Institutional Environment for the Formation of the Soviet Generation

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Abstract

In the current context of dominating threats to the Russian national security, the issues of national identity and citizens' involvement in the history and culture of Russia acquire particular relevance and significance. This article reveals the essence of the cause-and-effect relationships, which played a key role in the formation of personality and socialization of the Soviet generation. The authors managed to identify a complex of external and internal relationships that have shaped the socio-economic, cultural, religious and value-orientation mindset of the Soviet generation.

The main difference of the present study is the fact that its main objective is to study the history and role of economic and social institutions of education, upbringing, culture, and health of children in their transition to adulthood during the Russian Civil War. A comprehensive analysis of Russian and Soviet archives and publications of Russian and foreign scientists presented in the article made it possible to assess the influence of economic and social institutions (institutions of communication, institutions of one-man management in warfare, public education institutions) on the formation of the Soviet generation during the Civil War and postwar period in the Crimea Region.

The results of the study will help to improve the existing system of scientific knowledge about the functions of the basic social and economic institutions through the prism of their adaptability properties with their adoption in any given economic system. A retrospective analysis of the transformation of the institutional environment of children's education and upbringing during the Civil War revealed an integrative relationship in the system of children's patriotic education of that period and the processes of establishing a new Soviet generation.

Keywords: Institutions, institutional environment, children, the Soviet generation, family, teaching, education, culture, health, the Civil War, Crimea.

1. Introduction

In the current context of dominating threats to the Russian national security, the issues of national identity and citizens' involvement in the history and culture of Russia acquire particular relevance and significance. The tragic and critical events of the 1920s continue to interest not only professional historians but also scientists from other areas. The Civil War of 1917-1922, as an armed conflict, took place between various social, political and ethnic groups of the Russian Empire and resulted in profound socio-economic, political, national, religious and psychological changes that became the cornerstone for the formation of a new nation's generation.

It was a complex, controversial and dramatic period in the life of the Russian society. The war collapsed with its bombs, hunger, and separations on everyone: adults and children, changing attitudes and rules of life. The situation of children in Russia during the Civil War with its desolation and famine was particularly severe. According to Salnikova, children "felt, participated and suffered equally with adults, being involved at times in the middle of historical events" [1]. Therefore, public authorities' decisions on the organization of protection and assistance to children at that time were extremely important. "If they survive – the country will survive with its history, ideals and future" [2]. Historical and economic monitoring of the influence of the inseparable connection of children's education and upbringing during the Civil War on the formation of the Soviet generation makes it possible to substantially develop directions of institutional theory in terms of the conceptualization of properties' variability for basic economic and social institutions under the influence of several exogenous and endogenous factors. The study on the effects of economic and social institutions in the system of children's upbringing during the Civil War on the formation of the Soviet generation resulted from the further development of historical science and required a comprehensive analysis of the Russian and Soviet archives, along with publications of domestic and foreign scientists.

The issue of children's education and upbringing in the 1920s is discussed in numerous publications, including the works of Russian authors – A. Makarenko, M. Gedko, A. Kirov, V. Kudinov, Yu. Makovetskaya, E. Yalozina, and others. The issues of educational upbringing are considered in direct relationship with children's cultural and physical level. A significant contribution to the subject was made by A. Makarenko, N. Krupskaya, P. Bologna, S. Shatskii, V. Shatskaya and others. Socio-economic transformations in Russia during the Civil War have been analyzed by several foreign scientists, such as K. Blake, A. Graziosi, V. Dalin, P. Kenez, M. Levin, J. Lukacs, M. Malia, S. Fitzpatrick, and others. As for the analysis of the institutional environment during the Russian Civil War, one can mention a...
The main objective of the proposed research is the study of the processes of the formation of the Soviet generation. It is subject to further analysis. It also demonstrates the need for comprehensive studies of the impact of the institutional environment of the child upbringing system during the Civil War on the processes of the formation of the Soviet generation. The main objective of the proposed research is the study of the history and role of economic and social institutions of upbringing, education, culture, and health of children in their transition to adulthood during the Russian Civil War. The stated purpose of the study was completely achieved.

