RECENTERING THE PERIPHERY:
SPATIAL DIMENSIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN SIXTIERS MOVEMENT

By
Svitlana Dovhan

Submitted to
Central European University
Department of History

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Supervisor: Professor Charles Shaw
Second Reader: Professor Ostap Sereda

Vienna, Austria
2023

Abstract

The thesis seeks to bridge together two intersecting aspects of the Sixtiers movement in Soviet Ukraine, namely cultural activism in the public sphere and intellectual work on rethinking Ukrainianness in the context of relative intellectual autonomy and opportunities for national self-expression opened by the Thaw. It does so by employing the lens of spatiality as lived, experienced, and imagined by the young intelligentsia, on the one hand, and adopting a perspective "from below", on the other hand. The work argues that the Clubs of Creative Youth in Kyiv and Lviv both created a social space for the development of the Sixtiers as a group of civic-minded young intelligentsia united by friendly ties and enabled them to project their vision of Ukrainian culture in the public sphere. It also touches upon the symbolic geography of the Sixtiers, namely the spaces of cities as the centers of gravity and non-gravity for the young intelligentsia, covering the issue of reimagining national space. As the research shows, the Sixtiers attempted to channel cultural and social change, but they eventually ended up challenging the unwritten code of behavior in the public and creating a semi-autonomous intellectual discourse about Ukrainian culture.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my academic mentors, Professor Charles Shaw and Professor Ostap Sereda, for their valuable feedback, patience, and encouragement, along with the insightful discussions that not only helped this thesis see the light of day but broadened my academic horizons in general. I am grateful to Professor Natalia Shlikhta, who has been supervising my research at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, for her support and guidance during my undergraduate research journey that has brought me to CEU. My appreciation also goes out to my family for the lessons in unconditional love and unending support that I continue to learn from them. Finally, I am deeply indebted to the Armed Forces of Ukraine. This whole project would have been impossible if not for their courage and sacrifice in defending Ukraine's independence and sovereignty against Russian military aggression. Fighting for the present and future of Ukraine, they gave me the privilege of working on the Ukrainian past.

Table of Contents

Introduction

In the late 1920s, the Slovo (*Word*) House was built in Kharkiv, then the capital of Soviet Ukraine, to accommodate a cohort of cultural workers. These were writers, artists, musicians, journalists, playwrights, translators, etc. Committed to the cause of the revolution and predominantly followers of the national communism ideas, they were regarded as living classics of Soviet Ukrainian literature and other areas of culture at the time of the radical break with the past. During the period of Stalin's terror, accompanied by the revision of Soviet policy towards the nationalities, the Slovo House lost many dwellers. Charged with plotting terrorist acts and subversive activities, a great number of writers were imprisoned and executed, which paved the way for the conformism of those who survived and their adherence to a single state-sanctioned artistic style.

When the young creative intelligentsia, known as the Sixtiers (referred to as the *shistdesiatnyky* in Soviet Ukraine), entered the cultural scene, Stalin was no more. During the rehabilitation of victims of Stalin's purges, the creative work of some cultural figures belonging to the Executed Renaissance of the 1920s was subject to cautious revision. It especially inspired the Sixtiers and their attempts to reactivate the legacy of the repressed artists at the Club of Creative Youth, founded in Kyiv in 1960. Unlike the artists of the 1920s, the Ukrainian Sixtiers did not share an apartment building, but they managed to create a common imagined home (*dim*), as Tamara Hundorova puts it, located "at the crossroads of Ukraine and Europe, the folk and the avant-garde, the national and the universal, the honest and human"[1]. Hundorova refers to "home" as a metaphor for a new concept of modern national culture, co-created by the Sixtiers. However, if such an angle aptly emphasizes the role of the young intelligentsia as creators of a certain intellectual climate, it

[1] Tamara Hundorova, "Shistdesiatnytstvo: Metafora, Imya, Dim," in *Moii Obrii* (Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2004), 9.

leaves out the dimension of spatiality implied by the metaphor of "home", containing the collective experience of city space, engagement in common action in the urban setting, etc.

This research aims to examine the Sixtiers movement, an informal network of friends and acquaintances who are associated with the cultural change in Soviet Ukraine of the late 1950s and 1960s, through a socio-spatial perspective. By covering a range of relations the young intelligentsia developed with each other and vis-à-vis the authorities, as well as with places and spaces, it seeks to reflect on the Sixtiers as active drivers of cultural change in the public sphere, on the one hand, and producers of a semi-autonomous intellectual discourse about Ukrainianness, on the other. The guiding questions for this study are as follows: "How did the young intelligentsia envision and negotiate social and cultural change in Soviet Ukraine?" and "How did they imagine and redefine the Ukrainian space, being subject to inclusion and exclusion?".

The Thaw and the Sixtiers

In their introduction to the collective monograph "The Thaw. Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s", Denis Kozlov and Eleonory Gilburd conceptualize the Thaw as a paradigmatic event for the post-Stalin development of the Soviet Union. As they argue, the Thaw itself was eventful and consisted of many smaller political and cultural events that had a long-term impact on Soviet society[2]. They include Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" launching de-Stalinization, the Moscow Youth Festival that marked the opening of the Soviet Union to the West, the return of Gulag prisoners, and so on. As a result, the epoch is associated with "crucial shifts in policies, ideas, artistic practices, daily behaviors, and material life", the effects of which had long been in play even after the end of the 1960s[3]. However, not only was the Thaw made of many events, but it also had

[2] Eleonory Gilburd and Denis Kozlov, "The Thaw as an Event in Russian History," in *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 28–32.
[3] Denis Kozlov, "Introduction," in *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 3.

many faces. As pointed out by the authors, "It was not one project but a number of different multi-directional 'projects' – Russian and non-Russian, central and regional, intelligentsia- and government driven, with many subgroups and agendas in between"[4]. Indeed, as a Union-wide phenomenon, the Thaw manifested itself with different strength in Soviet national republics. This thesis will attempt to grasp a non-Russian, regional, in regards to the all-Union center in Moscow, and driven largely by the young intelligentsia dimension of the Thaw, as exemplified by the Sixtiers movement in Soviet Ukraine.

There is also a mythic aspect of the Thaw, as underscored by Sheila Fitzpatrick. She contrasted the intelligentsia and urban youth who contributed to the emergence of the Thaw myth with those who were not affected by it or disliked the implications of the term[5]. The social group with whom cultural and social change is closely associated came to be known as the Sixtiers (the people of the sixties), the term adopted by the intelligentsia for self-description, or the Thaw generation, which is a retrospective concept. Predominantly, the term Sixtiers, which puts emphasis on the 1960s as a time of activity, is interpreted through the lens of formative generational experiences the young Soviet intelligentsia was exposed to in the period of late Stalinism and the post-Stalin Thaw. The students of this phenomenon tend to emphasize the civic-mindedness, idealism, and aesthetic protest of the Sixtiers, comparing them with the liberal Russian intelligentsia of the 1860s[6]. However, it is still a matter of ongoing debate as to who is counted as a Sixtier and who is not, as well as to whether the concepts of Sixtiers and dissidents can be used interchangeably. The Sixtiers themselves have had a hard time reflecting on the phenomenon they belonged to, as the talk "Who are the

[4] Gilburd and Kozlov, "The Thaw as an Event in Russian History," 35.
[5] Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Afterword: The Thaw in Retrospect," in *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 486.
[6] Gilburd and Kozlov, "The Thaw as an Event in Russian History," 53–59.

shestidesiatniki?" published by Ludmila Alekseeva in the Russian edition of her autobiography exemplifies[7].

It is important to mention that while representing two of the most vivid and well-researched dimensions of the phenomenon, Russian *shestidesiatniki* and Ukrainian *shistdesiatnyky*, showcase both similar and diverging characteristics. Sharing the striving for the renewal of socialism with their Russian counterparts, the Ukrainian Sixtiers complemented this idea with an agenda of promoting the unrestricted development of national culture and the defense of national rights. Exploration of national heritage and culture combined with an attempt to modernize it was a feature Ukrainian Sixtiers shared with young nonconformist intelligentsia from other peripheries of the Soviet Union[8]. On the other hand, there are facts that imply a more central position of Soviet Ukraine in comparison with other national republics. First, the adoption of the original term "*shestidesiatniki*" to name a social phenomenon that was not so common beyond the place where it originated, the Russian SFSR. Second, the impact of Khurschev's Thaw in Kyiv was less profound than in Moscow but more evident than in Minsk. As Tatsiana Astrouskaya points out in her study of cultural dissent in Soviet Belarus, the limited effects of de-Stalinization did not have a significant influence on the Belarusian intelligentsia; hence, the term "*shestidesiatniki*" remained unadopted by them[9].

The above-mentioned characteristic features reflect a two-fold position of Soviet Ukraine in the spatial hierarchy of the Soviet Union: its proximity to the core, where the general trends originated, as well as to a geographical and cultural periphery, where challenging the official discourse may be deemed not only "anti-Soviet" as in the Russian case, but also "bourgeois

[7] Ludmila Alekseeva and Paul Goldberg, "Kto Takie Shestidesiatniki? Beseda s Ya. M. Bergerom i S. A. Kovalevym" (Moscow: Zaharov, 2006), 335–60.
[8] For discussion on the Sixtiers in Soviet Kazakhstan, see Christianna Bonin, "The Art of the Sixtiers in Soviet Kazakhstan, or How to Make a Portrait from a Skull," *Central Asian Survey* 40, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 34–56, https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2020.1863912.
[9] Tatsiana Astrouskaya, *Cultural Dissent in Soviet Belarus (1968-1988): Intelligentsia, Samizdat and Nonconformist Discourses* (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019), 18, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvsf1q6t.

nationalist". Apart from this, the Ukrainian SSR experienced enlargement during the Second World War, which underscores its borderland position. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact enabled the Soviet Union to annex the eastern regions of Poland, which were incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR and the Belarusian SSR under the pretext of reunification of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus with their respective Soviet national republics. As a result, two distinct cultural and intellectual traditions and versions of Ukrainianness were brought together. This thesis takes an interest in the dialogue between them, among other things. The protagonists of this study, as a rule, were born in different states, but after World War II, they found themselves citizens of one country, the Ukrainian SSR. This specific regional complexity makes Soviet Ukraine an appealing arena for studying manifestations of the Sixtiers movement.

This project draws on the definition of the Ukrainian Sixtiers proposed by Radomyr Mokryk in his monograph "Bunt proty imperii: Ukraiinski shistdesiatnyky" [Revolt against the Empire: the Ukrainian Sixtiers]. He understands this cohort as "a galaxy of intellectuals who were culturally active in the late 1950s and 1960s, personally interconnected, and united by common values formed under the same or similar historical circumstances"[10]. By referring to the phenomenon under study as the Sixtiers movement, I adopt the language of sources and mean the spontaneous movement of individuals who shared a certain vision for the advancement of Ukrainian culture. The Sixtiers will also be referred to as the *shistdesiatnyky,* which is an original Ukrainian term[11], young intelligentsia, and intellectuals.

In the most recent historiography, the Ukrainian Sixtiers tend to be conceptualized as a group of friends (*kompaniia druziv*). Simone Bellezza appears to be the first to articulate the applicability of this category to the connections that emerged out of personal contacts among the young

[10] Radomyr Mokryk, *Bunt Proty Imperii. Ukrainski Shistdesiatnyky* (Kyiv: A-ba-ba-ha-la-ma-ha, 2023), 113–14.
[11] The original term is used by Simone Attilio Belleza in "The Shore of Expectations: A Study on the Culture of the Ukrainian Shistdesiatnyky" and by Benjamin Tromly in "An Unlikely National Revival: Soviet Higher Learning and the Ukrainian 'Sixtiers,' 1953–65".

intelligentsia at the Club of Creative Youth in Kyiv[12]. While it is true that the Sixtiers formed friendly ties, it also makes sense to broaden the boundaries of this community by including a wider variety of friendly ties. In her work on the phenomenon of *kompaniia* during the Thaw, Juliane Fürst explains the meaning of the term by referring to a group of friends and acquaintances[13]. Hence, in the broader context of the Sixtiers movement in the Ukrainian SSR, we can rather speak of *kompaniias,* or a network of friends and acquaintances that created an imagined community of cultural activists. The edges of this network could be activated in different configurations at different times. In this study, we refer to the two core Sixtiers communities in the cities of Kyiv and Lviv, the ties between which were particularly strong both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Literature Review

The cursory study of the phenomenon of Ukrainian Sixtiers takes its roots in the works of diaspora historians, who mainly examined them within the framework of dissent. The issue of the relationship between the two has often been under analysis since then. At the beginning of the 1980s, Bohdan Krawchenko composed a summary statistical profile of Ukrainian dissidents, covering the period of 1960–72. Considering dissent a by-product of Khrushchev's Thaw and defining it as "[expressing] disapproval of the existing regime or some of its policies or actions in a public way, be it signing a petition, authoring or circulating *samvydav* (*samizdat*), writing a letter of protest, participating in unofficial gatherings such as discussion groups or demonstrations", Krawchenko could not but include the Sixtiers, who used some of these practices, to the group of dissenters[14]. As he argues, Ukrainian dissent was an urban phenomenon, with the majority of its participants

[12] Simone Attilio Bellezza, "The Shistdesiatnytstvo as a Group of Friends: The Kompaniia of the Club of the Creative Youth of Kiev (1960-1965)," *Snodi. Pubblici e Privati Nella Storia Contemporanea*, no. 5 (2010): 64–82.
[13] Juliane Fürst, "Friends in Private, Friends in Public: The Phenomenon of the Kompaniia Among Soviet Youth in the 1950s and 1960s," in *Borders of Socialism: Private Spheres of Soviet Russia*, ed. Lewis H. Siegelbaum (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2006), 229.
[14] Bohdan Krawchenko and Jim A. Karter, "Dissidents in Ukraine before 1972: A Summary Statistical Profile," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, no. 2 (1983): 85.

belonging to the class of educated intelligentsia[15]. This corresponds to Viktor Voronkov's sociological delimitation of the social and spatial boundaries of the Sixtiers movement. Voronkov concludes that cultural and political nonconformism in the Soviet Union was most vividly manifested in the biggest cities, the centers of cultural infrastructure, which attracted talented youth from the periphery[16]. Krawchenko also observed that Kyiv, the capital of the Ukrainian SSR, and Lviv, a central city in the Western part of Ukraine, shared the highest rates of the dissident contingent in Soviet Ukraine, comprising 63% of the recorded cases[17]. Importantly, the above-mentioned cities are usually referred to as the two main centers of the Ukrainian Sixtiers movement, which will be under study in this thesis[18].

In independent Ukraine, the study of the phenomenon of Sixtiers was pioneered by Georgiy Kasianov, who was interested in its evolution to more advanced and straightforward forms of resistance to the Communist regime[19]. Back then, Kasianov pointed out the need to consider the Sixtiers a product of the Soviet system, despite regarding them as a part of the "national liberation movement". In his "An Unlikely National Revival: Soviet Higher Learning and the Ukrainian "Sixtiers," 1953–65", Benjamin Tromly examined the fusion between Soviet reformist currents and Ukrainian national revival perhaps most elaborately[20]. This idea was developed further by Simone Attilio Bellezza, who proposed a cultural study of the *shistdesiatnyky*, arguing that while being the product of Soviet society, the Sixtiers movement also represented a stage in the formation of the modern Ukrainian nation. In Radomyr Mokryk's newest monograph about the Sixtiers "Revolt against the Empire", an anti-colonial lens is productively utilized to the study of this cohort of

[15] Krawchenko and Karter, "Dissidents in Ukraine before 1972: A Summary Statistical Profile."
[16] Viktor Voronkov, "Proekt «shestidesjatnikov»: Dvizhenie Protesta v SSSR," in *Otcy i Deti. Pokolencheskij Analiz Sovremennoj Rossii*, Levada Y., Shanina T. (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2005), 178–80.
[17] Krawchenko and Karter, "Dissidents in Ukraine before 1972: A Summary Statistical Profile," 87.
[18] See, for instance, Eleonora Narvselius, *Ukrainian Intelligentsia in Post-Soviet L'viv: Narratives, Identity, and Power* (Lexington Books, 2012), 73–74.
[19] Georgiy Kasyanov, *Nezhodni. Ukrayinska Intelihentsia v Rusi Oporu 1960-80kh Rokiv* (Kyiv: Lybid, 1995).
[20] Benjamin Tromly, "An Unlikely National Revival: Soviet Higher Learning and the Ukrainian 'Sixtiers,' 1953-65," *The Russian Review* 68, no. 4 (October 1, 2009): 607–22.

intellectuals. According to Mokryk, it was growing awareness of Soviet cultural colonialism that influenced the worldview of the Sixtiers and eventually turned them into a cultural opposition to the Soviet regime[21]. As he further explains, the phenomenon of *shistdesiatnytstvo* emerged out of the critical thinking of the young intelligentsia, which resulted in the protest of the ethical but also unavoidably political character against the official culture.

While it appears important to keep an emphasis on the critical thinking of the Sixtiers which stimulated their activism, this study attempts to map out the complex dynamics of their relationship with the authorities, without necessarily putting the Sixtiers in opposition to mainstream culture, at least in the first half of the 1960s. Hence, it is more in line with the theorizations of Benjamin Tromly ("testing the limits of permissible")[22] and Zbigniew Wojnowski ("pushing the limits of permissible" in the conditions when "the Soviet institutions both promoted and suppressed Ukrainian culture")[23]. The microhistorical study of the early Sixtiers movement by Serhiy Yekelchyk provides a great vantage point for our analysis. Productively utilizing the spatial prism, he conceptualized the Sixters as creators of "a semi-autonomous space of cultural expression", located in between mainstream official and non-conformist culture[24]. Yekelchyk aptly emphasized the ambiguous and complex character of relations between the young intelligentsia and official institutions like the Komsomol and the Writers' Union, which both enabled and controlled their activity in the public sphere. Another important argument of the author is related to the dynamics of the Sixtiers movement. According to his observations, the *shistdesiatnytstvo* split into "two intersecting circles of official and dissident culture" at the end of the Thaw, when the conservative turn made clear the spatial and ideological conflict between the Sixters and the authorities[25]. By focusing on the first half of the

[21] Mokryk, *Bunt Proty Imperii*.
[22] Tromly, "An Unlikely National Revival," 620.
[23] Zbigniew Wojnowski, *The Near Abroad: Socialist Eastern Europe and Soviet Patriotism in Ukraine, 1956-1985* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 13.
[24] Serhy Yekelchyk, "The Early 1960s as a Cultural Space: A Microhistory of Ukraine's Generation of Cultural Rebels," *Nationalities Papers* 43, no. 1 (January 2015): 46.
[25] Yekelchyk, 59.

1960s when analyzing the Sixtiers' action in the public sphere, this study attempts to grasp the moment of imagined coherence of the community.

Sources and Methodology

As the thesis draws largely on the egodocuments of the Sixtiers, such as memoirs, autobiographies, letters, and diaries, it adopts a perspective of history from below in describing the experiences of this group of people. It is particularly apparent in the discussion of the Sixtiers' activities in the public sphere and the authorities' responses, where the sources do not always allow for identification whom the Sixtiers were in "dialogue" with, be it the Komsomol and Party organs, the Writers' Union, or the KGB. Hence, the language of sources in defining the emerging power relations is adopted in many instances. This project is, however, not limited by the autobiographical materials; it employs, when possible, the texts that were circulating in *samizdat*, newspaper and journal publications covering the ideas and activities of the Sixtiers, the Komsomol regional committee (obkom) documents, etc.

In examining the activity of the Clubs of Creative Youth, the autobiographical sources of the organizers and activists of both Clubs came to be most instrumental. The diary of Les Taniuk not only provides day-to-day reflections of the author, capturing the activity of the KTM (*Klub Tvorchoii Molodi*), headed by him in 1960–63, but also contains a whole array of other documental sources archived by the author, including newspaper clippings, speech transcripts, and letters, which are utilized in this study. The memoirs of Kyivan poetess Iryna Zhylenko and Lvivian art and literary critic Bohdan Horyn also extensively incorporate diary entries and letters, which communicate more "immediate" experiences of the authors. In the absence of other documentary material, the collection of essays and memoirs "U Vyri Shistdesiatnytskoho Rukhu. Pohliad z Vidstani Chasu" ["In the Whirl of the Sixtiers Movement. A Look from the Time Distance"] was essential in analyzing the *Prolisok* Club activity in Lviv. The title of the book is itself indicative of the pitfall of this source.

As it is written from a significant distance in time, the authors unavoidably mythologize the Sixtiers to a varying degree, which should be taken into account. When possible, the egodocuments were triangulated against each other and other documentary materials.

In an attempt to examine how Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian spaces were lived, imagined, and constructed discursively by the Sixtiers, this research employs a textual corpus that may be characterized as heterogeneous. Along with the non-fictional sources, literary texts are also involved in the analysis[26]. Since the Sixtiers mainly belonged to the literary and creative intelligentsia, it would be remiss to disregard their creative input. Though the use of literary texts in historical study has its own challenges, historians nevertheless attempt to analyze literature as a historical source. Katarina Leppänen distinguishes two ways a historian can approach fiction. The most common way, referred to as "pragmatic", puts emphasis on the illustrative function of a literary text or on its ability to fill the gaps if more reliable sources are lacking[27]. Another one, which is broadly used by historians of ideas, "allow[s] the fiction to take the lead and become a source on par with archives, documents, relics, and other sources deemed more reliable or truthful"[28]. The relation of the literary text to a dominant narrative, including its reproductive or resisting function within the dominant discourse, is then often under analysis, which is of interest in this work.

