THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

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CHAPTER I

EDUCATION UNDER THE TSARS

Among the outstanding differences of the nations and countries of the world are the social, or educational, and the physical. Education, in its broadest sense, is taken to mean all the forces from without that affect a nation's thinking and acting.

Little is known of the beginnings of education, but it seems likely that nature and her forces became the first teachers to primitive man. Within a few generations his curriculum was established on beliefs, traditions, skills, and even arts. His very existence depended upon his ability to cooperate with others of his kind, and led to the forming of schooled clans, tribes, and nations. The initiation ceremonies of primitive peoples, which were tests of learning and skill, were probably the beginnings of "schooling," or formal education, as we think of it today. Thus tribal religious ceremonies became the mode of education within the nation. This fact is emphasized by Pares in the following:

> Indeed it is at times difficult to distinguish the religious from the national; and though the Church never did its duty in education or in provision for the public welfare, and though too often the best of the work of religion was left to the lower ranks of the clergy whether monastic or parochial, Orthodoxy was itself the major part of Russian civilisation, and has perhaps done more than anything else to shape the

distinctive Russian consciousness.[1]

The most distinctive natural Russian feature is the steppes - vast, rolling, grassy plains more subtle and changeful than the sea[2] - and to know the steppes is to understand the Russian people and their educational progress, as Pares tells us:

> The steppe, which in the stable seasons of the year is all an open road, is the land of vast horizons, distant dreams, active life and constant danger.[3]

The first historical references to Russia are found in the writings of Herodotus in the 5th century B.C., wherein he relates that the Cimmerians were the leading tribe, conquered later by the Scythians who maintained leadership until the 4th century B.C. when predominance was gained by the Sarmatian tribe.

At the beginning of the Christian era Pares places this Russian tribe between the Sea of Azov and the Danube, stating:

> They were more nomadic than their predecessors, like other races which were to follow them in these steppes. They lived in felt huts which they could carry about. They fought in brass helmets with bows and swords, and some of them wore mail. They were fair-haired, and their costume was similar to the Persian. Of this Iranic stock there were various branches, such as the Yazygi, who inhabited from the Danube to the river Tisza, and the Roxolans or White Alans. It is important to realise that all these Iranian races were not mere Asiatic savages, but a

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[1]Bernard Pares, A History of Russia, Preface, p. viii.

[2]"Russia," Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia, Vol. XII, 1935 edition.

[3]Pares, op. cit., p. 6.

> section, if a remote and frontier section, of the civilised world of their time, grouped around the Mediterranean.[4]

Yaroslav, who ruled Russia (1019-1054), was a notable scholar for his day; he provided for the copying and translating of Greek books, of which he made a permanent library in one of the new churches which he built.[5]

From information gathered in encyclopedias we learn that:

> Education in Russia was markedly less advanced than elsewhere in Western Europe. Her historical, geographical and economic factors all helped to retard education. Two centuries of Tatar domination, beginning in 1223, effectually checked intellectual and educational progress and isolated Russia from the western world.[6]

For more than two hundred years the Russian people were enslaved by the Tatar rulers. They were liberated by the Prince of Moscow who became their "Grand Prince" of Muscovy. He welded together all the scattered Russian lands, proclaimed himself the Czar of all the Russias, and set about establishing and developing his empire, showing some interest in education.[7]

The Russian Chronicle, which was systemized at the beginning of the 12th century, constituted . . . "a school of

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[4] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[5] Ibid., p. 31.

[6] "Russia," Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. VII, 1946 edition.

[7] "Russia," Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia, Vol. XII, 1935 edition.

history in which man was taught to use the past for guidance in the present and to see always before him the great choice between good and evil."[8]

There is scanty record of any schools, or any type of education, in their early history; however, we are certain that they existed in some places because the Americana tells us:

> Russia had no schools worth mentioning before the end of the 14th century, when the southwestern part of the country came in contact with western civilization. Then, for the first time, well organized schools appeared in Russia. These were not national and were not intended for the general public.[9]

Schools were decidedly ecclesiastical in character and wholly dependent upon the Clergy because they had adopted Greek Christianity from the Eastern Church at Byzantium and Greek culture was beginning to develop in Russia.[10]

In the distressed and troubled country no educational progress was made except that of the few privileged people in matters of church or state. With the accession of the Romanoffs in the early 17th century, unification of a nation of the world began. Simmons tells us that education in imperial Russia was, broadly speaking, under the spiritual dominion of the Orthodox Church and under the political

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[8]Pares, op. cit., p. 31.

[9]"Russia," The Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. IX, 1942 edition.

[10]Arthur Mayer Wolfson, Essentials in Ancient History, pp. 107-109.

dominion of the autocracy.[11]

It is interesting to note that in the seventeenth century when there were over sixty Prikazy (commands) for handling different departments of government, there was not one assigned to education. In the words of Klyuchevsky, "all was asked of the people and nothing was done for them."[12]

Late in the same century, Fedor II had established the first college in Moscow. It was known as the Slavonic, Greek and Latin Academy. Its chief object was to train learned champions in the cause of Orthodoxy, and only Russians and Greeks were eligible as teachers. Its curriculum included languages and other secular subjects. Fedor II described wisdom as "the mother of kingly duties, the inventor and perfector of all blessings."[13]

The Orthodox Church has been called the mother of Russian education, and Kiev has been called its birthplace. In 1633 Peter Mojilla established an academy in that city in which were taught the classics, theology, philosophy and rhetoric. This school was founded by the Orthodox Church to combat the influence of missionary Jesuits.[14] The world-famous monastery, Lavra, which had been founded at Kiev in the eleventh

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[11] Ernest J. Simmons, USSR, p. 320.

[12] Pares, op. cit., p. 123.

[13] Ibid., p. 174.

[14] Lucy L. W. Wilson, The New Schools of New Russia, p. 8.

century exerted a powerful influence in successive centuries, has a fascinating history of education all its own. Compton describes it in the following few short sentences:

> The Lavra formerly was like a city in itself, with walls and towers, streets of cells, inns, churches, and its own printing press and schools. Thousands of pious Russians made annual pilgrimages to it before the Revolution. Now it is used as a soldier's home. Some monks spent their entire lives in the cave cells; when one no longer took his food from the tiny opening in the wall, a funeral service was held for him, and the opening was sealed forever. Some of Russia's most noted saints are buried in these caverns. In old Kief is the lovely cathedral of St. Sophia, famous for its golden-topped bell tower which is visible for miles across the country. It is the oldest church in Russia.[15]

Kiev has been ever a dominant influence in Russian education because of its cultural atmosphere. The museums and science and art academies found their origin in the early history of the city; and they have helped to keep alive education and learning since 1686, when Kiev became a part of the Russia of Peter the Great.[16]

New impetus was given by Peter the Great; called the father of Russian public education.[17] He realized that national interests and municipal interests were of conflicting natures and that only by education could Russia be united into a strong power in Europe.[18] His interest in

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[15]"Kief," Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia, Vol. VIII, 1935 edition.

[16]B. H. Sumner, A Short History of Russia, p. 320.

[17]Adolph E. Meyer, The Development of Education in the 20th Century, p. 365.

[18]Edward Potts Cheney, European Background of American History, pp. 128-129.

education did not spring from any desire to help the people or improve their status; Peter was inordinately ambitious. He wanted to build a strong Russia but he had the foresight to see that he could not do this without also building up industry, and improving education.[19] For this reason Peter the Great made the first effort to organize education, but considered it merely as preparatory to a career in the public service, and this opinion dominated Russian thought until the latter part of the 19th century.[20]

Peter, by despotic means, tried to introduce western civilization. He brought in numbers of skilled artisans, doctors, merchants, teachers, printers, and soldiers. He made the beginnings of western secondary education for the governing classes by the establishment in the cities of a number of German-type gymnasia.[21]

He planned great war campaigns, and tried to make the country self-sufficient in order to support them. He built an army of 250,000 men and then established industries for equipping it. Because Russia had had no schools, there were no skilled technicians available; Peter imported foreigners and sent Russians west to be educated. He then created secular schools. These were, first, for the gentry, on whom either civil or military service was obligatory. He would

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[19] Ellwood P. Cubberly, The History of Education, p. 477.

[20] Encyclopedia Britannica, op. cit.

[21] Cubberly, op. cit., p. 478.

not admit them to service until they had attained a certain intellectual standard. He intended also to establish schools for the serving class and stated that he would not let them work or get married without a certificate that they had attended school. At the end of his reign, however, there were only 110 elementary schools in all Russia.[22]

These elementary or "cyphering schools" would have been of far-reaching consequence for the elevation of the masses had they been supported and promoted by Peter's successors; but such was not the case. The few "cyphering schools" gradually disappeared or were absorbed, during the fifty years of incompetent leadership before Catherine the Great came into power.[23]

Peter forced education upon his officers and the members of his court, many of whom could not even read. He required all men to register for service in his Army, or for the building of canals and roads, for service in his new capital at St. Petersburg, or for work in the factories which he was the first to introduce into Russia. Those who would not, or could not, do any of these things were required to pay heavy taxes, which, in turn, supported his huge educational endeavor.[24]

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[22]Wilson, op. cit., p. 7.

[23]Thomas Woody, New Minds: New Men?, p. 27.

[24]Pares, op. cit., pp. 202-203.

Peter the Great was not the only progressive minded despot of Russia. Catherine the Great, 1762-1796, also caught the Western spirit and tried to introduce Western enlightenment into Russia, tried to raise the standard of living, and to start the people on the road to civilization and culture.[25] She had some very decided ideas for the improvement of the masses of the people, in accordance with the doctrines of Montaigne, Diderot, Locke, Rousseau, and Basedow and she tried to make many reforms.[26] At her command Diderot, the French philosopher, drew up a plan for the organization of a state system of higher schools.[27]

In 1776 Diderot prepared a Plan of a University, and a complete scheme for the organization of a state system of public instruction for Russia. Though this plan was not carried out, it had considerable influence. Diderot commended the work of the German states as an example to be followed. First he would have a system of peoples' schools, free and obligatory for all in which instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, morals, civics and religion should be taught. He said "From the Prime Minister to the lowest peasant, it is good for everyone to know how to read, write, and count." He urged the introduction of instruction in mathematics, in the modern sciences, literature, and the

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[25] Cubberly, op. cit., p. 477.

[26] Woody, op. cit., p. 28.

[27] Cubberly, op. cit., p. 477.

work of governments. Science, history, drawing, and music should be taught, leaving classical studies for the last year of the University. An administrative bureau known as the University of Russia would have controlled this public instruction.[28]

During the rule of Catherine, Smolny Institute for noble girls was founded (1764) and the Novo - Devitchy Nunnery (1765) was established for lower class girls with the exception of serfs. She also favored compulsory education for all boys. This failed for lack of adequate support, but it was followed by a revised plan modeled on Austrian schools, directed by Yankovitch, (1782-1786), and admitting girls. But as they were urban, only a small percentage of peasants were enrolled. After five years, two hundred and eighty-eight schools had nearly eighteen thousand pupils. At that time Russia had an estimated population of about twenty-six million. The number of children in attendance appears exceedingly small, but the year 1786 is regarded as a great landmark in the history of Russian education.[29]

The most important effect of the reforms of Peter and Catherine was the promotion of education in the upper class. Woody states:

> Instead of a general diffusion of knowledge -- which both great rulers dreamed of in 1714 and 1770, respectively -- there actually took place a great development of learning, concentrated in the upper classes. At the end of the eighteenth century, the

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[28] Ibid., pp. 511-512. [29] Woody, op. cit., p. 28.

> peasants formed about ninety-five per cent of the population. This impetus to the growth of the intelligentsia was perhaps the most significant fact of the eighteenth century. From among them sprang dreamers, reformers -- and, when peaceful reform seemed inpossible, agitators and revolutionists.[30]

Peter the Great had tried to develop and train skilled technicians and these efforts were furthered by Catherine the Great who put education also on a cultural basis.[31]

Great libraries in both Courland and Poland were looted by both these monarchs. The Russian Government, at the third and last partition of Poland, October 24, 1795, carried away from Warsaw to St. Petersburg the famous Zaluski library, a collection of more than 300,000 volumes.[32]

The mass of the Russian peasants had little desire for education, and their government disdained the Western device of flattering the masses into imposing schools upon themselves.[33]

Under the Tsarist regime, student participation in school government, and even student clubs and other activities, were discouraged. The following were typical regulations:

> Within the buildings, courts, and grounds of the university the organization of students' reading-rooms, dining or food clubs, and also theatrical representations, concerts, balls, and other similar public assemblies not having a scientific character is absolutely forbidden.
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> Students are forbidden to hold any meetings, gatherings for deliberations in common on any matter

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[30] Ibid., p. 29

[31] Ibid., p. 28.

[32] W. Kane, A History of Education, p. 511.

[33] Ibid., p. 512.

whatsoever, or to deliver public speeches, and they are likewise forbidden to establish any common funds whatever.[34]

Educational restrictions by governmental order retarded progress, but one of the most serious blocks to Russian intellectual and educational progress was the power of the Greek, or Eastern Church, because the church leaders shared the same view as the Tsar that the lower classes should be kept in ignorance.[35] Not until the revolution of 1917 was this power broken.[36]

The Tsars had done little for the education of the masses of the people. The upper classes, and the Greek Orthodox Church, felt that too much might be dangerous for the regime. The entire structure was based upon aristocratic models of early centuries designed to give advantages most exclusively to the middle and upper classes.[37]

Despite the Orthodox Church, the first Russian University was established at Kiev in 1588, the second at Dorpat in 1632, the third at Moscow in 1755 and the fourth at Kosan in 1804. The University of Petrograd dates from 1819.[38]

When Alexander I came to the throne in 1801, he considered himself a reformer and wished to abolish serfdom and establish a national system of education. A code (1804)

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[34] Simmons, op. cit., p. 331.

[35] Cubberly, op. cit., p. 477. [36] Ibid., p. 478.

[37] R. Freeman Butts, A Cultural History of Education, p. 560.

[38] Cubberly, op. cit., p. 477.

provided for four types of schools, parish and district schools, gymnasia and universities. Theoretically all were open to all classes, but restrictions were imposed on serfs who tried to enter the gymnasia, and the university was completely closed to them; moreover, the parish schools failed for lack of support. After the Crimean War the doors of the university were opened to private individuals, unclassified people and even to women. Gymnasia offering science and modern languages were established for both boys and girls.[39] This marked the first forward step toward their modern system of education.

Unquestioning obedience to the wishes of the autocracy was gained through darkness rather than through public enlightenment. A. S. Shiskov, minister of education under Alexander I stated:

> Knowledge is useful only when, like salt it is used and offered in small measure, according to the peoples circumstances and their needs . . . . To teach the mass of people, or even the majority of them how to read will bring more harm than good.[40]

In 1804 an ambitious project was launched by Alexander I; he encouraged the establishment of official primary schools among the peasants. Slow progress was made with this undertaking for thirty years, but during the decade before the Emancipation of 1861, the ambition of Alexander I became a reality. There were many unregistered primary schools

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[39]Wilson, op. cit., p. 8.

