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Non-Formal Education in Ukraine in early 20th Century: aspiring for better life or learning to live in crisis?

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ABSTRACT: The paper analyses the activities of children's organizations in the first decade of the 20th century. They were years marked by pressure of the weakening monarchy on raising democracy processes, and active political struggle and anticipating change. Differentiations in social stratification, earlier children's inclusion in community life are presented as factors resulting in emerging numerous children's organizations. They ranged from non-formal self-organized gangs of marginalized children to strictly structured political children's associations. They were powerful enough to draw attention of the government,

the church, political parties, as well as the army to the existing problem with the view to use their potential. The forms of their relations are presented with the emphasis on the ability of children's organizations to modify the further life of the children participating in them.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Children's organizations; Children's movements; Scout organizations; Ukraine; XXth Century.

Introduction

The potential of non-formal education for children's socialization has been used worldwide. In the periods of cardinal changes within a nation and in a wider context its importance rises with the emphasis on political socialization making children's organizations an important tool of fostering young generation in a required mode. World's dictatorships have always kept young generation under the strictest control using propaganda and all possible means of imposing ideas. Soviet Union was one of the states which did most of it, which was the first step in growing obedient citizens of the state. This paper seeks to challenge the widespread opinion that children's organizations were purely a means of disciplining the young generation in order to make them obedient parts of the huge power mechanism.

1. The roots of the children's movement

The researchers do not have a unified idea of the children's organizations' roots and nature now; neither had they it in the first decades of the 20th century. Some researchers have stressed biological factors of children's movement, others – social. It might be attributed to the leading ideology of a certain historical period, and a certain country (oddly enough, for two decades around World War I Ukraine used to be part of the Russian Empire, Ukrainian People's Republic, and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of the USSR).

Soviet educationalists saw the main roots of the children's movement in what they called principal post-revolution changes in children-related policies compared to Russian imperial attitudes. Relying on undivided fusion of children's and youth movements they poetically described the process as «proletarian springs flowing together into a powerful movement»¹.

¹ V.G. Yakovlev, *Vozniknoveniie detskogo kommunisticheskogo dvizheniia v SSSR* [Emergence of children's communist movement in the USSR], Moscow, OGIZ – Molodaia Gvardiia, 1933, pp. 3-4.

Russian researcher D. Vakker in her dissertation on Ukrainian pioneers (1958) stated:

Children's movement is an important part of the working class struggle for political ideas in the political and economic situation characterized by hard exploitation and pressure on children as a working force for capitalist tyrants, to say nothing of their illiteracy as before World War I school education was available only for 22-25 % children. As a result of the social and political situation caused by the so called Three Russian Revolutions children and youth actively joined in².

It's quite evident that researchers of the Soviet time viewed the children's movement at a mono ideologist class angle. Modern researchers, on the contrary, have quite different ideas. For instance, the Ukrainian educationalist L. Aliyeva in her dissertation (2002) lays emphasis on «natural children's energy and their active response to the everyday issues»³, while A. Kyrpychnyk attributes it to social stratification, and the place of the child in the system of social relations⁴. In defining the main factors of the children's movement most authors state that it's an objective reality capable of self-development. The early 20th century added to its traditional adult elements, i.e. state and non-governmental organizations, quite unexpected but equally important children's groups⁵.

2. Objective factors of children's organizations emerging

Most Ukrainian and Russian researchers (M. Basova, I. Gordina, V. Lebedynskiy, F. Koroliov, M. Krupenina, Y. Kudriashova and others) classify objective factors of children's organizations as important actors of the early 20th century stage as historical, social, economic, political, cultural, and educational.

The decorations were presented against the background of Russian Empire as part of the world experiencing all the possible cataclysms: general crisis, Russian-Japanese War, World War I, two revolutions, ideological fights, to say nothing of the internal crisis in safety, economy, and state policies. It quite logically resulted in emerging organizations, parties, unions, societies, and

² D.L. Vakker, *Detskaya kommunisticheskaya organizatsiya yunyh pionerov im V. I. Lenina v Ukrainской SSR (pervoye desiatiletie sushchestvovaniya 1922-1932 gg.)* [Children's young pioneers' communist organization named by V.I. Lenin in Ukrainian SSR (first decade of functioning 1922-1932)], PhD diss., Moscow University, 1958, p. 16.

