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**ALTERNATIVE ACTIVITY OF INTELLECTUALS
IN SOVIET LITHUANIA, 1956–1988**

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ALTERNATIVE ACTIVITY OF INTELLECTUALS IN SOVIET LITHUANIA, 1956–1988

Introduction

The idea to analyze Soviet intellectuals appeared while considering the history of ‘Sajūdis’ and the reestablishment of Lithuanian independence. Contrary to other Soviet Republics, the reforms by Mikhail Gorbachev were supported and used for national aims by a significant part of local intellectuals. A part of researchers admits that the social and political movement of such scope as it was at the end of the 1980s had to have clear origin. ‘Sajūdis’ could not appear out of nowhere; however, it was also not influenced by the party of KGB. The intellectuals, who shared nationalist and public ideas, consolidated on June 3, 1988 and mobilized all Lithuanian society, had to base their activities on social relations, values and certain attitudes, which existed and evolutionized in one or another form during the whole period of annexation.

On the other hand, the analysis of the Lithuanian cultural elite of the whole or late Soviet times, as well as the rest of the society is an enormous task. There was more than one individual or collective attempt of this kind during the last decade. However, the aim and object of this thesis will be narrowed: during the research various intelligentsia and intellectual groups, their network and the completed tasks, the development of ideas and values, more attention will be focused on one, probably the most emancipated intellectual group during the Soviet times, the community of philosophers and their network, as well as practical and theoretical works. Nowadays, there is a myth in the contemporary society that philosophy is not related to practical activities and that the ‘specialists’ of this group are involved into probably interesting but practically inapplicable things. In order to deny this myth, one fact may be mentioned: the Soviet system itself started with the ideas of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and his follower Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and other similar thinkers and public figures. Marx himself decided that philosophy had not only to explain the world but also to change it. Another question is what the means and consequences are of the suggested creation of the ‘new’ society and the change of the ‘old’ world. In any case, philosophy and philosophers, as well as intellectuals and their intellectual activities should be

discussed respectfully or at least with certain cautiousness, as the ideas discussed in their groups and their chosen lifestyle can, in fact, become or is becoming the lifestyle of the whole society. This is not an attempt to make the social processes more elite; however, as this thesis shows, and as other works of historians indicate, probably all civil revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe started in social nucleus. These leaders generated alternative ideas with the people of their closest circle, created social relations and cherished a certain parallel culture, which opposed the official ideas proposed by the political authorities. There are many examples of this kind: Andrei Sakharov, Alexandr Solzhenitsyn and the movement of Russian dissidents, Vaclav Havel and 'Charter 77', Lech Walesa and 'Solidarnosz,' Vytautas Landsbergis, Romualdas Ozolas and 'Sajūdis,' etc. It should also be noted that it is impossible to give prominence to one or two personalities: they are distinguished as certain leaders or representatives of the movements. In addition, some philosophers participated in the organized activities of each mentioned personality. If we have in mind the totalitarian regime in Soviet Lithuania and its erosion during the final period, it is possible to maintain that various conformist strategies should be ascribed to intellectuals, as well as the development of alternative and unideologized thought and culture in Lithuania, which played a significant role during the years of cultural freedom of the Lithuanian society and reestablishment of independence. Even six people from the philosophers' community (Bronislovas Genzelis, Bronislovas Kuzmickas, Romualdas Ozolas, Jokūbas Minkevičius, Vytautas Radžvilas and Arvydas Juozaitis) became the members of the initiative group of the Reform Movement of Lithuania in 1988. The first four above mentioned people became the signatories of the Act of Independence. Four other philosophers actively participated in the councils of 'Sajūdis' in Vilnius and Kaunas cities and other reestablished organizations.

Research object and chronology

The research object of the dissertation is the features of practical and theoretical activities of Lithuanian intellectuals during the Soviet times with the emphasis on the members of the philosophers' community (1956–1988), their activities and development of ideas in informal and official environment.

As the research object involves informal, official and also public activities, more favourable conditions for them formed after Stalin's death. Thus the chronological framework of the thesis starts with the period of 1956, when the acts of the 20th SSKP meeting were enacted, when Stalin's cult was denied, and when cultural elite received a partial freedom of activities. This conditioned the so-called 'warming' in various spheres of the Soviet state. The chronology is limited by the middle of 1988, when the public acting and thought censorship was abolished because of M. Gorbachev policy and international conditions; therefore, the conditions of free acting and creation were formed. During the analysis of informal groups of the intellectuals and their networking, the data from the post-war period will be used as well because, as the data indicate, informal groups existed during the whole Soviet time in various layers of the society.

The **aim** of this thesis is to examine the features of informal groups of Lithuanian intellectuals and the development of the philosophical thought in informal and official environment.

In order to reach this aim, the following **objectives** are set: (1) to analyse the point of view of intellectuals towards the Soviet system, oppositional and other alternative attitudes and the context of their formation by using historiographical and empirical data; (2) to prepare an activity model of intellectuals during the Soviet times, to describe their activities and networking in informal and official environment and to distinguish the features of collective identity formation after the analysis of sources, historiography and theoretical literature; (3) to prepare the model of Soviet citizenship and indicate its unsystematic manifestations in the activities of Lithuanian intellectuals; (4) to analyse the development of unideologized thought of Lithuanian philosophers and evaluate the research of the selected philosophers from the perspective of official ideology on the basis of the formulated theoretical model.

The above mentioned aim and objectives condition the **structure** of the thesis. It consists of the introduction, four chapters and conclusion. The first chapter describes general attitudes of intellectuals towards the system: opposition, conformance and life beside the system. Also alternative and oppositional attitudes are described and the context of their formation. The second chapter provides the model of primary and secondary group functioning and qualitative descriptions of particular litterateur and philosopher groups, which acted in informal and official sphere; besides, collective

identity of intellectuals is distinguished. Chapter 3 considers the manifestations of citizenship of informal and official groups, which functioned in the Soviet Lithuania, distinguishing them from the Western civil society, dissidents, anti-systematic activities of the underground and prosystematic activities of the people loyal to the system. Chapter 4 provides an exhaustive overview of the theoretical works of publicly the most active philosophers and the ones who purposefully created their authentic thinking paradigm. This part also analyses the main features of Marxism-Leninism philosophy and their methodological relation to the works of the analysed philosophers.

In the dissertation, various **methods** of the Humanities and Social sciences are employed. Descriptive, analytical, comparative and hermeneutical methods typical for the Humanities are used. In addition, such concepts of the Social sciences as collective identity, social-public movement, networking, group theory, etc. are used. A qualitative interview was carried out, which was prepared and conducted in a semi-structured form, in which 30 respondents participated. Besides, published and unpublished interviews of the colleagues of this area, who used a similar questionnaire, were used. While analyzing philosophical texts, the formistic, organicistic, mechanistic and contextualized model of philosophical text analysis was used, which was formulated by Hayden White and adapted to philosophical text analysis by Gintaras Kabelka.

Historiography

This thesis was significantly influenced by the scientific articles by Valdemaras Klumbys and his dissertation, which integrates the scientific research, ‘Behaviour Models of Lithuanian Cultural Elite during the Soviet times.’¹ He was the first Lithuanian historian who clearly distinguished an oppositional attitude and the practices realizing it in addition to the evaluation of the Soviet society behaviour, which could be described as collaboration, adaptation and resistance. Besides, while describing various behaviour models of cultural elite, he uses a sufficient instrumentation of social sciences and discusses group dynamics, networking, interpersonal relations, the boundaries

¹ Published and defended at Vilnius university in 2009; Klumbys V., Visuomenės nuomonės veikimo sąlygos sovietinėje Lietuvoje, *Lietuvos istorijos studijos*, 2007, nr. 19, p. 124-137; Klumbys V., Lietuvos kultūrinis elitas sovietmečiu: tarp pasipriešinimo ir prisitaikymo, *Lietuvos etnologija*, 2008, nr. 8 (17), p.153–155.

between private, informal, official and power spheres, as well as the duality of the society. V. Klumbys grounds the positions of social and public space and social and official point of view in the Soviet time Lithuania, and, this way, makes the reader doubt about the premises of totalitarian paradigm researchers that only the imposed ideology could exist in the Soviet society, as well as the activities of non-institutional groups related to it. The types of discourse of cultural elite described and categorized by V. Klumbys and the relation between the discourse and practical activities allowed understanding the complicated operation of cultural elite and its behaviour under the conditions of fragmenting regime.

Another very important contribution in the research on social relations and the role of intellectuals in Soviet Lithuania is a collective monography published at the beginning of 2012 ‘In Search for Origins of Sajūdis: the Power of Disobedients’ Networking.’ This is the first big project of this kind in Lithuania, which had to add not only some new empirical material to the research of the Soviet times, and also new insights, conclusions and more confidence in the research on the past using the methods of the social sciences and workshops of the historians. In order to explain the origin of ‘Sajūdis’, a networking method is used for the first time² in Lithuanian historiography, both qualitatively and quantitatively, by using various virtual technologies. The choice of post-revisionist methodological position allowed formulating a convincing model of *self-organized* society in this collective research, its functioning is not directly related to the state mechanism. It is rather related to the self-organizational need of internal groups of the society, which formulates a *parallel society* with respect to the regime. It should be noted, however, that the authors of the book do not reveal the relationship between *selforganized* and *civil society* or the phenomenon of citizenship in the Soviet sphere.

Aurimas Švedas has carried out a methodological analysis of the official discourse of Soviet Lithuanian historians and alternative attitudes and revealed a domination of official and ideologized discourse and the principles of its functioning³. In addition, Švedas discusses a number of oppositional and alternative works and

² Networking was used for the first time in the works of Lithuanian historians by V. Klumbys, when he was explaining the network of spreaders and readers of the underground publication ‘Perspektyvos’; see Klumbys V., Pogrindžio leidinys „Perspektyvos“ (1978–1981): intelektualiosios savilaidos pradžia Lietuvoje, *Genocidas ir rezistencija*, 2002, nr. 2(12), p. 179-208.

³ Švedas A., *Sovietinė lietuvių istoriografija: oficialusis diskursas ir jo alternatyvos (1944-1985)*, PhD, Vilnius, 2006; a book prepared on the basis of the dissertation: Švedas A., *Matricos nelaisvėje*, Vilnius, 2009.

behavioural attitudes of Soviet historians, which presuppose that during the period of particular ideological control towards historians, it was possible to create a certain alternative, albeit a minimal one, to the official schemes.

Vilius Ivanauskas used the advantages of micro history typical for revisionist and post-revisionist paradigm while researching the features of Lithuanian nomenclature and described the peculiarities of nomenclature, including a part of cultural elite and informal groups, and their influence on making important decisions in official Soviet institutions⁴. His articles on historical context of cultural elite and on networking are also very informative, in which he analyses and describes the groups of various specialities and environments, their interrelationship, relationship between generations and their influence on the official culture and science of Lithuanian SSR⁵.

