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**VISION OF A «NEW SOVIET MAN» IN EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE XX CENTURY**

**Summary.** *The purpose of the research is to analyze the results of Western, Central European and American historiography discourse analysis regarding the phenomenon of a «new Soviet man» in the second half of the XX century. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of consistency, reliability, historicism, logic. General scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and specifically historical (historically genetic, historically typological, historically system) methods are used in the article. Scientific novelty.* The article presents a unique complex historiographic analysis of the scattered publications dedicated to «Homo Sovieticus» as highlighted in European studies. **Conclusions.** *Within the frames of Western academic discourse, the concept of the «new man» has been investigated from various points of view, i.e. totalitarian, revisionist, axiological, identity history and history of subjectivity. The Western European researchers have focused primarily on general aspects of USSR citizens' consciousness transformations under the influence of the Communist ideology, thus shaping out the key methodological approaches to the «new man» phenomenon and coining a specific term, «homo soveticus», to designate it. At the same time, regional versions of the Soviet project aimed at public consciousness transformation, specifically the Ukrainian one, still lack thorough investigation. In the end of 1980-ies, following the transit to democracy and a range of antitotalitarian revolutions, a critical perspective upon the Communist society studies was introduced through the emerging works of Eastern and Central European researchers. A focus upon primarily negative features of «homo soveticus» as a social anomaly induced by totalitarian regime has become a common denominator for the Eastern and Central European research discourse.*

**Key words:** «Soviet man», «homo soveticus», consciousness, identity, historiography

**ВІЗІЯ «НОВОЇ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ ЛЮДИНИ» В ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКІЙ ТА АМЕРИКАНСЬКІЙ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ ДРУГОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ ХХ СТ.**

**Анотація.** *Мета дослідження – здійснити історіографічний аналіз західно- та центральносхідноєвропейського дискурсу у висвітленні феномену «радянської людини» у другій*

половині XX ст. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, багатofакторності, системності, логічності. Використано загальнонаукові (аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичні (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методи. **Наукова новизна.** Вперше в українській історіографії здійснено комплексний аналіз й актуалізацію розрізненого масиву літератури з проблематики «Ното Sovieticus», напрацьований європейськими дослідниками. **Висновки.** У рамках західного академічного дискурсу сформувалися ключові методологічні підходи до вивчення «нової людини»: тоталітарний, ревізійно-історичний, історія ідентичностей, історія суб'єктивності, студії з вивчення цінностей. Основна увага західноєвропейських дослідників зосереджувалася на загальних аспектах трансформації свідомості громадян СРСР під впливом комуністичної ідеології. Саме завдяки працям західних вчених сформувалися ключові методологічні підходи до пояснення феномену «нової людини», почав використовуватися термін «Ното Sovieticus». Водночас регіональні версії радянського проекту трансформації суспільної свідомості, зокрема українська, представлені вкрай слабо. Дослідження авторів Центрально-Східної Європи активізувалися в умовах транзиту до демократії та антитоталітарних революцій кінця 80-х рр. XX ст., що зумовило критичний ракурс вивчення комуністичного суспільства. Спільним знаменником для поглядів центральноєвропейських дослідників стала констатація, передовсім, негативних рис «Ното Sovieticus», відображення його як суспільної аномалії за панування тоталітарної системи.

**Ключові слова:** «радянська людина», «Ното Sovieticus», свідомість, ідентичність, історіографія.

**Problem statement.** From the very beginning of the grand «Communism building» experiment, the problem of designing a new concept of a human as a supreme values bearer has come into view of the researchers. Chronologically, two inequivalent stages of the research process can be identified. While the history of the «new human» construction in the 1920-ies – beginning of the 1950-ies has been thoroughly covered by numerous researchers, the period from 1950-ies to 1980ies has only recently emerged from the «shadows» of Stalin's era.

