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MAKING NEW SOVIET CHILDREN: EVGENII RADIN AND THE
TRANSFORMATION OF CHILDHOOD IN REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

BY

Temirlan Tileubek

NU Student Number: 201381528

APPROVED

BY

Dr. Elliott Bowen

ON

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Signature of Principal Thesis Adviser

In Agreement with Thesis Advisory Committee

Second Adviser: Dr. Simon Pawley

External Reader: Dr. Andy Byford

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Abstract

In the last couple of decades, the concept of the New Soviet Man and Woman has been drawing the attention of scholars, who examined this concept from different ideological and institutional perspectives. However, the place of children in this ideological project has not been fully explored, yet the propaganda of the “New Soviet Man” encompassed not only men and women but also, children. This study examines the process of upbringing healthy and energetic Soviet children through analysis of Evgenii Radin’s works, the head of the Department for the Protection of Children’s and Adolescents’ Health, who was actively engaged in the promotion of the forest schools. The forest schools were medical and educational facilities established after the Revolution and located at the outskirts of the cities or near the forests, where children’s tenure lasted for the period of six months. Radin considered the forest schools as a radical alternative to the secondary schools because they entailed “total” control over the lives of the Soviet children for medical and pedagogical experts employed at the forest schools. The isolation of the forest schools provided an opportunity to nurture and educate children in a new environment, in which children were exempt from the factors of external interventions. Through forest schools, Radin tried to nurture The New Soviet Children by inculcating them a sense of collectivism and ensuring their harmonic development, which perfectly aligned with the communist ideology. However, by studying Radin’s works holistically, we find that his interests in the process of upbringing healthy children goes back to the imperial period, when he was involved in the survey that studies the factors that caused disenchantment among students of the higher educational institutions. The examination of Radin’s analysis of this survey demonstrate his criticism expressed towards traditional secondary educational institutions, the hostile environment of which negatively affected the child’s personality, led to his subsequent alienation from society and even to suicide. Radin proposed his own reforms the essence of

which ensured children's harmonic development and inculcation of collectivism that would contribute to the process of upbringing healthy children. Hence, we can see that the identical concepts stood at the basis of the process of upbringing healthy children in two different historical periods. Through examination of Radin's both pre- and post-Revolutionary works and interests, this study challenges the originality of the concept of The New Soviet Child, proposed by Radin on the pages of his brochures. This study also offers a glimpse into the functioning, schedule and subsequent fate of the forest schools in Radin's works, the overlooked topic in the historiography of the Soviet educational system. After 1925, Radin became less enthusiastic about the forest schools and appealed to a wider audience of the Pioneers, the *vozhaty* (pedagogues in Pioneer camps) and the peasants. Hence, by delving into Radin's post-1925 works, this study will try to find out the causes of such sudden shift and see the extent to which the legacy of the forest schools lived on in his post-1925 works.

Introduction

In 1919, Evgenii Radin and I.E.Maizel' published *The Forest School and Outdoor School*, a brochure which introduced its reader to the forest schools (outdoor schools), medical and educational facilities established for children suffering from tuberculosis.¹ The pages of this brochure were filled with descriptions of the schedule of the forest schools, methods and disciplines employed there and accompanied with a number of illustrations that demonstrated children attending outdoor classes, resting after lunch and doing handicrafts.² In comparison to the ordinary Soviet secondary schools, the forest schools were located at the outskirts of the cities or near the forests, where children's tenure lasted for a period of six months.³ As a part of the schedule, children were introduced to the physical labor and activities, principles of hygiene, sanitation and outdoor lessons. The location of the forest schools and methods and discipline implemented there enabled medical and pedagogical experts to have full control over the process of upbringing children, monitor and record results of certain activities on children's health. Most importantly, methods and disciplines employed in the schedule of the forest schools taught children to work and act as a unified collective, thereby inculcating a sense of collectivism and ensured their harmonic development. This brochure and the number of other Radin's post-Revolutionary works present him as a figure heavily invested in the process of upbringing healthy Soviet Children. When this brochure was published, Radin was already occupying a position of the head of the Department for the Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health under the People's Commissariat for Public Health (Narkomzdrav) for a one year and his Department was actively engaged in the processes of improving the

¹ E.P. Radin and I.E.Maizel', *Lesnaia shkola i shkola na otkrytom vozdukh* [The Forest School and Outdoor School] (Moscow, 1919).

² Radin and I.E.Maizel', *Lesnaia shkola*, 9-21.

³ Ibid., 20.

health of the Soviet children through establishment of institutional facilities, such as the forest schools, school-sanatoriums, publishing books and conducting lectures on the issues of upbringing healthy children.⁴ It was a significant professional growth for Radin, who was working as a senior physician in the Red Cross hospital for mentally ill officers in Moscow prior to the Revolution.⁵ In the pre-Revolutionary period, Radin was mostly interested in the students' mental health and even participated in the survey, which studied factors that caused disenchantment among students of the higher educational institutions.⁶ At the first glance, Radin's both pre- and post-Revolutionary professional interests might present him as two different figures, whose works focused on different aspects of the well-being of the Russian youth. However, a profound and holistic scrutiny of Radin's works provide us different perspectives on his biography, interests and his involvement in the process of upbringing healthy children.

Evgenii Petrovich Radin was born in Ranenburg (presently known as Chaplygin) in 1872. By the age of 11, he became an orphan and was raised by his older brother Leonid Radin. While studying at the University of Petersburg, Radin became involved in political activism and Kremmentsov, in his brief biography of Radin, stressed that he had closely established relations with the Bolsheviks before the Revolution.⁷ He received his medical degree at the University of Berlin. Between 1903 and 1914, Evgenii Radin worked as a psychiatrist in the Panteleimon Mental Hospital in Petersburg and as a school-sanitary physician at the Commercial school in Lesnoi. During World War I, Radin occupied a

⁴ E.P. Radin, *Chto delaet sovetskaia vlast' dlia okhrany zdorov'ia detei* [What the Soviet Government Does for the Protection of Children's Health] (Moscow, 1920), 6-7.

⁵ G.S. Skogoreva, "Radin Evgenii Petrovich (1872-1939)". <http://lounb.ru/calendar/all-dates/radin-evgenij-petrovich-1872-1939>. Accessed April 27, 2020.

⁶ E.P. Radin, *Dushevnoe nastroyenie sovremennoi uchashcheisia molodezhi po dannym Peterburgskoi obshchestvencheskoi ankety 1912 goda* [Spiritual Mood of the Modern Students According to All-Student Petersburg Survey of 1912] (St. Petersburg: Karabasnikov Publishing House, 1913).

⁷ Nikolai Kremmentsov, *With and Without Galton: Vasilii Florinskii and the fate of Eugenics in Russia* (Open Book Publisher, 2018), 277.

position of a senior physician at the Red Cross hospital for mentally ill officers in Moscow.⁸ In pre-Revolutionary period, Radin was an author of several works, such as *Spiritual Mood of the Modern Students According to All-Student Petersburg Survey of 1912*, *The Tasks of Neuropsychiatric Hygiene of Teaching and Upbringing of a Child in Secondary School*, *The Issues of Sex in Modern Literature and Ill Nerves*, *Futurism and Madness*, etc.⁹

In the secondary scholarship, Radin is mostly known for a number of his pre-Revolutionary works, such as *Spiritual Mood of the Modern Students According to All-Student Petersburg Survey of 1912* and *Futurism and Madness*. Elena Minkova was one of a few scholars that discussed Radin's survey in the context of increasing studies on the "emotional state of children and adolescents" and the development of pedology in Russia, where she found that survey illustrated that the majority of Russia's young population were disappointed in their lives.¹⁰ While A.B. Liarskii's brief section on Radin's survey predominantly criticized his and his colleagues' subjective approach in composing certain parts of the survey.¹¹ The state of despair, crisis and gloom that haunted the Russian generation after the Revolution of 1905 also resonated in his works. Glišić, in her article on Russian futurism, mentioned "strong Russian tradition of turning to the arts for "for "solutions to the problems that could not be solved by religious, social, and scientific authorities"", since it was believed that "art and literature were directly responsible for

⁸ Skogoreva, "Radin Evgenii Petrovich".

⁹ E.P. Radin, *Futurizm i bezumie* [Futurism and madness] (St. Petersburg: Karabasnikov Publishing House, 1914).

E.P. Radin, *Problema pola v sovremennoi literature i bol'nye nervy* [The issues of sex in modern literature and ill nerves] (St. Petersburg: Montvid Publishing House, 1910)

E.P. Radin, *Zadachi nervno-psikhiatricheskoi gigeny obuchenii i vospitania rebenka v srednei shkole* [The tasks of neuropsychiatric hygiene of teaching and upbringing of a child in secondary school] (1910).

Radin, *Dushevnoe nastroyenie sovremennoi uchashcheisia molodezhi*.

¹⁰ Elena Minkova, "Unfulfilled Ambitions of Russian Pedologists (At the Turn of the 20th Century)," *Research in Psychology and Behavioral Sciences* 1, no. 3 (2013): 33, DOI:10.12691/rpbs-1-3-1.

¹¹ A.B. Liarskii, *Prostite, dorigie papa i mama* [Sorry dear dad and mom] (St.Petersburg: Kriga, 2017), 148-53.

mental wellbeing of the youth”.¹² The same pattern could be observed in Radin’s turn towards avant-garde in his own quest for solution to the current crisis. In *Futurism and Madness*, which was published in 1914, Radin compared art produced by mentally ill patients and futurists in order to see if the negative influence of the decadent literature could be replaced by more promising and optimistic futurism.¹³ Along with this, Radin was also trying to find out whether claims made by anti-futurist critiques regarding mental conditions of their authors were true or not.¹⁴ Radin’s less critical approach to the analysis of futurist art also illustrated the extent to which the author was concerned with mental well-being of Russian youth.

Krementsov’s work on the history of eugenics in Russia made some advancements in exploring post-Revolutionary interests and activities of Evgenii Radin. He discussed Radin’s contributions in the “creation of the Bolshevik system of physical culture and physical education” and the field of protection of children and adolescents’.¹⁵ Along with this, he also underlined Radin’s earliest ties with the Bolsheviks and involvement in the Russian Eugenics Society. However, most of the discussion of Radin’s professional post-Revolutionary interests took place in the context of Krementsov’s discussion of the figure of Mikhail Volotskoi, a Soviet eugenicist who contributed several of his writings to the published proceedings of the Institute of Physical Culture, edited by Radin.¹⁶ Nevertheless, we can see that various historians attempted to study Radin’s works with regard to certain

¹² Iva Glišić, “The Craze and Madness of Russian Futurism,” *Matica Srpska Journal of Fine Arts*, no. 45 (2017): 309.

¹³ Alexei Kurbanovsky, “Freud, Tatlin, and the Tower: How Soviet Psychoanalysts Might Have Interpreted the Monument to the Third International,” *Slavic Review* 67, no. 4 (2008): 892-906. Glišić, “The Craze and Madness”.

¹⁴ Radin, *Futurism i bezumie*, 46-8.

¹⁵ Krementsov, *With and without*, 277-78.

¹⁶ Ibid.

historical contexts of both pre- and post-Revolutionary periods, but none of them approached his professional interests and works holistically.

The examination of Radin's analysis of the survey of 1912 presented in *Spiritual Mood of the Modern Students According to All-Student Petersburg Survey of 1912* illustrates his earliest interests on the issues of proper upbringing of children in the secondary educational institutions and demonstrates his critical attitude towards the hostile environment of the schools. The concluding section of the analysis shows Radin's concerns on the issues of treatment of children in the schools, especially aggressive teacher-children relations which, according to him, negatively affected children's personality and led to their alienation from the society, which could lead to suicide.¹⁷ In order to solve this issue, Radin proposed a number of reforms that would enhance teacher-children relations, focus on the development of children's personality, ensure their harmonic development, facilitate their involvement in the collective and fight the issue of individualism.¹⁸ However, after the Revolution, Radin became actively interested in the programs of the forest schools, institutional facilities established after the Revolution that educated and nurtured children in isolated territories and transformed them into The New Soviet Children by implementing methods and disciplines like, physical culture and labor, hygiene and sanitation, in their schedule. At first glance, this transition between professional interests seems abrupt, but if we look deeper into the methods and disciplines employed in the forest schools, than we would be able to see how Radin was also inculcating a sense of collectivism among children through their participation in collective activities and ensuring their harmonic development. However, upbringing of healthy children in the post-Revolutionary period for Radin went under the banner of the Soviet

¹⁷ Radin, *Dushevnoe nastroyenie sovremennoi uchashcheisia molodezhi*, 105-11.

¹⁸ Ibid., 111-13.

ideology, in which he presented Soviet children as the agents of the socialist state. If the core principles employed in the process of upbringing Soviet children in the forest schools were the same as in the pre-Revolutionary period, then to what extent can we consider Radin's upbringing of the Soviet Children through as an original approach and the Soviet project?

In the last couple of decades, the concept of the New Soviet Man and Woman has been drawing the attention of scholars, who examined this concept from different ideological and institutional perspectives. Starks' work has examined the establishment of the new Social order through policies of hygiene, where the state contrasted between "dirt" (which represented disobedience of the Bolshevik rule) and "cleanliness", which did not only emphasize purity of the house but also emphasized physical education too.¹⁹ Grant's chapter on physical education assessed the work done by the state, which tried to promote physical education among the students in order to impose Socialist ideas and create an atmosphere under which Soviet values would be easier to promote. However, the lack of institutional and financial support of physical education in schools that neglected the importance of physical education as a separate course and provision of proper facilities hindered state efforts in transforming children's lives.²⁰ If in both of these sources, we can see that the values and ideals of Socialism was promoted from the top, Kelly's article argues that "new ideals were not simply imposed 'from above'; they were created with the enthusiastic participation of individual Soviet citizens and of key 'collectives', including schools, workplaces and the Komsomol".²¹ We can observe the resonance of the idea of

¹⁹ Tricia Starks, *The Body Soviet: Propaganda, Hygiene, and the Revolutionary State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008).

²⁰ Susan Grant, *Physical Culture and Sport in Soviet Society: Propaganda, Acculturation, and Transformation in the 1920s and 1930s* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 62-5.

²¹ Catriona Kelly, "The New Soviet Man and Woman," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Russian History*, ed. Simon Dixon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).
<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199236701.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199236701-e-024>.

breaking with the past, in Kelly's article too, where men and women were expected to behave according to modern virtues of time management and physical self-denial, and abandon "backward" behaviors, such as smoking, drinking and gambling. Despite the strong propaganda, Kelly argues that people still enjoyed "backward" behavior and were not able to give up their "old" habits. Some people were still sympathetic to Socialist values and worked in factories, but still enjoyed drinking and expressing behaviors that did not conform to propriety.²² Fritzsche and Hellbeck's article elaborates further on the idea of the New Soviet Man and explores the evolution of this concept in the first decades of the Soviet rule.²³ Bardzinski's article discussed creation of the New Soviet Man by examining Soviet punitive institutions, such as GULAG, with regard to eugenics in Russia, where coercive methods were used to "better" Soviet prisoners.²⁴ Therefore, we can see that the creation of the image of the New Soviet Man was a rather complex process and that various scholars studied this concept with regard to different ideas and institutions.

There were a number of scholars who studied the concept of The New Soviet Children, but not all of them challenged or questioned this concept with regard to its originality. Studies conducted by Andy Byford and Susan Grant examined the extent to which the Soviet state was involved in the process of transforming educational institutions in an effort to nurture New Soviet Children.²⁵ Grant's work studied the introduction of physical culture with regard to secondary schools and examined various methods used by the Soviet propaganda to promote images of the New Soviet Children. Byford's work on

²² Kelly, "The New Soviet Man and Woman".

²³ Peter Fritzsche and Jochen Hellbeck, "The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany," in *Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared*, ed. Michael Geyer and Sheila Fitzpatrick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 302-42.