2. Methods

To achieve the objectives of this study, the authors have decided to use the following methods:

- comparative historical analysis, which compares the socioeconomic implications of the operation of economic and social institutions during the Civil War;
- functional analysis used to analyze the functions of economic and social institutions of upbringing, education, culture, and health;
- structural and logical analysis used to structure the economic and social institutions of children's upbringing, education, culture, and health during the Civil War, followed by the description of logical interrelations and interdependencies throughout the country and the Crimean features;
- content analysis of archival materials on the implementation of state social policy in the field of child protection during the Civil War and on the development issues of public education in Russia and Crimea.

3. Results

The military actions of 1917-1922, which took place throughout the country, were aggravated by economic devastation and political consequences of the revolutions of 1905 and 1917, the First World War and polarization of the entire Russian society. The First World War brought physical and moral suffering to Russian children's population, destruction of their families, death of their parents, famine, and poverty on a massive scale. Shcherbinin devoted his monograph to the problems of military childhood. He analyzed various aspects of children's daily life and identified norms and deviations in their social behavior. The author noted that "children of the First World War" had special features and their growth was seriously influenced by structural factors:

1) this "war generation" demonstrated an amazing survivability and managed to withstand all the hardships and privations of all-out war;
2) just like the veterans of the First World War of 1914-1918, those children turned out to be that "lost" generation, which was later actively described by contemporaries;
3) during the Revolution, the Civil War, the socio-political "fractures" of the 1920s children fully realized the consequences of the First World War: fatherlessness, homelessness, lack of lawfulness and family education, bitterness and criminal inclinations;
4) in fact, the young generation of wartime was completely deprived of childhood in its traditional sense, but was independent and initiative and got used to solving problems by force or deceit, skillfully adapting to life situations, bearing deprivation and famine;
5) being the children of the First World War, teenagers grew during the civil war, their transition to adulthood took place in the period of collectivization and political repression of the 1920s-1930s. To a certain extent, the war (world, civil, war with the internal enemy) never ended for this generation, lasting until their final maturity;
6) children of the 1930s, born from the "former" military generation of the First World War of 1914-1918, were also doomed to the fate of having a "military" childhood during World War II of 1939-1945. Thus, in the Soviet Union, there was a sort of "continuity" of comprehending the experience of war transmitted from parents to children along with the ability to survive in extremely difficult, dangerous and critical conditions of military everyday life" [3].

Such changes in the lives of children adversely affected their situation, and in subsequent years of the Civil War they were aggravated by the catastrophic economic situation, social crises, and struggle for physical survival. The present study examines the formation of conditions for children's upbringing and education. The complexity and inconsistency of historical development of that time had devastating impact on the role of family and its educational potential. When examining the problems of childhood and analyzing children's situation in a Russian family in 1917-1930, Perova singled out "a sharp drop in the importance of the family institution and the complete elimination of religion from it. Marriage was considered a relic of the past, and the very fragility of family resulted in fatherlessness and neglect" [4]. Revealing the role of state authorities and public organizations in social policy in 1917-1918, Sazhina notes that changes in family legislation were aimed at organizing proper ideological education [5].

Civil war split the educational environment on political grounds. The issue of children's education was no longer a private matter – it was a matter of state, which also took care of a child's future [4]. The Bolsheviks who came to power embodied the draft of a unified state labor school, accompanied by radical experiments and innovations. Now the school was separated from the church, while the church was separated from the state; educational institutions were forbidden to teach any religion or religious rituals; physical punishment of children was forbidden, and all nationalities were entitled to study in their native language. In October 1918, the authorities approved provision for free, joint education of school-age children. A year later, a decree on education was signed, and now the entire population of the country aged 8 to 50 who did not know how to read or write were obliged to learn to read and write in their native or Russian language – at their request. Moreover, the Bolsheviks decided to introduce general preschool education. A total of 3 million people had learned how to read and write by 1920. In Soviet times, for the first time in the history of Russia, almost universal literacy was achieved, close to 100%. It was a cultural revolution. Thus, the education system went through different stages, as the state itself. A specific feature of the period of 1917-1920 was the creation of several new general education institutions: a unified labor school, a school-commune, a summer school, etc., combining general and polytechnic education. The school had become an important social institution, playing a key role in the education system. The school brought up children, formed their mindset, system of values, and helped their individual socialization, focusing on the moral and ethical aspects of the development of the younger generation.

