Historia scholastica 1

2025
11

Mezinárodní časopis
pro dějiny výchovy a vzdělání

International Review
for History of Education

Národní pedagogické muzeum
a knihovna J. A. Komenského

Praha 2025

Historia scholastica
Číslo 1, červen 2025, ročník 11
Number 1, June 2025, Volume 11

Vydavatel ***Publisher***
Národní pedagogické muzeum a knihovna J. A. Komenského
Valdštejnská 20, 118 00 Praha 1, Česká republika, IČ 61387169, www.npmk.cz

Obálka a grafická úprava ***Cover and Graphic Design***
Pavel Průša

Sazba ***Type Setting***
Mgr. Lucie Bortová

Tisk ***Printed by***
Tiskárna PROTISK, s. r. o., Rudolfovská 617, 370 01 České Budějovice, Česká republika

Časopis Historia scholastica vychází 2× ročně. *Historia scholastica is published twice a year.*

Indexováno v ***Indexed in***
SCOPUS, ERIH+, DOAJ, EBSCO, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory

ISSN 1804-4913 (print), ISSN 2336-680X (online)
Číslo registrace MK ČR E 22258

Obsah
Contents

Studie
Studies

Úvodník
Editorial

The first issue of Historia scholastica Journal presents 10 studies, most of them in some way thematizing the impact of the totalitarian regime on the field of education. A. Canales focuses on the change of educational policy of the Franco Regime in Spain in the 1960s, which was in contradiction with the still prevailing political and ideological principles of Franco's Dictatorship. E. Protner's study provides insight into the discontinuity of pre- and post-war Marxist pedagogy in Yugoslavia, using the example of slovenian pedagogue Jože Jurančič. How communist ideology was reflected in the functioning of education in Yugoslavia, specifically in Bosnia and Herzegovina, shows in her study S. Šušnjara.

Three other studies focus on education in the area of states in the territory of the former Soviet Union. I. Nelin examines the evolution of psychoanalytic pedagogical ideas in the Soviet Union, his study highlights the experiments in psychoanalytic education and their subsequent prohibition due to political shifts.

E. Bērziņš and I. Ķestere examines how Soviet narratives in the field of history of education were deconstructed in the Baltic States and how historians constructed a new view of the national history of these states.

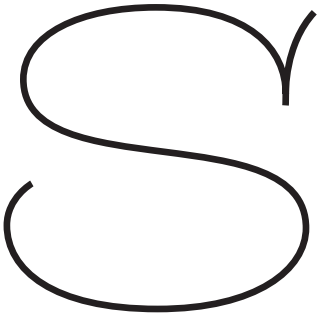
I. Ivanavičė and I. Stonkuvienė focuses on the mechanism of ideological assimilation of Lithuanian Roma through school and education in the Soviet Union; the study explores key dimensions of Roma education, including the construction of the New Soviet Man, the impact of forced sedentarisation, and the role of schooling in promoting linguistic assimilation, discipline, and social control. Belonging is an important phenomenon, the basis of which does not have to be only belonging to one ethnic group, as is the case in the study of Roma in Lithuania. F. Guerrini explores generational belonging in the generation of children born during the war. Her work focuses not only on specific research on belonging in the war generation, but also shows the theoretical perspectives of research on such a complex phenomenon as belonging.

Two studies in this issue relate to special education. J. Randák looks into the situation in special education in Czechoslovakia after the communists came to power in February 1948 and shows that the optimistic proclamations of the state representatives were often at odds with the real experience of teachers at special schools. K. Eliášková and M. Šmejkalová examine teaching of Czech language of visually impaired pupils at special schools from 1972 to 2010. The long period of research allowed the authors to examine not only the development of didactic approaches, but also the change in the ideological framework of education during this time.

While most studies deal with education in the second half of the 20th century, I. Garai investigates the issue of deprofessionalization of secondary school teachers in pre-war Hungary.

We believe that all of the submitted studies will contribute to the clarification of many unresolved research questions as well as stimulate interest in further research.

Jan Šimek



Studie
Studies

The Evolution of Psychoanalytic Pedagogy in the Soviet Union in the First Half of the 20th Century

Ievgen Nelin [a]

[a] National Psychological Association, Ukraine
nelinievgen@gmail.com

Received 8 November 2024
Accepted 11 April 2025
Available online 30 June 2025

DOI 10.82130/hs2025-01-009

Abstract This article examines the evolution of psychoanalytic pedagogical ideas in the Soviet Union during the first half of the 20th century, focusing on periods of support and repression related to psychoanalytic approaches in education. The paper highlights the phases during which Sigmund Freud's ideas initially gained the support of the Bolsheviks but were later subjected to severe criticism and rejection. It explores experiments in psychoanalytic education conducted at the "International Solidarity" orphanage and their subsequent prohibition due to political shifts. Particular attention is given to Joseph Stalin's influence and the closure of psychoanalytic institutions in the 1930s, which led to the marginalization of pedagogy as a field. The article emphasizes the processes of ideological control and the replacement of psychoanalytic theories with Marxist models of education, as well as the role of underground psychoanalytic practices in a context of prohibition.