The texts by Czeslaw Milosz, Andrzej Walicki, Aleksander Shtromas, Kęstutis Girnius, Zenonas Norkus, Nerija Putinaitė, and Alexei Yurchako provided the possibility to go into the life of intellectuals in greater detail under the conditions of the totalitarian regime, possibilities for professional, cultural and public activities, ideological influence, dual consciousness and adaptation strategies. Milosz was one of the first intellectuals of Eastern and Middle Europe who considered the influence of idiocratic regime on the members of cultural elite and their will to serve the regime in one or another form, preserving the imagined autonomy⁶. A. Walicki provides more information on the nature of the totalitarian regime, its change in Russia from Lenin to Gorbachev, and its variety in Poland. Besides, A. Walicki also devotes much attention to deconstruction of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism ideologies and explanation of their political and social correspondences in history⁷. Z. Norkus focuses on the application boundaries of the totalitarian paradigm. Similarly to A. Walicki texts, he shows the changes in ideological impact and institutional mechanism in the Soviet Union

⁴ Ivanauskas V., *Lietuviškoji nomenklatūra biurokratinėje sistemoje: tarp stagnacijos ir dinamikos (1970-1988 m.)*. PhD, Vilnius, 2008; the book based on the dissertation: Ivanauskas V., *Lietuviškoji nomenklatūra biurokratinėje sistemoje: tarp stagnacijos ir dinamikos (1968-1988 m.)*, Vilnius, 2011. See also: Ivanauskas V., Sovietinių biurokratų darbo etika, neformalios rutinos ir planavimo sistemos trūkumai (Lietuvos atvejis), *Filosofija. Sociologija*, 2006, nr.4, p. 1-11.

⁵ Ivanauskas V., Vėlyvojo sovietmečio epochos bruožų apibūdinimas kultūros sferoje, *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 2011 m., nr. 1, Vilnius, 2012. p. 97-112; Ivanauskas V., Tinklaveika mokslininkų aplinkoje: tarp oficialių sovietmečio procesų ir alternatyvių požiūrių, *Sąjūdžio ištakų beieškant...*, p. 132-159. Ivanauskas V., Menininkų rateliai ir kitoniška laikysena: nuo Chruščiovo laikų iki Sąjūdžio, *Sąjūdžio ištakų beieškant...*, p. 98-131;

⁶ Milosz Cz, *Pavergtas protas*, Vilnius, 1995.

⁷ Walicki A., *Markszizmas ir šuolis į laisvės karalystę: komunizmo utopijos istorija*, Vilnius, 2005.

interrelated with economical and social factors⁸. In his article, K. Girnius discusses resistance, adaptation and collaboration categories of cultural elite, which are fundamental, but they do not comprise all possible choices of activities and behaviour; however, the author provides a significant basis for the research on Soviet times in Lithuania⁹. However, the author of this thesis is more in favour to the optimistic position by A. Walicki and A. Shtromas, who view the adaptation mechanisms as survival and new possible resistance forms, in particular, a possibility for opposition rather than the loss of the society and cultural elite¹⁰. In this context, the evaluation of the Soviet period in Lithuania by N. Putinaitė is different in the book *'Unbroken string: accommodation and resistances in Soviet Lithuania'*, which raised many discussions among Lithuanian Sovietologists¹¹. The author of the book discloses the aesthetic nature of the Soviet reality and contrasts it with normal life and human nature. Also, it provides the possibility to reconsider totalitarianism not as a 'strange' but as 'our own' choice during the Soviet times. On the other hand, she also uses the traditional binary evaluation of resistance-adaptation. The attempt to describe the complex social reality historically and anthropologically seems to be more convincing in Sovietology, as has been done by A. Yurchak. In the book *'Everything Was Forever, until It Was no More: The Last Soviet Generation'*, he introduces the category of life 'beside' (vnye) in addition to resistance, adaptation and possible opposition. This category denotes the choice of an alternative lifestyle, alternative public sphere, creation of alternative 'our own' (svoy) identity, the boundaries of deterritorialized environment, and the consequences of a performative shift in the social environment¹².

For this thesis, sociological concepts and the texts based on them were also very important. First, it was important to create group functioning models while analyzing the activities of informal intellectual groups and to describe the principles and peculiarities typical for them. In this respect, various models of social, symbolic and human capital functioning created by James S. Coleman¹³, Pierr Bourdieu¹⁴ and John

⁸ Norkus Z., *Kokia demokratija, koks kapitalizmas?: pokomunistinė transformacija Lietuvoje lyginamosios istorinės sociologijos požiūriu*, Vilnius, 2008.

⁹ Girnius K., Pasipriešinimas, prisitaikymas, kolaboravimas, *Naujasis Židinys*, 1996, nr. 5, p. 268-279.

¹⁰ Štromas A., *Laisvės horizontai*, Vilnius, 2001.

¹¹ Putinaitė N., *Nenutrūkusi styga: prisitaikymas ir pasipriešinimas sovietų Lietuvoje*, Vilnius, 2007.

¹² Yurchak A., *Everything was forever until it was no more: the last soviet generation*, Princeton, 2005.

¹³ Coleman J. S., *Socialinės teorijos pagrindai*, Vilnius, 2005.

Field¹⁵ were useful. Many American and Western European sociologist studies describe group dynamics, primary and secondary groups, main and side relationship, in-groups and out-groups, group networking, and peculiarities of collective identity formation. This thesis uses the ideas by Leonard Broom and his colleagues¹⁶, John J. Macionis¹⁷, Richard T. Schaefer¹⁸, Richard Jenkins¹⁹ and the Lithuanian V. Legkauskas²⁰.

The theoretical insights by Robert Putnam²¹, David Miller²², Jurgen Habermas²³, Ferdinand de Saussure²⁴ and other foreign authors²⁵ were used in the analysis of citizenship and civil society model. Also, the sources by the Lithuanians Ainė Ramonaitė²⁶, Saulius Šiliauskas²⁷ and Valdemaras Klumbys²⁸ provided interesting insights. Of course, it is still quite challenging to analyse this topic in traditional Lithuanian historiography because of the dominance of totalitarian paradigm and the formulated point of view towards the Soviet times in Lithuania, according to which public events are attempted to be understood via Soviet government and the power of its mechanism. Meanwhile, the collective monograph on civil society in Lithuania²⁹ written by the politologists of Klaipėda university and the insights by some presenters³⁰ at the international conference 'Lessons of Democracy and Civic Consciousness at the Turning Points of Lithuanian History' (September 14-15, 2010) in Vilnius, as well as the above mentioned collective monograph by Lithuanians about the origin of Sąjūdis

¹⁴ Bourdieu P., Wacquant L. J. D., *Įvadas į refleksyviąją sociologiją*, Vilnius, 2003; Bourdieu P., *Outline of a theory of practice*, Cambridge University Press, 1977.

¹⁵ Field J., *Social capital*, London, 2003.

¹⁶ Broom L., Bonjean Ch. M., Broom D. H., *Sociologija: esminiai tekstai ir pavyzdžiai*, Kaunas, 1992.

¹⁷ Macionis J. J., *Sociology*, Pearson Education International, 2005.

¹⁸ Schaefer R. T., *Sociology*, Western Illinois university, 1989.

¹⁹ Jenkins R., *Social identity*, London, New York, 1996.

²⁰ Legkauskas V., *Socialinė psichologija*, Vilnius, 2010.

²¹ Putnam R. D., *Kad demokratija veiktų: pilietinės tradicijos šiuolaikinėje Italijoje*, Vilnius, 2004.

²² Miller D., *Citizenship and National Identity*, Cambridge-Oxford-Malden, 2002.

²³ Habermas J., *The Structural Transformation of the Bourgeois Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Cambridge, 1996.

²⁴ Фердинанд де Соссюр, *Курс общей лингвистики*, Екатеринбург, 1999.

²⁵ Mathews D., Pilietinės visuomenės samprata, *Demokratija – tai diskusija: pilietiškumas senose ir naujose demokratinėse valstybėse*, sud. S. Myers, New London, 1997; Keane J., *Civil Society, Old Images, New Visions*, Cambridge-Oxford, 1998.

²⁶ Ramonaitė A., Pilietinė visuomenė sovietų Lietuvoje? *Naujasis Židinys-Aidai*, 2010, nr. 7-8, p. 252-257; *Sąjūdžio ištakų beiškant...*

²⁷ Šiliauskas S., Pilietinės visuomenės išvalga Lietuvoje, *Pilietinė visuomenė: politikos ipilietinimo projekcija*, sud. S. Šiliauskas, 2006, p. 121-136.

²⁸ Klumbys V., *Lietuvos kultūrinio elito elgsenos modeliai sovietmečiu*, daktaro disertacija, 2009; Klumbys V., *Visuomenės nuomonės veikimo...*

²⁹ Šiliauskas S. (sud.), *Pilietinė visuomenė: politikos ipilietinimo projekcijos*, Klaipėda, 2006.

³⁰ Jurkutė M. ir Šepetytė N., *Demokratija Lietuvoje: Pilietiškumas ir totalitarizmas XX amžiaus istorijos lūžiuose*, Vilnius, 2011.

indicate very apparently the operation of selforganized society during the Soviet times. A typical feature of the society is the phenomenon of citizenship, which eventually developed into the liberation movement in the highest political level.

While carrying out a methodological reflection and analyzing the relationship between the philosophy researchers and Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the methodological tools for historiographical and philosophical discourse distinguished by Heyden White³¹ and Gintaras Kabelka³² are used. G. Kabelka is the first one to systematically analyse the methodology of Lithuanian philosophy history of the second half of the 20th century in his dissertation. The scholar's interpretation on Marxist methodology and especially the provided concept on vertical and horizontal reduction helped to recognize the obligatory elements of philosophy-ideology in the research of the world and Lithuanian philosophy history by Lithuanian authors. While carrying out the content analysis, the texts of the chosen philosophers and their ideological attitudes are compared to the results of other philosophy specialists³³. Furthermore, the conference 'Philosophy in Lithuania and Lithuanian Philosophy' (May 7, 2010), which took place in Vilnius, was very useful for this thesis³⁴. In order to understand the main claims of Marxism and Marxism-Leninism philosophy and their Soviet interpretations, the works by Arno Anzenbacher³⁵, Wladislaw Tatarkiewicz³⁶, Z. Norkus³⁷ and other researchers³⁸ were used.

³¹ White H., *Metaistorija. Istorinė vaizduotė XIX a. Europoje*, Vilnius, 2003.

