

**„Healthy Body, Healthy Mind“**  
**- The Social Theory of Hygiene in the Georgian SSR**

By

Elene Shapatava

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology  
and Social Anthropology

Supervisors:

Prof. Prem Kumar Rajaram

Prof. Emese Lafferton

Vienna, Austria

2024

## Abstract

The MA thesis explores medical knowledge production in the Georgian SSR from the 1920s until the end of World War II. Soviet revolutionaries agitated for health as a matter of survival and political change. Medical institutions in different Soviet republics worked with cultural and revolutionary theorists, who considered health and a clean Soviet political subject as part of their modernizing, utopian project.

In the context of social, cultural, and political transformation, the Soviet Social Theory of Hygiene was a field that made it possible to articulate the professional practices of hygienists, doctors, psychiatrists, and even politicians with the revolutionary project. In this context, I ask the following questions in the thesis: How were the body and medicalized subjectivity of the Soviet citizen understood in relation to political legitimizing power in the Soviet Union from the revolution of 1917 until the end of World War II? What were the language, symbolism, and form of Soviet hygiene propaganda and practices in the Georgian SSR? How were psychiatry and institutional care part of the pedagogy with the goal of creating the new Soviet citizen? How was medical knowledge used as a tool of categorization in the case of the Georgian SSR? To answer these questions, I rely on discursive analyses of archival materials found during my research in the Georgian national archives and libraries. I will argue how medical and psychiatric knowledge production in the Soviet context was a biopolitical technique that manufactured acceptable and unacceptable subjects. I aim to show how the vernacular Georgian cultural aspects and meanings mirrored the discourse about the body, hygiene, and psychiatry produced in the center of the USSR.

## Acknowledgement

This thesis would not have been possible without the help and support of many people. First, my sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Prem Kumar Rajaram, who generously provided knowledge and expertise throughout my academic journey, always expressed his readiness to kindly support me, and whose insights helped me see things from various perspectives.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Professor Emese Lafferton for her constructive feedback and helpful suggestions. Additionally, this endeavor would not have been possible without the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology.

Sharing this academic experience with my classmates enriched my research process. I will always be grateful for their insightful discussions and continuous encouragement.

I am profoundly thankful to my family, without whose trust and support none of this would have been possible. Lastly, I would be remiss not to mention my friends in Tbilisi and Vienna, who always encourage me when I doubt myself.

## Content

<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Chapter 1. The Emergence of Red Medicine .....</i>	<i>7</i>
1.1 The Social Theory of Hygiene .....	9
1.2 From the Revolution to Stalinism: Changing Tendencies of Hygiene.....	13
<i>Chapter 2. Beyond Cartesians: Old and New Binarism(s).....</i>	<i>19</i>
2.1 Knowledge Production about Body and Mind .....	20
2.2 From Individual to Social Body: The Language of Politicized Care .....	23
2.3 Disciplining Desires: Venereal Disease as Physical, Political and Moral Threat .....	27
2.4 Soviet Medicalized Subjectivity .....	31
<i>Chapter 3. How to Count Success and Whose Bodies Count.....</i>	<i>37</i>
3.1 Labor Productivity and the Value of body .....	38
3.2 Georgians in Soviet Hygienic Imagination.....	42
<i>Conclusion: Body in the Soviet New World.....</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>Bibliography .....</i>	<i>51</i>

## Table of illustrations

<b>Illustration 1 .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Illustration 2 .....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Illustration 3 .....</b>	<b>34</b>

## **Terms and abbreviations**

*Narodny Komissariat Zdravookhraneniya (Narkomzdrav)* – People’s Commissariat of Health

GSSR – Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic

SEA – National Archives of Georgia

# Introduction

Amid the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the establishment of the Soviet Union in 1922, one of the main goals of the political leaders was creating a new order, which meant producing new values, meanings, and understandings. Soviet leaders, along with scientists from different branches, ideologues, and parts of the government, tried to create a new human being - 'New Soviet Man' (Soboleva, 2017).

The concept of the New Soviet Man remains a topic of ongoing scholarly interest for several reasons: it reflects a vital part of Russian history, it remains associated with positive and negative connotations that still need to be explored, and it functions as a crossroads for different scholarly perspectives. The concept of "New Soviet Man" has a dramatic story, which runs the range between two poles: the idea of the renewal of humanity according to socialist ideals, and the practical embodying of this idea in the Soviet Union. The first pole is marked with the utopian term "New Soviet Man," and the second pole with the sarcastic term "Homo Sovieticus" (Soboleva, 2017, 65). Eugenic ideas of «bettering humankind» resonated strongly with the Bolsheviks' early visions of the country's (and the world's) future. Like eugenicists, the Bolsheviks believed in social progress and the ability of humans to direct it (ibid, 424). One important aspect of the Soviet modernization project of bettering humankind was the health and hygiene of the Soviet individual subjects of different Soviet republics, including the Georgian SSR. It occurred on the institutional and discursive level, which are the interests of this thesis. The period covered in this thesis is from the revolution of 1917 till the end of World War II. The reason for this is that after the end of WW2, the whole economic and political aim of the regime became the recovery from the war (Clark, 1981, 189), which significantly changes every aspect that can be the question of other independent research. The focus of my

thesis will be the Georgian case in the light of the discourse about the body, medicine, hygiene, and psychiatry that was produced in the center of the USSR. I am interested in what kind of subject was imagined in the hygienic and medical discourse. What was the purpose of the Social Theory of Hygiene regarding the creation of the new Soviet order and how individual health and the private space of the citizens gained politicized meanings?

My research questions are: how the body and medicalized subjectivity of Soviet citizens were understood in relation to political legitimizing power in the Soviet Union from the revolution of 1917 before the end of World War II? What was the language, symbolism, and form of the Soviet hygiene propaganda and practices in the Georgian SSR? How were psychiatry and institutional care part of the propaganda with the goal of creating the new Soviet citizen? How was medical knowledge used as a tool of categorization in the case of the Georgian SSR?

Analyzing Soviet hygiene and medical practices with comparison to the Georgian case does not exist, and my work is the first attempt at doing this.

The Soviet Union was a multi-ethnic, multicultural entity. The knowledge about hygiene, medicine, and the body as well as propaganda about it (Michaels, 2000, 2003) were produced not only in the political center of the Soviet Union, meaning Moscow, but also in other republics, such as the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic (Georgian SSR). Archival materials found during my research show how the local knowledge production and practices mirrored what was produced in the political center. At the same time, what I am going to analyze in the thesis is part of the bigger Soviet project, which acquires vernacular meanings and is connected to the question of nationality and ethnicity in the Soviet Union.

While I am looking at the Georgian and Caucasian context, understanding the historical relationship between this region and Russia during the centuries is important. From 1801, the Russian Empire started annexation of different parts of Georgia, as well as the Northern Caucasus. Russian imperial rule was based on taking lands, bodies, and surplus values (Grant,



2009, xii) as many other colonial or imperial powers. Imperial rule lasted till the Russian Revolution of 1917; after this, Georgia became an independent republic which was annexed in 1921 by Soviet troops and the country was declared a “Soviet Republic” (Rayfield, 2013, 339). As Soviets came into rule, they had some epistemological inheritance to deal with the categorization of people of the union. We should not forget that even though the ethnographic knowledge produced during the imperial period about the diverse groups of people, including Georgians and other Caucasian people, was a reliable source for the Soviets, even though they had different ideological bases. Now the aim was to create ‘New Soviet Man,’ which became the reason for the flourishing era of Russian eugenics from the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 until the end of Stalinism. When Joseph Stalin began to consolidate his power, the eugenic movement became part of this process, along with other branches of science, which became the object of continuous limitations due to the centralization of sciences and their subordination to Marxist-Leninist ideology (Bardzinski, 2013, 59).

Among these other branches of science was “Soviet Social Theory of Hygiene” - the main clause of this theory was that every aspect of Soviet citizen’s health is in the field of social rather than of nature/biology, which meant that every aspect of the subject’s life could be regulated and treated as a doctor treats an unhealthy patient. These practices can be part of what Hirsch calls cultural technologies of rule and nature of Soviet power (2006). The classification of all Soviet citizens under the rubric “nationality” in the First All-Union Census, which was conducted in 1926, constituted a critical step in the process of internal transformation that shaped the Soviet state. The ethnographers, statisticians, and linguists who formulated questionnaires and drew up lists of nationalities for the census had to define the terms *natsional’nost’* and *narodnost’* in the new Soviet context. Through a Herculean intellectual and physical effort, these experts worked out definitions, classified diverse peoples, and helped the Bolsheviks to introduce “Soviet power” in the most remote villages, towns, and mountain

regions of their domain. Their effort was a tremendous success. By the late 1920s, the Soviet regime would have enough expert knowledge about the peoples within its borders to step up its transformative agenda—waging an attack on “backward” population groups and denouncing the “old regime” ethnographers who had served the revolution so well. To save their field, the ethnographers would participate in a dual process of Sovietization: of the population and of their discipline (Hirsch, 2006, 102).

This categorization and identities became part of theories about hygiene and health – backwardness based on hygienic habits and national identity was an important entanglement in the Soviet categorization of ethnic groups and new understanding of classes which caused ambiguities with the ideological bases of this political entity. It is also argued that the process of census categorization highlights important similarities and differences between the Soviet Union and other modernizing empires. The Soviet Union used the census to achieve the intellectual and actual mastery of diverse lands and peoples. Soviet experts, like their British and German contemporaries, used their expertise to place their subjects into standardized knowable categories (a definitional grid) that facilitated centralized rule. But Soviet-style classification was far more ambitious than the classificatory projects described by scholars of the colonial census. Several decades after Europe’s “age of empire,” the Soviet regime used the census not just to achieve the conceptual conquest of its population, but also to deliberately transform its subjects’ identities.

The thesis is based on archival research. Since the focus of research is Georgia, the most important archives are situated in Tbilisi. During my fieldwork, I analyzed different archival materials such as manuals of hygiene, medicine and psychiatry, short stories, periodicals, and official documentation of medical and psychiatric institutions.

Three key sites for my research were: National Parliamentary Library of Georgia and National Archive of Georgia (Tbilisi). In Georgia, there are not separate medical or psychiatric archives anymore and all materials were distributed in the above-mentioned archives.