[40]Simmons, op. cit., pp. 320-321.

maintained by the peasants themselves. The great mass of serfs on private estates and on the State domains had hardly been touched by the cultural changes which since Peter's time had so deeply affected the nobles and bourgeoisie.

Some few of the serfs, most often from among the "court-yard people," were, however, selected and trained for higher things. If the landlord maintained a school on his estate, it was likely to be devoted to the preparation of clerks and bailiffs, and the preliminary education of other serfs who were destined to serve on the estate as barber-surgeons, surveyors, solicitors, or in some such technical capacity.

Sometimes it pleased the proprietor to nurture the arts among his peasantry - to have some of them instructed in architecture, painting, poetry, music - to organize them into orchestras, ballets, opera troupes, or dramatic companies. To send a serf to a gymnasium or a university was forbidden in 1843 (unless he was to be set free), but ocassionally a proprietor sent a favorite abroad to study - perhaps to become more cultivated than himself. Thus, in the matter of culture, a handful of serfs had crossed over into the master's world - but was this likely to make them more content with bondage? In the stories of talented and highly-trained serfs who sought liberation from their lot in flight, drunkenness, or suicide, there is some ground for thinking that this was hardly so.[41]

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[41] Geroid T. Robinson, Rural Russia Under the Old Regime, pp. 44-45.

An illustration of the attitude of the conservative Russian ruler towards the university group may be found in the statement made by Nicholas I directly after he became Tsar in 1825. Driving past the University of Moscow, one day, he remarked, "There is the Wolf's den." And one of his first official acts was to abolish the teaching of philosophy there.[42] His Minister of Education wrote:

> The younger generation can be turned into useful and zealous instruments of the government, if thoughtful guidance be brought to bear on the development of their spirit and attitude of mind.
> . . . They can be led into a mood of devoted and humble love for the existing order.[43]

The aim of education, it is apparent, was not for the benefit of the people but for the enhancement of the government. The principles on which it was built were Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality.[44] The constant aim was to build dams that would retard the flow of new ideas. In every early school the following catechism was taught:

> Q. What does religion teach us as our duty to the Tsar?
> A. Worship, fidelity, payment of taxes, service, love and prayer; the whole being comprised in the words worship and fidelity.[45]

Under the reactionary Tsars development of education was slow. The church opposed popular enlightenment which was effective because the administration was divided between

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[42] Thomas G. Masaryk, The Spirit of Russia, p. 111.

[43] Wilson, op. cit., p. 8. [44] Simmons, op. cit., p. 78.

[45] Wilson, op. cit., p. 9.

the ministry of education and the Holy Synod. Another hindrance was in the public schools, which had to be conducted in the Russian language and many minority races did not use Russian.[46]

Rural conditions and poverty retarded progress among the peasants. They represented the overwhelming majority of all the people in this agricultural country, carried a heavy burden of taxes to the state, and must pay money and labor to private owners of land: as a result many became serfs, or unfree laborers. They were not slaves, but they were not free, being "attached to the soil" and to the individual landlord, whom the state thus set up in order to use their services in the government and army.[47]

A fuller activity had begun at the universities during the liberal epoch of Alexander I, with the issues of the Studies' Ordinance of 1804. In 1835, Uvarov, Minister of Education, reorganized the universities in conformity with his general program, making the study of theology and ecclesiastical history obligatory in the curriculum at each university.

About a decade later the objects of universities, which held a lower scholastic rating than the so-called higher schools, were announced to be "the education of loyal sons

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[46]Stephen Duggan, A Student's Textbook in the History of Education, p. 461.

[47]Pares, op. cit., p. 8.

for the Orthodox Church, of loyal subjects for the Tsar, and of good and useful citizens for the fatherland." Enrollment was restricted to 300. Because of alarm inspired by the revolution of 1848, certain disciplines and many revolutionary subjects, notably the study of European constitutional law, were banished as deleterious. Philosophy was reduced to courses upon logic and psychology which had in future to be delivered by theologians, the reason for the change being "the blameworthy development of this science by German professors." The historian Granavski was not allowed to lecture on the reformation. These reactionary measures remained in effect until the time of Alexander II (1855-1881).[48]

Reform of the higher schools (1847) was effected in conformity with the restrictions imposed on the universities. The study of classical languages was discontinued lest youth should be corrupted by the reading of Greek authors who had written in republics. This restriction was of short duration, however, because in 1854 classical studies were partially reintroduced, the idea being that Greek and Latin fathers of the church would inspire refractory youths with due veneration for the official program.[49]

After the serfs were emancipated in 1861, the Tsar and his ministers twice considered the problem of universal elementary education, but it was only when the Zemstvos began to function, that there was any real effort to promote

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[48] Masaryk, op. cit., pp. 111-112. [49] Ibid., p. 112.

education in Russia. The Zemstvos were the electoral assemblies of the thirty-four provinces. They tried to establish schools for all children but the government was opposed to the idea of public education and favored the old religious schools wherein the pupils were taught "worship and fidelity" to the state. However, they managed to establish a number of schools. In an effort to abolish or at least keep their number to a minimum, the government proclaimed their schools expensive, unpatriotic, and non-religious. Finally, they were forbidden to increase their taxes. When all efforts to suppress them failed, the government revived the parish schools, where the teachers were "poor, professionally, economically, and socially." They and the textbooks were considered "safe" from the standpoint of preventing the people from learning to think.[50]

It was not until 1864 that the first primary school law was passed, by which a state system of schools was set up, open to all children without distinction, but also without compulsion. The system was governed by a central ministry of public instruction under which the huge country was divided into fifteen administrative districts.[51]

Late in the nineteenth century, schools were established in scattered areas as a result of the growing industrialization. In 1876 the United States was greatly influenced by a Russian exhibit of manual work at the Centennial Exposition

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[50] Wilson, op. cit., p. 10 [51] Kane, op. cit., p. 512.

at Philadelphia. Under the statute of 1888, four groups of vocational schools were established.[52]

An American journal comments:

> The government has made special efforts to promote the teaching of agriculture, a most important matter, since ninety per cent of the population are engaged in tilling the soil.
>
> The government has also established a number of commercial and technical schools for boys which are closely coordinated to the primary schools, corresponding in this respect to the French acole primarie superieur.[53]

The government was very active in its program of restriction of education until the 1905 revolution. The Universities which had been established were made completely subordinate, even in academic affairs, to the public authorities. The Gymnasia which had been established were demoted into "Real Schools" with a narrow and technical curriculum which no longer permitted the graduates to enter the University. Delyanof, the Minister of Education, said that the children of coachmen, servants, cooks, laundresses, and "such like people" should not be encouraged to "rise above the sphere to which they were born." The primary schools established by the Zemstvos were again put under the clergy. Establishment of new Zemstvo schools was prohibited except with the consent of the bishop.[54]

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[52] Duggan, op. cit., pp. 461-462.

[53] Education, Movements in Russia, (November, 1901), 186-188.

[54] Wilson, op. cit., p. 10.

A resume of Education as it existed prior to the Revolution of 1905 reveals the following concise, but pertinent, data:

> Little progress had been made in Russia as regards education; distrust of the natural sciences, even in their technical application, and of western ideas of free government; desire to make university education, and even secondary education a privilege of the wealthier classes; neglect of primary education, coupled with suppression by the Ministry of Public Instruction of all initiative, private and public, in the matter of disseminating education among the illiterate classes - these were the distinctive features of the educational policy of the last twenty years of the 19th century.[55]

Apart from the schools under the Ministry of War, most primary schools were either under the Ministry of Public Instruction or of the Holy Synod. For the last twenty years of the 19th century the policy was to hand over budget allowances for primary instruction to the Holy Synod, which opened parish schools under the local priest. Under the Synod these were divided into parish and reading schools of an inferior grade. No certificate was required by the teachers, the permission of the Bishop being sufficient. The village Priest, being too much occupied with parochial duties, could give only casual or perfunctory attention to the schools. The numerous pupils either existed on paper only, or were handed over to half-educated canons, deacons, or hired teachers.

The primary system did have one good feature. Practical subjects were taught. Many schools had gardens or fields;

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[55]"Russia," Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 23-24, thirteenth edition.

bee-keepings and silkworm culture were taught; instruction was given in many trades and manual training which originated in Finland. Girls were taught handwork. Almost fifty per cent of the teachers were women. In 1885 there was one school for every 2,665 inhabitants and one pupil for every forty-eight inhabitants. In 1898 the figures were 1,643 and thirty-one inhabitants respectively.[56]

While education under the Tsars reached too few people, at the beginning of the twentieth century the qualitative level of instruction and training for the few who received a full education was high. Some Russian Universities before the first World War were among the best.[57]

In 1904 there were only nine universities for higher education (Yuriev or Dorpat, Kazan, Kharkov, Kiev, Moscow, Odessa, St. Petersburg, Warsaw, and Tomsk), with 19,400 students; six medical academies (one for women); six theological and six military academies; five philological and three Eastern language institutes; three law schools; four veterinary institutes; four agricultural colleges; two mining and four engineering institutes; two universities for women (930 students at St. Petersburg); three technical pedagogic schools; ten technical institutes; one forestry and one topographical school.[58]

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[56] Ibid., Vol. XXIII, thirteenth edition.

[57] Simmons, op. cit., p. 328.

[58] "Russia," Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XXIII, thirteenth edition.

An arresting article, which reviewed education during 1904, was found in Russkiya Vyedomosti, compiled by the editor, he contended the paramount need in Russia was for an improved educational system, requiring:

> . . . a broad growth and development of national education not in keeping with police wardship, with the absence of academic freedom, with obstacles in the way of educators, nor with a censorship which, in high-handed fashion, puts prohibitions and limitations on the press. A civilized and enlightened government understands the necessity for the freedom of the printed and spoken word, a freedom of meetings and unions which should be limited only by law, the open courts, and public opinion.[59]

He charged that the Japanese were at that time winning the Russo-Japanese War because of superior education.

Prevailing conditions were as retarded as when Alexander II abolished serfdom, he had tried also to give greater political freedom through local governments in which popular election, trial by juries, freedom of the press, and schools were instituted for the village people. This did not work out well then because the people had no democratic traditions and the Tsar's agents interfered over much.[60] However, about two decades later the village population of European Russia numbered 80,000,000 persons of all ages; of these 11,431,000 males and 3,923,000 females were literate. Robinson cites:

> Thus the proportion of literates remained less

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[59] The American Monthly Review of Reviews, Educational Need in Russia, (March, 1905), 373.

[60] Butts, op. cit., p. 395.

> than one-fifth; the channel of written communication was not very wide, but it was widening and through this channel the flow of ideas moved almost exclusively in one direction - from the city to the village.[61]

As a preparation for the service of the State, which Peter the Great had attempted to enforce, boys of noble families were required to have a certain minimum of education. When the service requirement had been abolished the nobles were still required to provide for their sons a minimum of instruction. This education helped to open channels through which new influences from abroad might flow, and the compelling force continued for two centuries. This thought is emphasized in the following account from Robinson:

> Alexander Herzen said of his father, who lived from the 18th century well into the 19th; "At the time of his education, European civilization was so new in Russia that a man of culture necessarily became less a Russian. To the end of his life he (Herzen's father) wrote French with more ease and correctness than Russian, and he literally never read a Russian book, not even the Bible . . . . When my father heard that the Emperor Alexander was reading Karanzin's History of the Russian Empire, he tried it himself but soon laid it aside: "Nothing but old Slavonic names! Who can take an interest in that'?"[62]

The understaffed and poorly trained faculties presented a problem. In 1902 at least forty-one per cent of the parish school teachers were below twenty-one and twenty-five; and out of 38,774 lay teachers in the fifty provinces of European Russia in 1905, 16,982 had no teaching certificate of any kind.[63]

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[61]Robinson, op. cit., p. 127. [62]Ibid., p. 52.

[63]John S. Curtis, Church and State in Russia, p. 184.

There were "second class schools," which received children who had finished the course of the elementary schools and gave them three years of additional work in religious subjects, and in geography, mathematics, natural science, and didactics. This qualified them to become teachers in the church's "schools of literacy." Also, there were teachers' schools where, in separate institutions, men and women were given training sufficient to qualify them for licenses as elementary teachers. From the second-class schools and from the teachers' schools came most of the new teachers for the parish schools of the church.[64]

All public schools were required by law to give their pupils the proper number of lessons per week in "the law of God." This applied to both elementary and secondary schools. Inculcation of loyalty to the Tsar went hand in hand with instructions concerning beliefs and the ceremonies of the Orthodox Church. Part of a Catechism prepared for school use in 1895 by the School Committee of the Synod reads as follows:

> Q. Why should we especially respect the Tsars above all others?
> A. Because he is the father of the whole people and the anointed of God.[65]

For the non-Orthodox children the teaching of their own religion was permitted, in the Russian language, but only for those pupils who requested it. This did not extend to rural schools. For the daughters of the parish clergy the church

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[64] Ibid., p. 188. [65] Ibid., p. 186.

maintained a special type of diocesan school, usually with a six year course, where no tuition fees were paid. The purpose of these schools was to educate the girls --

> . . . in the rules of propriety and righteousness, in the teachings of the Holy Church, in order that they may be good wives for ecclesiastics, good mothers, and skillfull housewives.[66]

The Russian dioceses maintained special schools for the sons of the clergy. After obtaining an elementary education, they entered the four year religious schools, and then for the most part went on to the religious seminaries. By law only ten per cent of the student body might come from ecclesiastical circles. The seminaries were filled largely with the sons of the parish clergy.

Though priest's sons enjoyed certain advantages, there was much dissension among them. This was largely attributed to the scanty diet provided by their stipend of 105 rubles. Dean Iurashkevich, rector of a seminary said that trouble would flare up, occasioned by a cockroach which had fallen into the borsch, or a mouse's tail in the soup. The real cause, according to him, was "angry dissatisfaction with the scantiness of the state maintenance."[67]

Another source of dissatisfaction with seminary life was the disciplinary system. Articles in noted church periodicals declared that proctors and instructors had given up any thought of developing christian attitudes in their charges.

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[66] Ibid., p. 188.

[67] Ibid., p. 189.

They endeavored to keep them in order by harshness. These articles stated: "the favorite names which they called the students are fool, jackass, good-for-nothing imbecile . . . in the seminary there prevails a reign of terror." Students could be punished by deprivation of meals and imprisonment in seminary jails.[68]

It appears likely that the basic cause for dissatisfaction was the fact that few of the priest's sons wanted the life of their fathers. Those who could afford to do so sent their sons to the secular schools rather than to the seminaries; those who did go to the seminaries did so chiefly because they had no other chance for an education.

Early in 1905, in the Vladimir Diocesan News, an author complained:

> From students dissatisfied with their position come bad priests, . . . who sullenly abused the school which nurtured them, and in their eyes, enslaved them, and who with pathological eagerness try to obtain any civil employment.[69]

Great educational changes were instituted by the Duma, the elective state council, or national assembly, after the Revolution of 1905.[70] New efforts were made at that time to establish public primary schools. The Zemstvos planned a vast network of four-year schools within a two mile radius of even the most remote village. Research into agriculture was also fostered by these legislative bodies of the provinces

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Curtis, op. cit., p. 189.

