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Source: *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Jul., 2005), pp. 565-584
Published by: [Sage Publications, Ltd.](#)
Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30036343>
Accessed: 05/10/2014 02:36

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William Jay Risch

Soviet ‘Flower Children’. Hippies and the Youth Counter-culture in 1970s L’viv

‘With us, there’s been a sensation’, wrote poet Rostyslav Bratun’, head of the writers’ union in the western Ukrainian city of L’viv, on 10 January 1970 to his colleague in Moscow. ‘They’ve found a group of hippies, domestic, home-grown. Oh! Even where you are, in the capital, you wouldn’t find ones like them.’ He joked that members of the neighbourhood militia would have cut one Ukrainian film star’s long hair right on the street and that one of his colleagues in L’viv now feared for his short beard.¹ By the end of the decade this ‘sensation’ had evolved into a series of hippie gatherings — ‘sessions’ — in the self-proclaimed ‘Republic of the Holy Garden’, located in the grounds of a former monastery, right next door to the regional party committee’s headquarters.

This article addresses the role these hippies played in the global counter-culture emerging among young people born after 1945. Drawing chiefly on interviews with hippie Oleh (Alik) Olisevych, other oral accounts, popular publications and local archival sources, it suggests that hippies in 1970s L’viv, as with their counterparts in the capitalist West, experienced a sense of alienation from the modern industrial world in which they lived. Yet Soviet

Research for this article was supported in part by a grant in 1998–99 from the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX), with funds provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the United States Department of State, which administers the Russian, Eurasia and East European Research Program (Title VIII), and the United States Information Agency Regional Scholars Exchange Program. None of these organizations is responsible for the views expressed. A Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship in 1999–2000 also supported research for this article. A Visiting Faculty Fellowship from the Civic Education Project supported additional research as well as the writing of this article during the 2002–3 and 2003–4 academic years. Neither of these organizations is responsible for the views expressed in this article. I should like to thank colleagues at the Institute of Historical Research at L’viv National University for valuable comments on the presentation of part of this article at a seminar on 25 October 2002, as well as Alik Olisevych, Ilya Lemko, Volodymyr Dzhuboks, Volodymyr Iavors’kyj, Mykola Riabchuk and Myroslav Trofymuk for giving me the chance to interview them. I also wish to thank Iaroslav Hrytsak, Andriy Zayarniuk and other scholars at L’viv National University for their comments on my research topic; Viktoriia Sereda and Viktor Susak for their insight in interpreting oral testimony and memoirs; David Hoffmann, Iaroslav Hrytsak, Mark Von Hagen, Ivor Crotty and Tricia Starks for reading earlier drafts of this article, and John-Paul Himka, Eve Levin and Aaron Retish for their encouragement. Any shortcomings of this article are exclusively mine.

1 *Tsentrāl’nyj Derzhavnyj Arkhiv-Muzej Literatury i Mystetstva Ukrainy* (TsDALMU), fond 842, opys 1, sprava 12, ark. 1.

hippies in L'viv also faced greatly different circumstances which affected their sense of alienation from society and their response to that sense of alienation. Such circumstances included the Communist Party's attempts to control all aspects of the public sphere, national and regional tensions in Western Ukraine, and fairly recent processes of urbanization and industrialization in the Soviet Union.

As a result, hippies, while rebelling against the bourgeois order in the West, shared values and modes of behaviour that Soviet authorities perceived as 'bourgeois' or 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist'. Public stereotypes of hippies did much to marginalize them, and such stereotypes reveal general assumptions about the social order and gender relations in L'viv. The behaviour and values of hippies, while intended to shock the public and rebel against the established order, took place in alternative institutions resembling those of Communist Youth organizations. In their acts of rebellion, hippies drew on the cultural capital of the Soviet Union, Ukraine, Galicia and L'viv, suggesting that a host of other identities became important in the lives of these young people as they coped with their alienation.

Among students and other young people born after 1945, a worldwide counter-culture had emerged by the end of the 1960s. In its overtly political forms, this counter-culture inspired protests against American actions in Vietnam and against university administrations and the materialism of post-industrial society in North America and Western Europe in 1968, the 'year of the barricades'. That year, students and other young people in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland, in demonstrations and other forms of protest, called for a reform of communism and greater respect for human rights.² In a broader sense, this counter-culture personified changes in mass societies where protests involved a different lifestyle rather than an articulated political or social philosophy. This different lifestyle found its place in rock music, greater sexual freedom, the 'hippie' movement and in some cases a drug culture among young people born after 1945 in North America and Western Europe.³ In the communist East, considerable numbers of young people similarly turned to rock music and in some cases to the 'hippie' movement at the end of the 1960s.⁴

2 On this global approach to the year 1968, see Carole Fink et al. (eds), 1968. *The World Transformed* (Cambridge 1998).

3 On these aspects of the global youth counter-culture, see David Caute, *The Year of the Barricades. A Journey through 1968* (New York 1988).

4 Scholarly accounts of the rock music scene in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, as well as some aspects of the hippie movement there, include Sabrina Petra Ramet (ed.), *Rocking the State. Rock Music and Politics in Eastern Europe and Russia* (Boulder, CO 1994) and Timothy W. Ryback, *Rock around the Bloc. A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (New York and Oxford 1990). A semi-autobiographical account of the history of rock music in the Soviet Union and some references to Soviet hippies can be found in Artemy Troitsky, *Back in*

In the Soviet Union, a lack of significant political change, a growing ritualization of public activities, increased corruption and interest in the 'invented tradition' of village life dominated society in the late 1960s and 1970s. Yet rising living standards, more influences from the West and growing alienation from politics and the official ideology of the state challenged accepted values and played a role in forming subcultures that undermined official propaganda.⁵ Hippies in L'viv and other Soviet cities thus faced a public life characterized by conformity and ritual and a society that, while conservative and seemingly stable, was alienated from politics and full of unresolved tensions.

The counter-culture of hippies in L'viv also reflected national and regional tensions in Western Ukraine, annexed by the Soviet Union during the second world war. While the Soviet regime promoted elements of national and ethnic particularism throughout its history, it fiercely fought 'bourgeois nationalism' and encouraged Russification as a 'progressive' development in Ukraine and other republics.⁶ Soviet authorities perceived Western Ukraine, a region strongly influenced by Habsburg and Polish rule, as alien and hostile, even more so as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought a guerrilla campaign against Soviet rule in the immediate postwar years. The Soviet regime's campaign against 'bourgeois nationalism' in this region thus became intense in the late Stalin period, resulting in hundreds of thousands of people deported from the region as well as over a hundred thousand UPA soldiers and their sympathizers dead.⁷ Local officials' suspicion of any acts of national self-expression

the USSR. The True Story of Rock in Russia (London 1987). On this latter theme, see also the memoirs of David Gurevich on the late 1960s and early 1970s, *From Lenin to Lennon. A Memoir of Russia and the Sixties* (San Diego, CA 1991). A popular journal account of Soviet Ukrainian hippies is in Ida Vors, 'Kudy klykala surma? Ukrains'ki hipi: patsiiient skorish mertvyi, anizh zhyvyi', *Polityka i kul'tura* (Kyiv), 24–30 March 2000, 34–6.

