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# SOCIO-HUMANITARIAN DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN SOCIETY IN THE EPOCH OF MODERNITY AND CURRENT POSTMODERN

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**Bielkin I., Bogatchuk S., Levchuk K., Makarov Z., Shvets L.,  
Mangora V., Mazylo I.**

**SOCIO-HUMANITARIAN DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN  
SOCIETY IN THE EPOCH OF MODERNITY AND CURRENT  
POSTMODERN TRANSFORMATIONS**

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**Author's:**

Bielkin I., Bogatchuk S., Levchuk K., Makarov Z., Shvets L.,  
Mangora V., Mazylo I.

**Editor:**

**Konstantin Levchuk**, doctor of historical sciences, professor, head of the department of history of Ukraine and philosophy. Vinnytsia National Agrarian University, Vinnytsia, Ukraine.

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Mazylo I.

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### **3. The emergence and development of informal organizations in Ukraine (1987-1989)**

#### **3.1.1 Historiography of the problem**

The first attempts to analyze a new social phenomenon - informal organizations - were mostly journalistic and descriptive. At the same time, the pace of socio-political transformations in the republic was ahead of the historiographical novelty of research, which focused mainly on informal youth associations (V. Kononov, I. Sundiev, O. Kashcheeva, R. Apersyan, O. Donchenko, S. Shapoval). [78] Scholars tried to find out the origins and social base of youth associations. They believed that the impetus for the creation of informal associations was the intensification of socio-political movements in Ukraine, publicity and the emergence of the first rudiments of political pluralism. O. Razumkov and S. Khodakovsky noted that informal associations of young people in the field of leisure ("hippies", "rockers") have existed in Ukraine since the 70s of the twentieth century. In 1985-1987, most youth informal groups, feeling the easing of psychological and administrative pressure from Komsomol and Communist Party groups, united young people for leisure activities. Since 1987, the process of formation of organizations of socio-political, national-cultural, environmental orientation begins. The formation of socio-political clubs served as an accelerator of the amateur social and political movement of the youth. [79] A number of authors (V. Shchegortsov, A. Kochetkov, A. Shchegortsov, L. Dyachenko) considered informal organizations in the context of an amateur social movement that operated outside the officially existing institutions. [80] A. Gromov and O. Kuzin defined informal associations as voluntary amateur public formations that arose at the initiative of the "lower classes" and acted in the interests of their members, regardless of the purpose and nature of the association. [81]

Modern researchers of the recent history of Ukraine consider the process of formation of informal associations in Ukraine in the context of the formation of the national opposition, highlighting the period 1985-1991 as the last stage of the Ukrainian national liberation movement. The main organizational structure of the

movement was the Ukrainian Language Society (TUM) Taras Shevchenko, Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHS), and the People's Movement of Ukraine (NRU) [82]. Scholars pay considerable attention to the regional aspects of the development of the informal movement [83, 84, 85], which allows us to objectively and impartially assess the level of civic activity of the population of Ukraine during the years of perestroika.

### **3.1.2 The emergence of informal youth associations in Ukraine**

The opportunity to freely express their opinion (at least among like-minded people) on ecology, history, assess the state of national language and culture, organize their leisure set the citizens to create diverse organizations, which later became informal. The intensification of public life outside the organizations traditional for the Soviet political system was prompted by bureaucratization, formalism, and the lack of initiative that prevailed in these associations.

A significant proportion of informal associations were created by young people, but did not go beyond the youth subculture (at least until 1987). Therefore, the Komsomol was entrusted with the control and supervision of informals by the party and state leadership. Thus, during 1986-1987 a club of rock music lovers was organized at the Lutsk House of Culture, headed by V. Voron, a correspondent of the regional Komsomol newspaper "Young Leninist".

In March 1987, with the participation of representatives of the Lutsk City Committee of the Leninist Communist Youth Union of Ukraine (hereinafter - LKSMU), students of the Lutsk Pedagogical Institute, who served in Afghanistan, created a regional council of young reserve soldiers. The Constituent Assembly approved the regulations and statutes of the new association. At the meeting, representatives of young soldiers of the Air Force Reserve proposed to create clubs at communal structures to prepare teenagers for service in the army. [86, p. 3-4]

In June 1987, the Voroshilovgrad Regional Committee of the Komsomol informed the Central Committee of the LKSMU that there were about 200 amateur youth groups with 3,500 members, while in December 1987 there were 500 youth associations with about 4 members. 5 thousand people. Namely: sports (football,

weightlifting) - 95 (560 participants); sports and technical (hang gliding, karting) - 70 (800); musical (rock bands, amateur art) - 42 (600); diverse - 200 (about 2 thousand), others (metalheads, hipsters, football fans) - 82 (750-1000). According to Komsomol officials, the number of informals increased during 1983-1986. The reasons that led to the intensification of the informal youth movement were caused by the poor organization of leisure by the Komsomol and cultural institutions, as well as the low level of logistics of cultural and sports institutions. In 1986, a regional federation of amateur associations was established to supervise youth groups with the assistance of the Komsomol regional committee. [86, p. 5-8]

The lack of a unified methodology for defining informal structures led to the fact that in March 1986 the Lviv Regional Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine included in the informal 33 associations of teenagers created on a territorial basis (so-called "parties") the Zhytomyr Regional Committee of the Komsomol in June 1987. year, out of 338 youth associations, 42 informal groups - rockers, breakers, football fans, metalheads, whose participants were high school students, vocational schools, students. [86, p. 15]

The Odessa City Committee of the Young Communist League estimated the number of informal youth groups at 3,000, including the socio-political club, the Argo sports and theater studio, the Third Pole Travelers Club, the break dance studio, the amateur song club, and the poetry club. "Lira" association, rock club, clubs of fans of cinema, fiction, poetry, football fans, student environmental groups, metal groups. [86, p. 40-41]

A number of city committees of the Komsomol continued to tightly control the informals, assessing their activities as anti-social manifestations. Thus, the Feodosiya City Committee of the LKSMU reported to the Crimean Regional Committee of the Komsomol on the availability of a file of persons registered at the drug treatment center, engaged in prostitution, as well as the availability of lists of "rockers". During 1988, Komsomol officials conducted raids to identify "rockers", reported to the administration at the place of work of their parents. [87, p. 1]



The intensification of informal associations required an understanding of the new socio-political phenomenon and the appropriate response of Komsomol structures. In May 1986, the Public Sociological Laboratory at the Kherson Regional Committee of the Komsomol, with the participation of the Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School, conducted a sociological survey among Kherson youth. Researchers stated that 18.5% of respondents participated in the activities of informal associations. Informal amateur youth associations were defined as various amateur associations that arose spontaneously, not with state and public organizations, and united by a common interest. [86, p. 72]

Thus, the transformation of informal youth groups into amateur organizations took place through the establishment of Komsomol guardianship, registration of statutes and programs of their activities by Komsomol or state structures, providing the necessary material and methodological assistance. At the beginning of 1988, the LKSMU accumulated considerable material on the activities of informals, which allowed Komsomol functionaries to carry out their own classification by areas of activity: 1.) socio-political amateur clubs (All-Union Socio-Political Club, "Democratization", "Bolshevik"); 2.) inter-movement (inter-brigade), created for manifestations of solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of developing countries; 3.) peacekeeping groups ("Watch of Peace", "Trust"); 4.) music and literary and artistic groups (fans of rock music, metalheads, literary circles); 5.) dubious and anti-social organizations (hippies, "parties", "Ukrainian Cultural Club" (UCC), nationalist and fascist groups). [86, p. 60-65]

