ARCHETYPAL HISTORY OF MENTALITIES: SOVIET LITHUANIA

Summary

The book formulates the theoretical framework of the archetypal history of mentalities and provides some examples of their practical application. The first chapter examines the main concepts and assumptions applicable in this field of research, as well as the distinction between the so-called objective and archetypal history. The second chapter focuses on the peculiarities of the emergence and dissemination of Marxist mentalities in Russia. It analyses the peculiarities of the Russian mentality in the process of the emergence, creation, and collapse of socialism, as well as the psychological reasons for the emergence and popularity of Putinism in certain levels of society. The third chapter analyses the peculiarities of the dissemination of Marxist ideas and the Marxist worldview in Lithuania. It distinguishes the main imagined communities during the Soviet era, analysing the peculiarities of their mentalities, as well as the specifics of their change. The Annex provides interviews with people who lived in the Soviet Union. Their memories, on the one hand, illustrate and complement the issues examined in Chapter 3, while, on the other hand, they can serve as material for other researchers and other interpretations of the Soviet era.

The concept of archetypal history was first used by Kevin Lu in his work on the concept of "Jungian" history. As we know, Jung distinguishes two components of history: objective and natural. Objective history – that which we make, the natural history that resides in and emanates from the collective unconsciousness and only discloses its living presence through the medium of creative fantasy[398]. According to Lu, what Jung terms as natural history could be designed as archetypal history[399]. In our view, this

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[398] *Collected works of C. G. Jung.* Vol. 10, p. 12.
[399] Kevin Lu. Jung and history: Adumbrations of a post-Jungian approach to psychoa-nalytic history. In Gottfried Heuer (ed.) *Sexual revolutions: psychoanalysis, history and the*

concept can be applied not only to the Jungian viewpoint but also to the independent direction of scientific research. Archetypal history is a field of research that analyses the role of archetypes, or in a broader sense, the role of the collective unconsciousness in the process of history. Archetypal history of mentalities – a direction in the study of mentalities, analysing the role of archetypes in mentality structure and change.

The emergence of the history of mentalities as an independent direction of scientific research is usually associated with the French Annales school. Despite numerous and undeniable achievements, this research direction has several drawbacks. First, the tenuity of the conceptual apparatus. Historians of mentalities analysed the social, economic, psychological aspects of history and used some of the concepts of these disciplines, but did not create an independent scientific apparatus, and even the main concept – that of mentality – has not been sufficiently studied and defined. So, it is not surprising that the history of mentalities was often seen as part of cultural history, and some scientists suggested completely abandoning the concept of mentality. In this way, according to Geoffrey Ernest Richard Lloyd, it was necessary to "demystify mentalities." In French, the title of this researcher's book sounds even more drastic – *Pour en finir avec les mentalités* [Put an end to mentalities].[400]

Another thing that the history of mentalities lacks is theory. Wikipedia's article on "History" states that multidisciplinary research, for which the author names such classics of the history of mentalities as Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, "failed to produce a theory of history[401]." The existence or absence of theory is the main criterion for the maturity of scientific research. When unsupported by theory, scientific research is doomed to remain at the lowest, pre-paradigmatic stage of scientific development. From here comes the third and main disadvantage of the history of mentalities – the absence of paradigms. That is why Peter Burke's work on the strengths and weaknesses of the history

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father. Routlege, 2011. p. 16.
[400] Geoffrey Ernest Richard Lloyd. *Demystifying Mentalities.* Cambridge University Press,1990; *Pour en finir avec les mentalités.* La Découverte, 1999.
[401] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History. Viewed on 16/11/2021.

of mentalities proposed a greater concern with categories, schemata, formulae, stereotypes, or paradigms. The works of Aby Warburg and Ernst Gombrich on art, Thomas Kuhn on science, and Michel Foucault on a variety of topics should act as examples. The author pointed out that all four scholars have drawn inspiration from one form or another of psychology[402].

The variant of the archetypal history of mentalities expanded on in the book avoids, or at least tries to avoid, all these flaws. It first provides a system for the concepts used in mentality research. Some of them – archetype, complex, imagined community, tension, compensation – are already used in historical research, while others – mentality trait, mentality scope, exemplary person, exemplary text – are newly introduced. The theory developed with the help of these concepts enables local processes and phenomena to be treated in a broader historical cultural context, microhistory as part of macrohistory. Finally, the book attempts to create a paradigm of the history of mentalities that draws inspiration from Carl Gustav Jung's psychology.

