

The publication was prepared within the framework of the scholarship program
of the Juliusz Meroszewski Center for Dialogue (Warsaw, Poland).

ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЯ РАДЯНСЬКОЇ ПСИХІАТРІЇ: З ГАЛУЗІ МЕДИЦИНИ У КАРАЛЬНУ СИСТЕМУ ДЛЯ БОРОТЬБИ З ІНАКОДУМСТВОМ

Марія МАНДРИК-МЕЛЬНИЧУК

Буковинський державний медичний університет, Чернівці (Україна)
mandryk.m@bsmu.edu.ua

TRANSFORMATION OF SOVIET PSYCHIATRY: FROM THE BRANCH OF MEDICINE TO A PUNITIVE SYSTEM TO COMBAT DISSENTENCE

Mariia MANDRYK-MELNYCHUK

Bukovynian State Medical University, Chernivtsi (Ukraine)
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-5995-9003

Мандрик-Мельничук Марія. Трансформація радянської психіатрії: з галузі медицини у каральну систему для боротьби з інакодумством. Проблема встановлення правди про масові порушення прав людини через застосування «каральної психіатрії» впродовж 1930-1980-х років, оприлюднення постатей правозахисників, вчителів, викладачів, військовослужбовців, студентів, митців, які зазнали тортур у радянських спеціалізованих закладах, залишається актуальною. Особливої уваги дослідників потребують чинники, які вплинули на перетворення психіатрії з медичної галузі на ефективний інструмент боротьби з інакомисленням. На жаль, ментальні наслідки боротьби з інакодумством залишаються відчутними і досі, а психіатрія ще викликає асоціації з радянськими установами, де катували та піддавали примусовому лікуванню. **Метою дослідження** є висвітлення суспільно-політичних, правових та ідеологічних чинників, що призвели до перетворення психіатрії з медичної галузі на один з найефективніших механізмів боротьби з інакодумством як явищем та правозахисним рухом, що загрожував існуванню радянської імперії. З огляду на специфіку теми дослідження, яка розглядається на міждисциплінарному рівні, використано **історичні методи** реконструкції минулого, аналізу джерельної та історіографічної бази, синхронізації подій, встановлення структурних зв'язків з історичними та медичними дослідженнями, а також проблемно-хронологічний метод та метод ретроспективного аналізу. **Висновки** Таким чином, проаналізувавши використання психіатрії радянською владою протягом п'яти десятиліть для придушення опору, можна виділити кілька аспектів. По-перше, йдеться про порушення медичної етики, перетворення лікувально-профілактичних закладів на мережу спеціалізованих закритих установ для примусового лікування інакомислячих. По-друге, медицина, як і інші сфери життя, потрапила під тотальний контроль каральних органів, науково-дослідні установи зазнали негативних змін, а лікарі, які виступали проти системи і хотіли розвивати новітні тенденції та західні методики в психіатрії, були репресовані. По-третє, під дію «каральної психіатрії» потрапляли люди старше шістнадцяти років – студенти, шкільні вчителі, науковці, професори, письменники, військовослужбовці, яких піддавали тортурам, психіатричному терору, примусово лікували за неіснуючими діагнозами. Така практика тривала з початку 1930-х років і змінилася лише з розпадом СРСР.

Ключові слова: «уповільнена шизофренія», «каральна психіатрія», психіатричний терор, дисиденти, правозахисний рух, інакодумство, історія медицини.

Introduction. The problem of establishing the truth about massive human rights violations through the use of «punitive psychiatry» during the 1930s-1980s, and the publication of the names of human rights activists, teachers, lecturers, military personnel, students, and artists who were tortured in Soviet special institutions, remains relevant. Researchers need to pay special attention to the factors that influenced the transformation of psychiatry from a medical field into an effective tool for combating dissent-those who did not accept the Soviet system, formed a human rights movement, and drew the attention of international organizations to this problem in the USSR. Unfortunately, the mental consequences of the fight against dissent remain tangible in independent Ukraine, and psychiatry still evokes only negative associations with Soviet institutions, where many prominent figures were tortured, humiliated, intimidated, and subjected to forced treatment under the pretext of fictitious diagnoses.

Relevance of the topic. The study and coverage of the use of medical institutions and their personnel, research institutions, forbidden experiments, and the abuse of medicines to combat the dissident movement has a number of peculiarities due to its secrecy, difficult access to archival documents, deliberate destruction of much of the evidence, publication of the first materials, letters, appeals, and later books by dissidents who emigrated to the West or passed manuscripts to their foreign colleagues. However, all of this was happening in the late 1970s and early 1990s, so until that period, the phenomenon of punishing healthy people with forced «treatment» in psychiatric institutions was hidden from the international community. Thus, the vast majority of information was published in English and Russian, some memoirs and documents of human rights groups were published in the second half of the 1970s and 1980s. Another problem is that numerous human rights violations through the forced treatment of «inconvenient»

people in specialized institutions of the KGB system were identified as «punitive psychiatry» only in the late 1970s, although the facts of abuse were recorded by the end of the 1980s, and the consequences were felt until the early 1990s, the origins of this system date back to the early 1930s.

The aim of the study is to highlight the socio-political, legal, and ideological factors that led to the transformation of psychiatry from a medical field into one of the most effective means of combating dissent as a phenomenon and human rights movement that threatened the existence of the Soviet empire. Given the specifics of the research topic, which is considered at the interdisciplinary level, **historical methods of reconstructing the past**, analyzing the source and historiographical base, synchronizing events, establishing structural links with historical and medical research, as well as the problematic-chronological method and the method of retrospective analysis were used.

Summary of the main material. The problem of the gradual transformation of psychiatry from a branch of medicine and a field of research, which initially developed in the context of European and world concepts, into an effective tool for combating dissent, attempts to criticize the socialist system, and voicing massive violations of civil rights and freedoms, should be considered from the perspective of several branches of science – the history of medicine, the history of psychiatry, and the political history of the USSR, of which Ukraine was one of the republics until 1991. When studying this topic, unfortunately, we cannot take into account the huge body of literature from the Soviet period that was subject to party censorship and has no scientific value due to its emasculation and ideology. In addition, the vast majority of works by contemporary scholars published in the Russian Federation tend to cover these issues in a biased manner. We focus our attention on the works of dissidents and human rights activists published by self-publishers, collections of documents and materials, memoirs, and manuscripts that were secretly exported from the USSR and published in the United States, Germany, France, Great Britain, and Israel. In particular, this is one of the first voluminous publications to include materials, statements, letters, and testimonies. One of these works, which describes in detail the use of psychiatric institutions as places of detention for more than 150 dissidents, was the collection «*Punished*

with Madness» (Frankfurt-am- Main, 1971), which was published in Russian and English¹. Tatyana Khodorovych's book «*The Case of Leonid Plyushch*» was published in English in London in 1976².