Some of the examples of documents are: “Saunje” (“Treasure”) (1924-1927) editorial which treated the question of hygiene directly, articles from different periodicals such as the “Communist” magazine, handbooks of hygiene for both secondary and higher education, together with Soviet hygiene and sanitary programs and brochures aimed at different groups of people, such as students, as well as at the general society of the Soviet Union. The following funds, regarding Soviet hygiene, are held at the National Archives of Georgia: Funds of the Republican Scientific Institute of Labour Hygiene and Occupational Diseases of the Ministry of Health of the USSR; Sanitary Culture Theater Foundation of the Health Protection Department of the Executive Committee of the Tbilisi City Council; Foundation of the Scientific-Research Institute of Sanitation and Hygiene of the Ministry of Health of the USSR of Georgia; Fund of the All-Union Scientific Institute of Labor and Hygiene Protection under the People's Commissariat of Labor of the SSR of Georgia.

The propaganda of hygiene itself comprises posters, brochures, proclamations, animations, newspapers, and even theatrical plays. By the end of the 1920s, the Theaters of Sanitary Culture existed in different big cities, including Tbilisi.

The method of the thesis is archival research. I use the method of discursive analysis, as I am interested in the “relationship of language to other social processes, and how language works within power relations” (Taylor, 2004:436). In this case, I am interested in the medical language, which is politicized and based on Soviet ideology, as well as its moral implications and connection to the question of ethnicity in the vernacular context of the Georgian SSR.

There is existing literature about hygiene and medicine in the Soviet Union (Newsholme A., 1934, Starks T., 2008, Solomon S.G., Hutchinson J.F. 1990, Solomon S.G. 1990) that can be used as a source for my project.

The main concepts, understanding the body in such a way or discussing subjectivity, rely on Michel Foucault's different works (1988, 1995, 2003). While I am talking about pollution and its political and moral implications, I use Mary Douglas's understanding of these notions (1984). One of the important concepts for this work is the 'social body', which is widely examined in social sciences, but I am interested in the context of the biopolitical project summarized in Sheper-Hugh and Lock's work (1987). As I am looking at the question of the value of the Soviet body, I use Jason W. Moore's theory (2015), which connects this concept to the understanding of labor in different ideological contexts. I try to implement this in the Soviet context.

My thesis is the first attempt to write about hygiene theories and medical institutions in the context of the Georgian SSR. The work can contribute to the history of institutionalized knowledge in the Soviet Union's republics, especially Georgia. It shows the process of ideological meaning-making of such notions as medicine, body, and health in the Georgian SSR, initially.

The main limitation of this research can be that even though I am looking at the official discourse about the above-mentioned topic, it is hard to say if most Soviet doctors implemented these theories in everyday practices. At the same time, official documents from the archives say much more about the institutional work and do not give the picture of how the society of the Georgian SSR reacted to this process, or if this knowledge had become embodied in the practice of citizens' lives.

The structure of the thesis is as follows: the first chapter starts with an analysis of the Soviet context in the years 1917-1945 - the emergence of Soviet medicine and the creation of Soviet

Social Theory of Hygiene, and how the tendencies changed in relation to bigger political events. The second chapter focuses on knowledge production about the body and mind regarding medical and psychiatric knowledge production. I analyze how the concept of the social body was constructed in this discourse. I focus on venereal disease, especially syphilis, as it has moral, political, social, and medical implications. The second chapter finishes with the medicalized subject in the Georgian SSR. The third chapter is about the value-making of the body regarding ideology and labor, as well as the representation of Caucasians, especially Georgian people, in the Soviet discourse of hygiene. Lastly, I conclude on how the body was perceived in the language of Soviet power.

## Chapter 1. The Emergence of Red Medicine



*Illustration 1*

1

This 1920 poster is one of the earliest examples of Soviet visual propaganda, depicting how Lenin cleanses the world off. As Denis Petrina (2016) suggests this poster signifies the main

---

<sup>1</sup> Deni V 1920, Товарищ Ленин очищает землю от нечисти, Political Poster accessed 01.06.2024, <<https://www.bridgemanimages.com/en-US/noartistknown/russia-comrade-lenin-cleanses-the-earth-of-scum-revolutionary-poster-showing-lenin-sweeping-away-the/nomedium/asset/3277688>>

direction of the Soviet ideology, which was a self-imposed obligation to clean the world from the “Rotten bourgeoisie” to create and secure the new, post-revolutionary world order. Apart from representing the Soviet conceptions and ideology, this caricature communicates and propels the audiences to take the same action. The poster above depicts Vladimir Lenin, wiping the unacceptable, soiled, expressions of social class and rank, such as persons representing the Court, the church and bourgeoisie from the face of earth, as if they were dust. Discursive transitions of this nature - where physical properties of dirtiness are interrelated and identified with the moral phenomena, is one of the typical features of discourse produced by the Soviet authorities. The poster above exemplifies, with distinct clarity, the order of post-revolutionary discourse, that the Soviet Union engaged, starting from the Russian Revolution, and continuing throughout Stalinism (Petrina, 2016).

As Nathaniel Knight concludes late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were incubators of ideas and practices that would find broader application by the modern state both in the Soviet Union and abroad. Makers of group identity in particular – such as class, gender, nationality, and race – served as instruments through which the state organized its population into manageable units readily arrangeable into hierarchies of utility and trust. Such questions, of course, were not unique to Russia and the Soviet Union. The fact that Russian statisticians, ethnographers, anthropologists, psychiatrists, and government officials participated in international discussions on the human sciences and their practical application underlines the importance of the comparative context (Knight N., 2012, 668).

Soviet hygiene, eugenic and medical theories as well their institutionalization shows all these aspects, where each of the categories gain ideological meaning and are instrumentalized in the process of categorization. While many authors discuss the question of hygiene and medicine in the context of Soviet Russia, authors such as Paula A. Michaels looks at the medical propaganda and cultural revolution in the Soviet Kazakhstan (2000, 2003) which creates the

knowledge about more “peripheralized” parts of the Soviet Union, where she argues that Soviet officials had hopes for deploying biomedical knowledge in an effort to transform the societies they viewed as backward into partners in socialist construction (Michaels P.A, 2000, 162). As I am looking at the Georgian example of Soviet biomedical project, I want to show how the discourse was represented in the Georgian SSR, how “big theories” such as Soviet Social Theory of Hygiene, gained the vernacular meanings and what forms of categorization took a place.

In the first chapter, I will talk about what the Soviet Social Theory of Hygiene was, how the themes and tendencies in the biomedical discourse were connected to the big political events.

## 1.1 The Social Theory of Hygiene

“Hygiene carries with its connotations far beyond health. The word “hygiene” rooted in the cult of the goddess Hygeia, retains much of the Greek emphasis upon balance and reason as the basis for personal and societal health. As such, hygiene implies more than a condition of the body or environment and entails the creation of order and political systems. As did most medical authorities around the globe, Soviet activists included these classical concepts in their programs to cultivate the people and bring function to the state.”

We read in Tricia Starks’ book “The Body Soviet: Propaganda, Hygiene and the Revolutionary State” (2008, 24). Concerns about private and public hygiene was not exclusive to the Soviet republics, but they created their own theory named as Social Theory of Hygiene<sup>2</sup>, promoted by the People’s Commissar of Health of USSR Nikolai Semashko (Semashko N., 1922, N9). In their language, pamphlets, and programs, Soviet hygienists associated mental acuity, political

---

<sup>2</sup> Gigiena in Russian, *higiiena* in Georgian

orthodoxy, and modernity with lives lived according to the concepts of balance and reason. These presumed benefits from a regulated, hygienic lifestyle informed medical inquiry, education, and state programs. Soviet hygienists believed that ordered lives produced healthy bodies and politically enlightened, productive, and happy populations; strong bodies generated balanced minds that would, in turn, choose the most rational, equitable, and inevitable of political, social, and economic structures, namely, socialism (2008, 61).

This theory has created different fields of knowledge, which were implemented in different branches of medicine, psychiatry, education and labor ethics. Georgian archival materials show that in manuals, pamphlets, various kinds of documents included separate part about the social theory of hygiene and social nature of diseases.

Health was of immediate, vital importance to the new state for political stability, productive industry, and military power, but revolutionaries characterized health programs as necessary for more than mere survival. From the 1920s, the medical field brought together psychiatrists, professors, hygienists, nurses, and public sector officials. Caring for the population was a duty. From their perspective, capitalism had stunted workers' lives and banished them to fetid basements. Revolutionaries pledged to provide the people with better living quarters, improved working conditions, and universal medical care. Reformers moved workers from overcrowded barracks into confiscated bourgeois housing. The government enacted protective legislation, and in 1918 the *Narodnyi Komissariat Zdravookhraneniia* (People's Commissariat of Public Health; hereafter Narkomnzdrav) began a quest to protect the health and welfare of all citizens.

In a book by an American doctor, Arthur Newsholme who travelled in the different Soviet republics in 1930s and was a big admirer of Soviet Socialized medicine, we read that the vast increase in the institutional care of the parturient mother was in the main a development of Soviet administration. It formed an essential part of general policy. The care of motherhood



and childhood was regarded as a first charge on Soviet funds. But under the new regime the rapid industrialization was also regarded as of primary importance, even of urgency; and maternity must not, therefore, be allowed to diminish, more than was inevitable, the working capacity of women. According to the *Economic Review of the Soviet Union* (June 15, 1932) the number of women industrial workers in the U.S.S.R. in 1932 was expected to be six- and one-half millions, an increase of 25 per cent during the year. (Newsholme, 1934,175)

Hygienists were especially interested in some problems which were perceived not only as physical disease, but also had moral and ideological contamination including: Tuberculosis, Malaria and other tropical diseases, venereal diseases, housing, alcoholism, smoking, psychiatric problems, such as Neurasthenia, Schizophrenia, Hysteria, degeneration, as well, childcare, question of maternity, abortion etc. For them social diseases were proves that showed that the reason of every disease had a social nature rather than biological base.

