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**LIV ORGANIZATION OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE SOCIETY: AT THE SOURCES OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (THE END OF THE 80s – THE BEGINNING OF THE 90s OF THE 20th CENTURY)**

**Abstract.** *The purpose of the study is to clarify, based on archival sources and field material, the specifics and exceptional circumstances of Lviv organization foundation of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society in 1988, in particular; to trace the transformation of the constituent assembly from a closed format into a mass street protest as a reaction to the prohibitive actions of the then pro-Russian communist authorities. The methodological basis of the research is adherence to the principle of historical objectivity and impartiality in the interpretation of historical facts. In the research there have been used the methods of critical and structural analysis and classification, systematization and verification of unpublished archival sources and interviews. The application of the historical genetic method made it possible to reconstruct the cause-and-effect link between the administrative pressure of the Communist Party structures and radicalization of the patriotic Lviv community, which resulted in the mass street protests of the June days of 1988. Scientific Novelty.*

For the first time, events unknown to the general public related to the features of Lviv branch of the TUM official registration have been reconstructed. It has been found that the first mass Lviv rally on June 13, 1988, during which the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society foundation was publicly announced, acquired a street and open character due to the disorganizational actions of the then communist authorities. **Conclusion.** The Communist Party leadership, having initially granted permission to hold the founding conference in the premises of the Lviv House of Culture “Budivelnik”, cancelled it at the last moment, blocking the entrance for delegates. This fact forced the community to change the event format and move to the monument to Ivan Franko opposite Lviv State University spontaneously, turning the meeting into a public demonstration. This event became the point of no return for the Ukrainian national revival on the republican scale. Having become the foundation of local multi-party system, the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society not only played a key role in the communist power overthrow in the 1990 elections, but also prepared the state consciousness of Lviv residents in advance.

**Key words:** the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society, national democratic movement, “informals”, labour collectives, “rally marathon”, pro-Russian communist government.

### ЛЬВІВСЬКА ОРГАНІЗАЦІЯ ТОВАРИСТВА УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ МОВИ ІМЕНІ ТАРАСА ШЕВЧЕНКА: БІЛЯ ВИТОКІВ НАЦІОНАЛЬНО- ДЕМОКРАТИЧНОГО РУХУ КІНЦЯ 80-х – ПОЧАТКУ 90-х рр. XX ст.

**Анотація. Мета дослідження** – на основі архівних джерел і польового матеріалу з’ясувати специфіку та виняткові обставини створення Львівської організації Товариства української мови імені Тараса Шевченка у 1988 р., зокрема простежити трансформацію установчих зборів із закритого формату у масовий вуличний протест як реакцію на заборонні дії тогочасної проросійської комуністичної влади. **Методологічною основою** статті є дотримання принципу історичної об’єктивності й неупередженості у трактуванні історичних фактів. У ході дослідження використано методи критичного і структурного аналізу та класифікації, систематизації й верифікації неопублікованих архівних джерел та інтерв’ю. Застосування історико-генетичного методу дало змогу реконструювати причинно-наслідковий зв’язок між адміністративним тиском компартійних структур і радикалізацією патріотичної львівської громади, що вилилася у масові вуличні протести червневих днів 1988 р. **Наукова новизна.** Уперше реконструйовано невідомі широкому загалу події пов’язані із особливостям офіційного оформлення львівського осередку ТУМу. З’ясовано, що перший масовий львівський мітинг 13 червня 1988 р., під час якого було публічно проголошено його створення, набув вуличного та відкритого характеру через дезорганізаційні дії тогочасної комуністичної влади. **Висновок.** Компартійне керівництво, спочатку надавши дозвіл на проведення установчої конференції в приміщенні львівського Будинку культури “Будівельник”, в останній момент скасувало його, заблокувавши вхід для делегатів. Це змусило громаду змінити формат заходу і стихійно рушити до пам’ятника Іванові Франку навпроти Львівського державного університету імені Івана Франка, перетворивши засідання на прилюдну демонстрацію. Ця подія стала точкою неповернення для українського національного відродження республіканського масштабу. Виступивши фундаментом місцевої багатопартійності, ТУМ не лише відіграло ключову роль у поваленні комуністичної влади на виборах 1990 р., а й задалегідь підготувало державницьку свідомість львів’ян.