5 Analysis of the dynamics of Soviet society and culture in the Brezhnev period is just taking place among historians. For some early attempts by social scientists at understanding this period, see James Millar (ed.), *Politics, Work, and Daily Life in the USSR. A Survey of Former Soviet Citizens* (Cambridge 1987); Christel Lane, *Rites of Rulers* (Cambridge 1981), and Jim Riordan (ed.), *Soviet Youth Culture* (Bloomington, IN 1989). On popular culture in this period, see Richard Stites, 'The Brezhnev Culture Wars 1964–1984' in idem, *Russian Popular Culture. Entertainment and Society since 1900* (Cambridge 1992). This notion of the 'invented tradition' of village life is from Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge 1983).

6 Works that in one way or another stress the Soviet nationality policy's promotion of a sense of ethnic, if not national, particularism include Rogers Brubaker, 'Nationhood and the National Question in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Eurasia. An Institutional Account', *Theory and Society*, 23 (February 1994), 47–78; Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Ithaca, NY and London 2001); Gerhard Simon, trans. Karen Forster and Oswald Forster, *Nationalism and Policy toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union. From Totalitarian Dictatorship to Post-Stalinist Society* (Boulder, CO 1991); Yuri Slezkine, 'The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism', *Slavic Review*, 53 (Summer 1994), 414–52, and Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Revenge of the Past. Nationalism, Revolution and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford, CA 1993).

7 According to one local communist, a Central Committee report from Moscow in late May 1953 had noted that the authorities in this way had illegally repressed approximately 500,000

endured despite a relaxation of repression in the decades after Stalin's death. Projects to inspire the eventual 'merger of nations' and formation of one 'Soviet people' under Brezhnev only legitimated their drive to stamp out what they claimed were 'remnants' of 'Banderite' (UPA) activity corrupting the young.⁸

In addition to these political circumstances, Soviet hippies in L'viv inhabited a city and a region that had been greatly transformed by the second world war and by industrialization and collectivization under Soviet rule. In the postwar years, L'viv became a major industrialized city with an ethnic Ukrainian majority. While ethnic Ukrainians had made up only 16.3 per cent of the city's population in 1931, by 1959 they comprised 60 per cent and by 1979 this figure had grown to 74 per cent.⁹ As Soviet leaders strove to make L'viv a major industrial centre, peasants from Western Ukrainian villages migrated to the city in large numbers, particularly once passport restrictions on peasant migration had been eased after 1956.¹⁰ While the peasantry of Western Ukraine had been exposed to elements of modernity before Soviet rule, the postwar years had greatly transformed life for them, and in L'viv aspects of village tradition noticeably affected the new face of the city.¹¹ Hippies in L'viv were from a postwar generation growing up in a world that had only recently witnessed the breakup of traditional loyalties and values of the village. Village traditions, transformed in an urban setting, greatly influenced the rest of the population and its understanding of hippies.

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people in Western Ukraine in the immediate postwar years. Tamara Halajchak et al. (eds), *Zakhidni zemli, 1953–1966*, vol. 2 of *Kul'turne zhyttia v Ukraini* (L'viv 1995), 37. To give an example of the ferocity of the fighting between UPA and Soviet forces in military and paramilitary operations conducted by the Soviet regime from February 1944 to October 1945, a total of 98,696 Ukrainian rebels from this region were killed and 107,485 were captured and arrested. Jeffrey Burds, 'AGENTURA. Soviet Informants' Networks and the Ukrainian Underground in Galicia, 1944–48', *East European Politics and Societies*, 11 (Winter 1997), 97.

8 On such policies in the Brezhnev era, see especially Kenneth Farmer, *Ukrainian Nationalism in the Post-Stalin Era. Myths, Symbols, and Ideology in Soviet Nationality Policy* (The Hague 1980), as well as Simon, op. cit.

9 Census figures for these years are from A. Figol, V. Kubijovyc and A. Zhukovsky, 'L'viv' in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 3, Danylo Husar Struk (ed.) (Toronto 1993), 223, and Roman Szporluk, 'The Strange Politics of L'viv. An Essay in Search of an Explanation' in Zvi Gitelman (ed.), *The Politics of Nationality and the Erosion of the USSR* (New York 1992), 222.

10 For general surveys that deal with the socio-economic transformation of L'viv, see V.V. Sekretariuk et al. (eds), *Istoriia L'vova* (Kyiv 1984), and Instytut ukrainoznavstva im. I. Kryp'iakevycha, NAN Ukrainy, *L'viv. Istorychni narysy* (L'viv 1996).

11 For example, in late nineteenth-century Galicia, Ukrainian peasants witnessed the growth of a money economy and the commercialization of folk culture. See John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton 1987). On the continuation of aspects of village traditions in the daily lives of these new residents of L'viv, see Aleksandra Matyukhina, *W sowieckim Lwowie: życie codzienne miasta w latach 1944–1990* (Kraków 2000).

Communist Party archive materials suggest that Soviet hippies appeared in L'viv as early as the late 1960s. For example, at least some of the characteristics of hippies — young men wearing long hair and young men and women sporting necklaces with crosses — had made their presence felt in the city in the late 1960s.¹² Recent memoirs suggest that it was later, in the mid-1970s, that hippies became a 'mass' phenomenon in the city.¹³ Nonetheless, it was at the beginning of the 1970s that Lychakivs'kyj Cemetery — the largest and oldest cemetery in L'viv, resembling Père-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris — had become a favourite hang-out for Soviet hippies and their artistic wanderings. As poet and musician Viktor Morozov recalled, hippies gathered near the half-ruined walls of the cemetery complex for Polish soldiers who had fought for control of Galicia after the fall of the Habsburg Empire in 1918. The walls of the complex became the site of hippie art work, where young people drew portraits of rock star Jimi Hendrix and wrote such slogans as 'Make love, not war' in English.¹⁴ Because of police and volunteer militia crackdowns, Soviet hippie gatherings moved from place to place in other parts of the city's centre.¹⁵ Common looks — for men, long hair and beards, for both men and women, bell-bottom jeans (often homemade), strings of beads, and exotic costumes (resembling Janis Joplin, Native Americans and the Beatles' 'Sergeant Pepper') — as well as word of mouth, personal connections and code words written on walls brought these young people together for their various 'sessions'.¹⁶

12 Kus'ko, a city party committee secretary, criticized this phenomenon at a general party meeting at L'viv State University on 16 October 1968, tying it to the recent 'bourgeois' student movement that took place in Czechoslovakia during the 'Prague Spring'. *Derzhavnyj Arkhiv L'vivs'koi Oblasti* (hereafter DALO), *fond P-92, opys 1, sprava 848, ark. 40*.

13 For instance, former rock musician and local radio broadcaster Ilya Semenov (Lemko), born in 1951 in L'viv and familiar with hippie gatherings in the 1970s, says in his memoirs that the hippie movement in L'viv acquired a mass following around 1974. See Il'ko Lemko, *L'viv ponad use. Spohady l'vivianyha druhoi polovyny 20-ho stolittia* (L'viv 2003), 148.

14 Viktor Morozov, 'Nasha osin' z malen'kymy derevamy duzhe shvydko mynula . . .', in Hryts'ko Chubaj, *Plach Ieremii. Poeziia, pereklady, spohady* (L'viv 1998), 266.