The article from the Georgian periodical dedicated to hygiene titled “Social diseases: degeneration” (“Saunje,” 1924., N2), reads the following: “Children conceived during trying times in history and disorder display obvious signs of some diseases as well as malfunctioning of the nervous system”. The same article emphasizes the importance of “sensible upbringing, the words meant very broadly. [...] Those parents whose diseases are of spirit, nerves, syphilis, tuberculosis, also alcoholics, criminals, geniuses, and others, can transmit, genetically, nervous disorders to their offspring.” According to these doctors, this resulted in melancholy and hypochondria and caused the rate of suicide to go up.

The fact that these diseases were considered a threat to the health and procreation of the population, focusing on them allowed for a space to talk about the morality of the Soviet citizen

along with the issue of health. These diseases, as already mentioned, were perceived not only as physical damage but also related to the "decay of the population".

The use of the body as a metaphor for the party was not surprising, given the scientific mindset of the Marxists. Social scientists, concerned with regulating this social body, diagnosed behaviours and individuals as pathological or normal.

I will discuss the entanglement of moral, medical, economic, and political aspects of Soviet body in the second chapter in the light of Soviet understanding of venereal disease and the question of heredity.

The Soviets needed a tool that would implant the macro elements of their ideology in micro contexts. Foucault's notion of "microphysics of power" may show how such a regime seizes absolute control of the society. The microphysics of power has the capacity to create "obedient bodies" not only through terror, but through the unconscious reproduction of certain actions (discipline). As scholars working on the Soviet Union's history show although terror remained a considerable aspect, the power centre was more focused on propaganda, it had switched its medium from threats to repetition. Daily practices became parts of the power legitimization process, for the citizens had no choice but to participate in the events of art and education, monitored by the state, that the state would suggest being appropriate for their respective groups, be it - youth, politicians or even sporting organisations. Eating and cooking at diners was another form of power, exercised upon the ritual of food consumption, which entails cooking it as well. Intimate rituals such as practice of hygiene and personal health was no exception (Petrina, 2016).

## 1.2 From the Revolution to Stalinism: Changing Tendencies of Hygiene

As I have shown above culture of hygiene, as well as medicine was regarded by the Soviet leaders as imperative elements in building socialism and creating Soviet individuals. 1917-1945 years saw creation of different programs for fitness and bodily health. Healthy population presented a valuable resource in the era of large-scale industrial production and mass wars. However, creating a collective, socialist society was important to realise the aims of the revolution of creating a socialist social body, the number of research and programs increased. The categories encompassing statistical knowledge were influencing perceptions of goals and initiatives of the Soviet leaders. One such influence was the initiatives regarding the culture of physical health, which was the part of social theory of hygiene, exercised by other states (Riordan, 1977). The movement of physical culture was not unique to the Soviet Union, and in 1930-s the leaders paid close attention and often imitated practices of other states. Due to growing unrest in 1930s, physical culture in the Soviet Union became utterly militaristic (Hoffman, 2000).

The following section examines the main aspects of the post-revolutionary and Stalinist period and their change, consequent of different forms of policies and knowledge production. Together with ideology, I examine how specific events or political goals could influence even such a private matter as the body and its care.

Georgian and Russian authors alike, constantly rely on the studies of Western authors, as well as methods or statistics created there. Moreover, in many cases, the articles directly note that some nations, whom they regard as cultured and differ from other “backwards, undeveloped” countries, managed to create a strong state, and they often cite England, America, France, and Germany as examples.

The principal Soviet criticism of this period is directed at Malthusian theory and capitalism in general, more as an era and system in general than at its specific manifestations in the form of any state. For Soviet ideologues Malthusian theory and capitalism were significantly related to each other, as they believed that Malthusian theory was the result of the capitalistic order. The main issue faced by the Soviet Union, according to them, was the scarce population, which they aimed to solve by creating a classless society and taking care of the workers' health.

Ours is the epoch of battling with social class. This battle continues an open field, towards all directions and. In bourgeois states, the capitalist class is exercising an extremely harsh attack on the working mass, to solidify their own systems of ownership and dictatorship. [...] This malnourishment is justified as an essential structural aspect of capitalism. Fascism claims that it is the lack of value, laws of biology, the race and other theories that determines the physical, financial, and mental states of the working class, instead of the constant exploitation they face and the social order they exist in. (Djidjadze, 1935, p.3).

In this introduction of Djidjadze's book “Let Us Be Healthy” and in the following chapters, the confrontation with fascism on the one hand, and the Soviet ideology on the other hand are

clearly visible. If Nazism tried to conceptualise biology as the core issue, Soviet ideology did it through identifying diseases, hygiene, and treatment as social issues.

"The current edition of the brochure "Protect personal hygiene" contains the minimum that is necessary for every cultural worker to know to strengthen his health and prevent diseases. At present, when international "bloody fascism" threatens all our achievements with fire and sword, the question of strengthening the muscles of the Soviet man is given the greatest importance. As the issue of physical and spiritual strength is the same for every Soviet citizen, this book should be considered useful for our heroic Red Army, because only a person equipped with a sanitary culture can be considered a strong and full-value fighter. This also serves our purpose, and that is why we thought it appropriate to finish this publication." (Djidjadze, 1935, ii).

The present passage from the book echoes the same sentiment. Here we can no longer see the cooperation that existed between German and Soviet doctors (Solomon 2006, Solomon 1993). If the twenties, according to Lenin, was an age of conceding to capitalism, as the institutions and methods used by the capitalist Western states are mentioned, in the following period this attitude undergoes a transformation.

The 1930s come with changes in forms and tendencies. Consolidation of Stalinism and being in a fight with fascist Germany also shows itself as an example of hygiene. The language and forms change and take on a more militaristic connotation. If earlier Western systems were the main examples for Soviet authors, now the opposition with the West can be felt even in hygiene methods and theories. It can seem strange that the biological doctrine "eugenics" related to the

right-wing totalitarian systems, which was considered important in Nazi Germany, was also part of the social hygiene of the Soviet Union.

However, the attitude of Soviet hygiene theorists to "eugenics" itself was different and heterogeneous. This perspective became more popular in the 1920s, although it still differed from its Western model. They introduced the concepts of "negative eugenics" and "positive eugenics", and only the latter was an acceptable form for the Soviet ideology. Unlike Western eugenics, the main task and the main strength of the desired species was not only a better ability to survive compared to others, but also an increase in the scale of reproduction. This theory became a part of Stalin's five-year plans. However, in the early 1930s, every form of eugenics became unacceptable, on the one hand due to its connection and association with Nazi Germany and Western countries, and on the other hand, due to the unacceptability of Soviet "eugenics" theorists to the regime, which was caused by their criticism of Stalin's five-year plans (Solomon & Hutchinson 1990).

The confrontation between these theories and the Soviet theoreticians of hygiene took place in Georgia as well. We learn about this from textbooks: "Basic Issues of Social Hygiene" (Djidjadze, 1935). The work itself is from the mid-1930s, and in addition to the "furious class struggle" within society, it focuses on the importance of confronting fascism. The author of the book himself criticises the use of "eugenics" principles in hygiene and cites the words of Georgian scientists who supported it in the previous decade. The main problem for the author himself was the subordination of disease, body, and treatment to the field of biology. Based on the Marxist ideology, the social aspect is much more important. On the one hand, this is a response to the current trends in Germany, and on the other hand, an emphasis on the importance of the social aspect of disease, in accordance with the ideology, as a means of spreading power through "treatment".

In the preface of the small pamphlet "Keep Personal Hygiene" published in 1941 (unknown author), we read:

In this age, where the "bloody spear" of fascism, spreads its flames and puts all our achievements in danger, the muscle strength of the Soviet citizens is of chief importance. As much as all aspects of physical and spiritual health are in the hands of our Soviet citizens, this book should be a great asset to our heroic Red Army as well. For, only those equipped with sanitary culture can ever be healthy and spiritually worthy fighters".

This is one of the clearest examples of the 1930s tendency to give militaristic meaning to the body and its Soviet understanding. It also displays the relationship between the state, society, and the body of the individual.

During the reign of both Lenin and Stalin, emphasis was constantly placed on the fact that the period in which the Soviet people had to live was a time of special challenges and historical moments. Therefore, they constantly appealed to the fact that any action on their part or a special call to the citizens to "responsibility" and to live by the rules established by the Soviets was a fiction of creating stability in the totalitarian system. "The point is that both Hitler and Stalin made promises of stability to hide their intention to create permanent instability", as Hannah Arendt examines the totalitarian regimes (Arendt, 1984, 402).

This instability encompasses the post-revolutionary and post-World War I period. In periodicals, the number of people born with physical and mental problems during this time is repeatedly emphasized. Consequently, this underlines the legitimacy of the state's involvement in its regulation. On the other hand, this echoes what the authors of books on propaganda write

- propaganda in the early Soviet period, after the revolution, was a source of legitimization of power for the Bolsheviks and the main tool for mobilizing the masses around them.

The discourse of this period ascertained that the state and physical culture were interchangeable. "The parade of physical culture is an important demonstration of our nation's might and invincibility," revealing the hidden connection between "culturalization," physical culture, and the state. A parade of healthy young people marching with a giant red flag with the phrase "Hail dear Stalin" is a unity of three elements: politics, personality and state. Politics is centered on the body as an object owned by the individual; However, the strategy of linking the body and the state removes the individual from the sovereign function (as the sovereign of their body) and gives the state sovereignty over everything. In other words, the discursive shift from the body to the state (and vice versa) rests on the ideological foundations of Stalinist biopolitics, destructive yet productive, erasing the boundaries between the personal and the collective and placing personal life on the altar of the "commonwealth."

The regulation of Soviet bodies was a kind of solution to the problems faced by the Soviet totalitarian regime after the revolution. Politics, knowledge, and propaganda related to hygiene, sports or physical education made the body of the Soviet people fully political, which had to be loaded with the kind of ideological knowledge that was acceptable to the New Soviet Man. Everyone who could not fit into an ideological model due to their illness, lifestyle, or body, was a priori an expression of another political order, whose "cleansing" would be legitimate and acceptable, depending on the logic of the regime itself.



## Chapter 2. Beyond Cartesians: Old and New

### Binarism(s)

The Soviet hygienists explained the consecutive process of ideological malnourishment, followed by degradation of the body by asserting the connectedness of the body and mind. Following the materialistic narrative, their conception and image of the body and mind were inseparable.

