

Humanism of the educational ideas of the teacher-innovator A. S. Makarenko

The innovating features of A.S. Makarenko's pedagogical system connected with the upbringing and re-socialization of the orphans, homeless and juvenile delinquents, who were collected in the youth labour colony and labour commune in soviet Ukraine (1920-1935), are revealed in article

Key words: A.S. Makarenko, homeless and juvenile delinquents, efficient work, youth self-government, upbringing by group, respect to personality

With the end of the destructive and debilitating war (1917-1920) on Ukrainian lands along with the restoration of peaceful life in the Soviet spirit they began to create a new system of education for children and adults, which had to correspond the revolutionary tasks of the authorities of the workers and peasants and it was intended to replace the school of the Imperial era. At the same time it was necessary to ensure the social protection of the huge number of children and teenagers, remaining owing to socio-political cataclysms without family care or forced to lead asocial life. The common way of caring for such youth was the organization of various children's homes, communes, in which the orphans, the homeless and young offenders were collected to heat them, to clothe and to feed, and then to prepare them for an independent adult life.

Children's educational institution of residential care, which was created in August 25, 1920¹, in the walls of the former colony for juvenile delinquents in the village Tribny of Poltava² was one of such institution. In September of the same year, full of creative ideas and having the fifteen years of teaching experience, pedagogue Anton Semenovich Makarenko accepted the offer of Poltava PDE (the provincial Department of education) to take the lead in this specific child institution, which was named according to the original documents "the Main children's home for morally-handicapped children № 7"³ or "Colony of morally handicapped children."⁴ It was subject the Main office of social education of the people's Commissariat of education of the Ukrainian SSR and was rated at 30 colonists. The first 10 pupils appeared in December 1920, and in October 1921 they were already 43⁵, and the changes in the structure of the children were on a monthly basis.

In 1920's the juvenile offenders (mostly thieves, hooligans) and homeless were called officially "morally defective"⁵, it was recorded in the document named "System of social education of the children of the Ukrainian SSR" dated June 25, 1921, according to which in the Soviet Republic the institutions for physically, mentally and morally defective children were organized. The term "children's home" marked the establishment, where the children were brought up to 14 years, and young people under the age of 18 years were in the "colonies".

A. Makarenko entered the history of pedagogy as a bold innovator, the organizer of effectively working children's institutions. Among his first steps in the

updating of educational approaches to the rehabilitation of difficult teenagers call firstly the efforts to eradicate the use of the term "morally defective" child. Anton Semenovich spent a lot of effort and time, proving the leadership that juvenile offenders, who mainly were the staff of the institution, are not "defective" or "abnormal" people, because they are ordinary children, which were caught in violent situations of life without family, shelter, care and parent's advice, but they also have their talents and abilities to work, creativity, and the striving of happiness.

An important pedagogical method, which secured the humanization of the process of re-education in the colony, became the "rule not to interest in the past of the guys"⁷. Such a delicate (expression by A. Makarenko - notes by N.D.) attitude to children was at that time an alternative, because among the teachers the conviction of the necessity of the detailed study of the history of life and criminal inclinations of each ward prevailed. Considering that "twisting inside out that entire hole in which the child struggled and died"⁸ is a "stupid", A. Makarenko defended the expediency of ignoring the criminal past of adolescents. This approach has led to amazing effect - "the conversations between the guys about their criminal deeds disappeared, any new colonist had only one interest: what friend, boss and employee you are. Pathos (a word often used by A. Makarenko to characterize the mood of the gorkov-colonists, – notes by N.D.), the thirst for a happy future fully absorbed all the imprints of past troubles."⁹ However, outside the institution it was very hard to fight with a total blunder in respect of former offenders, with the attitude to them as to the people of the third class, and the pedagogical staff of the colony felt loneliness in the question about the meaning of delicacy in the education and re-socialization of children¹⁰.

Realizing that young people tend to choose life ideal and follow it, for educational sample for his wards Anton Semenovich chose the figure of Maxim Gorkiy – the idol of the revolutionary epoch, on whose thorny path of life the orphanhood, homelessness and poverty were, but over time, thanks to the hard work and commitment to building up, the recognition and the glory of the proletarian writer came. Not agreeing with the generally accepted at that time term "morally-disabled", in the spring 1922¹¹. A. Makarenko has renamed the institution in Child labor colony and assigning it the name of Maxim Gorkiy.

Among the peculiarities of the work of labour colony we should include the fact that it was acting as an open organization, i.e. students can freely leave it. At the same time A. Makarenko has achieved the right (decision of the General meeting of the institution) to take in the colony those children just from the street, which were addressed with such request¹².

Anton Semenovich at the beginning of his activity defined his tasks and methods of educating of homeless in such way: "The formal goal of the educational work in colony is a correction of socially and ethically running children-offenders. But from the very beginning of the pedagogical staff refused to consider especially competently the goal of his work (i.e., qualified – notes by N.D.), and related to the children as usual not going beyond the limits of social

education. On the basis of the interpretation and development of the basic principles of social education we made such conclusion. The organization of social education is being constructed in the process of combining the real animate processes, namely: the processes of management, labour, knowledge and games. Economical and useful application of these processes is possible only in case of simultaneous influence of discipline and self-government". There are the most significant components of the educational system in these arguments, which has become an innovative in the goal, and in the selected educational means.

Subsequently, in the art-documentary book "The pedagogical poem", published in 1933 – 1935, A. Makarenko described the life in the children's labour colony named after M. Gorky step-by-step (1920-1928 gg.) not concealing its complex and dramatic scenes. It will be superfluous to retell the content of the book, which should be read by each teacher, because it is a visiting card of innovative exploration of Soviet pedagogy of 1920-s, which has received the international spread through its successful experience of rehabilitation of juvenile offenders. The Dzerzhinsky labor commune, organized in Kharkov (1927-1935) became the next similar institution. Its life and educational achievements teacher reflected in the literary works "March of 1930 " (1930), "Flags on the towers" (1938), which have received wide acclaim. Thanks to the literary form of the narrative the activities of educational institutions of A. Makarenko, his pedagogical ideas and methods have become available not only Soviet, but also the world science of the upbringing of a man. Pedagogical heritage of Anton Semenovitch also includes a number of theoretical works devoted to various aspects of the education of the youth There are "Book for parents" (1937), "Problems of school of the Soviet education (lectures)" (1938), and numerous articles.

It was written about the work and achievements of children's institutions of A. Makarenko a lot of interpretatively-research works by domestic and foreign scientists. Therefore, let's focus, firstly, on the identification of innovative specifics of life of Makarenko's groups, which have not lost their value, on a generalization of educational innovations, which were realized by efforts of a famous teacher and his colleagues -like-minded persons. Secondly, covering the history of children's institutions A. Makarenko we will rely only on documentary and archival materials, the works of an outstanding teacher and on the facts, which were recorded in his correspondence with Maxim Gorkiy, containing a lot of interesting details about everyday and permanent realities of colonies and komunar (commune) life.