³² Kabelka G., *Lietuvos filosofijos istorijos tyrimų metodologija XX a. II pus.*, PhD, Vilnius, 2008.

³³ Stoškus K. A., Interpretacinė filosofija ir Eugenijaus Meškausko metodologija // Stoškus K. A., *Represuojamo proto kritika, I t.*, Vilnius, 2009; Sverdiolas A., Kačerauskas T., Fenomenologija Lietuvoje, *Problemos*, 2008, nr. 74; Mickūnas A., Stewart D., *Fenomenologinė filosofija*, Vilnius, 1994; Baranova J., *Filosofija ir literatūra*, Vilnius, 2006, p. 92-94; Rubavičius V., Žmogus ir daiktas // Rubavičius V., *Neįvardijamos laisvės ženklas*, Vilnius, 1997, Rastenis K., Klausimai Šliogeriui, *Literatūra ir menas*, 1989-12-09, p. 10; Šerpytytė R., Nihilizmas Lietuvoje, arba kas bendra tarp A. Šliogerio ir E. Severino, *Problemos*, 2008, nr. 73, p. 43-47; Kardelis N., Tikėtinas mitas apie Niekį ir esmą, *Athena*, 2006, nr. 1, p. 210-214; Skrupskelis K., *Ateities draugai: ateitininkų istorija (iki 1940 m.)*, Vilnius, 2010.

³⁴ The reports of the conference have been published in the journal *Problemos*, 2010 m., nr. 78.

³⁵ Anzenbacher A., *Filosofijos įvadas*, Vilnius, 1992

³⁶ Tatarkiewicz W., *Filosofijos istorija*, III t., Vilnius, 2003; Tatarkiewicz W., Apie filosofijos istorijos rašymą, *Filosofija, sociologija*, 1993, nr. 1 (10), p. 47-54.

³⁷ Norkus Z., *Kokia demokratija...*

³⁸ Mažeikis G., *Propaganda ir simbolinis mąstymas*, Kaunas, 2010; Kain P., Marx's Theory of ideas, *History and theory*, vol. 20, nr.4, p. 357-378; Šmulskštys J., Markso komunizmas, *Akiračiai*, 1975, nr. 5 (69), p. 4-5, 16.

Sources

During the analysis of alternative activities of Lithuanian intellectuals, *interviews and the data published in the memoirs* were the most useful, which provide information about the formation environment of the values of the intellectuals, operation of informal groups, qualitative and quantitative characteristics of their networking, and relationship with the representatives of nomenclature and the underground. It should be noted that this research was carried out not only by the author of this dissertation but also by other colleagues, researchers of the Soviet times; therefore, this thesis uses their data as well. The data obtained by an interview were revised, compared with the published memoirs of the same or different authors, dairies and other available documents.

As this thesis aims at investigating alternative attitudes of intellectual operation and the attitudes in the official sphere, *the documents of the main official organizations* were looked through. First, this is the material of primary party organizations of Vilnius State University, the Department of Philosophy, Philosophy History and Logic (LYA f. 7017), publishing outfit 'Mintis,' (LYA f. 3388), journal 'Kultūros barai,' (LYA f. 17516), and the newspaper 'Komjaunimo tiesa' saved at the Lithuanian Special Archive, at the category of Lithuanian Communist Party Documents. The most significant research was made in the working sphere of philosophers, as because of their activities at Philosophy Departments and in the publishing outfit 'Mintis', some of the data found in other sources were found. While analyzing the discussions of philosophers, especially their methodological attitudes, the relationship with the obligatory Marxism-Leninism was described by using the material of the employees meetings of the Lithuanian Academy of Science, Department of Philosophy, Law and Sociology (later, Institute) saved at the Office of the Chief Archivist in Lithuania (LCVA f. R-1033) and Vilnius University Scientific Organizational Activity Archive Fund (VUA f. R-856). In order to obtain more data about the informal organization of intellectuals, which operated in Lithuania and outside its territory, as well as their possible operation in the public sphere, the observation documents of the KGB were used, which are saved in the following funds: LYA f. K-41 and LYA f. K-1.

Here it was possible to trace some operation signs of these groups in Kaunas and Vilnius in various universities.

In addition to a solid collection of published sources compiled by Juozapas R. Bagušauskas and Arūnas Streikus³⁹, this research uses other various *published sources*, which are related either to the operation of Soviet groups, individual attitudes, Soviet laws or to the evaluations of philosophical text contemporaries.

One more important group of sources is the texts written by philosophers and ideologists during the Soviet times. They helped to emphasize alternative and unsystematic research on philosophy and philosophy history, as well as authentic attempts to create alternative philosophy traced especially among the philosophers of the younger generation. In this area, various scientific articles, books and the works of the chosen philosophy specialists published in popular scientific articles are used. Consequently, the texts by individual or collective ideologists of Marxism-Leninism provide the understanding about the scope of ideology and distortion of philosophy history, the texts of Western philosophers of the 20th century by mechanical application of official ideology schemes. Also, this introduced to the topicality of certain Marxism-Leninism ideas during the late Soviet times.

Novelty of the research

The novelty of the dissertation is the fact that the intellectuals and their activities during the Soviet times are not viewed individually but by the dynamics of their created groups, which operated both in informal and official sphere, and had the features of primary and secondary groups. It was easy to notice and emphasize the peculiarities of alternative collective identity formation. Besides, the described manifestation of philosophical consciousness and philosophical research are provided as an alternative to the Soviet regime for the first time in historiography. In addition, the research seeks to describe the social, professional, intellectual and theoretical activities of the same social layer. Other researchers should also be interested in the dimension of citizenship of informal intellectual groups, which is noted by the author and more widely analysed.

³⁹ Bagušauskas J. R., Streikus A. (ed.), *Lietuvos kultūra sovietinės ideologijos nelaisvėje, 1940–1990: dokumentų rinkinys*, Vilnius, 2005.

Statements for defence:

1. *Conformism* of intellectuals to the Soviet system was related to *oppositional and life beside the system* behaviour, which was influenced by the formation of alternative attitudes in various environments.
2. In their informal groups, the intellectuals cultivated an alternative culture and networking. By using the relationship of primary and secondary groups, they managed to realise unsystematic ideas in a legal or semi-legal cultural and social environment.
3. One of the most active group networks in the informal movement of intellectuals was the philosophers' community, which could use the social, symbolic and human capital more effectively while analyzing, popularizing and creating an unideologized philosophy in Soviet Lithuania and beyond its borders.
4. While cherishing social values and realizing them in various spheres of Soviet life, the participants of informal intellectual groups formed their alternative collective identity with respect towards anti-systematic and loyal to the Soviet government people, which could be expressed in the formula 'others'- 'us' – 'them.'
5. The groups created by individuals were not only discussion clubs, but they also were involved into concrete activities, which gained the manifestations of unsystematic citizenship in the public sphere in Soviet Lithuania.
6. Except for ideological adepts, different generations of philosophers formed a liberal relationship with Marxist and Marxist-Leninist ideology and developed the paradigms of Western philosophical ideas. In their texts, Marxism-Leninism is used either as an unrestricting methodological approach or as declarative statements in order to have a pedagogical or scientific job that they like in the public sphere.
7. In the works of the youngest generation of Soviet philosophers, authentic thinking paradigms can be traced, which challenged both Soviet and non-Soviet systematic thinking.

Position of intellectuals towards the system: conformism, opposition and life beside the system

In Lithuanian historiography of Soviet times, a collaboration-conformism-resistance model existed from the very beginning, which has recently been supplemented by the positions of opposition⁴⁰ and alternative action⁴¹. However, alternative action was analysed as a collective phenomenon more: as a certain different social dimension from the perspective of the official state-public policy. Meanwhile, it can also be understood as an individual attitude of a creator and an intellectual and a personal relationship with the reality, which is manifested as living, action, thinking and creation near the system. On the other hand, the relationship between the system and intellectuals remained ambivalent because their official position, source for living, daily life and official public activities were closely related to the Soviet system. Such a tense situation is confirmed by negative economical, social and psychological phenomena very common to the layers of the society and intellectuals, such as corruption, alcoholism, cynicism, depressive culture and double identity ascribed to the anthropological type of *homo soviethicus* or *homo lithuanicus*. This part of the thesis analyses oppositional and other alternative attitudes in greater detail, which were formed among the intellectuals and which influenced the activities of their created informal groups. Attention should be paid to the fact that attitudes towards values were formed in the families, the tense environment after WWII and the post-war period or in secondary schools and universities afterwards rather than during the period when they started their public activities either individually or collectively. Under such complicated social, political and economical conditions, the boundaries between the good and the bad and the *strange* and the *self* were inscribed totally different in the souls of the young intellectuals than the representatives of Soviet indoctrination had expected. On the basis of the interviews, the ideas of the respondents are provided who they viewed and evaluated partisan fights, deportations, forced collectivization of country people and their families, as well as unlimited lawlessness of the representatives of Soviet authorities at the smallest administrative levels, for instance, schools. For example, Bronius Genzelis felt the 'justice' of the Comsomol secretary directly, as he was

⁴⁰ Klumbys V., *Lietuvos kultūrinio elito...*

⁴¹ *Sąjūdžio ištakų beiėškant...*

expelled from school. He had to admit that the ‘authorities are always right’ and had to face this punishment when he signed a common letter and stood for his classmate, as the Soviet security officer wanted to expel her from school because of personal revenge of the school Comsomol secretary. Even though this was only a friendly solidarity using civil means, i.e. a protest letter, finally he was accused of being an ‘antiSoviet actor.’ This citizen had to understand that the writing of collective letters was viewed as a crime in the Soviet system⁴². I. Lukšaitė experienced ‘democratic’ Stalin’s attitudes from her relative, the former LSSR vice-primeminister, political prisoner Juozas Vaišnoras, who explained the real reasons of his deportation⁴³. The sensitive question of the intellectuals entering CPSU is also discussed which was understood more pragmatically during the late Soviet times among the people expressing the values of the rights rather than during Khrushchev times.

The sources of objective information on the radio, and the ‘illegal’ books collected in special funds and in foreign, as well as private libraries had much impact on the formation of oppositional and other alternative values. A part of the censored books or magazines were sent or brought by familiar representatives of Lithuanian emigrants, the most active of who was Liūtas Mockūnas⁴⁴.

