

Deviant Behavior of Different Social Groups in the Donbass Region. 1920s

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Abstract. An attempt has been made to examine the aspects of deviant behavior of different social strata in the Donbass region in the 1920s based on archival materials and other sources. A picture of the spread of alcoholism has been restored for the first time. The article gives coverage of the authorities' activities concerning the struggle with social deviations, reasoning that in some cases the authorities promoted the growth of alcohol dependence.

Keywords: alcoholism; drunkenness; disorderly conduct; deviation; anti-alcohol propaganda; A-clinic; Donbass.

Introduction. Researchers have never attended to the deviant behavior of various strata in the Donbass region in the 1920s, which expressed itself in alcoholism and drunkenness and, as a result, in disorderly conduct. Scientists elucidated similar problems of social deviations only within the general context of the situation in Ukraine, and they did not apply the problem to the coal-mining region. Russian scientists looked into the mentioned problems too [1], but they mostly referred to certain regions of Russia or the Soviet Union on the whole. The topic is of great scientific interest. It is known that in the conditions of social and economic transformation in the 1920s a new government in the country was established. During that period in the Donbass, alcohol dependence was at a peak. It was equally promoted by a moral crisis because the ideological promises of the authorities were not kept, even for the masses of the privileged class of workers and this affected the overall picture of Soviet everyday life.

Materials and methods. Among the sources used for this article, we should note the documents of fund 5 of the Kiev Central State Archive of the Supreme Authorities and administration of Ukraine and the documents of fund 1146, of the State Archive of Donetsk Region. An important source is the press of the period under study, such as "Kochegarka", "Molodoy rabochiy" and "Raboche-krest'yanskoye slovo".

For this research the following methods were used: a historical, a scientific and the classification and typology methods. Chronological, topical, descriptive and analytical methods, as well as search, synthesis and analysis of empirical data ones were also used.

Discussion. The problem of social deviations that was expressed in alcoholism and drunkenness during the 1920s in the Donets Basin has been discussed in the works of N. Lyebina, G. Bordyugov, I. Ishchenko, Yu. Styepanchuk, and V. Styopkin. Nevertheless, the question still remains unexplored. Therefore the topic remains relevant and open to scientific historical research.

It should be noted that in the 1920s the Donbass region, as the main coal-mining region of the Soviet Union, was of special value for the Central Soviet Government. But the social and economic situation was quite stressful, so banditry flourished and hooliganism massively manifested itself in this region. It was the center of the congestion of different nationalities coming from Russia, Poland, France and other countries seeking jobs, housing and a better life. The concentration of the working class here was also the result of the authorities deliberately sending workers from all over the Soviet Union to this area. The resulting chaos led to the deviance expression in the society.

The Prohibition ("Sukhoy zakon"), which was in force since 1914, was the new government's launching point for eradication of such social parasitism as alcoholism. Officially the fight against the "the demon rum" started in 1919, when there appeared a decree "About the prohibition of alcohol manufacturing and sale..." Russian scientist N. Lyebina [2] points out that its adoption was more of a continuation of the policy of total nationalization of all types of production. This statement should be taken into account in light of the results of this ill-considered alcohol policy, that was subsequently revealed during the Bolsheviks' rule in a ten-year period (at the end of the 1920s) and that fully confirms this scientist's point of view.

The Ukrainian state followed this policy too. As soon as August 20, 1920 the Sovnarkom of Ukraine by its decree prohibited the production of alcoholic beverages without proper permission, and the persons who were accused of the liquor manufacture, possession and sale were a subject to imprisonment for five years with confiscation of all their property. It was the first document of this kind that regulated the policy against alcohol abuse and alcoholism in Soviet Ukraine.

It is important to emphasize that drunkenness during the heavy period of the 1920s was widespread throughout the country. But the most concentrated places of anomalous deviations were the workers' settlements. The leading mining centre the Donbass, where this disease spread during the whole decade, was among them. Among the causes of the high rates of alcoholism were the following: a) mass arrivals of job-seekers to the region, b) alcoholic customs that were still entrenched, especially in rural areas where drinking alcohol during the holidays was an accepted norm, so it was not easy to overcome and to break the tradition c) social and economic instability in the region during the initial period caused anomalous behavior of the inhabitants (it was typical of the whole country), as the factor of misunderstanding "what will happen tomorrow?" automatically became an indicator of uncommitted social behavior that challenged the government, demanding to bring ideological dogma into life beyond all proclaimed standards.