Due to archival materials it is known that there were 60 children¹⁴ in the middle of 1922 in M.Gorkiy labour colony (by the end of September of the same year - already 77 people, and another 16¹⁵ waited for their queue), and 5 teachers, medical assistant-teacher, 9 persons of technical staff and 5 masters-instructors¹⁶ worked with them. The number of the last corresponds to the number of the workshops (carpentry, blacksmith, tin, shoe galantry, basket workshop), where the pupils, repairing or making basic, necessary in their everyday life, things, worked. Because of lack of materials and tools at the time, it was not about the

production of even a simple products for the exchange of goods, which would give the opportunity to get something that was not enough for the life of the institution. And it was lack of everything - clothes, shoes, food, bed linen, beds, furniture, books, tools.

It was added to the material needs that fact that the colony always had nearly 30 per cent of the newcomers, who were not used to the discipline and work, always brought into the community messy spirit of the city streets, bazaar, railway stations and dark corners¹⁷ ". But, as noted by A. Makarenko, "under the influence of the friendly family of older colonists the spirit of this very disappeared, and only in exceptional cases we despaired." Therefore, in 1923 he made the conclusion about the inadmissibility of the simultaneous release from prison a considerable number of senior students who formed the core of the educational team, as the simultaneous reception of numerous beginners leads the team to the crisis condition.

The colony received the main profit of the from agricultural labour. In order to ensure the vital needs of the colony it was granted for the treatment 45 acres of land (and subsequently another 15), 6 horses, 4 oxen, 2 cows, 4 pigs, 60 units of various birds¹⁸. However, as the inspector of PDE (the provincial Department of education) reported, children's contingent was so physically exhausted¹⁹ for the period of winter-spring 1922, that without the attachment, which in the beginning of summer the leadership of labour colony in Kharkov provincial Department of education requested, it was impossible for establishment to gather a vital crop. Let's remind, that in 1921-1923, the difficult post-war socio-economic situation of the population of Ukraine was complicated by the famine, which increased the orphanhood and the homelessness. For example, in the Poltava newspaper "Voice of labour" of November 28th, 1922, it was noted: "There was an information about the plight of the starving children from different counties. It was danger of children's mass extinction²⁰". The economic collapse and drought, the difficult political situation, famine and epidemics exacerbated the problems of homelessness and it caused the significant growth of juvenile crime.

The dry information of the balance sheet for 1923 about the state of Poltava labour colony, not only specified the data about life and activities of educational institutions, but drew a tragic picture of the national situation with children's homelessness and offences. So in January of the specified year of the institution there were 70 adolescents, during the year 42 people retired, and 70 children arrived, that is, to the beginning of 1924 there were 89 boys and 9 girls who lived in the colony, more than 90 per cent of which were over the age of 14 years. 58 people were orphans, and 27 had only one parent. There were 51 persons among aimed for the theft to prison, 39 - for vagrancy, 2 - for the crime of murder and 6²¹ - for banditry. A significant excess in quantitative proportion of the pupils structure, which the circumstances in the person of provincial Department of education demanded, resulted "such determination in autumn, that colony could not give the bed to each inmate because it was nowhere to put it". 15 pupils ran for the year, and one boy of the newcomer died of malaria²².

We emphasize that, although at the beginning of the functioning the institution was on the state financial support, however, at the beginning of the spring 1922 in the country of the new economic policy, it was transferred as the other similar institutions to the local budget²³, what actually meant the need to engage in self-maintenance. Two first winters of the existence of labour colony "the guys did not have warm clothes and footwear, but they did not stop to work"²⁴.

In spite of the extremely poor material conditions of existence the colony not only survived, (because "it was made every effort"²⁵) but also achieved real results in the re-education of difficult youth. In 1922 the colony was awarded the rank of the experienced-model colony of Republican value²⁶, making her again taken on budgetary financing. However, it was barely enough for the most necessary - supply and wages for the personnel.

In the autumn 1924, despite of the lack of public funds for the restoration of the estate, the pupils by themselves capitally repaired the vast majority of buildings which were almost destroyed²⁷, and it was spent 14000 rubles and more than 20,000 hours of child labor²⁸. It allowed to leave finally comfortable rooms in Triby and move all the colonists near Kovalevka. Thanks to three-year labour efforts they managed not only to ensure the children having an acceptable way of life in the conditions of picturesque landscapes "the perfect lordly manor", i.e. to aestheticize the educational atmosphere, (because A. Makarenko attached exceptional importance to it in terms of cultural transformation of identity) but also to show the pupils the joy of the labour voltage of forces, overcoming the obstacles to achieve the dream. The necessary constantly to overcome the difficulties, to solve new problems together gave good working mood, optimistic tone with a "noticeable share of pathos" in collective. Former social running teenagers have seen for their own experience that the hard work and concentration of efforts contributed to the group, and personal success.

In order to understand better the real conditions of life of colonists we adduce some documentary evidence, appealing to the history of the institution. So, in summer 1927, when the colony has already considered successful, continued to develop and progress²⁹, it was noted in the act of verification of its condition, that "the feeding of the [settlers] was poor, 2 times a day the children had tea with bread and a dinner which consists of 2-course meal, the first course with the meat, and the second was porridge with butter, a lot of bread, but it was not enough for children, because all the time they spent out of doors and on the field"³⁰. At the same time, various controlling persons, who often visited the colony, noted unanimously, that "children did not look worn out. On the contrary, they looked cheerfully, fresh and happy"³¹. It was amazing true, because the atmosphere of the establishment, the spirit of its life were riddled with pathos of creation, thanks to which they overcame the material and physical difficulties, with pathos, which based on a dream-perspective of the better future as the inexhaustible source of optimism and faith.

When the colony received the status of "model colony" it began to live better in material condition, and it, due to the words of Anton Semenovich, "began to be coated with property." So, in 1925, the establishment, where 120 students and 12 teachers³² lived have already been able financially to rent a steam mill (but a bureaucratic complexity appeared) and to contain 7 horses, 4 cows, 80 pigs of English breed³³ and etc. Moreover the colonists (but not teachers) kept the whole economy; the keys of all stores were under the jurisdiction of them. To show how level of trust and responsibility had been achieved, we uncover the innovative organization of the vital activity of pedagogical collective of the institution.