The intellectuals of the older generation had a significant impact on the formation of the young intellectuals and retrieval of alternative information. They were very active themselves by creating various formal and informal clubs or communicating accidentally in various unexpected situations. Such active actors were the following: Paulius Slavėnas, Juozas Keliuotis, Juozas Brazauskas, Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas, Kazys Daukšas, and Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis. Catholic intellectuals either were editors themselves (for example, Kazimieras Ambrasas SJ, Jonas Boruta SJ, Algirdas Patackas, Petras Kimbrys and Kazimieras Šapalas) or maintained an intense relationship with underground publishers. This way, such publications as the ‘Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania,’ ‘Aušra,’ ‘Pastogė,’ and ‘Rūpintojėlis’ were disseminated among them. The publications of ‘Perspektyvos’, ‘Alma Mater’, ‘Akiračiai’ or ‘Metmenys’, as well as Russian samizdat and other literature disseminated among the people of the left wing or liberal values.

⁴² A. Šukys interview with B. Genzelis, 2008-03-14; Genzelis B., *Imperijai griūvant ...*, p. 119.

⁴³ A. Šukys interview with I. Lukšaitė, 2008-04-19.

⁴⁴ Mockūnas L., *Knygų keliai į Lietuvą*, *Metai*, 1992, nr. 12, p. 96-107.

Intellectual groups in Soviet Lithuania

Informal meetings in private spaces can be mentioned as an exceptional intellectuals' action form, which was considered to be illegal. Such meetings could be anywhere: in legal clubs, publishing houses of magazines or newspapers or higher education institutions. On the one hand, such informal groups created a space, which cherished the ideas, values, attitudes and opinions of the members; on the other hand, this was not a completely public space. However, the activities that took place there had a concrete relationship with the official sphere of the time. One may think that the intellectuals limited by the official ideology were forced to find such niches of unofficial publicity, where they could form an alternative action and the manner of speaking, which corresponded to their values. Later, after being strengthened by the members of their informal groups, they could transmit these ideas not only verbally, but also realize them by concrete actions in the official sphere. It is clear that there were a lot of these informal groups and that it is possible to trace their network and the nature and contents of their action, as all respondents were talking about this, and it is also clear to trace them in all published memoirs and diaries. This thesis mainly discusses the informal groups of litterateurs and philosophers, which operated in official and unofficial spaces. The groups ascribed to the first category operated at the department of Vilnius State University (their activities were especially active during the 'warming' period) or in private spheres organized by group leaders: Meilė Lukšienė, Jurgis Lebedys, Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas, Vanda Zaborskaitė, Irena Kostkevičiūtė and Elena Samaniūtė. In addition, there was an active group of students litterateurs at this department. Most of them maintained relationship with philosophers or artists and their groups. The most exceptional ones were informal groups led by Kristina Rickevičiūtė and Bronislavas Genzelis. The members of these groups and other philosophers established informal groups at both Departments of Philosophy, philosophy circle at Vilnius State University, at the editorial office of the publications 'Problemos' and 'Mintis' and at the Philosophical Association. Philosophers were also active at the editorial offices of 'Kultūros barai' and 'Komjaunimo tiesa,' as well as maintained relationship with other more liberal media of the time and participated in the activities of the international student association 'Balticum' or other discussion clubs. Soviet

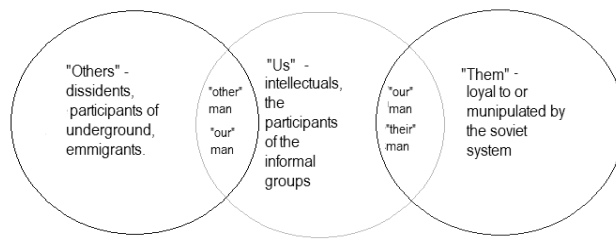
security tended to view such informal groups as a tactics of a ‘damaging nationalistic elements’ and described their activities without clear external features as ‘an organization without an organization⁴⁵.’ The informal groups did not have any clear organizational forms or membership; however, they maintained social relationship, and the leaders of the groups provided the possibility to act either separately or together in public and to reach concrete cultural, scientific, civil or other aims. This empirical material corresponds to the descriptions of groups described by various sociologists. Based on this, it is possible to find out that the dynamics of primary and secondary groups existed in various intellectual groups. The groups described in this part maintained relationship among themselves, which were based on the participation of the same people in different groups. The developed networking and the gained social and symbolic capital enabled them to reach such results that would not have been possible operating by ordinary means. This way, the following publications of philosophers appeared: ‘Problemos‘(1968), ‘Filosofijos istorijos chrestomatija‘ (1974), ‘Etikos etiudai‘ (1977), ‘Estetinè kultūra‘ (1981), ‘Filosofijos istorijos baruose‘ (1980), ‘Pokalbiai apie filosofiją‘ (1980), ‘Filosofijos skaitiniai‘ (1981), ‘Grožio kontūrai‘ (1980), and ‘Gèrio kontūrai‘ (1989). The employees of the Department of Philosophy (Eugenijus Meškauskas, Jonas Repšys, Juozas Vytautas Vinciūnas, Albinas Lozuraitis, Vladimiras Rybakovas, Krescencijus Stoškus, Ipolitas Ledas, Evaldas Nekrašas, Arvydas Šliogeris, Tomas Sodeika, Vytautas. Pivorius, and Leonarda Jekentaitè) or the Department of Philosophy History and Logic (Juozas Barzdaitis, B. Genzelis, Romanas Plečkaitis, Rolandas Povilionis, Kristina Rickevičiūtè, Nikodemas Juršėnas, Antanas Nesavas, Romualdas Ozolas, and Antanas Rybelis), who published the above mentioned publications and cooperated with the publishing house ‘Mintis’, and maintained unsystematic attitudes in their pedagogical work as well. An influential figure, E. Meškauskas, helped them to do this. He not only had a sufficient symbolic and social capital, which he skillfully used in the situations when the reaction of the ideologists was negative, but also was well aware of the specificity of Marxism and philosophy. A. Šliogeris remembers the year 1974 the following: ‘E. Meškauskas turned the so called materialist dialectic into the organon of extreme scepticism and relativism. His lectures were a wonderful school of Socratic-type irony. All basic and clearly defined and fixed

⁴⁵ Vaigauskas G. K., *Lietuvių nacionalistų kenkėjiška ...*, p. 75-79.

categories of traditional metaphysics, which remained in the canon of dialectic materialism because of Hegel and his Soviet students, such as being, consciousness, material, essence, phenomenon, form, content, quality, quantity, etc. lost their metaphysical explicitness and substantial meaning in the horizon of E. Meškauskas interpretations and, lost any dogmatic stability in the dialectic play, one transformed into the other, and disappeared as smoke⁴⁶.’ The dynamics of primary and secondary groups created a specific model of collective identity, especially while operating in the social sphere, which can be expressed by the relationship ‘others-we-they.’ In the interrelationship of this triple collective identity, the most important connection was between the intellectuals, ‘we’, who identified themselves in opposition relationship to the Soviet bureaucrats and KGB structures, who had the power. This opposition corresponds to the relationship of in-groups and out-groups noted by the specialists of social scientists⁴⁷. On the other hand, there was one more category of people who was formed of people acting underground, representatives of emigrants, dissidents, old intellectuals or individuals, who refused to compromise in the public Soviet sphere, but were similar in many ways concerning their values to the intellectuals, ‘our’ group members. It also should be noted that a part of the people got from ‘their’ or ‘others’ circles in various activities of ‘our’ group. The ‘others’ were most often attracted about the nucleus of primary groups to reach individual aims. This was typical for the areas of monument protection, publication of philosophical and literary books, ethnoculture and regional studies. This tripartite functioning of activity and collective identity can be reflected in the following scheme:

⁴⁶ Šliogeris A., Lietuvos filosofinė mintis: tarp Rytų ir Vakarų // Šliogeris A., *Konservatoriaus išpažintys: 1988–1994 metų tekstai*, Vilnius, 1995, p. 104.

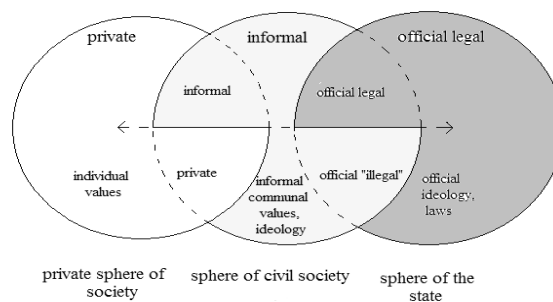
⁴⁷ Macionis J.J., *Sociology...*, p. 168.



Scheme No. 1. Configuration of collective identity of intellectuals' internal and external group and their activity areas

Manifestation of unsystematic citizenship in the activities of intellectuals

The concept of 'citizenship' is used in the communitarian, not the liberal sense, emphasizing the participation of citizens in the public activities forming 'from below,' which attempts at the protection of common and public interest and the rights of people and citizens. Based on the theoretical analysis of various authors, a model of civil society functioning is provided, which is common to the Western society. According to the application of the results of other Lithuanian researchers and the collected empirical data, the following scheme of civil activity of informal groups can be produced:



Scheme No.2. The area of civil society in relation to private and state sector

There were two manifestations of citizenship existed in the Soviet Lithuania: antisystematic (common to partisans and dissident groups) and unsystematic (common to informal intellectual groups). Also, a prosystematic activism can be noted typical for the leaders of communist organizations or for a part of the society, which accepted communist ideology. The main problem that arose while applying the concept of citizenship to the society of the Soviet state was the question whether it was possible to speak about a civil society under the conditions of the totalitarian regime. The author of the paper answered to this question negatively; however, he also provided the manifestations of operation typical for various society, science and culture areas, which were mainly initiated by the intellectuals, as examples of alternative or unsystematic citizenship. This was the monument protection movement, which started in the '70s, or ethnographical backpackers' movement 'Ramuva,' the leaders of which were also the representatives of Lithuanian cultural elite. The group led by Gražina and Marcelijus Martinaičiai was especially impressive, as it was formed from B. Genzelis, art critic I. Kostkevičiūtė, I. Lukšaitė, doctor Stasė Mičelytė, architects Algimantas ir Vytautas Nasvyčiai, musicologist Vytautas Landsbergis, poet Sigitas Geda, musician and music critic Donatas Katkus, artist Petras Repšys, writer Juozas Aputis, poet Judita Vaičiūnaitė, V. Zaborskaitė, actor Laimonas Noreika, actor and singer Vytautas Kernagis, bard Alfredas Kukaitis, architect Artūras Skučas, dissident Viktoras Petkus, Liūtas Mockūnas, critic of emigrant literature Violeta Kelertienė, Virgilijus Čepaitis⁴⁸. The members of this circle not only discussed culture and art but also shared illegal literature and protected the Old Town of Vilnius from technocrats. Their attempts to protect the excavated underground cellars in Stiklių Street in Vilnius at the end '70 were especially impressive. They mobilized the relationship of primary and secondary groups, the relationship with the 'they' category people and this way reached even the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Petras Griškevičius. Finally, the devastation of the Old Town in Stiklių Street was stopped. The establishment of the movement 'Ramuva' in 1968 was influenced by the Lithuanian-Indian society established in 1967⁴⁹. This association was interested in the achievements of the Indian culture, while later on it developed into the research of Baltic religion and culture. Ethnographic and complex expeditions, the festivals of

⁴⁸ A. Šukys' interview with G. Martinaitiene, 2009-10-12.