Paradigms are generally perceived as a framework of concepts, results, and procedures within which subsequent work is structured. At the same time, it provides model problems and solutions for a community of practitioners. The main model problems in the field of mentality research can be worded as follows: what is mentality? what types of mentalities can be distinguished? what are the dynamics of mentalities? what patterns or tendencies of mentality dynamics can be distinguished? This book is an attempt to consider and present some solutions to these problems. We are not sure that it is a successful attempt, but we are certain that without such attempts, the paradigms of the history of mentality will never be created.

The first chapter begins with the analysis of structure and types of mentalities. Mentality is considered as the mental constitution of an individual or a group of individuals. Depending on what parts of the psyche are singled out and what relationships between them are

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[402] Peter Burke. Strengths and Weaknesses in the History of Mentalities.

postulated, many different theories of mentalities can be developed. The mentality parts most often referred to are thinking, attitudes, feelings and beliefs. In this book, the underlying concept describing the structure of mentalities is the concept of a *mentality feature*. A mentality feature is the type of thinking, feelings, attitudes and beliefs inherent in individuals or large groups. Mentality in this sense comprises the entirety of mentality features characteristic of an individual or a group.

The simplest way to identify the mentality feature of any individual or group of people is by how they behave in typical situations. In typical situations, behaviour specific to certain groups of people can be called a typical behaviour. Typical behaviour is recurring, recognisable behaviour. It is recurring because people in a similar situation have acted in a similar way before. It is recognisable because there are certain algorithms for this behaviour. In other words, a mentality feature is a mental structure, the existence of which we postulate in order to explain the typical behaviour of individuals or groups of people.

The numerous and different mentality features can be classified somehow. Pitirim Sorokin provided the best-based classification of mentalities that we know of. According to him, there are three ways of knowing reality: either through the senses, through faith, or through rational thought. In this context, he identified three types of cultural mentalities: sensate, ideational, and mixed-idealistic[403]. In this work, we will classify mentalities according to the role of imagination in people's lives and distinguish four types of mentalities: instinctive, rational, idealistic, and ideational (or based upon faith).

The instinctiver type includes people whose lives are most often driven by instincts; primarily the pursuit of pleasure or, more broadly, a comfortable life. Imagination in the lives of this type of people does not play any or barely any role. People who are of the rational type try to use their minds to solve their life problems. The main feature of this type of mentality is rational choice. In order to make the right choice, people create different options in their imagination and consider the consequences of each one. An idealist is a person who cherishes or

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[403] Pitirim Sorokin. *Social and Cultural Dynamics.*

pursues higher principles, purposes, goals, etc. Ideas are creations of the imagination, so people of the idealistic type live more in their imagination than in a world perceived by the senses. Some of the content of collective imagination is considered to be the right one, not requiring and often avoiding any rational evidence by ideational type of mentality.

A particular species of idealistic human beings is archetypal people. In this case, archetypes are perceived as co-impulsive ideas. An idealistic person can cherish some ideas, or they might not. They can also pursue some high, noble goals, or they may reject them. Archetypal people cannot reject the source of compulsivity, because they are *complex*. Archetypes are the content of collective unconscious, and appear as complexes in individual unconscious[404].

The emergence of some complexes can be explained by the biographies of complex humans: someone nearly drowned as a child, which is why they are afraid of water; someone had too warm or too cold relations with their parents, so they feel uncomfortable with individuals of the opposite sex, etc. However, there are complexes that affect not only separate individuals, but also groups of people. The origins of these complexes are difficult and often impossible to explain through the biographies of the people who experience them. What biographical facts can explain the emergence of complexes such as conscience, duty, or loyalty? We can almost always explain why one person has a conscience, but this won't say anything about the emergence of the phenomenon of conscience itself – because the origins of some complexes lie not in the history of the individual, but in the history of humanity.

The main feature of complexes is autonomy. This means that to a greater or lesser extent the mental part of complex people consists of mental contents, and they can monitor rather than control the operation. This does not mean that a complex person cannot control their behaviour. For example, a person complexed in respect to representatives of another race may behave as if racial differences unfaze them, but subconscious indignation or, conversely, admiration of the external features, demeanour, and lifestyle of someone of another race would not

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[404] *Collected works of C. G. Jung.* Vol. 9.1, p. 42.

disappear. A responsible person might not perform their duty, but they cannot voluntarily give up the feeling of duty, or, conversely, "turn it on".

