EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

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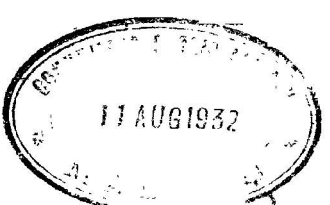

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PREFACE

Soviet Russia and especially the Soviet educational system are objects of genuine interest among the English speaking nations. The Russian original sources are inaccessible to the general public and those few accounts of the Russian system which appeared in English were written by foreign visitors who spent a very short time in Russia and in the majority of cases did not even speak Russian. Their observations, however valuable, give only a glimpse of Russia very often distorted by lack of knowledge of Russian conditions. Based on information supplied by the Soviet Government and on few visits to the best experimental schools these accounts tend to idealize the actual state of affairs. On the other hand the information disseminated by the political Russian emigration tends to select the unfavourable results of the Communist policy and to make sweeping generalizations. The authors of this book are actuated by a desire to supply impartial information based on official sources and their personal knowledge of Russian education. Both took an active part in Russian educational politics and both lived under the Soviet regime. The authors do not profess to be friends of the Soviet Government, they both are convinced

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democrats and therefore hostile to the dictatorship of the Communist Party or any other dictatorship. This fact however does not prevent them from acknowledging those positive measures and results which were attained under the Communist rule. It is very hard to be impartial, especially for political emigrants, but the authors have endeavoured to put aside their personal feelings and to appreciate the facts on their merits. Whether they have succeeded is for the reader to judge.

The authors express their sincere thanks to Mr N. Novozhilov of Prague for furnishing some important data and to Mr F. Johnson, M. A., for reading through the proofs.

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INTRODUCTION

Foreigners who are interested in Russia interpret the recent changes in that country in two entirely opposite ways. Conservative and emphatically anti-communistic opinion is apt to idealize the old regime and to ascribe all the unfavourable results of the Revolution to the Communist policy of the Soviet Government. Liberal and radical opinion on the contrary is inclined to idealize the Soviet Government and to ascribe all the bad effects of their policy to the inheritance of the old regime. In order to understand the Russian Revolution correctly and with all desirable impartiality the foreign reader must free himself from these biassed opinions, formed more for political use than from an actual study of Russian conditions. The Russian Revolution must be appreciated on its historical background as the last step in the long evolution of the Russian people. Cut out from their historical setting the events of the last decade are distorted and even incomprehensible. There is hardly a state in the world where the policy of the Government and the activity of the community could be fairly identified. And in a country ruled not on democratic but rather on despotic lines the divergence between the activity of the community and the policy of

the Government is especially great. As Russian civilization, her great literature and art, her music and stage, her science and progressive educational movement were more due to the activity of the Russian people itself than to the enlightened policy of the Tsarist Government, which unfortunately too often checked their development, so the post-revolutionary achievements should only partly be attributed to the conscious efforts of the Soviet Government. Russia was greater than her despotic Tsarist Government and she remains also at present greater than her new Communist rulers.

The Russian State presents a unique example of historical development where two currents of national evolution flowed side by side and sometimes in direct opposition. One was represented by the conscious policy of the autocratic Government and the other by the unconscious growth of the nation. The most conspicuous fact of Russian history is the opening and colonization of the great Eurasian plain. The outstanding success of this movement was solely assured by two currents joining each other at this point. The imperial aims of the Government coupled with the need of land amongst the peasantry created the Russian Empire. Russian peasants colonized this great continent under the leadership of monks such as Sergius of Radonezh and adventurers like Yermak, the famous conqueror of Siberia, and the Russian Tsars were wise

enough to consolidate the acquired lands into one national state. The pioneers had to follow the currents of the large rivers and had to fight the valiant military class of conquerors who had ruled for centuries an original enslaved population. Tartars and Mongols in the East, Persians and Turks in the South-West, Poles, Germans and Swedes in the West and North-West of the Moscow centre of the Russian colonization, were compelled step by step to retreat under the strenuous pressure of the Russian peasant. Kirghiz and Buryats in the East, Georgians and Armenians in the South-East, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Letts and Estonians in the West and even the Finns in the North-West of Russia were freed from their conquerors by the Russian peasant and owe their national existance to this particular character of Russian colonization. The aristocracy of these old conquerors was for the greater part absorbed by the Russian ruling class, but the original population of these countries has kept its language, its old customs and its creeds under the Russian Government, which as a rule was more tolerant towards the non-Russian minorities than their former rulers. This fact explains why the Russian State cannot be compared with other states of Europe. Russia is a colonial Empire including besides the majority of Russian speaking people a great variety of other nationalities with their own vernaculars, creeds and culture, living on very different levels of civiliza-

tion. Russia might therefore be contrasted with the British Empire. Whilst Great Britain has her colonies beyond the seas, Russian colonies are the prolongation of the same continental plain. Therefore, whilst the British Commonwealth remains a unit more because of its common origin, tradition and language, than because of economic necessity, the nationalities which inhabit the Russian plain are welded together by hard economic and geographical factors. The British Dominions become more and more independent of the mother country, but the Russian minorities immerged as small islets in the Russian ocean can but dream of independent existence. Only those of them who were not surrounded by the Russian colonists and were on the border of the late Empire as Poles, Letts, Finns, Estonians and Lithuanians could acquire a full state of independence. They now have forgotten that without the protection of the Russian State they would have been absorbed by their more virile neighbours, as were the Poles of East Prussia, or exterminated as the Armenians in Turkey. With due respect to their sufferings under the reactionary Tsars one should not forget however that the peasants of Poland and Baltic States were emancipated by a Russian Tsar. The Russian Revolution therefore was continuing the historical tradition of the Russian State and only accelerated the long process of emancipation of these formerly enslaved nationalities.

Within the Russian State they have now acquired a status of full equality with the majority. Some of the nationalities received a full Dominion status, others a self-government of more limited character, but all nationalities and tribes are free to develop their own culture if they have any. The new federal constitution of Russia now officially called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was realized by the Soviet Government and many of its features are influenced by the general policy of the Communist Party. But nevertheless it is far more the result of the whole history of the Russian State than the product of the Marxist ideology. The latter is rather hostile towards the claims of small nationalities.

