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COOPERATION OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WITH LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT BODIES AND STATE AUTHORITIES IN 1988 – 2021 (ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE WESTERN REGION OF UKRAINE)

Abstract. The purpose of the article – in a historical context to study the effectiveness of public organizations cooperation of the western region of Ukraine with local self-governments and state authorities (1988–2021) on the example of a unique "The Lion Society", Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society (CSS) "Rukh", Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Association of All-Ukrainian T. Shevchenko Society "Prosvita". The research methodology is based on the principles of objectivity and historicism, which provide for the analysis of individual phenomena and processes in their development and close connection with the system of relevant social relations; historical facts are considered against the background of political processes, which in its turn involves the use of the method of comparative analysis, which clarifies the essence of many significant events in the Ukrainian socio-political thought. The scientific novelty: the problems faced by public organizations and local self-governments and state authorities have been outlined; the achievements

and prospects of the Ukrainian cultural and educational societies at different historical stages have been generalized; the programme of action between public organizations and local self-governments, and the state authorities has been elaborated. The Conclusions. Nowadays, an effective mechanism for cooperation between public organizations and local governments, and state authorities has been created and tested in Ukraine, but not implemented at the national level yet. The function of supporting the civil society can and must be taken over by both public organizations and local self-governments, and the state authorities. Unfortunately, they still have many prejudices against each other. The founders of "Prosvita" Society (the so-called "mother" of the Ukrainian societies) were deeply aware of the need to create the nation and its self-affirmation under the conditions of a foreign occupation. Assessing the achievements and prospects of the Ukrainian cultural and educational societies at different historical stages, it is necessary to focus on preserving the genetic memory of the people. After the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, the task arose of forming a civil society, reviving and developing the spirituality of the Ukrainian people. "The Lion Society", Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh", Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Association of the All-Ukrainian T. Shevchenko "Prosvita" Society and the others elaborated the programme of action: introduction into the public consciousness of understanding the need for selforganization of communities, an active citizenship, the priority of traditional Ukrainian national values; support of the Ukrainian language, history, culture, church, Christian morality; promoting the formation of a comprehensively developed highly educated, nationally conscious, socially active personality.

Key words: "Prosvita" Society, native language, historical memory, Ukraine, civil society.

СПІВПРАЦЯ ГРОМАДСЬКИХ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЙ З ОРГАНАМИ МІСЦЕВОГО САМОВРЯДУВАННЯ ТА ДЕРЖАВНОЇ ВЛАДИ У 1988 – 2021 рр. (НА ПРИКЛАДІ ЗАХІДНОГО РЕГІОНУ УКРАЇНИ)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – в історичному контексті дослідити ефективність співпраці громадських організацій західного регіону України з органами місцевого самоврядування та державної влади (1988—2021) на прикладі унікальних за своєю потугою "Товариства Лева", Івано-Франківського обласного культурно-наукового товариства (КНТ) "Рух", Івано-Франківського обласного об'єднання Всеукраїнського товариства "Просвіта" ім. Т. Шевченка. Методологія дослідження спирається на принципи об'єктивності та історизму, що передбачають розгляд окремих явищ і процесів у їх розвитку та тісному зв'язку із системою відповідних суспільних відносин; історичні факти аналізуються на фоні політичних процесів, що передбачає застосування методу порівняльного аналізу, завдяки якому з'ясовано сутність багатьох знакових для української суспільно-політичної думки подій. Наукова новизна: окреслено проблеми, з якими зустрічаються громадські організації та органи місцевого самоврядування й державної влади; узагальнено здобутки й перспективи українських культурно-освітніх товариств на різних історичних етапах; вироблено програму дій між громадськими організаціями та органами місцевого самоврядування і державної влади. Висновки. На сьогоднішній день в Україні створено й апробовано, але не впроваджено на загальнодержавному рівні, ефективний механізм співпраці громадських організацій та органів місцевого самоврядування й державної влади. Функцію підтримки громадянського суспільства можуть і повинні брати на себе як громадські організації, так і органи місцевого самоврядування та державної влади. На жаль, вони мають одні до одних ще багато упереджень. Творці "Просвіти" (матері українських товариств) глибоко усвідомлювали потребу творення нації та її самоутвердження в умовах іноземної окупації. Оцінюючи здобутки й перспективи українських культурно-освітніх товариств на різних історичних етапах, необхідно акцентувати увагу на справі збереження генетичної пам'яті народу. Після проголошення незалежності України постало завдання формування громадянського суспільства, відродження і розвитку духовності українського народу. "Товариство Лева", Івано-Франківське обласне культурно-наукове товариство "Рух", Івано-Франківське обласне об'єднання Всеукраїнського товариства "Просвіта" ім. Т. Шевченка та інші виробили програму дій: впровадження у суспільну свідомість розуміння необхідності самоорганізації громад, активної громадянської позиції, пріоритету традиційних українських національних цінностей; підтримка української мови, історії, культури, церкви, християнської моралі; сприяння формуванню всебічно розвиненої високоосвіченої, національно свідомої, соціально активної особистості.