Keywords psychoanalytic pedagogy, USSR, psychoanalysis, Freudianism, education, Soviet period, ideological control

Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, European philosophy of education was undergoing a profound transformation, shaped by social upheavals, modernist efforts to redefine human understanding, and growing criticism of traditional pedagogical models. In this intellectual climate, psychoanalysis – introduced by Sigmund Freud – gained

attention among educators as a method that could explore the inner world of the child, uncover unconscious motivations, and fundamentally rethink the nature of education. Viewed as both innovative and humanistic, psychoanalytic ideas sparked active discussions not only in Western academic circles but also in early Soviet educational contexts. In the 1920s, the Soviet Union presented a unique case in which psychoanalytic pedagogy, despite its ideological tensions with Marxism, received temporary institutional support as part of the broader project of shaping the "new man".

This article focuses on the development of psychoanalytic pedagogy in the Soviet Union during the first half of the 20th century. I aimed to demonstrate that attitudes toward psychoanalytic pedagogy in the USSR shifted depending on the evolution of party ideology. Within the framework of Marxism-Leninism, psychoanalysis had the potential to become a key method for shaping the "new human being", particularly evident during the collapse of the Russian Empire and subsequent debates between the left and right factions of the Bolsheviks. To provide a comprehensive understanding of the evolution of views on psychoanalytic pedagogy, the article examines its origins in the early 1900s and the transformations it underwent during the Stalinist repressions. Accordingly, the purpose of this article is to explore the characteristics of the development of psychoanalytic pedagogy in the USSR, analyze the impact of ideological shifts on its formation and transformation, and highlight the role of key figures who contributed to this pedagogical movement. Particular attention is given to individuals who supported psychoanalysis at the highest (party) level and facilitated the dissemination of psychoanalytic ideas in educational, scientific, and healthcare institutions.

To understand the evolution of the history of pedagogy in a particular country, it is essential to analyze the works published during different periods of its development. I fully agree with the Austrian psychoanalyst and educator Siegfried Bernfeld, who argued that the goal of educating the younger generation is determined not by philosophy or ethics but by the dominant socio-political classes, which act according

to their own intentions to consolidate and expand their power (Bernfeld, 1973). Pedagogy merely conceals this grim process of power retention, covering it with a web of new educational ideas tailored to political objectives. Thus, the education system becomes merely a tool of political struggle aimed at shaping citizens who align with the ideals and needs of the ruling class. In other words, education often serves as a means of controlling society. Moreover, educational ideas, even when proclaimed progressive, frequently act as a façade for reinforcing certain ideologies that serve the interests of the elite. Therefore, to fully understand the evolution of pedagogy, it is necessary to study not only educational theories themselves but also the context of their emergence, as well as the political and social factors that influenced their popularity and implementation.

To enhance the credibility of the results, I analyzed works on the history of education published in the USSR in 1947. Additionally, to strengthen the evidence base, I examined works on the history of education that were published in Ukraine in the early 21st century. Thus, this article draws on a wide range of sources that span different historical periods, political contexts, and ideological approaches. This allows for an understanding of how educational priorities in the USSR evolved, how pedagogical ideas were adapted, and how models of education were shaped in response to societal and political challenges.

The Preconditions for the Development of Education in the Russian Empire in the Early 20th Century

The first printed references to psychoanalysis in the Russian Empire appeared in 1904 (Ovcharenko & Gritsanov, 2010, p. 582). Subsequently, imperial decrees declared freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association (Levkivskyi, 1999, p. 243), which contributed to greater informational openness and the spread of foreign educational ideas. During this period, national liberation movements also developed within the Empire, having a significant impact on educational reforms. In particular, in Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, and Ukraine, primary school teachers began teaching lessons in the native language (Dadenkov,

1947, p. 277). Most of the new unions formed during the First Russian Revolution of 1905 called for the reorganization of popular education on the principles of freedom and democracy. These unions advocated for compulsory and free education in the native language, as well as the exclusion of religious law from the mandatory curriculum (Artemova, 2006, p. 216). Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a societal demand for the democratization of education in the Russian Empire, alongside a desire for cultural revival among various social strata, which laid the foundation for further educational reforms.

In the history of Soviet pedagogy, the period from the late 19th century until the 1917 revolution is characterized as a time of the spread of bourgeois pedagogy or pedagogy of imperialism. Analyzing textbooks on the history of pedagogy (1947) allowed me to identify the ideas that dominated education at the beginning of the 20th century from the perspective of well-known pedagogical scholars from Russia. One such researcher, in particular, was Evgenii Medynskii (1885–1957), a full member of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR and Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences. It is important to note that he was the first author of a textbook on the history of pedagogy in the RSFSR, which was published in three volumes under the title The History of Pedagogy in Connection with the Economic Development of Society (1925–1929). Medynskii's views on the development of education clearly reflected the views of the top party leadership, which constantly opposed the ideas of social education to the ideas of capitalism and child-centered pedagogy. In fact, E. Medynskii was the official "mouthpiece" of Moscow in interpreting the history of pedagogy and educational practices. Specifically, in the 1947 history of pedagogy textbook, which was notably published after World War II, E. Medynskii assessed the pedagogical ideas of both the countries that were allies of the USSR in the war and its military opponents. Not surprisingly, the development of education in the United Kingdom, France, and the United States was characterized by neutral assessments, albeit with certain emphasis on social inequality between the working (proletariat) and ruling (bourgeois) classes. In contrast, education in Germany was described as chauvinistic, monarchical, and militarized, as

its foundation was the education of unconditional obedience to the ideas of the monarchy and ruling elites (Medynskii, 1947, p. 260). Similar ideas were also present in the Ukrainian textbook on the history of pedagogy by Professor Mykola Dadenkov (1947). However, his views on education in European countries at the beginning of the 20th century were revealed not so much through the critique of established traditions, but more through the idea that the activity of the Paris Commune in France and the development of revolutionary Marxism in Germany through Clara Zetkin were examples of the construction of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus enabling these countries to build education based on social equality (Dadenkov, 1947, p. 148).