Multimillion losses of the population before the end of the Civil War resulted in problems associated with population. Losses of the civilian population were largely connected with mass violence, terror, religious conflicts, and national mayhems. Another factor contributing to the reduction in population was the incidence of acute infectious diseases. The epidemic situation in the country during the Civil War was very intense – relapsing fever, abdominal fever, typhus, smallpox, cholera and dysentery that especially raged that time. In 1918, 116 thousand people died of these diseases, in 1919 – 910 thousand people, and in 1920 – more
than 1 million people. The issue of combating the supermortality of infants was especially acute. The demographic situation was specifically discussed at the First All-Russian Congress of Personalities of Childhood Protection, held in February 1918 [6]. This congress raised the question about the need to protect motherhood and childhood and combat epidemic diseases. These two areas became the main ones in the demographic policy of the state.

One of the areas of assistance for children in distress was the fight against hunger. Assistance was provided to both young children and adolescents, regardless of their parents' class affiliation and place of work. In 1918, the government organized free food for children. At first, it was applied only to the children of urban and industrial centers and covered about 3 million people. In January 1919, the Council for the Protection of Children was established. Its functions included an obligation to "take care of the younger generation in a dangerous transitional period" through monitoring of the performance of all sorts of decrees on children. In 1920, the number of children receiving free meals increased to 6 million. Due to the impossibility of further expansion of the network of soup kitchens, some children got additional food in the form of "dry rations". The Extraordinary Commission for the Improvement of Children's Life, established in 1921, which was to be the militant headquarters of the public (with the help of "pressure and influence"), coordinating all efforts of the state to provide assistance to children (in terms of food, housing and fuel), stated that "the issue of children's upbringing and support throughout the RSFSR is in an extremely menacing and sometimes catastrophic situation and requires authoritative decisive measures, both organizational and material, aimed at eliminating the shameful for the Soviet Republic children's front, threatening if not the extinction of the younger generation of Russian workers and peasants, than its physical and moral degeneration". Therefore, "the very first decrees of the Soviet power and the first activities on the government protection of children's health discovered that the government ran a special policy on this issue and allocated children from the general population, making them an exception to the general rule" [7].

In 1920, on average, over 200,000 hospital patients received daily public supplies, and in summer over 400,000 resort patients received supplies according to the sanatorium norms. Public procurement was provided to refugees, mobilized, prisoners – about 300 thousand people, headsman and patronage – 138 thousand people.

The Russian Civil War (1917-1922) resulted in a difficult economic and social situation. People lost their jobs and homes. The war caused tremendous damage both to the able-bodied population and to the younger generation: many children became orphans, they could not receive proper education and upbringing, while a significant part of them became street children. After the end of the Civil War, the number of homeless children in Russia, according to various estimates, was 4.5-7 million. Elimination of child homelessness was considered fully completed in the mid-1930s. In 1935, the Sovnarkom of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) noted that with a significant number of children's institutions and improvement of the economic status of workers, a small number of street children was simply the lack of preventive work. The authorities also noted the public role in children's upbringing, defined a system of measures to prevent neglect and homelessness, developed measures to combat violation of rights of minors, raised parents' responsibility for children's upbringing.