[70] Duggan, op. cit., p. 461.

and eighty agricultural stations with model farms were established. The Tsarist government, however, again restricted the establishment of these schools by forbidding adequate taxation for their support,[71] and leaving parochial schools in operation.

Answering a charge of inefficiency and inadequacy of the parochial schools which had been made by the anarchist, elderly Prince Kropotkin, the editor of the Publication by the Procurator of the Holy Synod of Russia, Pobiedonostseff, deplored his inability to answer a political resume of education in Russia. Admitting some of the defects, existing in 1905, the editor continued to emphasize that the Prince was ignorant of the true condition of education in Russia, and he pointed out:

> The Elementary Schools are: (1) those established by the minister of education; (2) those established and maintained by the Zemstvos; (3) those which are attached to the ecclesiastical parishes. The schools of this last class either did not exist at all in Kropotkin's time, or, if they existed, they were completely neglected; whereas under the reign of Alexander III, they were placed on a new footing and grew rapidly . . . . the schools of this third class are the most serviceable to Russia.[72]

The procurator pointed out that in sparsely inhabited regions education must, of necessity, be kept on a simple and inexpensive basis, increasing in volume and expense as the number of people and wealth of the community permitted.

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[71] Wilson, op. cit., p. 11.

[72] North American Review, Russia and Popular Education, Pobiedonosteff, pp. 349-350.

His spirited and sharp retorts to Prince Kropotkin, whom he calls an anarchist, were concluded on a political note by a disagreement of the statement that "Russia has outgrown the autocratic form of government."[73]

He avers that Europe has outgrown the republic form of government and particularly in their school systems.[74]

Belated efforts at educational reconstruction in Tsarist Russia came too late to do much. In 1914 Russian education was still built on a religious foundation. The school was supported by members of the government and the upper classes - not being attended by the masses. The old school was largely academic and formal, particularly in the upper levels. A scheme drafted in 1912 to make elementary education compulsory and universal in fifteen years came to naught. School attendance was small; the masses were illiterate. Indeed, when the Communists seized the reins of government, something like seventy to seventy-five per cent of the populace were in this condition.[75]

At the beginning of the Communistic regime, Krupskaya, the wife of Lenin, who was a school teacher and a writer described Russian education thus:

> The public school was under the strict surveillance of the priest, the tight-fisted rich peasant, and the policeman. The teacher was always under suspicion. Prayers and religious instruction filled most of the school-time. Icons were the principal equipment. All

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[73] Ibid., p. 354. [74] Ibid.

[75] Meyer, op. cit., p. 365.

> the textbooks were permeated with a spirit of bigotry. Histories were written in servile loyalty to the authorities. Discussion of the realities of life was taboo. Nature-study was viewed with suspicion.
>
> Half the population of the Russian Empire consisted of non-Russian nationalities who often had no knowledge of Russian at all. The Tsar's government assumed the task of 'Russifying' these nationalities. Many of the Oriental nationalities were without a script of their own. There was no literature nor were periodicals printed in the language of the national minorities. No school was conducted in any language except Russian.[76]

These were hard words, and draw a sad picture of the backwardness of Russia at a time when Western civilization had reached a high degree of culture. Universal education had been deliberately restricted because of the fears of the Tsars of an educated citizenry. For example, when football was introduced into Russia, early in the 20th century, the man who was responsible was imprisoned for several months because Russian officials were convinced that the only object of the game was to teach young men how to throw bombs more accurately.[77]

Yet, there was much to be admired in the education of Tsarist Russia. Under the guidance of foreign tutors and governesses, Russian students came to excel as linguists and in distinctive manners. The gymnasia, lycees, and universities were well equipped and well manned. Russian scholars had won recognition in almost every field of professional work and investigation by the time of the revolution.

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[76]New Era, London, January, 1928, Quoted in Wilson, op. cit., p. 11.

[77]John Dewey, Soviet Russia, p. 63.

However, it was an education designed for the few, possible only with selected groups.

Summary

Nomadic tribes, influenced by Orthodoxy, built the first educational institutions in Russia. Under the Tsars a slow but steady spread of learning has been noted. Peter the Great promoted nationalistic interests; Catherine the Great raised the standard of living, and fostered educational opportunities for girls. Alexander I opened the universities to the underprivileged and established primary schools; Nicholas made many progressive changes, particularly in the universities and higher schools. The first primary school law (1864) set up a state system of schools without distinction or compulsion of students; created a central ministry with fifteen districts; spread education through industrialization; established four vocational schools and restricted education in the Universities. Significant changes came after the Revolution of 1905, when the Duma revived the Zemstvos network and placed education on a simple and inexpensive basis.

In the ensuing chapter, a study will be made of the new system of Russian schools as instituted under the first period of Communism, 1917 to 1927.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION IN RUSSIA FROM 1917 UNTIL 1927

One of the great revolutions in history occurred in Russia in 1917. The Bolsheviks gained control of the government, and an entirely new set of ideals and practices was substituted for the autocratic rule of the Tsars. In this new government, the people were to be rulers and all classes of society were to be abolished. Private property was to be taken by the state, and administered for the benefit of all people. Under the Bolshevik doctrine, Russia was to become a Utopia wherein people worked, not for private gain, but for the ultimate welfare of all. The forms of society were changed, and radical changes took place in educational theory and practice. Before these changes are considered, some attention should be given to the fundamental principles underlying the new theory of government and of education.

Counts, an American teacher and educational writer, has made a close study of the new form of government with special reference to its system of education,[1] listing five controlling ideas dominating the Russian philosophy of government and education: dialectial materialism, collectivism,

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[1]George S. Counts, The Soviet Challenge to America, pp. 13-31.

equality of nationalities, equality of the sexes, and industrialism. A brief review of the meaning of these will help in understanding much that has happened.

Dialectial materialism simply means that the believer in this philosophy thinks that there is no outside agency as creator of the world, and that the universe of nature is self-sufficient.[2] In other words, science can explain the universe. It is a practical reality, and there is some natural explanation for all things. Abstract ideas and supernatural beliefs are discarded. Human behavior in the mass is not caused by inheritance but is determined "by economic forces and the methods whereby men gain their livelihood." Capitalism divides society into classes wherein the welfare of a few, not all, predominates. If the people owned and controlled the forces of economy and administered them for the benefit of all the people, there would be no classes.

Collectivism means that the institution of private property, land and tools, of production, will be abolished. It also means that --

> . . . no individual will be able to acquire great wealth, that the motive of personal gain will cease to drive the wheels of the economic order, that the senseless competition in the conspicuous consumption of goods will come to an end, and that land, railroads, factories, mills, shops, houses and natural resources will be owned collectively and administered in the interests of all.[3]

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[2] Sherwood Eddy, Russia Today, pp. 183-185.

[3] Counts, op. cit., p. 25.

One of the implications of collectivism in a study of Russian education is the value that it places upon labor. "In a society that has abolished private property labor is the only socially respected means of livelihood."[4] Education, therefore, might be expected to stress practical ways of learning to work.

The third great controlling idea dominating Communism is its expressed belief in the equality of nationalities. People are all equal, at least theoretically. Such a concept, also, could be expected to have a wide influence in education.[5]

The fourth principle, equality of the sexes, states that women along with the working classes and the culturally retarded races, has been the victim of severe exploitation. The Communists argue that there is no justification for limiting a woman's work to the home, and they believe in a social order wherein a woman "is given the same freedom of choice in regard to her social destiny that man has commonly enjoyed in the past."[6] Such a philosophy will naturally cause fundamental changes in the home and in the family and consequently on education.

The fifth and last principle set out by Counts as governing the new Russian government is that of industrialization.

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[4] Ibid., p. 26.

[5] William Henry Chamberlin, Russia's Iron Age, p. 270.

[6] Counts, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

The originators of the Communistic philosophy believed that only in a highly industrialized society could the principles of Communism be realized. Another reason for stress on industrialization was the belief in science.

> They (the Communists) look upon science as the saviour of mankind and would apply the methods of science to the cure of every human ill. Particularly would they erect the economic structure on the foundations of technology. In the light of objective experiment and tested knowledge they would organize all of the processes of production and distribution. The raising of crops, the breeding of animals, the extraction of minerals, the exploitation of forests, the utilization of natural forces, the fabrication of commodities, and the exchange of goods and services would proceed from the findings of science.[7]

Radical educational changes could be expected from people who had control of a government founded on these principles. One of the early acts of the Bolshevik government was the establishment of an educational system and a program that was fundamentally new to previous educational practices in many ways. The Peoples' Commissariat of Education drew up a program in 1918 which made it free, obligatory, and universal. Pre-school training for children from three to seven years; elementary, from eight to twelve years; and secondary, from thirteen to sixteen years were established. Every Russian citizen, also, according to government pronouncement, was entitled to a higher education. The immediate results are described by Wilson as follows:

> . . . the years 1917 to 1919 saw a riot of activities. The numbers of schools, teachers and

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[7] Ibid., p. 31.

> children were doubled. The whole vast territory of Russia was dotted with educational clubs, reading homes, lecture halls. "Universities" traveled by train, by boat, by aeroplane to the remotest parts of the country.[8]

One of the fundamental ideas for Communism came from America. In 1904 Alexander Zelenko, who had lived at Hull House in Chicago, brought the idea of the settlement home to Russia as a means of social reform. He was joined in this endeavor by Louise Schleger, a kindergarten teacher, and Stanislaus Shatsky. Working together, these three established and maintained a kindergarten in the suburb Shelkovo in the summer of 1905 for fifteen children of poor workers. In one year the settlement had five hundred members.

The following year an experimental school with the objective of social education of the community was established as a part of this settlement. It was successful enough to warrant the constant surveillance of the police, but was finally closed by order of the Tsar. Zelenko and Shatsky were arrested and accused of "trying to plant socialism in the minds of little children."[9] The settlement was later given permission to work with children, but with none over fifteen years old. In 1911 one of the wealthy Morosoffs established a camp for the children on one of his estates with the motto "children are the creators of the future."[10]

Both the Moscow and the country settlement made considerable progress, but government support was not obtained

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[8]Wilson, op. cit., p. 31.

[9]Ibid., p. 14.

[10]Ibid., p. 15.

until after the revolution when the Moscow settlement was reorganized under the title of First Experimental Stations. Under this there developed a series of kindergartens well equipped, with medical and dental care; an experimental unified labor school for children from eight to seventeen years old, with which were affiliated fifteen other schools in the district; a Pedagogical Technicum in which Zelenko and Shatsky taught. The country settlement had a similarly successful expansion.

Teachers of both city and rural schools of the two settlements were urged by Shatsky to continuously study both their children and the children's environment so that the curricula might be kept abreast of pupil needs. Through close study of teachers, pupils, and environment, Shatsky developed a philosophy, an art, and a science of education: in education these things are basic; (a) the study of the actual environment of the children in relation to and in addition to the study of the individual child; (b) intelligent selection from this environment of something so vital that it will act spontaneously as a unifying educational force; (c) release of the creative energy of the children so that they individually and collectively will press forward to the theoretical and practical solutions of problems, acquiring much worthwhile knowledge and skill, and lastly, (d) a fine art of guidance insuring good workmanship all along the line.[11] This was known as the complex method

[11] Ibid., p. 16.

of education, which permeated education under the Bolsheviks.

The settlement as described was developed largely after the revolution, but it had its roots in Tsarist Russia. These data are inserted in this chapter to show that some of the progress begun under the Tsars was continued, or used as a basis for the educational changes immediately following.

The significant thing about Russian education at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution is the lack of it. A high per cent of the people at the time Communism was established was illiterate - one of the factors that explains the growth of Communism. The new "ism" which promised a classless society, equal rights and privileges to all was offered to people who for the most part could neither read nor write, who had been free men only a short time, and who possessed very little, if any, economic resources. These circumstances explain much of Communism's tremendous growth and development among the peoples of eastern Europe and Asia, and, at the same time, reflect the aftermath of the revolution which resulted in chaotic educational conditions. The Education Act of 1918 asserted "the right of an individual to his own peculiar development."[12]

The Utopian plans of the early period of Communism were not realized. Too much was to be accomplished by slow stages and by paper plans. The blame for failure was often placed on the old intellectual and official class, sometimes with

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[12]Duggan, op. cit., p. 463.

justification. Many professors and teachers were imprisoned or shot; others fled. Within six years after the revolution, the government had repudiated its early policies of religious neutrality in the school, educational decentralization and the right of the individual to his own peculiar development.[13] Utopianism was being replaced by a hard political opportunism.

The Government (in early days of Communism) established thousands of homes and state creches to care for one-half million infants and other children. The use of old, insanitary buildings, poor organization, and lack of medical supervision made the mortality rate frightfully high. The experiment was practically abandoned by 1920.[14]

The immensity of the undertaking, if the new method had succeeded in its immediate aims, would have caused many difficulties. The government, however, did not function smoothly. The Bolsheviks in their plans for a Utopia evidently forgot to take into consideration human nature. They tried to operate on the idea that man will do creditable work without the incentive of personal gain. On paper the idea that people would work in factories and take their pay in goods and in farm products and that the farmer would raise food and exchange it for goods looked good. In practice, however, it was something else.

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[13]Arnold Horowitz and Louis Stark, "Classrooms and Class Struggles," The Educational Forum, III (January, 1939), 167-168.

[14]Duggan, op. cit., p. 466.

The workers in the factories received the same pay regardless of the volume of their work; consequently they loafed on the job, visited among themselves, and produced a limited and inferior product.[15] The farmers, on the other hand, were not satisfied to work and produce food when they received no pay other than the few goods made in the factories. They reduced their crops to the subsistence level. The consequences were almost chaotic and the government almost collapsed. There was no time nor money for the grandiose education plans. Wilson states:

> . . . the revolutionary successes were almost immediately succeeded by the terrible years of civil war; of invasions from the north, the south, the east and the west; of famine, of fuel failure, of poverty. Schoolhouses became barracks, teachers, soldiers. There was neither the time nor the means properly to equip the schools that remained, much less to build newer and better ones, in numbers sufficient for the vast army of Russian children.[16]

The Education Act of 1918 provided for two grades of schools. Those of the first grade had a five year course ending at thirteen; the school of the second grade, a four year course ending at seventeen. Both were to be free and coeducational with compulsory attendance, a provision which could not be enforced. The internal management was to be carried out by a school collective of teachers, pupils, and janitors. The curriculum and the relations of the school to its local surroundings were to be controlled by a Council

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[15]House Document, No. 754, Communism in Action, p. 2.

[16]Wilson, op. cit., p. 31.

on which representatives of a local education board of workers, and pupils sat with the teachers. Each school was to be practically autonomous while the state had only general supervision. Decentralization was not realized because the Communist party soon came to dominate the school councils.[17]

When the Revolution of 1917 overthrew the Tsar and the whole structure of the imperial government, the Russian people had little spirit of unity and no experience with the broad problems of self-government. With these handicaps, the Bolshevist leaders launched an experiment in mass rule such as had never been attempted before. The Soviet government undertook an ambitious plan designed to turn this huge, backward, agricultural country into an industrial nation of the most advanced type. The educational and social projects fostered were daring, even for times of revolution. The one undertaking that startled the world was the separation from the church. The break away from the educational control held by the Orthodox Church had not come suddenly, nor from extraneous roots, but from within. Curtis traces it in the following:

> In Church News a writer stated that "disorders and unrest in . . . our religious educational institutions began to appear quite early, even in the middle 1890's." "The seminary riots began, not with last year, but long before the beginning of the liberative movement (the Revolution of 1905); the history of the seminaries for the last ten years has been full of them, and they arose even earlier; at the present time they have merely taken on a mass character, and openly display the

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[17]Duggan, op. cit., p. 463.