²⁴ Filip Bardzinski, "The Concept of the 'New Soviet Man' As a Eugenic Project: Eugenics in Soviet Russia after World War II," *Ethics in Progress* 4, no.1 (2013): 69-77.

²⁵ Andy Byford, *Science of the Child in Late Imperial and Early Soviet Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
Grant, *Physical Culture and Sport*.

child study in both pre- and post-Revolutionary Russia investigated creation of the new Soviet educational systems that appropriated elements of the pre-Revolutionary institutions, thereby implying that the roots of certain methods utilized in the process of nurturing children, facilities and institutions that were presented as new, were planted in the pre-Revolutionary period.

Most of the scholars who examined the issue of continuation and change in the context of the Revolution of 1917 came to ambivalent conclusions. In their interpretation of the history of Russia both before and after the Revolution, Andy Willimott and Mathias Neumann and David Hoffmann challenged the aspect of revolutionary divide, which radically separated its history on pre- and post-Revolutionary period, situated dividing line at the year of 1917 and suggested to study this issue beyond this division.²⁶ Their studies of Russian history in the pan-European context demonstrated how the emergence of the modern and welfare state already took place in Late Imperial Russia, while some of the Soviet modern initiatives derived their roots from traditional imperial practices. Moreover, John F. Hutchinson and Andy Byford examined the same issue in relation to the organization of centralization of medical administration of the Soviet Union and in their discussion the year of 1917 was not a radical turning point.²⁷ In their narratives, the developments that took place before and after the Revolution cannot be interpreted through the prism of either continuation or change, it was rather a combination of both radical changes and continuation of certain established practices. Especially, Byford's *Science of*

²⁶ David L. Hoffman, "European Modernity and Soviet Socialism in Russian," in *Russian Modernity: Politics, Knowledge, Practices*, ed. David L. Hoffmann and Yanni Kotsonis (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 245-260.

Matthias Neumann and Andy Willimott, "Crossing the divide: Tradition, rupture, and modernity in revolutionary Russia," in *Rethinking the Russian Revolution as Historical Divide*, ed. Matthias Neumann and Andy Willimott (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 1-19.

²⁷ Byford, *Science of the Child*.

John F. Hutchinson, "Who Killed Cock Robin?" in *Health and Society in Revolutionary Russia*, ed. Susan Gross Solomon and John F. Hutchinson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 3-26.

the Child in Late Imperial and Early Soviet Russia presents examples of pre- and post-Revolutionary transformations of educational system, which was founded on pre-Revolutionary experiences of individual medical experts and institutions devoted to child study and were later appropriated by the Soviet regime and presented in new forms.²⁸ The study of Radin's pre-Revolutionary interests in reforming traditional secondary education and involvement with the forest schools after the Revolution of 1917 presents an opportunity to investigate the interests and experiences of this figure through the prism of continuation and change. Therefore, this study will argue that despite the differences in the historical contexts and the style of the rhetoric used in his both pre- and post-Revolutionary works, the main principles that constituted core of Radin's notion of upbringing healthy children, such as the inculcation of a sense of collectivism and harmonic development, persisted in both periods and transcended revolutionary divide.

The first chapter of this thesis will delve into the issue of upbringing children through examination of Radin's both pre- and post-Revolutionary works. Despite the fact that Radin's works were published in two different historical contexts, the essence of the principles that stood at the basis of Radin's concept of upbringing healthy children remained the same. The same principles of inculcation of collectivism and ensuring children's harmonic development guided his pre-Revolutionary reforms and the schedule of the forest schools. However, the form that constituted the basis of Radin's rhetoric in his works and appeals corresponded to the predominant political and ideological rhetoric of the time, especially in his post-1917 works. This chapter will also provide a profound examination of the forest schools, the overlooked topic in the historiography of the Soviet educational system. Radin considered the forest schools as a radical alternative to the secondary schools because they entailed "total" control over the lives of the Soviet

²⁸ Byford, *Science of the Child*, 147-84.

children for medical and pedagogical experts employed at the forest schools and put a child in totally new environment with other children for a prolonged period, which also enhanced the process of improving health of the Soviet children and transformation of their behaviors, since they eliminated the factors of external intervention that would interrupt this process.

The second part of this thesis will focus on analyzing the shift that took place in Radin's works that were published after 1925. After 1925, Radin suddenly became less actively invested in the promotion of the forest schools and instead advocated for the establishment of children's playgrounds. Along with this, Radin's works addressed a wider audience of the Pioneers, the *vozhaty* (Pioneer camp pedagogues) and the inhabitants of the Soviet countryside and provided detailed instructions on the issues of upbringing healthy Soviet children. Due to the lack of financial and institutional support, the state was not able to establish a network of the forest schools throughout the state and decided to establish cheap children's playgrounds. This decision was mentioned in one of the resolutions of the 6th All-Russian Congress on the protection of children's and adolescents' health.²⁹ This resolution was included in one of Radin's 1925 publications and it explains Radin's advocacy of the children's playgrounds in his post-1925 works. Before 1925, institutional facilities, such as the forest schools, ensured improvement of children's health, transformation of their lives and all of the children attending them were under total medical and pedagogical control. After 1925, Radin realized the limited reach of the forest schools and their inability to medicalize the lives of the Soviet children on a massive scale. Instead of continuing the advocacy of the forest schools, Radin decided to decrease their institutional presence and appealed to a wider aforementioned audience, which

²⁹ E.P. Radin. *Itogi i blizhaishie zadachi okhrany zdorov'ia detei i podrostkov* [The results and the nearest tasks for the protection of children's and adolescents' health] (Moscow, 1925), 3.

predominantly did not possess medical expertise on the issues of upbringing healthy children. Hence, Radin attempted to provide as many details as possible in order to ensure that the Soviet people conducted this process properly. However, despite the fact that Radin began to advocate for the children's playgrounds, the methods and disciplines provided in the detailed instructions overwhelmingly resembled the methods and disciplines employed in the schedule of the forest schools. Moreover, despite this shift, the essence of the principles that guided the process of upbringing children, their harmonic development and inculcation of collectivism persisted in Radin's post-1925 works.

Chapter One: Forest Schools

Zhenia's Story

In the early 1920s, an eight-year old Russian boy named Zhenia temporarily moved from his home in Sparrow Hills, Moscow, to a forest school located in Sokol'niki, Moscow. Zhenia came from a family of poor tailors who served poor people and most of their time they had to work hard; prior to this relocation, they lived in a small, dusty house with two rooms, ate poorly and spent most of their time indoors. From an early age, Zhenia learned to help his father, but unfortunately, his parents got ill with tuberculosis and did not have time to take care of Zhenia. By the age of eight, Zhenia also started to wither because he also spent most of his time helping his father. His father was afraid that he also might get sick and after attending an exhibition in the clinic decided to send him to Sokol'niki for medical treatment. After carrying out the examination, the physician found out that Zhenia also had tuberculosis and placed him in a forest school.

In this school, Zhenia discovered his hidden talent for art, made a sketchbook of all the plants that the children gathered in spring and summer and observed how children instead of taking medications were treated with sunbathing and exposure to fresh air.

Physicians taught children how to treat themselves with lessons on hygiene and Zhenia decided to transmit this knowledge to his parents during the weekends. He brought this knowledge to his household and taught parents to work and spend most of their time outdoors. After switching to this new mode of life, his parents started to feel better and they even told him, “Teach us, Zhenia, we will live the way you are living in the forest schools”. Zhenia sent his parents letters and provided them with proper guidance, where he outlined that they had to sleep with open windows, wash their bodies with cold water and work outdoors and even sleep there for couple of hours. After following his guidance, the life of his parents transformed, they easily endured the hardships of the fall and winter and were even able to guard themselves from influenza. They improved their health and the next summer the physician told them that Zhenia had saved them from death and that if Zhenia had not attend the forest school, both he and his parents would have died of tuberculosis.

This story was told in Evgenii Radin and I.E. Maizel’s work, *From Stuffy Classrooms to Fresh Air (Outdoor School)*, which was published in 1925.¹ Whether fictional or not, it is key to our understanding of revolutionary Russian medicine. This story appeared at a time when Soviet propaganda was invested in the process of creating the image of the New Soviet Man – a healthy and strong citizen who would embody the spirit of the Revolution and contribute to the Soviet effort of building a new socialist state. While the construction of this “New Soviet Man” is something that has long attracted historians’ attention, the place of children in this ideological project has not been fully explored, yet the propaganda of the “New Soviet Man” encompassed not only men and women but also, children.² Those who have acknowledged the fact that the USSR saw the

¹ E.P. Radin and I.E. Maizel’, *Iz dushnykh klassov na svezhii vozdukh (Shkola na otkrytom vozdukh)* [From Stuffy Classrooms to Fresh Air (Outdoor School)] (Moscow: Zhizn’ i znanie, 1925).

² Kelly, “The New Soviet Man and Woman.”

education of children as one way to create a “New Soviet Man” have chiefly focused on efforts to reform the curriculum of ordinary schools and kindergartens.³ The forest schools championed by Radin were a model of new methods of upbringing children that represented a radical alternative to traditional secondary school institutions. Traditional secondary school institutions had to be gradually replaced by the forest schools, since Radin himself argued, “Current schools has to be replaced by the outdoor schools”.⁴

Zhenia’s story is an evocative illustration of Radin’s efforts to demonstrate the importance of improving children’s health through forest schools. In comparison to the ordinary secondary schools, these schools were geographically isolated (located near forests or at the outskirts of the cities) and filled with both pedagogical and medical experts. The isolated nature of the forest schools provided an opportunity for medical experts to assert full control over children’s lives through its strict and well-coordinate schedule. Children, like in Zhenia’s example, were sent to the forest schools, placed in the new environment and introduced to the various methods of teaching and disciplines, such as physical culture and labor, hygiene and sanitation. The combination of the these practices (hygiene and sanitation) and discipline (physical culture) would, Radin argued, contribute to the ongoing process of making The New Soviet Children by making them healthy and energetic Soviet citizens ready to engage in the process of building a socialist state, which faced political, economic and social crisis in the early 1920s.⁵ Hence, the isolated nature and strictly controlled schedule of the forest schools along with aforementioned methods contributed in the process of shaping and upbringing The New Soviet Children, who, as in the example of Zhenia, were expected to bring these newly

Peter Fritzsche and Jochen Hellbeck, “The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany,” 302-42.

³ Grant, *Physical Culture and Sport*.

⁴ Radin, *Iz dushnykh klassov*, 22.

⁵ Ibid.

E.P. Radin, *Okhrana zdorov’ia detei i podrostkov i sotsial’naia evgenika* [The Protection of Children’s and Adolescents’ Health and Social Eugenics] (State Publishing House, 1923).

obtained knowledge to their communities to transform lives of the Soviet citizens. Since the forest schools, as in the example of Zhenia, were successful in nurturing and educating healthy Soviet children, Radin argued for the establishment of the extensive network of the forest schools throughout the state and transformation of the secondary schools into the forest schools.

Radin's interest in proper upbringing of children and methods that would ensure its implementation had pre-Revolutionary roots. He published his own analysis of the survey of 1912, expressing his concern over the existing state of affairs in the secondary educational institutions that had adverse impact on children's moral and physical health.⁶ As a response, Radin proposed his own reforms that focused on ensuring proper development of children's personality and their harmonic and versatile development that would help to encourage the sense of collectivism among children and stop their alienation from the communities, which could lead to suicides.⁷ Several survey respondents voiced their concerns regarding their own negative experiences in schools, which consisted of the hostility of the school environment and teachers' disrespectful attitudes towards children's personality.⁸ Hence, provision of harmonic development of children through introduction of various methods and measures, such as diversification of the school curriculum, physical education and activities, involvement of children in student clubs etc. would contribute to the development of their personalities and inculcate of a sense of belonging to the community. These principles of ensuring harmonic development and inculcation of a sense of collectivism were at the essence of Radin's proposed pre-Revolutionary reforms.⁹ They would help schools to transform its hostile environment and contribute to the process

⁶ Radin, *Dushevnoe nastroyenie sovremennoi uchashcheisia molodezhi*, 111.

⁷ Ibid., 111-13

⁸ Ibid., 98-9.

⁹ Ibid., 111-13.

of proper upbringing of children along with ensuring well-being of their physical and mental state.

The essence of these reforms found their resonance in Radin's post-Revolutionary works regarding the forest school and the upbringing of The New Soviet Children, in which Radin suggested transformation of ordinary secondary schools into the forest schools.¹⁰ However, in comparison with the Imperial Period, when Radin's criticism and concerns addressed hostile environment of school with predominant focus on mental and physical well-being of children, social environment and teacher-children relations, in the Soviet period, his concerns addressed the issues of environment in schools, but with relation to its physical limitations and sanitary conditions, such as stuffiness and dustiness of classrooms.¹¹ Therefore, the form of Radin's criticism expressed towards secondary educational institutions changed, but the core principles that guided the process of upbringing healthy children maintained their essence and transcended revolutionary divide. As Byford stated in his work on mobilization of Soviet education system, "the initial mobilization of professional and scientific expertise focused on the child entailed, firstly, the systematic appropriation of already existing establishments of child study and the enlistment of experts associated with these."¹² Byford thoroughly discussed imperial supplementary and auxiliary facilities for children's development and education that were shortly appropriated and renamed under the Soviet regime, which demonstrates how Soviet institutions, in reality, were not totally new discoveries, but rather remnants of the imperial legacy restructured and transformed under the new political regime. Radin's case presents

¹⁰ Radin, *Lesnaia shkola*.
Radin, *Iz dushnykh klassov*.

¹¹ Ibid.,
Radin, *Chto delaet Sovetskaya vlast'*, 3-4.

¹² Byford. *Science of the Child*, 151.

us an opportunity for studying this aspect of the Soviet history through an individual example.

Survey of 1912

In 1912, Radin, who was already working in St. Petersburg, initiated a survey among students of the higher educational institutions. The results and analysis of the survey were published a year later in 1913 and as Radin explained in the introductory part, it was produced by the commission for the struggle against school suicides, whose secretary at that time was Dr. Gordon and who also took part in production of this survey.¹³ The survey was aimed to accomplish several things, to study disenchantment, its causes among students and factors that caused this disenchantment (public or personal). Even though Radin's survey did not directly study suicides and focused on students of higher educational institutes, the issue of upbringing children in families and schools was one of the components of its analysis.

The late 19th and early 20th centuries denoted an increasing attention paid to the childhood and their well-being, and Russia was no exception. Independent specialists' observations regarding the increasing numbers of suicides among the population of Russia in comparison to the suicide rates in the Western Europe took place at the same time when Russian educational institutions were facing pressure for change.¹⁴ Issues stemming from chaotic management of schools to the intellectual narrowness of the secondary education demonstrated specialists like, hygienists and psychologists that traditional secondary educational system had to be modified. They "emphasized the excessiveness of the demands made on schoolchildren, and pernicious consequences of these in terms of

¹³ Radin, *Dushevnoe nastroyenie sovremennoi uchashcheisia molodezhi*, 1.

¹⁴ Catriona Kelly, *Children's World: Growing Up in Russia, 1890-1991* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 29.

physical and mental strain”.¹⁵ Secondary schools were blamed for the occurrences of suicides among children and especially harsh treatment, which they received there from pedagogues. By looking at the Western countries, like England, specialists emphasized the difference in how a child was treated and educated in their educational system, which “focused on the individual pupil, his harmonic physical and mental development”.¹⁶ At the same time, alternative methods of educating children began to emerge in Russia. Progressive commentators were advocating for more interactive methods of education, where children were taken to “excursions into the surrounding environment...” and groups of enthusiasts even established “free schools” that did not have a timetable.¹⁷ On the other hand, the government began to appeal for modernizing approaches to the traditional education, where Count P.N. Ignat’ev, the Minister of Education, created special commission that had to come up with detailed version of new syllabus, which would divide secondary education into two, 3 and 4 year stages and the syllabus of the former one would replace subjects like, physics and chemistry with physical education, drawing and singing.¹⁸

Radin’s propositions on the issues of the traditional secondary educational system, expressed in his survey, demonstrated his concern over an individual upbringing of children in schools and their subsequent assimilation into the community. Radin, by referring to Durkheim’s theory of suicide, believed that disruption of child’s relations with his peers and his alienation from the society could make him mentally unstable and lowered his mood, hence causing disenchantment in the later periods or even suicide.¹⁹ Suicides among the younger generation became a substantial issue for the state and the

¹⁵ Kelly, *Children’s World*, 32.

