

The motivated self-deceit, the self-hatred and hatred of other: Freudian repression in communism and post-communism

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The motivated self-deceit, the self-hatred and hatred of other: Freudian repression in communism and post-communism¹

Cătălin Mamali

Abstract:

The study explores the causes and consequences of "Freudian repression", as analyzed by Billig (1999), in communism and post-communism. The repression of unacceptable, shameful, evil, painful thoughts from the conscious mind is considered in psychoanalysis a central process in the dynamic of personality. The focus is on the Freudian repression that might be generated by ideological restrictions and filters, which are imposed through the brutal terror systemically enacted by the specialized institutions of the communist regimes. The study advances the idea that in communism the motivated self-deceit has become a mass-phenomenon through repressing and hiding in the unconscious mind of all the individual's authentic feelings, thoughts, experiences and expressions that were different and especially opposed to the official representations, narratives, discourse, ideological principles and political authority.

Due to the duration, depth, and relational expansion of the ideologically based repression of the authentic thoughts, feelings, experiences and expressions of individuals and communities, a schizogenic social context was generated in time. Such a context was favorable to the erosion of self-love and of the love of the other and to the replacement of these emotional bonds with mistrust, disdain and hatred toward oneself and others. The ideological principles and the political algorithm restrained systematically the individual autonomy and enhanced the de-individuation process.

Based on the fundamental role of language in the Freudian repression (Billig, 1999) the study attempts to identify the major types of motivated self-deceit practiced in communism and the main types of motivated self-deceit that emerged in post-communism. These types are discussed in relationship with the long-term Freudian repression of the authentic thoughts, feelings, expression and experiences of the individuals and communities. The ideological roots of Freudian repression in communism was strongly associated with the drastic limitation of the free dialogue between self and other, and of the interdiction of the free expression in public places.

The motivated self-deceit that involves the cover up of the censorship actions and traces and is ideologically rooted differs thought its content and mechanisms from the motivated self-deceit that is nurtured mainly by sexual and interpersonal tensions. The ideologically rooted self-deceit threatens the social and cultural identity of the individual, one's own cardinal moral, religious and political values. The answering process to the essential questions such as "Who am I?" and "Who are We?" is disturbed. Once the individual becomes a tool of an ideology of terror supported by specialized institutions the chances of self-hatred are increased and the hatred of others increases too. The ideologically motivated self-deceit that emerged during communism has long term-consequences that continued in post-communism. The fragmented existential identity, the distorted existential identity, and the pressure to protect evil secrets are considered to be associated with these consequences.

Keywords: Ideologically motivated self-deceit, Freudian repression, fragmented existential identity

¹ I express my gratitude to Michael Billig for his critical and insightful comments on this paper.

*“Gradually it was disclosed to me that the line separating good and evil passes not through states, nor between classes, nor between political parties either, but right through every human heart, and through all human hearts.” (A. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*)*

*“The most disordered and the most dangerous soul is the one who lies to himself about what is. The most disordered society is the one that praises the most disordered soul when it has achieved leadership. The ultimate battles are always first fought out in the soul, usually one’s own, before they appear about the surface in the city.” (J. V. Schall, *On the most disordered soul*)*

The generative, playful, spontaneous, imaginative and creative resources of the individual encounter different obstacles during their genesis, development and full expression. These obstacles are of different magnitudes and could originate within the individual, within the environment, and most of the time at the intersection between the internal and external forces. The fact that many of such barriers are located at the intersection between internal and external forces requires to consider the qualitative changes suffered by such a process as **repression** (*Verdrängung*), in its psychoanalytical sense, while the inquiry moves from the individual level toward higher **“levels of social complexity”** (Hinde, 1979, 1997). When higher levels of social complexity (groups, organizations, societies) are involved in a specific psychological process, such as repression, the process as such develops qualitatively distinct characteristics. The study will look especially to the major characteristics and consequences of **“Freudian repression”** (Billig, 1999) that is rooted within a totalitarian ideology, more precisely the communist ideology. The analysis of the qualitative changes of repression at the individual level generated in interaction with higher levels of social complexity during communism is justified by the Freudian approach of the similarities between individual processes and societal processes: “the development of civilization is a special process, comparable to the normal maturation of the individual” (*Civilization and its discontents*, SE, Vol. 21, pp. 97-98). Much more, while discussing the “communists believe that they have found the path to deliverance from our evils” by abolishing the “private property”, Freud makes clear his view on this ideological claim: “But I am able to recognize that *the psychological premises* on which the system [idea of “abolishing private property”] is based are an untenable illusion” (*Civilization and its discontents*, SE, Vol. 21, p. 113, italics added).

Within the present approach, repression will be considered within the wider theoretical framework offered by theories that deal with self-control, self-regulation and autonomy, and especially motivational theories such as self-determination - SDT (Deci, Ryan, 1985, 2008), the theory of Personality Systems Interaction - PSI (Kuhl, 2001), and the model of motivational balance (Mamali, 1976, 1981).

The paper will attempt to explain why within the communist societies higher human needs, higher moral and spiritual values, and essential components of individual and collective identity, that normally are sources of human dignity, were constantly repressed and individuals were forced to become pawns of a violent ideological utopia ready of self and other-hatred. Because the communist ideology, its political algorithm and repressive institutions force the individuals and the communities to give up significant components of their own identity, because the creative potential of individuals and communities are strictly censored, and because the autonomy is restrained drastically, both the individuals and the communities are compelled to practice deception toward the official authorities, toward others, and toward themselves.

Starting questions:

Under any communist regime, which by definition follows the rules inscribed in the **Manifesto of The Communist Party** that also shapes the **Constitution** of the respective country, all people who have different values are forced to renounce their own basic values, types of relationships and ways of behaving that are components of their identity and adopt the new social code. This systemic repression of some cardinal human values, and of the diversity of human choices makes deception and self-deception necessary tools for survival. Ideologically motivated deception becomes a widespread process. *The ideologically motivated deception*, due to the long term, systemic, violent, and continuous pressure on human rights and duties, infiltrates the inner life, the private and the public space. Taking into account this perspective, the following questions become important: *What are the major areas, traits and consequences of "Freudian repression" (Billig, 1999) as the analysis moves from the individual level to the macro-social levels within a totalitarian society? What are the areas, traits and consequences of "Freudian repression" when a totalitarian society undergoes structural changes that transform it into an open and democratic society? Is Freudian repression and the most important forms of repression that are generated within a communist and post communist society at different levels of social complexity (mainly individual and inter-individual) limited to the instinctual impulses? What is the significance of repressing higher human needs such as individuation, self-realization or autonomy and moral values due to ideological constraints reinforced by violent organizations?*

The construct of repression: its functions, origins and ramifications

The present study approaches some basic theoretical issues aimed to facilitate the exploration of the main areas, traits and consequences of Freudian repression within the communist society and within the post-communist period. Freud, who in his *Autobiographical study* considered "the theory of repression the corner-stone of our understanding of neurosis", made explicit the meaning of this concept (*Verdrängung*):

"the essence of repression lies simply in the turning something away, and keeping it at distance, from the conscious" (*Repression*, 1915, in SE, Vol. 14, p. 147).

In a previous work Freud introduces the idea of the "*return of the repressed memories*" that characterizes the illness. It is important to take into account that, according to Freud the "*re-activated memories, however, and the reproaches formed from them never re-emerge into conscience unchanged ... What become conscious as obsessional ideas and affects... are structures in the nature of a compromise between repressed ideas and the repressing ones..*" (*Further remarks on the neuro-psychoses of defense*, SE, Vol. 3, pp. 169-170).

For Freud "re-activated memories" might suffer important changes and represent a compromise between the repressed memories and the repressing forces. This characteristic is highly significant because experimental studies on memory, and especially on the relationship between recovered memories and false memories proved that asking repeatedly adult subjects to describe childhood events increases the probability that they will produce false memories, "recalling" something that never happened (Loftus, 1993). The misinformation paradigm developed by Loftus and her colleagues (1978) was used by Roediger who proved that the act of testing, through repeated retrieval can enhance false memories (Roediger, Jacoby, & McDermott, 1996).

In repression *the conscious must be protected* against feelings, drives, thoughts by *keeping the repressed at distance*. Because one's own conscious must be protected from one's own thoughts, beliefs, feelings even deeds, the process of repression turns the individual into a stranger to oneself.

This is a process conceived by Freud as being similar to the “intimacies” that cannot be told to others: “Everyone is aware that there are some things [“thoughts or memories”] in himself that he would be very unwilling to tell other people or that he considers it altogether out of the question to tell. These are his ‘intimacies’”. But the process of concealing one’s own feelings from others has also an inner side through which the individual refuses to “admit to oneself”. Freud makes clear that during this internal process an important psychological problem begins: “a thought of his own being kept secret from his own self” (*The question of lay analysis*. SE, Vol. 20, p. 188). Repression, as an inner process, is similar to the deceptive process that takes place so many times within interpersonal relationships. Because the person starts to have “secrets toward oneself”, this could be considered a process of self-alienation and self-deception. Repression is a burden for the self-knowledge process and it takes away the energy necessary for unfolding this process that becomes entrapped in self-deception.

Without discussing here the origins of intra-personal and inter-personal secrets, but mentioning Simmel’s landmark contribution regarding the social functions of secrets (1906), it is necessary to remark that through repression, according to my view, both the self-knowledge and inter-knowledge suffer huge impairments. As discussed in a different study, the *self-knowledge* and *inter-knowledge* are strongly connected (Mamali, 1974), being complementary social-cognitive processes. The dysfunctions in one process could spread across the physical, cognitive, affective, social and moral borders, between self and others into dysfunctions of the complementary process and in all other connected processes. According to the *interknowledge model* (Mamali, 1974) between self and other develops a *cognitive balance*. This cognitive balance is different from the intrapersonal balance of Heider’s model (1946, 1958), by the fact that the self or the other could be in three major states toward each other: *cognitive advantage*, *cognitive disadvantage*, and *cognitive equilibrium*. To have a cognitive advantage means to know more about the other (traits, preferences, biographical events, relationships, Mamali, 1974, pp.122-125). Within the communist regimes the cognitive balance between two or more persons was potentially distorted by the surveillance procedures and some could reach a cognitive advantage due to external forces (informers, access to files, spying on telephone conversations, control on correspondence etc.). The fact that the cognitive balance between two or more persons could have its source of information not only outside the relationship as such, but within the components of the surveillance systems represented a structural distortion of the cognitive relationships between the two persons. The fact that a relationship had, potentially, an external locus of control that was not emerging from its own dynamics, and the fact that, probably, this external locus of control was guessed by some actors in a variety of social signs of this dangerous and manipulative ideological spy (*Panopticum syndrome*, within and outside prisons) generated strong repressive processes. Panopticum syndrome refers to the changes within the person’s behavior, way of thinking, of feeling and relating because one is observed (almost under continuous surveillance) and because one observes that one is observed in a manipulative mode. In such cases paranoid types of reactions become necessary for survival. The fact that the archives of the communist regime are still manipulated makes even today, in Romania, extremely difficult to achieve interpersonal cognitive balances that could enhance self-development and co-development.

Repression is not achieved only by “turning something away” but it can be carried out by an overgratifying and opposite force. Freud called this process “*reactive reinforcement*”. Due to the excessive reinforcement of and opposite thought the thought that cannot be removed from conscience is called “*reactive thought*” (*A case of hysteria*. SE, Vol. 7, p. 55). It is interesting that this mode to achieve repression is very similar to what happens in what Billig (1999) calls “*dialogical repression*” during which repression might take, for instance, the form of changing the subject of the dialogue when it is disturbing for one of the partners.

According to Freud's repression theory ego, under the pressure of super-ego, one treats "the instinctual danger as if it was an external one". This treatment of one's own natural impulses "institutes a *repression*". Freud considers that "one cannot confuse the inside and outside without impunity. One cannot runaway from oneself" (SE, Vol. 20, p. 203, italics in original). What are the punishments associated with the instituted repression?