> dislocation of the seminary which has been in preparation for decades."[18]

The four religious academies of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, and Kazan, did not have the trouble of the seminaries. The academy students were the selected ones from the seminaries; good marks for conduct as well as in studies were required for admission to the higher institutions. Moreover, the academy students were on the road to success; they had ahead of them a promising future in the field of teaching or in other well-paid posts, while the seminaries trained only for priesthood. The church was losing power because of unrest within it and confusion beyond its confines; and the educational efforts of the parish schools were being vigorously challenged by the secular schools of the Zemstvos and the towns.[19]

When victory had been secured on the military and political "fronts," the government opened up a third front in 1921. On this new front, education, the first definite cleavage came with the already weakened Orthodoxy. Harper tells us that from the very first months of the Revolution the Church was separated not only from the state but also from education.[20]

When the Soviets assumed power one of their first acts was to proclaim the equality of all peoples in the country the right of each to full and free cultural development. No

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[18]Curtis, op. cit., p. 190. [19]Ibid., p. 191.

[20]Samuel N. Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 244.

nationality was to dominate another. Each had a right to its own language, culture, and institutions. Subject races - no longer the minorities - were invited as equals into a "free union of free peoples."[21] The Russian native tongue ceased to be the official speech in non-Russian areas. Every effort was made by the Soviet government to educate the former subject nationalities in their own dialects and to develop their native cultures. This took a great deal of time and money, in view of the number of nationalities and vernaculars involved. Teachers had to be trained in each native tongue; textbooks had to be written; and over fifty new alphabets had to be created for those peoples who had never possessed a written language. Theaters were developed using local actors and dialects, and museums showing minority cultures were established. Later, universities and technical colleges were opened, using the diction of the minor nationalities.[22]

The schools for technical education within the Soviet Unions are of the following general types:

1. Professional (technical and trade) schools, training workshops and factory workshop schools.
2. Higher technical schools.
3. Workers' faculties (Rabfacs).
4. Universities (advanced technical schools).
5. Research institutes.

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[21] Marguerite Ann Stewart, Land of the Soviets, p. 14.

[22] Ibid., p. 15.

The professional (trade) schools are similar in their organization to the agricultural and technical high schools in the United States, except that those who attend them also do practical work at factories or workshops. They give training to their students in elementary and technical, or professional, education. Most of the children who attend once have been through the "labor" or elementary schools. No one under fourteen is admitted.[23]

Soviet children usually finish the labor school at an age of between fifteen and seventeen. They are then expected to choose the trade or profession they will follow and enroll in a school which specializes in this line of activity.

The course of study in the professional school varies from three to four years, with part of the student's time spent in the actual work of the industry for which he is preparing. After completing the course students serve as apprentices in establishments corresponding with the specialty they have chosen. Upon completion of this term, they are considered technically trained for the class of work for which they had been preparing.[24]

An innovation in education was in teaching the very young. Under the old regime, primary schools in cities and villages did not provide places for more than half the youngsters of

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[23]Scott Nearing and Jack Hardy, The Economic Organization of the Soviet Union, p. 201.

[24]Nearing and Hardy, op. cit., p. 202.

school age. It was difficult for the children of workmen and peasants to obtain secondary education, due to exorbitant fees and formalities of admission, especially for the peasant youth. Higher educational institutions were even more inaccessible to the workmen and peasants. The old government had not chosen to promote education among the masses, but the public gradually forced expansion through the elective provincial and municipal councils, Zemstvo schools, and through the national parliament.

Just before World War I, a law was passed under which obligatory primary education was to be introduced within ten years, secondary schools increased, and student bodies of higher institutions were to become more democratic.[25] Still, there were many special institutions for the privileged class of the old nobility. Pupils of secondary and higher institutions came mainly from the propertied and official classes, or the intelligensia.

The provisional government of the revolution of February, 1917, planned to reform Russian education along democratic lines but the October revolution brought leaders with other ideas. Thus, the year 1918 saw many radical changes. The whole school system was to be reorganized into a single unified labor school in the lower grades of which all children would be provided for; all artificial barriers between grades would be abolished; all admission requirements except

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[25] Harper, op. cit., p. 246.

those of age were done away with; and workers and peasants could enter the higher, as well as the secondary, educational institutions. Few of these plans materialized, however, the number of schools of all types increased greatly, and the percentage of children of workmen and peasants in the schools also grew rapidly.[26] Communism too, experienced the same rapid growth.

Lenin, while pointing out that the schools help build Communism, stressed that knowledge of Communist ideals meant the fullest possible education. In a speech to the youth he said:

> You would be making a great mistake if you attempted to draw the conclusion that one can become a communist without acquiring what human knowledge has accumulated. It would be a mistake to believe that it is sufficient to learn communist slogans. . . . If a communist took it into his head to boast about his communism on the basis of readymade conclusions obtained without a great deal of serious and hard work, without understanding the facts which he must examine critically, he would be a very deplorable communist. Such superficiality would be decidedly fatal. If I know that I know little, I will strive to learn more; but if a man says that he is a communist, and that he need know nothing thoroughly, he will never be anything like a communist.[28]

The Education Act of 1923 set the transition from elementary to secondary education at twelve instead of thirteen and divided the secondary school course into two cycles of three and two years respectively. Co-education was unchanged - the schools were theoretically kept open to all youth between

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[26] Ibid., p. 247. [27] Butts, op. cit., p. 576.

[28] Simmons, op. cit., p. 322.

ages eight and seventeen. In case of over-crowding, preferred admission into the "unified labor school" was to be extended to worker's children. This often meant the exclusion of students of other classes.[29] Where there was no public school, fees were again introduced into secondary education.

Education was declared a state monopoly. Private schools and instruction by association of parents was forbidden. The former principle of neutrality in religion was disavowed. The new law (1923) prescribed the teaching of atheism as the official dogma and the teaching of Communism. The local authority was by now a party-controlled body. Decentralization and local adaptation were abandoned. The principal was no longer bound by decisions of the school council, and "the responsible direction of the educational, financial, and administrative activity of each school" was entrusted to him.

According to Duggan Articles 32-35 of the Act of 1923 say:

> The work of the school is based on the detailed theoretical and practical study of the labor activity of men and its organization. All the work in the school and the whole organization of school life should promote the proletarian class consciousness in the minds of labor in its struggle with capital as well as recreation for useful productive activity.[30]

The infliction of penalties upon pupils was abolished, and introduction of self-government into all schools was demanded. The All-Russian Teacher's Union was abolished

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[29]Duggan, op. cit., p. 467. [30]Ibid.

because the authorities distrusted the teachers trained under the Tsarist regime. By 1924 the party was able to concentrate on the education of a new generation of teachers. This was to train the trade-teachers, and also within the higher classes of the secondary schools. The course was to be for four years, the last of which was professional. Labor was the core of teacher training in Russia.[31]

A partial return to the principles of capitalism under the New Economic Policy instituted in 1921 saved the Communistic experiment from utter collapse. In the period between 1921 and 1927 great progress was made by the country as a whole in production of both manufactured goods and food, and the financial condition improved likewise. Gradually, a state system of schools began to take form, and by the time of the beginning of the Plans considerable progress had been made. Illiteracy census figures taken from the Izbek people (the most backward in Russia), showed one per cent literate in 1897, while by 1930 the figure had risen to 19.4 per cent. In 1915 only 2.8 per cent of the children of school age were in schools, which rose to 27.6 per cent in 1928.[32] This was a significant increase considering the many difficulties encountered by the new government and the many changes in society which it had brought about.

The period, however, laid the foundation of present day

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[31] Ibid., p. 468.

[32] Alexander Wicksteed, My Russian Neighbors, pp. 144-145.

Russian education. A brief glance at the expressed aims of the Soviet government and the program that was set up will aid in understanding subsequent developments under the Five-Year Plans. The opinions of some of the Bolshevik leaders regarding education are also significant.

Lenin maintained that the school had political function, not for the benefit of the individual, but to further the growth of Communism. He said:

> The school, apart from life, apart from politics, is a lie, a hypocrisy. Bourgeois society indulged in this lie, covering up the fact that it was using the school as a means of domination, by declaring that the school was politically neutral, and in the service of all. We must declare openly what it concealed, namely the political function of the school. While the object of our previous struggle was to overthrow the Bourgeoisie, the aim of the new generation is much more complex: it is to construct communist society.[33]

Lunarcharsky, the first Commisar of Education under the Bolshevik regime, cited the two chief current problems of school education: "(1) The development of public economy with reference to socialist reconstruction in general and the efficiency of labor in particular; (2) the development of the population in the spirit of communism."[34]

Jones summarized the communistic plan under three headings. The guiding aim of the Soviet enlightenment policy is to teach communistic principles to the children; and materialistic interpretations are stressed so that the young may become full-fledged communists. It is further intended to

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[33] Dewey, op. cit., p. 83. [34] Ibid., p. 87.

convert the adults into a literate citizenry; and to permit the development and preservation of natural cultures.[35]

Wilson states that without doubt the aim of the new government was to make thoroughgoing communists out of the next generation. The children were to be so trained that "collectively they may create a new world, in which each may live effectively, cooperatively, and creatively.[36] With this end in view, the Commissariats of Education have radically revised the curricula, methods and organization of the schools. Instead of the old "mechanical ladder created by the bourgeoise, of elementary education (for 'the people'), secondary education (for their employees and allies) and the higher schools (for themselves)" the Commissariats of Education introduced various public institutions, most of which were new to Russia, and in some instances to the world: creches, summer playgrounds, children's hearths, kindergartens, children's homes, children's colonies, children's organizations, clubs and many new types of schools.[37]

The second dominant aim, as listed by Wilson, was to transform the existing adult population as quickly as possible into a literate, politically intelligent people, reading and studying widely. To this end the Commissariats of Education created such institutions as stations for the liquidation of illiteracy, workers' and peasants' homes,

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[35]Dorsey D. Jones, Under Russian Canopy, p. 205.

[36]Wilson, op. cit., p. 34. [37]Ibid.

political and cultural clubs and reading rooms, itinerant and permanent libraries, self-education centers, short courses (usually vocational), rabfacs (workers' faculties), and other schools for adults, specialized scientific institutes, communist universities, socialized museums and art galleries, theatres, and publications. Many of these were entirely new departures.[38]

A third aim was to develop and preserve national culture as essential to general culture. The chief means was the establishment of national schools in the different provinces where the native language of the people would be used.[39]

To increase the efficiency of labor, however, loomed as the most pressing need of the people in the early days of the Bolshevik experiment. For this purpose technical and professional schools, short courses and apprentice schools for workmen and for peasants, and factory schools were essential.

These were the most outstanding aims of Soviet education. The methods recommended were, in some instances, radical departures from those common in Western civilization. Some, however, were taken from educational principles as laid down by American teachers and writers especially those of

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Vasili V. Doroshenko, "Development of Written Languages Among the Peoples of the North," American Review, VIII (March, 1947), 45.

John Dewey.[40] For example, the underlying principle of the new education was "collective" or "cooperative" - the ability to give to others and to get from them, must be the goal, and not merely the acquisition of knowledge, and of individual skill.

Wicksteed, who spent some time in Russia, reported that the people were enthusiastic over the new communistic idea of education. He wrote:

> The enthusiasm for education is certainly unparalleled in the history of education . . . .
> If and when they have succeeded in giving every one in the Union as much education as he or she can profit by, I do not see how they can help becoming the intellectual leaders of the world, especially if we Western nations persist in our folly in confining higher education to about ten per cent of the population, selected not on intellectual grounds but largely on the grounds of a lack of common honesty in their forebears. It is tempting to let one's mind stray into the future to a time when the intellectual and imaginative Slav shall have taken over the domination of the world from an unintellectual and hopelessly practical Nordic race.[41]

The administration of education was supposedly in the hands of the governments of the different provinces. In reality, the details were decided by the Communist Party, an inter-republic organization, and instructions were sent to provincial educators. In the central Commissariat of Education in Moscow there were eleven departments including a Scientific Council, a central organ for the study and administration of methods and curricula; a Board for Scientific

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[40]George Vernadsky, A History of Russia, p. 399.

[41]Wicksteed, op. cit., p. 150.

and Art Institutions, directing the work of scientific societies; observation centers; research institutes; museums; art and musical institutes; state theaters; a Board for State Moving Picture Enterprises; a Board of Literature and Publications; and a State Publishing Agency.[42]

In addition to this formal work, other phases of education were carried on by various Youth Associations, the Red Army, the Trade Union and Artels, and Cooperative Shops and Societies.[43] Not all of these different agencies operated during the initial period of Communism, 1917 to 1927, but the major groundwork was laid for the program as a whole during this period.

Some idea of the educational program may be gained by reading in the Official Program the list of minimum skills, attitudes, abilities, and knowledge required of children in the elementary grades. They were:

> Orientation abilities: Given a plan, they must be able to find any location either in the city or the country, to determine the time necessary to get there, or to execute a definite commission; they must be able to measure quantity and size, and must have a sense of the quality value of important household objects, at least. They must know public institutions and know how to get information about state institutions. They must be able to use trollies, trains, post offices, to telegraph and to telephone.
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> Fixation abilities: They must be able to draw simple objects and to make an intelligible plan of a yard, a house, a street. They must be able to give a straightforward account of work already accomplished and be able to plan intelligently for future work.

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[42] Wilson, op. cit., p. 40.

[43] Nearing and Hardy, op. cit., p. 207.

> They must be able to write reports of any simple occurrence, to keep simple accounts, to budget, and to bulletin.
>
> Knowledge of the physical care of human beings, including their clothing and shelter: They must know and practice personal hygiene and first aid; ventilation, disinfection, and proper cleaning of a building; repair, cleaning and laundry of clothing; preparation of an everyday properly balanced meal.
>
> Practical abilities: They must be able to make small repairs in the house to furniture, to dishes, using simple tools. They must be able to use electricity and irrigation devices, including ability to repair the latter. They must be able to take apart, clean, and put together again such simple machines as a meat cutter, lamp, burner, etc.
>
> They must be able to take ordinary care of domestic plants and animals and to work in the field, orchard, and vegetable garden in accordance with their years and strength.
>
> Above all, they must develop intelligence and initiative shown in the acquisition of the following abilities: to make systematic accurate observation; to gather together the different factors involved in the study of a single subject; to use the dictionary, catalogues, newspapers, journals, the directory and the like; to use a museum, exhibitions, archives, etc.
>
> And then the final test: They must be able to take part in the community life, actively participating in meetings, leading them, taking and writing minutes. They must have to their credit some individual achievement on a "commission" and in group work, as well as in the organization of something - - it may be a group, a club, an association, a celebration, a recreation.[44]

These were the expressed objectives and aims of education in Soviet Russia for children in the elementary grades. No one, on reading, could justly assert that Russian educators were traditional either in their ways of thinking or in their recommended techniques. Whatever their faults, their ideas concerning education were progressive and in line with accepted modern educational psychology and philosophy.