A lot of works have been published on terrible events in the Russian society during the Civil War; however, this topic continues to be relevant, especially in clarifying regional features. At the time, Crimea held a privileged position not only because of the final resting place of the members of the imperial family, the repeated change of government, cruelty and severity of its consequences but also because of the territory of protracted civil war [8]. Historians note that events that occurred in Crimea in the winter of 1917-1918 were the first case of mass terror during the Civil War in Russia [9]. These events were horrible in scale, cruelty and hatred, which also concerned the children of the peninsula. Researchers show that the working day in the high season often reached 18-20 hours during the war in Crimea. The employers "squeezed out all the juices from female workers, including 10-13-year-old girls" [10]. The years of the Civil War brought death and ruin to the Crimea, the change of government repeated time and again. Not primarily not sufficiently, but the ruling authorities paid attention to social sphere, education and culture, as evidenced by the following selected materials.

January-April 1918 was the period of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Taurida. The activities of the Republic of Taurida institutions were subject to a fundamental problem – reformation in the spirit of garrisoning military communism [10]. Thus, the established People's Commissariat of Education paid attention to the activities of schools and cultural and educational institutions. This institution planned to implement general compulsory and free education, along with the elimination of obsolete forms, creation of a unified system of general education institutions, establishing literacy schools for adults and developing a system of preschool and out-of-school education, etc. [11]. In the spring of 1918, Feodosia authorities began to establish playgrounds and "colonies", where all children had a medical examination for health purposes. In Yevpatoria, public libraries opened, based on requisitioned books with a fund of up to 7,000 copies, in Feodosia – about 9,000 books covering various branches of knowledge [12]. May-November 1918 was a period of German occupation and the period of activity of the Crimean Territory Government. Life, excited by the revolution, began to return to normal, the population was back to work. Many years of public requests and the presence of a significant number of scientists on the peninsula contributed to the adoption on August 30, 1918 by the Crimean Krai Government of the Decree "On Establishment of the Taurida University"; funds were allocated to the Kerch Kushnikovsky Female Gymnasium, Karasubazar Male Gymnasium, for the repair of Simferopol Tatar Teacher's School; a decree was adopted on the establishment of scholarships "for the children of killed and crippled soldiers" for scholarship in Crimea educational institutions [13].

November 1918 – April 1919 was the period of military intervention of the Entente. The troops of the Entente countries liquidated the German occupation regime and served as peacekeepers. Throughout its existence, the regional government supported the work of the Taurida University, the Nikitsky Botanical Garden, the pomology station in Simferopol, and other "scientific and auxiliary institutions". Pension funds for public teachers were restored, a law was enforced on the opening of private schools, libraries and reading rooms; museums, public hospitals and sanatoriums received material assistance [14].

April-June 1919 was the period of the Crimean Soviet Socialist Republic. Crimea was occupied by Soviet troops, emergency committees were formed – the so-called military-revolutionary committees, and at the 4th Crimean regional conference of KP(b)U, the decision to create the Crimean Soviet Socialist Republic [10] was enshrined. The government's economic program was sustained in the spirit of war communism, including the nationalization of the most important industries, resorts, confiscation of landlord and monastic lands. To the limit of their ability, the authorities did not forget about the issues of education and culture, social problems, attracted the intelligentsia to work. After discussing the issue of the state of "children's shelters", the Revolutionary Committee ordered the Social Security Commissariat to immediately start equipping children's homes [15]. One of the first orders issued by the People's Commissar for Education was the order to release indigent citizens from paying for their children's education in schools [15]. School classes were conducted, kindergartens continued to open, the Taurida University continued its work, people's universities opened in...
Simferopol and Yalta; attention was paid to preserving cultural heritage (I.K. Aivazovsky Art Gallery, Chersonesus and city museums, book collections, etc.) [10].

June 1919 – March 1920 was the period of A.I. Denikin's ruling. The Taurida Province was rebuilt in Crimea. That period was characterized by total denationalization, including manors, and implementation of the "command economy" measures. According to eyewitnesses, Crimea resembled a large gypsy camp. It became home to numerous bourgeois, employees, intelligentsia, lumpen proletarians and all sorts of personalities from all over Russia. However, "there were no agricultural appliances, no clothes, medicines, no alphabet for children". Crimea was "overrun by gangs of hungry people who lived on public funds and robbed it" [8]. Under these conditions, the standard of living was rapidly declining, ruin prevailed, mortality was increasing, and epidemics of infectious diseases were spreading.