The authorities were perfectly aware of all those problems, but their government's quite short period in power prevented them from taking the strategic steps. In May 1921, at the 10th All-Russian conference Lenin stated that "... in contrast to capitalist countries, where such things as vodka and other dope are used we will not allow this if they are not favorable for trade but will lead us back to capitalism". In May 1922, at the 11th Congress of the RCP (b) Lenin raised the question of absolute non-acceptance of liquor trade neither in private nor in the public sector. So the governors of a rather new state began a policy to combat a social epidemic called "alcoholism".

People, in return, also realized the need of fighting against drunkenness but they could not overcome the epidemic themselves. There was a need for a massive challenge that through the new cultural pyramid construction along with educational activities would set the working class and the whole population to the level of spiritual development, not to drunkenness and alcoholism. That is why at the beginning of the new government's activity the establishment of an appropriate organizational and legal system to combat alcohol abuse was among the top priorities.

The cases of drunkenness were observed among different strata. Archival documents expose a number of examples including the penalty for drinking alcohol and neglecting work even by intellectuals such as doctors. According to the funds of Donetsk Provincial Militia Administration there was a secret distilling among the militiamen but it was cut short. There also was gambling, drinking, prostitution and black marketeering, but they were also stopped. Although the archival documents say that there were no complaints of people to the police nor crimes committed by militiamen [3], complaints observed in notes in the local press refute such information.

Local authorities tried to overcome this socially dangerous outbreak. The Donetsk Province Executive Committee Administration Department in Bakhmut issued Mandatory decree №9 dated 27.05.1922 which ran: "... For disorderly behaviour in the governmental and public institutions, at public meetings or during a nationwide entertainment, theater performances, for quarrels, fights and different kinds of violence in public places and for public offenses in general the guilty persons are fined in favor of starving and the fine depending on the condition and social status can be up to 2500 rubles (1922 banknotes). The same penalty – a fine in favor of the starving – is also established for those who appear in public places in a drunken or in an ugly intoxicated condition. For gambling, violence and disorder at catering establishments and in the places where entertainment is not allowed as well as for tolerance of winedrinking by the institutions that are not entitled to wine sale with its drinking on-site, the guilty people are to be fined up to five thousand rubles (1922 banknotes)" [4].

The same year, according to its minutes, №82 the Donetsk Province Executive Committee Presidium meeting that was held on September 30, 1922, discussed the question of drunkenness which was spreading in the province. The meeting resulted in a resolution: to take measures for the most ruthless fight against alcoholism in the region, namely: a) to initiate a petition before the Center to work out the punishment measures as soon as possible reinforcing them up to eviction and establishing a duty and even the use of capital punishment; b) to prohibit the sale of perfumes, which were produced by the alcohol enterprises in the provinces; c) to establish a strict control over the sale of alcohol. The police had to watch the implementation of this decree and it was also proposed to set up a special commission and to take other steps [5]. But the fact is that to some

extent the government itself was to blame for the spread of alcoholism, because in 1922 the miners were given uncontrolled alcohol as a salary or bonuses for heavy work.

Therefore in the future the identified loci grew. In some districts the number of illegal distillers increased. This data makes us conclude that governmental policy did not frighten the regional population which expanded their illegal distilling of vodka faster and faster. Besides, since 1923 in Ukraine the state and private liquor trade was allowed. According to modern scientists a considerable part of the enormous incomes from this trade did not reach the treasury [6]. In particular, in the Donbass region according to archive documents lived citizens who sold alcoholic drinks. In 1922-1923 a wholesale wine store was opened in Lugansk [7], wholesale wine trade functioned in Mariupol [8] and Shakhty as well [9]. Most of the wine traders were citizens with no criminal records. After all, according to the documents they were checked by the militia department. After that they received an approval only by a resolution of the City Council which allowed them to run wholesale trade and to organize wine warehouses. It should be emphasized that the struggle with alcoholism was fierce just in words and hardly conformed with slogans proclaimed by Lenin in the early 1920s. Sometimes the anti-alcohol policy was inconsistent. The authorities contradicted themselves in their actions and steps. As far back as in 1923, the Donetsk Province Executive Committee and the militia launched a fight with the illegal vodka distillery, and by 1924, keeping home-made vodka without the aim of sale was not a criminal offense. Only an administrative responsibility was born.

