Oleksandr Chuchalin¹

Anastasiia Bilokon²

Organization of the State Aid to Homeless and Neglected Children in the Ukrainian Ssr in the 1920s

Introduction

Man, his life and health, honor and dignity, inviolability and security are recognized in Ukraine as the highest social values. Human rights and freedoms and their guarantees determine the content and direction of the state activities. The state is responsible for its activities to man. The establishment and providing the human rights and freedoms are the main duties of the state.

The problem of homeless people and homeless children in Ukraine distorts the social environment, destroys the physical, mental and spiritual health of people, reduces their vital, social and creative activities, worsens moral conditions, originates the social tension in the society.

Solving problematic issues of homeless children, reducing the number of orphans and children deprived of parental care needs special attention of the state today. The activities of the local executive bodies,

¹ Candidate of Historical Science, Associate Professor at the Department of History of Ukraine, Pavlo Tychyna Uman State Pedagogical University, aleksandr02.1989@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3876-8237>.

² Postgraduate Student at the Department of History of Ukraine, Pavlo Tychyna Uman State Pedagogical University, bilokon_95@ukr.net, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2872-5751>.

guardianship and custody authorities, police and youth organizations need to be radically changed.

The problem of fighting children's homelessness and neglect has already arisen in the process of the Ukraine's statehood formation. Giving regard to this fact, it is important to study and analyze the experience of overcoming homelessness among children in order to use the positive results in modern conditions and prevent mistakes in the future.

The topic is reflected in many works of modern Ukrainian researchers: O.I. Anatoliieva³, A.G. Zinchenko⁴, I.V. Ishchenko⁵, A.O. Medvid⁶, L.V. Olianych⁷, Yu. S. Stepanchuk⁸, F. Ya. Stupak⁹. However, these works partially reveal the problem of the study, which does not allow us to talk about the specifics of government agencies in general.

³ Anatoliieva O.I. (2003). *Pravove rehulyuvannya borot'by z bezprytul'nistyu, bezdohlyadnistyu ta pravoporushennyamy nepovnolitnikh v USRR u 20-kh rokakh XX st.* [Legal regulation of the fight against homelessness, neglect and juvenile delinquency in the USRR in the 20s of the twentieth century]. Kyiv. [in Ukrainian]

⁴ Zinchenko A. H. (2002). *Dytyacha bezprytul'nist' v Radyans'kiy Ukraini v 20-kh – pershiy polovyni 30-kh rokiv.* [Child homelessness in Soviet Ukraine in the 20's – first half of the 30's of the twentieth century]. Odesa. [in Ukrainian]

⁵ Ishchenko I.V. (2003). *Derzhavna polityka u sferi borot'by z sotsial'nymy anomaliiamy periodu Nepu (1921–1928 rr.)* [State policy in the field of combating social anomalies of the NEP period (1921–1928): experience, contradictions, lessons (based on the materials of the South of Ukraine). Dnepropetrovsk]. Dnipropetrovsk. [in Ukrainian]

⁶ Medvid' A.O. (2015). *Sotsial'nyy zakhyst bezdomnykh osib i bezprytul'nykh ditey.* [Social protection of homeless people and homeless children] Odesa. [in Ukrainian] *bespryzornykh detyakh: Postanovlenye SNK USRR ot 14.10.21 h. // SU Ukrayny. – 1921. – № 20. – St. 591.* [About homeless children: Resolution of the SNK of the USSR from 14.10.21 // SU of Ukraine. – 1921. – № 20. – P. 591]. [in Russian]

⁷ Olianych L.V. (2008). *Stvorenniya ta diyal'nist' Vseukrayins'koho tovarystva «Druzi ditey» (1924–1936 rr.): orhanizatsiynyy status, struktura ta funktsiyi* [Establishment and activity of the All-Ukrainian society "Friends of Children" (1924– 1936): organizational status, structure and functions]. Kharkiv. [in Ukrainian]

⁸ Stepanchuk Yu.S. (2006). *Diyal'nist' hromads'kykh i politychnykh ob'yednan' USRR u konteksti sotsial'noyi polityky bil'shovyts'koho rezhymu v 1920-kh – na pochatku 30-kh rokiv XX st.* [Activities of public and political associations of the USSR in the context of the social policy of the Bolshevik regime in the 1920s – early 30s of the XX century]. Cherkasy. [in Ukrainian]

⁹ Stupak F.Yu. (2010). *Blahodiynist' ta suspil'na opika v Ukraini (kinets' XVIII – pochatok XX stolittya).* [Charity and social care in Ukraine (late eighteenth – early twentieth century). Pereyaslav-Khmelnysky. [in Ukrainian]

The aim of the article is to study the organization of the Ukrainian SSR authorities in helping homeless and neglected children in the 1920s.

The article is a result of the complex study, in which for the first time, the authors made an attempt to isolate the problem of the creation and functioning the state organisations of central authorities of the USSR in the 1920s to help children into a separate object of the scientific study and integrated and systematic research on the basis of modern methodological principles, analysis and generalization of a wide range of sources and statistics.

The normative documents on the problem

Organizing the work with homeless and neglected children, the first task was to create a network of special institutions and legal regulation of their activities for these categories of juveniles. In 1920 the People's Commissariat of Education of the USSR issued a number of departmental regulations which established the procedure for creating such institutions.

In 1920, the Decree "On collectors" was issued, which regulated the work of receivers and collectors¹⁰. The Decree stated that receiving centres (or receiving stations) were set up to collect and register homeless people, who were taken by police officers, children's social inspectorate or individual citizens. Then the children were to be transferred to a collector, a special institution where each juvenile was studied and examined by pediatricians, neurologists and teachers. Based on this study, a referral was issued to the appropriate children's institution. The period of staying of homeless and neglected people in the collector was set at two to five weeks.