¹⁶ Susan K. Morrissey, *Suicide and the Body Politics in Imperial Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 323-27.

¹⁷ Kelly, *Children’s World*, 32-3.

¹⁸ Ibid., 34.

¹⁹ Radin, *Dushevnoe nastroyenie sovremennoi uchashcheisia molodezhi*, 106.

statistics provided by Dr. Grigorii Gordon and his team of independent specialists based on newspaper reports discovered that suicides among the secondary-school pupils constituted almost half of the cases.²⁰ Issue with suicides induced a Russian medical community to take actions and in 1910, Russian Society for the Preservation of the People's Health created a special commission for the struggle against school suicides. This commission had to accomplish two tasks: conduct scientific study of suicides and come up with prophylactic measures.²¹ This commission produced a survey initiated by Radin and it partially explains why he expressed his criticism of the secondary educational institutions and proposed his own reforms in its analysis. The analysis of Radin's survey consisted of an examination of two factors that caused disenchantment among students: public and personal and results demonstrated that public factors (such as breaking contacts with family, school, etc.) prevailed over personal factors – 70.7% over 29.3%.²² Radin stated that disruption of relations with society caused a bad mood, mental instability and pessimism in an individual and for him, integration of an individual into community was solution that prevented this disruption, which could lead to suicide.²³ As a part of the solution to this issue, he referred to Durkheim's theory of suicide, which stated that individual's firm integration into the community and devotion to the achievement of the common goal prevented an individual from committing suicide, since the realization of the common goal presided over personal interests of an individual. Moreover, an individual received a strong source of support from this community in times of hardship.²⁴ In order to combat individualism among the students, Radin proposed to inculcate *obshchestvennost'* to children from an earlier age and according to him it was "a task of properly organized

²⁰ Morrissey, *Suicide and the Body Politics*, 319-22.

²¹ Ibid., 322.

²² Radin, *Dushevnoe nastroyenie sovremennoi uchashcheisia molodezhi*, 105-6.

²³ Ibid., 106.

²⁴ Ibid., 106-107.

secondary school”.²⁵ Hence, if we take into account Radin’s justification of his proposition through Durkheim’s theory of suicide, it becomes clear that *obshchestvennost’*, for Radin, implied an individual’s active engagement in certain community or being a part of a collective that often shared the same goals. Most likely, inculcation of *obshchestvennost’* also implied an individual’s active participation in public, political and social spheres of life. If so, what was the essence of this solution and what was the role of the upbringing of children in properly organized secondary school?

In his assessment of the moral impact of the secondary schools on students during their childhood, Radin tried to outline its positive and negative impacts. Results demonstrated that only 13.7% of students felt positive impact of the secondary school in developing a moral sense, while 44% of children experienced negative impact.²⁶ Assessments of moral impacts of secondary schools were followed with quotes from students, who described it as an enemy of pupils. For example, one student emphasized how the school imposed feelings of hatred among children; others described the school as a harsh, ruthless enemy and others still underscored the unfair and brutal environment of the schools. However, there was one common ground among quotes provided by Radin: every student described teachers in a negative way. Some of them told how it was useless to express your own personality, since teachers would try to undermine it, others were stressed by high levels of supervision and emphasized teacher’s laziness.²⁷ Therefore, the school environment and the way in which children were brought up in schools were the main issues for Radin, which resulted in their subsequent alienation from society and decline of their mental health.

²⁵ Ibid., 110.

²⁶ Ibid., 98.

²⁷ Ibid., 98-99.

Radin's proposition of inculcation of the *obshchestvennost'* stemmed from the aforementioned issues related to the hostility of the school environment and teachers' vile attitude towards children. In order to encourage inculcation of *obshchestvennost'*, Radin proposed reforms in the school teaching and ethical system that would eliminate the issue of children's individualism and factors that facilitated it among children. Firstly, Radin argued how the spirit of the school and its ethical agenda was built on the fear of children before their elderly superiors that resulted in their oppression and decline of their mental state.²⁸ He emphasized the importance of mutual respect that had to be expressed between the teacher and the child. Especially teachers had to demonstrate their respect for children in order to shun from suppressing their personality and creating a hostile environment, in which children were oppressed and felt themselves alienated and discouraged. Next, along with teachers' respect towards the personality of the child in schools, Radin proposed the methods, which would ensure harmonic and versatile development of the children, which would further facilitate development of their personality. These methods consisted of introducing new classes taught in schools, such as arts, geography along with history and natural sciences, while the extracurricular measures included introduction of active games and clubs (music, science, sport, etc.).²⁹ These methods were also supplemented by introduction of physical upbringing of children through physical exercises, gymnastics and walking, the methods, according to Radin, not widely introduced yet in Russia.³⁰ Hence, introduction of new curricular and extracurricular methods and measures would on the one hand, facilitate development of children's harmonic development, while on the other hand, ensure their active engagement in social activities with groups of other children. Radin suggested schools to provide children a sense of independence in these clubs and to act

²⁸ Ibid, 111.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid, 112.

according to their own initiatives.³¹ Therefore, inculcation of *obshchestvennost'* among children consisted of engaging children into physical activities that would help to bond them together as a group and gathering children into clubs according to their common interests by introducing classes on art and science, where children would be given more freedom to act according to their will, thereby also inculcating a sense of self-organization. It is not specified what types of games had to be introduced, but often most of the physical and active games encourage communication and connection among children. It is interesting to observe how Radin's reforms and propositions were built on the concept of acknowledging individuality of the child in schools in their relations with their teachers, where every individual child's personality had to be respected, while on the other hand, manifestation of such attitude would liberate them from the mental and physical oppression they experienced and acted as a precondition to the subsequent inculcation of the sense of collectivism.

Moreover, it is also interesting to see how harmonic and versatile development of the child through physical education also would help to enhance not only children's physical health, but mental health too and would keep them away from committing suicides. Radin himself included the quote, which stated that "The proper physical upbringing of the youth (by school) would make human more adapted to life and capable of enduring various earthly hardships".³² The following sentence of the quote also emphasized that proper physical upbringing ensured both physical and mental well-being – "a healthy and strong body makes a healthy and strong spirit" ("*v zdorovom i krepkom tele – zdorovyi i sil'nyi dukh*"), which connoted that if person was physically healthy, his mental health was also in a good and healthy condition.³³ Hence, Radin's appeal to this

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 113.

³³ Ibid., 113.

quote was also an integral part of his proposition that would ensure proper upbringing of children's personality, since harmonic development of his mental and physical well-being also stabilized his mental state and prevented him from committing suicides.

Overall, we can see that the essence of Radin's solutions to the issues pertaining to the traditional secondary education system consisted of struggling against the individualism, which was predominantly caused by the hostile treatment of children in the schools and incompetence of teachers' behaviors and attitudes expressed toward children. By suggesting changes in the teaching methods and ethical agenda of the schools, Radin hoped to enhance children's personality and ensure their proper harmonic upbringing in order to improve their physical and mental well-being. By overcoming the issues with teacher-children relations and introducing new curricular and extracurricular methods, Radin hoped to ensure harmonic upbringing of children, inculcation of a sense of collectivism and increase their willingness to become a part of the school community. Such propositions might not present Radin as a strong opponent of the traditional secondary educational system, but still underscored his discontent towards the existing order of things. Did the same essence of Radin's proposed reforms constituted the part of Radin's post-Revolutionary works or did his approaches to the issues of the traditional secondary education change after the Revolution of 1917?

Evgenii Radin and the Department for the Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health. Creation of People's Commissariat of Public Health

Right after the Revolution, Radin, who was working as senior physician of the Red Cross hospital for mentally ill officers, made rapid professional progress. In 1917, head of the school-sanitary department of People's Commissariat of Enlightenment (Narkompros),

V. M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina) invited Radin to work at her department.³⁴ One year later, after her death, Radin would become its head, while the department would be renamed the Department for the Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health and placed under the auspices of the People's Commissariat of Public Health (Narkomzdrav).³⁵ Before going into a discussion of the department and Radin's role in it, we have to understand how did Radin suddenly became the head of a department of Narkomzdrav.

After the October Revolution, Russian medicine underwent critical changes, which aimed at the centralization of medical administration and resulted in the signing of the decree that established Narkomzdrav on 18 July 1918. However, the idea of the creation of a body that would centralize medical administration dates back to the late Tsarist period. The tsarist government introduced professional health care and medical developments.³⁶ However, the government's intervention into the field of medicine did not result in the creation of a unified health care system, since both internal and external factors hindered the development of such body. Internally, it was inhibited by the number of state and local agencies and institutions involved in administration of health, starting from various ministries of education, finance, internal affairs etc. to the Medical Council, chief medical inspectors and others. Externally, the educated public often chose autonomy over centralized control and a vivid example of this tendency was the Pirogov Society, the union of Russian physicians. These factors explain why the attempts by G.E. Rein, head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs' Medical Council, to introduce a ministry of health in 1914

³⁴ Skogoreva, "Radin Evgenii Petrovich".

³⁵ Radin, *Chto delaet sovetskaia vlast'*, 13.

³⁶ Neil Weissman, "Origins of Soviet health administration: Narkomzdrav, 1918–28," in *Health and Society in Revolutionary Russia*, ed. Susan Gross Solomon and John F. Hutchinson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 98.

and 1916 were dismissed, since it met immediate criticism from both the Pirogov Society and the state bureaucracy.³⁷

After the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks launched a process aimed at the transformation of health care, as “the new authorities placed medicine” in their hands by way of creating the Military Revolutionary Committee.³⁸ A medical-sanitary section was created as part of this institution in order to help the Red Guards with the mobilization of medical resources and its head was M.I. Barsukov.³⁹ Other Bolshevik physicians joined him and one of them was V.M. Bonch-Bruевич (Velichkina) who would later play her role in preparing the ground for the establishment of the People’s Commissariat for Public Health. They proposed the establishment of the Committee for the Protection of Public Health, which was met with a favorable reaction from Lenin, but he insisted that the project was “premature... and nothing be done before a proper network of local medical-sanitary sections was established and the masses were educated on the need for a central body.”⁴⁰ Despite this response, Barsukov continued his efforts to centralize medical administration and on January 24 of 1918, the state created the Council of Medical Boards and labeled it “the highest medical authority.”⁴¹

Among the most active opponents of the organization of a central state medical administration were the members of the Pirogov Society. However, despite the enmity between the new regime and the *pirogovtsy*, the situation with the cholera epidemics drew them into public health activity and some of them began collaborating with the new regime.⁴² Z.P. Solov’ev, who was president of the medical college of the NKVD and a

³⁷ Ibid., 99.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 100.

⁴¹ John F. Hutchinson, *Politics and Public Health in Revolutionary Russia, 1890-1918* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990), 180.

⁴² Ibid., 186

member of the advisory college of the NKVD, became a member of the Council of Medical Boards and head of the subcommittee devoted to “draft the legislation necessary for the establishment of a separate commissariat of public health”.⁴³ Z.P. Solov’ev took the lead and with the help of the Bolshevik physicians, one of whom was V.M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina), worked on the draft and kept Lenin updated on the issue.⁴⁴ It is not surprising to see V.M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina) at the high levels of the Bolshevik executive party members and as the key figure in the creation of the Commissariat, since her husband, Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich was a close friend and associate of Lenin. On 16 June 1918, the First All-Russian Congress of Medical-Sanitary Sections took place. It was controlled by the Bolsheviks, even though they constituted twenty-eight out of seventy-five participants. Bolshevik physicians Z.P. Solov’ev, E.P. Pervukhin and N.A. Semashko raised issues regarding the development of health policy and one of them had to deal with establishment of medical administration. As a result, the congress encouraged the establishment of the Commissariat of Public Health that would control all medical-sanitary affairs. On 11 July 1918, the government decreed creation of People’s Commissariat of Public Health.⁴⁵ Right before the decree was passed, a conversation took place between V.I. Lenin and N. A. Semashko, in which the former expressed the opinion that he wanted to see the latter as the head of the Commissariat and as a result, N.A. Semashko became Commissar of Public Health, while V.M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina) became one of the members of the Collegium, the ruling body of the Commissariat.⁴⁶

⁴³ Ibid., 186-89.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 189.

⁴⁵ Weissman, “Origins of Soviet health administration,” 100-101.

⁴⁶ Hutchinson, *Politics and Public Health*, 192.

V.M. Bonch-Bruevich, Evgenii Radin and the Department for the Protection of Children's and Adolescent's Health

The protection of maternal and infant health was one of the primary concerns of the People's Commissariat of Public Health. One of the key figures who contributed to the process of centralization of medicine under this Commissariat was N. A. Semashko. Semashko's supervision of the centralization of medicine might illustrate how the Department for the Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health came into existence. However, it is also important to take into account the context of pre-revolutionary Russia. Between 1908 and 1912, the percentage of child mortality significantly increased, along with the spread and proliferation of infectious diseases (including tuberculosis).⁴⁷ Therefore, medical specialists and public figures began to realize that the state had to intervene into this sector and take control of the situation. After the Revolution, various departments concerned with the protection of maternal and infant health were distributed between Commissariats. For example, the department of the Protection of Maternal and Infant Health was operating from 1 January 1918 and was headed by V.P. Lebedeva, but later went under the auspices of People's Commissariat of Social Welfare. The protection of older children went under the control of the school-sanitary department, which was created in 1917 under People's Commissariat of Education and headed by V.M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina).⁴⁸

After the Revolution, the head of the Department of Protection of Maternal and Infant Health, Vera Pavlovna Lebedeva knew that the success of her department depended on its concentration into the hands of one Commissariat and it was the People's Commissariat of Public Health. After addressing this issue directly to Lenin, she secured

⁴⁷ G.L. Mikirtichan, "N.A. Semashko and his role in the development of the soviet system for the protection of motherhood and infancy", *Istoria Mediciny*, 1, no. 3 (2014): 38-53.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

the transfer of her department to the People's Commissariat of Public Health. The school-sanitary department was renamed the Department for the Protection of Children and Adolescent's Health and after the establishment of the People's Commissariat of Public Health, the department was transferred to its management. This department established polyclinic institutions and a school-sanatorium for children with impoverished health conditions and developed various methods of helping mentally and physically disabled children. Therefore, by 1921, with the efforts of N.A. Semashko and other medical specialists, all management of the protection of maternal and children's health went under the People's Commissariat of Public Health.⁴⁹

In the early years of the establishment of the school-sanitary department, V. M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina) invited Radin to join her department. Before the Revolution, when she started her studies in Switzerland, Radin, a young student in his twenties, also became active participant of social movements at the University of Petersburg, and was arrested in 1892, for the reasons unknown to us.⁵⁰ What we know is that his elder brother Leonid Radin was a professional revolutionary and around this time was engaged in illegal activity by publishing and distributing *The Communist Manifesto*.⁵¹ Leonid Radin taught the concept of class struggle to Vladimir D. Bonch Bruevich and introduced him to several works of Marx and Engels in a small circle devoted to the study of Marxism.⁵² Moreover, Leonid used to participate in gatherings of prominent revolutionaries in the house of V.M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina). After the arrests, we know that Evgenii Radin and V.M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina) crossed paths in Voronezh Governorate. There we can also trace one of the earliest professional activities of V.M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina) since

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Skogoreva, "Radin Evgenii Petrovich".

