

**BETWEEN SOVIETISED NATION AND NATIONALISED
SOVIETNESS, OR HOW RUSSIAN NATIONALISTS OVERCAME
FRONTIERNES IN IDENTITY (FROM SOVIETIZATION OF
DISCOURSE TO THE LATE SOVIET EROSION)**

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The author analyzes the attempts of the Soviet Russian intellectuals to overcome the state frontier in cultural Russian identity in the Soviet period. The author believes that Russian identity had frontier character because of cultural and intellectual tactics of the Soviet authors rooted in the values of universalism and the communist utopia. Russian authors in contrast to the national literatures were not successful in the synthesis of values of nationalism and ideas of the communist utopia. The author in this article analyzes the different cultural and intellectual strategies of Russian authors and their attempts to overcome the state of frontier. The author used more than 50 texts as sources in a history of the Sovietised Russian literature. The author deliberately ignored the texts of the recognized and canonised Soviet classics. The selection and formation of this corpus of the sources allowed analyzing the different cultural tactics and strategies of Russian intellectuals ignored in the contemporary historiography. The diversity of cultural practices from socialist realism to constructivism and a variety of intellectual strategies from the attempts of tight Sovietization of discourse to its late anthropologisation are also analyzed in the article.

Keywords: frontier, Sovietization, Soviet Russian prose, identity, nationalism, socialist realism, constructivism

Introductory remarks.

Russian identity in the Soviet Union (Hosking, 2009) developed a marginal and frontier case among other identities of Union and autonomous republics. Soviet political elites tried to invent and map the controlled spaces and they conditionally divided the USSR's territories in national "quarters" (Union Republic) and "rooms" (autonomous republic) in the imagined Soviet communal apartment. Russian identity had frontier character because its spatial limitations were nominal and formal. Russian intellectuals in the Soviet Union in general and in the USSR, in particular, tried to overcome this situation of intellectual and cultural frontiership. The author of this article tries to analyse the main cultural tactics, practices and strategies of Russian intellectuals from radical Sovietization (Dobrenko, 1993, 1997, 1999) of cultural discourse to its gradual erosion in the late Soviet period. These practices will be analysed as a

form of transcultural strategies of the frontier's overcome and attempts to reconcile Russian identity with the political ideals and norms of the Soviet Communist utopia. Sovietization radically changed the basic vectors and directions in developments of Russian literature, which in spite of the ideology and politicisation continued to evolve as a form of utopian consciousness.

Russian Sovietised prose was the relatively heterogeneous phenomenon, but regional differences between the texts of Russian writers from different regions of the RSFSR and the Soviet republics were not too significant. The representatives of Russian prose of the national republics (Gert, 1990) actualises the anthropological levels and dimensions of utopian consciousness, but these tendencies in Russian literature in the end of the 1980s lost their national character despite attempts to take control and ideologise anthropological forms of utopian consciousness. For example, Ivan Bulanov's novel "Granit" (Bulanov, 1980) was an attempt to invent correct from the ideological point of view anthropological utopia with the obvious political message, but the author overdid with the actualization of loyalty to the communist authorities and his text became the anti-utopian version of Sovietised Russian identity. The characters of the novel are typical inhabitants of the anti-utopian world because all their efforts and attempts were limited to searches of granite for production of Lenin's figure as a new sacralised idol, which authorised the communist utopian experiment because his figures were erected in Soviet cities everywhere and legitimised reality and absurdity of the Soviet utopia. Other Russian authors (Goff, 1971) preferred to actualise anthropological forms of anti-utopian consciousness in the context of sacred political victims who lost personality as a result of discriminations and repressions organised by authoritarian state mechanism.

Sovietization as the attempt to overcome frontierness of identity.

Russian Sovietised prose (Gladkov, 1957) developed as mostly ideological form of constructivism because the authors of Russian socialist realist novels preferred to create and develop great narratives in their texts-constructs, where they imagined modernization and transit to the communist utopia. The orthodox versions of the Soviet Communist utopia in the Sovietised Russian prose had industrial forms of legitimation. The Soviet writers (Galim, 1948, 1958, 1976) perceived the industry as a collective hero of Soviet literature and the texts about industrialization, factories-giants, shock labour of the Soviet working class formed the ideological hard-core of the Soviet communist utopia. These tendencies in the Sovietised Russian prose's development led, on the one hand, to the fact that the broad spaces of the Soviet Union become an arena for the Soviet experiment and the construction of a communist utopia became and collective characters, images and invented traditions of Russian Soviet literature.

On the other hand, utopian consciousness in the Sovietised Russian prose never existed in pure forms because it always was in contact with Russian nationalism.

Therefore, some Russian authors tried to snatch the regions of the Union republics from national context and integrate them into ideological canon of the Soviet communist utopia. Ukrainian Donbas became a victim of the intellectual practices and strategies of the Soviet Russian writers who faithfully and sincerely believed in the principles and values of communism, the inevitability of universal triumph of the communist utopia. They perceived communist utopia as predominantly technocratic and imagined national characteristics and differences as time vestiges and historical archaisms. Fiodor Gladkov's novel "Tsement" forced the characters to declare the fiery speeches about communist utopia of the future: "... we start of our factory, this giant of the republic become a new victory on the front of the proletarian revolution ... we fight for the creation of our proletarian economy. This is our will, our struggle ... we are all one in spirit ... we are called by our party and Lenin ... we build our socialism and proletarian culture..." (Gladkov, 1986, 243 - 244).

