NATIONAL AND PATRIOTIC ASPECTS OF CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC HERITAGE OF THE UKRAINIAN CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA IN THE YEARS OF KHRUSHCHEV'S «THAW» AND THE UNFOLDING OF BREZHNEV'S «STAGNATION»

Abstract: The article proves that the main layers of the Ukrainian cultural heritage of the 60s–70s of the 20th century were filled with national content. The right to free national development of Ukrainians was defended in their writings by masters of the pen – poets, novelists, publicists, writers. Identification of Ukrainianness was carried out by them on the basis of national faith, language, traditions and other means of ethno-affirmation. It was revealed that the Ukrainian song in the conditions of the comprehensive policy of Russification became a means of implementing the national language practice in the lives of Ukrainians. Film artists and theatre groups of the time also tried to distance themselves from the ideology of the Soviet system and preserve the national orientation in their work. During the difficult period of statelessness, the Ukrainian ethno-art tradition was also picked up and creatively assimilated by progressive artists. Among the creative intelligentsia, there was a growing interest in the folk as an expression of the national. There have been noticeable positive changes in the restoration of the functioning of the forgotten types of Ukrainian folk art. Even in the 1970s, the Ukrainian creative elite managed to preserve its national potential.

Keywords: Ukrainian nation, Ukrainians, national self-determination, national culture, ethnic artistic traditions, folk creativity, sixties, totalitarianism, Soviet State, censorship

Formulation of Scientific Problem and Its Significance

Soviet socialist culture of the Ukrainian SSR in the second half of the 20th century was far from Ukrainian in content. The ruling communist elite tried in every way to scatter the Ukrainian people and destroy its national face in culture. However, despite the ideological plans of the Kremlin, from the second half of the 1950s. For the first time in the post-Stalin era, the Ukrainian nation began its own cultural, national and spiritual revival. The described period was marked by the emergence of the sixties – a new generation of the Ukrainian national intelligentsia, which stood up for the defense of the national language and culture, freedom of artistic creativity.

With the acquisition of state independence by Ukraine, the democratization of social and political life, the opening of access to many archival sources, favorable conditions were created for a free, unbiased study of the Soviet past of the Ukrainian people. Therefore, a comprehensive study of the national self-determination of Ukrainians in cultural and artistic creativity during the 1960s and 1970s is extremely relevant and requires a special approach in the study.

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Research Analysis

The question of the situation of cultural and artistic creativity in the Ukrainian SSR during the 60s and 70s of the 20th century. was highlighted in the works of such authors as: O. Bazhan1 & Yu. Danyliuk2, V. Baran3, M. Maslii4, T. Pashinina5 and others. However, the proposed topic remains understudied in the scientific literature. This allows us to continue working in this promising direction.

The Aim of the Article

Thus, the focus of this article is the study of the national-patriotic aspects of the cultural and artistic heritage of the Ukrainian creative intelligentsia during the years of Khrushchev’s «Thaw» and the unfolding of Brezhnev’s «Stagnation» and the study of its significance in preserving the national identity of Ukrainians.

The Main Material and Justification of Study Results

The short-lived Khrushchev’s «Thaw» was enough to give birth to a young galaxy of Ukrainian artists, a new generation of creative intelligentsia, whose goal was the revival of the Ukrainian National Self through the culture.

The most important thing for the Ukrainian intelligentsia of that time was the situation of the Ukrainian language, which at that time was in extremely difficult conditions of devastating Russification. During the 60s – 70s of the XX century the Ukrainian poetic word became a mechanism for protecting the national language. Despite the «cleansing» of Ukrainianness from «manifestations of nationalism», in the period under study, works with a national color appear, written by Ukrainian writers, poets and novelists.

For example, in 1965, the Ukrainian literary critic I. Dzyuba wrote the book «Internationalism or Russification?», on the pages of which he condemned the national and cultural policy of the Soviet government in Ukraine at the time and claimed that the higher party-state leadership of the USSR took a course towards the Russification of the national republics6. This book caused a flurry of criticism from the highest echelons of the government at that time.

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6 In fact, it was like this: Interview of Yuriy Zaitsev with Ivan Dzyuba / Institute of Ukrainian Studies named after I. Krypyakevich of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine; responsible for the release of Yu. Slyvka. Lviv, 2002. P. 55.
V. Chornovol’s work «The Evil Mind (portraits of Twenty «Criminals»)» was very popular among Ukrainians in the second half of the 1960s and throughout the 1970s. The Ukrainian-language version of this book was published in 1967. On its pages, the author collected and published materials related to the first wave of arrests (1965-1966) of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, including biographical records of political prisoners, their letters, appeals to the public and to the Soviet authorities, literary and artistic works, etc.