Ключові слова: товариство "Просвіта", рідна мова, історична пам'ять, Україна, громадянське суспільство.

The Problem Statement. Democracy in Ukraine, as in the rest of the world, cannot function without conscious citizens who trust democratic institutions and take an active part in the society life. At this historical stage, a civil society faces many obstacles: nostalgia for the totalitarian state of "control and supervision", disappointment with imperfect institutions and procedures of democracy, exclusion outside the boundaries of entire social groups. The activity scope of a civil society grows constantly. One of the leading roles in this process should be played by public organizations and government agencies.

It is important for the Ukrainian public to realize that it is possible to interact with the authorities productively. Local self-governments can order some of the services, let's say, of a social nature, from organizations that are better at this issue (from within) and perform this task for less money. Local self-governments and authorities can announce competitions in many spheres of a public life among organizations, followed by funding for the best projects. The most effective diagnosis of the needs of the local community can be made by public organizations. These circumstances should be used by local self-governments for common identification of social problems. To achieve effective results, the public should combine various forms of influence (dialogue, lobbying, protests) actively. It is especially useful to inform public authorities about their activities, initiatives and opportunities, to identify promising areas of cooperation and to offer specific recommendations when discussing certain issues. In terms of membership in public organizations, Ukraine is inferior not only to developed democracies, but also to many posttotalitarian countries in Latin America. The experience of democratic states of the world shows that proper public participation contributes to the effectiveness of public administration, openness and transparency of public bodies, increases the level of trust in the state authorities.

The purpose of the article – in the historical context, to study the effectiveness of public organizations cooperation in the western region of Ukraine with local self-governments and state authorities on the example of a unique "The Lion Society", Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society (CST) "Rukh", Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Association of All-Ukrainian T. Shevchenko Society "Prosvita".

The Analysis of Recent Researches and Publications. Scientific approaches to the development of a civil society in Ukraine, the role of interaction in this process between government and non-governmental organizations are reflected in numerous publications of researchers: V. Bulba, S. Vysotska, L. Honiukova, V. Kupriya, M. Lohunova, S. Malash, Ya. Malyk, V. Rebkalo, V. Rubtsova, S. Teleshun and the others. Nowadays, the system of public administration needs to be improved in the area of delimitation of powers of executive bodies and local self-government bodies and their public relations. These public relations are analyzed by a wide range of researchers in the field of public relations, for example: O. Babikov, V. Bebyk, R. Voitovych, V. Karpenko, V. Komarovsky, V. Korolko, V. Malynovsky, V. Mamonova, N. Nyzhnyk, H. Odintsova, P. Petrovsky, V. Shapoval and the others. They consider public relations as a supporting function in public administration.

At the present stage of Ukraine's development, reforming public administration and local self-government is one of the main tasks. Their low quality hampers the economic and social development of the country and the reason for lagging in the world competition. The issue of improving the dialogue between the public, public organizations with the authorities directly at all levels for the successful reforms implementation of is especially topical.