The story "Kliatva" actualised anti-utopian trends in Soviet identity, but Soviet critics perceived this text as the ideologically correct and a part of the discourse of the official socialist realism. The social existence of the hero has a lot in common with the life of other characters from imagined dystopian societies because his life in general was subordinated to the logic of ideology and rigid centralization and total control. The story "Kliatva" has all birth traumas of anti-utopia. The protagonist "gets up in the morning with the first words of the speaking radio. This is my alarm clock ... amazing, but I feel its appeal before the loudspeaker starts talking, I feel a sudden jolt and the inner emerges from a sleepy nothingness" (Gladkov, 1986, 329). The space, the hero lives in, has a lot in common with the utopian societies from other texts: "I go out into the street. Our village is a city with wide streets and multi-story buildings, trams, boulevards and flower beds in the squares ... cylinder of glass factory roof plants, pipes, huge bodies, electric lights..." (Gladkov, 1986, 332). The hero of the story does not aware himself as free individual, but imagine himself as part of collective and representative of the system: "I enter in the factory. It is filled with electricity ... I immediately feel a connection with my machine. I see it from afar, and it welcomed me by its living shinings and special warmths ... my dear country ... you are my mother ... my whole life, all my thoughts belong only to you" (Gladkov, 1986, 337, 446).

The prose of Fiodor Gladkov formed a new form of Soviet political identity Fiodor Gladkov's novel "Energiia" on the one hand become a typical novel-construct because the author copied, invented, constructed and re-written it twice and the text is also available in two different versions. The heroes of Fiodor Gladkov also were invented and became people-constructs, people

without personal stories and biographies, people with no past who exist as ideological mannequins and willingly became the cement of the future communist utopia. The approach and method of constructivism of the text and its integration into the official Soviet ideological canon proved to be very convenient in Russian Sovietised prose. The principles of constructivism dominated in the greater part of the texts that simulated historical discourse. The prose texts of Soviet writers about revolution and the revolutionaries (Gordin, 1981) simultaneously become novels-constructs and ideologically motivated attempts to invent a new political tradition. The revolution in the Soviet Russian prose become one of its main characters and political boundaries and geographical distances could not stop the Soviet writers who tried to integrate foreign revolutionaries in the Soviet cult of ideologically correct martyrs.

Russian Soviet writers tried to snatch different images of revolutions from foreign national historical contexts and invent them as socialist, imagine their continuities and relationships with Russian revolution. The revolutions in this intellectual context become an important and facet element of Russian utopian tradition. Russian Soviet writers (Gorbunov, 1976) in general did not allow their heroes to chose their own ways in the life. They made them to look for their "place under the sun" and accept the ideals, values and principles of Soviet society as the only politically and ideologically correct and right utopia. The attempts of the Soviet Russian prose's heroes to find their own "place under the sun" were applied and instrumentalist in their nature because they were looking for the sun of official ideological utopias and these attempts were far from naïve utopian ideals with their historical solar connotations and parallels.

The utopian consciousness in the intellectual context actualised its primordial characteristic in the Soviet system of identity. On the other hand, the great numbers of the Soviet novels were constructivist because their authors imagined and popularised the collective representation about the transition from traditional society in the modernist future, and these texts also actualised process of building of the communist utopia as the construction of an ideal future society. Fiodor Gladkov's texts in these intellectual contexts became radical attempts to imagine and invent a new Russian identity, but this form of identity was not national because it had mostly ideological and political backgrounds. The principles of national identity in Fiodor Gladkov's novels were replaced by ideological orthodoxy and political faith in communism as a new civil religion. The prose of Fiodor Gladkov became the attempt to actualise Russian national utopia where the nation was killed and replaced by some collective myths, beliefs and misconceptions in the communist progress. The efforts of the Soviet authors assisted to the erosion and displacement of old collective and about historical memories about Russia because the identity of the substitute Soviet Russia as the national homeland and the ideological and political home of new

triumphing communist utopia prevailed in their identity and collective political imagination.

The ideologised identity as subordinated frontier.

Russian authors in those intellectual and cultural contexts gradually lost their national components and replaced them with ideological messages. Russian writers in the national republics (Gert, 1982) wrote the texts-constructs where they tried to actualise the historical background and roots of the political utopia in the personalised contexts and actualised the heritage of formal revolutionaries and progressive historical figures in the context of national utopias. Socialist realism was only the external form of the existence of national literatures, but modernist, post-modernist and constructivist practices determined languages Soviet utopias were written in and Soviet writers communicated with each other and the communist state as their mentor in general. The desires and attempts to combine the socialist realism and national ideas led to synthesis of different discourses and degradation and mutation of socialist realism and the erosion of the modernist tendencies. The constructivism in Russian Sovietised prose was relatively rare, but some Russian writers of the second half of 1950s created novels-constructs which were simultaneously attempts to imagine, invent and deconstruct the classic Russian cultural heritage.