It should be noted, though, that the Western scientists' concept of a late Soviet human type has been developed under the conditions radically different from those in the USSR. First and foremost, freedom of thought and speech have caused opinions diversity towards the matter of identity transformations under Communist regime. Second, many Western European and American researchers had to turn to alternative sources due to limited access to the archives during the Cold War. They would use source base updates from the official media, immigrants' surveys, and, in rare instances, were allowed a personal visit to the USSR. «The Archive Revolution» in the end of the XX century has created unique opportunities for the Western «homo soveticus» historiography and consequently increased the number of relevant publications. Third, the cultural distance between the Western and the Soviet society has influenced the research results to a considerable extent.

**The analysis of sources and recent researches.** «Homo Sovieticus» phenomenon has remained out of focus of dedicated northern American and western European historiographical studies and intellectual discussions. Still, some particular issues related to this topic were given attention by Michael David-Fox and Natalie Lass. The first mentioned scholar suggested the approach to English-American studies of the USSR history as the controversy to the theory of modernity and neotraditionalism.

The proponents of the «modernity» theory studied USSR through the perspective of a particular, yet, still generally global shift from agricultural to industrial society, whereas their opponents were trying to prove the unique cultural or even civilizational identity of the USSR, that resulting from Russian history (David-Fox, 2015).

The Ukrainian scholar H. Laas performed the all-rounder research covering the vision of public history of Ukraine of mid 1940s – early 1960s in the historiographical resources, conducted in English.

In her study she has managed to demonstrate the refinement of Ukrainian component in the western research, dedicated to Soviet Union studies, as well as their strengths and weaknesses in defining the social structure, language communication and deviation in the Ukrainian SSR of the late Stalin era and period of «thaw» (Laas, 2009).

**The publication's purpose** is to analyze the results of Western, Central European and American historiography discourse analysis regarding the phenomenon of a «new Soviet man» in the second half of the XX century.

**Statement of the basic material.** The problem of constructing a Soviet type of a human in Ukraine has been almost utterly neglected by Western academic discourse. Up to day, it has been addressed by just a few representatives of Ukrainian diaspora incorporated into European and American intellectual communities. Works by Bohdan Kravchenko and Serhiy Zhuk form one of such exceptional cases. The first author, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian studies researcher, published a fundamental monograph in English entitled «Social Changes and National Consciousness in Ukraine in the XX century» (1985) and focused primarily on social and ethnical population structures correlation to the state of mass consciousness. According to B. Kravchenko, Ukrainians and Belarussians had been chosen as an avantgarde of «Soviet people» construction process due to their cultural proximity to the Russians. The process of «Soviet man» construction, which was, in fact, just a disguised Russification, had acquired distinct social features. It was impossible to raise one's social status without mastering Russian language and, ultimately, cultural codes and identity (Kravchenko, 1997, p. 240–242). Therefore, B. Kravchenko could be praised as the first one to have shaped the Ukrainian version of «homo soveticus» construction process.

Serhiy Zhuk, a Dnipropetrovsk State University graduate, later a teacher in several American universities, has published a set of research papers in late Soviet Dniepropetrovsk region history. These investigations had been actually underpinned by the author's personal experience as a local history teacher and an amateur DJ back in 1977 – 1986. Based on the under-reported narrative and archive sources, his research depicts subtle aspects of a Soviet human type development process in Ukrainian province. Specifically, the author highlights the ambiguous role of ideology in the process of «homo soveticus» construction. By the end of the 1950ies, the majority of USSR citizens would treat official ideology as a kind of ritual only vaguely relevant to everyday life. On the other hand, even the Westernized youth known for its critical reception of Communism, had acquired and implemented clichés and speech patterns coined by official propaganda. These observations lead the author to the concept of Marxism-Leninism as a «discourse lens» shaping the patterns of the late Soviet identity construction (Zhuk, 2009, 2010, 2013).

The Western academic discourse focused at the Soviet system in general. Logically, the «New Man» as the product of this system has also attracted considerable attention of European and American researchers.