⁴⁹ A. Šukys' interview with V. Bagdonavičius, 2008-12-08.

Vėlinės and Rasos were organized in Kernavė and other places in Lithuania, as well as ethnographical ensembles, celebrations of other Lithuanian festivals, conferences, seminars, lectures and concerts were organized. In 1973 'Ramuva' was closed but its features were transmitted to other ethnographical groups in the whole Lithuania. 'Žygeiviai' (marchers) were not so closely related to intellectuals; however, they also participated in these activities. This movement aimed at organizing ethnographic celebrations and the getting information about Lithuanian history; it was also involved into monument preservation: collective assistances in order to preserve monuments were organized or the facts of nature and cultural monuments violations were recorded. For most backpacking trips special books were prepared with the descriptions of the most important places to visit and the song texts⁵⁰. For the participants of žygeiviai groups, there were high moral requirements, which were recorded even on July 3, 1966 in the "Punia agreement"⁵¹.

Philosophers' works in the area of unideologized philosophy

This chapter analyses the works of philosophers, which were active both in the alternative public activities and also in philosophy (pedagogical, theoretical activities and book publication). In order to research the works of philosophers in greater detail, both the contents of the texts written during Soviet times and the used methodology are analysed. The four type model of historiographical discourse devised by H. White is used as a methodological principle, which is useful in the analysis of the text written during Soviet times, as it is easy to compare the methodologies of different philosophical paradigms among themselves, independently from the peculiarities of the object that they analyse⁵². Also, the principles of organicistic, mechanicistic, contextualistic and formistic discourse creation help to compare the tendencies of Soviet ideology Marxism-Leninism explanations with other possible philosophical discourse types. This part provides the most important features of Marxism-Leninism: dialectical and historical materialism, scientific communism, the party principle, and atheism. The

⁵⁰ Almonaitis V., Vilniaus universiteto istorijos fakulteto žygeivių bendrijos „Aitvaras“ istorijos bruožai, *Atbalsis*, Panevėžys, 1996.

⁵¹ Pūnios sutartis, *Atbalsis*, 1994, rugsėjis, Panevėžys, p. 5.

⁵² White H., *Metaistorija...*

vertical reduction of Marxism-Leninism mechanistic paradigm, formed by the *base* priority to the *superstructure*, first evaluates any theory from the social and biographical creator of the theory point of view. This way, the self-value of philosophy is destroyed, while the theoretical analysis of the problem is transformed into the analysis of the social environment, where social revolution is viewed as the most important means of solving theoretical problems⁵³. The party principle is also related to the vertical reduction; however, during a period of time it becomes an abstract criterion used to evaluate other theories, i.e. it also performs the horizontal reduction as well. During the process of horizontal reduction, Marxist-Leninist claims are compared to other various theories. Even though they may be created using totally different principles, while comparing, a true Leninist would criticize them as any other ideology, would evaluate them in the perspective of dialectic and historical materialism and would ascertain scientist, atheist and materialistic preferences. More objective researchers admit the partial correctness of the preconditions and results of the research object while carrying out horizontal reduction, while they explain the imperfections emphasizing the historical period of the theory appearance rather than paying attention to the preconditions. In addition, some of them maintain a more respectful relationship to the research object and, even though they view Marxism as the ideal of philosophy history, they agree to view other theories on the basis of theoretical-immanent factors (features of E. Meškauskas School).

History studies by B. Genzelis ‘The Enlighteners and their ideas in Lithuania (XIXa.)’⁵⁴, ‘An essay on Thinkers’⁵⁵, ‘Sketch of Renaissance philosophy’⁵⁶, as well as his articles, introduce with the thinkers and public actors of various periods. The abundance of the analysed world and Lithuanian philosophers and thinkers is surprising. Their ideas and theoretical provisions are not provided by exhaustively applying any developed explanatory paradigm; however, the main theoretical elements of the main analysed authors are found interrelated with the untheoretical ones by causal means. That is why such description of the period is close to the contextual variant, although it moves away from a deeper analysis of the philosophical problems. Another feature of

⁵³ Kabelka G., *Lietuvos filosofijos ...*, p. 63-65.

⁵⁴ Genzelis B., *Švietėjai ir jų idėjos Lietuvoje XIX a.*, Vilnius, 1972.

⁵⁵ Genzelis B., *Esė apie mąstytojus*, Vilnius, 1986.

⁵⁶ Genzelis B., *Renesanso filosofijos metmenys*, Vilnius, 1988.

contextualization is that the theoretical problems solved in Lithuania are compared with the theories of Western thinkers of a similar period. As the former ones were quite often the reflection of the latter ones, this methodological approach helps to focus more on the genesis of one or another idea and the conditions of its dissemination in different national and social contexts. In general, an exceptional B. Genzelis' attention to Lithuanian thinkers and public actors, was his and his friends' secret motive to emphasize the authorities of Lithuanian society and encode them into the official culture during the Soviet times, according to his testimony⁵⁷. Even though the texts of the researcher contain some mechanistic sentences, the author applies a respectful reconstruction of the chosen authors and the analysis of their theories and attitudes based on internal analysis of the object, which does not deform the chosen object but reveals it extensively. Marxists, who took the position of active ideological front, did not want (or could not) do that. That is why an objective study of the idea being analysed could show how an attempt to 'justify' or protect the autonomy the theoretical principles of the analysed attitudes with respect to the official ideology. Naturally, the ideology supervisors noted such aspects⁵⁸.

According to the reception of Vydūnas philosophy provided by V. Bagdonavičius, who wrote the book *Philosophical basis of Vydūnas humanism*, it is possible to maintain that this scholar managed to avoid Marxist-Leninist evaluation clichés and preserve a respectful relationship with the research object. The strategy of the author of the research was quite clear: to analyse Vydūnas' philosophy and his life through the perspective of social, cultural, economic and political factors of his time, and to relate the theoretical elements of the thinker with other theoretical concepts of the time. By having this aim, his research moves closer to the contextual writing. However, organicistic explanation is also typical for this monography, as different element of Vydūnas philosophy is reconstructed using not only the theories of other thinkers but also non-theoretical context as well, while everything is related by the Vydūnas reception of Vedanta philosophical paradigm.

During the Soviet times, it was quite a risky task to write about religion, its institutions and philosophy positively. However, B. Kuzmickas corresponds to the attitude to refuse vulgar atheism and introduce religion as an objective social and

⁵⁷ Genzelis B., *Imperijai griūvant...*, p. 81, 88-92.

⁵⁸ Gaidys A., Lazauskas J., Makarevičius V., Steponavičius A., *Leidiniui "Problemos"...*, p. 75.

cultural phenomenon, which also has a typical philosophical conception and a transcendental measure. The main writing style in the researcher's texts is organicistic, which is dominated by one main theoretical trend, and different elements are revealed during the development process. The author also uses a wider non-theoretical context, while various Catholic philosophy trends are analysed by using the paradigms of Classical philosophy, which formed the background for the trends to appear. Such reconstruction method of explanation and philosophical problems corresponds to the contextual paradigm. B. Kuzmickas published his main book 'Contemporary Catholic Philosophy'⁵⁹ and other research on this area in the official Soviet press; therefore, it is possible to find mechanicistic statements as well. On the other hand, these statements were marginalized, especially in the '80s, while the antimaterialistic ideas of the author are revealed by the articles printed secretly in emigration⁶⁰, as indicated in the review of Catholic underground press editor⁶¹.

While reading the works by T. Sodeika, who started his career during the Soviet times, from White's methodological perspective, one may note a very rare aspect in the philosophical texts of the Soviet times, i.e. the application of formistic methodology (the detailed 'internal' analysis of the chosen object or the functioning of its elements in reality). This discourse or way of philosophizing can be referred to as contemplation and a clear thinker's ambition to an authentic cognition of the reality. It should be emphasized once again that compared to other research on philosophy this is a very explicit exception. In general, the explication of the phenomenological method and concrete examples of its realization with reality objects challenge not only the established version of Soviet Marxism, but also any set and ideocratic thinking. While considering K. Jaspers, T. Sodeika formulated the purpose of philosophy the following: 'But *to understand* here meant not *to know* philosophical problems, not *to analyse* its historical development and the interrelationship between various trends, but *to live* philosophy. The things that are thought about and considered were not a philosophy truth anymore; true philosophy is not 'life wisdom' either, which is manifested by the

⁵⁹ Kuzmickas B., *Šiuolaikinė katalikiškoji filosofija*, Vilnius, 1976.

⁶⁰ Bočys J., Katalikybė ir inteligentija šiuolaikinėje Lietuvoje, *Aidai*, 1984, nr. 6, p. 367-370; Vytėnas P., Materialistinis nužmoginimas, *Tėviškės žiburiai*, 1986 04 15, nr. 16 (1887) p. 3, 1986 04 22, nr. 17 (1888), p. 3, 1986 04 29, nr. 18 (1889), p. 3, 1986 05 06, nr. 19 (1890), p. 6, 1986 05 13, nr. 20 (1891), p. 3.

⁶¹ Knygų recenzijos, *Rūpintojėlis*, 1977, nr. 1.

repetition of some plain and abstract sentences, which can be used in any life situation. Philosophising is not a theory, but a practice and an inner activity, the aim of which is to change the philosophizing person himself⁶² (italics by the author of the article).

From the chronological perspective, similarly to other Lithuanian philosophy researchers, in his early writing A. Šliogeris demonstrates a bigger loyalty to the Marxist methodology, while in his latter research, i.e. at the end of the 70s, the researcher is involved into existentialist problematic and expresses a clear favour to this philosophy trend, and Marxist methodology and rhetoric is minimalized. In his writing, he uses an organicistic explanation paradigm, which is the most clearly expressed in his book 'Human World and Existential Thinking'⁶³. In the secret considerations about the being⁶⁴ at the end of the '70s, or about materiality of art⁶⁵ at the end of the '80s, he formulates an alternative to the dialectic materialist understanding of the being. However, as the integrating element of the organicist entity is one more and new paradigm, philosophy of the thing or philotopy, it is cleverly related to the Marxist materialist approach in the text. As one might expect, this way A. Šliogeris' thought to review philosophy history is hidden from the censorship, especially the existentialist trend on the basis of the new search methodology of the being. Philotopy paradigm had to become a secret challenge for the Marxist theoretical and practical modernism. Contrary to other analysed authors (B. Genzelis, V. Bagdonavičius and B. Kuzmickas) and similarly to T. Sodeika, A. Šliogeris attempts to cross the theoretical boundary and philosophize in a way that is submerged in reality because of his figurative and exceptional style, his attention to classical philosophy and the search for transcendency of a thing. These ideas are the consolidation of an alternative principle to any system.