The novels of Boris Ivanov "Dal' svobodnogo romana" (Ivanov, 1958) and "Preobrazhenie" of Inna Goff (Goff, 1984) were simultaneously constructs-texts, the attempts to revitalise the traditional narratives of great Russian history and novel as novel-as-collective-citation. The heroes of the classical Russian literature turned into heroes of Soviet prose and Russian writers became classic Soviet constructs and mental inventions. Leonid Liubashevskii (D. Del') (Del', 1970) was the author of the constructivist texts that actualised the different forms and levels of the Sovietised Russian utopian consciousness. The play "Pervyi prezident" was an attempt of cultural legitimation of the Soviet utopia, it was text-construct, where the author sought to synthesise and combine images of classical Russian literature and drama with Soviet political myths, including Iakov Sverdlov's figure. The play "Pervyi prezident" became deeply fragmented text-construct because new characters appeared in each act. If in the first act heroes of Russian classical drama were acting, in the second and the third acts the Bolshevik Iakov Sverdlov with Maksim Gor'kii actualised the ideological orthodoxy and mythological dimensions and levels of the text. Revolutionary soldiers were heroes of other texts of Leonid Liubashevskii who persistently tried to synthesise Russian cultural values and ideological orthodoxy of Bolshevism.

The Sovietised utopia in Russian Soviet drama had mixed and heterogeneous character. Russian and Soviet classics, including Maksim Gor'kii

and Aleksandr Pushkin acted with the Soviet ideologically motivated characters. These novels were the attempts of the Sovietised Russian communist utopia to actualise its historical roots and backgrounds, but these attempt inevitably assisted to the degradation of history that turned into an ideologically motivated collective construct. The monolithic, homogeneous and even dullness Soviet Russian constructivism and socialist realist tendencies in the constructivist utopia expressed in the military prose. The military prose in Russian Soviet literature (Boranenkov, 1976) and in national literatures (Abdullin, 1987) was among the most striking examples of constructivism. The Soviet political and ideological discourse forced the representatives of national literatures to integrate their identities in the Soviet canon, including military experience as a form of protection and defense of the Soviet communist utopia. Soviet writers imagined and invented military texts as novels-constructs: any military Soviet novels had several ritual elements, including the heroism of the Soviet soldiers, patriotism, collective faith in communism, the leading role of political propaganda, the obligatory presence of evil, but mostly not clever ideological and political enemy.

The Soviet authors could change the places, roles and importance of these elements in their texts, but one factor always remained constant. The military prose in its ideological forms served utopian consciousness in the USSR and also developed as integral element of collective religion of the communist utopia. The images of the enemy were also interchangeable and varied from traditional German and American imperialists to situationally politically necessary "White Finns" or Chinese revisionists. The texts of Soviet writers were in fact ideologically motivated postmodern novels, constructs, clothed and masked in the garbs of socialist realism. The socialist realism as a form of (post)modernist utopia in national literatures actualised the processes of intertextuality and the heterogeneity of the collective text. Soviet prose of the 1970s and 1980s (Gridin, Stepanov, 1987; Grubbe, 1971 Grubbe, 1978) developed as a collection of distinct and simultaneously coexisting constructs and their authors actualised the various problems, dissolved utopian consciousness in a variety of external factors. Officially, socialist realism dominated in the Soviet literature, but it allowed a limited diversity, but this diversity always was limited, restricted and controlled. The standardised and primitivised Soviet prose (Ekimov, 1990) expelled the person from its pages and schematised human psychology.

The few attempts to anthropologise official socialist realism were extremely unsuccessful and Russian Soviet writers inevitably slid into an ideology, political messianism and actualised the ideological functions of literature. The memoirs of Boris D'iakov "Simvol very" (D'iakov, 1977) were among those texts. The novel began as attempt to visualise Voronezh text in the

Sovietised Russian prose, but the author could not and did not want to actualise the regional levels and dimensions of the Sovietised Russian identity and quickly degraded to general descriptions of the ideological struggle, party work and other attributes of prose which were formally correct from the ideological viewpoint. The memoirs of Boris D'iakov were impersonal memoirs without people because people were not interested in him, and they were used as a background in panoramic canvases of the communism's building. Boris D'iakov's memoirs were extremely ideologised and almost everything in this text, including the people, the city and even the sky was exclusively and only the Soviet.

The text was in this situation de-anthropologised attempt to legitimise the communist utopia because Boris D'iakov actually wrote the text about his sacred victim for the sake of utopian communist society. The Sovietised Russian literature existed and functioned as a factory which specialised in the production of meaningless texts. The Soviet Russian literature of the 1970s (Emel'ianov, 1972) finally ceased to be Russian: it was the only Soviet because the formal Russian writers preferred to produce images of impersonal builders of communist society that virtually had nothing in common with the living Soviet citizens who did not read these books and ignored the Soviet hagiographic texts. These classic socialist realist texts were virtually empty because they were filled with ideological clichés. The different versions of the Soviet socialist realist discourse, including the village prose, forest prose, river prose and other semi-marginal and ecologically marginal nationalist intellectual genres of the Sovietised Russian literature provided the writers with opportunities to create the prose where utopian identity felt itself relatively free and relaxed. This literature in the Soviet Union was heterogeneous and conjectural ideologically motivated constructs-texts coexisted with other literature.