Later, the English-language work of the «prisoner of conscience» O. Podrabinek «*Punitive medicine*» (*Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc., 1980*) was published, which openly describes the methods of «punitive psychiatry» in the USSR³. In 1984 were published the memoirs of former political prisoner Yuri Vudka «*Moskovshchyna*» in Israel, which make it possible to understand and imagine all the horrors of the Soviet repressive system⁴.

Simultaneously with the appearance in the West of the first published works of dissidents, documentary evidence, and testimonies, Western researchers became increasingly interested in the use of psychiatry for punitive purposes, violations of medical ethics, and the transformation of medical institutions into specialized prisons. One of the leading Western scholars who drew attention to the problem of the use of psychiatry to combat the dissident movement was the Dutch human rights activist, historian, and author of a number of fundamental works, Robert Van Voren. In 1981, the collective English-language edition of «*Ethics in Psychiatry*» published his joint work with Robert Keukens «*The abuse of psychiatry*», dedicated to Soviet psychiatry⁵. The work of J. Rubenstein was published in the same year⁶. Thanks to the publication of the well-known British journalist and translator Vera Rich in «*Nature*» in 1983 about the USSR's decision to withdraw from the World Psychiatric Association because the West became aware of the systematic using of punitive psychiatry in the fight against dissidents, the problem reached the international level⁷. A number of fundamental studies on «punitive psychiatry» in the USSR and its consequences were conducted by a professor from the University of Melbourne, a well-known psychiatrist Sidney Bloch. One of the first books co-authored with Peter Reddaway was published in 1985⁸. In 2006, thanks to many years of hard work by human rights activists and scholars, a collection of KGB and CPSU Central Committee documents related to the implementation of «punitive psychiatry» in the USSR was published⁹.

Of considerable value are Ukrainian diaspora publications – newspaper articles, appeals, open letters,

¹ Artemova, A., Rar L., Slavinski M. Punished with Madness. Frankfurt am Main: Posev, 1971 [in English].

² Tatyana Khodorovich. The Case of Leonid Plyushch, translated by Marite Sapientis, Peter Reddaway and Caryl Emerson C. Hurts & Co., London Westview Press, Boulder, 1976, P. 8-10 [in English].

³ Podrabinek A. Punitive medicine. Alexander Podrabinek; translated by A. Lehrman - Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc., 1980, 223 p. [in English]; The Podrabinek trial: Punitive Medicine or fabrications known to be false...Translated from Informational Bulletin № 11 by Working Commission for the Investigation of the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes. Amnesty International British Section, London, URL: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/eur46/044/1978/en/> [in English].

⁴ Vudka Yu. Moskovshchyna [Moscow region], Yzrayl: Moryia, 1984, 262 p. [in Ukrainian].

⁵ Voren van R., Keukens R. The abuse of psychiatry Psychiatric Ethics: first edition, edited by Sidney Bloch and Stephen A. Green Oxford, 1981, P. 143-157 [in English].

⁶ Rubenstein J. Soviet Dissidents: Their Struggle for Human Rights, London, Wildwood House, 1981, 320 p. [in English].

⁷ Rich V. «Soviet psychiatry: pre-emptive resignation?», *Nature*, N 301, 1983, 559 p., URL: <https://www.nature.com/articles/301559a0> [In English].

⁸ Bloch S., Reddaway P. Psychiatry, Avalon Publishing, The University of Michigan, 1985, 288 p. [in English].

⁹ Vlast i dissidenty [Government and dissidents], iz dok. KHB y TsK KPSS / Arkh. nats. bezopasnosti pri Universitete Dzhordzha Vashynhtona (SShA), Moskovskaia Khelsynskaia hruppa; podhot. teksta y komment. A.A. Makarov, N.V. Kostenko, H.V. Kuzovkyn, M., 2006, 282 p. [in Russian].

appeals to foreign governments, large volumes of materials collected by the Ukrainian Helsinki Group¹⁰, Kharkiv Human Rights Group, partially digitized on the portal of the virtual museum «Dissident Movement in Ukraine»¹¹, bulletins of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations, which published works by women dissidents, memoirs, letters, appeals¹²; individual figures of the dissident movement are highlighted in the multi-volume «Encyclopedia of Modern Ukraine» (K., 2018)¹³.

The emergence of a significant number of works by contemporary Western psychiatrists, sociologists, and historians on «punitive psychiatry» in the USSR indicates the existence of unexplored facts, the discovery of new sources that were taken out of the USSR and stored in private collections of documents, manuscripts, and foreign archives. Among the most famous are M. Marko's work on Raisa Golant, a well-known researcher and psychiatrist who fell under Soviet repression¹⁴, G. Oustinova-Stjepanovic, published in the collective edition «*The Intimate Life of Dissent: anthropological perspectives*» (London, 2020), which concerns the conditions of detention of «prisoners of conscience» in specialized psychiatric institutions, «methods» of examination and treatment, unreasonable diagnoses and numerous human rights violations¹⁵. Of scientific interest are the works of Henry Loten, Aldo Carotenuto, and a collective study of Indian psychiatrists on attempts to apply the achievements of the Viennese school of psychoanalysis in Soviet realities and repressions against its representatives. The authors pay special attention to the study of schizophrenia, its forms, and the first attempts to identify the so-called «slow onset»¹⁶. Comparing Western and Soviet psychiatry,

Ian Spencer, a British scholar from Queen's University Belfast, notes that the main differences were in diagnostic categories and treatment methods, as psychiatry was used in the USSR to systematically imprison political dissidents. The author proves that psychiatric violence in the USSR was a historically specific reaction to a specific situation¹⁷.

Robert van Voren, one of the most prominent researchers of the history of dissent and psychiatric abuse in the USSR, published a number of fundamental works: «On dissidents and madness: From the Soviet Union of Leonid Brezhnev to the «Soviet Union» of Vladimir Putin» (Amsterdam-New York, 2009)¹⁸; a separate chapter «*Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Purposes*» in the collective publication «*Mental Health and Human Rights: Vision, praxis, and courage*» (2012). In 2014, the «Archives of Psychiatry» published some parts of R. van Voren's work «*Psychiatry as a tool of control in post-Soviet countries*»¹⁹.

It is necessary to pay tribute to modern Ukrainian research that highlights various aspects of the transformation of psychiatry into a repressive tool, violation of medical ethics, misuse of medicines, and harassment due to political or religious beliefs. These are the studies by I. Shyrokovska²⁰. In one of them, the researcher analyzed the evolution of the Western medical community's opinion on the use of psychiatry as a punitive system against dissidents, the growing interest in this problem, in numerous facts of human rights violations, abuse of medicines and diagnostic methods. In fact, it was the growth of research and clinical interest in what was happening in Soviet psychiatric institutions, combined with an active information campaign launched by dissident emigrants in the West, that led to a response

¹⁰ Ukrainska Helsinska hrupa (1978-1982). Dokumenty i materialy [The Ukrainian Helsinki Group: a collection of documents and materials], Uporiadkuvav i zredahuvav Osep Zinkevych, Ukrainske Vydavnytstvo «Smoloskyp» im. V. Symonenka, Toronto-Baltymor, 1983, 998 p. [in Ukrainian].