Primary social institutions for the homeless and neglected and day orphanages were also opened. At the initial stages of their activities their legal basis were the Resolutions of the People's Commissariat of Education and the instructions of the Department of Social Education of the People's Commissariat of Education approved in June 1920. The normative documents indicated the purpose of these children's institutions, the mode of their functioning and the peculiarities of the organization

¹⁰ Pro kolektry: Postanova NKO USRR, 1920 r. // ZZ Ukrayiny. – 1920. – № 21. – St. 410. [About collectors: Resolution of the NGO of the USSR, 1920 // ZZ of Ukraine. – 1920. – № 21. – P. 410.] [in Ukrainian]

of work. Thus, open orphanages had to operate day and night, accepting children under the age of 16 who had lost contact with their families or had no family at all, and led a homeless lifestyle. According to the Instruction these institutions were a temporary shelter for "street children" before they entered boarding schools. The responsibilities of the open orphanage staff included more than just keeping records of homeless people, feeding and caring for them, but also individual study of each homeless person in order to help him adapt to the children's collective¹¹.

Day orphanages had similar tasks, but they were intended primarily for homeless people aged 4–16. These institutions worked from 8 to 20 and received minors whose parents were at work at that time¹². Such orphanages had their own peculiarity. Pupils not only ate there, which was very important at that time, but also were under the constant supervision of the teachers¹³. In general, 97 day orphanages served almost five thousand children in 1921¹⁴.

Due to the Resolution "On Measures to Fight Children's Neglect" approved in June 1921, the legal basis was laid for the activities of state bodies, the commissions for minors of the People's Commissariat of Edu-

¹¹ Instruktsiya viddilu sotsial'noho vykhovannya Narodnoho komisariatu osvity vid 10.06.20 r. // Zbirnyk dekretiv, postanov, nakaziv ta rozporiadzhen' po narodnomu komisariatu osvity USRR., 1920. [Instructions of the Department of Social Education of the People's Commissariat of Education dated 10.06.20 // Collection of decrees, resolutions, orders and directives of the People's Commissariat of Education of the USSR – P. 28–29.]. Kharkiv: NKO. [in Ukrainian]

¹² Instruktsiya viddilu sotsial'noho vykhovannya Narodnoho komisariatu osvity vid 10.06.20 r. // Zbirnyk dekretiv, postanov, nakaziv ta rozporiadzhen' po narodnomu komisariatu osvity USRR. [Instruction of the Department of Social Education of the People's Commissariat of Education dated 10.06.20 // Collection of decrees, resolutions, orders and directives of the People's Commissariat of Education of the USSR. – P. 27–28] Kharkiv: NKO. [in Ukrainian]

¹³ Pro denni dytyachi budynky: Postanova NKO URSR vid 08.06.20 r. // ZZ Ukrayiny. – 1920. – № 17. – St. 338. [About daytime orphanages: Resolution of the NGO of the USSR of 08.06.20 // ZZ of Ukraine. – 1920. – № 17. – P. 338.] [in Ukrainian]

¹⁴ Statystyka Ukrainy № 27. Seryya YII. Statystyka narodnoho obrazovannya. Tom II. Vypusk I. Narodnoe obrazovanye Ukrainy po obsledovanyyu na 1 yanvarya 1922 h. Predvartel'nye ytohy. – KH.: Yzd-vo TSSU USRR, 1923. – 42 s. [Statistics of Ukraine № 27. Series YII. Statistics of public education. Volume II. Issue I. National Education of Ukraine on the survey on January 1, 1922. Preliminary results. – H.: CSU USSR, 1923. – 42 p.] [in Ukrainian]

cation, in particular, to help the neglected¹⁵. This normative act legally established a list of categories of minors who were recognized as neglected. These were, first of all, minors whose parents (or guardians) left them without supervision and care, did not provide the necessary minimum of upbringing and education (provided by law), as well as those who suffered from the corrupting influence of the home environment, abuse; had anti-social lifestyle, were engaged in begging, vagrancy or trade.

Great importance was given to the procedure of establishing the fact of neglect in the Resolution. The grounds for initiation the proceedings of a case of neglect were the claims of citizens and institutions, the direct detection of neglect by surveyors – educators of commissions for minors. The commission members were to study the living conditions of each neglected child, process the relevant materials and submit them to the commission which considered the case. If the child was recognized neglected, he or she was placed under the care of the education authorities, but if the commission decided to leave the minor in the family, the surveyor-educator had to supervise them.

The decree established measures of influencing parents and guardians who did not perform or dishonestly performed their duties, if it was their fault that the minor was left without supervision and upbringing. If a minor was declared neglected, the commission could simultaneously deprive those persons of parental or guardianship rights. In cases of the overuse of these rights it could send materials to court.

In 1921, an important area of legal regulation of the fight against homelessness and neglect was the creation of a legal basis for the reception, registration and placement of the children evacuated from the Volga region. The Resolution of the People's Commissariat of Education of the USSR of September 19, 1921 approved the Instruction, which delimited the functions of the bodies involved in the planned evacuation¹⁶. The People's Commissariat of Education dealt with the distribu-

¹⁵ O merakh bor'by s det-skoy bespryzornost'yu: Postanovlenye SNK USSR ot 11.06.21 h. // SU Ukrainy. – 1921. – № 11. – St. 293. [On measures to combat child homelessness: Resolution of the SNC of the USSR from 11.06.21 // SU of Ukraine. – 1921. – № 11. – P. 293]. [in Russian]

¹⁶ Instruksyya hubernskym otdelam narodnoho obrazovanyya o pryeme y ustroystve detey, évakuyruemykh yz-holodnykh hubernyy RSFSR y orhanyzatsyy pomoshchy holo-

tion of children into the provinces. Health authorities organized medical supervision and sanitary measures. Provincial education authorities, child protection councils and commissions helping starving people were responsible for the timely admission, registration and placement of children in the regions.

Special attention was paid to refugee children from the Volga region who arrived in Ukraine out of the evacuation plans, unaccompanied by adults and joined the ranks of local homeless people. In October 1921, the Section helping starving people approved the plan for their admission. The normative document stated that the care of neglected refugees was entrusted to the provincial sections of assistance to starving children. Medical examination of minors, catering, provision of clothing, footwear and other basic necessities were to be carried out at evacuation stations. Representatives of the party and trade union bodies were to be appointed to accompany the children. These children were to be cared for by the local health and education authorities.