**Ключові слова:** ТУМ, національно-демократичний рух, “неформали”, трудові колективи, “мітинговий маршфон”, проросійська комуністична влада.

**Problem Statement.** The coming fortieth anniversary of the founding of the first most massive public organization of Ukraine during the period of restoration of state independence prompts a deep rethinking of the events of the end of the 1980s. It is the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society (TUM), the founding conference of which was held in Kyiv on February 11–12, 1989. The first chairman of the Society was Dmytro Pavlychko, and later

the organization was headed by Pavlo Movchan. However, the Lviv regional organization of TUM was founded a year earlier – on June 20, 1988. This period is known in the history of the city as the “ten days that shook Lviv”. The process of founding the Society began at the first mass rally unauthorized by the authorities, which spontaneously gathered at the square between Lviv University and the monument to Ivan Franko. It caused real fear and confusion among the local party nomenclature and its subordinate power structures and demonstrated unpreparedness for the challenges of new historical realities. The key merit of the organization was to consolidate the patriotically minded Lviv public around the national idea, even before the formation of political parties of that time – the People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika and the Ukrainian Republican Party. In those years, the agonizing Soviet Union approached its natural fiasco, but it still remained the world's largest autocracy of the Russian imperial type.

The fact is that in the second half of the 1980s the entire logic of the USSR historical development pointed at its expected finale – the launch of irreversible destructive processes that led to the dismantling of the existing order in it, and as a consequence, to its collapse. The forcibly founded “evil empire” led by the communists naturally came to a rapidly growing socio-economic, and later political crisis. Its main causes were a complex of long-standing industrial, national, religious, and party problems that had accumulated in a multi-ethnic state formed through the Russian annexation of neighbouring peoples, their subsequent forced communization, and then russification. For the ruling CPSU, this situation threatened the loss of its monopoly on power, which the multidimensional crisis made more than possible. Therefore, in 1985 – 1986, the new head of state, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mykhailo Gorbachev, dared to embark on “perestroika”, introducing segmental market innovations in the economic sphere and partial democratic tools in the political sphere.

However, the integration of market foreign elements into the planned economic background naturally deepened the production problems and lowered the material situation of the country's citizens significantly. The result was the need to reform the political and party superstructure of the country, which manifested itself in the form of a formal power transfer into the hands of Soviet institutions and a number of similar reforms in the CPSU. They weakened the communist regime on the ground and strengthened the peoples' aspirations captured by the Russians for national self-determination.

The scientific novelty of the article consists in the reconstruction of the little-known circumstances of June 13, 1988, which initiated the phenomenon of the “rally marathon” in Lviv and gave impetus to the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian-Soviet rule through parliamentary means. Thus, the first mass anti-communist demonstration was the result of community self-organization in response to the contradictory actions of the authorities: first granting permission for the statutory conference of the TUM in the premises of the BC “Buhivelnik”, and then its sudden cancellation at the last moment. This administrative pressure provoked a spontaneous outpouring of activists into the public space, turning the planned closed event into the first large-scale public rally, which became the catalyst for further struggle for state independence.

As a result, during the half-century of the Russian-Soviet occupation, the national beliefs of the Lviv community remained latent, always ready to quickly become active under favourable circumstances. Therefore, it is natural that the activator and catalyst of anti-Soviet, i.e. anti-Russian actions were the unions not controlled by the CPSU, which were the first to awaken the patriotic consciousness of Galician Ukrainians, dormant by the

Russians. First of all, the branches of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society are meant. Their activity in the environment of large labour collectives, where “informals” and dissidents had limited access, was advantageously distinguished from human rights and “informal” movements. The fact is that the Councils of Labour Collectives (CLCs), initiated by the “Law on State Enterprises (Associations)” in 1987, could influence the decisions of the communist authorities weakened by “perestroika” due to their own size and special status of workers (Vilna Ukraina, 1987, pp. 1–4).

**The source base** of the research is unpublished materials of the communist party records, which are stored in the State Archives of Lviv region. Its funds include: F-3 “Lviv Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine”, F-4 “Lviv City Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine” and F-359 “Party Committee of the VO “Kinescope”. Periodicals and eyewitness recollections were also useful.