³ L.V. Aliyeva, *Stanovleniye i razvitiye otechestvennogo detskogo dvizheniya kak subyekt vospitatelnogo prostranstva* [Formation and development of Russian children's movement as the subject of educational space], PhD diss., Moscow University, 2002, p. 21.

⁴ *Detskoye dvizheniye: slovar-stravochnik* [Reference book for children's movement], s.v. «Children's movement».

⁵ Aliyeva, *Stanovleniye i razvitiye otechestvennogo detskogo dvizheniya kak subyekt vospitatelnogo prostranstva*, cit., pp. 18-19.

any other synonym that can be used to call the group of people belonging to working class, peasantry, intellectuals, bourgeoisie etc (more than 70 political parties by 1917!). Progressive educationalists didn't keep in the background and used the chance to speak for democracy in education.

At the same time children felt the situation on their own skin, they worked full-time in agriculture, fishing, manufacturing, mining, and domestic service. Emerging educational services provided by the state and community also contributed to their becoming mature⁶. So, the situation itself filled in the gap between children and adults – they became closer in their interests.

That contributed to the fact that in Ukraine there was an indissoluble bond between adult and children's organizations. The principle idea was to make children proponents of the socialist idea no matter how hard the times were. Russian researcher Basov in his dissertation stated:

On the one hand, they were too young to influence anything; on the other hand, in some years the children were to join the adults in introducing new order. As a result, different political organizations, as well as the school, the church, the army exercised various methods of influencing children. So, the children's organizations that rapidly emerged had different objectives depending on the character and pattern of the institutions shaping them. Another important thing about children's organizations was that they were not purely formed to satisfy the children's need in games and quality leisure time activities – they were seeking social challenge⁷.

On the other side of the spectrum, World War I breathed life into antisocial criminal gangs coming from self-organized groups of homeless children who strove to survival. The state realized that the only way to put an end to their illegal actions was to take advantage of their childish energy, and exploit the situation⁸.

Early 20th century community needed new leaders who might be objective, creative, educated, firm in their spiritual and citizenship positions. Outside Ukraine, in Europe and the US in early 20th century there existed loads of religious, military, sports, and educational children's organizations. It was the time of the Boys' Brigade (BB) (Scotland, 1883), the Army Cadet Force (ACF) (England, 1860); Scout Movement (1903), Camp Fire Girls of America (the USA, 1910), The Children of the American Revolution (C.A.R.) (the USA, 1895), the Church Lads' and Church Girls' Brigade (England, 1978), the Young

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

⁷ N.F. Basov, *Naukovedcheskiye aspekty issledovaniya istorii detskogo dvizheniya v Rosii: metodologiya, istoriografiya, istochnikovedeniye (nach. XX-90-e gg.)* [Scientific methods of researching the history of Russian children's movement: methodology, historiography, and sources (early 20th - 1990-s)], PhD diss., Moscow University, 1997, p. 72.

⁸ Aliyeva, *Stanovleniye i razvitiye otechestvennogo detskogo dvizheniya kak subyekta vospitatelnogo prostranstva*, cit., p. 56.

Men's Christian Association (YMCA) (England, 1844) etc. Most of them are still active and have become powerful international organizations.

Thus, some ideas of the international children's movement were imported to Ukraine. These, as well as internal ideas supported by adult and youth unions influenced the foundation stones for children's organizations.

In its turn, children's movement became a considerable sociocultural phenomenon in many countries, which contributed to the development of theory and practice of education.

3. *The problems of Classification*

Ukrainian researchers consider early 20th century the most active time of emerging children's self-organized groups with their gradual turning into social partnership with adults. Childhood became an unusual phenomenon, active and directed at defending children's rights, as well as the whole community's interests.

Children's movement was presented by a wide variety of children's organizations with different priorities and different attitudes towards state power and adult world. Ukrainian researchers often oversimplified the spectrum of children's organization and underestimated their importance: firstly, by subdividing them only into two groups: scout and non-scout; secondly, by analyzing children's movement only after the revolution of 1917; thirdly, by paying attention only to the communist oriented organizations.

Thus, the 1917 organizations under their research fall into two categories: socialist (Socialist Youth Union, Pupils Internationalist Union etc.) and middle school pupil's movement in which 12-13 year-olds became a separate organization⁹.