Some Soviet authors (Gunn, 1976) perceived the utopian elements in Russian identity differently, carefully mapped and located the regional and local forms and Russian versions of the traditional and archaic culture, and later imagined them as utopian ones. The Soviet literature in these intellectual and cultural situations involved in myth-making, the invention of myths and traditions, legitimization of traditional forms of utopia and its further integration into Sovietised cultural contexts. Therefore, different versions of the Soviet village prose with its ecological bias were both literatures-constructs and attempts to actualise the collective faith of the Soviet writers as servants of the communist regime in abilities and opportunities of Soviet utopia to solve ethical, moral and environmental problems and difficulties. Socialist realism in national literatures of the USSR and RSFSR became a territory where utopian and anti-utopian identities and forms of the consciousness dominated because it transformed and mutated into a pseudo or historiographical prose. The authors

of such texts could formally use real historical events, but they in their interpretations of a history and historical facts tended to presentism and also preferred to imagine, invent and construct events.

The socialist realists differed from the classical Western modernists because they recognised and rejected ideologically inconvenient and politically reprehensible relationships. On the other hand, the socialist realists dismantled the unity of the world because they believed that the world was heterogeneous from an ideological point of view, but Western modernists motivated this variety of aesthetic and cultural motives. The literature of socialist realism combined these two tendencies and therefore simultaneously actualised elements of utopian and anti-utopian consciousness, Soviet and non-Soviet trends and tendencies. Formally, the dominant role of socialist realism in Soviet literature dictated authors the defined and strict rules and regulations of imagination and invention of their heroes, including their human qualities and characteristics. The communist utopia in the late Soviet literature, including fiction, gradually deteriorated and become obsolete. Soviet writers in the second half of the 1980s were tired of utopias, tired of singing and praising of the development and progress of Soviet society because its utopian and idealistic character became more visible.

Formally serious Russian (Glazov, 1988) prose discovered the humans as central heroes in the 1980s, despite the fact that a few decades earlier Soviet literature developed as depersonalised and Soviet writers provided readers with political and ideological icons and heroes and their completely senseless and mad acts. If the heroes of the Soviet prose of the 1950s (Kudashev, 1959) were true believers and creators and of utopias who were ready to build the island of ice in the sea and fight against ideological opponents, the late Soviet prose preferred reject and eliminate these characters emphatically. The political, social and economic difficulties and problems, the Soviet Union faced in the 1980s, actualised the utopian character of the Soviet project. These trends also become more visible in Russian Soviet prose, which formally remained a Soviet, but at the same time sought to become more Russian in particular or common humanistic in general. These trends inevitably actualised utopian tendencies in Russian literature as a form of national identity.

The anthropologisation of national frontier cultures in the Soviet identity.

Russian authors actualised the anthropological forms and dimensions of utopian consciousness in the context of human tragedies, shattered dreams which were not been realised in a history of ruthless political Sovietised Russia in the first half of the 20th century. Therefore the heroes of the Sovietised Russian prose were both utopian pessimists and they also were radically

different from the heroes of the early 20th century who truly and sincerely believed in the ideas and principles of inevitable progress. The heroes of Russian prose of the second half of the 20th century did not believe in progress, but become its victims because the early Soviet euphoria was replaced by mature Soviet ideological hangover. Soviet communist utopia institutionalised in a totalitarian state and it consistently subordinated humanity, destroyed and eroded dimensions and forms of individual characters in Russian prose where builders of the communist utopia mutated in provincials. The collective faith in a utopia and future changed in the late Soviet literature: its heroes ceased to be holy and truly believers of communism, they tried to escape from reality into the world of dreams.

The heroes of the late Soviet prose (Golubeva, 1986), as their predecessors, continued to dream of utopia, but this utopia became completely different. The utopian consciousness in the late Soviet prose actualised generic features of the classical utopia of the City of Sun because romantic, naive and idealistic utopia was more adaptable and attractive than ideologically and politically motivated forms of Soviet utopia. If the non-Russian literature invented and re-invented the categories of personality in the national contexts, Russian authors preferred to actualise the political and ideological differences and disagreements with the authoritarian Communist utopia. Soviet literature proposed various forms, tactics and strategies for anthropologization of socialist realism. Russian authors preferred to consider and formally accept ideological requirements and political demands of the official socialist realist canon and discourse. These trends were evident in the ideological and pseudo-historical prose including a novel of Stepan Zlobin "Salavat Iulaev" (Zlobin, 1973), where Russian writer imagined, invented and constructed the images of non-Russian political protest in its historical perspectives. This novel was one of those texts where the authors sought to historicise, historically legitimise and justify Russian utopia and integrated non-Russian Turkic elements in Russian utopian context. The first attempts to actualise the universalist character of Russian national utopia were made in the period between the two world wars when some Russian writers (Tan-Bogoraz, 1962) sought to integrate national motifs and themes in Russian canon and invent traditional primitive and archaic images of the non-Russian ethnic groups.