Such frank coverage of the Soviet reality became the reason for the imprisonment of V. Chornovol himself on August 3, 1967. The fact of the oppositionist’s arrest due to the content of his book gained tremendous resonance both on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR and outside its borders, especially among the Ukrainian Diaspora in the United States and Canada. The foreign press in English, French, Spanish, and German wrote about the appearance of dissident Ukrainians on the territory of the Soviet space and stated the functioning of the repressive totalitarian machine of the USSR.

Another sensational event of the late 1960s was the publication of a novel by Ukrainian writer, literary critic, and public figure O. Honchar called «The Cathedral» (1968), dedicated to the issue of the spiritual values of the Ukrainian people. Archive documents confirm that at the March Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1968, dedicated to improving the ideological and political work of party organizations of the Ukrainian SSR, the first secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine O. Vatchenko accused O. Honchar of aiding «bourgeois propaganda».

Another event in the contemporary cultural and national revival of Ukrainians was the publication in 1972 of the book «The Sword of Areus» by the Ukrainian writer I. Bilyk, in which the author tried to trace the ethnogenesis of Ukrainians, because of which Soviet ideologues accused him of a «nationalistic historical-methodological approach». After a flurry of accusations, the Soviet censors banned and removed the specified book from libraries, and the author himself was deprived of his job and the opportunity to publish. But the ban on printing this work in Soviet Ukraine opened up opportunities for its publication among the Ukrainian diaspora. Great Britain, Canada, the USA and other countries became centers of its emergence into the world.

Another Ukrainian writer who disagreed with the policies of the communist regime at that time was B. Antonenko-Davydovych. His work entitled «Temptation», which was published in the pages of the magazine «Dnipro» in 1969, is characterized by its national frankness. The main idea of this story considers spirituality as the basis of a component of Ukrainian identity, which dates back to the time of Prince Volodymyr Svyatoslavovych of Kyiv and through

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7 Chornovil V. Evil from the mind (portraits of Twenty «Criminals»). Pary: First Ukrainian printing house in France, 1968. 338 p.
generation unites the strength of Ukrainians, first as a people, and then as a nation\textsuperscript{11}. Archive documents confirm that the ideological department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine condemned this work due to its undisguised pro-Ukrainian position\textsuperscript{12}.

Another supporter of the self-assertion of the Ukrainian nation was the writer and public figure, founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group M. Rudenko. M. Rudenko spoke frankly about the colonial state of Ukraine within the USSR. In 1973, for «disobedience», the writer was expelled from the ranks of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and two years later – from the members of the Kyiv organization of the Union of Writers of the Ukrainian SSR.

Speaking about the national self-determination of Ukrainians in the cultural and artistic creativity of the 60s and 70s of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, one cannot fail to mention the poetic legacy of one of the outstanding masters of the Ukrainian word, V. Saussyura. For his pro-Ukrainian position, in particular for the defense of Ukrainian statehood and the promotion of the Ukrainian language, the writer was repeatedly «labeled as a nationalist» by the Soviet leadership at the plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU\textsuperscript{13}.

In his poems, V. Saussyura tried to show the origins of Ukrainian statehood and to demonstrate the separateness of Ukraine from Russia.

The writer tries to convey to the society all the tragedy of the repressive Stalinist regime aimed at the destruction of the Ukrainian nation. The poem «Shot Immortality», written by the writer in 1960, revealed to society the historical truth about the life of Ukrainians during the period of Stalin’s leadership. This work shows the total and mass destruction of the indigenous people of the Ukrainian SSR, representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, who, according to V. Sosyura, will be resurrected in other generations and will live forever, just like the indomitable Ukrainian nation\textsuperscript{14}.

The creative heritage of the Ukrainian poet and human rights activist V. Stus played a significant role in the Ukrainian culture of the 60s and 70s of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, aimed at the separation of the Ukrainian nation. Archival sources indicate that for his belief in the need for cultural autonomy of the Ukrainian people, his work was banned and criticized by Soviet propaganda and assessed as «apolitical» and «ideologically immature»\textsuperscript{15}. In his poems, the artist openly highlighted the disastrous consequences of Soviet power for Ukrainian statehood.

Speaking about the new generation of nationally conscious artists of the outlined period, it is necessary to mention the Ukrainian writer, poetess L. Kostenko, who, as archival sources testify, was repeatedly criticized for her devotion to the national basis of Ukrainian culture at writers’ and congresses of the Communist Party of Ukraine\textsuperscript{16}.