In 1955, Harvard researchers completed their five-year project in Soviet social system study. A group of scientists managed to collect over 33 thousand pages of content, 800 interviews, thousands of psychological surveys submitted by the immigrants from the USSR. Based on these data, the researchers tried to answer the question of how Soviet citizens lived, felt, reacted and accessed the regime. The result of the project was summed up in the

book «How does the Soviet system work», the Western nonfiction bestseller of the 1950s. The authors paid attention to the essential characteristics of the Soviet system (myth-making, plan, «workathon,» concentration of power, terror and forced labour) and reconstructed common Soviet perspectives upon the role of personality, satisfaction/dissatisfaction, respect for authority, an attitude to the West, manifestations of the Russian mentality in their social and national invariants (Bauer, Inkeles, Kluckhohn, 1956).

The well-known German journalist and political scientist, editor-in-chief of the magazine «Osteuropa», Klaus Menter visited the USSR during 1933 – 1936 and then in 1955. Unlike the most of «political pilgrims» of the interwar years (i.e., Romain Rolland and Bernard Shaw), he did not idealize the Stalinist system and tried to give a comprehensive assessment of social life transformations under the Bolshevik regime. In 1958 K. Menter summed up the results of his USSR travel observations in a book entitled «The Soviet Man». What makes this study stand out is the fact that it included not only 1930-related data, but also Menter's impressions from his trip to the USSR as Konrad Adenauer's staff correspondent in 1955. According to K. Menter, by the mid-1950s, the communists had failed to turn the Russians into a «Soviet cadaver» capable of thinking and acting exclusively the way the Party leaders wanted it to. The «Soviet man» in his interpretation was, above all, a man. He was more worried about his own welfare than about communism (Mehner, 1959, p. 447–449).

In the midst of the «Caribbean crisis» Prof. John Kosa's book «Two Generations of Soviet Man: A Study in the Psychology of Communism» was published. Based on a Socialist countries' immigrants survey, the author tried to trace the changes in the outlook of people affected by totalitarian regime. The key question posed in the work was whether the Communists had actually managed to create a «New Man». The research provided an affirmative answer to that question. According to J. Kosa, the formation of the «Red Superego» (a reference to Sigmund Freud) had been carried out systematically through such factors as work, encouragement/punishment, habits, propaganda, legalized manipulations and terror (Kosa, 1962).

In 1964, the philosopher R. de George published a paper devoted to the concepts of human being in Soviet philosophy and propaganda. He emphasized that Communism implied social importance as a key factor of personal assessment and overall treated a personality as an organ in a biological organism. Thus, natural human rights were disavowed, and humanism widely advertised by Soviet propaganda was proclaimed «the humanism of the future», that is, taking care of future Communist society's rights and needs while utterly neglecting the present day concerns (De George, 1964).

The first recorded use of the term «Homo Sovieticus» belongs to the Spanish author Fernando de Cambras. His work published in 1975 was an attempt to go beyond the ideological confrontation of the Cold War and to describe the life of ordinary Soviet citizens – «Ivans and Sonias» – in the mid-1970s (Cambra, 1975). Despite the semi-popular and rather essayistic than academic nature of the work, the term «Homo Sovieticus» coined in it has become an indispensable part of the Western discourse on human rights in the USSR.

The works of Geoffrey Hosking, a British historian, had significantly influenced the conceptual mapping of the Soviet man phenomenon. In his inaugural lecture in the School of Slavic and East European Studies at the University of London on 12 February 1987, Hosking provided a brief summary of «Homo Sovieticus» studies through the previous decades. «The New Soviet man», Hosking stated, didn't come out of the blue. The success of Communist experiment with human identity was granted by a number of prerequisites, i.e. the paternalistic nature of the Russian society (Hosking, 1987). His further publications considered the role

of trust/mistrust structures in shaping the type of personality capable of surviving under the conditions of the communist system, as well as the role of Russian people as the main supply for «Soviet people» design (Hosking, 2013).