People with the same mentality features or belonging to the same type form certain communities. Sometimes members of such a community are united by some sort of mentality feature – for example, sports fans are united by love for and pride in their team, which is manifested in the fact that during a match they meet at the stadium and support their favourite team in various ways; at times, a community – such as Catholics – has a set of behaviours, feelings, perceptions, and even thinking which, as much as possible, is upheld by every member of the Catholic community. Since members of these communities are far from each other in space and time, the concept of an imagined community can be used to describe them[405]. This is what we will use instead of the concept of "collective", as favoured by some authors.

Each society is made up of a wide variety of imagined communities. In order to investigate the mentality of a society, we need to analyse the mentalities of the specific people living in that society, and on the basis of the results of this analysis, identify and/or label the imagined communities that make up that society.

It is easiest to identify a community based on how its members behave (feel, think) in a typical situation. For example, people who work hard from morning to evening form an imagined community of *toilers*, obedient people – a community of those who are *obedient*, those ready to challenge are *challengers*, etc. If any community has not yet been named, the researcher identifies it. Orlando Figes, for example, found that in Stalin's Russia people used to only whisper about political matters, so he called the Russian community of that period "whisperers"[406]. There are as many imagined communities as there are groups of people acting in a typical manner.

Art, primarily literature, plays an important role in identifying which imagined communities exist in a society. From artwork we

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[405] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.*
[406] Orlando Figes. *The Whisperers: Private life in Stalin's Russia.*

can learn what typical behaviour, typical feelings, ways of perception or thinking existed in one society or another, what kind of people were involved in these forms and why, and what reasons encouraged or forced them to behave in a typical way. In other words, literature and art provide the imagined mentalities that we can use in restoring the mentalities of actual people who once lived. Many literary heroes have their own prototypes, but even in cases where such prototypes do not exist, they exhibit some of the mentalities of actual human beings. In addition, literary heroes often become very typical and exemplary persons. For example, Molière's Tartuffe is a very typical representative of an imagined hypocritical community, and the hero of Goethes' novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther* became an exemplary personality for those who kill themselves for tragic love. The names of literary heroes are labels, which mark certain ways of typical behaviours, feelings, perceptions, and thinking.

Thus, history is not only a history of nations – French, German, or Indonesian; not only social or professional groups – peasants, nobles, soldiers, traders, workers; it is the history of people united by common mentalities – heroes, cowards, hypocrytes, challengers, adapters, fighters, and those seeking peace; this is also the story of *Oedipus, Hamlets, Trainspotters* or *the Dharma Bums*; some of these communities, such as hypocrites, existed almost always and everywhere, some – such *as Dharma Bums* – only in certain nations at certain stages of their history. Identifying these communities and researching their role in history is the main task of this direction of mentality history.

The main reason for changes in mentality is the creative activity of people. Every scientific discovery, new social or political theory, artwork, changes people's attitudes towards the world, themselves, creates new forms of behaviour and new mentality features. In addition to the conscious efforts of the creator, certain subconscious powers that they can hardly control also play a larger or smaller role in the creative process. If we call this power "nature", we can say that, in addition to the creator himself, nature takes part in the creative process and the bigger its role in creation, the better the results that can be expected. A genius is a man

through whom, according to Kant, nature gives a rule to art. What Kant and other modern philosophers described as nature, Jung called the unconscious. "The Unconscious is nature, and nature never lies"[407]

The main feature of the unconscious is creativity[408]. The creative nature of the collective unconscious is expressed by the means of creative personalities – thinkers, artists, mystics[409]. The main instrument of expression of the creative unconscious is imagination[410]. The result of creation – imagined worlds. We often talk about artists' imagined worlds, but this can also be applied to imagined religious, moral, ideological worlds.

The main structural elements of the imagined worlds are archetypes, symbols, myths. Archetypes are *a priori* conditions for imagination, which are somewhat similar to the kantian categories[411]. Similar to the Kantian categories that arrange the material of senses into a coherent picture of the world, archetypes arrange imagination-generated contents into imaginary worlds.

History as a whole is the history of imagined communities that believe in the same myths, worship the same symbols, or are affected by the same archetypes. Becoming members of these communities is not a result of deliberate efforts. No one can, by simply wishing, begin or stop believing in a myth, fall in love, or, conversely, stop loving their homeland or start to experience a thrill in relation to some religious symbol. This means that history is not a performance in which everyone chooses whatever role they want. History is a performance whose director is the collective unconscious or nature. Nature, with the help of creative personalities, creates imagined worlds and shapes the mentalities of the people living on those worlds: some are turned into true believers, others – into fighters, obedient ones, and so on.