The other great and undoubted achievement of the Revolution is the democratization of society. Although the governing Communist Party quite frankly denies all principles and methods of democracy the Soviet constitution gives ample room for an actual democratic training. This fact however can alone be appreciated on its historical background. The usual idea of democracy is closely associated with certain methods of political government. There is however another democracy — the democracy of habits and customs, of beliefs and ideas — a kind of spiritual democracy which can thrive even under a despotic rule. In this respect Russia was and is perhaps more democratic than the modern democracies of the West.

Russian literature and art although represented by members of the upper class were truly democratic in their spirit. The Russian Orthodox Church is one of the most democratic Churches in the world and retained its democratic tradition even during the rule of the Holy Synod. The Russian educational system from its inception was a democratic ladder system and only later was distorted by Nicholas I. The Russian judicial system and military service since the reign of Alexander II were also quite democratic. Even the Russian ruling class since the time of Peter the Great had a constant influx of men of lower origin. Nor were the elements of political democracy absent during the long period of the Tsarist rule. The idea of governing by representation was not foreign to Russian Tsars. We shall here mention the work of the people's representatives during the reign of Catherine II, the schemes of Alexander I and his able minister Speransky and the scheme of Alexander II. Lastly the period of 1906-1917 or of the constitutional government with the State Duma was an actual step towards a democracy of the western pattern. The local authorities — Zemstva and Municipalities — since the reforms of Alexander II were elected by all classes including the peasantry and were an excellent preparatory school for political democracy. But perhaps the most important institution which inculcated democratic habits and ideas was the village and cantonal self-government enjoyed by

peasants and cossacks. Thus under the Tsars the Russian democracy was coming into being. The reactionary measures adopted by some Tsars could only retard the natural evolution, but were unable to stop it. The Revolution of 1917 at first seemed to realize the cherished dreams of the Russian democrats and a democratic Government ruled the country for eight months. But the conditions of the Great War and general disorganization of the country prevented a stabilization of the government. The Communist Party, solely by pretending to defend the newly acquired democracy, could so easily overthrow the Provisional Government. Only later did they disclose their true aims of dictatorship by terror and censorship. The Soviet constitution itself, however, is democratic enough and if followed in practice would soon lead to a political democracy of the Western type. The local Soviets in rural districts are a real school of democracy for the peasants. From being a simple tool of the Communist Party they are gradually developing into representative institutions. The peasants are becoming more and more interested in public affairs and getting more accustomed to deal with them. With every year the peasantry grows more independent and courageous towards the local committees of the Communist Party. The few Communists in the rural districts are becoming disappointed with the militant anti-peasant policy of the central Government and prefer

to deal with the peasants more leniently. It thus happens that the rural Soviets and their Executive Committees are almost exclusively filled by non-party men who represent the wishes of the population. Even in the Urban Soviets the Communists have lost the majority which they previously had. Only the Urban Executive Committees are still in their hands. Thus in 1922 the Communists formed 70 % of members in the Urban Soviets. In 1924 the percentage of Party members had fallen to 57 and after the elections of 1925-26 only 45.5 % of the members returned belonged to the Party. Under the Communist dictatorship as previously under the autocratic Tsars Russia is steadily moving towards democracy. There is no doubt whatever that gradually the final aim will be attained.

One more feature of Russian history should here be mentioned in order to justify our main contention. We speak of the emancipation of women. The first and decisive step in this direction was made by Peter the Great two hundred years ago. By his humane decrees he freed the Russian woman from her previous Eastern seclusion and made her an equal member of society. Since then the emancipation of women developed gradually and continuously. Russia was the first State in Europe to establish State secondary schools for girls as early as 1764. Again Russia was first in establishing a University for Women subsidized by the Government. Girton College at Cam-

bridge founded in the same year (1869) was a private institution and besides England there was no other country in the world that possessed such institutions at that time. The first woman, Doctor of Medicine, was a Russian lady Nadezhda Suslova, who took her degree at Zurich in 1867. Just before the War Russia possessed 24 institutions of University rank for women and the number of women students equalled 25.000. In 1915 the Russian State Universities opened their doors to women on equal conditions with men. The Russian Revolution of 1917 by granting the right of vote to women only completed the long history of their emancipation.

We shall not speak in this book of industrial and agricultural progress of Russia during the last pre-war decade and of changes which occurred since the Revolution. We shall only mention that if there are any positive results in the field of economics they are due more to the rapid development of Russia before the war than to the Communist legislation and practice. Russia of to-day and Russia of yesterday is the same country and one cannot understand the former without knowing the latter.

Educational systems and educational policies perhaps better and more adequately represent the character of the nation and of its government than the system of its constitution and economic organization. The Russian educational system is no exception and faithfully reflects the two

historical currents of Russian evolution — the democratic and the autocratic. We believe that the study of Russian education will give to a foreign reader the best key for understanding Russian politics and economics.

CHAPTER I

PRE-BOLSHEVIST PERIOD

The Russian State school-system is one of the oldest in Europe. It was founded by Catherine the Great in 1782 under the influence of the Austrian reform of 1774. From the start the Russian school-system was conceived by the Government as a democratic ladder system available for all groups of the nation. It consisted of two steps : the first the so called Minor Schools founded in 254 District and Provincial towns and the second — the so called Major Schools established in 41 Provincial cities. The total number of pupils did not exceed 20.000, but for the beginning it was an achievement. The classes from which the pupils were drawn can be seen from the data for 1801, collected in 38 Major Schools. The sons and daughters of the gentry and Army and Navy and Civil officers composed 33 % of the total, of the common citizen (meshchane) — 14 %, of merchants — 12 %, of private soldiers — 11 %, of serfs — 11 % , of clerks — 8 %, of state peasants — 5 % and of clergy — 2 %. In the Minor schools the lower classes were in still greater majority. The instruction in all State schools was free to all and although these schools were established only in the towns, 27 % of their pupils belonged to the peasants. During the first decade of the 19th century the Catherinian system was remodelled and brought into order under Alexander I. Influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution Alexander I and his young friends took as a model the famous educational scheme of

Condorcet. The whole ladder consisted of four steps with similar territorial distribution of schools as in Condorcet's. The first step was the parochial schools with one year's instruction, the second the District Schools in every District town with two years of instruction. The third was the Provincial Schools or Gymnasia in every provincial town with four years of instruction and the last step was formed by the six Universities in the six largest cities of Russia. As already mentioned all schools were gratuitous and available for all groups of the nation including even the serfs. In order to facilitate education for poor children all text-books were distributed free and in every Gymnasium a certain number of scholarships including maintenance grants was established. In the Universities the number of students maintained by the State equalled almost 50 % of the total number of students in all higher institutions. In this way Russia was the first State to put into practice the ideas of a democratic ladder system.