¹¹ Dysydentskyi rukh v Ukraini: virtualnyi muzei [The dissident movement in Ukraine: a virtual museum], URL: <https://museum.khpg.org/1162803736> [in Ukrainian].

¹² Korin O. «Druzhyny uviaznenykh» [Wives of prisoners] *Ukrainka v sviti: Biuletyn SFUZhO*. Rik XV, sichen-liutyi-berezen 1978, Ch.1 (57), Filiadelfiia, SSHA, P. 3-4; Liubynetska F. «Poetychna tvorchist ukrainskykh zhink-politvianiv» [Poetic work of Ukrainian women political prisoners] *Ukrainka v sviti: Biuletyn SFUZhO*. Rik XV sichen-liutyi-berezen 1978, Ch.1 (57), Filiadelfiia, SSHA, P. 4-5 [in Ukrainian].

¹³ Entsyklopediia Suchasnoi Ukrainy [Encyclopedia of Modern Ukraine], Redkol.: I.M. Dziuba, A.I. Zhukovskiy, M.H. Zhelezniak [ta in.], NAN Ukrainy, NTSh., Kyjiv, Instytut entsyklopedychnykh doslidzhen NAN Ukrainy, 2018, URL: <https://esu.com.ua/article-64764> 2001-2024 [in Ukrainian].

¹⁴ Marco M. Igual. Golant Raisa (1885-1953), a Jewish neuropsychiatrist in the Soviet Union: following the footsteps of Vladimir Bekhterev, *Neurosciences and History*, 2019, N 7(3), P. 97-112 [in English].

¹⁵ Oustinova-Stjepanovic G. «One is the biggest number: estrangement, intimacy and totalitarianism in late Soviet Russia, Harini Amarasuriya, Tobias Kelly Sidharthan Malinaguru Galina Oustinova-Stjepanovic Jonathan Spenser», *The Intimate Life of Dissent: anthropological perspectives*, UCL Press University College, London, 2020, P. 22-46 [in English].

¹⁶ Lothane H. The Untold Story of Sabina Spielrein Healed and Haunted by Love, New York, The Unconscious in Translation, 2023, 470 p. [in English]; Carotenuto A. A secret symmetry: Sabina Spielrein between Jung and Freud, Pantheon Books, 1982, 250 p. [in English]; Ashok Ahb. H., Baugh J., Vikram K. Y. «Paul Eugen Bleuler and the origin of the term schizophrenia (SCHIZOPRENIEGRUPPE)», *Indian J Psychiatry*, 2012, Jan-Mar, N 54(1), P. 95-96 [in English].

¹⁷ Spencer I. «Lessons from history: the politics of psychiatry in the USSR», *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*, 2001, Vol. 7, Issue 4, P. 355-361 [in English].

¹⁸ Voren van R. On dissidents and madness: From the Soviet Union of Leonid Brezhnev to the «Soviet Union» of Vladimir Putin, Amsterdam & New York, Rodopi Publishers, 2009, 312 p. [in English]; Voren van R. «Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Purposes», *Mental Health and Human Rights: Vision, praxis, and courage*, ed. Michael Dubley, Derrick Silove, Fran Gale Oxford University Press, 2012, PP. 237-254 [in English].

¹⁹ Voren van R. «Psykhiatriia yak instrument pryborkannia u postradianskykh krainakh» [Psychiatry as a tool of restraint in post-Soviet countries], *Arkhiv psykhiaatrii* [Archive of Psychiatry], 2014, N 1(76), P. 6-8; N 4 (79), P. 18-23 [in Ukrainian].

²⁰ Shyrokovska I. «Karalna psykhiatriia u SRSR: nauka na sluzhbi u derzhavy» [Punitive psychiatry in the USSR: science at the service of the state], *Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA* [Scientific notes of NaUKMA], T. 130: Istorychni nauky, 2012, P. 33-35 [in Ukrainian]; Shyrokovska I. «Pozytsiia zakhidnoi medychnoi spilnoty shchodo karalnoi psykhiaatrii v SRSR 1960-1980-ti rr.» [The position of the Western medical community regarding penal psychiatry in the USSR in the 1960s-1980s.], *Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA* [Scientific notes of NaUKMA], T. 143, 2013, P. 36-42 [in Ukrainian].

from the international community, the publication of archival materials, and public condemnation of «punitive psychiatry» in the world.

Of particular interest is the work of A. Korotenko, a well-known psychiatrist, eyewitness to many events, and forensic expert who analyzes the system of repressive medicine quite frankly. No less interesting are the attempts of lawyers O. Bazhan, K. Novak, and T. Demianchuk to analyze how the totalitarian government amended Soviet legislation to have a legal basis for the forced «treatment» of people inconvenient to the system²¹. In particular, certain historical aspects related to the gradual transformation of Soviet legislation, which gave rise to the introduction of «punitive psychiatry,» are analyzed in the monograph by S. Sharenko²².

The issue of the political misuse of psychiatry has dominated the agenda of world psychiatry for over 40 years. The resulting discussions have had a profound impact on conceptual debates about medical ethics and the professional responsibilities of physicians. They have led to the development of a number of international documents and declarations that outline the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable behavior in the psychiatric profession. The debate over what exactly constitutes political abuse of psychiatry continues to this day. We understand political misuse of psychiatry as manipulation of psychiatric diagnosis, treatment and detention in order to impede the observance of fundamental human rights of certain individuals and groups in society.

The definition of «punitive psychiatry» was first used in the late 1970s by Alexander Podrabinek, a well-known Russian human rights activist, journalist, former political prisoner, co-founder of the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, author of the books «*Punitive Medicine*» (New York, 1979) and memoirs «*Dissidents*» (Moscow, 2014)²³. Fragments of «*Punitive Medicine*» were first published in the «*Independent Psychiatric Journal*». The political abuse of psychiatry was considered the most effective method of combating dissent, eliminating the «inconvenient», whose behavior, statements or position were interpreted as pathology, «retarded» schizophrenia.

Let's try to trace how Soviet psychiatry, from being a branch of medical science that researched and practically used Western concepts, methods, and conducted

experiments, gradually turned into a effective system of combating dissent.

The definition «retarded» «low-progressive,» or «latent» was first introduced into scientific circulation by the Swiss psychiatrist Eugen Bleuler on April 24, 1908, during a lecture at a meeting of the German Psychiatric Society in Berlin, where he clearly substantiated the main difference between dementia and schizophrenia as a split personality, building his arguments on numerous examples from his own observations of patients²⁴.

E. Bleuler was an advocate of an individual approach to the study of various forms, manifestations, diagnosis, and treatment of schizophrenia. The authors of the study dedicated to this unique psychiatrist draw an interesting analogy with the sacred Vedas, in which a violation of the conditional balance between the five elements in the body can cause mental illness.