This chapter starts with discussing knowledge production about body and mind in hygiene and psychiatry theories in Georgian SSR. In these theories health or sickness of individual body is part of bigger structure – social body which also will be discussed in the chapter. Analysis of the social body, referring to the representational uses of the body as a natural symbol with which to think about nature, society, and culture (Sheper-Hughes, Lock, 1987). At the same time, how social body and politicized care will be discussed in the next part of the chapter. Health was not considered as only medical issue, it had moral and political implications which is the clearest in case of one of the social diseases – syphilis, while it does not harm only body and mind, but morality too. How Soviet post-Cartesian understanding of the relationship between body and mind applied to the concrete topics of the theory of the social hygiene will be shown in the example on this light. While Cartesian dualism was seen as problematic from Soviet standpoint in the process of knowledge production about healthy political subject, archival materials show how these narratives created cultural binary models which can be important for Soviet biopolitical project that will be the last part of the second chapter.

In 1926, the Commissioner of Hygiene, Nikolai Semashko defined the issue as follows: “Even in our current times, we are made to think of ‘the body’ and ‘the spirit’, as the ancient ones did. We often think of them as separate entities, we highlight the difference between the spiritual and the physical life - as if the material body and the spirit resided in various places” (Semashko, 1926). The idea that “a physically healthy individual leads a mentally healthy life” and that “the ones who are in good shape, possess a sound mind” are regarded as equally accurate by Semashko. He expands on the idea with a claim that the wellbeing of the body manifests itself in the wellbeing of the mind. The belief of a healthy body being intricately linked with a healthy mind was a shared one throughout many Marxists.

Archival materials about Georgian psychiatric institutions and published books show the same narrative about understanding body-mind dualism. They also show how materialist understanding of mind was hegemonic in the Soviet psychiatric theory which had ideological and political reasons.

## 2.1 Knowledge Production about Body and Mind

Following the upheaval of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and the ensuing civil war (1918-21), which severely depleted the medical resources of the country, the Soviet Union underwent a vast transformation as a new socialist society. The entire health system was nationalized to provide services on a more planned and rational basis for most of the population. Amidst the chaos of this period, many experiments were carried out in all fields of human endeavour in the feverish atmosphere of what was in effect a situation of cultural revolution.

As historian Julie V. Brown shows in her work, there was an attempt to integrate the recent developments in psychoanalysis into the Bolshevik ideological frame during the 1920s. The

search at this time for a Marxist theory of psychiatry and psychology with direct application to medical professionals in psychiatry, led to an intensive examination of Freudian theory which spilled over into the leading Bolshevik party journals and attracted talented academics, writers, scientists, and psychiatrists. By the 1930s, Stalin's reorganization of Soviet society included the condemnation of psychoanalytic theory and practice. Efforts continued to find a theoretical foundation common to all Soviet psychiatrists which would be grounded in the philosophy of dialectical materialism. Freudian theory was rejected, according to the official view because it exaggerated the role of sexuality, underestimated the social problems of working class, and was rooted in an unempirical methodology and a nonmaterialist theoretical framework. The "materialist" outlook which for decades has been so approvingly cited in the Soviet psychiatric literature was codified in the early 1930s, along with the enshrinement of the neurophysiology of Ivan Pavlov. Pavlov was endorsed by the highest political echelons and raised to the level of the founding father of Soviet psychiatry. Future psychiatric research was now to be oriented within the physiological and behavioural parameters established by Ivan Pavlov. Although the politicization of the professions, including psychiatry, undertaken by Stalin during the 1930s seriously restricted research, it did not prevent the development of new trends (Brown, 1987). This is the context in which the first Georgian psychiatric institutions were created. Two of the most prominent Soviet Georgian psychiatrists were Mikheil Asatiani and his student Avlip Zurabishvili. Asatiani was the author of the "Regulation and Basis of Psychiatric Institutions in Georgian SSR" (1922). They authored the books which became manuals for students and doctors, such as "Psychoneurosis" by Asatiani (1930), „General and Private Branches of Psychiatry“ (1931), and „The Problems of Psychiatry“ (1945) by Zurabishvili.

The emergence of psychiatry is highlighted by Zurabishvili in his book:

Psychiatrists are in special conditions: their clinical reasoning becomes more difficult;

They act not only as a doctor-somatologist, but also as a doctor-psychopathologist. He

studies and analyses the patient's mental side as well as his spiritual feelings. In the past, psychiatry was separated from medicine and stood on idealistic ground, as well Georgia during Tsarism and Menshevik rule. The psychiatric case was in an extremely poor condition. There was only one institution at home [in Tbilisi], which with its dark cells was more like a prison than the hospital. Dialectical materialism allows the psychiatrist to understand the somatic and the psychic. In the complex interrelationship of events, the psychiatrist remembers well that consciousness and thinking have their anatomical substrate (brain), that as Engels stated: “matter is not a product of the soul, but the soul is the highest product of matter.” (Zurabishvili, 1931, 12).

The psychiatric clinic was found in Tbilisi in 1921, 7 more clinics were set up in different cities of Georgian SSR. At the same time, in 1925 the research institute of psychiatry was opened, next year - the research institute of Sanitary and Hygiene.

The biggest problem for Georgian psychiatrists was what they called “use of old terms and theories.” For example, the term soul (in Georgian *suli*; in Georgian mental problems were called *Disorders of soul/Sulieri Ashliloba*) was against the materialist bases of the Soviet psychiatry. The result of this was ambiguities in the psychiatric language between materialist understanding and what they called “old terms,” while these doctors gained their knowledge during imperial period.

Psychiatric manuals also discuss the question of body and hygiene of the Soviet citizen, while the authors claim that it is necessary to discuss as healthy minds but also healthy bodies too. As they were against the old imperial knowledge Georgian psychiatrists were against using term eugenic and eugenic theories. At the same time, while Zurabishvili advocates only positive measures in the process of the battle against social diseases, he talks about the importance of abortion for concrete groups, including people with mental problems, alcoholism or tuberculosis and advocates the prohibition of marriage between them (Zurabishvili, 1931,

340). In Bjorn M. Felder's work (2022) this process in the Soviet Union is evaluated as Stalin's hidden eugenic agenda and practice of eugenic abortion.

On June 27, 1936, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR published a joint decree on the prohibition of abortions. This marked the end of a liberal policy begun in 1920, which had initially enabled free decision making by women with respect to pregnancy termination. As of 1936, abortion was criminalized again, with important exceptions made for medical and eugenically indicated abortions. These exemptions were remarkable for several reasons. For one, they continued the practice of eugenic abortions the Soviet government had authorized in 1920, far earlier than any foreign country. Furthermore, in the 1930s, the practice of eugenic abortion clearly came into conflict with rising Lysenkoism opposition to genetics and an outright attack on eugenics following the Russian Eugenics Society's disbandment in 1930. Modern scholars tend to conceptualize eugenics in terms of the Foucauldian notion of biopolitics, and it thus was a rival to the Stalinist version of class-based biopolitics (Felder, 2022, 124). While abortion was a critical issue for the hygiene theory, it also was problematized in the social body's language, discussed in the following section.

## 2.2 From Individual to Social Body: The Language of Politicized Care

In this paragraph I will examine the depiction of the social body in the Georgian archival materials, by focusing first on the question of abortion.

Many articles ("Treasure" 1924-1927, "Georgian Medical Journal" 1922-1948) have been addressed to abortion, and in most of them we read phrases such as: "Terminating pregnancy is a national danger", "Our National Body" (1926, vol.8, 20). Campaigning for motherhood and childcare professionalism with new norms, authorities and institutions is not unique to the Soviet Union. Nor is the method more radical compared to the trials of other countries. The natal propaganda of the Soviet Union emphasised the perceptions of pre-revolutionary and

post-revolutionary cognition and blurred the line between the public and the private spheres of existence. They also constructed narratives about the obligations of citizens and governmental imperatives about Soviet concepts. Even though People's Commissariat of Health could not undertake the entirety of a child's upbringing or infiltration of every house with advice, it conceived the most effective technique to "control" the mothers through maternity homes and other establishments.

The revolution finalised the facilitation of multi scale natal health programs. Interest in birth-rate seems unreasonable for a state that did not fully abolish abortion and which policy about it changed in every few years (Felder, 2022). However, tragic results of terminating pregnancy were constantly emphasised in health propaganda. Indeed, social, and medical authorities claimed that abortion harmed a woman's body, and that giving birth was a civil duty. The new Soviet order desired a stronger, multiplied population for the growth of labour and birth-rate. Legalised abortion coexisted with pro-life politics for a certain amount of time.

Even though propaganda articles claim that men serve as doctors in higher status healthcare departments, the factual fight for the "supreme" notion - the child's upbringing, stayed to be a woman's sphere of action (Starks, 2008, 45). In 1924, the Theatre of Tbilisi Sanitary Culture staged a play by G. Taktakishvili, "Chosen by People". The "Communist" gives following information regarding the play:

The main protagonist, Head of the Institute of Research in Children's diseases - Doctor Nano Iskhneli is fighting a battle against mortality of children. She is helped by her loyal co-worker, an old doctor Mikheil. They work tirelessly to ensure that in our beautiful country, people only die of natural causes, in their old age. Nano's ideas are so important, that even the great Stalin is interested in her projects. So is his loyal apprentice and a friend L. Beria. Nano is surrounded with exceptional

care and attention from the government and the Party. Ilia, who is responsible for such programs associated with health, ensures perfect working conditions for her to achieve this great task. At this momentous time, Nano is disturbed by a personal tragedy - her only child dies from scarlet fever. After a brief time, another tragedy takes over her and her husband, an old Bolshevik, with damaged lungs from the civil war, a labour man Luka dies. Personal tragedies impede Nano's work, as well as Professor Mekhuzla, who is envious of Nano's work. He is a doubting Thomas, who spreads rumours about Nano and tries to belittle her reputation and authority in the society.

Some important symbols and content points are united in the plot. First, lack of boundaries between healthcare and medicine, as well as an impossibility to differentiate between personal life and public obligations is present here. The problem here is, once again the birth-rate, thus both healthcare professionals and political figures are actively invested in the issue. The categorisation of "helpers" and "hinderers" of this process have underlying political essence and is categorised into the dichotomy of good and evil.