Unfortunately these democratic principles were entirely inconsistent with the general political and social conditions of the country and with the growth of reaction under the successor of Alexander I, his brother Nicholas I, the Russian educational system was completely changed in 1829. Nicholas I reasoned quite rightly that serfdom and autocracy were incompatible with a democratic school-system, and as the autocratic Government was based on the privileged class of the gentry it was necessary to separate this class from the rest of the nation and to impart to it a privileged education. According to his legislation secondary education was a forbidden fruit to serfs and the lower orders of the town population. Thus the State gymnasia —

the only available secondary schools — were destined for the privileged classes, which comprised the gentry, the clergy and the first guild of merchants. In consequence of this legislation the Universities and Technical Colleges were also made available only for the privileged groups. For the rest of the nation, which included workers, peasants and serfs, elementary schools were established as the sole means of education. Thus a new system was created, a system on the class principle of education. The democratic tradition however was not entirely forgotten and was revived during the period of great reforms (1860-1870). The subsequent history of Russian education was dominated by these two contradictory traditions : during the period of reforms in the sixties of the 19th century and in the 20th century the democratic ideas prevailed ; during the reactionary reigns of Nicholas I and Alexander III the ideas of the class privileges in education and of absolutist tradition had the upper hand. The democratic tradition was radical in its character. It was based on the idea of equality of opportunity to all including even serfs. It was mainly lay in its tendency and alotted to religious instruction a very limited space. It was undenominational and treated all the different creeds of Russia on equal lines. In the domain of higher education it was connected with the ideas of "Lehrfreiheit" and the autonomy of the corpus of professors. With the institution of Zemstva in the sixties this tradition was associated with the new elected local authorities, which demanded more decentralization of administration. This tradition although suppressed and persecuted during the reactionary periods was active in the majority of the Zemstvo-schools. The other tradition which might be called absolutist, was based on the famous

trinity of ideas at first applied in practice by the Minister of Nicholas I, Count Uvarov. The three ideas were: Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality. The education had to be based on the Orthodox faith, controlled by the centralized autocratic Government and imbued with a nationalist spirit which excluded from the common citizenship all the non-Russian nationalities and tribes, who formed about a third part of the total population.

However, slowly but surely the democratic tradition gained ground and even before the revolution of 1905 the governing circles recognized the necessity of democratizing the educational system. The revolution of 1905 brought a great change, the cause of reforms had triumphed and the newly established State Duma made great strides towards the introduction of universal and compulsory education. Although the State Duma did not succeed in passing a comprehensive Education Act, its many separate measures greatly enhanced the growth of schools and of the number of pupils in them. In 1908 the Duma passed a law on elementary education according to which local authorities received large grants for the introduction of universal education. Since then the growth of schools has been ever increasing. During the decade 1906-1916 the budget of the Ministry of Public Instruction on elementary education increased from 8.819.670 Rubles [1] to 72.336.609 Rubles, or nine times. The number of primary schools under the Ministry increased from 43.000 up to 80.000 and the number of pupils from 3 million up to 6 million. In 1915 the scheme for the introduction of universal education was working in the 421 District Zemstva out of the total

1. 10 rubles equalled before the War nearly £. 1.

number of 441 and in the 376 out of 789 Municipalities. In 1916 another 17 Zemstva and 118 Municipalities applied for grants under the scheme. On July 1, 1915 — 15 District Zemstva and 33 Municipalities, including all the largest cities, had completed their plans and established the required number of schools. One Provincial and two District Zemstva applied to the Government for the introduction of compulsory education in their areas as they now had a sufficient number of schools. It can be justly said that on the eve of the Revolution of 1917 Russia was on the threshhold of possessing a network of primary education accessible to peasants in the remotest corners of the vast Empire. In the field of secondary and higher education the influence of the State Duma was also very marked. Secondary schools and Universities lost their privileged character and a large number of scholars and students belonged to the lower social groups of the nation. By the law of 1912 the State Duma bridged the traditional gap between the primary and secondary education by transforming the old Urban Schools into four years' Intermediate Schools with a foreign language as part of the curriculum. In this way the old Russian ideas of a democratic ladder system were given a practical foundation. The Duma intended to remodel secondary schools as well in accordance with these ideas, but the Revolution of 1917 stopped its activities. The last but one of the tsarist Ministers of Public Instruction, Count P. Ignatiev, was a Liberal and worked hand in hand with the Duma. He succeeded in passing through the Duma a law on Girls' Gymnasia, by which they could introduce the full course of a boys' secondary schools. Girls who passed through these reformed schools received all the privileges of the

boys' schools with the sole exception of acquiring the right of State rank. By a second law passed in 1915 women were allowed to enter the State Universities as matriculated students. Up to that time they had to attend special High Courses for Women. By this legislation the equality of sexes in education was an established fact. The scheme of the new ladder system however was not realized.

Before describing the legislation of the Provisional Government of 1917 let us survey the position in the field of education just on the eve of the Revolution. The population of the Empire was 175 million and the total number of scholars in all schools amounted to 9.5 million or 542 scholars per 10.000 inhabitants. The number of scholars in intermediate and secondary schools amounted to 900.000 or 51 per 10.000 inhabitants. The number of students in the schools of University rank was about 90.000 or 5 per 10.000 inhabitants. In order to appreciate these figures we give here for comparison corresponding figures for England and Wales for the same year — 1916. The total number of all scholars in all schools was about 6.3 million or 1.750 per 10.000 inhabitants. If we consider that compulsory education was introduced in this country in 1870 and that it begins at the age of 5, whereas in Russia there is no compulsory legislation and the school attendance usually begins only at the age of 8, the Russian figure of 542 is not at all so low. The comparison of figures for secondary and higher education is much more favourable for Russia. The number of scholars in secondary schools for England and Wales for that year was about 250.000 or 72 per 10.000 inhabitants and the number of students about