It should be noted that the inter-movement (30 inter-brigades and clubs of international friendship) was under the ideological leadership of the Komsomol committees. Supervision of music and literary and artistic groups was established without much difficulty. Politicized youth groups, including political and discussion clubs that emerged on their own, with the participation of Komsomol and Communist Party structures, were of some concern to Komsomol functionaries. The clubs brought together socially active young people, including students, teachers, university professors, engineers and individual workers. At the beginning of April 1988, more

than a thousand political and discussion clubs operated in Ukraine under the auspices of the Komsomol committees. [87, p. 1]

At the meeting of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the LKSMU on March 24, 1988, the certificate "On some negative processes in amateur youth associations" was considered. Komsomol officials noted with concern that the activities of informal associations are gaining a qualitatively new meaning: "their politicization is intensifying, focusing on socio-economic, national and historical and cultural issues." in the organization of protection of workers from bureaucratic arbitrariness of the administration. "[87, p. 2-3] Among the ideological opponents of the Komsomol, the authors of the reference included associations of both left-wing radicals and critics of Marxism, nationalist youth groups.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League received information that in May 1987 the inaugural conference of the All-Union Social political club. Branches of the organization appeared in Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv, Kherson, Simferopol, Mykolayiv. J. Kupka, a student of Kyiv University, was elected the club's coordinator for Ukraine and Moldova. E. Patrikeev, a student of Lviv University, was elected a member of the council. The purpose of the club was to promote the further development of perestroika by deepening democracy and more effective realization of the benefits of socialism. [86, p. 61] Other political clubs began to operate without the permission of party structures. The common worldview prompted them to form a coalition - a union of socio-political clubs, which included clubs "Longjumeau", "Bolshevik", "Fatherland", "Sobriety". A statement from the organization declared its commitment to Marxism: "There are groups in our union that support the creation of opposition (but Marxist-Leninist) parties. We do not and do not always agree with the instructions of the CPSU, although we support the perestroika led by it. We want a return to Leninism, which was forgotten by the Communist Party in the 1930s and has not yet been revived. We do not organize demonstrations without the consent of the authorities. But we are in favor of allowing the printing and distribution of documents if they do not call for the overthrow of the Soviet government and do not spread war and violence. "[88, p. 83]

The desire of young radicals to "purify" the communist idea was also manifested in the manifesto proclaimed by the Bolshevik Political Club, which stated, in particular, that the Bolshevik Political Club was a political organization of revolutionary youth that defended Marxism-Leninism and intended to create Marxist-Leninist Workers' Party. The CPSU cannot solve the economic and political problems facing our country. The CPSU was reborn from a proletarian party to a nationwide one, which transformed the CPSU from a Marxist-Leninist party into a petty-bourgeois one with an almost Marxist phrase." [88, p. 85]

A number of clubs offered unique approaches to promoting the restructuring and democratization of society. Thus, the socio-political club "Democratization", established in Poltava in 1987, in the draft program-maximum considered it necessary to implement such principles - to promote the independence of enterprises; strive to combine commodity-money relations with centralized planning; to introduce mainly economic methods of managing the national economy. A variant of the electoral system reform was proposed, according to which representatives of labor collectives, members of public organizations and ordinary citizens would be elected to the councils of people's deputies. The only force capable of resisting bureaucratic structures could be the councils of labor collectives. [88, p. 88]

### **3.1.3 Development and politicization of the informal movement in Ukraine under the liberalization of the Soviet regime**

Unexpected trends in the development of the informal movement have caused concern among party structures. On March 1, 1988, the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On overcoming negative trends in the activities of some amateur associations." In April 1988, the regional committees of the CPU, Ukrprofrad, the Central Committee of the LKSMU, and the Ministry of Culture provided the necessary information to the Central Committee of the CPU about amateur organizations and methods of interaction with them. The party structures began a meticulous analysis of the new socio-political phenomenon. For example, in the first half of 1988 there were "rockers" and "metalheads" (rock music clubs) in the

Zaporizhia region. At the meetings of the club of cinema lovers "Ascension" films not recommended by the authorities were watched with their further discussion. [89, p.47]

In the Lviv region at the beginning of 1988 the associations of "avant-garde artists", "Rock Music", groups "Trust", "Hippie", Lviv Political Discussion Club were the most active. Informal members were significantly influenced by members of the editorial board of the self-published magazine Ukrainian Herald, which included V. Chornovil, M. Horyn, and I. Gel, which was resumed in August 1987 after the release of human rights activists from the camps. Law enforcement agencies continued to hold "preventive" talks with the leaders of these groups. In order to influence the informals, the Lviv regional committee of the party recommended to head the discussion club of a member of the CPSU. [90, p. 3-4] Attempts by human rights defenders to resume active civic activity were tightly controlled by party structures. Thus, on December 8, 1987, V. Chornovil, M. Horyn, and I. Gel were summoned to the prosecutor's office and warned of the undesirableness of their visit to the Moscow Public Seminar on Human Rights. The next day they were detained at the railway station under a contrived pretext - suspicion of drug trafficking, which led to their delay on the train to Moscow. [91, p. 13]

In December 1987, the human rights group Dovira was established in Lviv. The practical activities of the association were limited to the dissemination of information in society unauthorized by the authorities. Thus, law enforcement agencies thwarted an attempt by activists to distribute leaflets in the city demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. In January 1988, the leaders of the organization M. Marhorin, A. Baldin through representatives of the editorial board of the self-published magazine "Glasnost" established contact with members of the editorial board of the magazine "Ukrainian Herald" V. Chornovil and M. Gorin. [92, p. 77]

Most amateur and amateur organizations were created at the Houses of Culture, trade unions and Komsomol structures. Many of them originated in the early 80's. Thus, in the Vinnytsia region in June 1988 there were about 1.5 thousand diverse amateur associations and interest clubs, of which more than 280 declared their existence in 1985-1987. Among them, the most numerous were associations of socio-political,

artistic, art, sports and health. Vinnytsia Regional Committee of the Communist Party paid special attention to the activities of amateur groups "Coast", "Key", "Meeting with the 10th Muse", "Studio 5", clubs of amateur song, science fiction, rock music, which were not particularly interested in establishing contacts with representatives of party and Komsomol activists. [93, p. 44]

In April 1988, there were about 3,000 amateur associations and interest clubs in the Odessa region. Compared to 1986, their number has increased 1.5 times. To ensure its influence, the party leadership annually certified and certified informal organizations. According to the decision of the regional committee of the Komsomol, a number of leaders of these formations were included in the nomenclature of the regional committee, city committees and district committees of the LKSMU. [94, p. 114-115]

There were more than 2,300 amateur associations in the Kharkiv region, numbering more than 100,000. With the support of the CPU regional committee, 12 political studios and 95 political clubs with more than 8,000 members were established. Given the scale of the informal movement, a group of sociologists and psychologists was set up at the Komsomol regional committee to study amateur youth associations. [94, p.140-142]