⁵¹ Map.lib48.ru. "Radin Leonid Petrovich". <http://map.lib48.ru/index.php/personalii/urozhentsy-lipetskogo-kraya/83-radin-l-p>. Accessed April 27, 2020

⁵² G. Demidenko, *Del u revolyutsii nemalo* [The Revolution has a lot to do] (Moscow: Politizdat, 1976), 22-3.

she worked as a feldsher (a medical worker). She participated in the creation of the first circles of social democrats in Governorate along with Evgenii Radin.⁵³ After the revolution, Radin joined V.M. Bonch-Bruevich's (Velichkina) Department and on 30 September 1918, after she died after contracting influenza from one of her patients, Radin became the head of the newly renamed department.

Overall, it is hard to establish the precise motives and reason behind why Radin was invited into V.M. Bonch-Bruevich's (Velichkina) department, but ties to the Bolshevik party and pre-Revolutionary political activity of these figures could have brought them together after the Revolution. On the other hand, most medical specialists tried to side with the Bolsheviks in the organization of the Soviet public health, as can be seen from the establishment of the People's Commissariat of Public Health and its departments. However, the fact is that Radin was invited by V.M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina) and shortly became the head of the department after her death.

The Early Soviet Period in Radin's Works

Radin entered the new Soviet era with the new position and these political and ideological transformations are reflected in his post-Revolutionary works. If in the previous, Imperial Russia, most of Radin's concerns regarding traditional secondary education had to deal with abhorrent teacher-children relations and oppression of children in a hostile environment, which affected their mental and physical conditions and led to their subsequent alienation from the community, in the Soviet period, his concerns corresponded to the issues of the nascent socialist state. After the Revolution, Radin's works presented his concern over the health of Soviet children with regard to their ability to become the agents of the socialist state and contribute to its revolutionary cause.

⁵³ Skogoreva, "Radin Evgenii Petrovich".

In the span of six years, between 1919 and 1925, Radin published four pieces of work that complement each other and altogether present us Radin's vision of improving the health of Soviet children through physical culture and labor, hygiene and sanitation, in order to ensure their engagement in the process of building the socialist state. Radin and I.E.Maizel's *The Forest School and Outdoor School* was published in 1919, present us the earliest information regarding the forest schools, its schedule and methods employed there.⁵⁴ His subsequent work *What the Soviet Government Does for the Protection of Children's Health*, published in 1920, focused on overall work that was done by the Department from the moment of its creation and a description of other initiatives created by V.M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina).⁵⁵ His next work called *Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health and Social Eugenics* was published in 1923 and there Radin presented his criticism of "bourgeois" physical culture, discussed developments made by the Institute of Physical Culture, and described the importance of the harmonic development of the body through physical culture in the current historical context of the crisis caused by series of war and the Revolution.⁵⁶ Lastly, *From Stuffy Classrooms to Fresh Air (Outdoor School)* co-authored with I.E.Maizel' and published in 1925, provided almost identical information on the forest schools as their 1919 work, but with slight modifications.⁵⁷

Even though in the post-Revolutionary period Radin expressed his concerns over the health of the Soviet children, the nature of his concern, whether intentional or not, was more "ideological" and corresponded to that era's political, social and economic demands and concerns of the Soviet state. The secondary scholarship on the condition of Russia

⁵⁴ Radin and Maizel', *Lesnaia shkola*.

⁵⁵ Radin, *Chto delaet sovetskaia vlast'*.

⁵⁶ Radin, *Okhrana zdorov'ia detei*.

⁵⁷ Radin, *Iz dushnykh klassov*.

after World War I, the Revolution and the Civil War suggest that it was undergoing a harsh period of economic, social and health crisis and these issues were raised in the works of Weissman and Koenker et al.⁵⁸ It is impossible to trace Radin's true intentions behind the rhetoric he used, but it seems like Radin used ideologically amplified rhetoric of communism and the crisis that the Bolshevik state faced in order to draw state's attention toward issues of children. For example, issues raised in *The Forest School and Outdoor School*, *What the Soviet Government Does for the Protection of Children's Health* and *From Stuffy Classrooms to Fresh Air (Outdoor School)*, underlined the sanitary conditions of Russian households, cities and schools, while issues raised in *Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health and Social Eugenics*, emphasized the current state of economic crisis that Russia was facing at that time. In those texts, the descriptions of the conditions of urban households and buildings were accompanied by political and communist rhetoric.

The first sentence of *What the Soviet Government Does for the Protection of Children's Health* starts with a statement that summed up the main points of this work: "A healthy childhood ensures health for life".⁵⁹ There Radin stressed how children of the proletariat used to have a miserable life under the bourgeois order and how most of them still lived in unfavorable conditions: in stuffy, dusty and damp rooms and cities.⁶⁰ Even after the Revolution and after being liberated from the oppression of the bourgeois class, the proletariat was, in Radin's words, still trapped in their houses and did not engage with nature in order to maintain their health. He even mentioned how children in the

⁵⁸ Diane P. Koenker, William G. Rosenberg, and Ronald Grigor Suny, *Party, State and Society in the Russian Civil War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

Weissman, "Origins of Soviet health administration."

⁵⁹ Radin, *Chto delaet Sovetskaia vlast'*, 3.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

countryside benefited from their active contacts with nature, since he believed that labor conducted outdoors and under the sun was the source of the health of children in villages.⁶¹

In *The Forest School and Outdoor School* and *From Stuffy Classrooms to Fresh Air (Outdoor School)*, where Radin and I.E. Maizel' discussed specifics of the forest schools, he again used a communist description of the class struggle in order to illustrate how capitalists were forcing the proletariat to live in dirty and dark places, while leaving themselves the best spots.⁶² In Radin's narrative, overcrowded apartments were described as hotbeds of various infectious illnesses where the epidemic could be easily spread among the dwellers of these places and the best way to tackle this issue was to open windows.⁶³ Radin also criticized traditional secondary educational institutions for their stuffy and dusty environment, which negatively affected children's health.⁶⁴ This work ended with Zhenia's story (presented above), the plot of which was built around the illustration of the differences of living in two different environments and how this affected the lives of the main characters. It described how a simple decision to transform lifestyle and environment helped to save the lives of three people.

In *Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health and Social Eugenics*, Radin addressed the theme of economic crisis. He argued that the economic crisis, along with epidemics and hunger, brought the Russian population to a state of physical exhaustion, and that was why the issue of improving the health of the proletariat should be addressed, since they are the ones who would rebuild the country. Here we also have a strong emphasis on political and communist rhetoric, since, according to him, the working class would lead the world proletarian revolution against capitalism.⁶⁵ However, since he headed

⁶¹ Ibid. 5.

⁶² Radin and Maizel', *Iz dushnykh klassov*, 5.

⁶³ Ibid., 6.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 22.

⁶⁵ Radin, *Okhrana zdorov'ia detei*, 11.

the department that managed children's health, he acknowledged that for a substantial period, the Bolshevik state would have to rebuild its industry with the help of the working class and that a series of wars and economic crisis led to the exhaustion of the strength of the working class and as a result, a frail and undisciplined generation grew up.⁶⁶ Improvement of the health of working youth was Radin's response to the current political, economic and social environment and the role of the forest schools were important in this process.⁶⁷ Therefore, it can be seen that Radin's ideas were formulated in a certain historical context, in which the nascent Bolshevik state and its subjects were suffering a harsh economic, social and political crisis and deterioration of health and that his response had practical undertones. On the other hand, Radin's emphasis of the current state of crisis could have been an instrument of propaganda that he used in order to turn the attention of the state to his favor and favor of his department and to advance his own initiatives.

Soviet Children and Forest Schools

The forest schools were special educational institutions aimed at educating and improving children's health. V.M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina) established the first forest school in June of 1918 in Moscow.⁶⁸ Under V.M. Bonch-Bruevich's (Velichkina) management "a sub-department for the Struggle with Pediatric Tuberculosis and a scientific commission on pediatric tuberculosis" were established with the aim of planning "a comprehensive pediatric anti-tuberculosis infrastructure" and the forest schools were established as a part of this effort.⁶⁹ According to Radin and Maizel, "they were called forest schools not only because they were located in the forests, but also due to the fact that

⁶⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 10.

⁶⁸ Radin and Maizel, *Iz dushnykh klassov*, 15.

⁶⁹ Michael Zdenek David, *The white plague in the red capital: The control of tuberculosis in Russia, 1900-1941* (The University of Chicago, 2007), 140.

they had different schedule than a normal school. It was an outdoor school”⁷⁰. For example, isolated location of the forest schools was briefly mentioned in Anna Porter’s report on the forest schools: “In a suburb of Moscow, reached by electric train, is the First Sanatorium School of the Moscow Division, for children not up to the normal physical standard, which generally means some stages of tuberculosis”.⁷¹ Children ill with tuberculosis were placed in these schools for a period of six months.⁷² The forest schools was an initiative of V.M. Bonch-Bruevich (Velichkina), and after her death, Radin and his department administered them. According to authors, from the moment of the creation of the first forest school in 1918 in Moscow until 1923, more than 500 children studied in this school and they stressed the fact that children improved their health during their tenure. One of the graphs on the increase in the number of facilities of the Departments for the Protection of Children’s and Adolescents’ Health illustrated that there were 20 forest schools in 1920 and this number rose to 31 forest schools in the following year.⁷³ The regions or cities in which these schools were opened were not indicated and impossible to derive from his works.

The geographical isolation of the forest schools near the forests, away from the society and its emphasis on conducting classes outdoors are the factors that radically differentiated the forest schools from the secondary schools.⁷⁴ Rehabilitative features of the forest schools, its schedule and isolated nature resemble the features of the health resorts for Soviet citizens, schedule and healing methods of which were also based on scientific principles of the so-called climatic therapies, such as, breathing fresh air, sunbathing and taking rest outdoors and where visitors performed “labor therapy” to ensure that workers

⁷⁰ Radin and Maizel’, *Iz dushnykh klassov*, 4.

⁷¹ Anna Porter, *A Moscow Diary* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1926), 100.

⁷² Radin and Maizel’, *Iz dushnykh klassov*, 20.

⁷³ Radin, *Chto delaet sovetskaia vlast’*, 13.

⁷⁴ Radin and Maizel’, *Iz dushnykh klassov*, 22.

could transition to a normal working routine.⁷⁵ Isolated nature of the forest schools entailed medical experts from Radin's department and himself to exert total medical control over the lives of the Soviet children.

Grant's chapter on Ideal Young Citizen focused on the process of "fortifying the growing generations" through propaganda of physical culture and hygiene in schools, a venue for instilling new Socialist values, such as collectivism, fighting issues, such as hooliganism, depression, and suicide, and creating a healthy social environment through hygiene.⁷⁶ The same methods were implemented in the schedule of the forest schools, but in comparison to the secondary school, isolation of children in those facilities and total medical and pedagogical control exerted through its schedule radically differentiated them. The main slogan of the schools was "Working outdoors, playing outdoors and sleeping outdoors" and children were expected to spend as much time outdoors as they could, since climatic therapies, such as sunbathing, fresh air and swimming helped to improve their health.⁷⁷ If in her conclusion, Grant mentioned failure of the state to transform lives of the Soviet children through physical culture in the schools because of the absence of experts and facilities, these failures could be avoided in the forest schools. It were specially equipped institutional facilities, schedule of which entailed total control over the daily activity of the child from the moment when he woke up until the moment when he went to sleep:

- 8:00 – wake-up
- 8:00-9:30 – washing, cleaning bedrooms, medical check-up
- 9:30-10:00 – breakfast

⁷⁵ Diane Koenker, *Club Red: Vacation, Travel and the Soviet Dream* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 42.

⁷⁶ Grant, *Physical Culture and Sport*, 31, 52.

⁷⁷ Radin and Maizel'. *Iz dushnykh klassov*, 6.

- 10:00-13:00 – school lessons and trips
- 13:00-14:00 – lunch
- 14:00-15:00 – rest (*lezhaniye*)
- 15:00-16:00 – free time
- 16:00-16:30 – tea
- 16:30-19:00 – painting, physical culture, singings
- 19:00-19:30 – dinner
- 19:30-20:30 – free hour
- 20:30-21:00 – getting ready for bed⁷⁸

As the facility that employed frequent outdoor activities, the teaching method of the forest school involved frequent contact of children with nature and its utilization; children performed meteorological research and the school had its own aquarium and terrarium.⁷⁹ During the summer, children studied outdoors, while during the winter, they studied on a glassed terrace.⁸⁰ During the nights, both in summer and winter, children slept with open windows, while during the winter they were provided with fur blankets.⁸¹ In the forest schools, children were frequently exposed to fresh air, took cold showers or performed rubbing with the cold water and labor.⁸² According to Radin, the outdoor environment provided an extensive source for conducting observations.⁸³ However, despite the total control we can still see that children were given a certain sense of freedom of actions and that they could successfully launch and put into practice their own initiatives, the feature which resembles some of Radin's pre-Revolutionary propositions. For example, children curated their own museum, where most of the expositions were materials found in the park

⁷⁸ Ibid., 10-12.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 18.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 7.

⁸¹ Ibid., 8.

⁸² Ibid., 12.

⁸³ Ibid., 20.

or nearby territories.⁸⁴ Moreover, as a part of learning and manufacturing experience, children produced things they needed for their own daily use, they produced knives for cutting paper, made spoons, and sewed panama hats.⁸⁵ Well-coordinated schedule was also accompanied by constant medical supervision and examination of such therapies and activities on children's health. Along with these, the classes of physical culture and labor along with both ordinary classes and classes on art (paintings, singing) would also ensure harmonic and versatile development of children. Moreover, the isolated nature of the forest schools and children's long tenure made it easier to eliminate children's contact with the outside world and old and backward behaviors criticized by the Bolshevik state, thereby also simplifying inculcation of new forms of behavior and discipline.

Physical Culture and Labor, Hygiene and Sanitation

Radin's pre-Revolutionary concerns regarding adverse impact of the individualism on children and their proper harmonic upbringing were reflected in his post-Revolutionary works. The methods and disciplines, such as physical culture and labor, hygiene and sanitation, implemented in the program of the forest schools successfully addressed them. It is important to take into account how ideological context shaped Radin's rhetoric and hence in his view, physical culture and labor ensured harmonic development of the Soviet children and helped to correct shortcomings of children's physical features in order to ensure their productive and effective contribution to the cause of the socialist state. The concept of the harmonic development, indicated that good physical condition corresponded to a good mental state and that the improvement of the former ensured the well-being of the latter and this concept is almost identical to the one emphasized by Radin in his pre-Revolutionary works. This idea, which had ancient roots, was widely recognized in the

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 18.

early Soviet period and found resonance among high-ranking state officials. For example, Nikolai Semashko in 1926 referred to assertions of the ancient philosophers regarding connection between the body and soul and “concluded that the state of the body manifested itself in the state of the mind” and communists and even Lenin adhered to this concept.⁸⁶

Promotion of hygiene in the forest schools encouraged two main transformations in Soviet children: it helped to break away with the “backward” and “uncultured” past of the imperial legacy and helped to inculcate a sense of collectivism among children, since children often worked together to achieve a common goal for the good of the forest school. Radin strongly appreciated the influence that proper hygienic and sanitary education could have on children. For example, in his discussion of the functioning of the forest school, he emphasized that children led a lifestyle, in which they were not familiar with sanitary norms and that they had to break with this uncultured past.⁸⁷ For example, as a part of their daily routine, children were taught to clean their rooms by sweeping them with brushes on which they put moistened bag.⁸⁸ In his discussion of the discipline in the forest schools, he stated the following: “there were no difficulties in maintaining discipline... Self-governance is in children’s hands”.⁸⁹ This “self-governance” implied children’s collective initiative with regards to issues of maintaining order in the forest schools, while also purported children’s collective sanitary and hygienic procedures. For example, in the case of misconduct or if the child was annoying in the room, it was common for children to expel that child from the room by means of collective decision-making. Self-governing feature of the forest school ensured that children always collaborated with each other and shared strong collective bond. The same rationale was applied when children conducted

⁸⁶ Starks, *The Body Soviet*, 25.

