

SOVIET MILITIA IN OPPOSITION TO ALCOHOLISM IN 1917-1991: REGIONAL LEVEL

**Vitalij Ivanov¹, Irina Boyarinceva^{2*}, Valentina Sushencova³, Ludmila Timofeeva⁴,
Tatjana Timofeeva⁵**

¹Prof. Dr., Mari State University, The Russian Federation, ivanovvital2013@yandex.ru

²Cand., Senior Lecturer, Mari State University, The Russian Federation, irinanew2@yandex.ru

³Cand., Associate Professor, Mari State University, The Russian Federation, valsu.63@mail.ru

⁴Cand., Associate Professor, Mari State University, The Russian Federation,
ludmila_tim52@mail.ru

⁵Cand., Associate Professor, Mari State University, The Russian Federation, gena83@mail.ru

*Corresponding author

Abstract

The article shows the role and place of the Soviet police in the implementation of state policy in the field of fight with alcoholism in the years 1917-1991. The authors paid particular attention to identifying the peculiarities of this work in the Mari ASSR, one of the national regions of the USSR. It is emphasized the widespread and extensive character of the struggle of soviet militia with alcoholism, which was carried out by the militia together with the society in general and other government bodies in 1917-1991. The article substantiates the importance of the struggle of Soviet militia with alcoholism and improvement of its legislative basis as the most important condition of crime reduction and ensuring public safety in the country. The authors made the critical review of main trends, character of militia struggle with these social vices in different periods of Soviet history. The most effective form of struggle with alcoholism, according to the authors, was the organization of the special raids. They were held everywhere, mainly with the participation of the staff of the Republican Ministry, people's courts, prosecuting authority, freelances, and general public. Obvious successes, mistakes and failures of militia authorities were identified in the article, it was noted the contradictory nature of the results of their activities. Unfortunately, this activity did not give the expected results. The reasons of unsuccessful attempts to sober up the people were not failures and deficiencies in law enforcement, but overstated goals and objectives, their isolation from the realities. The failure of repeated attempts of the authorities to cope with alcoholism is due to a one-sided approach to the solution of this problem, the emphasis on the use of administrative measures, ignore the root causes of alcoholism: poor working conditions and life of the population, total lack of food, goods and services, the lack of cultural and leisure activities, infringement of the rights and freedoms of people. A number of practical recommendations are made in the article on the basis of the conducted analysis.

Keywords: militia, law-enforcement bodies, alcoholism, drunkenness, narcological posts, MLD (medical and labor dispensaries).

1. INTRODUCTION

First of all scientific and practical meaning of announced topic is clarified with that drunkenness and alcoholism represent stable, anti-social phenomenon which has the negative influence on progress of society, health and morals of each person and the whole nation in general. The bodies of soviet militia, which have big experience of work in this sphere, played an important role in fight against long story social harm.

In Russia, in modern conditions formation of a democratic legal state, the creation of civil society is linked inseparably with consolidation of labour and industrial discipline, public order and raising of self-discipline. The solution of these problems depends mainly on effective work of law-enforcement bodies in overcoming of drunkenness and alcoholism. That is why the historical experience of law-enforcement bodies, the knowledge and registration of their strong and weak sides are the necessary conditions in order to strengthen anti-alcohol struggle and to increase its efficiency.

In the article the problems are analyzed at the regional level – especially on the example of the militia organs of the Republic of Mari El. Their emergence is closely connected with the formation of the autonomy of the Mari people in 1920, which was transformed into Mari ASSR in 1936 and it was called as the Republic of Mari El in 1991. Regional Department of militia as part of the Revolutionary Committee of the Mari region was established by decree of the regional executive committee on January 14 1921.

From 1917 to 2011 chronological frames of the work cover the entire period of existence of the Soviet militia and they are marked with a radical transformation of the Russian state and society, as well as wars, which were accompanied by a lack of stability in the country, the loss of moral guidelines, the deterioration of people's living conditions. All this favored the spread of drunkenness and alcoholism.

Selected frames make it possible to trace the legal basis of militia activities in the fight against alcoholism is especially prominently and to identify its main trends.

In the research of the fight of soviet militia bodies against the drunkenness it is possible to mark out two periods: 1) soviet (1917- end of 1980s) and 2) Russian (since 1990s). An appearance of various researches is characteristic of this first period in this topic [3, 4, 12, 17]. These works were hall-marked with dependence on political situation, taking aim at realization of ruling party's order.

