

**POISONS OF CIVILIZATION, REMNANTS OF CAPITALISM, OR JEWISH  
DISEASE? DRUG ADDICTION IN RUSSIAN AND GERMAN MEDICAL TEXTS  
FROM THE 1870S TO THE 1930S**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis looks at Russian and German medical texts related to recreational drugs that were written in the period that witnessed the emergence of drug addiction as a social problem (late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries). An important part of the argument is the analysis and critique of primary sources that I undertake in order to investigate various theories, images, and practices related to drug addiction.

This work shows how drug addiction was eventually constructed as a social problem related to modernity, capitalism – and Jewishness. Drug addiction research appears to be one of the attractive fields for Jewish scientists, who used this opportunity to contemplate, negotiate, and re-define the new Jewish identity in a rapidly changing modern world. As evident from the analysis of the solutions proposed in medical texts and their influence on practical drug policy, medical science in both Russia and Germany (though with substantial variations due to political, cultural and scientific differences) played a major role in marginalizing and repressing drug addicts while rejecting other emerging alternatives.

## Acknowledgements

The past is an ocean, and it is easy to get lost if you do not know where to navigate or just do not put enough effort. I am very happy to have Professor Michael Laurence Miller as my supervisor on this difficult – yet exciting – journey. He was always ready to provide me with necessary information and wisely guided my work during this academic year. I am also very grateful to Professor Karl Hall, who always served as an example of inspiring teacher and original thinker. My thanks go to Professor Ohad Parnes as well, as his comments and suggestions greatly shaped my thinking about medical texts and drug addiction. During my coursework, I also benefited greatly from the courses by Professors Victor Karady, Markian Prokopovych, András Kovács, and Carsten Wilke.

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# Introduction

*Ohne Antwort bleibt die Frage,*

*Ob dich lieben oder hassen.<sup>1</sup>*

Drug addiction is universally recognized as a crucial problem of the contemporary world, and there is a heated debate about it everywhere – Central and Eastern Europe being no exception. It is striking, however, that there is a clear lack of attention towards the historical roots of the problem in this area. This condition appears even more surprising if we consider that interdisciplinary research on the history of drug addiction allows for the exploration of the intersection of medical theory, practical policy, social context, and cultural values. Given the special place that the Jews occupy within European medical discourse,<sup>2</sup> such an investigation will also provide some insights into Jewish history – both by analyzing why so many Jews were engaged in addiction research and unveiling *how exactly* drug addiction was constructed as a social problem. While there is a growing interest in the history of medicine among Jewish Studies scholars, there was no attempt to link history of drug addiction with the specific status of the Jews in the medical profession and in medical discourse in Central and Eastern Europe.

In my thesis I focus specifically on the period that witnessed the emergence of drug addiction as a social problem (late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries) and compare two major (in demographic, political and scientific senses alike) countries of the region - Russia and

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<sup>1</sup> Poem “Cocaine”, from the notes of a German cocaine addict, cited in Ernst Joël and Fritz Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Psychopathologie der Rauschgifte* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1924), 103.

<sup>2</sup> John M. Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

Germany. The topic remains largely unexplored, even though several authors briefly discussed the developments that took place throughout the period. For some obvious reasons, Soviet historiography largely ignored the history of drug addiction in 20<sup>th</sup> century Russia,<sup>3</sup> but it is interesting that German scholarship (which enjoyed a more relaxed ideological climate in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) did not produce any major works on the subject either.

In both countries, however, new authors interested in drug addiction emerged since the late 1980s, but the historical picture that they tried to reconstruct remains largely fragmentary. In the German context, the most important contribution was Claudia Wiesemann's *Die heimliche Krankheit*<sup>4</sup> that explored the history of the concept of addiction with references to the situation in Germany. However, it remained confined to the field of the history of ideas and did not explore the actual social developments related to drug addiction. On the contrary, many scholars published articles and book chapters that at least touch upon social history of drug addiction in Russia,<sup>5</sup> but there is no major contribution

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<sup>3</sup> For the critique of Soviet Marxist historiography with its tendencies to mythologize and conceal, see Mikhail V. Khodiakov, ed., *“Goriacheshnyi i triumfal’nyi gorod”: Petrograd: ot voennogo kommunizma k NEPu: Dokumenty i materialy* [“Feverish and Triumphant City”: Petrograd from War Communism to the NEP: Documents and Materials] (St. Petersburg: SPbGU, 2000), 11-12; Nataliia B. Lebina, “O pol’ze igry v biser: (Mikroistoriia kak metod izucheniia norm i anomalii sovetskoi povsednevnosti 20-30-kh godov),” [On the Utility of Casting Pearls: (Microhistory as the Method to Examine Norms and Anomalies of Soviet Everyday Life in the 1920s - 1930s)] in *Normy i tsennosti povsednevnoi zhizni: Stanovenie sotsialisticheskogo obraza zhizni v Rossii, 1920-30e gody* [Norms and Values of Everyday Life: The Establishment of the Socialist Life-Style in Russia, 1920s - 1930s], ed. Timo Vihavainen (St. Petersburg: Neva, 2000), 7; and Vadim I. Musaeu, *Prestupnost’ v Petrograde v 1917-1921 gg. i bor’ba s nei* [Crime in Petrograd in 1917-1921 and the Struggle Against It] (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2001), 5.

<sup>4</sup> Claudia Wiesemann, *Die heimliche Krankheit: Eine Geschichte des Suchtbegriffs* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Viktor A. Popov, “Bor’ba s narkomaniei i toksikomaniei detei i podrostkov v 20-30-e gody,” [The Struggle Against Drug Addiction Among Children and Teenagers in the 1920s and 1930s] *Sovetskoe zdavookhranenie* no. 5 (1989): 67-70; Mary Schaeffer Conroy, “Abuse of Drugs other than Alcohol and Tobacco in the Soviet Union,” *Soviet Studies* 42

from the perspective of intellectual history or history of science. Some important conclusions were made about 'democratization' of drug addiction during the First World War,<sup>6</sup> connections between drug addiction and other 'negative deviations',<sup>7</sup> social structure of the addict subculture in the 1920s<sup>8</sup> and virtual elimination of the problem by the early 1930s.<sup>9</sup> However, no major book was published on the subject, and (perhaps even more importantly) most studies confined themselves to the Petrograd-Leningrad region and the narrow period from 1917 to the early 1920s.

Stanislav E. Panin's 2003 article<sup>10</sup> was the first attempt to construct a model of drug

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(1990): 447-480; Mikhail V. Shkarovskii, "Leningradskaia prostitutsiia i bor'ba s nei v 1920-e gody," [Prostitution in Leningrad and the Struggle Against It in the 1920s] in *Nevskii arkhiv: istoriko-kraevedcheskii sb.* [Neva Archive: Regional History Collection], issue 1 (Moscow, 1993), 387-411; Lebina, "Tenevye storony zhizni sovetskogo goroda 20-30-kh godov," [Dark Side of the Soviet City of the 1920s and 1930s] *Voprosy istorii* no. 4 (1994): 30-42; Conroy, "Drug Use and Abuse in Tsarist Russia," in Eadem, *In Health and in Sickness: Pharmacy, Pharmacists and the Pharmaceutical Industry in Late Imperial, Early Soviet Russia* (Boulder: Columbia University Press, 1994), 200-218; Lebina, "Narkoman iz narkomata i klub morfinistov revoliutsionnogo Baltflota," [Narcomaniac from the *Narkomat* and the Morphinist Club of the Revolutionary Baltic Fleet] *Vechernii Peterburg*, 12 April 1996; Eadem, "Belaia feia, ili Kak "navodili marafet" v Sovetskoi Rossii," [The White Fairy, Or How They Powdered Their Noses in Soviet Russia] *Rodina* no. 9 (1996): 64-66; Shkarovskii, "Sem' imen "koshki": Rastsvet narkomanii v 1917-1920-e gody," [Seven Names of the "Cat": Heyday of Drug Addiction from 1917 to the 1920s] in *Nevskii arkhiv*, issue 3 (St. Petersburg, 1997), 467-477; Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn' sovetskogo goroda: Normy i anomalii: 1920-1930 gody* [Everyday Life of a Soviet City: Norms and Anomalies: 1920s - 1930s] (St. Petersburg: Neva: Letnii Sad, 1999), 28-33, 46; Musaev; Lebina and Aleksandr N. Chistikov, *Obyvatel' i reformy: Kartiny povsednevnoi zhizni gorozhan v gody nepa i khrushchevskogo desiatiletiia* [An Average Man and Reforms: Scenes from the Everyday Life of Urban Population during the NEP and Khrushchev Years] (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003). See also Lebina and Shkarovskii, *Prostitutsiia v Peterburge: (40-e gg. XIX v. - 40-e gg. XX v.)* [Prostitution in St. Petersburg: (1840s - 1940s)] (Moscow: Progress-Akademiia, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 29.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>8</sup> Lebina and Shkarovskii, 89-90; Shkarovskii, *Sem' imen "koshki"*, 467, 468, 470; Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 29-32; Musaev, 180.

<sup>9</sup> Shkarovskii, *Sem' imen "koshki"*, 472, 474, 476; Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 32-33.

<sup>10</sup> Stanislav E. Panin, "Potreblenie narkotikov v Sovetskoi Rossii (1917-1920-e gody)," [Drug Addiction in Soviet Russia (from 1917 to the 1920s)] *Voprosy istorii* no. 8



abuse in early Soviet Russia on a national scale. While we should acknowledge the importance of some of Panin's conclusions, it is also necessary to recognize limitations of the work. First, the scope and nature of primary sources analyzed are inconsistent with the ambitious goal. Secondly, it is evident that Panin's treatment of medical texts lacks in-depth analysis and a critical approach – a problem he shares with other authors. This is even more surprising if we consider that medical texts serve as the *major* primary source for all historians of drug addiction. The situation in Central and Eastern Europe is therefore different from Western Europe and America, where several major books traced the history of drug addiction with particular attention towards interrelations between medical science and narcotic policy.<sup>11</sup> Fortunately, the methodology and findings of these works can be integrated (though somewhat reinterpreted) into my Central and Eastern European research agenda.

The scarcity of works on the particular topic of drug addiction urges us to look more attentively at the literature about history of medicine in Russia and Germany in general. Indeed, here one can find that the questions that the authors are asking are relevant for the more specific field of addiction research. John F. Hutchinson's book<sup>12</sup> is particularly interesting in revealing the interrelations between politics and public health by employing the metaphor of *ozdorovlenie Rossii* (“healthifying” of Russia) – the claim that combined

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(2003): 129-134.

<sup>11</sup> David T. Courtwright, *Dark Paradise: Opiate Addiction in America before 1940* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); David F. Musto, *The American Disease: Origins of Narcotic Control* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Caroline J. Acker, *Creating the American Junkie: Addiction Research in the Classic Era of Narcotic Control* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Nancy D. Campbell, *Discovering Addiction: The Science and Politics of Substance Abuse Research* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007); Louise Foxcroft, *The Making of Addiction: The 'Use and Abuse' of Opium in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> John F. Hutchinson, *Politics and Public Health in Revolutionary Russia, 1890-1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

programs of both medical (“making healthy”) and political (“putting things into proper order”) change. Hutchinson's ideas are therefore important for my argument, which views physicians as active actors and claims makers,<sup>13</sup> who perceived the solution of social problems related to health (e.g., drug addiction) as the crucial element of the transformation of the society on the whole. A similar type of argument can be found in the works of Daniel Beer,<sup>14</sup> who has recently revisited the debate about continuity/rupture between late Imperial and early Soviet periods of Russian history in regard to the history of science. In the German context, Paul Lerner's *Hysterical Men*<sup>15</sup> convincingly shows how early 20<sup>th</sup> century medical specialists tried to use their scientific expertise to solve Germany's social, political and economic problems while pursuing their own professional agenda.

There is also another reason why *Hysterical Men* is so interesting for my subject. Lerner devotes a major part of his book to the discussion of the ideas and career of German Jewish neurologist Hermann Oppenheim – thus contributing to the debate about the special place that the Jews occupied within Wilhelmine and Weimar medical discourse. In my opinion, this trend reflects a more general interest in the history of medicine and science that has recently emerged among scholars dealing with Jewish history. A number of studies dealt with the specific status that the Jews and the Jewish bodies occupied within *fin-de-siècle*

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<sup>13</sup> In regard to the construction of social problems, sociologists define claims makers as individuals “making assertions of grievances and claims with respect to some putative conditions” (Malcolm Spector and John I. Kitsuse, *Constructing Social Problems* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2006), 75). On claims making related to drugs, see: Peter Meylakhs, “Narkotiki: Ideologiya, narkopolitika i moral',” [Drugs: Ideology, Narcotic Policy, and Morality] <http://www.regioncentre.ru/generation/publications/publication41> (accessed June 2, 2010); and Idem, “Opasnosti moral'noi paniki po povodu narkotikov,” [The Dangers of the Drug Moral Panic] *Credo New* no. 1 (2003).

<sup>14</sup> Daniel Beer, “Blueprints for Change: the Human Sciences and the Coercive Transformation of Deviants in Russia, 1890-1930,” *Osiris*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series 22 (2007): 26-47; Idem, *Renovating Russia: The Human Sciences and the Fate of Liberal Modernity, 1880-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

<sup>15</sup> Paul Lerner, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

medical discourse.<sup>16</sup> While there are still no books that focus specifically on the connection between drug addiction and the Jews, it is important to look at those 'parallel' studies that ask questions about complicated relationships between the Jews and the medical/scientific discourses.

One of the most interesting examples is John M. Efron's *Medicine and the German Jews*<sup>17</sup> which focuses on the history of interrelations between medicine and the Jews in Germany from the Middle Ages until the emergence of the Nazi regime. For my purposes, the most important parts of the book are those dealing with the specific dual status of Jewish physicians and the alleged 'pathologies' of Jewish health.<sup>18</sup> Another interesting example is Harriett P. Freidenreich's *Female, Jewish and Educated*.<sup>19</sup> This book is an important contribution to the history of the Jews in Central Europe, because the author managed to link Jewish history and the ambiguities of emancipation with such rapidly developing fields as gender studies and history of science. In particular, Freidenreich does an excellent job in tracing links between the Jewish background of a person and the nature of the scientific agenda she pursues.

As we have seen, the existing literature on the subject has been able to establish

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<sup>16</sup> Sander L. Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Idem, *The Case of Sigmund Freud: Medicine and Identity at the Fin-de-siècle* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Efron, *Defenders of The Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> Efron, *Medicine*.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 105-185. On the perceived 'pathological' aspects of the Jewish body, see also Klaus Hödl, "Der jüdische Körper als Stigma," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 2 (1997): 212-230; Idem, "Medizinischer Antisemitismus oder Antisemitismus in der Medizin? Historische Wurzeln und Charakterisierungsversuche eines Phänomens," in *Antisemitismusforschung in den Wissenschaften*, ed. Werner Bergmann and Mona Körte (Berlin: Metropol: 2004), 161-185; and Idem, "Der "jüdische Körper" in seiner Differenz. Textuelle und performative Konstruktionen," in *Marginalisierte Körper. Beiträge zur Soziologie und Geschichte des anderen Körpers*, ed. Torsten Junge and Imke Schmincke (Münster: Unrast, 2007), 63-77.

<sup>19</sup> Harriet P. Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, and Educated: The Lives of Central European University Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

basic facts and locate some problematic points. However, much more detailed empirical investigation is needed to understand the complex relationships between drugs, medical science and government regulation and to place Jewish doctors, drug dealers and addicts in this picture. Moreover, most studies on the subject lack a comparative perspective and a critical approach towards primary sources (especially medical texts). It seems that contemporary historians tend to perceive these texts as unquestionably objective and forget that they were also written by some particular authors.

The picture is further complicated by the fact that the very basic terms that are used in this thesis were often subject to constant negotiations and re-definitions in the period under discussion. There has always been a major debate about various conflicting definitions of 'drugs' and 'addiction',<sup>20</sup> since the decisions to prohibit or legalize one or another psychoactive substance (be it alcohol, marijuana or tobacco) are often arbitrary, historically conditioned and not related to the actual degree of psycho-physical harm and addictiveness. Moreover, in the period under investigation there was no unanimity in regard to what constitutes 'drugs' (tea, coffee, tobacco...)<sup>21</sup> and which terms should be used to describe them (cf. *iady*, *narkotiki*, *durmany* in the Russian context, and *Gifte* or *Rauschgifte* in German)<sup>22</sup> and conditions that arise (*narkomaniia*, *narkotizm*, *Giftsucht*, *Narkomanie* or

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<sup>20</sup> For a half-successful attempt to resolve the existing contradictions, see Vladimir T. Lisovskii and Elina A. Kolesnikova, *Narkotizm kak sotsial'naia problema* [Drug Addiction as a Social Problem] (St. Petersburg: SPbGU, 2001), 12.