**Review of Recent Research and Publications.** The elucidation of the reasons for the revival, vectors of development and consequences of the national democratic and liberation movement development in Lviv and the western regions of the Ukrainian SSR at the turn of the 80s and 90s of the 20th century was the subject of studies by domestic researchers. Such scholars as Volodymyr Baran (Baran, 2003), Ihor Pidkova (Pidkova, 2001), Oleh Muravskiy (Muravskiy, 2011), Stepan Kobuta (Kobuta, et al., 2002), Mykola Aliksiievets (Aliksiievets, et al., 1993), Oleh Maliarchuk and Oksana Kohut (Maliarchuk, & Kohut, 2021) and Vasyl Chura (Chura, 2013a, 2021b) continue doing the research in this direction. In all-Ukrainian format, the processes of the collapse of the USSR are studied by Stanislav Kulchytskyi (Kulchytskyi, et al, 2000), Heorhiy Kasianov (Kasianov, 1995), Anatoliy Rusnachenko (Rusnachenko, 1998). Among scientific achievements of recent years, the studies by Yuri Kahanov (Kahanov, 2019) Iryna Ovchar (Ovchar, 2011), Aisel Omarova (Omarova, 2017), Serhiy Plokhii (Plokhii, 2019), Volodymyr Tarasov (Tarasov, 2016), Oleksandr Tertychnyi (Tertychnyi, 2014), Oleksandr Boiko (Boiko, 2021), Yuriy Shapoval and Oleksandr Yakubets (Shapoval, & Yakubets, 2021) and Oleksandr Zinchenko (Zinchenko, 2024) stand out. In the context of scientific articles, the focus was on the problem of factors and ways of restoring Ukraine's state independence by such scholars as Iryna Matiash (Matiash, 2024), Petro Bondarchuk (Bondarchuk, 2024), Ruslana Potapenko (Potapenko, 2021), Vitaliy Kotsur and Yuriy Voitenko (Kotsur, & Voitenko, 2023), Svitlana Lukianchenko and Iryna Zvonko (Lukianchenko, & Zvonko, 2023), Oleksiy Sukhyi and Petro Datskiv (Sukhyi, & Datskiv, 2021).

However, the very understanding of the activation factors and detailed factography of anti-communist demonstrations development in Lviv in the late 1980s still remain beyond the research focus of domestic scholars. Therefore, the authors set the goal of reconstructing in detail the chronicle of the national organization foundation uncontrolled by the communist authorities, which became the awakener of the national consciousness of Lviv residents and the primary basis for the emergence of a wide range of anti-communist unions.

One of the regions of the Ukrainian SSR that was the last to become part of the USSR, and therefore where the national liberation idea was not erased from the people's memory, was Galicia with its historical centre – Lviv. Therefore, the exhaustion of the pro-Russian communist regime in these territories had the most noticeable reception among the long-time patriotically inclined Ukrainian society, which was just waiting for the right moment to join the national movement for the restoration of Ukraine's state independence. The prologue to this situation was the national democratic movement, which took shape in dissident groups created at the crest of “perestroika” reforms in the Councils of Labour Collectives (RTK),

passed the stage of “informal” societies, and was embodied in numerous national associations and political parties.

**Research Results.** The Lviv organization of the TUM was finally founded in the summer of 1988, at the time when “perestroika” transformed from an economic format into a political one. This process was initiated by the 19th All-Union Party Conference, which proclaimed political reform in the state. But the roots of the emergence of local branches of the Society of the Native Language (TRM), as they initially called themselves, date back to 1986, when the 27th Congress of the CPSU proclaimed “perestroika”, the ideological core of which was “glasnost”, as a policy of measured openness in the activities of the Soviet party, state, and other institutions and mass media.

In combination with growing material hardships and disintegration processes within the party, and against the backdrop of patriotic attitude of Lviv residents, “perestroika” led to the formation of national unions of educational, debating, local history, artistic, and cultural types that were not subject to the CPSU. At the stage of formation, they were called “informals” due to the lack of registration in the Soviet state institutions. Simultaneously with the deployment of “perestroika” innovations, the educational segment of the national revival began to be united by the organization, which was later called the Taras Shevchenko Native Language Society.