Let's focus on the figure of this Swiss scientist, because Soviet psychiatry partially agreed with his concept and arguments, which were based solely on his own practical experience. Bleuler first worked as a physician's assistant at one of the best clinics, the Burgholzli Clinic in Zurich, Switzerland, which was a center for innovative techniques and experiments. Mental disorders were researched and treated here, so it is not surprising that the founder of analytical psychology, Carl Jung, began his career there. Between 1886 and 1898 Bleuler headed the psychiatric hospital in Rheinau, returned to Burgholzli in 1898, and at the same time became a professor of psychiatry at the University of Zurich, where he worked until 1927²⁵. It was here that 20-year-old Sabine Spielrein, who would later become one of the best followers of Jungianism and the first women in the theory and practice of psychoanalysis in the world and a member of the Vienna Society of Psychiatrists, was brought after years of unsuccessful treatment²⁶.

C. Since early childhood, Sabine Spielrein was prone to neuroses, panic attacks, sudden bouts of hysteria, and uncontrollable behavior towards other patients and medical staff. Dr. O. Bleuler wrote that Sabina was diagnosed with a «nervous disorder with hysterical symptoms»²⁷. In 1907, C. Jung made the diagnosis of «psychotic hysteria,» Italian psychiatrist, representative of the Jungian school Aldo Carotenuto introduced the term «true schizophrenic episode,» and American psychiatrist Bruno Buttelheim –

²¹ Demianchuk T. «Mistse i rol karalnoi psykhiiatrii u kryminalno-vykonavchii systemi URSR» [The position of the Western medical community regarding punitive psychiatry in the USSR in the 1960s-1980s.], *Yurydychnyi naukovyi elektronnyi zhurnal* [Legal scientific electronic journal], 2023, N 2, P. 26-29, [in Ukrainian]; Novak K. «Osnovni osoblyvosti Kryminalnoho Kodeksu USRR 1922», [Basic features of the Criminal Code of the USSR 1922], *Teoriia ta praktyka suchasnoi yurysprudentsii* [Theory and practice of modern jurisprudence], Kharkiv, 2013, P. 201-202 [in Ukrainian].

²² Sharenko S. L. Kryminalno-protsesualni problemy zastosuvannia prymusovykh zakhodiv medychnoho kharakteru [Basic features of the Criminal Code of the USSR 1922], Kharkiv, Pravo, 2002, 208 p. [in Ukrainian].

²³ Podrabinek, A. *Punitive Medicine*, New York, Khronika Press, 1979, 230 p. [in English]; Podrabinek A. *Disidenty* [Dissidents], M., 2014, 480 p. [in Russian].

²⁴ Ashok Ahb. H., Baugh J., Yeragani V. K. «Paul Eugen Bleuler and the origin of the term schizophrenia (SCHIZOPRENIEGRUPPE)», *Indian J Psychiatry*, 2012, Jan-Mar, N 54(1), P. 95-96 [in English].

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ Lothane H. *The Untold Story of Sabina Spielrein Healed and Haunted by Love*, New York, The Unconscious in Translation, 2023, 470 p. [in English].

²⁷ Tyshenko O. Shpilrein S. «Po obydvah boky psykhoanalizu» [On both sides of psychoanalysis], *Neironews*, 2018, N 9-10, P. 66-72, P. 67-68, URL: <https://neuronews.com.ua/ua/archive/2018/9-10%28101%29#gsc.tab=0> [in Ukrainian].

«schizophrenic disorder»²⁸. Although Sabina's contemporary biographer denies that she had a psychotic disorder at all, let alone schizophrenia²⁹.

Interestingly, in 1911, E. Bleuler first formulated the concept of primary and secondary symptoms of schizophrenia: 1) abnormal associations, autistic behavior and thinking, abnormal affect and ambivalence. It was E. Bleuler who first described the main symptoms of the disease – the loss of connection between processes, emotions and behavior³⁰. He also held the hypothesis that this disease is more likely to be classified as a syndrome and is hereditary.

Sabine Spielrein became the first woman in the world to defend her dissertation on psychoanalysis, «*On the Psychic Basis of a Case of Schizophrenia*,» and later worked at the Bonhoeffer Psychoneurological Clinic in Berlin³¹. In 1912, she was invited to Russia to give lectures on psychoanalysis.

In the early 1920s, Sabina lived in Moscow and became «the first psychoanalyst in the Union, a member of the Russian Psychoanalytic Society...»³². In Russia, Sabina, as a scientist and psychiatrist-clinician, began a very active career, specializing in child psychoanalysis. It is likely that thanks to her, Western schools of psychoanalysis could be integrated into Soviet psychiatry. However, the circumstances of the totalitarian state dispelled her illusions and dreams of establishing a psychoanalytic institute. Moreover, pedology, a unique field that studied children's psyche at the intersection of medicine, biology, psychology, and pedagogy, which Sabina was engaged in, was banned in the USSR as an ideologically harmful area of psychiatry. Thus, Western theories and concepts were interpreted by Soviet psychiatrists within the general paradigm of «expediency» in the fight against dissent.

Since the early 1920s, the system of specialized medical institutions has been undergoing organizational reformatting. At the same time, relevant legal documents were adopted that were supposed to create legal grounds for the use of «punitive psychiatry.» As early as the late 1880s, there was a psychiatric clinic at the university in Moscow, where the «Korsakov» pro-Western trend in forensic psychiatry was developing. In 1918, the Diagnostic Institute of Forensic Neuropathology and Psychiatry was established in Petrograd on the initiative of psychiatrists V. Bekhterev and V. Osipov. A similar institution was immediately opened in Moscow, the Prechistenskoye Psychiatric Treatment Institution, which was created on the basis of the Central Police Reception

Department for the mentally ill. In 1921, this institution became a treatment facility for prisoners. The following year, it was renamed the V. Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatric Examination, which was originally conceived as a national-level research institution³³. The «Cabinet for the Study of the Personality of the Criminal and Crime» was created within the structure of the Institute on the initiative of a forensic psychiatrist, Professor E. Krasnushkin. Ukrainian scientist, forensic psychiatrist, member of the Association of Psychiatrists of Ukraine A. Korotenko believes that until the early 1930s, the Institute retained its function as a research institution, and then personnel changes began, dismissing those who were «inconvenient.» The director was a graduate of the Kyiv Medical Institute, C. Feynberg, who had worked for a long time in the system of the NKVD³⁴.

However, in 1950, it fell out of favor with the authorities due to «incorrect» personnel policy. Thus, the Serbsky Institute gradually transformed into the main institution in the scientific, methodological, and practical sense of forensic psychiatric examination for the whole country, including the Ukrainian SSR. In order to train a new generation of psychiatrists who would serve the penal system, the Serbsky Institute opened a residency and postgraduate program before its evacuation in 1941, and new advanced training courses in forensic psychiatry were offered at several medical institutes across the country.