<sup>21</sup> For a perspective that combines cocaine with tea, coffee and beer, but excludes heroine, see Aleksandr S. Sholomovich, "Narkotizm kak sotsial'no-patologicheskoe iavlenie i mery bor'by s nim sredi rabochikh," [Drug Addiction as a Pathological Social Phenomenon, and the Measures Against Its Spreading Among the Workers] in Idem, ed. *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 1* [Problems of Narcology: Collection no. 1] (Moscow, Moszdravotdel, 1926).

<sup>22</sup> For a critical treatment of poison/medicine contradiction in the history of addiction research, consider Alfred R. Lindesmith and John H. Gagnon, "Anomie and Drug Addiction," in *Anomie and Deviant Behaviour: A Discussion and Critique* (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 162-163.

more specific *morfinizm/Morphinismus, kokainizm/Cokainismus...*).<sup>23</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, I adhere to the present-day understanding of drugs (i.e., cocaine, morphine, hashish, opium, ether etc. – but not coffee). I am aware, however, of the limitations of such an approach and the implications that it has for the analysis of medical texts.

To a certain degree, this work is rather descriptive, since the history of drug addiction and addiction research in both Russia and Germany is not very well known, and the sources that I consult are rather rare. However, there is also a major evaluative/conceptual part in it. Since professional definitions coined by turn-of-the-century physicians often had direct social implications, I challenge the existing scholarship by focusing specifically on medical texts and presenting physicians as active claims-makers who eventually exercised a visible influence on the practical narcotic policy. I also devote much more space to the problem of authors' identity, try to detect the real living persons behind the figures and the specialized vocabulary of medical texts, and also specifically consider the issues of Jewishness, since the overwhelming majority of addiction researchers in both countries were Jewish. Ultimately, my thesis will serve as an attempt to construct a bridge between social and intellectual histories of drug addiction in Russia and Germany.

Accordingly, in my thesis I analyze and compare late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Russian and German medical texts related to recreational drugs in order to show how drug addiction was constructed as a social problem related to modernity, capitalism – and Jewishness. Such an analysis also proves that addiction research greatly influenced practical narcotic policy – and shows specific ways in which it did so. Finally, my work investigates how definitions of drug addiction in Germany and Russia were in a way similar, and still

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. internal definitional inconsistencies in the major Soviet edited collections *Voprosy narkologii: Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 1*; Sholomovich, ed. *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 2* [Problems of Narcology: Collection no. 2] (Moscow: Moszdravotdel, 1928).

varied – due to differences in the political situation, the role of science and the scientists, and also the place of the Jews in medical and cultural discourse in the two countries.

I recognize the limitations of my research. These limitations are defined both by geographical borders of Russia and Germany and by the chosen chronological boundaries of the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century (ca. 1871-1933). While I do not intend to stick to particular years, 1871 is noteworthy in several aspects: it witnessed the unification of Germany, the final emancipation of the German Jews and the first major outburst of morphine addiction in Europe in the aftermath of Franco-Prussian War. Similarly, the beginning of the 1930s in Russia and Germany was marked by the rise of totalitarian regimes (with special implications for the Jews) and also by the alleged elimination of drug addiction in both countries (see above). It is important to mention here that the ultimate results of the thesis are also determined by the sources available to me at the moment. When choosing my sources, I preferred the works that had been highly reputed and often cited in the period under discussion.

In order to accomplish the paramount goal of my thesis, I had to fulfill several research objectives. First, it is necessary to determine how medical science in Russia and Germany constructed drug addiction as a *social* problem, which alternative definitions were ultimately rejected and why. Another important aim is to explain why so many drug addiction researchers were Jews and how drug addiction was linked to various aspects of Jewish history. I will also look at the implications that scientific research had for practical drug policy.

The method that I plan to use in my thesis is essentially historical and comparative, but – due to the specificity of the topic - with a significant interdisciplinary component (employing several elements related to sociology, law, and medical science). An important

part of the thesis is the analysis and critique of primary sources – mostly medical texts (monographs, articles in professional journals and newspapers, medical-legal, polemic and popular medical literature, and also documentation of medical, administrative, and research institutions). Consequently, I will employ some techniques of discourse and structural functional analysis in order to investigate various theories, images, and practices related to drug addiction. In dealing with the problems of narcotic policy and drug regulation, I would like to stress the importance of classical liberal approach, which rejects the essentialist perception of recreational drugs as an unequivocal social evil and calls for a more weighted evaluation of the role of the state in managing the problem.<sup>24</sup>

There are several important findings in my thesis. As I already mentioned, drug addiction in the period under consideration was constructed as a social problem related to modernity, capitalism – and Jewishness. Medical science in both Russia and Germany (though with substantial variations due to political, cultural and scientific differences) played a major role in marginalizing and repressing drug addicts while rejecting other emerging alternatives. Drug addiction research also appears to be one of the attractive fields for Jewish scientists, who used this opportunity to contemplate, negotiate, and re-define the new Jewish identity in a rapidly changing modern world. Confronted with the association between drug addiction and Jewishness, they struggled to offer possible solutions to this specific problem – and concurrently constructed larger projects of the improvement of Jewish health and social change.

Since a major part of my thesis is based on the analysis of primary sources of medical origin, Chapter 1 introduces the most important primary sources and their authors

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<sup>24</sup> For a general critique of the government regulation of the drug market, see Ethan A. Nadelmann, “Drug Prohibition in the United States: Costs, Consequences, and Alternatives,” *Science* 245 (1989): 939-947.

and provides some guidelines for the critical analysis of these writings. In particular, it considers the specific status of Jewish physicians and Jewish patients within late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century medical discourse. The second chapter describes the social context of the problem of drug addiction in the years preceding the Great War and considers the contradictions in the medical theory at that time. Chapter 3 deals with various issues (origins of drug addiction; addicts and drug-related practices; the ways of solving the social problem) that Russian and German physicians confronted while constructing drug addiction as a social problem after the First World War brought a dramatic increase in the number of drug addicts in both countries. It also discusses how associations between modernity, drug addiction and Jewishness were developed and strengthened in the post-war context. In the conclusion I summarize the main findings of the thesis, compare Russian/German and Jewish/non-Jewish perspectives and also designate some prospects for future research.



## Chapter 1: Medical Texts and their Authors: Description and Critique of Primary Sources

My thesis makes extensive use of various medical texts related to drug addiction, that serve as the major and the most important primary source for this matter. In doing so, to a certain degree I follow an already established trend, since many scholars recognized the importance of sources of medical origin for historians of drug addiction and actively cited monographs and articles that were written by the physicians of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>25</sup> It is highly probable that the seemingly scientific nature of these texts made later historians perceive them as objective sources and simply take figures and statements from them without much previous consideration. However, I am much more critical in my treatment of medical texts. In fact, since my subject is not so much drug addiction *per se*, but rather addiction research and the construction of drug addiction as a social problem, various medical texts (monographs, articles in professional journals and newspapers, medical-legal, polemic and popular medical literature, and to a lesser degree also documentation of medical, administrative, and research institutions) emerge to occupy an even more central place as the object of my study. Moreover, it can be noted that political and social agenda of

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<sup>25</sup> For examples of works that have frequent and rather uncritical borrowings from medical texts consider Mikhail V. Shkarovskii, "Sem' imen 'koshki': Rastsvet narkomanii v 1917-1920-e gody," [Seven Names of the "Cat": Heyday of Drug Addiction from 1917 to the 1920s] in *Nevskii arkhiv: istoriko-kraevedcheskii sb.* [Neva Archive: Regional History Collection], issue 3 (St. Petersburg, 1997), 467-477; Nataliia B. Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn' sovetskogo goroda: Normy i anomalii: 1920-1930 gody* [Everyday Life of a Soviet City: Norms and Anomalies: 1920s - 1930s] (St. Petersburg: Neva: Letnii Sad, 1999); and Stanislav E. Panin, "Potreblenie narkotikov v Sovetskoi Rossii (1917-1920-e gody)," [Drug Addiction in Soviet Russia (from 1917 to the 1920s)] *Voprosy istorii* no. 8 (2003): 129-134. Shkarovskii, *Sem' imen "koshki"*, 476 is especially remarkable in this respect, since the author actually misspells the name of the early Soviet physician (should be Tutolmin, not Tusholmin), but uses the authority of his citation to make the point about "strengthening of cocaine addiction – as well as other addictions – among both children and adults" in the 1920s.

many addiction researchers actually had an impact on their medical texts.

### **1.1. Description of Medical Texts**

Dealing with medical texts presents many challenges, since they are rather unusual historical sources. They appear to be appropriate dry scientific documents that communicate universal and a-historical truth about healthy and diseased bodies and minds – and do it in an objective impersonal fashion. Medical texts can also easily scare away an inexperienced scholar who would assume that (s)he would require some special medical knowledge to understand something from them.

There were, however, different types of texts (from short memo to comprehensive monograph) that came in a whole range of styles from articles in a popular newspaper to the proper footnote-laden scientific text. Moreover, for my purpose medical texts are actually the most useful sources that can communicate the information that would otherwise be certainly missed. The printed works of Russian and German physicians are the only primary sources providing us with specific facts and definitions – and not vague phrases.<sup>26</sup> Medical texts dealing with drug addiction are also interesting in another respect – they remarkably differ from their 'neighbors' in thick professional journals in abandoning medical vocabulary and engaging in discussion about large-scale social problems and their causes.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>In comparison to other sources (administrative documentation, legal works, newspaper reports, fiction) medical texts eventually emerge as the most coherent, structured and informative.

<sup>27</sup>One of the rare exceptions would be the text by Dr. T. M. Bogomolova, who promoted hypodermic oxygen injections as the effective solution to the problem of drug addiction (T. M. Bogomolova, “Lechenie narkomanov podkozhnym vvedeniem kisloroda,” [Treatment of Drug Addicts by Hypodermic Oxygen Injection] *Moskovskii meditsinskii zhurnal* no. 10 (1925): 40-44). However, she also had to stress that the overall success of the method depends on complete “isolation from social environment” (Bogomolova, 44).

In this section I will enumerate and briefly describe the most important primary sources for my argument. In the Russian context, the first major medical works dealing with drug addiction appeared in the 1890s. While many of them built upon existing translations of Western European authors,<sup>28</sup> others also provided fresh and peculiar perspectives through careful clinical observations.<sup>29</sup> Addiction research was somewhat paused for another 15 years, but important works appeared with the start of the Great War and especially in the early years of the Soviet Republic.<sup>30</sup> Arguably the most important publications were those included in two collections entitled *Voprosy narkologii*, that were published in 1926 and 1928,<sup>31</sup> as well as popular pamphlets.<sup>32</sup> Towards the end of the 1920s more and more Soviet physicians tried to describe the causes of the drug addiction on the macro scale and draw

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Frequent references to socio-economic, cultural and political issues are also characteristic for other medical works that discussed deviance and 'social diseases' (studies of alcoholism, prostitution, tuberculosis, sexually transmitted diseases etc.).

<sup>28</sup> A. Erlenmeier and P. Sol'e, *Morfinizm i ego lechenie* [Morphine Addiction and Its Treatment] (St. Petersburg: A. V. Kokorev, 1899); Sharl' Rishe [Charles Richet], *Iady, deistvuiushchie na soznanie: (Alkogol', khloroform, gashish, opium i kofe)* [Poisons Influencing Consciousness: (Alcohol, Chloroform, Hashish, Opium, and Coffee)] (Kremenchug: M. I. Apatov, 1900).

<sup>29</sup> S. N. Danillo, *O vliianii nekotorykh iadov (spirt, opii, gashish) na soznanie u cheloveka* [On the Influence of Certain Poisons (Spirit, Opium, Hashish) on the Human Consciousness] (St. Petersburg: K. L. Rikker, 1894); Nikolai K. Reimer, *Iady tsivilizatsii* [Poisons of Civilization] (St. Petersburg: A. N. Tsepov, 1899).

<sup>30</sup> Mikhail P. Kutanin, "K voprosu o psikhozakh otravleniia. Khronicheskii kokainizm," [On Poisoning Psychoses. Chronic Cocainism] in *Trudy psikhiatricheskoi kliniki Imperatorskogo moskovskogo universiteta* [Proceedings of the Psychiatric Clinic of Imperial Moscow University], issue 3 (Moscow, 1916): 49-100; Idem, "K voprosu o psikhozakh otravleniia. Sluchai khronicheskogo zloupotrebleniia khloral-gidratom i opiem," [On Poisoning Psychoses. A Case of Chronic Chloral Hydrate and Opium Abuse] in *Trudy psikhiatricheskoi kliniki Imperatorskogo moskovskogo universiteta* [Proceedings of the Psychiatric Clinic of Imperial Moscow University], issue 3 (Moscow, 1916): 101-116; Gedalii D. Aronovich, "Nabliudeniia i vpechatleniia sredi kokainomanov," [Observations and Impressions among Cocaine Addicts] *Nauchnaia meditsina* 6 (1920): 676-685.

<sup>31</sup> Aleksandr S. Sholomovich, ed. *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 1* [Problems of Narcology: Collection no. 1] (Moscow: Moszdravotdel, 1926); Idem, ed. *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 2* [Problems of Narcology: Collection no. 2] (Moscow: Moszdravotdel, 1928).

<sup>32</sup> E.g., Sholomovich, *Kokain i ego zhertvy: (Nauch.-popul. ocherk)* [Cocaine and Its Victims: Popular Science Essay] (Moscow: Zhizn' i znanie, 1926).

some general conclusions.<sup>33</sup> Contemporaries noticed “the evolution from careful clinical analysis of particular cases to the studies that try to embrace the social side as well... and partially operate with statistical method”.<sup>34</sup> In the early 1930s, however, addiction research was gradually becoming a less and less fashionable topic, and the few works of this period are mostly preoccupied with local or bibliographical questions.<sup>35</sup>

In Germany, comprehensive works dealing with drug addiction were published as early as the 1870s, in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War,<sup>36</sup> but the most important publications did not appear till the 1920s when addiction research by doctors like Fritz Fränkel and Ernst Joël was closely linked to the socialist reforms of welfare and comprehensive programs of public health control and disease prevention.<sup>37</sup> Interestingly enough, in the German context, many of the later works of the early 1930s explicitly made

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<sup>33</sup> For an example, consider Raisa IA. Golant, “Problemy morfinizma: (Klinicheskie i dispansernye nabludeniia, eksperimental'nye issledovaniia),” [Problems of Morphine Addiction: (Clinical and Specialized Observations, Experimental Investigations)] in *Trudy gosudarstvennogo instituta meditsinskikh znaniy (GIMZ)* [Proceedings of the State Institute of Medical Knowledge (GIMZ)], ed. N. K. Rozenberg, issue V (Leningrad: GIMZ, 1929), 17-32.

<sup>34</sup> Aleksandr M. Rapoport, “Kokainizm i prestupnost',” [Cocaine Addiction and Crime] *Moskovskii meditsinskii zhurnal* no. 1 (1926): 46.

<sup>35</sup> M. IA. Grebliovskii, “Bibliografiia po narkologii, 1920-1930: (Opium, morfii, kokain, tabak),” [Bibliography on Narcology, 1920-1930: (Opium, Morphine, Cocaine, Tobacco)] in *Problemy narkologii* [Problems of Narcology], ed. Rapoport (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe meditsinskoe izdatel'stvo, 1934), 103-116; V. A. Bakhtiarov, “K voprosu o narkomanii,” [On Drug Addiction] in *Trudy nauchno-issledovatel'skikh institutov Sverdlovskogo oblzdravotdela: Sb. no. 7* [Proceeding of the Research Institutes of Sverdlovsk Region Health Section: Collection no. 7] (Sverdlovsk: Sverdlovskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1936), 199-204.

<sup>36</sup> J. Gossmann, “Über chronischen Morphiummissbrauch,” *Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift* 34-36 (1879).

<sup>37</sup> Ernst Joël and Fritz Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Psychopathologie der Rauschgifte* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1924); Iidem, “Zur Verhütung und Behandlung der Giftsuchten,” *Klinische Wochenschrift* 4 (1925): 1713-1718; Iidem, “Der Haschisch-Rausch,” *Klinische Wochenschrift* 5 (1926): 1707-1709; Joël, *Die Behandlung der Giftsuchten. Alkoholismus, Morphinismus, Kokainismus usw.* (Leipzig: Georg Thieme, 1928).

the connection between Jews and drug addiction.<sup>38</sup>

Of course, it is necessary to acknowledge that all these medical texts can sometimes be difficult and require specialized knowledge. However, we should still adopt a critical stance towards them – to no small degree because it was precisely in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries that physicians actively investigated previously relatively unexplored phenomenon and actually constructed the very terms “drug addict” and “drug addiction” that we now tend to perceive as scientific, objective and a-historical.<sup>39</sup> Rejection of this essentialist understanding of drug addiction can help us better understand the conflicts and alternatives inside Russian and German scientific communities that eventually shaped the final result.