With the support of the RTK, which was largely outside the influence of administrations, party committees, and trade union committees, the Taras Shevchenko Native Language Society branches gradually gained legality due to the favourable attitude of workers, rank-and-file employees, and local personnel of the middle and lower management levels. Not least – grassroots communists. We should not forget the fact that the Taras Shevchenko Native Language Society, at least somehow, guaranteed protection from the regional committee's arbitrariness, which even during the years of “perestroika” continued to impose the Russian ideological connotations. In this way, even before official recognition, these centres became a semi-legitimate cover for the national self-identification of ordinary Lviv residents and their unification with the participants of the dissident movement, who at that time were returning from the communist exile and introducing political content into the educational activities of the future of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society.

Secret Communist Party documents show that the first Taras Shevchenko Native Language Society cells in Lviv declared themselves at the turn of 1987 – 1988. The Ideological Department of the regional committee prepared a list of unregistered educational associations in Lviv region, whose activities required constant control. There were 3,115 of them. The Taras Shevchenko Native Language Society was prominent among them. It was joined by the public movement “Friends of Ukrainian Art and Literature”, the Ivan Franko Ethnological Society, the Association of Youth Clubs and the City Discussion Club, and the cultural and ecological Lev Society. Party committee secretaries and enterprise directors were obliged to monitor their activities and, in the event of anti-Soviet manifestations, to influence leaders and supporters through administrative pressure (The State Archive of the Lviv Region (SALR), f. 3. d. 62, c. 367, pp. 53–62).

Despite this, at the beginning of 1988, the self-created Taras Shevchenko Native Language Society organizations rapidly emerged in all institutions of Lviv, with the exception of party and security structures. The first cells appeared in the Lviv branches of the Cultural Fund, the Writers' Union, the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, Lviv State University, the Polytechnic Institute, the Printing Institute, the Institute of Applied

Arts, the Agricultural Institute, the Medical Institute, the Institute of Social Sciences, in VO Lenin, “Kinescope”, “Electron”, “Progress”, “Svitanok” REMA, LAZ, the Insulation Plant, the Milling Machine Plant, in museums, technical schools, colleges and schools of the city. According to secret regional party committee data, at the end of 1988, 138 of the TUM cells operated in Lviv (SALR, f. 3. d. 62, c. 300, p. 16).

In labour collectives, they were initiated by local unofficial leaders and patriotic individuals, and supported by caring colleagues and like-minded people. Usually, they were not leading communists or administrative officials. As ordinary employees of industrial enterprises, educational and scientific institutions, cultural institutions, medical institutions, etc., they organized political debates on the deepening of “perestroika”, disputes about the status of the native language and literature and history of Ukraine, arranged creative meetings with representatives of Ukrainian culture, they held evenings in memory of figures of national history and celebrated memorable dates, arranged and honoured architectural monuments and cemeteries where they held solemn gatherings, spread patriotic awareness, prepared exhibitions of national art works, held concerts of musical, dance and drama groups, participated in public liturgies and celebrations of religious holidays and ceremonies, and organized local history trips and excursions.

The aforementioned educational activities spread around the figures of Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko, who were recognized by the Russians in their own way as titans of the Ukrainian spirit, which guaranteed to narrow the range of communist persecution. In addition, the aforementioned pro-Ukrainian actions stood out against the background of alien communist propaganda significantly, which spread more than noticeable Russian narratives.

Thus, unlike the youth “informal” unions, the development of the TUM activity covered wide segments of Lviv residents, since it took place at their place of work. This turned the associates of the society into awakeners of the patriotic consciousness of the townspeople as a whole. In this way, the “informal” movement grew into the process of creating national unions, which in turn became the harbingers of the emergence of anti-communist political parties.

The unification of the Taras Shevchenko Native Language Society branches and the proclamation of Lviv organization of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society began when, on April 14, 1988, the Kyiv newspaper “Literary Ukraine” published an article demanding that Lviv residents register an organization that would protect the Ukrainian language in Ukraine. The initiative was immediately supported by members of the Lviv branch of the Cultural Foundation – Rostyslav Bratun, Emmanuel Mysko, Orest Sheika and Natalia Chavaha. Executive functions were taken on by Ihor Melnyk, Ivanna Krypiakevych, Vasyl Repetylo, Maria Bazeliuk, Bohdan Vovk, Maria Babiy, Yaroslav Rybak, Oleksandra Byk, Olha Krovtytska, Yevhen Zhrebetsky, Hanna Voitiv, Vsevolod Iskiv, Petro Mavko and the others (Melnyk, 2013).