This conception of the process of history opens up two main fields of research: first, it is possible to study the origin and development of

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[407] *Collected works of C. G. Jung.* Vol. 18, p. 166.
[408] *Collected works of C. G. Jung.* Vol. 11, p. 336.
[409] *Collected works of C. G. Jung.* Vol. 10, p. 10.
[410] Ibid.
[411] *Collected works of C. G. Jung.* Vol. 10, p. 11.

imagined religious, mythological, ideological worlds. Another direction is to analyse how imagined worlds shaped the mentalities of the people who lived in them. Among the work done in this area are those of Georges Duby and Joachim Fest. In his work Duby focused on the development of ideologies within the structures that permeated the various aspects of an individual's life[412]. The work of Fest is significant for the history of mentalities for three main Preasons. First, it distinguishes the main imagined communities that formed Nazi society: practitioners and Technicians, Functionaries, the Intellectuals, etc. Second, it reveals the values, attitudes, and worldviews of those communities – in other words, their mentalities. And, finally, the book analyses the relationship between the imagined and the real world, or, in Fest's words, the "idea and the reality of the Third Reich"[413].

In his book, Fest also explores the psychological causes of fascism. Why was fascist ideology, or, in a broader sense, an imagined fascist world, formed? In the context of the problems we are dealing with, this question can be formulated as follows: why do some imagined worlds change others? In order to understand the change of the imagined worlds better, we are going to add the concepts of *psychic energy* and *tensions*.

According to Jung, all psychological phenomena can be considered as manifestations of energy. The source of psychic energy is tension – primarily, the tension between instincts and archetypes[414]. As archetypes form the framework of imagined worlds while the world of an instinctive person is most often limited to sensory perception, we will consider tension between the imaginary world and the sensory world as the main source of mental as well as creative energy.

The role of tension in the life of individuals and society can be briefly described as follows: A human being, as a biological creature, lives in the world of instincts. Unsatisfied instincts cause tension or psychological and, sometimes, physiological discomfort. The individual tries to satisfy the instincts and so reduces the tension that they cause. In this sense,

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[412] Georges Dubois. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined.*
[413] Joachim Fest. *The Face of the Third Reich. Portraits of the Nazi Leadership,* p. xi.
[414] *Collected works of C. G. Jung.* Vol. 8, p. 206.

the researchers who consider the satisfaction of needs and reduction of tensions as the primary goals of human activities are correct. However, the end of evolution of the human being as a biological creature was followed by the evolution of imagination; a human being, as a creature with imagination, must always create tensions because tensions are the main source of mental energy. These tensions can get different expressions in different areas of theoretical and practical activities, however, the process of creating tensions as such is endless. Religions mostly focus on the tension between temporary and eternal life or morals, that is the tension between good and evil, while social life is driven by tensions existing between different classes, castes, parties and groups. According to Ralf Dahrendorf, the imagination of societies that creates tensions and antagonisms seems to be endless[415]. Once the goals existing in the imagination of societies are achieved or alternatively prove to be unrealistic, this type of tension fades away. At this point, somebody's imagination gives birth to new ideas which get objectivised in new mythologies, religions and philosophies which, in turn, create new imaginary worlds where new mentality features get formed and so on ad infinitum. The main law governing this process is compensation.

The introduction of the concept of compensation into mentality research is useful because it provides a better understanding of the process of changing mentalities. From where, for example, did dissidents appear in a totalitarian state like the Soviet Union? According to the authorities, it was the result of hostile propaganda and therefore the Committee for State Security (KGB) in every way prevented Western information from entering the country. Now, let us imagine that the Iron Curtain was airtight and no information from the West could reach the population of the Soviet Union. Does this mean that the USSR would have been a monolithic society in which there would be no alternative or even hostile attitudes? Not at all. First, alternative models of society could be created by the mind. Czesław Miłosz referred to the way of thinking that existed in socialist societies as "the captive mind". Indeed, the body can be captive, yet the mind is always free. Nothing will ever prevent the mind

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[415] Ralf Dahrendorf. *Modernusis socialinis konfliktas: esė apie laisvės politiką*, p. 242.

from creating different models of the world, of society's development. In a totalitarian society, most such models would never see the light of day, but sooner or later there would be a challenger that would dare to make their views public. Similarly, someone's imagination would create alternative forms of behaviour, feeling, or perception, and there would be people who would not be afraid to introduce these forms to the public. The law of compensation states that a model that compensates for the shortcomings of the existing regime is what will be widespread in society. If pleasures prevail in society, then challengers will introduce ideas; if the society is dominated by ideas, then challengers will urge people to pay more attention to sensory pleasures. Compensation prevents a single religion, ideology, or philosophy from dominating in the world.