Another important direction of critique would be the method employed in the medical texts that we discuss. Late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Russian and German addiction scientists actively used quantitative methods in their research (this trend was becoming more and more noticeable towards the end of the 1920s, when most medical works would be virtually packed with statistical data on social, economic and physiological characteristics of drug addicts).<sup>40</sup> However, it is obvious that all these studies operate on the

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<sup>38</sup> Rafael Becker, “Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Verbreitung des Geisteskrankheiten bei den Juden in Polen,” *OSE-Rundschau* 5 (1930): 1-4; Idem, “Die Geisteskrankungen bei den Juden in Polen,” *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie und psychisch-gerichtliche Medizin* 96 (1932): 47-66; Fränkel and Dora Benjamin, “Die Bedeutung der Rauschgifte für die Juden und die Bekämpfung der Suchten durch die Fürsorge,” *Jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege und Sozialpolitik* 3 (1932): 21-24.

<sup>39</sup> For examples of scholarly works deconstructing scientific 'objectivity', consider, e.g., Georges Canguilhem, *On the Normal and the Pathological* (Dordrecht, Holland: Reidel, 1978); Karin Knorr-Cetina, *Die Fabrikation von Erkenntnis: Zur Anthropologie der Naturwissenschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984); Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

<sup>40</sup> For an example, consider M. T. Belousova, “Kokainizm na materiale Instituta Sudebno-Psikhiatricheskoi Ekspertizy im. prof. Serbskogo,” [Cocainism on the Materials of Prof. Serbsky Institute for Forensic Psychiatric Examination] in *Prestupnik i prestupnost'*:

basis of absolutely unrepresentative samples. Moreover, many contemporary social theorists convincingly critique such use of statistical data and application of quantitative approach in general.<sup>41</sup>

I readily admit that to a certain degree I am borrowing an analytical structure of certain parts of my thesis from these medical texts. When discussing the process of construction of drug addiction, I follow the pattern that is generally present in medical monographs and articles and which focuses on three parts of the problem (its origins; groups of users and drug-related practices; and possible solutions). I am aware of the limitations that it poses, but I have also found this tripartite approach very useful for bringing together medical understandings of addiction and broader social developments.

## 1.2. Personalities of Authors

There is another important dimension of medical texts that is often neglected – the fact that they have authors. Scholars of the social history of drug addiction in Russia often cite from certain Drs. Sholomovich or Golant, but the reader never finds any details about their personal lives or professional careers other than that they were “famous physicians”.<sup>42</sup> In the German context, on the contrary, there was some research done on the biographies of several addiction researchers,<sup>43</sup> but then, again, there is little interest in their writings on

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*Sb. I* [Criminal and Crime: Collection I] (Moscow: Moszdravotdel, 1926), 97-104.

<sup>41</sup> Viktor Voronkov, “Etot bezumnyi, bezumnyi, bezumnyi kolichestvennyi mir,” [It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad Quantitative World] *Neprikosnovennyi zapas* no. 3(2004): 23-26. For an especially bad handling of statistical data, consider inconsistencies in Golant, 25, 29.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Panin, 131.

<sup>43</sup> Klaus Täubert, “*Unbekannt verzogen...*”: *Der Lebensweg des Suchtmediziners, Psychologen und KPD-Gründungsmitgliedes Fritz Fränkel* (Berlin: Trafo, 2005); Margarete Exler, *Von der Jugendbewegung zu ärztlicher Drogenhilfe: Das Leben Ernst Joëls (1893-1929) im Umkreis von Benjamin, Landauer und Buber* (Berlin: Trafo, 2005). These

drugs. I am, however, interested in the authors' identity, and in this section of my thesis I will try to locate the human being and the specific professional with his or her own agenda behind the seemingly impersonal narrative of pharmacological characteristics, statistics and medical histories. In doing so, I am contributing to a perspective that was designated by such scholars of addiction research as David F. Musto, Caroline J. Acker and Nancy D. Campbell.<sup>44</sup> Discourse analysis and close reading of medical texts is of course important, but it is more coherent when it is anticipated by “looking inside the social worlds of addiction research”, which allows “to understand the social structures and material conditions that shaped the beliefs, commitments, and practices”.<sup>45</sup>

The issue of authors' personality is of special importance for Jewish history, since the overwhelming majority of addiction researchers in both countries were Jewish. To a certain degree this was a reflection of a more general over-representation of the Jews in medicine in both countries. In *fin-de-siècle* Germany, the Jews, who represented only 1 percent of the population, amounted to about 16 percent of all the doctors.<sup>46</sup> In fact, “so fundamental had medicine become to the social structure and thus self-perception of German Jewry that nearly one half of all Jews attending universities in 1900 were there to study medicine”.<sup>47</sup> In the context of late Imperial Russia, there was also a strong link between the Jews and

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prominent scientists also happened to be devoted politicians and active welfare practitioners, and these aspects of their lives are often of more importance to their biographers. As a result, the mentions of their research on addiction are for the most part confined to one chapter or subsection of the biography.

<sup>44</sup> David F. Musto, *The American Disease: Origins of Narcotic Control* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Caroline J. Acker, *Creating the American Junkie: Addiction Research in the Classic Era of Narcotic Control* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Nancy D. Campbell, *Discovering Addiction: The Science and Politics of Substance Abuse Research* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

<sup>45</sup> Campbell, 4-5.

<sup>46</sup> John M. Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 234.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

medicine,<sup>48</sup> even though the influx of the Jews into medical *science* proper did not really happen until the emancipation of 1917. It was only in early Soviet Russia that the Jews were provided with an opportunity to grow along previously inaccessible or problematic professional tracks – including academia and research.<sup>49</sup> However, even before the revolution there was a large pool of Eastern European Jews who studied medicine and engaged in scientific research at the universities of the German Empire.<sup>50</sup>

Perhaps even more importantly, many Jews would concentrate specifically on the study of mental health. This interesting fact can be explained if we consider psychiatry as a relatively new and promising medical field, that was rather open to newcomers and also, as Harriett P. Freidenreich put it, gave the Jews the possibility “to understand and cope better with their own personal problems” in an anti-Semitic world.<sup>51</sup> There could also be some reasons why the specific field of research on addiction was especially attractive to Jews. As one of the most modern groups in *fin-de-siècle* Europe, they were certainly fascinated by the fashionable disease that was so explicitly linked to civilization and progress. On the other

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<sup>48</sup> Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 103; Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 105, 125.

<sup>49</sup> Zvi Gitelman, *A Century of Ambivalence: The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), 109, 163-164, 166.

<sup>50</sup> Efron, *Medicine*, 234-235; Harriet P. Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, and Educated: The Lives of Central European University Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 7. On the influence that this encounter exercised on both the students and the host communities, consider Jack L. Wertheimer, “The ‘Ausländerfrage’ at Institutions of Higher Learning: A Controversy Over Russian Jewish Students in Imperial Germany,” *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 27 (1982): 187-215; and Idem, “Between Tsar and Kaiser – The Radicalisation of Russian Jewish Students in Germany,” *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 28 (1983): 329-349.

<sup>51</sup> Freidenreich, 68, 84, 85-86 (citation is from page 86). Freidenreich is especially concerned with Jewish women, and she argues that they were even more likely than Jewish men to choose mental health professions as their specialty (Freidenreich, 84, 85, 213) – an observation not without interest to us, since one of the most important early Soviet writers on addiction, Raisa Golant, was a woman. It is interesting to compare this perspective with that of Nancy D. Campbell, who in another context notes “appalling lack of women ... who study addiction” and discusses “possible influence of gender bias” (Campbell, 239).



hand, Jews were among the first to question modernity, and drug addiction fitted very well into this critical picture of decadence and degeneration.

Accordingly, I will take a brief look at the biographies of the most important Russian and German addiction researchers of the period under discussion and specifically consider their personal, educational and professional background. In the Russian context, one of the most coherent and systematic works on drug addiction<sup>52</sup> was written by a notable psychiatrist Raisa Iakovlevna Golant (1885-1953). I will devote special attention to her biography – partially because it has been better researched by now,<sup>53</sup> but also since Golant's life story allows us to bring additional elements (such as gender) into the picture. Born in a low-class family in Brest-Litovsk in the Pale of Settlement (now Brest, Belarus) on July 17, 1885, she was subject to double<sup>54</sup> oppression (as a woman and as a Jew) in the turn-of-the-century autocrat empire. After graduating from *gymnasium* in 1902, Golant went to the West to pursue university studies in Brussels, Berlin and Freiburg.<sup>55</sup> She studied natural sciences

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<sup>52</sup> Golant. For details, see my analysis of the text: Pavel A. Vasilyev, ““Problemy morfinizma” R. IA. Golant i sovetskaia meditsinskaia mysl' 1920-kh gg.,” [“Problems of Morphine Addiction” by R. IA. Golant and Soviet Medical Thought of the 1920s] in *Izmeniaiushchiasia Rossiia v kontekste globalizatsii: Materialy studentchesko-aspirantskogo kongressa 19-23 marta 2007 g., S. - Peterburg* [Changing Russia in the Context of Globalization: Materials of Student and Graduate Student Congress, 19-23 March 2007, St. Petersburg.] (St. Petersburg, 2007), 140-143.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. my conference presentations: “Building a Jigsaw Puzzle: Problems of Development of “New Biographical History” (The Case of R. Ia. Golant)”, Conference of Students and Graduate Students of the Schools of History and Philosophy “IV November Readings”, St. Petersburg State University, Russia, November 17, 2007; and “New Biographical History”: Problems of Development (The Case of R. Ia. Golant)”, Student and Graduate Student Scholar Conference “Russia in XX-XXI centuries”, St. Petersburg State University, School of History, April 19, 2008.

<sup>54</sup> Or triple, if we also consider class dimension.

<sup>55</sup> *Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv nauchno-tekhnikeskoi dokumentatsii Sankt-Peterburga* (hereinafter referred to as TSGANTDSPb) [Central State Archive of Scientific and Technical Documentation of St. Petersburg], *fond 313, opis' 1-2, delo 1, ll. 9-12 rev.*; Marina A. Akimenko and Avgust M. Shereshevskii, *Istoriia instituta im. V. M. Bekhtereva na dokumental'nykh materialakh* [Documented History of V. M. Bekhterev Institute], vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: SPbNIPNI, 2000), 93. On “emancipation through higher education”, see

and medicine until 1908 and decided to specialize in neurology and psychiatry.<sup>56</sup> In 1909 Golant returned to Russia, where “job opportunities for Jewish women ... were fairly limited”.<sup>57</sup> She went on to work as a physician in the Epidemiological Institute in St. Petersburg (a field not quite corresponding to her research interests), but she was lucky to establish a connection with prominent Russian psychiatrist Vladimir M. Bekhterev, who helped her get a job in the Imperial Military Medical Academy and receive an M.D. degree in 1913.<sup>58</sup>

As World War I and the turbulent events of 1917 provided new occupational opportunities for Russian Jews and women,<sup>59</sup> Golant was finally able to start a teaching career at Bekhterev's Department of Reflexology of the newly-founded State Institute of Medical Knowledge (*GIMZ*). In September 1926, she was appointed the head of the first neuro-psychiatric dispensary in Leningrad – a well-funded and innovative medical institution.<sup>60</sup> Since that period Raisa Golant embarked on a highly successful professional career in medical science, education, and medical administration<sup>61</sup> that lasted until the “Pavlovian session” of the Academy of Sciences which led to her discharge from the

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Freidenreich, 1, 7.

<sup>56</sup> On the choice of career, see Freidenreich, 52.

<sup>57</sup> Freidenreich, 68.

<sup>58</sup> *Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sankt-Petersburga* (hereinafter referred to as TSGASPB) [Central State Archive of St. Petersburg], *fond* 4301, *opis'* 4, *delo* 809, *ll.* 1, 3; V. A. Tochilov and others, “Kafedra psikhii i narkologii,” [Department of Psychiatry and Narcology] in *Sankt-Peterburgskoi gosudarstvennoi meditsinskoi akademii im. I. I. Mechnikova 90 let* [90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of I. I. Mechnikov St. Petersburg State Medical Academy] (St. Petersburg: SPbGMA, 1997), 101; Akimenko and Shereshevskii, vol. 2, 93. Cf. also Freidenreich, 65.

<sup>59</sup> Freidenreich, 68; Gitelman, 109.

<sup>60</sup> TSGANTDSPb, *fond* 313, *opis'* 1-1, *delo* 32, *l.* 12.

<sup>61</sup> V. A. Tochilov and others, 101-102; Aleksandr V. Shabrov and Valerii P. Romaniuk, *Sankt-Peterburgskaia gosudarstvennaia meditsinskaia akademiia imeni I. I. Mechnikova* [I. I. Mechnikov St. Petersburg State Medical Academy], vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: SPbGMA, 2006), 239, 241, 388.

Psycho-Neurological Institute in 1951.<sup>62</sup>

Moreover, Golant was lucky enough to be active and successful in public work. “With great energy and tirelessness”<sup>63</sup> she wrote extensively on the social problems of psychiatry,<sup>64</sup> narcology and drug addiction.<sup>65</sup> In the 1940s she started writing anti-Fascist texts and successfully integrated her civic position as a Jew, a woman and a doctor with a scientific analysis of the medical developments during the Second World War.<sup>66</sup>

Another Russian addiction researcher whose works are of great use to the historian of drug addiction was the Moscow-based physician Aleksandr Sergeevich Sholomovich. Apart from his scientific writings on drugs proper, he published several popular pamphlets on the practical organization of the struggle against alcoholism.<sup>67</sup> He was also ready to transgress his professional boundaries and engage in a discussion of degeneration in a broad sense.<sup>68</sup> In another context, he was passionate about serving the community and doing some volunteering work by establishing “the Jewish relief committee for the victims of the war”

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<sup>62</sup> *TSGANTDSPb, fond 313, opis' 1-2, delo 1, ll. 9-12 rev.*; Akimenko and Shereshevskii, vol. 2, 93.

<sup>63</sup> *Sbornik psikhiatricheskikh rabot, posviashchennyi iubileiu R. IA. Golant* [Collection of Psychiatric Works Dedicated to R. IA. Golant's Anniversary] (Leningrad: 2-i LMI, 1940), 14.

<sup>64</sup> *TSGASPb, fond 4301, opis' 1, delo 2482, l. 343.*

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, *delo 3414, l. 6*; Golant.

<sup>66</sup> *TSGANTDSPb, fond 313, opis' 2-3, dela 9, 11.*

<sup>67</sup> Sholomovich, *40°. Sorok gradusov i rabochie* [40°. Forty Degrees and the Workers] (Moscow: Moszdravotdel, 1925); and Idem, *Kak my boremsia s alkogolizmom* [How We Fight Against Alcoholism] (Moscow: Moszdravotdel, 1926).

<sup>68</sup> Sholomovich, *Nasledstvennost' i fizicheskie priznaki vyrozhdeniia u dushevnobol'nykh i zdorovykh* [Heredity and Physical Signs of Degeneration by Mental Patients and Healthy] (Kazan': Imperatorskii Kazanskii Universitet, 1913); and Idem, *Nasledstvennost' i fizicheskoe vyrozhdienie* [Heredity and Physical Degeneration] (Kazan': Imperatorskii Kazanskii Universitet, 1915). See also Daniel Beer, *Renovating Russia: The Human Sciences and the Fate of Liberal Modernity, 1880-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 76-78. On the degeneration debate and its relevance for the history of Russian science, see Beer, 27-41 and *passim*.

and donating money to the refugees from the Pale that flooded Samara in 1915.<sup>69</sup> Similarly enough, another major Soviet narcologist, Aleksandr Matveevich Rapoport (1894-1966), did not confine himself to the narrow scientific domain of theoretical addiction research, but was also actively occupied with practical aspects of prompt diagnostics and control<sup>70</sup> and eventually invented the method to detect alcohol vapors in the expired air that is still causing troubles to Russian drivers today (the so-called *proba Rapoport*).

In Germany, the life stories of addiction researchers are no less fascinating. Two major German writers on drugs whose works were most widely cited in the period that we discuss were Fritz Fränkel (1892-1944) and Ernst Joël (1893-1929). Both were born into middle-class Jewish families of Wilhelmine Germany, but felt equally indifferent about their Judaism and Jewishness.<sup>71</sup> With the start of the First World War, they were both captured by the student movement and increasingly radical political ideologies (Fränkel eventually delivered a speech at the founding congress of the German Communist Party).<sup>72</sup> In the 1920s, both physicians were very active in social welfare and communal medicine in Berlin and also participated in Walter Benjamin's hashish and mescaline experiments.<sup>73</sup> However, whereas Joël fell victim to premature death in 1929, Fränkel experienced the arrival of National Socialism in the 1930s, fled into exile to France, enlisted in the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War and then escaped to Mexico, where he even re-discovered

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<sup>69</sup> Anna Spon, "Istoriia evreiskoi blagotvoritel'nosti v Samare," [History of Jewish Charity in Samara] <http://www.ijc.ru/istoki37.html> (accessed June 2, 2010).

<sup>70</sup> Rapoport, *Diagnostika alkogol'nogo op'ianeniia* [Diagnostics of Alcohol Intoxication] (Moscow: Narkomzdrav RSFSR, 1928).

