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Perestroika and Power Constellations in Arno Jundze's Novel "Red Quicksilver"

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Abstract

On December 25, 1991, a country named the USSR disappeared from the world map., a country named the USSR disappeared from the world map. The USSR was not prepared for the processes of perestroika – the explosion of nationalism, centrifugal tendencies in culture, national demands; therefore, it reacted spontaneously, adhering to the longstanding methods that facilitated the collapse of the USSR. While carrying out the analysis of perestroika as a Soviet project, several perspectives have been noticed. The collapse of the political and economic regime initially captivated many former Soviet citizens, but later it acquired a range of destructive side effects: free market in its most primitive manifestations, development of criminal structures, emergence of financial pyramids, money devaluation, integration of Cheka agents into the politics of restored independent states, Soviet military heritage in degraded forms. At the same time, a process of transformation of the multinational political structure occurred, the consequences of which are still associated with polarized public opinion or nostalgic or oriental optics. Latvian writer Arno Jundze's novel "Sarkanais dzīvsudrabs" ("Red Quicksilver", 2017) focuses on the political and economic practices of perestroika and the last decade of the 20th century that are related to Latvia's society during the transition from Soviet to post-Soviet society. By using extensive variety of realities of perestroika and the following decade, Jundze draws parallels and shows the interfaces between the constellations of official power and illegitimate forces, as well as their representation. This paper is focused on the close reading of Jundze's Novel "Red Quicksilver", the term 'perestroika' denoting that period because it is established and recognizable in different languages and the language of various social segments creating associations not only with a precise period of change, but also with the emotional background typical of that time, the deconstruction of Soviet system and identification construct "homo sovieticus".

Keywords: prolonged perestroika, liminal status, soviet power; Latvian national awakening

1 Introduction

Arno Jundze is an author of contemporary Latvian prose, a literary scholar, and a cultural journalist. The author of contemporary Latvian prose, literary critic, cultural journalist. He defended his PhD in philology in 1996, served in the Soviet army in 1984-1986, worked as a

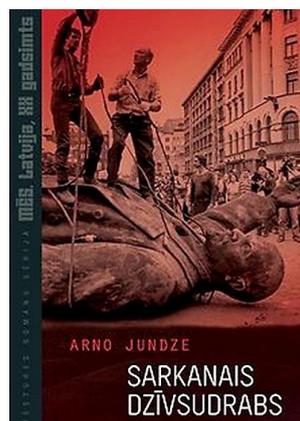
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researcher at the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art of the University of Latvia and is the Chairman of the Board of the Latvian Writers' Union. Jundze has written the scientific monograph "Finnish Literature in Latvia" (2002), he is the author of stories, novels and children's literature. Jundze's novel "Red Quicksilver" was published in the large-scale series of Latvian literature "We. Latvia. XX century" (published 2014 – 2018) initiated by Latvian writer Gundega Repše. It includes 13 novels about history - stages or border points of the 20th-century history of Latvia. At the end of each novel, an afterword is added in Latvian and English, in which the author or critic comments on the idea and context of the work. Conceptually, the series aims to capture the view of contemporary writers on history, the contouring of 20th-century history in an unofficial historical fiction, to provide a multi-layered reading of history, as opposed to the unified official history constructed by earlier ideologies or modern official history textbooks, highlighting the individual's emotional experience or "human chronicle" (Simsone, 2018) and experiences of different situations.

According to the literary scholar Bārbala Simsone, the common feature of all 13 novels, is sketching "big" historical processes that would elsewhere have occupied the plot center of the novels - for example, both world wars. Simsone notes that "writers seem to have deliberately changed the perspective, making these processes the backdrop for "little narratives", often without even describing them in detail, as writers are much more interested in *the history of a little man*" (Simsone, 2018).

Arno Jundze's novel is the final novel of the series. It should be noted that a precise mirror of the perestroika's atmosphere is a photograph of Gunārs Janaitis that is chosen for the cover of the book. It represents the dismantling of Lenin's monument in the center of Riga.

Image 1. The cover of Arno Jundze's novel "Red Quicksilver" with a photo by Gunārs Janaitis.