The collective economic process, which at the same time was also a means of educating of pupils, who subordinated to the logic of a "healthy public debt of personality within the commune"³⁴, was the driving force of the development of the labour colony named in honour of M. Gorkiy. The children's associations, groups, which transformed in uneven-aged associations, which were "more than family"³⁵ established the economic structure of the colony. The first such detachment appeared at the end of the autumn – at the begin of the winter 1920, in connection with the necessity firewood's stocking up. It was the first step to organizing the system of units as the basis for the development of self-government in the colony, and in the pedagogical respect it was the first step to organizing the system of detachment as the main educational units of the primary group. Each unit consisted of one commander, who was appointed the pedagogical Council at the initial stage of development of Gorkiy team; the assistant of the commander and 8-12 members. With the development of democracy the commanders were chosen by the pupils of the General meeting of the colony. As the leaders the commanders were given the power to allocate work, to monitor its implementation, sanitary condition of their detachment, to control the observance of internal regulations of life, and also to engage in re-educating newcomers etc.

Gradually the Supreme Executive-economic organ of colony - the Council of commanders was formed. It consists of leading students of uneven-age children's detachments, the head of the colony and the teacher. This body was amassed by a signal of a pipe, on Saturdays as usual. The Council of commanders in fact turned into a master, who held the reins of management of the life of the colony.

The system of self-government in the colony consisted of such units: general meeting of all staff and children, and teachers as the main organ of self-government (the head of the colony also submitted to its decision), the Council of commanders as a central executive body and various executive commissions, the system of duty.

The work of the permanent (sanitary, economic, industrial, sports, art, cultural) and temporary (elected, front, ceremonies, reception of visitors etc.) was encouraged by the teachers not only with the purpose of the better performance of the various cases, but also because of it the colonists gained managerial experience, they were in various kinds of activities.

The Institute of the guards which was formed as the first in the autumn 1920, when it was necessary constantly to keep order in the bedrooms, was conducive to production and social activity of pupils. With time it became very branchy, and the diversity of types of duty, as a system of temporary assignments, ensured the creation of an atmosphere of mutual responsibility on the basis of recognition of forces of the whole collective, which must be respected by each person. Each pupil was obliged to submit to the requirements of the duty, but that submission could not be effected in the form of humiliation of the child's dignity. Thus, through the multi-faceted system of powers and the system of dependent responsibility the united group of children was creating, lived on the democratic principles.

However, in the educational concept by A. Makarenko the collective of pupils was not separated from the collective of teachers and masters. On the contrary, the efforts of the teachers were aimed at the creation of a single social organism - the team of adults and children, who were united by common work and common holiday, the common perspectives of development. Therefore, addressing to the fundamentals of the colony's functioning, it should be noted, that the head of the colony and teachers were in charge of it, guided by democratic principles; they aimed not to administer the children, but to create a unified team of teachers and pupils. The leading task of the pedagogical management of adult consisted of the development of autonomy and initiative in children, of strengthening of the bringing influence of self-government. The Council of commanders, the commanders of the detachments, the head of the colony and the pupils were accountable to the pedagogical Council as the collegiate governing body of the colony. It claimed all the important decisions of the government.

If at the beginning of the colony's existence the teaching staff consisted of 4 people (teachers-teachers E. Grigorovich and L. Nikiforova, the married couple of teachers – V. and N. Popovichenko), then with time its membership increased up to 12 people. Among the most vividly manifested themselves in this activity there were the teachers-tutors V. Vesich, I. Rakovich, L. Sagredo, V. Ermolenko, M. Chaplian, L. Greier, a talented teacher-organizer of club work V. Terskii, as well as an agronomist M. Phere, the head of the workshops M. Nikolaienko, political instructor, assistant of A. Makarenko L. Koval, instructor-gardener B. Taputs etc³⁶. Moreover, the ratio of the number of teachers, and the number of pupils has changed as follows: in 1921. – 1:6, in 1925 - 1:11³⁷, i.e. the increasing in the number of children has not led to a quantitative increasing of the teachers, what has become possible primarily thanks to the efficiency of the embedded self-government.

The characteristic feature of the teaching staff of the colony was in that fact that there were the like-minded people, united by the purpose of educating the difficult children on the basis of the recognition of their human values. Interlocking the staff of people, who were devoted to this idea, A. Makarenko formed a holistic pedagogical collective, which held a unified educational line in the development of children's institution.

Increasing of the number of colonists led to increase of detachments, there were the reorganization, because the part of the pupils left the school and at the same time it constantly updated by newcomers, the changes in the economic life were motivated too. The final led to the introduction by A. Makarenko another effective form of organization of the children's activity; it was the summary working groups as temporary groups of children, created by the short-term for operational performance of the certain work. Such detachments could have from 2 to 8 members, depending on the volume of the job, and structurally resembled the conventional brigades. From the documents it is known that, for example, in the middle of 1925, there were 16 teams³⁸ in the colony, representing 130 boys and 10 girls (mostly in the age from 14 till 18 years³⁹, and only 12 children – till 14 years)⁴⁰, as well as 8 teachers worked. Although according to the order of the Main office of social education of the people's Commissariat of education about the colonies of this type the co-education of young people in it was forbidden, but A. Makarenko has made such a resolution for its establishment, seeing in the joint educational process the pedagogical expediency.

It should be admitted, that the main occupation of the colonists, at least in the early years, was the production (Handicrafts) and the labour-self-service and self-reliance labour. In the working process, which was built on the basis of the work of brigades and self-government, Anton Semenovitch saw a powerful educational factor, which helped to transform the false vital signs of juvenile offenders and to provide them the real opportunities to return to the society and to be the full-fledged, self-sufficient citizens. The pupils attraction to the diverse economic activity put them in a relationship of real care of themselves and of others, it filled the life by sense of responsibility and it motivated the need of clear order, it formed the moral basis of a person.

The creating of children's own labour holidays was conducive to the high children's attitude to work in particular - the Day of the first sheaf (the beginning of July) and the Day of the first bread, when the first loaf of grown grain baked, "; there were invited guests from the nearby village of Poltava, Kharkov.

The celebration of the birthday (26 March) of Maxim Gorkiy was special colony holiday. On this occasion, there were white tablecloths in the dining room, and at the afternoon everybody in festive costumes sat at the table to say the "short but passionate and emotional speech," to try a birthday cake and lots of sweets.

A. Makarenko wrote that it was "the only day when the whole team let wed themselves some luxury". In addition, it was the flag near the portrait of Maxim Gorkiy, at which the guard of honor of the children and teachers has changed in the evening. The performance by the play of the proletarian writer ended the celebration.

The common economy and leisure with branching self-government united the motley crowd of difficult youth in the "progressive community", in the collective, which controlled, protected, and gave the opportunity to open yourself up and be realized, and if it was necessary - it disciplined.

From the start of the colony's work labour, self-government and the ideals of the collective coexistence became the fundamental principles of organization of children's life.