Public aid was also important, and the patronage became one of its popular forms. The Government Resolution of October 14, 1921 "On Homeless Children" and the regulations "On the Attachment (registration) of Children's Institutions to Proletarian Organizations", approved by the People's Commissariat of Education the next day regulated the legal basis of the patronage¹⁷.

The Resolution regulated the individual patronage. Its main concern was the placement of children who did not receive their places in or-

dayushchym detyam Ukrainy: Utverzhdennaya postanovlenyem NKO USSR 19.09.21 h. // Byulleten' Tsentral'noy komysyy po bor'be s posledstvyamy holoda y Tsentral'noy komysyy pomoshchy detyam pry VUTSYKe. – 1921. – № 4. – S. 16–17 [Instructions to the provincial departments of public education on the receiving and placement of children evacuated from the starving provinces of the RSFSR and the organization of assistance to starving children in Ukraine: – 1921. – № 4. – P. 16–17]. [in Russian]

¹⁷ Polozhenye o prykreplenyy (prypyske) det-skykh uchrezhdenyy k proletarskym orhanyzatsyyam: Utverzhdennoe Postanovlenyem NKO USSR ot 15.10.21 h. // Byulleten' Tsentral'noy komysyy po bor'be s posledstvyamy holoda y Tsentral'noy komysyy pomoshchy detyam pry VUTSYKe. – 1921. – № 4. – S. 20–21. [Regulation on the attachment (affiliation) of children's institutions to proletarian organizations: Approved by the Resolution of the NGO of the USSR of 15.10.21 // Bulletin of the Central Commission for Combating the Consequences of Famine and the Central Commission for Aid to Children at VUTSIK. – 1921. – № 4. – P. 20–21]. [in Russian]

phanages among the urban and rural population with the agreement of the child protection authorities and the citizens who gave their consent on it. In addition to regulating the patronage of homeless people (which in practice mainly concerned minors), the normative document "On Homeless Children" invited all the authorities through their local bodies to take care of providing teens over 14 years of age with work at enterprises or in agriculture.

The Regulation "On the Attachment of Children's Institutions to Proletarian Organizations" regulated the organization of the collective patronage – the interaction of educational bodies with trade unions and enterprises for the creation of new children's institutions and the supply of the existing ones. Forms of assistance were specified in the Instructions of the Central commission of aid to the starving people. In particular, patronage was provided through the provision with premises, their repairing and arrangement, acceptance of institutions for full or partial maintenance, supply of food and funds¹⁸.

The Political Buro of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bilshovyks of Ukraine approved the introduction by the People's Commissariat of Education the practice of enterprises' and firms' patronage over children's institutions. However, they emphasized that a part of the orphanages should still have the state support¹⁹.

In conditions of the catastrophic spread of homelessness during the famine, it was necessary to increase the efficiency of receivers and collectors, because they had to serve a greater number of children. In this situation, the legal regulation of the activities of these institutions contin-

¹⁸ Instruksyya o prykreplenyy det-skykh uchrezhdenyy k professional'no-proyvodstvennym kollektvyam: Utverzhdenaya Postanovlenyem TSK Pomholod, NKO, NKOZ USSR, 1921 h. // Byulleten' Tsentral'noy komysyy po bor'be s posledstvyamy holoda y Tsentral'noy komysyy pomoshchy detyam pry VUTSYKe. – 1921. – № 4. – S. 14–15. [Instructions on the attachment of children's institutions to professional and production collectives: Approved by the Resolution of the Central Committee of Aid to Children, NCO, NKOZ USSR, 1921 // Bulletin of the Central Commission of Combating the Consequences of Famine and the Central Commission of Aid to Children at VUTSIK. – 1921. – № 4. – P. 14–15]. [in Russian]

¹⁹ Protokol № 30 zasedanyya Polytburo TSK KP(b)U ot 17 marta 1922 hoda. – TSDAHO Ukrayiny, f. 1, op. 6, spr. 29, ark. 52–54. [Recording № 30 of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP (b) U of March 17, 1922. – TSDAGO of Ukraine, f. 1, op. 6, file no. 29, p. 52–54]. [in Russian]

ued too. Article 166 of the Code of Laws on Public Education stated that receivers and collectors were classified as social education institutions intended for the study and distribution of minors. According to Article 244 of the Code of Laws on Public Education, reception centers were considered to be the stations of urgent social assistance for children under the age of 15 who needed the temporary asylum. They were to be established in all provincial and county cities, as well as in large industrial centres. The staff of the receivers were to collect all the necessary information about each homeless person within three days, then to hand the child over to the parents or persons who replaced them, and if there were none – to send it to the juvenile commission or the collector. In Article 250 of the Code of Laws on Public Education, collectors had the status of distribution institutions, where preliminary individual study of children was carried out to determine their further sending. If the homeless person was not found to have physiological or psychological abnormalities and offenses, he or she should have been placed into an orphanage or into a family under the patronage²⁰.

An important place in the Code of Laws on Public Education was occupied by the regulation of the functioning the institution of the patronage. In particular, the patronage was legally recognized as a means of fighting children's neglect. It was envisaged that it could be applied to children who needed the placement into orphanages, but there were no vacancies in these institutions. The right to establish and revoke the patronage was given to pedagogical councils of children's institutions, juvenile commissions and other educational bodies. The People's Commissariat of Education appointed curators who were responsible for monitoring the implementation of the patronage²¹.