The title "Red Quicksilver" is metaphorical and has a double meaning. In the sense of the image, it is a reference to the toxic chemical that was declared a miracle drug at the end of the

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Cold War to be used for particularly powerful weapons and that guarantees world domination. In the collapsing Soviet Union, officers at Soviet military bases used to steal mercury supplies and, by adding crushed red brick powder to the mercury, made the pseudo “red mercury” themselves, which many naively enthusiastically bought and sold on the illegal market, often, as Jundze portrays, for pseudo-money or “dolls”. The second variant of the word mercury is ‘quicksilver’. In the context of the novel’s content, it points to the chaos of the perestroika period in the economy and finances, when the old laws are collapsing, but the new ones are not yet formed, when a situation of chaos is being formed, which with respect to money and business affairs manifests itself by various frauds and criminal transactions, as a result of which the new-rich emerge with quickly earned “live” cash or “silver”.

2 Methods

Perestroika was a series of political and economic reforms initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985-1991 to combat the stagnant economy of the Soviet Union, which contributed to the collapse of the USSR in 1991. The word ‘perestroika’, in Latvian – ‘pārbūve’ – is a literal transfer from the term in Russian and means ‘to build anew: in Latvian ‘būvēt’ means ‘to build’. The optics of postcolonial criticism have been used in the analysis of the perestroika and the following decade, or “prolonged perestroika”, depicted in Jundze’s novel. It focuses on the situation of the collapse of totalitarian hegemony and the shift of the power paradigm, with the emergence of concepts and effects that characterize the different reaction of societies and their subjects.

The euphoria of the perestroika era, after its formal end – the creation of an independent state, continues no longer in terms of geopolitics, but rather as “prolonged perestroika”, marked by the mentally liminal status in the recent existence of “homo sovieticus”. It is characterized by an “eyes-opening effect” and decolonial options (Tlostanova 2015) and performative acts marking the collapse of the Soviet empire. They are determined by the not yet completely lost ties with the illusory stability of Brezhnev stagnation period or even nostalgia for that in the situation of changes and sometimes even chaos and economic crisis occurring in the newly-established independent state. Financial and social instability, significant industrial changes also cause the cultural trauma of Decolonization or „trauma dramas“ (Eyerman, Sciortino 2020; Gūtmane 2019). The period of “prolonged perestroika” is marked by a wide range of indicators: the construction of the social identity and the individual one in the post-change of power constellations, adaptation to a new socio-political, economic and cultural paradigm; searches for one’s own place and information channels there; rewriting or erasing the “awkward” past and other acts of mimicry; construction of new communication

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institutes and models at the level of individuals and society; formation of clichés when comparing past and present paradigms of power from the view of an individual's benefit.

The period of “prolonged perestroika” ends with the transition to the 2000s associated with breaking the ties with the “Soviet century” and focusing on a new century (fundamentally different even numerically), the “European century”, marked by the Republic of Latvia's national strategy towards EU membership.

3 Discussion

The setting in the novel takes place in a well-defined period of time, marking the linear trajectory of the novel. It begins with the perestroika period and the mention of its brightest symbol – Mikhail Gorbachev – his 1989 New Year's address to the Soviet people on television and ends on December 10, 1999, approaching the millennium.

The action of the novel is structured in chapters by each year of the 90s, demonstrating “a shift in the social perception of time: in the perestroika era, everyone was aware of the dynamics of current events still feeling the linear nature of social time – something that did not exist in the Brezhnev era” (Sadowski 2019, p. 104).

The titles of the chapters represent perestroika according to Jundze's “significant” (Jundze 2017, p. 464) or “culmination” (Jundze 2017, p. 472) points from a modern perspective, which for the individual of that time were integrated into the fusion of numerous private and public life events: 1990 – “Hope”, 1991 – “The Barricades. Freedom”, 1992 – “What now?”, 1993 – “From Comrades into Lords?”, 1994 – “The Feast for the Chosen”, 1995 – “The Great Disappointment”, 1996 – “The State as an Enterprise”, 1997 – “Misfortune has come”, 1998 – “The Elections again”, 1999 – “Far Far away”.