The delimitation issue of functions and powers, and interaction directions between local state administrations and local self-government bodies is topical because these bodies often come into conflict with each other due to different understanding of the use limits of their functions and powers, and all this has a negative impact on the public relations. The need for differentiation is substantiated by the researcher Ya. Malyk for a number of reasons: the need to establish specific political and legal responsibility of these bodies for the areas of work defined by the constitution and laws; violation of the established balance of interests between these bodies; the presence of gaps in the regulation or duplication of certain powers (Malyk, 2015, p. 360).

M. Rykun, a researcher, emphasizes that public relations should include honest, open and friendly relations between public authorities and local self-government bodies. They are obliged to inform the population of the development directions, programmes and services provided by them, to report on their activities and to be responsible. Democratic countries have been forming the experience of a social activity for centuries. In these countries, the government recognizes the importance of a public opinion and the need to take it into account when making responsible decisions (Rykun, 2013, p. 216).

It was such practice, for one of the authors of the article (O. Maliarchuk), as for a beginner, a school teacher of History, to participate in the activities of Kalush T. Shevchenko Association of the Ukrainian Language Society "Renaissance" since 1990 and to summarize the cooperation experience with authorities and local self-government. In 2020, the book "Kalush City Council of the First Democratic Convocation: History in Documents" was published (Малярчук, 2020) in which this issue was partially outlined. In 2021 – "Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" – a harbinger of the Ukrainian Revival of 1988 – 1991" (Maliarchuk, Kohut, Ivasiv & Ostapiak, 2021) and the others.

The Main Material Statement. On March 11, 1996 in Ivano-Frankivsk the leaders of 20 public organizations of Prykarpattia established the Council of Non-Governmental Organizations. The purpose of the Council of non-governmental organizations - to increase the social activity of citizens in building democracy and socially-oriented market relations in Ukraine, improvement of the legislative and normative field of activity of non-governmental (public organizations) and formation of a single information network. Three years later, the Council included 26 leading organizations in the western region of Ukraine. Key positions were occupied deservedly by - "The Lion Society" (Lviv), Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" and Ivano-Frankivsk T. Shevchenko City Society of the Ukrainian Language "Prosvita". These are the first public organizations in Ukraine - "harbingers of independence". In the recollections of "The Lion Society", "Rukh", "Prosvita" old members you can hear that nowadays it is difficult to find out how "once it was" - the process of organizations formation is meant. In 1989, the societies were at the peak of popularity. From the very beginning, they had three areas of activity - ethnographic, environmental and historical. The societies were a response to a social demand. In 1991, Ukraine's independence was on the agenda. Their leadership went into big politics. However, in the societies there was preserved Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk format (in Kyiv - The Ukrainian Cultural Club, "Heritage", "Community", in Ternopil - "Vertep" ("The Nativity Scene"), in Chernivtsi - "Oberih"), in Kamianets-Podilsky - "Creativity", in Vinnytsia - "Truth"). In fact, the societies were political organizations, an the alternative to the CPSU - CPU. Hundreds and later thousands of people joined the societies, who agreed to selfless work for the future of Ukraine. Nowadays, Ivano-Frankivsk regional association of All-Ukrainian T. Shevchenko Society "Prosvita" is the most organized and effective establishment within Ukraine and the diaspora.

At the beginning of the 1990s, in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk and Ternopil regions the overwhelming majority in the region, district, city, and village councils of people's deputies

were the representatives of the national democratic forces. This allowed the formation of a strong political opposition in the Verkhovna Rada of the UkrSSR called the "People's Council". Although they were in the minority (120 deputies out of 450), they were followed by millions of citizens and the future. The fateful historical milestones were July of 16, 1990, the adoption of the Declaration of the State Sovereignty of Ukraine, August of 24, 1991, the proclamation of the Act of the State Independence of Ukraine with the All-Ukrainian referendum on December 1, 1991, the work of the "Galician Assembly" and the others.