The major *punishments* according to Freud are:

- the functionality of the pleasure principle is damaged
- egos narrows its "sphere of influence"
- the repressed impulse is isolated and "uninfluenceable"
- ego, even when it becomes stronger, "cannot lift the repression"
- ego's synthesis is impaired
- the instinctual impulse remains unsatisfied
- the instinctual impulse "produces psychical derivatives".

According to the present study, **repression involves high costs**. The concept of cost is preferred instead of that of "punity (impunity)" because it implies a balance costs/benefits and at the same time recognizes the existence of hidden, short and long-term costs and benefits. These costs might have a dominant cognitive, emotional, motivational (energetic), social or/and moral character. Within a holistic model these costs are paid by the unity of the self, and by the chances of self-development. Jung, who considered self as representing the "wholeness", made explicit that as long as one does not recognize the opposite forces in oneself, and especially the shadow, the unity of self is distorted and even shattered (*Civilization in transition*, BS, Vol. 10, p. 366). Of course, if repression is a costly process, it remains necessary to inquire why the individual engages in such a process. Later on I will approach the possible benefits of repression especially when it is part of wider processes such as ***self-regulation and self-control within the context of self-development***.

Freud considered explicitly that "the theories of resistance and of repression of the unconscious, of aetiological significance of sexual life and of the importance of infantile experiences" are "the principal constituents of the theoretical structure of psychoanalysis" (*An autobiographical study*, SE, Vol. 20, p. 40). The centrality of the repression construct within Freud's conception makes necessary to look closer to the concept and to its origin.

Some authors had warned in a justified mode about the oversimplification of the meaning of this concept (*Verdrängung*) through its translation as "repression" (Kuhl, 2001). Kuhl, within his Theory of Personality Systems Interaction (PSI), points out that repression means not only blocking a certain way, but *blocking without providing any alternative*. Billig (1999), who underscores the centrality of the construct of repression within Freudian original contribution, makes clear that for Freud repression is the result of the conflict between the instinctual happiness and social order, and that repression has to be continual (Billig, 1999, 73). In *Civilization and its discontents*, Freud advanced the idea that repression makes necessary a "permanent expenditure of energy". It is evident that repression was conceived by Freud at the intersection between the demands of civilization and the natural tendency toward pleasure through the satisfaction of instincts.

In his original development of the construct of repression, Billig argues that "*Repression depends on the skills of language*" (p. 38) and the language is, at the same time, "expressive and repressive". Billig's construct reminds me the verses of Sorescu who wrote: "*the spoken word is a crossed frontier. By the act of saying something I leave out something else*" (House arrest, poems published after 1989). According to Billig's conception, repression can take a dialogical form: "Repression can be seen to be dialogic, for dialogue involves both the creation of desires and their routine

repression" (p. 100). At it is in this process that thoughts, feelings and speech acts are repressed through the use of different dialogical techniques.

Freud considers that the repressive process is not only *continual*, but it has a *specific pattern*, which is described in the case of dreams, and includes: "*Repression – relaxation of censorship – the formation of a compromise*". This is a "fundamental pattern" present in dreams and psychopathological structures (*Interpretation of dreams*, SE, Vol. 5, p. 676, italics in original). This understanding of repression refers to instincts that could provide pleasure through their satisfaction but, because they are opposed to social/moral norms, they are triggering feelings of shame and guilt and their expression is censored. At least two questions are invited by Freudian conception on repression. First, is repression triggered only by moral norms that are opposed to the satisfaction of certain instincts or it could be triggered also by the opposition of competing natural impulses? This question regards the major *roots* of the repression. The second question refers to the main *target* of repression: could repression be oriented against tendencies that are mainly acquired during the self-development and are rooted within higher needs and moral values?

Regarding the first question it is important to recall that, within Freud's theory, repression is instituted by the ego, under the pressure of the super-ego, against instinctual impulses (sexual, aggressive instincts) as a consequence of the constraints imposed by civilization. However, as ethological studies proved (Goodall, Lorenz, Tinbergen) and as Toda's urge theory claims, some innate impulses could be inhibited by other innate impulses under the strong demands of a given situation. Putting aside the relatively well-explored conflict between the sexual and the survival impulses, it is useful to take into account the innate impulse for novel stimulation, including the innate need to search, and the attachment impulse. The Freudian model of repression does not account for repression of survival impulses, for instance, that can originate in the need for novel stimulation or in attachment (Bowlby, Harlow, Ness, Pavlov). Such innate sources of repression suggest that repression is functionally intertwined with more general processes such as self-control and self-regulation processes. The study of this interaction is justified by the Darwinian processes of adaptation to the environment and by changes produced intentionally in the environment by the individual. Both adaptation to and changes of the environment are recognized in Freud's conception as essential characteristics of human condition.

Before answering the second question, it is useful to look closer to the analogical mode in which Freud approached repression of the id and censorship, as the later is practiced by social/political authorities. There are enough instances within Freud's work to argue that political censorship was used as model for the inner censorship against the instinctual impulses. Freud was deeply attracted by Goethe's verses: "after all, the best of what you know may not be told to boys (*Faust*, Part I)" and, at his turn he argued that "*the political writer who has disagreeable truths to tell those in authority*" has to be able to create disguised expression for these truths because he "must be aware of the censorship" (SE, Vol. 4, p 142, italics added). As a matter of fact, Freud assumed that, as the censorship becomes stricter, the writer's means must become "more ingenious" in order to communicate the truth to the public (SE, Vol. 4, 142). The inner censorship is conceived by Freud as functioning in a similar mode as the censorship of newspapers: "it ruthlessly deletes whatever it disproves, so that what remains becomes quite disconnected" (SE, Vol. 5, p. 529). The inner censorship that is a major mode of achieving repression of the instincts "acts exactly like the censorship of newspapers at the Russian frontier, which allow foreign journals to fall into the hands of the readers whom it is its business to protect only after quantity of passages have been blacked out" (SE, Vol. 5, p. 529). Epistemically, *political censorship*, as a major mode to repress undesired behaviors, thoughts, facts, speeches and tendencies under the demand of protecting the general public, the state, the social order, in general the *status quo*, represents the model of inner censorship developed by Freud.

Despite the fact that censorship, in its political sense, represents the inspiring model for psychological censorship within Freud's theory, I could not find a definition of the construct of political censorship within his work or, at least, a systematic exploration of its roots and functions. In his analysis of the story of the free speech, Peters (2005) explores the complex interplay between democracy and communication and points out in balanced mode the dialectics of the free speech and censorship. In his comprehensive approach to the "free speech theory", he discusses some of its roots such as Wortman's view regarding the relationships between "intellectual freedom" and "the progress of mind" (p. 16). He takes into account Emerson's idea about the "infinite elasticity" of human actions and posits that "the open-endedness of meaning is the best argument against censorship. How to foster respect for indeterminacy without thereby also aiding the perpetuation of abuses is the challenge. The wisdom and bitterness of liberal thought lies in its willingness to admit that offenses are inevitable" (Peters, 2005, 179).

In the present paper, it is considered that censorship stops, cuts and/or destroys any object (words, thoughts, feelings, behaviors, pictures, material objects, symbolic objects) that are judged as dangers to the authority it serves. Censorship can be applied against an emerging object, and object in status nascendi, against an existing object and even against a project (intended object). Censorship depends on the nature of the authority it protects (what is protected by it?), on the means it uses (from violent to non-violent persuasive means: what means it uses?), on the meaning (information) of the censored objects (what is censored?) and on its short and long term intended and non-intended consequences (why it is used? what are its results?). At the individual level, censorship attempts to protect a preferred self-concept and state of being. The problem is that censorship at lower levels of social complexity must take into account the restrictions imposed by the macro-social censorship instance. So, at each level of social complexity, there might be developed means to avoid, reduce the strength of the censorship imposed by the higher levels of social complexity. Censorship could function also as a selection device that is designed and used by the strongest authority in a given area.

Jokes, for instance, are approached by Freud as modalities to express "a hostile purpose" especially in the case when they displace the "brutal hostility, forbidden by law" (*Jokes and their relation to the unconscious*, SE, Vol. 8, p. 102). According to Freud, jokes are ways "to avoid restrictions and open sources of pleasure that have become inaccessible" (SE, Vol. 8, 103 italics in original). However, while Freud takes the political censorship as a model for inner censorship, he restricts himself to the repression of the hostile tendencies, to the interdictions imposed to the instinctual side of individual's behavior who might be a citizen of the state or a foreigner. This behavior is assumed as being dangerous to the state order. Freud neglects that many times political censorship was and still is directed against the positive tendencies, behaviors, speeches of the individuals, against individuals' need for freedom, against spiritual goals, individuation and spontaneous association, thus repressing the good individual and collective actions and feelings.

In human history, repression and censorship have been, and still are, most brutally enacted against social and religious reformers, against individuals in search of the scientific truth and freedom of consciousness. So, a fundamental question regarding the repression of the growth tendencies, of freedom, of self-determination, of higher moral values (altruism, forgiveness) remains untouched by the mode in which state censorship is described by Freud and applied to inner censorship. Due to this non-dialectical character of the Freudian ideas on political censorship, and of the targets and consequences of inner censorship, Freudian repression does not allow to identify and explain what happens when repression separates the self from one's own potential to achieve higher needs, goals and values that are not detrimental but beneficial to the social fabric on the long term but are against an authoritarian social order. *What happens when repression "disunites" the self not only from one's own instinctual impulses, and from one's shadow as defined by Jung, but it separates the*

self from its developmental potential that makes possible to reach individuation, autonomy and in general higher moral values?

Why Freud excommunicated from his model the repression against the higher forms of the human developmental potential remains a difficult and open question. Part of the answer is related to the second meaning of “*Freudian repression*” as it is understood by Billig who considers that “Freud was doing a bit of repressing” (1999, p. 8). Fromm (1959) explored “*Freud’s authoritarianism*” and reached the conclusion that it was strongly expressed in different modes. For instance, in a letter to Jones (18th February 1919), Freud made the following assessment on Jones’ intention toward Jung’s collaborators: “Your intention to purge the London Society of Jungian members is excellent” (cited in Fromm, p. 65). The intention to “purge” a scientific society off researchers who have different ideas and findings is clearly non-dialogical.

Researchers who explored in a more analytic mode the repressing style exercised by Freud documented a large range of significant questions that are related not only with Freud’s relationships with his own disciplines and colleagues but have wider ramifications. For instance, among such issues are: the problematic claim of “direct observation of children” (Cioffi, pp. 316-317), “the role of the “secret committee” which had a decisive function in “controlling the development of psychoanalysis” and the treatment of its dissidents – Adler, Jung, Rank (Shamdasani, pp. 174-175), or the identification of events that result from the cultural interactions as it happens with the “*jeu de miroirs*” between psychoanalysis and literature (Cottraux, 1999). This interaction includes the remarkable cases of Breton and Aragon, the later wrote a poem dedicated to KGB, while repressing the knowledge and feelings about the genocidal behavior of KGB (see Courtois for a detailed discussion). This critical approach concerns also more specific psychoanalytic concepts such as the so called “sadism of the infant” (Van Rillaer), the relationships between parents and children (Pleux), the case of autism, the “mother’s guilt”, “penis envy” (Barthélémy, pp. 549-556; Guéritault, pp. 508-516; Polak, pp. 531-536) and the repression of patients’ rights to express freely their personal accounts and views about the experienced psychoanalytic treatment – a topic that is well documented in the volume edited by Meyer.

Another factor might be considered part of the explanatory structure of the exclusion by Freud of the category of higher human needs, values and functions from the targets of repression. This factor could be identified in his own conception about religion, and mainly in his approach of the “European Christian civilization” (*The future of an illusion*, SE, Vol. 21, p. 36-43). For instance, and more specifically this limitation is evident in his mode to explore such complex processes as Christina love, “*Love thine enemies*”, and the process of forgiving. Freud reminds us the assertion “*Homo homini lupus*” and answers with a rhetorical question: “Who, in the face of all his experience of life and of history, will have the courage to dispute this assertion? As a rule this cruel aggressiveness waits for some provocation or puts itself at the service of some other purpose, whose goal might also have been reached by milder measures” (*Civilization and its discontents*, SE, p. 111). The topic of forgiveness is significantly approached by Freud via an imaginative answer that is part of Heine’s confession: “*forgive one’s enemies – but not before they have been hanged*”. Needless to say that many modern studies (McCullough et al., 1997; McCullough et al., 2000) prove the benefic outcomes of forgiveness in opposition with the feelings and acts of revenge.