<sup>71</sup> Exler, 98-100.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 60-97; Lothar Büttner and Bernhard Meyer, *Gesundheitspolitik der Arbeiterbewegung: Vom Bund der Kommunisten bis zum Thälmannischen Zentralkomitee der KPD* (Berlin: VEG Verlag Volk und Gesundheit, 1984), 133.

<sup>73</sup> Büttner and Meyer, 204-205, 210, 215, 223; Walter Benjamin, *On Hashish*, trans. Howard Eiland (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006), vii, 9-10.

his Jewish identity as Europe immersed into the abyss of genocide.<sup>74</sup> His fate is thus similar to that of Walter Benjamin's relatively unknown sister, Dr. Dora Benjamin (1901-1946), another addiction researcher, who was also very active in the Berlin socialist welfare in the 1920s and early 1930s, had to emigrate after the Nazis seized power in Germany and died in exile in Switzerland.<sup>75</sup>

As our analysis has shown, Russian and German addiction researchers were very likely to go beyond their narrow professional boundaries, engage in social and communal work, and also have left-leaning, if not directly socialist or communist, views. Finally, all six physicians that I have mentioned above were Jewish, and, as we have seen, this is hardly surprising. In the next section I want to focus specifically on what it meant to be a Jewish medical scientist in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Russia and Germany.

### **1.3. Dilemmas of Jewish Doctors**

There is solid evidence that European medical discourse since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century can be labeled anti-Semitic,<sup>76</sup> but here we must face an important challenge, since there is a seeming contradiction between flourishing anti-Jewish sentiments among the doctors and the statistically proven strong presence of the Jews in the medical profession in the region.<sup>77</sup>

In fact, it seems that Jewish doctors must have found it very difficult to retain their loyalty

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<sup>74</sup> Täubert.

<sup>75</sup> Eva Schöck-Quinteros, "Dora Benjamin: "... denn ich hoffe nach dem Krieg in Amerika arbeiten zu können." Stationen einer vertriebenen Wissenschaftlerin (1901-1946)," in *Barrieren und Karrieren: Die Anfänge des Frauenstudiums in Deutschland*, ed. Elisabeth Dickmann and Eva Schöck-Quinteros (Berlin: Trafo, 2000), 71-102.

<sup>76</sup> Klaus Hödl, "Medizinischer Antisemitismus oder Antisemitismus in der Medizin? Historische Wurzeln und Charakterisierungsversuche eines Phänomens," in *Antisemitismusforschung in den Wissenschaften*, ed. Werner Bergmann and Mona Körte (Berlin: Metropol, 2004), 161-185.

<sup>77</sup> Efron, *Medicine*, 10.

to Science, when mainstream racial science was producing anti-Semitic ideas about the Jewish body and mind as essentially degenerate, weak and effeminate. There were many Jewish physicians who refused to accept these accusations,<sup>78</sup> yet most doctors were still reluctant to challenge the dominant discourse that presented the Jewish people as “fundamentally diseased”<sup>79</sup> and pathological. To better understand and explain this seeming contradiction, we should discuss the nature, content and the lines of reasoning of *fin-de-siècle* medical anti-Semitism in more detail.

As Klaus Hödl has demonstrated, late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century medical theory was “highly influenced by extant, racially determined conceptions”, “amenable to biased views of ethnic groups” and “its findings reflected ... widely shared prejudices”.<sup>80</sup> However, the language of medicine of that time was becoming increasingly scientific and sophisticated. Hödl explains this by arguing that late 19th century medical anti-Semitism was in fact occupied mostly with “scientification” of the already existing stereotypes, not with the creation of the new ones.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, John Efron has demonstrated how modern science of “psychiatry provided [the antisemites with] a new language and set of ideas”,<sup>82</sup> that was largely based on the biological concept of heredity and assumed Jewish practice of consanguineous marriage. This new language of science might seem modern, but anti-Semitic physicians were generally repeating accusations against the Jews that had existed since the Middle Ages – but in a more fashionable way.

Indeed, the Jews were associated with many negative features ranging from the

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<sup>78</sup> Efron, *Defenders of The Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

<sup>79</sup> Idem, *Medicine*, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Hödl, “The Black Body and the Jewish Body: A Comparison of Medical Images,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 36 (2002): 34.

<sup>81</sup> Idem, *Medizinischer Antisemitismus*, 175.

<sup>82</sup> Efron, *Medicine*, 159.

unpleasant form of the nose to undecipherable speech and susceptibility to neuroses.<sup>83</sup> Other critics would note such alleged qualities as the stunted growth of the Jews or the lack of muscular power.<sup>84</sup> Many of these accusations culminated in the proclamations that male Jews were essentially effeminate and unsuitable for military service.<sup>85</sup> It may seem to go in line with the modern narratives of such different persons as Adolf Jellinek or Otto Weininger, but in fact the association of male Jews with women existed since the Middle Ages. For example, Jewish males were thought to menstruate since medieval times.<sup>86</sup>

In fact, it would be inaccurate to say that the Jews were imagined only in a negative way. *Fin-de-siècle* medicine ascribed to the Jews many seemingly positive and useful features – such as inborn intelligence<sup>87</sup> or immunity to tuberculosis related to the perceived Jewish ability to adapt to any circumstances.<sup>88</sup> But even those positive qualities were often seen in a perverted way. For example, the above-mentioned features could be associated with physical weakness or cosmopolitanism (lack of proper national feeling). However good intelligence and adaptability may sound to us, for the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century public the feeling of patriotism based on blood and physical strength was a much more desirable character trait.

The underlying explanation of the various alleged pathologies of Jewish health can probably be summarized in one word – modernity. *Fin-de-siècle* Europe started to doubt the

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<sup>83</sup> Hödl, “Der “jüdische Körper” in seiner Differenz. Textuelle und performative Konstruktionen.” in *Marginalisierte Körper. Beiträge zur Soziologie und Geschichte des anderen Körpers*, ed. Torsten Junge and Imke Schmincke, (Münster: Unrast, 2007), 69-70.

<sup>84</sup> Efron, *Medicine*, 142.

<sup>85</sup> Hödl, *Der “jüdischer Körper” in seiner Differenz*, 69-70. See also Efron, *Medicine*, 142-150.

<sup>86</sup> Hödl, “Der jüdische Körper als Stigma,” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 2 (1997): 212-213; and Idem, *Der “jüdischer Körper” in seiner Differenz*, 69.

<sup>87</sup> Sander L. Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 128-149.

<sup>88</sup> Hödl, *The Black Body*, 22-24.

values of progress and established that modernity mostly brings disease and degeneration. The Jews were often perceived as over-educated urban middle-class group at the forefront of change and modernity. I will show that many accusations that ascribed to the Jews physical and moral degeneration and effeminacy were in fact attacks against capitalism and modernity (the latter two being often seen as Jewish enterprises).

There were, of course, explanations of pathological Jewish health that were rooted in tradition rather than modernity. Many anti-Semitic (as well as some Jewish) physicians viewed the causes of the specificity of the Jewish health in such elements of Judaism as relative endogamy, ritual prohibitions and kosher food laws.<sup>89</sup> However, here we must recall the peculiar double character of the Jews as being simultaneously modern and backward that has so often been invoked in anti-Semitic thought in various contexts.<sup>90</sup>

As we have already mentioned, around the turn of the century the benefits of modernity were challenged. But for 19<sup>th</sup> century Europeans, modernity was not just an abstract concept - it had many concrete manifestations in the contemporary world. One of these facets was definitely capitalism - and the association of the Jews with capitalism had a very long tradition. In fact, the very word *Jude* in the 19<sup>th</sup> century German language was synonymous to huckster (that is to a capitalist with a very pejorative connotation). Many influential thinkers from Marx to Sombart have excessively criticized Jewish involvement in modern capitalism and even presented capitalism on the whole as a Jewish enterprise – this thesis has been most recently revisited by Jerry Z. Muller.<sup>91</sup> In the medical context, the

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<sup>89</sup> Efron, *Medicine*, 130, 155.

<sup>90</sup> Paul F. Lerner, "Circulation and Representation: Jews, Department Stores and Cosmopolitan Consumption in Germany, ca. 1880s-1930s," *European Review of History* 17 (2010) (forthcoming): 16; Derek J. Penslar, *Shylock's Children: Economics and Jewish Identity in Modern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 5, 11-49.

<sup>91</sup> Jerry Z. Muller, *Capitalism and the Jews* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).



pathologies of Jewish health could have easily been explained as the result of the excessive Jewish involvement in the capitalist economy.

Another relevant issue is that of cosmopolitanism. The Jews, who were the only nation scattered across all the continents but with no independent state of their own, were obvious deviants in the age of nation-states. Cosmopolitanism, however, was not only a political issue. It was also closely related to transnational patterns of operation inherent in modern capitalism and all the matters that we have already discussed above. In relation to medical anti-Semitism, cosmopolitanism comes up in relation to the debate about the Jews' extraordinary ability for acclimatization<sup>92</sup> that I have already mentioned.

Finally, there was yet another facet of modernity that allegedly negatively influenced Jewish health – that of urbanization. The Jews were indeed an urban group *par excellence*, and they tried to use all the opportunities provided by the cities as soon as they were permitted to do so. But when *fin-de-siècle* culture brought renewed interest in the traditional and natural, it is not really surprising that the alleged Jewish predisposition for neuroses was explained as the logical result of their choice to live in the modern city with all its stress and uncertainty.<sup>93</sup> In other contexts, the alleged shortness of the Jews was linked to such specific residential and occupational features as urbanization and the predominance of indoor jobs.<sup>94</sup>

Summarizing the debate about the origins of the 'problem', we can note that the Jews' bodies were often seen as extraordinary and pathological precisely because their bearers were so modern. The term *modern* that is used here is to be understood in a broad sense as a shortcut for many diverse and often unrelated manifestations of modernity – including but not limited to cosmopolitanism, liberalism, capitalism, urbanization and education.

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<sup>92</sup> Hödl, *The Black Body*, 22-24; Idem, *Medizinischer Antisemitismus*, 172-173.

<sup>93</sup> Efron, *Medicine*, 153.

<sup>94</sup> Hödl, *The Black Body*, 30.

Moreover, the association of the Jews with modernity was often an illusion. For example, in Central Europe the Jews were indeed widely present in the professions and businesses, but the majority of them remained poor and traditional, as the examples from *fin-de-siècle* Vienna convincingly demonstrate.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, the “ideal types” of the late-19<sup>th</sup> century Viennese Jewry were not the all-mighty bankers and financiers but rather “the peddler, the old-clothes dealer, and the *Lumpenproletarier*, scraping an irregular existence on the periphery of the economic system”.<sup>96</sup> However, for our purposes it is important that the Jews were seen as modern - and often perceived themselves as such.

Of course, there were major differences in the position of the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe. Technological and cultural backwardness, legacy of the Pale, and absence of emancipation until 1917 led to the fact that in the Russian Empire the Jews occupied a space quite different from that in German cultural and medical discourse and were by no means viewed as the central Other. Therefore, some of the conclusions that were made above will only be applicable for German-speaking Central Europe. However, as Yuri Slezkine shows, in the context of late Imperial Russia the Jews by and large were also perceived as cosmopolitan, educated and urbanized and associated with modernity and capitalism.<sup>97</sup>

However, even when the accusations stated by medical anti-Semites were taken for granted, the problem remained unsolved. In other words, how could the Jewish medical scientist acknowledge and deal with the alleged pathologies of Jewish health? Of course, medicine (especially in the German context) was influenced by the modernization and

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<sup>95</sup> Ivar Oxaal and Walter R. Weitzmann. “The Jews of Pre-1914 Vienna: An Exploration of Basic Sociological Dimensions,” *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 30 (1985): 419.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 424.

<sup>97</sup> Slezkine, 105-110.

subsequent assimilation and abandonment of the specific Jewish identity. But the race-based character of anti-Semitic discourse made it almost impossible for Jewish physicians to ignore it. As John Efron demonstrated, there was a great variety of Jewish medical attitudes towards the central question: what is the cause of alleged Jewish degeneration - observance of obsolete rituals or modernization and abandonment of ancient values?<sup>98</sup> And what could the solutions be that might dramatically improve the pathological Jewish health?

In my opinion, looking at addiction research in the light of these dilemmas can be an interesting and fruitful enterprise. In fact, if drug addiction was perceived as the most modern disease, then it would be automatically associated with the Jews. In such circumstances, addiction research by Jewish doctors can be seen as a defensive act with the purpose of clearing the Jews from this accusation - or as a blueprint for change that would acknowledge this other pathology, but propose solutions for its eradication (as part of the struggle for the general improvement of Jewish health). Accordingly, there might be much more 'Jewish' in those texts and theories that sought for the causes of drug addictions and possible solutions to the problem. And for some of those non-Jewish authors who also engaged in the addiction debate, these studies could be seen as the search for yet more scientific evidence of Jewish deficiency.

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<sup>98</sup> Efron, *Medicine*, 186-264.

## Chapter 2: Poisons of Civilization? Medicine and Drug Addiction in Russia and Germany, 1871-1914

This chapter looks at the ways drug addiction was presented in Russian and German medical texts from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century till 1914 – and for some reasons. Although it has already been mentioned that drug addiction did not emerge as an important social problem until the Great War, the language of the addiction research of the 1920s and early 1930s was to a large degree shaped by previously introduced concepts, ideas and frameworks. As Daniel Beer has shown in the Russian context, there is evidence of previously unnoticed continuity between late Imperial and post-war scientific developments – even on discursive and linguistic levels.<sup>99</sup>

Moreover, we may sometimes be misled by our experiences of the contemporary world where state-funded 'Wars on Drugs' are fought in most countries, the markets for recreational drugs are heavily regulated, and moral panics related to drugs are launched from time to time by physicians and the media. The social and medical context of the problem in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Russia and Germany was, however, different. The markets of drugs were mostly unregulated, and the few existing provisions treated cocaine or opium primarily as *poisons* - while many physicians themselves experimented with the drugs. On the whole, we can state that drug addiction was not considered a major social problem. A look at this initial situation will definitely help us better understand the later developments.

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<sup>99</sup> Daniel Beer, "Blueprints for Change: the Human Sciences and the Coercive Transformation of Deviants in Russia, 1890-1930," *Osiris*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series 22 (2007): 46-47.

## 2.1. Social Context of the Problem in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

For late 19<sup>th</sup> century city dwellers - in German and Russian empires alike - hashish, opium and cocaine were mostly exotic oriental substances and not the dangerous poisons intrinsic to everyday urban life. In Germany, there was a brief outbreak of morphine addiction after the Franco-Prussian War<sup>100</sup> due to improper prescriptions of this opiate. This rise in the numbers of addicts had many features in common with similar developments associated with “soldier's disease” in the United States after the Civil War. However, relatively soon the situation – like in America – stabilized. In the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there can only be detected an occasional drug usage by Central European writers and physicians who experimented with cocaine or hashish with the goal of attaining new artistic or scientific experiences.<sup>101</sup>

In Russia, the number of drug users was also diminutive on the scale of the empire, and these users were mostly concentrated in exotic borderland regions (such as Central Asia). Of course, the drugs were gradually becoming more popular in certain social groups in the capitals (such as artists, doctors, or prostitutes),<sup>102</sup> but it was still an almost imperceptible elitist use. In the early 1910s there were some changes due to the introduction of cocaine, but the main groups of users were by and large “chic demimondaines, high-

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<sup>100</sup> J. Gossmann, “Über chronischen Morphinmissbrauch,” *Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift* 34-36 (1879).

<sup>101</sup> Due to the large number of Jews in the medical profession that was mentioned above, many of these physicians would be Jewish. The most famous Central European case is, of course, Sigmund Freud and his “On Coca”.

<sup>102</sup> William B. Lincoln, *In War's Dark Shadow: The Russians before the Great War* (New York: The Dial Press, 1983), 351; Nataliia B. Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn' sovetskogo goroda: Normy i anomalii: 1920-1930 gody* [Everyday Life of a Soviet City: Norms and Anomalies: 1920s - 1930s] (St. Petersburg: Neva: Letnii Sad, 1999), 28; Lebina and Mikhail V. Shkarovskii, *Prostitutsiia v Peterburge: (40-e gg. XIX v. - 40-e gg. XX v.)* [Prostitution in St. Petersburg: (1840s - 1940s)] (Moscow: Progress-Akademiia, 1994), 89.

ranked officers, and bohemians”.<sup>103</sup>

Purely quantitative evaluation may, however, be misleading. More importantly, “a social problem does not exist for a society unless it is recognized by that society to exist”.<sup>104</sup> Lack of government regulation and legislation concerning recreational drugs in both countries testifies to the fact that the authorities and society did not qualify occasional drug usage by certain subjects of the empire as a *social* problem. In fact, we have no evidence that Russian and German governments felt that it was necessary to fight drug addiction using the Penal Code as an instrument.<sup>105</sup> Certain psychoactive substances (cocaine, morphine, opium, ether, heroine, extract of Indian hemp) were indeed regulated and there were some administrative rules that governed their storage and distribution at pharmaceutical institutions, but the rationale behind it had more to do with limiting access to poisons, than with recreational use of addictive substances.<sup>106</sup> It is important to note that criminal responsibility was envisaged only for failure to comply with the rules of drug sale *at the pharmacies* and it did not infer any severe punitive measures. This is yet more evidence of the fact that recreational use of narcotic drugs (most importantly, due to its relative nonoccurrence) was not considered an important social problem. Rather, Russian and German social consciousness tended to perceive ether or morphine as *poisons* – something that can be used to launch your husband into eternity, and not to invoke divine sensations, narcotic trips, or addiction.