In the second chapter, which elucidates how the cultural activists of the 1960s imagined the space both inside and outside Soviet Ukraine, the interrelation between narrative, place, and identity plays a significant role. They may influence each other in a variety of ways, as Raul P. Lejano theorized. In one of the cases, place affects the process of identity construction, while narrative

[26] This approach is used by Julie A. Buckler in "Mapping St. Petersburg: imperial text and cityshape" (2007), though literary texts are subject of her primary analysis.
[27] Katarina Leppänen, "Fiction as a Historical Source: Alternative Identities in Aino Kallas and Hella Wuolijoki," *Ideas in History. Journal of the Nordic Society for the History of Ideas* 7, no. 1–2 (2013): 16.
[28] Leppänen, 16.

enables us to describe and explain the emerging interconnectedness[29]. Alternatively, place may be conceptualized as a setting where identity and self-narrative that derive from each other are rooted; this renders stories about the self into stories about the city[30]. Or there is also the option of regarding one's narration about a place (often the city) as the act of disclosing one's identity[31]. All of the aforementioned kinds of codependency are instrumental in this study.

Thesis Outline

The first chapter explores the Sixters movement as an urban phenomenon and its participants as cultural activists. It looks at the activity of the Clubs of Creative Youth that emerged in Kyiv and Lviv and their attempts at re-defining Ukrainian culture in the public sphere, tracing the common trends and regional peculiarities. Another line of the argument touches upon the dynamics of the Thaw and reformist currents, showing the flow of ideas from the center to the periphery as mediated by friendly ties.

The second chapter shifts from the activities of the Sixtiers in the urban setting to their intellectual work about the lived space, pertaining to the dichotomy of center and periphery, city and province, among other things. The cities of Kyiv and Lviv, which functioned as the centers of gravity for the young creative intelligentsia, are at the core of the analysis. The images of these cities are examined, drawing on the egodocuments and the literary texts written by the Sixtiers. By studying the images of the cities, I seek to find out how they reflect the regional differences and integrity of Ukrainianness, as captured in the period of relative intellectual autonomy of the intelligentsia during the Thaw.

[29] Raul P. Lejano, "Narrative, Identity, and the City," in *Narrative, Identity, and the City: Filipino Stories of Dislocation and Relocation*, ed. Raul P. Lejano et al. (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2018), 16.
[30] Lejano, 16–17.
[31] Lejano, 16–17.

1. Co-creating the Public Sphere:

Cultural Activism of the Sixtiers at the Clubs of Creative Youth

If the Club of Creative Youth could lay flowers at the monument to Taras Shevchenko on May 22 and organize an open-air literary evening dedicated to the greatest Ukrainian poet without difficulties in 1963, doing the same thing next year would prove to be much more problematic. In 1964, when the Club was already dismantled, the gathering took place notwithstanding the Komsomol's request to cancel the event but in the presence of "bodyguards from different authorities" and in "an unpleasant, heavy, and threatening atmosphere", according to poetess Iryna Zhylenko[32]. As the Komsomol obkom secretary explained to the organizers, honoring the memory of Shevchenko in such a way on the day, when the poet's remains were transferred from Petersburg and reburied in Ukraine, would be "an insult to the great Russian people"[33]. The year after this, the police started to detain the participants of such gatherings. This chronological outline is illustrative of how the limits of permissible national expression in the public sphere have narrowed down since the end of the Khrushchev era.

As a phenomenon in the cultural life of Soviet Ukraine, the Clubs of Creative Youth are instrumental in reflecting on the dynamics and ambiguities of the Thaw in Soviet national republics. The idea of an autonomous association that would unite and cross-fertilize creative youth of various occupations was born out of general dissatisfaction with the established hierarchies and modes of engagement in the cultural sphere. From the perspective of searching for a new sociability, the idea of a club stands in line with the phenomenon of *kompaniia*, which as a social institution was even more characteristic of the Thaw[34]. Composed of like-minded people interested in each other, in contrast to the "official collectives", *kompanii* created an experimental space in between the public

[32] Iryna Zhylenko, *Homo Feriens: Spohady* (Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2011), 307.
[33] Mykola Plakhotniuk, *Kolovorot: Statti, Spohady, Dokumenty* (Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2012), 301.
[34] See Fürst, "Friends in Private, Friends in Public."

and private spheres and represented a striving for civic society. Unlike *kompanii*, the Club of Creative Youth in Kyiv targeted the public sphere from the very beginning. And so did the Club that emerged in Lviv, inspired by the wind of change coming from the capital. However, the phenomenon of the Clubs of Creative Youth has rarely been analyzed as a whole.

This chapter seeks to trace how the communities of young intelligentsia that formed around such clubs got involved in the re-definition of the public sphere by initiating cultural activities in the first half of the 1960s. It will be argued that the Sixtiers embraced the opportunities opened by the Thaw and entered the public scene to negotiate the advancement of Ukrainian culture. While largely drawing on the already existing cultural symbols and rituals, such as veneration of writers from the Soviet Ukrainian canon and organizing Shevchenko's evenings, they managed to imbue them with meanings, which came to be interpreted as unsettling the dominant discourse and thus challenging the authorities. This eventually led to the politics of exclusion from the public sphere applied to the Sixtiers.

1.1. Kyiv Sets the Trend

The Kyivan community of the Sixtiers formed around the Club of Creative Youth (KTM), which started operating at the beginning of 1960. Initiated by Les Taniuk, a student of Kyiv State Theater Institute, the Club was envisioned as a platform for mutual exchange and cross-fertilization of young creative intelligentsia, namely students of higher education institutions, youth from professional organizations like the Writers' and Artists' Unions, and other interested people. The available historiography is almost unanimous about the fact that the Club had been established under the aegis of the Komsomol. However, the "Provision about the Club of Creative Youth" preserved in the personal archive of the first Club president, Les Taniuk, which had not come to the attention

of historians earlier, renders the story of its creation more nuanced[35]. As the document states, the Club was "*a voluntary organization* (italics are mine) that [brought] together people of various creative professions. The Club aim[ed] at fostering young creative cadres (*kadry*) and organizing their leisure, as well as propagating literature and art"[36]. A direct affiliation of the organization with the Komsomol was neither stated in the document nor came into play during the initial period of its activity. On the contrary, the diary entries of Taniuk testify to his confidence that the Club did not need any legitimizing approval from the Komsomol to exist and operate[37].

As a grassroots student initiative, the Club spoke for youth seeking alternative sociability, as Juliane Fürst puts it, which had been commonplace in the post-war years before being reactivated with a new vigor during the Thaw[38]. By initiating an independent association beyond the framework of the official youth organization and existing literary workshops, young people both attempted to emancipate themselves and reinvigorate Soviet art. Perhaps, the reason why the initiative came from the students of performing arts is that their creative pursuits did not enjoy such a stimulating official policy of fostering young talents as literature did[39]. Hence, the need for reinvigoration of the cultural sphere was more palpable here than in the environment of young literati.

The work of the Club was organized by sections that embraced theater, literature, visual arts, music, cinematography, and other fields, but various kinds of joint activities were vigorously

[35] The document is likely to have been composed in the aftermath of the founding meeting, which took place on March 8, 1960, though it is dated on the same day as the meeting. According to Taniuk's diary entries, the event aimed at getting to know each other, exchanging ideas, and finding a name for the initiative. The Provision refers to the initiative as "the Club of Creative Youth", the name that was suggested during the meeting. Hence, this fact moves forward the date of the document's creation. See Les Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1968 r.*, vol. 21, Tvory (Kyiv: Altpres, 2011), 555–57.
[36] Taniuk, 21:553.
[37] Les Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1962 r.*, vol. 6, Tvory (Kyiv: Altpres, 2004), 59.
[38] Juliane Furst, *Stalin's Last Generation: Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 342–65.
[39] In Kyiv, young literati attended the literary studio *Molod* (Youth) operating at the Komsomol publishing house and the *SICh* literary workshop (the Vasyl Chumak Studio) at Kyiv University. For the Writers' Union policy of fostering new talents during the Thaw, see Polly Jones, ed., "The Need for New Voices. Writers' Union Policy towards Young Writers 1953-64," in *The Dilemmas of De-Stalinization* (London: Routledge, 2009), 193–208.

promoted as well[40]. In general, the idea of the KTM was as innovative as it was deeply embedded in the framework of youth activism promoted by the Komsomol. It relied on the ethos of civic-mindedness, initiative, and creativity, yet looked for a new mode of engagement. Moreover, the new terminology was invented to describe the community created by the Club participants (the *Club* was headed by a *president* and included *honorary señors* along with *candidates* and *members*). Both the name of the Club and its head's title would be put into practice almost immediately. On the occasion of Khrushchev's visit to France, the office of Charles de Gaulle received a telegram from Kyiv. It expressed the hopes of young Ukrainian artists for a new era of relations and cultural exchange between France and Ukraine, being signed "Les Taniuk, president of the Club of Creative Youth"[41].

At the initial stage of activity in 1960–61, the Club acted independently, relying on its own capabilities. This means that the students arranged meetings at the places of their study, using the space of the educational institutions, mainly the theater institute and conservatory, for their own needs and interests. As evident from Les Taniuk's diary entries of this time period, the Club started with self-education on the topics of Ukrainian culture, art, and history, addressing what they felt was missing in their knowledge. This direction was set and actively promoted by Taniuk, whose idea to found the Club derived from a feeling of personal responsibility for the development of the national language and culture[42]. The forms of engagement varied from student discussions to talks by invited guests, from poetry nights to excursions[43]. If a meeting touched upon the creative work of a repressed cultural figure, people who could share their memories of this person and thus create the knowledge that had often been absent were invited. This practice would later be used for commemorative evenings dedicated to the Executed Renaissance figures, initiated and organized by

[40] Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1968 r*, 21:554–55.
[41] Les Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1959-1960 rr.*, vol. 4, Tvory (Kyiv: Altpres, 2004), 438.
[42] Simone Attilio Bellezza, *The Shore of Expectations: A Cultural Study of the Shistdesiatnyky* (Edmonton Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2019), 64.
[43] Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1959-1960 rr.*, 4:588, 601, 710, 721; Les Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1960-1961 rr.*, vol. 5, Tvory (Kyiv: Altpres, 2005), 12, 62, 118-120, 217, 510, 599.

the Club at the October Palace of Culture, which then served as the main stage of the Ukrainian SSR.

The following year, 1962, was marked by the transition of the Club from the informal public sphere created by students for students to the official public sphere, from where they could address a broader public[44]. At the beginning of 1962, the KTM moved from the halls of creative institutes to a room in the October Palace of Culture, which could accommodate up to 100 people[45]. It became the Club's permanent multifunctional office that housed regular meetings, exhibitions, etc. Naturally, the relocation must have been accompanied by some sort of formal registration, but Taniuk's diary is silent about this. On the other hand, what is registered by the source is that from this moment on, the Club of Creative Youth became part of "creative groups" (*kolektyvy*) to be supervised by the Komsomol[46]. The appointment of Nelli Kornienko, a young Russian-speaking instructor of the Komsomol city committee, launched a period of collaboration between the Club and the Ukrainian Komsomol organization that had its own complex dynamics. Kornienko and Taniuk found common ground and even became a couple, representing a symbolic alliance of independent-minded creative youth and progressive forces within the Komsomol. However, as captured in the diary, the head of the KTM still considered the Club an autonomous organization. One of the situations revealing his vision of the relationship with the Komsomol had to do with the final formation of the artists' section in January 1962. When the artists drew up the document to be registered by the Komsomol city committee, Taniuk was perplexed: "They say that's how it's been working. I'm not going to take it anywhere. We're on our own, I say, we need no approval from anyone"[47].

[44] The concepts of the official public sphere and the informal public sphere indicate two different versions of the public realm in the late Soviet society. For the differences between the two, see Elena Zdravomyslova and Viktor Voronkov, "The Informal Public in Soviet Society: Double Morality at Work," Social Research 69, no. 1 (2002): 49–69.
[45] Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1962 r.*, 6:13.
[46] Taniuk, 6:134.
[47] Taniuk, 6:59.

What is no less important, the Club's orientation towards the reinvigoration of national culture seems to have crystallized by this time. As captured in the diary, back in 1960, Taniuk was concerned about the problem of the Club's self-identification, including the absence of a single vision for its development and the indifference of his peers to the language issue[48]. But on the eve of the relocation, he summarized the situation in the following way: "We gradually *grow closer* to each other, a kind of *fraternity* is being born. Absolutely different people; only those who care about Ukraine and have a drive for creativity stay"[49]. In 1961, the Club was joined by artist Alla Horska and literary critic Ivan Svitlychny. Along with the first president of the Club, they are usually remembered as "the unifying figures" within the Sixtiers' community of like-minded people that started to form around the KTM[50].

Figure 1. The KTM participants spending time in nature. In "Alla Horska. Archive," UU Archive, http://www.archive-uu.com/ua/profiles/alla-gors-ka/archive.

At the October Palace, the KTM declared itself a full-fledged actor eager to participate in the redefinition of the Soviet public sphere. Its first public events were dedicated to the memory of the Executed Renaissance artists, namely modernist theatre director Les Kurbas (1887–1937), a creator of the Berezil experimental theatre studio, and playwright Mykola Kulish (1892–1937),

[48] Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1959-1960 rr.*, 4:709.
[49] Italics in the original. Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1960-1961 rr.*, 5:595.
[50] Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska, *Khyha Spomyniv* (Akta, 2006), 39.

another leading cultural figure of the 1920s and early 1930s. It is worth mentioning that the genre of memorial literary evening as a means of public rehabilitation of victims of Stalin's terror had been used by the Ukrainian Writers' Union before, so the format was nothing new in theory[51]. Yet, at this stage, we can only observe that the evenings held by both organizations had at least some common features, like the indispensable parts covering the life and work of the cultural figure as well as the memories of invited guests. To what extent the Sixtiers were replicating the format previously in use, how the overarching message and the target audience differed between the Writers' Union and the Club of Creative Youth is a perspective line to follow in the further study. However, the mere fact that the revival of historical memory was shaped, influenced, and accelerated at the grassroots level on such a scale, though under the formal support of the Komsomol or the Writers' Union, was unprecedented.

The Club of Creative Youth involved a great number of established cultural figures from Soviet Ukraine and beyond in the public commemoration of Les Kurbas that took place on May 14, 1962. They either shared memories about the outstanding theater director or welcomed the commemorative initiative of the creative youth in the telegrams that were read aloud in between the speeches[52]. As Taniuk described it the day after, "The hall was like a church. At a certain moment, it seemed to me that Kurbas is here with us and that he hears and sees us. Maybe I wasn't the only one who had this feeling… A powerful miracle of resurrection continued"[53]. Not only could Les Taniuk feel the historical importance of the moment, but it also alarmed the highest Party and Komsomol organs in Kyiv.

[51] In February 1961, the Ukrainian Writers' Union held a literary evening dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the birth of Hryhorii Epik, who perished in the Gulag. The program included a speech on his life and creative work delivered by a philologist, memories shared by his colleagues and wife, and a concert. "Zaproshennia na Literaturnyi Vechir Hryhoriia Epika," February 20, 1961, F. 1132, op. 1, spr. 351, ark. 29-30, TsDAMLM.
[52] "The verbatim record of the evening dedicated to the 75th anniversary of Les Kurbas' birth" (May 14, 1962) in Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1962 r.,* 6:584–640.
[53] Translation mine. Taniuk, 6:356.

Neither the support of the leading figures of Soviet Ukrainian culture who were invited to the event nor the aegis of the Komsomol could keep the Club safe from potential criticism and Taniuk from suspicion of nationalism and violation of the Party line[54]. As Radomyr Mokryk shows in his analysis based on the verbatim record of the event, the general character of the commemoration could be described as democratic rather than anti-Soviet[55]. In this light, we cannot agree with Simone Bellezza, who refers to this initiative as one of the "forums for expressing popular discontent toward the regime"[56]. However, we can clearly see the beginnings of the policy that the Party authorities would later use more rigorously towards the Sixtiers. Containing a combination of othering and exclusion from the public sphere, it certainly provoked discontent, as mentioned by Bellezza, at a later stage.

After the public commemoration of Les Kurbas, the Komsomol has already tried to create a founding myth for the KTM in order to emphasize its own position of being in control of creative youth. The publications in the press that covered the Club's activities argued that it was founded in May 1962 on the initiative of the Komsomol regional committee, disregarding two years of its informal existence[57]. The next ambitious event seems to have sounded no less challenging to the authorities, despite the fact it was co-organized by the Ukrainian Writers' Union and led by Mykola Bazhan, an established literary and political figure. It was the public commemoration dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the birth of Mykola Kulish, held on December 23, 1962. Casting Kulish as a true communist who fell victim to the violation of Leninist justice, Mykola Bazhan reinscribed the legacy of his repressed fellow writer into the Soviet past, present, and future in his opening speech[58].

[54] After the event, Taniuk was demanded to provide the tape recordings made at the commemorative evening for examination and risked being expelled both from the institute and the Komsomol; the Club faced the problem of its re-establishment under the leadership of the loyal Komsomol activists. Taniuk, 6:359, 379.
[55] Mokryk, *Bunt Proty Imperii*, 194.
[56] Bellezza, *The Shore of Expectations*, 102.
[57] "Interesno, uvlekatelno, polezno" (Pravda Ukrainy, June 13, 1962), "Pamiat uvinchana kvitamy" (Kyivskyi komsomolets, May 25, 1962) in Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1962 r.*, 6:390., 419.
[58] "Mykola Bazhan's opening speech for the evening dedicated to memory of Mykola Kulish" in Taniuk, 6:843–45.

Les Taniuk took the floor after him, expressing criticism of the current situation in Soviet Ukrainian culture and demanding actions on behalf of creative youth. The excerpts provided below make it clear that the Sixters aspired for changes more profound than the cosmetic repair of the post-Stalinist cultural field, having the courage to express this in a straightforward and pointed way:

> Theater managers and directors are overly busy people, and they don't always have time to read literature published by Derzvydav. And since there can be no talk of Kulish in the play dissemination department, some theater practitioners have had a very vague idea about the mere existence of such a playwright [Mykola Kulish]. They prefer to be raped by the flock of homegrown paper-stainers (*dramopystsi*) who paint so-called evergreen "canvas" on so-called "local themes". Their systematic choice of plays for our theater resembles a Kulishian aunt Motya from the famous play [reference to "Myna Mazailo" comedy about Ukrainization written by Kulish] who believes that "it is better to be rapped rather than Ukrainized".
>
> The best way to pay tribute to the memory of Mykola Kulish would be to bring him closer to readers and viewers. […] In the muddy stew of our culture, there are still those hardworking bark beetles who corrode the blooming tree of our culture, bypassing the decisions of our party on these issues. They eat out the core of the creative work of undeservedly forgotten figures and present their own excrement as the ideological and formalist perversion of the authors. The charges of nationalism are dropped in the legal documents on the rehabilitation of Kurbas and Kulish! What if not the inertia of times of personality cult could explain why people write that "nationalist traits in Kulish emerged as a result of the significant influence of Khvylovy and Kurbas"?
>
> Nothing can be stopped! And today's evening proves that it's time to slap on the wrists of those fools who slow down the process of correct coverage of the heroic history of Soviet Ukrainian culture, which is an inseparable part of multinational world culture![59]

While Taniuk was criticizing cultural bureaucrats for their inertia and inconsistency in bringing reform to life, Soviet cultural policy took a conservative turn as a result of the Manège affair. According to Polly Jones, who argues that the Khrushchev period consisted of several Thaws rather than one, another "freeze" started to develop in late 1962[60]. The Party strongly condemned the formalist tendencies in Soviet art and literature at the meeting with the cultural intelligentsia in Moscow[61]. As a result, socialist realism was reaffirmed as the only artistic method corresponding to the needs and ideals of Soviet society. The above-mentioned shift in cultural policy had an impact

[59] "A word on the evening of Mykola Kulish", the verbatim record (December 23, 1962) in Taniuk, 6:845–51.
[60] Polly Jones, ed., *The Dilemmas of De-Stalinization: Negotiating Cultural and Social Change in the Khrushchev Era*, 23 (London: Routledge, 2009), 11–12.
[61] Priscilla Johnson and Leopold Labedz (Eds.), *Khrushchev and the Arts: The Politics of Soviet Culture, 1962–1964* (MIT Press, 1965), 105–20.

on both the operation and status of the Club of Creative Youth. In February 1963, it was re-established by the Komsomol.

As already discussed, the Komsomol tried to manifest its control over the Club earlier, but the formal loss of the Club's autonomy was a culminating moment in the relationship between the two. According to the minutes of the meeting of the Komsomol obkom bureau, the *Suchasnyk* (the Contemporary) Youth Club is now founded in order to correct the shortcomings in work with creative youth by propagandizing the art of socialist realism and organizing meaningful leisure[62]. While preserving the same structure of the Club, the Komsomol reconceptualized it, assigned a new council (*rada*) that included the Komsomol obkom and raikom secretaries along with the old members, and appointed Viktor Zaretsky, a member of the Artists' Union, as the new head of the Club[63]. Roughly speaking, the Club was dismantled and reopened. The change happened, and probably not accidentally, when Les Taniuk was absent from the city, testing the receptiveness of Lvivians to the legacy of the Executed Renaissance by staging the play "That's How Huska Perished" together with Alla Horska. Despite this, he preserved the role of informal Club leader.

How did it affect the Club and its activities? In regard to the public events organized by *Suchasnyk*, it provoked a visible shift in their format and thematic orientation. The legacy of the Executed Renaissance was no longer revisited by means of commemorative evenings. Still of great interest to the Sixtiers, it was left for discussions in the private sphere. Instead, the Club switched to re-examination of the classics of Ukrainian literature such as Taras Shevchenko (1814–61), Lesia Ukrainka (1871–1913), and Ivan Franko (1856–1916), who were incorporated into Soviet meta-narrative and thus became a part of the Soviet Ukrainian literary canon. Tellingly enough, the

[62] "Protokol No. 2 Zasedania Buro Kievskogo Promyshlennogo Obkoma LKSM Ukrainy" (February 13, 1963), 40–41, f. 7, op. 16, spr. 633, TsDAHOU.
[63] "Protokol No. 2 Zasedania Buro Kievskogo Promyshlennogo Obkoma LKSM Ukrainy," 51.

renewed Club started with the figure of Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet and the father of the nation, inferior only to Lenin in the Soviet Ukrainian symbolic hierarchy.