The idea of the successful eradication of alcoholism was fundamental. The existence of alcoholism was explained primarily with the legacy of the tsarist regime and the temporary difficulties of socio-economic development of the USSR. Data on the level of alcohol consumption and information on the number of alcoholics were not available to researchers and, as a rule; they are not given in the study. Paramount attention historians and journalists have paid to the methods, forms, and success in the fight against alcoholism.

The principles of dialectics, historical method, objectivity, truthfulness became to return to researches in the second period. As previously the study of the topic is continued mainly within individual sections and paragraphs of monographic and dissertation research works on the Soviet militia [8, 14, 16]. Special articles appeared on the selected theme [6, p. 74-78; 10].

The authors analyze the key issues - the situation in the area of alcohol consumption in the country in different periods of its history and its development's trends; the state of the regulatory framework counteracting drunkenness; role of militia's authorities in this confrontation; coordination of law enforcement agencies, courts and other government agencies, commissions for combating drunkenness, various associations

However, despite the achievements in the studies of Soviet militia's struggle against drunkenness, there is not deep and complete work on this problem, which is an adding confirmation of the relevance of the topic.

2. METHODS

The methodological basis of the study is a comprehensive knowledge of the dialectical method, which is based on the principles of historicism, scientific objectivity and systematicity. The problem is solved on the basis of general scientific (logical and historical), as well as special-and historical (problmic and chronological, comparative and historical, statistical) methods.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

After the victory of the 1917 October Revolution, the Bolsheviks showed determination to stamp out drunkenness as a vestige of capitalism. In the second program of the Communist Party - in the program building socialism in Russia adopted by the Congress VIII of the RCP (B) in 1919, the fight against

alcoholism was defined among the closest tasks of the power in the field of public health protection of the authorities. A significant place in its implementation, along with the cultural and educational measures, was given to the means of administrative and legal influence, activities of worker-peasant's militia.

The struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, approval of its legal bases took place in complex, constantly changing conditions, which significantly affected the forms and methods of this struggle. In our opinion process of the counteracting to drunkenness on the part of militia can be divided into several periods. The first period (1917-1937), the scope of which denotes the transition from capitalism to socialism, and it is marked by humanistic principles and drunkenness itself was seen as a "vestige of capitalism." Therefore alcohol policy of the new authorities had innovative character and got development in the programmatic documents of the ruling Bolshevik Party and in the legislation. Unfortunately, sensible, humane beginning was alternated (especially at first) with undue harshness. During the Civil War, the militia led the fight against the home-distilled vodka particularly actively in order to preserve the bread. According to the decree of the Central Executive Committee and Council of the National Commissary about the Emergency Powers of national commissioner of the Food (May 1918) home-distilled vodka was referred to the most dangerous violations of socialist legality. By order of Vyatsk Revolutionary guberny committee of 14 February 1919 persons convicted of making home-distilled vodka or assisting to that act, should be shot. It became clear in the instructions on the practical execution of this order that "revolutionary tribunals and the revolutionary committees not lower than the county can only return verdict in the shooting" [1].

December 19, 1919 People's Commissars of the RSFSR issued a decree "About banning in the territory RSFSR, of manufacturing and selling alcohol, spirits and non-beverage alcohol substance," which introduced criminal liability for a number of offenses relating to the illicit manufacturing, storage, acquisition, use and selling of liquor, home-distilled vodka apparatus and spirituous substances. Direct observation of the execution of the Decree was entrusted to the militia, which was obliged to detect facts of violation of the decree to initiate criminal cases and send them to court.

Important order to the local militia about the need to deploy fight against home-distilled vodka was given and in the order of the Main Department of the Workers' and Peasants' militia on April 15, 1920.

These tasks of militia in the fight against the manufacture of alcohol have been clearly defined: to monitor their preparation, to try to discover the "secret place of fabrication," immediately arrest the perpetrators, select equipment for making home-distilled vodka and ready to alcohol-containing beverage. In the document the need to conduct this work was indicated mercilessly. Failure or poor diligence militia officers in this area were instructed to be regarded as a crime under the posts. In 1920 Urzhum county the Soviet militia authorities revealed more than 120 hidden centers of home-distilled vodka. Overall, however, the efforts of militia were unsystematic and random in the fight against home-distilled vodka in these years.

