History of Social Work in Eastern Europe

History of Social Work in Russia

Final Report

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1. Field of the social care in the Russian Empire (1900-1917)

1.1 State politics and regulations

In the beginning of the XX-th century contemporary territory of Russia was the central part of the Russian Empire. The whole power in the country belonged to the Emperor (Nikolai 2d from 1894). The government consisted from around 15 ministries assigned by the Emperor. The social structure of the population included about 87% of peasants, while the rest of the population was represented by different estates and social groups: workers, merchants, clergy, entrepreneurs, Cossacks, nobility and some nomadic people in the far east and north of the country. 13% of the population lived in the cities. In spite ethnic Russians consisted majority of the inhabitants of the territory of the contemporary Russia, the ethnic composition of the population was very diverse (more than 100 ethnic groups). The population of the contemporary territory of Russia belonged to different confessions – Orthodox, Muslim, Lutheran, Catholic, Buddhist - as well as having different local religious cults.

Administratively territory of contemporary Russia was divided in more than 40 administrative regions (mainly gubernias). The head of the region (gubernato) was assigned by the imperor. However, elective body – “zemstvo”1 - existed on the region level as well.

The social policy was based on the estate (soslovie) and confessional division. The main actors of social politics and social welfare were emperor, ministries, zemstva, local government, as well as independent philanthropic (religious and secular) organizations and peasant communities. The state policy was guided by the principle of need to care for those who can not care about themselves. Care [prisrenie] (organized system of help on the side of the state or the society those in need) before 1917 was realized at a level of joint and separate efforts of such institutions and structures as Ministry of Internal Affairs, zemstvo and municipal institutions as well as voluntary organizations.

Ministry of Internal Affairs was appointed with the functions of supervision and control over the social care, while in the majority of territories [gubernias] the surveillance was conducted by

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1 Zemstvo – «an elective local district and provincial administrative assembly. Originally it was composed of representatives elected by the peasantry, the householders of the towns, and the landed proprieters… Theoretically the zemstvo has large powers relating to taxation, education, public health, etc., but practically these powers are in most cases limited to the adjustment of the state taxation» (see http://www.thefreedictionary.com).
zemstvo and municipal institutions of the local self-management. In gubernias, where local self-management was not established, such a function was realized by the prikazy\(^2\) of social care [prikazy obshchestvennogo prizrenia]. Hence, in early XX century Russia there were two types of statutory care: managed jointly by zemstvo and the state (in 34 gubernias, mainly within the European part of Russia) and managed by the statutory offices prikazy (in 21 gubernias). Prikazy had to deal with charity, while zemstvo, who’s spending for social needs were considered as non-compulsory, had a right only to work in area of prizrenie.

The activity of all charitable organizations and societies was subject to regulation by the Charter on Social Care [Ustav ob Obshchestvennom Prizrenii], that was passed under Catherine the Second (1762-1796) and was absolutely outdated. The existing system was criticized for lack of coordination among many charities and lack of planned activities. According to the participants of the 1\(^{st}\) Congress of Russian activists of public and private care in StPetersburg in 1910, management of all local charitable organizations had to be concentrated in zemstvo or municipal self-government, and the organization of public care should become their responsibility. The institutions of local self-government, according to the Congress, should receive the grants from the state for the solution of a definite set of problems.

A professionalization of social care was promoted by the Public Service Act (1897) which established the positions up to the 5\(^{th}\) class in the Emperor’s Philanthropic Society. The 5\(^{th}\) position was in correspondence with a civic status of state official [kollezhski sovetnik] and a military status of a colonel. Besides, the breastplates of three degrees were established - «for the activists and supporters»\(^3\).

In 1912 a new Charter on Social Care was passed that took into account more modern principles, kinds and forms of care, as well as paid attention to the problem of how much help or care was needed. The Charter demonstrated that the building up centralized, complex and coordinated system of social care was rather far from its completion.

The general supervision was assigned to the governors and chiefs of the city administration, while direct management of public care activities was assigned to zemstvo and municipal self-government institutions, and those provinces without zemstvo have remained under the jurisdiction of the prikaz

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\(^2\) Prikaz – statutory office

of public care. The trusteeship above *inorodtsy*⁴ [Popechitel'stvo nad inorodtsamy] in Siberia, on Ural, in Central Asia etc. was entrusted to Headquarters of a Land-use system and agriculture. In the territories of the Cossack troops the public care was managed by the Military ministry⁵.

In the beginning of the XX century the first steps were made towards the *development of social insurance for the workers*. In 1903 the Law “On rewarding victims of accidents workers and personnel” was adopted; it became the first law, based on the principle of mandatory insurance from one of social risk kinds⁶. In 1912 four social laws have been passed by the 3⁰ State Duma: on the insurance of workers from accidents, sickness insurance, establishment of the offices on workers’ insurance, on the establishment of committee of the workers’ insurance. The sickness insurance envisioned creation of hospital cash departments [*bolnichniye kassi*], which have taken fees of the employers and workers (maximum 3 % of earnings). Such cash departments insured 2.5 million workers (16 % of a total number)⁷.

### 1.2 Non-state organizations of social welfare and social care

By 1907 in Russia there were 4762 different charitable organizations and 6278 care institutions⁸. All the private charitable institutions and societies were controlled by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. However, there were independent charitable offices with special privileges on the part of the state, e.g. private financing or granting of different privileges and personal encouragements. Those included: Office of the Empress Maria’s Institutions, with the extremely broad program and a number of institutions providing care for infants, children, adults (aged and crippled), deaf, mute and blind, as well as medical assistance⁹; Imperial Philanthropic Society; the Russian Red Cross Society; the Trusteeship of the Labor Help; the Trusteeship of the National Sobriety; Alexandrovski Committee on the Injured; Alexeevski Main Committee.

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⁴ *inorodtsy* – aliens – the Imperial Russian bureaucratic designations for those citizens with non-Russian origins.
⁹ See: Blagorvoritel’nye uchrezhdenii v Rossii (Charitable institutions in Russia). SPb: Tipografia imperatorskogo uchilishcha glukhonymykh, 1912.
1.2.1 Organizations with state’s privileges

The most significant institutions run due the endeavors of the Empresses Maria were two care nursing homes in Moscow and St. Petersburg that annually took in up to 20 thousand infants born out of wedlock. Besides, under protection of these homes up to 80 thousand children were placed into private care\textsuperscript{10}.

The Imperial Philanthropic Society, which has managed trusteeships and charitable institutions, was aimed on the following: 1) education and training of the orphans and children of the poor parents; 2) care for aged, disabled and unable to work; 3) rendering of the temporary help by free or cheap place, nutrition, clothing; 4) rendering of a medical care. Already since the second half of the XIX century the gradual process of nationalization of Society has been developed\textsuperscript{11}. It is important to notice that those persons, who participated in the activities of Philantropic Society, were entitled to use the rights of public servants according to the highest command of 1897. By 1901 the Society encompassed in both capitals and other 25 regions 221 institutions, including: 63 educational, 63 alms-houses, 32 houses of free and cheap flats and 3 asylums, 8 folk dining halls, 4 sewing workshops, 20 medical institutions \textsuperscript{12}.

1.2.2 International organizations

Among the organizations, which functioned “under special conditions”, there was Russian Red Cross Society (since 1867). An important direction of care activity of the Red Cross Society was provision of help to the injured, those who suffered from catastrophes and war, fires, lack of harvest, as well as establishment of medical care provision. The society also organized help to those who suffered in accidents in big cities\textsuperscript{13}. During the big military campaigns (e.g. Russia-Japan war 1904-1905 and First World War) new charitable services have been established and started their activities by helping war orphans and families suffered from the war.

\textsuperscript{13} Blagorvitoritelnuye uchrezhdenia v Rossii (Charitable institutions in Russia). SPb: Tipografia imperatorskogo uchilishcha glukhonemykh, 1912. P.81.
1.2.3 Local self-government organizations

An important role in the development of public care in the beginning of XX century was played by *zemstvo* as well as by municipal organizations of a local self-government. They encompassed more broad audience of social problems, than a system of statutory agencies [*prikazy*]. Homeless people who were not aged neither disabled were eligible to receive care arranged by *zemstvo*. For such needy people in provinces with *zemstvo* system there were asylums and night homes. The prevention of poverty was an aim of such measures as organization of the workers’ barracks and hostels [*strannopriimnye doma*] for the settlers and migrating workers. The attempts were made to organize information offices and job seeking offices for the centralized looking up of activity were made. For those peasants, who were not eligible to obtain banks credit, the special charitable cash departments were set up. After the long-lived petitions by *zemstvo*, in 1883, the ground rules of organization of cash departments were established, the purpose of which was the warranties for the future by lowest serving personnel, who were not eligible for the state pension (the state provision of pensions concerned only army officers and high officials). And, at last, one more area of *zemstvo*’s activity: expanding of the care system in area of child upbringing, including juvenile delinquents, for whom the correctional agricultural colonies and vocational-correctional asylums have been opened\(^{14}\). After social revolt in 1905-1907 the government began to finance part of the *zemstvo*’s costs on local needs\(^{15}\).

1.2.4 Charitable activity of the Orthodox Church

The charitable activities of the Russian Orthodox Church were conducted through such its structural link as the parish. According to the legislation, the trusteeship established in the parish should run exclusively on the donations of the church-goers. The board of trustees included both - priests and electives from the community – that sometimes was provoking disputes on subordination.

In 1905 the Synod\(^{16}\) has expanded autonomy of the parish and participation of the church-goers in their management, which has induced the revival of parish charities. The most active were the parish charity in St. Petersburg, where by 1914 their costs were equal with costs of the municipal civic trusteeship\(^{17}\). The activity of *prikhod*\(^{18}\) was characterized by a diversity of the forms and

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\(^{16}\) Synod was a highest State institution regulating activity of the Church.
\(^{17}\) Melnikov V.P., Kholostova E.I., op.cit., P. 445.
\(^{18}\) parish
encompassed different groups of those in need. Typical forms of social help arranged by the church-
prikhod trusteeship were: provision of allowances, free meals, rendering of a charge-free medical care, management of alms-houses and asylums. The whole branch of church activity was related to the creation and development of a network of parochial schools and libraries. A lot of efforts and finances were put into the anti-alcoholism preventive activities of the church and civic society for sobriety.