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<sup>103</sup> Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 28. Cf. also Vladimir T. Lisovskii and Elina A. Kolesnikova, *Narkotizm kak sotsial'naia problema* [Drug Addiction as a Social Problem] (St. Petersburg: SPbGU, 2001), 24.

<sup>104</sup> Herbert Blumer, “Social Problems as Collective Behavior,” *Social Problems* 18 (1971): 301-302. Or, as William I. Thomas put it, “if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences” (William I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937), 8).

<sup>105</sup> Lincoln, 351; Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 28.

<sup>106</sup> For an example, consider *Rossiiskaia Farmakopeia* [Russian Pharmacopoeia], 6<sup>th</sup> edn. (St. Petersburg: K. L. Rikker, 1910), 541-546.

## 2.2. Medical Theory Around *Fin-de-Siècle*

Turn-of-the-century medical theory in Russia and Germany was also unlikely to label drug addiction a social problem. It was, however, also not free of internal contradictions: as we have mentioned earlier, the very terms that described drug addiction were being negotiated, and the lists of 'drugs' would vary from one work to another to include or exclude cocaine, opium, morphine, heroine, ether – and also alcohol (often split into beer, wine, and spirits), tobacco, tea, and coffee. For many authors, the problem of hashish or opium abuse was thus essentially the same as the excessive consumption of tea or coffee. Interestingly enough, alcoholic beverages, tea and coffee were almost inevitably combined with hashish and opium under the label of “poisons that influence consciousness” (a term that is somewhat close to our contemporary understanding of drugs or psychoactive substances).<sup>107</sup> At the same time, morphine, heroin and cocaine still continued to be regarded as medications – that were drastic and needed some control, of course, but still remained primarily medicines.<sup>108</sup>

Another interesting general remark about late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century addiction research is that it was perfectly possible and legitimate for the physicians to base their theories on the introspection and observation of their own feelings and behavior after taking

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<sup>107</sup> S. N. Danillo, *O vliianii nekotorykh iadov (spirt, opii, gashish) na soznanie u cheloveka* [On the Influence of Certain Poisons (Spirit, Opium, Hashish) on the Human Consciousness] (St. Petersburg: K. L. Rikker, 1894); Nikolai K. Reimer, *Iady tsivilizatsii* [Poisons of Civilization] (St. Petersburg: A. N. Tsepov, 1899); Sharl' Rishe [Charles Richet], *Iady, deistvuiushchie na soznanie: (Alkogol', khloroform, gashish, opium i kofe)* [Poisons Influencing Consciousness: (Alcohol, Chloroform, Hashish, Opium, and Coffee)] (Kremenchug: M. I. Apatov, 1900).

<sup>108</sup> For a profound investigation of this seeming contradiction, see Alfred R. Lindesmith and John H. Gagnon, “Anomie and Drug Addiction,” in *Anomie and Deviant Behaviour: A Discussion and Critique* (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 162-163.

drugs.<sup>109</sup> This is yet another issue that testifies to the fact that drug addiction was not understood to be a social problem that requires government intervention and control – and an additional challenge for the analysis of medical texts, since it further alienates *fin-de-siècle* addiction research from our contemporary popular and medical understandings of drugs and addiction. As I have mentioned earlier, for this section of my thesis I will borrow the three-part structure of some medical texts and look at how pre-World War I Russian and German physicians presented origins of drug addiction; addicts and drug-related practices; and possible solutions to drug addiction.

### 2.2.1. Origins of Drug Addiction

Interestingly enough, origins of drug addiction in *fin-de-siècle* Russian and German medical texts were not presented as being of some peculiar nature. Rather, they would be integrated into the well-known narrative that incorporated moral criticism and often touched more upon ethical than proper medical issues. To borrow a title from Nikolai K. Reimer's 1899 book,<sup>110</sup> recreational drugs by their origin were considered to be “poisons of civilization” (*iady tsivilizatsii*, itself a direct reference to Charles Richet's *Les Poisons de l'Intelligence*, the many meanings of which often depended on the specific translation). The origins of drug addiction were strongly associated with decadence and degeneration (both physical and mental) that was closely linked to civilization, technological progress, free-market capitalism, urbanization and secularization. As we have seen earlier, all these

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<sup>109</sup> Danillo, 18-21; “Otchet o doktorskoi dispute N. N. Lange,” [Report on N. N. Lange's Doctoral Defense] in *Rossiiskaia Psikhologiya: Antologiya* [Russian Psychology: Anthology], ed. Antonina N. Zhan (Moscow: Al'ma Mater, 2009), 487-488, 494, 506, 511. For a Western European example that could have served as a prototype consider Rishe.

<sup>110</sup> Reimer.



phenomena were in turn strongly associated with the Jews in both German and Russian social consciousnesses. Moreover, drug addiction also had a peculiar double character as being Eastern and Western, traditional and modern, exotic and urban at the same time – the quality that was so much attributed to the Jews around *fin-de-siècle*.<sup>111</sup>

Since the degeneration debate was of special importance for Jewish history, the link that was established between drug addiction and degeneration requires specific consideration in our study. It is not accidental, of course, that arguably the most famous framing of the concept of degeneration was presented by Zionist physician Max Nordau in his books “The Conventional Lies of Our Civilization” (1883) and especially “Degeneration” (*Die Entartung*, 1892).<sup>112</sup> In Nordau's opinion, degeneration is a complex social and medical phenomenon that results from the accelerating tempo of life, rapid urbanization, and industrialization.<sup>113</sup> Jews, as primarily an urban population, are at special risk – not only because of their susceptibility to such manifestations of degeneration as neuroses, drugs,<sup>114</sup> or pornography, but also because modern anti-Semitism itself is perceived by Nordau as a pathological product of degeneration.<sup>115</sup> Nordau's views – as well as mainstream medical thought in both Germany and Russia – were heavily influenced by prominent Italian thinker of Jewish origin, Cesare Lombroso, who was preoccupied with

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<sup>111</sup> For a fantastic exploration of perceived connections between Jews, department stores, and mass consumption through the lens of Orientalism, see Paul F. Lerner, “Circulation and Representation: Jews, Department Stores and Cosmopolitan Consumption in Germany, ca. 1880s-1930s,” *European Review of History* 17 (2010) (forthcoming).

<sup>112</sup> Max S. Nordau, *Degeneration* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905); Idem, *The Conventional Lies of Our Civilization* (New York: Arno Press, 1975). For an interesting perspective that locates Nordau within late 19<sup>th</sup> century discourse, consider Steven E. Aschheim, “Friedrich Nietzsche, Max Nordau, and *Degeneration*,” in Idem, *In Times of Crisis: Essays on European Culture, Germans, and Jews* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 3-12.

<sup>113</sup> Nordau, *Degeneration*, 34-44.

<sup>114</sup> On drugs specifically, see Nordau, *Degeneration*, 34.

<sup>115</sup> Nordau, *Degeneration*, 172, 209.

presenting psycho-physiological degeneration on the basis of phrenological materials.<sup>116</sup> For some Gentile physicians, however, participation in the drug addiction debate was yet another manifestation of feelings that Freud famously classified as “discontent of civilization”. The contradictions of modernity could have been “temporarily relieved by discharging the accumulated tensions on the Jews”.<sup>117</sup>

Of course, civilization and degeneration often acquired more specific forms in the medical writings on drug addiction. For example, J. Gossman argued already in 1879 that people prone to “psychic depressive conditions” are also likely to have a predisposition for morphine addiction.<sup>118</sup> In another context, Heinrich Singer noted the special relevance of morphine addiction for the Jews – since he stereotypically presented them as neurotics, susceptible to depressions, “with an already weakened nervous system” and also with pathological bodies that cause them constant physical pain and lead to the use of strong medications.<sup>119</sup>

### 2.2.2. Images of Drug Addicts

Even though we have detected a widespread sense of awareness and concern about drug addiction among *fin-de-siècle* physicians, the problem was mostly dealt with on the individual level. Accordingly, the social implications of drug addiction in Russia and

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<sup>116</sup> Cesare Lombroso, *The Man of Genius* (London: Walter Scott, 1891). For his treatment of anti-Semitism and physical degeneration of the Jews consider Lombroso, *Der Antisemitismus und die Juden im Lichte der modernen Wissenschaft* (Leipzig: Georg E. Wigand, 1894).

<sup>117</sup> Rudolph M. Loewenstein, “Anti-Semites in Psychoanalysis,” in *Error Without Trial: Psychological Research on Anti-Semitism*, ed. Werner Bergman, vol. 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 50.

<sup>118</sup> Gossmann, *Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift* 34, 431.

<sup>119</sup> Heinrich Singer, *Allgemeine und spezielle Krankheitslehre der Juden* (Leipzig: Benno Konegen, 1904), 92.

Germany were not presented as problematic. The groups of users that were primary targets of the fashionable disease corresponded nicely to the degeneration discourse. These groups were closely linked to the notions of modernity, wealth and education and included artists, intellectuals, members of the middle-class professions (especially doctors) and rich entrepreneurs.<sup>120</sup> Of course, many of these addicts would be described as Jewish - given the strong representation of the Jews among artists, intellectuals and physicians (and also the above-mentioned connections that closely linked Jewishness to modernity and capitalism on the more abstract level).

It is interesting, however, that the very presentations of drug addicts often tell us a lot about doctors' vision of the problem. J. Gossmann provides us with an image of a feeble and weak-willed morphine addict, who, being totally dependent on his drug, “sees in morphine a kind of panacea against every mental and physical pain”.<sup>121</sup> Once again, in this context we can recall Singer's presentations of the Jews and note that he also calculated 970 Jews out of 3200 morphine addicts (more than 30%) at a certain hospital.<sup>122</sup> In Russian texts, Europeans taking morphine (instead of pure Chinese opium) were often presented as more refined – yet also lazy and feeble – individuals.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Reimer, 17-20. Especially characteristic is Reimer's presentation of drugs in the colonial context as “allies to the missionaries of European culture” and “levers of civilization” - however dangerous and poisonous they might be (Reimer, 21). It is interesting to consider that the vision of alcoholics would be quite different, as alcohol was strongly associated with poverty, ignorance and the lower classes (Reimer, 8).

<sup>121</sup> Gossmann, *Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift* 34, 431, 433.

<sup>122</sup> Singer, 92.

<sup>123</sup> Reimer, 16.

### 2.2.3. Possible Solutions

As drug addiction was not perceived to be a major social problem in pre-war Russia or Germany, it becomes difficult to discuss possible solutions to it. In fact, since the problem would be most often located on the individual level, the solutions offered by *fin-de-siècle* physicians would also have a rather narrow focus on medical treatment proper.<sup>124</sup> It does not mean, however, that late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century medical science was not interested in the broader social developments. Quite the contrary: general trends within the medical community – in Russia even more than in Germany – were grouped mostly around radical reform ideas.<sup>125</sup> The impulse for the *healthification* of the society that was noted by John F. Hutchinson<sup>126</sup> was often accompanied by the demands for increasing government regulation and scientifically justified planning and control.<sup>127</sup> The solution to the perceived stagnation often came in the form of one or another ideology of universal salvation, which had special relevance for Jewish physicians (as part of the general struggle for the attainment of Jewish emancipation or its re-evaluation and critique – depending on the national context).<sup>128</sup> The visions of the final product of the society and its culture were various and often conflicting

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<sup>124</sup> Once again, the situation with alcohol would be different. As alcohol addiction already presented a serious social problem at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was perceived as such, physicians would often include in their texts various professional (medical), social and cultural proposals that were supposed to eliminate alcoholism. For an example, consider Danillo, 38-39.

<sup>125</sup> Nancy Mandelker Frieden, *Russian Physicians in an Era of Reform and Revolution, 1856-1905* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

<sup>126</sup> John F. Hutchinson, *Politics and Public Health in Revolutionary Russia, 1890-1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), xv.

<sup>127</sup> Daniel Beer, *Renovating Russia: The Human Sciences and the Fate of Liberal Modernity, 1880-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 1-8.

<sup>128</sup> Especially relevant in this context are Nordau's Zionist aspirations that are reflected in his vision of Jewish regeneration through the creation of *Muskeljudentum*. For a thorough exploration of Nordau's new Jewish masculinity project, see George L. Mosse, "Max Nordau: Liberalism and the New Jew," in Idem, *Confronting the Nation: Jewish and Western Nationalism* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 1993), 161-175.

(from liberalism to Zionism to communism, from psychoanalysis to feminism to esperantism), but the underlying idea was shared – in order to transform the pathological (in many contexts equated to Jewish) bodies and minds of the present there is a need for a major cultural, societal and political change in the future. Some of these broader concerns of *fin-de-siècle* physicians were also reflected in their writings on addiction research.

When it did come to solutions to drug addiction proper, it is still necessary to mention several professional measures that were offered. In the German context after the end of the Franco-Prussian War, Gossmann acknowledged the need for the voluntary consent of a patient and stated that removal of the drug and strict isolation could lead to success – although not for the most degenerate addicts.<sup>129</sup> Later German explorations, as well as the majority of Russian texts pertaining to the pre-war period, say surprisingly little even about practical treatment of drug addiction as an individual condition – let alone social problem.<sup>130</sup> In my opinion, this serves as another substantiation of the hypothesis that drug addiction in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Russia and Germany was not (and was not considered to be) a widespread social problem that required government intervention and control. However, such perceptions will soon be questioned by the First World War and the changes that it brought.

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<sup>129</sup> Gossmann, *Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift* 35, 451; *Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift* 36, 465.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Singer, Danillo, Reimer.

## **Chapter 3: Constructing the Social Problem: Drug Addiction in Russian and German Medical Texts, 1914-1933**

In this section of my thesis I look at the construction of drug addiction proper by focusing on the various ways Russian and German medical scientists presented the origins of the problem, images of addicts, and possible solutions after the issue became much more of a social problem in the aftermath of the Great War in both countries. I am specifically interested in how these medical texts reflected, strengthened and developed the associations between drug addiction, modernity, capitalism and Jewishness that already existed in the previous period.

### **3.1. Radical Changes in Russia and Germany, 1914-1922**

As we have noted earlier, before the Great War drug addiction was not considered a social problem in Wilhelmine Germany – even less in the Russian Empire. In 1914-1922, however, Russia and Germany both experienced radical changes – including but not limited to the World War, crash of the empires, revolutions, and the Civil War. This period was also characterized by audacious socialist experiments and radical utopian projects – as well as increasing government regulation.<sup>131</sup> In the Russian context, 1917 also brought the long-

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<sup>131</sup> On increasing government regulation of the economy already during the last years of Imperial regimes, see (for Russia and Germany, respectively) Taisiia M. Kitanina, *Rossiiia v pervoi mirovoi voine 1914-1917 gg.: Ekonomika i ekonomicheskaiia politika* [Russia in the First World War, 1914-1917: Economics and Economic Policy] (St. Petersburg: SPbGU, 2003); and Ernst Schulin, “Krieg und Modernisierung. Rathenau als philosophierender Industrieorganisator im Ersten Weltkrieg,” in *Ein Mann vieler Eigenschaften: Walther Rathenau und die Kultur der Moderne*, ed. Thomas P. Hughes et al.

awaited Jewish emancipation and the influx of the Jews into previously inaccessible professional tracks (including medical science and academia).<sup>132</sup> Among other things, drug addiction also emerged as a specific social problem precisely in the 1910s (the First World War is widely perceived as an important catalyst worldwide).<sup>133</sup> The scholars have noticed the trend towards “democratization” of drug addiction, i.e. “contamination” of previously “clean” social groups (such as workers).<sup>134</sup> Perhaps even more importantly, after the Great War Russian and German societies confronted a dramatic numerical increase in the numbers of drug addicts.

Early Soviet and Weimar physicians constituted parts of these societies, and they also possessed some relevant scientific knowledge about addiction. It is hardly surprising, then, that they would emerge as the claims makers who departed from their professional medical understanding to *construct* drug addiction as a *social* problem<sup>135</sup> and create moral panics through alarming declarations.<sup>136</sup> Relevant examples include the resolution of the First Scientific Conference on Drug Addiction held in Moscow in December 1923, which

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(Berlin: Klaus Wagenbach, 1990), 55-69.

<sup>132</sup> Zvi Gitelman, *A Century of Ambivalence: The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), 109, 163-164, 166.