Russian researcher M. Iordanski in his work *Organization of Children's Environment* (1925) all the variety of children's organizations subdivided into: school, non-school, adults aid organizations, and societies in the community. He attributed certain characteristics to them: all the forms of children's organizations were to emerge naturally, without external pressure, without any artificial influences, though he saw adults' impact as important¹⁰.

Now the approaches to classification differ. So, L. Orlova suggests two groups of early 20th century children's organizations: (1) the ones that followed adults' patters (Cabinet of Ministers, Labour Ministry, Justice Ministry, Public

⁹ N. Mironov, *Iz istorii detskogo dvizheniya* [From the history of children's movement], Hkarkiv, State Publishing House of Ukraine, 1924, pp. 24-27.

¹⁰ N.N. Iordanskiy, *Organizatsiya detskoy sredy* [Organisation of children's environment], Moscow, Molodaya Gvardiya, 1925, p. 27.

Education Ministry etc.); youth clubs, youth houses, as well as youth unions, such as May Union, Children's Socialist Union, Gymnastics Union, nationalist organizations, orthodox church groups, social and political clubs, first children's communist clubs, youth labour armies [yuntrudarmiia], as well as children's internationals [dytinternatsional], councils of children deputies and children's communist party; (2) the ones based on the following of favourite books characters patterns, with the idea of a romantic game in which children pretend to be like a white good knight fighting for the better¹¹.

Besides, L. Orlova mentions youth organisations with socialist and non-socialist ideals¹².

M. Boguslavskiy, another Russian researcher, classifies children's organizations placing them on the two poles: club-like non-political organizations striving for peace and culture, and communist-oriented organizations, like Children's Proletarian Culture [Proletkult] close to communist party¹³. Around 1917 they were politically biased that can be attributed to the current political situation as well as to great many political parties with the bolsheviks' one growing more and more influential. As a result, in spite of the variety of children's organization all of them, according to M. Boguslavskiy may fall into two categories: unaffiliated scout movement and children's communist movement with its two main variants: Young Communists and Young Spartacuses. Their common characteristic was that they all worked out-of-school¹⁴.

The authors of the Russian edition of *Children Movement Book* (Moscow, 2005) classify children's organizations by their main purposes into scout and pupils' movements, clubs, environmental protection groups, charity funds, patriotic unions etc.¹⁵ Some authors (V. Lebedynskiy, O. Sorochynska) classify children's organizations in terms of ideology. Thus they speak of democratic, socialist, religious, scout organizations. Others classify them in terms of key activities and define patriotic, sport, culture, ecology, labour, economy ones.

But in spite of the fact that researchers differ in criteria, terminology, age differentiation they see children's movement as a complex unique phenomenon with particular rules and laws of its development.

¹¹ L.N. Orlova, *Detskoye protopoliticheskoye obshchestvennoye dvizheniye v usloviyakh transformatsii Rossiyskogo obshchestva: osobennosti i priority* [Children's protopolitical public movement under the conditions of Russian society: characteristics and priorities], PhD diss., Oriol, 2002, p. 57.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹³ M.V. Boguslavskiy, *Detskoye dvizheniye v Rossii: mezhdru proshlym i budushchim* [Children's movement in Russia: between the past and the future], Tver, Nauchnaya kniga, 2007, p. 28.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

¹⁵ *Detskoye dvizheniye: slovar-spravochnik* [Reference book for children's movement], s.v. «Children's organisation».

4. *Children's organizations and their main activities*

We are going to have a closer look at children's organizations following the format of classification by their activities as other formats (nationality, place, funding etc.) are unlikely to serve good criteria for defining groups within children's movement which is self-organized and independent. As a result, afterschool clubs and circles do not go in line with our research as they are not self-organized.

To find the most substantial characteristics, common and distinctive features in the activity of the children's movement, we characterized the most typical ones within each type. Also, together with Ukrainian organizations, we paid attention to Russian ones, as they had the same historical roots; their activity was characterized by interaction, but they surely had their own peculiarities.