Socio-political debates in Europe were the primary discourse, although not the only one, influencing the development of pedagogy in the early 20th century. Transformations in philosophy and culture also played a significant role. The revolution against the ideas of positivism prompted the search for a new philosophy of life (Exalto, 2024, p. 85). One of these defining philosophies was psychoanalysis. However, while the "philosophy of life" was based on the principles of human will and consciousness, psychoanalysis focused on the hidden aspects of the psyche – the unconscious. Thus, the representatives of this new philosophy placed will above reason, and in Sigmund Freud's ideas, humans were not free but governed by unconscious inner drives. Freud's ideas in the Russian Empire in the early 20th century were intriguing both to the ruling elites, who saw psychoanalysis as a tool for studying behavior and influencing public sentiment, and to the opposition, which viewed psychoanalysis as a means of liberating the proletariat from the influence of authorities and fighting ideological conformism.

The Emergence of Psychoanalysis and Psychoanalytic Pedagogy in the Russian Empire

As previously mentioned, the first references to psychoanalysis in Russia appeared in 1904. In that year, Freud's book The Interpretation of Dreams was first translated into Russian. It is not definitively known who was the first to present psychoanalytic ideas in scientific articles

in Russia at that time, but it is known that the initial references to psychoanalysis were primarily educational, and key promoters of Freud's ideas included Russian psychiatrists such as Nikolai Osipov, Nikolai Vyrubov, and the Odessa native Moisey Wulff. In 1908, Osipov published an overview article in the Journal of Neuropathology and Psychiatry named after S. S. Korsakov titled "Psychological and Psychopathological Views of Freud in the German Literature of 1907". Subsequently, articles by Oleg Feltzman ("On Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy", 1909) and Nikolai Vyrubov ("Freud's Psychoanalytic Method and Its Therapeutic Significance", 1909) were published. During this time, N. Vyrubov also delivered several lectures on "The Psychoanalytic Method in the Study and Therapy of Psychoneuroses" as part of a psychiatry course for doctors in Moscow. Overall, the development of psychoanalysis in the Russian Empire was characterized by establishing connections with European psychoanalysts and creating the first organizations dedicated to the advancement of psychoanalytic ideas. For example, in Moscow, a journal titled *Psychotherapy: A Review of Issues in Mental Treatment and Applied Psychology* was published from 1910 to 1914, which aimed at promoting psychoanalysis (Ovcharenko & Gritsanov, 2010, p. 582). However, there was a certain contradiction in society between the ideas of Freudianism and the spiritual and religious atmosphere in the country. As a result, with the outbreak of World War I, the development of psychoanalysis in Russia came to a halt, and its revival coincided with the rise to power of the Bolsheviks. Before addressing the specifics of the development of Freudian ideas under Bolshevik rule, I will first outline the establishment of psychoanalytic pedagogy during the Russian Empire era.

The development of psychoanalytic pedagogy methods was one of the desired directions for psychoanalysis to break free from the confines of psychiatry and spread as a universal humanistic system. This was supported by the idea that it is more effective to educate children differently to prevent them from developing neurotic disorders in adulthood. Sandor Ferenczi, for example, stated at the First International Psychoanalytic Congress in Salzburg (1908) that the long-established system of education resembled a greenhouse for various neurotic disorders

and a source of severe mental illnesses. Even those fortunate enough not to grow ill still experienced constant pressure and suffering due to inappropriate educational theories and the flawed methods used to implement them (Ferenczi, 1949).

The beginning of the establishment of psychoanalytic pedagogy in the Russian Empire can be considered 1912. During this period, Wulff's pamphlet "Notes on Child Sexuality" was published in Odessa, and in Moscow, an article titled "Psychoanalysis and Education" by V. Rakhmanov appeared in the journal Russkaya shkola (Volume II, Nos. 7–8) (Nelin, 2019, p. 95). It is undisputed that Wulff was the first professional psychoanalyst in the Russian Empire (Ovcharenko, 2000, p. 47). He underwent personal psychoanalysis with Karl Abraham (1908), who introduced him to Freud (1909). Also, in 1908, Osipov visited Freud in Vienna and, upon his return to Moscow, actively began publishing psychoanalytic literature. Freud himself commented on the specifics of psychoanalysis› development in the Russian Empire, mentioning in a letter to Jung (1912) that a "local epidemic of psychoanalysis" had begun there. Later, in his work "Outline of the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement" (1914), Freud gave a more comprehensive assessment of psychoanalysis› development in Russia, stating the following: "In Russia, psychoanalysis is very generally known and widespread; almost all my writings as well as those of other advocates of analysis are translated into Russian. But a deeper grasp of the analytic teaching has not yet shown itself in Russia. The contributions written by Russian physicians and psychiatrists are not at present noteworthy. Only Odessa possesses a trained psychoanalyst in the person of M. Wulff" (Freud, 1914).

Despite the rapid development of psychoanalysis in Ukraine, particularly in Odessa and Kharkiv, M. Wulff moved to Moscow in 1914, which became the center of the development of psychoanalytic pedagogy in Russia. In 1913, Louis Waldstein's monograph The Subconscious "I" and Its Relation to Health and Education was translated into Russian in Moscow (Waldstein, 1913), and in the Journal of Education (1914, No. 4), M. Veisfeld's article Psychoanalysis and Its Use in Pedagogy

was published (Veisfeld, 1914). This article by M. Veisfeld was a review and did not present the scholar's own ideas; however, it outlined the ideas of S. Freud and his followers, as well as the possibilities of psychoanalysis for the formation of the "new person".