In his work «Political Psychology» published in 1987, the American psychologist Dmitry Mikheev identified the primary and secondary features of the Soviet mentality. The primary features included:

- 1) perception of the physical and social environment as hostile to an individual;
- 2) attitude to life as a continuous struggle for survival;
- 3) adoption of the domination of the interests of society over the interests of an individual;
- 4) perception of power as the fundamental characteristic;
- 5) lack of faith in «higher powers» and life after death;
- 6) double standards for relatives and strangers.

The secondary features were the tendency to dominate; suspiciousness; perception of social justice as an equal distribution of both happiness and suffering; understanding democracy as a license for the reign of evil; longing for respect, not love or compassion, etc. (Mikheyev, 1987).

The American researcher Yinghong Cheng tried to derive the general formula of a «New Man» constructed in communist societies. The value of his work is undermined by his attempt to compare Soviet experiments with human identity to those conducted in the PRC and Socialist Cuba. The author treats the concept of the «new man» both metaphysically and empirically, tracing its roots back to the Age of Enlightenment with its ideas of progress and global changes in human nature. These theses have consequently evolved into a communist mutation. The comparative study of the Soviet, Chinese and Cuban regime proved that the «Soviet people», «good warriors of Mao» and «heirs of Che» were in fact the implementations of the same project (Cheng, 2009, p. 8–47).

In 2017, Maya Soboleva, a Marburg University researcher (Germany), published a synthesis of the «Soviet man» evolution history in terms of ethics. In her opinion, this process was non-linear, with three consequent qualitative stages to be defined:

- 1) 1930s – theoretical reflections on the nature of the «New Man»;
- 2) 1930 – 1950s – consolidation and development of the norm of Soviet morality;
- 3) 1960 – 1980s – transition from domination of ideology to moral theory and Marxist scientific ethics (Soboleva, 2017).

In our opinion, Soboleva's approach has considerably narrowed the scope of the «Soviet man» design project to the matter of Soviet philosophers' axiological ponderings. The totalitarian system influenced people not only through propaganda, but also through the wide range of economic, social, political, cultural and symbolic practices. To give but one example, considering 1930-ies, a period of most intense mass repressions and unprecedented social pressure, a mere phase of «theoretical consideration», means brutally ripping the «new identity» formation out of historical context.

The literal experiments on the human psyche in the USSR became the subject of attention in the works of the German scientist Volodymyr Velminskyi in 2017. He described the development of research in the field of electronics and psychology expected to have promoted the «new person» elimination. Velminsky's work is, in fact, not a coherent concept but a series of sketches on telepathy and hypnosis enthusiasts in the USSR: Oleksii Hastiev, Volodymyr Bekhtieriev, Ovanes Adamian, Velymyr Khliebnikov, Pavel Huluaiev and, of course, Anatolii Kashpirovskyi. The author failed to prove that these attempts had ever been practically used by mass propaganda; no influence on the human mind was proved as well (Velminski, 2017).

The psychological vision of a Soviet man was presented by American psychoanalyst E. Goldstein. In 1984, he summarized the results of professional communication with emigrants from the USSR and identified the main problems of their adaptation in the United States. The key challenge, according to Goldstein, was to change their set of values, specifically, their concepts of individual space, community, individual responsibility for one's own life (Goldstein, 1984).

In his work «Soviet Public Holidays», the German researcher Rolf Malte explores the way communist outlook was imposed on people through public events initiated by the regime. The author examines the Soviet public celebration scenery as a means of the «New Man» construction. The culture of public celebration never ceased to implement the patterns set by Stalinist regime even after Stalin's death in 1953. Among the innovations introduced by the post-Stalin era were regional and social diversification of public events and their further integration into the private human life. M. Rolf clearly demonstrated how the expansion of the ideology to the family and professional spheres had turned them into effective means of channelling communist ideas into public consciousness (Rolf, 2009).