The national revival and socio-political processes in Ivano-Frankivsk region had their own peculiarities. At the end of 1987, young patriots organized Ivano-Frankivsk Cultural and Scientific Society (CSS) "Rukh" ("Maly Rukh"), headed by Markiyan Chuchuk, Yaroslav Shevchuk and Zinovy Duma. "The Krok" newspaper, following Lviv "The Postup", launched a new non-censorship press in the region. The active work of these organizations created a favorable political background and gave impetus to the resumption of "Prosvita" in the form of T. Shevchenko the Ukrainian Language Society as a mass socio-political organization throughout Ukraine. Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Society (CSS) "Rukh" is one of the sources of the People's Movement of Ukraine (NRU), the newest political parties, societies, unions and on March 4, 1990 the election on an alternative basis of deputies of local, district, regional and the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. From Ivano-Frankivsk region 11 out of 12 elected deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of the Ukrainian SSR were supported by T. Shevchenko the Ukrainian Language Society and Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh" (Maliarchuk, 2015, p. 400).

Twice there was adopted the programme "Prosvita: the XXIst Century" (2013 – 2016 and 2017 – 2021) with appropriate funding in Ivano-Frankivsk region with the participation of representative and executive authorities, clergy, intelligentsia. Why is there no such programme at the state level, as in other regions, in particular in Lviv, where the Society "Prosvita" was born? Obviously, the upper echelons of government still do not sufficiently understand the importance of "Prosvita" activities. In turn, "Prosvita" members and the public do not properly defend this national cause. In this sense, the adopted regional target programmes "Prosvita: the XXIst Century" can be a model for other regions and extended throughout Ukraine (Volkovetskyi, 2018, p. 11).

An important achievement in the activities of Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Society was the adoption of the Concept of the revival of "Prosvita" in all towns and villages, educational and labor collectives of the region by the regional council. This, a rather ambitious task for "Prosvita" members was approved by the regional council and became the basis for the adoption of regional target programmes. These programmes provided support for "Prosvita" activities, including financial support by the authorities – both regional, district and city councils. About 90% of the funds were spent to maintain and support the activities of the People's House "Prosvita". This programme gave the opportunity for a wide range of activities, to be at the centre of a public life and to play a consolidating role.

Nowadays, Ivano-Frankivsk regional association of the All-Ukrainian Taras Shevchenko Society "Prosvita" includes 17 district and city associations, which work in accordance with their statutes, and with a membership of 12 thousand people. In some districts of the region, societies were established in each village in accordance with the Concept of "Prosvita" revival. According to many public activists of Ukraine and our personal point of view – Ivano-Frankivsk Regional "Prosvita" is the most organized and effective society in Ukraine (Volkovetskyi, 2020).

The essence of the above-mentioned Concept is that on the basis of the "Prosvita" tradition in each village the "Prosvita" society should be established, which would become the basis of the community, its active core. It should include educators, cultural workers, priests (without distinction of religion), the head of the united territorial community elected by the locals, and authoritative persons – "Prosvita" activists. In Galicia "Prosvita" started this practice during the Austrian period, and continued it during the interwar period of the Polish occupation. It proved to be effective – it worked for the Ukrainian national idea and Ukraine's independence.

The head of Ivano-Frankivsk regional association of VUT "Prosvita" S. Volkovetsky notes: "There is another aspect and political need for such societies. The Ukrainian state has set itself the goal of creating a civil society where the basis should be the community. But, as we know, the basis of the community and its core are active people, so it is about this asset being formed precisely on the basis of the "Prosvita" idea. This is especially important in connection with the ongoing reform of the state on decentralization, the creation of a united territorial community (OTH). It is obvious that the community will be able and effective when an active core is formed there, which we propose to form on the basis of the "Prosvita" tradition" (Volkovetskyi, 2018, p. 12).

The "Prosvita" People's House in Ivano-Frankivsk was the headquarters of the formation and headquarters of the opposition forces at the time of the two Maidans – the Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity. With the establishment of the Yanukovych regime in the country, "Prosvita" activists organized a regional opposition organization to power – the Committee for the Defense of Ukraine, headed by the deputies of Ukraine of the first convocation: S. Volkovetsky and D. Zakharuk. This Committee proved itself by organizing mass protests, various appeals at the time when the general public had not yet seen the danger of this anti-people regime. With the beginning of the Russian aggression in the East of Ukraine, Ivano-Frankivsk regional association T. Shevchenko "Prosvita" Society became the initiator and organizer of the People's Homeguard of Prykarpattia as a form of a territorial defense. It organized the training of young men who later proved themselves in the war zone in eastern Ukraine.