25.000 or 7 per 10.000. Taking into consideration Russia's enormous territory and sparce population the corresponding figures of 51 and 5 are very high. The number of primary schools at that time was about 116.000, of intermediate schools about 1.600 and of secondary schools about 2.500. The number of institutions of University rank amounted to 70. In order to understand the rate of progress with which Russia was marching towards universal education we have to remember that 40 % of all these schools were established during the decade 1906-1916. Another decade of the same rate of development would have solved the problem of illiteracy and would have placed Russia amongst the most progressive countries. The democratization of secondary and higher education was progressing satisfactorily and a new intelligentsia, formed from sons and daughters of peasants and workers began to play a more and more important role in the life of the nation. The autocratic Government of the last Tsar Nicholas II was only an outer shell, worn out and decayed, which could not hide the vigorous and healthy growth of the nation. In order to understand the causes of the Revolution of 1917 it is necessary to bear in mind that the Duma period of 1906-1916 was the most progressive in the history of Russia. The political and economic development of the country during this period proceeded very rapidly and entirely changed the structure of society. That is why the reforms of the Government, important as they were, could not satisfy the awakening nation. It might be said that the demands grew in geometrical progression, whereas the reforms proceeded in an arithmetical progression. Thus the gulf between the Government and the nation broadened with every year and led to the Revolution. The autocracy

of Tsar Nicholas was overthrown by the combined efforts of the State Duma and moderate Socialists. The majority of the Bolshevist leaders were abroad in exile at that time and did not take part in the February Revolution. This fact is easily forgotten now after twelve years of Communist Government. The revolutionary Provisional Government was formed from the Members of the Duma and included only one Socialist — Mr. Kerensky. During the eight months of its power the Government changed its composition several times, but all the time it was a coalition of Liberals with moderate Socialists. Thus no radical break with the past was attempted, the Government took over all the schemes of the State Duma and in general continued the tradition of the Russian Liberal and Radical intelligentsia. All the legislation of this period is a realization of the abortive Bills of the radical minority of the Duma. The whole period may be considered as a logical conclusion of the decade 1906-1916.

One of the outstanding defects of the old educational system was the division of administration between the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Holy Synod. This dualism of administration was based on difference of political outlook and on different educational tradition. The lay system of the Ministry was undenominational and was mainly in the hands of progressive local authorities — Zemstva and Municipalities. The Russian-Orthodox system of the Holy Synod was on the contrary strictly denominational and was subordinated to the clergy, on the whole very conservative. This system was founded by the famous Procurator of the Holy Synod Pobedonostsev with the express aim to check the dissemination of democratic ideas among the peasantry, which was going on in the lay

Zemstvo-schools. The half-forgotten trinity — Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality was unearthed from the archives and formed the ideology of these schools. It was meant to be a rival of the system of the Ministry and in fact the two systems were always jealous of each other. Pobedonostsev was an able and practical politician, but he made a great mistake by uniting the religious character of his schools with the political aim of upholding the established order. In this way he compelled the Liberals and Radicals to consider the Orthodox Church as an ally of the autocracy and to look on religious instruction as a means for impeding the natural progress of the nation. This fact explains why all Russian political parties with the sole exception of the extreme reactionaries were against the system of the Holy Synod and advocated the unification of primary education under the Ministry of Public Instruction. Both the majority and the minority of the State Duma prepared Bills in 1908 in which even the conservative groups proposed to abolish the separate system of the Holy Synod. But the Government obstinately resisted all these suggestions and retained the Church-parochial schools contrary to the expressed wishes of the nation. The Government even assigned in July 1913 additional millions to this system though it had failed to receive the consent of the Duma. In spite of this encouragement the Church system was evidently in decline and could not successfully rival the lay system. The number of schools decreased continuously from 1905 and fell from 43.000 in that year to 35.000 in 1916. The number of pupils decreased from 2 million to 1.5 million. Still the Treasury spent on these schools annually about 20 million Rubles. One of the first measures of the Provisional Government in educational matters was therefore

to abolish this dualism. The Act of 20 June, 1917, declared that " for an actual and uniform realization of universal instruction all the elementary schools, included in the school-system, or all those which receive State grants for their upkeep or for the salaries of the personnel, among others the Church schools under the control of the Holy Synod as well as the Church Seminaries and Higher Grade Elementary Schools are hereby transferred to the Ministry of Public Instruction." All grants from the Treasury to the Holy Synod for primary education were withdrawn and transferred to the local authorities. All the buildings of Church-parochial schools which were erected with governmental assistance had to be transferred with all the equipment to the local authorities and included in the lay system. Those schools alone which were built by the clergy on voluntary contributions were allowed to continue their independent existence as private religious schools. In cases where the parishes by majority vote decided to transfer their schools to the local authorities, even these schools had to be transferred including the building and equipment. In the autumn of 1917 many thousands of Church-parochial schools were transferred in accordance with this law. Thus this problem was solved satisfactorily.

The other defect of the old system was the undue centralization of administration in the lay system. The intermediate and secondary education was directly subordinated to the Ministry of Public Instruction through the Curators of Educational Regions. The latter were appointed by the Emperor on the recommendation of the Minister. The powers of the Curators were autocratic and the Zemstva and Municipalities had no say in matters of secondary education, although they spent large sums on the upkeep

of these schools. In the domain of primary education local authorities had more influence, but even here the Directors and Inspectors of Primary Schools, appointed by the Minister, had the last word. The local authorities could present the lists of candidates for teaching posts, but they could not appoint teachers without the consent of the Inspectors. The supervision of schools was entirely in the hands of the governmental Inspectors and the local authorities had no powers whatever to influence the curriculum and methods of teaching. Side by side with primary schools maintained by local authorities the Ministry of Public Instruction established a system of primary schools maintained by the Treasury and directly subordinated to the central Government. Zemstva and Municipalities greatly resented this constant interference of governmental Inspectors and in the majority of cases there was a kind of warfare between the local authorities and the Inspectors. This struggle consumed much energy on both sides and impeded the growth of primary schools. Not once the problem of decentralization was raised in the State Duma, but the Government was suspicious of the progressive Zemstva and flatly refused to enlarge their powers. The Provisional Government in this respect as well followed the liberal tradition of the Russian intelligentsia. By the decree of May 8, 1917, the Provincial and District Councils of Primary Education, which were filled by the nominees of the Government were abolished and their powers transferred to the local authorities. By this act all the Intermediate Schools up till 1917 exempted from the sphere of local government were subordinated to the local authorities in the same way as primary schools. By the decree of September 26, 1917 the posts of Directors and Inspectors of