In this specific example, the equivocal figure of an old Bolshevik is diseased with an equally ambivalent diagnosis. Tuberculosis, according to the Soviet classification of hygiene, certainly belonged to the sphere of social diseases. However, unlike venereal diseases, it did not possess the quality of 'a rotting body.' Tuberculosis, as is shown in "Saunje" and many other sources, is classified as a "class disease," which means that the disease was inflicted on the most oppressed members of the Tsarist, bourgeoisie-capitalistic society, and once again confirms their decay. Thus, due to the above conceptualization of the oppressed, the disease is less

blamed, the disease however stays to be a marker and an indicator of the person's life before the Soviet regime. For example, the old Bolshevik is as branded from the Tsarist regime, as is the woman. This makes both categories unfit to be the model New Soviet Man.

The social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived. The physical experience of the body, always modified by the social categories through which it is known, sustains a particular view of society. There is a continual exchange of meanings between the two kinds of bodily experience so that each reinforces the categories of the other. Due to this interaction, the body is a highly restricted medium of expression. The forms it adopts in movement and repose express social pressures in manifold ways. The care that is given to it, in grooming, feeding and therapy, the theories about what it needs in the way of sleep and exercise, about the stages it should go through, the pains it can stand, its span of life, all the cultural categories in which it is perceived, must correlate closely with the categories in which society is seen in so far as these also draw upon the same culturally processed idea of the body (Sheper-Hughes, Lock, 1987).

As claimed by the Soviet ideologues of hygiene, caring for the individual body is a manifestation of Tsarist and Capitalistic ideals, as it represents the body as an individual property. To prevent this from happening, apart from curing the ill, greater importance would be placed upon administering "preliminary medicine." Sanitary propaganda and education aimed to create citizens who would have high resistance against illnesses and other challenges posed by the era. This approach puts individualism under doubt. On the one hand - the impact that an individual can have been maximized, and on the other - the individual is stripped from everything that makes it into one (Foucault 1982, 781).



## 2.3 Disciplining Desires: Venereal Disease as Physical, Political and Moral Threat

On December 28, 1937, on the pages of “Communist” (*Komunisti*) newspaper, published in Tbilisi, we read the review of Henrik Ibsen's "Ghosts", staged in Tbilisi Sanitary Culture Theatre:

The theatre of sanitary culture under the health department of the Tbilisi Council staged Henrik Ibsen's “Ghosts” under the direction of a nationally acclaimed artist V. Ninidze. Ibsen is strong in his protest bourgeois corruption and spinelessness. Born in a petty-bourgeois circle, he was able to depict the mental limitations of this circle. "Ghosts" belongs to the number of works of the playwright that most expose the moral decline and depravity of bourgeois society. "Ghosts" is based on the theme of hereditary syphilis. The word syphilis is never mentioned in the play, but the whole work speaks of the destructive power of this terrible disease. The hopelessness and doom that accompanies syphilis-ridden capitalist society is well emphasized. [...] The staging of "Ghosts" in the theatre of sanitary culture should be considered justified. The play will respond to the tasks of sanitary education that this theatre aims at.” (1937, 4).

The use of syphilis to illustrate not only the question of moral and political degradation of body, but of mind too which lies in the symptoms and characteristics of this disease itself. The recurrent disappearance of symptoms, the mysterious process of congenital transmission, and the seeming disconnection between the various stages of the disease, made syphilis the perfect symbolic vehicle for the doctor's assertion of professional authority. As we read in the

secondary literature and what is also evident in the archival materials, instead of searching for primary lesions, Soviet doctors looked to the social and cultural context for epidemiological clues.

The article titled: "The Course of Syphilis" in the "Journal of the Georgian Medicine" (1930), reads the following:

What is it that aids this all? Disorderly life, sleep deprivation, alcoholism, excessive cognitive work, closed spaces [...] These are the conditions that help and prepare soil for the spirochete to take root in the body, execute its work result in invalidity of a person." Thus, the conclusion we can draw from this is that "depravity brings disease," which has resulted in the extinction of many nations. In addition to the fact that these diseases were considered a threat to the health and procreation of the population, focusing on them allowed for a space to talk about the morality of the Soviet citizen along with the issue of health.

In this example of representation of syphilis as a threat to Soviet society we encounter different important codes – one of the most important of it is the hereditary nature of the disease. Hereditary nature of social diseases was problematized by the hygienists and psychiatrists too. In the founding book by Mikheil Asatiani which is a compilation of the case studies about hysteria and neurasthenia heredity is the main medical and moral reason of existing psychiatric problems. In these case studies the first highlighted aspects are if parents were bears of social diseases and their sexual "behaviour" (1930). The other aspects are their national or regional origins, religion, and customs.

Hereditary aspect of syphilis and other social disease can have importance in the language of power in the process of creating moralizing medical discourse. This has its gender aspects, at the same time the main reason of the epidemiological syphilis for Soviet doctors in Georgian archival materials with the problem of hygiene is deviant behaviours and unruly desires.

Thus, while the ancestral body is the etiological source and the causal ground for the illness of the sick individual body, that sick body is the diagnostic medium for the psychiatrist's access to knowledge of the meta-individual illnesses of the ancestral body. Although the patient's individual body is ill, its illness lies most really in its correlative ancestral body (Mader, 2010, 190).

With the Soviet emancipatory project women's body has been problematized in hygiene theories. In Tricia Stark posits in her book (2008), that a woman signified a liminal body for the Soviet ideology and propaganda and existed on the margin of the old and new order. Unlike the men, who were more involved in pre-revolution regime and political order, and thus had a better understanding of the ideologies, vision, and lifestyle that the Soviet Union deemed unseemly and unclean, women were not considered as equal units. A woman's body, as a carrier of venereal disease and therefore of the old unacceptable order, was a threat to the Soviet order. When writing about syphilis as a social disease, they focus on the fact that this disease was spread by adulterous women during the Tsarist era, and this type of relationship itself is a result of the capitalist socio-political structure. Also, such women were often reported as spies (Korchibashi, 1926, N5, 17). By doing this, their political threat and disloyalty is implied and understood. However, the female body and prostitution itself, which in turn is considered a social sin, are again presented as victims of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, although this does not place them so sharply in the dichotomy of the sacred-polluted. Gender can be a model for

the cooperation and distinctiveness of social units. Sometimes bodily openings represent entry or exit points to social units, or bodily perfection can symbolise an ideal theocracy (Douglas 1984, 3), in the case of Soviet hygiene and social diseases, the female body as a symbol acquires a moral-ideological meaning and a priori defines it as a political entity.

Georgian Soviet doctors believed that traditions and sexual behaviours of concrete social and ethnical groups, especially in the peripheral areas were the main reasons of high percentage of syphilis in concrete geographical areas. In archival materials, published books and medical journals we encounter statistics and *papers* about Kakheti and Ozurgeti region under the name of “Sexual Problems of Women from Kakheti” (1935), “Epidemic syphilis in Ozurgeti” (1930), “How to treat Syphilis in Countryside” (1931).

In those articles, there is highlighted few aspects: lack of knowledge about self-care in these populations, cohabitation of different Caucasian people which cultivates deviant sexual behaviours and unruly sexual desires which makes syphilis endemic for these areas.

Desire is highly problematized by hygienists and doctors, they talk not only about sexual desires, but also as they call “excessive love and affection to their children” (Korchibashi, 1927, N2, 18) which is seen as a reason of onanism in children. Masturbation in children is considered because of hereditary degradation and it is not surprising that sexual behaviour is seen as a social process of learning which is closely related to morality. We can say that for Georgian hygienists' masturbation in children is seen as an abnormal practice which is seen as a threat to the moral and political order.

The medical knowledge about these topics not only implemented rules and governed citizen's bodies, but was a process of “othering,” as Dan Healey describes (2009). While Healey's argument is that othering process was the most evident about Russian population inside the Soviet Union, Georgian discourse on syphilis, heredity and onanism shows how local culture was seen as a reason of the spread of venereal disease as a threat to social structure and Soviet

utopia of creating New Soviet Man – everyone who was ill with these “social diseases” were the reasons of the disease itself.

The main reason with abnormal cultural behaviours for doctors as I noted is unruly desires as a threat not only to the individual health but to the social order and their answer to this problem was implementation of self-care knowledge and practices in the population. In the hygienic discourse we see the dichotomy of desire and self-regulation, uncontrolled desires could not be the part of Soviet citizen’s habitus and Foucauldian understanding of self-care (1984) helps to understand anxieties about sexual behaviour in relation to totalitarian anxieties about power and modernity in Georgian SSR. The bodily technologies of self-care might be interpreted as strategies to counter the unwanted side-effects of modernization.

Yet they persistently rejected evidence of sexual misbehavior that testified to the crumbling of traditional bonds. Eager for signs of personal autonomy that could be disciplined in nontraditional ways, through self-regulation guided by medical expertise, the sexualization of syphilis was nevertheless a strategy most Russian physicians did not willingly embrace.

## 2.4 Soviet Medicalized Subjectivity

What we need is a generation of youngsters who shall reach political maturity amidst the fiercest and the most disciplined battle against the bourgeois. This is the battle that will mold them into true communists. They must surrender to this process all aspects of their learning, as well as any other form of education” (Lenin, “The Tasks of the Youth Leagues,” 1920).

Lenin’s words have appeared in the hygiene and physical education systems numerous times. Subjectifying the youth was the most efficient way of ensuring the transmission of ideology. Children presented the “cleanest state,” they were Tabula Rasa personified, which made them the most suitable candidates for planting the roots of ideology. Subjectification of this sort took

shape in two forms: 1. The politico-hygienic messages of the leaders and the people of authority were addressed toward children and 2. Using the figure of a child, as the author of propaganda messages (Petrina, 2016).

The article, titled “Social diseases: degeneration” (Korchibashi, 1924., N2), reads the following: “Children conceived during trying times in history and disorder display obvious signs of some diseases as well as malfunctioning of the nervous system”. The same article emphasizes the importance of “sensible upbringing, the words meant very broadly. [...] Those parents whose diseases are of spirit, nerves, syphilis, tuberculosis, also alcoholics, criminals, geniuses, and others, can transmit, genetically, nervous disorders to their offspring.” This resulted in melancholy and hypochondria and caused the rate of suicide to go up. Children of this nature could be distinguished by the fact their imagination might distract them from studying, they are more prone to art, than science. All of these are reasons why these individuals are less committed to work, and thus do not fit the ideal model of a Soviet citizen.