Cultural and educational children's movement

The first type – cultural and educational children's movement – was presented, mostly, by secret pupils' organizations created for current school system improvement and other school-related NGOs. Especially active was the pupil's movement before the two revolutions of 1905 and 1916, that was presented by pupil's circles of different directions: self-educational, cooperation and even terrorist, often being illegal, where 9-to-19-year-old members played underground games. In the history of pupil's movement, there was a period of decline, which is connected with the events of 1905, when out of school inspection was established. Nevertheless the revolutionary movement growth before the war influenced pupils' public life: various 'innocent' circles grew overnight and even became legalized.

In the book *From the History of Children's Movement* Mironov explained:

Schools experienced a liberal period which contributed to children's movement intensification. Their activities were targeted at resolving conflicts with school teachers and administration, preparing monitor's elections, criticizing the way history was taught etc. The circles were in opposition to schools of those days, and the opposition united their members and revolutionized the mind. With time, they became more socially-orientated and even politicalized, and had a lot of features parties had¹⁶.

A typical example of such an organization was Kyiv Pupil's Circle (the so called KUK – Kievskiy uchenicheskiy kruzhok) founded by middle school pupils in autumn 1915. Then it was reestablished in Middle School Pupils' Movement. It published a newspaper «Middle School Voice», which was extremely popular

¹⁶ Mironov, *Iz istorii detskogo dvizheniya*, cit., p. 20.

with school youth. In autumn 1916 it split as all its non-political members left it. Then the circle's activity was closely connected with Bolsheviks and the Socialist Revolutionary Party. Contradiction between the two parties led to the organization's decay and a sort of lull before the storm.

The Middle School Pupils' Movement was really widespread in Ukraine having its organizations in Kharkiv, Kyiv, Odesa and other cities. It was often supported by teachers after February Revolutionary events¹⁷. In summer 1917 there was even the all-Russian Congress where Ukrainian delegates also actively participated. So, M. Myrovov from Kyiv Pupils' Circle presented the programme of secondary school democratization in which they suggested refusal from grades, supervisors, inspectors, pupils' representatives in school boards, pupils' monitors, cooperative learning etc. Nevertheless, no real decisions were taken by the Congress, no changes introduced. The Congress even failed to unite regional departments.

By the end of 1917 they had become more active and gradually declined for two lack of support from adult organizations busy with involving youth into politics. That accounts for the fact that spontaneous children's movement was not strong enough to survive¹⁸.

At that time in Ukraine emerged a number of culture-oriented children's and youth organizations which were later characterized by Soviet ideologically forced educationalists as counter-revolutionary ones trying to «distract youngsters from political class struggle»¹⁹.

The examples of the above mentioned organizations might be Youth House [Budynok Yunatstva] (Zaporizhzhia, 1917-1918), youth groups Museum [Muzei] (Starobilsk, 1918), Labour and Light [Trud i Svet] (Katerynoslav, Kostiantyniv, May 1917-July 1918), Organization of Jewish Working Youth, Lighthouse Organization [Mayak] (in a number of Ukrainian towns), Youth Revolutionary International [MoRevInt – Molodizhnyi revoliutsiynyi internatsional] (Odesa, 1918), sports organizations, artistic groups, Jewish Maccabis and others²⁰.

Children's organizations supporting socialist ideas

The other type of children's organizations is presented by the ones supporting socialist ideas. They actively joined adults in early 20th century strikes, 1905

¹⁷ Vakker, *Detskaya kommunisticheskaya organizatsiya yunyykh pionerov im V. I. Lenina v Ukrainской SSR (pervoye desiatiletiye sushchestvovaniya 1922-1932 gg.)*, cit., p. 25.

¹⁸ Mironov, *Iz istorii detskogo dvizheniya*, cit., pp. 24-27.

¹⁹ Vakker, *Detskaya kommunisticheskaya organizatsiya yunyykh pionerov im V. I. Lenina v Ukrainской SSR (pervoye desiatiletiye sushchestvovaniya 1922-1932 gg.)*, cit., p. 32.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-36.

revolutionary events in all the regions of Ukraine. The Youth Movement Journal in 1931 presented a series of articles called Chronicle of 1905 Youth Movement. The articles presented a strike of steam-boiler cleaners and Cow's children²¹ (Odesa, May, 1905), a strike of shop-boys (Katerynoslav, July 3-5, 1905), a strike of workers supported by schoolboys (Shostka, December 16, 1905), peasant youth and children strikes (Vaasylivka, Lebedyn District, May 1905) etc.²² There were a great many youth strikes a few years after: adolescent glass workers' strike supported by 1600 13-to-16-year-olds (April 26, 1912), Yakovlev's printer's devils' strike (November 5, 1915), 1st Kyiv Jewelry apprentices' strike (1915)²³.