1.2.5 Charitable activity of Jewish organizations

The organizations of Jewish charity and social work were robust in the Russian Empire in the beginning of the XXth century. In spite of the fact that most of these organizations were situated outside of the contemporary territories of the Russian Federation (they were especially important for the Southern and Western parts of the Russian Empire where Jews were “aloud to live” according to a discriminative law about Pale of Settlement), there were many important organizations in Petersburg and some other big cities. One of the first was The Society for Trades and Agricultural Labor (Obzhestvo remeslnogo i zemledelcheskogo truda) founded in 1880. The main initial aim of the organization was professional education for young Jews as a way out from Pale of Settlement. To the year 1906 organization provided manual training for about 25000 Jews in 350 cities of the Russian Empire. During the First World War ORT was organizing cooperative workshops, soup kitchens and jobs for displaced Jews. Another organization, Society for promotion of education among Jews in Russia (Obzhestvo dlya rasprostraneniya prosvesheniya sredi evreev v Rossii) was created in 1863 and together to publishing books (mostly in Russian) about Jewish history and culture supported Jewish students and promoted school education for Jews. During the First World War the society helped in opening 370 schools for Jewish refugees. There were many other Jewish organizations that appeared in the beginning of the XXth century and were very active till mid-1920s: Jewish social committee for help to the victims of pogroms – 1914-1925 (Evreiskiy obzhestvenniy komitet po okazaniyu pomozhi postradavshim ot pogromov), Committee for help to poor Jews (Komitet po okazaniyu pomozhi bednim evreyam), Society for protection of

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22 Michail Bejzer The Jews of St. Petersburg : excursions through a noble past, Philadelphia: The Jewish publication society, 1989, chapter 2 and 3
23 Irina Ilyina Voluntary organizations in Russia in 1920s (Obzestvenniye organizii v Rossii v 1920-e gg), Moscow, Institute of Russian history of Russian Academy of sciences, 2001, p. 199.
health of the Jewish population – created in 1912 (Obzhestvo okhrani zdorovia evreiskogo naseleniya).\(^\text{24}\)

1.2.6 Charitable activity of Muslim organizations

Muslim population (inside of the borders of the contemporary Russia) was living in the Volga region, Caucasus as well as was big in such central cities as Petersburg and Moscow. According to Koran every Muslim has to pay some money for the poor (zakyat). However, these payments were direct and irregular. To the beginning of the XXth century some Muslim (mostly Tatar) merchants became strong and influential in Volga region, they were giving money for building of mosques and religious schools (mekteb). The institution of guardianship (popechitelstvo) in Muslim community was established in the end of the XIXth century and some charity organizations appeared: “The society of help to poor Muslims” in Kazan, (1898), “Trustee for poor Tatars” in Astrakhan (1896), “Charitable society” in Kasimov (near Riazan, 1897). Because of the beginning of the Muslim modernization movement (djadidism\(^\text{25}\)) most of the charity was aimed for educational and not purely religious aims. The guardianship was controlling school finances, programs and level of education. The number of charitable organizations was growing from one year to another. For example, in Kazan there were board schools for Muslim boys (from 1905), almshouse for disabled Muslim men without relatives (from 1900) and several schools, including Tatar-Russian women’s professional school (from 1909).

1.2.7 Charitable activity of women’s organizations

The “women’s question” was important for Russian political and social life and number of women’s organization was growing. Women’s organizations had different (or sometimes did not have any) political orientations, however, all the organizations of women included ideas of “help”, “care” or “charity” in their agenda and were doing a lot of practical work with respect to different categories of women, children and men. The philanthropic organizations (helping women education, poor mothers, orphans, etc) were mainly local – different in every region and city. One of the biggest organizations was Society for improvement of the Lot of women; it had offices in Petersburg, Moscow and some other cities. Other important organizations included: “Russian Women’s Mutual Philanthropic society” created in 1895 in Petersburg (courses of professional training, juridical

\(^{24}\) Michail Bejzer, op.cit.

\(^{25}\) Djadidism supposed modernization of Muslim schools curriculum, that usually included sex-mixed education, studies of mathematics, history and social sciences. This movement was important for a development of Krim (contemporary Ukraine), Muslim population of Volga region and Ural.
commission, office for help women to find a job, library), “Union for equal rights for women” (women’s pharmacy courses, hospital for First World War soldiers). Several oppositional political parties (constitutional democrats, social democrats) were organizing clubs and evening schools for women.

1.3 Theories and methods of care

In the beginning of the XXth century Russia was a country of number of acute social problems (poverty, high infant mortality, illiteracy, child abandonment, lack of health care, ethnic and social discrimination, prostitution) and of growing social conflicts. The Russian social servants (particularly zemstvo members), leaders of political parties and organizations as well as intellectuals (first of all doctors) widely discussed these problems trying to find solutions. One of the important issues was problem of coordination of welfare and charity activities.

One of the first intellectuals who raised the question on a theory of social care was V.I.Gerie. An issue of statutory care and its relation to private charity in early XX century received high attention. Gerie has claimed a compulsory public help as a cultural aim of the state and proved the importance of establishment of a special statutory organ – a Central trusteeship, which would regulate the issues of social care. I.Tarassov considered that charity supposes direct relation to the concrete problems and real situation of a person and can be viewed as mean for an instrumental and immediate measure. He saw charity as opposite to the arrangement of insurance and pension systems, education and tax systems. Such a division between the preventive and immediate help as a concept of state policy was characteristic for Western Europe, where forms of social welfare and social work were developed. M.Sokolovski studied roots of charity in history. He has also conducted a research and published a book on “Petersburg Beggars (from personal observations)”, where he gave a social portrait of beggars and raised an issue about the necessity of preventive tasks of charity, including the task of combating alcoholism. The problem of coordination was in 

26 Gerie V.I. Popechitelstvo bednykh v Moskve v 1895 (Trusteeship over the poor in Moscow in 1895). Moscow, 1895.
the center of work of S.Gogel who stressed the importance of regular meetings of those involved in
the work of the care institutions. He thought that it could contribute to training, optimization and
education of charity activists because of their practice-focused and self-studied orientation.\(^{31}\)

Several professional meetings of care institutions took place in the beginning of the XXth century.
In 1902 in StPetersburg the representatives of institutions of Labor Help have come together for a
meeting to discuss the directions of their work. In 1904 the 2\(^{nd}\) meeting of these institutions has
been arranged in order to promote establishment of a union and collaboration between the central
office and territories. In 1903 the representatives of correctional institutions for juveniles have
come together for already a 6\(^{th}\) meeting in order to discuss a question on special training courses for
those working with delinquents and abandoned children and teenagers.\(^{32}\) In 1907 the Union of the
Institutions of Children’s Help [Soyuz utchrezhdenii detskoi pomoshchi] has arranged in
StPetersburg a conference on private charity and social care, including the issues of care for infants
up to the establishment of territorial organizations of labor help.\(^{33}\)

The key directions of research and policy in sphere of public care and social insurance (especially
after the revolution of 1905) were connected to the issues of unemployment and disability. Due to
the initiative of V.Gerie the Moscow, Parliament (Duma) has raised a question on compulsory
insurance in cases of disability and old age as a joint project of employer and employees.\(^{34}\) Among
other problems that were in the center of the interest of the scholars were alcoholism (V.Dmitrie),
children's vagrancy and begging (S.Bakhrushin)\(^{35}\), care and upbringing of abandoned children,
establishment of crèches in many urban and rural regions of Russia, its effect on health and
physical development of children (I.Gagen, F.Bobienskii)\(^{36}\) as well as issues of coordination of all
child care institutions (Yu.Karpinskaia)\(^{37}\).

\(^{31}\) Gogel E.V. Ob’edinenie i vzaimodeistvie tchastnoi i obshchestvennoi blagotvoritel’nosti (Affiliation and


\(^{34}\) Izvestia Moskovskoi gorodskoi dumy (News of Moscow city duma). March 1902. Cited in Fridman M. Insurance of


\(^{36}\) Bakhrushin S. Maloletnie nishchie brodiat v Moske (Beggars of young age are vagabonds in Moscow), in:


\(^{36}\) Gagen V. Opyty organizatsii yaslei v derevniakh (Experiences of organizations of crèches in villages), in: Vestnik


In 1910 the department of social care ['Kafedra obshchestvennogo prizrenia'] was established at the Faculty of Law of the Psychoneurological Institute in StPetersburg in order to provide training of those working in Working Houses ['doma trudoliubia'], charitable organizations, etc.\textsuperscript{38}

One of the pioneers in welfare reformism was Moscow. An interesting development in 1901 was an establishment of a Museum of Labour Help and Charity aimed on dissemination of good experiences and knowledge in the sphere of social services related to the issues of social care, charity and activities, which aimed on the improvement of labour and everyday life of those in need. The Museum was not just a collection of artifacts but also provided courses related to the issues of Labor Help\textsuperscript{39}.

For the designers of the Muslim charity the main theoretical problem consisted in tradition of giving zakyat only from person to person. Thus, new djadidist Tatar intellectuals, for example, mullah Izh-Babia Gabdulla Buby, started a public discussion in Kazan newspapers, trying to convince members of the Muslim community that organizations like almshouses, shelters and schools would help to the solution of the problems of poverty better than direct “giving of money to needy person”.\textsuperscript{40}

Important event for women’s movement was The First women’s congress (1908, Sankt-Petersburg) that discussed problems of women’s poverty, abortion, contraception, prostitution. Main political liberal organizations were promoting women’s rights for education and, especially after 1905, of vote.

2. Revolutions of 1917 and changes in social politics and organization of the social care

After mass manifestation in Petersburg in February 1917 czar’s government was thrown down and liberal Provisional Government was established. Among first measures of the new government was declaration of the universal vote (including women) and creation of the new ministry of social care ('ministerstvo sozialnogo prizreniya'). However, after several months the Provisional Government was thrown down by Bolsheviks (October 1917). After the Socialist Revolution in 1917 the Bolsheviks declared a proletarian dictatorship (that meant political and social discrimination of all the non-proletarian social groups), they censured charity and private property (church was also

\textsuperscript{40} Salikhov R., op.cit , p.310
deprived of most of its property) as bourgeois survivals. On the other hand the proletarian state declared new social and welfare strategies, including the principle of mandatory working social insurance, separation of church and state, civil marriage and equality of rights and responsibilities of husband and wife, state guarantee for working holidays as well as state’s responsibility for socially disadvantaged population.

However, the declared was very far from realization. The Bolsheviks seizure of power led to a bloody Civil War (1918-1922) that, together to a complicated legacy of the First World War, brought Russia on the edge of the social catastrophe. The industry stopped working, death rate was growing, orphans, abandoned and homeless children engaged into crime and prostitution. Thus, new social policies were focused on certain groups – the neediest ones and the most important ones (from ideological viewpoint of the proletarian state enveloped in famine, war, and economical ruins).

2.1 Targets and institutions of the Soviet welfare politics

Since 1917 the major governmental bodies have been restructured and their responsibilities have been several times reconsidered: People’s Commissariat of Social Welfare, People’s Commissariat of Labor, People’s Commissariat of Health and People’s Commissariat of Education (\textit{Narkomsobes, Narkomtrud, Narkomzdrav, Narkompros}). All the newly accepted decrees have built a base for the new system of social protection, which promoted class-related approach in treatment of human rights and secured status for some previously disadvantaged segments of population – for instance, children born out of wedlock became equal with the children of married couples. In social legislation of 1920s a system of state privileges was founded: special enhanced pensions were introduced for elderly and disabled teachers, workers of certain branches of industry as well as for Soviet employees and their families; special welfare provision was introduced for workers, peasants and families of the Red Army soldiers.

Compared to the years 1914-1921, living standards in 1923-1928 were slowly increasing. People had roofs over their heads (in the cities usually shared housing) and sufficiently to eat (food remained rationed, and there was little choice) \textsuperscript{41}.