Prof. Slava Herovych from Massachusetts Institute of Technology considered Soviet cosmonauts as ideal representatives of the generation of the «Soviet people» and their role in the social consciousness construction. He convincingly proved that the Soviet space program of the 1950 – 1960s served as a powerful means of inducing the masses into Communist ideology framework. The cosmonauts took the place of the «Chkalov Pilots» of the 1930s and were expected to embody the best features of the «builder of Communism». By comparing the status of Soviet cosmonauts and American astronauts, the researcher pointed out a significant number of interesting similarities in terms of technical training, public etiquette etc. (Gerovitch, 2007).

In terms of the Values History Studies, the problem of the «Soviet man» was explored by Western researchers in the context of post-Stalinist USSR, works by Ivor Wayne, Jan Feldman and Edward Cohn being front and center of the research process.

The first of the above-mentioned authors pioneered in the study of late Soviet values with his large-scale comparison of the USSR and the USA public views published in 1956. Based on the content analysis of the most popular magazines in both countries, he concluded that the Soviet system's idol was that of a committed worker loyal to the Party, while the American way of life exploited an idealized yet relevant to real life challenges image of a liberal American (Wayne, 1956).

In his seminal article published in 1989, Jan Feldman assessed the changes in Soviet public education policies during the «Perestroika». He noted that tolerance to the manifestations of individualism and personal initiative has considerably raised in comparison to the previous periods of the USSR history. At the same time, the preservation of the key communist values had made the author doubt the irreversible nature of the changes in social consciousness (Feldman, 1989).

The ambitious book of the American researcher Edward Cohn published in 2015 was focused on the methods of the AUCP-CPSU members upbringing from the late 1940-ies to the 1960-ies. The author considered the start of the «Khrushchev's Thaw» as a multidimensional reboot of the Soviet project, specifically, in the field of «correct outlook» imposing. The «light» version of values set took place of Stalin's dogmas, thus turning a devoted communist from social elite to mass phenomenon and replacing ideological indoctrination with mere «moralization». Numerous examples from the archival documents showed the ambiguity and

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complexity of the way the new version of communist values was introduced into society in the 1953 – 1965 (Cohn, 2015).

At the late 1990ies – early 2000s, the Western academic discourse had experienced the methodology crisis caused by the end of the Cold War and the «Archive Revolution» of the first years after the fall of the USSR. With the huge array of new sources introduced into the field, the old theoretical schemes demanded revision. The conversion to Identity History Studies proved to be one of the possible ways of adjusting the American and Western European research approaches to the call of the times. The idea was to reject the conventional assessment schemes in favor of treating Soviet citizens as the bearers of a certain identity. In her famous work «Tear Off the Masks! Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia», Sheila Fitzpatrick makes the first attempt to describe the «new Soviet people» in terms of self-identification practices. The author tends to revise the established scientific concept of Soviet society's class division. To her mind, such categories as «class,» «peasant,» «worker,» «intelligentsia,» «bourgeoisie» borrowed from and correlated to the Soviet sources, in fact never denoted the actual social status but rather squeezed it into the theoretical patterns of the Party's statistics. Numerous archival samples demonstrate the difference between the person's actual identity and his/her status in the Party documents (Ficpatrik, 2011).

Sh. Fitzpatrick gave a powerful impetus to the renewal of the Soviet history research. An evidence to that can be found in the collective monograph «Soviet and Post-Soviet identities» containing the concepts of the USSR self-identification practices developed by Ronald Suny (the ratio between Soviet and national identities), Andrew Jenks (Yuri Gagarin's cult), Catherine Kelly (mutual influence of religion and identity) (Bassin, Kelly, 2012).

Another variant of the response to the methodological crisis of the early 2000s was the establishment of a separate line in historiography: the history of Soviet subjectivity originating from Michel Foucault's ideas. The subjectivity is understood as: 1) a range of opportunities determining the personal world-view (Stephen Kotkin); 2) the way the person acts and thinks determined by a holistic self-image (Johan Helbeck); 3) the content of a person's outlook (Eric Nyman) (Pinskiy, 2018, p. 10–14).