The Chernivtsi regional committee of the Communist Party approached the case quite carefully. Thus, according to the estimates of the regional committee, in April 1988 there were 1,142 amateur groups in the region. Of these, 324 are socio-political, 78 are industrial and technical, 125 are natural and scientific, 180 are artistic, 107 are sports, 107 are collector's, 7 are collectibles, 24 are socially oriented, 247 are socially oriented, and 74 are sober. thousand people. Officials of the CPU regional committee closely monitored the social composition of the leaders of these associations. Among them were 426 workers of culture and education, 173 specialists of the national economy, 196 party, Komsomol, Soviet workers, 37 doctors, 21 pensioners. [94, p. 179-180]

In the summer of 1988, in the Crimean region, the informal association Dobra Volya held unsanctioned rallies in support of the course of perestroika to democratize

public life, criticizing the bureaucracy of local party and Soviet officials. Dobra Volya tried to register its charter with local self-government bodies, which caused concern to the CPU regional committee over the uncontrolled development of public activity. Within the ideological department of the regional committee, a sector for working with informals was created. To carry out counter-propaganda activities, the Simferopol, Sevastopol, Yalta, and Kerch city committees of the CPU were asked to use opposition groups formed by trade union activists, university professors, and Komsomol activists to take part in informal rallies. [95, p. 2]

The informal movement in Kyiv was in full swing. The creative intelligentsia and students became the subject of the informal movement. Thus, in 1988, the initiative group of the Memorial Society began to operate, which sought to help fill the so-called "White spots" in the history of Ukraine, in particular the famine of 1932-1933, the mass deportation of the population from Ukraine during 1939-1941 and 1944-1953. Informals demanded full, public rehabilitation of victims of repression of all periods of the administrative-command system, demanded the condemnation of Stalinism in all spheres of public life.

In February 1988, the Ukrainian Studies Club "Heritage" was established at the Kyiv House of Scientists of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, the purpose of which was to study and promote the creative achievements of the Ukrainian people in the context of cultural relations with other peoples. [96, c. 16]

Hromada clubs of Kyiv State University named after Taras Shevchenko and Perestroika, which included employees and students of the Kyiv Institute of National Economy. The "green" movement was organized. Its most active wing, the Nebaiduzhi group, was formed during a discussion of a project to build a new railway station.

Unauthorized rallies and demonstrations have become widespread. Only in Kyiv in 1988 they were held 27. [97, p. 34] On June 5, 1988, during a rally organized by environmentalists in defense of the Holosiivskyi Forest, calls were made to establish a People's Union for Perestroika (NSPP). There were about 200 supporters of this idea. In the autumn of 1988, the union held several rallies calling for democratic rights and freedoms guaranteed by the USSR Constitution. According to the program principles,

the main goal of the NSPP was to implement the slogan "All power to the Soviets"; creation of an independent press and independent trade unions; legislative support of various forms of ownership; achieving economic independence of Ukraine; elimination of the privileges of the party and state nomenklatura; proclamation of the real sovereignty of Ukraine; ensuring the rights of the indigenous nation in the republic; protection of the rights of other peoples living in Ukraine. [98, p. 18]

With the expansion of the informal movement, the work of law enforcement agencies intensified. In the information of the Kyiv City CPU on the implementation of the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On overcoming negative trends in the activities of some amateur groups" noted that "since the emergence of amateur associations, ATC Kyiv City Executive Committee in close cooperation with other interested agencies worked to study their ideological orientation, composition, policy documents, identify leaders and assets. "[97, p. 20]

The Ukrainian Republican Council of Trade Unions reported to the Central Committee of the Communist Party on its work with amateur organizations. The report noted that between 1986 and 1987, the number of amateur associations and interest clubs created by trade unions had almost tripled to 30,000 with a total of 1,347,000 members. 28 percent were associations of socio-political direction, 9.2 percent - production and technical, 10 percent - science, 25 percent - art, one-seventh - sports and recreation, 3 percent - collection and collection. [17 , p. 185]

In May 1988, the Central Committee of the Communist Party sent information to the Central Committee of the CPSU. The actions of the party bodies to establish control over the informals were presented in a winning light. In particular, the certification of amateur associations and the certification of their leaders in a number of areas has become an all-party phenomenon with the help of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. As an achievement of the party leadership of the republic, it was noted that 45.5 thousand amateur organizations and interest clubs operated at state and trade union cultural institutions. More than 70 thousand youth associations were established at Komsomol committees, labor collectives and educational institutions. [94, p. 3] Only "some nationalist elements try to create anti-social groups, pretending

to be amateur associations." To the anti-social groups party functionaries included: "Committee for the Protection of the Ukrainian Catholic Church", the Ukrainian Cultural Club, the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia. [94, p. 5]

The gradual liberalization of the regime intensified the creative intelligentsia to protect the Ukrainian language and helped unite all those who care about it into informal structures. Creative unions and individual state-owned public organizations served as a nourishing solution for newly established organizations. At the end of 1986, the Writers' Union of Ukraine (WUU) established a commission for communication with educational institutions, which included writers, poets and artists: D. Pavlychko (chairman of the commission), O. Pidsukha, S. Telnyuk, O. Kolomiets, V. Donchak, I. Drach, A. Moroz, G. Sivokin, V. Skomorovsky.

The commission published numerous facts of exemption of students from studying the Ukrainian language, demanded to recognize the state status of the Ukrainian language. It was demanded that the number of Ukrainian-language institutions be proportional to at least the number of Ukrainians in the country. There were proposals to certify regional and district employees of cultural departments to verify their competence, education on Ukrainian culture. [99, p. 163]

On March 23, 1987, the Club of Ukrainian Language Admirers was organized at the SPU, which was attended by Yu. . During the meetings of the club issues related to the history of Ukrainian culture, the state of preparation of textbooks on the Ukrainian language and literature, the use of the Ukrainian language in various spheres of public life were analyzed. In particular, the meeting of the club, which took place on December 22, 1987, gave impressive figures: in Ukraine, of the existing 22,800 kindergartens, which educated 2,600,000 children, only 11,000 kindergartens were Ukrainian-speaking, attended by only 642,000 children [99, p. 160]

Some representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia were convinced that the Ukrainian language could be protected only through the concessions of the Moscow leadership. Thus, in May 1988, a letter was sent to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, signed by Professor P. Leshchenko from Kiev.



The letter stated that with the establishment of Stalin's arbitrariness, not only all leading party and Soviet cadres were destroyed, but also the majority of the national intelligentsia. The violent process of Russification began. Everything was Russified: nurseries and kindergartens, schools, pioneer, Komsomol and party organizations, factories, plants and institutions. ”[96, p. 1]

In June 1988, members of the Ukrainian Heritage Club sent an appeal to delegates to the XIX All-Union Conference of the CPSU, urging the Communist Party leadership to abandon the policy of Russification of national republics and support a set of measures to protect the Ukrainian language. In particular, to return to the Ukrainian language the status of the official language of state institutions on the territory of Ukraine; to resume teaching in the Ukrainian language in vocational schools, secondary special and higher educational establishments; consider it obligatory to study the Ukrainian language in schools with other languages of instruction; resume the publication of Ukrainian-language newspapers in the regions where they were closed; to resume the publication in the Ukrainian language of textbooks for universities, scientific, technical and political literature; to end the practice of special benefits for teachers of Russian language and literature, which consisted in increasing their salaries by 15 percent and dividing the class into two groups; to restore the course of Ukrainian history as a separate subject in the schools of the Ukrainian SSR. [96, p. 9]