Russian authors preferred to ascribe the functions of exclusively passive acceptance of progressive Russian influences and impacts on them. The similar sentiments dominated in the novel of Piotr Gubanov "Korela" (Gubanov, 1982) where the author attempted to integrate Karelian history in the context of exclusively Russian one. The novels of Mihail Bubennov (Bubennov, 1983) were attempts to Sovietised historical past of Tatars and Tatarstan because the writer consistently integrated narratives in Russian context, constructed images

of the revolutionary struggle, the leadership of Russian ardent revolutionaries in a history of Tatars and also proposed negative images of class enemies. Vasiliï Baranovskii sought to integrate Latvia in Russian historical and cultural contexts and he consistently populated historical Baltic lands and territories by Russian heroes. Vasiliï Baranovskii (Baranovskii, 1989) provided his Russian heroes, he settled in Latvia, only positive qualities and features, and Russian communities in Latgale were imagined by him as sources and centers of progressive Russian influence and utopian consciousness in the context of progressive Russian influence on the local population. The heroes of Vasiliï Baranovskii made a painful choice between two historically different and opposite forms of utopia. The chapel and "sel'sovet" were the centers of this fragmented utopian consciousness, but Vasiliï Baranovskii preferred not to express his sympathies none of these forms of utopian identity.

Other Russian authors were more sophisticated and creative in their attempts to export Russian communist utopia in the national cultural contexts and landscapes. Ernst Butin's novel "Zolotoi ogon' Iugry" (Butin, 1987) was an attempt to integrate the national culture of Siberia in Russian historical and utopian contexts, but the author did not limit himself by primitivised vulgar socialist realism and ideological motives. Ernst Butin attempted to integrate national non-Russian dimensions into the Sovietised Russian context. Ernst Butin on the one hand sought to prove that the Communist utopia was inevitable. He invented the images of Bolsheviks in his novel as exceptionally positive and correct characters. The writer also provided Whites with only negative qualities, but it was not enough to him. The bandits in Ernest Butin's novel attempted to kidnap Khantian religious shrine, but the Bolsheviks did not allow them to do it. The novel in this context actualised its new meanings and messaged because Ernest Butin tried to imagine the Bolsheviks both as proclaimers of new era of communist utopia and the advocates of national groups and the minor nations. Ernst Butin provided future communist utopia with the functions of ethnic and cultural diversity's legitimation. This idea of the Soviet writer was just a form of ideological maneuver because the national policy in the Soviet Union did not always stimulate the development of national cultures and languages, but on the contrary assisted to the assimilation of non-Russian groups who became sacred victims of progress and the communist utopia. These aspirations of Russian authors stimulated fact that non-Russian ethnic groups in Russian utopia turned into a junior and subordinate Russian partners in the construction of a communist utopia. These attempts had exclusively political backgrounds and roots because Russian writers in this context served utopian nationalist discourse. Utopian discourse in the Sovietised Russian prose developed as a continuation of the historical imagination. Russian Soviet writers actively imagined origins and backgrounds of communist utopia

and preferred to locate them in the social and cultural history of Russia, its various and numerous political and economic contradictions.

Russian identity between mainstream and frontier.

Russian Soviet authors (Voronskii, 1933 (1966)) tried to legitimise the communist utopian experiment and actualised weakness and primitiveness of Russia as a historical predecessor of the Soviet communist utopia. The Soviet writers imagined the domination of archaic relationships, remnants of religious consciousness in the Soviet prose in their ideologically motivated attempts to actualise the fundamental differences between the old archaic Russia and Soviet communist utopia. Russian Soviet writers in the late Soviet period also tried to actualise and express the anthropological levels and dimensions of consciousness in the Soviet Communist utopia, and these efforts assisted to the actualization of earlier latent antiutopian elements in the Sovietised Russian identity. The majority of Russian writers in the Soviet period preferred to form and develop ideologically motivated forms of anthropological forms and dimensions of national utopia. Efim Gretsev (Gretsev, 1984) formed and promoted ideologically motivated images of utopia, where the hero was a system element in revolutionary utopian consciousness. The prose of Efim Gretsev was the attempt to create and imagine the foundations of Russian utopian identity and legitimises it in the Sovietised examples of the heroic revolutionary struggle. The ideologization of anthropological trends developed in Soviet science fiction also. The novel "Vroraia zhizn'" of Vasilii Vaniushin (Vaniushin, 1962) was an example of indoctrination of the hero in the context of utopiazation because the text combined elements of science fiction and it also reproduces Soviet ideological discourse. Formally, the novel was a fantastic story because the protagonist, a progressive and ideologically correct Soviet scientist professor Galaktionov worked in the capitalist country together with the bourgeois scientists and tried to raise the dead. If Vasilii Vaniushin was able to stop in time the novel could be mapped among numerous texts that belonged to the science fiction discourse, but it was not enough for the Soviet writer and he revived dead heroes for the revolutionary struggle. Utopia in the Soviet identity was so universal and inevitable category that Soviet writers were ready to build it and even used the dead for realization of collective utopian dreams.