One of the first works written about the late Soviet subjectivity was the study by Oleg Kharkhordin (University of Berkeley, USA) published in 1999. The author tried to find the answer to the possible contradictions between the Soviet collectivism and rapid raise of individualism determining the social picture of the 1990ies. Having conducted a retrospective analysis of identity development in the Russian culture, he turned to the Orthodox upbringing practices in the pre-Revolutionary Russia, and then to the Bolsheviks' contribution to these practices in 1920 – 1930ies. Based on the works of other USSR history researchers, O. Kharkhordin proved that the late Soviet intelligentsia had in fact inherited the upbringing practices implemented by Bolshevik elite in the interwar period (Kharkhordin, 1999, 2016).

Oleksandr Etkind, in his turn, tried to consider the category of Sowwor as one of the most outstanding features of those generations of intelligentsia that had managed to survive Stalin's repressions and to resume their creative activities in 1950–1960ies. The researcher employs the creative works of intelligentsia as a powerful sample of changes the fear of death could cause in human psychology, thus dooming the artists to painful and prolonged transformation of their world picture (Etkind, 2016).

Soviet people's common vision of the society they live in had become a focus of interest for the University of Berkley Anthropology professor Oleksiy Yurchak. His book «Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More» was inspired by a certain paradox in the

Soviet people's perception of the USSR: while expecting their state to last forever, they would at the same time be on standby alert in case it collapses. The author convincingly proves that such binaries as «state vs society», «coercion vs resistance», «official vs informal culture» fail to explain the actual world picture of an ordinary Soviet citizen. The main paradox of «Advanced Socialism» system laid in the fact that the accuracy of the official discourse reproduction raised proportionally to the changes in the system itself. Therefore, by deforming public consciousness, the Soviet elite would simultaneously erode the very basis of the system of total social control (Yurchak, 2005, 2014).

*Central European academic discourse*

The liberation from the control of the USSR of Central European countries created favourable conditions for the revival of critical studies of the communist society. The studios of the authors of the former socialist camp formed their own academic discourse based on the experience of the Soviet occupation of 1945 – 1990 and the subsequent transit to democracy.

Leszek Nowak – a well-known philosopher of the 1980s – tried to reveal the contradictions of social consciousness for socialism. Despite the generalizing title, his article dealt exclusively with the Polish experience of the death of socialism and the role of social consciousness in this process. The main contradictions defined by Nowak comprised the Polish United Labour Party's destruction due to another labor party («Solidarity») initiatives, and the wide dissemination of Catholic values by the church as a public institute that used to cooperate with the Government rather than with the society. Regrettably, Nowak failed to provide a solid factual background for his rather hypothetical ponderings (Nowak, 1992).

In 1995, the book «A Talk Between a Citizen and a Priest» was published by Polish scholars Adam Michnik and Jozef Tischner that summed up their reflections on the nature of the communist society. They sharply rejected the idea of the «Soviet man» as a victim of the totalitarian system. According to them, on the contrary, «homo soveticus» voluntarily renounced his own rights and freedoms, because they meant the burden of responsibility for their own decisions and actions. The rhetorical figures like «I was told». «I was not allowed to» were typical for this kind of personality (Michnik, Tischner, Żakowski, 1995, p. 593).

These theses were further developed by Jozef Tischner. To his mind, although the Soviet man was ideologically motivated, in fact, he was not a devoted communist, but rather a client of communism – i.e., the person controlled by the state and considering it at least normal and even desirable. The construction of «homo soveticus» identity was influenced by the following factors: work (the important thing was not the result of your work, but the process, participation in the activities of a certain group), authorities (taking responsibility for the decision; not necessarily likable but impossible to live without), self-assessment (confidence in its «normality», importance for society, expectations for the achievements to be recognized by the state via some symbolic actions or material praise). Similar values were shared to a greater or lesser extent by the whole society: «it is impossible to swim across the river of communism and not to get wet» (Tischner, 2005).