Primary Schools were abolished and the local authorities were given the right to appoint their own Inspectors. A Bill was prepared for abolishing the posts of Curators as well, with the intention of transferring the administration of secondary schools to the Provincial Zemstva and to the Municipalities of the largest cities. The last Bill however was not enacted owing to the October Revolution. This reform of administration gave the local authorities much more freedom and initiative and made it possible to vary the curriculum in accordance with local conditions and needs. One of the results of this decentralization was the institution of primary schools for national minorities in their native tongues. Before the Revolution of 1917 the Government only in exceptional cases allowed schools with a language of instruction other than Russian. Now in the autumn of 1917 the local authorities began to found schools for those nationalities which were deprived of their national schools by the old regime. This policy was followed especially in the Ukraine which received a kind of regional autonomy.

A third very important reform was carried out in the domain of higher education. As mentioned above, in the history of Russian Universities there was a constant struggle between two traditions: the democratic tradition of the reigns of Alexander I and Alexander II granted an autonomy to the Council of Professors; the absolutist tradition of Nicholas I and Alexander III subordinated the Universities to the Curators of Educational Regions and abolished the right of the professors to elect the Rector of the University. During the reign of Nicholas II there was a constant hesitation and change of policy. After the Revolution of 1905 the Universities were granted a full autonomy and the

Minister of Public Instruction, Count I. I. Tolstoy, prepared a Bill by which the Universities were made entirely independent of the Government. The subsequent reaction however frustrated these plans and the autonomy of the corpus of professors was again withdrawn. By the decree of June 17, 1917, the Provisional Government reintroduced the autonomy of the Council of Professors with enlarged powers. The lecturers and readers who never before had a right of vote in the University elections were given the right of participation by representation. All the restrictions of students' activities were withdrawn and the latter received the right to elect a Students' Committee which played an important role in the life of the University. By the decree of June 13, 1917, all the restrictions for the admission of students of certain races and denominations were withdrawn and every boy or girl was allowed to enter University after passing the Matriculation Examination.

Apart from these three most important reforms the Provisional Government enacted many small measures, which however signified the new spirit. The proclamation of freedom of conscience as a result had the abolition of compulsory religious instruction in the schools. The usual practice followed by the majority of local authorities was similar to the practice of this country, i. e. any parent could exempt his child from attending religious classes. In fact however such exemptions were extreemely rare. Another measure was the reform of spelling. By the decree of May 11, 1917, a new orthography was adopted which was a result of the research of the Academy of Sciences. Usually this reform is wrongly attributed to the Soviet Government because it was introduced compulsorily only in 1918. Another measure of the Provisional Government should

be mentioned here. In May the State Committee of Public Instruction was instituted as an advisory council at the Ministry. It consisted of the representatives of local authorities, of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, of the All-Russian Teachers' Union and other bodies. It prepared several Bills for the Constituent Assembly, which was dissolved by the Bolsheviks. These Bills were taken over by the Soviet Government in the first period of its educational policy and put into practice with some modifications. One of the Bills was concerned with the Ladder school system. The scheme followed the practice of the Scandinavian countries and divided all education into four steps; the primary school — ages 7-11, the middle school — age 11-15, the high school — ages 15-18 and the last — the University and Higher Technical Schools. We shall deal in detail with this problem in Chapter VII. The other Bill dealt with the autonomy of secondary schools. According to this Bill 'the direct control of the intermediate and secondary schools, receiving State grants or subsidized by local authorities, is herewith entrusted to the Pedagogical Councils'. These bodies comprised the teaching staff, the school physician, representatives of local authorities and members of the Parents' Committee elected by all parents in a particular school. The number of non-teachers should not exceed one third of the members of the staff. We shall deal with this question in Chapter V.

As is seen from the actual legislation and from the prepared Bills, the Provisional Government picked up the democratic Russian tradition with no radical innovations. It was an evolutionary development and not a revolutionary change. The October Revolution and subsequent civil war interrupted the application of these reforms and

therefore, the practical results of this period were insignificant. The laws of the Provisional Government were working only in those parts of Russia which were in the hands of the so called White Armies. But even here the anti-bolshevist governments halfheartedly accepted the innovations and very often restored to their places the discharged Directors and Inspectors of Primary Schools. The newly elected Zemstva and Municipalities however tried their best to follow up the legislation of the Provisional Government, but the very incomplete character of this legislation led to many practical difficulties. Sometimes the local authorities were obliged to pass measures which were beyond their powers as the required legislation was absent. In spite of these defects the legislation of the Provisional Government is of great importance in the history of Russian education as it shows clearly what were the aims of the democratic tradition and it brings to their logical end the reforms of the preceeding decade— the period of the State Duma. We shall see later on how the educational policy of the Soviet Government at first followed this tradition, then repudiated it and in the end is more and more compelled by the force of circumstances to adopt the measures recommended by the Russian democratic tradition.

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CHAPTER II

THE FIRST PERIOD OF SOVIET EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The first period of Soviet policy was a period of civil war and so called military communism. The Soviet Government did not feel itself quite firmly in the saddle and was afraid to alienate the radical intelligentsia by too sudden a change. The Communist Party had not yet evolved a system of its own and mainly continued the Russian democratic tradition. The slogans of the All-Russian Teachers' Union were taken as a programme for practical reform. The Communists expected a rapid advent of the new social order which would annihilate all class differences and all necessity of State compulsion. This order was represented by orthodox followers of Marx as a realization of an anarchist ideal of a personality developing its abilities to the utmost, free of any compulsion. The new educational system had to be in conformity with this purely anarchist ideal. The identity of the coming communist society with this ideal was emphasized just in the beginning of the Revolution by Lenin himself in his book " The State and the Revolution ". As this conception was a logical sequence of some extreme ideas of the Russian intelligentsia, many teachers—adherents of radical educational theories, followers of Leo Tolstoy or unrecognized dreamers —closed ranks with the orthodox Communists and hailed the new prophets as saviours of humanity. They sincerely thought that the hour of realization of the most radical educational ideas had arrived. They believed that the

October Revolution brought with it the atmosphere of an actual freedom and true democracy.