\textsuperscript{41} World History at KMLA http://www.zum.de/whkmla/const/constexp/sovrus.html
2.1.1 State social politics and distribution of welfare

The Social Welfare Act (1918) has outlined working population as a group eligible for the statutory medical help, monetary benefits, pensions and natural help. The most popular kind of help was providing people with food, clothes and fuel. A Decree “On introduction of labor food ration” accepted in 1920 reflects hardships of the time of so called “war communism”. In order to realize Social Welfare Act, a special Department of Social Welfare and Occupational Safety was established under the People’s Commissariat of Labor, as well as relevant sub-departments of social welfare and occupational safety in the local councils (soviet) of workers’, peasants’ and Red Army soldiers’ deputies. When people were in need of basic things for survival, they went to those departments to ask for help.

Due to the mass famine special measures were taken and new benefits and structures have been established in 1921: Central Commission of Help to the Starving (Pomgol), Central Commission of Combating the Outcomes of the Famine (Poslegol), All Russia Union of Cooperation of the Disabled, Social Insurance department (Sotsstrakh).

In 1919-20 there were a number of legislative acts, that made “equal” in terms of eligibility for social welfare and pensions provision such groups as labor disabled, disabled due to the First World War and Civil War, and members of family where the breadwinner has died due to the war or labor.

The Bolshevik government paid attention to solving “women’s question”. A remarkable role in service provision was played by a Women’s Department (Zhenotdel) created in 1918 as a part of the Bolshevik party’s Central Committee. Zhenotdel worked together with local women’s organizations called women’s councils.42 Together to discussion about multiple utopian projects and pro-Bolshevik propagandist activity, Zhenotdel and local meetings of women-activists (they were named “delegate of the women’s council”) had realized several important programs. The delegate councils organized meetings and discussions about new rights application, as well as gave information about reorganization of the social life. Another discussed problem had to do with health and moral aspects when making choice for or against officially permitted abortion.43 One more aspect of work important for delegate councils was attempted to solve problems of children homelessness and child care. Many women activists were doing voluntary work in new opened children’s reception centers and day care centers. Third important issue was women’s

43 Smidovich S., O lyubvi /Polovoi vopros, Moskva, 1925, pp. 10-11; “Delegatka” 1924, N 5
subordinations in family which was viewed as consequence of patriarchal order, women’s low education level and housewife status. The delegate meetings and women’s magazines discussed ways out from a “housewife situation” and condemned wife beating. Several campaigns for women who were learning traditional male professions (communication worker, mechanic) were launched. Some attempts to change men’s patriarchal views on women were also made. One of the form of new women’s activity became a women’s club, usually closely connected to delegate council and organizing lectures, new style celebrations (usually antireligious) and literacy courses for adults. Some active women were delegated to local governing structures (the Soviets) for practical learning of political management. The hygiene, science and education were seen as able to change a lot in an everyday life of women. Thus, while alcoholism was seen as one of the important problems in the pre-revolutionary Russia and usually was presented as one of the reasons of women-housewives’ suffering, the new spaces (ambulances) and methods for treatment of alcoholic husbands were propagated.

In 1918 and 1927 two big congresses of working and peasant women were organized. First of them was especially important in defining new place of woman in the society. The main topics discussed in the congress concerned welfare politics with respect to women and children: mother and infant protection, schooling, overcoming children homelessness and prostitution.

In 1920 abortion was legalized. The Law about family and guardianship (1926) included article about alimony in the case of divorce. In order to promote female labor force efforts were made to establish and develop a system of both statutory and corporate nurseries, dining halls, health services (including maternity centers and gynecologists).

With respect to prostitution the Soviet government has discussed several forms of overcoming this social problem, including repressions, prevention, curing and social integration. The tendency of reinforcement of control was realized in the project of vice squad [militia nравов] elaborated by the Commissariat of Internal Affairs of Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) in the beginning of 1920s. Disagreement came from the side of international women’s movement: Klara Zetkin wrote that such an organization (similar to pre-revolutionary) would dishonor a person and hinder “the returning of a prostitute to a normal labor life”. Prostitution was named a “social

44 “Delegatka”, 1923, N 1; ”Zhenskiy zhurnal”, 1927, ? 3
45 “Delegatka”, 1923, N 6; ”Delegatka”, 1924, N 4
46 Dubinina N.I Pobeda Velikogo Oktiabria i perviye meropriyatiya partii i pravitelstva v reshenii zhenskogo voprosa// Opit KPSS v reshenii zhenskogo voprosa, M., Misl, 1981, pp.14-34
47 “Delegatka”, 1924, N 2
48 Averianova A.K. Perviy Vserossiyskiy siezd rabotnits, Moskva, 1999
49 Borduigor G.A. Social parasitism or social abnormalities? From the history of the combating alcoholism, beggary, prostitution and vagaboundness in 20-30s [Sotsial’nyi parasitism ili sotsial’nye anomalii? Iz istorii bor’by s
illness” and both - preventive and operative - measures of social patronage over the prostitutes were undertaken. Under the conditions of the leading role of prevention of prostitution some women were sent to the curative-socialization workshops. The technique of social patronage was elaborated. In this relation, in the Moscow Institute of Social Hygiene the groups of nurses of social help were arranged, who received training and provided social patronage in the locations of “social tension”. In Moscow the experimental points of social help were opened where the prostitutes could get a help in solving various problems. In particular, they could get job, cards for meal and night hostel, monetary benefits and money allowance to travel home. By the Moscow example such social patronage was arranged in Saratov, Samara, Leningrad and other cities. After the Revolution some Mercy Homes were still working. In Leningrad in 1928 the special health centre was opened, where women were directed on voluntary base, with the prescriptions of venerologic hospital. However, gradually by the 1930s the Soviet state turned to the repressive measures of combating with this social illness, in particular, to the use of institutions of penitentiary forms.

The Soviet government created a special institution for help to women of the former colonies: Commission for improvement of the work and everyday life of women. Commission, first name of which was “Commission for improvement of the work and everyday life of the culturally backward people”, was created according to the VtsIk resolution from 20 November, 1926. The main aim of the work of the commission was defined as work with “culturally backward people”, i.e. mostly native population of the Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Northern Caucasus, Azerbaidzhan, Siberia, Far East as well as some non-Christian ethnic groups of the Volga region as Tatars and Bashkirs. Commission had to police “interests of women from the former colonies of the Russian Empire” (according to their Bolshevik interpretation) in the politics of the Soviet government. Among interests of the Commission was protection of women against “customary crimes” (bitoviye...
prestupleniya) - polygamy, bride-money, adolescent marriages, forced marriages; fight against high illiteracy rate among women of “the culturally backward people”, organization of special exhibitions for women, financial support for several women’s cooperatives. One of the specific emphasis in the work of the commission were children’s play grounds and nurseries. The nurseries supposed to be places where women were taught how to care for babies. Commission contributed to involvement of women for participation in the Soviet institutions as well as in the delegates’ meetings. Starting from the beginning of the Stalin’s forced industrialization commission started to loose its specifically colonial/postcolonial activity’ profile and dedicate itself to the supervision of the conditions of work and everyday life of all the working women independently from their ethnicity. “Commission for improvement. ” was liquidated 10 of July of 1932 according to a All-Russia Central Executive Committee (VtsIk) resolution, while its functions were distributed among different state and party organizations.

Starting from end of 1920s-beginning of 1930s women were seen not as political, but mainly as productive and reproductive resource.

In 1918 Ministry of social welfare (narkomsobes) accepted a resolution on creation of a special collegium for solution of the problems of mothers and infants. In 1919 the problems of protection of mothers and infants was transferred to the ministry of health (narkomzdrav). There was opened a special department for maternal and infant care (okhrana materinstva I mладенчества - OMM) The head of this department from 1919 till 1931 was Vera Lebedeva. She was also a head of the organized in Moscow in 1922 Central institute of protection of mothers and infants. From 1926 a magazine - “Maternity and infants problems” was edited.

Centers of the mother and infant care (punkti okhrani materinstva i mладенчества - OMM) were opened in big cities soon after the revolution (beginning of 1918). The main aim of the centers was support for pregnant women, infants and their mothers. Centers were seen as places for medical, juridical, economic and social help to women. From the beginning separate centers for children and for pregnant women existed in many cities.

In 1929 OMM centers were partly renamed as women’s consultations. The functions of these consultations and OMM centers were broaden – they should have “milk kitchens” (where children

56 Lebedeva Vera Pavlovna (1881-1968), born in Nizhniy Novgorod in the family of a cook, was working as a teacher, in 1910 graduated from a medical institute in Sank-Petersburg, in 1905 enters to Bolshevik party. In 1931-34 Lebedeva works as a deputy minister (zamnarkoma) of the ministry of social welfare, in 1939-59 she works as a director for the institute higher professional education of doctors . (http://www.apteki.nnov.ru/docs/310/4-2-1.html)
who were not breast-fed by mother could get donor milk or its substitute), visiting nurses, children grounds (kind of childcare where children could be left for several hours under supervision of a nurse in some park) and lead campaign for mothers education and home hygiene. Consultations had also serve as small children policlinics.

The most typical institution of day care is children’s ground (detskaya ploszadka), where children play and get some food (it is a situation of severe food rationing due to civil war circumstances). It is possible to suppose that parents were bringing children to these grounds in hope to get some additional food for children.

In 1918 a system school education was reformed. The system of vocational schools with two levels of education (5 and 4 years) was introduced. Education was offered free of charge, the school became a gender-mixed establishment. Special efforts were made for promoting school education in the rural districts and in the lands of ethnic minorities, where illiteracy rates were high. Thanks to efforts of the head of the People’s Commissariat of education, Anatolii Lunatcharskii, education entered a phase of experimentation based on progressive theories of learning. At the same time, the state expanded the primary and secondary school system and introduced evening schools for working adults. Education and care were characterized with high degree of centralization and standardization of Soviet schools, the emphasis on political indoctrination, and the reliance on learning by rote and memorization.

The turbulence of the revolution and civil war (1918-22), as well as liberalization of the sexual morals according to the new legislation (1918, 1926) led to the growing number of orphans. Soviet government in 1920s started a program of combating abandonment and homelessness of children. So called Sotsvos units (Sotsial’noe Vospitanie=Social Upbringing) have been established at each administrative organ in the country. Training in social upbringing has started in several higher education institutes, and the system of social-legal protection of children under age (SPON) has been developed.

Through the 1920s labor colonies for homeless delinquent children and teenagers (including homeless and delinquents) were established under the Commissariat of Enlightenment. They were considered as educational institutions with a big emphasis on social environment, labor and collective self-government.

During 1919-1920 a government restructuring took place and issues of children’s guardianship as well as children’s institutions have been forwarded from the Commissariat of social provision and occupational safety to the Commissariat of Enlightenment (education).

In 1921 a Commission on the improving children’s lives was established. A network of children’s institutions was developed for orphans and abandoned children – by 1920 there were 1724 such institutions for children and 1800 institutions for the disabled. In 1922 a social inspection was established under the Department of Legal Protection of Children at People’s Commissariat of Enlightenment in order to combat exploitation and abuse of children both at the enterprises and within families. Social inspectors had to watch in public places, to visit families and institutions where interests of the child were suspect to be violated. In 1924 a Children’s Fund in name of Lenin was created in order to help abandoned and homeless children.

In late 1920s the first efforts to develop a system of institutions for children with mental retardation have started. The system of institutional child care was to be differentiated and include orphanages of different kinds for ‘normal’ orphans, for mentally retarded, physically impaired and for delinquents. This differentiation was complete later in 1930s.