The founding meeting was scheduled for six o'clock in the evening on June 13, 1988, in the Budivelnik Cultural Centre, located at 16a Vasyl Stefanyk Street. This building, built in Austrian times according to the design of Alfred Zakharevich, where the Ukrainian theatre “Cricket” and the cinema “Vulyk” operated during the Polish period, belonged to the communal trust “Lvivgaz” and was used as a club for leisure activities. Therefore, Lviv residents called it “Gas” in everyday life.

On the eve of the events described, on June 11–12, 1988, the third illegal meeting of representatives of Ukrainian, Baltic, and Transcaucasian human rights groups of the Soviet

Union was held in Lviv, after meetings in Yerevan and Tbilisi. A secret political body was founded there – the Coordinating Committee of Patriotic Movements of the Peoples of the USSR. The participants of the meeting approved a number of documents, including the “Statement on the Creation of the Coordinating Committee of Patriotic Movements of the Peoples of the USSR”, “Appeal of the International Committee of Political Prisoners to the Soviet Government”, “Letter to US President Ronald Reagan”, “Final Statement of the Lviv Meeting of Representatives of National Democratic Movements of the Peoples of the USSR”. They were signed by Viacheslav Chornovil, Bohdan and Mykhailo Horyn, Zynoviy Krasivskyi, Oles Serhiyenko, Stepan Khmara, Pavlo Skochok (Ukraine), Merab Kostava (Georgia), Ivas Zhukovskis, Antanas Terliackas, Evgenius Krukovskis (Lithuania), Lagle Parek, Mati Vilu (Estonia).

The leaders of the multinational human rights movement in the USSR placed special hopes on this organization in the context of the peaceful struggle against the Russian communist regime in the regions of the country. They saw it as an effective tool for participation in the upcoming elections to the Union and Republican Councils, and most importantly, to local self-government bodies. There was much talk of consolidating the forces opposing the ruling regime on the Union background and uniting with the disparate Moscow and Leningrad dissident leaders who were already at large.

The recollections of Maria, the wife of the famous human rights activist Ivan Hel, shed light on the dissident scenarios of the development of the anti-communist movement in western Ukraine. In an interview, she noted that in 1985–1988, during secret meetings of Viacheslav Chornovil, Ivan Hel, Mykhailo, and Bohdan Horyn, in Lviv and the villages near Lviv, they saw the following of the development of events. The outlines include uniting with dissidents from all republics and founding a single “perestroika-human rights” organization, establishing ties with foreign Ukrainian centres, domestic and world political leaders, prominent public figures and well-known religious hierarchs, educational work among the personnel of the city’s enterprises and organizations, fighting to restore the activities of the UGCC, publicizing the socio-economic failure of the party apparatus, holding sanctioned meetings, etc. (Archives of the Memorial Museum “Tyurma na Lonskoho”, Interview with Maria Hel (born in 1936), July 2013, Lviv, Lviv region, interviewer I. Derejany).

But the rapid unfolding of events in the summer of 1988 dictated an unexpected scenario. It rapidly burst into democratic development and many times exceeded the patriotic expectations of even the most radical dissidents and “informals”.

The head of the KGB Department in Lviv region, Stanislav Malyk, repeatedly reported to the first secretary of the regional committee, Yakiv Pohrebniak, that, parasitizing on “perestroika” and “glasnost”, individuals previously convicted of anti-Soviet activities were inciting Lviv residents to form unregistered associations such as native language societies, cultural heritage protection societies, historical and local history research societies, etc. Posing as a democrat and liberal, Kyiv resident Yakiv Pohrebniak, who was appointed the previous year, gave verbal consent to hold the TUM constituent assembly at the Budivelnik House of Culture. But then he got scared and secretly ordered the secretary for ideology of the city party committee, Adam Martyniuk, to prevent the event from taking place. Apparently, he did not do so without the “advice” of the second secretary of the regional committee, Vasyl Sviatotsky, and the newly appointed “third” secretary for ideology, Volodymyr Honcharuk. Therefore, on the day of the meeting, Adam Martyniuk called the director of the institution, Vasyl Mazur, known for his liberalism, and forbade them to be held. The latter carried out the

order, referring either to repairs or to holding another event. Martyniuk entrusted the head of the ideological department of the city committee, Oleksandr Maslianyk, with monitoring the implementation of the order (SALR, f. 3. d. 62, c. 300, p. 50).