In the first years of Soviet rule, a number of important documents were adopted that made it possible to use medical institutions as institutions for the forced detention of the «inconvenient»: the instruction «On Imprisonment as a Measure of Punishment and the Procedure for Its Serving» (1918); the instruction of the People's Commissariat of Justice «On the Examination of the Mentally Ill» (8. 06.1918), «Regulations on Psychiatric Examination» (8.05.1919); October 24, 1921, the resolution «On Forensic Medical Experts» (24.10.1921)³⁵.

It is worth noting that the legislation contained some provisions that contradicted each other or were very vague. For example, in the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (1922), Article 161 provided for liability for placing a person who is known to be healthy in a hospital for the mentally ill for mercenary or other personal reasons³⁶. This crime against personal freedom was punishable by imprisonment for a term of at least 5 years. The Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR of 1927 also contained a similar provision – for «placing a known healthy person in a hospital for the mentally ill for mercenary or other personal reasons» (Article 156), but the term of punishment

²⁸ Carotenuto A. A secret symmetry: Sabina Spielrein between Jung and Freud. Pantheon Books, 1982, 250 p. [in English]; Tyshenko O. Shpilrein S. «Po obydvya boky psykhoanalizu» [On both sides of psychoanalysis], op. cit., P. 67.

²⁹ Ibidem, P. 68.

³⁰ Ashok Ahab, Baugh J., Vikram K. Yeragani. Paul Eugen Bleuler and the origin of the term schizophrenia..., op. cit., P. 95-96.

³¹ Tyshenko O. Sabina Shpilrein: «Po obydvya boky psykhoanalizu»..., op. cit., P. 69.

³² Ibidem, P. 71.

³³ Korotenko A., Alikina N. Radianska psykhiiatriia: pokhybky ta zlovmysnist [Soviet psychiatry: errors and maliciousness], Kyjiv, Sfera, 2002, 331 p. 34 [in Russian].

³⁴ Ibidem, P. 4.

³⁵ Andrushko A.V. Kryminalna vidpovidalnist za nezakonne pomishchennia v zaklad z nadannia psykhiiatrychnoi dopomohy, [Criminal liability for illegal placement in a psychiatric care institution], Uzhhorod, RIK-U, 2019, P. 12-13 [in Ukrainian].

³⁶ Ibidem, P. 8.

was 3 years³⁷. At the same time, in 1922, the Criminal Procedure Code included articles on compulsory treatment «as a measure of social protection» that could be applied in accordance with a court decision³⁸. Forced hospitalization of a person contradicted Articles 58-60 of the Criminal Code, as this decision could only be made by a court. A person could be recognized as «socially dangerous» only in the courtroom, so no one took into account the principle of presumption of innocence.

Over the next 23 years, Soviet legislation evolved significantly to justify the use of compulsory treatment for «political» persons – there was no provision on liability for illegal placement in a psychiatric hospital, which made it possible to isolate dissidents in specialized psychiatric hospitals. At the end of 1926, the Soviet Criminal Code introduced a section «On social protection measures applied to persons who have committed a crime», which provided for compulsory treatment, isolation and stay of the patient in a specialized psychiatric institution³⁹. In 1934, after organizational changes in the psychiatric field, the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR was supplemented by Articles 54-1-54-10, according to which a person could be forcibly treated for counterrevolutionary activities and high treason, after which mass repressions against dissent began⁴⁰. In 1936, at an all-Union meeting on forensic psychiatry, it was decided to finally turn psychiatry into an effective tool for punishment and persecution. Thus, on February 17, 1940, the «Instruction on Forensic Psychiatric Examination in the USSR» was approved, which caused considerable confusion in the identification of changes in the patient's mental state: a temporary disorder that occurred during the investigation, the person became a subject, if the disorder occurred after the verdict, he or she was sent for compulsory treatment. The criteria for identifying these conditions were very vague. In the event of recovery, both categories of patients were subject to return to labor camps. A few months later, the People's Commissariat of Health issued Order No. 235, which developed documents on the establishment of forensic psychiatric departments at psychiatric hospitals and samples of patient medical records and forensic psychiatric reports.

By the early 1950s, the ground was being prepared for the complete emasculation of psychiatry and its transformation into an effective tool for covertly fighting those who criticized the existing state system. This process gained concrete momentum thanks to the figure of A. Snezhnevsky, who made a rapid career from an ordinary doctor from the periphery to a ruler of the fate of Soviet dissidents. A graduate of Kazan University (1925), he worked as a psychiatrist at the Kostroma Psychiatric Hospital, then at a children's boarding school and dispensary, and only in 1938 was he appointed deputy

director and senior researcher at the P.B. Gannushkin Research Institute in Moscow. After obtaining two scientific degrees, in 1950 he was appointed director of the V. Serbsky Institute, but a year later he was transferred to the Institute for the Improvement of Physicians.

It was during this short period that A. Snezhnevsky actually laid the foundation for «punitive psychiatry.» On October 11-15, 1951, at a large gathering of neurologists and psychiatrists, he delivered a report «*The State of Psychiatry and Its Tasks in the Light of the Teachings of I.P. Pavlov*». In this devastating speech, he criticizes leading psychiatrists M. Gurevich, A. Shmaryan, and R. Golant because they «deviated» from Pavlov's teachings and preached «harmful» American and other Western concepts of psychiatry. It should be noted that scientist O.S. Shmaryan, one of the leading researchers of tumors and brain damage, the founder of neuropsychiatry, studied and worked in Kyiv, and headed the neuropsychiatric clinic of the Research Institute of Experimental Medicine. In 1951, following a denunciation by A. Snezhnevsky, he was repressed. Among this group of scientists who fell out of favor with the authorities was Raisa Golant, a prominent psychiatrist, doctor of science, who studied at three European universities, specialized in neuropathology, studied Alzheimer's disease, and also preached Western «pseudoscience» in psychiatry, speaking of the somatic origin of many mental conditions⁴¹. She died soon after due to persecution.

Thus, at the suggestion of academician A. Snezhnevsky, the diagnosis of «delayed schizophrenia» was made «inconvenient» for everyone, although it was not in the official catalog of diseases, and it was not in the American classification DSM-III-R. The fictitious diagnoses were needed to confirm Khrushchev's words that only the insane could criticize the socialist system. For example, in 1962, the director of the Institute of Psychiatry of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A. Snezhnevsky, diagnosed V. Bukovsky with «retarded schizophrenia,» who was found to be healthy after an examination in the West. The author of one of the chapters of the collection «*Punished with Madness*» S. Pisarev, cited the texts of letters to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, in which he notes that during 1955-1956, thanks to Snezhnevsky, hundreds of examinations of writers, scientists, artists, and directors were fabricated⁴².