⁶² Sodeika T., Karlui Jaspersui – 100 metų, *Istorija ir būtis. Filosofijos istorijos baruose*, Vilnius, 1988, p. 331.

⁶³ Šliogeris A., *Žmogaus pasaulis ir egzistencinis mąstymas*, Vilnius, 1985.

⁶⁴ Šliogeris A., *Būtis ir pasaulis: tyliojo gyvenimo fragmentai*, Vilnius, 1990.

⁶⁵ Šliogeris A., *Daiktas ir menas: du meno kūrinio ontologijos etiudai*, Vilnius, 1988.

Conclusions

1. The intellectuals did not identify with Soviet ideology and typical public practices while operating in the official public sphere and adapting to the Soviet system, despite the fact that some of them even belonged to the most important organizations of the regime, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Therefore, alternative behaviour models formed in addition to partial adaptation: opposition and life near the system. The formation of oppositional intellectuals' attitudes towards the Soviet authorities were conditioned by absurd features of the totalitarian regime, post-war resistance, memories about interwar Lithuania and family values. Besides, various sources of objective information, communication and cooperation with the people of non-Soviet environment allowed the creation of a more objective picture of the reality and the consolidation of oppositional and other alternative attitudes. All this was not directly influenced by the unsteady wanton politics of the Soviet regime.
2. Life beside the system is not wider articulated in the Lithuanian historiography. It was formed by free oeuvre, individuality, citizenship, stoicism, performing thinking. It did not correspond to oppositional behaviour, as a concrete relationship with any system is avoided. This attitude was typical for the intellectuals' activities as a total alternative towards ideology and ritualized political and social system and had its alternative sources: a free human will, creation, consciousness, social groups and their networks.
3. Even though some manifestations can be noted during Stalin's rule, some informal intellectual groups attempted to distance from the dictatorship of the Soviet regime and to move to alternative discussions, values and realization of practical aims when the 'warming' of Khrushchev started. The meeting environment helped very much for the intellectuals in their activities: their private home, cafes, round tables, and editorial offices of magazines, publishing houses and other conditions. Informal group networks were the most intensive at the Department of Lithuanian Literature of Vilnius State University, in

litterateur, artist and scientist circles, in the environment of Catholic intellectuals, in the movement of heritage protection and ethnography, and especially in the community of philosophers. The intellectuals did not always form the majority of the described groups; however, undoubtedly, they were their formal and informal leaders and initiators. The networking of the litterateur groups, which existed in the '50s and at the beginning of the 60s, implies that the networking processes of alternative groups started earlier in Soviet Lithuania than during the 'mature' socialist period.

4. Informal circles of philosophers intensively operated both in informal and official environment and provided more possibilities for the philosophy discipline to influence the sphere of higher education and develop philosophical thinking in the society. The philosophers, who also mainly belonged to Vilnius state university, managed to use the leaders of primary groups the developed relationship of secondary groups both in Lithuania and in the Soviet Union the best from all intellectual groups during the Soviet times. By using human and symbolic capital, they could reach surprising results regarding the system control: publish critical and anti-Marxist articles, publish unideologized books, and ignore ideological provisions in the pedagogical and scientific sphere. Contrary to the Lithuanian philologists, their activities received a negative official reaction, even though this did not stop their successful activity. The social capital accumulated by the philosophers during various life and professional activity periods provided long-term results, which later contributed not only to alternative and oppositional but also to the realization of anti-systematic goals.
5. The collective identity of internal and external groups or 'we' and 'they' in Soviet Lithuania corresponded to informal groups of intellectuals and Soviet nomenclature or the people of their environment. This binary opposition also created an oppositional identity, which was contrasted to 'their' values and practical provisions. On the other hand, the collective identity of intellectuals was distinguished by the features of trust and alternative creation, as well as life

and activity near the system, which overstepped any boundary of oppositional and negative relationship. The social category of 'others' did not exist in opposition to 'us'; however, mainly because of their antisystematic activities they operated close to informal intellectual groups and maintained some relationship with them. The networking of 'others'- 'we'-'they' created conditions for successful alternative operation of informal intellectual groups in the Soviet environment.

6. Even though Soviet Lithuanians did not have the most important conditions to form civil society until 1988-1990, the conception of communitarian citizenship, which comprises the operation of various social groups between private sphere of the society and the official sphere of the state, could be applied in order to explain the citizenship of the Soviet Lithuanian society. The manifestations of unsystematic citizenship traced in the sphere of civil society operation could be intermingled with antisystematic operation, and externally related with pro-systematic activism. In the unsystematic operation of informal intellectual groups, all typical elements for the Western civil action model can be recognized: independent activity, organization 'from below', reaching for a common goal, solidarity, trust and the attempt to protect some human and civil rights in the official public sphere. The most significant actions of civil activity in the legal or semi-legal sphere manifested in the heritage protection, local lore and ethnographic movement spheres in the period from '60s to '80s.
7. Philosophers, who participated in the activities of informal groups, generated alternative philosophical discourse in their theoretical discourse as well. The possibilities for philosophical thought development in Soviet Lithuania comprised the methodological and content aspect. In the first case, the alternative or ideologized intellectual activities were positioned by the methodological relationship with the official philosophy, i.e. Marxism-Leninism. Two kinds of mechanistic reductions are typical for Marxist-Leninist methodology: vertical and horizontal. Ideological procedure of vertical reductionism was used in the most ideologized 'philosophical' texts,

emphasizing the author's class dependence. In the case of horizontal reduction, the classics of philosophy were primitively subordinated to ideological provisions. Besides, a party principle was used in order to unify philosophical theories, which was used to analyse totally different conceptions, while in evaluation atheist or scientific preferences were observed.

8. From the aspect of philosophical content, alternativeness was formed in the Soviet philosophers' choice of research problematics. The research by B. Genzelis, V. Bagdonavičius or B. Kuzmickas was distinct because of a respectful relationship towards the research object; besides, they introduced Lithuanian readers with the ideas of Lithuanian philosophers and cultural actors of the 19th or 20th century, as well as with the main theories of Eastern and Western classical philosophies. For this reason, the authors most often applied the procedures alternative to mechanicism, i.e. contextualistic or organicistic methodological paradigm. The philosophy studies by B. Genzelis popularized and legalized unideologized philosophical ideas in the Lithuanian society in a simple and attractive way. The research by V. Bagdonavičius extensively presented the paradigm of Vydūnas Vedanta humanism, which challenged the Soviet materialistic understanding of a person. B. Kuzmickas' research on Catholic philosophy provided the system of classical statements of Christian thinking, distancing from vulgar application of Marxism-Leninism ideas. Even though it is possible to find some statements typical for vertical and horizontal reduction in the texts of these three researchers, they were peripheral and did not function generally in the research context. They can be explained as protection from the possible censorship of the Soviet ideology.

9. T. Sodeika created an alternative not only to the Marxist-Leninist and also the whole classical philosophy, which analyses the philosophical problem only from the theoretical perspective by choosing a phenomenological paradigm for his research in philosophy. His research is exceptional in the sense that it operated not only in the methodologically contextual and formistic principle of text creation, and he also encouraged the reader to approach philosophy practically in their lives, where philosophical thinking does not create and solve distinct

theoretical problems but help a person to live and give sense to their life in such a way like phenomenology or, generally, philosophy fathers did. The paradigm of authentic thinking is also typical for the research and philosophical creation by A. Šliogeris. Even though it is possible to find some ideological clichés in his texts, which do not function in the general research context, in his, as well as T. Sodeika's texts, the works by A. Šliogeris, especially the ones written in the '80s, and their writing style provide a totally different understanding of the material, which developed to philotopy and insights into the metaphysics of the thing. The philosophizing alternative created by this philosopher challenges the Soviet and also the contemporary, post-Soviet social and intellectual tradition in Lithuania.

INTELEKTUALŲ ALTERNATYVI VEIKLA SOVIETŲ LIETUVOJE 1956–1988 M.

Santrauka

Idėja tyrinėti sovietmečio intelektualus kilo žvelgiant į Sąjūdžio ir Lietuvos nepriklausomybės atkūrimo istoriją. Lietuvoje, skirtingai nei kitose sovietinėse respublikose, Michailo Gorbačiovo reformas parėmė ir vėliau jas nacionaliniams tikslams pakreipė didelė dauguma vietos inteligentų. Dalis tyrinėtojų pripažįsta, kad tokio masto socialinis ir politinis judėjimas, koks įsibėgėjo devintojo dešimtmečio pabaigoje, turėjo turėti apčiuopiamas ištakas. Negalėjo Sąjūdis atsirasti iš nieko, bet čia nebuvo ir partijos ar KGB braižo. Tautiškai, pilietiškai nusiteikę inteligentai, intelektualai susivieniję 1988 birželio 3 d. ir gana greitai mobilizavę visą to meto Lietuvos visuomenę, turėjo remtis socialiniais ryšiais, vertybėmis bei atitinkamomis nuostatomis, kurios vienokia ar kitokia forma egzistavo ir evoliucionavo per visą aneksijos laikotarpį.