It seems also that Freud, in dealing with repression (both the repressed and the repressing forces) neglected the function and the power of a specific type of motivation: the *intrinsic motivation that makes possible for one to enjoy, to be satisfied while and only by performing an activity (physical, cognitive, relational, etc.) for its own sake*. In the case of intrinsic motivation, the satisfaction is generated by the process as such and there is a deep consonance between means and ends, between road and goal. Interestingly enough, this view on motivation was developed by Claparède

(1920), based on prior studies made by Michotte & Prum, (1910), who differentiated between intrinsic and extrinsic interests in learning. It is important to recall the fact that Freud knew Claparède very well and was in epistolary communication with him. Even when Freud touches the issue of curiosity he attaches to it unconditionally a practical interest: "life and the universe must be robbed of their terrors; moreover *his curiosity, moved, it is true, by the strongest practical interest, demands and answer*" (*Future of an illusion*, 16, italics added). Curiosity is not just a means to find an answer that satisfies sexual impulses or other impulses, as it happens when Freud's interpreted the Sphinx riddle (*Three essays on sexuality*, SE, Vol. 7, pp. 194-195). Curiosity is many times supported by intrinsic motives and not by other rewards such as food, sexual pleasure, wealth, etc. Naess proved that curiosity could be independent of hunger and Lorenz (1955) characterized the human being as "*Neugierwesen*" ("*curious being*"). For our approach it is important to take into account that repression of curiosity for its own sake is a form of repression that blocks the development of intelligence, imagination and even of wisdom and contemplation.

Regarding curiosity and its interplay with the creative potential of the individual, it is interesting to see how Freud interpreted these processes within his own intellectual autobiography. More precisely, was Freud, according to his own account, more interested to find out if his original ideas might have antecedents in the works of other authors or was he more interested to develop his ideas in an independent and uninfluenced mode? It is a common practice of scientists to search if other scientists approached similar questions. This is not only an issue of credit and priority, but also an intrinsic element of the scientific discovery. This tendency is also combined with the search of new questions and of valid answers to unsolved problems and this search is a hallmark of scientific creativity. It is known that sometimes prior solutions to similar questions might hinder the creative process that could reach new horizons. This conflict between being informed, that means searching for already existing answers, and being creative was lived by Freud too. The question is what was his choice. Freud himself even in relation with the topic of repression expresses such a choice:

"The large extent to which psychoanalysis coincides with the philosophy of *Schopenhauer* – *not only did he assert the dominance of emotions and the supreme importance of sexuality but he was even aware of the mechanisms of repression* – is not to be traced to my acquaintance with his teaching. I read Schopenhauer very late in my life. *Nietzsche*, another philosopher whose *guesses and intuitions often agree in the most astonishing way with the laborious findings of psycho-analysis*, was for a long time avoided by me on that very account; I was less concerned with the questions of priority than with keeping my mind unembarrassed" (*An autobiographical study*, SE, Vol. 20 pp. 59-60, italics added).

Freud's personal account regarding a possible *intellectual genealogy* (this is a construct that has its roots in Nietzsche's concept of moral genealogy, 1927) of some of his core concepts (repression) is revealing the fact that he was much more interested to develop his ideas in close relation with his hard work rather than by trying to study prior similar ideas. In this mode his scientific imagination could stay in dialogue with the outcomes of his case studies, being thus independent from possible cognitive constraints set already by prior authors. This urge to keep his mind "unembarrassed" by prior similar ideas was fulfilled in an active mode by a form of *repressing any explicit/direct contact with the writings of other authors*. Freud says explicitly about Nietzsche's contribution that it "*was for a long time avoided by me*". Avoidance of useful or pleasant things is itself a form of repression. It is a repression of the possible contact (cognitive, emotional, social, etc.) with the thing. In general, one avoids only something that one already knows, at least a bit, and it is disturbed by this knowledge and by the assumed effect of this knowledge on one's own creative process, which is usually sustained by intrinsic motives. Through this persistent avoidance Freud repressed his intellectual needs to be informed about similar works carried by others in order to protect his intellectual tendency to remain open and subjectively creative in relation with the process of

repression. For the present approach this account is useful because it points out that in Freud's mode of working are identifiable two components that are not accepted in his theoretical work on repression. One is the value of intrinsic motivation, the pleasure of discovering in autonomous mode things that might have been already mapped by prior intuitions made by others. The second is that even higher (than instinctual impulses) psychological processes can become targets for different modes of repression.

The present study looks at the forms and consequences of the type of repression that has as target the good side of the self. When one is repressing higher needs, good behaviors (helping other), speeches and thoughts that aim toward high values such as truth, freedom, honesty, justice or is repressing even one's own faith, then feelings of shame and regrets could be generated. But this time, the shame is not generated by the content and nature of the repressed acts (thoughts, feelings) as in the case of hostile aggressiveness for instance, but it is generated by the fact that part of the self has repressed its own good side. It means that the repressing process as such becomes a source of shame, of regret and of diminished self-esteem and even of hate against oneself and others. One would like to forget that one has repressed such goodies. It is my assumption that in such cases self-deception becomes the result of repressing the best tendencies (individuation, autonomy, self-actualization, altruism) of the self that is transforming this side into a forbidden land. If one realizes this damage to one's own potential, then feelings of contempt, shame and even hate toward oneself could emerge. Of course, such similar feelings are going to be directed toward the external forces, usually other people, who pressed the self to repress one's own developmental potential. I assume that when the individual becomes able to overcome the repression of one's own positive potential, a set of converting processes will take place in a kind of chain reaction and the negative processes will be replaced by their positive counter-parts such as self-regulation, individuation, forgiveness, love and dignity.

Repression, motivational system and self-regulation

At the conceptual level, it remains still at least a fundamental question related to the fact that humans, as any other open systems (Bertalanffy, 1968) and living systems (Miller, 1978) achieve adaptation because they have the capacity of self-organization. In the case of humans, the self-organization implies a differentiation between self-regulation and control. The question is: how does Freudian repression per se (i.e. repression of the instinctual impulses that are perceived as dangerous for civilization) and the repression of the developmental potential (individuation, self-actualization, autonomy, virtues) of the individual relates to a variety of forms of self-regulation and control that are unfold and developed in different life situations?

The theory of Self-Determination (SDT), the construct of motivational balance, and the theory of Personality Systems Interactions (PSI) that are supported by a wide range of valid experimental and field findings are providing both theoretical constructs and empirical evidence that can help to understand the integration of repression within a wider set of self-organizing processes.

The SDT (Deci, 1971; Deci 1975; Deci & Ryan, 1985, Deci & Ryan, 2008) provides a unified theoretical framework for understanding the origins, functions, and dynamics of different types of motives. Self-determination is defined by Deci and Ryan as "a quality of human functioning that involves the experience of choice, in other words, an experience of an internal perceived locus of causality". The authors consider that self-determination is not just a capacity, but a "need", i.e. "an innate propensity to be self-determining that leads organisms to engage in interesting behaviors" (Deci & Ryan, 1985 p. 38). The hallmark of self-determination "is flexibility in managing the interaction between oneself and the environment". For the understanding of repression, the contribution of SDT is extremely useful because it distinguishes between "*autonomous motivation*" and "*controlled*

motivation". The autonomous motivation includes both intrinsic motives and those types of extrinsic motives "in which people have identified with an activity's value and ideally will have integrated it into their sense of self" while the controlled motivation "consists of both external regulation, in which one's behavior is a function of external contingencies of reward or punishment, and introjected regulation, in which the regulation of action has been partially internalized and is energized by factors such as an approval motive, avoidance, shame, contingent self-esteem, and ego-involvements" (Deci & Ryan). As a *macro-theory of human motivation*, SDT accounts, through amotivation, for the "lack of intention and motivation" (Deci & Ryan, 2008b, p. 182). Within the SDT, self-determination is defined as a *continuum* that runs between *less-self-determined* to *more self-determined*. This continuum offers the possibility to include repression toward its negative pole, especially in the case of inner repression triggered by brutal pressure from external instances. It seems reasonable to assume that repression is associated with "external regulation" and "introjected regulation" (Deci & Ryan, 2008b). Studies on ego-depletion (Baumeister, Bratslavski, Muraven & Tice, 1998; Baumeister, Muraven & Tice, 2000) have proved that acts of self-control could impair performance to subsequent tasks that also require self-control. However, according to further experiments carried out within the SDT framework, this energy depletion is significantly influenced by two qualitative forms of regulation: controlled regulation and autonomous regulation. When the choice is autonomous, as it is the case in autonomous regulation, ego-depletion is not produced, while in the situation of controlled choice ego-depletion is produced (Moller, Deci & Ryan, 2006). The differentiation between autonomous regulation and controlled regulation is necessary in order to grasp the specific effects of various types of motives involved in regulations and, at the same time, it is important to remind that the concept of ego-depletion is extremely useful for the investigating the energetic basis, at physiological level, of human behavior and for a better understanding of volitional processes. It seems to me reasonable to assume that repression rooted in external and/or internal censorship enhances controlled regulation and increases as such ego-depletion.

The SDT (Deci & Ryan) and theory of PSI (Kuhl, which is going to be discussed later on) reveal the huge potential of self-regulation and especially of autonomy for the development of individuals and communities. At the same time, it seems useful to ask how these processes evolve within the case of different societies, i.e. the case of open and democratic societies that recognize and practice the freedom of expression and thought, and the close societies, especially the communist societies that achieve a deep split between their utopian claims made under the mask of progress forces, but practice repression in a systemic and brutal mode. Elias has observed that, in general, as the social organization and its order become more complex "the more stable and control of conduct is instilled in the individual" (1982, 233). This external control is carried in very different ways, and by different tools within open societies and within the closed societies. Within closed societies the individual is powerless against the excessive control to which it is subjected by the authority. Among the fundamental differences, beyond the well known and incommensurable brutality of the totalitarian societies, within the close societies the individuals have no ways to keep in check and to make accountable the political power for its excess control over the individuals. Because the techniques of social control do develop and become more and more intrusive, and because their efficiency could be tremendously enhanced by technological discoveries, the individuals within the close societies become more and more exposed to what Kuhl and Kazen (1994) have called "self-infiltration". In such conditions, it is reasonable to assume that the development of one's own autonomy is much more difficult, more costly and less probable within closed societies. However, when it is achieved, due to the implied sufferings and trials, it could reach higher levels. Within closed societies, both the self-efficacy and collective efficacy, as defined by Bandura (2000), are structurally limited.

The theoretical construct of motivational balance (Mamali, 1976, 1981, 2001, 2008) helps to explore the motivational processes that emerge within and between different social actors by taking into

account three basic elements: qualitatively different types of motives (intrinsic versus extrinsic) that make up *the motivational structure; the infrastructure* of each motivational factor (valence, expectancy and locus of control that replaces the concept of instrumentality from Vroom's model, 1964, 2004); and the types of motivational relationships among the motivational vectors (assessed structurally and infrastructurally) of individuals or groups.

At the *intrapersonal level*, the motivational balance is defined and measured *vectorially* as a relationship between ***the intensity and quality of the motivational factors within one activity and across activities***. The intensity the motivational balance results from the interaction of valence, expectancy and instrumentality (last being redefined as locus of control). It is predicted that the higher the position of a given activity within the rank order of the life sources of satisfaction the stronger its intensity (Mamali, 1976, 1981, 2001, 2008). Qualitatively at the intrapersonal level the motivational balance results from the ratio of intrinsic and extrinsic motives within an activity and across activities. Empirical results predicted by the model suggest that for each activity there is a certain optimal ratio between the intrinsic and extrinsic motivational factors; the higher the rank of a given activity within the structure of sources of life satisfactions/values, the stronger is the intrinsic component of the motivational vector for the respective activity.