Nowadays, "Prosvita" activists and "Rukh" activists of the region see their task in passing on the glorious historical traditions to the younger generation. The leadership of the societies seeks to modernize the structures of the organization and make them attractive to young people, using the latest information technologies and means of communication. For example, the "Prosvita" newspaper "The Halytska Prosvita" is published, "Prosvita" Society has its own website, at which the events are elucidated on social networks. "Moloda Prosvita" and "Molodyi Rukh" are active as well, summer youth camps are organized every year, youth events are held, and new forms of work with the younger generation are sought.

In the scientific publications it is generalized that the practice of public relations involves, first of all, informing the public in order to give it a general idea of the activities, implementation of plans and problems they have to solve. To achieve this goal, the executive authorities use the following main types of communication channels: a direct communication – personal contacts among citizens (associations of citizens), on the one hand, and officials of the authority – on the other hand; communication through the media (press, television, radio, computer networks). According to L. Hurina, in order to achieve mutual understanding, friendly relations and cooperation between public authorities and the public, the following requirements should be met: to provide broad, adequate information to both the whole public and its individual social groups; to organize effective "feedback" with the public; to involve the public into the discussion and decision-making process (Hurina, 2013, p. 78).

Public participation is an important tool for the development of democratic processes, which, unfortunately, is still underused in Ukraine and is clearly underestimated. Much remains to be done to create a stable mechanism for public participation and the effective use of its benefits in the decision-making process. To do this, it is necessary to improve legislation, to develop information systems, to strengthen ties among the state authorities, the media and public organizations. In general, in recent years the involvement of public organizations into the decision-making process on many important issues has reached a new stage of development. The society became more open, citizens have more rights to access information and the opportunity to influence decision-making. However, citizens still face serious difficulties. The reasons for these difficulties consist in the lack of democratic traditions in the society, the lack of necessary skills in conducting qualified procedures for a public participation. The general underestimation of the importance of public involvement into the decision-making process has also a negative impact on the realization of the legal rights of citizens.

In other words, an effective mechanism of interaction between public societies and public administration bodies has not been worked out, which is a necessary condition for democratization of the society. This, of course, would help solve many topical problems

At the same time, it is worth mentioning the dedicated activities of public organizations members. The Ukrainian intelligentsia of that period of time considered the activities their sacred duty. And what is observed nowadays? Are there many public activists among teachers, doctors, lawyers, priests, engineers, teachers, civil servants? There is something to think about...

International and domestic societal challenges were, are and will be. In previous historical epochs there were of one kind, nowadays – of a different one. And if our predecessors were able to overcome the challenges under incredibly difficult conditions of totalitarian political regimes, often risking their lives and the well-being of their families, then why can't we do it nowadays, after the proclamation of Ukraine's independence? The task of the time is essentially the same – to introduce a national ideology into people's minds through "Prosvita" activity.

What is needed for a full-fledged activity of "Prosvita" in this direction?

Firstly, the state support. Ideological work is a function of the state. Naturally, the state should properly fund ideological work at all levels (center – region – district (OTH) – city – township –village). "Prosvita" projects and work are an integral part of the state programmes at both national and regional levels. These activities (lectures, talks, meetings) should be conducted by highly qualified specialists for whom the national idea is their own conviction. During the Soviet period of time, lecture groups of the party committees and organizations of the "Znannia" Society conducted specialized lectures and seminars on various topics in the most remote mountainous and forest villages.

Secondly, "Prosvita" activities should cover all spheres of public life in terms of national interests aimed at developing the spiritual and material culture of Ukraine. The elite, intelligentsia and the most active part of the society, beginning with the upper echelons of power and ending with each settlement of the state, should be concentrated around institutions of the organization. Prestige should be supported by a positive assessment of the state and society, which would be taken into account in the growth prospects for employees, especially in the civil service, education, culture, science.

Thirdly, to introduce modern information management, information marketing with computer equipment and the Internet into the activities of "Prosvita" societies. Communicative connections provide unprecedented opportunities in terms of sharing experiences, lectures, events. Cooperation with the Ukrainian communities and other formations abroad will allow to rise to a higher and larger level of activity.

