to Taras Shevchenko, the national blue-and-yellow flag was hoisted in Ivano-Frankivsk region for the first time, raised by Volodymyr Kovalchuk, a member of the Regional and Cultural Society "Rukh".

During the year, the Galician Youth Theatre-Studio performed 40 times the stage composition "Rozryta Mohyla" ("The Dug Grave") by Taras Shevchenko. Together with the "Sich" band and the "Chervona Kalyna" choir, the theatre performed at village gatherings, consecrations of monuments to national heroes, symbolic graves of fighters for Ukraine's independence, and ethnographic festivals. The celebration of the Sich Riflemen's Remembrance Day on June 18, 1989, with a memorial service-requiem at the grave of Denys Sichynsky in the old cemetery in Ivano-Frankivsk, demolished in the 1970s, was a challenge to the totalitarian system. Through loudspeakers representatives of the security forces called on those present to disperse. They took photos of participants. According to the instructions

of the authorities, students were brought there and sports competitions were organized with musical accompaniment. However, the underground Greek Catholic Church priest Mykola Simkailo, surrounded by a large crowd of people, held a divine service. "With tears in their eyes, people kissed the blue-yellow banners" (Olshanska, 1988, p. 38). The party and state bodies launched a broad campaign of counteraction using devastating criticism at all levels.

On August 12, 1989, as stated in many materials and documents, and in reality on August 13, the founding meeting of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika was held. Due to the death of a fellow "Rukh" member Roman Levytsky, who was attacked the day before and fatally injured, the meeting was postponed for a day. As for the creation of an initiative group, there were two of them. Volodymyr Shatokhin in the article "Romantic Beginning and Bureaucratic Finale of the NRU: Memoirs of a Delegate to the Constituent Congress of the NRU in Kyiv" presents his subjective considerations: "About two weeks after meeting Yakovyna, five people met in Chapayev Street in Markiyan Chuchuk's apartment and created an initiative group to organize the National Movement. Markiyan's parents had an old typewriter, and I wrote a letter of notification about our group to Kyiv, to the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine. The letter was signed by all those present: Hovzman, Gladyshev, Chuchuk, Shatokhin, Yakovyna. This was the first official document of the Prykarpattia NRU – the registration in the Ministry of Justice. Then organizational activity began in the districts, which consisted in determining delegates for the regional constituent conference" (Kuhutiak, 2009, pp. 143–144). The head of the regional organization of the NRU, an artist Mykola Yakovyna, presents the composition of Ivano-Frankivsk initiative group (essentially the second one – expanded) to found the NRU for Perestroika – 12 people: "Yuriy Andrukhovych, Roman Gladyshev, Leonid Hovzman, Roman Levytskyi, Vasyl Leniuk, Stepan Kaspruk, Yaroslav Semaniuk, Antin Putko, Markiyan Chuchuk, Volodymyr Shatokhin, Yaroslav Shevchuk, Mykola Yakovyna" (Yakovyna, 2002, p. 15).

On August 23, 1989, Zinoviy Duma, Petro Arsenych, Ihor Andrukhiv, and Roman Krutsyk, the activists of "The Rukh Society, under public pressure, became members of a special commission to investigate Stalinist crimes, which was established under the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Executive Committee and included two dozen party officials. Excavations in Demianiv Laz tract began on September 21 at the initiative of the "Rukh" Society activists, even before the creation of the regional organization "Memorial". Ivano-Frankivsk regional organization of the historical and educational Society "Memorial" was founded on October 14, 1989, and Zinoviy Duma, an employee of Ivano-Frankivsk Museum of Local Lore, was elected its chairman, and Roman Krutsyk, Petro Arsenych, and Ihor Andrukhiv – its deputies. On October 29, 1989, the reburial of 524 remains of victims of the communist regime took place in Demianiv Laz tract, which became a symbol of the political repressions of 1939 – 1941. The rally was led by the deputy head of the regional executive committee, Mykhailo Kapitanchuk, and the head of The "Rukh" Society, Markiyan Chuchuk. After that, a religious memorial service was held, which was led by UGCC bishops Sofron Dmyterko, Pavlo Vasylyk, and more than twenty priests.

The Society played a key role in Ivano-Frankivsk region during the elections to the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR and local councils on March 4, 1990. The situation was such that, under the then legislation, public organizations had the right to nominate their candidates for deputies of all levels. But only the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" and the Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society were officially

registered by the then authorities. The Soviet authorities deliberately did not register other patriotic public organizations. Thus, as a result of the elections of March 4, 1990, the two societies of Ivano-Frankivsk region, together with other organizations of a national democratic orientation, fulfilled their historical role – they removed the communist regime.

11 out of 12 deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR from Ivano-Frankivsk region were supported by The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" and The Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society. The head of the "Rukh", Markiyan Chuchuk, and some of the first and most active members of the society, namely: Zinoviy Duma and Volodymyr Shlemko, and educators Stepan Pushyk, Stepan Volkovetskyi, and Dmytro Zakharuk became people's deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine from Ivano-Frankivsk region of the first democratic convocation. These deputies formed a powerful opposition in the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR under the name "People's Council". The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" held hundreds of mass actions in support of the activities of the "People's Council" – the national democratic bloc in the Verkhovna Rada, including "No to the Union Treaty", the support for the hunger-striking students on Khreshchatyk – "The Revolution on Granite" and many others.

The Society was engaged in organizing the publishing of mass editions of various propaganda literature and its distribution in many regions of Ukraine. Systematic trips of the Society members to various public and political events in Kyiv, the celebration of the "500th Anniversary of the Cossack Glory" in Dnipropetrovsk, and other patriotic events contributed to consolidation of people, elevation of their national consciousness, and overcoming of fear of a totalitarian regime.