Analyzing the spread of drunkenness among different strata of the population, it is necessary to note that both healthy and ill people drank alcohol. In "Raboche-krest'yanskoye slovo" local inhabitants characterized drinking vodka by a handicapped man: "... disabled Michail Klika, having drunk during the working process, used vulgar words, not paying attention to the remarks of the Production Committee. After coming to the general meeting of labourers drunk he constantly talked, preventing the work of the meeting. Such phenomena should be eradicated" [10]. As we see, the typical behavior of a handicapped drunkard didn't leave his coworkers indifferent; they wrote to the local newspaper with a complaint. There were many of complaints of this kind.

In such a case the statement that all drank alcohol is sustained by a series of interesting articles on the pages of the local press of that time. The next article under the title "Drunkenness after the prayer" was related to the clergy. "...The priest's brethren deceive peasants and drink using their labor money" – the peasants wrote [11]. But there were examples of a "hotter" behaviour of religious advisors. "Drunken pastors – are deceived sheep" is the title of the next article. In the spring of 1925 a deacon of Pologovskaya church together with the priest Kon'kov (the full name is not mentioned) of the same church were going "with congratulations" on the Easter Sunday. "Kon'kov could hardly get home and the deacon was so drunk that he started flirting with girls. 'Come to me! I have got cigarettes and vodka! I'll feast you, he-he'. Then he caught Kon'kov's daughter but she escaped from him and rushed to her father for help. The deacon followed her to the priest's house... There they wanted to tie each other..." In the conclusion of the article the local people wrote: "Let the citizens think about their pastors who confuse people with different religious prejudices and are the carriers of debauchery and lechery" [12].

Medical intelligentsia also drank. In Novospasovka village, a doctor, Sardanovskiy (the full name is not found), and a paramedic, Kozhushnikov (the full name is not found), were great drinkers, which is prohibited during working hours. "It's necessary to call our doctors to order" [13] – the people emphasized.

Komsomol members from Artyomovsk became notorious for drinking to intoxication in the village club. There they kicked up a row which was the reason why they were made the case with the title "The story about the drunken Komsomol members" [14]. Komsomol members from Volcheyarovka village of Lisichansk area escaped punishment. Almost all of them distilled home-made vodka and then got drunk and hung around the streets. No matter how many times the issue was raised, it never came to any resolution, the press said [15].

Drunkenness reflected on the Donbass workers because the statistics of budget charges for alcohol exceeded the average in Ukraine by 1.4 times. Generally, blue-collar workers drank almost twice as much alcohol as white-collar employees [16]. From an article titled "Price List for Home-Made Vodka" published in "Kochegarka" newspaper in 1925: "Anyone who wishes can get any amount of liquor at mine number 15 of Snezhnyanskoye mining administration. And it's not expensive: a bottle (about 30-40 percent) costs 1 ruble! Do you want stronger? Come to the village of Sofyino Brodskaya to Zhukov's (the full name is not found) house. He makes home-made vodka that is about 60 degrees and it is really breathtaking. He takes only 1 ruble 20 kopecks for a bottle.

There is also a honey drink named “Petya” (70 degrees) there. It costs 1 ruble 50 kopecks for a bottle. But if you got your salary long ago and don't have enough money they can sell it for one ruble only. The militia is sleeping, seeing nothing and not awakening and not stirring...” [17]. The local authorities neglected the problem too. For instance, in Nizhneye village, the latter took no measures to eliminate vodka brewerage. Fights, outrage, disorderly conduct and vulgar words led to a slaughter in the streets, which became a common occurrence in the village. When women complained about their drunken husbands to the militia, the militiamen didn't react [18]. This is another example of the authorities neglecting the problem.

People often chose canteens as the place for drinking alcohol. Canteens were the most common place of selling alcoholic drinks. Of course, deceiving drunkards was a common practice. Their pockets were emptied and they were sold drinks for higher prices.

In the second half of the 1920s a thorough program of detection of stills started. As a result, illegal vodka distilling in 1927-1928 was less wide spread and in comparison with 1926-1927 it was reduced by 72,1%. Illegal distilling and the illegal selling of vodka in pubs increased by 50%. It was predominantly the business of the former moonshiners and the private tradesmen and canteen and brasserie owners. In this case, consumption of vodka increased. Yet in 1928 “Molodoy rabochiy” in the article “Two buckets for a person” announced: “The drinking progress is exciting: for instance, in Lugansk the consumption of vodka per person has increased from 0,2 buckets to 1,88 buckets in 1927”. In Stalino city it has become 4 times higher ... In Leningrad a worker spent on average 4 rubles 60 kopecks on vodka, in Kharkov – 2 rubles 67 kopecks, in Lugansk – 4 rubles 80 kopecks and in Stalino – 5 rubles 33 kopecks (beer and imported wine were not included – if these are included, the official statistics will rise to 7-8 rubles). Season workers often guzzled 1/3-1/2 of their wages...” [20]. The Donbass region broke the all-Union record of drunkenness. The overall horrible achievements of drinkers from Leningrad paled in comparison with the results in the Donbass region – the local press wrote. Alcoholism spread in businesses very quickly, and consumption of alcoholic drinks by workers became 8 times higher in the period between 1924 and 1928 [21].