In line with the national revival, one of the first structured informal public organizations in Ukraine, the Lion Society, was formed. On July 4, 1987, on the initiative of the Lviv City Komsomol, a subbotnik was appointed to improve the city's territory. Members of the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, the Club of Young Scientists, and the Dzerkalo Literary Group came to Lychakiv Cemetery. As more and more people became involved in this action, the idea of creating a national democratic organization gradually matured. On October 19, 1987, the founding meeting of the Lion Society took place in the club of the Lviv Forestry Institute. The purpose of the Society was to fight for the preservation of historical monuments, to promote the national revival of the Ukrainian people, to

preserve the purity of the Ukrainian language. Among the official founders of the Lion Society were the Lviv branch of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, the Lviv City Komsomol, the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, and the Society for the Protection of Nature. R. Bratun, R. Krypyakevych, N. Matvienko and other famous figures of Ukrainian culture became members of the Lion Society. [99, p. 10] It should be noted that participation in conservation activities for many activists of the organization was a way of legal expression of political preferences. Thus, T. Stetskiv, a former member of the Lion Society, admitted that "in addition to caring for ancient monuments, they began to engage in politics." [100]

In 1988-1989, active educational work, ethnographic research and searches in the Lviv region were carried out by informal associations created by enthusiasts of cultural and educational work: "Lemkivshchyna", "Nadsyannia", "Kholmshchyna", "Pidlyashshya", Ethnographic Society named after I. Franko, the community "Community" named after D. Bobrokh, public and cultural society named after V. Kobilnyk, "Roztochiv Brotherhood", youth society "Written Well". [101, p. 15] Participants of informal associations sought to preserve the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people, to instill in young people respect for Ukrainian customs and traditions, to launch regular ethnographic festivals.

In July 1987, the establishment of the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia was declared in Lviv, the organizational formation of which was completed in January 1989. Former political prisoner and dissident E. Sverstyuk headed the Association. It included poets, writers, artists from 9 cities of Ukraine, whose work was not recognized in Soviet Ukraine. The association organized the publication of self-published literature. Thus, in Lviv the magazine "Department" and the almanac "Evshan-potion" were published, the editor of which was I. Kalinets. In Ivano-Frankivsk the magazine "Treasures of the mountains" was published, and in Dnepropetrovsk - the magazine "Thresholds". [102, p. 53-54]

In the second half of the 1980s, various informal national educational organizations emerged in Lviv. During 1988, the first informal national-cultural societies were established: admirers of the Armenian culture "Akhpyur", admirers of

the Jewish language and literature named after Sholom Aleichem, Polish culture. [102, p. 67] The main purpose of the associations was the development of national culture, promotion and study of literary heritage, organization of exhibitions dedicated to the preservation of national traditions, care for the native language. In 1989, the Armenian Society organized a Sunday school to study the native language and a number of exhibitions, concerts and evenings of Armenian music. The Mazoltar dance ensemble was established at the Sholom Aleichem Society, and Jewish language courses were opened. The Jewish theater "Maska" has opened on the basis of the Palace of Culture of the Electron Production Association. A choir and Polish language courses were organized at the Polish Society. [101, p. 16]

The republican network of Jewish culture societies was actively formed. In the late 1980s, Jewish societies emerged in Donetsk, Zhytomyr, Chernivtsi, Rivne, Lutsk, Odesa, and other Ukrainian cities. In September 1989, the Republican Society of Jewish Culture was established at the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, which united more than 20 regional and city associations. [103, p. 11] A number of factors contributed to the rapid self-organization of the Jewish community in Ukraine. The religion of the Jews, Judaism, played a significant role in uniting the nation. Among the Jews there was a significant layer of scientific and creative intelligentsia. At the beginning of 1988, Jews made up only 1.3 percent of the population of Ukraine, but among the residents with higher education Jews were 8 percent, among researchers of the USSR Academy of Sciences - 4.4 percent, among members of creative unions - 7.5 percent. [104, p. 18]

In September 1988, a voluntary public movement "Friends of Ukrainian Art and Literature" was founded at the Lviv Regional Branch of the Cultural Foundation. The task of the association was to involve the Russian-speaking population in the study of the Ukrainian language, to acquaint it with Ukrainian culture, literature and art. [102, p. 55]

The activities of informal organizations contributed not only to the increase of political activity of Ukrainian citizens, but also to the revival of their national self-consciousness. Thus, in early 1989 in Mariupol, the most active in the public and

political life of the city were members of the environmental association "For Clean Mariupol" and the historical and educational organization "Memorial". It was the activists of these associations - representatives of the Greek ethnic group - on January 25, 1989 created the first Greek organization in Ukraine called the "Society of Greek Language and Culture of the Azov Sea". [105, p. 5-7]

The difficult environmental situation in Ukraine, complicated by the Chernobyl accident and the lack of necessary information about the threat to public health, has contributed to the emergence of an informal environmental movement. In the mid-80's of the twentieth century. on the territory of the USSR (2.7 percent of the territory of the USSR) was concentrated 25 percent of the industrial and agricultural potential of the USSR. 92 percent of Ukraine's land fund was included in the economic turnover. 20 million tons of gas-forming and dust particles were released into the environment annually, 1 billion 150 million m<sup>3</sup> of liquid waste was dumped into rivers and reservoirs, one sixth of which without any treatment. 10 billion tons of solid waste were accumulated, more than 230 thousand hectares of fertile land were removed for their storage. Arable land erosion in Ukraine reached 43 percent. In 1984-1989, the incidence of malignant neoplasms in Ukraine increased by 15.7 percent, and the number of patients with gastric ulcers - by 30 percent.

In December 1987, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine V. Tsybukh stated that among young people there is a growing interest in the ecological situation of the republic. In an official note addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, it was noted that the interest leads to the emergence and formation of various associations and clubs in the field of environmental protection. The activity of student wives on nature protection was especially active. The environmental student movement was founded in the 1960s. Since 1983, the number of amateur student groups has tripled and in November 1987 was about 30 wives and 15 initiative groups operating in 22 regions of Ukraine. The number of active participants in the environmental movement has increased to 1.5 thousand people. [106, p. 18]

The fundamental difference between the newly formed associations and traditional environmental organizations, in particular, the Ukrainian Society for Nature Protection (UTOP), was that the wives were organized on the initiative of the students themselves, without the indication of party and state structures. The "Regulations on the Student Wife for Nature Protection", which were adopted in December 1986 at a meeting of the Presidium of the Republican Council of UTOP, caused a negative reaction among students. According to activists of the movement, the normative document deprived of initiative, limited the rights and opportunities of associations, over-regulated their work, did not comply with the principles of the democratic movement. The Komsomol leadership, seeking to maintain its influence among the youth, sought to find a possible compromise by balancing between youth initiatives and the formalism of state-owned NGOs.