<sup>133</sup> Vladimir T. Lisovskii and Elina A. Kolesnikova, *Narkotizm kak sotsial'naia problema* [Drug Addiction as a Social Problem] (St. Petersburg: SPbGU, 2001), 24.

<sup>134</sup> Nataliia B. Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn' sovetskogo goroda: Normy i anomalii: 1920-1930 gody* [Everyday Life of a Soviet City: Norms and Anomalies: 1920s - 1930s] (St. Petersburg: Neva: Letnii Sad, 1999), 29; Mikhail V. Shkarovskii, “Sem' imen “koshki””: Rastsvet narkomanii v 1917-1920-e gody,” [Seven Names of the “Cat”: Heyday of Drug Addiction from 1917 to the 1920s] in *Nevskii arkhiv: istoriko-kraevedcheskii sb.* [Neva Archive: Regional History Collection], issue 3 (St. Petersburg, 1997), 467.

<sup>135</sup> Physicians were by no means the only group to start constructing the social problem of drug addiction. Other relevant groups would be legal experts and criminologists.

<sup>136</sup> On claims making and moral panics related to drugs, see: Peter Meylakhs, “Narkotiki: Ideologiya, narkopolitika i moral',” [Drugs: Ideology, Narcotic Policy, and Morality] <http://www.regioncentre.ru/generation/publications/publication41> (accessed June 2, 2010); and Idem, “Opasnosti moral'noi paniki po povodu narkotikov,” [The Dangers of the Drug Moral Panic] *Credo New* no. 1 (2003).

stated that cocaine abuse was spreading over Soviet Russia like an epidemic;<sup>137</sup> or one of the first sentences of Fritz Fränkel and Ernst Joël's *Der Cocainismus*: “Modern cocaine addiction is not only clinical, but rather a social phenomenon”.<sup>138</sup> It is always important to remember that medicalization of drug addiction (presenting drug addiction as a social problem of medical origin – *i.e.*, a problem that can only be solved by medical professionals) is advantageous for physicians. It gives them both symbolic domination and the opportunity to receive governmental funds for their projects.

### 3.2. Medical Theory after the First World War

Medical theory itself, however, was not free from internal contradictions. The radical societal changes that the physicians had advocated for a long time did indeed occur in both countries. However, the abolition of capitalism in Soviet Russia or crash of the Second *Reich* and the deep socio-cultural transformation of German society did not lead to the elimination of drug addiction. On the contrary, there were numerically many more drug addicts in the early 1920s, and drugs became more popular in the lower social strata.<sup>139</sup> Part of the attempt to solve this contradiction was the trend towards increasing differentiation between 'drugs' proper on the one hand and alcohol, tobacco and other 'minor' poisons on the other. Another relevant strategy would be the search for pathological etiological

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<sup>137</sup> Shkarovskii, *Sem' imen "koshki"*, 474.

<sup>138</sup> Ernst Joël and Fritz Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Psychopathologie der Rauschgifte* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1924), 1.

<sup>139</sup> For substantiation of this argument, consider Lebina and Shkarovskii, *Prostitutsiia v Peterburge: (40-e gg. XIX v. - 40-e gg. XX v.)* [Prostitution in St. Petersburg: (1840s - 1940s)] (Moscow: Progress-Akademiia, 1994), 89-90; Shkarovskii, *Sem' imen "koshki"*, 467, 468, 470; Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 29-32; and Vadim I. Musaev, *Prestupnost' v Petrograde v 1917-1921 gg. i bor'ba s nei* [Crime in Petrograd in 1917-1921 and the Struggle Against It] (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2001), 180, among others.



elements (by their origin belonging to the old regimes) that were still present in the new societies and hindered the elimination of drug addiction. In the pages that follow I examine this process of construction of drug addiction.

### 3.2.1. Origins of Drug Addiction

In this section my aim will be to look at early Soviet and Weimar medical texts related to recreational drugs to show how physicians described the *causes* of drug addiction – and thus contributed to the construction of the social problem. The causes of the problem are especially important and relevant for the medical discourse, as the etiology of disease often gives physicians the clue to the solutions and treatment. Accordingly, the origins of drug addiction as described in medical texts greatly influenced the understanding of drug addicts and practical narcotic policy among the medical community – and also beyond (as physicians tried to achieve symbolic domination). In particular, I want to consider three large groups of potential causes that were detected by the physicians: socio-political (such as war or revolution), economical (like capitalism or foreign trade), and other (it includes various causes on the macro- and micro-scale alike that range from regime of prohibition to sexual frustration to the use of drugs *za kompaniiu*).

As we have mentioned earlier, the First World War is often recognized as the major factor in the spread of drug addiction (especially morphine addiction) in Russia and Germany – as elsewhere. This explanation was already present in the works of early Soviet and Weimar physicians, who were in a way repeating the argumentation that had been earlier pronounced regarding the increase of the number of drug addicts after the Civil War

in the United States or after the Franco-Prussian War in Germany.<sup>140</sup> There were, however, some new elements – especially in the Soviet texts, as the war was not labeled Great or Patriotic, but rather 'imperialist'. As with many other things in early Soviet Russia, it was imperialism of the old regime and not war *per se* that actually made so many young men and women fell victims to morphine after serious injuries or shell-shock. This explanation was particularly useful in a sense that it provided a nice and politically correct framework to apprehend the great number of “declassified *travmatiki* from various classes of the society”<sup>141</sup> (that is, including workers and peasants) among morphine addicts. Combined with the assumed extraordinarily strong and persistent character of wartime stress experience, this also helped to account for so many morphinists that were still present on the streets and in the wards of Soviet cities even in the late 1920s.

The war also brought many socio-economic problems (such as hunger, poverty, or captivity).<sup>142</sup> In describing a medical history of her patient, a certain S. D., Raisa Golant specifically mentioned that it was precisely after lengthy stay in the Austrian captivity that

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<sup>140</sup> For a late 19th century German example, see J. Gossmann, “Über chronischen Morphemmissbrauch,” *Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift* 34-36 (1879). For later German and Soviet argumentations, see Joël and Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus*, 1, 13-14; Fränkel and Dora Benjamin, “Die Bedeutung der Rauschgifte für die Juden und die Bekämpfung der Suchten durch die Fürsorge,” *Jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege und Sozialpolitik* 3 (1932): 23; Evgenii B. Bliumenau, *Okhmeliaiushchie durmany: Tabak, kokain, morfii, opii, efir i gashish, ikh vred i posledstviia* [Intoxicating Drugs: Tobacco, Cocaine, Morphine, Opium, Ether and Hashish, Damage Caused by Them and Consequences] (Leningrad: Seiatel', 1925), 8; Raisa IA. Golant, “Problemy morfinizma: (Klinicheskie i dispansernye nabludeniia, eksperimental'nye issledovaniia),” [Problems of Morphine Addiction: (Clinical and Specialized Observations, Experimental Investigations)] in *Trudy gosudarstvennogo instituta meditsinskikh znanii (GIMZ)* [Proceedings of the State Institute of Medical Knowledge (GIMZ)], ed. N. K. Rozenberg, issue V (Leningard: GIMZ, 1929), 17; and V. A. Bakhtiarov, “K voprosu o narkomanii,” [On Drug Addiction] in *Trudy nauchno-issledovatel'skikh institutov Sverdlovskogo oblzdravotdela: Sb. no. 7* [Proceeding of the Research Institutes of Sverdlovsk Region Health Section: Collection no. 7] (Sverdlovsk: Sverdlovskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1936), 199.

<sup>141</sup> Golant, 25.

<sup>142</sup> Joël and Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus*, 14.

he understood that “without drugs life...makes no sense”.<sup>143</sup>

The link between the war and morphine addiction, however, remained problematic as long as it lacked the intermediary, who would supply the innocent shell-shocked soldier with a deadly drug. Paradoxically enough, the guilty ones were found in the very same medical community that constructed the paradigm of drug addiction. Physicians in Russia and Germany alike were quick to label their pre-revolutionary colleagues as bourgeois and irresponsible, as the latter allegedly too often prescribed morphine for minor pains or shell-shock conditions.<sup>144</sup> It was not uncommon for German socialist doctors like Ernst Joël to assert that in the wartime conditions “the prescription of opiates ... was less restrained than in the time of peace... Medical-legal supervision ... was not strict enough, and the persons entrusted [with the storage of drugs] were not careful enough, while giving away these medicaments”.<sup>145</sup>

In both countries, the end of the First World War was accompanied by violence, revolutions, and change of political regimes. In the Russian context, however, the Great War was hardly the major disruption of the late 1910s. The revolutions of 1917 and the prolonged Civil War brought additional “physical sufferings and moral anxiety that were accompanied by social perturbations almost everywhere in the world”.<sup>146</sup> Changes of regimes, continuous social and political crisis, instability and weakness of central power and “legal vacuum” were too profoundly expressed to be overlooked by the physicians

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<sup>143</sup> Golant, 23.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 24. On the improper prescriptions of opiates and cocaine during the Great War, see also Stanislav E. Panin, “Potreblenie narkotikov v Sovetskoi Rossii (1917-1920-e gody),” [Drug Addiction in Soviet Russia (from 1917 to the 1920s)] *Voprosy istorii* no. 8 (2003): 129.

<sup>145</sup> Joël, *Die Behandlung der Giftsuchten. Alkoholismus, Morphinismus, Kokainismus usw.* (Leipzig: Georg Thieme, 1928), 26-27.

<sup>146</sup> Golant, 17.

searching for the causes of drug addiction - both in the Soviet Union and abroad.<sup>147</sup> For early Soviet physicians, however, the crucial task (and probably the main challenge) was to present these “social perturbations” (especially the October Revolution that was perceived as a starting point of the whole new order of the 1920s) as a positive factor. The solution found partially consisted in labeling the perceived deviations of various sorts (including drug addiction) “remnants of the past”.<sup>148</sup> Thus, while physician Gedalii D. Aronovich admitted that the revolution was a “large-scale social experiment” that caused “chronic psychic traumas” for many people,<sup>149</sup> he also described the causes of drug addiction 'epidemic' in Petrograd after 1917 in an interesting picturesque form: “In the transitional period, when old foundations collapse, and new forms of universal existence are born, the obsolete Old gets mixed up with the viable New and creates a whole range of transitory socio-pathological phenomena”.<sup>150</sup>

Another part of the solution would be to label drug addicts alien and sick in terms of class and social origin. In the same 1920 article, Aronovich presents a whole series of cocaine addict types that failed to find their place in the new socialist world: from “tall pale

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<sup>147</sup> Bliumenau, 47-48; David S. Futer, “O detiakh-narkomanakh,” [On Child Addicts] *Moskovskii meditsinskii zhurnal* no. 10 (1925): 59; Aleksandr M. Rapoport, “Kokainizm i prestupnost’,” [Cocaine Addiction and Crime] *Moskovskii meditsinskii zhurnal* no. 1 (1926): 46; F. D. Zabugin, “Otsenka lichnosti detei-narkomanov po metodam Rossolimo, Bine i Kelle,” [Personality Evaluation of Addict Kids After Rossolimo, Binet and Kelle] in *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 2*. [Problems of Narcology: Collection no. 2], ed. Aleksandr S. Sholomovich (Moscow: Moszdravotdel, 1928), 59; Joël, *Die Behandlung*, 26-27; Bakhtiarov, 199. On “legal vacuum”, see Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 15, and Musaev, *Prestupnost' v Petrograde v 1917-1921 gg. i bor'ba s nei* [Crime in Petrograd in 1917-1921 and the Struggle Against It] (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2001), 5, 169.

<sup>148</sup> For examples, see Gedalii D. Aronovich, “Nabliudeniia i vpechatleniia sredi kokainomanov,” [Observations and Impressions among Cocaine Addicts] *Nauchnaia meditsina* 6 (1920): 676; and S. Visloukh, “Prostitutsiia i narkomaniia: Po dannym ankety sredi prostitutok v Moskve, organizovannoi Nauchno-Issledovatel'skoi Komissiei,” [Prostitution and Drug Addiction: Based on the Survey of Moscow Prostitutes by Research Commission] *Rabochii Sud* no. 7-8 (1925): 317.

<sup>149</sup> Aronovich, 685, 686.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 676.

22-year old Albert K from the .. well-to-do family” to the 24-year old anti-Communist officer to “hot-tempered” *magistrant* “from “psychopathic family”.<sup>151</sup> To a certain degree, these addicts are not really presented as personally responsible for their disease. It is rather pathological modernity and their degenerative bourgeois surroundings that made them unsuitable for the 'real' life in revolutionary Petrograd and forced to seek escape in cocaine snuffing.

The old regime, however, was not only conservative and imperialist. No less important (especially given the Marxist character of the new Soviet state and the left-leaning political views of the majority of German addiction researchers) was its economic foundation – allegedly free-market capitalism. For many physicians in early Soviet Russia and Weimar Germany, social deviations were indeed “remnants” - but specifically “remnants of capitalism”. This became especially clear in the 1920s, when the NEP succeeded the war communism, and introduced some capitalist elements into Soviet economy. Soviet physicians proved themselves to be good Marxists and emphasized that under capitalist (or semi-capitalist) basis there will always be some pathological phenomena in social and cultural spheres. Aleksandr Sholomovich's 1926 article specifically notes that “capitalism is the main cause of drug addiction, because it uses culture as the instrument of greater intoxication”.<sup>152</sup> This position was also supported by such high-placed officials as *narkom* of Public Health Nikolai Semashko. In his *Izvestiia* article “On Cocaine Addiction and the Struggle Against It” he explicitly stated that “the main cause of this disease is the

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<sup>151</sup> Aronovich, 681-683.

<sup>152</sup> Sholomovich, “Narkotizm kak sotsial'no-patologicheskoe iavlenie i mery bor'by s nim sredi rabochikh,” [Drug Addiction as a Pathological Social Phenomenon, and the Measures Against Its Spreading Among the Workers] in *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 1* [Problems of Narcology: Collection no. 1], ed. Idem (Moscow: Moszdravotdel, 1926), 47.

regime of exploitation<sup>153</sup> (one are too well off for their own good [*s zhiru besiatsia*], others are desperate and intimidated)”.<sup>154</sup> According to that logic, the NEP (“as in a way the return of the capitalist basis”) actually increased the number of deviants (including drug addicts).<sup>155</sup> The association between drug addiction and capitalism was of special importance for the Jews, since, as we have seen, there was already a strong connection between capitalism, Jewishness, and degeneration that was deeply rooted in both German and Russian cultural and medical discourse.<sup>156</sup>

Capitalism also had its more specific faces. For many physicians, the permissibility of free trade was one of the factors that created a favorable atmosphere for drug-related misuse. Specific targets could have differed and included private pharmacies, foreign trade (and potential smuggling), or irresponsible state-employed doctors/pharmacists, but there was a general feeling that the causes of drug addiction are closely linked to the lack of strict control over import, distribution and sale of recreational drugs.<sup>157</sup>

Of course, for some physicians (and for the most realistic, perhaps) the origins of drug addiction were very simple – they lied in the generally terrible economic situation in the country. The doctors with such lines of reasoning did not occupy themselves with condemnation of capitalist basis, but rather acknowledged poverty, unemployment, closure of factories, and general economic crisis that followed the perturbations of the 1910s in both

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<sup>153</sup> Equals “capitalism”, as in another paragraph in Semashko's article.

<sup>154</sup> Nikolai A. Semashko, “O kokainizme i bor'be s nim,” [On Cocaine Addiction and the Struggle Against It] *Izvestiia TSIK SSSR*, 4 January 1925.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> For additional argumentation about the Jews of St. Petersburg, consider Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 101-103. Cf. also Fränkel and Benjamin, 22.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. *Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sankt-Petersburga* (hereinafter referred to as TSGASPB) [Central State Archive of St. Petersburg], *fond 2815, opis' 1, delo 526, l. 40 rev.*; Semashko; Bliumenau, 61-62; *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 1*, 88, 90; Vladimir A. Gorovoi-Shaltan, “Morfinizm, ego rasprostranenie i profilaktika,” [Morphine Addiction, Its Spreading and Preventive Measures], in *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 2*, 51-52.

countries.<sup>158</sup> In some contexts, deep socio-economic breakdown of the first years of the Soviet Republic would be openly called one of the most important causes for the “narcotization” of population.<sup>159</sup>

Most of the texts that we have discussed dealt with the major factors of socio-economic and political realm, but there were also frequent mentions of seemingly less important causes of drug addictions. In fact, these factors might only seem to be of secondary importance. For example, regime of alcohol prohibition that was introduced in Russia and Germany after the beginning of the First World War was generally considered one of the reasons, why such drugs, as cocaine, morphine or opium suddenly became more accessible than alcohol and even partially replaced usual vodka or *Schnaps*.<sup>160</sup> For some physicians, such a situation would seem unnatural and not justified in the long run after the general stabilization.