⁸⁷ Radin and Maizel’, *Iz dushnykh klassov*, 12.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

cleaning works in the forest schools and since Radin mentioned that self-governance was in the hands of children, it is no wonder to see them working together for the achievement of the common goal, which was expressed in their room cleaning duties.⁹⁰ Aforementioned Anna Porter's report also demonstrates the extent to which a sense of collectivism and collective responsibility was shared by children: "As everywhere under the Sovyets, these children have their own organization and committees, illustrated by charts on the wall, drawn according to the ideas of the children making the charts, the most important division being that of sanitation and hygiene".⁹¹ She mentioned how children visited factories, schools and other facilities by checking their sanitary conditions and reporting its effect on workers' health.⁹² Hence, as we can see, the successful implementation of the hygienic and sanitation principles in the forest schools encouraged children to obviate remnant features of the dirty past and the isolated location of the schools also played significant role in effective inculcation of a sense of collectivism, since elements of the outside impact that could hinder successful realization of these processes were absent. Moreover, as Radin's descriptions demonstrated, these measures also successfully encourage the development of the collective bond among children in their efforts to reach common goals and help to fight individualism.

The issue of individualism vs collectivism and the harmonic development of children was further elaborated in Radin's discussions of the Soviet physical culture and labor. In *Protection of children's and adolescents' health and social eugenics*, we can find that Radin's ideas regarding the Soviet physical culture juxtaposed the Western "individual" physical culture to the Soviet "collective" version of it. Radin's attempt to delineate these two and promote "proletarian" physical culture reflected a widespread

⁹⁰ Ibid., 11.

⁹¹ Porter, *A Moscow Diary*, 101.

⁹² Ibid., 102.

attempt by the Proletkul't movement and the state to create a form of physical culture unique to the Soviet state. David Hoffmann's work "Bodies of Knowledge: Physical Culture and the New Soviet Man" opens up the first paragraph with the decree issued by the Soviet government in October of 1920.⁹³ It was called "On the physical upbringing of the juvenile population" and according to Hoffmann, it stated that "it is essential for the laboring population to have physical and mental strengths in order to move forward on the path of socialist construction".⁹⁴ In this article, Hoffmann focused on how the Bolsheviks considered physical culture as a tool that would enhance the process of building socialism and help to create a New Soviet Man.⁹⁵ Soviet officials acknowledged that medicine would not provide sufficient tools for the creation of the New Soviet Man and instead decided to focus on physical culture and examination of Hoffmann's chapter illustrates that they strongly believed that physical culture, apart from improving the health of people, also contributed in creating harmonious individuals whose collective engagement would help to build the socialist state.⁹⁶ Harmonic development of the body could be ensured by the development of both physical and mental states of the person, and for state officials development of the physical capabilities and health of people ensured the well-being of their mental state. Susan Grant's chapter on physical culture also illustrated that the Proletkul't movement was strongly advocating for the creation of "proletarian" physical culture, which would get rid of the principles that governed "bourgeois" physical culture, such as competition.⁹⁷ However, we should be aware that Radin's juxtaposition of the Western "individual" and Soviet "collective" physical culture might be his attempt to wrap

⁹³ David Hoffmann, "Bodies of Knowledge: Physical Culture and the New Soviet Man," in *Language and Revolution: Making Modern Political Identities*, ed. Igal Halfin (London: Routledge, 2002), 228-242.

⁹⁴ Hoffmann, *Bodies of Knowledge*, 228.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Grant, *Physical Culture and Sport*, 32.

his pre-Revolutionary concern regarding the issues of children's individualism in a new "ideological" context and with the right rhetoric.

Radin's constant appeal to communist rhetoric and to the current state of crisis experienced by the Soviet state in order to draw the state's attention towards children's issue can be seen from how he contextualized recent events. Moreover, his appeal towards physical culture in an attempt to nurture harmonically developed New Soviet Children illustrates how his pre-Revolutionary ideas found their continuation, but in other form and under different context. He stated that for a continuous period Russia would need to restore its industry because of a series of devastating wars and the Revolution.⁹⁸ "The Soviet state will have to restore its industry for a continuous period, with the predominant involvement of the working class, rather than using machines, but in order to utilize that force, it should improve its health, since imperial and civil wars and economic devastation led to the exhaustion of the forces of the working class and emergence of a frail and undisciplined generation."⁹⁹ By providing these lines, Radin was using recent devastating impacts of wars and the Revolution to demonstrate how children's health were negatively affected and how they would also played an important role in the process of building a socialist state. Physical culture was another method for Radin that would help to bring together children into one and huge collective: "Demands of the factories and the current period – to improve physical health of the youth and prepare fighters of the worldwide socialist revolution through means of collective unity in physical culture".¹⁰⁰ To illustrate the successful development of physical culture among children and factory workers in the state, Radin described the example of "Muravei", the first society of physical culture in the state, whose range of activity included not only participation of schools but also factories.

⁹⁸ Radin, *Okhrana zdorov'ia detei*, p.18.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 10.

According to Radin, they had more than 72 unit and 6613 members. They carried out physical exercise in schools, other institutions for children and factories.¹⁰¹ What was the difference between the Western “individual” and the Soviet “collective” or “proletarian” physical culture for Radin?

By referring to Lesgaft and other writers (not specified), Radin emphasized how they also supported the idea of harmonic development of physical body and mental state, which ensured overall harmonic and versatile development.¹⁰² Before constructing “proletarian” physical culture, which would ensure harmonic development of the body, Radin suggested to look at the Western examples. In analyzing the history of the development of physical culture, Radin very briefly reviewed different periods, such as Ancient Rome and Greece, Medieval periods and periods of the modern empires. He found the common characteristics of physical culture in this part of the world, where the economy in the form of the need of the ruling class for war, imperialistic and nationalistic intentions created different systems of physical culture, which mainly emphasized improving the health of children of the ruling class and creating good soldiers.¹⁰³ Moreover, physical culture in these countries also emphasized training of certain parts of the body, rather than harmonic development of the whole body, which was key to the proletarian physical culture and for Radin’s own concept of harmonic upbringing of children. That is why he criticized Western physical culture, which he claimed, was too specialized, narrow and did not fit to the concept of harmonic development to which Radin adhered.¹⁰⁴ It is interesting to see Radin’s criticism of Western “bourgeois” physical culture, while the early physical culture and sport in Russian empire was also “elitist” in

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 12.

¹⁰² Ibid., 3.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 16.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 17.

nature. The historiography of the development of Russian physical culture and sport was covered in Susan Grant's chapter, where she stated that "in the Russian empire sport and physical culture were still very much for the elite only".¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, Radin acknowledged the fact that the Soviet state inherited the same "bourgeois" physical culture from the West: "the Soviet regime acquired a type of physical culture, which was the same as in the West".¹⁰⁶ He acknowledged the fact that the Soviet Union inherited physical culture as it is from the West, but it should be remodeled in accordance with the state ideology and in order to encourage the harmonic development of the body, as the state moved from the bourgeois epoch to socialism, from specialization and individualism to synthesis and collectivism. It had to be built on the principles of holistic development of human body, rather than focusing on its individual parts, which would help to train healthy, strong and energetic young workers, who would be actively engaged in the process of reconstruction of the state's economy.¹⁰⁷ Hence, in Radin's work we can see two different models of harmonic developments that did not contradict, but rather supplemented each other. The first harmonic development is the one presented in Radin's pre-Revolutionary works, which was ensured by both physical and mental well-being. While the second harmonic development implied a holistic approach to the physical culture, which would ensure the development of the whole body, rather than its individual parts, as in the case with the Western physical culture. Therefore, Soviet physical culture ensured a person's harmonic development and prepared the perfect agents of the socialist revolution.

The application of such proletarian physical culture that focused on harmonic development of children and ensured their collective involvement can be seen in the

¹⁰⁵ Grant, *Physical Culture and Sport*, 11.

¹⁰⁶ Radin, *Okhrana zdorov'ia detei*, 17.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

examples of the forest schools. The following illustrations demonstrate how implementation of physical culture corresponded to Radin's concerns.

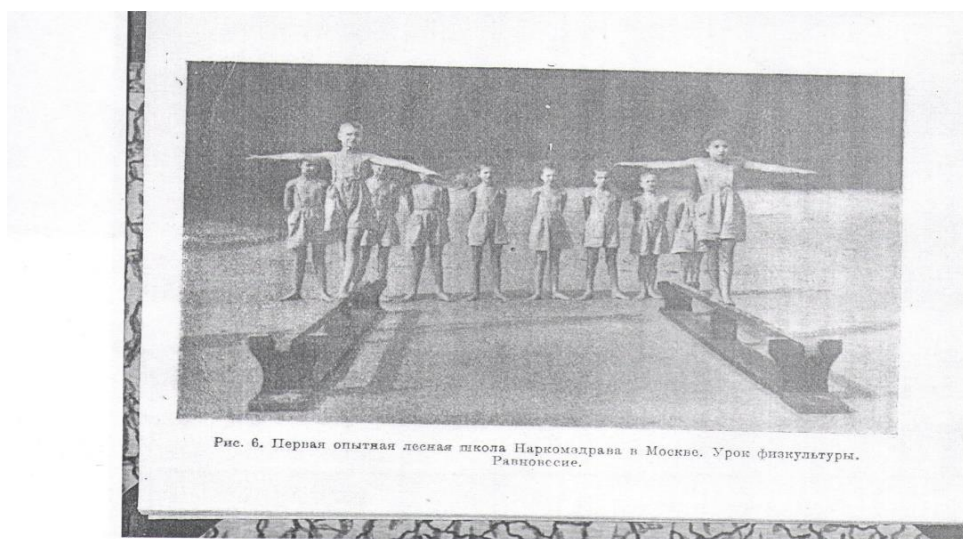


Figure 1. "Illustration 6. The first experimental forest school of Narkomzdrav in Moscow. Class of physical culture. Balancing".¹⁰⁸



Figure 2. "Illustration 7. The first experimental forest school of Narkomzdrav in Moscow. Class of Physical culture. The game "ball in the air".¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ E.P. Radin and I.E. Maizel', "Ris.6. Pervaia opytnaia lesnaia shkola Narkomzdrava v Moskve. Urok fyzkul'tury. Ravnovesie [Illustration 6. The first experimental forest school of Narkomzdrav in Moscow. Class of physical culture. Balancing]," in *Iz dushnykh klassov na svezhii vozdukh (Shkola na otkrytom vozdukhe)* [From Stuffy Classrooms to Fresh Air (Outdoor School)], (Moscow: Zhizn' i znanie, 1925), 13.

¹⁰⁹ E.P. Radin and I.E. Maizel', "Ris.7. Pervaia opytnaia lesnaia shkola Narkomzdrava v Moskve. Urok fyzkul'tury. Igra "miach' v vozdukhe" [Illustration 7. The first experimental forest school of Narkomzdrav in



Figure 3. “Illustration 8. The first experimental forest school of Narkomzdrav in Moscow. Class of physical culture. The game “day and night”.¹¹⁰

These illustrations demonstrate how lessons of physical culture involved participation of children as a collective body. While physical culture along with classes on arts, ordinary lessons ensured both harmonic and versatile development of the body and ensured inculcation of a sense of collectivism, it also ensured nurture of physically and harmonically developed perfect Soviet children ready to engage in the process of building a socialist state.

Radin’s emphasis of physical culture went hand in hands with the active involvement of children into physical labor in the forest schools, which often took place as a collective effort and was aimed to teach children to strictly follow the discipline of a schedule and cultivate a sense of collectivism among them. Cultivation of collectivism in

Moscow. Class of Physical culture. The game “ball in the air”], in *Iz dushnykh klassov na svezhii vozdukh (Shkola na otkrytom vozduke)* [From Stuffy Classrooms to Fresh Air (Outdoor School)], (Moscow: Zhizn’ i znanie, 1925), 14.

¹¹⁰ E.P. Radin and I.E. Maizel’, “Ris.8. Pervaia opytnaia lesnaia shkola Narkomzdrava v Moskve. Urok fizkul’tury. Igra “den’ i noch”” [Illustration 8. The first experimental forest school of Narkomzdrav in Moscow. Class of physical culture. The game “day and night”], in *Iz dushnykh klassov na svezhii vozdukh (Shkola na otkrytom vozduke)* [From Stuffy Classrooms to Fresh Air (Outdoor School)], (Moscow: Zhizn’ i znanie, 1925), 15.

children was expressed in Grant's chapter on propaganda of physical culture in schools, but never in the context of the forest schools. In *From Stuffy Classrooms to Fresh Air (Outdoor School)*, Radin mentioned how apart from hygienic practices as cleaning rooms, children cleaned snow around the school during the winter, collected and brought firewood and then sawed and chopped it, and worked in the kitchen garden.¹¹¹ The totality of the forest school also can be seen from the extent to which the impact of physical labor was monitored and recorded by the medical experts. When conducting such works, children were divided into groups and different group worked according to the assigned time. Some of them worked for two hours, while others for one and a half an hour. For example, when conducting works in a kitchen garden, children were weighted and the records of their weight changes were taken in order to monitor to what extent certain type of labor affected their development.¹¹²

Lastly, Radin's concept of harmonic development of children also had relations to eugenics and proletarian physical culture that focused on holistic development of the human body rather than on its individual parts. Radin delved into this topic in *Protection of Children's and Adolescent's Health and Social Eugenics*. The earlier discussion of Radin's figure with regard to eugenics took place in Kremmentsov's work on eugenics in Russia, where he briefly explained "bio-social eugenics" elaborated by Radin that combined "the biological (such as physical culture) and the social (from general education to specialized psychological testing and training) sides in the upbringing of Soviet children".¹¹³ However, what Kremmentsov did not discuss and what we can see from Radin's emphasis of the proletarian and holistic physical culture is its correctional features. Harmonic development of the body through physical culture ensured productive increase of human's working

¹¹¹ Ibid., 16.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Kremmentsov, *With and Without*, 277.

capacity, while shortcomings of his physical abilities hindered his successful productive performance.¹¹⁴ Therefore, proletarian physical culture was also utilized to eliminate those shortcomings and develop almost machine-like, harmonically developed human, exempt from deformities. This rhetoric also strongly resembles some features of positive eugenics whose proponents attempted to push physical excellence of the human body to its limits and present it as exempt from deficiencies. Radin's eugenic approach to physical culture and labor also juxtaposes its "collective" undertone against the Western "individualistic" approach. For Radin, since the state was transitioning from capitalism to socialism, they needed to get rid of this individualistic approach to the physical culture and rebuild it, so it would ensure harmonic development of body and prepare versatile specialists. These workers, apart from having decent state of health also needed to have a certain set of working skills that would transform their bodies into "capable machines".

This line of argumentation of Radin fits to the context brought in Fritzsche and Hellbeck's article, when they discussed the early Soviet period and how image of New Soviet Man was constructed according to the idea of "machine man" - "The metal purity and rhythmic discipline of the technological age would mold disorganized human individuals into a gigantic collective machine".¹¹⁵ Proletkul't was the organization working on this idea, especially Aleksei Gastev, who carried out studies of "rhythmic and precise labor processes in the factory to "educate" the muscles and nerves of the proletariat".¹¹⁶ David Hoffmann, in his article, refers to Gastev as "the leading Soviet Taylorist" and Radin's narrative regarding increase of labor productivity and inculcation of machine like abilities to human had certain elements of Taylorism in it.¹¹⁷ Proletkul't and its circles

¹¹⁴ Radin, *Okhrana zdorov'ia detei*, 18.