The following years were marked by intensified repression against home-distilled vodka. Decree of the Central Executive Committee on October 16, 1922 granted the right to recognize the socially dangerous, to send and enter the camps compulsory labor in the locations deportation for up to 3 years of persons who were twice convicted under Art. 140 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The central government issued a decree "to conduct a campaign of anti-home-distilled vodka company in the strong procedure." Employees of regional militia began to conduct raids to detect and destroy drinking alcohol and smoking places.

For 1923, they arrested more than 700 people who sold home making alcohol, confiscated more than 120 home-distilled vodka apparatus and 122 buckets of home-distilled vodka. Nevertheless, the state of the fight against making alcohol at home MAO Republic Militia of the Main Department evaluated as sluggish and inconsistent [15]. For the villagers, economically undermined with the surplus, under the NEP the home-distilled vodka became profitable. For the villagers, economically undermined with surplus-appropriation system, under the NEP the home-distilled vodka became profitable. According to estimates of regional authorities, a bottle of home-distilled vodka was estimated at 20-25 rubles at that time. 4-5 bottles of home-distilled vodka was made from pounds of flour, 100-125 rubles could be earned from a pound, the price of which was significantly lower in the market. Possibility of profit's extraction pushed the exhausted population with into activation of home-distilled vodka. In 1923 in MAO about 400 pounds bread, which were necessary for people, used for daily home distilled vodka [9]. In the RSFSR bread consumption was 2,430,000 tons for this purpose in 1924 [5]. This led to increased drinking, which has become a real disaster.

Effective opposition means drunkenness became a special "Fortnight and Months the fight against home distilled vodka", which are usually held in conjunction to the Easter and Christmas holidays. The results of these actions were generally assessed positively.

In order to stimulate the efforts of law enforcement bodies' workers, the People's Commissars of the RSFSR

passed a resolution on December 20, 1922, according to which half of the fines was levied from bootlegger and it was deducted to militia.

The analysis shows that in the early 20s fight against home distilled vodka and drinking was one of the main directions in the militia activity. Gradually, this work gets a systematic character, increasing its intensity. From January 1924 to July 1925 there were about 5.9 thousand searches, 1248 places of alcohol distilling and selling of the home distilled vodka were revealed, over 900 apparatus which were used to make home distilled vodka and more than 700 buckets of home distilled vodka were confiscated.

The fight against alcoholism was not safe for the militiamen. In 1923, in the village of Bolshie Noli of Sernur canton militia officer, who conducted the searches, had to flee. A crowd of about 80 people, armed with axes and sticks, chased them four miles. And there were a lot of such facts.

Resolution of the Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars of the USSR on August 28, 1925 the state monopoly on the production and sale of alcoholic beverages was introduced. In October of the same year, the Soviet government allowed the production and release to general availability of 40-degree vodka. By this action, the government was going to oust home distilled vodka and to return to the state incomes which bootleggers received previously. However, the price of vodka was increased by 50% in December 1925. Therefore, production of home distilled vodka was hardly decreased.

In December 22, 1925 CAM (Central administrative management) the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR passed a decree "On measures of fight against street hooliganism and outrage on the grounds of drunkenness." The militia authorities were instructed in it to remove individuals from public places immediately, who were in a state of intoxication; in case of failure to pay the penalty for the excesses and violence, the perpetrators were to be detained and be sent to duty camera of people's courts.

Particular attention of militia officers was paid to identify trade rules' violators of liquor, license inspection of commercial establishments realizing alcoholic beverages.

The publication of the decree of Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR "On the upcoming events in the field of medical and preventive, cultural and educational works to fight against alcoholism" has played an important role in the anti-alcohol policy of the Soviet state on September 11, 1926. The document ordered People's Commissariat of Justice and People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR to develop and make measure of compulsory treatment of alcoholics and to sober drunks, appearing in public places. In April 1927 during the execution of the decree a joint decree of PCIA and People's Commissariat of, Justice, People's Commissariat of Health compulsory treatment of "alcoholics, representing a danger to society" was introduced. The peak of the anti-alcohol campaign was at the end of 1928 - beginning of 1929 - the time the All-Union Komsomol cultural campaign. In many cities, special resolutions of municipal council's sale of alcohol during the holidays were banned.

In 1930s fight against making home distilled vodka and drinking was not stopped, but it was moved to the background. This problem is not reflected in the reports of militia bodies, alcohol started to be sold freely, pubs, restaurants worked.