Overall, the development of psychoanalysis in the Russian Empire reflected some contradictory trends. On the one hand, the ideas of S. Freud generated interest among the intellectual elite, doctors, and educators who sought to apply new psychological approaches to solving educational and social issues. On the other hand, the political situation in the country, including ideological control and social inequalities, created barriers to the integration of psychoanalysis as a legitimate scientific discipline. With the onset of World War I, the development of psychoanalysis significantly slowed due to the crisis caused by military actions and political instability. However, after the 1917 Revolutions, the situation began to change. With the rise to power of the Bolsheviks, psychoanalysis received new momentum for development, as some prominent figures, including Lev Trotsky, actively supported the psychoanalytic movement. During this period, psychoanalysis began to be seen as a promising tool for the creation of the "new person" and a harmonious socialist society.

The Development of Psychoanalytic Pedagogy in the USSR (1922–1936)

The collapse of the Russian Empire and the establishment of Bolshevik power generally had a positive effect on the development of psychoanalysis in the country. Despite some psychoanalysts, such as N. Osipov, who moved to Prague and began working as an associate professor at Prague University (Fischer, 1975), leaving Russia after the October Revolution, psychoanalytic ideas were discussed at the Third All-Russian Congress on Child Health and the All-Russian Conference on Combating Childhood Defects, both held in 1921 (Stoyukhina & Loginovskikh, 2014, p. 69). It was indisputable that many children in society were classified as "unreliable". In this context, psychoanalysis was seen as a potential tool for understanding the psychological and social issues of children who had experienced the war, the

revolutions, and their aftermath. The Bolshevik ideology, aiming to create a "new person", was deeply interested in educational methods that could contribute to the construction of a new society (Artemova, 2006, p. 285). Given that the Bolsheviks rejected all forms of religiosity, spirituality, and the notion of humans as independent, self-aware beings (Kostkiewicz, 2024, p. 208), psychoanalysis, with its emphasis on the unconscious, appeared to be a suitable instrument for achieving these goals.

The large number of homeless individuals, the rise in juvenile delinquency, and the increasing alcoholism among the youth prompted the higher party leadership to make radical decisions in education. The party demanded that teachers, pedagogists, and psychoanalysts develop curricula and implement them to shape the new "Soviet" person. Ideologically, this aligned with the idea of building a socially homogeneous society, where individual aspirations were to be subordinated to the collective goals and needs of the state as a whole.

Since the 18th century, the traditional form of educating the younger generation in Russia was specialized boarding schools for children. In these homes, children received care, food, and basic education. Society viewed the child as a weak and defective being, requiring constant attention and upbringing. However, with the rise of the Bolsheviks, the practice of "contempt" shifted to the practice of studying and observing children's behavior (Paramonova, 2012, p. 62). In an effort to solve social problems such as homelessness, hunger, and illiteracy, various authorities contributed to the development of a network of specialized institutions. Specifically, under the People's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros), Anatoly Lunacharsky, Nadezhda Krupskaya, and Vera Schmidt were responsible for the operation of institutional-type establishments, while at the highest party leadership level, the main advocate for psychoanalysis was Lev Trotsky.

In the context of the growing democratization of education and the ideas of psychoanalysis as a revolutionary method of influencing the individual, the 1920s saw the widespread dissemination of ideas related to sexual and gender education. The theoretical foundation

for the experiments of progressive educators was based on two methodological approaches: the traditional and the psychoanalytic. The first approach, supported by P. Blonsky, regarded sexual education as a partial variant of moral education. In contrast, the second approach – psychoanalytic – was supported by specialists such as V. Schmidt and I. Ermakov, who viewed sexuality as a self-contained value and aimed to foster a positive societal attitude toward the issue of sexuality in general (Kravets, 2016, p. 259). Thus, by the early 1920s, the issue of educating the "new person" based on a combination of sexual education ideas, a collective approach, and the institutional form of education arose.

One institution that sought to raise a new type of person under the full-board regime was the experimental orphanage-laboratory "International Solidarity", which operated in Moscow from 1921 to 1925. To scientifically validate the effectiveness of the psychoanalytic method in pedagogy, the state publishing house translated G. Green's work "Psychoanalysis in the School" (1921). Furthermore, to legitimize the observation of preschool and younger school-age children, the State Psychoanalytic Institute was established in 1922 based at "International Solidarity", with the renowned Russian psychiatrist and public figure I. Ermakov as its director. The fact that a prominent psychiatrist headed the scientific institution corresponded to the key needs of the party, as the country was in urgent need of scientific argumentation and justification for the intended changes in pedagogy. Education and science had to align with the revolutionary views of the leaders of the proletariat, and in this context, psychoanalysis was regarded as the most revolutionary and progressive method of influencing people.

At this institute, psychoanalytic training was provided for scientific, medical, and educational personnel. In particular, educators were trained to observe children, analyze their sexual development, and creative self-realization. Formally, the State Psychoanalytic Institute was under the jurisdiction of the Main Directorate of Scientific, Scientific-Artistic, and Museum Institutions (Glavnauka), which operated under the People's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros). In 1923/24, over 20 courses and seminars were offered at the Institute, including "Introduction to Psychoanalysis" (M. Wulff), "General

Psychoanalysis Course" (I. Ermakov), "Pedagogy of Preschool Age" (V. Schmidt), "Child Psychoanalysis" (S. Spielrein), "Psychoanalytic Characterology" (B. Friedman), and others. The premises of the Institute also hosted meetings of the Russian Psychoanalytic Society (1922), which included figures such as P. Blonsky, A. Luria, S. Shatsky, and others.