The heroes-revolutionaries in the Soviet Russian prose became saints who legitimised and personified the authoritarian Soviet utopian experiment. Irina Iroshnikova (Iroshnikova, 1985) tried to combine anthropologisation of socialist realism with great historical narratives. Therefore, the Soviet communist utopia in her prose actualised its new dimensions: the history transformed into a fixed reflection of the Soviet utopian experiment with claims to become Sovietised Russian national utopia. Sergei Vasil'chikov in his novel

"Provintsial'nyi roman" (Vasil'chikov, 1980) also updated the anthropological problems of the communist utopia in its Russian version in the contexts of erosion of ethical values and the suppression of the human personality. The novel's hero committed ethical and moral rebellions because he refused a career of engineer that forced him to live in the world of inertia where there was no place for dreams and utopias in its positive and archaic sense. The failure and fall of the formally recognised and honorable career of the Soviet engineer became the attempt of the novel's hero to create his own personalised utopia as an alternative to Soviet forced and ideological utopia. Formally, all the Soviet writers were socialist realists, but in fact they tried to abandon this archaic method as a tool that was not is useful in their attempts to describe Soviet and national realities relatively objectively and adequately. These attempts of intellectual liberalization and consistent nationalization of literature distinguished them from other Russian authors who preferred to leave faithful slaves or servants of the Soviet ideology. Therefore Russian authors (Gribov, 1979) tried to promote the utopian motives and rooted them in agrarian consciousness.

The most of these texts belonged mostly to the official ideological discourse. Other Russian writers (Gramzin, 1981) actualised the theme of utopia in the context of the labour novel, which constructed and made obvious and visible constructivist moments of communist utopia. The workers in this situation become classical intellectual heroes of the Soviet socialist realist constructivism because they were the most comfortable facilities for invention and imagination of Soviet communist utopia. Iurii Volkov's novel "Svet nad Tengizom" (Volkov, 1976) was one of those novels and constructs because the author consciously imagined biography and the image of his hero Mihail Proskurin as "communist and honorable mechanizator". The texts of the Soviet period, which belong to this type of literature, were extremely complex, but it was too easy to read them. These texts, on the one hand, were difficult because of the most of the social, political and ideological realities, the author wrote about, became a part of history. The best specimens of Russian Soviet socialist realism are understood by modern readers in the same way they used for understanding of or slightly Russian texts of the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries that actualised archaic realities and cultural institutions.

On the other hand, these texts were simple and sometimes primitive because they belonged to the number of text-constructs invented in Soviet ideological tradition: it was enough to read only one text of this type to understand the basic vectors and the directions of the Soviet hagiographic literature's development. Russian authors in this intellectual context attempted to synthesise the values and principles of communist ideology with the political problems of gender. Galina Serebriakova (Serebriakova, 1964) became the

author of semi-literary texts about women in French Revolution, but the Soviet texts were far from feminist trends of the following years. Soviet authors imagined and invented revolutionary ideological saints as precursors and proclaimers of the future communist Soviet utopia. The dependence on communist ideology was evident in attempts to anthologise images of revolutionaries in the Soviet utopia. Soviet communist utopia imagined its heroes not as independent characters, though writers formally actively and readily attributed functions and missions of creators and builders of the new communist society to them, but the activity of Soviet heroes had subordinated character. The personal and personalised biographies of Soviet prose's characters were only illustrations of the events imagined and invented by Russian Soviet writers.

The personal biographies of heroes were nothing in the context of a history of the revolution and civil war. In fact, Soviet writers initiated depersonification of utopia and the characters of the Sovietised prose became victims of the radical Soviet modernization and the desire of the Soviet elites to construct a perfect communist utopia. Despite all the attempts of Russian writers (Gubanov, 1982) heroes-revolutionaries were exactly revolutionary and their humanistic and human qualities were not interesting for authors who preferred to imagine their heroes as the staunch ideological fighters and opponents of capitalism. The Soviet writers (Gribanov, 1987) actively tried to integrate American participants of the revolutionary movement into Soviet ideological canon. These aspirations of the Soviet Russian writers actually became attempts of the forced Sovietization of American history. The Soviet writers preferred to deny other national utopias and legitimised alternative forms of utopian consciousness, which were different from Russian utopia. The human qualities in Russian prose tampered with political ideas and its characters turned into symbols of the class struggle and political courage. Valerii Gorbunov's novel "Kollektsiia" (Gorbunov, 1982) became a form of the Soviet political consciousness and its utopian identity because the author actualised simultaneously two opposing trends in the Russian utopian consciousness: the desire to serve pseudo-spiritual mission and attempts of individual enrichment and hoarding. Valerii Gorbunov recognised only ideologically correct forms of service and consent of his heroes to be faithful servants of the Soviet state of communist utopia. Other Russian writers (Vlasov, 1975) imagined their heroes as the displaced inhabitants of the geographical peripheries, but the Soviet geologists in Russian Soviet imagination ousted Sovietised romantic revolutionary hero from the literature and revolutionary romanticism was replaced by routine simulation of peripheral existence.

Frontier identities and utopian consciousness.