¹¹⁵ Fritzsche and Hellbeck, "The New Man," 315.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ David Hoffmann, "Bodies of Knowledge," 230.

were not the only party interested in constructing idealistic vision of humanity. There were people, like Vsevolod Meyerhold, interested in an idea of “biomechanical” training of actors of theaters and even argued that: “We bring people into closer kinship with machines, we foster new people. The New Man, free of unwieldiness and clumsiness, will have the light, precise movements of machines”.¹¹⁸ These ideas were similar to the ones created in Radin’s narrative regarding “capable machines” working with precise rhythm without having imperfections in their actions. Machine like features of human body would ensure increase of the working productivity and influence of the Soviet Taylorism in Radin’s ideas are clear, but important feature of his discussion of the physical labor among children was how it cultivated the sense of collectivism among children. Therefore, even in Radin’s eugenic approach to physical labor and in his concerns regarding construction of the socialist state, we still can see resonance of his pre-Revolutionary concerns regarding individualism, importance of inculcation of collectivism and harmonic upbringing of children. The dominant ideological rhetoric of communism and building of a socialist state fighting for a worldwide socialist revolution might have been Radin’s approach in bringing the issue of proper upbringing children cloaked in this rhetoric. Eventually, the aforementioned methods and disciplines, such as physical culture and labor, hygiene and sanitation, were successfully implemented in the schedule of the forest schools and ensured facilitation of the collective cooperation and companionship among children.

Overall, the creation of the forest schools was one of the processes that stemmed from the state’s attempt in “transforming norms of educational development”, which as Byford argued, was a more complex process that included involvement and contribution of various actors and institutions.¹¹⁹ Ideas of experts with medical degrees were sometimes

¹¹⁸ Fritzsche and Hellbeck, “The New Soviet Man,” 316.

¹¹⁹ Byford, *Science of the Child*, 167.

rooted in their pre-Revolutionary expertise and efforts to create alternative forms of education, which were later modified by the state and implemented under the new political contexts. For example, Stanislav Shatskii was actively engaged in the process of creation of ideologically driven labor schools, but his “innovations were rooted in his pre-revolutionary pioneering work in the domain of extracurricular education which targeted primarily the children of workers who lacked parental oversight”.¹²⁰ In his discussions, Byford also mentioned how experts with medical degrees created separate institutions during the period of Imperial Russia and they came up with alternative methods and institutions that provided education and medical care for children. One such institution was Ivan Maliarevskii’s school-sanatorium opened at the outskirts St. Petersburg in 1882-83 that provided education and nurtured mentally retarded children and children with special needs. Another school-sanatorium for Defective Children was opened by V.P. Kashchenko in Moscow and “the aim of Kashchenko’s school-sanatorium was ‘the recovery of the health of the personality’ (ozdorovlenie lichnosti) through the ‘re-education’ (perevospitanie) of both body and mind”.¹²¹ There was no compulsory syllabus and children practiced manual work for therapy along with “other curative/correctional measures included massage, gymnastics, walking, swimming, sunbathing, and a compulsory hour-long rest on a deckchair outdoors, even in mid-winter”.¹²² These therapeutic and sanatorium-like features of facilities strongly resemble features of the forest schools, especially Kashchenko’s school-sanatorium. It is hard to establish whether V.M. Bonch-Bruevich, in the early stages of establishing the forest schools, appropriated the idea of the forest schools from the aforementioned institutions or remodeled their

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid. 137-138.

¹²² Ibid., 138-139.

features into the forest schools, but by taking into account Byford's emphasis of the Soviet appropriation of the imperial institutions, this assumption is worth mentioning.

It is also hard to establish the sources of inspiration for Radin and his ideas, since he hardly mentioned other authors in his works. What we know is that the idea of inculcating a sense of collectivism among children in order to ensure development of individual personality was not unique to Radin. Elizabeth White, in her brief discussion of the education in the early Soviet period, stated that Narkompros officials were often "influenced by European and American progressive educational theorists including John Dewey, Georg Kersshensteiner and Maria Montessori", while Russian radicals and thinkers, such as Lev Tolstoy, Nikolay Chernyshevsky, Konstantin Ushinsky and Pyotr Lesgaft, also left their mark.¹²³ Educational facilities, such as Experimental Stations were introduced by Narkompros and one of its branches in Kaluga was run by Stanislav Shatskii, in which he "promoted the development of the individual personality through collectives...".¹²⁴ In these schools, children's agency was valued and encouraged along with creativity, music, etc.¹²⁵ Hence, we can see that Radin's ideas and principles were not unique for his time, even though the methods used in their implementation differed. In one of his works, Radin mentioned a figure of Pyotr Lesgaft, renowned Russian physician and founder of modern system of physical education in tsarist Russia, whose ideas also clearly influenced him. In *Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health and Social Eugenics*, we can find some resonance of Lesgaft's ideas and attestations. Lesgaft himself strongly believed in harmonic development of body and in balanced exercise of all bodily organs that would help to reach this harmony. Moreover, in his views on European physical

¹²³ Elizabeth White, *A Modern History of Russian Childhood: From the Late Imperial Period to the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 66-67.

¹²⁴ White, *A Modern History*, 67.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 67.

education, Lesgaft was able to derive its positive aspects, while criticizing ones that he regarded as harmful for an individual. He criticized implementation of special equipment in German gymnastics and emphasized that it did not “correspond to children’s anatomical structure and were therefore physically harmful”.¹²⁶ He championed for games that developed a group spirit, unselfishness, social awareness and devotion to society.¹²⁷ Lesgaft’s emphasis on games that helped to develop an individual’s character and a sense of comradeship among children strongly resembles core principles that stood at the basis of Radin’s process of upbringing children in both pre- and post-Revolutionary period. Radin also criticized Western physical culture because of its narrowness and disproportionate effect it exerted on individual’s body and Lesgaft expressed almost identical opinion. It is hard to establish the exact ideas of Lesgaft that influenced Radin since he hardly mentioned anyone in his works, but comparison of their ideas demonstrates how Radin advocated for the same principles, but in Radin’s case most of his ideas were wrapped in ideological rhetoric.

If Radin’s pre-Revolutionary propositions that emphasized proper upbringing of children in schools by stressing the importance of their harmonic development and inculcation of collectivism in order to fight the negative effects of individualism that could deteriorate mental and physical health of child transcended revolutionary divide and were implemented in the schedule of the forest schools through various methods and disciplines, then to what extent Radin’s post-Revolutionary ideas regarding upbringing of the New Soviet Children, who actively engaged in the process of construction of the socialist state, can be considered as “New”? Aforementioned analysis of the schedule, methods and disciplines implemented in the forest schools and the survey of 1912 clearly demonstrated

¹²⁶ James Riordan, “Pyotr Franzevich Lesgaft (1837-1909) The Founder of Russian Physical Education”, *Journal of Sport History*, 4, no. 2 (1977): 236.

¹²⁷ Riordan, “Pyotr Franzevich Lesgaft”, 236.

that Radin's concepts regarding upbringing of healthy children persisted in both periods. The main difference was the historical context according to which Radin probably tried to adjust his ideas, which can be seen from his active references to communism and they found their resonance in the forest schools. The methods employed in both the forest and secondary schools were the same, children were taught physical culture, hygiene and sanitation, but what differed these two facilities were the elements that stood at their basis. In comparison to the secondary schools, the forest schools were located at the outskirts of the cities or near the forests, where children were alienated from the influences of the outside world and they were put under total pedagogical and medical control. The methods employed in the forest schools provided supervisors an opportunity of monitoring and recording every change or development that took place in the child's body. Lastly, the isolation of children in the forest schools for several months also provided almost perfect conditions to inculcate new modes of behavior and discipline among them. As they finished their education in the forest schools, they were expected to bring the newly gained knowledge back to their communities and spread it to their families, as Zhenia did.

Chapter Two: Legacy of the Forest Schools

Allen's Story

In 1935, the article "Mass Production of Health in the U.S.S.R." by Marie Louise Allen expressed the admiration of the author for the extent to which the Soviet health care system was ubiquitous and covered diverse segments of population. Her brief review of medical institutions aimed at improving children's health, like the forest schools, children's playgrounds and Pioneer camps were accompanied with a photo of Soviet children playing in the forests and a short description that says "An American-type slide on

which young members of the Soviet Union may begin to develop “muscles of iron”.”¹ The positive report left in this article creates an impression that the Soviet state’s support of medical institutions for children continued in the mid-1930s, after Radin left his position in the Department and went into retirement in 1934.² When talking about the forest schools, Allen mentioned how “Over a hundred boys and girls with inactive tuberculosis stay and study here for periods of three to six months or longer if necessary” and they were “open all year around”.³ This brief mentioning of the forest schools might indicate that they were active after Radin’s leave and hundreds of children were placed there by the mid-1930s. This short article might also leave an impression that Radin was covering the successful establishment of the forest schools throughout the Soviet Union in his subsequent works. However, in the mid-1920s, an interesting shift took place in Radin’s works. If before 1925, Radin was enthusiastic about the forest and outdoor schools in his writings along with I. Maizel’s, after 1925, he occasionally mentioned these facilities and instead advocated for the establishment of another facility, the children’s playgrounds. What might be the reasons behind this shift and how did it affect Radin’s concepts regarding upbringing of the Soviet children?

In-mid 1920s, one of the resolutions of the 6th All-Russian Congress on the Protection of Children’s and Adolescents’ Health indicated that despite the relative success of the forest schools, it was impossible to establish massive network of the forest schools throughout the state under the current conditions.⁴ Radin’s report voiced during this Congress underlined that current conditions and financial restraints led state to establish cheaper children’s playgrounds.⁵ The content of these resolution and report directly

¹ Marie Louise Allen, “Mass Production of Health in the U.S.S.R.,” *Childhood Education* (1935), 217.

² Skogoreva, “Radin Evgenii Petrovich”.

³ Allen, “Mass Production of Health,” 218.

⁴ E.P.Radin, *Ocherednye zadachi okhrany zdorov’ia detei i podrostkov* [The Next Tasks for the Protection of Children’s and Adolescents’ Health] (Moscow, 1926), 26.

⁵ Radin, *Itogi i blizhaishie zadachi*, 3.

contradicted the essence of the forest schools, which enabled medical experts to have total control over lives of the children and isolated them from the influence of the external factors, which could disrupt the process of upbringing a healthy Soviet child. Financial restraints and impossibility of extending reach of the forest schools throughout the state forced Radin to resort to two solutions:

- (1) shifting his advocacy towards cheaper children's playgrounds, where pedagogical and medical experts still could exert limited control because children did not spend their whole days there, but they still could conduct training sessions, teaching and examination of certain methods' impact on children's health and
- (2) shifting the direction in which the process of upbringing of the healthy Soviet child was conducted. If previously, institutional facilities, like the forest schools, had privilege over directing the process of upbringing healthy Soviet Children, now the privilege was given directly towards citizens of the Soviet state, since financial and institutional restraints limited the sphere of the influence of institutions. Hence, the responsibility of directing the social transformation of lives of the Soviet people was given to their own hands.

In Radin's post-1925 works, we can see occasional mentioning of the forest schools, promotion of the children's playgrounds, and more detailed instructions that were given to the Soviet people on the issues of medicalizing lives of the Soviet children (since capacities of the institutional facilities were limited) through Soviet physical culture. In Radin's post-1925 works, we see the emergence of a wider audience: the Pioneers, the *vozhaty* of the Pioneer camps (Pioneer camp pedagogues) and the inhabitants of the Soviet countryside and the detailed instructions they received in comparison to his previous works. If previously, only medical experts and pedagogues of the forest schools

possessed the required knowledge regarding the process of upbringing healthy Soviet children, now this knowledge had to be transmitted to the aforementioned audience, so they would be able to properly organize medicalization of the lives of the Soviet children. This chapter will argue that after realizing the impossibility of the forest schools to transform lives of the Soviet children on a massive scale, Radin provided as much detailed instructions as possible to the “uneducated” mass in order to medicalize lives of the Soviet children according to the models of the forest and outdoor schools. In his instructions, Radin tried to transfer most of the methods and disciplines that constituted a significant part of the forest schools, thereby providing people an opportunity to organize their own “forest schools” or live according to its principles. Therefore, despite the fact that Radin and his department lost its reach, he tried to keep the legacy of the forest schools in his post-1925 works. However, despite all these shifts the core concepts that stood at the basis of the process of upbringing the Soviet children remained the same. Despite the fact that Radin’s instructions were directed towards ordinary Soviet people and was extensively filled with communist ideological rhetoric, the organization of physical culture still implied children’s collective participation in it and underlined the importance of the harmonic development of the body (rather than focusing on “individual” parts of the body).

Forest Schools and Children’s Playgrounds

The financial issues that compelled Radin to promote children’s playground were discussed in a number of his works and demonstrate decreasing reach of the institutional facilities’ capacity to cover large segments of the population. In one of the sections of *Physical Culture in Pioneer’s Camp*, Radin acknowledged the fact that secondary schools had to act as providers of the health for the Soviet children, but since the issues of poor sanitary conditions, stuffiness, dustiness and overcrowded spaces prevailed, they had to be

transformed into the forest and outdoors schools.⁶ However, later he hinted towards financial issues that would make this process impossible, since it would require building of a glassed terrace for the winter period and hence suggested establishment of cheaper facilities, children's playgrounds.⁷ Radin's *The Results and the Nearest Tasks for the Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health* presented his report on 6th All-Russian Congress on protection of children's and adolescents' health, which took place between November 15-21, 1925. There, as the second point of his report, he wrote, "In relation to the real situation and material opportunities, the forms of work on conducting bio-social education are also being modified – the slogans of the outdoor school were massively implemented in the most accessible form in terms of material possibilities – through organization of children's playgrounds".⁸ One of the resolutions of the Congress called "about outdoor institutions", acknowledged how outdoor institutions proved that they could operate under current social, day-to-day (*bytovoi*) and climatic conditions and their establishment was justified from both hygienic and pedagogical perspective. However, the resolution underlined impossibility of establishment of the extensive network of new outdoor institutions and difficulty of transforming current child institutions into outdoor institutions.⁹ These documents illustrate how the idea of massive establishment of the forest schools became impossible for the state due to financial and institutional circumstances and Radin, despite his interests in forest school programs, was urged to shift his advocacy towards less expensive children's playgrounds. Hence, a consideration of the state's priorities towards the issue of improving children's health helps us to understand why Radin decided to shift his interest towards children's playgrounds.

⁶ E.P.Radin, *Fyzkul'tura v pionerotriade* [Physical Culture in Pioneer Camp] (Vladivostok, 1925), 17-18.

⁷ Radin, *Fyzkul'tura v pionerotriade*, 17.

⁸ Radin, *Itogi i blizhaishie zadachi*, 3.

⁹ Radin, *Ocherednye zadachi okhrany*.

Another factor that demonstrates the decreasing sphere of influence of the medical experts with regard to financial issues was discussed in Radin's works on the Soviet countryside. The establishment of children's playgrounds in villages was also more possible and cheap since they did not require participation of the medically trained personnel and parents themselves could take care of them. In *Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health and the Family*, Radin expressed his doubts regarding the state's ability to send trained medical personnel into villages and transferred the responsibility of establishing and controlling children's playgrounds to the adults.¹⁰ Hence, consideration of the financial and institutional restraints of the period might help us to understand why Radin decided to advocate for the establishment of the children's playgrounds.