The literary and musical evening of the KTM dedicated to Taras Shevchenko took place in March 1963 at the October Palace. Literary critic Yevhen Sversiuk, who wrote the scenario of the evening, explained how crucial it was to humanize (*vidbronzuvaty*) and re-discover the poet, as well as to find a new way of speaking about him that would raise the interest of the audience[64]. In this enterprise, the Sixtiers were driven by their dissociation from the official Shevchenko celebrations, usually dull and pompous, which presented an overly simplified image of the classic, tailored to the needs of the Soviet ideology. As Taniuk aptly put it in his diary, "All this horde doesn't go into the depths of his texts. They need the name. The cult"[65]. The Club of Creative Youth aimed to change this.

Shevhenko's evening gathered a packed hall and was another great success for the KTM. It excluded folk dance performances, a traditional part of Shevchenko celebrations, and instead focused on the mediums of poetry and song; it presented the poet within his own historical context rather than overstretching his biography and creativity to fit the Soviet ideology[66]. Now under the aegis of Komsomol, the Club again balanced on the edge of what was permissible. Iryna Zhylenko, who attended the meeting, was fascinated with the energy, wit, and daringness of the KTM, while noting her concern about the potential criticism the event may evoke[67]. Nevertheless, the scenario of a literary and musical evening dedicated to Shevchenko was eventually printed in the methodological journal for the teachers of Ukrainian language and literature, thus continuing to work for the rediscovery of the national bard on the local level.

[64] "My Vybyraly Zhyttia. Rozmova z Yevhenom Sverstiukom" in Bogumiła Berdychowska and Ola Hnatiuk, *Bunt Pokolinnia: Rozmovy z Ukrainskymy Intelektualamy* (Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2004), 77.
[65] Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1960-1961 rr.*, 5:260.
[66] Yevhen Oleksandriv, "Shevchenkisvkyi Literaturno-Muzychnyi Vechir," *Ukrainska Mova i Literatura v Shkoli. Metodychnyi Zhurnal Ministerstva Osvity URSR*, no. 10 (1963): 61–65.
[67] Zhylenko, *Homo Feriens: Spohady*, 352.

On the request of the Komsomol, the next action of the Club had to deal with the legacy of the Soviet revolutionary poet Vladimir Mayakovsky. There is not much record left of this event that took place on June 1, 1963, at the October Palace. This time, the program of the literary evening was prepared by Ivan Dziuba, a literary critic and young member of the Writers' Union who studied Russian philology before entering postgraduate studies (*aspirantura*) at the Institute of Literature. In the memory of Yevhen Sversiuk, this event appears as a failure lacking enthusiasm if compared to the previous action[68]. Nelli Kornienko, a former Komsomol curator of the then still autonomous KTM, too, was critical of the evening, on which "neither Mayakovsky nor Ukraine had rung out"[69]. The organizers probably wanted to merge the two topics, considering that the poem "Debt to Ukraine", where Mayakovsky criticizes the arrogant and disrespectful attitude of his countrymen towards Ukrainian culture, was performed that night.

The lines from this poem would later be included by Dziuba in his treatise "Internationalism or Russification" (1965) about the violation of Leninist nationality policies, which he addressed to the highest Party authorities. Discussing Russian chauvinism, the author asked a rhetorical question, "Have we today, in the forty-ninth year of Soviet power, totally dislodged this colonialist heritage and these colonialist attitudes?"[70]. And then he referred to Mayakovsky, arguing that nothing had changed since the times when "Debt to Ukraine" was written: the Russian petit bourgeois (*mishchanstvo*) living in Ukrainian cities widely displayed the same superior and contemptuous attitudes towards Ukrainian culture and language, even forty years after[71].

The summer of 1963, opened by the literary evening in Mayakovsky's memory, was rich in events. The evening in memory of Ivan Franko, another classic of Ukrainian literature, at the

[68] "My Vybyraly Zhyttia. Rozmova z Yevhenom Sverstiukom" in Bogumiła Berdychowska and Ola Hnatiuk, *Bunt Pokolinnia: Rozmovy z Ukrainskymy Intelektualamy*, 77.
[69] Les Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1963 r.*, vol. 7, Tvory (Kyiv: Altpres, 2004), 509.
[70] Ivan Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification? A Study in the Soviet Nationalities Problem* (The Camelot Press Ltd., 1968), 62.
[71] Dzyuba, 62–63.

Institute for Food Industry is entrenched in the memory of the Sixtiers as outstanding. However, it is not the main literary part, which as usual enjoyed a full house, that is notable, but what occurred after this, namely a torchlight procession. For half an hour, young people marched through the city center to the monument to Franko, singing Ukrainian songs that drew the attention of passersby. Many of the Sixters remember the disdainful remarks of spectators, who labeled the participants of the procession "nationalists" or "Banderites"[72]. This episode was described by Ivan Dziuba in "Internationalism or Russification?" along with the other examples of everyday Ukrainophobia that he and his peers observed and faced in Soviet Ukraine[73]. A semi-spontaneous action received hard-won approval from the Komsomol, but despite this, as Iryna Zhylenko recalls, an understanding that the participants were "crossing the line" was in the air[74].

The literary and musical evening organized by the Club of Creative Youth, together with the Kyiv State Philharmonic and the Ukrainian Theater Society, to honor the 50th anniversary of Lesia Ukrainka's death was even more exceptional in this regard, for it was held despite being canceled "from above". On July 31, the State Symphonic Orchestra of the Ukrainian SSR was to play music, entertainers were to perform with Lesia Ukrainka's poetry, and young poets Lina Kostenko, Iryna Zhylenko, and Ivan Drach were to read their own poems on the First May Park summer stage. But it did not occur according to the planned program because the event was canceled. As the host of the program, Ivan Dziuba was neither notified about the cancellation nor did he receive any adequate explanation of this at the Writers' Union or the Komsomol obkom, so he decided to proceed with the evening. After the park administration made it impossible for the

[72] "My Vybyraly Zhyttia. Rozmova z Yevhenom Sverstiukom" in Bogumiła Berdychowska and Ola Hnatiuk, *Bunt Pokolinnia: Rozmovy z Ukrainskymy Intelektualamy*, 77. Zhylenko, *Homo Feriens: Spohady*, 168.
[73] Dzyuba, *Internationalism or Russification?*, 100.
[74] Les Taniuk managed to obtain permission for the procession, which was joined by Tamara Hlavak, a secretary of the Komsomol obkom. See Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1963 r.*, 7:507.

participants to perform on stage by playing loud music over the speaker, Dziuba came up with an alternative solution, and the evening was held at a park alley[75].

Though the party responsible for the cancellation was impossible to identify (neither the Writers' Union nor the TsK KPU admitted the cancellation, instead arguing that the evening was rescheduled), Dziuba was held accountable for the unsanctioned gathering before the controlling body of the Writers' Union. As Dziuba described in the explanatory note to the Writers' Union, the organizers were accused of attempting to oppose the evening by the KTM to the main celebration at the Theater of Lesia Ukrainka happening the next day, along with allegations of disobedience and disregard of the Writers' Union[76]. Ivan Dziuba resolutely defended his position, arguing that "the Writers' Union is not the only civic organization in our country, and not necessarily everything that happens in our lives must be allowed by the Union in advance. And the Union members are not necessarily obliged to receive approval for every step of theirs beforehand. After all, we performed not on behalf of the Union but of the Club of Creative Youth in this case"[77]. What happened in First May Park had an absolutely different meaning for the Sixtiers. It was interpreted not only as "bureaucratic lawlessness" but also "an insult to the memory of Lesia Ukrainka and an insult to national dignity", to put it in the words of Dziuba[78].

[75] The strategy of drowning out the voices of nonconformists would later be used during the protest in the cinema theater "Ukraina" in 1965. When Ivan Dziuba and Viacheslav Chornovil used the premiere of "Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors" as the occasion to inform the public about the arrests of Ukrainian intelligentsia, the administration turned the fire alarm on so that the audience could not hear the speakers. From 1968 on, the festival "Kyivan spring" which lasted until 11 PM was instrumental at hindering people from gathering at the monument to Shevchenko on May 22.
[76] Ivan Dziuba, "AS no. 902. Poiasniuvalna Zapyska do Spilky Radianskykh Pysmennykiv Ukrainy pro Vechir Pamyati Lesi Ukrainky. Kyiv, 17 Serpnia 1963 r.," in *Sobranie Dokumentov Samizdata*, vol. 18 (München: Radio Liberty Committee, 1972), 6.
[77] Italics are mine. Dziuba, 6.
[78] Dziuba, 6.

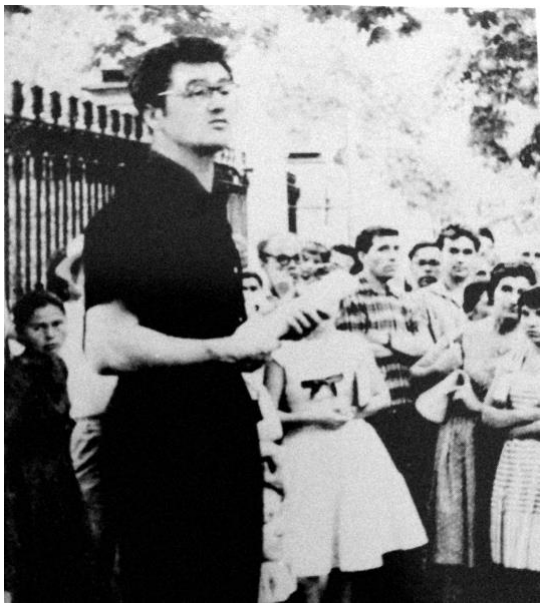


Figure 2. Ivan Dziuba is helding a speech at the unsanctioned meeting in honor of Lesia Ukrainka, July 31, 1963.

Not only was the Club as an organization engaged in event management, but its members also took initiative semi-autonomously. The premature death of the 28-year-old poet Vasyl Symonenko in December 1963 required a quick response from the community, which probably could not afford bureaucratic red tape. Though Symonenko passed away in Cherkasy, where he lived and worked, Kyivan Sixtiers saw him as an inseparable part of their circle of friends. Mykola Plakhotniuk, a student of the Kyiv Medical Institute who was also responsible for mass culture work on his faculty, volunteered to arrange the venue for commemoration at his institute while other Club participants were preparing the program[79]. A week before the event, Iryna Zhylenko said that they "[wanted] to make something incredibly warm, solemn, and bold" to pay tribute to their friend[80].

As evident from the egodocuments of participants, the atmosphere at the commemorative meeting was exactly like this. Neonila Bilychenko's impressions of the event, characterized as "intimate, uncompromising, and driven by idea," overlap with the expectations expressed above[81].

[79] Mykola Plakhotniuk, "Pro Ivana Svitlychnoho," in Leonida Svitlychna and Nadiia Svitlychna, eds., *Dobrookyi. Spohady pro Ivana Svitlychnoho* (Kyiv: Chas, 1998), 242.
[80] Zhylenko, *Homo Feriens: Spohady*, 213.
[81] Valerii Shevchuk, *Na Berezi Chasu. Ti, Kotri Poruch* (Kyiv: Lybid, 2016), 177.

She further provides a detailed description of the commemoration in a letter to Valerii Shevchuk, her husband, who could not attend the meeting:

> Full house. Alla Horska made a fascinating portrait. It cannot really be called like this; it's rather an image, a symbol. [...]
>
> On a simple and undecorated stage, only on the pulpit, near the microphone, is there a big armful of flaming *kalyna*. No announcements, no entertainers. Everything is read by his friends, those with whom he lived, talked, and corresponded.
>
> Voice of Vasyl from the loudspeaker: the evening is opened with "Ukraine" (from Ivan Svitlychnyi's recordings). Tremendous effect; the audience is tuned accordingly from the first words. You hear the voice of Symonenko, but he's no longer there, only his tiny particle is left on the narrow audiotape[82].

Perhaps the main peculiarity of this evening was that the Sixtiers read and played the best of Symonenko's work, including the unpublished poems that circulated in *samizdat* and *magnitizdat*, hence bringing them from the private to the public sphere. The above-mentioned opening poem, recorded as read by Symonenko, addressed Ukraine with the lines that sounded too challenging to get to the Soviet reader in the original form, for the concepts of "foreign" America and "native" Russia were endowed with one semantic content: "For you I sow pearls on my spirit, / For your sake is all that I think and I do – / May Russias and Americas be silent / When I elect to speak with you"[83]. As literary critic Ivan Svitlychnyi stressed in his speech that followed, "those who know Vasyl Symonenko only from press publications either don't know the real Symonenko or know him very poorly", opening the floor for other unpublished poems of his[84]. Both the way Symonenko was presented to the audience and the uncensored selection of his poetry correspond to the idea of *sincerity* permeating the culture of Thaw and the creativity of the Sixtiers. But while for the Sixtiers the evening was true to the idea, the Party authorities defined it as of "low ideological level" and took measures against the organizers[85].

[82] Valerii Shevchuk, *Na Berezi Chasu*, 177–78.
[83] Translation by Andriy M. Fr-Chirovsky. For the full version, see Vasyl Symonenko, *Granite Obelisks*, trans. Andriy M. Fr.-Chirovsky (Svoboda press, 1975), 39.
[84] Ivan Svitlycnhy, "Vystup Ivana Svitlychnoho Na Vechori Pamiati Vasylia Symonenka v Kyivskomu Medinstytuti," in *Tvory. Poezii, Pereklady, Publitsystyka*, 2012, 788.
[85] Mykola Plakhotniuk, "Pro Ivana Svitlychnoho," in Svitlychna and Svitlychna, *Dobrookyi. Spohady pro Ivana Svitlychnoho*, 243.

The commemoration of Taras Shevchenko on the 150th anniversary of his birth is usually mentioned as the last evening of the KTM. It is remarkable that the Club is no longer listed as the organizer, and instead, the "Commission for Work with Creative Youth of the Kyiv Committee of the YCL" is mentioned in the invitations[86]. From Nadiia Svitlychna's description of the program, it is clear that the whole concept was borrowed from last year's commemoration of Shevchenko and brought up to its full potential. The repertoire embraced only Shevchenko's poems, recited from behind the scenes. This artistic decision created an electric atmosphere, according to Svitlychna[87]. It is difficult to identify what poetry, except for "To my fellow countrymen", sounded on the literary evening, so we cannot assess how it corresponded to the dominant discourse about Shevchenko. However, even regardless of this, the event ended up having a protest connotation. When, out of the blue, the performances of amateur talent groups were announced, half the public left the concert hall. John Kolasky, then a student at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, happened to become a witness to the protest. As he recalls, that was a Russian folk song about Stenka Razin that stood in striking contrast to the general mood of the event and outraged the public[88].

At about the same time, the image of Taras Shevchenko appeared in the center of another conflict between the Sixtiers and the authorities. The stained-glass window carried out by Alla Horska, Liudmyla Semykina, Opanas Zalyvakha, and Halyna Zubchenko, the group of artists affiliated with the KTM, was brutally destroyed. Commissioned by the Artists' Union on occasion of Shevchenko's 150th anniversary for decoration of Kyiv State University, the artwork depicted the defiant Shevchenko comforting a woman that symbolized Ukraine, with the poet's words "I will exalt these small, mute slaves / I will put the word on guard beside them". The commission, assigned

[86] "Zaproshennia na Vechir Pamyati Prysviachenyi 150-Richchiu z Dnia Narodzennia Velykoho Kobzaria," March 12, 1964, 11, F. 1165, op. 1, spr. 121, ark. 11-14, TsDAMLM.
[87] *Ta, Shcho Svityla Vsim* (Donetsk, 2009), 9–10.
[88] John Kolasky, *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine; a Canadian's Personal Account of Russian Oppression and the Growing Opposition* (Toronto: P. Martin Associates, 1970), 197.

to evaluate the already destroyed panel, argued that it had nothing in common with the Soviet idea of Shevchenko[89]. While the panel was destroyed at the order of the university rector, Alla Horska considered the Party obkom ideological secretary Boychenko to be the one who was actually responsible for this brutal act[90]. A similar attack crowned the disbandment of the Club of Creative Youth. As Les Taniuk described it, "[their] room no. thirteen was robbed, the bust [of Mykola Kulish made for the memorial evening] was destroyed, many papers were stolen, picture frames were broken, and someone even bashed the piano with a bit of plaster"[91]. Once again, the party responsible for these violent acts remained unidentified. The watchwoman, however, provided Taniuk with a portrait of the perpetrators. These were "people with a pass" who came to the October Palace by car late at night[92]. Most likely, the description matches that of the KGB officers. With the gestures depicted above, the authorities endeavored to convey the message that there is now little space for negotiation over Ukrainian culture in the public sphere.

1.2. The *Prolisok* Club in Lviv

Paragraph thirteen, subparagraph "d" of the "Provision about the Club of Creative Youth" stated that candidates and members are entitled to engage the widest circle of friends in the events organized by the Club as well as establish contacts with the creative youth of other cities, regions, Soviet republics, and other states[93]. The appearance of a similar club for grassroots initiatives in Lviv, the main city of Western Ukraine, may be considered a result of the rapprochement of young intelligentsia from Kyiv and Lviv and explained through the lens of the flow of ideas from center to periphery. Indeed, the opening of the *Prolisok* Club of Creative Youth in the spring of 1963 was

[89] Liudmyla Ohnieva, *Alla Horska. Dusha Ukrainskoho Shistdesiatnytstva* (Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2015), 301.
[90] The letter of Alla Horska to Opanasa Zalyvakha, April 1968 in Ohnieva, 103.
[91] Les Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1964 r.*, vol. 9, Tvory (Kyiv: Altpres, 2006), 93.
[92] Taniuk, 9:93.
[93] Les Taniuk, *Tvory. Shchodennyky bez Kupiur.*, vol. 21 (Kyiv: Altpres, 2011), 555.

preceded by the establishment of friendly ties between Kyivan and Lvivian young intelligentsia and a range of informal talks that discussed the experience of the Club operating in the capital.

Out of all encounters, the arrival of the Kyivan trio of literati to Lviv in the spring of 1962 occupies a central place in the memory of the Lviv-based Sixtiers as well as the broader public. These were poets Ivan Drach and Mykola Vinhranovsy and literary critic Ivan Dziuba, all of them young members of the Writers' Union, who are said to have brought the Thaw to Lviv. They performed at a range of venues, like Lviv State University and the Scientists' and Architects' Houses, and received numerous invitations for informal gatherings, but it was the poetry night at the university that came to be the most memorable event for the Lvivian audience[94]. As a critic, Dziuba introduced the new poetry by fitting it into a broader frame of Ukrainian literature and the ongoing paradigmatic change of its aesthetics[95]. A poetry reading followed. It was interpreted by the audience as a proclamation of a new poetic manifesto. As Yurii Brylynsky, then a university student, put it in his memoirs, "the Ukrainian literary pond, overgrown with duckweed of monotonous tropes and figures, finally burst out. Streams of fresh thought, new imagery, and pure water of truth scared the sleepy goose"[96].

In an oral history interview, Ihor Kalynets described the effect of this visit as a "revolution" in the cultural life of Lviv, pointing out that it was the capital from where new ideas spread further[97]. Along with this, the event is also interpreted through the lens of nation-building, which only reaffirms its significance. For instance, Roman Ivanychuk, the writer present at the performance of Kyivan poets at the University of Lviv, speaks of it as an "artistic act of Ukrainian unity

[94] Bohdan Horyn, *Ne Tilky pro Sebe: Dokumentalnyi Roman-Kolazh u Triokh Knyhakh*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: Pulsary, 2008), 180–83.
[95] Ivan Dziuba, *Spohady i Rozdumy Na Finishniy Priamiy* (Kyiv: Krynytsia, 2008), 506.
[96] Mykola Ilnytskyi, "Literaturnyi Lviv i Shistdesiatnytstvo," in Volodymyr Kvitnevyi, ed., *U Vyri Shistdesiatnytskoho Rukhu. Pohliad z Vidstani Chasu* (Lviv: Kameniar, 2003), 7.
[97] Interview with Ihor Kalynets by Svitlana Dovhan, November 18, 2022.

(*sobornosti*)"[98]. Another witness to this brilliant performance, Ivan Denusiuk, described the arrival of Kyivan poets using the metaphor of conquest that had a long-term effect on the city:

> Oh, the Kyivan poets conquered the city as triumphantly as Bohdan Khmelnytsky did. What nights these were! So crowded! The halls couldn't accommodate all the people. They were standing for 5 hours (no place to sit) and listened with bated breath. And then exploded with a squall of applause. One couldn't but get excited [...] A long time after those fellows left Lviv, the city couldn't calm down. Their poems walked on foot across the streets of Lviv and flew from one mouth to another.[99]

This trip laid the groundwork for the development of tighter contacts between the two groups of intelligentsia. As early as the summer of 1962, another guest from the capital, Ivan Svitlychnyi, brought to Lviv the idea of establishing a youth club analogous to the one that successfully functioned in Kyiv[100]. However, the greatest promotion of the KTM had probably been made by its president, Les Taniuk, and artist Alla Horska, another central figure of the Club. Invited by the Maria Zankovetska Theatre chief director, they came to Lviv to stage the play "That's How Huska Perished" by Mykola Kulish[101]. It was a part of the KTM's meticulous work on revisiting and re-incorporating the Executed Renaissance legacy into the Soviet Ukrainian cultural scene. Taniuk and Horska kept spreading the word about the Club of Creative Youth, responding to the interest expressed by the young intelligentsia, despite being advised "not to meet with students and not to talk about repressions, Solovki, and Les Kurbas" by their older colleagues[102]. Tape recordings of Kyivan poets, their new poems, and photographs from the commemoration of Les Kurbas organized by the KTM circulated among Lvivian young intelligentsia, nourishing the interest of youth in new modes of self-expression[103].