Iš kitos pusės žvelgiant, tyrinėti visą ar vėlyvojo sovietmečio Lietuvos kultūrinį elitą, o kartu ir likusią visuomenę yra milžiniškas darbas. Tokių individualių ir kolektyvinių pastangų per paskutinį dešimtmetį būta ne viena. Tačiau šio darbo tikslas ir objektas bus kiek siaurinamas: tyrinėjant įvairias inteligentų, intelektualų grupes, jų tinklaveiką, nuveiktus darbus, idėjų raidą ir vertybines nuostatas, labiau kreipti dėmesį į vienos, turbūt labiausiai emancipuotos sovietmečiu intelektualų grupės, – filosofų bendruomenę ir jų tinklaveiką, praktinius ir teorinius darbus. Dažnai nūdienos visuomenėje gyvuoja mitas, jog filosofija su praktine veikla neturi nieko bendro, jog šios srities „specialistai“ užsiima gal ir įdomiais, bet praktiškai nelabai pritaikomais dalykais. Kad paneigtume šitą mitą, galime paminėti tik vieną faktą – juk visa sovietinė sistema buvo pradėta būtent nuo Karlo Marxo ir jo pasekėjo Friedricho Engelso bei jų pasekėjo Vladimiro Iljičiaus Lenino ir kitų panašių mąstytojų bei visuomenės veikėjų idėjų. Būtent K. Marxas nusprendė, jog filosofija turi ne tik paaiškinti pasaulį, bet ir jį keisti. Kitas klausimas, kokios yra šio pasiūlyto „naujosios“ visuomenės kūrimo ir „senojo“ pasaulio perkeitimo priemonės ir padariniai... Bet kuriuo atveju apie filosofiją ir filosofus, kaip ir apie intelektualus ir jų intelektinę

veiklą reikėtų kalbėti jei ne su pagarba, tai bent su tam tikru atsargumu, nes tos idėjos, kurios yra gvildenamos jų grupelėse, tas gyvenimo būdas, kurį jie pasirenka iš esmės gali tapti ar jau dabar tampa visos visuomenės gyvenimo būdu. Šiuo teiginiu nesiekama kaip nors elitarizuoti visų socialinių procesų, tačiau, kaip parodys šis darbas, bei apie ką kalba kiti panašūs istorikų tekstai, jog turbūt visos pilietinės revoliucijos Rytų ir Vidurio Europoje prasidėjo socialiniuose branduoliuose, kurių lyderiai vienokiu ar kitokiu būdu su savo artimiausios aplinkos žmonėmis generavo alternatyvias idėjas, kūrė socialinius ryšius, puoselėjo tam tikrą paralelinę kultūrą, kuri tiesiogiai ar netiesiogiai oponavo oficialiajai politinės valdžios įtvirtintai linijai. Pavyzdžių toli ieškoti nereikia: Andrejus Sacharovas, Solženycinas ir rusų disidentų sąjūdis, Vaclavas Havelas ir „Chartija 77“, Lechas Walenca ir Solidarnosz, Vytautas Landsbergis, Romualdas Ozolas ir Sąjūdis, ir t.t. Aišku, šioje vietoje reikia pastebėti, jog vienos ar dviejų asmenybių sureikšminti negalima: jie išskirti kaip tam tikri savo judėjimų lyderiai, atstovai. Beje, kiekvieno paminėto veikėjo aplinkoje dalyvavo ne vienas filosofas. Jei turėsime galvoje totalitarinį režimą sovietinėje Lietuvoje ir jo eroziją vėlyvuju laikotarpiu, tai, galima teigti, jog pirmiausiai intelektualams galėtų būti priskiriamos įvairios konformizmo strategijos, bet lygiai taip pat ir alternatyvios, neideologizuotos minties, kultūros plėtra Lietuvoje, kuri suvaidino lemiamą vaidmenį Lietuvos visuomenės kultūrinio laisvėjimo ir nepriklausomybės atstatymo metais. Net šeši iš filosofų bendruomenės: Bronislavas Genzelis, Bronislavas Kuzmickas, Romualdas Ozolas, Jokūbas Minkevičius, Vytautas Radžvilas, Arvydas Juozaitis, - 1988 m. tapo Lietuvos persitvarkymo sąjūdžio iniciatyvinės grupės nariais. Paminėti keturi pirmieji tapo Nepriklausomybės Akto signatarais. Dar kiti filosofai aktyviai dalyvavo Vilniaus, Kauno miesto sąjūdžio tarybose, kitose atsikūrusiose organizacijose.

Tyrimo objektas – sovietmečio Lietuvos intelektualų praktinės ir teorinės veiklos bruožai, išskiriant 1956–1988 m. filosofų bendruomenės narius, jų veikimą ir idėjų raidą neformalioje ir oficialioje erdvėje.

Darbo chronologiniai rėmai – 1956–1988 metai. Pradiniu atskaitos tašku pasirinkti 1956 metai, kuomet SSKP XX suvažiavimo nutarimais buvo panaikintas Stalino kultas ir suteikta kultūriniam elitui dalinė veikimo laisvė, sąlygojusi taip vadinamą „atšilimą“ įvairiose sovietų valstybės gyvenimo srityse. Tuo metu toliau tęsia

savo veiklą ar pradeda veikti stiprios alternatyvios lietuvių studentų grupės didžiuosiuose Lietuvos ir Sovietų Sąjungos miestuose: Kaune, Vilniuje, Leningrade, Maskvoje, – siekiama kurti ryšius tarp atskirų grupių. Minėtinas „Balticum“ ansamblis, įvairūs studentų savišvietos rateliai, lituanistų rateliai, susibūrę aplink Lietuvių literatūros katedrą Vilniaus valstybiniame universitete (toliau – VVU). Vėliau, 7-ojo dešimtmečio pradžioje, jų veikla susilpnėja dėl valdžios reakcijos, o antroji intelektualų grupelių banga prasideda su Leonido Brežnevo atėjimu į valdžią ir tęsiasi iki ir po Prahos pavasario (1968 m.). Tyrimo chronologinę baigtį žymi 1988 m. vidurys, kuomet dėl Gorbačiovo politikos ir tarptautinių aplinkybių buvo panaikinta bet kokia viešo veikimo, minties cenzūra ir atsirado laisvo veikimo, kūrybos sąlygos. Reikia pastebėti, kad analizuojant intelektualų neformalias grupes, jų tinklaveiką bus pasitelkti duomenys ir iš pokario laikotarpio, nes, kaip rodo duomenys, neformalios grupės įvairiuose socialiniuose sluoksniuose egzistavo per visą sovietmetį.

Šio darbo **tikslas** – ištirti sovietų Lietuvos intelektualų neformalių grupių veikimo bruožus ir filosofinės minties raidą neformalioje ir oficialioje erdvėje.

Siekiant šio tikslo bus įgyvendinti šie **uždaviniai**: (1) pasitelkiant istoriografinę ir empirinę medžiagą, išanalizuoti intelektualų laikyseną sovietinės sistemos atžvilgiu, opozicines ir kitas alternatyvias nuostatas, jų formavimosi aplinką; (2) išnagrinėjus šaltinius, istoriografiją, teorinę literatūrą, parengti intelektualų neformalių grupių veikimo modelį sovietmečiu ir aprašyti jų veiklą, tinklaveiką neformalioje ir oficialioje aplinkoje, išskirti kolektyvinės tapatybės formavimosi bruožus; (3) parengti sovietinio pilietiškumo modelį ir išskirti jo nesistemines apraiškas Lietuvos intelektualų veikloje; (4) remiantis suformuotu teoriniu modeliu, išanalizuoti Lietuvos filosofų, dalyvavusių neformaliose grupėse, neideologizuotos minties raidą ir įvertinti pasirinktų filosofų tyrinėjimus oficialiosios ideologijos atžvilgiu.

Aukščiau paminėtas tikslas ir uždaviniai pagrindžia darbo **struktūrą**. Darbas susideda iš įvado, keturių dalių ir išvados. Pirmoje dalyje aprašomos bendros intelektualų laikysenos sistemos atžvilgiu: opozicija, prisitaikymas, gyvenimas šalia sistemos. Taip pat aprašomos alternatyvios, opozicinės nuostatos ir jų formavimosi aplinkos. Antroje dalyje pateikiamas pirminių ir antrinių grupių funkcionavimo modelis ir konkrečių literatų, filosofų suburtų grupių, veikusių neformalioje ir

oficialioje erdvėje, kokybiniai aprašymai, išskiriama intelektualų kolektyvinė tapatybė. Trečioje dalyje atkreipiamas dėmesys į šių neformalių ir oficialių grupių, veikusių sovietinėje Lietuvoje pilietiškumo apraiškas, atskiriant tai nuo Vakarų pilietinės visuomenės, disidentų, pogrindininkų antisisteminio ir sistemai lojalių asmenų prosisteminio veikimo. Ketvirtoji dalis pateikia išsamų sovietmečiu visuomeniškai aktyviausių, taip pat kryptingai kūrusių savo autentišką mąstymo paradigmą filosofų teoriniai darbai. Šioje dalyje taip pat analizuojami pagrindiniai marksizmo-leninizmo filosofijos bruožai ir jų metodologinis santykis su analizuojamų filosofų darbais.

Disertaciniame darbe naudojami įvairūs humanitarinių ir socialinių mokslų **metodai**. Taikyti humanitariniuose moksluose įprastas aprašomasis, analitinis, lyginamasis ir hermeniautinis metodas. Taip pat pasitelkta socialiniuose moksluose naudojama kolektyvinės tapatybės, socialinio-pilietinio judėjimo, tinklaveikos, grupių teorijų ir kitos koncepcijos. Atliktas kokybinis interviu, kuris buvo parengtas ir organizuotas pusiau struktūruota forma ir kuriame dalyvavo 30 respondentų. Taip pat pasiremta šios srities kitų kolegų atliktais publikuotais ir nepublikuotais interviu, kurie naudojo panašų klausimyną. Tyrinėjant filosofinius tekstus naudojamas Haydeno White'o suformuotas ir Gintaro Kabelkos filosofiniams tekstams tyrinėti pritaikytas formistinio, organicistinio, mechanicistinio, kontekstualistinio filosofinio teksto tyrimo modelis.

Šio darbo **naujumas** yra tai, kad į intelektualus ir jų veiklą sovietmečiu žiūrima ne individualiai, bet per jų sukurtų neformalių grupių, kurios veikė tiek neformalioje, tiek oficialioje erdvėje, ir turėjo tiek pirminės, tiek antrinės grupės bruožus, dinamiką. Šituo keliu einant buvo labai lengvai pastebėti ir plačiau artikuliuoti alternatyvios kolektyvinės tapatybės formavimosi ypatumai. Taip pat aprašyti filosofinės sąmonės apraiškos ir filosofiniai tyrimai pirmą kart istoriografijoje pateikiami kaip alternatyva sovietiniam režimui. Nauja yra tai, kad tyrime siekta aprėpti to pačio socialinio sluoksnio tiek socialinę, profesinę, tiek intelektinę, teorinę veiklą. Taip pat turėtų kitus tyrinėtojus sudominti šio darbo autoriaus pastebėta ir plačiau analizuota neformalių intelektualų grupių pilietiškumo dimensija.

Tyrimo rezultatų apibendrinimas. Intelektualų opozicinių nuostatų sovietinės valdžios atžvilgiu susiformavimą nulėmė absurdiški totalitarinio režimo bruožai, pokario rezistencija, tarpukario Lietuvos atmintis, šeimos vertybės. Įvairūs

objektyvios informacijos šaltiniai, bendravimas ir bendradarbiavimas su nesovietizuotos aplinkos žmonėmis leido susikurti objektyvesnę tikrovės vaizdą ir įtvirtinti tiek opozicines, tiek kitas alternatyvias nuostatas. Dėl šių nuostatų intelektualai, veikdami oficialioje viešojoje erdvėje ir prisitaikydami prie sistemos, nesusitapatino su sovietine ideologija ir ją lydėjusiomis visuomeninėmis, institucinėmis praktikomis. Šalia dalinio prisitaikymo formavosi alternatyvios elgsenos modeliai: opozicija ir gyvenimas šalia sistemos, – kurie nebuvo tiesiogiai įtakoti sovietinio režimo besikeičiančios politikos.