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[44]Wilson, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

Summary

In 1917, the Bolsheviks made radical changes in educational theory and practice. Dominant ideas included dialectical materialism, collectivism, equality of nationalities, equality of the sexes and industrialism. The Peoples' Commissiariat (1918) made education free, obligatory, and universal. Significant factors in the development of Communism were illiteracy and Utopian dreams. After the Communists gained control, they fostered daring plans; they made a break with the Orthodox Church and designed compulsory coeducational schools along lines of industrialization; they established preschool care of children; and they set up a curriculum related to nature study. The Soviets gave new power to education by the encouragement of subject languages, the improvement of primary schools, the establishment of technical, labor and factory workshops, stressing Communistic ideals in all curricula. The Act of 1923 made education a state monopoly which prescribed teaching atheism, required teaching Communism, abolished penalties, re-trained teachers and improved economic conditions. The political functions of education, preceding the First Five-Year Plan added the collective idea as an underlying principle, as well as the new materialistic interpretations and the aim to convert adults to literacy.

A brief survey of the principles, aims, and organization of the schools of Russia in the initial period of Communist

rule has been made in the present chapter. In the ensuing chapter a more detailed study of education under the Five-Year Plan as instituted in 1927 will be made.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION UNDER THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

- Under the First Five-Year Plan an infant could be left in a children's room - one set aside within a club or factory where working mothers could feed their babies, yet continue in employment. Provision was made for the tot in either a public playground or children's home for pre-school age. Nightly the youngsters returned home with their parents. At the age of five the child entered kindergarten. If he was fortunate enough to have a mother who did not work, he could remain at home without attendance at any of the pre-schools or kindergartens until the age of seven. Then all children entered a free, coeducational, Uniform Labor School where the themes and problems taught were of the complex or project nature. After a four year elementary course, the secondary school provided three or five years additional training in a vocational, factory, or works-apprenticeship school, which in turn prepared the student to enter the technicum for training teachers and the universities. -

In 1928 Stalin inaugurated the first Five-Year Plan which called for creating new industries; mines, mills, factories, and sufficient transportation to build a complete "machine age" civilization in Russia. Her only chance for survival lay in the success of this stringent Five-Year Plan.

This program meant that the peasants must produce a surplus of food supplies, even though they were not producing enough to feed themselves and the rest of the country. The revival of industry was necessary. The government had been waiting only until it felt itself strong enough to promote a program of unified, educated Russia which would take her place in international affairs. Year by year her forces had been strengthened as the younger generation grew up, trained in communist principles in the communist dominated schools. Thus, in 1928 Stalin was ready to continue his drive for communism in every branch of the government. This study will reveal the Five-Year Plan only as it concerns the education of Russian people.

No one may escape education in Soviet Russia. While much of it is propaganda, of course, and is narrow in its interest, it seeks to direct thinking along certain social and economic channels; but then the communists will say all education is propaganda.[1]

An interesting comparison of education to nature is made by Griffin:

> Education in the Soviet Union may be likened to a tidal wave sweeping over a land parched by centuries of drought. Education has thrust, is thrusting, itself into distant republics, remote villages, into the remote minds of remote people.[2]

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[1] Alcan Hirsch, Industrialized Russia, p. 199.

[2] Frederick Griffin, Soviet Scene, p. 136.

It is necessary to first understand certain peculiarities of the Soviet Constitution before one may understand the plan of educational administration under USSR. The guiding bodies of central and local administration are the parallel congresses of the Soviets and local soviets. Any Congress of Soviets constitutes supreme power and is subject only to the organs of government of the larger territory of which its domain is a part; it elects its own central executive committee which, in the intervals between sessions enjoys all the rights assigned to the congress except the right to alter the fundamental principles of the Constitution.[3] To administer the various branches of government each of these committees organized the appropriate number of departments, included among them the Department of Education.

The local department of education is responsible to its own executive committee, and also to any department of public education representing a territorial unit embracing the area of its own jurisdiction, and finally to the People's Commissariat of Education. There is thus an overlapping of authorities to which the local departments of education are subordinated. This form of educational administration reflects the main characteristics of the Soviet Constitution.[4]

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[3] I. L. Kandel, "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," Educational Yearbook, International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, XXVII, p. 316.

[4] Ibid., p. 318.

Through certain media, the congresses, and the educational sections, the collective body of workers has opportunity to influence the organization of the people's education. The Soviet has many sections and each deputy is compelled to take part in one of them, including the educational section where he may learn of the changes, or development, in the educational system.

There are two types of Commissariats, the All-Union and the Republic, which has authority over the People's Commissariat. This set-up is designed to permit each Republic to make their own system of education, with due consideration both to the National and other peculiarities.[5]

The Soviet educational policy consists of two phases. The first one is the enforcement of a class conscious policy in educational matters. Previous to the inauguration of the First Five-Year Plan Lenin had warned his followers that

> . . . as long as we have such a calamity as illiteracy in our country it is impossible to talk of political enlightenment. The illiterate person is an outsider to political thought. He must be taught the ABC. Without literacy there can be no politics; there are only rumors, gossip, prejudices, fairy tales - anything but political class consciousness.[6]

The second phase of the educational policy embraces the granting of assistance to all nationalities within the USSR, especially to the weaker ones, in developing their national culture. Care was taken to prepare textbooks in the national

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[5] Ibid., p. 319.

[6] Maurice Hindus, The Great Offensive, p. 243.

minorities' languages. Russian teachers were specially trained for work in national minority schools, as native teachers had not yet been produced. The schools thus became one of the centers for development of the national consciousness, and as preparation for educational work several languages have been given a written form for the first time. The spread of the Soviet schools to these national minority groups works in the interest of centralized control and unity.[7]

Periodic meetings of Congresses are held for maintaining a uniform policy. After a policy has been sanctioned by the Central Executive Committee, it must be followed by all. Therefore, the system of education is fairly uniform throughout the whole of Russia, even though each Republic has its own separate Commissariat.[8]

There is no central All-Union Commissariat of Education, each republic having its own Commissariat for higher education, there is an All-Union Committee on higher schools, entrusted with problems of general supervision. The immediate control over any higher institutions is exercised by the Commissariat having responsibility for the given field of work.[9]

The field covered by the Commissariat of Education includes not only educational institutions but preschool and "outside school education". The Commissariat cooperates

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[7]Samuel N. Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 263.

[8]Kandel, op. cit., p. 319. [9]Simmons, op. cit., p. 326.

with the party and the Komsomol in the development and organization of institutions for special political training, the Soviet party schools. It has jurisdiction over museums, art galleries, historic monuments and buildings, the opera, and the theater, and it also had administration of the censorship, as well as active, direct participation in the field of publication.[10]

Originally the Five-Year Plan did not provide as much money for education as for other fields.[11] This mistake was soon realized and a large increase was included in the appropriations for education; also radical changes were speedily made in the organization and curriculum of the Soviet school system.

Educational finance is largely a local matter, unless the school has national significance. If local funds prove insufficient, the central government makes appropriations for the specific need.[12] The success of the educational program is "clearly contingent upon the finding of the financial resources."[13]

Inspection and Supervision are both local and central. The Central Inspector is a representative of the Peoples' Commissariat of Education of from three to five provinces.

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[10]Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 243.

[11]Harper, Making Bolsheviks, p. 109.

[12]Kandel, op. cit., p. 320.

[13]Counts, op. cit., p. 136.

He may investigate, reform, inform, give advice and assist in greater reform. He serves as contact officer between local and administrative groups, and is attached to an educational research institute. Local inspectors must have had at least three years of educational experience, have suitable qualifications in general education, but most especially in sociology and educational theory.[14]

The importance placed on the inspector may be found in the following early report of the Commissary of Education to the Congress of the Soviet:

> The word "front" is not used simply as a symbol when we speak of education. If we desire to plant a culture that should not be similar to the bourgeois-liberal culture, but our own genuine proletarian culture, we shall be met with enemies at every step. The child perverted by his bourgeois family and by his environment will be our enemy; the disorder of everyday conditions will be our enemy; the child's family, the environment, will be our enemy. Our direct and organized foes will be the priests of all confessions, and the false professors, false men of science, and false bribed journalists and writers. Of course, we have them down and are holding them with our knees. We do not give them, we never shall give them much freedom; but they all know how to smuggle through their poison in an underhand manner.
>
> Our custom-house officials on this front will have to be very wide awake to protect our educational health from this poison. If once we admit that this is a true front, let us give it the most serious attention.
>
> Let us send to this front ammunition and additional troops, and also additional generals, perhaps more talented generals than those we have had so far. Our future depends on our success here more than it does in any other branch of our work. Here we are struggling to create the type we want our children to grow up to be. A disaster on this front might turn into a catastrophe for our last, decisive battle, a battle

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[14]Kandel, op. cit., p. 321.

> which we have already begun, in which we have so far been victorious, and in which we shall be victorious to the end.[15]

The Five-Year Plan takes a little child and sets him in the midst of the whole system, to occupy the first place of regard and almost of reverence. Children must be considered first in every law and plan. They must have the best milk, the most humane and scientific care, the chief consideration in everything. "No people in the world have a greater natural wealth of affection for their children than the Russians, and no educational system gives more recognition to their importance.[16]"

There are four types of preschools; homes for children of pre-school age, playgrounds, corners, or rooms attached to clubs or large houses of "Co-op housing societies," and kindergarten.

At the beginning of the Five-Year Plan in 1928 there were only 300,000 children in pre-school institutions, yet in 1932 there were 5,250,000, nearly one fourth the number of all Russian children from three to seven years of age.

Children up to three and one-half years old may be taken by their working mothers to creches, or nursery schools. The mothers get time off from their jobs to feed their babies, who may return home with their parents when the work day is over. Meanwhile they are cared for by doctors

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[15] Harper, Making Bolsheviks, pp. 130-131.

[16] Eddy, op. cit., p. 100.

and nurses who give them plenty of rest and fresh air.

The tots next attend kindergartens, which are much like the better ones in America. "Since most mothers prefer to take care of their children themselves rather than to work when they are so young, the majority of those below seven years of age do not attend kindergarten."[17]

Preschool education has these objectives:

1. Rouse interest in phenomena of everyday life.
2. Widen and organize experience of children.
3. Cultivate habits of social collective life.

Subjects of study include; social life and nature, manual labor, drawing, modeling, elocution, recitations, games, singing and music.

At the age of seven they all must go to school. It is the Soviet goal to provide a course of general education for every youth until the age of eighteen. Students after seven years of elementary school may go to the various vocational schools which train technical workers for industry, or they may continue in the ten-year school until they have completed it.[18]

The general education course is incorporated in the Uniform Labor School which is of great importance, as Kandel emphasizes:

> "The most important idea of Soviet pedagogy is that of labor education; its practical realization is

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[17] Wallace West and James P. Mitchell, Our Good Neighbors in Soviet Russia, p. 92.

[18] House Document No. 754, op. cit., p. 115.

> effected by close connection between physical and mental work, and between education and life, physical labor is a part of the school program. At the same time the school centers its attention on the study of industrial processes at present and in the past. Finally, the teachers try to induce the children, within their capacity to do socially useful work for the community.
>
> Another very important feature of the Soviet school is its intensive participation in the political life of the country. Newspapers are read in schools, and meetings are held in connection with the most important current political events. Pupils usually take part in political demonstrations.[19]

A feature peculiar to the Soviet system is its integrated program which maintains no separate subjects, but a complex, or central theme, from which the children receive the necessary information concerning nature, labor, and the social life of mankind. As far as possible the study of language and mathematics is connected with the themes indicated. In addition some time is devoted (in the secondary school) to physical work, physical education and song. Much drawing accompanies the study of the themes.

Below is a list of themes taken from the Fourth Year:

1. The Union of Soviet Socialist
   The earth as a sphere
   Climate
   The place of nature and labor in rural economy in our country
   Rural economy in different localities of USSR
   Accounts of agriculture in other countries
   The northern borders of USSR
   The industries of USSR
   The origin of USSR
   The government of USSR
   The Communist Party
   The relation between USSR and foreign countries
   The characteristics of the most important foreign states (Germany, England, France and the U.S.).

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[19] Kandel, op. cit., p. 324.

2. The care of the Soviet Government for improvement in the standard of life of the workers of USSR.

3. Topics from other work done during the four years.[20]

The Uniform Labor School is coeducational from ages eight to seventeen in two sections; elementary, eight to twelve; and the secondary school for those from twelve to seventeen is also subdivided into the age groups of twelve to seventeen and fifteen to seventeen. Elementary education is free for all; secondary education is free for all except employers and traders. Each group has its own council, which composed of all the teachers, the school doctor, and one representative from the teacher employees, representatives of the local Communist Party, the local Soviet, Young Communists' League, womens organizations, and representatives of the pupils, (one from each group of over three years standing). The number of pupil representatives is limited to less than one-third the number in the council. Each school has its companion Council of School Assistance, made up of representatives of parents, which gives material help, and watches the work with no power to interfere in administration.

Two general characteristics of the Uniform Labor School distinguish it from those in other countries. It is entirely secular. No religious instruction is permitted; and it is coeducational throughout.

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[20] Ibid., p. 326.

One of the features of the Soviet School is the strong development of self-government. Every class has a committee consisting of children elected by their classmates; and a general pupils' committee for the whole school is formed of the representatives of the class committees. "They play three roles: assist the school council in smoothing out the course and in maintaining order and discipline; fulfill certain sanitary and household functions (propaganda for sanitation, protection of health with the help of the doctor, preservation of school property, etc.); and, finally, they conduct the work of political enlightenment (school clubs, circles, wall newspapers, etc.)."[21] The leaders are fully aware that their work will have the maximum effect only if they base their efforts on the assistance of self-governing pupils. "School self-government is regarded primarily as the best means of educating public men, such as are necessary to the Soviet State. The pupils' committee works in close alliance with the Pioneer organizations, and is politically influenced by the Young Communists' League, of which approximately thirty per cent of the pupils are members. At the same time the pupils' committee is in close contact with the teachers whose representatives are members of the bureau of the pupils' committee. Thus, the system is developed by the common efforts of masters and pupils."[22]

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[21] Simmons, op. cit., p. 334.

[22] Counts, op. cit., p. 323.

Collectivism permeates the education of the Soviet school: to live, to study, to work collectively, is most effectively done by developing childrens' organizations in the first compulsory group, the labor school, where the field of study falls into three groups; nature, labor, and society. For the first year, the child studies the seasons of the year, the daily work of the family; and its relation to the school. In the second year, nature study covers air, water, the sun, plants, and domestic animals; the everyday work of the village or of the part of the city in which the child lives; and the administrative institutions of the city and the village. For the third year, the two columns of "Labor" and "Society" bring in the economic activity, the administrative institutions, and the history of the locality.