In order to track the concepts of tension and compensation for the analysis of the development of society, we should introduce its measure. In our view, such a measure could be an event. An event is an action that has a beginning and end. Some historical events are the result of the deliberate efforts of the people who planned and involved them, but this is rather an exception than a rule. Who, for example, planned and executed the French Revolution? After all, such "spontaneous" events best reflect the processes taking place in one or another society.

By applying the concept of event to the study of mentality dynamics, we can assume that the greater the tension in society, the more energy it generates, and the more energy it generates, the more events occur. It is also true in terms of social and political life: the more stress they face in society, the more significant events they bring about.

The concept of event may also be applied to the measurement of compensation. It is expedient to distinguish between constructive, destructive and neutral events. The goal of constructive events is the creation or consolidation of a new order, destructive – destruction of the existing order. Neutral events expand and diversify the repertoire of typical behaviours, feelings, or perceptions that already exist. The analysis of the relationship between compensation and events may be based on the assumption that the greater the need to compensate for any disadvantages in existing society, the more destructive events there are in it.

Another premise that can be useful in researching mentality dynamics is that both constructive and destructive events occur when a certain amount of energy is stored in the unconscious. This means that the unconscious plays a kind of safe box role in which it accumulates long-lasting feelings, wishes, expectations, or hopes and, when the time comes, they burst to the surface. Yes, one of the causes of the French Revolution was the unjust, humiliating treatment of the common people by the aristocrats. According to Thomas Carlyle, "injustice will accumulate until it reaches such a scale that it will burst."[416] This is true not only in terms of injustice or other negative emotions, incentives, but also in relation to all mental content.

Taking into account the above assumptions, the main problems arising in this direction of research can be formulated as follows. What events testify to the existence of tensions? Which communities create and/or maintain tensions? What destructive events are typical of the society being analysed? What disadvantages did these events seek to compensate for in that society? Are there facts showing that one or another event was the result of collective subconscious processes? If so, what facts? These and other issues arising from them were analysed in some works, but most of them are still waiting for their researchers.

Thus, the change of mentalities is the change of imagined worlds and imagined communities. Can any trends be identified in these changes? One of the methods used to investigate this problem could be a systematic approach. The idea of using a systematic approach in history is not new. Ludwig von Bertalanffy asks, beyond a description of what happened, is theoretical history possible? If so, it should be an investigation of systems – of human groups, societies, cultures, civilisations, or whatever the appropriate term of reference may be[417]. In our case, the appropriate term of reference is an imagined community. Society is a system in which communities characterised by various mentalities behave, think and feel in a typical way in certain typical situations.

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[416] Tomas Karlailis. *Prancūzijos revoliucijos istorija*, p. 48.
[417] Ludwig von Bertalanfy. *Organismic Psychology and Systems Theory*, p. 59.

In order to better understand the dynamics of the mentality system, we will introduce the concepts of *scope* and the *structure of mentality*. The scope of mentality is the totality of the mentality features of an individual or group of people. The structure of mentality is the order of the mentality features. Analysis of the relationship between the scope and structure of mentalities may be based on the assumption that the scope of mentalities is a steady finite mean (let us say, 1 or 100 %). This assumption draws on the fact that a human being is limited in time. As there are only 24 hours in a day and 365 days in a year, the range of typical behaviour is not unlimited. Each action takes place at the cost of other actions. If a person goes to mass, he or she cannot be in a swimming pool at that time; if he or she watches TV, he or she is unable to participate in a political campaign, etc. The more time that an individual spends on any single type of typical behaviour, the less time remains for him or her to pursue other activities. That means that the sum of typical behaviour does not change, only its structure changes. Since typical behaviour is a result of mentality, it is also true for mentality features.

This assumption follows the conclusion that the change in mentalities is a change of structure. If new mentality features develop, they push out the old ones, and if one mentality feature begins to dominate, it happens at the expense of other features. If a change of mentality is to be seen as a change in structure, then the development of Western culture can be seen as a constant shift towards an instinct-based culture, in other words, towards rational and instinctive mentalities. However, the rationale for this hypothesis requires further research[418].

Depending on the researcher's goals and tasks, four stages of the study of mentalities can be distinguished. In the first phase, the researcher investigates what they perceive or define as a mentality. The next step in the study of mentalities is classification. If we do not want to write as many mentality histories as there once lived people, we somehow have to classify all the possible mentalities. The book presents the assumption that the

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[418] Stanislovas Juknevičius. Creativity, Unconscious and Mentalities: a Systematic Approach.

characteristics of the mentality features of an individual determine their belonging to one or other type of mentality. The same mentality features and/or people belonging to the same type of mentality can be called an imagined community. In this case, imagined communities become the main object of the study of mentality history.