At *dyadic level*, the motivational balance includes the intensity and quality of motives plus the ***hierarchical differential between the motives satisfied by each side***. The balance varies between *co-regressive* (both sides move down in their motivational hierarchies) and *co-developmental motivational relationships within a motivational matrix that includes nine* basic motivational relationships that change during time.

At *the group and inter-groups levels*, the motivational relationships are also moving between the two extremes: motivational co-development and motivational co-regression. It is predicted that ***the probability to achieve a co-developmental pattern of the motivational balance among all the individual actors from a motivational field decreases tremendously with each additional actor that enters the field***. It results that relating to others as members of larger social units becomes necessary for maintaining reasonable chances to reach a co-developmental relationship among all the actors/groups involved in certain interaction.

The motivational balance theory helps to understand the repression processes that originate mainly within a *given type of motivational balance* defined on the *continuum between motivational co-development to motivational co-regression that is reached between two or more social actors*. For instance, one actor could achieve the satisfaction of his/her motives (including those rooted in instinctual impulses and those of higher order) on the motivational costs of the other actor within a qualitatively unbalanced motivational relationship (one achieves self-actualization the other being a tool in this process).

The Theory of Personality Systems Interaction (PSI) developed by Kuhl (2000; 2001; in print) assumes that the affective learning during early infancy has causal connection with the cognitive styles and explains how the positive and negative affects modulate the four cognitive styles that are postulated by the theory. The four cognitive macrosystems postulated by PSI are: 1) a system based on analytical, explicit knowledge that includes intention memory; 2) a system based on holistic, implicit knowledge that includes an extended associative network (extension memory); 3) a system consisting of intuitively controllable action routines; 4) a system that supports explicit recognition of objects. The macrosystems are activated through positive and negative affects. PSI has at its core two affect-cognition modulation assumptions. The first modulation refers to the upregulation of low positive affect that restores a positive affect after it has been dampened in a difficult situation. The

second modulation refers to downregulation of a negative affect that means reducing a negative affect after it has been aroused in stressful situation.

The PSI is extremely useful for exploring the repression that originates within ideological constraints backed up by violent institutions, as it is the case of communist societies, especially due to its construct of intention memory, and to the shifts based in the affect-cognitive modulations. Such shifts are specifically useful for exploring the situations in which the repressed targets consist of higher human needs and values that are central to one's own identity. The construct of "intention memory" helps to explore how individual could remain motivated during hostile conditions that exist during a long period by higher needs and values. Also the SI explains the overlapping zone between normal and abnormal behaviors. This could be extremely useful for understanding the paranoid-like behaviors nurtured by a totalitarian system. According to Kuhl, the first modulation assumption works in the following mode: "Inhibition of positive affect [**A(+)**] typically associated with frustration increases the activation of analytical thinking, including its most important motivational component, **intention memory**. This system configuration facilitates **persistence** because it supports maintenance of an uncompleted intention in memory and because it inhibits performance of premature impulses that jeopardize enactment of the active intention. The release of inhibition of positive affect through generation of positive affect (A+) activates the connection between intention memory and the system that supports control of intuitive behavior programs, resulting in efficient enactment of intended actions (**volitional facilitation**)" (to be published, p. 5). The construct of "intention memory" helps to explore how individual could remain motivated during hostile conditions that exist during a long period by higher needs and values.

It seems that these processes, and especially "intention memory", were activated in the case of many individuals who suffered not just frustrations but also unimaginable brutal punishments, some for a very long imprisonment (over 12 years, including 8 years of solitary confinement) under the communist regimes. Many of them had the volitional resources, short after their release from prison, to engage in interrupted activities being motivated by higher needs and values without being driven by revenge. In the recent history of Romanian society, such an explanation applies to many persons such as: Calciu-Dumitreasa, Constante, Goma, Noica, Pavlovici, Samuelli, Steindhardt, Wurmbrandt and many others.

According to the theory of PSI in the case of the second modulation, the "active downregulation of negative affect [**A(-)**] increases the impact of the integrated self and feeling systems on discrepant or irrelevant object perceptions; that is downregulation of negative affect facilitates inhibition of unwanted and irrelevant thoughts, emotions, or distractors in external world" (Kuhl, to be published, p. 6). It might be possible to assume that this modulation might help those who were forced to repress higher needs and values but had before it a relative strong integrated self.

The motivational constructs discussed, and especially those worked out within the theory of SDT (Deci & Ryan) and of the theory of PSI (Kuhl) by the types of regulations identified by them allow us to understand repression within a wider and more powerful functional system.

The negative consequences of repression could be increased if the repression of one's own impulses, needs and values are associated with what Kuhl and Kazen (1994) have identified as a process of **self-infiltration** in which the person misattributes to oneself goals that have been induced by others. The present approach assumes that the process of self-infiltration is significantly increased within totalitarian societies due to the fact that a state philosophy and ideology is used relentlessly to indoctrinate individuals since early ages. This self-infiltration is aggravated by the forced social participation in the conditions in which non-participation (disobedience) is seriously punished and persistent systemic pressure forces individuals to join CP and other repressive institutions.

A model of repression and its consequences in communism and post-communism (with special focus on Romanian society)

Taking into account the major characteristics of Freudian repression and complementary characteristics of intra-personal repressive processes that are suggested by new developments in motivational research and personality theories, this section will try only to outline a model of the repression that is specific to communist societies and to their transition toward open and democratic societal structures, functions and mentalities after the destruction of the Berlin Wall. The analysis will be focused mainly on the Romanian society.

The model starts with the assumption that the brutal and catastrophic mega-social changes produced by the communist revolutions starting with the Bolshevik revolution and with all the other communist revolutions supported directly by the Red Army and/or by the communist international structure have generated conditions able to expand, intensify and create new types of repression at all the levels of social complexity.

The analysis of repression within the communist system cannot be just a psychological analysis, it has to be a cultural analysis (in the sense of Dwairy, 2008), a political and historical analysis. My approach is just an introduction to this complex inquiry. We have to take into account that one of the major sources of inspiration for the Freudian structure of personality (Id, Ego, Super-Ego) recognized by Freud is Plato's tripartite structure that was used by the Greek philosopher to explore the functioning of the entire social body. It is necessary to have a deeper look into Plato's ideas not only because these ideas had a direct influence on Freud's model, but they help to better understand the social roots and practices of repression as such. Different researchers, for instance, investigated the connections between Plato's model and Freud's model by Simon (1973). This time the focus will be on the social structure and self-regulation.

In the *Republic*, through Socrates' voice, the idea of the tripartite class structure that corresponds to the tripartite structure of the individual soul (appetites, virtues, reason) involves the following elements and their specific functions: 1) *productive segment*, the workers (the abdomen) who are the body and the limbs of the state; 2) *the guardians* (warriors) who are the heart of the state and protect it through their courage and arms; 3) *the rulers* (head) of the state who are the philosophers.

Plato's conclusion is that "*the constituent categories of a community and of any individual's mind are identical in nature and number*" (*Republic*, 441a). According to Plato, only a community that is governed by philosophers (and an individual by reason) could reach happiness. His text states it as a strong exclusive condition: "there is no other way for an individual or a community to achieve happiness" (473e). The role of wise rulers is extremely clear in Plato's text:

"Unless communities have philosophers as kings, I [Socrates] said, or the people who are currently called kings and rulers practice philosophy with enough integrity – in other words unless political power and philosophy coincide, and all the people with their diversity of talents who currently head in different directions either government or philosophy have those doors shut firmly in their faces–there can be no end to political troubles..." (473d).

Within Plato's model, "*self-mastery*" (self-discipline) is a way to morality. The controversy on the concept of self-mastery that is in Plato's text helps to reach the distinction between control and autonomy. Here is the challenging question: "isn't the phrase <self-mastery> absurd? I mean, anyone who is his own master is also his own slave, of course, and vice versa..." (430e). The self-mastery, which could help one's development depends on one's free choice: "there are better and worse elements in a person's mind, and when the part which is naturally better is in control of the

worse part, then we use this phrase <self-mastery> (which is after all complimentary)" (*Republic*, 431a). The self-mastery is a form of control that results from one's own choice among different internal forces, tendencies. One cannot reach self-mastery if one does not enjoy the choice and the outcomes of the selected tendencies that have a good nature. What happens when the leading force, either within the society or within the individual, is not the reason, the knowledge, and the wise choice? Then the ability to "reap as much benefit and truth from pleasure declines." This is the specific case of the **dictator**: "*The more of a dictator a person is, then, the greater the distance between him and pleasure which is both true and suitable*" (587a). Plato advances an idea that is extremely useful in the exploration of the social-psychology of any dictator. The access to pleasures rooted in higher needs and values becomes less possible as one gets close to the dictatorial mode of being which implies imposed goals, repression and external control.

The influence of Plato's ideas on Freud's theory invites us to see if some of the constructs that have been introduced for studying the dynamic of psychological processes at the individual level can now be used and developed to explore the repressive nature of a social system and its consequences at the individual level, inter-individual and group levels.

In a very schematic mode, this process could be outlined by taking into account the macro causal factors of repression specific to the communist societies and their major targets and consequences. The repression specific to all communist societies, including the Romanian society, is rooted within a violent social ideology that aims to impose by violent means a utopian political project on the entire society as being the expression of an "objective law". Briefly, this is represented by the communist ideology and its violent political algorithm as it is prescribed by the ***Manifesto of the Communist Party*** (Marx, Engels, 1848, from now on, ***MCP***). This ideology claims to be scientific and aims explicitly to denigrate and eliminate all other political beliefs that are opposed or just significantly different from its own program. The code of *the MCP* became the core of the ***Constitution*** of every communist regime, so the major law of the entire ideological prison. Such an ideology is ready to repress any thoughts, ideas, feelings and behavior that oppose it. This is the external instigator for the inner process of repressing one's own freedom of thinking in most areas of social interest. ***The communist ideology ascribes to itself the role of the supreme program for social change.*** Taking into account Freud's concept of *super-ego*, and Jung's construct of *collective unconscious*, I will call this instance the ***collective ideological super-ego***. The role of collective ideological super-ego is ***self-ascribed*** by the communist ideology and it aims at the elimination of all class enemies and their social ideas. The paradoxical situation of this collective super-ego is that it is marked by a ***deep suspicion*** that its principles that result, according to its claims, from the objective historical laws might not be accepted by the entire society, not just by its class enemies. Also it is marked by a structural jealousy on other streams of ideas, moral codes and social visions. The ideas that do not fit to the communist ideology have been consistently named "retrograde". So the parts of the society who might not accept the authority of this collective ideological super-ego are treated as a kind of "socially retarded" groups that have to undergo ideological therapy or have to be eliminated. Any individual and/or collective actor who is against the communist ideology is an enemy of the entire society and stays against the objective laws of history that enacted and accelerated by this very ideology. The *MCP* ascribes in a dictatorial mode a set of principles that are part of a political algorithm for macro social change. These principles create huge restrictions against individuals and groups freedom. The targets of this repressive rules disclose a different face of repression that fits into Billig's model: "*The social rules may not merely, or even primarily, be curtailing inborn temptations: instead they might be creating their own restrictions, and thereby their own temptations*" (199, p. 75, italics added).

Anyone who opposes the collective ideological super-ego has a ***condemned social identity***: the actor who has this identity must give up one's own identity or be destroyed. In the ***MCP*** are clear

instances in which the enemies of the communists are supposed to “tremble”, the moral and religious ideas opposed to communism, as those of Christianity, are even assumed to be dead since long time. The emergence of a collective ideological super ego of a totalitarian type implies a catastrophic danger. The self ascribed ideological, political and state authority through violent means aims to become ultimate. Jung assessed clearly the consequences of such **totalitarian claims**: “But have any human beings the right to totalitarian claims? This claim, certainly, is so morally dangerous that we would do better to leave its fulfillment to Almighty God rather than presume to be little gods ourselves at the expense of our fellow-men” (*Mysterium coniunctionis. An inquiry into the separation and synthesis of psychic opposites in alchemy*, CW, Vol. 17, p. 321).