Such a picture of alcohol consumption reduced the manufacturing process into a stage of periodical stoppage and low results that greatly influenced the economy as well as the social and manufacturing spheres. In 1928, the trust “Donugol” alone failed to produce 0,9 million tons of coal in six months because of drunkenness. Worker attendance dropped to its lowest level when there were 12 or 13 attendances a month instead of 21. In the Yekaterininskoye, Rutchenkoye, Stalinskoye, and Gorlovskoye mining groups only 66% of workers attended their jobs in August [22].

Of course, this situation didn't suit the authorities; however, it was difficult to solve the problems. Certainly, serious measures in fighting drunkenness were taken. Generally, the fight against alcoholism sprouted in three directions: reduction of high-alcohol content production and sales, drunkard rehabilitation measures activation, and the improvement of cultural and educational work [23]. To reach this aim in the Donbass region the “Decree of the 3rd Congress of Trade Unions of Stalino District Concerning the Struggle Against Alcoholism...” was issued on 22.11.1928 that proclaimed that a central place in all the cultural work had to be taken by the struggle with drunkenness and strong war should have been declared on it [24].

By 1929, an A-clinic in Mariupol was already functioning. After a little more than a month's work it won the attention of plant workers. 525 visits (193 of primary ones) were registered within the month. 24 chronic alcoholics and 139 smokers were treated systematically [25]. Mariupol housing cooperatives launched an organization of anti-alcohol society cells, with the first one established in a housing cooperative №7 [26]. An organized anti-alcohol travelling cinema tour about the Donbass in 1929 through lectures, exhibitions and films contributed to the explanatory work in the fight against alcoholism. Anti-alcohol theater propaganda played a great role.

During the 1920s, a number of propagandistic publications within anti-alcohol policy were created. In Artyomovsk in 1926, a one-time newspaper was published called “Na bor'bu s alkogolizmom i venerizmom” (In the fight against alcoholism and STDs), which was accompanied with slogans: “The employees' health care is their own concern”, “The struggle for health is at the same time the struggle for communism”, “The worker should remember that a moonshiner is his enemy who confuses him for the sake of income” etc. [27]. In 1928-1930 in reply to the Association of the Fight Against Alcoholism order the publishing house “Scientific thought” and State Publishing House of Ukraine a series of books “For sobriety” was published, with the total number of 14 titles. The Association's journal with the same title was also published [28].

But despite the numerous attempts of authorities the problem was not overcome and solved completely.

Conclusion. Thus, the 1920s were a transformative period in all spheres of life of the new Soviet society. A changing political vector and economic gradient did not give the opportunity to realize the proclaimed social principles in the daily life of the population of the region. The workers suffered from this, too. That is why instability caused the appearance of many deviations among the people on the level of alcoholism and drunkenness. The Working Donbass was a leader in spreading alcoholism, not only on the territory of Soviet Ukraine but it even surpassed Leningrad. The negative situation had some negative consequences: 1) the disruption of the production process; 2) inability of the government to carry out all of the proclaimed promises in the region; 3) a weak and controversial anti-alcohol campaign without a rational and logic direction and as a result a huge amount of alcohol drinks consumption. In fact, in the 1st half of the 1920s the government and local power bodies were dealing with the topic on the legislative level, though a rapid transformation of the official struggle into practical steps only began in 1923. The real policy of the fight against this epidemic started only since the second half of the researched period and had reached its apogee by 1928-1929.

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**Девиантное поведение различных социальных групп
в регионе Донбасса. 1920е гг.**

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Аннотация. В статье предпринимается попытка изучить аспекты девиантного поведения различных социальных слоев в регионе Донбасса в 1920е гг., на основе архивных материалов и других источников. Картина распространения алкоголизма была впервые восстановлена. Статья освещает действия властей, направленные на борьбу с социальными девиациями, обосновывая тот факт, что в некоторых случаях власти способствовали росту алкогольной зависимости.

Ключевые слова: алкоголизм; пьянство; нарушение общественного порядка; девиация; анти-алкогольная пропаганда; наркологическая клиника для алкоголиков; Донбасс.