The third stage of mentalities research is the research of dynamics. The book is based on the assumption that the main reason for the change of mentalities is the creative activity of people. The results of creative activity are the imagined worlds, which in turn shape the mentalities of the people who live in them. The tension between imagined and sensory worlds is the main source of mental energy. Imagined worlds change each other because society needs increasingly newer energy sources. Moreover, the new imagined worlds compensate for the shortcomings of the existing worlds. In order for such compensation to be possible, a certain amount of destructive energy must be concentrated in the collective unconscious. An event is the key measure of the amount of both constructive and destructive energy.

The fourth stage attempts to reveal the trends in the change of mentalities. If we apply a systematic approach to the analysis of these trends, we will have to introduce new concepts and formulate new assumptions in addition to the previous ones. Of course, it is possible to dwell on any of the stages listed above, but the more fully, and at the same time more accurately, we want to describe the structure and change of mentalities, the more concepts we will have to use, and the more complex the methods.

The second chapter is based on the statement that the emergence and popularity of the communist myth of a Golden Age in certain parts of Western society was determined by social and psychological reasons. The reason for the emergence of social Marxism is the obvious injustice of the structure of society. As long as there is social inequality, as long as someone, simply because they were born in a wealthy family, can spend their life being lazy, faking work, or at least engage in a favourite activity, while someone else has to work hard for a bite of bread or the most basic

conditions of life – Marxist ideas or those close to them will be popular in certain circles of society. The reason for the emergence of psychological Marxism lies in the very nature of the collective subconsciousness. Wherever and whenever a person lives, they dream of a better life, something more beautiful, perfect, or at least different. The communist myth of a Golden Age is the visible embodiment of those dreams.

Marxism's popularity was determined by the fact that it brought together people of all the main types of mentalities. First, Marxism promised a good life for everyone, but especially for the poor, so people whose dominating mentality is the instinctive wish for a good or comfortable life, were drawn to it. Marxist theory is a creation of the mind, so some rational types of people have found in Marxism a consistent and complete picture of the world and history that satisfies the elementary requirements of the mind. The ideas of freedom, equality, fraternity, which became archetypes, played an important role in the imaginary Marxist world. And finally, just like Marxist theory, the "bright future of all mankind" was an object of faith, so people who lost their religious faith, but for whom it still played an important role in their lives, could believe in it.

The victory of the Bolsheviks in Russia was determined by the fact that during the October coup, the interests of the idealist wing of Bolshevism and the materialistically oriented mass of soldiers and peasants were united. During the Civil War, an imagined community of *fighters* played a central role. *True believers* and *enthusiasts* were actively involved in the creation of a new type of society.

The formation of the so-called new, communist man was primarily the formation of a new collective subconscious. In order to achieve this goal, new *typical situations* were created (the celebration of revolutionary holidays, Leninist collective work on Saturdays, political hours, "friendly" courts), exemplary texts (in addition to the works of Marxist classics they included the materials of the Communist Party congresses, the decisions, recommendations, directives of the Central Committee), the exemplary personalities (Pavel Korchagin, Pavlik Morozov, Alexei Stakhanov, and, of course, Vladimir Lenin and his faithful student and protégé Joseph

Stalin), new symbols (the hammer and sickle, which were supposed to symbolise the unbreakable union of workers and peasants; the monument in Volgograd, "The Motherland Calls", symbol of victory over Germany; the warrior-liberator monument symbolising the liberation of Germany and, at the same time, of Europe, from the Nazis in Treptower Park in Berlin; and so on).

Most of socialist society was made up of people who were *obedient* and those who were *indifferent* to the communist ideals. The obedient ones mostly supported the ideas of socialism and sincerely believed that the Soviet Union, despite its flaws or problems, was the most perfect state in the world. Delighted by supposedly free education, medical care, minimal utility fees, the obedients joyfully participated in demonstrations, diligently participated in Saturday collective work, enthusiastically voted in meetings, condemning real and supposed enemies of the people. In the life of the indifferents, fear dominated in the conditions of Stalinist terror.