As for educational process in the colony, the first difficult years of existence, it didn't even have separate training classes⁴²; however, with the improvement of the material situation the regular training was organized. At the time of common search for new ways of development of the Soviet school the labour colony was experimenting too: they were working with integrated programs, refusing the clear plans and programs, the textbooks, the separation of the objects, the fixed system. In the questionnaire in autumn 1922. A. Makarenko said that "there were no permanent school groups (classes – notes by N.D.). Every week in the Council of educators the project of the complex themes for the next week is discussed and group of pupils and teachers for the development of these projects are appointed. The content of the complex theme usually includes the development of question which is raised by the students in one of the private talk, and is accompanied by works (in the form – notes by N.D.) of mathematical, linguistic and graphic images."⁴³

Taking into consideration "the logic of children's life in the colony and out" the training was subordinated to the main idea - to ensure the interest of pupils to new knowledge, the questions were used for it, the results of which the interesting for the majority the educational themes were formed. Their study was divided into two parts: passive (logical disclosure of the issue through the report, conversation, reading) and active (encouraging the pupils to the expression of thoughts and feelings which arose during previous work, with it all that the three forms of such reflection were practiced. They were numerical, verbal and graphical).⁴⁴

The lessons were held after breakfast (since 8 till 11 a.m) and the work in the workshops started in the afternoon and lasted since 13 till 16 p.m⁴⁵. The training was limited to a minimum in summer only, when the intensive field work started. As new street urchin constantly arrived to the colony, a lot of whom had never attended school or simply were "mentally weak"⁴⁶, the functioning simultaneously with the school a literacy courses⁴⁷ was very motivated.

Highlighting something new in the pedagogical process of the colony, undoubtedly it should be noted the cultivation of beauty as a powerful factor of the creation of educational environment, as a means of positive influence on the pupils. Despite the financial difficulties, the poor life, A. Makarenko constantly concerned about maintaining and developing the cultural and aesthetic atmosphere of institutions that were implemented in the care of a decent way of life (furniture, decoration of premises, as well as the territory of the colony, the creation of numerous flower beds), about the external appearance and clothing of the children, about the culture of their behavior and relations. Since the beginning of the work of the colony the teacher did not want to put up with the lack of external comfort in the life of children, believing that the new pupils, which permanently arrived to the colony, relate acute to schools poverty, which they think is the best proof that stealing is more profitable than working."⁴⁸

A. Makarenko was convinced that "the team should be decorated externally"⁴⁹, so even then, when the colony was very poor, first of all they built a greenhouse, how expensive it was, and grew "the roses, not any bad flowers but chrysanthemums and roses"⁵⁰. Over the years, with the growth of material wealth there was the tradition in the colony to decorate with baskets of flowers the bedrooms, dining rooms, and classrooms, corridors and even the stairs. All the elements which contributed to the aesthetization of the educational environment - the flowers, the neat costumes and hairstyles, clean shoes, facilities and machines in combination with the aesthetics of the behavior of each pupil, that was based on the idea of the game as an integral part of the life of the child, and the law of collective coexistence, all of it formed a peculiar style, i.e., a particular form of the institution's organization and established an exalted tone in it. In the process of the educational experience A. Makarenko found the following pedagogical interdependence: aesthetics, as a result of style in a team and as an indicator of style, then it starts to play the role of an important educated factor⁵¹. However, to achieve the success the requirements of the maintenance of beautiful arrangement of life should strictly be followed by everyone, without exception.

One more educational and cultural achievement of the first years of colony's life is organization of amateur theatre, where every week there were free of charge plays for peasants (most often - the play "At the bottom" by M. Gorkiy), and later the rural youth were invited for participating in the submissions.

Due to archival materials it is known that in the first four years the colony graduated 173 persons, among which 20 was sent to study at the working faculties⁵², 10 - in the infantry school, 4 - in a divisional school, 50 pupils⁵³ returned to the parents. Not idealizing the situation in a children's institution, we note that there were shoots, because there were the children, who got into the habit of the anarchy and street life, didn't take the fundamental ideas of colony's hostel. At the same time, the documents reflected the overall optimistic mood that prevailed in the colony. For example, the high public prosecutor's officer, who controlled the institution in September 1924, wrote in his review that "students lived together, discipline in the colony was conscious ... The pupils worked collectively and diligently. The colony was the perfect place where they did received the necessary development, respecting the «labour» and contemptuously blaming the shirkers"⁵⁴.

Among the educated techniques, which, in A. Makarenko opinion, provided the implementation of the efforts unification and discipline of the motley crowd of young offenders it should include the introduction of daily marches in the columns with the flag under the sound of the trumpet, in occasions - with the orchestra, delivery of reports. This way of uniting of children can be attributed to the innovative method for that period, since it does not advocated by official pedagogy, and sometimes was negatively perceived and criticized by contemporaries of Anton Semenovich, in particular they criticized the marching children on the parade, the saluting called the drill and deliberate militarization of education. It should be emphasized that the teacher has interpreted these

techniques as elements of the game, as "organizational design of the aesthetic order, which emphasizes the importance of common movements»⁵⁵. The documents indicate that the colonists with enthusiasm and excitement walked on the parade: training to the military order "[in the colony] was introduced, that was very attractive for children and had beneficial effects on maintaining discipline"⁵⁶ or "[in the colony] discipline was good, as the military structure"⁵⁷. Later, in 1928. A. Makarenko had to leave the colony "not to betray his pedagogical beliefs", pupils supported created by him style of life, and "the thing against which particularly the opponents objected - units and commanders, fireworks and reports, remained intact"⁵⁸.

In May 1926 Poltava labour colony named in honour of M. Gorkiy relocated in other children's colony in the village of Kuriash, located in Kharkov. It is known from the letter of A. Makarenko to M. Gorkiy: Kuriash colony, occupying the premises of a former monastery, in the pedagogical sense was "the pit"⁵⁹. There were more than 200 pupils, who did not wash, did not use the soap and towels, had no toilets; it was a "big ball of pottering in the mud, adolescents, who are used to drink and abusive swearing"⁶⁰. And to improve the situation in children's institution, the government of USSR supported the proposal of A. Makarenko about the translation of his exemplary colony in Kuriash. It was noted in the memorandum to the Council of people's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR: "the colony named in honour of M. Gorkiy is the institution of the state value, is on public money, and serves the whole USSR ... its transferring will let to go up at the proper height the institution for offenders of all-Ukrainian scale, it will be a strong weapon in the fight against children's crime in Ukraine." ⁶¹

The collective of labour colony, whose pedagogical success and "community cohesion" were at that time just undeniable, where the orderly activity was arranged, agreed on the "conquest of Kuriash " to change its by own forces for the better and to demonstrate teaching expediency of Makarenko system of educational collective, "domestic responsible and independent,... designed ... first of all according to the theory of common sense." ⁶² To the same the conditions of the development of collective farms in Kovalevka have been exhausted. Subsequently, analyzing the experience of the development of Poltava colony, an outstanding teacher explained that for the further growth of the team appeared the necessity of a new strong-willed voltage and overcoming of new difficulties for the sake of new achievements. On the separate experience A. Makarenko sought to prove the justice of the law of the development of a children's collective" – setting of promising lines for ensuring continuous active life of the pupils that effectively influences on the formation of their personal qualities.