The antiutopian motives, ideas of frustration, psychological tensions, insecurity, and abandonment of orthodox ideological belief in the value and principles of communism made Soviet writers to question the inevitability of a communist utopia as a form of the future. The representatives of non-Russian ethnic groups (Keptuke, 1991) in the late Soviet period began to show great concern in the context of Russification and assimilation, which led to the destruction of national cultures and identities of the sociums and the communities, they belonged to. The attempts to institutionalise the national forms of utopia as natural environmental alternative to the Soviet one and desires to actualise its archaic traditional roots and backgrounds were helpless and hopeless in the context of universalist logic of Russian communist utopia, which erased the national identities and replaced them by pseudo-cultural communist surrogate of ideological and mythological culture that had mostly servilist functions.

The late Soviet writers, including Svetlana Gyrylova (Gyrylova, 1989), disillusioned with the ideals of the communist utopia, realised its mythical character and the impossibility of implementation and realisation of the Soviet project. The heroes of the late Soviet prose ceased to be convinced and fanatical builders of communism and ardent revolutionaries. The characters of the Soviet prose of the 1980s with strange names and surnames, including Altan Gerel, synthesised principles of Western and Turkic anthroponymy, were urban dwellers of transnational landscapes of the big cities. The heroes of the late Soviet prose ceased to be the heroes of the bright communist utopia because of the world and the society, they lived in, was more like a dystopia. Soviet writers in their texts received possibilities and opportunities to actualise problems society faced with, but an objective description and discussion of these difficulties of late Soviet society were impossible a few years earlier. The assimilation, Russification, and erosion of national identities assisted to the crisis of the Soviet project and its ousting and replacement by the Soviet form of consumerism. The multiple and simultaneous co-existence of the situation of postcoloniality and transculturality eroded and destroyed the national and ideological foundations of the Soviet utopia. The intellectual discourse in the late USSR mutated, transformed, and finally became heterogeneous because the idea of the communist utopia lost its attractiveness. In spite of adaptive capacity and mobilisation potential of the Soviet authoritarian system its capabilities were limited and by the 1970s trends of political frustration and fatigue became more noticeable in the Soviet literature than in the earlier periods. The ideologised Soviet prose lost its creative energy and any attempts of officially controlled anthropologization of texts were unsuccessful. Despite all attempts to anthropologise the ideologised literature Soviet authors (Danilov, 1981) preferred to produce characters that were the same with the heroes of communist

mythology. Other Soviet writers preferred to create quality texts and tried to ignore the demands of the official ideological canon. Therefore, the system enabled them occasionally publish their texts and preferred to educate other authors who tried to invent a perfect homunculus for Soviet ideological utopia.

The Soviet authors began to try to escape from unpleasant socialist reality and actualised opportunities of the science fiction and utopia in its pure forms, but utopian experiments were rarer than pure fiction texts because this genre required more determination and courage of the author. Anatolii Kim was among those Soviet writers who tried to actualise the potential and possibilities of utopian literature. The story "Utopiua Gurina" of Anatolii Kim (Kim, 1981) became one of the few examples of the utopian genre in the Soviet Russian literature of the 1970s and the 1980s. Anatolii Kim formally wrote a realistic text, but he combined in its various forms and elements of the utopian identity of the dissolved Soviet political consciousness despite the attempts to control and ideologise it. On the one hand, Anatolii Kim actualised in his text the provincial levels and partially ecological dimensions of utopia because the story' character actually left the city for the province and this escape was an attempt to rescue the conscious rejection of wealth and the vicissitudes of urban civilisation. On the other hand, "Utopiia Gurina" was a novel in the novel because it contains the text of a manuscript written by the main character. Stylistically Gurin's text had a lot in common with Russian classical utopia of the 19th and early 20th century. Its author fixed the simultaneous belief in the correctness and inevitability of economic and social progress. "Utopiia Gurina" had revisionist character and it was the departure from the rigid rules and regulations of socialist realism. Therefore, Anatolii Kim attributed these utopian sentiments to his hero and separated them from the author's narrative. The actualization of utopian motives in Anatolii Kim's prose testified the fact that the Soviet writers came closely to the strict limits of socialist realism. The attempt to transplant the text in the text also actualised the constructivist nature of Soviet prose and the fact that some of its representatives can mix and combine texts and narratives from different historical periods. "Utopiia Gurina" became possible because some Soviet authors were able to imagine their writings as invented novels and texts-constructs.

The frontier character of the late Soviet cultural practices.

The social problems, economic difficulties, environmental disasters also actualised the crisis tendencies in the transformations of the Soviet utopian consciousness that by the end of the 1980s lost and exhausted its potential for mobilisation and ideological appeal of the Soviet utopia faded considerably in this situation. The environmental concerns forced the Soviet authors to transform literary discourse, some writers tried to make it less ideological and

actualise the anthropological and moral tendencies. Vladimir Gubarev in his play "Sarkofag" (Gubarev, 1987) actualised the problem of the heavy heritage of Chernobyl catastrophe and the overall pessimistic tones and moods of the play testified that the Soviet Communist utopia was powerless in its mad attempt to completely subdue nature. The Soviet citizens from cyclist to general were victims of an invisible radiation and the Soviet utopia as an attempt to institutionalise the radical idea was powerless despite the ideological orthodoxy of its inhabitants.