The outraged participants of the meeting, who arrived after the end of the working day, found themselves in front of the closed gates. The scale of the gathering is confirmed by the testimony of one of the authors of the article, Professor Viktor Holubek. Returning from the Lviv Polytechnic Institute, he observed how a large and excited gathering of citizens, numbering about 300 people, filled the roadway of Stefanyk Street opposite the entrance to “Budivelnik” Culture House and later moved towards Lviv State University (Personal archiv interview with Victor Golubko (born in 1964), June 2024, Lviv, Lviv region, interviewer V. Chura).

In this way, the participants supported the calls of Ivan Makar and Yaroslav Putko to go to the monument to Ivan Franko to hold a disrupted meeting there. Thus, on Monday, June 13, 1988, the first spontaneous rally in Lviv during the “perestroika” era began, which, as a result of the communist lie, stirred the patriotic consciousness of Ukrainians throughout the republic. Owing to “Chereztyny Radio,” about 800 people took part in it. The meeting was attended by Mykhailo Horyn, Ivan Makar, Yevhen Hryniv, Yaroslav Putko, Iryna Kalynets, Roman Krypiakevych, Vasyl Repetylo, Pavlo Sheremeta, Maria Babiy, Yuriy Voloshchak, Natalia Ditchuk, Vitaliy Protsiuk, Anatoliy Kosianchuk, Hanna Ivanytska, Nazar Novosad (Melnyk, 2013).

A temporary council of the TUM was immediately elected (soon this name became generally accepted), which included Roman Ivanychuk, Ihor Melnyk, Ivan Makar, Mykhailo Kosiv, Iryna Kalynets, Yaroslav Putko, Pavlo Sheremeta, Vasyl Repetylo, Anatoliy Kosianchuk, Yevhen Hryniv, Serhiy Sokurov, Roman Krypiakevych, Vitaliy Protsiuk, Ivan Lytvyn, Hanna Voitiv, Oleksandra Byk, Roman Tertula (Melnyk, 2013). In their speeches, they publicly obliged Lviv party leaders to give a public answer to the question of why the constituent assembly could not take place. The answer was supposed to be given in three days. To this end, the next rally was scheduled for Thursday, June 16, at the same place (SALR, f. 3. d. 62, c. 327, p. 10).

Due to the exceptional publicity of the Communist Party deception, on June 16 the rally gathered from 5 to 10 thousand participants. The first secretary of the city committee Viktor Volkov was present, and the head of the regional KGB department Stanislav Malyk was afraid of the meeting. Despite the city leader's explanation about the need to go through the registration procedure, the gathering scheduled a constituent meeting of the TUM for June 20, 1988 in the assembly hall of the same institution, where the meeting had not taken place. To monitor the fulfillment of party promises, regular rallies were initiated, which were to take place on the first Thursday of each month near the monument to Ivan Franko. Since then, “Lviv Thursdays,” as the townspeople called them, had become a real school of democracy to them, which burst into everyday life like a whirlwind. In order for the city party authorities not to disrupt the TUM meeting again, it was decided to hold a crowded meeting the day after it ended. That is, on June 21, at the square near the “Druzhba” stadium (SALR, f. 3. d. 62, c. 327, pp. 53–62).

Frightened by the development of events, the first secretary of the regional committee, Yakiv Pohrebniak, gave permission again to hold the constituent assembly of the TUM on June 20 at the “Budivelnik” cultural centre. There, in the presence of several thousand participants, after many hours of debate, the charter of the Society was approved, which,

due to the broad support of Lviv residents, was finally granted the right to register with the relevant city authorities. The head of the Lviv regional organization of the TUM was the famous writer Roman Ivanychuk. The goal of the activity was to demand that the authorities grant the Ukrainian language state status, which was widely associated as a step towards restoring the political independence of Ukraine (SALR, f. 3. d. 62, c. 367, p. 24). Interestingly, the 19th All-Union Party Conference, which proclaimed political reform in the USSR, started in Moscow only a week later – on June 28, 1988.