On February 9, 1963, an artistic committee assembled to evaluate the theater performance prepared by Taniuk and Horska. Eventually, the premiere would be canceled on the instruction of

[98] Roman Ivanychuk, *Blahoslovy, Dushe Moia, Hospoda.. Shchodennykovi Zapysy, Spohady i Rozdumy* (Lviv: Prosvita, 1993), 98.
[99] Kotsiubynska, *Khyha Spomyniv*, 31.
[100] Mykhailo Horyn, *Zapalyty Svichu* (Kharkiv: Prava liudyny, 2009), 35.
[101] Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1962 r.*, 6:856.
[102] Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1963 r.*, 7:100.
[103] Les Taniuk, *Slovo, Teatr, Zhyttia. Vybrane v 3-Kh Tomakh*, vol. 2 (Kyiv: Altpres, 2003), 655.

the Party authorities, while Taniuk and Horska would be ordered to leave the city. Not yet knowing this, Taniuk addressed the committee, raising the issue of renewal of the Ukrainian theater. He argued that it is crucial for modern Ukrainian drama to become highly intellectual (*vysokointelektualnyi*) through the means of creative search and re-evaluation of the 1920–30s legacy. It is worth noting that in his speech, Taniuk referred to himself as a part of *shistdesiatnyky*, a group with a sense of cultural mission that formed at the Club of Creative Youth:

> *The Sixtiers movement* that the artistic director of the play Alla Horska and I belong to, the movement that was launched by our KTM in particular, with program guidelines of which I've just familiarized you, emerged for this particular reason: to restore the broken chain of generations; "the time that is out of joint" in Shakespeare. Art is what can restore the chain. [...] For us, the past is only the preface to the future[104].

This is not only one of the first accounts of the cohort's conscious self-fashioning as the Sixtiers but also as a *movement* of people united by a particular vision of how Ukrainian culture should be developed[105]. Among other things mentioned by Taniuk, there was a need to create a new environment for youth that would stimulate their creative engagement, meaning a club that would unite youth of various creative profiles[106]. As a result of such intellectual exchange, the young intelligentsia of Lviv developed the idea to create a similar space for the informal engagement of creative youth in their city. It was named *Prolisok* (Snowdrop), which resonated with the metaphor of the Thaw. Naturally, *Prolisok* was smaller than the Kyivan Club, since it operated on a smaller scale. As the Club secretary, Volodymyr Kvitnevyi, recalls, they started with around forty participants divided into the sections of literature, music, theater, and fine art[107]. The motto of *Prolisok*, as presented in the "Vitchyzna" literary periodical, repeated the cliched formula about the

[104] Italics mine. "Transcript of Les Taniuk's speech at the Artistic Council" in Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1963 r.*, 7:111.
[105] For details on how the term "Sixtiers" developed on Ukrainian ground, see Mokryk, *Bunt Proty Imperii*, 106–7.
[106] Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1963 r.*, 7:112.
[107] Volodymyr Kvitnevyi, "Lytsari Natsionalnoho Vidrodzehnnia," in Kvitnevyi, *U Vyri Shistdesiatnytskoho Rukhu*, 61.

struggle for people-, party-, and ideology-oriented art, re-established during the campaign against "formalism"[108].

According to Kvitnevyi, the initiative group did not even consider the "autonomous" scenario and decided to operate as a part of the Komsomol regional committee department for mass culture work[109]. Given the fact that the Club of Creative Youth in Kyiv had already been re-established by the Komsomol in February 1963, which marked the end of the experiment in official youth policy tolerating semi-autonomous student initiatives, such an approach appears to be reasonable. On the other hand, as the *Prolisok* participants argue, the Komsomol did not have much influence on the activities of the Club till 1965, when the Party obkom started to exert tight control over *Prolisok* and its members[110]. A rhetorical question, "What is this that you created – the Club of Creative Youth, or the Club of nationalist?" posed by the obkom secretary in charge of ideology to Volodymyr Kvitnevyi, the organizing secretary of the *Prolisok* Club and a Komsomol worker, aptly explains what was at stake in the view of authorities[111].

Available sources covering the *Prolisok* Club are relatively scarce and are mostly written from a distance in time. However, they are still rich enough to give a sense of the regional peculiarities of the Club's activities and the aspirations of its participants[112]. Similarly to the capital, the genre of literary and musical evenings occupied a prominent place in the activities of the local Club of Creative Youth. There is, though, a significant difference in the way the Clubs approached their programs. In Kyiv, the first public events that took place in the early 1960s pertained to the rehabilitation of Ukrainian artists repressed during Stalin's terror. In their turn, Lvivians opened their Club with an event dedicated to Lenin, and only after this could they concentrate on literature

[108] "Den za Dnem," *Vitchyzna*, no. 9 (1963): 223.
[109] Volodymyr Kvitnevyi, "Lytsari Natsionalnoho Vidrodzehnnia," in Kvitnevyi, *U Vyri Shistdesiatnytskoho Rukhu*, 60.
[110] Mykola Ilnytskyi, "Literaturnyi Lviv i Shistdesiatnytstvo," in Kvitnevyi, 16, 20.
[111] Volodymyr Kvitnevyi, "Lytsari Natsionalnoho Vidrodzehnnia," in Kvitnevyi, 62.
[112] This group of sources may potentially be complemented with the Komsomol and KGB archival documents.

and art. In the memoirs of the *Prolisok* participants, there is not much enthusiasm ascribed to the opening event; it is generally regarded as "*parovoz*", a formality enabling all the following activity, similar to an opening poem about Lenin or the Party pulling along a collection of lyric poetry[113]. However, we can also compare this with a more immediate reflection on the event. In a letter to the founder of the Kyivan KTM, Mykhailo Kosiv writes that "the first evening was very interesting, and it seemed like everyone lit up"[114]. As William Risch notes, commitment to Marxism was something that Kosiv and his fellow Club members in Lviv, inspired by Thaw, shared at least for a time[115].

The scope of literary figures covered by *Prolisok* in their public events corresponds to the program of the renewed *Suchasnyk*. It is not surprising, since as a rule, the evenings dedicated to classics echoed the celebrations happening on the republican level, such as the 50th anniversary of Lesia Ukrainka's death (1963), the annual commemorations of Taras Shevchenko, and the 150th anniversary of his birth (1964)[116]. Though Ivan Franko was still in line for his jubilee to be marked in 1966, both Clubs covered his creative work before this remarkable date. In the case of Lviv, the literary evening dedicated to Franko could probably be inspired by the unveiling of the monument to the writer in 1964. The dedication of the young intelligentsia of both cities to the classics of Ukrainian literature of the 19th and early 20th centuries may be interpreted in two different ways. On the one hand, this seemingly represents a success story: the Soviet Ukrainian pantheon of national classics, renewed after the incorporation of Western Ukraine, was at work (the figure of Franko came to represent "the junior father figure for Western Ukrainians", as Serhii Yekelchyk

[113] Aktor, 71 rik. Intervyu zi Zasluzhenym artystom Ukraiiny, aktorom dramatychnoho teatru, interview by Natalia Otrishchenko, October 10, 2013, https://lia.lvivcenter.org/uk/interviews/80-liateatrbrylynskyiu20131010quotes/.
[114] Taniuk, *Shchodennyky 1963 r.*, 7:425.
[115] William Jay Risch, *The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet Lviv* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011), 183.
[116] For more details about the scale of celebrations, see "Den Za Dnem."; Oleh Nochovnyi, "The Celebration of Anniversary Dates in the Soviet Union: To 150 Anniversary of the Birth of Taras Shevchenko," *Kraieznavstvo*, no. 3–4 (2014): 57–61.

puts it)[117]. But on the flip side, as the Soviet canon emerged from the co-optation of the one established by the Ukrainian pre-revolutionary intelligentsia, it made the classics subject to alternative readings. This is particularly important for Lviv, the city that spent considerably less time within the Soviet paradigm of memory. According to Mykhailo Kosiv, who co-authored the scenarios for literary and musical evenings, a subtext has always been part of the artistic statement in *Prolisok*. The works of Lesia Ukrainka fit especially well for "reading between the lines", as her poetic dramas set in various historical milieus, often as distant as the Egyptian and Babylonian captivity of Israel, allow for allegorical anti-imperial interpretations that gravitate towards extrapolation on Ukraine's position vis-à-vis Russia[118]. Kosiv continues,

> How meticulously every poem was selected, which had to be in tune with everything that we, along with our contemporaries, felt. "And you once fought like Israel, Ukraine! God himself has set against you an inexorable force of blind fate," wasn't it clear what it was about? [...] And how up-to-date a drama dialogue "In the House of Labor, In the Land of Slavery" sounded, performed by actors Volodymyr Hluhyi and Bohdan Stupka. These were we, Ukrainians, who were in the land of slavery, and we were assigned the role of a speechless workforce in a foreign state[119].

This retrospective account of one of the first public events organized by the Club may exaggerate the extent of rejection of the Soviet state by the young Lvivian intelligentsia, but it nonetheless aptly underlines the dialogic nature of interpretation, which is dependent on the reader's "horizon of expectations". Hence, it is not excluded that some interpretations might acquire similar overtones.

Meanwhile, the evening of Bohdan Ihor Antonych, a modernist poet from Western Ukraine (1909–37), was inspired by a considerably less noticeable event in Lviv's literary life. At the beginning of 1964, one of the first Soviet publications of Antonych's creative work saw the light in

[117] Serhy Yekelchyk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2014), 109.
[118] See Myroslav Shkandrij, *Jews in Ukrainian Literature: Representation and Identity* (Yale University Press, 2009), 56–57. Volodymyr Yermolenko et al., "Lesia Ukrainka Ta Ukrainska Identychnist," *Filosofska Dumka*, no. 2 (2021): 6.
[119] Mykhailo Kosiv, "Prolisky Vyrostaiut z-pid Snihu," in Kvitnevyi, *U Vyri Shistdesiatnytskoho Rukhu*, 74.

the literary journal "Zhovten"[120]. The poetry of Antonych, permeated with pagan and Christian symbolics, did not correspond to Soviet reality and for a long time occupied a place outside of the Ukrainian literary canon in its Soviet edition. Anonych's presentation to the Soviet reader was probably interpreted by the *Prolisok* members as a green light for their own popularization of Antonych.

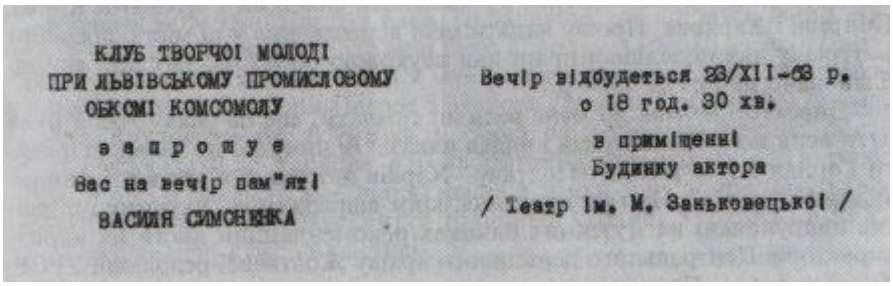
The undated note kept in the private archive of Bohdan Horyn conveys the feeling of hurrying around the event to be organized in quite a short period of time: "Bohdane! The evening of Antonych takes place on Monday. Do what you can and let people know. It's not to be postponed any longer; we risk it [being called off]. Are you in touch with the Architects' House to arrange a venue?"[121]. The person who wrote these lines was Ihor Kalynets, a young poet working as an archivist in Lviv. He and his wife, Iryna Stasiv, were known for their admiration of the poetry of Bohdan Ihor Antonych. As an employee of the State Regional Archives in Lviv, Kalynets had ample opportunity to examine the original pre-Soviet poetry collections of the poet kept in the special funds of the archives, contributing to the dissemination of samizdat reproductions of his books. Being the ones who could comprehensively speak of Antonych, the Kalynets couple composed a program for the literary evening that combined poetry reading with the presentation of the poet's biography. It also included Lemko folklore that inspired the poetry of the interwar poet[122]. The literary evening resulted in the discovery of the abandoned grave of Antonych at the Yanivsky cemetery, the installation of the grave cross, and the regular unofficial commemoration of the poet[123].

[120] It was preceded by a significantly more modest publication by Dmytro Pavlychko, which included 8 poems of Antonych, in the anthology "The Day of Poetry" (1963). The year after, 44 poems were presented to Soviet readers in *Zhovten*. See Risch, The Ukrainian West, 133.
[121] Horyn, *Ne Tilky pro Sebe*, 1:261.
[122] Mykola Ilnytskyi, "Literaturnyi Lviv i Shistdesiatnytstvo," in Kvitnevyi, *U Vyri Shistdesiatnytskoho Rukhu*, 18.
[123] Ihor Kalynets, *Koleso Fortuny* (Lviv: Spolom, 2016), 202.

A contemporary of the *Prolisok* activists, poet Vasyl Symonenko was of Antonych's age when he passed away. The evening in memory of Symonenko that took place in Lviv at the Actors' House on the 9th day after his death, synchronously with the one happening in the capital, is particularly remarkable for this reason. This evening is claimed to be the first non-scheduled event of the Club, as it was not coordinated with the Komsomol in advance[124]. As was already discussed, in the view of Symonenko's friends, his death had to be addressed publicly without delay, so the preparations started immediately. Bohdan Horyn, a Club activist, arranged for the event poster to be designed and typed up a number of invitation copies on his typewriter, so everything was manufactured unassisted[125].

Figure 3. Poster of the evening honoring the memory of Vasyl Symonenko in Lviv. In Bohdan Horyn, *Ne Tilky pro Sebe: Dokumentalnyi Roman-Kolazh u Triokh Knyhakh*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: Pulsary, 2008), 271.

[124] Volodymyr Kvitnevyi, "Lytsari Natsionalnoho Vidrodzehnnia," in Kvitnevyi, *U Vyri Shistdesiatnytskoho Rukhu*, 61.
[125] Horyn, *Ne Tilky pro Sebe*, 1:270–71.


КЛУБ ТВОРЧОЇ МОЛОДІ
ПРИ ЛЬВІВСЬКОМУ ПРОМИСЛОВОМУ
ОБКОМІ КОМСОМОЛУ
з а п р о ш у є
Вас на вечір пам"яті
ВАСИЛЯ СИМОНЕНКА

Вечір відбудеться 23/XII-63 р.
о 18 год. 30 хв.
в приміщенні
Будинку актора
/ Театр ім. М. Заньковецької /

Figure 4. Invitation to the evening held in memory of Symonenko in Lviv. In Bohdan Horyn, *Ne Tilky pro Sebe*, vol. 1, 271.

Similarly to the event held by the Club of Creative Youth in Kyiv, the program of commemoration included listening to tape recordings of Symonenko's uncensored poems, obtained from Ivan Svitlychnyi, which was one of the strongest parts of the evening. As Horyn recalls, the evening ended up being so resonant that there were rumors about the approaching crackdown on the Club after it came to the attention of the Party authorities[126]. He further argues that local samizdat was significantly influenced by the evening, as the unpublished and uncensored poetry of Symonenko, transcribed from the original recordings, evoked a wide response among the Lvivians. As a result, no other Sixtier poet could compete with the popularity Symonenko enjoyed in Lviv in 1963[127].

There was a particular reason why Lvivians preferred the much more traditional and succinct Symonenko to the innovative words of Vinhranovsky or Drach (whose visit indeed provoked a poetic boom in the city), namely the national- and civic-mindedness of his poetry[128]. In an unpublished article by Vasyl Stus dating back to 1966, the poet is referred to as "the greatest Sixtier of the Sixtiers" for his civic courage[129]. A year before, Ivan Dziuba praised Symonenko's "deepening into the national idea" in his impromptu speech at the official commemoration held by the Writers' Union, putting the poet in line with such classics as Shevchenko, Franko, and Lesia

[126] Horyn, 1:271.
[127] Horyn, 1:290.
[128] Horyn, 1:290.
[129] Vasyl Stus, "Sered Tyshi i Hromu," *Suchasnist*, no. 1 (1995): 148.

Ukrainka, whose poetry is dominated by the national theme[130]. Although Dziuba's speech performed at the evening of 1963 was not preserved, we can speculate that it might have had a similar message. Symonenko was turning into a unifying figure, universally understood in both Kyiv and Lviv[131]. The symbol was so powerful that the Writers' Union would have to co-opt it.

In 1964, *Prolisok* joined the celebration of the 150th anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birth. The event organized by the young intelligentsia in Lviv is represented as an alternative to official celebrations, similar to the activities of their Kyivan counterparts during Shevchenko's days. Unsatisfied with the quality of the commemoration of the national poet organized by the local authorities, the Club arranged another Shevchenko's evening. However, in this case, the primary aim was not to reconceptualize the legacy of the greatest Ukrainian bard but to include Shevhenko in the whole matter of honoring his memory. As Volodymyr Kvitnevyi recalls, the official celebration resembled a report on achievements of socialist construction in the region and significantly lacked the content that the character of Shevchenko's evening implied, apart from being organized in a venue inappropriate for such a remarkable event[132]. The Club managed to organize a literary and musical evening that was concentrated solely on Shevchenko's creative work, enjoying a full house at a Palace of Culture[133].

The last loud action of the *Prolisok* Club had to do with Taras Shevchenko, similarly to its Kyivan counterpart *Sychasnyk*. However, it was not the national poet's image that was at stake but rather the self-conception of the group honoring his memory. In May 1964, the *Prolisok* participants

[130] Ivan Dziuba, "Vystup na Vechori, Prysviachenomu 30-Littiu z Dnia Narodzennia Vasylia Symonenka," *Suchasnist*, no. 1 (1995): 155.
[131] The figures of Symonenko and Shevchenko are examined together in Jaro Bilocerkowycz, *Soviet Ukrainian Dissent. A Study of Political Alienation* (Routledge, 2019), 23–24.. For more details about "canonization" of Vasyl Symonenko, see Valentyna Kharkhun, "Ukrainian Literature of the Late Soviet Period: The History of Three Generations of Poets," in *The Literary Field under Communist Rule* (Academic Studies Press, 2019), 165–67, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781618119780-011.
[132] Volodymyr Kvitnevyi, "Lytsari Natsionalnoho Vidrodzehnnia," in Kvitnevyi, *U Vyri Shistdesiatnytskoho Rukhu*, 64.
[133] Mykola Ilnytskyi, "Literaturnyi Lviv i Shistdesiatnytstvo," in Kvitnevyi, 18.

set off to Taras Hill in Kaniv, where Shevchenko's remains had found their final resting place according to his wish to be buried in Ukraine. The monument to Taras Shevchenko never appeared in Lviv during Soviet times, presumably for the reason that such a monument could warm up the nationalist sentiments among the local population and be used by "bourgeois nationalists" for their own purposes, as Shevchenko's cult was widespread in pre-Soviet Galicia[134]. Hence, the young Lvivian intelligentsia opted to travel directly to Taras Hill to mark the milestone anniversary. The *Prolisok* participants were carrying a wreath made of 150 brass bay leaves that symbolized the anniversary date, with the inscription "To the great son of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko, from grateful Galicians"[135].

Figure 5. Maria Protseviat, a presidium member of the *Prolisok* Club of Creative Youth, at Taras Hill (1964). In Volodymyr Kvitnevyi, ed., *U Vyri Shistdesiatnytskoho Rukhu. Pohliad z Vidstani Chasu* (Lviv: Kameniar, 2003), 92.

[134] Risch, *The Ukrainian West*, 49.
[135] Mykola Ilnytskyi, "Literaturnyi Lviv i Shistdesiatnytstvo," in Kvitnevyi, *U Vyri Shistdesiatnytskoho Rukhu*, 19.

Despite the delegation of creative youth having the official approval, the route covered by *Prolisok* from Lviv to Taras Hill in Kaniv resembled an obstacle course. The buses were stopped by the KGB as some of the passengers were suspected of transporting *samizdat*, then military control posts near Kaniv did not let the delegation enter for some time, and finally only the people with invitations could climb Taras Hill because of the highest security measures taken due to the participation of official delegations, international among them, in the wreath-laying ceremony[136]. According to Hryhorii Lupii, "plain-clothed men" stopped the wreath carriers several times under various pretexts. As he recalled,

> We calmly moved forward for a few minutes, but soon other guardians of order appeared next to us. Obviously, they were informed by the previous ones, and for this reason, they immediately put the question bluntly: what kind of organization is "grateful Galicians" that they had not heard about. But we, the stubborn Galicians, explained in Ukrainian that this is not an organization but the descendants of Danylo Halytskyi [medieval ruler of the principalities of Galicia and Volhynia, the founder of Lviv] and that we will not leave the column. Here, the master of ceremonies in chief blocked our way and threatened to use force. Fortunately, Vasyl Kasiyan [a painter and graphic artist originally from Western Ukraine and a full member of the Academy of Arts of the Soviet Union] noticed us. He approached our excited group, read the inscription on the wreath, shook hands with all of us gratefully, and said in our defense, "You are interested in the organization? Then you should know, I, the People's Artist of the USSR, the Shevchenko Prize laureate, am Galician, and let me lead these decent guys to the grave and lay this beautiful artwork with them [...]"[137].

The intervention into the official public sphere, which dictated a particular mode of behavior, combined with the manifestation of regional sameness, had not gone unnoticed by the Party authorities. The stakes were high, as such a pompous celebration involving international guests conditioned even more rigid regulations to be observed in the official public. In order to lay a wreath, the delegation needed to register it beforehand at the Taras Shevchenko museum. Similarly, to come to "the father of the Ukrainian people", as Shevchenko was referred to in the Soviet discourse, on behalf of Galicians, one needed to be allowed to do so. After the incident, Valentyn Malanchuk, the CPU's ideological secretary in Lviv, known for his zeal in uprooting "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism", demanded the list of participants of the trip as well as the names of the wreath-carriers

[136] Maria Protseviat, "Syla Patriotychnoho Pidnesennia Shistdesiatnytstva," in Kvitnevyi, 90.
[137] Mykola Ilnytskyi, "Literaturnyi Lviv i Shistdesiatnytstvo," in Kvitnevyi, 20.

be provided to him[138]. The *Prolisok* Club, accused of spreading nationalist ideas, was subject to a thorough check-up on the part of "the special brigade" from Moscow and the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, according to Club organizing secretary Kvitnevyi[139]. There was no such violent demonstration of power that accompanied the crackdown as in the case of the *Suchansnyk* Club in Kyiv, probably just because the local Club did not have its headquarters. But the suppression of *Prolisok* activity stood out for its zeal. Unlike in Kyiv, where among the arrested intelligentsia only Ivan Svitlychnyi was affiliated with the KTM, a whole range of the Club activists were arrested in Lviv, which shows that Western Ukrainian regions and Lviv in particular were still under special control of the authorities, both in Kyiv and Moscow.