The same type was represented by children's socialist clubs. The first one in Soviet Russia appeared in Kostroma in November 1917 with about a hundred children membership, and in some months there were 11 suchlike clubs in Kostroma quickly spreading to other cities and villages. According to their statutes all the clubs were targeted at socialist politics.

As it turned out they were predecessors of the pioneers' organizations that started in 1923. In spring 1920 after 9th Russian Communist Party congress decision about 'mobilization of the masses to the labour front' children supported adults by forming Youth Labour Armies and Children Labour Armies. Members of the Youth Communist League also the faced the task 'to fight at the labour front', but as they were already 'fighting' at their regular place of employment they could only join in at weekends. There were Youth and Children's Labour Armies headquarters in Kyiv, Poltava, Kharkiv and other cities. Bigger organisations in Kyiv and Kharkiv counted up to 1,000 members, smaller ones (like in Poltava) – up to 500 members²⁴. They were engaged in voluntary unpaid work on days off (the so called «subotniks») carrying wood, cleaning tracks, streets, demolishing ruins etc. This way they acquired some experience of work for the community²⁵. Organizational structure rested on two key principles. On the one hand, it was grounded on democracy in everyday life, self-management and independence. On the other hand, it was based on military order and strict discipline, controlled by commanders and labour instructors. Though the work outcomes were quite low, such organizations had a great potential for political socialization. As a result, they were supervised by

²¹ Cow was their employer's nickname.

²² Vakker, *Detskaya kommunisticheskaya organizatsiya yunyh pionerov im V. I. Lenina v Ukrainskoy SSR (pervoye desiatiletiye sushchestvovaniya 1922-1932 gg.)*, cit., pp. 27-29.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-31.

²⁴ V.A. Kudinov, *Bolshiy zabyty malenkiy grazhdan* [Big cares small citizens], Moscow, Molodaya Gvardiya, 1990, p. 47.

²⁵ V.V. Khizhniakov, *Kooperatsiya v shkole* [Cooperation at school], Moscow, Tsentralnoye Tovarishchestvo Kooperativnoye Izdatelstvo, 1925, p. 38.

members of the Youth Communist League²⁶. When Polish troops entered Kyiv Youth and Children's Labour Armies were dismissed²⁷.

Even though they proved children's aspiration for better life, desire to help adults in introducing revolutionary ideals. They also proved that if children realize social importance of their work they can be well organized with the aid of games, air of romance, and rituals.

Children's communist movement

Another typology group was formed by children's communist movement – children's communist groups engaged in building 'new communist culture'²⁸. They were communist unions named by Spartacus, Children's Communist Party, Children's Proletarian Culture Organization [Proletkult], Young Pioneers Sports Club, Sowing Committee [Posivkom], Children's International, Children Deputies Council etc.

Children's Communist Party as well as Children's Proletarian Culture Organization [Proletkult] were initiated by Tula Regional Society for Proletarian Culture in February 1919. They aimed at educating children of workers of weapons and sugar plants, as well as helping them survive in the time of starvation. The main purpose of Children's Proletarian Culture Organization was «to breed a proper communist devoted to the working class matter, to foster a brave, fearless, persistent campaigner for the revolution»²⁹. The Organization was rapidly growing: in 1919 there were 800 members while in 1920 there were more than 3,000. In spring 1919 it gave start to Children's Communist Party publishing its own newspaper called Children's Proletkult. The Party resembled the adult one in everything: in meetings, reports, political classes, reading communist literature etc. But it soon became quite evident that the initiative with no romance, with the ideals that were too far from real life changes was exhausted. In their turn, adults were annoyed by the children intruding into political and economic life. As a result, on December 15, 1920 Children's Communist Party was dismissed, as well as Children's Proletkult 8 months later³⁰.

Sowing Committees (the so-called Posivkoms) were initially organized for helping to sow seeds in orphanages. But in process of doing it they united

²⁶ Mironov, *Iz istorii detskogo dvizheniya*, cit., p. 32.

²⁷ Kudinov, *Bolshiye zaboty malenkikh grazhdan*, cit., p. 47.