The main tasks of the staete bodies, in our opinion, are:

- not to consider the public as a group of scandalmongers ("extremists"), who are not able to think constructively, but but consider the public group as an ally;

- to strengthen cooperation with non-governmental organizations and the mass media, to provide them with information regularly, to keep them informed of their activities;

- to be interested in the work of non-governmental organizations, to discuss possible forms of development and strengthening of cooperation with them, to involve them into participation in various projects;

- to invite the public to assess projects, to initiate the development of alternative solutions to problems;

- to finance the activities of public organizations.

The public also needs to work to make the partnership with local self-governments and public authorities successful. This requires the following:

- to work openly, to try to understand and respect each other;

- to initiate a dialogue between both participants actively;
- to be open to alternative ideas, proposals;
- be able to compromise.

Among many problems faced by public organizations is the lack of established mechanisms for cooperation with the state bodies. At the same time, it should be noted that the cooperation of public organizations with the authorities officials is at a rather weak level. As a rule, the authorities do not have constant contacts with non-governmental organizations. The authorities officials lack information about public organizations and their activities. In the majority of cases, meetings, public hearings and other forms of interaction are initiated by public organizatoions. In practice, the involvement of the general public in the decision-making process is infrequent. Sometimes the public is informed about projects and programmes at the final stage of their development, which leads to serious conflicts. Sometimes it happens the other way around when the public is involved in the discussion, but an active response is not received. Sometimes passivity of the public is due to the low level of consciousness of the population, disbelief in the ability to change anything. In their speeches and reports decision-makers often declare the need to involve the general public, but in practice avoid this, considering public activists scandalous, unable to make professional proposals. Of course, the creation of such image is often the fault of the representatives of public organizations themselves, who prefer confrontation to dialogue, considering in turn authority officials as bureaucrats who do not want to solve problems taking into account the interests of citizens. In our opinion, a retrospective analysis of the activities of the first - new in form and content societies, their significant experience of constructive cooperation will be interesting.

The Conclusions. Taking into consideration the historical tradition of "Prosvita" – the creation of an environment of education of the people in the national and patriotic spirit for self-awareness of being the Ukrainians – the society was a prototype of the Ukrainian state. Its mission is to promote the Ukrainian values: language, traditions, the Ukrainian Church, culture, history – all that makes us the Ukrainians. The wave of the national upsurge at the end of the 1980s could not replace the planned work of "Prosvita" of previous periods and overcome the spiritual devastation of the Ukrainian people, which for centuries the ruling political regimes of foreign states carried with them. That is why, we have a situation with the ruling elite in the state that is far from desirable – it mainly reflects not the interests of the people, but their own or clan interests. The introduction of the state ideology is a necessary

component in the implementation of the national idea in Ukraine. Modernized "Prosvita" could carry out this important mission on the national scale successfully.

Assessing the achievements and prospects of the Ukrainian cultural and educational societies at different historical stages, it is necessary to focus on preserving the genetic memory of the people. Historical merit in the national revival of Ukraine belongs to the oldest public organization "Prosvita", which began its activities a century and a half ago in Galicia (founded on December 8, 1868 in Lviv, the first chairman was elected Anatoliy Vakhnianyn, professor of the academic gymnasium). It united the best representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in its ranks and gave impetus to the organization of other societies and political parties. Public organizations established by the Ukrainian patriots formed and hardened the national spirit, especially among the youth. After the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, the task arose of forming a civil society, reviving and developing the spirituality of the Ukrainian people. "The Lion Society", Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Cultural and Scientific Society "Rukh", Ivano-Frankivsk Regional Association of the All-Ukrainian T. Shevchenko Society "Prosvita" elaborated an action programme: introduction into the public consciousness of understanding the need for self-organization of communities, active citizenship, the priority of traditional Ukrainian national values; support for language, history, culture, Christian morality; promoting the formation of a comprehensively developed highly educated, nationally conscious, socially active personality.

The issue of mass public organizations formation in the second half of the 1980s throughout Ukraine, their cooperation with the societies of the Baltic States, the Caucasus, and other republics of the USSR and the diaspora, requires a separate historical study.

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