1.3. Concluding Remarks

The Clubs of Creative Youth as organizations for grassroots initiatives of the Sixtiers stopped operating in 1964–65, either shortly before the repressions in 1965 or as a result of them. For the relatively short period of activity, the Clubs managed to become significant players in the public sphere of both cities, promoting change in the national culture inspired by the Thaw. By organizing public events, such as literary evenings dedicated to Ukrainian classics as well as commemorations covering marginalized cultural figures (they varied depending on the intellectual and literary tradition of the region), the Sixtiers endeavored to engage in the dialogue about the further development of Soviet Ukrainian culture. After the conservative turn in Khrushchev's cultural policy, the Sixtiers gradually became more and more excluded from the public sphere by means of dismissals, publication bans, and finally arrests. As the mode of dialogue with the authorities turned into a politics of exclusion, the Sixtiers' vision of Ukrainian culture was mainly pushed back into the private sphere and acquired characteristics of an alternative culture. It also

[138] Volodymyr Kvitnevyi, "Lytsari Natsionalnoho Vidrodzehnnia," in Kvitnevyi, 65.
[139] Kvitnevyi, "Lytsari Natsionalnoho Vidrodzehnnia," 65–69.

reaffirmed the self-understanding of the group of cultural activists formed around Clubs, differentiating them from the broader Soviet Ukrainian literary and artistic circles.

2. Experiencing and Imagining National Space

In the 1960s, Alla Horska, an artist and one of the most prominent figures of the Kyivan Sixtiers movement, created a map of Ukraine. There are two of them to be precise, but neither looks finished as the pencil marks can be seen on the paper. In the artworks, Horska reproduced the contours of post-war Soviet Ukraine. On the left, we can see newly incorporated Western Ukraine, with the city of Lviv marked as its center and trembita players symbolizing the Carpathian region. Kyiv, the capital of the Ukrainian SSR, is represented by the recognizable bell tower of St. Sophia's Cathedral[140]. In one of the map's variants, there is a sun at the top of the tower. Horska probably referred to the importance of Kyiv as the spiritual capital of Ukraine and its central place in terms of the country's ancient heritage[141]. The south of Ukraine is represented by the port city of Odesa, while the southeastern part of the map is dominated by the image of Cossack Mamai, associated with the space of the steppe and the Cossack myth. The selection of cities is of interest to us, but what is more important is that the map indicates the spatial integrity of Ukraine in the imagination of the young intelligentsia. The modernist trembita players of the west and the oriental cossack who plays bandura in the south-east create a symphony of Ukrainian space.

[140] Though a part of the city's religious architecture, Saint Sophia Cathedral occupied an important place in the image of secular Soviet Kyiv, which was replicated on the postcards and in the city guides. In 1934, the ensemble of Saint Sophia was granted the status of architectural and historical reserve. The plaque to commemorate the Pereiaslav agreement of 1654, interpreted as the "reunification of Ukraine with Russia" in the official Soviet discourse, had been installed there in Soviet times, which marked its significance in the broader context of Soviet mythology. See Anatoliy Kudritskiy, ed., *Kiev. Entsiklopedicheskiy Spravochnik* (Kiev: Glavnaya redaktsiya Ukrainskoy Sovetskoy Entsiklopedii, 1985), 578.

[141] For the image of Kyiv as the capital of medieval Rus and the city of shrines, see Kateryna Dysa, "Obraz Modernoho Mista u Putivnykakh Po Kyyevu Mezhi XIX-XX St.," in *Zhyvuchy v Modernomu Misti: Kyyiv Kintsya XIX – Seredyny XX Stolittya* (Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2016), 82–95.

Figure 6. Alla Horska, 1960s, Map of Ukraine

This chapter looks at the spatial dynamics of the Sixtiers movement in the Ukrainian SSR from a bird's-eye view, taking cities as spatial metaphors. It covers four spaces, which hold an important place in the symbolic geography of the *shistdesiatnyky*. I examine how Kyiv and Lviv, two of the most important cities for the development of the Sixtiers movement, were imagined by contemporaries and how the symbolic geography shared by the young intelligentsia corresponded to the images of cities cultivated in Soviet mass culture. The study also highlights what distinguished the aforementioned cities from the general image of peripheries, on the one hand, and the centers of Soviet culture in Moscow and Leningrad, on the other.

2.1. The Capital: Kyiv as "the City of Dreams, Hopes, and Drama"

Kyiv is described as "an ancient city in constant renewal" in a 1972 filmstrip "A Word About Ukraine"[142]. The celebration of both the city's past and its modern Soviet present directed towards an even more modern future perfectly defines how the Ukrainian capital was represented in the public narrative during the period of mature socialism[143]. It was in 1934 that Kyiv, a traditional center of Ukrainian lands, replaced Kharkiv as a capital city. This coincided with Stalin's "Great Retreat", as dubbed by Nicholas Timasheff, a turn from the communist experiment to the application of more traditional values rooted in the past and mixed with communist ideas to the Soviet project[144]. In the 1920s, Kyiv, with its immense sacral heritage and the fame of "the mother of the Rus towns", was considered backward compared to the modern Kharkiv, where the Bolsheviks tried to build a new communist utopia[145]. As it appeared later, the old symbolic landscape of Kyiv could be instrumentalized and loaded with new senses, in the paradigm of both Russian imperial and Ukrainian national heritage. Hence, the myth of Soviet Kyiv combined both its representation as the "town sacred for every Ukrainian, Russian, and Belarusian"[146] and the emphasis on its national distinctiveness[147].

A guidebook to Soviet Kyiv (1960), composed for the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR and translated into English for the foreign audience, portrays the city as the most important administrative and political hub of Soviet Ukraine, a highly industrialized metropolis and a garden

[142] *Slovo o Ukraine*, Diafilm (Studiya "Diafilm," 1972).
[143] See, for instance, *Kiev Seen by Children* (Kiev: Reklama, 1974), the album that reproduced children's drawings representing Kyiv's past, present, and future.
[144] Volodymyr Kravchenko and Marta Olynyk (Trans.), "Borderland City: Kharkiv," *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 7, no. 1 (April 15, 2020): 190, https://doi.org/10.21226/ewjus572.
[145] Karl Schlögel and Rodney Livingstone, *The Soviet Century: Archaeology of a Lost World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023), 153, 160.
[146] The concept of a single "ancient Rus nation" has spread in Soviet historiography since the early 1950s. It breathed new life into the idea of a "three-fold Russian people," instrumentalized in imperial times to justify the rights of Russian tsars to rule the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands.
[147] See, for instance, Hryhorii Lohvyn, *Kiev* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1967), 7–9.

city at the same time. It is not only the plants that bloom extensively here but also Ukrainian national culture. Major research institutions that "unite and direct the efforts of a large host of creators of advanced science, engineering, and art" are located in the capital[148]. Along with this, the city is also central in terms of higher education institutions, as the largest universities in Soviet Ukraine such as Kyiv State University and Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, are concentrated here[149]. The residents of the capital city are said to have one thousand libraries at their disposal and numerous cinema halls, theaters, and other spaces of cultural infrastructure on top of that[150]. It is no wonder that Kyiv, the capital city, ranked number one in the spatial hierarchy of Soviet Ukraine. Functioning within the frame of mass culture, Soviet guidebooks unmistakably represented a stereotypical idea of the city cultivated at that time[151]. In our case, the idea of Soviet Kyiv implied the city's exceptionality and primacy in all possible areas of life, which stemmed from its capital status.

There is a common motif in "Boys from a Fiery Furnace" (1991) by Valerii Shevchuk and "Museum of the Living Writer" (1994) by Volodymyr Drozd, the novels written by the Ukrainian Sixtiers. In both texts that touch upon the period of Khrushchev's Thaw, the protagonists flee from their native towns to the capital city of Kyiv. Though they are motivated by reasons that are hardly relevant in our case, it gives us a clear sense of the direction towards the capital that has usually been followed by the talented youth from the periphery, the Sixtiers among them. Indeed, in these texts, the authors reproduced their own paths to the capital. Valerii Shevchuk left his hometown of Zhytomyr in 1958 to study history in Kyiv, the city where he has lived his entire life and which became native to him[152]. Volodymyr Drozd, originally from the Chernihiv region, also could not resist the charm of the capital. At first he commuted to Kyiv, where he studied journalism part-time

[148] Ivan Ignatkin, *Kiev: Concise Guide-Book*, trans. A. Mistetsky (Kiev: Ukrainian SSR Publishing House for Political Litera, 1960), 13.
[149] Ignatkin, 14.
[150] Ignatkin, 14.
[151] Olena Kovalenko, "Narracje Historyczne w Sowieckich Przewodnikach Turystycznych Po Moskwie i Kijowie (1922-1991)" (Praca doktorska, Kraków, Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II, 2019), 7.
[152] Shevchuk, *Na Berezi Chasu. Ti, Kotri Poruch*, 14.

while continuing to work in the regional newspaper, but some years later he got completely immersed in the cultural life that thrived there.

Like the two above-mentioned writers, many other young people who came to be known as the Sixtiers felt driven to the capital at different stages of their early careers. In a poem by Vasyl Stus that appeared in the early 1960s, Kyiv is represented as a dream city: "I dreamed / that I would find a decent job, / and live in Kyiv, / would see Dnipro every day"[153]. The poet moved to the capital from the Donbas after he entered a doctoral program at the Institute of Literature in 1963. While keeping the emphasis on the mentioned aspect, literary critic Yevhen Sversiuk endowed the city with the opposite feature, dubbing it "the city of dreams, hopes, and drama"[154]. Originally from Volhynia, he studied and worked in Kyiv in the 1960s. Himself an active participant of the Sixtiers movement, Sverstiuk witnessed both how the Sixtiers successfully challenged the boundaries of permissible, promoting their vision of Ukrainian culture, and how they were pushed out of the public sphere, silenced, and repressed. For this reason, *hopes* and *drama* are mentioned together. As for the *dreams* of the Sixtiers, imagining Kyiv as an ideal place to live is inseparable from its role as a symbolic center of national culture and intellectual life in Soviet Ukraine. Importantly, this was in line with the Soviet discourse about the city.

Apart from the social space that influenced Kyiv's image as the heart of Ukrainian culture, its physical setting was no less important in this regard. As Kevin Lynch observed, the image of the city is constituted both by moving elements such as people and their activities and by stationary physical space[155]. Their role in raising the Sixtiers' national self-awareness varied from case to case. For instance, describing his experience of self-fashioning in the autobiographical essay "Kyiv and I" penned in 1989, yet before the collapse of the Soviet Union, Valery Shevchuk underscored that

[153] Translation mine. Vasyl Stus, Tvory. Tom 1. Knyha 1-2, 1994, https://chtyvo.org.ua/authors/Stus_Vasyl/Tvory_Tom_1_knyhy_1-2/.
[154] "*Misto mrii, nadii i dramy*" in the original; "drama" has a negative connotation. Yevhen Sverstiuk, *Bludni Syny Ukrayiny* (Kyiv: Znannia, 1991), 27.
[155] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 2008), 2.

the encounter with the city's cultural heritage had an immense influence on him. As Shevchuk reflected,

> I would go to a famous eleventh-century St. Sophia cathedral and, enchanted, wander there, examining its frescoes and mosaics, inscriptions on the walls, and drawings on the stairs. And suddenly I realized *my own responsibility* for the thousand-year history of its culture. Consequently, I got a desire to become a man of precisely Ukrainian culture in Kyiv, for this culture is native (*korinna*) here, having the stem stretching directly from the deepest depths[156].

Similarly, Ivan Dziuba, one of the best known Sixtiers who is originally from the Donbas region, associated the active (re-)shaping of his national self with the Kyivan period, starting when he entered postgraduate studies at the Institute of Literature[157]. But while Dziuba mentioned his astonishment during the first encounter with the historical sights of Kyiv, the new social space he became part of influenced his self-understanding more profoundly[158]

This vision of the capital city being in strong relation to Ukrainian national culture is reproduced in the poem "Questionnaire (of a Communist Society Candidate)" penned by the first president of the Club of Creative Youth, Les Taniuk. The sense of national belonging and attachment to place are represented here as inextricable components of the Soviet citizen's self-understanding. Both are bound together in the verse that aims to give details about the city of residence, among many other questions dealing with the name, sex, nationality, place of birth, etc.

Milleniums'
Sophisticated steel!
Poplar sadness,
Chestnut laugh
Kyiv!
The capital of my endlessness
I
Fall to the feet
Of yours!
I drink
Your
Muddy water,
I eat
Your
Siliquous stiffness
Kyiv!
By the name
Of Ukrainian people
I swear my loyalty
To you[159].

[156] Translation and italics mine. "Kyiv and I" in Shevchuk, *Na Berezi Chasu. Ti, Kotri Poruch*, 14–15.
[157] Ivan Dziuba, *Spohady i Rozdumy Na Finishnii Priamii* (Kyiv: Krynytsia, 2008), 123.
[158] Dziuba, 447–48.
[159] Translation and italics mine. The poem is reproduced from the version preserved in the archives of Alla Horska. Oleksii Zaretsky and Liudmyla Ognieva, eds., *Alla Horska. Zhyttiepys Movoiu Lystiv* (Donetsk, 2013), 336.

Taniuk clarifies his understanding of national belonging in other parts of the poem, opposing it to cosmopolitanism deprived of Soviet national pride ("I am Ukrainian! I am a son of Ukraine! / Will not give my hand to cosmopolites) on the one hand and so-called "bourgeois nationalism" on the other (I am Ukrainian! But no, I am not zealous / I would squeeze the sell-outs)[160]. Despite this elaboration, which locates the author's position within the paradigm of Soviet patriotism, the poem had never been published during Soviet times. Moreover, this poem is said to be one of the reasons that hindered the publication of Taniuk's debut collection of poetry because of its "anti-Soviet" and "nationalist" character[161]. We can only assume that had the manifestation of national belonging attached to Kyiv been combined with the reference to friendship of peoples, like it was done by Yevhen Bandurenko in the poem published in the almanac "The Day of Poetry" ("You love Baku infinitely, / and I love Kyiv, / though Moscow is mine and yours, / native to us both"), Taniuk's poetry might have been printed[162].

Sversiuk's reference to Kyiv as a dream city, associated with hopes and drama at the same time, is telling in terms of the polarities it occupies in the imagination of the Sixtiers. There is also another opposition that is traceable in the memoirs, *the city of ours* vs. *the city that is not for us*. The transition from harmonious relations with the urban landscape to the feeling of being rejected by or within the city can be located in the time continuum. In her memoirs, Iryna Zhylenko recollects, "For us, all of Kyiv was covered in a gold-embroidered net of friendly strolls to bookstores, cafes, artists' studios, literary events (*vechory*), and rehearsals at the Club of Creative Youth. It was our Kyiv and our time"[163]. In Zhylenko, "our Kyiv" is a chronotope, which embraces the period of a safe co-creation of cultural space and enjoying the *kompaniia* of like-minded people in the early 1960s. Overall, a sense of security and comfort probably dominated the young

[160] Zaretsky and Ognieva, 337–38.
[161] Les Taniuk, *Vita Memoriae. Vybrani Poezii Ta Pereklady*, ed. Oksana Taniuk (Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2017), 8.
[162] Translation mine. In Vasyl Stus, *Tvory. Tom 4*, 1994, https://chtyvo.org.ua/authors/Stus_Vasyl/Tvory_Tom_4/.
[163] Zhylenko, *Homo Feriens: Spohady*, 149.

intelligentsia's perception of the capital roughly until the first wave of arrests of Ukrainian intelligentsia in 1965. After the Club of Creative Youth was shut down in 1964 and the repressions that followed, their feeling of comfortable embeddedness in the city weakened. It prompted Yevhen Svertiuk to conclude that "Kyiv that [they] dreamed about was the city not for [them]", referring to the continuing hardships experienced by the Sixtiers in the capital, starting from the problems with getting *propiska* and living quarters and ending with the "bloodless war" fought against them in the literary and other professional fields[164].

Finally, Kyiv came to represent the symbolic unity of the country in the later writings of the Sixtiers, penned after Ukraine gained independence. Discussing the phenomenon of cultural nonconformism in the 1960s, Yevhen Sverstiuk referred to the centripetal force that brought people from different regions, mainly from the borderlands like Donbas and Volhynia, together in Kyiv[165]. He also drew parallels with the cultural activists from the past who were driven to this old and sacred city in a similar way, linking them with the Sixtiers in a single narrative of Ukrainian revival[166]. Similarly, as artist Alla Horska allegedly believed back in the 1960s, it was not accidental that people from so many regions of the country formed a community of friends in Kyiv for they were "predestined" to contribute collectively to the rebirth of Ukrainian culture[167]. As evident from the sources, the capital city is defined by its central position in the national geography. Functioning as the heart of Ukrainian culture, it both provided a proper stage for the cultural activists and stimulated their activities. In fact, being only its part, Kyiv denotes the entire Ukrainian space in the texts of the Sixtiers. This goes beyond the conception of Kyiv as the cradle of three brotherly Slavic nations, generally praised in the Soviet narrative, and reshapes the image of Kyiv in solely national terms.

[164] Sverstiuk, *Bludni Syny Ukrayiny*, 27.
[165] Sverstiuk, 27.
[166] Sverstiuk, 27.
[167] Oleksii Zaretsky, ed., *Alla Horska. Kvitka Na Vulkani* (Donetsk: Nord Kompyuter, 2011), 117.

2.2. The Province: "Dear Cherkasy, Milky Drizzle, and Untroubled Spiritual Sleep"

The capital was often juxtaposed against the periphery. It happened mainly due to the low-quality cultural life or the absence thereof in provincial towns. The Sixtiers' life trajectories and their individual choices in favor of living in major cultural centers like Kyiv vividly demonstrate this opposition. Once introduced to the "pinnacle of Soviet culture", the Sixtiers were unwilling to leave the capital. Climbing a career ladder on the periphery was rather an exception, which the case of Vasyl Symonenko may exemplify.

Vasyl Symonenko represented one of those talented young people of peasant origin who benefited from Soviet social mobility. He entered Kyiv State University a year before the death of Stalin and studied there during the first breaths of the Thaw. Symonenko's sporadic journaling could help us understand how a change in the landscape, social in particular, was experienced by students like him. Describing his first day in Kyiv, Symonenko pointed out the immense population of the capital that struck him immediately: "I've never imagined before that a person (especially me myself) can get lost in the crowd so hopelessly. In the village, I got used to memorizing every new face. Here, there were so many of them that I got a headache soon"[168]. The change of environment caused psychological discomfort and a strong longing for home, which naturally accompanied adaptation to life in a city[169].

[168] Vasyl Symonenko, "Pochatok Studentstva. Zapys 2," n.d., https://vasylsymonenko.org/schodennyk/pochatok-studentstva-zapys-2/.
[169] See Vasyl Symonenko, "Pochatok Studentstva. Zapys 4," n.d., https://vasylsymonenko.org/schodennyk/pochatok-studentstva-zapys-4/; Halyna Bondar, *Lviv. Shchodenne Zhyttia Mista Ochyma Pereselentsiv Iz Sil (50-80-ti Roky XX St.)* (Lviv: Vyd. tsentr LNU imeni Ivana Franka, 2010), 248–54.

After graduating from Kyiv State University with a degree in journalism in 1957, Vasyl Symonenko finally moved to Cherkasy to work in the local organ of the Communist Party, "Cherkaska pravda" (Truth of Cherkasy). There, he completed a pre-diploma practice and worked as a literary worker during his final year of study. Most probably, the Distribution Commission of the university took Symonenko's preferences regarding the place of work seriously and assigned him to "Cherkaska pravda"[170]. There was an extent of control that the high-performing students, or alternatively, those with good contacts, might enjoy over their distribution[171]. And no wonder that some of the graduates, like Symonenko, opted for the organizations they had familiarized themselves with during the diploma practice. Symonenko appeared to be satisfied with how he ascended the career ladder. "I'm standing a good chance to stay here. So you can congratulate me: *raionka* [the *raion* newspaper] doesn't threaten me," he wrote in a letter to a fellow student[172]. The regional newspaper, which was distributed inside the region (*oblast),* was undoubtedly a more privileged place to work than a district (*raion*) one.

It is not clear why Symonenko did not try to gain a foothold in Kyiv after his graduation. For a young man who grew up in a village, the student experience of living in the city was certainly transformative. On the other hand, Symonenko, as it seems, did not get used to the fast-paced life of the capital. He wrote about this ambiguity in such a way: "I'm madly in love with Kyiv, but I'm also afraid of it. It seems to me that living in a town like Poltava or Cherkasy is better. People resemble ants too much in such a pot"[173].

[170] Personnel record sheet filled out by Vasyl Symonenko in S. Kryvenko, "Dokumenty do Biohrafii Vasylia Symonenka u Fondakh Derzhavnoho Arkhivu Cherkaskoii Oblasti," *Arkhivy Ukraiiny* 1–3, no. 249 (2002): 128.
[171] Simon Clarke, *The Formation of a Labour Market in Russia* (Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1999), 28.
[172] Letter to Illia Berdnyk (December 12, 1956) in Vasyl Symonenko, *U Tvoiemu Imeni Zhyvu. Poezii, Opovidannia, Shchodennykovi Zapysy, Lysty*, ed. Vasyl Yaremenko (Kyiv: Veselka, 2003), 318.
[173] Letter to Andrii Makhynia (November 16, 1957) Symonenko, 319.