15 As party archival materials suggest, some other gathering places in 1970 included the High Castle (*Vysokyj Zamok*), the ruins of a Galician medieval fortress overlooking the city; Market Square, at the heart of the city's early modern centre; the Dominican Cathedral; the Lenin Monument, which stood in front of the Opera Theatre in the centre of L'viv; the Promenade Grounds (*Pohulianka*), a park near Lychakivs'kyj Cemetery; and the Shchors Cinema. DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 16*; DALO, *fond P-3568, opys 1, sprava 88, ark. 88, 92, 97*. Olisevych recalls that, in addition to the 'Holy Garden' mentioned above, in the 1970s hippies used to meet near the monument to Soviet Ukrainian writer Iaroslav Halan and later at a coffee-house on Armenian Street, in one of the older parts of the city. Oleh Olisevych, Iaryna Boren'ko, Iania Plakhotniuk and Andrii Pavlyshyn, '"Iakshcho svitovi bude potribno, ia viddam svoje zhyttia ne zadumuiuchys' — zarady svobody". Interv'iu z Olehom Olisevychem', *Jl. Nezalezhnyi kul'turolozhnyj chasopys* (L'viv), 24 (2002), 149–50.

16 Volodymyr Iavors'kyj, born 1953, Kyiv, tape recording, 7 November 1999, Institute of Historical Research, L'viv National University; Oleh (Alik) Olisevych, born 1958, L'viv, tape recording, 30 December 2002, Institute of Historical Research, L'viv National University; Olisevych et al., op. cit., 150–2; Lemko, op. cit., 122; Ida Vors, op. cit., 36.

In 1970 hippies did try to form their own organizations, two of which the police and Communist Youth activists discovered. A group of at least seven students and young workers formed an organization called 'Hippie' in April of that year. They met in a basement, where they planned to write their own statute and demand membership dues. Its gatherings came to a halt when the police, acting in response to a call from the concerned relatives of one of the members, arrested everyone on 23 June.¹⁷

Later that year, Viacheslav Ieres'ko (also known as Iares'ko, nicknamed 'Sharnir'), a disabled young man with a 'dark past', created a much larger organization, with about 21 students and young workers involved in it to various degrees. At the beginning of October, Ieres'ko met a group of hippies who had been gathering at various places in the city as early as September. On 18 October he was elected 'president' of the organization 'Hippie' at its first official meeting. Ieres'ko at first urged members to adopt a statute with rules such as helping others in need, struggling for peace, not imposing one's will on another person and 'free association without any rules'. Later he began to express 'clearly antisocial and anti-Soviet views'.

On 7 November 1970, the anniversary of the October Revolution, Ieres'ko and his fellow hippies gathered in a small house which they rented in the neighbouring village of Briukhovychy. Here Ieres'ko made a speech wearing a black shirt with fascist insignia on it, which caused several members of the group to leave the meeting. On 26 November Ieres'ko was arrested and prosecuted for carrying an illegal weapon, a pistol, which was found during a police investigation. Police had also found on Ieres'ko fascist stripes and epaulettes bearing the swastika, 'hippie' emblems (presumably 'peace' signs), and a copy of the group's statute and anthem. Subsequent investigations traced the group's members, who were then expelled from the Communist Youth or reprimanded, and in some cases lost their jobs or were expelled from school.¹⁸

17 DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 14*. See also a Communist Youth committee bureau resolution on this group, dated 20 July 1970, in DALO, *fond P-53, opys 15, sprava 59, ark. 140*.

18 According to Olisevych, who in his pre-teens befriended hippies in L'viv (including Ieres'ko), Ieres'ko and his friends managed to obtain some nazi SS uniforms and weapons from a second world war film being shot in L'viv for their organization. They turned from pacifist ideas to those espousing neo-fascism. Yet party and Communist Youth accounts of the time suggest that Ieres'ko was acting alone, and they make no note of fascist ideas becoming themes of discussion among members of the group. Olisevych also claims that Ieres'ko had formed a group of hippies around him in the late 1960s, but archival sources suggest that hippies had been meeting before Ieres'ko knew about them. Ieres'ko's attempts at forming this organization, his arrest, and details of each of the 21 participants are found in reports submitted on 5 February 1971 to the regional party committee by city party committee secretary Henrykh Bandrovs'kyj and regional Communist Youth committee secretary Bohdan Kotyk. These reports concerned work done in response to the emergence of 'the group of youth that called itself "hippie"' and other ideological violations by young people for the year 1970. See Olisevych et al., op. cit., 147; DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 1-10, 15-17*. See also testimony given by students at special meetings of the Communist Youth committee of the L'viv Polytechnic Institute on 17-18 December 1970 in DALO, *fond P-3568, opys 1, sprava 88, ark. 83-4, 88, 92, 102-3*.

Documents from the former party archives of the L'viv Region — reports and a resolution from the Communist Youth, a city party committee report, and testimony from hippies who studied at the L'viv Polytechnic Institute — provide valuable information on both groups of hippies, particularly Ieres'ko's group. Reports from the Communist Youth and the party most likely exaggerate the political subtext of hippie activities. Testimony from students of the L'viv Polytechnic Institute comes from those who had backed away from Ieres'ko's organization, and it tends to reflect participants' effort to mitigate their guilt.

Yet such sources suggest that hippies were involved in spontaneous gatherings that were creating some sort of alternative culture to the Communist Youth and other institutions. Hippies from Ieres'ko's group claimed that they were not an organization, but a 'club of music lovers', 'an informal company of guys — lovers of music' — understandably rock music — whose members sang and listened to music and talked about it. These students apparently had interests in rock music that they could share with few people in the L'viv Polytechnic Institute. One member of the group gave as a reason for his joining the hippies the fact that only three or four of his classmates understood and loved popular music. In addition, institute students involved with the hippies irritated the Communist Youth committee and party members when they talked of gathering at Lychakivs'kyj Cemetery to celebrate a friend's birthday, lighting candles on the graves and eating chocolates. The group of hippies who had met in a basement some months earlier had also fostered alternative values and behaviour. A regional Communist Youth resolution claims that these young people 'drank wine, smoked, played guitars and talked about Western music'.¹⁹

Yet such meetings of both groups also focused on problems these young people were having with the world around them. Besides talking about forming an organization, the hippies who met in a basement allegedly 'talked . . . about "free" love, and about a "free" life'. Despite the appearance of Ieres'ko in a fascist uniform on 7 November 1970, members of Ieres'ko's group apparently did not discuss fascist ideas. Yet several of them criticized the Communist Youth. They most likely shared Ieres'ko's claims that they were 'drunkards', 'tramps' and 'hooligans', as well as his alleged contempt for the city's volunteer militia.²⁰ These young people had also discussed the hippie movement in the capitalist West and produced a number of slogans, presum-

19 DALO, *fond P-3568, opys 1, sprava 88, ark. 85, 88, 92, 97, 99, 102, 104*; DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 140*.