In 1922, a psychoanalytic association was established in Kazan under the leadership of A. Luria. Meetings of the Kazan Psychoanalytic Association were held once or twice a month, with its clinical base being the psychiatric clinic of the Medical Faculty at Kazan University. However, the association's history was short-lived, as its members decided to relocate to Moscow after six months of activity to join the Russian Psychoanalytic Society. As a result, in 1923, the RPS split into two sections: medical and pedagogical (Miller, 1998). The pedagogical section focused on organizing experimental work at the "International Solidarity" children's home laboratory.

The primary goal of this children's home was to develop methods for researching and educating socially well-rounded children. Rooted in psychoanalysis as a method to overcome ingrained social constraints and enable psychological freedom, along with the principles of collective upbringing, psychoanalysts aimed to shape the new "Soviet" person from the earliest years of life. Among the children who lived and studied in this institution from its inception were the sons and daughters of the most influential Soviet figures, including Vasily, the son of Joseph Stalin; Artyom, the son of Fyodor Sergeyev (Comrade Artyom), who became Stalin›s adopted son in 1921; Vladimir, the son of renowned polar explorer and scientist Otto Schmidt; Tatyana, the daughter of Mikhail Frunze; as well as the children of other high-ranking government officials and prominent members of the Comintern (Nelin, 2019, p. 98).

The core principle of education was the rejection of traditional concepts of shame and punishment, including for physiological or social behaviors. Educators were expected to explain children's actions to them, avoiding shame and instead offering alternative solutions. Special attention was given to open discussions on topics related to the

body and gender differences, which sparked public outrage. A significant aspect of the approach was the prohibition of physical contact between adults and children, including hugs or kisses, due to concerns about unconscious eroticism and the risk of spreading infections. This approach often led to high levels of stress among educators, many of whom found it challenging to comply with these demands or adapt to the new pedagogical ideology. Teachers were also required to keep detailed daily records of the outcomes of their experimental work. Overall, the idea of raising "socially adequate" children permeated all activities of the "International Solidarity" institution, where the state's educational framework effectively replaced the traditional family support system. Educators were expected to take on the role of surrogate parents for children, whose biological parents were often engaged in forming the country's political and cultural elite.

Soviet pedagogy often exhibited a pattern where concepts with positive connotations were immediately countered by their negative counterparts. Negative labels such as "bourgeois" and "imperialist" (Sukhomlynska, 2014) were frequently employed to delegitimize ideas, including psychoanalysis. Despite its popularity as a revolutionary method for re-education, "International Solidarity" faced growing criticism for alleged permissiveness and perceived moral laxity. Eventually, following a commission's findings that instances of masturbation were more prevalent among long-term residents of the orphanage compared to newcomers, authorities decided in 1925 to close the State Psychoanalytic Institute and repurpose the experimental orphanage into a new type of kindergarten focused on collective upbringing and state-centered education.

After the closure of the Psychoanalytic Institute by a resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on August 14, 1925, Narkompros sought to preserve psychoanalytic specialists and continue research efforts by proposing the establishment of a psychoanalysis department within the State Institute of Experimental Psychology. However, the leadership of this scientific institution opposed the idea. In a letter to the People's Commissar of Education, the director of the Institute, K. Kornilov, stated, "Recognizing psychoanalysis as

a comprehensive system and worldview in the field of psychology is unacceptable […]. The Collegium of the State Institute of Experimental Psychology believes that broad psychoanalytic objectives do not align with the mission of our institution, which aims to study human psychology based on Marxism and dialectical materialism" (Ovcharenko & Gritsanov, 2010, p. 585). As a result, the proposal to establish a psychoanalysis department at the State Institute of Experimental Psychology was rescinded. The idea of shaping a "new person" through psychoanalysis began to face increasing criticism and ultimately lost its institutional backing.

Ultimately, the experimental program of psychoanalytic education at the kindergarten "International Solidarity" was discontinued, and its administrative and teaching staff were dismissed. Since this kindergarten exclusively served the children of the party elite, it was not shut down but was instead transformed into a traditional educational institution. After Joseph Stalin's wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva, assumed oversight of "International Solidarity" in 1925, the upbringing of children shifted to emphasize socialist values. Children were taught that wealth was undesirable as it conflicted with the principle of sharing with those in need. They were also instructed that everyone must work diligently without complaint, and that collective labor served the greater good of the community and the nation. This approach was deemed successful by the Bolsheviks because it aligned with their ideological goals and effectively instilled the desired social norms. Consequently, it was implemented in kindergartens nationwide. However, once most children of the ruling elite had transitioned to school, the institution was closed in 1931, and the building was repurposed for the creative activities of Maxim Gorky, a propagandist of socialist ideals.