A range of measures have been taken in order to rebuild family and kinship relationships of a homeless child. In 1927 job seeking policies for youth and teenagers have been promoted. In 1928 Acts were accepted on the possibility for a rural and urban families to take guardianship over the child from a children’s home. In 1928 the measures of helping the children from the poorest families have been approved for the following families: single mother without means to survive, in need due to the unemployment, illness and absence of breadwinner, many-children families (more than two children) without means to survive.

The task of molding the "builders of communism" was advanced as well through extracurricular activities centered on youth organizations that had close ties to the Bolshevik party. In 1918 the Young Communists organization started working among young people from 14 till 28), in 1922 the Pioneer organization was established for work among school children. Together to ideological upbringing aim, these organizations have been dealing with leisure time activities and creative development of the youth.
Due to increase in number of war injured and disabled, the government established in 1920s Societies for the Disabled, the Blind and the Deaf, providing them with specially arranged jobs and engaging them in social activities.

Under the New Economic Policy (NEP), market forces and the monetary system regained their importance. The state scrapped its policy of grain requisitioning in favor of taxation, permitting peasants to dispose of their produce as they pleased. Since 1921 in a framework of New Economic Policy (NEP) a compulsory social insurance was introduced for all employed at different forms of enterprises. By the end of 1922 about 80% of workers and by the 1925 all workers were insured. However, by 1930-s the system of social insurance (including hospital cash departments, unemployed cash departments, medical insurance) was replaced by the statutory social welfare system.

In 1926 Council of People’s Commissars has approved a Decree “On the nearest measures in area of curative-forced and cultural-enlightenment work on the strife with alcoholism”. People’s Commissariats of Health Care and Domestic Affairs elaborated and implemented the measures of forced treatment of certain categories of alcoholics on the base of psycho-neurological centers. Such a treatment meant that people diagnosed with alcoholism should visit the centers daily or be hospitalized for some time. If they wouldn’t, the police workers were to come after them in order to place people into the hospital.

2.1.2 Non-governmental organizations

In October 1917 the new Bolshevik government introduced limitations over the voluntary activity. The majority of charities existed before October Revolution of 1917 very soon were closed down. Already in August of 1918 the People’s Commissariat of Justice has decided to close down all the religious and charitable organizations. The role of church in education and charity was terminated by the end of 1920s according to the Order of All-Russia Central Executive Committee and Council of People’s Commissars of 8th April 1929).

At the same time (early 1920s) new social voluntary organizations [obshchestvenye organizatsii] due to the necessity to solve national problems of the time, including such priorities as liquidation of illiteracy of population and children’s homelessness and abandonment (the consequences of First world and Civil wars). The concept “obshchestvenye organizatsii” – non-governmental, social organizations – has replaced pre-revolutionary terms “private society”, “caucuss” [sobranie],
“union” [soyuz]. However, the word “Society” [obshchetvo] was still in use to denote voluntary type of organization.

According to Soviet classification of this kind of organizations all of them were considered to be societies of help and mutual support. Total number of such societies in 1920-30s was about thirty on the all-Russia level (many organizations existed on the local level). To these organizations belonged All-Russia Society of Help to the disabled, sick, injured combatants and demobilized Red Army soldiers and families of persons died in war, All-Russia Society of help to proletarian students and many others. Another example of such organization was non-governmental peasants mutual help [obshchestvennaia krest’ianskaia vzaimopomoshch’].

The Peasants non-governmental mutual help was legitimized in May of 1921. However, its active work started since 1922, when peasants’ committees of non-governmental mutual help started to be established in villages – those committees were authorized with functions of self-maintenance and patronage of those in need. The main forms of their activity were: providing individual financial and social help to Red Army soldiers and disabled (benefits, loans, labor assistance); social mutual help in work (communal plugging, reserve shops, support for the schools and hospitals, reading houses, homes for the disabled); heath care, adult education; legal help to and protection of the interests of the poor peasants in their communication with fiscal bodies, in distribution of the sowing areas, pastures, woods. The committees controlled that the plots of Red-Army soldiers, disabled, orphans and poor peasants were cultivated. They were responsible for organization of “Sunday work” [voskresniki] as well as meeting the other economic needs of orphans, disabled and poor, whose exploitation by the village reach (kulaks) should not be acceptable. Such societies were demolished in 1930s (along with raise of collectivization). A principle of voluntary peasants’ “pomotchi” (self-help practice) was reconsidered, it became class-based and non-voluntary, obligatory character.

A significant role in organization of help and mutual help at a level of labor collectives was played by the trade unions of the enterprises. They became organizers of various cultural groups and training courses (e.g. sewing courses for women). The Central House of creative activity (khudozhestvennaia samodeiatel’nost’) established by trade unions published brochures with practical advices on the organization of performances, concerts, festivals for children, arranged for

58 Self-maintenance here meant that the peasant community should itself via the Committees provide poor groups of population who were not taken care for by the state
the further qualification courses for the leaders of the drama and chorus groups. Trade unions also promoted mass movement of physical culture.

One of the most popular in 1920s become voluntary society “Get away Illiteracy!” (Doloi Negramotnost!), which simultaneously coordinated different organizations and institutions as well as conducted practical work. The financial base of the Society was built of voluntary fees of enterprises and organizations, editorial offices of the news papers, individual members fees, money for the sold pins and tickets to the cultural events. The government also has donated large sums to the Society. The work was conducted in the city and country side, it was concerned with the creation of “illiteracy’s liquidation locations” [likvidatsionnye punkty=likpunkty], dissemination of the textbooks, recruitment of the personnel to educate illiterate people. The Society Doloi Negramotnost’ has arranged 12 thousand of such locations, and more than 4 million of ABC books have been sent to the villages. The most efforts of the Society were focused on the village: the locations of liquidation illiteracy, reading houses and school houses [izba-tchital’nia, izba-shkola] were established there and teachers or literate peasants have been teaching the others. The Society did not complete the goal of total literacy, and during the Stalinist modernization its activity was merged with education provided by state based organizations.

Children’s homelessness was dealt with by the Society “Children’s Friend” [Drug Detei], which was established in the end of 1923 by the decision of Moscow regional committee⁶⁰. The forerunners of the Society were workers’ patronat [patronat] in Leningrad in 1922-1923. The patronat was voluntary affiliation of workers, which took children in need under their protection. The primary goal of their activity was material provision of children’s institutions. The money for this help was raised from members’ fees, voluntary donations, from the profit of these enterprises and other sources. A special attention was paid to the creation of workshops at the children's homes. During these years 81 workshop was opened, where 19 thousand children were trained. The “Children’s Friend” Society had a goal to provide help to homelessness and abandoned children, organization of their everyday life and leisure, medical assistance. The first practical steps of the Society were inspections to find the homelessness, to send them to the children’s homes, their employment at the factories and plants, foster care [patronat] for the homeless children. In September of 1924 the regional Societies “Children’s Friend” existed in 32 gubernias (regions). The All-Russia Society “Children’s Friend” was officially established in 1931. To this time it integrated

1.3 million members and was one of the most mass public organizations of country. The branches of the Society were established at the enterprises, in the organizations and higher schools.

During 1923-1924 in 32 provinces of RSFSR more than 52 thousand orphans were taken under the foster care. The attention of the Society was paid to the development also to development of preschool and school organization. It gave money for the maintenance and repairment of buildings, helped in acquisition of tools, toys, school manuals. With the help of the Society the adolescents could leave the city during summer time for camping or dacha, and for those who stayed in the city, the children’s play settings were arranged. For children visits to the theatre and cinema were arranged, as well as festivals, excursions and other activity in numerous clubs [kruzhki]\(^{61}\). It is important to stress that the “Children’s Friend” Society as well as the other voluntary organizations, were under immediate surveillance of the state. Since 1925 all aspects of such organizations were governed by the Party’s directives\(^{62}\). In 1934-35 activity of the “Children’s Friend” Society and many other mass voluntary organizations has ceased to exist\(^{63}\). By the Decree of the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR of the 1\(^{st}\) June 1935 the “Children’s Friend” was closed down because the issue of children’s homelessness in the country was said to be resolved (which actually was far from the truth)\(^{64}\).

The issues of the disabled in Soviet Russia were dealing by voluntary organizations that were established in order to replace the Office of the Empress Maria, the curatorship of the Empress Maria over the deaf-mute and the Curatorshop of the Empress Maria Alexandrovna over the blind. Instead of those there were established the All-Russia Union of cooperation of the disabled (1925), All-Russia Union of the deaf-mute (1926). Their main task was social provision of the disabled, widening their participation as much as possible in a socially-useful labor, cultural and community service [kul’turo-bytovoe obsluzhivanie]. The employment of people with disabilities was promoted through the establishment of co-operatives and workshops (artel). In 1926 fifty two thousand people entered these co-operatives. By the 1928 the number of the disabled – members of the cooperatives – has decreased to 36 thousand, which was related with the closure down of


several artels. At the same time, the state more and more took over the responsibility of the employment of people with disabilities. All non-governmental organizations of the disabled mentioned above came under control of the People’s Commissariat of social welfare. Such organizational structure was maintained till the Second World War.  

One of the first advocacy organizations – “The Political Red Cross” or the Moscow Society of the Red Cross was established in 1928 to offer support for political prisoners. The forms of support – legal, material, medical – included the following: writing up the applications concerning the improvement of the conditions of their imprisonment, change of the conditions of sentence, provision with legal counseling, provision with food, medicine, clothes and periodicals, etc. The first chairman of the Society was a lawyer Nikolai K. Muraviov, and his deputy was the famous social activist Ekaterina P. Peshkova. Only during the 1921 the Society managed to help about 4500 political prisoners. In 1922 the Society was not registered by NKVD, but continued to work. In November 1922 Peshkova has opened new organization – “Help to political prisoners”. This new organization has made it possible to work not only with political inmates in Moscow prisons. It was allowed to provide help to political prisoners and their families. Support may be provided in forms of a) material help … with things, food and money…, b) applying to the GPU with different applications, concerned with political prisoners and their families. Having the relations among the artists, Peshkova managed to organize concerts, performances, lotteries, sales, to use it the money as funds to help the political prisoners. The organization sent out its letters to various Soviet institutions (textile and tobacco syndicates, All-Russia Union of Trade cooperations, Sel’soyuz, Mossukno, Moskozha, etc.) asking for money or some part of production to be sent to the political prisoners. Different international organizations sent money for support of the prisoners: Red Cross, ARA, Nansen’s Mission’s International committee of help to the starving, World’s Confederation of Jewish workers. “The political Red Cross” sent to the political prisoners’ glasses, skids, medicine (since 1929 the state did not provided prisons with medicine for the political prisoners).

E.P. Peshkova helped to hundreds of Jews to go to Palestina (in 1920s and till 1935 it was still possible), by advocating for their interests in state security institutions. By the end 1930s the

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68 ARA=American Relief Administration existed in 1919-23 in order to provide food and other help to European countries suffered during the WWI in 1914-18. During the severe famine in Volga regions the Soviet government in 1921 has allowed the ARA’s activity in RSFSR.
People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) has ceased to respond to the Peshkova’s requests and, at last, on June 15, 1938 the society was eliminated\textsuperscript{69}.