This period might therefore be called the "anarcho-communistic" period. This ideology found its expression in the first decrees of the new Government and especially in the Education Act of 1918. Some of the decrees simply confirmed the laws of the Provisional Government or put into practice with some modifications the schemes elaborated by the State Education Committee. By the decree of January 21, 1918, the posts of Curators of Educational Regions were abolished and their powers relegated to the local Soviets. The posts of Headmasters of Secondary Schools in accordance with the previous scheme were to be filled in future by candidates elected by the "Pedagogical Councils". On the same date was issued the decree disestablishing the Russian Orthodox Church and proclaiming freedom of conscience. The only additions to the legislation of the Provisional Government were the confiscation of all land and real property belonging to churches and monasteries and the prohibition of religious instruction in the schools. According to Art. 9, "religious instruction was prohibited in all State, public and also in private schools which have the aim of general education". Citizens however have the right to teach and to study religion privately. The text of the decree evidently allows the existence of private classes for religious purposes. The Commissary for Public Instruction, Lunacharsky, in his Circular of February 18, 1918, declared that "the Russian Republic grants to every citizen a complete freedom to choose any denomination or to remain without any belief according to his convictions. The State remains neutral in religious affairs considering religion a matter of conscience of every person".

Then followed the decrees about the transfer of all schools of all Departments to the Commissariat of Public Instruction (on February 23), on compulsory co-education in all schools (on May 3) and others.

The first systematic Education Act was issued however only on October 16, 1918. It was preceded by "Basic Principles of the Unified Labour School". Here the ideology of the first anarcho-communistic period found its full expression. "The personality shall remain as the highest value in the socialist culture. This personality however can develop its inclinations in all possible luxury only in a harmonious society of equals. We (i. e. the Government) do not forget the right of an individual to his own peculiar development. It is not necessary for us to cut short a personality, to cheat it, to cast it into iron moulds, because the stability of the socialist community is based not on the uniformity of barracks, not on artificial drill, not on religious and aesthetic deceptions, but on an actual solidarity of interests". The socialist community is a "single factory" in which the exploitation of man by man is replaced by the exploitation of our planet by the united humanity. The school therefore has the aim of educating this future "master of nature". "The aim of the Labour School is not a drill for some or other craft, but to impart a 'polytechnic' education, giving to children the knowledge of the methods of work". It is interesting to compare this official exposition with a resolution carried out by a conference of teachers-internationalists in June of 1918. "The main aim of the new school should be the bringing up of a creative personality developed on many sides. The conference considers it necessary to give to education a polytechnic direction and transform the school

into a working commune, based on self-activity, on productive labour for common use and adapted to local conditions. The school should not be opposed to life, but coinciding with it, should endeavour to create a harmoniously developed human being". This "polytechnic ideal" was later theoretically expounded by P. Blonsky (the assistant professor of the Moscow University) in his rather brilliant Utopia "The Labour School". It was considered that as every pupil develops his own individuality, so every school, having an unlimited autonomy, creates its own curriculum according to local conditions. The school of the second grade might vary greatly as regards the kind of labour, which should be taken as a basis for the study of polytechnic culture. Although the local industry should form the kernel of the curriculum it should not be permitted to transform the school into a kind of vocational institution. The aim should be the knowledge of labour culture of the modern world in its entirety, but basing it on some individual industry.

The educational ladder established by the Act of 1918 divided all schools into two grades which formed one single system, but every school was to draft its own syllabus. Let us quote this Act in detail. The first paragraphs stated that the ladder system consisted of two grades: the School of the First Grade with five years' course for the ages 8-13 and the School of the Second Grade with four years' course for the ages 13-17. Article 3 introduced free education in all schools of both grades. It must be noted here that primary education was always free in Russia since the beginning of State education in the 18th century. Thus the novelty was the introduction of a free education in secondary schools. Article 4 declared

compulsory education for all children of the ages 8-17, i.e. the complete course of both grades was declared to be the aim of an average child. Article 5 confirmed compulsory co-education in all schools, which was already introduced by the decree of May 3. Article 6 confirmed the secularization of education with prohibition of religious instruction in all schools. Article 11 allowed the existence of private schools and even promised State grants to those private schools which were recognized by authorities as valuable. Article 21 declared that hot meals should be distributed free to all pupils. Article 29 established a full autonomy of schools, which were to be directed by a " school collective " comprising all teachers and pupils and even the school janitors. This " collective " was to elect a Praesidium and executive committees. The curriculum and methods were entrusted to a " school council " consisting of " the teaching staff and of representatives of pupils, of local workers and of the local Department of Education ". The State retained only a general control giving full opportunity to private initiative. Such were the chief features of the new Act. As an ideal it was considered that the schools and the children's homes should completely replace the family. The Soviet Government declared as its aim the establishment of Children's Homes which would embrace all the children of the Republic. Some of the Communists went so far as to advocate a total annihilation of family life. Lilina for instance declared on the Educational Conference in Petrograd in 1918 : " We must exempt children from the pernicious influence of the family. We have to take account of every child, we candidly say we must nationalize them. From the first days of their life they will be under the beneficial influence of communistic

Kindergartens and schools. Here they shall assume the ABC of Communism. Here they shall grow up as real Communists. Our practical problem is to compel mothers to hand over their children to the Soviet Government ".

Let us formulate concisely the main ideas of the first period and analyse each in turn. The aim was to educate a ' polytechnically ' developed well-rounded personality. The means to achieve that aim were : 1) Universal and compulsory primary and secondary education. 2) Free education for all. 3) Secularization of education with the principle of neutrality towards religion. 4) Compulsory co-education in all schools. 5) A single Ladder School system for all groups of the nation. 6) Freedom of local initiative with extreme decentralization of administration. 7) The active and free methods of instruction or the so called " Labour School ". This programme as it stands is very progressive and democratic, and with the exception of Communistic phraseology and some Utopian ideas as for instance the abolition of family, is closely approaching the radical educational theories of " bourgeois " countries. The Soviet Government undoubtedly quite sincerely wished to realize it at that period. Unfortunately a certain place is also paved with good intentions. The practice was very far from the principles.