Each chapter of the book begins with an epigraph - a small informative message about an important event in Latvia's domestic or foreign policy, which often has nothing to do with the dramatic events taking place in the lives of the novel's characters. Jundze marked the beginning of each chapter with the date and the name of the character - the little man – widening the gap between the subjectivity of the individual and the official perception of the era by society. This method of text structuring used by the author shows that the collective and individual historical experience has various forms of coexistence: intersections, parallels or movement in opposite trajectories. This finding accords with the common meta-message in the series “We. Latvia. XX Century” – the testimony of each individual about the collective history is unique, it will never serve as a projection of official history. In the title of the book, Jundze urges the reader not to perceive his novel as a history textbook. He states that “the

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great numbers of facts, which have been necessary to structure this work, were drawn from the most diversified sources and materials: newspapers, magazines, memoirs, journalistic investigations, Internet publications, information sites, and home pages of various ministries and the Saeima” (Jundze 2017, p. 471). Jundze does not deny that the sources used for the novel have sometimes been contradictory, thus emphasizing that the historical facts in the novel “are subjected to the logic of development of literary work and its characters” (Jundze 2017, p. 471). Jundze points out that his constructed characters are “just people of times they live in and they think according to respective stereotypes” (Jundze 2017, p. 471).

The novel reports on several aspects of the social and cultural trauma of postcolonial society, the typology of which has crystallized only from the perspective of the next decades – perestroika of the reflux phase (Sciortino, Eyerman, 2020), but the people drawn into the era relate only to their particular situation without paradigmatic generalizations. The novel is an outlook on the post-totalitarian society, its behavior, the properties of transmission and the deflection of other forms. The events depicted in the novel are part of a dramatic change in geopolitical, constitutional and economic paradigms, during which new narratives about victims and perpetrators are either erased and formed, or existing ones are rewritten, because “the meaning of events, and the associated feeling (or lack thereof) of solidarity with the victims and of indignation toward the perpetrators, is never a direct consequence of the actual suffering (Eyerman, Sciortino 2020, p. 7). Such an outcome is a cultural achievement, one that requires establishing a story [..]”.

There is a significant difference in the postcolonial discourse between decolonial and post-totalitarian states – it is the economic basis on which they begin their path towards independence in the post-imperial phase: “[..] decolonization appeared even simpler and relatively un-dramatic in economic terms. [..]. On the cost side, the last phase of colonialism had become more and more expensive as imperial states had involved themselves in a variety of modernizing/developmental projects in order to bolster their legitimacy” (Eyerman, Sciortino 2020, p. 12). The social trauma of the subject of the post-Soviet situation for “common man” was more significant than the cultural trauma, the significance of which intensified only when the initial shock of economic trauma was overcome. Unemployment as a result of the collapse of the Soviet industrial system, the boom of criminal economic groups, the frauds of financial pyramids, the devaluation of human savings, inflation, currency changes caused severe social trauma even for Soviet people with the modest financial means or accustomed to predictability who were not able to programme their income and expenses by themselves. Perestroika was marked not only as a time of social, political and economic transformations, but also as cultural and mental transformations, which urged to form a new conceptual construct or partially transform an old one. For the subject of perestroika, glasnost

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(openness and transparency) as a concept of perestroika was a reflection of cultural trauma experienced during the Soviet epoch. “Glasnost was a most important lever for effecting change and involving people in the reform process. That is why the word is so often mentioned in conjunction with the word perestroika. I regarded glasnost as my principal aid. That is still my opinion, even though glasnost has come in for a lot of criticism from all kinds of people, including, surprisingly, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.” (Gorbachev, 2021). In traumatic discourse “glasnost” demonstrated that freedom does not mean the permission of the previously banned with respect to only ideological bans (access to the texts of the authors banned in the Soviet time), but also to the enjoyment and entertainment industry: the yellow boulevard, pornography, pirated translations, etc. The scope of perestroika realities and events mentioned in Jundze’s novel shows that many things have already been forgotten or pushed out of memory as especially traumatic, which perestroika subjects do not talk about because of traumatic social and cultural experiences (cooperation with Cheka, attacks from criminal economic groups, money loss in financial pyramids).

However, Ron Eyerman and Giuseppe Sciortino emphasize that “trauma claims establish themselves, or fail to do so, not only based on their capacity to mobilize money and power, but also based on the quality of the narrative itself and the performative skills of its proponents and adversaries” (Eyerman, Sciortino 2020, p. 8). 30 years after the events of perestroika, Jundze’s novel expresses the social and cultural traumas of many people of perestroika time, gives an opportunity to evaluate the absurdity or usefulness of events of that time from a modern perspective, creates a sense of perestroika time as a system - the feeling that people of that era lacked because there was a feeling of unawareness instead.

After the publication of the novel, critics stated that “very few dare to write about the 1990s. Probably because this period is still relatively recent, so not all scars have healed”. (Gaitniece, 2017).