20 DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 140*. The reports by Bandrovs'kyj and Kotyk to the regional party committee of 5 February 1971 mention Ieres'ko and Marharyta Voller, another member of Ieres'ko's group, as being most vociferous in their criticism of the Communist Youth. They also relate what Ieres'ko had said about the Communist Youth and what his attitude was toward the volunteer militia. DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 2, 7, 16*. Questions posed to students at the L'viv Polytechnic Institute also suggest that the Communist Youth had been the subject of conversation in the group. DALO, *fond P-3568, opys 1, sprava 88, ark. 85*.

ably written on walls, such as 'Be Yourself', 'Love Your Neighbour', 'Make Nature Your Home', 'Against Drunkenness', 'For Peace', 'For Good Attitudes toward Girls', 'Against Narcotics' and (as Communist Youth committee members at the L'viv Polytechnic Institute suggested) others such as 'Love Flowers and Don't Make Politics of It' and 'Religion and Ideology are for Idiots'.²¹

Such discussions among hippies at the beginning of the 1970s suggest that these young people had become alienated from such official institutions as the Communist Youth and the L'viv Polytechnic Institute. At the Polytechnic Institute, for instance, it was impossible for one hippie to share his interest in rock music with many classmates. Ieres'ko and other hippies saw the Communist Youth and volunteer militia as hypocrites. Judging by their slogans, these young people yearned for more individualized expression and a greater sense of solidarity not found in the public sphere. In the mid-1970s, writer Volodymyr Iavors'kyj similarly had become frustrated with university life and with underground political activities, turning to the hippie movement in L'viv for a solution. He and others read and exchanged texts in Eastern religious philosophy, much as the Beatles and others in the West had done in the late 1960s.²²

In a public sphere dominated by Marxism–Leninism, atheism and campaigns against 'Banderite' and other 'bourgeois nationalist' conspiracies, these young people in L'viv faced a different sort of alienation from their counterparts in the West. In the late 1960s the New Left and other elements of the global youth counter-culture in the West were directed against conservative middle-class values and university administrations, as well as against American foreign policy. Hippies in the West did not confront a world in which the Communist Party attempted to direct all aspects of the public sphere and wage a relentless campaign against 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism'.

Yet, as in the West, conflicts between generations and within families were also alienating young people in L'viv, turning some to the hippie movement. Olisevych, born in 1958, recalls in a published interview that he became interested in the hippies when he was about 10, at a time of conflict with his father and stepmother and with school authorities. At a 'military-sport camp' for

21 DALO, *fond P-3568*, *opys* 1, *sprava* 88, *ark.* 83–4, 88, 92, 97, 104; DALO, *fond P-3*, *opys* 19, *sprava* 115, *ark.* 2. Students, of course, denied that they had ever heard of the latter two slogans. Presumably these slogans were written on the walls of the cemetery and in other places, as Viktor Morozov's remembrances of Lychakivs'kyj Cemetery at the beginning of the 1970s suggest. Morozov, *op. cit.*

22 Mykola Riabchuk, born 1953, Kyiv, tape recording, 4 November 1999, Institute of Historical Research, L'viv National University; Iavors'kyj, *op. cit.* Iavors'kyj had worked on an underground student journal, *Progress*, prior to leaving the university. After a brief period of military service, he returned to L'viv and befriended several hippies. Caute, in *The Year of the Barricades*, only pays marginal attention to the role Eastern religions and philosophies played in the youth counter-culture of 1968. He just mentions in passing the Beatles' February 1968 pilgrimage to Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, president of the Academy of Transcendental Meditation in the Himalayan foothills of India. Caute, *op. cit.*, 51.

problem children near L'viv, he first found out about hippies from older boys aged 15–16 who wore jeans, had long hair and listened to rock music from Polish radio stations. According to another account, one hippie had run away from home after, among other things, her alcoholic father had attacked her with a knife. Three members of Ieres'ko's group also had a troubled childhood.²³ Conflicts with family members, as well as with school authorities and others at an early age, had caused these young people to turn to informal gatherings of hippies for an answer to some kind of emotional crisis that official institutions could not give.

Family conflicts and confrontations with the public sphere encouraged forms of rebellion among young people in 1970s L'viv which were not so different from those taking place among their counterparts in the capitalist West. In turning to intimate, amorphous groups to overcome their alienation, hippies in L'viv mirrored their counterparts in the New Left of the late 1960s in overcoming human alienation through spontaneous acts rather than through hierarchically structured political organizations.²⁴ In some ways the small informal gatherings of young people in Lychakivs'kyj Cemetery and later in the 'Holy Garden' resembled a practice in the post-modern era whereby small intimate spaces affirming basic human values have arisen to counter the social vacuums present in modern industrialized societies. The compact central district of the city (comprising roughly two kilometres in diameter) underscored this phenomenon. Not only did its compact spaces offer alternative meeting sites for hippies, but its architecture, dating from the nineteenth century and early modern times, contrasted greatly with the rest of the city's landscape, increasingly dominated in the 1970s by immense, highly standardized housing complexes.²⁵

Hippies in L'viv did not respond to their alienation in exactly the same way as their counterparts in the capitalist West did at the end of the 1960s. For example, the two groups of hippies discovered by the authorities in 1970 imitated practices of Communist Youth organizations by writing statutes and anthems and demanding membership dues; Ieres'ko's group even elected a

23 Iavors'kyj, op. cit.; Olisevych et al., op. cit., 136–7, 139–40. Among the hippies led by Ieres'ko, Nina Havrylivna Dudnikova had 'left the influence of her family', Oleksandr L'vovych Churikov's father had run away, and Halyna Fedorivna Hres' was an orphan. DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 5–6*.

24 Such a tendency toward a 'new cognitive orientation' and 'cognitive practice' emerged among the New Left in France during student protests and workers' strikes in May 1968. See Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, 'May 1968 in France. The Rise and Fall of a New Social Movement' in Carole Fink et al. (eds), 1968. *The World Transformed* (Cambridge 1998), 257. Caute notices a similar focus on spontaneous action when he discusses the American New Left in his *Year of the Barricades*. Caute, op. cit., 34–8. Recent scholarship on youth cultures also suggests that the behaviour of hippies in L'viv, far from being 'frivolous', represented efforts by students and other young people to create their own identities in a post-industrial society. See Jonathon S. Epstein (ed.), *Youth Culture. Identity in a Postmodern World* (Malden, MA and Oxford 1998).

25 See Scott Lash, 'Postmodernism as Humanism? Urban Space and Social Theory' in Brian S. Turner (ed.), *Theories of Modernity and Postmodernity* (London 1990), 62–74.

President and Vice-President.²⁶ Yet such elements of structure and hierarchy did not preclude attempts at overcoming the restrictions imposed by the public sphere. Ieres'ko, for instance, stressed that their statute should include the principle of people not imposing their will on one another. Years later, the 'Republic of the Holy Garden' had its own 'President', Ilya Semenov (Lemko), yet this 'republic' was largely a joke, a 'live theatre' where a few hippies showed off their exotic costumes, as one observer recalls.²⁷

Students and other young people who became hippies in L'viv in the 1970s experienced a sense of alienation not altogether different from that faced by their counterparts in the West, despite the intrusion of the Communist Party in all aspects of public life. Families and schools, as well as the Communist Youth, became sources of conflict. These young people responded to this alienation in a similar manner, creating small social spaces out of spontaneous, amorphous groupings in such places as the 'Holy Garden' and Lychakivs'kyj Cemetery to affirm an alternative identity in a postmodern world. These small social spaces also adopted the practices of Communist Youth organizations, but at the same time hippies in L'viv used these practices to deal with a world that they found hostile or incapable of understanding them.