In 1964, General P. Hryhorenko, PhD, author of more than 60 works, manuals on military theory, tactics and cybernetics, editor of the scientific publication «*Proceedings of the Frunze Military Academy*» and «*Military Scientific Works of the Academy*», was recognized as a patient according to the classifier of mental illness, code 297.0 – paranoia⁴³.

³⁷ Ibidem, P. 9.

³⁸ Novak K. «Osnovni osoblyvosti Kryminalnoho Kodeksu USRR 1922» [Basic features of the Criminal Code of the USSR 1922], *Teoriia ta praktyka suchasnoi yurysprudentsii* [Theory and practice of modern jurisprudence], Kharkiv, 2013, P. 201-202 [in Ukrainian].

³⁹ Ibidem, P. 202.

⁴⁰ Dysydentskyi rukh v Ukraini: virtualnyi muzei [The dissident movement in Ukraine: a virtual museum], URL: <https://museum.khpg.org/1162803736> [in Ukrainian].

⁴¹ Marco M. Igual, «Raisa Golant (1885-1953), a Jewish neuropsychiatrist in the Soviet Union: following the footsteps of Vladimir Bekhterev», *Neurosciences and History*, 2019, N 7(3), P. 97-112 [in English].

⁴² Artemova, A., Rar L., Slavinski M. Punished with Madness, Frankfurt am Main: Posev, 1971, P. 334 [in English].

⁴³ Ibidem, P. 119.

Subsequently, in 1970, the famous writer and human rights activist N. Horbanevska published her work «At Noon» in self-publishing, and two years later it was published in English in the United States («Red Square at Noon»). It contains the material of the dissident P. Hryhorenko «On Special Psychiatric Hospitals («durdoms»)), in which he tells about his terrible experience with Soviet punitive psychiatry, the diagnosis of non-existent «delayed schizophrenia», the presence of KGB officers in the hospital's offices, torture, and terrible conditions in hospitals⁴⁴.

In 1966, A. Snezhnevsky first presented to Western psychiatrists a description of a new form of latent schizophrenia that went against the generally accepted criteria for describing the disease. Thus, those who were diagnosed with «delayed schizophrenia» in the USSR were later recognized by Western doctors after repeated thorough examination as healthy people. This fictitious form of the disease was characterized by neuroses and minor personality changes, a craving for reformism, an exacerbated sense of dignity, and increased self-esteem⁴⁵. A. Snezhnevsky deliberately expanded the spectrum of schizophrenic disorders in order to increase the number of people who could be attributed this «diagnosis». Moreover, his pseudo-theory gradually became dominant in Soviet psychiatry, and the so-called «Moscow school of psychiatry» was formed, consisting of Snezhnevsky's followers. He himself conducted an examination of L. Plyushch, N. Horbanevska, V. Bukovsky, P. Hryhorenko or participated in the work of a group of experts and put his own signature.

For the first time, the abuse of Soviet psychiatry as a punitive tool against nonconformists in the USSR became known in the West in connection with the case of the leader of the opposition group SMOG, dissident writer V. Tarsis, who was forcibly detained in a psychiatric institution after he secretly sent his manuscripts to a British publishing house for publication in 1960. On August 23, 1962, he was arrested and sent for compulsory treatment to the Kashchenko Psychiatric Hospital, where he was held until February 1963. His autobiographical novel «Ward 7» (1966), in which the author described his «treatment» in this institution, caused a real stir⁴⁶. However, appeals to the international community could not fundamentally change the situation in the USSR. Later, another dissident, V. Bukovsky, claimed that it was thanks to these demarches by V. Tarsis and the arrival of an Amnesty representative that he left for the West in 1976⁴⁷.

After V. Brezhnev came to power in 1968-1969, a wave of persecution of dissidents intensified, but any documentary evidence was actively destroyed by the

system or kept under the «top secret» label. Dissident V. Bukovsky noted that under the leadership of KGB chief General V. Semichasny, a list of 35-40 people was compiled who were engaged in «harmful» activities, distributed banned «samizdat», held demonstrations, addressed Western media, and some of them «suffered from mental disorders».

Already at the end of 1969, the leadership of the Ministry of Health, KGB, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR and the Soviet Union republics were instructed to submit a proposal to the CPSU Central Committee in the first half of 1970 to identify, record, and organize treatment and, in some cases, isolation of the mentally ill. The initiative came from Yuri Andropov, who on December 15, 1969, sent a memo to the Politburo members stating that the number of mentally ill people in the country had significantly increased, including those who harbored dangerous tendencies, ideas of coup and terrorism, created dangerous organizations and protest actions, and some even attempted to flee abroad. On December 19, 1969, the newspaper «Izvestiya» published the article «Fundamentals of the Legislation on Health Care of the USSR and the Union Republics», which clearly described the cases and procedure for compulsory treatment and hospitalization, in other words, persons who committed criminal offenses and were found insane were subject to compulsory treatment by court order, if it was established that the person was dangerous to the soviet society⁴⁸.

During 1967-1982 there was a significant expansion of the network of special treatment psychiatric institutions. April 29, 1969 head of the KGB Yu. Andropov sent to the Central Committee of the CPSU a draft plan for expanding the network of institutions and improving their use to protect the interests of the state and society. In addition to more than ten special institutions of the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, there were special departments in psychiatric hospitals under the supervision of the Ministry of Health of the USSR. Among the largest psychiatric torture chambers was the Dnipropetrovsk Hospital, through which most of the Ukrainian dissidents passed – Mykola Plahotniuk, Leonid Plyusch, Victor Rafalskyi, Yaroslav Kravchuk, Anatoly Lupinis, Volodymyr Klebanov and many others.

M. Tsarynnyk in the preface to L. Plyusch's book «In the Carnival of History» (New York, 1980) described in detail how the mathematician was sent to forced treatment for participating in the Ukrainian national movement in January 1972. L. Plyusch recalls, that it all started back in 1962-1963, when he became interested in the subject of the Holodomor and the reluctance of the

⁴⁴ Gorbanevskaya N. Red Square at noon, With Introduction by Harrison E. Salisbury, translated by Alexander Lieven, Published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1970, 304 p. [in English].

⁴⁵ Korotenko A., Alikina N. Radianska psykhiiatriia..., op. cit., P. 18.

⁴⁶ Artemova, A., Rar L., Slavinski M. Punished with Madness. ..., op. cit., P. 8.

⁴⁷ Bukovsky V. To Build a Castle – My Life as a Dissenter, translated by Michael Scammell, New York: The Viking Press, 1979 [in English]; Serebryakova E. G. «Anti-Soviet» Valery Tarsis: The behaviour model of the nonconformist writer as a realisation of identity, ResearchGate, April, 2017, URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316943975_anti-Soviet_Valery_Tarsis_The_behaviour_model_of_the_nonconformist_writer_as_a_realisation_of_identity; Valery Tarsis is dead; Soviet Émigré Novelist The New York Times March 4, 1983, section A, Page 21 <https://www.nytimes.com/1983/03/04/obituaries/valery-tarsis-is-dead-soviet-emigre-novelist.html> [in English].