The collapse of the USSR changed all spheres of life and transformed the processes. In modern political historiography, the collapse of the USSR is called perestroika in the sense proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev, marking a new stage in the development of the country’s social, economic and political life, which replaced the so-called “era of stagnation” (which, as Jakub Sadowski states, is a term coming from Gorbachev’s lexicon and began to be used in 1986, marking the period since Brezhnev came to power in 1964) (Sadowski 2019, p.102).

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Table 1. Concepts of power polarity in Brezhnev era and perestroika

Era of stagnation	Perestroika
60s – 70s	late 80s - 90s
predictability	unpredictability
standstill	changes
slowness	intensity
moving along one trajectory	polarity
monostructural power	polystructural power

The novel is based on the kaleidoscope principle – individual biographies of various characters, divided into small episodes without a definite beginning and end, which meet in some places, but which are largely united only by the common decade and place of residence – Latvia.

Jundze’s novel narrates about a decade that according to Simšone “began with spiritual uplift but ended with physical and moral decline” (Simšone, 2017). The novel actualizes the collective anxiety of the time of change: “It was our everyday life – all those shops, bandits that would take over something there, steal, explode. It’s all the atmosphere of the 90s” (Ābeltiņa, Kuške, 2017). The narrative includes stories about an ordinary man: a Cheka agent, a lonely rural woman, a young doctor in the capital city, a farmer or a small businessman – living in the times of chaos, when one system collapsed, but a new one was not yet offered. Žanete witnesses the events during the barricades that require the presence of a doctor, Nikolajs is trying to start active farming, which is hampered by both unfavorable conditions and criminal groups that have to be paid “for protection”, Laimonis is trying to earn money through commission shops and smuggling of goods from Poland, Renārs enters the new Saeima on the assignment of Cheka in order to destroy the system from the inside, Jānis has fled from an unwanted marriage to the Soviet military service, but the character named Archivist is trying to reconstruct his family roots and create his identity in old documents. “The novel depicts how ordinary people actively filled their existence with new, creative, positive, unexpected meanings that had not been dictated “from above”. “Sometimes this was done in accordance with the tasks set by the state, either in conflict with them, or sometimes also in a form that is not in line with the binary form “for – against”. The positive, creative, ethical aspects of life were part of an organic socialist reality, just like there were feelings of alienation and meaninglessness. Therefore, one of the components of today’s “post-Soviet

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nostalgia” phenomenon is longing not for the state system or ideological rituals, but for the important meanings of human existence” (Юрчак, 2014).

One of these meanings in the novel is the desire to stick to stability – the land and the familiar agrarian way of life. The rural man finds himself far from the great political turmoil, although he is an informed and interested observer who sees his place and mission in preserving stability and a maintaining pastoral rhythm of life: “It is always easy to rebel and make a revolution if there is someone who would milk and feed a cow at that time” (Jundze 2017, p. 58). At the same time, the periphery and the countryside are ambivalent and also include the connotation of backwardness: “Damn bullshit. One can kick the bucket from boredom.” (Jundze 2017, p. 60)

Jundze also describes the ideological transformations in the “old – new” culture. At the turn of the year, “on all three channels from the early morning, both ours and foreigners, perform in a variegated mess – vocal instrumental ensembles and performers until recently rebuked for rotten capitalist pop artists. Even Moscow’s central television has decided to keep up with the new trends in society. “Little Blue Light” (a Soviet-time TV show) has been renamed Night 90 in the spirit of perestroika. Away with stagnation – now the usual conversations with those sitting at the white-clothed tables in the front has been replaced by aesthetics of video clips coming into fashion”. [...] Between the songs, variety-show girls in poor costumes dance, but the reliable singers of Soviet patriotic themes Kobzon and Leshchenko have been replaced by a recent underground: *Time Machine*, *Gorky Park* and Zhanna Aguzarova. From Latvians, Laima Vaikule is singing a song about a chocolate.” (Jundze 2017, p. 13)