The existence of the Soviet Union was supported by three types of tensions. First, the tension between the imaginary communist world, where "everything will pour as from the horn of plenty", and the real poor daily life. As one of the most popular songs of the time claimed, "we were born to make a fairy tale a reality." Another type of tension was between the world's first socialist state and the capitalist states that surrounded it. The image of "a fortress under siege" is one most popular in the first years and even decades of the Soviet state's existence. And finally, there was tension between the new society, new reforms, supporters of new views and their adversaries. In order to prevent this tension from flickering out, it had to be constantly maintained and incited. Joseph Stalin played a special role in this process. He could not imagine the creation of socialism without the constant discovery and destruction of enemies. As he told his comrades a few months before his death, "Here, look at you, blind men, kittens, you don't see the enemy; what will you do without me – the country will perish because you are not able to recognize the enemy."[419] These words turned out to be prophetic. After Stalin's death, the socialist camp began to weaken and fade until it collapsed.

[419] Simon Montefiore. *Stalinas. Raudonojo dvaro caras*, p. 727–728

The development of a socialist society is the change of archetypes, imagined and imagining communities, and the tensions they create and sustain. First, in a socialist society, the archetype of *freedom* weakened and eventually disappeared. After the eliminating private property, exploitation disappeared, and those who thought it important could feel free. However, the abstract, most incomprehensible "freedom" from exploitation was paid for by the lack of personal freedom of the citizens and difficult living conditions. As a result, at the beginning of the 1990s, when there was a real choice of whether to continue living without exploitation, but poorly, or to return to a capitalist system based on exploitation but ensuring better living conditions and civil liberties, practically all former communist European countries opted for the second option. Another fundamental archetype of the communist myth – *equality* – disappeared as well. Differences between the government and ordinary citizens grew steadily, and new social groups – party heads and ordinary citizens – formed instead of "exploiters" and "proletariat". To use a popular expression of that time, "communism for some individuals" was created. The hopes of the unity of proletarians all over the world, and even more so, fraternity, were not confirmed either. It turned out that their own bourgeoisie was more important to the Western population than a foreign proletariat.

With the disappearance of archetypes, the imaginary communities united by them disappeared or transformed. First, fighters were transformed into a nomenclature. The number of believers steadily decreased. Enthusiasts transformed into patriotic romantics. Thanks to these romantics, attempts were made to convert virgin soil in Kazakhstan into arable land, a whole series of hydroelectric power plants were built in Siberia, and the Baikal-Amur railway highway (BAM) was built. But unsupported – as in the first stage of the construction of socialism – by the free labour of prisoners, these efforts did not make a breakthrough in the growth of the country's economic power.

Patriotic romanticism is the final phase of the union of idealism and Marxism. This movement reached its apogee in the 1970s.[420] After that,

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[420] In Northern Siberia, there is a monument to the "Romantics of the 70s".

the movement of the patriotic romantics gradually disappeared. With the disappearance of romanticism, the source of tension between real and imaginary worlds disappeared. The last attempt by the authorities in this area was the so-called "Builders of Communism" programme, adopted in 1961, which declares that communism will be created over the next 20 years. When it became clear that it will not be created not only in two decades, but even in two centuries, and that they will never surpass the developed capitalist countries and will have to live and die in eternal deprivation, sick, ruled by old men completely out of touch with reality – the creative energy of society was exhausted. There was nothing left to fight for. According to Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Communist Party at the time, "we almost physically felt the lack of energy in society".[421] The reconstruction (Perestroika) was an attempt to find new sources of energy for society, to form new tensions, new imagined and imagining communities, new ideals and goals. How this ended – we all know.

In this way, the main reason for the collapse of socialism is the exhaustion of the creative energy of society; energy that was exhausted because of the disappearance of the tensions that produced it; the tensions disappeared because the imagining communities that supported them disappeared; imagining communities disappeared because the archetypes that created them disappeared: archetypes are not only creations of man, but also of nature, so man is powerless to regulate their appearance or change.

A new generation of fighters – dissidents – played an important role in the collapse of socialism. They were mostly Western-thinking people who slowly but consistently brought down the socialist system from within, sowing doubts about the lofty goals of socialism and the reality of their implementation. If dissidents were ordinary citizens, they could be put in prison, a psychiatric hospital or sent to the province, but if they were known artists or scientists – like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn or Andrei Sakharov – they were more difficult to deal with. The very fact that dissidents were not as they were often portrayed in official propaganda –

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[421] Mikhail Gorbachev. *Alone with Myself,* p. 177.

insignificant fools who sold themselves the West, but rather outstanding people with high moral qualities, forced the people of the Soviet Union to pay attention, to take a closer look at their work and listen to their words.