At the interpersonal level, the collective ideological super-ego provides a script that is explicitly anti-individual. The individuals must not act as individuals but first of all as members of a social class: revolutionary class and reactionary class being the most relevant. This script hinders structurally the self to reach what Kogan called the inter-individual level of self-other balance when two persons relate as “distinct identities” that cannot be reduced to social statuses (1982, p. 105 & pp. 108-110). The collective ideological super-ego urges for de-individuation. De-individuation, as defined by Zimbardo (1969), acquires new traits within the communist society due the class hatred that is ideologically rooted and guided. The class relations (between the class that represents the progress and its class enemies) reduce the chances of the individuals to relate in a personal mode to each other across social borders and they are forced to become just de-individuated representatives of opposing classes.

However, the collective super-ego is not a phantom without a body, it is not a corporealless spectrum. This ideology has its own body: a political organization called **Communist Party** (CP) and especially its leading structures (Central Committee), and it excludes by definition the existence of any other political party. Opposing organizations and their ideas must go underground, so they can become parts of a recent collective unconscious. The CP represents the **collective ideological conscious and the Supreme Censor of the entire society**. The exclusion of other political parties is achieved through repression, political and physical destructions. Political competitors, even if they were for a while used as helpers in reaching the power must be removed from the political stage. The CP has many branches and functions. The CP, and its controlled state, is the owner of all the vital resources of a society and as such could achieve repression by the way it distributes the wealth of the nation. However, for the repressive processes two components are extremely significant: 1) **the ideological branch** that aims to achieve the ideological supremacy against any competing ideas, conceptions, thoughts, belief systems expressed by insiders and outsiders (nationally and internationally). Its major function is *censorship and ideological infiltration of the individual and collective self-representations*; 2) **the organizational structure of the party (“cadre”)** that was/is in charge with the selection of the human resources of the CP and the punishment of the enemies. The *major repressive goal* of this macro-social factor, the unique political party, *is aimed towards the freedom of association and toward what is known as the “universal psychological need of relatedness”*, as this need is conceived in SDT (Ryan & Deci) and identified by other authors with the need to belong (Baumeister; Maslow). Within such a system the individual cannot relate autonomously with any other person who might be an outcast (bad social origin, fugitive, dissident, etc.) even if the other one is a close relational unit (friend, father, son, sister etc.). The individual cannot relate freely even with one’s own past and family past. This past must be re-constructed according to the party’s ideology and political interests, so the autobiographical narrative must be falsified due to the demands of the power.

Closely related with the CP, but as a distinct macro-social structure that is designed and required for executing all forms of repression (physical, psychological, moral, political, religious, cultural), is the **secret police of the communist regime** (KGB, STASSI, SECURITATE etc.). This was considered the

armed arm of the CP. The various forms of repressions practiced by it aim to induce a ***permanent and strong fear*** in any individual and/or collective actors that would dare to think, feel and act in any way that could be considered offensive to, against and even significantly different than the behavioral and thinking pattern imposed by the collective conscience represented by the CP, the ideological vanguard of the revolutionary masses. The secret police represent ***the torture apparatus that acts according to the principles of the collective ideological super-ego and under the command of the collective ideological conscious, which is the CP.***

It is useful to remind that Freud's model considers ***guilt and fear*** as being related to super-ego: "the sense of guilt is at bottom nothing else but a topographical variety of anxiety; in its later phases it coincides completely with *fear of super-ego*" (SE, Vol. 21, p. 135, italics in original). The torture apparatus, besides identifying, imprisoning and executing the opponents of the regime has a wide variety of repressing means and goals. Among them, for my analysis, the most significant is the induction of feeling of culpability in any possible suspect for any real or fabricated reason. The suspected ideological enemy, or just the disobedient or the non-involved individual must "tremble", must live under permanent terror because a parent, a brother, and uncle or a far-distant relative had property, was involved in a political organization, or is a fugitive. Or because one said a political joke, read a forbidden book, has a relationship with someone who might be labeled as politically dangerous and so on. This permanent terror had among other goals the one to turn the individual into a tool of the secret police, into a collaborator, informer, and by the same token it represents a direct aggression to one's self-integrity and autonomy.

The torture apparatus of the communist regimes is rooted in and activated by ideological and party "directions". It targets both individual and collective social actors that show signs of non-conformity, disobedience and of opposition. The stronger the fear and the feelings of culpability it induces the more efficient are its evil actions. Such a system attempts to crush any individual resistance, what Thoreau had called the "majority of one". Why? Jung mentioned that strong personalities, autonomous personalities can rise above the collective fear. During history some individuals "towered up like mountain peaks above *the mass that still clung to its collective fears*, its beliefs, laws, and systems, and boldly chose their own way" (Jung, *The development of personality*, CW, Vol. 17, p. 175, italics added). A major goal of the communist repressive apparatus is the annihilation of individual autonomy due to the uncontrolled and uncontrollable consequences that might be triggered by individual acts of autonomy. In a paradigmatic case for Romania during 1980's a psychologist recommended the "planning of the creative individual resources of gifted children" as it is documented in a review of the respective study (Mamali, unpublished 1987). Without the practice of autonomy the development of personality is seriously hindered. Jung considers that "personality can never develop unless individual chooses his own way, consciously and with moral deliberation". This is much more than a gratuitous act of free choice according to Jung this demand a "conscious moral decision" (CW, Vol. 17, p. 174).

The over-centralization and strict control and planning of economic (production of material goods), of the financial institutions, of the means of communication, of educational and cultural institutions are major repressive means of the communist regimes. Due to these components the basic survival needs (jobs and consumption) are used as direct means for punishing those who are disobedient and rewarding those loyal to the system. Under these repressive forces, the existential safety of the individual and those close to her are threatened continuously. By controlling most of the external means of producing, exchanging and expressing the cultural capital, as well as the functioning of the educational system, the developmental potential, the self-actualization and individuation processes are hindered and repressed.

The last component of the repressive communist macro-system that is considered by my model is ***the extension of its organizational network*** in order ***to force as many people as possible to become, at least, false participants to the communist utopia, regardless their inner thoughts, feelings and values. Under these conditions, the mistrust increases tremendously.*** The mistrust marks the quality of human relationships, the authenticity of human behaviors, and the resources of a genuine resistance are diminished.

Macro-social repressive component	Probable outcomes, processes at individual, interpersonal and group level	Resources to overcome repression and/or its consequences
Colective ideological super-ego (MCP); <i>Constitution</i>	Closing the cognitive horizon; Rigid language (wood language); Fear of ideological stigma; Dehumanizing the class enemy; Self-deceit; Ego-inflation	Inner dialogue; Searching outside the ideological walls; Increased sensitivity to dialogue; Communication with ideological outsiders; Personal knowledge; Interrogative strength
Communist party, the embodiment of the collective ideological super-ego	Censorship, self-censorship; Fatalism due to selection based on class membership & party power; Fanaticism; Role encapsulation; Violence toward class enemy; Blind obedience to PC; Arrogance and/or shame; Fear of exclusion; Duplicity; Self-deceit; Self-hate	Non-membership; Non-participation; Imagination used to avoid censorship; Compassion toward social, political & religious outcasts; Prudence; Patience; Low profile, underground networking; Self-integrity; Shared memory
Secret police and/or imprisonment	Fear, terror, shame & guilt; Physical, sexual, cognitive, emotional, social, cultural, deprivation and pain; Panopticum syndrome; Helplessness; Devil's pact; De-individuation	Moral resistance; Emotional physical & cognitive self-regulation; Intention memory; Hope; Clear autobiographical-self; Self-purification; Accurate collective memory
Over centralization	Dependency, passivity; Frustration; Needs deprivation; Self-fragmentation	Self-organization; Self-regulation of needs; Intention memory; Interdependent self
Extension of PC organizational network	Distrust; Disgust; Dissimulation; Despise; Hate of others	Cultivation of autotelic activities & relationships; Social-identity & individuation

Table 1

The macro-social repressive components of the communist system, their consequences and processes, and the resources to resist and overcome their consequences will be described briefly later in connection with Table 1. The model explores the discontinuities and continuities between the repression within the communist society and repression that is active in post-communism. In this exploration the consequences of the main components of the macro-repressive forces that characterize the communist system are analyzed at the individual level during communism and in post communism based on a wide range of sources offered by first hand witnesses that suffered the brutality of the system (such as: Constante, Ioanid, Golopenția, Goma, Merișcă, Popovici, Steinhart,

Wurmbrandt) and by expert studies on communism and post-communism, especially those focused on Romanian society (for instance: Cesereanu, Chelcea, Chirot, Conquest, Courtois, Deletant, Jowitt, Kligman, Lovinescu, Neculau, Petrescu, Tismăneanu, Verdery, Zub).

Among the major indicators used in this analysis are: manipulation of the secret police files during communism and in post communism; the language (wood language in communism and verbal violence, and “rubber language” in post communism); the repression of dissident and disobedient behaviors in communism and the aggression against, mistreatment and public misrepresentation of those who during the communist regime achieved the highest forms of moral resistance against the repressive macro-components of the system (ideology, CP, secret police); the attitudes of the former members of the CP and of the critics of communism and post-communism toward the “magic melting”, in fact a designed political evaporation of the CP (over 4 million members) produced overnight; the avoidance of those who represent, in different degrees, the continuity of former political power adjusted to the new political situation to ask publicly for forgiveness for the suffering of the entire country and to express publicly gratitude toward those who opposed the system; the attitudes toward shameful behaviors completed during communism and during the transition period and the coming out from the political closet of those guilty of “political policing”. For each of these indicators cases have been used, and only some of them are going to be mentioned.

The interactions among the macro-components of the repressive system will not be approached here. This model of the repressive processes must be submitted to empirical verification. In addition, the model does not include explicitly the situation in which the individual and collective social actors decide to confront, to challenge directly the repressive parts of the repressive system or the entire system by initiating specific actions. Such actions are assumed to be possible in relation with each of the major repressive components.

The model works under the assumption clearly supported by historical facts (Courtois) that within any communist regime there is the strong tendency, active within all its macro-components, to hide the tragic outcomes of its brutal actions such as genocide, injustice, material and moral misery. Freud argued that, in relation to such violations, civilization “has found itself obliged to pass over in silence, which according to its own prescripts, it ought to have punished” (SE, Vol. 21, p. 105). However, *in communism emerges a systemic self-censorship* (newspapers, radio, TV, history books, public-speeches of the party leaders, etc.) toward its crimes. This systemic self-censorship is a principle that functions also as a critical criterion for defining party loyalty. Even the powerless member of the CP is turned, by one’s silence and lack of inquiring, into an accomplice to the crimes of the systems and its rulers. In addition, the *communist systemic self-censorship* is reinforced by macro face-work, a perverse beautification of its national and international self-presentation, which dictates to the entire population to acclaim its brutalities that are public (abolishment of private property, the destruction of the class enemies, the restriction of religious practices, etc.). However, when systemic crimes committed by a communist regime against humanity are disclosed, this macro-social disclosure is done incompletely, is designed in secrecy, carried out in secrecy and stored in secret archives. This increases the control of the CP and of its residual structures and soft networks over the past and over those segments of the past that have coercive value over the present and future social actors. Only after long years of suffering when the perpetrators are dead, when the files (the documents) are tainted and falsified the gates of censorship might open. Most importantly this is achieved without a public trial. The absence of a public trial remains, unfortunately, as a hallmark of the pretended moral immunity of communism. This represents both a moral and a political danger for future generations.

One of the major traits of the systemic self-censorship is achieving a consonance between the ideals of the communist utopia and the “historical facts”, which must cover as much as possible the mega-

violence and the sufferings of the population, or at least falsify its dimensions, causes, and interpretation. At the same time, its repressing components are forcing as many people as possible to accept this huge lie and to acclaim it as “communist/socialist victories”. This is a political alchemy that requires what Orwell called “Newspeak.” At an incommensurable distance is located the political meaning of the trials against Good Men, as Schall (1996) refers to the trails of Socrates and Jesus, who were lethally punished for teaching and practicing cardinal values such as search for Truth, and the search of Love for God, for oneself, for the neighbor, and for the enemy.