The closure of the State Psychoanalytic Institute and the experimental psychoanalytic education program resulted from political shifts following the death of V. Lenin (1924), the rapid decline of L. Trotsky's influence, and J. Stalin's consolidation of power (1925). This period marked the beginning of the rollback of various democratic educational initiatives, which were denounced as bourgeois. One clear indicator of this trend was Mikhail Reisner's article, "Freudianism and Bourgeois

Ideology". In it, M. Reisner called for a reevaluation of Freud's theories, emphasizing the need to "separate the valuable kernels of Freudianism from their ideological husk" (Ovcharenko, 2000, p. 135). During this time, the Russian Psychoanalytic Society was the only remaining venue for psychoanalytic development in the USSR. However, it existed only nominally from 1925 and was officially disbanded on July 27, 1930 (Ovcharenko & Gritsanov, 2010, p. 705). Interestingly, even L. Trotsky, who had previously supported psychoanalysis in the USSR, began criticizing Freudianism in 1927 as part of his efforts to maintain political relevance. In his essay "Materialism, Marxism, and Freudianism", Trotsky argued that I. Pavlov's reflexology was more aligned with the principles of dialectical materialism, praising it as a meticulous and experimentally sound method. He stated: "The attempt to declare psychoanalysis incompatible with Marxism and to simply turn our backs on Freudianism is overly simplistic, or more accurately, oversimplified. But in no case should we adopt Freudianism" (Trotsky, 1927, p. 431). Thus, the period from 1925, when psychoanalytic institutions were closed, to 1930, when the Russian Psychoanalytic Society was dissolved, marked a time of rapid decline and formal rejection of psychoanalytic ideas in the USSR.

In 1931, the journal Proletarian Revolution published a letter by J. Stalin titled "On Certain Questions of the History of Bolshevism". In it, J. Stalin criticized attempts by some theorists to "introduce disguised pseudoscience" into academic literature (Leibin, 1991). That same year, the Communist Academy of Education held hearings aimed at condemning the "ideological errors" of L. Vygotsky, A. Zalkind, A. Luria, and others who had demonstrated insufficient vigilance toward psychoanalysis and Freudianism. Calls to renounce psychoanalysis as an ideologically incorrect theory and an anti-Marxist perspective incompatible with class-based education grew stronger over the years (Stoyukhina & Loginovskikh, 2014). Ultimately, amid the escalating campaign against "right and left opportunistic distortions", psychoanalysis in the USSR was labeled a bourgeois and Menshevik theory – a "left pseudoscientific theory" banned by the Bolsheviks (Nelin, 2019).

As L. Berezivska rightly noted, many specialists, due to persecution, were forced either to conform to Bolshevik policies or to emigrate to other countries (Berezivska, 2023, p. 232). In particular, many supporters of psychoanalysis who did not renounce the ideas of Sigmund Freud – as A. Luria did by adopting I. Pavlov's reflexology – faced repression. For instance, I. Yermakov, who died in a Saratov prison in 1942, was among those persecuted. Others emigrated from Russia, such as M. Wulff, who moved to Palestine (Israel). There, he became the founder of the Palestinian Psychoanalytic Society (renamed the Israeli Psychoanalytic Society in 1948) in 1934 and a co-founder of the Jerusalem Psychoanalytic Institute in 1947 (Ovcharenko, 2000, p. 48).

In 1935, the Central Institute for the Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health published P. Blonsky's monograph "Essays on Child Sexuality". In the preface to the work, P. Blonsky stated that, "The study of childhood sexuality is caught between two opposing yet equally flawed myths – the myth of the sexually innocent child and the Freudian myth of the oversexualized child" (Blonsky, 1935). In the chapter On the Critique of the Freudian Theory of Childhood Sexuality, P. Blonsky noted that this theory enjoyed significant popularity, and even those who were not supporters of psychoanalysis often imitated Freud. P. Blonsky argued that Freud's method of observing children was far less effective than the method of retrospection, which gathers information about a child's sexual experiences from the case histories of adults. Thus, despite having been a co-founder of the Russian Psychoanalytic Society in 1922, P. Blonsky quickly abandoned Freudian ideas, criticizing them for their lack of a systematic approach and reliance on anecdotal evidence. In doing so, he contributed to the gradual expulsion of psychoanalysis from the Soviet Union.

A defining event in the history of Soviet pedagogy was the adoption of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) resolution On Pedological Distortions in the System of the People's Commissariat of Education on July 4, 1936. This resolution proclaimed the idea of "class struggle", emphasizing the intensification of class conflicts as a means of advancing socialism. The resolution denounced

pedology as a bourgeois discipline incompatible with the goals of socialist construction. Pedologists and psychoanalysts were accused of promoting "harmful" theories that diverted educators from the practical task of molding the ideal Soviet person. The development of psychoanalysis, which in the early 1920s had been regarded as a promising tool for working with children, came to a halt. Psychoanalytic experiments conducted in kindergartens and schools were cited as evidence of "moral corruption". Instead, Soviet pedagogy shifted its focus to the ideological education of children, rooted in collectivism, socialist values, and strict adherence to ideological and political directives. The dismantling of pedology and psychoanalysis led to the complete monopolization of pedagogical science under Bolshevik ideology. Scientific methodologies for studying child development were replaced by directive approaches aimed at cultivating the "ideal Soviet citizen". This shift significantly hindered the development of pedagogical science, particularly limiting the study of children's individual characteristics and psychological states.