Of course, it would be easier to move to Kuriash immediately for all pupils and the pedagogical personnel and to conquer cohesive this "mass of human misery". However, following a humanistic pedagogical principle "as much as possible the requirements to the pupil and as much respect to him", Anton Semenovich was going to go alone and try to "infect Kuriash people with little pathos, to captivate them with faith in their human value"⁶³. He didn't want to see

how arrived Poltava colonists cocked their noses, feeling the superiority over Kuriazh people who, "from the shame and the old hatred" would be at odds with the "conquerors" frankly.

In the middle of May in Kharkov except A. Makarenko 4 tutors, 11 colonists and the senior instructor⁶⁴ left the colony. Organizing a new life, they, like Anton Semenovich, slept on the tables, lived in adverse conditions, as all the buildings were abandoned. But most of all teachers worried that Kuriazh children were not used to any work and discipline, they have developed a special consumer outlook. So everybody hoped that "the huge work on repair and development of economy would help to change the consumer philosophy...." ⁶⁵

28-29th of May, 1926 the Gorkiy colony in the staff of 130 pupils and personnel with management (inventory, cows, pigs), property, library (5000 units), with the materials of the Museum of the City arrived in Kuriazh⁶⁶ on special train, leaving in Kovalevka the exemplary farm, renovated rooms, cultivated fields to their successors - Poltava children's colony named in honour of V. Korolenko .

The power of the word and the power of the authority of the person is belonged to the remarkable strength of the impact spiritual phenomena. In the case of the Kuriazh colony Gorkiy letter received in the beginning of June 1926 was the turning point in the reform of its atmosphere. The writer not only congratulated with the moving, but also wished the health and respect to each other in the new team, stressing that "there is a smart power of builder in each person and it is a need to give it a will to develop and flourish itself, so that it has to enriched the earth by the greater miracles⁶⁷." Thanks to the "Gorkiy" day, when there was a collective reading of the letter, there was a report by A. Makarenko about the life of the outstanding writer and excerpts from his autobiographical novels "Childhood" and "In the world", and spontaneously the lively discussion of the hearing arose, and again the ordinary miracle happened: children felt faith in their human value, expressed by the distinguished public figure, and, according to Anton Semenovich, they imbued with the desire to create. From there, the creative period in the conquest of Kuriazh started.

At the initial, materially difficult stage of activity the high priority was given to the fight against mud - cleaning, painting, plastering. Small reserves of Poltava people clothes were swallowed by the "bare", according to A. Makarenko, position of Kuriazh people, and therefore the appearance of everybody was ugly. The main expenses were on the repair, the organization of workshops (a pigsty, a dairy farm) ... and the greenhouses. Yes, teacher brought to children's minds the craving of beauty through the creation of attractive living environment, maintained their strength in the intense longing for the better. Organization the aesthetic in colony environment was begun with the fact, that the children planted the flowers there, where the trash was removed. It helped to create a kind of exalted tone of life, to endure the physical trials, when the guys "had to work a lot and in very difficult conditions"⁶⁸. Documentary materials confirm that, despite the difficulties, the mood of the pupils was wonderful, they were full of plans. Here is an example⁶⁹ of how there was the development of production and,

consequently, the money earning: a detachment of 60 colonists took the order for production for the 6 month 10000 chairs, and in the account of payment the colony gained equipment for the workshop and the work started. For a good job pupils were given the prize, which was accumulated on their personal accounts in the savings bank until the children leave the institution.

The training process in Kuriazh was introduced, which covered all the pupils. The example of graduates-workers, who came and lived in the colony on the rights of the individual 7-th team, stimulated to school education. And although the conclusions of the district Commission of RCTs (workers ' and peasants ' inspection) as for the survey of the colony in March-April 1928 marked (as the lack) the non-observance of the distribution of children by age and level of knowledge in groups (classes)⁷⁰, such disregard by the inspectors the specificity and diversity of child collective we refer to their bias or desire to follow the generally accepted practice unconditionally. Similarly, you can qualify and the point of view expressed back in October 1927 by the inspection Commission of the Kharkov regional Executive Committee (district Executive Committee) about the presence of such deficiencies in the out of the colony activity as a lack of circles: artistic, literary, chess etc. However, the same commission noted the satisfactory work of the library, the brass band, the facts of mass organized visits by colonists to the movies and performances⁷¹.

Less than in a year after the moving Kuriazh colony, which has already totaled about 400 pupils, began to accept a very difficult young people - "lousy swearing guys, drones, staunch opponents of any authority and discipline."⁷² During 2-3 days their opposition to team collapsed, because the pedagogical principle of parallel actions worked, when the team was not only the object but also the subject of education in the form of collective response: everywhere newcomers were "meeting the sharp, accurate, cheerful eyes, a strong word of the [experienced colonists – notes by N.D.], and in extreme cases and a number of fists which were ready to break one's nose at the first antisocial movement."⁷³ Not denying that, in some cases, the physical clarification of the relationship between pupils happened, A. Makarenko at the same time was aware in all complexity of such "education", so for the newcomers a special unit was organized, where they studied the rules of the common existence in the colony plus the total elevating influence of the team – as a result in a month the newcomers became the "active advocates and tone of the colony".

We note, although officially it was forbidden to create a prison for offenders, calculated by more than 60 people, but in the history of Makarenko institutions there was not and six months of work in a mode of this requirement. Working with some hundreds of difficult teenagers, Anton Semenovich never organized solitary confinement and no one pet was not returned back to jail, although the majority of them were transported to him in "the black carriage and they were passed under the gun"⁷⁴. Because of the continuous replenishment of the "new" homeless in the institution the conditions of their upbringing required a constant willed and emotional tension of forces by all staff, and the lack of sufficient funds, a small

fitness of the monastery premises in Kuriazh for the needs of child labour colony complicated the pedagogical process. "The desperate struggle for life, for every patch, for old shoes, but cheerful united tone, the discipline, the laughter, the sounds of the orchestra"⁷⁵ was Makarenko characteristic of the state of affairs in the colony, "standing as a fortress among the total sea of laxity and parasitism"⁷⁶.

In addition to purely pedagogical and material difficulties the work of A. Makarenko was very complicated by conflicts with the leadership in the sphere of education. Despairing in asserting in disputes with officials the right to embody his ideas, A. Makarenko decided to leave the system of institutions of the people's Commissariat of education of the Ukrainian SSR and take "with a joyous sense of necessary freedom in the field of creation of new educational method"⁷⁷ a sentence of the MPD (the Main political Directorate) as for organization of children's labour commune name of Felix Dzerzhinsky in the settlement of New Kharkov (a suburb of Kharkov) by forces of Gorkiy colony. From June 1927. Anton Semenovich combined the work in the prison and in the community, however, because of the congestion and the "ultimatum" of the chairman of the Main office of social education of the people's Commissariat of education of the Ukrainian SSR V. Arnautov in September 1928, he left the colony and till 1935 focused on activities in the community, developing the developed methodology of the collective upbringing. And yet his forced transfer in the commune the teacher considered a personal tragedy, "the wrong hands (by officials – notes by N.D.) took the business of life"⁷⁸.