Taking into account these elements I will present just a few types of cases based on the above mentioned indicators and macro-social repressive components. Within the case of Romania, the public **opposition to the communist ideological super-ego** in an explicit mode, sustained by an opposite or alternative ideological view, did not emerge. Such alternatives, if and when they have been produced during communism, remained hidden within the “box of secrets” of the author. However, there were publicly expressed opposite views, usually in metaphorical forms, by creators of art (writers, poets, composers, visual artists). For instance the metaphor of the “red lobsters” (from “Gura Racului”) that move backward and strongly believe that they go forward and that they push the entire humankind in the direction of progress:

*“Raci infioratori, raiosii,
Plini de picioare ca de negi,
Verzi de matasea broastei si rosii,
Turbat de rosii pe pantece...” (italics added)*

The humans and the red lobster belong to different worlds and opposite developmental directions:

Oamenii au inceput sa mearga
incercand sa se acomodeze cu lumina
Uscata a soarelui,
Alta decat lumina din apa.
Racii au inceput sa alerge
in directia opusa.
Batand tactul cu cataligele lor pe glob
Ca intr-un piept de barbat doborat.”

The red lobsters (“extremely red”) are forcing on humans their reversed sense of progress:

“Intr-o zi primii oameni s-au intalnit
Cu primii raci,
Fiecare cu al sau.
Au fost luati la subsuori
Si tarati in balta statuta a marii,
inapoi peste locuri unde-au mai fost
(Ochii lor si le amintesc perfect
Dupa lacrimile in forma de gorgane),
Dar care pentru raci erau intr-adevar
Locuri noi,
**Si ei sustineau, pe drept cuvânt,
Ca-i duc inainte.”** (italics added)

The fanatical character of the red lobsters that want to impose their sense of direction on the entire humankind remains a permanent danger, even after a huge battle when humans believed that they defeated the red lobsters. From this perspective, "*Gura Racului*" is not only a cry of revolt against the dominant ideology expressed in a metaphorical mode. This poem was written at the beginning of 60'and published in the same decade, when its meaning was very clear for every silent person under the terror of the communist ideological super-ego, and its CP. At the same time, the metaphor of the "*extremely red lobsters*" who are moving backward but believe that they move forward is a visionary warning for the dangers of the post-communist period. The evil persistence of the red lobsters leads to a new cycle of *forced "progress"*, imposed by violence on all humans, to "*advance*" in the wrong direction:

"Abia in apa s-au dezmeticit oamenii,
A avut loc o lupta fata de toate vietuitoarele
Si cei care reuseau sa se desprinda
Din clestele ruginite de fier
Au iesit istoviti pe mal,
Plini de mal, de alge si sare."

"Respirand adanc, ei pornesc obositi inainte,
Dar iata pe tarmul opus,
Pe furis, din umbra namolului planetei,
Apar infioratorii raci,
Pornind in directia cealalta." (italics added)

It is necessary to recall the fact that when Sorescu challenged in a metaphorical mode the dominant ideology and its body (CP), the works of many creative minds, Dewey, Freud, James, Janet, Jung etc. were kept at the Library of the Faculty of Philosophy, in Bucharest, as in other libraries from Romania, under strict control. Much more, a few years earlier, such sources were locked and the key entrusted to a loyal person to the CP ideology. Repression had many faces. Sorescu lunched also a metaphorical challenge to the state philosophy in his "*Lectia de materialism*" or in "*Pricina*". In the later poem, the poet complains about the amputation of *the vital organs of the free expression and autonomy - the heart, the mouth and the forehead*:

"Am bagat de seama
Ca timpului meu ii fusesera amputate
Inima, gura si fruntea"

These are examples and they do not imply any claim that they might be the best or that they are representative, but, for sure, they are highly significant signs of the individual's revolt against the ideological and political terror and its devastating consequences on human condition. The metaphorical criticism of the dominant ideology can be identified in many other works such as novels, playwrights, music, paintings and graphics. It is not at all by chance that the same poet after his house arrest wrote the poem "The Trap for Mouth" (Cursa de Gura):

"Gura larg deschisa
Si pe falca de jos
Se instaleaza o cursa metalica
De catre un dentist iscusit
Care este si membru de nadejde

In "Noua societate de deratizare orala"

...

Aparatul se numeste "Cursa de gura"

Si foloseste limba drept momeala"

This poem reminds to the reader *the double bind* (Bateson, 1972) that restricted the good functioning of language within a communist society: on one hand it was the censorship which had the function to eliminate the dangerous free speech, on the other hand it was the permanent provocation of the speaker (the one suspected of thinking freely), who was not yet a pawn of the system, to say something that could be turned against him in order to capture him, not just his/her talk. This double bind is still working in the present day Romanian society and it is used also against those Romanians who are thinking freely and live outside the political borders but are trying to participate to the Romanian cultural debates.

The awareness of the ideological pressure and the intellectual, emotional and moral pains induced by it are revisited especially in shared memories. For instance, Matei Călinescu and Ioan Vianu in their remarkable dialogical memories refer to the ideological repression. Călinescu describes in a revealing mode the painful situation that marked the life of an intellectual with a critical view: "psychological, moral, and in the last instance, the physiological tensions" generated by the lies to which is forced to resort a "secret critic" of a totalitarian regime (p. 77). Starting with the classical study of Halbwachs (1951) and those by Wirtsch (1987) on collective memory, there are strong arguments that the shared memories and the collective memory are essential for the good functioning of a community and its individual members. The studies on "inter-memory" and "conversational history" (Golopenția, 2001) help to explore in systematic mode not only the joint memories that are activated in conversations after 1989 about communism, but also to explore the self-recorded underground conversations that opposed and avoided the communist censorship before 1989.

For Romania there is the paradigmatic case of the "*Free conversations*" between Petrescu, and Cangeopol (2000) before 1989. By their simple existence in a time of powerful censorship, of terrible surveillance, and of relentless repression, the *free conversations* between Dan Petrescu and Liviu Cangeopol represent *a unique record* within the Romanian culture of a dialogue while the freedom of thinking against and beyond the official ideology was a crime. By their very existence, by their dialogical nature, by the trust between the partners and by their direct criticism these conversations represent an alternative to the principles of the collective ideological super-ego. These conversations are a self-recorded proof of the importance of talk for the dynamics of authentic relationships within close societies. Studies on personal relationships, as Duck's model (1994), point out the vital importance of talk for the emergence of *shared meaning*. In addition to the intrinsic difficulty of reaching a shared meaning within an open society in the case of a totalitarian one, the deep mistrust cultivated by the power structures among individuals turns the shared meaning into a relatively rare interpersonal state. Petrescu and Cangiopol achieved it even on political questions. It does not mean that other dialogical efforts, as it is the case of the "*Epistolar*" (Liiceanu, 1987), did not challenge the authoritarian type of discourse in a significant mode. They did, but not in the frontal mode as it was achieved by *Free conversations*. This is why the "*Epistolar*" was published, even if it met huge obstacles, while *Free conversations* with its explicit opposition to basic ideological principles and practices of the communist regime remained out of the Romanian publishing resources before 1989, and the risks assumed by the authors was at the highest level.

These are just a few cases that exemplify the repression on freedom of expression and ways to overcome it under the communist regime. The repression against freedom of expression is intrinsic to the communist ideology (see the centralization of the means of communication in *MCP*) and it

turns the language both in target and tool of repression. Billig's theoretical framework approaches language, clearly a cultural construction, as a process that is essential for the trajectory of repression. As discussed earlier, he introduced the idea of dialogical repression and points out also that "Each moment of human history will produce its own restrictions" (1999, p. 254). The communist ideology and regimes are essentially anti-dialogical, and as such the dialogical processes generated through language are strictly controlled and repressed. First this is achieved by the official documents and discourses, so through language, but also through violent non-linguist means.

These instances had the role of nurturing the spontaneous tendencies **to question silently the collective ideological super-ego of the communist regime** and its wood-language. During post-communist period, in the first stage, a strong censorship was still active, applied strategically for protecting certain political interests and their actors (such forms of censorship are still active in Romania today), which would not allow a substantial criticism of the original communist ideology as such. At the same time, there were allowed to flourish pseudo-critical approaches expressed in a violent and toxic language that were meaningless in relation with the substance of the communist ideology while claims were made explicitly that the communist realities were completely independent from the original communist ideology. The abuse of violent language represents a cathartic reaction toward the repression rooted in the ideological super-ego. This violent language remains inoffensive in relation to the principles of the communist ideological super-ego. So it receives green light from the new censorship, which is mostly the reserve censorship body of the former power, to be vented.

On the other hand, the efforts of self-called true-believers to save the communist ideological super-ego from its historical guilt attempt to achieve it by blaming only the evil leaders, and neglecting that the evil leaders were evil not only due to inner causes, but also because they accepted and applied an evil political algorithm (*MCP*). To do so, the true believers in communism are presenting their ideology as being a benefic and blameless project that was abused by evil and/stupid leaders. Once the evil leaders were removed from power, the program could and should start again. This utopian rescue effort of the collective ideological super-ego of communism is proved by many cases since 1990 till present. For instance, Cassian (2002, 2004), in a couple of interviews, claims that the "commandments" of the communist ideology are still valid because what was in Romania was not communism. Is this attempt to block the criticism against the collective ideological super-ego of communism and its mega-violent goals and tools motivated by the intention to maintain or restore the power of the communist ideological super-ego (*MCP*)? The answer seems to be positive, and psychologically it is related to *intention memory*. The true believers could not accept that their life was vainly invested into an evil and failed utopia. According to this reaction, the communist project must be saved (intention memory) even if the actual social construction that followed the *MCP* failed catastrophically in genocide, cultural devastation, and produced many other types of societal and individual traumas.

What could be the resources that could confront the collective ideological super ego? This remains an open question especially in the situation in which the collective ideological super-ego was not publicly and explicitly confronted from within the system. However, taking into account the brave direct actions (armed resistance, dissidents' actions), and also many times silent actions of the common people (peasants, workers), the actions of priests, intellectuals and of other categories, including former party members who departed from the CP ideology, it is possible to state that such resources, and possible remedies, are rooted in moral autonomy, courage, a genuine and skilled questioning ability, non-participation to the evil actions and structures, creative resources and dialogue with free minds from within and outside the system. Shortly, such resources are rooted in individual conscience, autonomy, creativity, moral principles, and an inter-dependent self.

The PC, as the embodiment of the collective ideological super-ego (and especially its core), was and remains a violent organization with violent goals and violent means aimed to acquire political supremacy. It is marked by high secrecy, unconditional acceptance of the political algorithm of its ideological super-ego, and by hate toward the class enemies. The problem is that such a nano-structure (less than 1000 persons) reached the power through usurpation, under the protection of the Soviet Army and has increased its number in a tremendous mode. Its violent and shameless actions are associated with a huge pressure to attract others into its structures mainly as means for its policy. Even if the wide-spread hypothesis that the core of the CP was formed from true believers is accepted, it remains the question why true believers will accept among them mainly persons who, by the extremely limited nature of their education, do not know almost anything about the communist ideology and social philosophy. It seems that the self-called true believers needed a protective mass that could be used as an obedient tool. This is why the first condition for joining the party was the social origin and not the political beliefs and knowledge. During time a reciprocal perverting process evolved. The ideological communist elite became more and more dependent upon the newcomers and by using them ruthlessly it moved away from its own proclaimed ideals regarding the "newman". On the other hand, the new CP members learned to use ideological simulation and dissimulation for various individual interests.

Motivationally speaking, the ideological elite became more motivated by extrinsic motives and more inclined to use others as "pawns", accepting at the same time to be themselves pawns of the ideological super-ego and of the party power. In such a situation, there is a clear decline of the autonomy and individuation of both the initial (core) members of the CP and of the increasing number of the new party members. The inner repression, the self-deceit, arrogance and the force of the negative affect increased. Most of the members of the CP that were at the top or close to the top of the party hierarchy were *acting under the illusion that they were Origins* (in deCharms sense, 1968) of the social changes because they had a lot of control over others who had to be Pawns. This illusion of being an Origin represents an additional factor that limits the chances of self-regulation of those involved in the party system because self-regulation cannot be achieved without a powerful intrinsic motivation and an accurate self-representation. In relation with the original political algorithm, most of the party leaders, who *lived under the illusion of being Origins*, were political tools that had the power to control, punish and reward others who were perceived as being mere Pawns.