The governing bodies of the TUM included Mykhailo Kosiv, Bohdan Horyn, Rostyslav Bratun, Ihor Melnyk, Mykola Kolessa, Roman Lubkivskyi, Vsevolod Iskiv, Ivan Makar, Yuriy Zyma, Teofil Komarynets, Maria Baiko, Oleksandra Byk, Mykola Holiarchuk, Hanna Voitiv, Roksoliana Zorivchak, Oleksandra Zakharkiv, Mykola Katsal, Ihor Karkhut, Ivan Lytvyn, Ihor Kudyn, Pavlo Romaniuk, Mykola Petrenko, Vasyl Repetylo, Pavlo Skochiy, Maria Chumarna, Roman Tertula, Ivan Shvets, Maria Shun (Melnyk, 2013).

However, on the morning of June 21, Lviv residents saw published rules for holding mass events in their mailboxes, which indicated the mandatory need to obtain permission from the authorities. Viacheslav Chornovil, Iryna Kalynets, and Ivan Makar were summoned to the regional prosecutor's office and warned of the consequences of illegal actions. The planned rally near the “Druzhba” stadium encountered police encirclement from the outside and the actions of provocateurs from the inside. It was obvious that the communist authorities were ready to respond with harsh force.

Therefore, having understood the attempts of the head of Lenin district executive committee of Lviv, Vasyl Lytiuha, to ban the rally, and if that fails, to hold it according to the regional committee's scenario, the demonstrators went to the city center and convened a people's assembly near the Opera and Ballet Theatre, where Ihor Kalynets and Yuriy Voloshchak made speeches. Thus, the “rally marathon” was founded in the central part of Lviv, where it attracted the attention of both residents and guests of the city. In addition, in response to the violent pressure of the authorities, it was decided to launch systematic public gatherings in all suitable locations in the city. On June 23, the protesters held the first mass memorial service at the Lychakiv Cemetery near the graves of Ukrainian patriots tortured by the communist authorities at the beginning of World War I (SALR, f. 4. d. 49, c. 99, pp. 1–2).

Thus, ten days – from June 13 to 23 – not only shook Lviv, but also proclaimed the creation of the Lviv regional organization of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society and launched the “rally marathon” directed against the communist government throughout Ukraine. This launch received publicity not only in the USSR, but also far beyond its borders. The most famous world media, the Ukrainian press in the diaspora, and the dissident samizdat of many Soviet republics declared that Lviv had given impetus to a new unarmed stage of the struggle against the “empire of evil”. But the newspaper of the city committee of the party “Lvivska Pravda” in the article “Rally Marathon” called these events extremist actions of nationalist gatherings (Dombrovska, et al, 1989, p. 3).

Thus, on July 6, a 30,000-strong rally was held near the SKA stadium in support of the registration of the first Ukrainian political force of the time, the People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika. The demonstrators raised about 30 national flags and chanted the slogan “Down with the CPSU!”. On July 7, Lviv regional party committee members unsuccessfully tried to change the 50,000-strong rally near the monument to Ivan Franko to their own liking. They failed to harm the proclamation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), which openly declared anti-communist programmatic goals and announced its party

affiliation. The participants of the action raised an unprecedented number of blue-yellow banners and tridents and shouted slogans offensive to the communists: “A communist – on the branch!” (A communist be hanged!), “CPSU – a rabid dog!”, etc. In the nearby Ivan Franko Park, clashes between demonstrators and police officers occurred, which did not always end in favour of the latter. Law enforcement officers forcibly prevented video and photo recording of the events and drowned out the speakers' speeches with the sound of buses and cars equipped with loudspeakers (SALR, f. 359. d. 14, c. 45, pp. 20–21).

However, the “rally marathon” only gained momentum: on July 6, 7, and 16, fifty thousand people demonstrations took place at the “Druzhba” stadium in support of the TUM, UHS, and NRU. On July 21, a gathering was held near the monument to Ivan Franko, at which Bohdan Horyn spoke about the Communist Party’s inability to ensure “glasnost” and “perestroika” (SALR, f. 4. d. 49, c. 99, pp. 1–2). On July 28, August 4, September 1, and October 6, massive rallies in support of the National Revolution took place near Lviv University. The number of protesters reached fifty thousand. On October 23, the demonstration took place near the Officers' House, on November 3, near the Ivan Franko monument, and on December 10, near the Opera and Ballet Theatre. Their leitmotif was the common opinion that the key obstacle to true democratization was the communist party, which was incapable of renewal and therefore must be deprived of power (SALR, f. 4. d. 49, c. 99, pp. 1–2).