In addition to the poetic word, for the revival of Ukrainian national culture during the 60s and 70s of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. representatives of Ukrainian cinema also fought. Studying the sources of Ukrainian cinematography of the 1960s and 1970s, one should first of all consider the work of the famous film director S. Parajanov, whose figure became unique not only for

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12} CSAPA of Ukraine. Fund 1. Description 25. Case 183. P. 51.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Baran V.K. The specified source. P. 8.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} CSAPA of Ukraine. Fund 1. Description 25. Case 183. P. 89-90.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} CSAPA of Ukraine. Fund 1. Description 25. Case 183. P. 84.
\end{itemize}
Ukrainian, but also for world cinema. Being an Armenian by nationality, S. Paradzhanov devoted a considerable part of his work to Ukraine, namely to ancient Ukrainian national customs and traditions. In particular, since 1963, the filmmaker began work on the film «Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors» based on the novel by M. Kotsyubynskyi, which vividly highlighted the national traditional culture of the Ukrainian highlanders\textsuperscript{17}. It was during the premiere of this film in early September 1965 that a political protest by artists took place in Kyiv against the arrests of Ukrainian intelligentsia by the Soviet authorities in the summer of 1965. This event gave impetus to the birth of a dissident movement in the Ukrainian SSR.

Since the beginning of the 1970s, as a result of the intensification of the attacks of the Soviet authorities on Ukrainian culture, S. Parajanov, as a sideline of Ukrainian national motives, was subjected to severe repression. On December 17, 1973, after a six-month stay in the pre-trial detention center of the Lukyanivska prison, S. Parajanov was sentenced to five years of strict regime, and as a result, in May 1974, he was expelled from the Union of Cinematographers of Ukraine\textsuperscript{18}. However, despite of repression and persecution by the Soviet authorities, the filmmaker managed to make a significant contribution to the preservation of Ukrainian national culture.

Another prominent representative of the Ukrainian national cinematography of the 60s and 70s of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century became Yuriy Illenko. Since 1965, the artist has associated his work with the Ukrainian poet I. Drach. Working on one of his scripts, Yuriy Illenko creates the film «Spring for the Avid Ones». However, at the meeting of the Art Council on January 29, 1966, the film was recognized as «ideologically flawed», «imperfect» and «unacceptable» for production\textsuperscript{19}. Objection to this film was also recorded in the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine «On certain serious deficiencies in the organization of film production at the Kyiv Studio named after O. Dovzhenko» dated June 30, 1966\textsuperscript{20}. Given the «mistakes» invented by the Soviet helmsmen, the world saw the film only 22 years later.

Another legendary figure of the Ukrainian cinema of the 1960s and 1970s was the aforementioned I. Mykolaichuk. With his artistic performance, the film actor managed to arouse interest in everything Ukrainian. On his creative path, the film actor emphasized the national issues of Ukrainians. In this context, it is worth noting his role in the film «The Lost Letter» (1972) directed by B. Ivchenko based on the script by I. Drach, etc. Due to the «ideological and artistic errors» found by the ideologues of communism, this film was remade several times. Realizing that the specified film is of great importance for raising the national consciousness of the titular nation of Ukraine, the Soviet ruling elite, guided by the order of the State Committee for Cinematography of the Ukrainian SSR dated March 26, 1971, according to which the main place in the film industry of that time should belong to scripts with Soviet content, sends the specified film on the «infamous shelf», where it lay for ten long years.

It is also worth noting that the theater groups of the Ukrainian SSR played an important

role in the preservation of Ukrainian cultural traditions in the period of the 1960s and 1970s. Archival sources, according to which the Vinnytsia Theater named after M. Sadovskiy and the Poltava Theater named after M. Gogol in 1964 reached 77.1% of its attendance by the audience exclusively thanks to the screening of the works of Ukrainian domestic playwrights. The desire to hear and see Ukrainian was always expressed by those Ukrainians who, as a result of the migrations directed by the Soviet authorities, massively left the borders of the Ukrainian SSR for the construction of large industrial facilities in Siberia, the Far East, etc. Thus, according to archival documents, in 1962 the Ukrainians of Siberia addressed a letter to Ukraine, namely to the management of the Kharkiv Academic Ukrainian Drama Theater named after T. Shevchenko with a request to get them T. Shevchenko's play «The Servant Girl», performed in Ukrainian.

However, starting from the second half of the 1960s, being under censorship pressure, the repertory activity of Ukrainian theaters underwent changes. The works of Ukrainian theater scenes are beginning to be saturated with the ideological content of the ruling CPSU – KPU.