Since 1920s an anti-alcohol movement has acquired a mass character under the slogan “Alcoholims and socialism are incompatible!” Arranged in 1928, the “Society on the Fight with alcoholism” has explained its goals to the population: the organization should “excite public opinion, created public mood, promoted legislation”. At the enterprises the members of the Society made the leaflets with the pictures and cartoons of alcoholics, arranged courts there. The competitions on the “The enterprise-abstainer” were arranged. The society published books, manuals, brochures. The society contributed to organization of children’s manifestations under slogans “Wedemand sober parents”, “Drunk fathers, go away”. In 1928 those demonstrations took place in hundred cities, and the posters with the slogans were hung out at the walls of shop-floors at factories\textsuperscript{70}. “During the campaign in the cities the communes were arranged, which were called “collectives of everyday life” [bytovye kollektivy], which were called to propagate and introduce the skills of sober life”\textsuperscript{71}. In 1932 the Society has ceased to exist, being dissolved in the Society “For healthy everyday life” (“Za zdorovyi byt”) whose activity was not so significant\textsuperscript{72}.

There were many societies for development of ethnic culture and education that continued their activity after revolution. However activities of these organizations were becoming more limited with the time advancement. For example, the Jewish organization ORT was closed in Russia in 1938. (The organization continued its activity abroad: in the Berlin conference in 1921 a World ORT was established).

Since the late 1920s – to early 1930s the state acquired total control over non-governmental organizations, whose functions were now seen as assisting public bodies in realization of political and ideological tasks, while the initiative and their own interests were brought to nothing. However, even such organizations were not in favor for the authority and during 1930s they were gradually closed down: the Society on the Combating Alcoholism and All-Russia Society of the Disabled were closed down in 1932, All-Russia Society of the Proletarian Students in 1934, the Society

\textsuperscript{70} Lobatchova T. “Call for an alert” (Pioneers in the strife for the healthy way of life) [“Biom trevogu” (Pionery v bor’be za zdorovyi obraz zhizni)] in: Sobriety and culture [Trezvost’ i kul’tura]. 1988. Vol. 2. P. 19.
“Children’s Friend” in 1935, Help to Political Prisoners in 1938, while the Societies for Peasant Mutual Help were dissolved in collective farms [kolkhozy].

2.1.3 International organizations

In the 1920-30s the last of the Russian philanthropic societies was still acting – it was a Russian Society of the Red Cross, which unlike many other mass organizations has not minimized its activity even in second half of the 1930s. After October Revolution the property of the Russian organization of the Red Cross was nationalized, those who were discordant with the Soviet authority emigrated, the reorganization of company was conducted. The Soviet government in every possible way stressed that it adheres to the Geneva Convention and international agreements concerning the Red Cross. During the years of Civil war the Red Cross provided help to injured and ill Red-Army soldiers, refugees. In the beginning of 1920s the help was provided to the population of regions suffered from famine. Fundraising was arranged not only in Russia but internationally. Already in the beginning of 1920s the Society has created a network of night-houses [notchlezhka], dining points and children's colonies for the orphans. In working hostels the sanitarian stations acted, which controlled the cleaning of yards and public buildings, organized reviews of “sanitarian culture”. The organization conducted large educational activity, the wide area network of first aid points, which were the most widespread way of propaganda of military-sanitarian knowledge 73. The Red Cross participated in motherhood and childhood protection during 1920-1930, arranging for maternity points, crèches, kindergartens. The first maternity points in Saratov oblast were arranged by the Red Cross in 1927. In 1931 Red Cross was running 846 nurseries, 101 point with doctor’s assistants and maternity nurses, 262 points improving children’s health 74. The Red Cross has initiated the establishment of “Health Service” [Sluzhba Zdorovia] for the pioneers, and since 1924 supported All-Union pioneer organization: promoted pioneers’ squads with first aid kits, arranged for special places for children in health resorts. The Red Cross has initiated the building of the children’s camp “Artek” in Crimea.

An international organization of the International Organization for the Support of Revolutionary Fighters (MOPR) (International Red Aid) was established in late 1922 following the decision of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. It was aimed on the help to the victims of political

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73 100 years of Red Cross in our country [100 let Krasnogo Kresta v nashei strane]/ Ed.by prof.G.A.Miterev. Moscow: Medicine, 1967. P. 103.
74 100 years of Red Cross in our country [100 let Krasnogo Kresta v nashei strane]/ Ed.by prof.G.A.Miterev. Moscow: Medicine, 1967. P. 98.
persecution and their families. MOPR provided material, legislative, moral support for political prisoners, political emigrants and their families, to the families of died revolutionist, regardless to their party affiliation. By 1932 it united 70 national sections including about 14 mlr. members among those 9.7 mln were members of the MOPR USSR. The main activity consisted from the organization of meetings and manifestations supporting communist and left activists in different countries as well as in helping them to find political asylum in the USSR. Formally organization existed till 1947, but its activity was sized down after mid-1930s. In 1927 Jelena Stassova became chairwoman of the MOPR in the USSR and a deputy chairwoman of the ‘International Red Aid’.  

2.1.4 Theories and methods of social work

In 1920s problems of the practical realization of the welfare politics were widely discussed. Nikolai Miliutin was one of the theorists of the social help in countryside through the system of peasants’ committee. He has referred to the tradition of Russian peasantry to argue the organizational principles of mutual help in the village under the new conditions: “One should take into account that labor help arranged in a form of work on Sundays (voskresnik) is not something new for the village. Mutual help (Pomotch or toloka) is a usual phenomenon, but until now it was given to a rich peasant (kulak) or a priest. Our task is to restore “toloka” but in the direction, which corresponds with the ideas of the state system of social provision”.

The journal “Issues of Social Provision” [Voprosy Sotsialnogo obespecheniia] and other publications large attention was paid to different issues of social pathology, such as professional beggary, homelessness, prostitution. These problems were considered as the outcomes of the Tsarist regime. In the journal “Social provision” the experience of regional divisions of social provision is publicized, in relation to the work with “professional beggary”. For instance, in Moscow by 1926 the number of beggars was estimated as about 7-8 thousand and the following measures were suggested to take: “professional beggars” should be sent to the colonies and camps; those who are

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“in the transition” to be sent to labor home; those who “accidentally find themselves in need” should be provided by one time benefit. In the analysis of situation it was proved that the majority of homelessness and beggars were from peasants and workers by origin, which meant that they needed not temporary material support but new occupation, creation of special workshops.

The hygiene campaign gave birth to such form of propaganda work as “Museum of social hygiene” that was developed in Moscow in 1919-1922 under the supervision of the ministry of health of the Russian Federation. Museum had research and propaganda activities. One of the most frequent forms of activity was the organizations of exhibitions dedicated to health care and distribution of the hygiene propaganda materials in the provinces. The museum insisted on the conception of the “social illness” (stressing somatic consequences of the unsolved social problems such as poverty and discrimination) which included venereal diseases, tuberculosis, professional illnesses. In 1923 museum was reorganized in the Institute of social hygiene.

An issue of cooperation of the invalids was discussed in the Social Protection journal. By the 1st April 1926 about 50 thousand disabled were engaged into the special cooperative and workshops, however, later this number was reduced at the expense of a decrease of number of workshops.

Another form of inclusion of the disabled in labor life was offering them charge-free patents for personal labor activity. Concerning this measure the disputes have inflamed, for example, by the article by P. Verzhbilovski, who has expressed fears that the patents will be received by the “disabled who are more enterprising and have inclinations and capacities to a personal profit”, and therefore, as he thought, they will turn into the professionals – traders, which is unacceptable for the Soviet society.

The new magazine dedicated to mothers and infant’s care “Motherhood and infants problems” was created in 1926. Foundation for the social work with mothers was connected to understanding of the motherhood as a social function of woman, which thus, had to become an object of a state protection. At the beginning, magazine was edited for the midwives and nurses who had to become conscious socialist workers. The magazine gives advice about getting money-support due to

82 GARF, found 1571, reg.1
84 ibid., p.7
85 “Maternity and infant problems”, 1926, N 1, editors’ introduction, pp.3-4
pregnancy and childbirth from insurance office (strakhovaia kassa). Following the evolution of the development of the medical services and political situation in country; in the end of 1930s this magazine resulted to be addressed mainly to doctors in state maternity clinics and women’s consultations. Protection of mothers and infants theories in 1920s experienced influence of eugenic discourse. In the article by professor Durnovo in the issue N 1, the development of the human being is explained on the base of the theories of Darvin and Mendel. The author comes to a conclusion about need of compensatory organization of the social environment.  

Another important methodological direction was connected with the development of the new educational science that was aimed to combine Freudian psychoanalysis with revolutionary ideas of “progressive” social upbringing of children.  

The academic works and practical achievements of educators and psychologists such as A.S.Makarenko, L.S.Vygotski were devoted to social rehabilitation of troublesome children and adolescents. Examples of practical outcomes of these theories include: the First experimental station of Narkompros, Labor colonies (Trudovaia kolonia) named after M.Gorki for young criminals, etc. The emphasis was on social environment, occupational activity as a means of rehabilitation. Makarenko rejected corporal punishment and stressed persuasion and example, served as the foundation of contemporary education and parenting. His methodology also emphasized development of good work habits, love of work, self-discipline, and collective cooperation. Physical punishment was forbidden; disciplinary measures included oral reprimands by teachers, collective pressure (peer disapproval), bad marks in record books (demerits), consultations with parents, and, only as a last resort, expulsion from school”.  

However, the majority of pedagogues working with children including orphans and homeless children in 1920-30s had very small salary and low level of qualification, especially in terms of knowledge and skills of working with such kids. The evidence concerns low level of competence among the working personnel, rude treatment of children, hard drinking, theft of institution’s property, etc. At the same time, there were talented pedagogues, enthusiasts, and high standard institutions for education and upbringing the children, however, such professionals and organizations were exemplary and very few in number.  

86 Durnovo A.S. Nasledstvennost I novoie pokoleniye// "Maternity and infant problems", 1926, N1, p.15  
3. Stalinism and contradictions of welfare politics in 1930-1950s

3.1 Social politics in 1930s

3.1.1 Consolidation of central power – between “universal welfare” and repressions

Period after the end of NEP (new economic politics) is characterized by forced industrialization, collectivization of the countryside as well as by consolidation of the very centralized state, usually seen as personified by the figure of Stalin. In the field of social policy this period is a period of the most remarkable contradictions between declared aims and taken measures. This was a period of development of declared “state care” over the Soviet citizens and, at the same time, period when indefinite number of people were exterminated by the regime and when millions of people were deprived from any social security. During the 1930th the theme of social problems has been closed for public discussion and for the research while the achievements of socialism were widely represented by propaganda. The contradictions of the social politics of that time are still, however, from the first view invisibly, influence Russian welfare system and social work.

State’s development contributed to advances in health care, which vastly increased the lifespan for the “average” Soviet citizen and the quality of life. Stalin's policies granted the Soviet people universal access to health care and education, allowing this generation to be the first not to fear typhus, cholera, and malaria. The occurrences of these diseases dropped to record-low numbers, increasing life spans by decades. In 1935 the first children’s health centers were opened.

Education was also an example of an increase in standard of living and economic development. The generation born during Stalin's rule was the first near-universally literate generation. Among the new universal measures was introduction of the compulsory primary education in 1930. At the same time, ideological work was much more emphasized. Schedule, discipline and punishment became harder.