²⁸ *Partiya, komsomol i detskoye dvizheniye: sbornik* [Party, Young communist League and Children's movement: selection of papers], Moscow, Molodaya Gvardiya, 1990, p. 35.

²⁹ Kudinov, *Bolshiye zaboty malenkikh grazhdan*, cit., p. 41.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-47.

politically minded children who were interested in communist literature, thus turning into political organizations.

Ukrainian Scout Organizations

One more typology group embraced Ukrainian Scout Organizations (the so-called Plasts), that started in 1911 in Western Ukraine on the bases of secret circles at Lviv Grammar School. In Central Ukraine they developed from Young Cossacks secret organization called Zaporizhzhia Sich in Kamyanets-Podilsky Theological Seminary in 1895³¹.

In Russian Empire the first scout organizations appeared in 1909 and by 1917 there were up to 120 unions with 20,000 members³². Ukrainian researcher of the scout movement V. Okarynskyi who had a chance to interview eyewitnesses of its emerging states that the first Ukrainian scout group that dates back to 1909 was in Bakhmut District in Katerynoslav Region. He states:

Grammar schools and professional colleges students, as well as working class children might be its members unlike Russian scout organizations that were elite in their character. With World War 1 outburst Ukrainian scouting got Russian imperial manner³³. Classical activities like different excursions, trips, walking tours, helping people in need still remained. In 1915 in Kyiv there were two organizations of the kind: Young Scouts Brigade of Kyiv Educational District [Druzhyna Yunykh Razviedchikov Kiyevskago Uchebnago Okruga] and the First Kyiv Young Scouts Detachment [Pervyi Kiyevskiy Otriad Yunykh Razviedchikov]. Besides, O. Anokhin's textbook titled *Young Scout Companion* [Suputnyk Yunogo Rozvidnyka] was published in Kyiv in 1915. It was followed by emerging Girl Scouts organization with the principal activities dealing with raising children, culinary, housekeeping etc. Boy and Girl Scout Movement spread to Odesa, Katerynoslav, Oleksandriv, Kharkiv, Zhytomyr, Katerynodar, Chernihiv, Bila Tserkva, Vinnytsia, Kanev and other cities. Soon scouting became school-based reaching its peak in 1917-1920, that is in the time of Ukrainian People's Republic.

All in all in 1917-1920 there were nearly 150 cultural and educational periodicals out of which 56 were youth and 12 – scout-oriented. The published materials gave evidence to reinforce the importance of youth organizations for political socialization³⁴.

³¹ V.M. Okarynskyi, *Ukrainskyi skautskyi rukh (1911-1944 rr.)* [Ukrainian Scout Movement], PhD diss., Kyiv University, 2001, p. 38.

³² Aliyeva, *Stanovleniye i razvitiye otechestvennogo detskogo dvizheniya kak subyekta vospitatelnogo prostranstva*, cit., p. 60.

³³ Okarynskyi, *Ukrainskyi skautskyi rukh (1911-1944 rr.)*, cit., p. 40.

³⁴ Y.N. Sorochinskaya, *Detskoye dvizheniye v sovremennom obshchestve: uch. posobiye*

Nevertheless, in October 1919 scouting was blamed for bourgeois ideas and being apolitical, and liquidated in 1920, though some brigades lasted 2-3 years after that.

Conclusions

The article has presented the roots of the children's movement as they were described in Russian and Ukrainian research in soviet period, as well as some new ideas of its emerging which can be attributed to modern authors. The objective factors of children's organizations emerging have been shown at different angles. Different ways of children's organizations classification have been paid attention to with the activity-related one being chosen for their further characteristics. Thus, cultural and educational children's movement, children's organizations supporting socialist ideas, children's communist movement, and scout movement were presented through their main activities. Each group functioning was a bright picture of the way children's organizations were used to satisfy the adults' need in changing political order. Nevertheless, once children became autonomous and creative, they couldn't be kept under control, and as a result, the organizations stopped getting assistance from adults, and later were prohibited.

So, along with soviet ideas came the monopoly of two main children's and youth organizations – Young Pioneers and Young Communist League that brought up several generations of Soviet people, believing in communist ideals, ready to accept totalitarian regime, resistant to changes and development. Non-communist ideas together with multiple pluralist non-governmental organizations went underground and abroad along with few protesters and emigrants.