It should be emphasized that in the national and cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people of the 1960s and 1970s, the song-poetic and musical creativity of Ukrainian composers, musicians, and singers also occupied a significant place. In this aspect, it is necessary to note the creative activity of such professional creative collectives as the State Academic Choral Chapel of the Ukrainian SSR «Dumka», the State Honored Ukrainian Choir named after Hryhoriy Veriovka. National in content were the songs of the ethnographic choir «Homin», which arose spontaneously at the end of 1969 in the city of Kyiv under the leadership of the famous Ukrainian musicologist, folklorist, conductor, composer L. Yashchenko. In particular, analyzing archival documents, we can see that his performances included T. Shevchenko's unauthorized anthem «The Testament», which was performed in the early 1970s during actions dedicated to the memory of T. Shevchenko (near his monument in Kyiv), prince Volodymyr the Great, poetess Lesia Ukrainka, chairman of the Central Rada M. Hrushevsky and others. The choir's repertoire included other works of national and patriotic content, including «Oh the red viburnum in the meadow», which glorified the entire Ukrainian people, «The glory and freedom of Ukraine has not yet perished», «Prayer for Ukraine», which contained calls to consolidation of the entire Ukrainian nation on the basis of the native Orthodox faith on the way to achieving Ukraine's independence. Due to the filling of the repertoire with Ukrainian content, the choir team was repeatedly criticized by the Soviet authorities. As a result, in 1971, L. Yashchenko was expelled from the Union of Composers of the Ukrainian SSR, and «Homin» was dissolved.

It should also be said that in the 1960s and 1970s, in the difficult conditions of the dominance of pseudo-artistic methods of social realism in the city of Lviv, creative youth were actively active, promoting Ukrainian song art with a national face, which attracted close attention bodies of the KGB. The control over the work of Ukrainian artists of the Lviv region is evidenced by archival documents, including an information letter from the Main Department for the Protection of Military and State Secrets in the press under the Council of Ministers of the

Ukrainian SSR, dated December 22, 1960, which contained an instruction to the Lviv Regional Office for Protection of Military and State Secrets in the press to prepare a report on the political direction of the repertoire amateur art collectives of the cities of Lviv and Drohobych. However, the desire of Ukrainians to preserve the national basis in their creativity was much stronger than the Soviet ideological dictate.

V. Ivasiuk became a prominent representative of the artistic elite of Lviv at that time, the composer, poet, founder of Ukrainian pop song. «Chervona Ruta» became a masterpiece of world and national scale (1970), which won the all-Union contest «Song-71» in 1971. The young composer’s Ukrainian-language songs also won at international competitions. This is, in particular, his song «Vodogray» (1970), which first became the best song of the USSR at the «Song-72» contest, and then took first place in Poland at the «Solot-74» song contest, etc.

The musical works of V. Ivasyuk supported the internal freedom of the Ukrainian people, affirmed the cultural power of Ukrainians, and were the personification of the composer’s great love for his native land, its traditions and customs. However, from the second half of the 70s of the XX century certain senior employees of Moscow radio and television began to hint to V. Ivasiuk that he is too enthusiastic about the works of Ukrainian poets, and that his enthusiasm «reeks of Ukrainian nationalism». Accusations of «nationalism» were increasingly directed at him by party officials of Soviet Ukraine, and in May 1979, V. Ivasyuk was found hanged in the Bryukhovetsky forest near Lviv. It is worth emphasizing that the funeral of the famous composer turned into a protest of thousands of people, a mass action of disobedience of Ukrainians to the communist authorities. After this tragedy, there was an unspoken ban on the work of the young composer in Soviet society, which in turn temporarily halted the development of nationally oriented Ukrainian pop music.

Speaking about the Ukrainian stage of those years, it is necessary to mention the vocal and instrumental ensemble «Chervona Ruta», created in 1971 in the city of Chernivtsi. It included such creative personalities as S. Rotaru, V. Ivasiuk, A. Yevdokymenko. Successful performances of the ensemble took place not only in Ukraine, but also outside its borders. Thus, in September 1973, the ensemble was on tour in Finland, promoting the Ukrainian song. During September 23-30 of the same year, concerts of «Chervonaya Ruta» took place in the cities of Tampere, Nokia, Toyola, Ikaalinen, Turenki, Guvinkyaa, and Helsinki. Archive documents show that at that time 14 concerts of this ensemble were held with an audience of about 5 thousand people.