In 1930s a system of nurseries expanded and become massive.

Since 1938 in all regions and cities of Russian Federation social welfare departments (sobes) have been established.

Since 1935 work towards combating children’s abandonment and homelessness was accelerated, the main emphasis was placed on the children’s institutions, guardians, and parents. In 1936 the
previously developed system of social upbringing was eliminated in Soviet Union as “anti-Leninist theory of withering away the school”. Psychology and pedology were declared bourgeois sciences and emphasis on children’s homes was made. The last was promoted by proposed by a medical doctor N.M.Schelovanov. Since the second half of 1930s children’s homes were taken from the jurisdiction of Social Welfare Commissariat under the jurisdiction of People’s Education Commissariat. They were preschool, school and mixed (for siblings of different age). In 1933 according to the Act on combating children’s homelessness, a network of children’s collectors-dispensers have been reestablished, job programs for teenagers, and studying of everyday life conditions of street children were made as well. At the same time, in 1936 an Act on foster families [patronat] for the children-orphans was accepted.

The State declared that “women’s question” was solved in the Soviet Union. It insisted that women were given equal education and employment rights, and that economic conditions of life of women and families have improved significantly. In the Constitution of 1936 the equality between men and women was declared. First of all it meant that women have to work in state economy together to their “reproductive responsibilities”. In the late 1930s women started to form about 40% of all the employed and several limitations of professions “dangerous for reproductive health of women” were made. In 1936 the law about ban of abortion was accepted. The same resolution also made divorce more difficult: each next divorce was twice as expensive as the previous one. Soviet women under Stalin were also the first generation of women able to give birth in the safety of a hospital, with access to prenatal care. In 1938 was accepted statutory of the ministry of health about creation of the centers for social and juridical help in the women’s consultations. In the same year maternity leave was shortened from 112 days (56 before and 56 after birth) to 35 days before birth and 28 after birth. However this legislation was not applied to peasants in kolkhoz, who practically could not have paid maternity leave up to 1955.

In 1931 classification of disability was changed from six-groups system towards three-groups system according to the degree of the lost ability to work. As a result of it some categories of disabled people started to be considered only partly disabled and, thus, experienced shortening of their disability pensions. A Council on disabled people’s employment has been established. According to the state policy, up to 2% of working places had to be booked for the disabled. For those who suffered from tube disease special shop flows were opened. In 1933 the network of workshops and enterprises for the disabled was extended, in particular with help of Societies for blind, deaf and mute. Since 1937 the People’s Commissariat of Social Welfare was responsible for

89 Dorena Caroli’s presentation in the conference in Saratov, March 2005
the statutory provision for the labor disabled, organization of material-housing service, cultural, health, sanitary, resort services, management of institutions of social welfare, work of Medical-Labor Expertise, training of social welfare workers, approval of social welfare legislation.

In 1930 a system of **special pensions** was established by the Act “On provision with personal pensions those persons who have exceptional merits for the republic”. Exceptional merits were related to revolutionary, military, trade unionist and social activity, as well as in area of science, arts and technology (the pension age for men and women was different: 55 for men and 50 year for women). The Constitution of 1936 guaranteed the right of all citizens for social provision in old age, in cases of illness and loss of ability to work, pension system has been widened to include and improve the status of different occupational groups, however those working in kolkhozes were excluded from the state system (it was supposed that kolkhoz is responsible for their provision). Since 1939 local offices of social welfare (sobes) in addition to pension provision tasks worked for arranging social services for the pensioners taking into account their labor arrangements, everyday life needs, including the needs of prostheses and other assistance. Social welfare was differentiated according with labor contribution of worker.

Soviet welfare politics were realized in the situation of **growing control over people’ everyday life and discrimination** of those who were considered “enemy elements” - former successful independent farmers and their children, anticomunist and communist oppositionists, priests and their families – who were deprived from rights of the Soviet citizenship (lishenzy). In order to prevent a counterrevolution, a system was established in which everybody was subject to supervision; files were drawn up which contained information on education and career, private life and political stand of the individual. “The political police was all-powerful, an independent justice system non-existent, constitutional rights of the individual existed only on paper. The Siberian camps were filled with those regarded politically unreliable or, worse, counter revolutionaries”.

Since 1930 a system of labor camps was extended under the regulation of GULAG – the Headquarters of Correctional-Labor camps, labor settlements and concentration areas. In 1935 death penalty was spread over to children after 12 years old. In 1932 a Law on passport system was accepted. In 1935 a Law on death penalty for the escape abroad was accepted. In 1937 an Act was accepted which prohibited peasants to leave collective farm [kolkhoz] without agreement of administration. In 1938 resolution “On measures for the regulation of labor discipline, improvement in the practice of state social insurance and struggle against abuses in that matter” was passed. At the same time the government introduced working history records [trudovaia knizhka] at the

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90 World History at KMLA http://www.zum.de/whkmla/const/constexp/sovrus.html
enterprises, where occupied position was fixed, as well as all positive and negative sanctions. In June 1940 all the state employed people were transferred to the eight-hour working day and the seven-day work week and unauthorized departure by laborers and office workers from factories and offices was prohibited.

3.1.2 “International” and “voluntary” organizations under strict state control

Formally Soviet government confirmed acceptance of the main principles of the Red Cross, including voluntary participation. From 1928 the Soviet Red Cross was recognized internationally. In 1932 in Moscow was organized Fist All-Soviet Union Congress of the Red Cross. This organization was one of the biggest in the Soviet Union – about 4 millions people (including collective members). One of the most important tasks of the Red Cross was hygiene campaign, help to victims of the natural disasters and to the Red Army were named on the second and third place. Red Cross services included courses for nurses, midwives, nurses for nursery schools and medical assistants (feldsher) for countryside, bathhouses, hairdresser's, children's summer camps, summer hotels and sanatoriums. Together to creation of these institutions, Red Cross led active campaign for development of local Red Cross organizations (yacheika) - in factories, plants, kolkhozes and schools. These primary organizations were expected to work on the voluntary base, organizing sanitary posts in countryside (fighting against unsanitary conditions, explaining aims of vaccination) and teaching "fist help" in the case of natural disasters or in the case of war. From 1932 the head of the All Soviet Union organization (The Soviet organization of the Red Cross and Red Half-moon) was Avel Enukidze. However in 1937 Enukidze and vice-head V.Moirova became victims of repression (they were declared "people's enemies"). From this period the international connections of the Soviet organization of the Red Cross were almost stopped as well as its relative financial independence, while many of the institutions and services organized by the Red Cross were taken by the state (mainly they were transferred to the ministry of health).

Trade unions became a part of state administration system. Since 1933 trade unions are taking over some functions of the People’s Commissariat of Labor of the USSR. Differentiated arrangements for the best workers are approved, including various kinds of social services: pension provision, medical-labor expertise, medical-sanitary, medical-preventive services. Workers who exceeded their quotas, Stakhanovites, received many incentives for their work. They could thus

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91 Irgy Tomas, Rossiskiy Krasniy Krest (1917-1945), M.; 1998 p.56
92 GARF, fond 9501, reg. 1, file2001, p.33
93 GARF, fond 9501, reg. 1, file2001, p. 38
94 GARF, ibid., p.73
afford to buy better goods, to spend holidays in the best holiday resorts (for example in the Black See).

An official retreat to traditional women’s roles and traditional family gave birth to opposite politics with respect to women. In 1933 movement of **women social activists** *(obszhestvenitsa)* started\(^95\). This movement was planed for use “voluntary” housewives’ work for solving multiple social problems, first of all referred to child care, hygiene, abandoned children. The main actors of the movement supposed to be wives from educated strata – officers or engineers – but workers’ wives were also involved. Magazine “Rabotnitsa” gives several examples of obszhestvennitsas activities. They include housewives from one Moscow house editing poster newspaper, making antireligious propaganda, cleaning yard, organizing lectures about hygiene, caring for children and prizing those of them who has high achievement in school\(^96\). Another article described wives from Sakhalin (Far East) visiting communal living, helping in hospital and workers’ canteen for make these institutions more cozy and clean.\(^97\) Thus, women’s unpaid social work had to solve social problems which state was not able to solve.

### 3.2 War and its influence on the social politics and social work

The main directions of social assistance and social protection during the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) were connected with helping the families of soldiers, rehabilitation of wounded and disabled veterans, problems of orphans’ care. However, the organizational structure of social welfare did not change in 2\(^{nd}\) World War time in comparison with pre-war period. People’s commissariat of social welfare of RSFSR acted according to the regulations of 1937.

A number of decrees that became the basis for social welfare for families of front-line soldiers were issued in the very beginning of the war – since the end of June in 1941. The decree “On the order of assignation and payment of allowances to the families of the military servants of the ranks and junior chief staff in war time” by the Presidium of the Supreme Committee of the USSR established the payment of allowances from 100 to 250 rubles in accordance with the number of family members capable of working. However, archive materials show that state was trying to

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\(^{96}\) “Rabotnitsa”, 1941, N 13

\(^{97}\) “Rabotnitsa”, 1941, N 15
minimize number of pensions paid and strict control over payment was one of the most important preoccupations of social workers in the local welfare offices (sobes).\textsuperscript{98} In 1943 the decree “On the measures of improving the work of soviet bodies and local party organizations to help the families of the conscripts” was passed with attempt to better coordination of the help to families of conscripts (special administration bodies in local governments were organized to manage this work). These bodies were engaged in employment of family members of the conscripts, payments of pensions and allowances, providing them with living quarters and fuel, taking care of orphans.\textsuperscript{99} More financial means were found to open new canteens, child institutions and repair works in the flats of war participants’ families.\textsuperscript{100} Preferential taxes, privileges for education of children at schools and higher schools, in getting living quarters were granted by the government’s decree “On benefits to the families of conscripts, perished or missing during the Great Patriotic War” published on June, 4 in 1943.\textsuperscript{101}

3.2.1 Help to the war disabled

Another field of social policy was connected to medical and social rehabilitation of wounded and those who was declared to be unfit for military service or disabled veterans by the Medical-labor expertise commission (VTEK). According to the instruction of NKSO ?????? of RSFSR from July, 16 of 1941 the consultations to determine the field of work and training were held in special military hospitals; the similar work started in 1941 Gorky, Penza and Saratov regions. VTEK had to make a decision where a disabled veteran could work. The commissions for invalids’ employment were organized at regional and city soviets.\textsuperscript{102} In the government’s decree from May, 6 1942 the necessity to organize professional reeducation for those who couldn’t follow previous profession due to disability was pointed out. In the first half of 1942 there were 15 vocational

\textsuperscript{98} GARF, fond 413, register 1, file 310
\textsuperscript{102} Verzhbilovskij P.P. More attention to the employment and training of disabled veterans P.15 [Verzhbilovskij P.P. bolshe vnimanija trudoustrojstvu I obutcheniju invalidov vojny S.15]; A.Averbah Medical-labor protection [A.Averbah vratchebno-trudovaja zashchita]
technical schools, 4 agricultural, 7 training jobbing workshops, 11 training centres in the system of ministries, responsible for public social welfare for disabled veterans\textsuperscript{103}. In 1943 vocational technical schools (\textit{proftechshkola}) were reorganized into job boarding schools (according to a decree of Soviet of People’s Commissars, December, 15 1942), where disabled people were at full governmental provision and obtained new professional skills or recollected the old ones. Besides job boarding schools, there was established a net of medical boarding schools for invalids having need for constant medical care\textsuperscript{104}. Disabled veterans were granted with advantages in employment, professional training courses, taxes, first line house quartering, etc. Disabled veterans and their family members (both employed and unemployed) were included in the system of state pension provision. By the end of 1944 94% of invalids of the III stage (those with the less severe disability)were employed in RSFSR. The level of joint income (salary and pension) for working pensioners was at the rate of highly qualified specialists\textsuperscript{105}. But we can’t say that the problem of rehabilitation was solved up to the end of war and after war period; the financing of social sphere was insufficient; the facts of inattentive attitude to disabled people from governmental structures can be found in the documents of that time.