A universal and compulsory education was a Utopia in Russian conditions at that time. To achieve a universal primary education Russia required at least ten years of effective administration and great financial efforts. To achieve a universal secondary education perhaps half a century was a probable limit. In the conditions of relentless civil war and social upheaval it was beyond any practical possibility. In fact many schools were closed

during this period and the total number of pupils decreased considerably. We shall deal with this question in detail in Chapter VI. The principle of free education was actually realized and all schools, including Universities, were gratuitous. However, the complete devaluation of money at this period deprived the reform of its essential importance and the lack of accommodation made even primary education inaccessible to the majority of children.

Secularization of education was realized but the principle of neutrality was not followed in practice. The authorities began an official offensive against all Churches and against religion in general. The materialistic atheism was propagated as an official creed. We shall deal with this question in Chapter VIII.

Compulsory co-education in all schools was realized by very simple measure. All Girls Schools were ordered to accept by preference boys and all Boys' Schools to accept by preference girls. In a short time all schools became co-educational. It is questionable however if co-education is under all conditions better than separate education. In Russian conditions of that period this compulsory mixing of sexes had undesirable results. The authority of parents and teachers was greatly undermined by Communist propaganda and the pupils enjoyed almost unlimited freedom. In these conditions many girls and boys went astray.

The Ladder system was actually realized. The results however were unsatisfactory. The general level of instruction was lowered although the number of secondary schools was almost doubled by inclusion of old Intermediate schools in that group. We shall deal with this problem in Chapter VII.

The decentralization of administration was put into

practice in theory only but not in fact. All the local Soviets were dominated by local branches of the Communist Party, the latter however being strictly subordinated to the Central Committee of the Party. As the result of severe party discipline all the local branches followed the orders of the centre and therefore there was no real variation according to local conditions.

The practical achievements of new methods of instruction were very moderate if not negative. Amidst the extremely hard conditions of life during these years of civil war, famine and epidemics, the compulsory application of new methods by unprepared teachers could lead solely to a disorganization of instruction. The following picture taken verbally from a Soviet publication best of all describes the conditions in an ordinary rural school at that period. The author, a known Soviet writer S. Dzubinsky, relates his conversation with a rural teacher : " At first the teacher spoke timidly, stuttering and blushing. It seemed as if it was awkward for him to speak about his school and his work. ' My school is an entirely ordinary school, there is nothing in it which could please you. I work very quietly...' But later when after a talk it was clear to him that he is not the only one who works very quietly ' and that almost all schools are in the same conditions, he began to speak differently. ' However, I have collected something during the last years and could show you...' And he showed me a half-dark large attic. ' Come here please, we will look in chronological order. Here you can see what methods we used to apply from the very beginning of the Labour School...' The teacher talks and shows the work of his pupils, numerous drawings, maps etc... ' In the beginning when the method of self-help was introduced everything

was based on manual labour. We used to mend our desks, to wash the floors and walls. We did everything in order to provide for our needs ourselves.' 'But when did you have your general lessons?' 'Lessons we had none. We were too tired. We had no time for lessons... Later the heuristic method was applied, then the active-labour method which may be called the laboratory method and which is closely connected with the method of excursions. After that followed the method of concentration. But we were unable to stop on the 'Complex method'... The next was the Dalton Plan and everything was in working order, the children worked eagerly. But the peasants intervened and demanded that we should teach 'properly'... 'And how are you teaching at present?' 'Very simple. I work with all methods. In other words I am applying the pluralistic method.' 'And what are the results?' 'It seems that the results are good. Children are developing and reason about everything... But they read very badly. It is impossible to teach them to read and write with all these methods.' 'But why are you so eager to apply every new word in pedagogics which is not yet approved by experience in your rural school? Is it necessary to apply 'all methods?' The teacher looked with such astonishment as if he heard some heresy. 'I am eager? They want it. They demand it, they: the instructors, the Commissariat, Blonsky and others and others They shout from all sides: you must not teach with old methods. You dare work as you used to do and you shall be dismissed... You have to be progressive. It is clear therefore: you have to work in every way, you have to apply all methods. You understand, they torture us, said the teacher with agitation, an inspector arrives, he sees

we have no textbooks, no paper, no pencils and he still questions: Do you apply the 'Complex' method? Do you go for excursions? Do you do any planning with children? Well try to say that you do not... In our district it is very strict. The whole district works with all methods."

As it is seen from this short survey the Soviet Government succeeded in those measures alone which were negative in their character and failed, where new constructive work was necessary. Such measures as abolition of fees in secondary schools and Universities, prohibition of religious instruction in all schools or compulsory co-education could have been realized without any constructive effort of the authorities. All other reforms required long and labourious preparation and could not be introduced in a revolutionary manner by a stroke of the pen. As it often happens in history Utopian ideas when applied in practice work with the efficiency of a high explosive in destroying the past but are unable to build up anything new.

Apart from this failure the anarchist ideology of this period was soon recognized to be in disagreement with the proclaimed dictatorship of the proletariat and therefore wrong from the orthodox Marxist point of view. The advent of the communist society was postponed to an indefinite future and therefore the ideas of unlimited freedom and equality of opportunity were found to be premature.

In conclusion of this chapter we shall describe the unsuccessful attempt of nationalization of children. As already mentioned the Communists considered family life an obstacle to the realization of communistic society. "The family is individualistic and egotistic, the child educated in the family in most cases is antisocial and full of egotistic tendencies." (Lilina). According to official declarations

parents have no right to their children, who belong to the community or practically to the State which is the only visible organ of the community. In conformity with these ideas the Soviet Government embarked on its great experiment of establishing Children's Homes and State crêches. In 1913 Russia had 583 Children's Homes or as they were called at that time, Orphanages, with total number of 29.650 orphans. The great war and the civil war left many thousands orphans for whom nobody cared. The Soviet Government therefore had enough work even without trying to substitute family education with State Homes. During the first two or three years the Government established several thousands of new Homes with about half a million inmates. Unfortunately these Homes were instituted in old unsuitable buildings, the conditions were unhygienic, the supervision was defective and the results were deplorable. When the 'Workers' and Peasants' Inspection', investigated these Homes in Petrograd in 1920 if was found that during the first quarter of that year the mortality among children reached 90 % and the Inspection ordered the closing some of these institutions because of unhygienic conditions prevailing there. If such conditions prevailed in Petrograd, where Lilina herself was at the head of the Education Department, the conditions in the provincial Children's Homes were still worse. The experiment on a large scale was abandoned, the Government recognized its mistake and since 1920 the number of Children's Homes has continually decreased.