As Soviet hippies in L'viv created their own alternatives to official organizations and institutions for young people, they challenged the authority of the party and state as well as certain values held by society as a whole. Yet it is not altogether clear that local party and state leaders regarded the hippie movement as a serious rival. Following at least two crackdowns on them in 1970, in 1971 criticism of hippies only surfaced at regional Communist Youth meetings and at party meetings of the L'viv Polytechnic Institute. When that same year the regional party committee had to deal with serious criticism from Moscow regarding political work in the region, not a word was mentioned about 'hippies'. In the mid-to-late 1970s, despite the 'Holy Garden' being located next door to their headquarters, regional party leaders passed no resolutions connected with the hippie movement and its 'threat' to ideological work.²⁸

26 DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 2-3, 14.*

27 DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 2*; Myroslav Trofymuk, born 1960, L'viv, tape recording, 11 April 2003, Institute of Historical Research, L'viv National University. Trofymuk used to visit the 'Holy Garden' with school friends around the time they were in the ninth to tenth forms. Lemko refers to himself as the 'President' of this 'Republic of the Holy Garden' in *L'viv ponad use*, op. cit., 161, yet he clearly was saying so in jest. He talks of similar political jokes being made by his friends at school in the late 1960s, when they formed an underground CPC (Communist Party of China), whose members had Chinese pseudonyms. The sole functions of this 'party', ostensibly pro-Chinese and therefore anti-Soviet, included playing football, listening to the Beatles, and drinking cheap wine. Lemko, op. cit., 75-6.

28 DALO, *fond P-66, opys 25, sprava 2, ark. 143-4*; DALO, *fond P-66, opys 25, sprava 3, ark. 122*. In the transcript of a plenary session of the regional party committee, at which regional leaders on 20 November 1971 discussed a central committee resolution from Moscow, 'On Political Work among the Population of the L'viv Region', hippies were not mentioned at all.

If anything, local party and state authorities, not completely sure who hippies were, viewed them as part of a set of general social ills that from time to time had to be dealt with, sometimes conflating them with such phenomena as 'bourgeois propaganda' or 'bourgeois nationalism'. For example, in 1977 regional authorities cracked down on hippies for what they saw as plans to sabotage the official celebration of the anniversary of Western Ukraine's joining Soviet Ukraine on 17 September. Hippies from the 'Republic of the Holy Garden', together with 'The Uncles', had invited hippies from other Soviet cities to a concert the next day at their garden in memory of Jimi Hendrix, and hundreds from outside town were planning to come. The authorities had the police and KGB organs, including agents from Kyiv and Moscow, apprehend about 500 young people on 16–17 September, on the eve of the rock concert.²⁹

Olisevych suggests that vague associations of hippies with 'bourgeois', 'anti-Soviet' political movements also surfaced on a day-to-day basis among local police and volunteer militia. When he and a friend were at a cinema the weekend of Victory Day celebrations in May 1977, a drunken police officer and a man in plain clothes took them to a local station of the People's Volunteer Militia. Beating them up and harassing them in front of other volunteer militiamen, they accused them of being both 'nationalists' and 'hippies'. One of them suspected Olisevych's friend of having a ring with the name of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyj, a 'bourgeois nationalist' figure from Galician politics, carved on it.³⁰ From this account, local police organs and their volunteers vaguely saw 'nationalists', 'hippies' and the like as one group of 'undesirables' that needed to be taken care of.

Olisevych's account of harassment by civilian volunteer militiamen and regular police suggests that local authorities, perceiving hippies' individualism as 'bourgeois', conflated them with other 'anti-Soviet' elements in the region, including those of the 'Banderite' (UPA) nationalist underground. It also suggests that they left it up to larger segments of the population to counter the hippie movement. Communist Youth operational brigades, staffed by young

DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 22*. My search of the party archives for the years 1974–82 suggests that the bureau of the regional party committee in L'viv passed no decrees in reference to hippies. Resolutions in those years (found in *fond P-3*) mostly concern economic issues and general issues associated with government corruption, work with the intelligentsia, and maintaining law and order.

29 Olisevych et al., *op cit.*, 151–2. Many hippies from outside town, says Olisevych, were apprehended at the train station. Olisevych, one of those of a crowd of about 50 arrested not far from Lychakivs'kyj Cemetery, recalls in an interview with the author that in the police headquarters of the Chervonoarmijs'kyj District he and others arrested had been photographed five times by five different people on the evening of 17 September. Policemen explained to him that the photos were for various security services, suggesting that KGB officials in Kyiv and Moscow had received notice about this amateur rock festival. Oleh (Alik) Olisevych, born 1958, L'viv, tape recording, 6 December 2002, Institute of Historical Research, L'viv National University.

30 Olisevych, tape recording, 6 December 2002. The friend, Stas' Kokins'kyj, who had the ring, was ironically a Russian, originally from Odessa, who spoke no Ukrainian. The ring had the word 'Kostroma', the name of a central Russian town, on it.

local activists who often knew their targets by face, operated in each of the city's districts. (Hippie meeting places in the relatively compact city centre no doubt made such young people highly recognizable to these activists.) The brigades travelled by bus or mini-bus to city squares, apprehending young people who looked like hippies or who were listening to 'inappropriate' music, dancing in the 'wrong' way, or engaging in other behaviour deemed unacceptable. In a similar manner, the People's Volunteer Militia, made up of ordinary citizens, along with the police, harassed hippies and other groups displaying 'inappropriate' behaviour, sometimes making sport of it.³¹

Besides these volunteer organizations, individuals quite often picked on hippies, enjoying support from others. For instance, Olisevych recalled that at the end of the 1970s a Soviet army officer came up to him at a tram stop, called him a 'scarecrow', accused him of 'embarrassing' the Soviet Union and threatened to take him to a police station. Others waiting at the tram station, instead of defending Olisevych, were silent or expressed solidarity with the officer, saying such people needed to be 'kicked out' of the city.³² Negative stereotypes of hippies among larger segments of the population, as well as harassment by police organs and volunteers, did much to marginalize the hippie movement in L'viv.

Such negative stereotypes appeared even among those who were briefly hippies or who were friends with them. One student associated with Ieres'ko and his hippies told the Communist Youth in late 1970, 'I didn't like those guys and girls [hippies]. They didn't work.' While young underground writers such as Mykola Riabchuk and Volodymyr Iavors'kyj had exchanged works on Eastern philosophy with hippies, they recalled hippies as belonging to a movement that lacked purpose, in contrast to the literary youth of the city. One friend of theirs, also an underground writer, disapproved of Iavors'kyj's cavorting with hippies, also seeing them as people who 'didn't work'. Iavors'kyj, reflecting on relations between young men and women in the hippie movement in L'viv, suggested that they had other negative characteristics. He said that a number of hippies, though 'far from all of them', were 'messed up', had 'psychological problems', 'some lack of will', or 'some breakdown', while the literary youth had healthier relations with each other.³³ Such ambiguous recollections of hippies by young writers and students — who themselves were nonconformists — suggest that many in society saw them as connected with mentally unstable, idle or purposeless elements.

31 Olisevych, tape recording, 6 December 2002; Olisevych et al., op. cit., 142. While Olisevych emphasizes the role of the Communist Youth operational brigades, Lemko stresses that the People's Volunteer Militias liked to pick fights with hippies and mock them. He claims that in one case, young people in the 'Holy Garden' soundly beat up the volunteer militiamen, and managed to escape before the regular police came to help. Lemko, op. cit., 159–60.