Those who joined unwillingly (under pressure) such an organization suffered similar processes while still having a chance (as slim as it might look) *to store in their intention memory goals and projected autotelic activities that needed self-regulation and were consonant with individuation*. The quality and strength of this intention memory could re-open the gate toward autonomy. There are records that prove that during time those with such tendencies separated themselves from this organization by overcoming first the fear of the ideological super-ego and its institutions (first the CP) and secondly by disobeying it. The other CP members became more involved in processes of self-fragmentation, self-deceit, and contradictory feelings about themselves and others. During the political change produced in 1989, the CP was dissolved overnight. On one hand, this political evaporation of a party with over 4 million members looked like a relief from the feelings of shame, guilt and de-individuation lived by most of the CP members. But because this separation was achieved by external means and not by personal efforts, the moral and therapeutic value of this moment was vastly wasted. Much more, it offered a structural opportunity for many former members of the CP to excuse their CP membership by declaring that they were just a kind of political "*figuranți*" ("background actors"), parts of the chorus, of course a one voice chorus, so their membership in the CP would have been morally and politically meaningless and blameless. This excuse was provided publicly even by a prominent critic of the post-communist era. Due to this strategic disappearance of the CP from the public scene and from the public eye, the historical

chance of many former members of the CP to be origins of their own liberation from the violent organization vanished. Jung, who investigated the Communist ideology and its “belief that time is on its side”, warned about the danger of the long-term consequences that follow one’s abdication from his/her right to freedom in favor of a collective force:

“Anyone who has once learned to submit absolutely to a collective believe and to renounce this eternal right to freedom and the equally eternal duty of individual responsibility will persist in this attitude, and will be able to march with the same credulity and the same lack of criticism in the reverse direction, if another and manifestly “better: belief is posted upon his alleged idealism” (*The undiscovered self*, CW, Vol 10, pp. 266-267).

I’ll use an example. In the summer of 1990 I had a series of long conversations with Pavel Câmpeanu. Among other topics I shared with him my view about the emergence of the new political parties and about the rapid disappearance from the public political scene of the RC P and I said that “It is hard to believe that such a type of organization as the Communist Party, with a long practice of illegality and secrecy, and with all its resources has been dissolved, or self-dissolved spontaneously and suddenly, overnight as it is said”. He did not make any comments on this topic. Then I asked him “Why so many former Party members, including some who joined it unwillingly, do not express publicly their separation from this organization?” He answered: “Cătăline, do not be naïve. This is impossible.” Then I insisted and asked him “You expressed and are expressing strong and relevant critical views about the present political situation and its roots and I think that they are indeed extremely important. But, Pavel, why did you not yet declare publicly your separation from the Communist Party?” He said: “Pentru că mi-e frică, domnule.” (“Because I am afraid, mister”). I was astonished. Pavel Câmpeanu was not a person who could be easily dominated by fear. He has been in many tough situations. Much more, how could be one afraid of a dead political body? I asked: “Do you think that the Communist Party has a big inertial power?” His answer: “It has a terrible power. You cannot imagine it.” We changed the subject.

The fact that so many times after 1989 in Romania opportunities were missed to depart from the communist past (its habits, mental set, fears, soft ties, hard ties etc.) brings into discussion the real chances of “**redemption**” (McAdams, 2006). Tomkins in his script theory introduced the construct of *commitment scripts* that “involve the courage and endurance to invest and bind the person to long-term activity and to magnify positive affect... by absorbing and neutralizing the various negative costs... (1987, p. 166).” The problem for the former members of the communist party, and other repressive structures, that had been true believers is that these personal investments imply a high negative meaning after 1989. On the other hand, the characteristics of the transition period imposed strong restrictions on moral recovery or to what Tomkins called “*limitation-remediation scripts*” that “address those aspects of human condition perceived to be imperfect, to which some enduring, long-term response must be made and which it is believed can be remedied, with varying degrees of success, risk, effort, costs, and benefits” (p. 167). Right away after the uprising of 1989 and the removal of the dictator (Ceausescu), the CP was dismembered. This mysterious “social evaporation” of a political organization with more than 4 million members reduced almost completely the chances of former CP members for achieving of what is called a complete redemption (McAdams & Bowman, 2001; McAdams, Reynolds, Lewis, Patten & Bowman, 2001). The former PC members could reach a closure in full social light and they might remain tied to a political corpse by the means of secret archives. A complete “redemption sequence is a movement from an emotionally negative or bad scene to an emotionally positive or good outcome” (McAdams & Bowman, 2001, p. 5). In this particular case, redemption asks for a complete moral separation from the repressive past of the CP as a violent organization.

The present model suggests that if one misses also the personal and historical chances to depart autonomously from an evil system, which he/she was forced to join, then the chances that the residual power of the respective system to continue to use the individual as a pawn will increase. Because the individual did not achieve a self-initiated separation from the “vanished CP”, one will develop feelings of guilt about the missed opportunity and will fear that one’s past will be used and abused by the residual power against one’s present situation. The probability that such an individual will remain under the control of external forces and will carry similar behaviors will increase.

The last macro-social component of the repressive system is the secret police and the prison system. For the present discussion, just one form of the prison system will be approached that is well known for its brutality: the Pitești prison system (Bacu, 1971; Dumitrescu, 1978). As it is described by those who had the misfortune to know well this system aimed to turn the prisoners into physical, psychological and moral tormentors of other inmates till the last will *be wholly “re-educated” and accepting to become themselves tormentors of other inmates*. From the characteristics of this terrible system of torture just a few traits will be discussed, which are essential for understanding the profound influence of this macro component of repression on the structure of self and on autonomy. In general, it is known from modern studies that interrogation might alter, especially if it uses violent means, the account of the accused by induced false testimonies (Gudjonsson, 1992; Kassin & Gudjonsson, 2004; Kassin, & Kieschel, 1996). However, it is essential to take into consideration the contextual and situational distance between the case when interrogations are abused within the systemic repressive context where, by the rule, interrogations are directed to by a violent ideology, dictatorial power and must provide the demanded outcomes regardless the means. In addition to it, there is no legal, personal, or mass-media ways to inquiry about the nature of interrogations within totalitarian societies.

The self, which according to James is a dialectical unit that includes an observing “I” and an observed “me”, fulfills a major function, that of self-monitoring (Leary, 1990; Leary & Tangney, 2003), that is vital for self-regulation. According to Damasio (1999), based on neurological studies, there are three forms of self: a) a “**proto self**” that is considered to result from the direct experience of the brain with the body and the outside world. It has to be mentioned that by the terrible physical pain, which could end in mutilation for life and even death, the “proto-self” was constantly aggressed by the Pitești method. Each part of the body was a target for terrible injury, pain and humiliation; b) a “**core self**” which, due to higher order neuronal maps, is able to compare the “proto-self” before and after a specific interaction that implies change. The ability of human brain to focus the attention on an event, object that produces change, regardless if this object is located within the body, in the world, or in a mental representation, is essential for this self. The neural mapping of the changes of the proto-self define the *core self*. The *core self* is associated with a “core-conscience” that monitors how the proto-self is changed while interacting with an internal or external object; c) an “**autobiographical self**” that is based on maps of the transformations produced in the changes of the self due to the interaction with objects located inside the body and objects located in the outside world. The function of the autobiographical self is to record the individual’s history, to compare it with the ongoing experience and to explore and prepare for the future.

The Pitești method (Bacu, 1971; Dumitrescu, 1978; Goma, 1981; Ierunca, 1990; Merișcă, 1997) was extremely violent, the physical torture that was used as the first unavoidable step in re-educational process of prisoners ended up many times with the death, brain damage or serious mutilation of the victim. The name of the process during which the inmate had to disclose one’s own past, all the hostile acts against the regime, and to accept that he committed evil acts that were mere inventions was “**unmasking**”. It is necessary to know that the compulsory party meetings had a well established practice of unmasking applied mainly against those labeled as “traitors”, “deviationists”, or just simple “disobedients.” Through the unmasking process, feelings of fear, uncertainty, guilt and shame

were violently induced in relation toward real parts of one's autobiographical self that included past acts, present deeds, feelings and intentions and projects for the future. But these acts were always judged in a biased mode as being against the communist regime, even if they were or were not such against the regime. In addition, a fictive autobiographical self, guilty of incredible crimes, was constructed under physical and emotional pain when the individual was forced to accept ("to recognize") crimes that were never committed or intended by him. This stage of the re-education process and of the unmasking treatment was followed by other stages during which the person who was undergoing the reeducation had to inform and fabricate accusations about people who were still outside the prison ("free"). Such persons were former colleagues or were best friends and who, due to these false accusations, will be imprisoned and become soon targets of the same re-education process. The prisoner had to inform about and fabricate fictive accusations of the anti-state acts committed by one's own family members.

It is essential to remember that during the reduction process, the person had to assume certain roles that aimed to win the confidence of new inmates and also to be able to inform the prison's officials about their findings, it means accusations against the new inmate. They had to play thus the role of the friend, advisor or even protector of the new inmate in order to be able to find out his secrets, to betray him and to expose him to the brutal unmasking process. In this mode, the abilities of the self to develop as an interdependent-self were profoundly shattered. As a result, a person who has been unmasked during the communist ideological reeducation and became oneself a re-educator developed a powerful need to keep secret one's own prison experience. At the same time, he had a huge fear of being unmasked later on, while was outside the prison's walls, as one who had been a re-educator. The Devil's pact increased its power over the entire remaining life of the individual. Beyond the consequences of the possible continuation of this pact, there are those who, despite their unimaginable sufferings produced by this violent ideological unmasking and reeducation, had the power to reveal their terrible experiences. This strongly suggests that the self can engage in a process of self-purification and has a re-generative force even after it was an object to diabolical tortures that resulted in a deep and complex de-individuation that was supposed to end up with the construction of a new and violent self, externally controlled by the collective ideological super-ego and its torturing procedures and pawns.

All these stages were associated with physical torture and, at the smallest sign of error in the learning process of the re-educated, a harsher torture was used against him. But, the ultimate goal of the violent re-education was to reach a reliable and final ideological conversion to communism of the inmate and a hostile repudiation of one's own family, identity and deep beliefs, including faith. At the end of this process, one's own identity was radically changed due to an external and brutal control. The model of Pitești method was Makarenko's method of re-education of the juvenile delinquents in 1920's in Soviet Union. The method uses a *violent cycle of suffering and revenge* applied in a relentless mode till each and every inmate becomes a ferocious tormentor of other inmates and it is ready to use the same method for the conversion of persons that still leave outside the prison.

The terrible violent ideological conversion of the self used in Pitești prison was stopped after a few years. However, its basic goal, which was the destruction of the core values, beliefs, including one's own faith, and the relationships of an individual and their replacement with the communist values, principles and class-hatred remained active beyond the walls of Pitești prison. The inmate was brutally forced not only to give up to one's cardinal values of the self such as faith in God, truth, love for others, friendship, loyalty to the family, sense of justice, but also to denigrate them vehemently, to unmask those who had such values and to accept, practice and propagate the values of the communist ideology, including the class hate. Through this violent ideological conversion, the individual was assumed to give up totally and permanently to one's own autonomy and conscience

and to become a reliable instrument in the hands of the prison's officials and, by extension, an efficient tool for any political and state authority of the communist regime. In this way, the Pitești method was not just a way to achieve the ideological conversion of the inmates, to infiltrate and re-configure the self of the inmate, to re-construct one's own identity, but also to use the reeducated as efficient means for the conversions of others. Regarding the damage to the self, one has to have in mind that this goes beyond its natural functions, as it would be the function of monitoring as it is defined by Leary & Tangney (2003). It seems that the distinction between sacred and profane developed by Eliade (1965, 1968) could be of great help for understanding the terrible destruction produced by Makarenko's method transplanted to Romanian prisons. It is possible to assume that the distinction between sacred and profane that functions outside the person has a correspondent within one's own inner structure. Once a person gives up to that part of self that was self-evaluated as being sacred one becomes less able to recognize and respect what could be sacred within others and more prone for desecrating what is sacred to others. At the end of the unmasking and re-education process, the individual was in the situation to abolish one's own sacred part of the self (faith, the cardinal values, relationships). The Pitești method forced by brutal means the individuals to carry out a **self-desecration** as the last resort against a painful death. This self-desecration was the premise for desecrating significant others, family members and was in tune with the macro-desecration of sacred places (demolishing churches) and of cultural values. Among the first victims of this expansion were inmates from other communist prisons.