Large-scale activities related to the implementation of collectivization in the country, as well as the intensification of campaign against theft of the socialist property. Regulation began to be promoted that vices' society would disappear according to people's living and cultural growth.

Despite the fact that the anti-alcohol onslaught weakened significantly, the thirties were marked by the reduction of alcohol consumption. According to some researchers, this was the result of a lack of basic foodstuffs; strict discipline and strict criminal liability for any violations were established in the prewar years.

In the second period of counteraction to drunkenness (end 1930s-end of the 1950s) - forced repressive measures of the impact against drunks have lost their rigidity. At the same time the expansion of militia' functions in the fight against drunkenness happened

In 1939 the decision of the USSR Government medical sobering-up stations are transmitted from the People's Commissariat of Health into the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and they became structurally as a part of the militia. During the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) giving to so-called "narkomovskiy hundred grams" to the soldiers of the Red Army led to stable habit of systematic use of alcoholic drinks by a lot of people. However, researchers estimate that in these years the reduction of alcohol consumption continued and it reached the pre-war level only in 1952.

In the period from late 1950 until the end of the 1980s there was further growth of consumption of alcoholic beverages. In the Mari ASSR per capita in 1961 36 rubles (when the average monthly salary of 77 rubles.),

in 1966 - 56 rubles. (97 rub.), in 1973 - 112 rubles (136 rubles) were spent on alcoholic drinks [6, p. 74]. Alcohol abuse was one of the main reasons for the criminal manifestations. Over 40% of them were committed while intoxicated. The proportion of these (90%) among those who were prosecuted for disorderly conduct was particularly high.

With taking this into account at the end of the 1950s, another campaign on propagation of the physical and moral health of the Soviet people was made. It was carried out in the framework of the planned program of building of a communist society in the USSR and the formation of the forming a harmoniously developed personality. New legislative measures fight against drunkenness were taken. So, December 15, 1958 decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers "On strengthening the fight against alcoholism and restoring order to trade strong spirits" came out. Decree banned the sale of vodka (except restaurants) at stations and station square, airports, near businesses, schools, child care centers, hospitals, places of public festivals. on January 29, 1960 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet adopted a decree "On measures fight against home vodka distilling and the manufacture of alcoholic beverages of the domestic production", and May 8, 1961 - the Decree "On strengthening the responsibility for distilling and manufacturing of other alcoholic beverages domestic production", which for selling of vodka provides for imprisonment up to three years with confiscation of property was adopted

In pursuance of the decisions taken by Mari police conducted a great job. To assist in all city and district departments of internal affairs staff of the central apparatus of the republican Interior Ministry sent periodically. On the facts of drinking, they were more likely to speak at meetings of labor collectives of institutions, collective and state farms and periodically. In towns and districts of the republic, as well as in rural and village councils sessions of local Councils were held, which were heard reports and reports of the heads of internal affairs agencies and district inspectors. On a regular basis to carry out reception of citizens directly to enterprises, institutions, collectively. One of the main themes of these reports and the reception was the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism. By drinking prevention issues has increased outreach to the media.

The most effective form of struggle with alcoholism and making of home distilled vodka was the organization of special raids. They were carried out everywhere, especially with the participation of all the personnel of the Ministry and municipal body of the Internal Affairs, servants of prosecutor's office, people's courts, freelance police officers and the general public. Only in 1969 in the republic there were several hundreds of such raids, as a result of which it was possible to identify more than 900 cases of making of home distilled vodka, 577 facts of criminal cases were opened, and other materials were submitted to the public.

During the same year more than 20 thousand man were delivered to the Sobering-up stations. For the appearance of drunk in the streets, in the public places about 10 thousand people were fined, and about 4.8 thousand people were arrested for petty crimes.

Despite the measures taken in the first half of the 1970s the situation with alcohol consumption in the country and republic has not improved, but on the contrary - has deteriorated. Taking this into account in 1972 the decision of the Council of Ministers "On measures to strengthen the fight against drunkenness and alcoholism" was published. The Resolution provided for the limitation of production and sale of alcoholic beverages, particularly strong ones.