The novel presents a multi-layered political discourse. It should be noted that the files of the LSSR KGB agency, the agency’s employees and registration journals of labor cases became publicly available in Latvia only in 2018 and stirred the minds of society. Many illustrations of well-known people were published. Jundze’s novel reflects on Cheka agents, combining perestroika and modern perspectives. “Former chekists” [...] cannot be hidden in bags [...] the committee’s greeting to the creative intelligentsia. [...] They were used everywhere – for industrial reconnaissance, for working upon foreign compatriots, for the analysis of internal sentiment, for keeping an eye on dissidents. [...] at the time of recruiting the Cheka agents, they would honestly warn that there are no former Security Committee agents.” (Jundze 2017, p. 133)

As if based on the name of the chekists, the strategy of opening Cheka bags is justified in the novel: “Our plan for Latvia was exactly like this – to hand over the archives to the new government so that the clock starts ticking! This is a Trojan horse [...]. Think for yourself, how can a people’s conscience and a Cheka informer coexist?” (Jundze 2017, p. 134) During the

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Saeima sittings and commissions, the former chekist Renārs Zivtiņš “was entertaining himself by guessing which of his colleagues could be the same as him. Pretty soon Renārs came up with a rough list of over twenty ideological brothers in his mind” (Jundze 2017, p. 201).

It should be noted that perestroika formed between the two power constellations mapping binary system on the basis of the concepts represented in the novel.

Table 2. Power constellations in “Red Quicksilver” (part 1)

<i>Transfer from the totalitarian to the post-totalitarian</i>	<i>Heteroglossia of power</i>
Monopoly of power	Multiparty system
One-party system	Previously unknown multi-party system
Formal elections	Power of media

Table 3. Power constellations in “Red Quicksilver” (part 2)

<i>Official government</i>	<i>Non-official</i>
There is no experience of political activity in a multi-party system	Populist or physical force
Formed from above	Formed from the bottom
Complicated laws for a “little man”	Laws of groupings that a “little man” understands

During perestroika, the new and popular concept was immediately adapted by the ideologues of the Communist Party and integrated into their rhetoric. For example, some news in the Soviet Communist Party newspaper “The Fight” (*Cīņa*) entitled “Reconstruction – the Continuation of the Revolution” dated by November 15, 1988, quotes the words of the Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee V. Medvedev at the Latvian Red Riflemen Memorial Museum: “The most important now is that the revolutionary reconstruction has begun, that it is taking effect. Many issues that were not addressed in the past are already finding a solution. Now the activity has started, people’s activity has increased. Although we perhaps may see not quite desirable phenomena here, it should be said that it is taking place against the background of the overall positive processes. The work must go on” (*Cīņa*, 1988).

On the other hand, it was not easy for the “little man”, who has his roots in the Soviet era, to navigate the multi-layered flow of information. Although the basic paradigm in perestroika is made up of polarities, it should be borne in mind that in the early days of perestroika there were many structures that offered the ideology of a bygone era in new forms and with misleading rhetoric, such as Interfront (pro-communist political movement that aimed to

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preserve the Soviet Union as a unified Marxist-Leninist state and strongly opposed the pro-independence movement in the late Soviet Latvia years).

Table 4. Images and events represented by different political powers.

<i>Soviet military hegemony is represented by such images and events</i>	<i>The power of the restored independent Latvia is represented in the novel by the following images and events</i>
OMON (Special Purpose Police Units)	Time of barricades
The coup and Alfrēds Rubiks (in August 1991, the chairman of the Latvian State Emergency Committee, he was arrested and accused of the coup organization)	Stories of Latvian national partisans resistance and fighting against the Soviet regime
Soviet military network	The borders have opened – mutual visits of Latvians who emigrated during World War II and those who remained in the occupied Latvia.
The network of the National Security Service and Cheka agents, (The KGB Building – The “Corner House”: “In 1988, the personal cards of all serious KGB agents were removed from the card file and delivered to the Podolsk archive. [...] What has remained in the Cheka bags is a trifle, waste paper” (Jundze 2017, p. 132)	The archetype of the abroad was the “West”, which was also a phenomenon of local Soviet production and could exist only as long as the real Western world remained unattainable for the majority of Soviet people. “The “West” was a special imaginary space.” (Юрчак 2014, p. 314)
Service in the Soviet Army: “Dumb, idiotic, pointless – these are the first denotations that come to Jānis’s mind to characterize his service in the army” (Jundze 2017, p. 102).	Reading foreign writers: Hamsun, Kellerman, Jaunsudrabiņš who serve as a bridge to the literature of the previous period of independence
Deficit and the shadow economy	Interest in the roots of your family
	Destructive images: “Latvians have learnt from the Communists to laze away” (Jundze 2017, p. 318)
	AIDS, racketeering, cooperatives
	Financial schemes, banking crises: “Bank Baltija” in Latvia, extravagance of deputies