It should be noted that the general nature of the Soviet man phenomenon typical for the Communist society has caused debates in Central European academic circles. In his studies of totalitarian to democratic system transition, the sociologist Piotr Sztompka doubted the success of Communist social experiment. To his mind, at least three types of culture should be considered when dealing with USSR-like system:

- 1) Institutionalized culture of Plan Economy and totalitarian political system;
- 2) Folklore tradition developed through the centuries;



3) Modern Western culture emphasizing individualism, secularism, human rights and pluralism (Sztompka, 1996, 2000).

The official culture's influence, however powerful it was, shouldn't be overestimated for the sake of distorting the reality. It would be more reasonable to treat the results of the Soviet «New Man» project as those a) different from what the political elites expected; b) failing to disseminate the communist values to the extent presumed.

The philologist Joanna Korzeniewska-Berczynska analysed the phenomenon of the «Soviet man» in Russian and Polish journalism. The author tried to trace the genesis of the concept of «homo soveticus», the geography of its dissemination and the transformation of its meaning in the early 1990s. According to her observations, the concept of the «New Man» had emerged within the framework of the Soviet «anthropological Renaissance» with its aggressive propaganda of a superior everyman as a loyal group member totally devoted to the common idea, bearing no individual features and following AUCP canons. The essential features of this type of personality are:

1) passion for the notation and moralization, imposition of his own picture of the world combined with the understanding of his own dependence on the state: «we are slaves to the state, that's what we should all be»;

2) consumer psychology based on an interest in material goods;

3) escape from freedom – voluntary denial of rights and freedoms, unwilling to fight for them;

4) aggressive rejection of another point of view;

5) ability to survive under various historical conditions (Korzeniewska-Berczyńska, 1996).

Dorothy Pietrzyk-Reeves, a researcher from the Jagiellonian University, proposed an anthropological vision of the Soviet man. According to her, the communist system produced a one-dimensional (reference to G. Marcuse) type of person whose consciousness and thinking were simplified. With the world getting more and more complicated, such simplification led to the condition defined by D. Pietrzyk-Reeves as an anthropological mistake: the Communism formed a person unable to live in a modern world without Communism. Such dependency helped to control the population, but, on the other hand, imposed the burden of their provision on the state. This discrepancy has become the basis of the identity crisis in the Soviet-era society and subsequently led to the crisis and the collapse of the system itself (Pietrzyk-Reeves, 2010).

The University of Gdansk researcher Romuald Grzybowski highlighted the role taken by the Pioneer Movement in the process of the «New Man» creation. Having studied V. Lenin's and J. Stalin's pedagogical doctrines, he dated the final stage of «homo soveticus» formation back to the second half of the twentieth century. The political elites of the USSR strived to create a group-oriented workaholic loyal to the communist party. «The Soviet Man» would distinguish himself through total credence to the government and strong belief that the government takes care of common people (Grzybowski, 2018). It should be marked that the author's conclusions are based mostly on official Soviet public education documents. To our mind, the actual state of affairs was much more complicated that demands more complex research methods and diversified source bases.

Vileus Ivanauskas, a researcher at the Lithuanian Historical Institute, investigated the role of the Russian language in shaping the Soviet system of values among Lithuanians. He showed in detail that the spread of communism in the occupied Baltic republics meant, de facto, the planting of the Russian national project in the late Soviet version (Ivanauskas, 2007).

Elsa Kania, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences at the Adam Mickiewicz University (Poznan, Poland), continued the reflections of O. Zinoviev and Y. Tishner on the «Soviet

man.» The author critically revised the existing approaches to its definition in Polish and Russian scientific circles and emphasized such distinctive feature of Central European discourse as insisting upon the external nature of «homo soveticus» phenomenon imported to the region following the Soviet occupation. According to E. Kania, the term «Soviet man» was based exclusively on negative personality traits and would often distract the researchers from studying the actual identities of the second half of the 20th century, which were the synthesis of human self-identification, collective self-consciousness, existing system of values (Kania, 2012). To our mind, the author's remark is quite appropriate, since it outlines the cognitive value of the concept of «homo soveticus» in the study of the late Soviet history.