The concessions that ended with the "orange revolutions" were also possible because there were many people in the Communist Party itself who wanted change. In the highest authority, the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they were Alexander Yakovlev, Boris Yeltsin, and, of course, Mikhail Gorbachev. Despite differences in experience, views, and temperaments, they were all united by the understanding that "everything was rotten from top to bottom"[422] and the desire to create "socialism with a human face". But what that face should look like, and how it should be created – opinions differed. If Gorbachev and his sympathisers wanted to improve the existing socialism, Yeltsin, as later events showed, was ready to sacrifice both the Party and socialism and the even the Soviet Union itself. Another important reason for the collapse of socialism in mentality is that it was preceded by *idealists and materialists*, reformers seeking change within the Party, dissidents oriented towards Western values, and masses yearning for the Western way of life.

After about five years of reform, it became clear that neither in terms of the standard of living nor in terms of the importance of democratic institutions, Russia will not catch up to the West for a very long time, if ever. And then, in the collective Russian subconscious, there began to form a new psychological attitude, the essence of which can be described briefly as follows: "We can't be a normal Western state? Well, we don't even want that. Because we are different." At the beginning of the 20th c., the poet and philosopher Dmitry Merezhkovsky best formulated this idea. The tendency of collective subconsciousness, emphasising the peculiarity and uniqueness of the Russian people, can be called Merezhkovsky's complex, and his worldview – the myth of Russian exclusivity. It was the myth of Russia's uniqueness and exclusivity that gave rise to Vladimir Putin's rhetoric about a one-dimensional world created from Western standards, which Russia resists and will resist with any means necessary.

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[422] Mikhail Gorbachev. *Vienui vienas (Alone with Myself)*, p. 234.

The third chapter is based on the idea that Marxism formed as a kind of social idealism that put struggle before a secure life, self-sacrifice before the instinct for self-protection, revolutionary romanticism before a quiet and peaceful life, and was therefore attractive and effective in many countries of the world. In Lithuania, in addition to the communities examined above, loyalists, pragmatists, cynics, and combinators played an important role. Their role in the various stages of the development of socialism is analysed in the chapter.

The chapter distinguishes three stages of the development of socialism in Lithuania – early, mature, and late. The main feature of early, or "fierce", socialism is the armed struggle between supporters and opponents of socialism. The socialist mentalities were represented at this stage by the leaders of the Communist Party of Lithuania, and resistance – by the partisans. In the imagined world of the supporters of socialism, in addition to the Golden Age, heroic myth played an important role, and for the partisans – the image of an independent Lithuania. Instinctive adaptation played a key role in the lives of ordinary citizens.

Under the conditions of mature socialism, socialist fighters and true believers were replaced by pragmatists. The fighters for Lithuania's independence had been destroyed or isolated, and those sympathetic to them – exiled. The need to adapt did not disappear, but loyalty helped play an increasingly important role. Under the conditions of late, or "worn-out", socialism, pragmatists in the highest echelons of government were gradually replaced by cynics. The dominant typical behaviour – imitation. The role of ideology weakened, and the period of reconstruction – practically disappeared. Private property emerged and gradually expanded, and together with it, the pursuit of a good life. Loyalty was replaced by indifference, and the latter – by dissatisfaction; there was growing resistance that ended with the declaration of independence.

While Marxism is an international movement, the spread of Marxist ideas in every socialist camp had its own specificity. In Russia, social idealism spread in two forms: international and national. It reached Lithuania in both these forms, but the national component was stronger throughout the period of socialism. In addition to the official idealism

supported and promoted by the government – the struggle for a bright future, or at least work for its sake – there was also an informal one in both states, manifested as a struggle against the existing order. In Russia, it manifested itself as an opposition within the Party and the dissident movement. In Soviet Lithuania, the party opposition was practically non-existent and, on the contrary, was much larger among the public. In addition to the dissident movement in Lithuania, similar to the one in Russia, in the fight against socialist totalitarianism a significant part of society, suffering from the longing for independence, and the radical wing of Catholic clergy, was visible. The mass movements that began in the late 1980s had different goals and different consequences. Lithuania formulated its attainable goal – independence – and achieved it. Russia sought to create a better (perhaps Western-style) society – and did not achieve it. Therefore, in Russia, the tension between what is and what should be, has survived, and in much of society has transformed into a distorted, hyperbolised perception of its exclusivity, its value. The main form of social idealism in modern-day Lithuanian society is the struggle for preserving one's national identity and distinctiveness.

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ASMENVARDŽIŲ RODYKLĖ

Monografijoje formuluojamos archetipinės mentalitetų istorijos paradigmos ir pateikiama keletas praktinio jų taikymo pavyzdžių. Sovietinėje Lietuvoje vykę procesai analizuojami plačiame Sovietų Sąjungoje vykusių procesų kontekste.