Before proceeding to the coverage of pedagogical innovation in the activities of the commune, we note that in the beginning of July 1928, Gorkiy visited Kuriazh and New Kharkov. For the colonists and the Communards it became a long-awaited holiday. They gave the writer an unusual gift - the album "Our life is for Gorkiy - Gorkiy people", where they placed their 264 autobiography. A. Makarenko, which reprinted it, later wrote: "When I was typing hundredth biography, I realized that I read the most amazing book I have ever read. It is concentrated children's grief, which was told by such simple, such cruel words."⁷⁹

The first students (50 boys and 10 girls) from M. Gorkiy colony arrived to the commune named of Dzerzhinskiy with part of the pedagogical staff in December 1927. "They came a well-organized and disciplined team and already in half an hour after they arrived, the organizational period in children's collective was completed"⁸⁰, and in a month the establishment increased on the 40 homeless from the Kharkov collector, picked up from the streets, and in six months commune again took 50 teenagers.⁸¹ The newcomers found in the commune a strong and cheerful team and they had to accept the rules of the common life in it. With the norm of 100 children at the expense of effectiveness of Makarenko system of education it has become possible to contain 150 students (until 1931), and in 1934 about 400 people at the age of nearly 13-16 had already lived, studied and worked in the commune.

One of the first organizational affairs in the commune was to create a "musical treasures" of the pupils; it would be brass band, intended for a joyful, the exalted tone of their everyday life.

In contrast to the agricultural bias of labour, which was characteristic for Gorkiy colony, the commune launched the industrial production - firstly half handicraft, as 4 available training workshops (carpentry, metalwork, tailor's, the shoemaking) were not suitable for commercial production. They had to accumulate funds for their equipment and gradually establish the work process. So, in December 1929 sewing and woodworking shop began to operate, where the pants sewed by thousands, the parts of beds and machinery fittings produced and standard furniture made.⁸² It allowed the community to move to self-sufficiency and, after thanking the KGB, to abandon their financial subsidies.

An important innovation of management was the introduction of remuneration of labour for the communards in the end of 1930, what strengthened the executive responsibility and increased productivity. And this, in its turn, allowed accumulating of money for the expansion of woodworking production, copper-foundry shop started to work too. From monthly wages each kommunar was obliged to contribute a certain part to its content, half of the remainder to contribute to their name in a savings Bank (the accumulated amount was granted a pupil at the release of the commune), and the remaining was considered like pocket money needed for their own needs (they did not allow to buy only wine and inappropriate clothing)⁸³.

Further development of the productive forces of the commune and deployment of real industrial production is connected with construction and starting in January 1932, the first in the USSR plant of electric drills ("electrodrill FD-1" and its updated model "FD-3"). However, the movement forward of the team has not stopped on this way. In summer of the same year, the commune have organized a special experimental, bureau for development of cameras, similar to the American brand "Lake". Komunar's device got the name of the "FED" (the abbreviation of the initials "Felix Dzerzhinsky"), and its manufacture started in October. The plant was complete by divisions of the best domestic and foreign machines. The following figures showed the effectiveness of komunar's production: in the first years of the existence the pupils released half handicraft products at 10,000 roubles⁸⁴, but after the launch of the plant annually it was 9 million rubles of industrial products, and it was the product which was extremely required for the Soviet economy.

Significant changes have occurred in the pedagogical process. In 1930, as the result of the fact that the local government of the commune has reached a high level, as unnecessary the positions of teachers, who had to look after children and to control them, were eliminated. The teachers went to work in komunar's ten-year school⁸⁵. In the same year, the institution opened the working faculty of Kharkov machine-building Institute, and subsequently, almost half of the Communards-pupils went to study in various universities. In 1934, a workers' school as a form of education was reorganized in average special educational institution - into

college with two departments: electro-mechanical and optical-mechanical⁸⁶. Gradually, the commune created conditions to ensure that every pupil could get a better education and training. Only in 1933 the commune graduated 45 students in higher educational institutions⁸⁷.

The successful activity of Kharkov commune was ensured by the influence of several material factors: firstly, there were pupils and pedagogical staff, who had already had the experience of organization of effective educational environment; secondly, the security police, who at the initial stage interested in the commune, helped it, providing good conditions for life (oak furniture, showers, baths, a wonderful clothes, rich bedrooms, enough food) and labour (workshops, equipped with appliances and instruments); thirdly, the institution was managed by A. Makarenko, who continued to improve their successful teaching experience and effective educational system.

In recognition of A. Makarenko, the internal structure of the commune, "its life and tone have been inherited from the previous experiences of the colony named of Maxim Gorkiy"⁸⁸. For example, in 1932, the pupils on the enterprise principle were distributed to 32 primary groups - units (at the same time they were brigades – notes by N.D.) with 10-13 persons in each⁸⁹. Within the same occupational group there was the practice of dividing children by age. In the most widespread variant each group was the primary team and had a separate bedroom, tables in the dining room, their domestic economy (furniture, a wardrobe, crockery).

The livelihoods of communars, among which the youth at the age from 11 to 20 years was, clearly subjected to the rules and regulations, which formed a kind of constitution of the commune - the countries of FED, i.e. a collection of provisions about the organization of self-government in the team, about the procedure of duties, the duties and rights of the election asset, the agenda, the rules of behaviour in everyday life and at work, account of the socialist competition between units-brigades, about promotions and sanctions⁹⁰. As well as in Gorkiy colony, the commanders, heads of units, played an important role, performed the guiding powers as an additional workload. They were elected by the general meeting, but only for six months, than being limited to the possibility of abuse of power. Thus, firstly, a lot of communars were involved in leadership and organizational activities that enhanced the asset, secondly, in the unit democracy protected without breaking of the unity of command. Only when it comes to the manual detachment of the new pupils, the commander was appointed by the council of communars, as well as two assistants.

Day in the commune started with a signal of bugle at 6 in the morning. On in advance developed by the council of commanders plan the cleaning of all rooms began, reports about the results of which were in duty representatives of health service. Breakfast ended not later than 7:30 a.m. and one change of the children went to the plant (up to 11.30), and the second at school (till 12.00). They had a lunch at noon. From 13.00 to 17.00 the communars worked and studied again (i.e., shifts changed places). From 17.00 till 20.30 the young people had free time, filled

with komsomolskaya and pionerskaya activities, clubbing, sports, group work, rehearsals of two orchestras. One of them is a large, consists of 40 performers, regarded as perhaps the best in Ukraine. Finally after supper (20.30) the general meeting of the commune took place, beginning with reports from commanders.