Despite the fact that Radin advocated for the establishment of children's playgrounds, he provided small amount of information about them. Moreover, despite the absence of the totality of the control and most of the experts, Radin attempted to introduced the same principles of upbringing healthy children in their schedule. Children's playgrounds had certain similar features as the forest schools: they were predominantly "outdoor" facilities, could have their own kitchen garden and sport fields (for basketball and other active games). According to Radin, it would be better if those facilities were established near schools, sport clubs, workers' clubs (cultural centers) and other buildings that could protect children from inclement weather. These playgrounds would accomplish two goals: improve the health of young Pioneers and enhance the systematic medical examination of children. According to him, these playgrounds had to be located at the *Tsentrāl'nyi Dom* and Young Pioneer Clubs of every city of *gubernia* or *uyezd*. Moreover, Pioneers of those playgrounds had to undergo ongoing medical

¹⁰ Radin, *Okhrana zdorov'ia detei i podrostkov i sem'ia* [Protection of Children's and Adolescents' health and the Family] (Moscow: State Publishing house), 23.

examinations in order to examine the playground's impact on children's health during summer.¹¹ Children's playgrounds could also be used as venues for conducting lessons outdoors. Different lessons such as, drawing, sculpting, reading of pioneer journals and tales, children's plays or staging on political and sanitary themes and others were conducted there.¹² Radin also reintroduced some of the measures used in the forest schools that ensured inculcation of a sense of collectivism. Firstly, he relied heavily on physical culture in order to improve children's health.¹³ As we were able to see in the previous chapter, physical culture was a strong instrument that ensured children's improving health and also served to enhance collectivism among children through various exercises and games. Next, children's collective self-organization was also re-introduced and in one of his points on things that took place in children's playgrounds Radin mentioned *detskie sudy* (children's court), where children collectively made a decision regarding a child who smoked or misbehaved.¹⁴ This feature closely resemble self-organized children's groups in the forest schools, where they also collectively managed behavior of unruly or disobedient child.

Overall, features of the children's playgrounds clearly resemble certain features of the forest and outdoor schools, but they lacked one of forest schools' basic element – isolation. Despite the fact that children's playgrounds persisted throughout Radin's post-1925 works, he still argued for transformation of the ordinary secondary schools into the forest schools.

¹¹ Radin, *Fyzkul'tura v pionerotriade*, 17-18.

¹² E.P.Radin, *Osnovnye polozheniia (zapovedi) sovetskoi fizkul'tury* [The Main Regulations (Commandments) of Soviet Physical Culture] (Moscow: Zhizn' i znanie, 1926), 8-9.

¹³ Radin. *Osnovnye polozheniia*, 8-9.

¹⁴ Ibid, 9.

Legacy of the Forest Schools?

Even though Radin's advocacy of the children's playgrounds and occasional mentioning of the forest entailed the loss of the "total" control over the process of upbringing healthy Soviet children for Radin, the main principles of harmonic development of the child and inculcation of collectivism still lived on in his post-1925 works. Along with these, the "core" principles, methods and disciplines implemented in the schedule of the forest schools found their resonance in Radin's post-1925 works and were integrated successfully in his version of the Soviet physical culture. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the main principles that guided the process of upbringing healthy children in Radin's works were combined with the "ideological" rhetoric of building socialism, increasing productivity and health of the working youth and class. It is no wonder to see the emergence of various forms of the Soviet physical culture in this period, since Grant, in her work, described that different organizations and political figures fought for the authority over the Soviet physical culture because it did not have clear organizational base.¹⁵ The aforementioned Proletfizkul't emphasized development of "proletarian" physical culture, which eliminated the element of competition pertaining to the sports like, soccer.¹⁶ Hygienists emphasized the promotion of hygiene and health through physical culture.¹⁷ One of the first steps in defining features of the Soviet physical culture were taken in 1924-25. At the All-Union Conference of Councils of Physical Culture, which took place on 15–19 April 1924 in Moscow, "consensus emerging from the conference was that the fundamental tasks to be dealt with included improving the material base of physical culture, eliminating all bourgeois sports organizations, establishing fizkul'tura as a mass popular movement, organizing more coherently the role and function

¹⁵ Grant, *Physical Culture and Sport*, 30.

¹⁶ Ibid., 32.

¹⁷ Ibid., 33.

of the physical culture kruzhek, as well as defining proletarian sport”.¹⁸ While on July, 13 of the next year, the resolution from the party established the “[i]deological tone for physical culture, viewing it as a means of training, educating, and uniting the “masses”, a vital step in modernizing the nation and laying the foundations for the construction of the new citizen”.¹⁹ Physical culture was not perceived as a set of physical exercises, its tasks included education of the masses to the Soviet qualities of “endurance, resourcefulness, collective habits” and uniting peasants and the workers around party and increasing their involvement in social-political life.²⁰ The aforementioned tasks of the Soviet physical culture perfectly align with Radin’s principles regarding upbringing of children, hence it is no surprise to see predominance of the ideological rhetoric in his works.

Starting from the mid-1920s, Radin began to appeal to a wider audience of the Pioneers, the *vozhatye* and the inhabitants of the Soviet countryside in an attempt to medicalize the lives of the Soviet children and provide detailed instructions on the issues of the healthy upbringing of the child. What is striking is the extent to which Radin’s instructions tried to cover almost every aspect of the lives of the Soviet children and tried to be as detailed as possible. One of the reasons that can explain such “detailed” content can be the limited reach of the institutional facilities, such as the forest schools, because they provided almost unlimited amount of control to medical experts. All the required knowledge regarding the process of upbringing healthy Soviet children was in the hands of the experts who worked in these schools. Now, since financial and institutional restraints made it impossible to extend the control of such facilities over a large segment of the Soviet population, Radin had to transfer this “directing” role from the hands of the experts and institutional facilities to the Soviet people. The features of Radin’s post-1925

¹⁸ Ibid., 31.

¹⁹ Ibid., 32.

²⁰ Ibid., 31.

instructions strongly resemble methods and disciplines used in the schedule of the forest schools.

Radin's appeal towards Pioneers, the *vozhatye* and the inhabitants of the Soviet countryside began when the Soviet state launched its Pioneer movement programs and established village reading rooms in order to enhance the political and ideological presence of the state in the villages. Radin used various methods of delivering his message in order to draw the attention of the Soviet people to the issues of upbringing healthy children. For example, most of his appeal towards Pioneers that can be seen in *Pioneer Take Care of Your Health*, *Memo for Pioneer on Protecting His Health*, *Physical Culture in Pioneer Camp* and *The Main Regulations (Commandments) of the Soviet Physical Culture* consisted of provision of the detailed instructions, while his appeal towards the *vozhatyi* and the Soviet countryside were presented in a form of performances that took place between the *vozhatyi* and the physician in *Laws of Health – Laws of Hygiene* and the peasant and the physician in *The Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health and the Family*.²¹

Legacy of the Forest Schools: the Pioneers and the Soviet Physical Culture

The Pioneer movement was established in 1922 and its members were children between 9 and 14.²² As described in Starks' work, Pioneers along with Komsomol members were members of youth organizations, who had to bring revolution into the

²¹ E.P.Radin. *Pamiatka pioneru po okhrane svoego zdorov'ia* [Memo for Pioneer on Protecting His Health] (Sverdlovsk: Uralobkom Publishing House, 1926).

E.P.Radin, *Pioner beregi svoe zdorov'e* [Pioneer Take Care of Your Health] (Moscow: Zhizn' i znanie, 1925).

E.P.Radin, *Pioner beregi svoe zdorov'e* [Pioneer Take Care of Your Health] (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1925).

E.P.Radin, *Pravila zdorov'ia – pravila gigeny* [Laws of Health – Laws of Hygiene] (Moscow: Zhizn' i znanie, 1927).

Radin, *Okhrana zdorov'ia detei i podrostkov i sem'ia*.

Radin, *Osnovnye polozheniia (zapovedi) sovetskoi fizkul'tury*.

Radin, *Fizkul'tura v pionerotriade*.

²² Starks, *The Body Soviet*, 68.

family and among other Soviet youth by adhering to the Soviet ideals and qualities.²³ Since one of the primary tasks of physical culture was to unite workers and peasants and engage them in the socio-political life of the state, no wonder that Radin would try to appeal to a group of Soviet Pioneers, who were already considered the agents of socialist state.

The Main Regulations (Commandments) of the Soviet Physical Culture was published in 1926, contained a brief foreword from N. Semashko and was divided into 12 sections. In his foreword, Semashko referred to this piece as the “the ABCs (*azbuka*) of physical culture”, because in its compressed form it provided the main concept of physical culture. Semashko acknowledged the fact that Radin’s advice on hygiene would be difficult to implement under the current conditions, especially in the villages, but it was still important to indicate them as urgent. Semashko’s final paragraph emphasized how this work was published when the All Union Teacher’s Congress took place, so teachers would have an opportunity to be involved in the process of spreading ideas of physical culture among children, as he confirmed that they, along with physicians, would play a pivotal role in it.²⁴

The features of the forest schools found their resonance in the Soviet physical culture advanced by Radin. The first section of the work was called “Physical culture – not only physical exercises, but also regime of labor, leisure and sleep – physical culture for 24 hours” and the nature of Radin’s physical culture suggests transformation of the mentality of the Soviet people.²⁵ As in the schedule of the forest schools, where children’s every hour was under control and where children performed certain activities, the Soviet physical culture also presupposed proper scheduling of the normal day and adhering to the certain rhythm. Children in the forest schools rigorously followed this rhythm outlined in the

²³ Ibid..

²⁴ Radin, *Osnovnye polozheniia (zapovedi) sovetskoi fizkul'tury*, 3-4.

²⁵ Ibid., 5.

schedule of the forest schools. The next two sections discuss the process of zakalivaniye of the body and the importance of hygiene. As Catriona Kelly discussed in her work, the term zakalennost' or zakal or "steeliness" "denoted a combination of physical and mental virtues – fitness, endurance, capacity for boundless quantities of hard work, and resolution – that was the result of a process of zakalivanie, or 'tempering'" and that Soviet citizen had to possess.²⁶ Zakalivanie of the body through physical culture or hygiene, especially hydrotherapy, did not only strengthen the body and improved the health, it also resulted in construction of the strong will, free of inferior qualities like, shyness, moral steadfastness, etc.²⁷ Radin discussed zakalivanie in terms of improving the health through mentioned "hydrotherapies" like taking cold shower and rubbings with practices like sunbathing that could be organized on children's playgrounds, the methods which were successfully implemented in the schedule of the forest schools.²⁸ The section on hygiene also discussed the importance of personal and public hygiene and called children to spend their times as much as they could outdoors. While encouraging children to spend their time outdoors, Radin included an interesting slogan: "To work outdoors, to play outdoors, to sleep outdoors", which was slogan of the forest schools mentioned in Radin's *From Stuffy Classrooms to the Fresh Air (Outdoor School)*.²⁹ Hence, Soviet children and adults had to follow these basic principles, which stressed the importance of the hygiene, and outdoor activities that would help to improve their health and transform their lives, as it was demonstrated in Zhenia's story.

The following three sections discusses the importance of arranging healthy live in certain rhythm, avoiding physical overload and conducting physical culture under

²⁶ Catriona Kelly, "The Education of the Will: Advice Literature, Zakal, and Manliness in Early Twentieth-Century Russia" in *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture*, ed. Barbara Evants Clements, Rebecca Friedman and Dan Healey (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 131.

²⁷ Ibid., 131-132.

²⁸ The main regulations. 6-9.

²⁹ Radin, *Osnovnye polozheniia (zapovedi) sovetskoi fizkul'tury*, 9-12.

physician's control.³⁰ In his emphasis of the right rhythm, Radin provided the example of the schedule of the forest schools that was mentioned above.³¹ He argued that physical labor had to be conducted according to the age of the children, while physical culture should be conducted under medical control. All these arguments closely resemble methods implemented in the schedule of the forest schools, the way in which children were organized into groups before conducting physical labor and how the effects of certain labor were monitored and recorded by medical experts. Organization of physical culture under medical control might also express Radin's concern regarding "illiteracy" of the ordinary people on the issues of conducting physical culture, since children could have gotten hurt while doing wrong exercises. Radin's emphasis of the importance of visiting or addressing physician present throughout most of his post-1925 works, where physicians were presented as the only source of proper medical knowledge. The description of the forest schools did not have such detailed instructions, but consisted of rather a brief overview of its schedule and methods. Radin's concerns can be understood, since in the forest school medical and pedagogical experts controlled and supervised all the activities, while now this privilege is in the hands of the ordinary people who do not have sufficient medical expertise.

Lastly, it is also worth mentioning, how Radin's suggestions of the clothes that the Pioneer had to wear also closely resemble the type of clothes that children wore in the forest schools. The aforementioned illustrations demonstrate children not wearing any uniform and having light clothes. In his appeal towards the Pioneers Radin also instructed them to wear light clothes that did not constrain child's movement in the summer.³²

³⁰ Ibid., 12-18.

³¹ Ibid., 13.

³² Radin, *Fizkul'tura v pionerotriade*, 26.

The following four sections discusses practical benefits and applications of the Soviet physical culture in preparing productive workers and soldiers, ensuring versatile development (both physical and political), while the final two sections discusses separate application of physical culture according to the gender (by dividing children into boys and girls) and its benefits in the sphere of sexual education.³³ In these sections, Radin's criticism of the individualism persisted, especially concerning the ideological issues. Radin hoped to use physical culture in order to develop a sense of political collectivism among Soviet inhabitants, ensure children's subsequent involvement in the political events, and sphere through their participation in collective sport and games.³⁴ Through his criticism of the "individual" physical culture, Radin hoped to champion for the harmonic development, as he did in the previously mentioned chapter. Here two models of harmonic developments also encouraged harmonic development of both mental and physical well-being and also created strong, healthy and energetic young workers.

We can see the resonance of the methods and disciplines employed in the forest schools in the Soviet physical culture advanced by Radin and duplication of almost identical patterns took place in Radin's instructions for Pioneers. The content of all the aforementioned works regarding Pioneers (*Pioneer Take care of Your Health, Memo for Pioneer on Protecting His Health, Physical Culture in the Pioneer Camp*) are almost identical and bear the same message. These instructions covered almost every aspect of the children's lives, starting from the issues like, swimming, taking a shower, having a sunbathe, proper nutrition to the discussion of behaviors considered harmful, like smoking and drinking. Radin meticulously outlined descriptions of both useful and harmful methods and practices and if we take into account the inability of the forest schools to inculcate

³³ Radin, *Osnovnye polozheniia (zapovedi) sovetskoi fizkul'tury*, 18-31.

³⁴ Ibid., 22-3.

such behaviors to the Soviet children because of their limited reach, we will be able to see why Radin tried to be so scrupulous.

Finally, it is also important to see how fundamental principles that guided Radin's process of upbringing healthy children persisted in his 1925-works. In the principles of the Soviet physical culture advanced by Radin, we were able to see how a sense of collectivism was supposed to be inculcated among children and inhabitants through physical culture and their active participation in collective games and sports. In instructions for Pioneers, we can also see how a sense of collectivism inculcated in the forest schools through hygienic measures were also supposed to be implemented in Pioneer camps. If in the forest schools children were self-organized into groups, carried out cleaning, and labor activities together, we can see the emergence of almost identical groups in Pioneer camps. It was the children's sanitary commission (*detskaia sanitarnaia komissia*). This body assisted physician and was self-organized into smaller groups that took care of the camps' sanitary conditions. For example, some of the groups were responsible for provision of the fresh air in the camps, some took care of the cleaning and others conducted supervision of other children.³⁵ Responsibilities of these groups were explicitly outlined in *Memo for Pioneer on Protecting His Health*. There were children responsible for: 1) provision of the fresh air, 2) personal hygiene of other children, 3) cleanliness of the space, 4) provision of the first aid, 5) medical examination.³⁶ By working in these commissions, children often had to collaborate and work with each other to ensure that sanitary conditions of the Pioneer camps were properly followed. As in the forest schools, the organization of Pioneers into groups and their active communication with each other was supposed to work for the good of the whole Pioneer camp, where children would

³⁵ Radin, *Pioner beregi svoe zdorov'e*, 10-4.

³⁶ Radin, *Pamiatka pioneru*, pp.8-10.

take care of the sanitary conditions and ensure that every other child followed sanitary and hygienic principles in a timely manner. Hence, by examining methods and disciplines that had to be implemented in Pioneer camps, we can see that principles of harmonic development of children and inculcation of collectivism had to be ensured.