32 Oleh (Alik) Olisevych, born 1958, L'viv, tape recording, 30 December 2002, Institute of Historical Research, L'viv National University.

33 DALO, *fond* P-3568, *opys* 1, *sprava* 88, *ark.* 92; Iavors'kyj, op. cit.; and Riabchuk, op. cit. Iavors'kyj was responding to my question about relations between young men and women in the hippie movement in L'viv.

Treatment of hippies by police and other security organs probably reinforced such perceptions of them. Many of the 500 or so apprehended by the KGB and police on the eve of the Jimi Hendrix concert in September 1977, as Olisevych recalls, wound up in the psychiatric ward on Kul'parkivskyj Street and in venereal disease clinics. Such tactics portrayed hippies as drug addicts, sexually deviant and psychologically unstable. Yet some hippies confirmed the official stereotype. At least one person in Ieres'ko's group had been in trouble with the police for some time and was suspected of using narcotics. Olisevych himself admits that some people at hippie gatherings used narcotics and that 'hooligans' from outlying working-class districts of the city 'took an example from the hippies' and started wearing long hair.³⁴

Occasional drug addicts and neighbourhood toughs among the hippies reinforced the stereotype of hippies as a 'disgrace' to the Soviet Union and to L'viv, as pedestrians and a Soviet army officer had described them to Olisevych at a tram stop. They presumably encouraged doubts among young intellectuals and students about whether or not hippies were engaged in worthwhile activity. At any rate, while maybe providing amusement for such people as Bratun', it is clear that for larger segments of society the hippies were not role models. They were engaged in frivolous activities, looked hideous, were lost, mentally disturbed or associated with criminals. They were not productive members of society committed to some higher goal, and in that sense they were a disgrace to it.

Such stereotypes of hippies also included certain perceptions of gender. Hippies and their acquaintances recalled that a far smaller proportion of young women in L'viv were hippies. While as many as half of the hippies in such major cities as Leningrad and Moscow were young women, in L'viv far fewer were female. In the case of Ieres'ko's group, only 5 of 21 participants were women.³⁵ Attitudes toward gender in society, not just harassment of hippies by police, volunteer militia and the Communist Youth, hindered women's participation. A broad sense of conservatism in Soviet society in the Brezhnev era, when folk ensembles, village themes in literature and other 'invented traditions' of village life figured prominently in the provinces, encouraged certain roles for women which the hippies violated.³⁶ In this manner, perceptions about hippies in the

34 DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 5*; Olisevych et al., op. cit., 141–2, 146, 152. In this interview, Olisevych says that 'there were people who used narcotics, and I can't call them hippies'. See also Olisevych, tape recording, 6 December 2002.

35 DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 3–9*; Olisevych, cited in Eleonora Havryliuk, 'Tusovka umerala — khaj zhyve tusovka. Identychnosti l'vivs'kykh neformaliv', *Jl. Nezalezhnyj kul'turnyj chasopys* (L'viv) 24 (2002), 236; Iavors'kyj, op. cit. These latter accounts by Iavors'kyj and Olisevych claim that the proportion of women was even fewer, only 2 for every 10 men.

36 Havryliuk, op. cit., 236–7; Stites, op. cit. In this sense I disagree with Havryliuk's thesis that elements of 'conservatism' typical of natives of Galicia dissuaded women from becoming hippies. Studies on Soviet society and culture from the Stalinist period strongly suggest that elements of this general conservatism had strongly influenced other parts of the Soviet Union and were not something unique to Galicia. See, for example, Vera S. Dunham, *In Stalin's Time. Middle Class Values in Soviet Fiction*, with a new introduction by Richard Sheldon (Durham 1990); Sheila

city contained assumptions about women's role in society and what activities were 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate' for them.

Just as certain perceptions of hippies in L'viv reflected more general assumptions about the social order, students and other young people were ambiguous about this counter-culture. For instance, official profiles of students of the L'viv Polytechnic Institute investigated in late 1970 and early 1971 for association with hippies suggest that many of them were not that greatly alienated from public life when they were in middle school. Their profiles list such activities as being Communist Youth organizer of the middle school class, participating in sports and music, and studying hard. One hippie had even been a member of the Communist Youth's operational brigades that were supposed to crack down on hippie activities. It is doubtful that these people had become completely disaffected with society. As with Iavors'kyj and Riabchuk, who exchanged Eastern religious literature with hippies, students and other young people may have been interested in hippie fashions or listening to the rock music played at hippie gatherings rather than in the hippie movement itself. For example, at the 'Holy Garden', improvised concerts of the rock group The Uncles attracted 'gilded' youth (privileged young people from the city's party élite), university students, art students and other young people, filling the garden with as many as 100 people.³⁷

Those who came to identify themselves as hippies and those who had a passing interest in them rebelled against the established order, but quite often by following patterns of behaviour typical of a Soviet identity. In dealing with state institutions, Soviet citizens often made informal networks of friendship and support in which they marked off 'ours' from 'theirs', seeing the state as clearly something that was not 'ours'. At improvised gatherings at Lychakivs'kyj Cemetery and at amateur rock concerts at the 'Republic of the Holy Garden', hippies and their friends established their own spaces in contradiction to what was 'theirs', that is, what belonged to the party and state.³⁸ In this sense hippies and their friends and acquaintances, while forming a counter-culture, also acted in accordance with cultural codes established in Soviet society. As we have already seen, such codes surfaced as hippies, following Communist Youth practices, created their own anthems, statutes, membership dues and elected offices to form organizations.

As hippies in L'viv created a social space of their own, they aroused the concern of party and Communist Youth activists and the local police. They were regarded as carriers of 'bourgeois nationalism' and 'bourgeois behaviour'

Fitzpatrick, *The Cultural Front. Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia* (Ithaca, NY 1992), and David L. Hoffmann, *Stalinist Values. The Cultural Norms of Soviet Modernity, 1917–1941* (Ithaca, NY 2003).

37 DALO, *fond P-3568, opys 1, sprava 88, ark. 49–50, 82, 87, 91*; DALO, *fond P-3568, opys 1, sprava 104, ark. 6*; Olisevych, *op. cit.*, 151. Lemko also suggests that such a variety of people gathered at the 'Holy Garden' in *L'viv ponad use*, *op. cit.*, 161.

38 See Catherine Wanner, 'On Being Soviet' in *Burden of Dreams. History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine* (University Park, PA 1998), 49–75.

because of the individualism they espoused. Yet local party authorities in L'viv did not perceive the hippies as a serious ideological adversary, even allowing them to gather literally on their doorstep. Broader segments of society marginalized the hippie movement through forming, accepting and acting in accordance with stereotypes of hippies. In doing so, they revealed certain conceptions of what the social order should be and what role women should play in it. Besides this, the amorphous nature of hippie gatherings, the prominence of informal networks of friends and acquaintances in them, and the borrowing of practices from the Communist Youth suggest that in practice hippies were very much Soviet.