Other often neglected causes were physiological. Diseases, chronic fatigue, overstrain, and constant malnutrition were the permanent factors that influenced everyday choices that ordinary Russians and Germans made.<sup>161</sup> But perhaps the broadest variety of potential causes of drug addiction detected by early Soviet and Weimar physicians can be attributed to the 'psychological' realm. Indeed, the population of Russia that suffered from constant neuroses may have felt the need to resort to artificial psychic stimulators. Gedalii Aronovich discusses how “mental conflict, deep disillusionment in universal ideals... anxiety about the fate of the country... [or] about the family, worries about the future and the

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<sup>158</sup> Aronovich, 684-686; Joël and Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus*, 14. Cf. also Musaev, 10, 201.

<sup>159</sup> Sholomovich, *Narkotizm*, 45, 47.

<sup>160</sup> E.g., Aronovich, 685, 686; Joël and Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus*, 14. Cf. also Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 30.

<sup>161</sup> Aronovich, 684. Cf. discussion of cocaine use and the feeling of hunger in Lisovskii and Kolesnikova, 24.

fate of the relatives... moral loneliness”<sup>162</sup> all led many (especially young people) to taking the drug.

Other minor psychological reasons included “curiosity, urge towards new sensations ... [and] suppression of nervous strain”.<sup>163</sup> Regarding morphine, physicians often noted that the induction took place in the families (for example, when the husband wanted to compensate his wife for “material troubles” or “sexual deficiency”).<sup>164</sup> Of course, it would be unreasonable to discard such a banal, but still valuable factor as imitation, the appeal of drugs as a romantic attribute of the criminal world. Like their colleagues almost hundred years later, physicians of the 1920s also expressed their concerns about the familiarization with drugs among children, teenagers and youth *za kompaniiu*.<sup>165</sup>

Interestingly enough, in one context the very systematized and ordered Soviet reality of the late 1920s emerges as yet another cause of drug addiction. In her 1929 article on morphine addiction, Raisa Golant admits the following phrase: “Love, revolution, and drugs cause animation and give a sharper feeling of life”.<sup>166</sup> As the chaotic romantic of revolution gave place to the quiet and measured functioning of well-adjusted political mechanism, many people could have felt the desire to “escape the reality, make life brighter and more interesting”.<sup>167</sup> And perhaps it was the case when drugs succeeded the revolution and replaced it.

Our analysis has unearthed a substantial diversity of opinions regarding causes of

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<sup>162</sup> Aronovich, 684, 685, 686.

<sup>163</sup> Gorovoi-Shaltan, 47, 48.

<sup>164</sup> Golant, 24, 25. Cf. also Gorovoi-Shaltan, 47, 48.

<sup>165</sup> Aronovich, 680, 681; Gorovoi-Shaltan, 48-49. Cf. also Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn'*, 32; Lebina and Aleksandr N. Chistikov, *Obyvatel' i reformy: Kartiny povsednevnoi zhizni gorozhan v gody nepa i khrushchevskogo desiatiletiia* [An Average Man and Reforms: Scenes from the Everyday Life of Urban Population during the NEP and Khrushchev Years] (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003), 116.

<sup>166</sup> Golant, 24.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.



drug addiction which existed among post-Great War Soviet and German physicians. However, it is also remarkable that drug addiction was often constructed as a disease especially connected to bourgeois modernity, capitalism and alien to the socialist system.<sup>168</sup>

### 3.2.2. Images of Drug Addicts

The causes of drug addiction that were detected by early Soviet and Weimar physicians should be considered in their relationship to the description of groups of users and drug-related practices that often accompany them in these medical texts. Of special interest for my argument are the presentations of social/class background of drug addicts.

The process of the “democratization” of drug addiction that was mentioned above led to the fact that the drug users in the 1920s were to be found “not only [in] demimonde and bohemian circles ... but also in the circles of proletarian, mostly unemployed young people”.<sup>169</sup> Medical texts, however, always mentioned in this respect external factors (such as war, capitalist economy, or connections of workers with prostitutes)<sup>170</sup> that would explain this change.

Overall, for physicians in both Russia and Germany the 'ideal types' of drug addicts continued to be prostitutes, officers, businessmen, medical specialists (doctors, pharmacists, nurses – in this category the association between drug addiction and the Jews was the strongest), students, artists and intellectuals.<sup>171</sup> In fact, it is striking, that despite all the

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<sup>168</sup> In a way, when contrasted with drug addiction, alcoholism emerged as a more organic or proletarian – and thus more tolerable – disease.

<sup>169</sup> Joël and Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus*, 15.

<sup>170</sup> Panin, 132.

<sup>171</sup> Joël and Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus*, 14, 19, 87, 89, 90, 91, 94, 96, 97; Fränkel and Benjamin, 22; *TSGASPB, fond 142, opis' 1, delo 9, ll. 323, 324*; Gorovoi-Shaltan, 47; Golant, 25.

radical changes that occurred after the war, physicians in both Russia and Germany largely retained the language of *fin-de-siècle* medicine and continued to describe for the most part the same social groups as before the war. To a certain degree, I attribute this fact to the ideological and political views of the authors – being devoted socialists/communists, they had difficulties with acknowledging and adequately describing cocaine or morphine abuse among the workers or peasants. They missed, therefore, the opportunity to present drug addiction as the disease that actually affects all layers of population and is not stereotypically reserved for Jewish businessmen, doctors, and artists. In fact, some Jewish doctors like Fritz Fränkel and Ernst Joël even contributed to this stereotypical perspective by taking drugs themselves (although with scientific aims) and organizing Walter Benjamin's artistic experiments with hashish and mescaline.<sup>172</sup>

Indeed, of special relevance for our study is the 'Jewish dimension' of these descriptions. Especially in Germany, the Jews were widely presented as drug addicts *par excellence* and the connection between them and drug addiction was made absolutely explicitly. For example, two articles by Jewish psychiatrist Rafael Becker provided evidence for the fact that the Jews were much more likely than Gentiles to prefer drugs to alcohol.<sup>173</sup> In another context, Fritz Fränkel and Dora Benjamin presented a whole range of stereotypical Jewish drug addicts (from corrupted bourgeois to hysterical *femme fatale* to homosexual psychopathic artist) and supplemented them with the statistics that shows only 3 or 4 Jews among 1500 registered alcoholics in the Berlin District – and over 30% of Jews

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<sup>172</sup> Margarete Exler, *Von der Jugendbewegung zu ärztlicher Drogenhilfe: Das Leben Ernst Joëls (1893-1929) im Umkreis von Benjamin, Landauer und Buber* (Berlin: Trafo, 2005), 138-146; Walter Benjamin, *On Hashish*, trans. Howard Eiland (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006), vii, 9-10, 36, 46, 71, 73-80, 86-97.

<sup>173</sup> Rafael Becker, "Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Verbreitung des Geisteskrankheiten bei den Juden in Polen," *OSE-Rundschau* 5 (1930): 3; Idem, "Die Geisteskrankungen bei den Juden in Polen," *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie und psychisch-gerichtliche Medizin* 96 (1932): 49.

among morphine addicts.<sup>174</sup> To explain this fact, physicians invoked other stereotypes about the Jews – such as their concentration in medical sciences, trade, and liberal professions - and also alleged practice of consanguineous marriage and racial predisposition towards mental diseases.<sup>175</sup> More specifically, among perceived qualities of the Jews that made them so prone to morphine were susceptibility to depressions (which the doctors tried to demonstrate on the basis of statistical data on suicides) and “dislike of violence and aversion from brutality that keep [the Jews] away from alcohol”.<sup>176</sup>

In both Russia and Germany, many Jews worked as pharmacists,<sup>177</sup> and as such, they were also invoked in medical and administrative texts as drug dealers (often the pharmaceutical industry – especially private pharmacies - would be imagined as headed by profit-driven Jewish capitalists, who do not care about the health of the people).<sup>178</sup> On the other hand, the Jews were also well-represented among the public health officials and pharmacy inspectors<sup>179</sup> - and obviously, as we have demonstrated earlier, Jewish medical scientists also constituted a major part of drug researchers. In fact, drug addiction in early Soviet Russia and Weimar Germany was to a certain degree an internal Jewish problem – and this fact substantiates our hypothesis about Jewish research on drug addiction as a defensive act/blueprint for change.

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<sup>174</sup> Fränkel and Benjamin, 21-23.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 22-23.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Mary Schaeffer Conroy, *In Health and in Sickness: Pharmacy, Pharmacists and the Pharmaceutical Industry in Late Imperial, Early Soviet Russia* (Boulder: Columbia University Press, 1994), 105.

<sup>178</sup> TSGASPB, fond 4301, opis' 1, delo 2538, ll. 254-255.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., dela 729, 731, 733, 734, 737, 743, 745, 747, 748; delo 2538, ll. 1-2 etc.

### 3.2.3. The Ways of Solving the Social Problem

In this section I analyze post-World War I Soviet and German medical texts related to recreational drugs in order to show how physicians argued for the elimination of drug addiction. In order to accomplish this goal, I should establish several research objectives. First, it is necessary to understand why physicians decided that it was important and indispensable to fight drug addiction. I should also look at specific measures (professional medical and non-medical alike) that the doctors proposed to solve the social problem of drug addiction.

We should not assume that there were no alternatives to the ultimate construction of the social problem as it happened in the 1920s. Some classical liberal scholars argue that drug addicts should be perceived as independent individuals who are able to take charge of their health and lives.<sup>180</sup> Such an approach would probably please those turn-of-the-century doctors who themselves experimented with drugs and did not consider it a problem requiring government intervention. It is also important to mention that some post-Great War medical texts, while discussing drug addiction, still do not emphasize social aspects of the problem and do not propose any solutions (this attitude could be qualified as “neutral”). However, the majority of Soviet and German physicians chose the “repressive” way of government interference and strict regulation of the drug market.

Physicians' refusal to solve the problem of drug addiction without exterior assistance and the perception of the struggle against drug addiction as a government business should be given special consideration. Of course, the problem could partly be explained through the lens of Foucauldian 'biopolitics'. Tradition of regulating the consumption of alcohol

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<sup>180</sup> Cf., e.g., Murray N. Rothbard, *The Ethics of Liberty* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 24.

(culminating in the prohibition regime with the start of the Great War) was also a factor that led Russian and German physicians to advocate government intervention in the struggle against drug addiction.

However, in the Russian context drug addiction can also be perceived as linked to early Soviet utopian projects of the New Man and *novyi byt*.<sup>181</sup> The impulse for the “healthification”<sup>182</sup> of the society that was present in pre-revolutionary Russia was now united with the program of transforming human bodies in the aftermath of the revolution. This impulse was developed into such diverse projects as Podvoiskii and Mekhonoshin's militarism, Dr. Gorinevskii's 'socialist eugenics' and *narkom* Semashko's sanitization programs.<sup>183</sup> And, as Nancy Ries has argued for other turbulent period of Russian history, alcohol and drug addiction can be perceived as the means to assert autonomy and defy governmental control.<sup>184</sup> It is only logical, then, that drug addiction would be considered a 'social' disease that should require special attention.

It is also interesting to look for the arguments in favor of government intervention that physicians themselves used in their works. Of course, some of these arguments would appeal to generalized moral categories and describe drug addiction as a “social disaster

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<sup>181</sup> *Novyi byt*, meaning “new forms of everyday life”, was meant to transform the daily routine through bringing in new socialist values (see Olga Matich, “Remaking the Bed: Utopia in Daily Life,” in *Laboratory of Dreams: The Russian Avant-Garde and Cultural Experiment*, ed. John E. Bowlt and Matich (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 59ff.).

<sup>182</sup> John F. Hutchinson, *Politics and Public Health in Revolutionary Russia, 1890-1918* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), xv.

<sup>183</sup> For details, see Shtefan Plaggenborg [Stefan Plaggenborg], *Revoliutsiia i kul'tura: Kul'turnye orientiry v period mezhdu Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsiei i epokhoi stalinizma* [Revolution and Culture: Cultural Guidelines between October Revolution and Stalinism] (St. Petersburg: Neva, 2000), chapter 2.

<sup>184</sup> Nensi Ris [Nancy Ries], “*Russkie razgovory*”: *Kul'tura i rechevaia povsednevnost' epokhi perestroiki* [Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation during Perestroika] (Moscow: NLO, 2005), 131, 133.

[*bedstvie*]”, “anomaly of contemporary life”,<sup>185</sup> or “dangerous illness”.<sup>186</sup> Some would even go on to rhetorical exclamations: “There should be no child addicts in the Soviet state!” [“*Detei-narkomanov v Sovetskom gosudarstve ne dolzhno byt'!*”]<sup>187</sup> There is also, however, a more interesting trend that perceived addiction as a challenge to the socialist system that would be costly in both political and economic terms if left unanswered.<sup>188</sup> Other physicians would stress the criminogenic potential of drug addiction and remind that “child cocaine addicts represent a danger for the state in the future, because it is the group from which the juvenile lawbreakers are recruited”.<sup>189</sup> There are also some works that appeal to the rational character of the new state and provide scientific and eugenic argumentation (with references to “the health of the nation”<sup>190</sup> and “degeneration”<sup>191</sup>) for the government intervention.<sup>192</sup>

We have seen that physicians in early Soviet Russia and Weimar Germany answered the question “Is it necessary to fight drug addiction?” with an affirmative answer. But another important question, “How to fight it?” remained unanswered. Indeed, in the 1920s doctors still had serious problems with curing drug addiction as an *individual* medical

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<sup>185</sup> Aronovich, 677, 686.

<sup>186</sup> Bliumenau, 62.

<sup>187</sup> Futer, 60.

<sup>188</sup> Semashko; Sholomovich, *Narkotizm*, 45; Idem, *Teoriia i praktika bor'by s narkotizmom: Tezisy po narkologii dlia medikov* [Theory and Practice of the Struggle Against Drug Addiction: Theses on Narcology for Physicians] (Moscow, n. d.), 1; *TSGASPB, fond 4301, opis' 1, delo 3414, l. 4*. Lazar' Minor actually calculated that the struggle against addiction would save the state 60 to 70 thousands of rubles annually (*TSGASPB, fond 4301, opis' 1, delo 3414, l. 4*).

<sup>189</sup> Raisa M. Ziman, “O kokainizme u detei,” [On Child Cocaine Addicts] in *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 1*, 30. Cf. also Futer, 60.

<sup>190</sup> *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 1*, 88.

<sup>191</sup> Bliumenau, 56-57.

<sup>192</sup> L. V. Antsyferov, “Gashishizm (nashizm) v Turkestane,” [Marijuana Addiction in Turkestan], in *Trudy pervogo vsesoiuznogo s'ezda nevropatologov i psikhiatrov* [Proceedings of the First All-Union Congress of Neuropathologists and Psychiatrists], ed. V. A. Beliaev (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe meditsinskoe izdatel'stvo, 1929), 41; *TSGASPB, fond 4301, opis' 1, delo 3414, l. 1*.

condition, let alone social problem. Many scientific and pragmatic issues related to the struggle against drug addiction remained problematic. Archival sources reveal, for example, the problems that Russian addict patients faced in the late 1920s: insufficient number of beds in the hospitals, inadequate training of the medical personnel, bureaucracy, personal and professional conflicts with administration, etc.<sup>193</sup>

In such conditions a great deal of the solutions proposed by the physicians affected largely medical propaganda, sanitary education and prophylaxis. Many Soviet and German doctors declared the necessity to propagandize healthy lifestyle – especially through popular books, newspapers and films.<sup>194</sup> David Futer specifically complained that “there are no special films, slides, fiction books on sanitary education and particularly about the dangers of the drugs made for the children and teenagers”.<sup>195</sup> Other authors would support organization of special laboratories and libraries and the establishment of free-of-charge consultations.<sup>196</sup> The importance of the preventive campaigns was specifically stressed for the risk groups (children, youth, criminals and the homeless – in the Russian context, *besprizorniki*).<sup>197</sup>

Another major topic that is discussed in almost every work on the subject is the establishment of special narcological dispensaries (*dispansery/Fürsorgestellen*) for the addicts.<sup>198</sup> Most Russian works, however, give few details and only occasional references to

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<sup>193</sup> TSGASPB, fond 3215, opis' 1, delo 83, ll. 3-4 rev.

<sup>194</sup> Joël and Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus*, 85; Semashko; Ziman, 30.

<sup>195</sup> Futer, 62-63. Cf. also other problems of popular medical propaganda: TSGASPB, fond 3215, opis' 1, delo 307, l. 129.

<sup>196</sup> Sholomovich, *Narkotizm*, 49-50.

<sup>197</sup> Futer, 61; Rapoport, 48, 55; Mikhail P. Kutanin, “Voprosy teorii i praktiki morfinizma,” [Theoretical and Practical Problems of Morphine Addiction] in *Trudy pervogo vsesoiuznogo s"ezda*, 40.