The Lithuanian experience of studying the communist type of personality drew attention of Laima Venkūskienė, a scholar at the History Department of the Vytautas Magnus University (Kaunas, Lithuania). With the help of the local periodicals, she outlined the typical vision of the «Soviet man» as a «grey mediocrity» intimidated and assimilated by the mass. Under the Communist regime, any personal changes were treated not as a matter of external influence but rather as a certain disease caused by and progressing under totalitarian regime. It is worth mentioning that the article brings forth the correlation between the Sovietization and national identity, thus positioning «homo soveticus» as a «spiritual migrant» bearing weak connection to the territory of residence (Venclauskienė, 2016).

In 2014, the conference «Transferring the Soviet New Man: East Central and Southeast European Perspectives» held by the Babeş-Bolyai University (Cluj-Napoca, Romania) marked the interest in the topic and the further development of the regional academic discourse in the field (Transferring the Soviet New Man, 2014). The discussion concentrated mostly on various communist elites' attempts to adjust the «Soviet Man» concept to local traditions, on the influence Central European countries' social structure had upon these processes, on regional varieties of the Communist human type.

Wojciech Wozniak, a sociologist from the University of Lodz (Poland), investigated the «new Soviet man» discourse practices in the Polish society of the 1990s. He came to the unexpected conclusion that the term «homo soveticus» was often used to mark not only the devoted communists and their surroundings, but marginalized society groups as well. During the «shock therapy» these segments of society suffered most in social terms, however, the ruling elites neglected their interests, explaining the difficulties of the transition period «civilizational incompetence» of the «Soviet people.» The researcher quite reasonably called for the separation of the ideological commitment to communism and dissatisfaction with reforms during the transition to a market economy without reducing them exclusively to the concept of «homo soveticus» (Wozniak, 2005).

Zbigniew Wojnowski focused on the theme of identities in the USSR in 1945 – 1991. The author stood in solidarity with the views of Western researchers on the resumption of the Soviet project after 1953. According to him, the authorities perceived the national question as the important element of control over the population and became the participant of the construction of national identities. According to the plans of central elites of the USSR, they should have become «national in form, socialist in content». Such controlled, ethnically based identities should undermine regional, clan and religious identities and serve as the intermediate form to the unified «Soviet citizen» (Wojnowski, 2015).

Estonian linguists Martin Ehala and Anastasia Zabrodskaia studied the connection of the language issue with identities in the late USSR and after 1991. The key idea of their work was the assertion about the plurality of identities in the Soviet society which were formed

including those based on the language of communication. The Russian language served as a medium for the transmission of the Soviet version of culture and hence communist values (Zabrodskaia, Ehala, 2015).

**Conclusions.** Thus, the Western science has managed to construct an influential academic discourse around the «Soviet man» problem. The Western European and American researchers have focused primarily on general aspects of USSR citizens' consciousness transformations under the influence of the Communist ideology, thus shaping out the key methodological approaches to the «new man» phenomenon and coining a specific term, «homo soveticus», to designate it. At the same time, regional versions of the Soviet project aimed at public consciousness transformation, specifically the Ukrainian one, still lack thorough investigation.

Consequently, a focus upon primarily negative features of «homo soveticus» as a social anomaly induced by totalitarian regime has become a common denominator for the Eastern and Central European research discourse alongside with the emphasis on the external nature of values imported to the region following the Soviet occupation. At the same time, recent publications indicate a critical reconsideration of the term «Soviet Man» and attempt to go beyond the discursive frames set by the end of the twentieth century.

The significance of the approaches of Western and European historiography is the formulation of critical view on the artificial concept of «Soviet Man» and the utopian nature of its construction.

The prospect for further research is the comparison of Western, Soviet and Ukrainian discourses of the phenomenon of the «Soviet Man».

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