In the fourth year, the national economy of the Soviet Union and of other countries, and the domestic governmental organization are compared with that of other countries, this comparison including pictures of the past life of the human race. These are the contents of the "Labor" and "Society" columns, based on a study of geography and of the life of the human body under the column of "nature" (the new system of teaching was introduced in 1923).[23]

The programs for the next three years are more detailed but follow the same general line. Part of the themes outlined for study for the sixth year of the labor school,

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[23]Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 256.

pupils fourteen years of age, are: The workman and the capitalists, the Union of landlords and capitalists, the Chaos of production, survivals of feudalism, the struggle in 1905 and 1917.

This method, though socially useful when work was secured, was found wanting in other circumstances. It does not give the children a real training in reading, writing and arithmetic. These subjects are supposed to be covered as part of the work in the theme. Being brought in on this secondary basis, they are often neglected. The weakness of this type of training was made apparent through entrance examinations which had been introduced again in 1926 for entrance into higher institutions. Large numbers had failed in Russian language and mathematics.

The Central Labor Institute in Moscow, which is an advanced Uniform Labor School, has for its purpose the study and application of methods of industrial administration, scientific management and methods of industrial efficiency. Another department receives students whom it trains to become instructors in scientific methods for industrial plants.[24]

"In speaking of young people in the trade schools Fisher says that some of them volunteer, but the majority are arbitrarily selected by local officialdom - usually the governing class of a collective farm - to be sent away for apprenticeship. In Dnepropetrovsk he observed about four hundred and

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[24]Nearing and Hardy, op. cit., p. 209.

fifty of these students at work in a shoe factory. Their ages ranged from thirteen to sixteen. They worked four hours a day and spent four more in vocational-education classes. For this they were paid about eight dollars a month, plus board and lodging in a rather grim-looking hostel about a block from the factory. The equipment they worked with was primitive, since the Germans had taken all of the original machinery, but at the time he was there the students were turning out more than a thousand pairs of heavy, low-quality work shoes every day. The educational value of their work didn't seem to be particularly high, since most of them were merely repeating over and over a single set of motions which any bright youngster could learn in fifteen minutes. "Compulsory education or conscript child labor? I don't know. Perhaps something in between."[25]

Themes and problems provide the bases of the curriculum of the unified labor schools, where teaching is by the "complex" or the "project" method. Reading, writing and arithmetic are to be learned in the courses of working out the projects, always related to studies of Communism. Children were enthusiastic about their themes. They discussed them freely and intelligently with visitors and showed unusual interest in the affairs of their country. Over-seriousness was one of the negative results observed. The authors of the new textbooks are usually Communists, and the selections for these

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[25]John Fischer, Why They Behave Like Russians, pp. 188-189.

Soviet primers are made, or prepared, to give the Communist training. The child is introduced to Lenin almost from the very first pages; labor processes are discussed in early chapters.[26]

The secondary school is a direct continuation of the four-year primary school and comprises the last three or five years of the unified labor school. The entire system is an agency for the development of a one-class society, but since the one-class society has not yet been attained, preference is given to the children of the dominant class, the proletarians. Four years of primary and three years of secondary education were made compulsory in 1932, the last year of the First Five-Year Plan, for children between the ages of eight and fifteen. Where facilities were inadequate, selection of students favored Communist Youth.[27]

The secondary schools are either independent units or comprise the upper three-year, or five-year, courses of study in the seven-year factory or nine-year vocational school. There are three types of secondary schools; peasant, in the country; factory, in the industrial cities, and general, in the residential areas. The last two years of the nine-year school have become specialized and vocational and the teachers are more and more drawn from the farm and factory. These schools are a marked success because of self-government; according to the Communists, students have a say

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[26]Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, pp. 256-258.

[27]Duggan, op. cit., p. 469.

in determining the curriculum. Members of the Pioneers and Komsomol are expected to be particularly active in self-government, because the pupils are more mature and have often been "in production."[28]

The factory school itself is a part-time institution carried on in the factory, (somewhat like the corporation schools in the United States), where Communism, as it is developing self-government in Russia, is opposed to education for self-development and self-determination. The individual is to be vocationalized and politicized. His life has value only as it contributes to the state. Standard secondary-school subjects make up the curriculum. Great emphasis is placed upon social science, including Communist principles and methods, and upon labor problems.

After completing the seven-year schools a proletarian youth may remain two years longer in the secondary school or he may enter a technicum in preparation for a particular vocation. All studies are becoming more practical and vocational or more directly political and communist. Liberal studies have no place, and the free search for truth is not an objective in Soviet secondary education though there is a gradual change in the universities.[29]

In contrast to advantages for proletarian youth, the school of the young peasants works on the cadre system, to

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[28]Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 253.

[29]Kandel, op. cit., p. 327.

give him agronomic training for rational economy, to acquaint him with rural cooperation, and cooperation in general, also to make him familiar with the structure of the whole of Soviet economic and commercial administration. It is preparatory to entering any higher school, second cycle, or technicums. These are mainly country schools.

In one experimental school, 1926, a system had been worked out where every child had a task in connection with the work. In general the impression was that while the institution of self-government was making the Soviet school active, it was leading also to an excessive expenditure of physical and nervous energy by the children, particularly in the elementary classes.

Vocational education is given mainly in the trades, factories, and work apprenticeship schools and in technicums. Here secondary education has been greatly extended over pre-soviet times but is far from universal. Of all the millions of peasant children perhaps three-fourths of a million are in the secondary schools; that is, they remain at school above the age of twelve.[30] The purpose is to give complete preparatory training to a rank-and-file skilled workman in a special branch of trade. There is a prerequisite-elementary school level. A course lasts three or four years, incorporating the first cycle of secondary school.

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[30]Duggan, op. cit., p. 472.

The factories and works apprenticeship schools are peculiar to their trade or industry and last three or four years.—They are highly thought of:

> Here indeed we find a school where individual labor education is closely connected with general education and pupil training, as Marx recommended in his famous lines on the purely labor type of education.[31]

In one of the first decrees establishing the new Labor School one finds the aim of the vocational training expressed in the following statement:

> The whole work of the school must aim to develop in the pupils proletarian class consciousness and the instincts proper to it, to emphasize the solidarity of all workmen against capitol, and to prepare the children for useful productive and social activity.[32]

Although the Institute of Marx and Engels and the Lenin Institute have been noted, they also influence educational methods and the types of programs and textbooks by extensive publication. The Communist Academy is the center of the theoretical Communist, though it is supplemented by an Academy of Communist Training of the Youth. There is also a Leningrad Institute on the Methodology of Marxism and the White Russian Society of Marxist Historians. "Marxism is not a kind of party dogma; it is the most objective scientific and all-sided method of understanding all social phenomena."[33]

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[31] Kandel, op. cit., p. 330.

[32] Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, pp. 268-269

[33] Ibid.

The students, boys and girls alike, and from the lowest to the highest, are class conscious proletarians. They are keen and enthusiastic with an earnest purpose and a thirst for knowledge that is perhaps unique in the world. Any flagging of interest is fanned to flame by shock brigades of Komsomol or party members who urge the students on to even greater endeavors, longer hours of study and more efficiency. Russian education is never nationalistic but always international in scope. Whether the course be technical, medical or law, primary or university, there is instruction with almost religious fervor and dogma in Marxism, Leninism, Darwinism, dialetic materialism and revolutionary technique. Examinations have been abolished and promotion of a pupil depends upon the whims of the professor and the body of student self-government, or his affiliation with communistic organizations.[34]

All vocational or technical schools and many higher institutions are under the control and administration of whatever Commissariat has jurisdiction over the field which the given type of wrk falls.[35] The technicum trains workers of medium qualification for economic and administrative purposes. Those so trained serve as teachers of rural economy, medicine, industrial-economic, education and art technicums. A good feature of Soviet Vocational education is that the trade education may not be given without the corresponding general

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[34]Eddy, op. cit., p. 107. [35]Simmons, op. cit., p. 325.

course of study; this precludes possibility of narrow specialists. Another good feature is the close association of theory and practice; however, the project method, of the early days of the Revolution, has been criticized sharply for failing to instill a proper sense of system and discipline in the young, and for not providing a solid foundation of necessary knowledge.[36]

Polytechnical education in the Soviet Union does not mean simply vocational, or trade, or technical training in its narrower sense. It means a grasp of science and technology in terms of their immense significance in modern society, a grasp of the basic forces of economic production upon which the life of man depends. The child is taught the significance and value of the labor process in all its different senses. Nadezhda K. Krupskaya said:

> This does not mean a school in which one studies several trades, but rather a school where children learn to understand the essence of the laboring processes, the substance of the labor activity of the people, and the conditions of success in work. It is a school where children learn to know the extent of their powers.[37]

Russian children have several advantages, gained from the society in which they have lived that tend to make them superior students and better citizens. First, the child has a purpose, and to carry this out he needs the school. Second, he is fully aware that he is wanted, even more, that he is needed and that there is a place for him in the social scheme

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[36] Ibid., p. 328.

[37] Albert Pinkevich, The New Education in the Soviet Republic, quoted by Simmons, op. cit., pp. 329-330.

of things. Third, he is not terrified by life, but has a zest for it.[38] His self-reliance lends itself to self-government; and from pre-school to university, he benefits from this training.

Self-government is often in the hands of a small circle of active students. When this is true, the elective positions are held more or less permanently by a small group which becomes really a bureaucracy, with characteristic conceit and aloofness.

"The school must be in closest contact with actual life," is a saying oft repeated by the Communists. Children of all ages and students in the higher schools and universities are obliged to make frequent trips to courts, factories, etc., and to participate in national holiday celebrations. Members of the Pioneers and the Komsomol must bring the school into contact with actual life. They can take actual part in the life of a factory, help to organize reading-rooms or clubs, and, whenever possible, join in the fight against illiteracy.[39]

The underlying theme of all branches of Communist education is labor, which is defined as "effort that is productive and socially useful, including housekeeping." The emphasis on labor implies not only a study of the labor processes and methods of organization, but actual participation

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[38]Frankwood E. Williams, Russia, Youth, and the Present Day World, p. 157.

[39]Kandel, op. cit., pp. 334-335.

by them so far as the physical and mental attainments of each particular age permit.

The unusual motto "Science for the Workers" explains the peculiarities of the Soviet union system of University Education. They are high schools for specialists, such as: industrial - technical, agricultural, social economic, medical, pedological, military and art, also communist theory and practice. The usual course lasts four, but some special ones five, years.[40]

Three very distinctive higher educational institutions are the Communist Academy, the Institute of Marx and Engels fused with the Lenin Institute, and the Institute of Red Professors. A typical title of a lecture at the academy is "Bourgeois Tendencies in Architecture and How to Combat Them." The Communist Academy, which has departments in economics, history, law, and a number of other subjects, concentrates its attention upon the application of Marxian formulae to the social sciences. It is supposed to "work over the problems of Marxism and Leninism, struggle with bourgeois and petty bourgeois distortions of Marxism, for the strict observance of the point of view of dialetical materialism both in social and in natural sciences, and expose the remnants of idealism." The Institute of Marx and Engels, now fused with Lenin Institutes, has very comprehensive collections of materials; on the lives and works of

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[40] Kandel, op. cit., pp. 334-335.

these men. Its distinguished leader Ryazanov was sent into exile in 1931 because of alleged disloyalty in teaching their doctrines.[41]

In higher technical schools, universities and research institutes there is much self-government. For example, the dormitories are run by students. Questions of discipline are left largely to their Committees. They are represented on the committee which works out the details of the program of studies. The Soviet student committees are much more active than like bodies in other countries.[42]

Teachers training schools are of three types:

1. Elementary, preschool, rank-and-file political educational organizations in educational technicums, pedagogical sections of the Second cycle in secondary school.

2. Training of teachers in secondary schools and generally of the teachers of higher qualifications is given in pedagogical universities.

3. Training of teachers in service to increase their efficiency is provided through various informal agencies.

After 1931 teachers were required to learn the fundamentals of production in factories and on collective farms. The study of the social sciences with emphasis upon the philosophy of Marx, the biological sciences including anatomy, physiology, child study, and psychology and a devotion to method that was hardly matched even in the old American normal

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[41] William Henry Chamberlin, Russia's Iron Age, p. 294.

[42] Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 233.

school are the most essential features of the professional curriculum.[43]

Child study embraced the science of pedology. At the first Pedological Congress held in December, 1927, Krupskaya defined "pedology" as the new science studying the laws on the forming and developing personality of the child, differing radically from "old" psychology. The latter she explained, fitted in admirably with idealism, while pedology was essentially materialistic.[44]

Teachers were obliged to belong to the educational workers' union which included school physicians, stenographers, janitors, and students. The union was consulted in regard to curricula, school management, and certain appointments. Still, the party feared that the teachers might not be entirely loyal, and, as a result, all members of the Party were urged to help in supervising.[45] Salaries were raised in 1931; there is a pension system; and they may retire after twenty-five years of service. According to Duggan, Russian teachers have a good deal of freedom within the pattern and ideas of the Communist party,[46] and, their rights and status are protected by educational trade unions. They may not be dismissed without a hearing from representatives from both the trade union and representatives of

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[43] Duggan, op. cit., p. 468.

[44] Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 269.

[45] Duggan, op. cit., p. 468. [46] Ibid., p. 469.

administration. They are protected by insurance during illness, unemployment, disablement, childbirth, or invalidism.[47]

Educational tests and measures are in process of change, since the old system of "Marks" has been done away with.

> Most educators are somewhat critical of the value of tests; although they recognize the value of tests; although they recognize the importance of tests as a means of obtaining a relatively exact and impartial estimate, yet they warn against any uncritical reliance being put on tests as a sort of universal panacea and regard them as only one of the auxiliary means and in no way a substitute for a permanent and comprehensive study of the pupil by all the other means known to science.[48]

There has been a strong reaction against experiments and a tendency to return to formal subjects and discipline. This indicated that the interference of pupils and youth organizations in discipline and intellectual matters has had bad effects and provides that the teachers and school principals are to be entrusted with the maintenance of intellectual and disciplinary standards and to be held responsible for the results.[49]

Williams tells us that we, as teachers, cannot learn from Russia as we can learn from other nations with a civilization similar to our own, because the Russian school is not a place where one "prepares for life" and from which one "graduates into life." The school is not apart from life. It is life, and the preparation it gives is not for an

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[47]Kandel, op. cit., p. 333. [48]Ibid.

[49]Duggan, op. cit., p. 472.

extension into a fuller and larger life - but a life which the child has known from the beginning. Williams further states:

> Russia has done more in fifteen years to raise the moral standards of her one hundred and sixty million people than American education has done in one hundred and fifty years or the Christian Church in 1933 years.[50]

The Children's Communist Movement in School prepares future fighters for the workers' cause, trains consecutively for consolidation and defense of the workers' and peasants' Republic. There is a close cooperation between Communists Children's Group and the Young Leninist Pioneers. They assist in organizing self-government in schools and clubs; carry on anti-religious and international propaganda; combat "hooliganism," smoking etc.; organize socially useful work in the schools. The important element of the Children's Movement is in the development of social standards.[51]

Youngsters in the rural areas have received greater gains than children in urban homes. In addition to their hospitals, most rural communities have acquired other new assets: schools and clubhouses. The school usually is a modest two or three room affair, and in some ravaged villages classes are being held temporarily in dugouts and farmer's kitchens, but at least the children have a better chance to learn to read and write than their parents did. The clubhouse -

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[50] Williams, op. cit., pp. 154-155.