²⁰ Кодекс законов о народном просвещении: Утвержден Постановлением ВУТСИК от 25.10.22 г.; введен в действие Постановлением ВУТСИК от 22.11.22 г. // СУ Украины. – 1922. – № 49. – Ст. 729. [Code of Laws on Public Education: Approved by the Resolution of the VUTSIK of 25.10.22; put into effect by the Resolution of VUTSIK from 22.11.22 // SU of Ukraine. – 1922. – № 49. – P. 729]. [in Russian]

²¹ Кодекс законов о народном просвещении: Утвержден Постановлением ВУТСИК от 25.10.22 г.; введен в действие Постановлением ВУТСИК от 22.11.22 г. // СУ Украины. – 1922. – № 49. – Ст. 729. [Code of Laws on Public Education: Approved by the Resolution of the VUTSIK of 25.10.22; put into effect by the Resolution of VUTSIK from 22.11.22 // SU of Ukraine. – 1922. – № 49. – P. 729]. [in Russian]

On April 12, 1923, the Resolution "On Fighting Children's Homelessness" was adopted at the Second Session of the All-Ukrainian Central Committee. The normative document was intended to provide the registration of homeless people, drawing up plans for their internment, organization of repairing the existing children's institutions, placement of all homeless people into them and into the newly created orphanages. The resolution of the provincial executive committee drew attention to the need of spreading the practice of the collective patronage of the homeless. A special cash loan was even issued for these activities²².

The famine in Ukraine in 1923 having ended, the legal regulation of the fight against homelessness and neglect continued. The resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee "On Fighting Children's Neglect" of April 17, 1924 determined the program of major organizational and financial measures in this area²³. The normative document stated the need to re-evacuate children brought to Ukraine during the famine in order to vacate places in children's institutions for other homeless people. The Presidium of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee was instructed to appeal to the population to take a more active part in the protection of childhood. The creation of V. I. Lenin Central Ukrainian Fund to help the homeless, the introduction of preferential taxation and giving loans to children's institutions, their subsidiary farms, as well as institutions and organizations which contributed to the protection of children's rights were planned.

On August 13, 1924, the mutual Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissariats of the USSR "On the exemption of performances, concerts, parties, and bazaars organized by the Central commission of assistance to children and its local bodies from all the taxes " was adopted, it also strengthened the financial abilities of the Central commission of assistance to chil-

²² Pro borot'bu z dytyachoyu bezprytul'nistyu: Postanova VUTSVK vid 12.04.23 r. // SU Ukrainy. – 1923. – № 45. – St. 566. [On the fight against children's homelessness: Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee of April 12, 23 // SU of Ukraine. – 1923. – № 45. – P. 566]. [in Ukrainian]

²³ O bor'be s det-skoy bespryzornost'yu: Postanovlenye VUTSYK ot 17.04.24 h. // SU Ukrainy. – 1924. – № 21–22. – St. 190. [On the fight against children's homelessness: Resolution of the VUTSIK from 17.04.24 // SU of Ukraine. – 1924. – № 21–22. – P. 190]. [in Russian]

dren as the governing body in the process of fighting homelessness and neglect²⁴. The Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR "On the establishment of the All-Ukrainian V.I. Lenin Fund for the organization of assistance to neglected children" of September 10, 1924 stated the legal basis for the formation of this fund and the procedure of its use²⁵.

According to the Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, "The Week of the Assistance to Children" was to be held in Ukraine, the purpose of which was not only to increase funding for assistance measures, but also to intensify the work of the entire state apparatus and the public on child protection, homelessness and neglect. According to the Resolution "On re-evacuation of children" of October 22, 1924, special re-evacuation bureaus were established. Their responsibilities included: searching for relatives, keeping records of children to be repatriated, arranging their departure, providing them with all necessary things to prevent homelessness and neglect²⁶.

A network of special institutions

Over the next two years the Soviet government reformed a network of special institutions designed to help homeless and neglected children. On August 20, 1925, "The Regulation on Receivers-Distributors" was approved. The activities of these institutions included a wide range of

²⁴ Pro zvil'nennya vid usikh podatkov vystav, kontsertiv, vechirok i bazariv, shcho vlashtovuye TSK Pomdityam pry VUTSVK i yiyi mistsevi orhany: Postanova VUTSVK i RNK USRR vid 13.08.24 r. // ZZ Ukrayiny. – 1924. – № 20. – St. 176. [On exemption of performances, concerts, parties and bazaars, which arranges the Central Committee, the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and its local bodies from all taxes: Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the SNC of the USSR of 13.08.24 // ZZ Ukrainy. – 1924. – № 20. – P. 176. [in Ukrainian]

²⁵ O sozdanii Vseukrainskogo fonda ymeny V.Y. Lenina dlya orhanyzatsyy pomoshchy bespryzornym detyam: Postanovleniye VUTSYK y SNK USSR ot 10.09.24 h. // SU Ukrayny. – 1924. – № 33. – St. 234. [About the creation of the All-Ukrainian V.I. Lenin fund of assistance to homeless children: Resolution of the VUTSIK and SNK of the USSR of 10.09.24 // SU of Ukraine. – 1924. – № 33. – P. 234]. [in Russian]

²⁶ Pro reevakuatsiyu ditey, 1924 r. // Byuleten' Narodnoho komisariatu osvity. – 1924. – № 3–4. – S. 109–111. [On the re-evacuation of children, 1924 // Bulletin of the People's Commissariat of Education. – 1924. – № 3–4. – P. 109–111]. [in Ukrainian]

tasks (in comparison with the receiving stations and collectors existing at the beginning of the studied period). Much attention was paid to strengthening the educational work.

The receivers-distributors were of two types: for children of 8–14 years and for teenagers of 14–17 years. Junior pupils had to be prepared for the transition to stationary children's institutions. In this regard, the pedagogical staff of the receivers-distributors had to involve children in the best possible participation in self-service and work at the workshops to identify their inclinations and the level of general knowledge. The main task of the educational process for minors over the age of 14, was to prepare them for work. Teens who showed the best knowledge and skills were prepared to enter vocational education institutions, others were provided with basic work skills at workshops and were engaged in the production process.

To implement better educational work, the length of staying in these institutions was increased. Junior children could stay in the reception centre for 4 months. Teens aged 14–17 years were kept there during the period of two weeks required for employment up to six months (if the juvenile required additional training). Receptionists worked with education authorities, party and trade union organizations, local councils and various community centres to create favourable conditions for the children's transfer to the stationary institutions or employment.

In 1926, the activities of special institutions for the homeless, such as "cafes and canteens with the club work", kiphouses for children were regulated. On November 29, 1926, the People's Commissariat of Education approved the regulation on their activities. According to the Regulation, cafes or tea houses were opened in the districts of the railway stations, bazaars and other places of concentration of the homeless people. Such establishments worked the whole day, the entry and the assistance there were free. There was also a club room, a reading room at the cafe; the clubs functioned there, excursions and sanitary-educational work were organized. Minors could repair clothes or things of their basic needs in such places.