Perhaps at that time, Symonenko did not aspire for greater things. Though he started to compose poems in his student years and even headed the university literary studio, he did not yet think of a career in literature, considering himself unworthy of it[174]. It was journalism that had been his main aspiration since the teenage years and, later, a stable occupation that somehow secured the material needs of his family[175]. The career trajectory Symonenko followed was not uncommon for journalism graduates. As Mykola Som noted, almost all of their fellow students, except those from Kyiv, went to work in regional newspapers in different parts of Ukraine[176]. The system of job distribution, which assigned the graduates to their first jobs for a period of three years, hardly left any alternatives for the majority of students[177].

In Vasyl Symonenko's diary and his letters to friends, the town of Cherkasy is endowed with all kinds of provincial characteristics. Its dominant feature is a *lack* of both of spiritual and material character. First and foremost, the intellectual climate in Cherkasy did not satisfy the needs of Symonenko. In one of the last entries in his diary, dated September 20, 1963, there is a reflection on this:

> When I speak about a "wild island" and my loneliness, I do not mean it in contempt of people. The fact that in Cherkasy I have almost no friends does not mean that I regard everybody as an object, not worthy of my attention, etc. [...] It is simply that I have not found among them anyone with the same spiritual outlook as I, and friendship, as we all know, cannot depend upon "ratio" alone[178].

A year before, the image of a "wild island" appeared in the poem "Loneliness". There, the author compared himself with Robinson Crusoe, who does not have his Friday, symbolizing at least one close companion on his provincial island[179]. On the other hand, the documents also reflect the

[174] Mykola Som, *Z Matiryu na Samoti* (Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2005), 43; Letter to Illia Berdnyk (December 12, 1956) in Symonenko, *U Tvoiemu Imeni Zhyvu. Poezii, Opovidannia, Shchodennykovi Zapysy, Lysty*, 318.
[175] Autobiography (July 15, 1952) in Symonenko, *U Tvoiemu Imeni Zhyvu. Poezii, Opovidannia, Shchodennykovi Zapysy, Lysty*, 295.
[176] Som, *Z Matiryu na Samoti*, 45.
[177] Clarke, *The Formation of a Labour Market in Russia*, 13–14.
[178] Quoted according to Igor Shankosvky, *Symonenko: A Study in Semantics* (Munchen: Ukrainisches Institut fur Bildungspolitik, 1977), 63.
[179] Shankosvky, 65.

shortage of goods in Cherkasy. And while an intellectual can manage without an electric iron, which Symonenko asked his friend to buy in the capital and bring to Cherkasy, the issue of cultural goods that did not reach the province was more serious for a writer who tried to follow the latest news in literature[180]. These were mainly books: poetry publications, fiction, as well as reference guides (Symonenko, for instance, could not find any Czech dictionaries or grammar textbooks in the town)[181]. Alternatively, it was the slowness with which the goods reached the periphery, if not their absence[182].

After Symonenko entered the Sixtiers' circle in Kyiv at the beginning of the 1960s, he was constantly drawn to the capital and its thriving cultural life. Kyiv almost became a full-fledged character in his letters to Kyivan friends. Symonenko frequently expressed a desire to visit the city, but the plans were often hindered by a lack of time or money. However, he could not resist the gravity of intellectual life in the capital. In 1962, Symonenko considered applying for postgraduate studies at the Institute of Literature, seeing no perspective in continuing to work in journalism. A place under "the hot sun of Cherkasy" had nothing to do with self-improvement, wrote Symonenko: "After all, the newspaper means death [to me], and I do not want to see my own funeral".

At the beginning of 1963, on the day Symonenko turned 28, a literary evening of two young poets was organized by the Writers' Union in Kyiv. The poets were Vasyl Symonenko and Mykola Vinhranovskyi. A month before, Symonenko became a member of the Writers' Union, as his membership card says. His 1962 debut collection of poems, "Tysha i Hrim" (Silence and Thunder), enabled him to be accepted. Symonenko returned to Cherkasy excited and elevated after he performed in Kyiv, as his mother recalled[183]. Recognition of his literary talent probably once again prompted Symonenko to consider moving to the capital. However, when a job opportunity in

[180] Letter to Mykola Som (December 2, 1958) in Symonenko, *U Tvoiemu Imeni Zhyvu. Poezii, Opovidannia, Shchodennykovi Zapysy, Lysty*, 321.
[181] Lyst to Hryhoriia Kochura (August 2, 1963) in Symonenko, 341.
[182] Letter to Borys Antonenko-Davydovych (August 10, 1963) in Symonenko, 339.
[183] Som, *Z Matiryu na Samoti*, 53.

Kyiv appeared, he rejected it. Symonenko explained, "To lock myself in a factory's newspaper means to repel the village *(derevnia)* that is the most precious to me. After all, I'm a peasant by blood. Though there is a lot of nausea, and I want to howl at the moon from loneliness at times, without this it may be even more difficult"[184]. Moving to Kyiv remained Symonenko's plan for the near future, but he never managed to fulfill it. The poet died prematurely in 1963. Many other Sixtiers who ended up living and working in the capital were of peasant origin. However, such a strong attachment to the province that they once left to live in the city was quite rare among them.

2.3. Lviv as "Soviet Abroad"

Lviv underwent drastic transformation in the years during and after the Second World War. The city's new name symbolically marked the change in its character. A multiethnic Lemberg, the capital of Habsburg Galicia, and interwar Lwów, an urban center of the Second Polish Republic, which was dominated politically and culturally by Poles but still ethnically diverse, began to be gradually transformed into the Ukrainian city of Lviv[185]. The Nazi occupation resulted in the destruction of the city's traditional Jewish minority, which comprised up to a third of its population. In turn, the Soviet regime forcefully displaced ethnic Poles from the incorporated territories of Western Ukraine, removing the Polish majority from Lviv and repopulating the city with Ukrainians and Russians. Along with the change in ethnic composition, the city's social space, too, had been subject to "rewriting" into its Soviet Ukrainian version[186].

[184] Undated letter to Mykola Som in Symonenko, *U Tvoiemu Imeni Zhyvu. Poezii, Opovidannia, Shchodennykovi Zapysy, Lysty*, 323.
[185] On the making of Ukrainian Lviv, see Tarik Cyril Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv: A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); Risch, *The Ukrainian West*.
[186] Sereda, Viktoria, "Politics of Memory and Urban Landscape: The Case of Lviv after World War II [1]," Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen / Institute for Human Sciences, accessed March 24, 2023, https://www.iwm.at/transit-online/politics-of-memory-and-urban-landscape-the-case-of-lviv-after-world-war.

However, despite the purposeful shaping of Lviv as a Soviet Ukrainian urban center, the city also preserved its European genius loci. In Sergei Zhuk's monograph about the consumption of Western culture in a closed Dnipropetrovsk, Lviv appears as a Westernized Soviet city. Due to its openness to foreign tourists, Lviv became a major channel through which Western culture found its way to the cities less exposed to cultural influences from the West, as the author argues. Notably, Lviv's Western character was not only diagnosed by the Dnipropetrovsk KGB officers, who perceived it as subversive, but also observed by the youth from the Ukrainian East visiting the city[187]. William Risch conceptualized the status that Lviv possessed within the republic as the Ukrainian "Soviet abroad", putting it on par with the cities of the Baltic republics, which like Lviv had only recently become a part of the Soviet Union and had a special place in the Soviet spatial hierarchy[188].

In the tourist guide to Lviv (1970), we can read the city's regional specificity as well. As it says, "seven turbulent centuries of Lviv's history and its present day as the biggest industrial and cultural center of Soviet Ukraine form an indissoluble unity," continuing that "it gives the city a beautiful, unique color, which is inherent only to Lviv"[189]. Apparently, if the image of Kyiv in Soviet mass culture was defined by the capital's magnitude and significance, Lviv appears to be endowed with the characteristic of distinctiveness and contrasted to all other cities of Soviet Ukraine. Turning from the general observations to the details, it is worth unpacking two aspects mentioned in the given excerpt. First, the uniqueness of Lviv is created by the fusion of the city's European past (its location "at the heart of Europe") and its Soviet present. It should be mentioned, though, that the representation of the city's history in the guide is much more balanced than the

[187] "We enjoyed our trip to this city very much! For us, it was like traveling to the real West," a high school student from Dnipropetrovsk who visited Lviv in 1974 recorded in his diary. See S. I. Zhuk, *Rock and Roll in the Rocket City: The West, Identity, and Ideology in Soviet Dniepropetrovsk, 1960-1985* (Washington, D.C. : Baltimore, Md: Woodrow Wilson Center Press ; Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 1, 48-49.
[188] Risch, *The Ukrainian West*, 82–115.
[189] Grigorij Semionow, *Lwów Przewodnik Turystyczny* (Wydawnictwo Agencji Prasowej Nowosti, 1965), 4.

dominant historical narrative, which usually focused on the exceptionality of the Soviet "period of greatest blossom"[190]. Naturally, the genre of travel literature is highly dependent on the surrounding setting, while a historical work with its specific level of abstraction may disregard it. Second, Lviv is represented as "the city of students and scholars", an important cultural and educational hub subordinated to the capital.

The vision of Lviv as a regional cultural and educational center is reflected in the personal trajectories of Lvivian Sixtiers, the majority of whom originated from the surrounding territories that belonged to interwar Poland before their integration into the Ukrainian SSR. Many of them became students at Ivan Franko Lviv University, which acquired a popular character in Soviet times. In "Image of the City", Kevin Lynch argues that as every observer "selects, organizes, and endows with meaning what he sees", it always results in a range of images that may vary between different observers[191]. The difference in perspectives is especially evident in the case of Lviv, the perception of which was more asymmetrical if compared to Kyiv. Though we have to note the scarcity of the sources elucidating how Lviv's urban environment was perceived by the "insiders", it is evident that the visions varied between the Lvivian Sixtiers and the visitors to the city.

First of all, for the Lvivians, the city might appear Russified. As Ihor Kalynets recalled, one could rarely hear Ukrainian in the center of Lviv.[192]. He also emphasized that neither he nor his fellow students from the Ukrainian philology department had any close relationships with the Russian-speaking environment beyond university[193]. All of this creates the image of at least two "parallel Lvivs", as Kostiantyn Moskalets puts it[194]. Its Russified and Ukrainian facets coexisted and intersected in the space of Soviet Lviv. In 2022, during an oral history interview, I asked Ihor

[190] Yaroslav Hrytsak, "Lviv: A Multicultural History through the Centuries," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 24 (2000): 47.
[191] Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 6.
[192] Kalynets, *Koleso Fortuny*, 354.
[193] Kalynets, 292.
[194] Kostiantyn Moskalets, *Stezhachy Za Tekstom. Vybrana Krytyka Ta Eseiistyka* (Lviv: Vydavnytstvo Staroho Leva, 2019), 379.

Kalynets to describe the cultural life in Lviv in the 1960s. "Almost nothing was happening," he responded[195]. The interviewee spoke of Lviv, the place where he lived and worked in the mentioned period, as almost an empty and inert space, which he contrasted with Kyiv, the capital city. The story was narrated mainly through negation: "In Lviv, there were no such authors for *samizdat* [as compared to Kyiv]", "We didn't have anything on our own"[196], even though visits to Lviv and encounters with its cultural life were highly appreciated by the guests from Kyiv, as it is shown in the memoirs of participants of the Sixtiers movement.

At the same time, for those from outside the region, Lviv represented a space that vividly projected its Ukrainianness and was strikingly different from other, often overly Russified, Soviet Ukrainian cities. As William Risch argues, despite the successes of Sovietization, Western Ukraine and Lviv in particular still stood out as a space that represented alternative Ukrainianness, overshadowed by the nationalist legacy and postwar anti-Soviet struggle and hence never as Soviet as the rest of Ukraine[197]. This argument also corresponds with Tarik Amar's thesis about Lviv as a borderland city, which has always been distant from the changing state centers, both geographically and culturally, preserving its local otherness[198]. The above-mentioned features could not but attract visitors from outside Galicia, making Lviv "an object of curiosity, if not admiration", to put it in the words of Risch[199].

On May 9, 1962, Vasyl Symonenko, anticipating a long-awaited trip to the west of Ukraine, wrote to his cousin, "I really want to go to Lviv. It is like being driven to someone else's woman"[200]. As is evident from Symonenko's correspondence, he developed a warm attachment to the city from a distance while trying to find time for the visit. The poet managed to fulfill his old

[195] Interview with Ihor Kalynets by Svitlana Dovhan, November 18, 2022.
[196] Interview with Ihor Kalynets by Svitlana Dovhan, November 18, 2022.
[197] Risch, *The Ukrainian West*, 10.
[198] Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv*, 3.
[199] Risch, *The Ukrainian West*, 10.
[200] Letter to Oleksii Shcherban (May 9, 1962) in Symonenko, *U Tvoiemu Imeni Zhyvu. Poezii, Opovidannia, Shchodennykovi Zapysy, Lysty*, 342.

dream at the end of spring and captured his impressions of the city in the poem "The Ukrainian Lion"[201]. The lyrical subject finds himself in the stimulating and inspiring environment of Lviv, which at first glance might be explained by the simple joy of exploring new places. However, it becomes evident that his connection to the city is more than this through the way the poet speaks to the city:

> Grey-haired Lviv! Capital of my dreaming,
> Epicentre of joys and all which I yearn,
> My soul is expanding, I fathom your meaning,
> But, Lviv, understand me some small part in return.
>
> I have come here to you as a son, yearning warmly,
> From the steppes where Slavuta his great legend weaves,
> So that your heart, a lion's heart, undaunted,
> A small drop of strength into my heart might breathe[202].

For Symonenko, the first visit to Lviv was also his last one. But how is it possible to develop such a strong emotional bond with the place one sees for the first time? First of all, the reference to other geographic markers weaves Lviv into the national sociospatial imaginary, localizing the national and nationalizing the local simultaneously. Second, the description of the connection with the city in terms of family bonds sends us to the idea of motherland or fatherland. As a result, thinking of Lviv as a part of national space makes it possible to "love and admire [it] for some reason," regardless of whether one has been to this city or not, in Symonenko's words[203]. The fact that "The Ukrainian Lion" circulated in the Lvivian *samizdat* proves that the Lvivians could relate to the image of Lviv cast by Symonenko[204].

To make a trip to the "Ukrainian Soviet abroad", there was no need to obtain a visa. After Vasyl Symonenko, a whole bunch of the Sixtiers from the Kyivan circle embarked on a voyage to Lviv. Some of them, like literary critic Ivan Dziuba, have already been to the city, but it was only since 1962 that the experience of exploring Lviv became transformative for the young intelligentsia

[201] The city was named after the son of Danylo of Halych Lev (literally "lion") and means "lion's city".
[202] Vasyl Symonenko, "The Ukrainian Lion," *Ukrainian Herald*, no. 4 (1972): 80.
[203] As quoted in Radomyr Mokryk, *Bunt Proty Imperii. Ukrainski Shistdesiatnyky*, 174.
[204] Sviatoslav Maksymchuk, *Mozaiika Spohadiv* (Lviv: Vydavnytstvo Staroho Leva, 2021), 167.

of both sides. The Lvivians mediated the encounter with the city, taking the guests to historical sights, cemeteries, museums, and studios, familiarizing them with the collections of local artists and family photo albums, and just engaging in informal discussions, as Ivan Dziuba recalled[205]. He summarized that "it was the moment when we discovered the depths of Ukrainian Lviv", referring to his companions Ivan Drach and Mykola Vinhranovsky, the poets who were no less impressed by Lviv[206].

The joint trip of Valeriy Shevchuk, Volodymyr Drozd, and Ihor Hrabovsky followed in the summer of 1962. Though we can find some sporadic references to this voyage in Drozd's autobiographical novel, the richest source material that describes this experience belongs to Valerii Shevchuk. In his unpublished novel "Prelude", which was written drawing on immediate impressions from the trip to Lviv, Shevchuk watches his protagonist "wandering the streets, the lightened streets of Lviv, listening to himself, and thinking: here, in Lviv, he found something", concluding that "a special breath of culture could be felt here"[207]. Later, he included the episode about the visit to Lviv in another piece of prose fiction, "Boys from a Fiery Furnace" (1991). In this text, the author puts Lviv in opposition to his native provincial Zhytomyr. It is the language and culture that seem to differentiate these two cities in the imagination of a young man who would travel outside his native region for the first time. Explaining why he chose Lviv as a place for retreat, the protagonist answered, "Because it is different from Zhytomyr. This is a Ukrainian town where people speak Ukrainian without being considered weirdos"[208]. Indeed, according to William Risch, Soviet Lviv's language landscape was characterized by "limited Russification", starting from the period of Thaw[209]. The Ukrainian language gradually won the city's public sphere, which differed

[205] Dziuba, *Spohady i Rozdumy Na Finishnii Priamii*, 506.
[206] Dziuba, 506.
[207] Valerii Shevchuk, *Na Berezi Chasu. Miy Kyiv. Vkhodyny* (Kyiv: Tempora, 2002), 230.
[208] Valerii Shevchuk, "Yunaky z Ohnennoii Pechi. Zapysky Standartnoho Cholovika (Part 1)," *Dzvin*, no. 1 (1996): 44.
[209] Risch, *The Ukrainian West*, 125–31.

from the situation in the capital. Given that speaking Russian was generally associated with the urban identity, the case of Ukrainian-speaking Lviv appeared to be quite exceptional, and it could not help but create a special cultural aura around the city.

On the other hand, there were elements of culture present in the urban environment of Lviv that the protagonists of the above-mentioned novels could not relate to. First of all, these were religious practices of Lvivians. However, when witnessing people praying in church is represented in terms of confusion and detachment in "Prelude" (1962), over time it is replaced with the feeling of bewilderment and resentment "for being raised a person without faith" in "Boys from a Fiery Furnace"[210]. Considering such a reevaluation of experience, we find the earlier account to be more trustworthy in terms of immediate reflection on what has been seen. Nevertheless, it is expected that the encounter with the unfamiliar would provoke any outsider to the local culture to think about things that set him apart, as is happening in Shevhuk's last novel. The difference between the traditions in which the youth had been raised came to be perfectly understood as the Sixtiers from different regions found out about each other and built friendly relationships. "They [the Lvivians] were taught to pray to God and to love Ukraine. And we, the easterners, grew up in "the most democratic and the most fair Union of brotherly peoples in the world". We were taught that religion is opium", Iryna Zhylenko reflected in her memoirs[211].

Another urban practice common to the locals that the guest from the outside could not internalize was the pilgrimage to the graves of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (USS) and Ukrainian Galician Army (UGA) soldiers at the Yaniv cemetery. As evident from the sources, this place, along with museums and artist studios, was a usual part of the excursion made by the Lvivian Sixtiers for the guests of the city. Once a year, when families of the soldiers who fought for the Western Ukrainian People's Republic against Poles in 1918–19 came to commemorate their relatives, the

[210] Shevchuk, "Yunaky z Ohnennoii Pechi (Part 1)," 48.
[211] Zhylenko, *Homo Feriens: Spohady*, 325.

cemetery became a place for the manifestation of alternative collective memory. The Polish-Ukrainian war broke out for control over Eastern Galicia, a territory dominated by Ukrainians in the rural area and Poles in the cities, claimed by both sides during the disintegration of Austria-Hungary. In January 1919, the Western Ukrainian People's Republic unified with the Ukrainian People's Republic, a Ukrainian state that emerged from the collapsed Russian empire. In the war waged on the two fronts – Poles in the west and Bolsheviks in the east – the Ukrainian state was defeated. As a result, the Ukrainian SSR was created on eastern Ukrainian lands, while the Second Polish Republic absorbed Western Ukraine. Naturally, Soviet historiography cast the whole period of Ukrainian struggle for independence, including the cause for which the USS and UGA soldiers fought, through the lens of a counter-revolutionary bourgeois nationalist coup[212].

One of Shevchuk's protagonists, who witnessed hundreds of candles burning on the graves of riflemen, reflected on this scene in such a way: "I am alien to these people, who came for a talk with their dead, but I sympathize with them"[213]. If Shevchuk's protagonist is portrayed as a person unambiguously curious and sympathetic about traditions that set the *shistdesiatnyk*y from different regions apart, the main character of Volodymyr Drozd's autobiographical novel describes it in a more nuanced way:

> I discovered new Ukraine, which has only covered the area from Chernihiv to Kyiv prior to this. I met dozens of new people for whom Ukraine is the meaning of their lives. There are views of theirs that I oppose as a *polishchuk* [literally a dweller of Polissia, a historical region that covers the Belarus-Ukraine border region] who had been raised on Russian culture. But there is also something that unites us, and that is the most important – I mean, concern about the fate of Ukrainian language and culture[214].

In reality, the variety of responses to the regional particularities of Western Ukraine apparently coexisted.

[212] S. M. Derevyanko and A. M. Panchuk, "ZUNR v Ukraiinskii Istoriohrafii," *Ukraiinskyi Istrorychnyi Zhurnal*, no. 2 (1995): 31–32.
[213] Shevchuk, "Yunaky z Ohnennoii Pechi (Part 1)," 52.
[214] Volodymyr Drozd, *Muzei Zhyvoho Pysmennyka, Abo Moia Dovha Doroha v Rynok* (Kyiv, 1994), https://www.ukrlib.com.ua/books/printit.php?tid=12585.

2.4. The All-Union Metropolises: Leningrad and Moscow

On their wedding day in the early 1960s, young poetess Iryna Zhylenko and writer Volodymyr Drozd set off for Leningrad to spend their one-week honeymoon there. Leningrad (former Saint-Petersburg), the city where the newlyweds ran away from their own wedding, had long ago lost its capital status to Moscow. The multiplicity of the city's functions, which stemmed from its capital status, were replaced by the new, much more limited role of a Soviet administrative and industrial center[215]. But despite this, Leningrad was commonly considered the Soviet cultural capital, which probably influenced the choice of place for the first family getaway.