[51] Kandel, op. cit., p. 328.

frequently the converted house of a Tsarist landlord or wealthy kulak - is a sort of combined center for adult education, party propaganda, and occasional dances or song fests.[52]

At the conclusion of the Five-Year Plan a resolution of the Central Committee of the Party (1932) charged that the schools were attempting too much, with superficial results; the complex method had not produced an acceptable attainment in mathematics, science, and language; the historical background had been inadequate for the study of social sciences; and that even for the production of skilled technicians a firmer foundation must be laid.[53]

Eddy measured the results statistically:

> During the period of the first plan the number receiving primary education was doubled, raising the enrollment from 11.2 to 23.1 millions. The USSR now holds first place in the world in the number attending school. It is claimed that the number of children and adults in all educational institutions and extension classes has now reached the colossal total of fifty millions. Already the plan has doubled the number of trained specialists as educators, engineers and doctors, raising the total from 493,000 at the beginning of the plan to 973,000 at the close of it. The Soviets claim two and one-half millions in their new class of intelligensia.[54]

Just how near they came in their advancement of culture, in order to realize their goal of a totally literate Russia, may be measured in other ways. A tabulation by Eddy of the

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[52]Fisher, op. cit., p. 203

[53]Duggan, op. cit., pp. 471-472.

[54]Eddy, op. cit., p. 103.

achievements under the First Five-Year Plan, from October, 1928, to the end of 1932, is reproduced:[55]

Educational Achievements During the Plan

	1928	1932	Percentage of Growth
In Universities and Higher Technical Schools	160,000	501,300	313
Students in Secondary Technical Schools	253,600	949,200	374
Students in Factory Schools	178,300	1,177,300	660
Students in Workers' Colleges	49,200	444,400	903
Students in Elementary Schools	9,870,000	18,754,000	190
Students in Secondary Schools	1,409,000	4,359,000	309
Students in Pre-School Institutions	308,000	5,232,000	1,698
Literacy Level, percentage of population 8-50 Years	58.4	90	

Maurice Hindus is quoted as saying, according to Soloveytchik:

> The Five-Year Plan ends with the cultural standard of the Russian masses higher than it has ever been in Russian history, but with their standard of living lower than it has been in a decade, and in food appreciably lower than at the beginning of the Plan Cruel indeed has been the price Russia has paid for the first Five-Year Plan.[56]

Soloveytchik said:

> We will not argue here about the sweeping and irresponsible generalization about cultural achievement. Suffice it to mention that the Soviets themselves by

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[55] Ibid.

[56] George Soloveytchik, "The Moscow Trials and the Five-Year Plan," Nineteenth Century, CXIII (May, 1933), 561.

> no means share Mr. Hindus' opinion and as recently as February 1933, decided to overhaul completely their educational system because of the lack of culture among the younger generation.[57]

Duggan said it seems to be true that illiteracy has not been stopped at the source, that is among the children. He states that the individual is not intellectually free and his personal judgements and interests are not respected in Soviet Education.[58]

Summary

Under the first Five-Year Plan compulsory education for all people in Russia was attempted. The Department of Education was patterned after the Soviet constitution. The provisions considered children first in every law and plan. Preschools and kindergartens were set up; education was made compulsory at the age of seven, when children entered the Uniform Labor Schools. The secondary schools became both independent and incorporated with other schools. The factory school included part time work and study; it became a prep school for the technicum and was established by the cadre system. The vocational schools functioned largely in factory and works-apprenticeship schools as well as in technicums. They were established for trade and industrial promotional schools. Factory and works-apprenticeship schools closely connected general education with pupil training and were used to develop proletarian class consciousness. The

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[57] Ibid.

[58] Duggan, op. cit., p. 473.

technicum trained students for economic and administrative purposes and trained teachers in rural economy, medicine, industrial economic factories, education, and art technicums.

The new system of university education acted as high schools for specialists operating for a period of four or five years. Active student committees furthered communism. Teacher-training school types include elementary, secondary, and in-service teacher training. Teachers have adequate insurance coverage, their rights and statutes protected and are obliged to belong to the Education Workers Union. The children's communist movements in schools are used to develop social standards, assist in organizing self-government in schools, and to carry on anti-religious and international propaganda. In the rural areas not only schools and club houses but hospitals and welfare homes have been established. Indeed, the effects of the First Five-Year Plan have been far-reaching.

The First Plan marked the turning point for the spread of education in Russia and laid the foundation for the sweeping changes since 1932, which we will discuss in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1932

The First Five-Year Plan was an experiment never tried before by any Russian leaders. Pushed to completion in four and one quarter years instead of five, it cost the Russian people more than three and one-half billion dollars, and had far reaching aims which covered every phase of life.

The heavily burdened Russian people subordinated everything to the success of the Plan and Stalin spurred them on to its early completion and the hurried beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan with the following explanation:

> It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down in tempo. No, comrades, this is impossible. On the contrary, it is necessary as far as possible to accelerate it. To slacken the tempo means to fall behind. And the backward are always beaten.
>
> The history of old Russia is the history of defeats due to backwardness. She was beaten by the Mongol Khans, by the Turkish beys, by the Swedish feudal barons, by the Polish Lithuanian squires, by the Anglo-French capitalists, by the Japanese barons. All beat her for her backwardness--for military backwardness, for industrial backwardness, for agricultural backwardness. She was beaten because to beat her was profitable and could be done with impunity.
>
> That is why we must no longer be backward. . . . Do you want our Socialist Fatherland to be beaten and lose its independence? If not, you must put an end to this backwardness as speedily as possible and build up a genuinely Socialist system of economy. . . . We are fifty to a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must cover this distance in ten years. Either we do this or they must crush us.[1]

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[1]Stewart, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

The influence of the Second Five-Year Plan had international significance in world trade and industry, as well as in educational matters. American business leaders watched intently and aided the Russians more, perhaps, than they had anticipated. Carter reveals this in his review of a recent book with the following summation:

> What is new - and news - is Saul G. Bron's Soviet Economic Development and American Business, (Horace Liverright), with its lucid exposition of the excellent statistical success of the great Soviet Five-Year Plan for the economic reconstruction of Russia and its revelation of the extent to which American business is aiding the Russians, in a technical and material way, adapting the methods of American mass production to a communistic state of society.[2]

Eugene Lyons, United Press Correspondent in Moscow explained how the Second Plan telescoped the first and continued along the same lines, after Stalin had reported the first one a 93.7 per cent success and had lowered the quota for the second Plan:[3]

> The first and second Five-Year Plans, of course, cannot be artificially sundered. The division line is imaginary. They are an integral dynamic process which should be viewed as a whole. The real achievements of the economical program of which they are sectors can be estimated only by viewing them together.

In the second Plan estimates were lowered in the output of coal, iron - steel, and on the other five objectives in the plan. "The sixth objective which was the same as that

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[2] J. Carter, "Russia Again as Seen in Recent Books," Outlook, Vol. 155 (May 21, 1930), 108.

[3] E. Lyons, "Russia's Second Five-Year Plan," Literary Digest, Vol. 177 (February 10, 1934), 3-4.

of the original Plan of 1928 was; to raise the standard of education and eliminate illiteracy amongst workers and peasants."[4] While there was very little done about changing these objectives in education, national activity in social and economic improvement increased.

> The new plan promised the possibility of buying two and one-half to three times as many manufactured commodities and food articles as the people could acquire in 1932. A goal was put up to the population itself. The first Plan gave "security for the morrow." The second Plan raised the material and cultural levels which depend solely on the quality and quantity of labor expenses by workers and collectivized peasants.
>
> The first Plan stressed the manufacture of machines which make machines which could neither be eaten nor worn. Since the Soviet Union registered, nevertheless, such gigantic economic advances in those trying years, the Bolsheviks are fully convinced that now, when every worker will see the results of his toil in a steady improvement of his standard of living, the fulfillment of a second plan is certain.[5]

One finds in Soviet educational institutions an emphasis on Civics as a subject and also on civic activity in pupils and students. In fact, they have been over-emphasized, which the Communists recently realized, and programs and methods were changed accordingly.[6]

The Russians are the first to admit that much of their education is still of poor quality. There is a dearth of trained teachers, textbooks, equipment and buildings. Yet there has been a widespread application of modern methods in

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[4] Alan Monkhouse, Moscow 1911-1933, p. 158.

[5] Second Five-Year Drive, Newsweek, Vol. III (January 6, 1934) pp 14-15.

[6] Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 242.

their educational system. It is the most utilitarian materialistic, experimental and socialized of any in the world. In 1931 and 1932 the unsatisfactory results of teaching by the "complex" method were revealed in a bluntly worded resolution of the Communist Party Central Committee which demanded "fully literate pupils, properly mastering such basic subjects as physics, chemistry, mathematics, the Russian language, geography, etc." The systematic study of subjects for accurate knowledge is being re-introduced. The schools must turn out not merely political agitators but trained workers and constructive leaders.[7] In 1920 Lenin said: "In an illiterate country it is impossible to build a communist state." Through their school system, adult education, and the campaign against illiteracy the government was able to announce that the number able to read and write had been raised from thirty-three per cent in 1913 to ninety per cent at the end of 1932.[8] The zeal with which the nation worked on this Plan was exceeded only by the measures employed; however, the people accepted all methods presented them. Eddy has described the Russian attitude thus:

> Education is frankly propaganda and propaganda is education. If you already have the truth you do not need to think to discover it. You have only to teach it, impose it and govern by it. Education is not a search for truth but the teaching and application of fundamentalist Marxism. "So-called academic freedom is bourgeois humbug."[9]

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[7] Eddy, op. cit., p. 104.

[8] Ibid., p. 105.

[9] Ibid., p. 106.

The application of this principle of teaching would lead to complete subservience to the party, which stopped at nothing to achieve Stalin's goal of a unified, literate Russia. According to Lewisohn the Communists would destroy private property and sabotage individual thinking.[10]

> . . . which *per se* might be an arguable question of economic technique; they propose hotly to destroy bourgeois ideology-i.e., the precise ideology which has built all historical civilizations. They are rabid environmentalists and behaviorists, thus rejecting not only the findings of biological science but the observations of every sane creature, and land us ultimately in the unintelligible myth that with the varieties of human culture and conduct man himself has nothing to do. Yet from this myth they exempt themselves by their shirlly avowed intention of smashing the historical civilization of mankind and rebuilding human society according to another and unheard-of pattern. They admit, in brief, the primacy of the ideological, the philosophic, and religious *will* among men toward one kind of civilization or another.

The practice of the institutes of higher learning in Russia which excluded children of the bourgeoisie was further condemned by Lewisohn as a crippling force to Russian civilization. However, without property and impotent, the Communists, in self defense, had to liquidate the illiteracy left by the Tsarist regime in order to get their message to the people and indoctrinate them with the Marxian view of life. The plan of popular education was a necessity for the building of a new social order.[11]

For a time the class principle was applied in the primary school to such an extent that the child of a rich peasant or

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[10] Ludwig Lewisohn, *The Permanent Horizon*, pp. 38-39.

[11] Stuart Ramsey Tompkins, *Russia Through the Ages*, p. 670.

even a technical expert was not admitted, or, if allowed to enter the school, was not brought into the political or social activities of the pupils. This practice was condemned by the central leaders, who pointed out that the child could be salvaged, from the Communist viewpoint, whatever his family origin or environment.[12]

Within a few years, in this vast unwieldy country, over five million children have been organized in pre-school institutions, over twenty-three millions in primary and secondary schools, and more than ten millions in the youth organizations of three ages. Throughout the financial depression Russia, alone among the nations, continuously increased its expenditures for education, both in amount and in proportion.[13]

In the second year of the Five-Year Plan there was falling-behind in all fields including that of education. A change in the calendar gave an extra quarter-year, the autumn of 1930; and these months were proclaimed a "shock-quarter" also for the cultural Five-Year Plan in order to catch up and enter on the third and "decisive year" with a clean slate. The Commissariat of Education recently defined this shock-quarter as a mass injection of new forms of cultural work, socialistic competition, shock-brigadism, cultural express-messengers, cultural brigades, all of which will insure the organization of a mass movement for the cultural revolution.

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[12]Harper, Making Bolsheviks, p. 124.

[13]Eddy, op. cit., p. 101.

Cultural work and institutions influenced directly the fight for the Five-Year Plan, for better quality of products, and for the strengthening of labor discipline.[14]

Original creative thought, outside those purely natural sciences where there can be no plausible effort to organize a "class front," is certainly uncommon under the Soviet system.

During the decade between 1921 and 1931, the typical Soviet school suggested something of a joyous bedlam. Discipline was so lax as to be almost nonexistent, and the authority of the teacher was at a minimum. Such "bourgeois" means of testing pupils' fitness as marks and examinations were discarded. The teaching of separate subjects was supplanted by the "complex" method, under which a class was supposed to work on a given theme - a city street, for instance, or the season of the year, - learning in the process a bit of geography here, a bit of arithmetic or history there. The Soviet school child got a very uneven kind of training and was apt to display precocious brightness in some things, along with a woeful lack of exact knowledge about others.[15] The Soviet viewpoint is that people can be educated to see the necessity of conforming to certain moral standards on the basis of their human values in this world,

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[14]Harper, Making Bolsheviks, pp. 128-130.

[15]Chamberlin, op. cit., pp. 289-290.

without invoking the hope of reward or the threat of punishment in a life after death.

In the Soviet Union it is an offense punishable under the criminal code to exercise any kind of arbitrary discrimination, segregation quota, or disqualification based on race, color, or sex in regard to educational, economic, professional, residential, or other opportunities. The operating premise is that all people are worth educating. Peacetime education has not only been free of charge at primary levels throughout the country, but stipends have provided living expenses for most students beyond the secondary level.[16]

Before World War II all education was completely free of tuition payment. In addition, most students beyond the secondary level, about ninety per cent in 1939, received stipends for general living expenses. The war changed this somewhat. Because of the sharply increased need for trained personnel in fields directly connected with the war effort, new vocational schools were set up with especially attractive stipend arrangements beginning at the age of fourteen and fifteen. Most students in fields not directly connected with the war effort were obliged to pay tuition fees beyond the Seven-Year School. Exempt from this ruling were students of the "excellent level" (A's in two-thirds of their studies, B's in all others). These students may claim stipends as well as free tuition, where needed, in higher institutions

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[16] Simmons, op. cit., p. 322.

and technical secondary schools. A similar provision applies to demobilized and wounded Red Army men and to their children.[17]

In peacetime students are not compelled to enter any particular field of training or work. They are pledged, upon completing any technical or professional training, to practice for a period up to five years in the area where they are most needed.

Two years are being added to the course of the lavor schools. They give the professional training in a particular field and require different types of programs. For the Factory Schools, Schools for Peasant Youth, and the special Workmen's Faculties there are special programs, in which the curriculum by subjects is retained. In the higher technical and general institutions the programs are also built up on subjects. Considerable time is spent in these schools in the "study of society." It is thought that a person must be able to clearly orient himself in all that is going on in the society which surrounds him. State social activity is inevitable for the engineer, doctor, agricultural expert, and so forth, of the Soviet system. Without the "Marx-Lenin" method of indoctrination, the doctor would be a narrow specialist in his own line and not a conscious participant in the state constructive effort now going on in the Soviet Union.