In November 1987, the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine together with the Republican Council of UTOP held a republican meeting of commanders of student wives and representatives of initiative groups (70 people in total), inviting Komsomol activists and employees of regional councils of UTOP. A. Glazovy, an employee of the Soviet Ukraine newspaper, spoke at the meeting. He introduced himself as a member of the initiative group of the Green World Association, which was registered with the Ukrainian Republican Committee for the Defense of Peace. The main tasks of the association were to create an information bank of "hot" ecological zones, to conduct a public examination of environmentally hazardous projects, to organize ecological expeditions. [106, p. 19-20]

Attempts to limit the movement of the "green" bureaucratic framework proved futile. 1988 was the year of the development of the informal environmental movement in Ukraine. The Green Movement was closely linked to the development of civic activism and democracy in Ukraine. In order for the population to feel responsible for the state of the environment, a combination of two factors was needed - socio-political and environmental. The Chernobyl accident changed the attitude of Ukrainians to the "peaceful atom". The scale of the Chernobyl disaster and the policy of publicity have forced the Communist Party bureaucracy to be relatively tolerant of informal activities.

In a number of regions of Ukraine, environmental associations have managed to achieve certain results thanks to the broad support of the population. In 1987, the regional environmental association "Green Peace" was formed in Mykolayiv, which led a wave of public protest against the development of the South Ukrainian energy complex. The Greens opposed the construction of the 4th reactor of the South Ukrainian NPP and the creation of channel reservoirs on the Southern Bug River. In 1988, activists of environmental organizations collected about 200 thousand signatures demanding an environmental examination of the construction, which were later transferred to Moscow. [107, p. 14]

In April 1989, the secretary of the Mykolayiv regional committee of the Communist Party L. Sharayev in a letter to the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party V. Shcherbytsky noted that the party's regional committee and regional executive committee repeatedly appealed to the USSR Council of Ministers construction of nuclear power plants and reservoirs. [108, p. 38]

The Crimean Association of Public Environmental Organizations "Ecology and Peace" emerged in 1988 in the midst of the struggle for the construction of the Crimean NPP. V. Pivovarov, Professor of General Physics, Simferopol State University, was elected President of the Association. In 1988, activists of the organization collected 350 thousand signatures against the construction of nuclear power plants, organized thousands of pickets in the cities of Crimea and directly on the construction site of nuclear power plants. [109, p. 9] They stressed the need to clarify the seismic characteristics of the Nuclear power station (NPS) construction area, which was not taken into account when drafting the construction project. In July 1988, by order of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, a commission was set up to clarify the geological and seismic conditions of the territory of the Crimean NPS industrial site. In October 1988, the commission recognized the magnitude of the maximum possible earthquake in the construction area - 9 points, which threatened catastrophic consequences not only for the Crimean peninsula. Under public pressure, in 1989 the construction of the Crimean NPS, the 4th reactor of the South Ukrainian NPS and reservoirs on the Southern Bug River was stopped.

In the conditions of limited liberalization of the political regime, the interest in the history of Ukraine, its national symbols, folk customs and traditions grew among the youth, and the critical attitude to the dominant communist ideology intensified. According to documents, in 1987 the Central Committee of the Young Communist League began to receive information that some members of the Komsomol had made anti-Soviet and nationalist statements. Among them were students of vocational schools from Ivano-Frankivsk, employees of "Donbaskanalbud" (Donetsk), young people of Dnepropetrovsk secondary schools. Secretary of the Komsomol Committee of the Faculty of Design and Construction of the Odessa Civil Engineering Institute M. Morilyak sought to create a group of students of Ukrainian studies from among the students from the western region of Ukraine. [88, p. 79-82]

In August 1987, the Ukrainian Cultural Club (UCC) began its activities in Kyiv. Its founders and members were former political prisoners E. Sverstyuk, O. Shevchenko, S. Naboka, L. Milyavsky, M. Horbal, V. Ovsienko, and A. Lupinis, V. Fedko, V. Ishchenko, O. Geiko-Matusevych and others. The club consisted of several sections: on Ukrainian literature, language, history, philosophy, religion. Criticizing the Soviet system, the club members turned to the history of Ukrainian statehood, considered issues of national identity, the development of Ukrainian culture. For the first time, the club's meetings called for the rehabilitation of the banned Ukrainian national symbols, the Greek Catholic and autocephalous Ukrainian churches, and the facts of the Holodomor in Ukraine in 1932-1933. [110] At one of the first meetings of the historical section, the report "Lenin and Marxism" was heard, in which it was stated that Lenin, seeing in Marxism only the doctrine of class struggle, looked at the dialectical-materialist understanding of history. The report "Recent History or Encyclopedia of Lies" argued that the borders of the USSR are protected from people who want to leave the country to escape party terror. About 300 people gathered at some meetings of the club. [88, p. 74] These were people of different ages and different professions. According to UCC member R. Polevoy, "the first secretary of the Podolsk district committee of the party, I. Saliy, came to one of the club's meetings, explaining his visit by the need to know the situation in the district entrusted to him." therefore,

meetings of the club since October 1987 were held in apartments. In the fall of 1988, the UCC joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Union with all its members.

An important milestone in the development of the informal movement was the formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. In June 1987, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued an amnesty decree on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, which contributed to the repatriation of a large number of repressed human rights defenders and dissidents in 1987-1988. V. Chornovil, B. Horyn, and I. Gel resumed the publication of the self-published magazine *Ukrainsky Visnyk*, which became the publication of the revived Ukrainian Public Group for the Promotion of the Helsinki Accords, which was banned in 1977. In July 1988, the Ukrainian Helsinki Association (UHS) was established on its basis. UHS has never sought mass. Rather, it was a well-organized, well-organized organization of like-minded people. Of the 495 delegates to the UHS congress on April 29-30, 1990, representing 2,400 members of the union, almost one in two was convicted of anti-Soviet activities. [111, p. 18]

The Ukrainian national democratic movement has never been nationally limited. The ties, friendly relations that arose during the stay of dissidents of different nationalities in the camps, the presence of a common enemy - the totalitarian Soviet empire, contributed to the establishment of contacts after liberation. On June 11-12, 1988, a meeting of representatives of the national democratic movements of Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Ukraine was held in Lviv to discuss ways to resolve the national question in the USSR. The final statement, signed by representatives of the restored UHS from Ukraine, made the following demands: granting national languages the status of state languages; their study by the whole population; functioning of national languages in all spheres of state and public life of the republics; the right to cultural and national autonomy for national minorities; return to the homeland of the peoples evicted during Stalin's rule; the need to establish the citizenship of each republic; achieving full republican self-sufficiency; creation of national military formations within the Soviet Army; military service on the territory of the republic. [112, p. 26-27] Coordination of positions on the national issue, which is extremely



important for all democratic forces, contributed to a certain synchronization of the opposition's actions. A characteristic feature of the requirements was their relative moderation and gradualness.