Similar tasks were given to "children's canteens with the club work", which worked from 10 to 12 a.m. and from 3 to 5 p.m. These canteens were also supplied with everything necessary for food and children's

care, serviced by the staff – teachers, doctors and their community assistants. The main task of the kiphouses was to provide a temporary shelter for children and to identify those who could be transferred to children's institutions or be employed among the general mass of homeless people²⁷.

Until the mid-1920s, various forms and methods of helping the homeless were tested in Ukraine. The most effective of them were systematized in the Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of August 5, 1926 "On measures to fight children's homelessness in the USSR"²⁸. At that time, it became clear to the child protection authorities that it was necessary not only to fight homelessness itself, but also the reasons of its occurrence. Therefore, the above-mentioned resolution, first of all, enshrined the duty of the state to protect, assist and socially educate children who are in conditions which are dangerous for their physical and psychological development. A list of homeless categories was identified. Children were declared homeless if they were removed from the family by a court or the juvenile commission; full orphans; children who had lost any relations with their parents; abandoned children.

A system of measures which could be applied to the homeless was also established: giving for upbringing to relatives or other persons; sending to their home places (those children who were evacuated during the famine); placement into the health care institutions, other children's institutions; temporary placement into receivers-distributors. The organization of these activities and their general management was entrusted to the People's Commissariat of Education, and the coordination of ac-

²⁷ Pro typy pervisnykh ustanov SPONu: Tsyrukulyar NKO USRR vid 02.11.26 r. // Byuleten' Narodnoho komisariatu osvity. – 1926. – № 15. – S. 12–13. [On the types of primary institutions of SPON: Circular of the NGO of the USSR from 02.11.26 // Bulletin of the People's Commissariat of Education. – 1926. – № 15. – P. 12–13.] [in Ukrainian]

²⁸ Pro zakhody v spravi borot'by z dytyachoyu bezprytul'nistyu: Postanova VUTSVK i RNK USRR vid 05.08.26 r. // 60 rokiv na perekhresti nadiy i tryvoh: Kyivskyy pryymal'nyk-rozpodil'nyk dlya nepovnolitnikh u spohadakh i dokumentakh. – K.: A.L.D., 1993. – S. 70–71. [On measures to combat child homelessness: Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the SNC of the USSR of 05.08.26 // 60 years at the crossroads of hopes and anxieties: Kyiv reception center for minors in memoirs and documents. – Kyiv: A.L.D., 1993. – P. 70–71]. [in Ukrainian]

tions of public organizations in this area – to the Central Commission of Assistance to Children.

Nevertheless, financing remained the biggest problem. Both government bodies and public organizations were catastrophically short of funds to implement their own programs in the process of fighting the children's homelessness and neglect. At that time this problem was so acute that the Union leadership tried to solve it. The Resolution of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR "On measures to fight children's homelessness" of August 13, 1926 introduced a number of financial measures, including tax benefits for enterprises which contributed to state and public organizations involved in fighting children's homelessness; exemption of the training and production workshops, canteens, sanatoriums, rest homes for children from taxes. Targeted deductions of some taxes were set to finance child protection measures. Discounts were provided for the transportation fees of the evacuated homeless people to their places, benefits for their social insurance. Control over the implementation of these measures was entrusted to the Committee under the Presidium of the CEC of the USSR for the organization and disposal of the V.I. Lenin Fund of assistance to homeless children²⁹.

In 1927, the Central Commission of Assistance to Children planned to hold a month-long campaign against homelessness. This action, according to the plan approved by the Circular of the People's Commissariat of Education on August 12, 1927, included a survey of children's institutions to identify children who had reached adulthood, their placement into the vocational education institutions, in agriculture or production for their labour education; admission of children from the street to the vacated places. It was also planned to expand the network of special institutions for the homeless further, to create workshops for industrial training, which was considered to be the best means of re-education and socialization of this category of people. The propaganda work was to become a mandatory part of the Month: coverage all the tasks of

²⁹ О мероприятиях по бор'бе с дет-ской беспризорност'ю: Postanovlenye TSYK y SNK SSSR ot 13.08.26 h. // SZ SSSR. – 1926. – № 56. – S. 407. [On measures to combat child homelessness: Resolution of the CEC and SNC of the USSR from 13.08.26 // NW USSR. – 1926. – № 56. – P. 407]. [in Russian]

fighting children's homelessness in the press and enterprise speeches³⁰.

In October 1927, the month-long campaign took place. Thanks to the action, it was possible to raise public attention to the problems of overcoming homelessness. About 435,000 rubles were also collected. But, unfortunately, it was not possible to realize the whole plan. The insufficient organization was considered to be the main cause of it³¹.

Giving regards to this situation, on November 23, 1927, the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR approved the Regulation "On Measures to Fight Children's Neglect." The Regulation clearly divided the functions of all the bodies authorized to deal with homeless and neglected minors³².

Conclusions

Thus, the studied activities of the authorities of the USSR and the regulations adopted by them allow us to conclude that their major task in the social sphere at the beginning of the studied period was the urgent assistance to children who spent most of their time in the street. The Resolution "On measures to fight children's neglect" was aimed primarily at ensuring the legal protection of children who had a family, but were deprived of the parental care. Therefore, more importance was given to the organization of assistance to children who were left without shelter and supervision for various reasons. Legislative documents passed during the famine of 1921–1923 introduced an initiative to place

³⁰ Pro plan uchasti orhaniv Narosvity v provedenni «Misyachnyka borot'by z dytbezprytul'nistyu»: Tsykulyar NKO USRR vid 12.08.27 r. // Byuleten' Narodnoho komisariatu osvity. – 1927. – № 32. – S. 6–7. [About the plan of participation of bodies of Education in the "Month of struggle against homelessness": Circular of NKO USSR from 12.08.27 // Bulletin of the People's Commissariat of Education. – 1927. – № 32. – P. 6–7]. [in Ukrainian]