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[17]Simmons, op. cit., p. 326.

According to Harper, the kind of specialist the proletarian state needs is one who knows -

> . . . the principles of political economy, the history of the economic development and struggle of workmen and peasants against capitalists and landlords, the history of the party of the proletariat which leads this struggle, the principles of the militant creed of the toiling class, Marxism-Leninism, the present epoch of proletarian revolution, and the theory and practice of the governmental and economic constructive achievements of the proletariat and its party in the Soviet Union.[18]

The professional schools ensure a steady supply of workers who have had a background of both theoretical and practical training. The schools assure the individual worker an education, regardless of his economic conditions, or those of his parents. "Higher Technical Schools," corresponding in grade to American Colleges, are organized for the fields of agriculture and industry, medicine, pedology, economics and social science, music and art.[19] The aim of the higher technical schools is to create a nucleus of highly trained specialists for industry. Admission is open only to citizens of the Union who have reached seventeen years of age.

The student spends one or two years in practical industrial work after completing his course. If, at the end of that time, the school authorities are convinced of his competence, he is given a certificate of proficiency as an engineer.[20]

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[18]Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 259.

[19]Nearing and Hardy, op. cit., p. 205.

[20]Ibid., p. 206.

Students are admitted to such institutions upon the recommendation of their trade union, and sometimes the Communist party. Generally, they require graduation from the professional school plus a minimum of one year of practical experience in industry. During this year the trade unions and economic authorities observe the aptitude of the young worker and recommend him to the higher technical school if he displays the inclination and ability to pursue higher work.[21]

The higher technical schools are all located in the vicinity of the factories or works for which they are preparing specialists. Each student is assigned to a factory, mine or other establishment. There he is required to spend at least one day each week and also a large part of the school recess during the summer months. He must present periodic reports upon conditions in the plan.

In professional training, the aim to produce an all-around social worker has led to a sacrifice of technical skill. For instance, the course in electrical engineering has sixty subjects of study. The thought was that the engineer should be trained in a multitude of subjects, and thus get a better understanding of the broader problems of production. The wisdom of this method has been questioned and there has been a tendency to reduce the number of subjects and the number of hours devoted to civis. Students of the

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[21] Ibid.

higher educational institutions carry a very heavy schedule. There is evidence of long hours of work, short hours of sleep, very little time devoted to physical exercise, and many hours in some public, civic work.[22]

Living conditions are very bad, the monthly budget of over two-thirds of the students ranging from approximately ten to fifteen dollars. The prevailing view is that too much attention to studies is reactionary; it is urged that the students "cultivate the fervor of constructive work," or, "find world-revolution in every small detail." Students of the higher secondary schools, the technical schools, and the universities are required to spend some time in actual production. Many are attached for the summer months to a factory or institution. Complaints are heard from students that they are not being offered the opportunity for real training, and management complains of the nusiance and cost of these practicing apprentices. The civic activity and practical work have often been mechanical and wasteful.[23]

Part-time factory schools are provided for children below the minimum age of sixteen at which they can be legally hired. Children between sixteen and eighteen who cannot be employed more than six hours per day also attend these schools.[24]

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[22] Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 261.

[23] Ibid., p. 262.

[24] Nearing and Hardy, op. cit., p. 203.

The Factory schools which have grown very rapidly are situated in or near a factory or productive enterprise, and the trade-unions participate in their direction. The Komsomol continues to have a close, official relation to these schools, having helped organize them. The pupils work and mingle with older workmen and are constantly under a proletarian influence. The schools of Peasant Youth also offer close contact with actual production, but to a lesser degree because of general cultural conditions in a rural community.[25]

Some professional schools prepare for such callings as pharmacy, or agriculture. In each field the curriculum and length of course is varied, according to the particular conditions prevailing in each. In the agricultural field students spend about eight months of each year at studying theory and during the three summer months they do practical work on the farm. Factory workshop schools are conducted on a professional level for juveniles who have entered industry prior to eighteen years of age. They are organized in conjunction with, and on the premises of a factory, workshop, mine, or other productive enterprise.[26]

Universities, in the old sense of the term, have ceased to exist. In their place have come specialized "institutes," where students are trained as engineers in different branches of industry, agricultural specialists, teachers, doctors,

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[25]Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 262.

[26]Nearing and Hardy, op. cit., pp. 202-203.

and members of other professions. These institutes are under the direct control of the organization which will later employ their students. The Commissariat for Heavy Industry has charge of many engineering schools; the Commissariat for Transport supervises the training of future railroad engineers; medical students come under the Commissariat for Health, and pedagogical students under the Commissariat for Education.[27] Universities in the Soviet Union are organized at the point of production the student being given actual contact with his special activity. Prospective electrical engineers learn their calling at electrical plants, which serve as their laboratory. While some universities in the old sense still exist in the larger cities of the Soviet, they are rapidly being replaced by this newer type. Students in either type university who have no other means of support receive stipends which cover the necessities which they require whil enrolled. Upon finishing his course the student goes into industry, transport, or whatever else may be his special calling, in the capacity of a director or engineer.

The Rabfacs offer three to four year courses all of which are designed to meet the needs of those who expect to be employed at skilled occupations. In some of the institutions full-time day courses are given, in other students work by day and attend school at night; still others are organized on a part time basis. In all, workers come directly from their jobs and receive a technical training.

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[27]Chamberlin, op. cit., pp. 291-292.

For mature workers who cannot attend the Rabfacs, the Commissariat for Education and the trade unions arrange numbers of non-school technical courses and evening classes.[28]

The instruction is divided into:

1. Elementary training for older workers.

2. Advanced courses of highly-skilled workers, foremen, and administrative employees.

3. Emergency subjects which are given as special needs arise.

The highest type of institution for technical training is the "Institute" which corresponds to the graduate school of the United States, and trains teachers and instructors for the higher technical schools and carries on technical research and investigation. Here practically no teaching is done. Research occupies the full time of both students and directors. Each institute has its own field with its special problems. The scientists set to work to solve existing problems and to improve methods.[29]

A teaching staff for the "new schools" has been a serious problem for the Communist leaders. Many instructors were unfriendly if not actively hostile during the first years. The party organization could not spare many workers for the educational field; and since it would take time to train a new generation of leaders, it became necessary to use the old teachers under Communist leadership and control. In the

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[28] Nearing and Hardy, op. cit., pp. 207-208.

[29] Ibid., p. 209.

rural districts control was exercised over them by a party committee. In the cities the control of the Commissariat of Education could be more fully organized. The teachers were brought into the trade-unions, and another means of control was thus established. Special courses trained the new ones and re-trained those already in service.

Only about three per cent of the teachers of all grades are party members. In the more important schools the teacher in charge of the "Study of Society" courses, or the director, is usually a Communist. The members of the State Scientific Council, which has prepared the programs and passes on and recommends the textbooks to be used, also are Communists. An Institute of Red Professors was established to expedite the training of new candidates for the teaching positions in the higher educational institutions, where it was necessary to continue to use the specialists trained under the old order, since these latter could not be replaced immediately.[30]

All instructors were obliged to pass an informal test on Marxian doctrine. It was insisted that the Revolution had proven that the Marxian method is the only scientific school of thought, so that ignorance of it would make a teacher ridiculous in the eyes of the students.

The teachers, formally at least, have accepted the new ideas and methods:

> In a congress held in 1925 a "Declaration" was adopted to this effect and they have recognized their

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[30]Harper, Civic Training in Soviet Russia, p. 263.

past mistakes when they were "romanticists deceived by the slogans of democracy and freedom, and the unconscious weapons of the close interests of the bourgeoisie by believing in the democratic harmony of the classes."

One message to a teachers congress to "Comrade Communists" read:

The non-party peoples, teachers of the Soviet Union send you their fervent greetings. At our All-Union Congress we declare before all toilers that from now on we do not separate our tasks from the tasks of the Communist Party and from its magnificent struggle for a new world.

To the teachers it represented the Congress said:

We have carried out your will. It is finished with the past. Limitless perspectives lie befors us, and also difficult and responsible work. But from now on we are not alone. We are working with all the toilers of the world. We are with their experienced leaders; we are with the Communist Party. Another paragraph of the Declaration addressed to the "Teachers of all Countries" read: The Soviet authority is our authority. The Communist Party is our party, and we trust it. Together with our people, with the Soviet Authority, under the leadership of the Communist party, we are building a new life, a new school.[31]

The Institute of Red Professors is training a future generation of professors of history, economics, law, political science, and philosophy who will instruct from a strictly Communist point of view. Candidates for admission to this Institute must be Communists with a record of five years of membership in the Party. Contact with advanced education seems occasionally to have corrupted the ideological soundness of some, since the percentage of expulsions from the ranks of the Red Professors of Trotzkyists or other heretical sympathizers was considerably higher than the percentage in the Party as a whole.[32]

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[31] Ibid., p. 264.

[32] Chamberlin, op. cit., p. 294.

There has been improvement in Russian education, but there are still glaring faults. Selection of students, at least partially, according to class origin or party allegiance, rather than in accordance with capability, does not make for the highest scholastic standards. The institute principle of organizations serve a utilitarian purpose by giving quick intensive training to some of the specialists who are badly needed everywhere, but it tends to produce a narrow and one-sided type of education. Often the immediate effectiveness of the new schools is very much lowered by the hard and crowded conditions in which many students live and by the absence, in some cases of trained teachers.[33]

Plans to make the Ten-Year School the general minimum were interrupted by the Nazi attack in 1941. Attendance in preschool institutions is not compulsory. Children in Russia are not arbitrarily taken from parents and brought up in state institutions, as is popularly believed.[34] Nursery facilities are administered by the Commissariat of Health, not that of education, and they may be planned and built by any institution such as a factory, a farm, or a university, which needs their services. All vocational or technical and many higher institutes are now under the control and administration of whatever Commissariat has jurisdiction over the field within which the given type of work falls,

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[33] Ibid., p. 292. [34] Simmons, op. cit., p. 325.

and they may be directed from that organization rather than the Commissariat of Education.[35]

The restoration of conventional teaching in the schools is an illustration of the flexibility which the Communist leaders sometimes show in scrapping experiments which have proved clearly inefficient or unworkable.[36]

Until 1943 the general rule was coeducation at all age levels in the USSR partly because of the needs of the war situation, which necessitated a sharper division of tasks between boys and girls, and partly because of psychological investigations. An exploratory program was entered upon involving separation of the sexes in many city institutions at the age levels within the Ten-Year Schools.[37] Professor Evgeni Medynski of the Lenin Pedagogical Institute in Moscow explains the Soviet position on this matter as follows:

> Coeducation hinders the adaptation of the school program to the different rates of physiological development of boys and girls. It prevents adequate treatment of certain psychological differences, and the necessary differentiation of training of boys and girls for practical activities. Under coeducation the composition of intermediate and senior classes of secondary schools becomes very heterogeneous, negatively influencing the efficiency of the instructional program.
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> The full equality of women's rights and the general availability of education has been completely achieved during the quarter of a century that has elapsed since the Soviet Revolution. The number of schools has vastly increased. In all towns and industrial settlements universal compulsory seven-year secondary education has been introduced.

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[35] Chamberlin, op. cit., p. 291.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Simmons, op. cit., pp. 326-327.

> In view of all this, and with the object of eliminating the short-coming inherent in coeducation, in all capitals of the USSR and in large industrial centers and cities (72 cities in all), as of 1943, segregated education of boys and girls has been introduced in all of the ten classes of secondary schools by means of establishing separate schools for boys and girls. This was preceded by six months of experiment at segregated teaching in several Moscow schools during the spring term of 1943, yielding good results. In all other towns and in rural localities junior and senior secondary schools continue coeducation.
>
> As distinguished from prerevolutionary times, this segregated education provides for an identical level of general-educational knowledge for boys and girls, and involves no segregation in any extra-school activities. The principals of the schools concerned declared that during the first six months the principle of segregated education introduced in 1943-44 showed up favorably as indicated by achievement.[38]

According to Jones, children are taught that religion is a device to keep the people in a state of ignorance and stupidity and that the clergy "filch the last coin out of the pockets of the poor."[39]

In an article referring to the suppression of religion, the British White Paper cites Article four of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federation of the Soviet Republic:[40]

> In order to assure to the workers true liberty of conscience, the church is separated from the state and the schools from the church, and liberty of religious belief and of anti-religious propaganda is recognized as the right of all citizens.
>
> Article 122 - The teaching of religious belief to young children and to persons under age in state and private education establishments and schools, or violation of the regulations on this subject, is punishable with compulsory labor for a period not exceeding one year.

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[38] Ibid. [39] Jones, op. cit., p. 207.

[40] School and Society, Legislation Concerning Religion in Soviet Russia, Vol. 32 (September 6, 1930), 314.

Russia's old Domostroy book advises the man freely to use the rod on wife or child to bring them to submission. Under the Soviet law to strike a child in the home or school is a criminal offense. Eddy says: "In all my travels I have never seen more kindly or scientific treatment of children."[41]

Pinkevitch defends his people thus:

> We resort to punishments only in those extreme cases where they are absolutely necessary, under appropriate school conditions, and we hope even now to eliminate them altogether. The true teacher is one who strives with success to avert the possibility of the violation of the rules of the school and who thus removes the occasion for punishment.
>
> An indiscriminate use of punishments as a method of education, frightening and breaking the will of the pupil.[42]

Today there is hardly a family in Russia whose children have not received a secondary education.[43] The number of manual workers, office employees, and peasant families whose children are receiving a higher education is increasingly steady.

The peoples of the North for the first time have a written language and can now write as well as speak in their native tongue. Newspapers, primers, and books are printed in the local languages.

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[41] Eddy, op. cit., p. 101.

[42] Albert P. Pinkevitch, The New Education in the Soviet Republic, p. 46.

[43] Nicholas Mikhailov, Land of the Soviets, p. 70.

Hindus informs us that

> Nowadays education may be conducted in the language of any people living in Russia. In fact, the Soviets encourage subject nationalities to have their own schools, and such schools are now being conducted in seventy languages. Some of these languages, like that of the gypsies or Burgats, had no script and no printed alphabet of their own. Now they have both. They have grammars, dictionaries, textbooks, newspapers, and even theaters in which the lines are spoken in their native tongues.
>
> The school is the one institution in Soviet Russia which has enjoyed steady and galloping growth.[44]

Summary

Among the faults of the First Five-Year Plan was the complex method of teaching subject matter. With more money appropriated for instruction in separate subjects, education became a national propaganda, wherein the class principle was broken down. Original and creative thought was abolished, marks and examinations discarded, needy students assisted by government stipends, training time in labor schools lengthened and professional training changed to improve technical skill. Universities in the old sense have been replaced by institutes. Technical training courses are now carried on at the production point. Certain institutes correspond to the American Graduate School. Close and crowded conditions produced a narrow education but revealed a few good features; a flexible program, pre-school improvement, modified coeducation, the promotion of culture, subject languages printed and taught, and, punishment as an educational method was abolished.

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[44]Hindus, op. cit., pp. 241-243.

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