⁴⁸ «Osnovy zakonodatelstva o zdoravokhranenyi Soiuza SSSR i soiuznykh respubliky» [Fundamentals of legislation on health care of the USSR and Union republics], Yzvestiya [The News], 19 dekabria, 1969 [in Russian].

country's leadership to tell the truth about the scale of the tragedy and its artificiality⁴⁹. He collected materials, testimonies of those who survived the Holodomor, and even then he was surprised by the figures of 5-6 million dead, which were significantly underestimated. Criticized the government for creating «micro-communism for the children of fighters for a communist paradise on earth...»⁵⁰. His activities were always under the supervision of the KGB, because he was friends with I. Dzyuba, L. Kostenko and many other dissidents. After the events at the premiere of «Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors» and the persecutions, interrogations, and trial, L. Plyusch wrote: «Society has a habit: while an original talent lives, they don't know about him or they constantly persecute him; just died – and they make an icon out of him»⁵¹.

Therefore, according to the results of the examination performed by the doctors of the forensic psychiatric department of the Kyiv Regional Hospital in March-April 1972, L. Plyusch was recognized as a «psychopathic person», but reprehensible. The next examination took place at the Serbsky Institute, according to the conclusion of which it was recognized that he suffers from «retarded schizophrenia» and «paranoid disorder of the emotional sphere and an uncritical attitude towards his condition»⁵². Therefore, L. Plyushch was recognized as a socially dangerous person, irresponsible, so he was sent to a special psychiatric institution. Even the trial of the dissident at the end of January 1973 resembled a strange staging without lawyers and family members, with false witnesses. He was charged under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for «anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda», for the distribution of prohibited self-published literature. Thus, he ended up in the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where he described his stay as follows: «Treatment and regimen in a mental institution, as I saw from my own example, are designed to immediately break a person and destroy his will to resist»⁵³. Forced treatment in such institutions was worse than in the correctional camps, because there were no time limits of stay, after which a person was released. Thanks to the active work of Tetyana Khodorovych, the author of the book «*The Case of Leonid Plyushch*» (London, 1976), the West learned about the high-profile case of L. Plyushch, about the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric torture chamber for the inconvenient⁵⁴. It is interesting that in this book the author mentions Arkady Levin, a close friend of L. Plyushch, to whom the term «menticide»

belongs – the mental destruction of those who did not fit into the context of the Soviet paradigm of life⁵⁵.

Another well-known dissident, phthisiologist Mykola Plahotniuk, was arrested in 1972 for anti-Soviet agitation. He underwent an examination at the Serbsky Institute, and was diagnosed with «schizophrenia with persecutory mania», «intermittently unconvincing». M. Plahotniuk underwent forced treatment in the Dnipropetrovsk torture chamber, Kazan specialized and Cherkasy psychiatric hospitals. Attempts in court to get the case reviewed and to stop the repressive treatment ended in defeat. He was released only in 1981.

Forensic expert A. Korotenko draws attention to the fact that even in the second half of the 1970s, the use of «punitive psychiatry» continued, individual dissidents from the Dnipropetrovsk Specialized Hospital were transferred to the Makeyev Psychiatric Hospital, and even after recognition of incapacity (II group of disabilities) again brought to criminal responsibility for «anti-Soviet agitation» and again sent to the Dnipropetrovsk torture chamber. She cites evidence that one of the dissidents stayed there until 1988. The following year, in a strange way, during a fire in Makiivka, the entire medical archive burned down⁵⁶.

Returning to the question of medical ethics and the principle of «do no harm», even after a lot of facts were collected, which proved numerous cases of human rights violations, torture, medical destruction of the personality, intentional suicide, physical and emotional exhaustion of Ukrainian psychiatrists already in independent Ukraine they were afraid to admit these facts, only 50% of the interviewed doctors supported the idea of making all crimes public, committed by Soviet medicine⁵⁷.

In 1977 The Working Commission for Investigating the Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Purposes began working under the Moscow Helsinki Group, with which Ukrainian specialists and dissidents cooperated, including P. Grigorenko. Lawyers Sofia Kalistratova, Dina Kaminska and Nelya Nemyrnska provided serious support to the human rights movement.

In 1988, the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, and later the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, included clauses that related to the differentiation of types of medical institutions that carry out compulsory medical measures. Thus, these included psychiatric institutions with ordinary, enhanced and strict supervision⁵⁸.

Active opposition to the complete disregard for human rights in the USSR in the format of the «*Appeal*

⁴⁹ Plyushch L. U karnavali istorii [In the carnival of history], Niu-Jork, Suchasnist, P. 52-53 [in Ukrainian]; Krupnyk L. «Karnalna psykhiiatriia ta yii zhertvy: Yak rozpravliavalsia z dysydentamy v dobu «rozvynenoho sotsializmu» [Punitive psychiatry and its victims: How dissidents were dealt with in the era of «developed socialism»], *Tyzhden* [The Week], N 8 (588), 2019, [in Ukrainian]; Dysydentskyi rukh v Ukraini: virtualnyi muzei; Dysydentskyi rukh v Ukraini: virtualnyi muzei [The dissident movement in Ukraine: a virtual museum], URL: <https://museum.khpg.org/1162803736> [in Ukrainian].

⁵⁰ Plyushch L. U karnavali istorii ..., op. cit., P. 74, 76.

⁵¹ Ibidem, P. 84.

⁵² Ibidem, P. 8.

⁵³ Ibidem, P. 322-323.

⁵⁴ Khodorovich T. The Case of Leonid Plyushch, translated by Marite Sapient, Peter Reddaway and Caryl Emerson C. Hurts & Co., London Westview Press, Boulder, 1976, P. 8-10 [in English].

⁵⁵ Ibidem, P. 10.

⁵⁶ Korotenko A., Alikina N. Radianska psykhiiatriia: pokhybyky ta zlovmysnist ..., op. cit., P. 32.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, P. 4.

⁵⁸ Sharenko S. L. Kryminalno-protsesualni problemy zastosuvannia prymusovykh zakhodiv medychnoho kharakteru [Basic features of the Criminal Code of the USSR 1922], Kharkiv, Pravo, 2002, P. 28-29 [in Ukrainian].

of the 31st», letters from famous scientists, publications in the foreign press, the collection «*Punished with Madness*» (Frankfurt am Main, 1971), which also included information about Ukrainian dissidents, gradually drew attention to «punitive psychiatry» in the USSR. By the way, it was in the appendices to the latter collection that a detailed list of medications abused by psychiatrists was published: aminazine, triphthazine, tizercin, haloperidol, melipramine, cyclodol⁵⁹. These drugs were prescribed in six or eight-fold doses, depending on the patient's behavior and endurance. The authors described the use of force, tying to the bed, patients' attempts to commit suicide due to unbearable pain and terrible abuse. L. Plyusch noted that «neuroleptics and daily scenes dulled me intellectually, morally, emotionally (...) although I tried to spit out the pills, they killed my desire to read or think (...) my memory weakened sharply, and my speech became short (...). The feeling of hopelessness, the unlimitedness of being in this hell prompted many healthy prisoners to think about suicide»⁶⁰. In addition to drugs, electroconvulsive, insulin coma and atropikomatous therapy, abuse of large doses of sleeping pills, «straitjacket», «wet suffocation», large doses of antibiotics were used.