Features of the Development of Psychoanalytic Pedagogy

After Its Prohibition The Stalinist decree of 1936 aimed to redirect attention from individual child development to collective upbringing. It is important to note that, to ensure the successful implementation of the idea of collective education, party censorship explicitly forbade any reference to psychoanalytic pedagogy or Freudianism. Instead, the primary focus of criticism from party-affiliated scholars was directed at pedology. In textbooks on the history of pedagogy, the necessity of adopting Stalin's decree was explained as follows: "Since pedology aimed, on the one hand, to preserve the dominance of the exploiting classes as "superior races", and on the other, to reinforce the alleged physical and spiritual subjugation of the working classes, the Central Committee demanded the complete restoration of pedagogy and educators to their rightful place" (Dadenkov, 1947, p. 316). From that point onward, pedology was described as a conglomerate of deliberately biased bourgeois concepts designed to "prove" the supposed superior giftedness

of bourgeois children compared to those of the working class (Medynskii, 1947, p. 568). Overall, to emphasize the exceptionalism of Soviet pedagogy, party-affiliated scholars criticized bourgeois theories using pedology as an example while systematically suppressing any discussion of psychoanalysis, aiming to eliminate it entirely from both pedagogical and medical discourse.

Let us briefly outline the specifics of the development of psychoanalytic pedagogy in the 1940s. The events of World War II in Europe acted as a catalyst for the mass migration of psychoanalysts from Austria and Germany to the United Kingdom and the United States, driven by the need to escape Nazi persecution. In the Soviet Union, however, psychoanalysis, despite being officially banned, was clandestinely practiced by S. Spielrein in Rostov-on-Don. In Odesa, it was carried out by J. Kogan, while a group of doctors, including M. Ivanov and I. Sumbaev, pursued similar activities in Irkutsk. In Leningrad, the Military Medical Academy became a focal point for clandestine psychoanalytic activity (Ovcharenko, 1996, p. 149). Nevertheless, psychoanalysis remained a prohibited topic in scientific journals, under the strict ideological control of the state. For instance, D. Azbukin's article "Sexual Education of Children and Adolescents" (1941) made no mention of the contributions of Freud or other specialists. Instead, it emphasized that the USSR was the leading country in the world in terms of population growth, surpassing the rates of capitalist European countries (Azbukin, 1941, p. 39). Thus, psychoanalysis in the USSR persisted solely in a hidden form, without official recognition or support, and was largely confined to underground practices. Its development depended on the dedication of individual specialists who, despite prohibitions, sought to integrate Freudian ideas into medical and pedagogical practice.

Conclusions

Psychoanalytic pedagogy in the Soviet Union underwent a complex trajectory of development and decline, beginning in the 1920s when Freudian ideas initially received Bolshevik support but later became a target of severe criticism. Early experiments with psychoanalytic education in institutions like the "International Solidarity" kindergarten

reflected attempts to create the "new Soviet person" based on psychoanalytic principles. However, these efforts quickly clashed with the political realities of the time. With Joseph Stalin's rise to power and the subsequent rollback of democratic initiatives, psychoanalytic pedagogy was condemned as a vehicle for bourgeois ideology and subjected to harsh criticism. Psychoanalytic institutions were closed, and those researchers who refused to renounce Freudianism faced persecution or were forced to emigrate. Simultaneously, the USSR began to institutionalize ideologically driven models of collective education, which became the cornerstone of Soviet pedagogy. Psychoanalytic theories were replaced by Marxist concepts of upbringing, emphasizing collectivism, class struggle, and socialist values. A 1936 decree by the Central Committee of the Communist Party formally denounced pedology and psychoanalysis as bourgeois trends incompatible with the objectives of socialist construction. While some psychoanalysts continued their work clandestinely, their contributions to medical and educational practices remained limited. After World War II, psychoanalysis persisted in the USSR only through the efforts of individual practitioners and scholars, but it remained officially banned. Ultimately, psychoanalysis was excluded from Soviet pedagogical and medical practice, as the development of education became entirely focused on ideologically controlled models that prioritized collectivist principles.

Given the rich history of psychoanalytic pedagogy in the Soviet Union during the first half of the 20th century, future research could explore the evolution of psychoanalytic discourse during periods of political transformation, such as Khrushchev's Thaw and Brezhnev's Stagnation, as well as after the dissolution of the USSR into independent states. In this context, particular attention could be devoted to a comparative analysis of the development of Freudianism in Russia and Ukraine.

Literature

ARTEMOVA, Liubov, 2006. *Istoriia pedahohiky Ukrainy* [*History of Pedagogy of Ukraine*]. Kyiv: Lybid'. 424 p. ISBN 966-06-0429-7.

AZBUKIN, Ivan, 1941. Polovoye vospitaniye detey i podrostkov [Sexual Education of Children and Adolescents]. *Sovetskaya pedagogika*. No. 1, pp. 39–45. ISSN 0131-6826.

BEREZIVSKA, Larysa, 2023. Pedagogical Discourse on the Reform of General Secondary Education in Soviet Ukraine through the Prism of Child Protection in the 1920s: the Struggle against Unification. *Historia scholastica*. Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 213–236. ISSN 2336-680X. DOI 10.15240/tul/006/2023-2-009.

BERNFELD, Siegfried, 1973. *Sisyphos oder die Grenzen der Erziehung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag. ISBN 978-3-518-27637-2.

BLONSKY, Pavel, 1935. *Ocherki detskoy seksual'nosti* [*Essays on Child Sexuality*]. Leningrad-Moskva. Tsentral'nyy institut okhrany zdorov'ya detey i podrostkov. 125 p. ISBN 978-5-4458-5941-3.

DADENKOV, Mykola, 1947. *Istoriia pedahohiky* [*History of Pedagogy*]. Kyiv–Kharkiv: Radianska shkola. 328 p.