³¹ Zamitka dlya dopovidi TSKDD (za 1927/28 rik). [Note for the report of the CDCD (for 1927/28year)]. [in Ukrainian]

³² O meropryyatyyakh po bor'be s det-skoy bespryzornost'yu v USSR: Postanovlenye VUTSYK y SNK USSR ot 23.11.27 h. // SU Ukrayny. – 1927. – № 66. – St. 247. [On measures to combat child homelessness in the USSR: Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the SNC of the USSR of 23.11.27 // SU of Ukraine. – 1927. – № 66. – P. 247]. [in Russian]

individuals into the family for the individual patronage and employment of teens. The first was intended primarily for little children, and the second – for minors over 14 years of age. These activities met two main needs of homeless and neglected children – material support and adult supervision. The most common form of assistance to the homeless and homeless was internment. Due to the consolidation of the legal basis for the collective patronage of enterprises and institutions over children's institutions, the possibilities of state bodies to create new orphanages and maintain existing ones were expanded.

The results of the study can contribute to the scientific substantiation of the state policy in the field of social and legal protection of childhood; the actualization of the idea to revive the civic organizations for overcoming the children's homelessness; and the inability of the deviant forms of their social behaviour.

Bibliography

- Anatoliieva O.I. (2003). *Pravove rehulyuvannya borot'by z bezprytul'nistyu, bezdohlyadnistyu ta pravoporushennyamy nepovnlitnikh v USRR u 20-kh rokakh XX st.* [Legal regulation of the fight against homelessness, neglect and juvenile delinquency in the USRR in the 20s of the twentieth century]. Kyiv. [in Ukrainian]
- Zamitka dlya dopovidi TSKDD (za 1927/28 rik). [Note for the report of the CDCD (for 1927/28 year)]. [in Ukrainian]
- Zinchenko A. H. (2002). *Dytyacha bezprytul'nist' v Radyans'kiy Ukrayini v 20-kh – pershiy polovyni 30-kh rokiv.* [Child homelessness in Soviet Ukraine in the 20's – first half of the 30's of the twentieth century]. Odesa. [in Ukrainian]
- Instruktsiya viddilu sotsial'noho vykhovannya Narodnoho komisar-iatu osvity vid 10.06.20 r. // *Zbirnyk dekretiv, postanov, nakaziv ta rozporядzhen' po narodnomu komisariatu osvity USRR., 1920.* [Instructions of the Department of Social Education of the People's Commissariat of Education dated 10.06.20 // Collection of decrees, resolutions, orders and directives of the People's Commissariat of Education of the USSR – P. 28–29.]. Kharkiv: NKO. [in Ukrainian]

Instruktsiya viddilu sotsial'noho vykhovannya Narodnoho komisar-iatu osvityvid 10.06.20 r. // Zbirnyk dekretiv, postanov, nakaziv ta rozporyadzen' po narodnomu komisar-iatu osvity USRR. [Instruction of the Department of Social Education of the People's Commissariat of Education dated 10.06.20 // Collection of decrees, resolutions, orders and directives of the People's Commissariat of Education of the USSR. – P. 27–28] Kharkiv: NKO. [in Ukrainian]

Instruktsyya hubernskym otделam narodnoho obrazovannya o pryeme y ustroystve detey, évakuyruemykh yz-holodnykh hubernyy RSFSR y orhanyzatsyy pomoshchy holodayushchym detyam Ukrayny: Ut-verzhdennaya postanovlenyem NKO USSR 19.09.21 h. // Byulleten' Tsentral'noy komys'syy po bor'be s posledstvyamy holoda y Tsentral'noy komys'syy pomoshchy detyam pry VUTSYKe. – 1921. – № 4. – S. 16–17 [Instructions to the provincial departments of public education on the receiving and placement of children evacuated from the starving provinces of the RSFSR and the organization of assistance to starving children in Ukraine: – 1921. – № 4. – P. 16–17] . [in Russian]

Instruktsyya o prykreplenyy det-skykh uchrezhdenyy k professional'no-proyzvodstvennym kollektyvam: Utverzhdennaya Postanovlenyem TSK Pomholod, NKO, NKOZ USSR, 1921 h. // Byulleten' Tsentral'noy komys'syy po bor'be s posledstvyamy holoda y Tsentral'noy komys-syy pomoshchy detyam pry VUTSYKe. – 1921. – № 4. – S. 14–15. [Instructions on the attachment of children's institutions to profes-sional and production collectives: Approved by the Resolution of the Central Committee of Aid to Children, NCO, NKOZ USSR, 1921 // Bulletin of the Central Commission of Combating the Consequences of Famine and the Central Commission of Aid to Children at VUTSIK. – 1921. – № 4. – P. 14–15] . [in Russian]

Ishchenko I.V. (2003). Derzhavna polityka u sferi borot'by z sotsial'nymy anomaliyamy periodu Nepu (1921–1928 rr.) [State policy in the field of combating social anomalies of the NEP period (1921–1928): experience, contradictions, lessons (based on the materials of the South of Ukraine). Dnepropetrovsk]. Dnipropetrovsk. [in Ukrainian]

Kodeks zakonov o narodnom prosveshchenyy: Utverzhden Postanov-lenym VUTSYK ot 25.10.22 h.; vveden v deystvie Postanovlenyem