All-Union Society of the Blind played an important role in social care in the given period. All-Union Society of the Blind declared upbringing of the blind as “conscientious and active members of socialist society”\textsuperscript{106} as one of its main objectives. That stipulated medical and recovering rehabilitation, vocational training, reasonable employment, retraining and raising of skill level, mastering in skilled labor. VII Congress of the All-Union Society of the Blind was held in Moscow on November, 12 in 1951. The Congress obliged the Central executive committee and all local organizations of the society „to attract all the blind, but able-bodied to the socially useful work ...,\textsuperscript{107}


to employ the blind taking into consideration poor eyesight..., daily provide the work for protection of poor eyesight”. The Society completely refused from state subsidy and up to 1989 annually paid in the state budget 25% from received profit. The society started reducing small industrial enterprises organizing on their base large well-equipped industrial enterprises, producing stable serial goods.

3.2.2 Help to homeless children and care for orphans

The task of childhood protection and orphans’ charge in war-time period was bound with the necessity to evacuate children’s homes to the safe eastern regions of the country and expanding the net of institutions for children who lost parents or any connections with them. 1,000 children’s homes with 100,000 children were moved from front zone of military actions to the rear in the second part of 1941 and 1942. The number of children’s homes increased several times. For example, Saratov region had 31 children’s homes with 3,700 children; by July of 1943 there were 69 children’s homes – the number of children increased 4 times.

The settling of affairs for out of charge children was the responsibility of special commissions, organized at local, regional and republican levels, consisting of representatives from educational institutions, militia, public organizations; children’s collectors were organized at he railway stations; children were sent to children’s homes through ministry of interior (NKVD). Such commissions and collectors were organized in 1942 after Soviet of People’s Commissars of the USSR passed a decree “On settling the affairs of orphans” (January, 23 1942). Commissions sent children to children’s homes or babies’ homes (according to age), adolescents over 14 years were sent to work. The People’s Commissariat informed the government in its reference “On fighting the increasing number of uncared and homeless children” the number of homeless and especially of uncared children was growing. As a result Soviet of People’s Commissariats passed a decree from May, 15 1943 “On strengthening the measures of fighting the increasing number of uncared and homeless children and hooliganism”; the departments of fighting with children’s homelessness were established within the structure of NKVD. The growth of homelessness was accompanied by increase in juvenile delinquency. Underage criminals and homeless children got to children’s colonies.

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107 www.vos.org.ru/TEXT_VER/voshist/hist00.htm
The forms of guardianship existed in pre-war period were strengthened by the decrees of the Soviet of People’s Commissariats of RSFSR “On guardianship and adoption of children left out of parental charge” from April, 8 1943, the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR “On adoption”, the decree of People’s Commissariat of Education of RSFSR “On order of passing inmates of Children's Homes to upbringing in the families of working people”. In spite of all the taken measures, the problems of orphans’ settling-up were not solved in war-time period. Measures undertaken by the state in eliminating homelessness were not successful; it reached its pick in after-war “hungry” years (1947-1948); the children’s homes couldn’t accept all homeless and out of charge; financial means for their sustaining were humble, mostly given from local budgets, rarely as sponsorship. In April, 7 1947 the Council of Ministers of the USSR passed a decree “On improving the work of settling-up children and teenagers left without parents” according to which it was decided to open new vocational technical and agricultural schools for settling-up children and colonies for children.

By 1943 118 thousand children were adopted by families in the Russian Federation, by 1945 -near 139 thousand, at the same time near 360 thousand were in children’s homes. Legally family upbringing was registered as patronage or guardianship. In the first case a family signed a contract with the state body of guardianship and got financial support (50 rubles); guardians did not receive an allowance. The means for child support were supposed to be taken from pension or insurance after parents’ death. There were not very many adoptions as there was little financial support from the state. These forms of children’s guardianship continued to exist in the after-war period. In 1953 228 thousand children were brought up in the families, and 257 thousand - in children’s homes. Patronage was reducing, and in 1968 it was completely revoked under the pretext that it was formalized only for getting some extra income\textsuperscript{110}.

3.2.3 Family regulation and help to mothers

The government’s policy was directed at the encouragement of child-bearing. The decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR “On the extension of governmental assistance to pregnant women, mothers of many children and single mothers, strengthening of mother’s and childhood guidance, establishing the honored status “Mother-hero”, the order “Mother’s glory”, medal “Medal of motherhood” expanded the range of mothers, who could get allowances, e.g.

mothers of many children and single mothers\textsuperscript{111} (the number of single mothers after the war was growing: in 1946 752000 children were born by unmarried mothers, in 1949 – 985000\textsuperscript{112}),

maternity leave was prolonged till 77 days (35 before and 42 after giving birth), prohibition of the night work for breast-feeding mothers, no extra-hours work for pregnant women from 4\textsuperscript{th} month of pregnancy. However, resolution also limited rights of women and men: public procedure of divorce as well as taxes for non-married people and people with 1-2 children were introduced, only officially registered marriage could be source of alimony claims. Resolution declared need for further development of childcare facilities, however the level of services there in reality was low and there was a long waiting list.

3.2.4 Changes in organization of social protection

In 1946 People’s Commissariats of social welfare of RSFSR was renamed into the Ministry of Social welfare (as all the Commissariats were renamed and transformed into ministries), however, the functions of the Ministry of Social welfare were not greatly changed: the management of social welfare, inspection, law adoption, fixing and payment of pensions, allowances, organization of the medical-labor expertise commission (VTEK), activities aimed at employment of disabled people, social service for pensioners, many children families, single mothers, members of their families, the supervision of the houses for old people, invalids, All-Russian society the blind (VOS), All-Russian society of the deaf (VOG), mutual aid funds for collective farms and pensioners. Ministry of education was responsible for orphanages; the other functions in social defense and social care were dispersed among the other institutions and departments.

In after war period gradually with the restoration of national economy the net of hospitals, maternity hospitals, children and maternity welfare centers, sanatoriums, holiday homes, kindergartens, and day nurseries became wider.

3.2.5 Cooperation with international organizations

One of the few organizations that continued to exist and played important role during the war period was Red Cross, whose members were organizing medical care for wounded, guarantied food supplies, hygiene control and medical nurses education. After the war Red Cross became a center


\textsuperscript{112} Elena Zubkova, Russia after the war: hopes, illusions and disappointments, 1945-1957; M.E.Sharp, Armonk, 1998, p.21
of information about moved people (*peremeszhennikh litsakh*). The center had to deal with more than 3 millions of applications.\(^{113}\) Continued their work during the war and in after war period such organizations as Red Cross Society, All-Russian society of the Blind, All-Russian society of deaf-mutes.

Red Cross Society functioned since February, 22 1941 according to a new Charter, where the necessity to coordinate its activity with health authorities was emphasized\(^{114}\). It played a great role in helping wounded soldiers and population – victims of military operations. 125 thousands of Red Cross activists took part in organizing hospitals in 1941, the members of organization took care of wounded soldiers: in 1943 -130 thousand, in 1944 – more than 170 thousand. From 1941 to 1943 they collected more than one million items of medical equipment and household goods. The society took under its patronage the houses for invalids, children’s institutions, and collected money for organizing children’s homes. The members of Red Cross Society helped to the families of war-participants financially, socially and medically (in gardening, flat repairing, solving domestic problems, getting allowances, food cards, providing with firewood, arranging places for children in kindergartens, taking care of children and sick people). The Society carried out mass preventive, anti-epidemic, sanitary and instructive work\(^{115}\).

Renewal of normal sanitary condition of enterprises, houses, reconstruction of medical, preventive and children institutions, concern of invalids and orphans’ health acquired great significance in after-war period. Society members acquainted the population with preventive measures against tuberculosis, participated in taking cancer patients under their patronage. The work, begun in wartime period continued: assistance for disabled and orphans, sponsoring of more than 3,000 children’s homes and near 500 hostels for disabled veterans, as well as single invalids. The All-Union congresses of Red Cross and Red Crescent Society were held regularly in after-war time (in 1948, 1954, and 1959). In the middle of 1950-s Leningrad branch of Red Cross Society initiated the organization of groups for training the population in taking care of ill people in many cities and regions\(^{116}\).

\(^{113}\) [www.red-cross.ru/rrc-history.htm](http://www.red-cross.ru/rrc-history.htm)


3.2.6 Unions after the war

Trade Unions were at that period organizations for the masses and united the overwhelming majority of workers. During the war they took active part in solving the problems of orphans, rehabilitation of disabled veterans, helping the families of military men. Thus Central Committee of trade union of armament organized 210 children’s homes in the war period on its own means, where 21,000 children were brought up.

Construction and maintenance of sanatoriums and holiday houses was in the competence of trade unions. In 1941 there were 900 trade unions’ sanatoriums and holiday houses, in 1944 – 250; by 1955 their number increased up to 1,300. The organization of summer rest for children was also the task of trade unions; in 1940 1,500 thousand children had a rest in pioneer camps; in 1954 – 2,750 thousand. On the whole summer rest for 5.5 mln children was organized that year. The most spread type of camps was out-of-town; camps were situated in special premises with sport grounds and complexes for games attached to them; for children staying in the town camps were organized on the basis of schools.

Trade unions committees at factories and plants (fabzavmestkom) and councils of social insurance besides fixing pensions and allowances, directed workers and employees to the holiday houses, children to the children institutions, controlled the work of children, medical and preventive institutions, rendered comrades’ assistance to sick people at home, controlled school progress of children in studies, their behavior, talked to teachers and pedagogues, organized performances and hobby groups for children. All that work was organized by the activists of fabzavmestkoms on a voluntary basis in their free time. Rendering the assistance to the sick workers was made by the elected insurance delegates; they checked the prompt medical care, organized nutrition, baby-

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minding, etc. Besides they were obliged to clarify the questions of social legislation, to examine the conditions of life of workers and to inform fabzavkoms about that.\cite{Karavaev55}

3.2.7 Communist children and Youth organizations

The activity of Komsomol and Pioneer organizations obtained mass centralized character; it was overloaded by mass campaigns; in December of 1948 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Bolsheviks passed a decree “On measures of elimination of overloading of schoolchildren by public and other extra-curriculum work”.