One may think that it is quite symbolic for the committed Soviet citizen to start a married life with the pilgrimage to "Lenin's city", where revolutionary history has been made. Indeed, these were mostly places that marked ideologically significant events and those that celebrated achievements of socialist construction that formed the redesigned Soviet symbolic landscape of Leningrad, as Catriona Kelly notes[216]. However, the couple of young literati were not driven to places of revolutionary glory. They traveled 1200 kilometers to see the Hermitage, which housed a world-class art collection and was re-inscribed into the new cultural landscape of the city.

As the couple described, they attended the Hermitage daily during their stay in the city, trying to explore as much as possible[217]. "We come to the Hermitage every day, like to church for prayer, entering with the first visitors and leaving with the last. Art is God. We are true believers", Volodymyr Drozd recorded in his literary autobiography[218]. Leningrad enabled the couple to enjoy

[215] Konstantin Axenov, Isolde Brade, and Evgenij Bondarchuk, *The Transformation of Urban Space in Post-Soviet Russia* (London: Routledge, 2009), 34.
[216] Catriona Kelly, *Remembering St Petersburg* (Triton Press, 2014), 42.
[217] Zhylenko, *Homo Feriens: Spohady*, 148. Volodymyr Drozd, *Muzei Zhyvoho Pysmennyka, Abo Moia Dovha Doroha v Rynok* (Kyiv, 1994), https://www.ukrlib.com.ua/books/printit.php?tid=12585.
[218] Drozd, *Muzei Zhyvoho Pysmennyka*.

the high art, "everything that had yet been familiar only from the books [and] reproductions", including Renaissance artworks, Ancient Roman sculpture, Ancient Rus icons, and pictures of impressionists[219]. Neither Drozd nor Zhylenko mentioned other places that they had visited in the city. Leningrad appears to be confined to the Hermitage in their writings. Similarly, the main character of Valerii Shevchuk's unpublished novel "Prelude" (1962) undertakes a trip to Leningrad driven by a desire to see the Hermitage[220]. According to Catriona Kelly, the image of Leningrad-Petersburg as "the city of one museum" or, alternatively, the idea of "the Hermitage [as] the city" defined the way outsiders have been perceiving the city up to this day[221].

The urban landscape of Leningrad often widened to include bookshops that attracted the bibliophiles among the Sixtiers, but it did not influence the main concept of the city, which was mainly seen as a space for cultural tourism by the young Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia[222]. It was so-called Ukrainica, the books on Ukrainian history and culture published in St. Petersburg, that the *shistdesiatnyky* looked for in Leningrad. In the second half of the 19th century, the imperial capital was one of the cities where the Ukrainian revival unfolded, along with many other Ukrainian-Russian entanglements throughout history. The case of Valerii Shevhuk is perhaps the most illustrative when it comes to re-imagining the space of Petersburg-Leningrad.

For the first time, Shevchuk visited Leningrad during a student trip in the summer of 1961. In a letter to his friend Volodymyr Drozd dated by this time, Shevchuk shares that his impressions of the city are unstable and talks about the indifference that he started to feel there (it did not apply to the Hermitage, though)[223]. He returned to this experience in the novel "Stone's Echo" which appeared in the Ukrainian Komsomol publishing house in the late 1980s, still before Ukraine gained

[219] Drozd, *Muzei Zhyvoho Pysmennyka*.
[220] Shevchuk, *Miy Kyiv. Vkhodyny*, 228.
[221] Kelly, *Remembering St Petersburg*, 117.
[222] See, for instance, Leonida Svitlychna, "Poruch z Ivanom," in Svitlychna and Svitlychna, *Dobrookyi. Spohady pro Ivana Svitlychnoho*, 34; Serhii Bilokin, "Iz Chasy shcho Zakryvavysvia," in Svitlychna and Svitlychna, *Dobrookyi. Spohady pro Ivana Svitlychnoho*, 310.
[223] Shevchuk, *Na Berezi Chasu. Ti, Kotri Poruch*, 275.

independence. In one of the episodes, a similar trip to Leningrad made by high school students (*starshoklasnyky*) in 1963 is described. The main character speaks of two Lenigrads, ordinary and legendary, noting that its myth differs from the real space of the city, yet there is no sense of detachment articulated yet[224]. On the contrary, readers may sense a sort of emotional attachment to the places described.

> [We] wandered the streets euphorically, read memorial plaques, stood on numerous bridges, stopped and looked at the windows of the apartment where Pushkin died, reached the house where Blok lived and from which he could look at the Neva, and walked along those streets where Dostoevsky let his heroes wander. In this wonderful city, Gogol and Shevchenko created their works. Somewhere here, a cohort of my compatriots gathered to release the "Osnova" journal that would travel from here to their native land. This is where Kamenetsky typed his "Folk Stories" ("Narodni opovidannia") at night. And where Kulish was putting up his grandiose plans that were beyond his strength. Somewhere on these streets, Kostomarov was hit by a coachman when he was thinking over another monograph about the past of his native land. There have always been a lot of our compatriots here; they loved this city in their own way[225].

In a decade, the representation of Leningrad changed significantly in the memoirs of Shevchuk:

> We visited the Summer Garden and saw the statue near which Ivan Soshenko met the young painter Taras Shevchenko, though the Summer Garden struck me with its misery, and the statues looked like (and they actually were) imitations of ancient art. And in general, a kind of grim atmosphere embraced the city, its streets, houses, and monuments. All of this had the odor of Russian despotism, embodied in brick and stone, or conventionalism (*kazenshchyna*), in other words. I found myself recalling Shevchenko's "Dream" with a description of St. Petersburg. And so I immediately felt that this city with its excessive splendor, beauties, monuments, and memorable places was completely foreign *(chuzhe)* to me[226].

Eventually, the experience of Shevchuk's trip to Leningrad transforms into a story about reaffirming one's feeling of national belonging through exploration of non-Ukrainian space, which, according to Shevchuk, was as important for enhancing his self-understanding as trips within Ukraine. It is highly likely that Valerii Shevchuk, as a history student, indeed attempted to find a Ukrainian Petersburg in Leningrad, as he claimed later[227]. And it can also be assumed, drawing on the epistolary source that conveys Shevchuk's immediate impressions of the city, that his thinking of Leningrad in terms of detachment started back then. On the other hand, the peculiarities of the

[224] Valerii Shevchuk, *Kaminna Luna* (Kyiv: Molod, 1987), 62–63.
[225] Translation mine. Shevchuk, 63–64.
[226] Shevchuk, *Miy Kyiv. Vkhodyny*, 101.
[227] Shevchuk, 101.

ongoing shaping of the self have to be taken into account. The change in the memory field as Ukraine became independent could not but influence the meaning assigned to the memories by the remembering subject[228]. It might have removed the need to conform to the dominant memory paradigm or projected the new senses onto the memories, producing the image of Petersburg-Leningrad as a foreign space as a consequence.

Compared to Leningrad, Moscow is a much more popular toponym in the writings of the Sixtiers and certainly even more important. Along with being the political center of the Soviet Union, Moscow was also a center of Soviet high culture. If a young talent was chosen by the Ukrainian Writers' Union as a delegate for the all-Union events in Moscow or sent there for advanced training, it could be read as a reward and a sign of acknowledgment of their creative work by the Party organizations. And if not, it often signified disapproval and functioned as a means of exclusion. The case with the selection of participants who would take part in the 4th all-Union conference for young writers is telling in this regard. As Bohdan Horyn recalled his experience, the list of recommended young authors had been subject to numerous revisions and scrupulous approvals[229]. During one of such revisions, the names of Ivan Drach, Mykola Vinhranosvky, and Valyl Symonenko, the brightest representatives of the young cohort of Ukrainian poets, were removed from the list of participants. It could be viewed as an attempt to discipline those who started to test the limits of what was permissible during the Thaw, both in their poetry and in public space. Not long after the conference, after another round of criticism, the Ukrainian Writers' Union threatened to recall Ivan Drach from Moscow, where he studied at the time.

Apart from Drach, some other Ukrainian Sixtiers studied in Moscow at different times. However, we can hardly speak of a widespread educational pilgrimage to the capital of the Soviet

[228] According to Edna Lomsky-Feder, personal memory is embedded within a memory field that impacts the interpretation of the remembering subject's recollections. See Edna Lomsky-Feder, "Life Stories, War, and Veterans: On the Social Distribution of Memories," *Ethos* 32, no. 1 (2004): 82–109.
[229] Horyn, *Ne Tilky pro Sebe*, 1:222, 233.

Union among the Thaw generation in Soviet Ukraine. Like their Russian counterparts, Ukrainian sixers "were the beneficiaries of the Soviet enlightenment project [and] the graduates of the best universities", as Vladimir Zubok argues, but these were Kyiv's numerous higher education institutions that mainly satisfied their quest for knowledge[230]. At the same time, those who happened to study in the heart of the Soviet Union believed that they were learning from the best practitioners in the field, which underscores the role of Moscow as the center of Soviet literary and artistic life[231]. When, sixty years after graduation from the Gorky Literary Institute, Lina Kostenko was asked what she, as a student, liked the most about Moscow, the poetess turned to listing the places where the cultural life of the Soviet capital pulsed. A bunch of theaters and philharmonic concert halls, the conservatory, the Pushkin museum, the Tretyakov gallery, and the Writers' Union were among the places mentioned by the poetess[232]. Like Leningrad for Drozd and Zhylenko, Moscow for Kostenko was defined by high culture, allocated in the network of cultural infrastructure, where one could enjoy art in its most advanced forms.

When the exploration of Moscovian cultural life by Lina Kostenko took place during her study at the literary institute in 1951–56, Ivan Svitlychny was a regular guest (and perhaps the most systematic among the Ukrainian Sixtiers) of the Soviet capital in the next decade. As Russian Sixtier Liudmila Alekseeva recalls, Svitlycnhy and his wife Liolia came to Moscow every six months, mostly to buy books[233]. Les Taniuk, a resident of Moscow since the middle of the 1960s, specifies that it was mostly "Moscovian Ukrainica, which had not yet been destroyed there due to oversight" that interested Svitlychny[234]. In this regard, Moscow shares a similarity with Leningrad. Both were spaces that enabled searching for the Ukrainian past in the realm of book collecting. However, book-

[230] V. M. Zubok, *Zhivago's Children: The Last Russian Intelligentsia* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 41.
[231] See, for instance, Horyn, *Ne Tilky pro Sebe*, 1:232.
[232] Lina Kostenko, Ivan Dziuba, and Oksana Pakhlovska, *Harmoniia Kriz Tuhu Dysonansiv...* (Kyiv: Lybid, 2016), 162.
[233] Liudmila Alekseeva and Paul Goldberg, *The Thaw Generation: Coming of Age in the Post-Stalin Era*, Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies 19 (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), 213.
[234] Les Taniuk, "Z Ivanom i bez Ivana," in *Dobrookyi. Spohady pro Ivana Svitlychnoho*, 151.

hunting was never the sole aim of city visitors with bibliophile inclinations. For the Svitlycnhy family, it had always been complemented with exposure to Soviet high culture in the form of attending the best theater performances, booked in advance[235].

Moscow's internationalism is another important feature of the city reflected in the texts of the Sixtiers. Having returned from the scriptwriting courses at the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography in 1961, Mykola Vinhranovsky regarded himself as a "graduate of the unique cinematography institute, where students from all over the world [studied]" under the guidance of the best specialists[236]. Likewise, Lina Kostenko enjoyed the atmosphere at the Gorky Literature Institute, where she studied together with students of over thirty ethnic backgrounds, "from Poles to Yakuts, from Czecks to Turkmens, from Baltic people (*prybalty*) to the Caucasus, and plus one Kurd and one Kumyk"[237]. Naturally, Russian served as the lingua franca, but the university's "international family", as Kostenko named it, was no less open to artistic expression in other languages[238]. The students recited poems in their native languages to each other informally, while Lina Kostenko even defended the collection of poems composed in Ukrainian as her creative thesis in 1956[239]. A home for various national cultures from the Soviet peripheries, or "internal diasporas," as conceptualized by Erik Scott, Moscow indeed was a multinational space, as is evident from the sources[240].

When Ukrainian students of Moscow higher education institutions returned to Kyiv after their graduation, some graduates of the Kyiv universities ended up working in Moscow. The life

[235] Les Taniuk, "Z Ivanom i bez Ivana," in *Dobrookyi. Spohady pro Ivana Svitlychnoho*, 151.
[236] Mykola Vinhranovskyi, "Khto i Shcho Dlia Mene Nezalezhnist Ukrainy," *Den*, August 9, 2010, https://day.kyiv.ua/article/kultura/khto-i-shcho-dlya-mene-nezalezhnist-ukrayiny.
[237] Kostenko, Dziuba, and Pakhlovska, *Harmoniia Kriz Tuhu Dysonansiv...*, 163.
[238] Simone Attilio Bellezza, "Vziaty Interviu u 'Lehendy': Lina Kostenko Ta Kolektyvna Pamiat Shistdesiatnytstva," *Miscellanea Posttotalitariana Wratislaviensia* 9 (May 9, 2022): 53; Bellezza, *The Shore of Expectations*, 115.
[239] Kostenko, Dziuba, and Pakhlovska, *Harmoniia Kriz Tuhu Dysonansiv...*, 167.
[240] R. Erik Scott, *Familiar Strangers: The Georgian Diaspora and the Evolution of Soviet Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 12–13.

trajectory of a young theater director, Les Taniuk, is perhaps one of the most telling yet exceptional cases of internal migration within the circle of the Sixtiers. During his studies at the Kyiv State Institute of Theatre Arts, Taniuk founded the Club of Creative Youth, discussed in Chapter 1 in detail, and became its first president. After a range of unsuccessful attempts to enter the cultural scene in Ukraine as a theater director and a poet (three plays that he had been staging in Lviv and Odesa were canceled and two poetry books were removed from the schedule of publishing houses in 1963), Taniuk decided to move to Moscow, where he expected to enjoy the conditions more favorable for creative expression[241]. He spent more than twenty years staging the plays in the all-Union capital, which were performed not only in local theaters but also abroad. He also actively contributed to the Ukrainian human rights movement from a distance[242].

In a way, Moscow provided Taniuk with a space for escape. Though his activities were actively monitored by the KGB in the first half of the 1960s, he had never been imprisoned, unlike many of his colleagues from the Club of Creative Youth. On the other hand, Moscow could hardly exempt Taniuk from the necessity to conform. To the contrary, the very move from the tightly controlled periphery to the more liberal center implied accommodation and thematic re-orientation of creative work to fit the different audience. Before moving to Moscow, Taniuk experimented with staging "That's How Huska Perished", a play by repressed Ukrainian playwright Mykola Kulish, which never saw the light of day. Some years later, he switched to Russian classics and staged "Pushkin's Tales" in the Russian Academic Youth Theatre, which had been performed 700 times since its premiere in 1966[243].

Along with the conception of Moscow as the center of Soviet culture discussed above, there is also another facet of its image, a transit point, which denotes the space of violence. Perhaps

[241] Taniuk, *Vita Memoriae. Vybrani Poezii Ta Pereklady*, 17.
[242] Les Taniuk, interview by Marharyta Hevko, February 21, 1996, Rozpad Radianshoho Soiuzu. Usna istoriia nezalezhnoi Ukrainy 1988-1991, https://oralhistory.org.ua/interview-ua/298/.
[243] "Skazki Pushkina," Rossiyskii akademicheskii Molodezhnyi teatr, accessed May 9, 2023, https://ramt.ru/museum/previous-years/ys-5/play-7983/.

Vasyl Stus was the first among the Sixtiers to include this city in a topography of violence in his "The Wheels, the Wheels, they Hit the Road", which appeared in the *samizdat* poetry collection "The Merry Cemetery" (1970). The poem is dedicated to the memory of Mykola Zerov, a poet of the Executed Renaissance who was shot in Sandarmokh in 1937:

> [...] the wheels, the wheels, they hit the road,
> the wheels, the wheels, they hit,
> oh Jes, oh Chief, and all the gods
> and all the goddamn shit,
> and Moscow, and the Bear hill,
> and everything we pass,
> this is our prison path,
> it`s swollen with our tears.
> and Vyatka, Kotlas, and Ust-Wym,
> Chibyu, we drive a lot.
> this is The Prison Union Land
> the land that God forgot. [...][244]

In this verse, two directions for prisoners transfer to the Gulag units are described by Stus. These are Moscow-Popov Island, the one covered by Zerov on his way to the Solovki prison camp, and Moscow-Chibyu, where the Uchtpechlag was located. Both places ceased to exist before the outbreak of World War II, so the author clearly located them in the chronotope of the 1930s. The poem therefore suggests a reflection on the period of Stalinist terror that had already been denounced by the party. Despite this, the KGB attached the poem to the case files of Stus and used it to prove his anti-Soviet views in 1972, for the Soviet Union was compared here with the concentration camp[245]. But there is another spatial representation that is more important for us. The cluster of toponyms of which Moscow is a part is contrasted with "home", forming the binary opposition *own/strange*.

After being sentenced to five years of imprisonment and three years of exile, Stus would pass through his own prisoner's route in non-Ukrainian space. There is no topography of suffering

[244] Oleskandr Fraze-Frazenko, trans., "Vasyl Stus: Poems in English," Stus: Passerby [Chamber Opera], n.d., https://stus-opera.com/poems/en.
[245] Vakhtang Kipiani, *Sprava Vasylia Stusa: Zbirka Dokumentiv z Arkhivu Kolyshnioho KDB URSR* (Vivat, 2021), 462.

described in such detail in the poem depicting the episode from the prisoner transfer in Moscow ("Moscow, the capital of a hundred faces, / they were examining us at the station, / they pierced us like automatic rifles")[246]. However, the toponym of Moscow certainly stands for the idea of being persecuted rather than just performing a localizing function. In fact, many Sixtiers visited their friends in the camps while traveling through Moscow, as only the all-Union capital's train station opened the way to the Mordovian labor camps[247]. Such a route was also followed by the main characters of Valerii Shevchuk's 1991 novel "Boys from a Fiery Furnace," who visited their imprisoned friend in Yavas[248]. In this text, Moscow is represented as a multi-faceted space, which is strange ("This is a strange land and strange people. And we are tourists here") and familiar ("We could hear Ukrainian at the Kyiv train station; it was like an oasis amid the desert of Moscow") at the same time[249]. A place where one would always find where to stop on the way to or from the camps, be it a "control room of forbidden Ukraine" in the Moscowian apartment of the Taniuks or the homes of Russian political prisoners and their families.

2.5. Concluding Remarks

As representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia, the *shistdesiatnyky* had ample opportunities and great interest to explore the surrounding space, both within and beyond Soviet Ukraine. In many cases, the move from the periphery to a larger urban and cultural center like Kyiv or Lviv was the first experience that significantly affected the biography of these cultural activists. The capital of the Ukrainian SSR, cast as the center of national culture in the official Soviet discourse, often attracted young intelligentsia committed to contributing to its development. Alternatively, it provided the intellectual climate that might prompt the Sixtiers to-be to add the national dimension

[246] Stus, *Palimpsests*, 123.
[247] Volodymyr Shevchuk "Vin, shcho Svitylnykom Buv I Svityv…," in *Dobrookyi. Spohady pro Ivana Svitlychnoho*, 230.
[248] Valerii Shevchuk, "Yunaky z Ohnennoii Pechi. Zapysky Standartnoho Cholovika (Part 3)," *Dzvin*, no. 3 (1996): 92.
[249] Shevchuk, 96, 106.

to their conception of Kyiv as one of the centers of Soviet high culture. This was the case of Ivan Dziuba, who identified himself as Russian back in school, studied Russian philology, and came to Kyiv to continue doing so on an advanced level, but ended up promoting the new poetry of the *shistdesiatnyky* and criticizing Russification. In its turn, the so-called Lvivian circle of the Sixtiers was made up of intelligentsia that envisioned Lviv as the regional center of Western Ukraine and more often than not used their opportunity to pursue higher education and professional careers there rather than in the capital. Their spatial particularism requires a deeper study based on a wider source base, which is currently unavailable to us. The capital and the western regional center formed the axis Lviv-Kyiv which is apparent in the network of the Sixtiers' connections. Another important line matches Kyiv and Moscow; these two cities lie on the same plane, as they represent local (national) and all-Union centers of Soviet high culture. Naturally, this destination was widely practiced by the highly educated cohort of the Sixtiers.

As people of art and literature, the Sixtiers actively reflected on their relations with the places they lived in and visited, re-imagining the space of Ukraine, which changed physically as a result of the Second World War and was undergoing social transformation during the Thaw. The image of Kyiv developed by the Sixtiers lies between two opposites: the dream city, which conveys their aspirations for change, and the city of drama, related to misplaced hopes. What is more important is that Kyiv's role as the center of national culture is enhanced, and references to internationalism, which legitimize one's love for the city, are often abandoned. With the guidance of the Lvivian cohort of Sixtiers, Kyivans reinvented Lviv, the city in the west of Ukraine that had recently been incorporated, as a national space, challenging the frames of Soviet Ukrainianness. Finding themselves outside Soviet Ukraine in Leningrad and Moscow, they attempted to collect and grasp the remnants of Ukrainian history from imperial times while enjoying the finest examples of world art in the Hermitage and exploring the latest products of Soviet high culture in the all-Union capital. The high culture gradually ceased to define the image of Moscow when it became a

transfer point for more and more political prisoners and their families going to and from prison camps, the Sixtiers among them.

Conclusion

Through the prism of spatiality as lived and imagined by the young intelligentsia, this thesis attempts to bring together two intersecting dimensions of the Sixtiers movement, namely cultural activism in the public sphere and intellectual work on rethinking Ukrainianness in the moment of relative intellectual autonomy and opportunities for national self-expression opened by the Thaw. Unlike previous studies, which mainly focused on developments in the capital of Soviet Ukraine, where the Sixtiers movement manifested itself in the most vivid way, this work also keeps in sight the periphery in the face of Lviv, looking at the unique moment of rapprochement of the young intelligentsia, which was born in different states but found itself coming of age in a single Soviet Ukrainian state. It also covers the all-Union centers of gravity for intelligentsia, like Moscow and Leningrad, and places of non-gravity, as represented by the provincial town of Cherkasy.