- VUTSYK ot 22.11.22 h. // SU Ukrayny. – 1922. – № 49. – St. 729. [Code of Laws on Public Education: Approved by the Resolution of the VUTSIK of 25.10.22; put into effect by the Resolution of VUTSIK from 22.11.22 // SU of Ukraine. – 1922. – № 49. – P. 729]. [in Russian]
- Medvid' A.O. (2015). Sotsial'nyy zakhyst bezdomnykh osib i bezprytul'nykh ditey. [Social protection of homeless people and homeless children] Odessa. [in Ukrainian] bespryzornykh detyakh: Postanovlenye SNK USSR ot 14.10.21 h. // SU Ukrayny. – 1921. – № 20. – St. 591. [About homeless children: Resolution of the SNK of the USSR from 14.10.21 // SU of Ukraine. – 1921. – № 20. – P. 591]. [in Russian]
- bor'be s det-skoy bespryzornost'yu: Postanovlenye VUTSYK ot 17.04.24 h. // SU Ukrayny. – 1924. – № 21–22. – St. 190. [On the fight against children's homelessness: Resolution of the VUTSIK from 17.04.24 // SU of Ukraine. – 1924. – № 21–22. – P. 190.] [in Russian]
- merakh bor'by s det-skoy bespryzornost'yu: Postanovlenye SNK USSR ot 11.06.21 h. // SU Ukrayny. – 1921. – № 11. – St. 293. [On measures to combat child homelessness: Resolution of the SNC of the USSR from 11.06.21 // SU of Ukraine. – 1921. – № 11. – P. 293]. [in Russian]
- meropryyatyyakh po bor'be s det-skoy bespryzornost'yu v USSR: Postanovlenye VUTSYK y SNK USSR ot 23.11.27 h. // SU Ukrayny. – 1927. – № 66. – St. 247. [On measures to combat child homelessness in the USSR: Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the SNC of the USSR of 23.11.27 // SU of Ukraine. – 1927. – № 66. – P. 247]. [in Russian]
- meropryyatyyakh po bor'be s det-skoy bespryzornost'yu: Postanovlenye TSYK y SNK SSSR ot 13.08.26 h. // SZ SSSR. – 1926. – № 56. – S. 407. [On measures to combat child homelessness: Resolution of the CEC and SNC of the USSR from 13.08.26 // NW USSR. – 1926. – № 56. – P. 407.] [in Russian]
- sozdanny Vseukraynskoho fonda ymeny V.Y. Lenyna dlya orhanyzatsyy pomoshchy bespryzornym detyam: Postanovlenye VUTSYK y SNK USSR ot 10.09.24 h. // SU Ukrayny. – 1924. – № 33. – St. 234. [About the creation of the All-Ukrainian V.I. Lenin fund of assistance to homeless children: Resolution of the VUTSIK and SNK of the USSR of 10.09.24 // SU of Ukraine. – 1924. – № 33. – P. 234.] [in Russian]

- Ob otvet-stvennosti nesovershennoletnykh: Dekret SNK USSR ot 12.06.20 h. // SU Ukrainy. – 1920. – № 5. – St. 281.[On the responsibility of minors: Decree of the SNC of the USSR from 12.06.20 // SU of Ukraine. – 1920. – № 5. – P. 281.] [in Russian]
- Olyanych L.V. (2008). Stvorenniya ta diyal'nist' Vseukrayins'koho tovarystva «Druzi ditey» (1924–1936 rr.): orhanizatsiynny status, struktura ta funktsiyi [Establishment and activity of the All-Ukrainian society “Friends of Children” (1924–1936): organizational status, structure and functions]. Kharkiv. [in Ukrainian]
- Plan pryema y razmeshchenyya detey, prybyvshykh samotekom v Khar'kovskyy uzel: Utverzhdennyi Postanovlenyem Pomdetholod USSR ot 17.10.21 h. // Byulleten' Tsentral'noy komysyy po bor'be s posledstvyamy holoda y Tsentral'noy komysyy pomoshchy detyam pry VUTSYKe. – 1921. – № 4. – S. 18–19. [Plan of reception and accommodation of children who arrived by gravity at the Kharkiv node: Approved by the Resolution of the Pomdetgolod of the USSR from 17.10.21 // Bulletin of the Central Commission of Combating the Consequences of Famine and the Central Commission of Aid to Children at VUTSIK. – 1921. – № 4. – P. 18–19]. [in Russian]
- Polozhenye o prykreplenyy (prypyske) det-skykh uchrezhdenyy k proletarskym orhanyzatsyyam: Utverzhdennoe Postanovlenyem NKO USSR ot 15.10.21 h. // Byulleten' Tsentral'noy komysyy po bor'be s posledstvyamy holoda y Tsentral'noy komysyy pomoshchy detyam pry VUTSYKe. – 1921. – № 4. – S. 20–21.[Regulation on the attachment (affiliation) of children's institutions to proletarian organizations: Approved by the Resolution of the NGO of the USSR of 15.10.21 // Bulletin of the Central Commission for Combating the Consequences of Famine and the Central Commission for Aid to Children at VUTSIK. – 1921. – № 4. – P. 20–21.] [in Russian]
- Polozhennya pro provedennya «Tyzhnya dopomohy dityam»: Zatv. Postanovoyu VUTSVK vid 21.01.24 r. // ZZ Ukrainy. – 1924. – № 4–5. – St. 29. [Regulation on having “The Week of Aid to Children”: Approved. By Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee dated 21.01.24 // ZZ of Ukraine. – 1924. – № 4–5. – P. 29.] [in Ukrainian]
- Polozhennya pro pryyemnyky-rozpodil'nyky: Zatverdzhene NKO USRR 20.08.25 r. // Byuleten' Narodnoho komisariatu osvity. – 1925. – №