Great help for children left without parents rendered Komsomol organizations. Members of the Komsomol took under their patronage many institutions for children, collected clothes, footwear and food for them. Komsomol organizations established funds of help for children. They collected 308 million rubles for opening 126 children’s homes, and hundreds of camps improving health, health-centers, etc.\cite{Sinitsin69}

Pioneer organization had accumulated positive experience in extra-curriculum pedagogical work with children (e.g. the work of some Palaces and Houses of pioneers, pioneer camps, including all-union pioneer camp „Artek“ and all-Russian pioneer camp „Orljenok“ and others.) Palaces and Houses of pioneers were open in many cities and regions; special pioneers’ press was organized. Specialized curricula of courses and seminars for supervisors of pioneers camps, seniour Young Pioneer leaders, leaders of pioneer detachments and educators were designed.\cite{Karavaev55}

In after-war period Regulations of the Ministry of education of RSFSR on parental committees – school (in 1947) and house (in 1955) were passed. In 1940-1941 house parental committees and children clubs were established at many house management offices; War interrupted that process for a short period of time; they were aimed at providing conditions for improving school results and school discipline by organizing classes, talking to parents and children. School parental committees


had to fight in every possible way against the problem of neglected children by means of rendering material help children in need, controlling school progress and children’s leisure time.\textsuperscript{123}

3.2.8 Methods of social care – between “mobilization” and “professional specialization”.

In the sphere of social welfare worked teachers, educators, medical workers, Communist party members as there were no specially trained workers. Archive has a lot of statistical information about state social workers in different regions of the USSR and their professional education. For example, the report from Tambov region from 6.01.1961 shows that among 91 employees of the local welfare offices 16 had high education and 75 education from a professional school.\textsuperscript{124}

Category of “employees” include officers in regional welfare office, officers from 5 local cities’ offices, 9 municipal offices and employers of 5 homes for handicapped people (adults) and of one home for mentally retarded children. The statistic from Riazan region (from 26.12.1960) shows that from 25 professionals with high education working in state welfare institutions 9 have medical education, 1 has education in law, 4 have pedagogical education and others finished only technical schools. 15 from 25 professionals are women, 8 of all are Communist party members.\textsuperscript{125}

The expertise of ability to work and organization of labor for disabled people was carried out by the institutes: Central scientific and research institute of expertise of ability to work and organization of labor for disabled people (CIETIN) and Leningrad institute of expertise of ability to work and organization of labor for disabled people (LIETIN). Fundamental manuals and monographs were published, e.g. “Medical-labor expertise - a hand-book for doctors” under the editorship of A.Ia.Averbach\textsuperscript{126}, “Medical-labor expertise - Collection of legislative and methodical materials” - manual for VTEK doctors, medical, preventive and other institutions, medical universities’ teachers.\textsuperscript{127}


\textsuperscript{124} GARF, fond 413, reg. 1, file 3407, p.75

\textsuperscript{125} GARF, fond 413, reg. 1, file 3407, p.140


\textsuperscript{127} Medical-labor expertise - Collection of legislative and methodical materials, editorship of A.F.Tretjiakov (M.: Medgiz, 1959).
In the second half of 1940-1950-s a great number of scientific and popular-scientific works on the problems, connected with social insurance\textsuperscript{128} and collections of guideline materials on social insurance were issued\textsuperscript{129}. In the book by A.S.Krasnopolskij the main principles of soviet social welfare were stressed: university, the principle of participation in the activities helping to bring people into a healthy state at the enterprises and activities for consumer services, principle of direct workers and employees in the management of state social insurance, the principle of differencing\textsuperscript{130}.

In most works of that time the social insurance in capitalist countries and soviet social insurance were compared and undoubted advantage of the last was emphasized. To bourgeois and social as special types of social insurance was devoted special monograph by V.K.Raicher “Social and historical types of social insurance”; the principal negative features of bourgeois insurance were recognized its commercial character and presence of internal contradictions; neither of these had the social insurance\textsuperscript{131}.

5. Post-Stalinist liberalization and social work

Late 1950s-beginning of 1960s are known as a period of Thaw. At that period the super-centralized structure of political and social life was dismantled and Soviet state went through a liberalization process. In spite of the fact that the highest period of this process correspond to the beginning of 1960s, the end of 1950s still should be studied as a separate from the previous one period of the development of the social politics and social services.


In the beginning of the Khrushchev reforms (1954) the everyday life situation still was hard: the level of consumption reached level of 1928 (that in its turn was similar to the 1913) only in 1954.\textsuperscript{132} However, it was slowly improved through new housing projects, growing production of food and every day goods, introduction of pension system for kolkhoz workers (1960). The legal system was changed, many of the victims of Stalinism were rehabilitated and legislation was changed. The “comradely courts” had to solve problems of everyday morality.\textsuperscript{133} 1960 – The new Penal code stated that pregnant women and mothers of children below 8 years old could not be convicted to serve their sentence in jail.

On the other hand the social category which mean people with low income appears (\textit{malooobespechennye}) and the system of blat (need to use connections in order to get social help, for example – to put child in a day care center or to get some medicine that is absent from pharmacy) was developing. Thus, the existed system of social work included bribes (to doctors, nurses and educators in day care centers). On the base of the collected interviews it is possible to say that day care centers were in a big need and connections were needy to put child in a child care.

The law on the state pensions, adopted on July 14 in 1956 by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR widened the categories of people recommended for pensions. The social welfare of peasantry was provided by means of collective farms. In that period the state did not guarantee pensions to the collective farmers; in each collective farm the order and the size of pensions were established by the general meeting of collective farmers and provided by mutual aid funds (\textit{KKOV}). In January of 1958 the Council of Ministers of RSFSR passed a decree “On confirmation of model regulations of mutual aid funds in the collective farms”, in which it obliged the Ministry of Agriculture and regional executive committees to organize mutual aid funds in all collective farms, to provide money for helping people in case of disability, injury at work, allowances for pregnancy and delivery, support for orphans. ????? ? ????????? ? ????????? ????? ?? ??????? ?????? ?? ?????? ?????? ? 1964 ?.\textsuperscript{134} The Law on pensions and allowances to the members of the collective farms was adopted only in 1964.

The system of social insurance for workers included: allowance on temporary disablement, full disablement, on aging (men from 60, women from 55, in some fields of industry from 55 and 50

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item N.Vert, op.cit, p.336
\item Vladimir Anderle A social history of twenties century Russia, Arnold, London, ney York, 1994, p. 231
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
accordingly), on the loss of bread-winner, on serving out (for a certain range of professions), for women on pregnancy and delivery, on child upbringing, insurance for receiving a free accommodation and treatment in sanatoriums, holiday houses, etc. The management of state social insurance was realized through trade unions: at enterprises by the councils of factory or plant trade union committee (fabzavmestkoms) in a strict order established by the state\textsuperscript{135}.

Since 1960 “Bureaus of nurses for servicing sick people at home” were attached to the committees of Red Cross Societies, later they were renamed in charity service. They were aimed at aiding health authorities in medical care and looking after single aged patients, who needed to be confined to bed, but were not taken to hospital. Nurses were trained at special 2-4 weeks courses, organized for that purpose. Not less than two patronage nurses of Red Cross Society were directed to every policlinic. Patronage nurses rendered medical and social services as well. 75 thousand people were trained in those groups. Activists, trained in the groups, began to help patronage nurses in looking after patients and doing domestic services. However social and domestic services, carried out by activists on a voluntary basis were developing at a low speed. The demand for home service was constantly growing; the number of patronage nurses was growing annually\textsuperscript{136}.

The state expended the benefits to eye-sight disabled people (as well as the other disabled people) in 1953. The government decree established 6-hour working day for eye-sight disabled people of I and II stage and annual holiday for not less than 24 days; since 1954 - free using of all types of urban transport. Training vocational enterprises trained 4,800 people in different professions during the 5-th five-year plan (1951-1955)\textsuperscript{137}. In 1959 the society had 258 training vocational enterprises, where were taught and worked, 35 specialized regional libraries, 84 literary sections at the libraries, written in Braille, organized inter-regional schools of distant learning, where people could be trained without discontinuing work. All-Union Society of the Blind could assist to its members in solving their housing problems, which were extremely acute for the soviet state in the after-war period; but this kind of help was not widely spread\textsuperscript{138}.

\textsuperscript{136} www.ykt.ru/zabota/2000/n16/4.htm
All-Russian society of deaf-mutes in 1959 had 58 training and vocational enterprises, where near 1,000 people were trained annually; besides there were three specialized vocational schools at factories and plants and one industrial school. At usual large enterprises people with hearing problems worked in big groups; an interpreter was given for servicing the group of 20 workers (large groups worked at Chelyabinsk tractor plant, at the enterprises of Sverdlovsk and Rostov). The society of deaf-mutes had in their disposal about 500 clubs and recreational and reading rooms, more than 300 libraries, 858 hobby groups.\textsuperscript{139}

One of the most important ways of women’s activity was revival of the women’s organizations in plants, factories and in the army, which got name of women’s councils (zhensoveti). These organizations were supposed to activate and centralize women’s self-help potential developed during the war period. Thus, women again (like in 1920s and 1930s) had to take control over day care centers construction and decoration, food prices in working shops and cafeterias, libraries and play-grounds. Active participation of women’s councils was expected with respect to family conflicts when they were supposed to assume role of family counselors.\textsuperscript{140} While in some enterprises these organizations existed only formally (some meetings of council took place, but any other activity was absent), some other women became real activists.

Timur’s movement,\textsuperscript{141} which had appeared in pre-war period, was on a large scale; children helped the aged people, took care of sick people and looked after children. The movement of young naturalists started its development. In 1947 the pupils of one Moscow school “appealed to all pioneers and schoolchildren of the Soviet Union” with a slogan “Let’s beautify the motherland with gardens!” During 1950-s the schoolchildren planted 305 millions of landscape trees and shrubberies. Many schools had their own gardens. A great role in the organization of extra-curriculum work and working education belonged to pioneer and Komsomol organizations. Specialized curricula of courses and seminars for supervisors of pioneers’ camps, young pioneers’ leaders and educators were designed.\textsuperscript{142}


\textsuperscript{140} Rabotnitsa, 1958, N 5, p.30

\textsuperscript{141} Timur was a main character from the book by A.Gaidar. In the book Timur was organizing adolescent’s group to help needy people in the village.

Work training was seen in this period as one of the important parts of the education. Teenagers were sent to vocational schools, plants; education based on work existed in children’s homes even during the war; after war the number of workshops at children’s homes was growing with the reconstruction of industry. The problem of education based on work was discussed in the magazine “Soviet pedagogic”. Practical training for students at enterprises, collective farms, Komsomol camps of labor and rest advanced in the middle of 1950-s. In 1959 the compulsory practical training for schoolchildren of the 9-10 forms was introduced. In 1956-1957 scientific and research institute of teaching methods at the Academy of pedagogical sciences of RSFSR carried out the investigation on pedagogical efficiency of combining learning with practical training of students; in the course of which it was established that practical training beneficially influences the quality of knowledge and interest in science.\textsuperscript{143}

Special attention was paid to the education based on work at children’s homes; pedagogues appealed to the experience of A.S.Makarenko, applied the methods of long-term tasks, e.g. the members of children’s homes built themselves new dwelling premises, clubs, workshops, fixed libraries, laboratories, cinemas, maintained attached territories, laid out gardens etc. At the end of 1950-s – beginning of 1960-s manuals on pedagogical work and collections of materials about the work of pedagogic staff in children’s homes were issued\textsuperscript{144}.

6. Selected bibliography in English


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