Gyvenimo šalia sistemos elgsena nėra aiškiau aprašyta lietuviškoje historiografijoje. Šis modelis nesutampa su opozicine elgsena, nes atsiriboja nuo konkrečios priešstatos bet kokios sistemos atžvilgiu. Jį formuoja žmogaus laisva kūryba, individualumas, pilietiškumas, stoicizmas, sistemos ignoravimas, valingas mąstymas. Jis gyvavo intelektualų veikloje kaip tam tikra alternatyva ideologijos, ritualizuotos politinės ir socialinės sistemos atžvilgiu bei turėjo savo kilmės alternatyvius šaltinius: žmogaus laisvą valią, kūrybą, moralės principus, socialines grupes ir jų tinklus.

Nors kai kurių apraiškų galima pastebėti ir Stalino valdymo metu, tačiau ypač prasidėjus N. Chruščiovo „atšilimui“ kai kurios neformalios inteligentų grupės oficialioje erdvėje siekė vis labiau atsiriboti nuo sovietinio režimo diktato ir pereiti prie alternatyvių diskursų, vertybių, praktinių tikslų realizavimo. Šioje veikloje itin pasitarnaudavo intelektualų susitikimo aplinka: jų pačių privatūs būstai, kavinės, apskriti stalai, žurnalų redakcijos, leidyklos, darbovietės ir kitos sąlygos. Neformalūs grupių tinklai intensyviausiai mezgėsi lituanistų, susibūrusių apie VVU Lietuvių literatūros katedrą, aplinkoje, literatų, menininkų, mokslininkų rateliuose, katalikų intelektualų aplinkose, paveldosaugos, etnografiniame, kraštotyriminiame judėjime ir ypač filosofų bendruomenėje. Intelektualai nevisuomet sudarydavo aprašytų grupelių narių daugumą, tačiau neabejotinai buvo jų formalūs ar neformalūs vadovai bei iniciatoriai. Literatų grupių tinklaveika, egzistavusi 6-ajame ir 7-ojo dešimtmečio pradžioje, leidžia teigti, jog alternatyvių grupių tinklaveikos procesai sovietų Lietuvoje prasidėjo gerokai anksčiau nei vėlyvuoją sovietmečiu.

Filosofų neformalios grupės intensyviai veikė tiek neformalioje, tiek oficialioje terpėje suteikiant filosofijos disciplinai daugiau galimybių daryti įtaką

aukštojo mokslo srityje ir ugdyti filosofinį mąstymą plačioje visuomenėje. Filosofai, iš visų sovietmečio intelektualų grupių, taip pat daugiausiai susibūrę prie VVU, sugebėdavo geriausiai pasinaudoti pirminių grupių branduoliais ir išplėtotais antrinių grupių santykiais, savo sukauptu žmogiškuoju ir simboliniu kapitalu tiek Lietuvoje, tiek Sovietų Sąjungoje. Tokiu būdu buvo publikuojami kritiniai arba antimarksistiniai straipsniai, leidžiamos neideologizuotos knygos, ignoruojamos ideologinės nuostatos pedagoginėje, mokslinėje veikloje. Skirtingai nei VVU lituanistų atveju, jų veikla sulaukė vienintelės apčiuopiamos neigiamos oficialios reakcijos, bet tai realiai nesustabdė sėkmingos jų veiklos. Filosofų įvairiuose gyvenimo ir profesinės veiklos tarpsniuose sukauptas socialinis kapitalas davė ilgalaikius rezultatus, vėliau realiai prisidėjusius ne tik prie alternatyvių, opozicinių, bet ir antisisteminių tikslų realizavimo.

Vidinių ir išorinių grupių, arba „mūsų“ ir „jų“, kolektyvinę tapatybę sovietų Lietuvoje atitiko neformalių grupių intelektualų ir sovietinės nomenklatūros bei jų aplinkos žmonės. Ši binarinė skirtis, kartu sukūrė opozicinę tapatybę, priešpastatytą „jų“ vertybėms, praktinėms nuostatomis. Kita vertus, intelektualų kolektyvinė tapatybė išsiskyrė pasitikėjimo ir alternatyvios kūrybos, gyvenimo ir veikimo šalia sistemos formuojamais „savų“ bruožais, kurie peržengė bet kokius opozicinius, negatyvius santykius. „Kitų“ socialine kategorija išskirti asmenys egzistavo ne priešpriešoje „mūsų“ atžvilgiu, tačiau dažniausiai dėl savo veiklos antisisteminio pobūdžio veikė greta neformalių intelektualų grupių, palaikydami su jais vienokius ar kitokius ryšius. „Kitų“-, „mūsų“-, „jų“ santykių tinklaveika sudarė sąlygas neformalių intelektualų grupių sėkmingam alternatyviam veikimui sovietinėje erdvėje.

Nors sovietų Lietuvos piliečiai iki 1988–1990 m. neturėjo svarbiausių sąlygų formotis pilietinei visuomenei, komunitarinio pilietiškumo koncepcija, kuri apima įvairių socialinių grupių veikimo terpę tarp visuomenės privačios ir valstybės oficialios srities, gali būti taikoma sovietų Lietuvos visuomenės pilietiškumui paaiškinti. Pilietinės visuomenės veikimo srityje sovietmečiu aptinkamos nesisteminio pilietiškumo apraiškos galėjo būti persipynusios su antisisteminiu veikimu, išoriškai susijusios ir su prosisteminiu aktyvizmu. Neformalių intelektualų grupių nesistemiame veikime atpažįstami visi svarbiausi Vakarų pilietinio veikimo modeliu būdingi elementai: savarankiška veikla, organizavimasis „iš apačios“, bendro tikslo

siekimas, solidarumas, pasitikėjimas, siekis apginti kai kurias žmogaus ir piliečio teises oficialioje viešojoje erdvėje. Patys ryškiausi 7-ojo - 9-ojo dešimtmečių pilietinio aktyvumo legalioje ar pusiau legalioje erdvėje veiksmai pasireiškė paveldosaugos, kraštotyrinio, etnografinio judėjimo srityse.

Alternatyvioje neformalių grupių veikloje dalyvavę filosofai savo teoriniuose tyrinėjimuose lygiai taip pat kūrė alternatyvų filosofinį diskursą. Filosofinės minties plėtojimo galimybės sovietų Lietuvoje apėmė metodologinį ir turinio aspektą. Pirmuoju atveju alternatyvią arba ideologizuotą intelektinę veiklą pozicionavo metodologinis santykis su oficialia filosofija – marksizmu-leninizmu. Pasirinkus marksistinę-lenininę metodologinę paradigmą, buvo atliekami du mechanicistinės redukcijos veiksmai: vertikalusis ir horizontalusis. Ideologinė vertikalojo redukcionizmo procedūra buvo naudojama vulgariausiai ideologizuotuose teoriniuose tekstuose, pabrėžiant autoriaus klasinę priklausomybę, partiškumo principą. Horizontaliosios redukcijos atveju, filosofijos klasikai buvo skirtingu laipsniu subordinuojami ideologinėms nuostatoms.

Filosofinio turinio aspektu alternatyvumas buvo formuojamas sovietmečio filosofų tyrimo problematikos pasirinkimuose. B. Genzelio, V. Bagdonavičiaus, B. Kuzmicko tyrinėjimai išsiskyrė pagarbiu santykiu su tyrimo objektu, supažindino Lietuvos skaitytoją su XIX, XX a. Lietuvos filosofų, kultūros veikėjų idėjomis, Rytų ir Vakarų klasikinių filosofijų pagrindinėmis teorijomis. Tuo tikslu autoriai dažniausiai taikė alternatyvias mechanicizmui: kontekstualistinei, organicistinei, – metodologinei paradigmą būdingas procedūras. B. Genzelio filosofijos studijos paprastai ir įtaigiai populiarindavo ar legalizuodavo neideologizuotą filosofinę mintį Lietuvos visuomenėje. V. Bagdonavičiaus tyrinėjimai išsamiai pristatė vydūniško-vedantiško humanizmo paradigmą, metusią iššūkį sovietinei materialistinei žmogaus sampratai. B. Kuzmicko katalikiškos filosofijos tyrinėjimai pristatė krikščioniško mąstymo klasikinių teiginių sistemą, visiškai atsiribojant nuo vulgaraus marksizmo-leninizmo nuostatų taikymo. Nors šių trijų tyrinėtojų tekstuose galima rasti kai kurių vertikaliajai ir horizontaliajai redukcijai būdingų teiginių, tačiau jie buvo periferinio pobūdžio ir bendrai tyrimo kontekste nefunkcionavo. Juos galima paaiškinti kaip apsaugos priemonės nuo galimų sovietinių ideologijos cenzorių.

T. Sodeika pasirinkdamas savo filosofinių tyrinėjimų kryptimi fenomenologinę paradigmą, sovietmečiu kūrė alternatyvą ne tik marksistinei-lenininei, bet apskritai visai klasikinei filosofijai, kuri gilinosi į filosofinę problemą vien teoriniu aspektu. Šio filosofo tyrinėjimai išsiskyrė tuo, jog jie operavo ne tik metodologiškai kontekstualistiniu, formistiniu tekstų konstravimo principu, bet ir pastanga bei skaitytojo raginimu prisiliesti prie filosofijos praktišku būdu savo gyvenime, kur filosofinis mąstymas nekuria ir nesprenžia atsietų teorinių problemų, bet padeda žmogui gyventi ir savo gyvenimą įprasinti tokiu pačiu būdu, kaip tai darė fenomenologijos ar, bendrai, filosofijos pradininkai. Autentiško mąstymo paradigma būdinga taip pat ir A. Šliogerio tyrinėjimams ir jo filosofinei kūrybai. Nors jo, kaip ir T. Sodeikos, tekstuose galima rasti ne vieną bendrame tyrimo kontekste nefunkcionuojančią ideologinę klišę, tačiau A. Šliogerio darbai, ypač parašyti 9-ajame dešimtmetyje, rašymo stilius pateikia visiškai kitokią materijos sampratą, išsivysčiusią iki filotopijos ir daikto metafizikos išvalgų. Šio filosofo sukurta filosofavimo alternatyva meta iššūkį ir sovietinei, ir dabartinei, posovietinei, socialinei ir intelektinei tradicijai Lietuvoje.

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