8. – S. 27–31. [Regulation on receivers-distributors: Approved by the NGO of the USSR on 20.08.25 // Bulletin of the People's Commissariat of Education. – 1925. – № 8. – P. 27–31.] [in Ukrainian]
- Polozhennya pro pervisni ustanovy SPONu: Tsyruklyar NKO USRR vid 29.11.26 r. // Byuleten' Narodnoho komisariatu osvity. – 1926. – № 17. – S. 11–16. [Regulation on the original institutions of SPON: Circular of the NGO of the USSR from 29.11.26 // Bulletin of the People's Commissariat of Education. – 1926. – № 17. – P. 11–16.] [in Ukrainian]
- Pro borot'bu z dytyachoyu bezprytul'nisty: Postanova VUTSVK vid 12.04.23 r. // SU Ukrayny. – 1923. – № 45. – St. 566. [On the fight against children's homelessness: Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee of April 12, 23 // SU of Ukraine. – 1923. – № 45. – P. 566.] [in Ukrainian]
- Pro vidkryti dytyachi budynky: Postanova NKO URSR vid 10.06.20 r. // ZZ Ukrayiny. – 1920. – № 17. – St. 337. [About open orphanages: Resolution of the NGO of the USSR from 10.06.20 // ZZ of Ukraine. – 1920. – № 17. – P.337]. [in Ukrainian]
- Pro denni dytyachi budynky: Postanova NKO URSR vid 08.06.20 r. // ZZ Ukrayiny. – 1920. – № 17. – St. 338.[About daytime orphanages: Resolution of the NGO of the USSR of 08.06.20 // ZZ of Ukraine. – 1920. – № 17. – P. 338.] [in Ukrainian]
- Pro zakhody v spravi borot'by z dytyachoyu bezprytul'nisty: Postanova VUTSVK i RNK USRR vid 05.08.26 r. // 60 rokiv na perekhresti nadiy i tryvoh: Kyiv's'kyi pryymal'nyk-rozpodil'nyk dlya nepovnolitnikh u spohadakh i dokumentakh. – K.: A.L.D., 1993. – S. 70–71.[On measures to combat child homelessness: Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the SNC of the USSR of 05.08.26 // 60 years at the crossroads of hopes and anxieties: Kyiv reception center for minors in memoirs and documents. – Kyiv: A.L.D., 1993. – P. 70–71.]. [in Ukrainian]
- Pro zvil'nennya vid usikh podatkov vystav, kontsertiv, vechirok i bazariv, shcho vlashtovuye TSK Pomdityam pry VUTSVK i yiyi mistsevi orhany: Postanova VUTSVK i RNK USRR vid 13.08.24 r. // ZZ Ukrayiny. – 1924. – № 20. – St. 176. [On exemption of performances, concerts, parties and bazaars, which arranges the Central Committee, the All-

- Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and its local bodies from all taxes: Resolution of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the SNC of the USSR of 13.08.24 // ZZ Ukrainy. – 1924. – № 20. – P. 176. [in Ukrainian]
- Pro kolektery: Postanova NKO USRR, 1920 r. // ZZ Ukrayiny. – 1920. – № 21. – St. 410. [About collectors: Resolution of the NGO of the USSR, 1920 // ZZ of Ukraine. – 1920. – № 21. – P. 410.] [in Ukrainian]
- Pro plan uchasti orhaniv Narosvity v provedenni «Misyachnyka borot'by z dytbezprytul'nistyu»: Tsyркulyar NKO USRR vid 12.08.27 r. // Byuleten' Narodnoho komisariatu osvity. – 1927. – № 32. – S. 6–7. [About the plan of participation of bodies of Education in the “Month of struggle against homelessness”: Circular of NKO USSR from 12.08.27 // Bulletin of the People's Commissariat of Education. – 1927. – № 32. – P. 6–7.] [in Ukrainian]
- Pro reevakuatsiyu ditey, 1924 r. // Byuleten' Narodnoho komisariatu osvity. – 1924. – № 3–4. – S. 109–111. [On the re-evacuation of children, 1924 // Bulletin of the People's Commissariat of Education. – 1924. – № 3–4.-P.109–111.] [in Ukrainian]
- Pro typy pervisnykh ustanov SPONu: Tsyркulyar NKO USRR vid 02.11.26 r. // Byuleten' Narodnoho komisariatu osvity. – 1926. – № 15. – S. 12–13. [On the types of primary institutions of SPON: Circular of the NGO of the USSR from 02.11.26 // Bulletin of the People's Commissariat of Education. – 1926. – № 15. – P. 12–13.] [in Ukrainian]
- Protokol № 30 zasedanyia Polytbodyuro TSK KP(b)U ot 17 marta 1922 hoda. – TSDAHO Ukrayiny, f. 1, op. 6, spr. 29, ark. 52–54. [Recording № 30 of the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP (b) U of March 17, 1922. – TSDAGO of Ukraine, f. 1, op. 6, file no. 29, p. 52–54.] [in Russian]
- Statystyka Ukrayny № 27. Seryya YII. Statystyka narodnoho obrazovanyia. Tom II. Vypusk I. Narodnoe obrazovanye Ukrayny po obsledovanyyu na 1 yanvarya 1922 h. Predvaryl'nye ytohy. – KH.: Yzdvo TSSU USRR, 1923. – 42 s. [Statistics of Ukraine № 27. Series YII. Statistics of public education. Volume II. Issue I. National Education of Ukraine on the survey on January 1, 1922. Preliminary results. – H.: CSU USSR, 1923. – 42 p.] [in Ukrainian]

- Stepanchuk Yu.S. (2006). Diyal'nist' hromads'kykh i politychnykh ob'yednan' USSR u konteksti sotsial'noyi polityky bil'shovyts'koho rezhymu v 1920-kh – na pochatku 30-kh rokiv XX st. [Activities of public and political associations of the USSR in the context of the social policy of the Bolshevik regime in the 1920s – early 30s of the XX century].Cherkasy. [in Ukrainian]
- Stupak F.Yu. (2010).Blahodiynist' ta suspil'na opika v Ukrayini (kinets' XVIII – pochatok XX stolittya). [Charity and social care in Ukraine (late eighteenth – early twentieth century).Pereyaslav-Khmelnytsky. [in Ukrainian]

Summary

The article reveals the organization of the state aid to homeless and neglected children in the Ukrainian SSR of the 1920s.

It is proved that the main task of the authorities of the USSR and the regulations adopted by them in the social sphere at the beginning of the studied period was the urgent assistance to children who spent most of their time in the street. The resolution “On measures to fight children’s neglect” was aimed primarily at ensuring the legal protection of children who had a family, but were deprived of the parental care. Regulations passed during the famine of 1921–1923 introduced the initiative to place such individuals into the families with the purpose of the individual patronage and teens’ employment. These activities met two main needs of homeless and neglected children – the material support and the adult supervision. The most common form of the assistance to the homeless and neglected was internment. Owing to the consolidation of the legal basis for the collective patronage of enterprises and firms over children’s institutions, the possibilities of state bodies to create new orphanages and maintain existing ones were expanded.

Keywords: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, All-Ukrainian Executive Committee, the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR, Central Commission of Assistance to Children, V.I. Lenin Fund