34



<sup>3</sup> Unknown author, poster, 1930s, accessed 01.06.2024, <<https://propagandahistory.ru/2179/Materinstvo--v-sovetskom-plakate-1930-kh-gg/>>

Illustration N2 is another example of the above-mentioned dichotomies and depicts a thematically similar visual message, that of mothers and children and the possible degeneration caused, as the article above. In this case, the child who weighs less is the offspring of a mother who has an unseemly working schedule. The good health of children as well as the necessity to procreate had shown itself as a prominent issue during the research. This implies a strong tendency of the soviet leaders and authoritative ideologues, towards advocating population growth. It should be noted, however, that the same tendency was a familiar aspect of politics in many European states.

Soviet ideologues ascertain in several ways the falseness of the previous assumptions regarding the dangers of overpopulation, and that every developed state shared this tendency, amongst which the Soviet Union was in the lead. Population growth was also necessary for the existence of the state. Previous perceptions about the issue were a result of capitalism, and thus, could be solved by resolving the discourse of social class.

While a child's body was easily put into the frames of Bolshevik dichotomies and as easily perceived as a pure, unsoiled body, similarly positive classification eluded the body of a woman. As Tricia Stark posits in her book (2008), that a woman signified a liminal body for the Soviet ideology and propaganda and existed on the margin of the old and new order. Unlike the men, who were more involved in pre-revolution regime and political order, and thus had a better understanding of the ideologies, vision, and lifestyle that the Soviet Union deemed unseemly and unclean, women were not considered as equal units. This stemmed from the same capitalistic tendencies and inequalities, that justifies this very theory. Although women had no active role in creating the new world, which started being cleansed by Lennin, they still had to live the new reality and did not completely comprehend the teachings of Soviet

Education. Women were perceived as victims of the old regime. Even though women could not transform into such subjects, as were necessary for the Soviet power, they played a transitional role in solidifying the new order. The main “dignity” of women was their ability to provide the Union with a new generation, which would be born into and inherently aware of the Soviet teachings.

5



*Illustration 3*

Illustration N3 exemplifies the second role assumed by children in propaganda, which is an unsoiled, political subject. The poster was printed in 1923 and is titled “Children’s Rally”. This poster is a curious example, in that the form in which it delivers calls for action is aimed not only at children or their parents, but towards the Soviet leaders themselves. The curiosity lies in the fact that the posters held by the children depict and replicate, with precise accuracy, the

<sup>5</sup> “Митинг детей”, А. Комаров, 1923 год, <https://zavodfoto.livejournal.com/1586942.html>, accessed 01.06.2024



appeals, and themes that the propaganda of hygiene demands from the population. This time, however, the state is alluded to be sharing the obligation of its people, and on the other hand breaches into the personal space and legitimises absolute control. The example above depicts an answer to children's pleas as perceived by the politicians, ideologists, and hygienists. Children were identified most closely to perceptions about a clean body. Thus, they constituted a structure of such autonomic power, whose calls for building a happier community would always be justified.

One other example, where children are depicted as autonomous bodies encompassing full Soviet knowledge, is a 1931 brochure "Let's be healthy" (Falkner, 1931). The story that the brochure tells, divides the gender and familial roles. The plot consists of a description of a family members' lifestyles: Gigla and Kato, siblings who go to school, the mother - who is "a housewife" and the factory worker father. Kato, who lives by the rules of hygiene, is the main protagonist of the story, her mother being the antagonist. Women were often thought of hindrances during the revolution and destroyers of the united social body. Identifying women with the process of decay was a widespread idea. Thus, Lenin surely intended to emancipate women from top to bottom ("First All-Russia Congress of Women" V. Lenin, Political Speech, 1918), but there remained certain characteristics that represented a woman's distance from the Soviet model citizen.

Kato and her brother find out all the valuable information about hygiene and cleanliness at their school. Whilst the main reason their mother is "backwards thinking," in that sphere, is

because she is attached to no institution. The text is part dialogues and scene descriptions and part a sort of, back and forth iteration of slogans. The demands children pose are not only directed towards their parents, but towards the state as well, for example: “Build as many parks and greeneries as possible for us [children]!” (Ibid 6). In one part of the story, the father sympathises with and acts accordingly to the children’s slogans, because he had acquired this knowledge at the lecture held at the factory.

This Brochure makes it recognisable that children create posters on themes of cleanliness and health themselves, for their classrooms. This should be considered in the context of Sonja Luehrmann's description of self-produced propaganda. Rather institutions may inadvertently reproduce a common sense that runs counter to their formulated mandate (2013). In the case of Soviet professionals, this approach might signify their tight interconnectedness to the doctrine. However, referring to every aspect of this cultural hegemony as an “ideology,” makes it impossible to differentiate the diverse levels of responsibility. The Soviet example displays how blurry the boundaries are between unintentionally repeating and strongly resonating with the ideas. Those who had “agentive power” operated differently from those who had “non-agentive power” in spreading the ideology (Comaroff 1991, 23).

## Chapter 3. How to Count Success and Whose Bodies

### Count

If we compare contemporary understanding of medicine to what it was before the revolution, we can see differences. If before the main basis was medication of already sick patient, today primary one is the prophylactic medicine, which only can work in the Soviet Socialist countries. The aim of prophylactic medicine is understanding the living and working conditions and improvement this sphere according to organizational measures. (Chubinidze, 1929, 332)

This is an excerpt from the book “Human Anatomy and Physiology with Hygiene” which is dedicated to the question how the results of hygiene institutions work should be measured. Anthropometrics was perceived as the main method of such measurements. The book widely discusses how every part of the human should be measured and defined as healthy or unhealthy in relation to hygiene practices. While the articulated goal of the book’s author is to entangle anthropometrics with Soviet materialist ideology, he relies on such a pseudo-science as phrenology. It is not surprising that the size of the skull, height or other “variables” are instrumentalized to talk about ethnic differences between people of the Soviet Union, which also is translated in the language of civilization and backwardness. As well, this book’s main goal is to create guiding knowledge for different institution in the Georgian SSR to implement in the process of policymaking.

Chubinidze’s book is not the only example of obsession with the measurement and categorization. The book “Social Hygiene and Statistics for the Students” published in 1939, Tbilisi which was widely used as a manual for physicians, psychiatrists and doctors show how

the results of knowledge production about hygiene and different branches of medicine as a project was counted. While anthropometrics and medical statistics are part of the medical knowledge, for every author ideological base is extremely important. To count the improvement to “degeneration” of different subpopulation of the Soviet Union the main variable for hygiene theorists was labour productivity of proletariat. Why and how it was important is discussed in the following section. As instrumentalization of statistics and measurements creates the categories, I want to show how it was related to the question of ethnicity in the Georgian SSR, which was the part of the bigger Soviet project which will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

### 3.1 Labor Productivity and the Value of body

New Soviet Man was imagined and represented in relation to “bettering man through labour” (Gogibedashvili, 1945, 5), by looking at this we can see how values to do with labour productivity, reproduction, ideology was formed. While each of these aspects were represented in the binary models of degeneracy/civilization, social/biological, gender or ethnicity the main problem which Soviet leaders and theorists were dealing with was the finiteness of labour production. The focus was on how available resources and “problems” can be improved by putting everything in the aspect of social. The whole project can be seen as rethinking the boundaries between man and environment, their impact on each other in the process of overcoming the finiteness of labour production and human reproduction.

Following Jason W. Moore’s examination of the question of nature and society in the capitolocene (2015), I will try to talk about Soviet value production in its different ideological context. Moore writes that “Every civilization must decide what is valuable. The Marxist tradition makes occasional reference to a “law of value”—but this “law” can scarcely be detected in most radical analyses of capitalism, its historical movements, and its relation to the

web of life.” For the Soviet project, as I noted before, it was important that nothing should have same understanding as it was in the imperial Bourgeois society.

According to archival materials collected in the Georgian National Archives and libraries, as well in the secondary literature, the concept of the “New Soviet Man” was discussed as a eugenic project (Bardzinski, 2013). This project can be seen as a task to understand human nature, its value and ability to change. While one of the prominent things in this process was the “Social theory of hygiene” based on ideological premises and the Soviet interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, it defined not only the essence of soviet human but its relation to the environment which put both entities in the sphere of “social” rather than biology or other “hard sciences.”

In the entire process of meaning production one of the most important things was the role of labour – as the value which defines “Sovietness” of human, its value for the whole project of Soviet Union. One of the most popular branches of “The Social Theory of Hygiene” was “Institute of Hygiene of Labour and Professional diseases,” its aim was to care for the worker’s body and health, and to raise productivity. The books and journals which are published on this topic show how “social body of workers,” which is always articulated in the language of progress and productivity, gives value to the body of the worker itself.

This also shows the main differences of Soviet eugenics, later called psycho-hygienic movement from Western analogues. As Peter Fritzsche and Jochen Hellbeck (2009) describe: “At the turn of the twentieth century, it was technological and scientific advancement, rather than revolutionary virtue, that invigorated the construction projects of collective subjectivity. Engineers, scientists, as well as intellectuals assembled an array of efficient and eugenic bodies designed to overcome degenerative cycles of history. Soviet Union was – for several reasons – a fertile ground for developing numerous projects and conceptions of who should the new man

be, and how could he be attained. It worth nothing that linking between the idea of a “new better man” and nature in the Soviet thought has been strong since the beginning of fashioning such projects. The notion of fashioning new beings out of nature acquired increased urgency (2009, 305). Emergence of the social and private hygiene of the Soviet citizen was part of this project. As Soviet theorists and doctors believed that intuitive natural aspects of citizen’s life should have been tamed for the need of Soviet modernization project.

Moore also writes that “Civilizations are shaped and defined by their priorities: by deciding what things and what relations are valuable. Their rules of reproducing power and wealth turn on these choices of what is—and what is not—valuable. For capitalism, the choice has been clear, and peculiar. “Value” is determined by labour productivity in commodity production: the average labour-time embedded in the average commodity. This kind of value was unprecedented, and its expressions were spectacular.” (Moore, 2005, 61). Archival materials about Soviet Social Theory and the project of New Soviet man which knowledge production not only imagined the valuable Soviet citizen, but also pictured the one who does not have value – these ideological understanding of human beings replaced classical dualistic models not only the one about body and soul/mind, but also nature/society too.