EXALTO, John, 2024. Educational Studies in Wartime: How War and Dictatorship influenced the Educational Theory of Philipp Abraham Kohnstamm (1875–1951). *Historia scholastica*. Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 81–96. ISSN 2336-680X. DOI 10.15240/tul/006/2024-1-004.

FERENCZI, Shandor, 1949. Psychoanalysis and Education. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, No. 30, pp. 220–224. ISSN 1745-8315.

FISCHER, René, 1975. Zur Geschichte der psychoanalytischen Bewegung in der Tschechoslowakei. *Psyche*. No. 29, pp. 1126–1131. ISSN 0033-2623.

FREUD, Sigmund, 1914. *The History of the Psychoanalytic Movement*. Available at: https://psychclassics.yorku.ca/Freud/History/.

KOSTKIEWICZ, Janina, 2024. Sovietization in Poland and its Impact on Education and Pedagogy. *Historia scholastica*. Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 203–226. ISSN 2336-680X. DOI 10.15240/tul/006/2024-2-009.

KRAVETS, Volodymyr, 1996. Istoriya stanovlennya seksual'noyi pedagogiky v Ukrayini [The History of the Formation of Sexual Pedagogy in Ukraine]. *Ukrayina – Yevropa – Svit. Mizhnarodnyy zbirnyk naukovykh prats. Seriya: Istoriya, mizhnarodni vidnosyny*. No. 17, pp. 254–265.

LEIBIN, Valeriy, 1991. Repressirovannyy psikhoanaliz: Freyd, Trotskiy, Stalin [Repressed Psychoanalysis: Freud, Trotsky, Stalin]. *Rossiyskiy psikhoanaliticheskiy vestnik*. No. 1, pp. 32–55.

LEVKIVSKYI, Mykhailo & DUBASENIUK, Oleksandra (ed.), 1999. *Istoriia pedahohiky* [*History of Pedagogy*]. Zhytomyr: Zhytomyr State Pedagogical University. 336 p. ISBN 966-95529-4-X.

MEDYNSKII, Evgenii, 1947. *Istoriia pedahohiky* [*History of Pedagogy*]. Moskva: UCHPEDGIZ. 579 p.

MILLER, Martin Allan, 1998. *Freud and the Bolsheviks: Psychoanalysis in Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union*. Yale University, 256 p. ISBN 978-0300068108.

NELIN, Ievgen, 2019. Lo sviluppo delle idee della pedagogia psicoanalitica nell'Unione Sovietica (1908–1936). *SPES – Rivista on-line della Società di Politica, Educazione e Storia, Suppl. di "Ricerche Pedagogiche"*. No. 10, pp. 93–102. ISSN 2611-2213. Available at: http://www.spes.cloud/riviste/rivista2019_2.pdf.

OVCHARENKO, Viktor, 1996. Istoriya Rossiyskogo psikhoanaliza i problemy yeye periodizatsii [The History of Russian Psychoanalysis and the Problems of Its Periodization]. *Arkhetip*. No. 3–4, pp. 145–150.

OVCHARENKO, Viktor & GRITSANOV, Aleksandr (ed.), 2010. *Psikhoanaliz: noveyshaya entsiklopediya* [*Psychoanalysis: The Newest Encyclopedia*]. Minsk: Knizhnyi Dom. 1119 p. ISBN 978-985-17-0016-1.

OVCHARENKO, Viktor, 2000. *Rossiyskie psikhoanalitiki* [*Russian Psychoanalysts*]. Moskva: Akademicheskiy Proekt. 432 p. ISBN 5-8291-0032-0.

PARAMONOVA, Anjela, 2012. Psikhoanaliticheskiy diskurs o rebyonke v Rossii v 1920–1930-kh godakh (k 100-letiyu stanovleniya detskogo psikhoanaliza v Rossii) [Psychoanalytic Discourse on the Child in Russia in the 1920s-1930s (Marking the 100th Anniversary of the Establishment of Child Psychoanalysis in Russia)]. *Psikhologiya i psikhotekhnika*. No. 11 (50), pp. 58–74. ISSN 2454-0722.

STOYUKHINA, Nataliya & LOGINOVSKIKH, Daria, 2014. Psikhoanaliz v sovetskoy pedagogike v 1920–1930 godakh [Psychoanalysis in Soviet Pedagogy of 1920–1930. *Privolzhskiy nauchnyy vestnik*. No 11-2 (39), pp. 67–71.

SUKHOMLYNSKA, Olga, 2014. Radyans'ka pedaḥohika yak ideolohiia: sproba istorychnoyi rekonstroktsiyi [Soviet Pedagogy as Ideology: An Attempt at Historical Reconstruction]. *Istoryko-pedahohichnyy al'manakh*. No. 1, pp. 4–24. ISSN 2307-4833. Available at: http://ipa.udpu.edu.ua/article/view/26970.

TROTSKY, Lev, 1927. *Sotsialisticheskoe stroitel'stvo i problema kul'turnoy smychki* [Socialist Construction and the Problem of Cultural Integration]. Moscow-Leningrad. Vol. 21, pp. 430–431.

VAISFELD, Moisei, 1914. Psikhoanaliz i ego primenenie v pedagogike [Psycho-analysis and Its Application in Pedagogy]. *Vestnik vospitaniya*. No. 4, pp. 101–121.

WALDSTEIN, Louis, 1913. *Podsoznatel'noe "Ya" i ego otnoshenie k zdorov'yu i vospitaniyu* [*The subconscious self and its relation to education and health*]. Moscow, 113 p.