It is known that the 1960s in the social and political life of the Ukrainian SSR were less ideological than the 1970s, and therefore fruitful in an attempt to revive the connection of artists with the national foundation, which had completely died out in the folk art of previous years. It is noted in the archival documents that in the described period there were noticeable positive changes in the restored functioning of the forgotten types of Ukrainian folk art, first of all: pysankari, folk shoemaking, artistic processing of metal and leather, inlaying and wood burning, carpet making, embroidery, pottery.

It should be emphasized that the continuation of ancient Ukrainian folk traditions was

26 Maslii M. The specified source.
reflected in the ceramics of the 1960s, which was associated with the work of P. Tsvilyk, a folk craftswoman of Hutsul art ceramics from the city of Kosova, Ivano-Frankivsk region. The craftswoman managed to restore the Ukrainian national basis to Hutsul ceramics. Archival documents indicate that a significant contribution to the development of the art of Kosiv ceramics of the outlined period was also made by other famous masters, including V. Aronets, H. Bilyanska, N. Verbivska, M. Voloshchuk, H. Hrymalyuk, M. Kikot, M. Ozernyi, M. Roschybyuk and A. Roschybyuk, V. Stripko, M. Ughrynuk and others.29

Speaking of folk crafts, it is necessary to mention the artistic processing of wood, which at the beginning of the 60s of the 20th century was also deprived of Soviet pathos. Archival sources confirm that such features were inherent in the work of Y. Korpnyuk and S. Korpnyuk from the village of Yavorov of the Kosiv region and I. Balagurak from the city of Kosov, Ivano-Frankivsk region.30

The art of artistic embroidery was also a widespread type of Ukrainian folk art of that time, which was found in the Hutsul region and Carpathian region and was noted for its traditional drawing of ornamental patterns and original color. Archival documents demonstrate that the largest known centers of folk embroidery at that time were the villages of Kosmach, Yavoriv, Sokolyvka, Verbovets, Rozhniv, Babyn of the Kosiv district of the Ivano-Frankivsk region.31 As archival sources confirm, the best works of Ukrainian artistic embroidery of the 1960s were exhibited at regional and republican exhibitions and became known far beyond the borders of the Ukrainian SSR. Artistic products of Ukrainian masters became known in the USA, Canada, France, England, Japan and other countries.

However, the period of the return of folk art to Ukrainian national stylistics did not last long. Starting from the second half of the 60s and throughout the 70s of the 20th century, the role of the national factor in the folk art of the Ukrainian SSR began to be sharply diminished. Often, a five-pointed star, the Kremlin tower, a sickle and a hammer, jubilee dates of communist holidays are introduced into the traditional ornament of Ukrainian handicrafts. In order to prevent «ideological breakdowns», the Golovlit of the Ukrainian SSR and its structural departments systematically carried out constant supervision over the products of folk crafts of that time, especially over museum exhibits.

The art of the 1970s is completely directed towards the ideological foundations of the Soviet state. Ideological purges and political persecutions begin in artistic circles. The persecution and harassment of Ukrainian abstract artists – V. Kushnir, A. Horska, A. Sumar, O. Dubovyk, P. Bedzir, E. Kremnytska, L. Yastreb and other masters of the brush, whose works, according to the authorities, «distorted and distorted» Soviet reality. As the researcher R. Korogodsky notes, after the political repressions of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in 1965 and 1972, it became obvious to many that national art in the Ukrainian SSR should be kept as far as possible.33

29 SAIFR. Fund R-1P. Description 1. Case 3402. P. 58.
30 Ibid. P. 57.
31 Ibid. P. 58.
32 Ibid. P. 59.
Conclusions

Thus, from the second half of the 1950s, for the first time in the post-Stalin era, the Ukrainian nation began its own national-cultural and spiritual revival, which was embodied in the lives of the cohort of the sixties – a new generation of the progressive Ukrainian creative elite. Thanks to the liberalizing trends of the Khrushchev «thaw» period, the centuries-old Ukrainian ethno-art traditions restored by artists played a major role in preserving the national foundations of the indigenous people of the Ukrainian SSR at that time. A new generation of Ukrainians raised the Ukrainian problem and declared that the national issue in the Ukrainian SSR had not been resolved.

During the reign of communist ideology and comprehensive censorship, Ukrainian national culture developed in the work of talented writers, poets, linguists, film directors, theater and film actors, composers, musicians, singers, and masters of folk crafts. The sixties saw themselves as a nation through culture and became to some extent a catalyst for further changes in the self-development of the Ukrainian nation.

So, the period of the 60s – 70s of the XX century distinguished itself by the self-determination and self-affirmation of the Ukrainian ethnic group in the works of Ukrainian artists of that time. Artistic circles actively filled their creative path with national content, which demonstrated the multifacetedness and individuality of the culture of the Ukrainian nation.