4 Results

The novel depicts different attitudes towards perestroika and Latvian National Awakening – the movement that led to the restoration of Latvia’s independence in the “Singing Revolution” of 1987 – 1991. The Awakening was expected, but when it began, it encountered a surprise in people caused by its suddenness and courage. Jundze writes: “No one in Latvia had been ready indeed for the long-awaited freedom to come so quickly and by itself, as it did at the end of August last year, when the old days suddenly were over [...]. The Soviet Union collapsed, the Western countries unanimously recognized Latvia, although years ago no one

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cared much about the fate of the Baltics [...] even in the first days of the August coup, it was pointless even to dream about it” (Jundze 2017, p.119)

Perestroika and Awakening in the novel are not only a representative image of positive and long-awaited change. Jundze raises the issue of the needlessness of honest routine work and the problem of “redundant people”, which causes disappointment in the ideals of the Awakening, the discrepancies between what people had expected to see in the restored Latvian state and what they encountered.

The state apparatus was not yet ready, there was no knowledge and experience in state governance. All the challenges lie in each individual’s ability to adapt to a new situation with conflicting laws, disorderly norms, monetary reforms, border shifts and rewriting history: “Everything is getting more and more expensive, and the ability to survive from one day to another is like a champion-worthy chess game to be played in an endless squirrel wheel that is spinning faster and faster. Politicians shamelessly claim that everything is paid as much as it should. Everything, but an honest job! [...] In the evenings, it is frightening to go out, the city resembles a battlefield. All sorts of criminals hold sway of restaurants, streets and yards, they shoot each other, stab and slaughter. Sometimes there are even explosions heard. God forbid to accidentally get into such a scrape. They rob and steal: cars, apartments, shops, people. And then those drugs [...] and adult services”. (Jundze 2017, pp. 215-216)

5 Conclusion

Jundze’s novel is an extensive summary of perestroika and the first post-Soviet decade that followed events, personalities, phenomena, realia, acts of the performative and imaginary. It is an exhaustive list of realities of the ideological paradigm shift and a glossary of concepts. On the one hand, it is based on the writer’s strategy, which makes it possible for a wider readership to get identified with this text. On the other hand, it is a desire to foreground both the clichés that had been developing over 30 years and the non-typical experience of individuals, including silenced social and cultural traumas.

The novel demonstrates that in the 90s, the subject and society after the perestroika continued to self-position in polarities, as it is a well-acquainted matrix of the Soviet era. During post-perestroika period, the feeling of fear inherited from the Soviet system is being refocused on fear and a sense of danger from what is the other, the otherness. Jundze’s novel does not outline strict boundaries between the two systems, as suggested by official history; the individual feels the change of systems smoothly.

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The events depicted in Jundze's novel show a significant discrepancy between the historical time frame of perestroika and the public mood and the impact of perestroika on people in economic and emotional terms. At the beginning of perestroika, there was an exaltation in the people for the freedom of speech promoted by glasnost, which grew into the so-called "Singing Revolution" in Latvia and culminated in the non-violent overthrow of Soviet power. However, the growing and prolonged economic instability creates a feeling of frustration in a very short time and marks the mental liminal status of perestroika. Although an independent Latvian state has emerged, Latvia has marked its territory with borders, it is not that easy to erase the borders in people's minds. The comparisons with the slow time of Brezhnev's time, in which, despite all shortcomings, there was no instability and direct economic or physical danger, cause some frustration in people, which can be called 'prolonged perestroika'. Prolonged perestroika is a transitional phenomenon characterized by obscurity and uncertainty. This is largely determined by the transition from Russian as the main communication medium to Latvian as the state language. Almost half of the society does not have a complete understanding of the processes in the independent state of Latvia, they continue to live in the Russian-language information space, which at that time is already the information space of another country – Russia.

The end of Jundze's novel falls on the turn of the millennium. With the end of 1999, the psychologically determined stage of the transformation of political systems is announced. The feeling of shifting from the "old or leaving time" to the "new or time of hope" is intensifying in the society. For the majority, the end of the 20th century marks a break from the century associated with the Soviet era and a focus on a European space associated with a future promising an array of new possibilities.

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