The intellectual erosion of the Soviet ideological project assisted to the fact that the formal Soviet authors began to express their personal disagreements and their texts began to actualise anti-Soviet motives, ideas and moods. The memoirs of Ivan Efimov published in 1990 (Efimov, 1990) described the rise and fall of the Soviet communist ideological utopia. The memoirs actually attempted to become the textualised disappointment of the author, who began as a true believing communist and believer in the communist utopia and the Soviet political experiment. Ivan Efimov in his memoirs recognised that his ideologically and politically motivated faith in communism transformed him in servant and a victim of the Soviet communism. These re-thinkings and frustrations turned his memoirs from utopia to anti-utopia. The elements of utopian consciousness expressed and developed in anthropologization of Russian prose and attempts of Russian writers to re-invent humans as independent characters of the texts.

These re-imagined humans of the late Russian Soviet prose were not the builders of communism but became the central collective hero of Russian literature. Non-Soviet elements became more prominent in the late Soviet prose, for example, in the texts of Sergei Bardin (Bardin, 1985). Sergei Bardin in his short prose rejected rigid and ideological demands and requirements of the orthodox socialist realism and his characters did no longer build communist society – it was enough for them that they already lived in a world of mad communist anti-utopia. The internal structure of some Sergei Bardin's texts had no internal consistency and represent constructs and attempts to commit individual facts of existence in a society where everyday reality was dissolved in a world of ideological absurdity. The heroes of this prose attempted to find answers to unresolved contradictions including "Man is a flesh" and "Man is the spirit". The late Soviet prose (Taiganova, 1990; Ermakov, 1990; Danilov, 1990; Alekseev, 1990; Karpov, 1990; Kartushin, 1990; Murzakov, 1990; Slapovskii, 1990) actualised its revisionist character in the context of the utopian discourse's refusal.

Conclusions. The late Soviet writers began to perceive reality differently than their predecessors. The late Soviet prose gradually and painfully refused socialist realism as a form of utopian consciousness. The heroes of the late

Soviet prose ceased to be the builders of a communist utopia because they lived in a communist utopia of absurdity with the unresolved social and psychological problems. The late Soviet prose's characters were no longer ideal builders of communism, they become its slaves because faith in communism and rational logic of the authorities threw them into a war that radically traumatised consciousness of the heroes of the texts which formed the stable hard-core of the late Soviet prose. The heroes of the late Soviet prose faced numerous problems and they did not prefer to see themselves as builders of communism because ethnicity and identity became more important and entered in the number of factors which determined their behaviour. The representatives of the shadow economy and informal elites in the late Soviet prose pushed builders of the communist utopia. The late Soviet writers preferred the moral criticism of the late Soviet modernity's ulcers, but they were not able to understand that they witnessed and testified the death of the Soviet realities. The social and political problems, the late Soviet Union faced, slew collective beliefs in a utopia. The heroes of this late Soviet prose die quietly and casually, and their death has nothing in common with deaths of their historical predecessors and ardent revolutionaries. The death of the inhabitant of late Soviet utopia of factories and research institutes became the only indifferent fixation of the medical fact. Communist utopia in the late Soviet prose gradually becomes obsolete, degraded, and unable to compete with anthropologisation of texts. The crisis of the official socialist realist discourse became the result of its mutation from the method into collective political ritual, and this late Soviet metamorphoses led to collective euthanasia of the communist utopia.

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**МЕЖДУ СОВЕТИЗИРОВАННОЙ НАЦИЕЙ И
НАЦИОНАЛИЗИРОВАННОЙ СОВЕТСКОСТЬЮ, ИЛИ КАК
РУССКИЕ НАЦИОНАЛИСТЫ ПРЕОДОЛЕВАЛИ ФРОНТИРНОСТЬ
ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ (ОТ СОВЕТИЗАЦИИ ДИСКУРСА К
ПОЗДНЕСОВЕТСКОЙ ЭРОЗИИ)**

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Автор анализирует попытки русских советских интеллектуалов преодолеть культурное состояние фронта русской идентичности в советский период. Автор полагает, что русская идентичность имела фронтальный характер, потому что культурные и интеллектуальные тактики советских авторов базировались на ценностях универсализма и коммунистической утопии. Русские авторы в отличие от представителей национальных литератур не достигли успехов в синтезе ценностей национализма и идей коммунистической утопии. Автор в этой статье анализирует различные культурные и интеллектуальные стратегии русских авторов и их попытки преодолеть состояние фронта. Автор использовал более 50 текстов русской советизированной литературы как источники. Автор сознательно игнорировал тексты признанных советских классиков. Источниковый корпус позволил проанализировать различные культурные тактики и стратегии русских интеллектуалов, которые игнорируются в историографии. Различные культурные практики от социалистического реализма до конструктивизма и разнообразные интеллектуальные стратегии от жесткой советизации дискурса до попыток его поздней советской антропологизации проанализированы в статье.

Ключевые слова: фронт, советизация, русская советская проза, идентичность, национализм, социалистический реализм, конструктивизм

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