On July 7, 1988, the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union was promulgated. The UHC program document noted that the restoration of Ukrainian statehood, which at that time existed only on paper, would be the main permanent guarantee of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights of both the Ukrainian people and national minorities living in Ukraine. The future coexistence of the peoples of the USSR is possible in the form of a confederation of independent states, a transitional stage to which may be a federation of sovereign democratic republics. According to A. Rusnachenko, the lack of calls for Ukraine's independence in the text of the document was caused by tactical motives to enable the organization to work legally, to push public opinion, to be ahead of it, but not to break away from it. [113, p. 262-263]

B. Horyn, one of the co-founders of UHS, acknowledged that the basis of the union's political activity was evolutionary theory. In his opinion, "UHS became the first in Ukraine legal anti-Marxist well-structured organization, which set its program goal of a gradual struggle for an independent Ukrainian state." [114] "When UHS seeks to reinstate an unjustly fired person, it acts as a human rights organization; when it seeks the repeal of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution, it acts as a political organization." [115]

The organizational structure of the UHS was based on the principles of federalism with broad self-government of autonomous organizations. Regional Coordination Councils were established on the ground. Representatives of regional organizations of the union and heads of the main sections of the union elected at the all-Ukrainian conference of the UHS were elected to the All-Ukrainian Coordination Council. The recommended forms of work for all autonomous organizations were identified. Namely: wide collection of information from all areas of human rights activities using the collected material on the ground and its transfer to the regional Kyrgyz Republic and the executive committee of the WRC; appeals on behalf of

regional and other autonomous organizations and groups of UHS to local and republican authorities; appeal to the Government of the USSR and the Government of the USSR demanding legislative and other decisions; appeals to the governments of other countries that have signed the Helsinki Accords in cases where, despite appeals to the government of the USSR, violations of human and national rights continue; wide propaganda of ideas and demands of UHS through mass media, rallies, meetings, demonstrations, signature sheets, leaflets, independent press, news agencies and press of the countries that signed the Helsinki Agreement. [116, p. 40-41] As subsequent events have shown, these methods of pressure were widely used not only by UHS, but also by other informal organizations.

Thus, in Ukraine, the development of amateur activity, initiated by the processes of publicity and perestroika, contributed to the formation of associations and groups outside the Communist Party. Since 1986, the Komsomol and law enforcement agencies have stopped persecuting informal youth groups, trying to subordinate them to local Komsomol structures, and promoting informal organizations to become amateur groups. At the same time, the authorities were not prepared to cooperate with associations of cultural, educational, environmental and human rights. Local departments of official public organizations promote the legalization of informals. The formation of the UCC, the Lion Society, UHS, and environmental organizations marked a natural stage in the further structuring of the informal movement at the local level and the growing influence of the creative intelligentsia and former dissidents on socio-political processes in Ukraine.

#### **3.1.4 Formation of informal all-Ukrainian public organizations**

1989 should be considered the year of formation of informal all-Ukrainian public organizations, which was caused by a number of factors. First, in all regions of Ukraine there were informal associations and groups free from the influence of party and state structures. The development of civic activity contributed to the structuring of some associations at the regional level, the development of horizontal ties at the interregional level, the search for like-minded people within Ukraine. Secondly, the growth of socio-

political activity of Ukrainian citizens was caused by the preparation and participation in the elections of people's deputies of the USSR in the spring of 1989 and the deterioration of the population's supply of consumer goods. Third, the successful development of a mass socio-political organization, the People's Movement of Ukraine (NRU), could only take place on the ground prepared by informal associations. At the same time, the intensification of movement structures contributed to the consolidation and consolidation of informal associations into public organizations.

The impetus for the establishment of the People's Movement was the holding of the constituent congresses of the People's Fronts of the Baltic republics in the autumn of 1988. In October 1988, at an environmental seminar held at the Writers' Union of Ukraine (SPU), a proposal was made in a speech by F. Burlachuk to create a People's Front of Ukraine. In November, an initiative group to promote perestroika is being set up under the SPU party committee. At the same time at the Institute of Literature. Thanks to the activity of the secretary of the party bureau V. Bryukhovetsky, an initiative group was also created. In January 1989, the draft program of the NRU was supported by a meeting of the staff of the Institute of Literature. Taras Shevchenko and the general meeting of the Kyiv Writers' Organization. On February 16, 1989, the draft program of the NRU was published in the newspaper "Literary Ukraine". [117, p. 20-21] The main goal of the NRU was to assist the current government in creating and operating a democratic mechanism that would serve the development of a society based on true democracy and a balanced economy that meets the needs of the Ukrainian people and the entire population of Ukraine, any violations of social, political, economic and environmental human rights are impossible. [118, p. 3] During the spring and summer of 1989, founding conferences of Rukh supporters took place in the regions of Ukraine, which contributed to the intensification of informal associations in all regions of Ukraine. On March 4, 1989, the founding conference of the Memorial Voluntary Historical and Educational Society was held at the Republican House of Cinematographers. Its organizers were the Union of Cinematographers, Writers, Artists, Architects, Theater Actors of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, the newspaper "Literary Ukraine". [117, p. 37] On May 27, 1989, the founding conference

of the regional society "Memorial" took place in Lviv, which approved the charter of the regional organization. The statute noted that "Memorial" intends to promote the complete and final elimination of Stalinism and neo-Stalinism in all spheres of public life, creating effective guarantees of the inevitability of the democratization process, the revival and establishment of humanism. [119, p. 17]

An important milestone not only in the development of Ukrainian cultural and educational societies, but also in the development of the informal movement in Ukraine should be considered the beginning of the Ukrainian Language Society named after Taras Shevchenko (TUM). The organizational design of the educational organization began in Lviv on June 20, 1988. The founding organizations of the Society are the Lviv regional branches of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, the Writers' Union of Ukraine, the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, and the Ukraine Society. The educational organization was headed by the famous Ukrainian writer R. Ivanychuk. The main tasks of the Society were to popularize and expand the functioning of the Ukrainian language by involving the general public and interested organizations, using their creative initiative, voluntary cooperation and material opportunities. [119, p. 1] According to the statute developed by the Lviv TUM Council in 1988-1989, regional centers in Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Yalta, Nikopol, Ternopil, Rivne began to work.

The Communist Party leadership in the regions tried to counteract the unauthorized and mass initiative. In Kolomyia and Ivano-Frankivsk, the administration did not allow a constituent assembly. In Donetsk, at the founding meeting of the Society in January 1989, two points of view fought for the right to exist. The first was to create an effective Ukrainian national-patriotic cultural organization. While the second position, supported by the CPU regional committee, was to create a "native language society" with many national sections, including Ukrainian, which leveled and solved the main problem - the revival of the language and culture of the indigenous people. [120, p.13] The Mykolayiv Regional Committee of the Communist Party in December 1989 informed the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine that the attempt of the "nationalist elements" to head the local Ukrainian Language

Society had been thwarted. The society included party workers, "advanced intelligentsia", who tried to overcome the "manifestations of nationalism" in the activities of the organization. [94, p.111]

The process of organizational design of the Ukrainian Language Society named after Taras Shevchenko ended on February 11-12, 1989 at the founding republican conference in Kyiv. In his speech, R. Ivanychuk noted the fact that "Lviv is slowly becoming the center of the Republican Society, and the forces to cover all regions of the republic and go beyond its borders, where many Ukrainians live - not enough, so I proposed to create Republican Society of the Ukrainian Language in Kyiv." The conference was attended by 405 delegates from all regions of Ukraine, representatives of Ukrainian cultural societies from Russia, Latvia, Estonia and Poland. The conference adopted the charter of the Society, which noted the direction of the establishment of the Ukrainian language in all areas of public life of Ukraine, its comprehensive development, protection of its purity and identity; for the preservation and development of national culture and traditions of the Ukrainian people; formation of national self-consciousness and historical memory of citizens; overcoming national nihilism; harmonious development of interethnic relations. [121, p. 185]