To a great extent, hippies and their acquaintances in L'viv shared an identity that transcended national or regional loyalties. A sense of internationalism — that is, a sense of belonging to a global counter-culture — was characteristic of hippies in L'viv and other Soviet cities. British and American rock music had become the music of choice for these hippies, and the group The Uncles in the 'Holy Garden' quite often played such English-language hits as those by Led Zeppelin, The Doors, Deep Purple and other groups from the late 1960s and 1970s.³⁹ As mentioned previously, in September 1977 members of this group and their hippie fans had planned to have a concert in the 'Holy Garden' to honour the memory of American rock star Jimi Hendrix. Those who identified themselves as hippies or who befriended them very likely saw themselves as part of an 'international' that transcended national, Soviet or regional ties.⁴⁰

In many ways hippies in L'viv shared a Soviet identity. This could be seen in the practice of creating informal networks of 'ours' that opposed 'theirs' of official state institutions. The Russian language became the language of communication among hippies and later youth subcultures in L'viv. The Eastern religious texts that some hippies exchanged with acquaintances were in Russian translation, presumably by Moscow hippies. Besides the use of Russian, trips to hippie gatherings in other Soviet cities and friendships formed through them also presumably strengthened a sense of being Soviet. Each summer, L'viv hippies hitchhiked to cities in the Baltic republics for hippie gatherings. One of the students questioned about involvement in Ieres'ko's 'organization' admitted that he personally knew hippies from Riga, and the 'Vice-President' of the 'organization' had been to a hippie 'congress' in that same city.⁴¹

In many ways, then, the hippie movement in L'viv could be regarded as an international as well as a Soviet phenomenon. The dominance of Russian speakers in hippie circles might suggest furthermore that hippies were a non-Ukrainian phenomenon. Yet the Ukrainian nationality did figure prominently

39 Olisevych et al., op. cit., 151.

40 I owe this idea to a suggestion from Iaroslav Hrytsak of L'viv National University.

41 Havryliuk, op. cit., 229; Iavors'kyj, op. cit.; Riabchuk, op. cit.; DALO, *fond P-3568, opys 1, sprava 88, ark. 103*; Olisevych et al., op. cit., 141.

in hippie 'organizations' uncovered by the authorities in 1970. Of the seven 'hippies' discovered in a basement in June 1970, at least four were Ukrainian. Of the twenty-one participants in Ieres'ko's group, eight were Ukrainian, five were Russian, three were Jewish, and one was Belarusian; the nationality of the other four was not indicated.⁴² Besides this, some aspects of national and regional identity became cultural capital for the discourse of the hippie movement in L'viv, as seen in concerts of the rock group The Uncles at the Republic of the Holy Garden and other places. Iurij Peretiatko, author of a history of the rock music scene in L'viv, notes that this amateur rock group was comprised of a variety of nationalities — five in all. Yet under the leadership of Ilya Semenov ('Lemko'), by the end of the 1970s this band had begun to play Ukrainian-language songs of its own as well as foreign hits in English. As one band member pointed out, Ukrainian-language songs in L'viv tended to be played almost exclusively by folk ensembles, while Russian dominated the repertoire of official pop and rock ensembles in the city.⁴³ In playing Ukrainian-language rock songs, the group and its admirers were resisting the domination of the Russian language on the popular music scene in L'viv.

The name of the band, moreover, and the slogans espoused by it and its fans, revealed national and regional tensions in L'viv. The word '*Vujko*' in Ukrainian traditionally meant 'uncle on the mother's side, mother's brother' or 'an older man'.⁴⁴ But in postwar Western Ukraine, Soviet citizens, quite often those who came to L'viv and other cities as the region became integrated into the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, used this term in a derogative manner to refer to natives of Galicia. '*Vujko*' in this context meant a 'backward' man who continued to speak Ukrainian in a Galician dialect and follow the 'outdated' traditions of pre-Soviet Galicia. The English equivalent would probably be 'hick', 'country bumpkin' or 'hillbilly'. The use of the word '*Vujko*' by the group could therefore be seen as an attempt to subvert its pejorative meaning and turn it into a symbol of resistance.

In addition, during concerts the group and its fans shouted out slogans to each other using an expletive in the Galician dialect ('*srav pes*', which literally means 'dog shit', but figuratively 'to hell with'), and some of these slogans were scrawled on city walls. Some slogans were openly anti-Soviet. For example, the slogan, 'To hell with the CPSU' (*srav pes na KPRS*)! was an open

42 DALO, *fond P-3568, opys 1, sprava 88, ark. 47–50*; DALO, *fond P-3, opys 19, sprava 115, ark. 3–9*. The proportion of non-Ukrainians in Ieres'ko's group was fairly high, considering that by 1970 up to 60 per cent or more of L'viv's population was comprised of Ukrainians.

43 On the group 'The Uncles (*Vujky*)', also known as the 'Super *Vujky*', see Iurij Peretiatko, *L'viv's'kyj rok-n-rol, 1962–1992* (L'viv 1995), 6–11. Peretiatko dates the beginning of Ukrainian-language songs by the group as 1979–81. In his memoirs of L'viv, Lemko unfortunately limits his recollection of 'The Uncles' to a full citation of Peretiatko's account of the group. Lemko, *op. cit.*, 152–8. On the issue of language in popular music in L'viv, see comments by Volodymyr Mykhalyk (Dzhuboks) in Ilya Semenov (Lemko), born 1951, and Volodymyr Mykhalyk (Dzhuboks), born 1959, L'viv, tape recording, Institute of Historical Research, L'viv National University.

44 *Velykyj tlumachnyj slovnyk ukrains'koi movy* (Kyiv-Irpyń 2002).

reference to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Two others contained what could be seen as veiled references to the communist system and its repressive policies: 'Let the dog shit in red clover!' (*Srav pes v chervonij koniushyni!*), the red clover most likely a reference to the 'Red' regime, and 'Let the dog shit through barbed wire!' (*Srav pes koliuchym drotom!*), or 'Let the dog shit! — Through barbed wire on the red clover!' (*Srav pes! — Koliuchym drotom na chervonu koniushynu!*), where barbed wire may be seen as a reference to the barbed wire of the Iron Curtain. Some songs by the group, such as 'The Red Clover Blossomed' (*roztsvila chervona koniushyna*), written in 1979, also contained anti-'Red' (anti-Soviet) metaphors.⁴⁵

Contemporaries of the hippies and fans of The Uncles in the post-Soviet era have seen the name of The Uncles, the group's Ukrainian-language songs and these slogans associated with them as signs of open political protest against the Soviet system. Such views understandably have incorporated The Uncles into new historical myths about Ukrainians' struggle for an independent state which have emerged since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Instead of being young people engaged in the struggle against the decadence of 'bourgeois' culture, as one account from 1982 suggests, hippies and their favourite band have become participants in the underground war against the Soviet system. It is quite possible that these slogans, as well as the name of the group, had no openly anti-Soviet political agenda behind them. Perhaps many who were yelling these slogans to the band and cheering The Uncles at concerts were trying to shock the public or make fun of Soviet life, or even make fun of themselves as natives of Galicia.⁴⁶

45 The slogans come from Peretiatko, op. cit., 7–8, and from Vors, op. cit., 36. Peretiatko mentions the song 'The Red Clover Blossomed' (1979) as one with an anti-Soviet subtext. Apparently the group's slogans were also written on city walls, sometimes to notify hippies and other young people about upcoming 'raves' that 'The Uncles' were planning at the 'Holy Garden'. Vors, op. cit., 36. Olisevych explains that members of the band, or the audience, called out the words *srav pes*, and one side or the other finished the rest of the slogan, in an exchange that brought a sense of solidarity to the 'republic'. Oleh (Alik) Olisevych, personal conversation with the author, 4 September 2003.