Each pupil, whom stated in the report about, had to explain the team, which was the main form of communars disciplinary action. The general meeting had the right to impose the recovery on the communars (denial of leave, deprivation of the title estate, warning, note, removal from work, removal from office, a petition to the management board of the dismissal from the commune) ⁹¹. The duty commander kept daily routines of order, who was free the whole day from work on this day, but he received average daily wage.

At the stage of the significant achievements of Dzerzhinskiy commune in summer of 1935. A. Makarenko was transferred to work in Kiev to participate in the reorganization of the system of labour colonies of the Ukrainian SSR. Since 1937 until the untimely death in 1939. Anton Semenovich was engaged in literary and pedagogical-journalistic work, living in Moscow.

Experience under the leadership of A. Makarenko children's institutions has been so successful that it could not officially do recognize. After the death of the teacher the study and dissemination of his ideas in the USSR began. His publications (including articles) informed about the work of the colony named of M. Gorkiy and commune of F. Dzerzhinskiy not only the Soviet public, but also representatives of foreign countries. There were numerous foreign delegations and individuals from more than 40 countries of the world. For example, in 1928 in the United States a book of professor L. Willson "New school of new Russia" was published, where the author told about successful educational experience of A. Makarenko colony, which she visited in 1927. ⁹²The first translation of "Pedagogical poem" in the English came out in the UK in 1936, after that the rave reviews about interesting book appeared in the press. However, the real interest abroad to the experience of A. Makarenko turned around after the Second world war, when German researchers (in the first place - the staff of Marburg laboratory "Makarenko-summary") began a thorough study of the creative activity of the teacher. Due to the appearance of numerous domestic and foreign researches, devoted to the coverage and analysis of activity of the colony named of M. Gorkiy and commune of F. Dzerzhinskiy, the pedagogical phenomenon as the world makarenkocriticism⁹³ was formed during the second half of the twentieth century.

However, in the days of life of an outstanding teacher, his innovative ideas, which were not fitted in education policy, were sharply criticized, and decisive proposals (for example, the project of organization of "all-Ukrainian children's labour army, with a wide active self-government, but fervent discipline"⁹⁴ or reorganization of children's establishments of Kharkov district on the basis of a single housing⁹⁵), which were based on the findings of an effective educational experience, caused fear and misunderstanding. Anton Semenovich has expressed in such way about the pedagogical innovation of that time: " ... we have [in pedagogy-notes by.N.D.] very little something new, and if it is born, it is only

thanks to desperate efforts of individual people, who have to run into not one trouble ... so there is a strange dual mood in a colony: on the one hand, everybody have large reserves of energy and a great desire to work, on the other - a terrible fatigue from the permanent choice "⁹⁶.

Despite a certain subjectivity of such opinions it should to recognize that innovation never was easy, therefore, the history of development of Makarenko groups reflects not only their achievements in the difficult problem of returning street children and young offenders to a normal human life, but also a great difficulties on the way of the incarnation, public perception and recognition.

The pedagogical experience is judged not only on scientific work, but on its practical results, i.e. on its pupils. A few words about those, for whom A. Makarenko was Teacher-the-Father, whom they love and gratitude called "our Anton". More than three thousand children with difficult fates have gone through pedagogical hands and the human heart of an outstanding educator, and neither one of them in the future would not brought to prison, in the years of the war he was not a coward, and in the time of peace he was not idle. During 50-90-s many essays, stories and memories were published, which outlined the ways of life of many pupils from both colonies, and they also shared their impressions about the colony-communare past, about the decisive role played by Anton Semenovich in their life formation. Among these publications there were books by Y.Lukin "Two portraits" (1975), a former pupil L.Konisevich "We were brought up by Makarenko" (1993), a journalist L.Chubarov "Makarenko's pupils" (1994); the article by researchers-makarenkocritics ("They became the real people "(1958)), "Children of Anton"(1963), "Makarenko brought them up "(1982), "The pupils of Makarenko in the years of the war" (1985), "He made us happy" (1986), "The pupils of Makarenko"(1993), etc.). It would be instructive to tell about all the pupils, but it is impossible. Among the former wards of Makarenko there were military, engineers, sailors, actors and teachers, skilled workers, but the most importantly - they have become personalities, worthy citizens of their country.

¹ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy // Makarenko.- M.: Publ. House of S.Amonashvili, 1999.- P.157.

² In reality, the institution was placed in the village.of Tribiy till December 1920, and in connection with material-technical insufficiencies of the building the children's home was moved in the former manor of Trepke brothers near Kovalevka, in seven versts from Poltava and two miles from Tribiy (Poltava work colony named of Gorkiy in documents and materials (1920-1926)/ edited by. acad. I.Ziazium - K. -Poltava, 2001. - Part 1. -P.24-25). Although for about 4 years, until Trepke manor was repairing, the colony "lived in two houses», that is, in two estates, but the history of Gorkiy colony is linked with Kovalevka and its restoration

³ Report of Kharkov regional inspector M. N. Kotelnikov (22 of September 1922) // Care, control, interference: Opuscula Makarenkiana. -1994. -№ 14. -P.6.

⁴ Poltava work colony of M. Gorkiy (in documents and materials of 1920-1926 edited by acad.I.Zaziun. – K.-Poltava, 2001.-Part.1.-P.30. (in Ukrainian)

⁵ Poltava work colony ... -Part.1 - P.48.

- ⁶ This term was used in soviet pedagogy till 1925. It should be noted, however, that in the first quarter of XX c. it was generally accepted among the scientists, e.g., among the European psychologists (K.Iung).
- ⁷ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., - P.161.
- ⁸ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., - P.161.
- ⁹ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., - P.162.
- ¹⁰ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., - P.161.
- ¹¹ Poltava work colony ... -Part.1 - P.49.
- ¹² A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., - P.159.
- ¹³ Makarenko A. S. To CC of Vserobos // Poltava work colony ... - Part 11.- P.57.
- ¹⁴ Report of Kharkov regional inspector A. M. Almazov (12 of June, 1922) // Care, control, interference: Opuscula Makarenkiana. -1994. -№ 14. -P.6.
- ¹⁵ Report of Kharkov regional inspector M. N. Kotelnikov (22 of September 1922) // Care, control, interference: Opuscula Makarenkiana. -1994. -№ 14. -P.6.
- ¹⁶ Report of Kharkov regional inspector A. M. Almazov ..., -P.2.
- ¹⁷ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., - P.159.
- ¹⁸ Report of Kharkov regional inspector A. M. Almazov ... - P.3.
- ¹⁹ Report of Kharkov regional inspector A. M. Almazov ... - P.3-4.
- ²⁰ Poltava work colony ... -Part 1. -P. 17.
- ²¹ Makarenko A. S. Balance sheet for 1923 about the state of Poltava work colony // Pedagog. works: in 8 v. -V.1. - M.: Pedagogy, 1983. - P.29-30.
- ²² Makarenko A. S. Balance sheet about the state of Poltava ..., P.30-31.
- ²³ Poltava work colony ... -Part1. -P. 17.
- ²⁴ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., P.158.
- ²⁵ Report of Kharkov regional inspector A. M. Almazov ..., P.3.
- ²⁶ Makarenko A. S. Studies in work of Poltava colony named in honour of M. Gorkiy // Pedagog. works: in 8 v. -V.1. - M.: Pedagogy, 1983. - P.45.
- ²⁷ Report of Kharkov regional inspector A. M. Almazov ...-C.3.
- ²⁸ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M. Gorkiy ..., c.158.
- ²⁹ In May, 1926 the amalgamation of collective of Makarenko colony named in honour of M.Gorkiy with depressive children's colony in Kuriash near Kharkov happened, о чем речь пойдет далее.
- ³⁰ Act of committee of Kharkov municipal council (June, 1927.) // Care, control, interference: Opuscula Makarenkiana. -1994. - № 14. - P.13-14.
- ³¹ Report of Kharkov regional inspector M. N. Kotelnikov ... - P.7
- ³² Makarenko A. S. To CC of Vserobos // Poltava work colony ... - Part 11. - P.59.