The first attempt to publicly discuss repressive psychiatry in the USSR was the 1971 International Psychiatric Congress in Mexico City, for which the dissidents carefully prepared⁶¹. That year, the self-published anonymous «External examination of P. Grigorenko» appeared, which was prepared by a psychiatrist, dissident, future director of the Ukrainian-American Office for the Protection of Human Rights Semen Gluzman. In it, P. Grihorenko was recognized as a healthy person. S. Gluzman was charged under Art. 62, Part 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and received 7 years of strict regime camps and 3 years of exile⁶².

The dissidents tried to influence the opinion of the world medical community thanks to «self-publishing», numerous statements, appeals, editions of «Chronicle of Current Events» and «Chronicle of Protection of Rights in the USSR», copies of archival documents, medical cards, extracts from cases, correspondence related to six flights prisoners were also illegally collected by V. Bukovsky, which he was preparing for publication in Mexico City. In his book «Psychiatric GULAG», he noted that the first victims of «psychiatric repression» had been known since the time of M. Khrushchev, who in 1959 denied the existence of political prisoners who are held in special medical institutions, and that there are simply mentally ill people in the USSR. In 1974 International Congress of Mathematicians in Vancouver accepted an appeal for the immediate release of the dissident and mathematician L. Ivy from a psychiatric institution. Wide publicity led

to the release, after which the family left the USSR. L. Plyusch became the representative of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in France.

In 1977 at the congress of the World Psychiatric Association in Honolulu (USA), a petition prepared by lawyer S. was read. Kalistratov in the case of P. Hryhorenko As a result, the association's General Assembly voted to create a special committee to monitor non-compliance with the association's policy on the political use of psychiatry. Over the next five years, the number of national associations that advocated sanctions against the USSR for violating the ethical principles of medicine and using psychiatry for punitive purposes increased significantly. In 1983 the publication «Nature» published the decision of the USSR to withdraw from the World Psychiatric Association due to the fact that in the West it became known about the systematic use of punitive psychiatry in the fight against dissidents.

In the early 1990s, the international foundation «Geneva Initiative in Psychiatry» compiled a list of 127 Ukrainians who were prosecuted for political reasons, then sent to special psychiatric institutions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Among them were persons aged from 16 to 56 years old, many students of various higher education institutions who knew foreign languages, studied jurisprudence, mathematics, read self-published books, listened to «Voice of America», «BBC», and had no desire to put up with reality. They were held under articles 54-10, 62, 125, 187, 190, 196 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (anti-Soviet propaganda, slander of Soviet reality, distribution of prohibited literature, foreign magazines, desire to emigrate, religious beliefs). Among those who passed through the system of «penal psychiatry» were V. Barladyanu, G. Golumbievskia, O. Riznyk, V. Igrunov, P. Otchenashenko, H. Mykhaylenko, V. Rafalskyi, G. Mohylnytska, L. Sirikh, V. Sirikh, N. Odolinska, V. Goncharov, I. Ratushynska, N. Strokata. Six members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were forced to emigrate during 1978-1980, among them Petro Hryhorenko, Petro Vince, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, Volodymyr Malinkovich, Nadiya Svitlichna, Nina Strokata.

Conclusions. Thus, based on the analysis of a wide source and historiographical base, foreign studies, diaspora publications, collections of memoirs, documents, materials related to the use of psychiatry by the Soviet authorities for five decades to suppress resistance and dissent, it is possible to state several important aspects. Firstly, we are talking about the violation of medical ethics, the transformation of medical and preventive institutions into a network of specialized closed institutions for the forced treatment of dissidents. Secondly, medicine, as well as other areas of life, came under the total control of the

⁵⁹ Artemova, A., L. Rar M. Slavinski. Punished with Madness (Kaznimiye sumashestviyem), Frankfurt am Main: Posev, P. 502 [in English]; Plushch L. U karnavali istorii..., op. cit., 1971, P. 305-306.

⁶⁰ Plushch L. U karnavali istorii..., op. cit., P. 323.

⁶¹ Shyroкова I. «Karalna psykhiatriia u SRSR: nauka na sluzhbi u derzhavy» [Punitive psychiatry in the USSR: science at the service of the state], Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA, T. 130: Istorychni nauky, 2012, P. 33-35 [in Ukrainian]; Shyroкова I. «Pozytsiia zakhidnoi medychnoi spilnoty shchodo karalnoi psykhiatrii v SRSR 1960-1980-ti rr.» [The position of the Western medical community regarding penal psychiatry in the USSR in the 1960s-1980s.], Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA [Scientific notes NaUKMA], T. 143, 2013, P. 36-42 [in Ukrainian].

⁶² Rapp I. Hluzman Semen Fischelevych [Gluzman Semyon Fischelevich], Dysydentskyi rukh v Ukraini: virtualnyi muzei [The dissident movement in Ukraine: a virtual museum], URL: <https://museum.khpg.org/1113892884> [in Ukrainian].

punitive authorities, scientific and research institutions underwent negative changes, and doctors who opposed the system and wanted to develop new directions and Western methods in psychiatry were repressed. Third, punitive psychiatry included individuals aged 16 and over, i.e. students, teachers, scientists, writers, and military personnel, who were forced to undergo the torture of forced treatment for fabricated diagnoses. This situation continued from the early 1930s and changed only with the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Марія Мандрик-Мельничук – доктор історичних наук, професор кафедри соціальної медицини та громадського здоров'я Буковинського державного медичного університету. Авторка понад 300 наукових праць, серед яких 4 монографії, 1 підручник, 8 навчальних і навчально-методичних посібників, словники, статті, опубліковані в міжнародних наукових журналах, що входять до наукометричної бази Web of Science. Наукові інтереси: *всесвітня історія медицини*

та історія медицини України, медична персоналістика, геополітика, етнополітика, академічна доброчесність, історія світового та українського фемінізму.

Maria Mandryk-Melnychuk – Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Professor of the Department of Social Medicine and Public Health of the Bukovynian State Medical University. She is the author of more than 300 scientific works, including 4 monographs, 1 textbook, 8 educational and teaching-methodical guides, dictionaries, articles published in international journals and magazines included in the Web of Science scientometric database. Scientific interests: world history of medicine and history of medicine of Ukraine, medical personalistics, geopolitics, ethnopolitics, academic integrity, history of world and Ukrainian feminism.

Received: 8.11.2024

Advance Access Published: December, 2024

© M. Mandryk-Melnychuk, 2024