46 Peretiatko, op. cit., 7–8. As with Peretiatko, Alik Olisevych in one article regards these slogans and the group's name as signs of a political protest movement among young people, a precedent to mass student demonstrations in Kyiv in 1990 that contributed to Ukraine's independence the following year. Alik Olisevych, 'Nam khliba ne treba — my "Vujkamy" syti', *Nova khvylya* (L'viv) 2 (1997), 55–7. Yet Ilya Semenov (Lemko) admits in an interview that in those times the group 'The Uncles' really did not have an ideology, though in retrospect one can detect signs of one. In other words, it is doubtful that the group and its followers had a consciously formed ideology, but something more spontaneous, amorphous and inarticulate. Semenov (Lemko) and Mykhalyk (Dzhuboks), op. cit. Olisevych suggests this new model of myth-making when he translated for me a letter he had written to the Yugoslav rock music journal *Dzhuboks*. In this letter (cf. *Dzhuboks* [Belgrade], 13 August 1982, 62), Olisevych, writing on behalf of 'flower children' in L'viv being persecuted by 'little citizens' (meaning the authorities), claims that 'hippies', 'punks', and 'bikers' in L'viv and in Ukraine are engaged in the struggle against 'philitinism' and 'material jealousies'. They are unlike those in the West, where 'these movements turned into a style and lost their revolutionary spirit'.

Yet even if the name The Uncles and the slogans associated with it were meant in jest, the humour itself, as with the 'Republic of the Holy Garden' and Soviet political jokes, very likely contained another message. This message probably reflected a hidden youthful rage against the Soviet system in a region where asserting anything Ukrainian or Galician could be viewed as 'bourgeois nationalism' or 'remnants' of 'Banderite' (UPA) activity. This was especially true for L'viv in the mid-to-late 1970s, following mass repression among the Ukrainian national intelligentsia and 'nationalist'-oriented students by republic and regional leaders in 1972–73. Using the name The Uncles (*Vujky*) and encouraging scandalous slogans in a Galician dialect, this amateur rock band, with the help of its fans, responded to this oppressive atmosphere with sarcastic humour directed at the Soviet regime. As they played to hippie gatherings and to middle school dances in the city, The Uncles represented the transformation of a negative stereotype of marginalized provincials into a challenge to the hegemony of Soviet culture. At the same time, the name of the group, as well as its slogans, did not necessarily indicate deep antagonisms between nationalities or regions. As Lemko noted in an interview, Russian-language schools in the city, impressed by the band's rock music, enjoyed having The Uncles play at their evening dances.⁴⁷ Such schools were probably more interested in the group's performance of English-language hits than its Galician code words, but it is clear that teenagers from these schools did not take offence at the group's name or its slogans.

In asserting a defiant attitude toward those poking fun at 'hicks' from L'viv and other parts of Galicia, The Uncles and the slogans chanted by them and their fans at hippie gatherings revealed that hippies in L'viv shared an identity that defied clear-cut boundaries. Besides sharing aspects of a Soviet or an international identity, they also very likely experienced an alienation from the Soviet regime connected with stereotypes about natives of Western Ukraine, particularly since a sizeable number of hippies were Ukrainian by nationality. Some hippies listening to The Uncles and chanting its slogans no doubt included these slogans in their inchoate repertoire of grievances against the world in which they were living. Some hippies and their acquaintances perhaps perceived the slogans and the rock group's name as a way of making a mockery of their daily life rather than as a serious political slogan. At any rate, regional and national identities had combined with ties among other Soviet hippies and young people around the world to form a culture of resistance in which identity boundaries were indeed blurred. These young people had brought together the cultural capital of the Soviet Union, Ukraine, Galicia, and L'viv and the global youth counter-culture in a counter-discourse that mocked — and shocked — the world in which they were living.

The appearance of hippies in provincial L'viv, besides providing amusement for writer Rostyslav Bratun' at the beginning of the 1970s, indicated that ele-

47 Lemko recalls this in Semenov (Lemko) and Mykhalyk (Dzhuboks), op. cit.

ments of the global youth counter-culture of the late 1960s had emerged among young people in the city. Hippies in L'viv, as with their counterparts in the capitalist West, experienced a sense of alienation from modern industrial life. Students and other young people in the capitalist West at the end of the 1960s expressed a sense of frustration with the conservative, materialist values of middle-class society and with American foreign policies overseas. Hippies in L'viv, for their part, also found modern industrial life oppressive. At times, as in conflicts with family members, it was probably for similar reasons, namely a rebellion against the conservative values of older generations. Yet these hippies also had other reasons for their sense of alienation. They saw the values espoused by the Communist Youth and other institutions as undermined by hypocrisy. For them, educational institutions, the Communist Youth and the volunteer militia contained elements that were morally degenerate, intolerant of individual expression or simply unable to understand them, as slogans and discussions in Ieres'ko's group mentioned earlier suggest. Hippies in L'viv experienced a lack of spiritual meaning in a world where the slightest individual action could be seen as a manifestation of 'bourgeois' or 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist' behaviour. While many non-Ukrainians became hippies, repression of national and regional forms of self-expression in Western Ukraine in the 1970s also became a source of alienation, as seen in the enthusiastic reception of the slogans of the rock group The Uncles. In this sense, hippies in L'viv created alternative social spaces of their own, where spontaneous action and affirmation of a unique identity became central.

While hippies in L'viv experienced alienation from modernity in ways similar to and different from contemporaries in the West, they rebelled against it not just through elements of the postwar youth counter-culture. To a great extent, hippies in the city became part of an 'international', incorporating Jimi Hendrix, Eastern philosophy and Western hippie fashions into their repertoire. Yet they also made use of Communist Youth practices to create hippie organizations, with their own statutes, anthems, membership dues and elected offices. The Russian language and ties with other Soviet hippies became important elements in the formation of their counter-culture. As with other elements of Soviet society, they divided the world into an 'ours' versus 'theirs', trying to articulate a private sphere in opposition to a public sphere shaped significantly by the Communist Party and compliant state institutions. As concerts by The Uncles demonstrate, hippies in L'viv also used national and regional forms of expression to vent their disgust toward the establishment.

Hippies in 1970s L'viv, moreover, faced a degree of marginalization and repression not met by their counterparts in the West. They experienced a world where the Communist Party attempted to control all aspects of life in the public sphere and where the invented traditions of the village exercised considerable influence over broader segments of the population. Perceptions of 'bourgeois' being connected to individual forms of expression and 'bowing to the West' in choices of fashion and music led to party and state institutions stigmatizing hippies in the city. An orientation toward idealized village tradi-

tions also encouraged negative perceptions of hippies in society as a whole. Such private and official perceptions of hippies suggest shared concerns by state and society alike about what roles young people, and young women in particular, should play in Soviet life. In this manner, differences from Western counterparts did not overshadow the profound sense of alienation that some young people were experiencing in society during the 1970s, which inspired them, even for a fleeting moment, to become 'flower children'.

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Window to the West. Empire, Nationhood, and Cultural Resistance
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