TUM became the first mass amateur public organization in Ukraine, the formation of which took place outside the influence of party structures. At the beginning of 1989 the organization numbered up to 70 thousand people, in June of the same year the number of members reached 200 thousand [113, p. 260] The value of TUM then. Taras Shevchenko was that on May 20, 1989 the Society became the first informal organization of Ukraine, registered at the national level. The local branches of the society contributed to the formation of another mass socio-political organization, which became an alternative to the CPU - the People's Movement of Ukraine. According to V. Biletsky, who was one of the organizers of the TUM and Rukh structures in Donetsk region, "the Ukrainian Language Society and the Rukh were ideological twins, dual membership was considered the norm, even their central governing bodies worked side by side in the same room in the Writers' Union. he did

not have the status and acted under legal cover and literally under the roof of the Society.” [120, p. 216]

In the late 80's in Ukraine there are a number of youth organizations, alternative to the Komsomol: "Sich", "Sprouts", "Golden Eagle" and others. The Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth (SNUM) has gained considerable popularity. In July 1989, the Union of Ukrainian Youth was established in Kharkiv. On August 19 of the same year, the Lviv Union of the same name was established. On September 20, the Kyiv leadership of SNUM was organized, and on October 28, the Ternopil leadership. Yu. Morhun, one of the leaders of the Ternopil branch of SNUM, acknowledged that the program of their activities is based on the declarative principles of UHS. During the period from August 1989 to May 1990, SNUM organized 27 mass socio-political actions, including 23 unauthorized people, in which 64 thousand people took part. In 1990, SNUM supported 28 percent of the youth of Lviv, 30 percent - in Ivano-Frankivsk, 15 percent - in Donetsk. [119, p. 91-94] The program of the Kyiv organization of SNUM, which was adopted in November 1989, clearly defined the main goal of the organization: "SNUM seeks to rebuild the Ukrainian Independent Conciliar State in all Ukrainian territories. group affiliation, which is based on the political sovereignty of the Ukrainian State and the political independence of the Ukrainian liberation struggle. On May 27-28, 1990, the first All-Ukrainian Congress of the SNUM took place in Ivano-Frankivsk, uniting 18 regional organizations into a single union. The number of SNUM at that time did not exceed 1 thousand people. [122, p. 333]

The social base of the newly created youth organizations was mainly students. In 1990, there were 148 universities and 738 technical schools in Ukraine. Inpatient training covered more than 1 million people. In May 1989, the creation of the Student Brotherhood was proclaimed in Lviv. The main activities of the youth organization were the creation of a system of social protection of students, the impact on the quality of the student process, participation in the socio-political life of universities, cultural and educational activities. The program principles of the new youth association were formulated at a rally on August 31, 1989 in Lviv. The resolution of the rally noted:

"Student Brotherhood" in close cooperation with the NRU, TUM, SNUM, the Lion Society, Plast fights for the revival of national education based on the experience and traditions of Ukrainian higher education and societies "Education", "Sich", "Falcon". The participants of the rally demanded to legalize the Ukrainian national symbols; to teach disciplines in universities in the Ukrainian language; opposed the annual compulsory agricultural trials for students; supported the proposal to establish university councils on the basis of equal representation of teachers and students. [123, p. 16-17]

On December 8-10, 1989, the founding congress of the Ukrainian Student Union (USU) took place at Kyiv State University (KSU). 167 delegates from 13 cities of Ukraine took part in its work. The most numerous were delegations from Kyiv - 69 people representing 9 universities, and Lviv - 49 people (6 universities). Among the delegates were representatives of informal student organizations: "Student Brotherhood" (Lviv), "Free Wave" (Odesa), "Left Front of Independent Students" (Dnepropetrovsk). KSU student S. Kyrychenko made the main report. It formulated the following requirements: the abolition of Article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR, the independence of the USSR as a socio-political organization from power; abolition of social science courses and state exams in Marxism-Leninism; deideologization of education; free establishment of religious associations in universities; introduction of spiritual education; liquidation of KGB departments in universities. [124, p. 218]

In December 1989, members of the Student Brotherhood initiated a movement to abolish state exams in the history of the CPSU, scientific communism, and Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Thus, on December 18, 1989, a warning strike of students took place at the Lviv Polytechnic Institute under the slogans: "Get out of the curriculum of social disciplines!", "Democratic elections of the rector of the institute." Similar requirements took place in other universities of the city. [125, p. 19]

At the beginning of June 1989, there were 47,000 amateur associations in Ukraine, of which 6,957 were socio-political, 1,460 cultural-historical, 1,946 environmental and 10,859 artistic and entertainment, 6,124 physical culture and health, and sports and technical. - 4239, collection and collection - 685 and 14 politicized

organizations: in Kyiv - Ukrainian Cultural Club, Ukrainian People's Democratic League, "Community", "Heritage", "Society for Rehabilitation of Political Prisoners", Committee for the Revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; in Lviv - the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Committee for the Protection of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Lion Society; in Odessa - the People's Union for Assistance to Perestroika; in Crimea - "Good will"; in Kharkiv - "April", "Chance"; in Ivano-Frankivsk - the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Front. These organizations became the basis for the formation of grassroots structures of the People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika. Politicized associations spread their influence throughout Ukraine. Thus, UHS at that time had branches in 9 regions of Ukraine - Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Chernivtsi, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Vinnytsia, Donetsk, Kyiv. [117, p. 76-77]

Lack of access to the official media forced the informals to intensify efforts to hold rallies and demonstrations, to organize the publication of self-published literature. The number of rallies was approaching as the Rukh's founding congress approached. From August 1988 to July 1989, 97 unauthorized rallies were held in Ukraine. Over the next two months, there were 145. Participants demanded recognition at the legislative level of the Ukrainian national flag, the anthem "Ukraine is not dead yet", the proclamation of Ukrainian as the state language, rehabilitation of all victims of Stalinist repression, legalization of the banned Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. [126, p. 109, 210]

The Ukrainian diaspora and foreign media outlets, such as the Voice of America, Radio Svoboda, etc., which covered protests in Ukraine, broadcast appeals and appeals of leaders of informal organizations to the Ukrainian public, had a certain influence on the development of the informal movement in Ukraine. According to the USSR KGB, in 1989 foreign OUN units allocated more than \$ 600,000 to support the national liberation movement in Ukraine. Of which \$ 100,000 was spent on publishing nationalist literature for distribution in the USSR. 50 thousand dollars was financial assistance to various organizations and groups. [127, p.14-15]



The growth of social activity of the population was perceived with anxiety in the party structures. The information of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine dated August 29, 1989 noted: "Currently, the socio-political situation is characterized by increasing politicization of all segments and groups of the population. Its situation is negatively affected by serious difficulties in solving economic, social and environmental problems." It was emphasized that there are 1.5 thousand amateur groups in the region, including about 20 politicized cultural and national social formations, socio-political organizations, the active composition of which is several hundred people (Ukrainian Language Society named after D.I. Yavornytsky, environmental association, society of historians, "Memorial", UHS, confederation of anarcho-syndicalists, etc.). The social basis of these associations were representatives of the creative, scientific and technical intelligentsia, dissidents who suffered during the years of stagnation. In July-August 1989, these organizations held a series of rallies in Dnipropetrovsk, Kryvyi Rih, and Dniprodzerzhynsk under the slogan "All Power to the Soviets." On August 19, 1989, despite a government ban, the NRU's founding conference was held, and on August 20, a rally under the slogan "Council without Communists" was held. Of particular concern to the workers of the regional committee was the desire of the Communists - university teachers to create a party club "Communists for Perestroika". [128, p. 19-21]

Some regional committees of the CPU tried to influence the informal movement, to subjugate it to official policy. Thus, the Zaporizhzhya Regional Committee of the Communist Party tried to create a coordinating council of social movements "within the framework of combining the initiative from below with the activities of party and Soviet bodies." The Sich Political Club (Zaporizhzhya) and the Union for Reconstruction Assistance (Mariupol) not only refrained from joining the union, but also supported the process of forming local branches of the NRU. In Nikolaev in July, 1989 the regional committee of party held a meeting of heads of influential public organizations, including informal, at which offered to create coordinating council on

assistance to perestroika. The initiative group for the formation of the NRU (activists of the Taras Shevchenko TUM and the Green Peace Association) refused to cooperate.