March-November 1920 was the period of the Russian White Army General P.N. Wrangel. During this period, the appointed commander of forces of the South of Russia P.N. Wrangel arrived in Crimea to restore order. Victims here already outnumbered tens of thousands. "Even children saw terrible corpses hanging on Simferopol lanterns on their way to schools and gymnasiums" [16]. The economic policy of Wrangel's government was largely improvisational. Free trade was introduced, but the Crimean industry declined during the years of the Civil War. Production decreased by 75-85% since 1910; in 1920, there were 32 enterprises, of which only six had more than a hundred workers. The proletarians numbered 2,663 people [17]. Most of the enterprises provided military needs. Transport almost froze. Virtually all economic projects of economic management remained unrealized. Nevertheless, the Taurida University in Simferopol continued its work, the University of Bosporus opened in Kerch; the Law Institute of Sevastopol continued to hold classes. There were several "people's universities" in the cities of the peninsula – free higher courses for those who wanted to improve their educational level. In 1919, the Russian Publishing House in Crimea issued books with a total circulation of 200 thousand copies, including 150 thousand textbooks.

In November 1920, the Red Army entered Crimea, and the Soviet power was restored. Repressions in Crimea in the autumn of 1920, in their scope and cruelty, eclipsed all previous ones, starting from March 1919. At that time children's "shrapnel" – a soup with the presence of fats; tea with dried fruits and once a week – meatballs from dolphin meat, children's shelters and points for bread sales at low prices, in the villages they handed out bread rations. Unfortunately, all this was catastrophically insufficient [24].

The famine of 1921-1922 had catastrophic consequences for Crimea – starvation killed more than 75 thousand Crimeans. The total number of deaths by spring of 1923 had exceeded 100 thousand people. Many settlements were neglected. In Karasubazar (now Belogorsk), the number of inhabitants had fallen by 48%, in the Old Crimea – by 40.8%, in Feodosia – by 35.7%, in the Sudak Region – by 36%, many villages of Mountainous Crimea completely died out. "The apotheosis of the social crisis was cases of cannibalism, including within families" [25]. One could hardly imagine how such things hurt children's psyche, since they often found themselves in the middle of military conflicts and repressive actions. The famine stopped only in the summer of 1923. As a consequence of this terrible disaster, the population of the peninsula decreased from 719,531 to 569,580 people [26]. In June 1923, the state supported more than 150,000 children and up to 12,000 adults, the number of orphans and their custodians was 35,000, disabled and V.V. workers were 17,000 people, while 15,000 people remained unemployed [9].

During the war and the early postwar years, the growing homelessness became a true scourge of the Crimean cities. Children's homelessness especially increased during the famine that captured the peninsula in the early 1920s. Moreover, in the spring of 1922, thousands of homeless children from the mainland joined local children who had lost their relatives due to the Civil War, famine and diseases. They did not know about the famine in Crimea, trying to escape from hunger at home to the sea and the sun. Therefore, fight against homelessness and child famine became one of the key activities of the Crimean local authorities in the early 1920s. The main activity of the police, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission and other Soviet institutions during this period was focused on the timely detention of homeless children and their referral to orphanages and shelters. First institutions of such type were established in Crimea in 1921. Those premises were poorly adapted to life, cold and dirty. Children slept on the floor. Another serious problem was that many children had infectious diseases: typhus, scabies, and lichens. There was always a shortage of food. In fact, first children's homes in Sevastopol and the Crimean Region were solely places for children's feeding, no more than that. Children's homes in the 1920s continued to suffer from extreme lack of space and overcrowding. However, there was still an acute shortage of food: no money was allocated to buy milk, and of all vegetables there was often only cabbage. Due to unsanitary conditions, cold, lack of warm clothes, almost all children were sick. In Crimea, a commission was created to help
homeless children and adolescents, which established child labor colonies and orphanages. "One of the best mansions – house number 32 on the boulevard of Crimea-Giray (Franko Boulevard) was transformed into an orphanage for the children of dead communists". In Kerch, the Commission opened a "sanatorium-colony for 100 weak children", which accepted children from kindergartens in need of treatment.