The "Rukh" Society initiated the processes of decommunization – changing the names of settlements and streets, demolishing the communist symbols (planes, tanks, guns), in particular the Lenin monument in Ivano-Frankivsk (October 9, 1990). In the majority of regions of Ukraine, these processes dragged on for decades. Members of the Society conducted search work related to the restoration and consecration of the graves of the Sich riflemen, victims of Stalinism, and fighters of the Ukrainian Galician and Ukrainian Insurgent armies.

Since the beginning of its activity, the Society has closely cooperated with churches. Many priests were activists of the "Rukh" Society: the chief medical chaplain of the Ivano-Frankivsk eparchy of the UGCC Antin Putko, a dissident Yaroslav Lesiv, and the chaplain of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Clinical Hospital Orest Putko. In particular, under the leadership of Antin Putko, the first real nativity play in the city of Ivano-Frankivsk, and possibly in the region, was organized, which had a significant patriotic and spiritual impact on the audience. The participants of the nativity scene laid the foundation for the Galician Young Theatre, which was created shortly after. Antin Ivanovych was one of the founders of The T. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society in Ivano-Frankivsk (which became the centre of the revival of "Prosvita"), later – its first executive secretary, a delegate to the first, second, and third congresses.

Later, the Komsomol leaders realized that they had been mistaken in their own expectations regarding the "Rukh" Society. With their odious resolutions of May 5, 1989 and September 7, they twice demanded that the Society not go "beyond the regulations" in its activities and threatened to "dissolve" it, but they failed at it.

As of April 1, 1990, in The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine there were 416 branches – almost 16 thousand members: in Ivano-Frankivsk – 93 (4000 members), in Bohorodchansky district – 16 (350), in Verkhovynsky

district – 1 (90), in Halytsky district – 39 (1300), in Horodenkivsky district – 11 (284), in Dolynsky district – 30 (1000), in Kalushsky district – 46 (2000), in Kolomyisky district – 51 (2600), in Kosivsky district – 7 (1500), in Nadvirniansky district – 16 (600), in Rozhnatiivsky district – 10 (500), in Rohatynsky district – 41 (600), in Sniatynsky district – 9 (200), in Tlumatsky district – 8 (150), in Tysmenytsky district – 38 (950) (SAIFR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 5596, pp. 3, 50). In fact, the NRU in Ivano-Frankivsk, as well as in Lviv and Ternopil regions, became a “political party”. After winning the elections, the question arose: “What to do?”, i.e., to find the optimal solution between the authorities and the “Rukh”. The situation required the development of new approaches to cooperation, as previously there had been constant confrontation with the communist authorities in everything literally. The goals and tactics of the “Rukh” differed in these three regions significantly. First of all, a commitment to radical methods of resolving religious problems in favour of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, sympathy for newly created parties and organizations that acted from the standpoint of the national idea. The 3rd Conference of the Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Organization of the People's Movement of Ukraine was held on September 22, 1990. The key issue of the Conference was the relationship between the “Rukh” and the authorities, and economic issues were considered. A particular concern was expressed in the speeches of the guest, People's Deputy of Ukraine, Chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party Levko Lukianenko. The Conference adopted a number of documents: the appeal “To the Citizens of Ukraine!”, which called against the signing of the Union treaty and the holding of the All-Ukrainian political strike on October 1; the resolution “On the Nationalization of the Property of the CPSU”, etc. This resolution emphasized that the property of the communist organizations in the region was considered to have been acquired illegally, and a proposal was made to the Regional Council to nationalize it. The resolution “On the Decommunization of the Armed Forces, Law Enforcement Agencies, and the KGB” declared: “Since the state structures must be guided only by the law in their activities, we demand that the authorities take decisive measures to democratize these state and legal structures, and to terminate the activities of the CPSU party organizations in the army, state security agencies, and law enforcement agencies”. The declaration “On Religions in Ukraine” was also adopted, which confirmed: The Rukh “advocates for the full and unconditional rehabilitation of the UAOC and the UGCC with the restoration of all their legal and property rights” (SAIFR, f. 1, d. 1, c. 5596, pp. 5–25).

Conclusions. In the history of Ukraine, the “Rukh” (NRU) embodies the Ukrainian patriotism during the collapse of the Soviet Union and the proclamation of independent states. Owing to it, we have prominent political and state figures, and leaders of local communities. The youth educated in the NRU were preparing to take up arms to fight for the independence of Ukraine and against a spiritual, occupational enslavement by Russia. The forms and methods of work of “informal” organizations activists of Ukraine, tempered by generations of patriots, must develop in accordance with the challenges of today, adapt and modernize with the latest technologies. During the large-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, they fight with weapons in their hands in the ranks of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and are engaged in volunteer activities. Many Ukrainian patriots joined them, hoping to use their example and initiatives to involve as many citizens of our country as possible in building a powerful Ukrainian world as a counterweight to the “Rusky mir”. It is necessary to consolidate the Ukrainians around the national state idea in order to survive the war and build a strong state. And this will be facilitated by knowledge of history, the printed Ukrainian word, the use of the Ukrainian state language and, without any doubt, the patriotic spirit of people. In fact,

from the very beginning of its creation, The Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society “Rukh” is a legal political organization. The main historical merit of the “Rukh” was and remains the creation of an environment for educating people in a national patriotic spirit for the realization of themselves as the Ukrainians. The historical mission has been accomplished, and our duty is to preserve the memory of the outstanding sons of Ukraine and their selfless work.

Prospects for Further Research. A separate historical study requires generalization of the experience of creating the first mass public and political organizations in each region of Ukraine, preservation and study of their archives, periodicals, and memoirs.

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