<sup>198</sup> Joël and Fränkel, “Zur Verhütung und Behandlung der Giftsuchten,” *Klinische Wochenschrift* 4 (1925): 1715; Blumenau, 61; Ziman, 31; Sholomovich, *Narkotizm*, 48; Gorovoi-Shaltan, 52-53; G. Dubrovich, “Klinicheskaiia kartina kokainizma v detskom

American and Western European experience. Ironically, the most detailed description is given in the ideologically charged article by Semashko. He plans to establish dispensaries in large cities, sets for them “medical, educational and inspectorial” tasks and refers to the positive experience of dispensaries in the struggle against tuberculosis and sexually transmitted diseases.<sup>199</sup> In the German context, *Fürsorgestellen* were similarly envisaged as institutions of comprehensive control and prophylaxis<sup>200</sup> that will have the right to intervene in the personal lives and professional careers of the patients in order to “sever all the connections that make drug supply possible”.<sup>201</sup>

The treatment of the addicts in the hospital would often include removal of the drug.<sup>202</sup> The physicians proposed that the patients would stay in the clinic for a long time (up to several months) and would be subject to various forms of treatment (hypnosis, psychotherapy,<sup>203</sup> hypodermic oxygen injection,<sup>204</sup> strychnine injections and physiotherapy).<sup>205</sup> The principle of comprehensiveness also required the care about patient's

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vozhage,” [Clinical Findings on Child Cocaine Addiction], in *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 2*, 74; Sholomovich, *Teoriia i praktika*, 3-4; Bakhtiarov, 199.

<sup>199</sup> Semashko. Cf. also argumentation for the establishment of dispensaries on the local and district [*raion*] level: *TSGASPB, fond 3215, opis' 1, delo 306, ll. 1-2, 12, 29g; delo 307, l. 130*. The *raion* principle of organization corresponded nicely to Leningrad physician Nikolai Tutolmin's idea of organizing struggle against addictions from the grassroots (cf. *TSGASPB, fond 4301, opis' 1, delo 3414, ll. 2 - 2rev.*).

<sup>200</sup> Joël and Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus*, 79; *Idem, Zur Verhütung, passim*.

<sup>201</sup> Fränkel and Benjamin, 23.

<sup>202</sup> Blümenau, 61; Kutandin, 40; Golant, 31. There were some opponents to the idea, though: Gorovoi-Shaltan, 51; *Trudy pervogo vsesoiuznogo s'ezda*, 49-50. In the German context, Joël and Fränkel initially strongly advocated the immediate removal of the drug, but later changed their mind and provided arguments in favor of tailor-made approach – especially for morphine addicts (Joël and Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus*, 78; *Idem, Zur Verhütung*, 1716-1717).

<sup>203</sup> Blümenau, 61; Gorovoi-Shaltan, 51; Golant, 30; *TSGASPB, fond 4301, opis' 1, delo 3414, l. 3 rev.*

<sup>204</sup> *TSGASPB, fond 4301, opis' 1, delo 3414, l. 3 rev.* Cf. also T. M. Bogomolova, “Lechenie narkomanov podkozhnym vvedeniem kisloroda,” [Treatment of Drug Addicts by Hypodermic Oxygen Injection] *Moskovskii meditsinskii zhurnal* no. 10 (1925): 40-44.

<sup>205</sup> *TSGASPB, fond 4301, opis' 1, delo 3414, l. 3 rev.*



future even after his/her formal dismissal from the institution.<sup>206</sup>

There were, however, many other solutions apart from medical. Of course, many early Soviet and Weimar German physicians noted the inefficiency of merely repressive policy towards drug addiction.<sup>207</sup> It is perfectly understandable: to recognize the efficiency of physical or penal persecution of drug dealers and drug addicts would mean to yield symbolic domination to law enforcement agencies. However, due to some reasons that we discussed earlier, many medical texts of the 1920s contain not only medical propositions, but also political, economic, social, and cultural demands.

Many physicians saw the solution to the problem of drug addiction in the general improvement of economic and social situation in the country. Such hopes were already present in Aronovich's 1920 article, which was imbued with the horror at the atrocities and hardships of the Russian Revolution and Civil War.<sup>208</sup> However, as the NEP succeeded the war communism, the economic demands of the physicians became more specific. Aleksandr Sholomovich explicitly stated that “the abolition of the private capital” is an important precondition of success in the struggle against drug addiction.<sup>209</sup> In fact, Sholomovich's claims can be understood in macroeconomic dimension as the demand to put an end to the NEP. It reflects nicely Semashko's grievances about the introduction of the capitalist elements into Soviet economy.<sup>210</sup>

Indeed, many physicians (especially in the Soviet Union) concentrated not on the new developments, but rather on the elimination of the “remnants [*perezhitki*] of capitalism”. This rationale was behind the claims that the struggle against drug addiction

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<sup>206</sup> Joël and Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus*, 79.

<sup>207</sup> Bliumenau, 78; Sholomovich, *Narkotizm*, 48; Gorovoi-Shaltan, 52.

<sup>208</sup> Aronovich, 684-686.

<sup>209</sup> Sholomovich, *Teoriia i praktika*, 2.

<sup>210</sup> Semashko.

would benefit from the measures taken against prostitution (requested by Dr. Andreevskii as early as 1918)<sup>211</sup> or child homelessness.<sup>212</sup> Anti-capitalist (protectionist and anti-free-market) ideas were also behind the demands to strictly control production, import, distribution and sale of the drugs.<sup>213</sup> Some measures were more directly connected to the drug addiction proper: the closure of the known dens [*pritory*] of addicts, and destruction of the opium poppy crops.<sup>214</sup>

While we have already noted that physicians mostly ignored repressive and legal means of eliminating drug addiction, there is one interesting example of the symbiosis between medical thought and administrative practice. This example is from Semashko's 1925 article that reflected on the introduction of specific anti-drug article (140-d) in the Soviet Penal Code. *Narkom* states that the Soviet law does not punish drug addicts, but instead imposes a penalty upon “the parasite that makes a profit on the morbid predisposition”.<sup>215</sup> This quote is a nice symbolic representation of the difficult and often contradictory developments of Soviet and German medical thought in the 1920s - with its idealism, anti-capitalism, and preoccupation with degeneration debate.<sup>216</sup>

Our analysis has found that the medical texts that were written by the physicians of early Soviet Russia and Weimar Germany contain comprehensive lists of measures which they considered necessary to eliminate drug addiction. Most importantly, these measures

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<sup>211</sup> *TSGASPB*, fond 142, opis' 1, delo 9, ll. 323-324.

<sup>212</sup> Futer, 62; Ziman, 30; Dubrovich, 75.

<sup>213</sup> *TSGASPB*, fond 2815, opis' 1, delo 526, l. 40 rev.; Semashko; Blümenau, 61-62; *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 1*, 88, 90; Gorovoi-Shaltan, 51-52; Joël and Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus*, 81. For a comprehensive list of possible measures, consider Joël and Fränkel, *Zur Verhütung*, 1713.

<sup>214</sup> *Voprosy narkologii: Sb. no. 1*, 88, 90.

<sup>215</sup> Semashko.

<sup>216</sup> For a study that successfully compares two national contexts, consider Loren R. Graham, “Science and Values: The Eugenics Movement in Germany and Russia in the 1920s.” *The American Historical Review* 82 (1979): 1133-1164.

would call for direct and extensive government interference. Moreover, some of the solutions offered have nothing to do with medicine proper, and rather pertain to social, economic, or political realms. We can also see that implicitly many of these proposals expressed the desperate inner search of a Jewish addiction researcher for the Jew-specific solution that would tear apart the pathological web of modernity that firmly glued together drug addiction, capitalism, and Jewishness.

## Conclusion

It is also important to discuss implications that scientific research had for practical drug policy. Monographs, articles and conference presentations by Russian and German physicians were not isolated in the narrow professional realm. In fact, physicians actively participated in elaboration and implementation of state policy towards drug addiction.<sup>217</sup> Moreover, sometimes we can trace the transfer of scientific (and other) ideas about addiction across the borders, as it was the case with the quick Russian translation and publication of Ernst Joël's informative handbook.<sup>218</sup> Thus, Soviet doctors often learned the understanding of addiction from German medical texts – and with it they adopted specifically German presentations and stereotypes (also concerning the Jews). Finally, drug addiction research can be seen as an important Jewish contribution – not only to scientific theory, but also to social policy. Largely acknowledging the pathological connections between drug addiction, capitalism, and Jews, Jewish physicians in Russia and Germany actively lobbied their programs of Jewish health improvement and wider socialist reform through communal institutions (which was more a case in Germany, where the state was rather calm about radical socialist projects) and governmental agencies.<sup>219</sup>

Indeed, many of the solutions that we discussed above were actually implemented by

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<sup>217</sup> Ernst Joël, *Die Behandlung der Giftsuchten. Alkoholismus, Morphinismus, Kokainismus usw.* (Leipzig: Georg Thieme, 1928), 6.

<sup>218</sup> Idem, *Lechenie narkomanii. Alkogolizm. Morfinizm. Kokainizm* [Treatment of Addictions. Alcoholism. Morphine Addiction. Cocain Addiction] (Khar'kov: Nauchnaia mysl', 1930).

<sup>219</sup> Klaus Täubert, “Unbekannt verzogen...”: *Der Lebensweg des Suchtmediziners, Psychologen und KPD-Gründungsmitgliedes Fritz Fränkel* (Berlin: Trafo, 2005), 44-45, 50-53; Mikhail V. Shkarovskii, “Sem' imen “koshki”: Rastsvet narkomanii v 1917-1920-e gody,” [Seven Names of the “Cat”: Heyday of Drug Addiction from 1917 to the 1920s] in *Nevskii arkhiv: istoriko-kraevedcheskii sb.* [Neva Archive: Regional History Collection], issue 3 (St. Petersburg, 1997), 474.

the governments and local public health authorities by the end of the 1920s. Homeless children and prostitutes were no longer seen on the streets of the cities. Large sums of money were assigned to medical propaganda, sanitary education and publication of popular medical literature. Dispensaries were actually opened in Berlin, Moscow and Leningrad in the second half of the 1920s. Stricter controls were enforced over production, import, circulation and realization of drugs.<sup>220</sup> In the Soviet Union, several new institutions and policies like *evseksii*<sup>221</sup> or agricultural resettlement projects specifically targeted Jews - with an underlying imperative for relegation of the Jews into more 'productive' occupations and successive health improvement.<sup>222</sup> Finally, the “capitalist” NEP and the liberal Weimar republic were replaced by the Stalinist and Nazi planned economies – which were also accompanied by totalitarian control, repressions and growing anti-Semitism.

Moreover, medical research on drug addiction also produced some long-term effects. Expert scientific knowledge was used to justify marginalization and repression of drug market in the following years.<sup>223</sup> Even though the authorities succeeded in “driving drug addicts into the corner”, they did not eradicate the very desire to take drugs (a mission

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<sup>220</sup> Joël, *Die Behandlung*, 100-101; Shkarovskii, *Sem' imen “koshki”*, 475; Nataliia B. Lebina, *Povsednevnaia zhizn' sovetskogo goroda: Normy i anomalii: 1920-1930 gody* [Everyday Life of a Soviet City: Norms and Anomalies: 1920s - 1930s] (St. Petersburg: Neva: Letnii Sad, 1999), 32-33. For the measures taken against smuggling, see also Lebina and Aleksandr N. Chistikov, *Obyvatel' i reformy: Kartiny povsednevnoi zhizni gorozhan v gody nepa i khrushchevskogo desiatiletiia* [An Average Man and Reforms: Scenes from the Everyday Life of Urban Population during the NEP and Khrushchev Years] (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003), 117.

<sup>221</sup> An abbreviation of *evreiskie sekti*, or the Jewish Sections of the Communist Party.

<sup>222</sup> Zvi Gitelman, *A Century of Ambivalence: The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present* (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), 108-121, 133-163.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. also Lebina's remarks on “politicizing” drug addiction: Lebina, “Tenevye storony zhizni sovetskogo goroda 20-30-kh godov,” [Dark Side of the Soviet City of the 1920s and 1930s] *Voprosy istorii* no. 4 (1994): 41.

impossible from the very start, according to contemporary sociologists).<sup>224</sup> The problem still preserved (though less explicit) both in Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia.<sup>225</sup> As a result, however, there is a strong tradition of negative attitude toward drug addicts and drug dealers in Russian and German societies, and the government's authority to control drug market is unquestioned, though narcotic policies are often costly, bureaucratic and inefficient.<sup>226</sup>

As I have shown, drug addiction in Russian and German medical texts from the 1870s to the 1930s was constructed as a social problem related to modernity, capitalism – and Jewishness. Through this association the Jews (especially in the German context) were made 'responsible' for drug addiction (among other 'vices' of civilization) – accordingly, the solution of the social problem also had to be aimed at Jews in a certain way (mostly through the critique of capitalism and Jewish involvement in it). Moreover, medical science in both Russia and Germany (though with substantial variations due to political, cultural and scientific differences – and also the place of the Jews) played a major role in marginalizing and repressing drug addicts through its influence on practical narcotic policy. Thus, medical programs of Jewish addiction researchers that were initially formulated with humanistic aims of transforming and re-generating pathological Jewish bodies and minds<sup>227</sup> were used

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<sup>224</sup> Iakov I. Gilinskii, ed. *Deviantnost' i sotsial'nyi kontrol' v Rossii (XIX-XX vv.): Tendentsii i sotsiologicheskoe osmyslenie* [Deviance and Social Control in Russia (XIX-XX centuries): Trends and Sociological Reflection] (St. Petersburg: Aleteiia, 2000), 54, 122.

<sup>225</sup> Werner Pieper, ed. *Nazis on Speed: Drogen im Dritten Reich* (Löhrbach: Pieper, 2002); *Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sankt-Petersburga* (hereinafter referred to as TSGASPB) [Central State Archive of St. Petersburg], *fond 7384, opis' 2-c, delo 60, l. 250*; *Arkhib Sankt-Peterburgskoi gosudarstvennoi meditsinskoi akademii im. I. I. Mechnikova* [Archive of I. I. Mechnikov St. Petersburg State Medical Academy], *Nauchnaia chast'* [Scientific Section], *delo 23, ll. 20, 23, 35 rev., 36, 39 rev.-40, 46, 59, 74*.

<sup>226</sup> For the examples of bureaucratic inefficiency from the 1920s, see TSGASPB, *fond 3215, opis' 1, delo 305, ll. 155, 170, 189-189 rev., 209-211, 224*. For a general critique of the government regulation of the drug market, see Ethan A. Nadelmann, "Drug Prohibition in the United States: Costs, Consequences, and Alternatives," *Science* 245 (1989): 939-947.

<sup>227</sup> Compare Fritz Fränkel's and Ernst Joël's statements like "Addiction is a disease, not a crime" (Ernst Joël and Fritz Fränkel, *Der Cocainismus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte*

in a perverse way – much like Nordau's terms such as “degenerative art” were later employed by the Nazis for their specific aims. Of course, drug addiction research was only one of the fields where the battle against modernity was fought - but it is striking that the final results of this battle still tend to greatly influence our contemporary lives.

There are, of course, many prospects left for future research. It would certainly be interesting to further explore connection and interrelations between medical perceptions, sociological and legal theories and practical narcotic policies (as has already been done by several authors in the American/Western European context).<sup>228</sup> I am particularly interested in explaining why (and how) authorities decided that regulation of recreational drugs and compulsory treatment of drug addicts were necessary. This will require study of legal texts and primary sources (especially funds of public health and law enforcement agencies and medical and research institutions) that documented changes in narcotic policy and increasing government interference. Moreover, further discussion of 1917 continuity/rupture debate might involve looking at successions and breaks in *fin-de-siècle* and post-Great War addiction research and drug regulation.

Other possible directions of research may require, of course, introduction of new primary sources (including but not limited to legal literature and documents, press, memoirs, and fiction) and widened chronological and territorial boundaries - or a closer investigation

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*und Psychopathologie der Rauschgifte* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1924), 24) or “The addict is not a delinquent, but a patient” (Joël and Fränkel, “Zur Verhütung und Behandlung der Giftsuchten,” *Klinische Wochenschrift* 4 (1925): 1718).

<sup>228</sup> David T. Courtwright, *Dark Paradise: Opiate Addiction in America before 1940* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); David F. Musto, *The American Disease: Origins of Narcotic Control* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Caroline J. Acker, *Creating the American Junkie: Addiction Research in the Classic Era of Narcotic Control* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Nancy D. Campbell, *Discovering Addiction: The Science and Politics of Substance Abuse Research* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007); and Louise Foxcroft, *The Making of Addiction: The 'Use and Abuse' of Opium in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

of everyday medical practice. Of special interest are rather marginal cases: physicians who advocated for the legalization of drugs or those doctors who themselves took drugs – both before and after the Great War.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> In this respect, potentially relevant primary sources might include texts as various as Mikhail A. Bulgakov, “Morfii,” [Morphine] in Bulgakov, *Sobranie sochinenii* [Collected Works] (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1982), 99-129; *TSGASpb*, *fond* 4301, *opis'* 1, *delo* 2538, *l.* 250; and Walter Benjamin, *On Hashish*, trans. Howard Eiland (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006).



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