- ³³ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., P.158.
- ³⁴ Makarenko A. S. To CC of Vserobos // Poltava work colony ... - Part 11.- P.58.
- ³⁵ Makarenko A. S. About my experience // Pedag. works: in 8 v. –V.4. – M.: Pedagogy, 1984. – P.254.
- ³⁶ Personnel's list of Poltava work colony named of M.Gorkiy for the 1 of September, 1924 // Makarenko A. S. Pedag. works: in 8 v. – V.1. - M.: Pedagogy, 1984. – P.36-37; and also: Poltava work colony ... - Part 1.- P.54-57.
- ³⁷ Poltava work colony ... - Part 1.- P.56.
- ³⁸ Poltava work colony ... - Part 1.- P.159
- ³⁹ Poltava work colony ... - Part 1.- P.158.
- ⁴⁰ Report of Kharkov regional inspector M. N. Kotelnikov ... - P.7
- ⁴¹ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., P.159-160.
- ⁴² Report of Kharkov regional inspector A. M. Almazov ... - P.2-3
- ⁴³ Questionnaire (about the state of colony in the end of 1922) // Poltava work colony ... - Part1.- P.155
- ⁴⁴ Makarenko A. S. The experience of the educated activity in Poltava work colony of M. Gorkiy// Pedag. works: in 8 v. –V.1. -M.: Pedagogy, 1983. – P.19-20.
- ⁴⁵ Questionnaire (about the state of colony in the end of 1922) // Poltava work colony ... - Part1. – P.155
- ⁴⁶ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., P.159.
- ⁴⁷ Act of committe of Kharkov municipal council – P.14-15.
- ⁴⁸ Makarenko A. S. Makarenko A. S. To CC of Vserobos // Poltava work colony ... - Part 11.- P.61.
- ⁴⁹ Makarenko A. S. Problems of school soviet education // Pedag. works: in 8 v. –V.4. – M.: Pedagogy, 1984. – P.201.
- ⁵⁰ Makarenko A. S. Problems of school soviet education ...- P.201.
- ⁵¹ Makarenko A. S. Problems of school soviet education ...-P.200.
- ⁵² Workfac is a work faculty attached to the institution of higher education in that time, where the youth was prepared to teaching in the institutes. The term of exist is since 1920 till 1940.
- ⁵³ Act of Poltava province prosecutor D.V.London (23 of September 1924) // Care, control, interference: Opuscula Makarenkiana. -1994. -№ 14. – P.10.
- ⁵⁴ Act of Poltava province prosecutor ... - P.11.
- ⁵⁵ Letter to the head of the Main office of social education of the people's Commissariat of education of the Ukrainian SSR // Anton Makarenko: Poltava work colony of M. Gorkiy (in documents and materials of 1926-1928): monography / edited by acad..I.Zaziun. – K.: Pedag. thought, 2008. – P .216.
- ⁵⁶ Report of Kharkov regional inspector M. N. Kotelnikov ...- P.7.
- ⁵⁷ Act of committe of Kharkov municipal council ... - P.14.
- ⁵⁸ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ...- P.196.

- ⁵⁹ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ...- P.173.
- ⁶⁰ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ...- P.175.
- ⁶¹ Report to the Council of the people's Commissariat of the Ukrainian SSR // Anton Makarenko: Poltava work colony of M. Gorkiy (in documents and materials ... - P.122-123.
- ⁶² A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.168.
- ⁶³ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.175.
- ⁶⁴ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.175.
- ⁶⁵ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.176.
- ⁶⁶ Poltava work colony of M. Gorkiy (in documents and materials ...- Part .1. – P .93.
- ⁶⁷ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.177.
- ⁶⁸ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.181.
- ⁶⁹ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.182.
- ⁷⁰ Conclusions of Kharkov district (March/April, 1928) // Care, control, interference: Opuscula Makarenkiana. - 1994. - № 14. – P.29.
- ⁷¹The materials of commission of Kharkov district executive committee (October, 1927) // Care, control, interference: Opuscula Makarenkiana. - 1994. - № 14. – P.22.
- ⁷² A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.184.
- ⁷³ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.184.
- ⁷⁴ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.187.
- ⁷⁵ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.188.
- ⁷⁶ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.190.
- ⁷⁷ Макаренко A.S. Memorandum to member of Commune named in honour of.P. E. Dzerzhynskiy government // Pedag. works: in 8 v. – V.1. – M.: Pedagogy, 1983.– P. 121
- ⁷⁸ A. S. Makarenko is in correspondence with A.M.Gorkiy ..., p.196.
- ⁷⁹ Макаренко A.S. Foreword to album "Our life is for Gorkiy – Your Gorkiy's pupils // Pedag. works: in 8 v. – V.1. – M.: Pedagogy, 1983.– P. 91.
- ⁸⁰ Makarenko A. S. Commune named in honour of.P. E. Dzerzhynskiy // Pedag. works: in 8 v. – V.1. – M.: Pedagogy, 1983.– P. 145.
- ⁸¹ Makarenko A. S. It is such our history // Pedag. works: in 8 v. –V.1. – M.: Pedagogy, 1983. – P. 211.
- ⁸² Makarenko A. S. It is such our history // Pedag. works: in 8 v. –V.1. – M.: Pedagogy, 1983. – P. 211.
- ⁸³ Makarenko A. S. Constitution of FED's country // Pedag. works: in 8 v. –V.1. – M.: Pedagogy, 1983. - P.150.
- ⁸⁴ Makarenko A. S. Commune named in honour of.P. E. Dzerzhynskiy // Pedag. works: in 8 v. –V.1. – M.: Pedagogy, 1983.– P. 199.

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