The Clubs of Creative Youth in Kyiv and Lviv aptly represent the double modality of the Sixtiers: their search for a new sociability in the form of horizontal networks of like-minded individuals, as well as their striving to influence society and promote cultural change via integration into the public sphere. As this research has shown, the Sixtiers envisioned cultural change both in terms of rethinking the content of classic cultural figures, instrumentalized as a part of Soviet canon, and reintroducing the legacy of marginalized cultural figures, such as the Executed Renaissance artists for Kyivan Sixtiers and modernist poet Antonych in the case of Lvivians, along with searching for new forms of creative expression. Their relations with the official organizations, mainly the Komsomol, combined collaboration, enabling the young intelligentsia to address the public with their ideas about national culture, and sidestepping the unwritten codes of behavior. The latter may be exemplified by the unsanctioned evening held in memory of Lesya Ukraiinka in Kyiv and the unregistered wreath "from grateful Galicians" laid by the Prolisok Club members at Taras Hill.

Similarly, the intellectual work of the Sixtiers done in regards to the Soviet Ukrainian space can be described as the process of re-imagining, which drew on the imagery present in the official discourse but enriched it with new meanings. The collective act of re-conceptualizing the Ukrainian space and its centers of cultural gravity in the cities of Kyiv and Lviv was stimulated by the opportunities for national self-expression opened by the Thaw and further carried out by the Sixtiers despite the conservative turn in Soviet policies towards nationalities and culture. Eloquently dubbed by Ihor Kalynets as "searching for Ukraine in Ukraine"[250] , this process encompassed the discovery of what is left out of the official narratives and a reassessment of the available knowledge. As a result, the image of Ukraine produced by the Sixtiers tended to emphasize the self-sufficiency of Ukrainian culture and disregard the ritual of praising its ties with Russia as an inseparable part of "speaking Soviet". Hence, as this research has shown, despite the fact that the Sixtiers were channeling social and cultural change, their activism came to be perceived as challenging the unwritten code of behavior in the public sphere and unsettling the dominant vision of Ukrainian culture. It gradually led to them being subject to exclusion from the public scene as a group of cultural activists.

[250] Ihor Kalynets, *Pro Dekoho i Deshcho i, Peredovsim, pro Sebe. Statti, Spohady, Vystupy, Repliky* (Lviv: Spolom, 2016), 350.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archival Documents

"Protokol no. 2 Zasedania Buro Kievskogo Promyshlennogo Obkoma LKSM Ukrainy," February 13, 1963. F. 7, op. 16, spr. 633. TsDAHOU.

"Zaproshennia na Literaturnyi Vechir Hryhoriia Epika," February 20, 1961. F. 1132, op. 1, spr. 351, ark. 29-30. TsDAMLM.

"Zaproshennia na Vechir Pamyati Prysviachenyi 150-Richchiu z Dnia Narodzennia Velykoho Kobzaria," March 12, 1964. F. 1165, op. 1, spr. 121, ark. 11-14. TsDAMLM.

Egodocuments

Bogumiła Berdychowska and Ola Hnatiuk. *Bunt Pokolinnia: Rozmovy z Ukrainskymy Intelektualamy*. Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2004.

Dziuba, Ivan. *Spohady i Rozdumy na Finishnii Priamii*. Kyiv: Krynytsia, 2008.

Horyn, Bohdan. *Ne Tilky pro Sebe: Dokumentalnyi Roman-Kolazh u Triokh Knyhakh*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Kyiv: Pulsary, 2008.

Horyn, Mykhailo. *Zapalyty Svichu*. Kharkiv: Prava liudyny, 2009.

Ivanychuk, Roman. *Blahoslovy, Dushe Moia, Hospoda.. Shchodennykovi Zapysy, Spohady i Rozdumy*. Lviv: Prosvita, 1993.

Kalynets, Ihor. *Koleso Fortuny*. Lviv: Spolom, 2016.

———. *Pro Dekoho i Deshcho i, Peredovsim, pro Sebe. Statti, Spohady, Vystupy, Repliky*. Lviv: Spolom, 2016.

Kolasky, John. *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine; a Canadian's Personal Account of Russian Oppression and the Growing Opposition*. Toronto: P. Martin Associates, 1970.

Kostenko, Lina, Ivan Dziuba, and Oksana Pakhlovska. *Harmoniia kriz Tuhu Dysonansiv...* Kyiv: Lybid, 2016.

Kotsiubynska, Mykhailyna. *Khyha Spomyniv*. Akta, 2006.

Kvitnevyi, Volodymyr, ed. *U Vyri Shistdesiatnytskoho Rukhu. Pohliad z Vidstani Chasu*. Lviv: Kameniar, 2003.

Maksymchuk, Sviatoslav. *Mozaiika Spohadiv*. Lviv: Vydavnytstvo Staroho Leva, 2021.

Ohnieva, Liudmyla. *Alla Horska. Dusha Ukrainskoho Shistdesiatnytstva*. Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2015.

Plakhotniuk, Mykola. *Kolovorot: Statti, Spohady, Dokumenty*. Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2012.

Shevchuk, Valerii. *Na Berezi Chasu. Miy Kyiv. Vkhodyny*. Kyiv: Tempora, 2002.

———. *Na Berezi Chasu. Ti, Kotri Poruch*. Kyiv: Lybid, 2016.

Som, Mykola. *Z Matiryu na Samoti*. Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2005.

Sverstiuk, Yevhen. *Bludni Syny Ukrayiny*. Kyiv: Znannia, 1991.

Svitlychna, Leonida, and Nadiia Svitlychna, eds. *Dobrookyi. Spohady pro Ivana Svitlychnoho*. Kyiv: Chas, 1998.

Svitlycnhy, Ivan. "Vystup Ivana Svitlychnoho Na Vechori Pamiati Vasylia Symonenka v Kyivskomu Medinstytuti." In *Tvory. Poezii, Pereklady, Publitsystyka*, 788–91, 2012.

Symonenko, Vasyl. "Pochatok Studentstva. Zapys 2," n.d. https://vasylsymonenko.org/schodennyk/pochatok-studentstva-zapys-2/.

———. "Pochatok Studentstva. Zapys 4," n.d. https://vasylsymonenko.org/schodennyk/pochatok-studentstva-zapys-4/.

———. *U Tvoiemu Imeni Zhyvu. Poezii, Opovidannia, Shchodennykovi Zapysy, Lysty*. Edited by Vasyl Yaremenko. Kyiv: Veselka, 2003.

Ta, Shcho Svityla Vsim. Donetsk, 2009.

Taniuk, Les. *Shchodennyky 1959-1960 rr.*. Vol. 4. 60 vols. Tvory. Kyiv: Altpres, 2004.

———. *Shchodennyky 1960-1961 rr.*. Vol. 5. 60 vols. Tvory. Kyiv: Altpres, 2005.

———. *Shchodennyky 1962 r.*. Vol. 6. 60 vols. Tvory. Kyiv: Altpres, 2004.

———. *Shchodennyky 1963 r.*. Vol. 7. 60 vols. Tvory. Kyiv: Altpres, 2004.

———. *Shchodennyky 1964 r.*. Vol. 9. 60 vols. Tvory. Kyiv: Altpres, 2006.

———. *Shchodennyky 1968 r.*. Vol. 21. 60 vols. Tvory. Kyiv: Altpres, 2011.

———. *Slovo, Teatr, Zhyttia. Vybrane v 3-kh Tomakh*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. Kyiv: Altpres, 2003.

———. *Tvory. Shchodennyky bez Kupiur*. Vol. 21. 60 vols. Kyiv: Altpres, 2011.

———. *Vita Memoriae. Vybrani Poezii ta Pereklady*. Edited by Oksana Taniuk. Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2017.

Vinhranovskyi, Mykola. "Khto i Shcho Dlia Mene Nezalezhnist Ukrainy." *Den*, August 9, 2010. https://day.kyiv.ua/article/kultura/khto-i-shcho-dlya-mene-nezalezhnist-ukrayiny.

Zaretsky, Oleksii, ed. *Alla Horska. Kvitka na Vulkani*. Donetsk: Nord Kompyuter, 2011.

Zaretsky, Oleksii, and Liudmyla Ognieva, eds. *Alla Horska. Zhyttiepys Movoiu Lystiv*. Donetsk, 2013.

Zhylenko, Iryna. *Homo Feriens: Spohady*. Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2011.

Literary works

Drozd, Volodymyr. *Muzei Zhyvoho Pysmennyka, abo Moia Dovha Doroha v Rynok*. Kyiv, 1994. https://www.ukrlib.com.ua/books/printit.php?tid=12585.

Fraze-Frazenko, Oleskandr, trans. "Vasyl Stus: Poems in English." Stus: Passerby [Chamber Opera], n.d. https://stus-opera.com/poems/en.

Shevchuk, Valerii. *Kaminna Luna*. Kyiv: Molod, 1987.

Shevchuk, Valerii. "Yunaky z Ohnennoii Pechi. Zapysky Standartnoho Cholovika (Part 1)." *Dzvin*, no. 1 (1996): 3–52.

———. "Yunaky z Ohnennoii Pechi. Zapysky Standartnoho Cholovika (Part 3)." *Dzvin*, no. 3 (1996): 91–112.

Symonenko, Vasyl. *Granite Obelisks*. Translated by Andriy M. Fr.-Chirovsky. Svoboda press, 1975.

Symonenko, Vasyl. "The Ukrainian Lion." *Ukrainian Herald*, no. 4 (1972): 80.

Stus, Vasyl. *Palimpsests. Poems, 1971-1979*. 1986: Suchasnist, n.d.

———. "Sered Tyshi i Hromu." *Suchasnist*, no. 1 (1995): 138–48.

———. *Tvory. Tom 4*, 1994. https://chtyvo.org.ua/authors/Stus_Vasyl/Tvory_Tom_4/.

Oral History Sources

Aktor, 71 rik. Intervyu zi Zasluzhenym artystom Ukraiiny, aktorom dramatychnoho teatru. Interview by Natalia Otrishchenko, October 10, 2013. https://lia.lvivcenter.org/uk/interviews/80-liateatrbrylynskyiu20131010quotes/.

Interview with Ihor Kalynets by Svitlana Dovhan, November 18, 2022.

Les Taniuk. Interview by Marharyta Hevko, February 21, 1996. Rozpad Radianshoho Soiuzu. Usna istoriia nezalezhnoi Ukrainy 1988-1991. https://oralhistory.org.ua/interview-ua/298/.

Published Primary Sources

Dziuba, Ivan. "AS No. 902. Poiasniuvalna Zapyska do Spilky Radianskykh Pysmennykiv Ukrainy pro Vechir Pamyati Lesi Ukrainky. Kyiv, 17 Serpnia 1963 r." In *Sobranie Dokumentov Samizdata*, 18:1–7. München: Radio Liberty Committee, 1972.

———. “Vystup na Vechori, Prysviachenomu 30-Littiu z Dnia Narodzennia Vasylia Symonenka.” *Suchasnist*, no. 1 (1995): 153–58.

———. *Internationalism or Russification? A Study in the Soviet Nationalities Problem*. The Camelot Press Ltd., 1968.

Oleksandriv, Yevhen. “Shevchenkisvkyi Literaturno-Muzychnyi Vechir.” *Ukrainska Mova i Literatura v Shkoli. Metodychnyi Zhurnal Ministerstva Osvity URSR*, no. 10 (1963): 61–65.

Other Sources

“Den za Dnem.” *Vitchyzna*, no. 9 (1963): 221–23.

Ignatkin, Ivan. *Kiev: Concise Guide-Book*. Translated by A. Mistetsky. Kiev: Ukrainian SSR Publishing House for Political Litera, 1960.

Kiev Seen by Children. Kiev: Reklama, 1974.

Lohvyn, Hryhorii. *Kiev*. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1967.

Rossiyskii akademicheskii Molodezhnyi teatr. “Skazki Pushkina.” https://ramt.ru/museum/previous-years/ys-5/play-7983/.

Semionow, Grigorij. *Lwów Przewodnik Turystyczny*. Wydawnictwo Agencji Prasowej Nowosti, 1965.

Slovo o Ukraine. Diafilm. Studiya “Diafilm,” 1972.

Secondary Literature

Alekseeva, Liudmila, and Paul Goldberg. *The Thaw Generation: Coming of Age in the Post-Stalin Era*. Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies 19. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993.

Alekseeva, Ludmila, and Paul Goldberg. “Kto Takie Shestidesiatniki? Beseda s Ya. M. Bergerom i S. A. Kovalevym,” 335–60. Moscow: Zaharov, 2006.

Amar, Tarik Cyril. *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv: A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015.

Astrouskaya, Tatsiana. *Cultural Dissent in Soviet Belarus (1968-1988): Intelligentsia, Samizdat and Nonconformist Discourses*. 1st ed. Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvsf1q6t.

Axenov, Konstantin, Isolde Brade, and Evgenij Bondarchuk. *The Transformation of Urban Space in Post-Soviet Russia*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Bellezza, Simone Attilio. “The Shistdesiatnytstvo as a Group of Friends: The Kompaniia of the Club of the Creative Youth of Kiev (1960-1965).” *Snodi. Pubblici e Privati Nella Storia Contemporanea*, no. 5 (2010): 64–82.

———. *The Shore of Expectations: A Cultural Study of the Shistdesiatnyky*. Edmonton Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2019.

———. “Vziaty Interviu u ‘Lehendy’: Lina Kostenko Ta Kolektyvna Pamiat Shistdesiatnytstva.” *Miscellanea Posttotalitariana Wratislaviensia* 9 (May 9, 2022): 47–54.

Bilocerkowycz, Jaro. *Soviet Ukrainian Dissent. A Study Of Political Alienation*. Routledge, 2019.

Bondar, Halyna. *Lviv. Shchodenne Zhyttia Mista Ochyma Pereselentsiv Iz Sil (50-80-Ti Roky XX St.)*. Lviv: Vyd. tsentr LNU imeni Ivana Franka, 2010.

Bonin, Christianna. “The Art of the Sixtiers in Soviet Kazakhstan, or How to Make a Portrait from a Skull.” *Central Asian Survey* 40, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 34–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2020.1863912.

Clarke, Simon. *The Formation of a Labour Market in Russia*. Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 1999.

Derevyanko, S. M., and A. M. Panchuk. “ZUNR v Ukraiinskii Istoriohrafii.” *Ukraiinskyi Istrorychnyi Zhurnal*, no. 2 (1995): 28–36.

Dysa, Kateryna. “Obraz Modernoho Mista u Putivnykakh Po Kyyevu Mezhi XIX-XX St.” In *Zhyvuchy v Modernomu Misti: Kyyiv Kintsya XIX – Seredyny XX Stolittya*, 82–95. Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2016.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. “Afterword: The Thaw in Retrospect.” In *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s*, 482–91. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Fürst, Juliane. “Friends in Private, Friends in Public: The Phenomenon of the Kompaniia Among Soviet Youth in the 1950s and 1960s.” In *Borders of Socialism: Private Spheres of Soviet Russia*, edited by Lewis H. Siegelbaum, 229–49. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2006.

Furst, Juliane. *Stalin’s Last Generation: Soviet Post-War Youth and the Emergence of Mature Socialism*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Gilburd, Eleonory, and Denis Kozlov. “The Thaw as an Event in Russian History.” In *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s*, 18–81. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Hrytsak, Yaroslav. “Lviv: A Multicultural History through the Centuries.” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 24 (2000): 47–73.

Hundorova, Tamara. “Shistdesiatnytstvo: Metafora, Imya, Dim.” In *Moii Obrii*, 4–10. Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2004.

Jones, Polly, ed. *The Dilemmas of De-Stalinization: Negotiating Cultural and Social Change in the Khrushchev Era*. 23. London: Routledge, 2009.

———, ed. "The Need for New Voices. Writers' Union Policy towards Young Writers 1953-64." In *The Dilemmas of De-Stalinization*, 193–208. London: Routledge, 2009.

Kasyanov, Georgiy. *Nezhodni. Ukrayinska Intelihentsia v Rusi Oporu 1960-80kh Rokiv*. Kyiv: Lybid, 1995.

Kelly, Catriona. *Remembering St Petersburg*. Triton Press, 2014.

Kharkhun, Valentyna. "Ukrainian Literature of the Late Soviet Period: The History of Three Generations of Poets." In *The Literary Field under Communist Rule*, 161–80. Academic Studies Press, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781618119780-011.

Kipiani, Vakhtang. *Sprava Vasylia Stusa: Zbirka Dokumentiv z Arkhivu Kolyshnioho KDB URSR*. Vivat, 2021.

Kovalenko, Olena. "Narracje Historyczne w Sowieckich Przewodnikach Turystycznych Po Moskwie i Kijowie (1922-1991)." Praca doktorska, Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II, 2019.

Kozlov, Denis. "Introduction." In *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s*, 3–17. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Kravchenko, Volodymyr, and Marta Olynyk (Trans.). "Borderland City: Kharkiv." *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 7, no. 1 (April 15, 2020): 169–96. https://doi.org/10.21226/ewjus572.

Krawchenko, Bohdan, and Jim A. Karter. "Dissidents in Ukraine before 1972: A Summary Statistical Profile." *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, no. 2 (1983): 85–88.

Kryvenko, S. "Dokumenty Do Biohrafii Vasylia Symonenka u Fondakh Derzhavnoho Arkhivu Cherkaskoii Oblasti." *Arkhivy Ukraiiny* 1–3, no. 249 (2002): 124–32.

Kudritskiy, Anatoliy, ed. *Kiev. Entsiklopedicheskiy Spravochnik*. Kiev: Glavnaya redaktsiya Ukrainskoy Sovetskoy Entsiklopedii, 1985.

Lejano, Raul P. "Narrative, Identity, and the City." In *Narrative, Identity, and the City: Filipino Stories of Dislocation and Relocation*, edited by Raul P. Lejano, Alicia P. Lejano, Josefina D. Constantino, Aaron J. P. Almadro, and Mikaella Evaristo, 1–38. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2018.

Leppänen, Katarina. "Fiction as a Historical Source: Alternative Identities in Aino Kallas and Hella Wuolijoki." *Ideas in History. Journal of the Nordic Society for the History of Ideas* 7, no. 1–2 (2013): 15–41.

Lomsky-Feder, Edna. "Life Stories, War, and Veterans: On the Social Distribution of Memories." *Ethos* 32, no. 1 (2004): 82–109.

Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 2008.

Mokryk, Radomyr. *Bunt Proty Imperii. Ukrainski Shistdesiatnyky*. Kyiv: A-ba-ba-ha-la-ma-ha, 2023.

Moskalets, Kostiantyn. *Stezhachy Za Tekstom. Vybrana Krytyka Ta Eseiistyka*. Lviv: Vydavnytstvo Staroho Leva, 2019.

Narvselius, Eleonora. *Ukrainian Intelligentsia in Post-Soviet L'viv: Narratives, Identity, and Power*. Lexington Books, 2012.

Nochovnyi, Oleh. "The Celebration of Anniversary Dates in the Soviet Union: To 150 Anniversary of the Birth of Taras Shevchenko." *Kraieznavstvo*, no. 3–4 (2014): 57–61.

Priscilla Johnson and Leopold Labedz (Eds.). *Khrushchev and the Arts: The Politics of Soviet Culture, 1962–1964*. MIT Press, 1965.

Risch, William Jay. *The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet Lviv*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011.

Schlögel, Karl, and Rodney Livingstone. *The Soviet Century: Archaeology of a Lost World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023.

Scott, R. Erik. *Familiar Strangers: The Georgian Diaspora and the Evolution of Soviet Empire*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Sereda, Viktoria. "Politics of Memory and Urban Landscape: The Case of Lviv after World War II [1]." Institut für die Wissenschaften vom Menschen / Institute for Human Sciences. Accessed March 24, 2023. https://www.iwm.at/transit-online/politics-of-memory-and-urban-landscape-the-case-of-lviv-after-world-war.

Shankosvky, Igor. *Symonenko: A Study in Semantics*. Munchen: Ukrainisches Institut fur Bildungspolitik, 1977.

Shkandrij, Myroslav. *Jews in Ukrainian Literature: Representation and Identity*. Yale University Press, 2009.

Tromly, Benjamin. "An Unlikely National Revival: Soviet Higher Learning and the Ukrainian 'Sixtiers,' 1953-65." *The Russian Review* 68, no. 4 (October 1, 2009): 607–22.

Zdravomyslova, Elena, and Viktor Voronkov. "The Informal Public in Soviet Society: Double Morality at Work." Social Research 69, no. 1 (2002): 49–69.

Voronkov, Viktor. "Proekt «shestidesjatnikov»: Dvizhenie Protesta v SSSR." In *Otcy i Deti. Pokolencheskij Analiz Sovremennoj Rossii*, Levada Y., Shanina T., 168–200. Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2005.

Wojnowski, Zbigniew. *The Near Abroad: Socialist Eastern Europe and Soviet Patriotism in Ukraine, 1956-1985*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.

Yekelchyk, Serhy. *Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination*. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2014.

———. “The Early 1960s as a Cultural Space: A Microhistory of Ukraine’s Generation of Cultural Rebels.” *Nationalities Papers* 43, no. 1 (January 2015): 45–62.

Yermolenko, Volodymyr, Tamara Hundorova, Tetiana Oharkova, Oksana Zabuzhko, Volodymyr Volkovskyi, and Taras Kononeko. “Lesia Ukrainka Ta Ukrainska Identychnist.” *Filosofska Dumka*, no. 2 (2021): 6–19.

Zhuk, S. I. *Rock and Roll in the Rocket City: The West, Identity, and Ideology in Soviet Dniepropetrovsk, 1960-1985*. Washington, D.C. : Baltimore, Md: Woodrow Wilson Center Press ; Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.