4. Discussion

Crimean authorities tried to solve the problem differently. So far, there is no consensus in literature on the most successful ways; the discussion continues to this day.

First, the orphanages were annually tested by the Department of Public Education. During the inspections, the commission revealed many violations: in addition to the fact that some employees were not trained in working with children, they allowed all kinds of abuse. Secondly, at the meetings of different levels, the authorities stressed the need to open new orphanages. But since there were not enough funds to create new facilities, those statements remained declarative.

To relieve children's homes, children were also given to their relatives (if they had any). Moreover, former homeless children were employed to work for industrial and communal enterprises, workshops, the Red Army and agricultural communes. "Pupils of child labor colonies, mainly producing consumer goods in subsidiary production facilities, aged between 12 and 16 years had to work 4 hours a day and study another 4 hours a day. Adolescents aged 16 to 18 had to work 8 hours a day, and study only 2 hours a day" – this was how child labor was described in state documents [27].

Trade unions and labor collectives also participated in activities to combat homelessness. Regularly held "Weeks of a Homelessness of Children" encouraged the public to provide all possible assistance to homeless children. The press published dozens of articles reporting on the state's success on that front. Those organizations and individuals who agreed to shelter homeless children became heroes in the stories of local newspapers. Thus, by the end of the 1920s, the fight against homelessness in Crimea and throughout the country had taken the form of a nationwide campaign.

In May 1922, with the funds seized from church, the authorities established a child labor colony. In August 1922, a children's hospital opened in Sevastopol; however, the infant mortality rate in the city was 39%. It was not only because of hunger but also because of the inability to provide timely medical help to sick children. In 1922, there were only 8 pediatricians for 6,423 children in Sevastopol.

Therefore, the government had established control over children's health and sanitary living conditions, took care of street children. Eventually, the joint efforts of the state and society had succeeded by the beginning of the 1930s, when the problem of child neglect in the region as a whole was overcome. The number of orphanages had also decreased: in Sevastopol, only 3 of 9 orphanages continued to function. Moreover, the Crimean authorities established the Children's Reception Center intended for 30 people, which assigned street children to the relevant institutions. Thus, the organized nutrition and fight against childhood diseases had improved the conditions of child survival, both in families and at public child's institutions; while labor, collective life, self-management, socially useful work and trust in homeless children became the basis of education, which enabled the younger generation to cope with the hardships of the military and postwar periods. Former children of the Civil War became teachers, scientists, doctors, architects, engineers, artists, athletes, etc.

The generation of the 1920s-1930s absorbed such qualities (universal values) as diligence, collectivism, internationalism, citizenship. This purely Russian, Soviet phenomenon requires further awareness and objective perception.

The political culture of a young Soviet citizen had emerged and implemented in public life, which then passed from generation to generation with only partial modifications. The youth, the younger generation, and the youth movement were subject to general laws, were part of social practice. However, they still had their own features, specifics, which should be necessary considered further.

The purpose of youth lies in the indisputable fact that it is not solely an object of upbringing, education, and socialization but also an active subject of social reproduction, an innovative potential of society, an essential guarantor of its development.

5. Conclusion

Thus, the results of the study will deepen the existing system of scientific knowledge about the functions of basic social and economic institutions through the prism of their adaptability properties used in any given economic system.

Retrospective analysis of the transformation of the institutional environment of children's upbringing and education during the Civil War revealed the integrative relationship in the system of patriotic education of children of this period, and in the process of establishing a Soviet generation.

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