In the summer of 1989, an initiative group was set up in Transcarpathia on the initiative of the regional organization of the Writers' Union of Ukraine to prepare for the NRU regional conference. The Communist Party Regional Committee suggested that party organizations "bring to justice members of the CPSU who are in vague ideological positions, if necessary, to create alternative labor formations in labor collectives." [128, p. 21-31]

In the process of developing the democratic movement in Ukraine, some national societies tried to use language and cultural issues to change the administrative and territorial structure of the country. In February 1989, the Society of Hungarian Culture of Transcarpathia (TUKZ) was founded. On September 3, 1989, the Beregovo district organization TUKZ initiated the creation of the Hungarian Autonomous Okrug on the basis of the Beregovo district of the Zakarpattia region, emphasizing that 73 percent of the population of the district is Hungarian. [117, p. 155-156] October 14, 1989 at a meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party considered a note of the Transcarpathian Regional Committee of the party, which noted that the situation in TUKZ out of party control. At the initiative of TUKZ and with the participation of people from Hungary, work is underway to restore monuments and signs with the names of famous Hungarian statesmen in the region. During their official speeches, the leaders of the TUKZ supported the demands of the democratic forces to give the Ukrainian language the status of the state language. At a meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party it was stated that the structures of the Rukh Movement are interested in the activities of the society. [129, p. 25-26]

Informal associations have tried to extend their influence to labor collectives. The Kyiv regional committee of the party stated that in the summer of 1989 NRU branches were established in 17 groups, and work on their organization was being carried out in 28 groups. The Rukh branches at the Lenin Forge plant, the Kyivmetrobud production association, and the institutes of the USSR Academy of

Sciences were especially active. The guild party organizations of the Chernihiv Radio Equipment Plant instrumental production association published an open letter in the factory's multi-volume edition demanding the eviction of party and Soviet workers from the elite building and the placement of a children's preschool in the building itself; to transfer to the medical institutions of the city a dormitory and medical and sanatorium management at the regional party committee. [128, p. 93]

A significant event in the development of the amateur socio-political movement in Ukraine was the founding congress of the NRU (Rukh), which took place on September 8-10, 1989. At the time of the founding congress, there were about 500 primary organizations of the Movement, of which more than 70 percent operated in the Western region of Ukraine. In Kyiv, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Rivne, and Ternopil, the Movement's organizations were established at many large enterprises and academic institutes. 1109 delegates registered at the constituent congress, representing about 280,000 active participants (according to the party's regional committees, 77,000). At that time, among the members of the Rukh were representatives of: engineering and technical workers - 22.3 percent, creative intelligentsia - 14.9 percent, teachers - 13.4 percent, researchers - 12 percent, workers - 9 percent, employees - 9 percent, retirees - 4.3 percent, middle managers - 3.6 percent. About 8 percent of the Movement's members were Communists and 35 percent were Komsomol members. More than half of them were between the ages of 25 and 45. Among the motives that led to the NRU's participation were concerns about the fate of the republic - 84 percent of responses, desire to preserve Ukraine's national identity (78 percent), dissatisfaction with the activities of party, Soviet and public organizations (62.4 percent). Proponents of national-democratic orientation accounted for 24 percent of the congress delegates, and 23.5 percent of the population. [117, p. 198-200] Public opinion polls show the significant popularity of the newly created organization. 36.9 percent of the population of Ukraine supported the idea of its creation, 28 percent did not express their opinion, 25 percent negatively assessed the creation of the Rukh. According to analysts of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the social base of Rukh supporters was about 12 million people. In Kyiv, the Movement was positively assessed - 61.8 percent

of respondents, in Lviv - 53.4 percent. 44.1 percent of respondents expected the solution of economic problems with the creation of the Movement, 26.3 percent - environmental, 12 percent - cultural and linguistic, 13.3 - political. [117, p. 203-204]

Thus, during 1989, all-Ukrainian public organizations, free from party guardianship, were established in Ukraine – TUM named after Taras Shevchenko, Green Peace, Memorial, youth organizations, workers' strike committees, which united a significant part of Ukrainian youth, creative and scientific-technical intelligentsia, workers and former dissidents. Thanks to their active work, the Communist Party regime was gradually liberalized, and conditions were created for the emergence and deployment of a mass opposition organization, the People's Movement of Ukraine (Rukh). The logic of the development of socio-political processes in Ukraine, the lack of opportunities for the creation of political parties politicized the informal movement. Informal associations were formed on the basis of a voluntary initiative of the citizens of Ukraine. The self-satisfaction of party bodies in the presence of mass (in terms of number of members) state-owned public organizations, which recognized the leading and guiding role of the CPSU-CPU and were part of the command-and-bureaucratic system, proved fatal. For most, membership in trade unions, the Komsomol, the Communist Party, and other public soviet organizations was not a conscious choice, but for the most part a fulfillment of the rules of the game necessary for a quiet life or career. The emergence of alternative organizations has shown that small groups can be much more effective not only in the protection of historical and cultural monuments, but also in environmental protection, in the competition for the state status of the Ukrainian language. Millions of Ukrainians have begun to feel like conscious citizens, on whose will the fate of Ukraine and the future of their children will depend.

The government's publicity policy and the elimination of censorship played a significant role in the development of the informal movement. Previously unknown information about the historical past of the Ukrainian people, its cultural heritage, and current socio-economic problems that needed to be addressed appeared in the columns of central and national newspapers and magazines. Attempts by the Communist Party leadership to dose information proved ineffective. Distrust of the official assessment

of the causes of the Chernobyl catastrophe led to the emergence of politicized informal associations that criticized the ability of the CPSU-CPU to determine the effective path of socio-economic development of Ukraine.

The deteriorating economic situation in the country during the years of perestroika, the lack of tangible results of reforms did not increase the authority of the ruling Communist Party. The impetus for thousands of miners' rallies and strikes in the summer of 1989 was the lack of detergents, the unsatisfactory state of social infrastructure in the miners' settlements, and the lack of free sale of a number of food and industrial goods.

The formation of the Rukh was in line with complex socio-political transformations not only in the republics of the Soviet Union, but also in the countries of the so-called "socialist camp". Dissatisfaction of the masses with the policies of the ruling communist regimes led to the emergence of mass opposition movements in Hungary, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia. In Poland, the Solidarity trade union has gone underground. These events could not but affect the intensification of social processes in Ukraine. A. Michnik, one of the active participants in the opposition movement in Poland, speaking at the founding congress of the Movement, said: "A common European family must be built on equal rights for all peoples. Every nation must have the right to its own identity, its own history, its own national symbols." [130]