The objectives for the implementation of the regulations were specified in the ruling of Party Committee Office on July 3, 1972 "On measures on strengthening struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism", and in the ruling of the regional party committee's secretariat of 31 August 1973 "On measures of strengthening the anti-alcohol propaganda. To fulfill the requirements of the Party and Soviet bodies comprehensive preventive measures against drunkenness have been held, the militia works closely with other law enforcement agencies, as well as various public organizations acting in this field.

A new development in the fight against drunkenness was the creation of MLD (medical labor dispensaries). In accordance with the Decree of the Presidium the RSFSR Supreme Soviet "On compulsory treatment and labor reeducation of chronic alcoholics" (March 1974) in the MLD persons, "deviating from the treatment or continuing to drink after treatment, in violation of labor discipline, public order or the rules of socialist society" were sent.

To fulfill such a decree MLD was created in Yoshkar-Ola. Ehe healing process was combined with isolation regime of patients, occupational therapy and political education work. Of course, not all, but hundreds of thousands of people were placed in these institutions, were cured and they refused to harmful habit. Do not admit it that it means to act against the truth.

Now, in the literature there are often statements that MLD violated human rights and that they have no place in the future. But, on the other hand, if it is about public safety, why are not the rights of drunks and alcoholics limited? Moreover, in our opinion, in the current circumstances the statements about the need to revive MLD in the one form or another for the compulsory treatment of alcoholics are justified and reasonable.

Returning to the subject, it should be noted that despite the efforts of law enforcement agencies and the public in the mid-1970s there was a significant increase in crime in the Mari ASSR. Thus, the number of serious injuries in the ninth five-year period (1971-1975), if it is compared with the seventh (1961-1965) which was doubled, as is compared with the eighth (1966-1970.) - One and half times.

Moreover, the vast majority of crimes against life and health of citizens was carried out on the basis of alcoholism. Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR expressed its serious concern about it. The special distribution of drinking started in the countryside and had arisen in connection with domestic conflicts and troubles. The reasons for this situation are the low level of organization of prevention and struggle against drunkenness.

Even more complicated situation with alcoholism became in the late 1970s. The level of crime on the grounds of drunkenness of Republic slipped to 62nd place in the RSFSR of 73 administrative regions.

The anti-alcohol campaign was developed with a new force after passing of regulation of the Council of Ministers of the USSR "On additional measures to strengthen the fight against drunkenness and alcoholism" on April 6, 1978. After it the decision of Oblast Party Committee (27 May 1980) and Mari ASSR Council of Ministers (27 June 1978) appeared aiming at the prevention of alcoholism.

Within the requirements of these documents Militia authorities conducted a a number of special operation codenamed "Health" and "Bakhus".

Only from January to April 1980, in the course of such operation about 5 thousand persons were picked up and placed in the Sobering-up stations. At the same time 1,600 people were arrested for appearing in a drunken state in public places and disorderly conduct. It was also possible to identify dozens of people who are not engaged in socially useful work and had no permanent place of residence. Check of compliance with the rules of trade of wine and vodka were exercised regularly.

Bodies of Internal Affairs together with the health authorities carried out extensive work on the treatment of persons suffering from alcoholism, on an outpatient basis. In 1980, in the city of Yoshkar-Ola, in 14 enterprises and organizations drug treatment points and 193 drug treatment posts were created. All over the country 19 large enterprises and organizations were covered by drug treatment posts. In the central district hospitals 155 drug treatment beds were put for the treatment of patients with chronic alcoholism.

Militia officers took part in the commission's work to fight against drunkenness and alcoholism at the Council of Ministers of the Mari ASSR. In 1979, the commission adopted a a complex action plan to strengthen the fight against alcoholism.

Law enforcement officers and similar commissions set up at _ (municipal) executive committees of people's deputies worked together. According to the materials represented by the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the years 1978-1980 Republican and urban commissions on struggle against drunkenness heard a report on the implementation by more than 50 heads of ministries, departments, businesses, offices of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of 19 June 1972 "On measures to strengthen the fight against alcohol abuse and alcoholism".

Implementation of the law was also considered at the meetings of 20 district and urban, 18 settlements and 65 rural executive committees of People's Deputies. Seminar-meeting with the chairmen of village councils of people's deputies with an invitation to the chairmen of public posts of law and order, Councils of Chairman of comrades' courts were carried out.

So the struggle against alcoholism and home distilled vodka in that period, as in previous years, was conducted rather vigorously. Accompanied by constant distraction of the forces from countering common crime, this activity is, unfortunately, did not give the expected results. Thus, in 1981-1985. the line of Criminal Investigation in a drunken state in the country over 7500 crimes were committed. The part of such crimes has increased steadily, reaching 50.3% in 1985.