The events gained such momentum that in the city centre, at the square where the monument to Taras Shevchenko is, the national centre of anti-communist struggle was established, known as “Klumba” or “Hyde Park”, which the Lviv Communist authorities, despite numerous attempts, failed to destroy in 1988 – 1990. It got to the point that the trade union newspaper “Trud”, according to the first secretary of the city committee, Viktor Volkov, stated the need to introduce martial law in the city (Kliucharov, 1989 p. 3).

In general, in 1988, more than 20 mass actions of civil disobedience took place in Lviv. Some of them were attended by more than 50 thousand residents of the city and region. To suppress the demonstrators, the authorities used more than 10 thousand security forces. They detained 118 people: 59 workers, 21 civil servants, 11 students, 27 unemployed, 1 communist, 15 Komsomol members. Of these, 63 people were administratively punished, 18 people were arrested, 6 people were convicted, 38 people were given preventive measures, and 31 people were fined in the amount of 3,485 rubles (SALR, f. 4. d. 49, c. 99, pp. 2–32).

**Conclusions.** Thus, on the way of Lviv democratic movement of the second half of the 80s of the 20th century into the liberation movement, the local organization of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society played a key role as an “awakener” of national consciousness. It appeared in the labour collectives of Lviv on the basis of self-organized cells that sought to protect the native language and culture from total Russian influence. Thus, the TUM led the general democratic movement from a narrow dissident and youth “informal” environment into the mainstream of a mature patriotic society with distinct state-building features, which later directed the energy of the masses towards the foundation of national political parties.

The process began in a way that was unexpected for the activists – through a spontaneous street demonstration on June 13, 1988 near the Ivan Franko Lviv State University. The main catalyst for the protest was the cynical Communist Party lies and duplicity of the regional committee authorities, who in words demonstrated “perestroika renewal”, but in reality remained a repressive instrument of Moscow’s imperial rule. It was the regime’s attempt to hide the fear of free speech behind “technical reasons” that forced people to take to the

streets. As a result, by June 23, this resistance had turned into a ten-day “rally marathon”, uniting disparate cells into a powerful Lviv organization of the TUM.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, dissidents publicly declared themselves, transforming the little-known Ukrainian Helsinki Group into the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, later the Ukrainian Republican Party. Along with this, during the Lviv “rally marathon” there came realization of the need to found an all-Ukrainian political force – the People’s Movement of Ukraine.

Therefore, the key tools of the unarmed struggle of Lviv residents against the pro-Russian communist regime were not isolated human rights organizations, but mass demonstrations, strikes, and public liturgies of the UGCC, which had emerged from the underground. Such a consolidated position, tempered in the confrontations of the June days of 1988, enabled the Lviv community to be the first in Ukraine to overthrow the communist authorities at the city and regional levels in March 1990 – a year before the restoration of Ukraine’s state independence.

The prospects for further research consist primarily in the need for a detailed study of archival Communist Party records and secret correspondence of the security forces of that time. The study of archival records will enable us to trace at the documentary level how the pro-Russian communist elite, despite its external monolithic nature, felt deep fear of the growing power of Ukrainian patriots and the loss of ideological control.

In general, further analysis should focus on deepening the scientific study of the national-democratic “renaissance” in Lviv at the turn of the 80s and 90s of the 20th century, which logically grew into a state-building movement. In particular, the process of transformation of cultural and educational initiatives into structured political institutions, as well as the influence of the Lviv TUM cell on the consolidation of regional organizations in other regions of Ukraine, requires research. Another important direction is the introduction into scientific circulation of new volumes of oral testimonies and documents from the private archives of direct participants in the events. This will enable us for a more detailed analysis of the mechanisms of dismantling the totalitarian system at the local level and the role of the intellectual elite in shaping the strategy for Ukraine’s exit from the USSR.

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