Another issue, crucial to ideology, was the protection of the labourers/proletariat’s health. A person’s health, in general, was measured by his ability to work and procreate. “The primary aim of Soviet medicine constitutes betterment of labourers’ health.” The above-discussed mode of subjectification is at hand here. On the one hand, the state is the acting subject who cares for the betterment of the labourer’s health, and on the other - the same article reads that “the health of the labourer is his own business.”

“The diseased cannot create anything of value, and what’s more - he is a hindrance to society” (Korchibashi 1926, N1, 20) we read in the Georgian journal of hygienic theories. The loss of the ability to work is the main reason that can turn a Soviet citizen into a "bare life" (Agamben,

1998). According to Soviet hygienists, the responsibility for this lies with the citizens themselves, that is why pre-medicine was created - pedagogy, which collectively tries to treat citizens by providing knowledge, one of the main mechanisms of which is abstinence. "For all those who are physically active, abstinence is very beneficial. It is proven that after sexual intercourse, the ability to work decreases." (Korchibashi 1927, N5). In contrast to the Nazi transformation, you have a Soviet-style transformation which consists in doing just the opposite. It does not use the dramaturgy of legends, and it is diffusely «scientific». It consists in reworking the revolutionary discourse of social struggles and articulating it with the management and the policing that ensure the hygiene of an orderly society. In Soviet State racism, what revolutionary discourse designated as the class enemy becomes a sort of biological threat (Foucault 2003, 83).

The accommodation to difficult and harsh environmental conditions as a tool of eugenics not only is in accordance with the Lysenkoism and neo-Lamarckian paradigm of inheriting acquired traits (which were theories officially taken by the Soviet government), but also – in light of recent discoveries in genetics and heredity science – may be a scientifically legitimate way of influencing certain physiological changes in future generations. According to Kevin V. Morris, a certain part of the human genome – the long non-coding RNA – may be permanently influenced and changed due to environmental impacts during the epigenetic phase of prenatal development, and – as the part of the human genome – may be transmitted to one's offspring, thus granting them qualities and traits obtained by their biological parents: "Epigenetic changes accrued over an organism's lifetime may leave a permanent heritable mark on the genome, through the help of long noncoding RNAs," as (Bardzinski, 2013, 69) emphasizes. Claiming that individual changes – effects of certain, external stimuli – may be subject of heredity

supports thus the effectiveness of Soviet eugenic doings, and thus helps explain the appearance of such sociological facts as the New Soviet Man.

### 3.2 Georgians in Soviet Hygienic Imagination

In places affected by gout, a passer-by often notices the village scumbags, that is, the so-called Cretins. We can observe the spread of Cretinism in special places alone. We often observe Cretins in the mountains of Caucasus, where there are 300 recorded cases of Cretins. Cretinism is no less an issue in the regions of Adjara<sup>[1]</sup> and Eastern and Western Georgia as well. A large majority of Cretins are reported to reside amongst the mountain people of Northern Caucasus. They differ from a sane person both by the irregular structure of the body and by the lesser development of intelligence.<sup>[2]</sup>

We read in the article “Cretins”/Village Scumbags” (Korchibashi, 1926:14). This can be seen as one example of what Katherine Hirsch in her book “Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and Making of Soviet Union” argues - how the Soviet Union used ethnographic knowledge for a Soviet program to construct a kind of evolutionary line (Hirsch, 2006). considering hygiene and medical knowledge - in the orientalist discourse of the Russian Empire, itself, as well as the regions of the high-mountainous Caucasus, often acquired the meaning of a wild, lazy “backward Orient” which did not fit in the Soviet progressivist project.



Here I want to show how Georgians and Caucasian people were represented in the Soviet imagination. This kind of knowledge production can be one of the main sources to see the process of categorization and creation of national identities in the Soviet Union.

As Bruce Grant argues about the way to look at Imperial and Soviet past of Caucasus and Caucasian people in his book “Captive and the Gift: Cultural Histories of Sovereignty in Russia and Caucasus” (2009), one must think historically not only about practices of Russian governance over time but with the equally historicized archive of the Caucasus’ many social worlds (Grant, 2009:xvii). While I am looking at the “genealogy” of representation of Caucasian, especially Georgian, people, in case of this specific knowledge reproduced in the first three decades of Soviet Union, I rely on the literature which discusses the transition from Russian imperial rule to the Soviet nation-building. Hirsh summarizes that, when the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917, they set themselves the task of building socialism in the vast landscape of the former Russian Empire, a territory populated by hundreds of different peoples belonging to a multitude of linguistic, religious, and ethnic groups. Before 1917, the Bolsheviks had called for the national self-determination of all peoples and had condemned all forms of colonization as exploitative. After attaining power, however, they began to express concern that it would not be possible for Soviet Russia to survive without the cotton of Turkestan and the oil of the Caucasus. In an effort to reconcile their anti-imperialist position with their desire to hold on to as much territory as possible, the Bolsheviks integrated the national idea into the administrative-territorial structure of the new Soviet state. She especially looks at “two competing models for Soviet state organization: the ethnographic paradigm (which took the “national idea” as its starting point) and the economic paradigm (which drew inspiration from the European colonial economies). Together, these evaluate the influence of European ideas about nation, empire, and economic development on the Bolsheviks, on the former imperial experts, and on the process of Soviet state formation” (Hirsch, 2006:17).

This is one example of how the Soviet Union used ethnographic knowledge for a Soviet program, in this case hygiene, to construct a kind of evolutionary line (Hirsch, 2006). In the orientalist discourse of the Russian Empire, Svaneti itself, as well as the regions of the high-mountainous Caucasus, often acquired the meaning of a wild, “backward Orient.”

„We can observe the spread of Cretinism in special places alone. We often observe Cretins in the mountains of Svaneti, where there are 300 recorded cases of Cretins. Cretinism is no less an issue in the regions of Adjara and Eastern and Western Georgia as well. A large majority of Cretins are reported to reside amongst the mountain people of Northern Caucasus.” (Korchibashi, 1925, N5, 25)

Consequently, binary oppositions did not apply specifically to people, but also to groups and places. This topic was significantly related to development and modernity - those who did not have the ability to be a modern subject, lost their autonomy and were marginal participants to the society. At such times, hygiene theorists often used the language of predictive science, which Hannah Arendt speaks of as the biological leadership of the Nazis and, in the case of the Bolsheviks, the leadership of class principles (Arendt, 1984). According to these principles in both totalitarian systems, citizens had to "find their home all over again" in this brave new world. Those who could not find a place in the new system, as far as hygiene care went, were considered polluted, which, according to Douglas, affects both primitive and modern societies on different scales (Douglas, 1984).

A Georgian pamphlet published in 1937 called "The Sun is Life" artistically describes a fictional doctor's journey to Khevsureti.

The village of Dumatskho appears, wedged into the beginning of the valley. A relay goes down its left and spins the moss-covered wooden wheels of the mills near the icon of Pirmzi (the old shrines of the village). On the right flows frantically the river Black

Aragvi. This river is truly pitch black throughout all weather. The river is small in body, but its turbulent, sand-throwing waves surely cripple a rider or two, before it joins the real Big Aragvi near Pasanauri. At the end, like a dagger, it cuts into the slopes of the more stubborn Aragvi, fast and unbroken, fresh, and delicious like milk...

This entire text is built on the comparison of binary oppositions - the author compares the mountain house with the population of the lowland. Also, the comparison of two families in the text highlights that both families work hard, however one of them violates the rules of hygiene, causing illness and death upon the members of the family. This makes the Soviet doctor, travelling to Khevsureti, extremely upset.

And if today there are still families who are tearful and troubled - the fault lies with their own selves, as they hardly try to introduce health-saving measures. And the time has come: all the shackles of slavery have been broken. Life moves forward at lightning speed. The worker forges his future with faith as radiant as light. And in such a time, in order for his work to become fruitful, he must be aware of what a person is in general, and in particular- how he should arrange his living apartment and cattle stall, how he should feed and care for himself, what he should remember while working in the factory or in the field, and how he should take care of himself in general. For himself and his family, to avoid plague and famine and his efforts to remain fruitful in the socialist construction in full swing." [...] "What does plague, and death have to do here? Has plague any place in the countryside? Here, where the peasants working in collective farms will be continuously pampered by the care of the Soviet government!

From this part of the text, the social, moral, and political obligation of "soiled citizens" can be fully seen, which hinders not only their well-being and health, but also "socialist construction

in progress", therefore such bodies are a problem for the Soviet government and are not valuable.

In this kind of examples, Georgian subpopulations and groups' hygiene and health issues with medical, moral, and political reasons have ethnical one too. The endemic diseases, as hygienists called it, were inherited because of the habits of this people. Even though, according to the Soviet census Georgians were the titular nation, discourse show where concrete groups were meant on the Soviet evolutionary line what Hirsch talks about. These habits and traditions would not fit with the imagined idea of the New Soviet Man, so it was meant to be regulated and changed to fit with the Soviet modernization project. The archival materials cannot show how the Soviet Social Theory of Hygiene affected everyday life of Georgian citizen's life, but it gives a space to talk about how ethnicity could be problematized in case of hygiene knowledge production of the Soviet Union which created additional categorization to the categories such as nationality or gender.

## Conclusion: Body in the Soviet New World

The propaganda of hygiene manifests its power in every practice, and simultaneously conducts discourse regarding the pure and polluted bodies. Living in transgression of the Soviet lifestyle produces a mental effect of identifying oneself or others as enemies of the state and the society. Thus, the state aimed at having full autonomy over its citizens' bodies and affirmed that caring for one's health is not merely a choice, but an obligation before the Union and the people. "Sanitary legislation should be a permanent means, by effect of which, according to the state

law, i.e. Compulsively, carries out certain sanitary requirements, as laws of hygiene dictate and are good for the society” (Malishev, 1939).

At the same time, many texts on the theme of hygiene offer a claim that a unifying profession must come through, of medical and agitator workers, who should directly monitor and control how well the people care for their own bodies.