The concept of self-desecration, which is rooted in the distinction between sacred and profane, needs an explanation, which is going to be limited within the context of the present paper. The "**couple profane and sacred**", as Borgeaud (1994) has pointed out in his landmark inquiry into the history of this concept and its meaning, is essential for understanding the religiosity and its evolution. In his study, Borgeaud explores the intellectual genealogy of this dialectical concept that includes the studies of Smith (1889), Otto (1917), Durkheim (1925), Hubert & Mauss and more recent studies by Caillois and Eliade. The construct of sacred with its opposition to the profane is considered by Borgeaud as being "a product of the French sociological school" (p. 415). Taking into account Eliade's conception, according to which the opposition sacred profane becomes the opposition myths and history, Borgeaud advances a significant and difficult to challenge position for modern studies by arguing that the conceptual couple sacred-profane "does not appear anymore as operational concepts, neither for the anthropologists nor for the historians" (1994, pp. 414-415). This represents indeed a significant methodological and epistemological challenge which sets also a precise empirical task. At the same time, one has to have in mind not just history, anthropology and sociology when one is approaching the conceptual couple sacred and profane. There are other fields where this construct is used in ways that are open, through operationalization, to empirical research. One field is economics (McCloskey, 2004) that deals mainly with macro-social processes, but also with individual decision making processes. An additional field is psychology based on a long research tradition that could be traced to James, but which includes also studies on transpersonal and transcendental orientations and needs (Nuttin, 1980, 1984; Nuttin & Lens, 1985).

The conceptual dialectical dyad sacred-profane can be operationalized especially if it is connected with the well established Piagetian construct of **internalization**. In this case, the object of internalization will be religious values, objects of faith that are assimilated and integrated within the structure of the self during one's different stages of development and life experiences. Durkheim considered the sacred as being connected with religion, which was defined by him as a coherent system of beliefs ("*croyances*") and practices related to "*sacred things*". At the individual level, the sacred becomes active through internalization of "sacred objects", i.e. of objects that to a given community belong to sanctity such as: God, places of prayers, religious practices, religious figures, values, and with a descriptive and expression objects and practices of faith.

The present approach advances the hypothesis that *the more the sacred is internalized the closer the sacred becomes to one's own identity core. As the internalization of the sacred advances, the probability that the person will give up, exchange, trespass this sacred core for profane values and under profane pressures will decrease.* I think that the degree to which the sacred is internalized will make the person more resistant to any external pressures that demand the individual to renounce one's own sacred space. In a measurable mode, the internalized sacred is expressed by the readiness of the individual to renounce profane goods, relationships and values in order to save one's own sacred space. During human history, there are paradigmatic cases of humans who gave up even to their life for the sake of the Sacred (see Schall). At the same time, this approach of the sacred should take into consideration a wider meaning of the couple sacred-profane that includes all objects of cardinal value for one's own identity (it might be the value of truth, the country, the family, friendship, i.e. values that might have or might not have a religious content, but are essential for the meaning of one's own life as it is perceived by him etc.). At the individual level, this sacred space might be influenced by misperceptions and illusions. The closer to the center of one's own identity the "more sacred" the object is. So, the sacred might reveal through its empirical investigation different *degrees of sacredness.*

For the present analysis, the desecration of the self is understood as a painful giving up to aider space from the internalized sacred due to terrible physical, psychological, social torture that is aimed toward a fundamental change of one's own identity core. This brutal pressure seems to be a major trait of Pitești experiment that has its methodological and ideological roots in Makarenko's re-education pedagogy.

Even if outside the prison's walls it was impossible to use the same brutal violence and to have the same degree of control over the stages of reeducation, the major goal of the unmasking and reeducation method remained similar: the infiltration of the self and its transformation into a pawn of the collective ideological super-ego and the collective ideological conscious. This became a tool for the reeducation of the entire population of a country. Due to the fact that the collective ideological super-ego of communism had a global ambition, the re-education method was not supposed to stop within national borders as it was proved with Makarenko's ideas and methods.

These methods, in less direct and violent forms, continued to remain active after 1989, especially by using those still captive against those who dissented against the communist regime and its residual structures, mentalities and networks that survived during the "transition" period, and against those who succeed to separate themselves from such structures before 1989 and even after. For instance, those who did not even consider such a separation from the CP and its institutions (old and new) believe that shame was not a feeling among those who were forced by the CP and its institutions to participate to some wide spread repressive actions such as censorship, spying and informing about colleagues, friends and/or family members. On the other hand, there are those who consider(ed) such acts as being appalling, and disclosed their guilty cooperation with the evil long time before. The shadow of Pitești experiment, which was active in subtle forms outside the physical walls of the prison prior to 1989, remains still an active threat due to the fact that the tendencies to enhance and express one's own autonomy are still a target for those interested to preserve the previous procedures, mental habits, and repressive networks. The mode in which the individual conscience and the public conscience approach such instances remains a major challenge for preserving and enhancing the moral capital both at the individual level and at the collective level. At the individual level, the overcoming of the repressing forces that block any attempt to cure the self-infiltration, to activate higher goals stored in the intention memory, to recover one's own autobiographical self represent a first necessary step toward individuation. At the societal level, the overcoming of the repressive forces that are rooted in the residuals and the inertia of the collective ideological super-

ego and its support structures (including the famous “dosare”) is necessary for the restoring the trust among individuals, groups and within the entire society.

The repression under communism and its inertial forms in post-communism might be compared with the traumatic experiences of war. In relationship with the communist forms of repression that produced a huge number of victims, it seems that the old ritual of self-purification, that was used in human history especially after one suffered the traumatic experience of war (Shay, 2002, 152), might be a necessary step within the recovery of the individuation process. The self-purification process has higher chances to be achieved if other social actors, and especially those in power, are engaging in similar acts. In the Romanian case, after 45 years of communism and a difficult transition period which is going to be assessed by future historians, self-purification could be enhanced if political leaders will ask for forgiveness, not for their own errors, but first of all for the sufferings of the Romanian people during communism. None of the presidents of Romania after 1989 asked publicly forgiveness for the suffering endured by an entire country. This simple moral gesture, which can naturally be completed by asking forgiveness for one’s own errors, seems a necessary step for removing barriers faced by the moral and social healing at all levels of social complexity. The healing process also includes giving credit to different acts of helping directed toward those in extremely difficult situations and performed in various social situations by peoples who had relatively high social positions during communism.

Romanian press had many debates about the status of the Securitate archive and the view expressed in a responsible mode underscores the need to ensure the accessibility of the public to the archive, as does Vianu (2008):

"It would be incomprehensible if the Securitate archive became secret once again. This also applies to the archive of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR), which is to be made accessible to the public shortly. If the agency is in fact dismantled, it would lead to isolation within the EU, and we would become a post-Soviet state. For some, this might be opportune, but it would be incompatible with our EU status. We can only hope that the attempt to close the agency down leads to its functioning more effectively. ... In the end, the agency need not pass judgement at all. It must simply describe what can be found in the archives. It is then up to the public to judge."

The fact that during 18 years the Securitate archive did not become fully transparent, that some of the “files” have been handed as a post-communist type of reward to some persons, the fact that the access to the personal files was denied to other persons, the fact that some of the files that are in the archive have been modified, the fact that partial information in some cases was leaked out for serving some interests make more urgent the need to open them up. At the same time, these factors regarding the long term resistance to the opening process, the biased use and deterioration of the records must be compensated by significant individual efforts aimed to overcome the repression rooted in fear of the collective ideological super-ego, of the inertia of the CP structures, of the inertia of Securitate, and the fear to separate oneself from one’s own errors committed before 1989 and after 1989 under the pressure of the inertial forces of the communist regime and its continuators up to present day. The complete access to the entire archive represents a minimal objective condition for the knowledge of the communist past. This objective condition can reduce the manipulation of the past against those who expressed freely their minds and could encourage more people to listen to their conscience. At the same time, it would open the possibility to challenge the inertial structures, procedures, and mentalities that used and are still using similar tools against those who have a critical views on the present day political situation and political behaviors. Without a free, civilized and responsible expression of the critical views toward those who have explicit positions in the power structure and of those who present themselves as

independents from the power structure, but are strongly connected in a hidden mode to it, the changes achieved up to the present will not bring fruits for changes in the deep social structure and its moral recover.

One of the costly consequences of the inertia of old repressive networks, mentalities and procedures is the undermining of autonomy across-ages. This is a danger not only for older and middle aged person who have a real or invented past that could be used to blackmail them, but also for the new generations that could enter into a similar cycle of repressions even if the social and political contexts, nationally and internationally are different. The transformation of a person into a pawn was not invented by communism, but communism provided an ideological justification and a political algorithm for this transformation that acquired macro-social dimensions. The systemic undermining of autonomy makes the person less able to identify one's needs. Ryan, Kuhl & Deci in their organizational approach to self regulations posit that: "when humans are autonomous, they are in touch with their true needs and are able to act in accord with them" (1997, p. 716). According to them, autonomy does not mean freedom from determinants, but rather an attunement of the organism toward "some determinants rather than others": "However, under conditions of need deprivation, organic perturbation, or deleterious cultural demands, self-regulation can be undermined, resulting in diverse forms of psychopathology" (Ryan, Kuhl & Deci, 1997, 723).

At the roots of the destructive cultural demands in communism and post communism were the deleterious ideological and political demands that aimed to replace systemically the self-regulations of individuals and groups with the external control. Within such conditions individuals, families, groups, and small associations are forced to act under the demands of the external control. The inertia of the communist networks, habits and procedures many years after the destruction of the Berlin Wall that enhances the external control by the same token depletes the individual and societal energy as well as the creative development of such energies.

The old forms of repression are frequently re-activated against any critical voice from inside and from outside Romania. Because the re-activation of the former forms of repression is trying to induce fear and to reduce each real critical voice to silence or even into a pawn who might be rewarded with the "right" to play a faked critical role, the enhancement of one's own autonomy and individuation could be considered major indicators of a deeper change.

The model makes the following predictions:

1. In the early stages of the emergence of a communist regime the stronger the repressive actions of the systemic components the stronger will be the motivation to activate resources for overcoming the consequences of repression in the first stages and to remove its sources.
2. As the regime remains longer in power, the activation of the resources necessary to overcome the repressive components will decline and also the resistance to the inner consequences of the repression will decline.
3. As the repressive system becomes more integrated, its explicit censorship declines and more subtle forms of censorship will emerge, including forms that simulate resistance. This relaxation of the classical censorship forms and the emergence of more subtle forms will differentiate clearly between those who carried a resistance based on self-regulation and moral values from those who carried out circumstantial resistance that could be manipulated by the macro-repressive structures.
4. If the entire system is confronted by a social uprising as it happened in 1989, it will attempt to preserve, convert and even trade its simulated repressive structure in order to ensure a continuity of power within the emerging society. This tentative of self-preservation of significant parts (actors, procedures, documents, etc.) of the system will meet a strong

resistance mainly from those who resisted the major repressive components of the system (the first 3) based on self-regulation and moral principles.

5. Those individuals who resisted the system and achieved individuation, self-regulation are going to remain the most critical one during the transition from the communist society as such toward an emerging and open society and they will remain targets of the techniques, residual structures and mentalities of the former communist system.

The model explores the discontinuities and continuities between the repression within the communist society and repression that is active in post-communism. In this exploration, the consequences of the main components of the macro-repressive forces that characterize the communist system are analyzed at the individual level during communism and post communism.

This is just an outline of a wider analysis based on documents and interviews carried between 1967 and 1990 in Romania. Parts of these interviews belong to the project "The Experience of creativity", and other parts of these interviews belong to the project on political genealogies and the power of action-oriented texts.

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