It is interesting to see how the process of harmonic development of children also took into account gender divisions for Radin. Thomas Schrand, in his article “Socialism in One Gender: Masculine Values in the Stalin Revolution”, has argued that the mobilization of women as the labor resource in the industry did not elevate their social status in the Soviet state and did not equate it with men’s social status. Men’s social status was not threatened by the participation of women in labor, because of how masculinity was assigned to men and not to women. Moreover, he also mentioned how despite their involvement in industry women were still expected to be successful in their domestic tasks. Women were also excluded from participation in the military because of the government’s concern regarding their reproductive roles too.³⁷ The same patterns of unequal assignment of certain physical exercises to girls and boys could be observed in Radin’s works. For example, Radin did not totally prohibit soccer or French wrestling for children, but he provided age restrictions for such activities. Thus, while boys could play soccer after turning 17 and do French wrestling after turning 22-23, girls were prohibited from such sports and activities that involved an intense physical load on the body. Instead, Radin suggested girls’ physical culture to be centered on exercises that would help to strengthen their abdominal muscles. Along with this, Radin also suggested doing rowing for girls, since it prepared their organism not only for physically hard exercises, but also for childbirth. Radin suggested that girls should not do any physical activities during their

³⁷ Thomas Schrand, “Socialism in One Gender: Masculine Values in the Stalin Revolution,” in *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture*, ed. Barbara Evans Clements, Rebecca Friedman and Dan Healey (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 195-204.

menstruation, because this would have a negative impact on their health.³⁸ Hence, Radin's concerns regarding proper upbringing of healthy children also took into account gender of the child, however, these particular instructions could have "ideological" undertones.

Enlightenment Through Performances

Radin's appeal towards a wider audience also included various methods of delivering a message. As in the case with Pioneers, performances suggested by Radin had to be also detailed, since most of his audience probably never heard of the forest schools and were uneducated in most of the medical aspects. In her discussion of the propaganda of physical culture among children, Grant emphasized the importance of agitation plays that were demonstrated in worker and youth clubs and often content of those plays juxtaposed the struggle between old and young or took place as a form of conversation between representatives of the old and young generations in which the former one provided instructions on physical culture among workers.³⁹ In 1927 and 1928 Radin published *Laws of Health – Laws of Hygiene* and *The Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health and the Family*. The performances had to be played in front of the audience in the form of dialogue between the *vozhatyi* and the physician and the peasant and the physician. As in plays described by Grant, Radin's performances also took place between representatives of the elder generation/uneducated *vozhatyi* and the physician, where physicians acted as enlighteners who explained the process of medicalization of children's lives along with answering questions of the interlocutor. In comparison with Radin's instructions for Pioneers, discussion of the methods and disciplines employed in the schedule of the forest schools were mentioned scarcely in these performances. Most of the time performers discussed the origins of certain diseases that plagued Pioneer camps and villages.

³⁸ Radin, *Fizkul'tura v pionerotriade*, 11.

³⁹ Grant, *Physical Culture and Sport*, 56-59.

In his foreword for the *The Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health and the Family*, Radin underlined the inactive involvement of dwellers of villages in the process of medicalizing the health of the Soviet youth. According to him, the village schools had to become the hotbed of health along with children's playgrounds and parents had to play an important role in this process.⁴⁰ Radin suggested organization of performances among adults (peasants and workers) in adult meetings, village reading rooms and clubs. The performance involved participation of two players: the parent (peasant or worker) and the physician. These plays, which had to be demonstrated constantly among adults, were another means of providing instructions for adults on how to properly conduct the process of upbringing healthy children. Radin's performance was published in 1928, but the state's attempt to involve participation of village population into political processes of the socialist state started in the early 1920s. Kenez, in his work, emphasized how village reading rooms (*izba-chital'nia*) were the main instruments through which the state propaganda could reach peasantry and increase the influence of the Communist state among peasants. Kenez emphasized the importance of reading rooms in the "development of a particular Soviet style of political life by constantly celebrating anniversaries", such as Lenin's death, Red Army Day and many more.⁴¹ The extent to which anniversaries and campaigns were frequently celebrated among the peasants demonstrated how the new Soviet "religion" was replacing the old one. However, village reading rooms were not a successful campaign led by the state propaganda, since they could not cover such a large geographical scope and the success of each room depended on its chairman, whose job was hard and poorly paid.⁴² Because of poor financial support and investments on the part of the state and the workload assigned to the chairman, most of the

⁴⁰ Radin. *Okhrana zdorov'ia detei i podrostkov i sem'ia*, 3-5.

⁴¹ Peter Kenez, *The Birth of Propaganda State: Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917-1928* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 138.

⁴² Kenez, *The Birth of Propaganda State*, 139.

village reading rooms failed to achieve their primary goals.⁴³ Grant also mentioned the lack of literature on physical culture in the village reading rooms, which was either lost or never made it to the villages.⁴⁴ Moreover, she discussed how “village youth were entrusted with embodying socialist life” and it could be seen from the posters that depicted a Pioneer brushing his teeth, while old village dwellers watched him with a sense of inquisitiveness, astonishment and caution.⁴⁵ Village reading rooms also performed many other functions: exhibitions, theatrical performances and film shows were organized there along with meetings with doctors and the agronomist accompanied with Q&A sessions.⁴⁶ Therefore, we can see that Radin’s performances and attempts to appeal to the Soviet countryside began when such campaigns were launched and it shows how Radin was trying to use already existing methods to reach for a larger segment of the population.

Thematically, the dialogue between the peasant and the physician can be divided into three sections: 1) discussion of the origins of the illnesses, 2) protection of children’s health from the burdens of the physical work and lack of sanitation and 3) explanation of the process of proper upbringing of the child. The role of the physician differed according to the themes of each section. In the first section, the physician’s main task was to dispel myths regarding origins of the illness proposed by the peasant. For example, the peasant presented a popular belief that scabies was caused by cockroaches or that boil was caused by cold or hard work.⁴⁷ As a response, physician indicated that people were misguided by those beliefs and specified the real causes of illnesses, such as, mites, dirt and bad

⁴³ Ibid., 140-141.

⁴⁴ Grant, *Physical Culture and Sport*, 107.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 107-108.

⁴⁶ Kenez, *The Birth of Propaganda State*, 139.

⁴⁷ Radin. *Okhrana zdorov’ia detei i podroستkov i sem’ia*, 8-10.

nutrition.⁴⁸ Along with this, physician also shortly criticized healers and *babki* (old women) who spread all these delusional rumors regarding origins and spread of illnesses.⁴⁹

The physician's role changed when the topic of discussion was the protection of children's health from the overloading physical work and lack of sanitation in the villages. In these themes, physician acted on the side of the children protecting them from the arguments of the peasant whose knowledge again was presented as "delusional". When characters discussed sanitary conditions of the hut, physician stressed the importance of owning separate utensils, beds and belongings, such as towels, since they stimulated the spread of illnesses among members of the household or children. In these discussions, the character of the old people were presented as being upholders of old and unsanitary beliefs. For example, when characters discussed the importance of having a personal bed for a child, the physician mentioned how grandmothers were often those who would sleep on dirty mattress on stoves of the hut when visiting other huts. After sleeping, they would arrive to their household and pass illnesses, such as scabies to their grandchildren who would sleep with them.⁵⁰ Anti-religious sentiments and the critique of religious practices also can be observe in this dialogue and these practices also represented old and dirty remnants of the imperial past. For example, when explaining the dangers of spread of syphilis, the physician underlined how it was unsanitary and dangerous to kiss the same icons that everybody kissed.⁵¹ When discussing the protection of children's health from the burden of physical work, the physician stressed how often children spent their days working more than required. As in his instructions for Pioneers, here Radin also tried to explain that the amount of the physical labor done by children had to correspond to his

⁴⁸ Ibid., 8-10.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 8.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 10-2.

⁵¹ Ibid., 12.

age.⁵² If we take into account how children were assigned specific labor activities according to their age and physical condition in the forest schools, it is no wonder to see Radin being critical of the physical work done in the villages.

Lastly, when explaining the processes and methods, which could improve children's health in the villages, the physician acted as a guide who would help to transform the lives of the Soviet children with the help of adults. As in the schedule of the forest schools, physician suggested the peasant to ventilate huts in order to prevent the child from having tuberculosis.⁵³ Radin even included the example of the forest schools in the footnotes of that page, where he also included slogan of the forest schools: to study, play and sleep outdoors.⁵⁴ Another measure that would help to improve children's health was gathering children on children's playgrounds, where according to physician's words; they would spend their times by engaging in active games in both summer and winter.⁵⁵ Moreover, the physician also stressed the importance of the proper nutrition provided for children (the physician provided number of products that contained vitamins good for health).⁵⁶ The most important part of their discussion happened at the end of the performance, when the physician advised the peasant to form the commission for the protection of children's and adolescents' health, who would help to promote aforementioned instructions and would also act as supervisors of the children's playgrounds, since he expressed his doubts regarding the state's ability to provide financial support that would help to provide nutrition for children.⁵⁷ He was also skeptical about the state's ability to send instructors to these playgrounds.⁵⁸ He stated that launch of such

⁵² Ibid., 18-19.

⁵³ Ibid., 15-16.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 16.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 19-21.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 23.

initiative would facilitate others for action. Children would organize the children's sanitary commissions, as the ones in Pioneer camps, in schools.⁵⁹

Overall, it can be seen that the content of such performances clearly differed from the instructions provided to Pioneers. Apart from providing guidelines on the issues of upbringing of children, such performances also dispelled popular beliefs and myths that hindered modernization of the villages and advance of the modern medical practices. Nevertheless, as the third thematic section demonstrates, the methods introduced by the physician to the village peasant strongly resembles features of the methods implemented in the forest schools and it could be seen also in Radin's references to the forest schools.

Almost the same dialogue took place between the *vozhatyi* and the physician in *Laws of Health – Laws of Hygiene*. The *vozhatyi*, as the peasant, represented an uneducated adult who was also guided by some of the “delusional” beliefs. If in the forest schools, medical experts and pedagogues supervised the process of improving children's health, in Pioneer camps, this task was assigned to the *vozhatye* and it can be seen from the title of the first topic of discussion, “*Vozhatyi* has to be aware of medical issues”.⁶⁰ The dialogue that took place between characters can be also divided into thematic sections: 1) explanation of the illnesses and their treatment, almost the same discussion as in the previous performance, 2) explanation of the importance of personal and public hygiene, and 3) explanation of the processes that would improve the health of Pioneers. The content of the first and the second thematic sections are almost identical as in the previous performance, hence I will not delve into it. The dialogue of the third thematic section also included discussion of the importance of outdoor activities that would improve Pioneers' health and here again Radin used the same slogan included in the description of the forest

⁵⁹ Ibid., 23.

⁶⁰ Radin, *Pravila zdorov'ia*, p.5.

schools and even reference to his own and I.E.Maizel's publication on the forest schools.⁶¹

In this section, the physician also called Pioneers to conduct their classes and activities outdoors as much as possible in order to improve their health, especially with regards to the physician's concerns of the emergence of tuberculosis.⁶²

Despite the fact that Radin acknowledged limited reach of the institutional facilities, such as the forest schools, and advocated for the establishment of the children's playgrounds that were the cheapest solution to the issues of the financial and institutional restraints, the essence of the principles that guided the process of upbringing healthy children, such as harmonic development and inculcation of collectivism persisted in his post-1925 works. Moreover, regardless of the forest schools' ability to transform lives of the Soviet children on a massive geographical scale, Radin still transferred the methods and disciplines implemented in the schedule of the forest schools to the instructions and guidelines of his post-1925 works. As we were able to see, Radin actively encouraged the Pioneers to spend their time outdoors as much as it could be possible and engage in collective sport. The same approach was used in Radin's appeal towards the peasants, in which Radin also called adults to pay more attention to the issues of sanitation, hygiene and overloading children with physical work that did not correspond to their ages and physical abilities. After realizing that the forest schools began to lose the ability of control "lives" of the children on their own territories, Radin decided to transfer all the required knowledge used in the forest schools to the Soviet people, which can be seen in the amount of the details that constituted substantial part of his post-1925 works.

⁶¹ Ibid., 19.

⁶² Ibid., 20.

Conclusion

Revolutionary divide of 1917 that divided interpretation of the Russian history as two distinct periods has been recently drawing the attention of scholars. Those who studied the Russian history in relation to the issues of continuation and change are challenging the revolutionary aspect of this “divide” and coming to ambiguous conclusions. Some of them prefer to interpret this period of the Russian history not by focusing on a specific dividing line, but by looking beyond it, while some are seeing persistence of both continuing and changing patterns in modernizing efforts of the Soviet state.

From the perspective of social transformation, the early Soviet period was an experimental era, in which experts and specialists from various disciplines of sciences were actively involved in projects and initiatives aimed at transformation of the Soviet society. However, as Andy Byford pointed out in his work, transformation of the Soviet society did not always imply creating something new, but rather appropriation of the existing facilities, institutions and experts, who already proposed alternative and unconventional approaches and methods in the processes of upbringing children in imperial Russia. Evgenii Radin’s biography is an indicative of such medical expert, who worked as psychiatrist in the late imperial Russia and occupied the position of the head of one of the departments of Narkomzdrav responsible for the protection of children’s health in the Soviet state, who also vigorously demonstrated his professional interests in the issues of upbringing healthy children.

By taking a holistic approach to the study of Radin’s both pre- and post-Revolutionary works, we will see that the essence of the principles that constituted the process of upbringing healthy children was the same for both of the periods. In the pre-Revolutionary period, Radin was involved in the survey among the students of the higher

educational institutions that examined factors that caused disenchantment. In the analysis of this survey, Radin found out that public factors, such as students' relations with family, peers, and community predominantly caused disenchantment and in order to overcome this issue, Radin proposed to inculcate a sense of collectivism from children's early ages. By examining responses of the students, he discovered that the hostile environment of the secondary educational institutions and oppressive teacher-children relations oppressed their personalities. Therefore, he proposed a number of reforms aimed at transforming secondary schools, which would ensure development of children's personalities through their harmonic development and inculcation of a sense of collectivism. In the post-Revolutionary period, Radin headed the Department for the Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health and managed its medical institutional facilities, such as the forest schools. The forest schools became one of the major themes of his post-Revolutionary schools with the help of which Radin attempted to transform lives of the Soviet children and nurture the agents of the socialist state. Despite the fact that the forest schools were a new and ambitious project and Radin heavily utilized communist ideological rhetoric, the principles that stood at the basis of the process of upbringing The New Soviet Children described in Radin's works were the same as in the pre-Revolutionary period. By implementing methods and disciplines, such as physical culture and labor, hygiene and sanitation, in the schedule of the forest schools Radin ensured harmonic development of children and inculcated a sense of collectivism among them.

The project of the forest schools, as mentioned before, was a new and ambitious project, since it employed methods that radically differed from the once in the ordinary secondary schools. The forest schools were located at the outskirts of the cities or near the forests and children spent six months there. The geographic isolation of the forest schools provided medical and pedagogical experts an opportunity of controlling the process of

upbringing The New Soviet Child and eliminated any influence from outside that could hinder this process. Despite the fact that the success of the forest schools was acknowledged by the state and Radin's enthusiastic propaganda, financial and institutional limitations compelled Radin to champion for cheaper facilities, the children's playgrounds. The limitations also entailed that the forest schools' ability to impact lives of the Soviet children was limited and that the contribution of the institutions to the process of transforming lives of the Soviet people restricted to their geographic location. It also entailed that the knowledge possessed by the experts was also confined to the walls of the forest schools. Hence, Radin in his post-1925 works decided to switch this leading role of the institutions to the hands of the Soviet people by providing detailed guidelines on the issues of medicalizing children's lives. However, the methods and disciplines employed in the schedule of the forest schools and the essential principles that guided Radin's process of upbringing healthy children resonated on the pages of those guidelines.

If we take a holistic approach to Radin's works, then we will be able to see how the core principles that constituted the process of upbringing healthy children for Radin persisted in his post-1917 works, but this process was presented as new and wrapped in the communist ideological rhetoric.

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