The cause of unsuccessful attempts to sober people were not so much shortcomings and weaknesses in law enforcement bodies, much exaggerated goals and objectives, their isolation from the existing realities. According to the researchers there were excessive stricter penalties for offenses related to drunkenness in

the workplace, in the street and in public places, as well as making home distilled vodka and violation of the rules of trade.

The second half of the 1980s was marked with the adoption of a number of normative documents in the sphere of strengthening the fight against drunkenness and alcoholism.

In the May 1985 decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government "On measures to overcome of drunkenness and alcoholism," the Decree of the Supreme Council of the USSR "On strengthening the fight against alcoholism," corresponding to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics and other legislative acts were adopted. In these documents, the settings for the integrated implementation of the multi-faceted anti-alcohol efforts by expanding the application of organizational, economic, administrative, legal and educational activities were formulated.

In accordance with the requirements of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the legislation of the country's unprecedented anti-alcohol campaign was deployed in the short term, which brought some positive changes in the alcohol situation initially.

In the late 1980s, by estimates of MASSR Supreme Council (16 November 1988), the activity of the struggle for sober lifestyle fell down. On April 2, 1991 the Ministry of Internal Affairs recognized thatb "aggressiveness in the fight against alcoholism was lost." Working groups for coordination of struggle against alcoholism work formally. A comprehensive action plan for combating drunkenness and alcoholism was carried out unsatisfactorily in the 1990-1991. As a result, there was a significant increase of road traffic accidents, the number of manifestations of hooliganism in public places, burglaries, crime increased among young people.

Soon the authorities surrendered. The campaign against alcoholism has been recognized as an evil. [13] According to some researchers, it "brought only harm." In support of its judgments it was indicated into the damage from anti-alcohol legislation in the 40 billion rubles., as well as on the moral costs (mass humiliation of the people, the growth of speculation, the use of surrogates, the fall of morality and universal anger) [11].

We believe that it is difficult to agree with such a categorical and unequivocal judgment. Despite major costs in conducting of the anti-alcohol campaign, it must be admitted the following. A wide range of organizational, economic, administrative, legal and educational measures to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism provided some positive developments. The loss of working time due to absenteeism was reduced; discipline and order in the production were strengthened. The number of chronic alcoholics was reduced, consisted on the account: there were about 14 thousand in 1989, in 1988 there were 13.1 thousand people. Persons became less, who made and distributed home distilled vodka: in 1987 there were 1.8 thousand, in 1988 there were 1.4 thousand, in 1989 there were 628... The number of drivers arrested for driving while intoxicated was decreased. By the beginning of 1986 the number of traffic accidents was decreased by 36% [7]. Behind these figures are dozens of saved lives.

4. CONCLUSION

High levels of crime, drunkenness indicated that law enforcement and other bodies of state power and administration, the public without proper responsibility belonged to the implementation of measures aimed at overcoming of alcoholism.

In the struggle against this evil necessary combination of educational, economic, administrative and legal measures could not provide and still the predominant focus was on restrictive administrative measures. Efficiency of the work of district militia officers and other services left low for the prevention of domestic drunkenness and in the organization of individual work with persons who abuse alcohol.

Implementation of the legislation on the fight against drunkenness and alcoholism throughout the period of the Soviet militia was one of the most important directions of its activity. The main efforts of law enforcement officers came down to the fight against illegal production, storage, trafficking and sale of alcoholic beverages; drinking of alcoholic beverages in public places; violations of the rules the alcohol trade. Among the categories of prophylaxis the main attention was paid to the prevention of alcoholism of the juvenile and attempts to involve them in drunkenness.

The struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism did not stop and it was carried out continuously in different forms. For these purposes prohibitive, restrictive, extremely severe disciplinary measures or, on the contrary, very liberal laws and regulations were widely used. However, all these efforts are not allowed to carry out the revolutionary goal of "complete rejection of alcohol." The main reason for this, as the analysis shows, is the lack of public policy coherence in this area, its contradictions and ambivalence: proclaiming of the loud ant

alcohol Declaration, it initiated an unrestrained growth of public sale of alcohol in parallel. These facts gave grounds to some researchers even to claim that the anti-alcohol fight was its imitation in many ways.

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