The body had become an entirely political sphere of influence, thus the control and autonomy over it was an integral way of regulating sovereignty of the state. Stark considers that the hygiene propaganda itself had no tangible effects - The decades of messages about hygiene and rational life failed to reach its aimed goal. The body of a Soviet citizen was not more physically agile or physically fit to the system, than the body of the citizens of other states in the world. Neither were the programs of surveillance, propaganda, and hygiene effective in implementing changes in lifestyle, and the perception of the physical and cognitive. The Collective Spirit did not arise to breathe life into the cleansed bodies of the Soviet citizens (2008).

Producing a constant binary opposition between the clean and the polluted, healthy, and unhealthy, the propaganda continuously created perceptions about disposable and important bodies.

Hygiene propaganda is one of the examples that clearly show how advanced and flexible the techniques were that the Soviet Union used to produce knowledge about categories. How they effectively managed to create icons of a hero and an enemy, as well as legitimised the state's involvement in any affair. Furthermore, those who were unable to control their own bodies, the authority on that would be transferred to the state and the Party, who would simultaneously use them as source of their own power-exercise. The introduction of correct habits led to the triumph of Soviet culture. Such improved habits paved the way to a utopia. By cleansing the

body, following a strict schedule, avoiding pollutants, and engaging in physical culture, citizens could triumph over biology and resist the temptations and snares of modern life. It was supposed to be a step forward that would contribute to the creation of a brave new world inhabited with New Soviet Men. At the same time, it was a constant call for mobilisation, which the system would use for domestic political or international challenges at the right time.

Language and symbolism used in the production of visual or print media of physical and hygiene propaganda was dedicated entirely to the production of dichotomies. It also managed to put a cloak of local cultures, languages, and symbolism, which gave their ideology and essential doctrines a way to not only penetrate the perception sphere of the population, but to also create new perceptions about a model human being. This knowledge production was involved in creating the opposing figures as well, through which the people were obliged to feel guilt and shame, so they could identify the “political or moral enemy;” the enemy soiled the society by displaying lack of control over his body and harmed the society by doing so. A citizen of this sort was the biggest hindrance to realising the utopia, and thus controlling their bodies was the state’s prerogative. Furthermore, it also operated by representing its aims as the goals the people themselves have set, thus, managing to execute.

A person’s health, in general, was measured by his ability to work and procreate. In this context, Georgian people were represented as “rural” group which are backward from urban development, and they mostly represent the class of peasants rather than proletariat, which was quite problematic for Soviet authors of hygiene theory. Because of this, Georgian peasants are seen as a victim of old imperial regime, at the same time they are not the desired subjects as a category for utopian project.

In conclusion, I would say that the representation of Georgian and Caucasian people in the Soviet Social Theories of Hygiene represent as ideological understanding of subject, progress,

and backwardness, it also inherited the epistemology and the forms of categorization based on ethnographic knowledge created in the imperial Russia. These understandings created not only marginalized citizens, but groups of the people and even places. This became extremely problematic for Soviet project of creating the “New Soviet Man’ which were supposed to above to the different cultural understandings. While the Soviet project was emancipatory for the lower classes, this kind of practices created new dichotomous categories according which some would fit with it and other would be marginalized, while they were represented as dirty from the imperial, such as Caucasian peasants which were doomed to never become part of Proletariat which meant that they were not able to create the surplus value – so important for the Soviet project.





# Bibliography

“Georgian Medical Journal”, The Institute of Medicine in Georgian SSR, 1922-1948.

Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1984.

Asatiani, G. "The Sun Is Life." *Sat. Biomedgidi*, Tbilisi, 1937.

Asatiani, M. *Psychoneurosis*, Sakmedgami Publishing, Tbilisi, 1930.

Bardzinski, F. "The Concept of the ‘New Soviet Man’ As a Eugenic Project: Eugenics in Soviet Russia after World War II." *Ethics in Progress* 4, no. 1 (2013): 57-81.

Batkis, G. A. "Social Hygiene - Sanitary Condition of the Population and Sanitary Statistics." *Sat. Biomedgidi*, Tbilisi, 1939.

Brown, J. V. *Peasant Survival Strategies in Late Imperial Russia: The Social Uses of the Mental Hospital*. *Social Problems*. Vol.34, No. 4. October 1987.

Chubinidze, T. *Human Anatomy and Physiology with Hygiene*. Tbilisi: Sakhelgami, 1929.

Clark, Katerina. *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Comaroff, John. "Humanity, Ethnicity, Nationality: Conceptual and Comparative Perspectives on the U.S.S.R." *Theory and Society* 20, no. 5 (1991): 661-687.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/657782>.

Djidjadze, A. *Basic Issues of Social Hygiene*. Tbilisi: Tbilisi State Publishing House, Scientific Sector, Part One, 1935.

Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*.

London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.

Falkner, N. *Let's Be Healthy*. Tbilisi: State Publishing House, 1931.

Felder, B.M. Stalin's Hidden Eugenic Agenda: Debating and Practicing Eugenic Abortion in the Soviet Union, 1920–1951 . *Ab Imperio*, 4/2022, pp. 123-156.

Foucault, Michel. "Subject and Power." In *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, edited by Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, 208-226. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Random House, 1995.

Foucault, Michel. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. Translated by Richard Howard. New York: Vintage Books, 1988.

Foucault, Michel. *Society Must Be Defended*. Translated by David Macey. New York: Picador, 2003.

Foucault, Michel. *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. Translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Foucault, Michel. *The Care of the Self: Volume 3 of The History of Sexuality*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books, 1988.

Fritzsche, Peter, and Jochen Hellbeck. "The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany." In *Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared*, edited by Sheila Fitzpatrick and Michael Geyer, 302-341. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Gogiberashvili, V. *Works*. Tbilisi: Litographia Publishing, 1945.

Graham L.J., "Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault". Queensland University of Technology. 2005.

- Grant Bruce. *Captive and the Gift: Cultural Histories of Sovereignty in Russia and the Caucasus*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Healey, Dan. *Bolshevik Sexual Forensics: Diagnosing Sexual Disorder in Clinic and Courtroom, 1917-1939*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Heller, Mikhail. *Cogs in the Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man*. Translated by David Floyd. New York: Roy Publishers, 1988.
- Hirsch, Francine. *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge & the Making of the Soviet Union*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Hoffman, David. *Bodies of Knowledge: Physical Culture and the New Soviet Person*. Columbus: Ohio State University, 2000.
- Knight, Nathaniel. "Vocabularies of Difference: Ethnicity and Race in Late Imperial and Early Soviet Russia." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 13, no. 3 (2012): 667-683.
- Korchibashi, G. Saunje, 1924-1927. Tbilisi: United Council of San-Education.
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich. "The Tasks of the Youth League." 1920. Marxists Internet Archive. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/oct/02.htm>.
- Lenin, Vladimir. "Speech at the First All-Russian Congress on Adult Education." May 19, 1918. In *Lenin's Collected Works, Volume 27*, edited by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, 235-246. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965.
- Luehermann, Susanne. "Reconstructing the House of Culture: Community, Self, and the Makings of Culture in Russia and Beyond." *Social Anthropology* 21, no. 2 (2013).
- Mader, Mary Beth. "Foucault's 'Metabody'." *Journal of Bioethical Inquiry* 7, no. 2 (2010): 187-203.
- Malishev, V. P. *General Manual of Hygiene*. Tbilisi: Ishladgami, 1939.

Michaels, Paula A. "Medical Propaganda and Cultural Revolution in Soviet Kazakhstan, 1928-41." *The Russian Review* 59, no. 2 (2000): 159-178.

Michaels, Paula. *Curative Powers: Medicine and Empire in Stalin's Central Asia*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003.

Moore, Jason W. *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital*. London: Verso Press, 2015. Reviewed by Eric H. Thomas.

Newsholme, Arthur, and John Adams Kingsbury. *Red Medicine: Socialized Health in Soviet Russia*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1934.

Semashko N, "The Foundations of the Health System of the Soviet State," speech delivered at the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, 1922.

Petrina, D. "Healthy Body, Healthy Mind: The Visual Propaganda of Personal Care during the Cultural Revolution in the Stalinist State." *GeoHistory Today*, May 18, 2016.

<https://geohistory.today/propaganda-health-policy-ussr/>.

Rayfield, Ronald. "Edge of Empires: History of Georgia", Reaktion Books, 2013.

Riordan, James. *Sport in Soviet Society: Development of Sport and Physical Education in Russia and the USSR*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, and Margaret Lock. "The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1987): 6-41.

Semashko, Nikolai. "Sotsial'naia gigiena, ee sushchnost', metod i znachenie." *Sotsialnaia gigiena*, 1926, no. 1.

Sherozia, K. "Communist." Tbilisi: Central and Tbilisi Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and Rev.-Committee Body, 1937.

Sherozia, K. "Communist." Tbilisi: Central and Tbilisi Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and Rev.-Committee Body, 1924, no. 42.

Soboleva, Maria. "The Concept of the 'New Soviet Man' and Its Short History." *Canadian American Slavic Studies* 51 (2017): 64-85.

Solomon, Susan Gross, and John F. Hutchinson. *Health and Society in Revolutionary Russia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Solomon, Susan Gross, ed. *Doing Medicine Together: Germany and Russia between the Wars*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.

Solomon, Susan Gross. "The Soviet-German Syphilis Expedition to Buriat Mongolia 1928: Scientific Research on National Minorities." *Slavic Review* 52, no. 2 (1993): 204-232.

Solomon, Susan Gross. *Soviet Social Medicine: The Origins of State Health Care in Russia and the Soviet Union*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1990.

Starks, Tricia. *The Body Soviet: Propaganda, Hygiene, and the Revolutionary State*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008.

Taylor, S. "Researching educational policy and change in 'new times': using critical discourse analysis". *Journal of Educational Policy*, no.19 2004: 433-451.

Unknown author. "Keep Personal Hygiene." Tbilisi: Ishladgami, 1941.

Zurabishvili, A. *Psychiatry: General and Personal Branches*, Sakmedgami Publishing, Tbilisi, 1945.

Zurabishvili, A. *The Problems of Psychiatry*, Sakmedgami Publishing, Tbilisi, 1931.