The general characteristic of this period is its maximalist spirit. The millenium should be established at once for the present generation. The two most important factors —time and money—were not considered at all. The new

rulers were unpractical dreamers and inexperienced administrators and thought that by publishing decrees they could achieve most sweeping reforms. The practical impossibility of such rapid progress led to a complete failure of the constructive side of their programme, but the Government ascribed it to the opposition of the Russian intelligentsia and began an embittered persecution of all non-communists. Many thousands of teachers and professors were imprisoned and even shot. Hundreds saved their life by emigrating abroad. Many others left the teaching profession and became merchants or clerks. The ranks of the profession were depleted considerably and the realization of universal education had to be postponed still further owing to the want of teachers. All these facts showed clearly that some change of policy was necessary. The Government recognized this necessity and disowned the anarchist ideas of the first period. The second period of Soviet policy was based on quite different aims. It seems strange that this change took place just when the introduction of the 'new economic policy' brought with it a certain improvement in economic conditions and with it a possibility of realizing at any rate a part of the original programme. But at that time the leading Communists treated their own early enthusiasm as a naive sentimental Utopia. The few experimental schools alone retained this original enthusiasm and belief in the ideas of integral freedom and equality. In some of them it brought forth actual results extremely interesting for all educationists, which proves once more how fruitful and effective can be the work of true pedagogues unmixed with political considerations. But unfortunately such schools are few, they are steadily decreasing in numbers, 195 in 1925 and only 138 in 1926, and in the majority

of cases they have been created by old educationists, whose ideas were formed a long time before the Revolution in the atmosphere of the old Russian movement of "free education". Such are for instance the " School colony " of Stanislaus Shatsky, formerly a follower of Leo Tolstoy, or the school of N. I. Popova, an old mistress of the Moscow Municipal schools and others. In 1926 N. Popova was dismissed from the headship in the school created by her, but S. Shatsky, who before the Revolution was a Constitutional- Democrat, joined the Communist Party, retained the direction of his " Experimental station " and even made a career in the Party. The orthodox Communists do not however consider these schools as their own and accused S. Shatsky before his conversion as a " petit-bourgeois " and " pseudo-socialist ". Nevertheless whenever a foreign delegation appears in Moscow the Communists invariably show these schools as their latest achievement. And just this, already faded in Russia, ideal continues to attract foreign educationists who see in the Russian Revolution a new revelation.

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CHAPTER III

THE SECOND PERIOD OF SOVIET EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The second period of Soviet policy in education is closely connected with the so called NEP or the New Economic Policy. NEP signifies the substitution of the ideals of the Communistic Utopia by the sober practice of State capitalism and the dictatorship of the Communist Party. In accordance with it the ideal of a " polytechnically " developed personality, living in the conditions of an equalized society, is replaced by an ideal of communistic-vocational education. As the advent of the ultimate ideal of an anarchist society, having no class division, is postponed to an indefinite future and the present " transitory " order is an order of State capitalism and of class dictatorship of the " proletariat ", so the task of the school evidently is to serve the requirements of the State industry and the Communist Party — the advance-guard of the proletariat, and not of a personality in general. The State as a huge capitalistic enterprise requires specialists and the Communist Party is in dire need of a new shift to replace the tired old guard. These two aims determine the new period of Soviet educational policy. The new conception was at first expounded by the Ukrainian Commissariat of Public Instruction and only later was adopted by the Commissariat of the Russian (R. S. F. S. R.) Republic as well. This ideology found its expression in the Ukrainian publications and practice of 1921 and 1922, in the Education Act of the R. S. F. S. R. of 1923, in the school syllabus of the " State Scientific Council "

(GUS) of the same year and in numerous publications of later years. Here no trace is left of the earlier enthusiasm. The aims of education are formulated quite definitely and practically, and the ideology has ceased to be a pure theory, but is ruthlessly put into practice. The character of followers of the new policy has also changed: they are no more dreamers and unrecognized reformers, representatives of radical educational theories, but practical opportunists, servile officials, the embittered failures of the old regime.

Already in 1922 the Ukrainian Commissariat officially declared that the new Labour School should be a class school in the interests of the proletariat as the working class. Equality of opportunity is no more an ideal, the dictatorship of proletariat is logically connected with privileges for the governing class. Secondly, the school was to be adapted to the requirements of the Soviet State industry. As the skilled labour engaged in it consists of three main groups: the mass of workers of lowest qualifications, the large group of skilled specialists and the top group of organizers and directors, so the Labour School should also be divided into three definite ways preparing workers for each group, in accordance with the demands of various Departments of the Board of Industry. Nominally the system continues to be called a Unified Labour School and the term "polytechnic education" is preserved in the official name of the Education Department which administers primary education. In fact, however, the evolution of the Soviet school since 1921 is an increasingly conscious denial of the original scheme of the Unified Labour Ladder system. It seems as if the two new aims of the new policy are specially directed to destroy the original ideal: the unity of the school-system is undermined by the expressed voca-

tionalism" (" professionalism ") of the new educational policy and its active (" labour ") character by the aim of creating a new intelligentsia, whose Communist orthodoxy could furnish a reliable instrument for perpetuating the Party dictatorship.

The new Education Act of 1923 was published on December 18, and thus introduced into the R. S. F. S. R. the ideas of the Ukrainian educationists. Let us quote it in detail. Article 3 gives a new division of grades. The School of the First Grade contains four age groups (8-12), the School of the Second Grade — five age groups (12-17). The latter however is divided into two steps (" concentra ") : the First " Cycle " with three years of instruction and the Second " Cycle " with two years of instruction. Article 5 confirms co-education in all schools. Article 6 confirms the prohibition of religious instruction. Article 7 proclaims the State monopoly of the school education, prohibiting all kinds of private schools, even the associations of parents formed for the purpose of home education. According to article 10 : " the responsible direction of the educational, financial and administrative activity of each school is entrusted to the Headmaster, who presides in the school council ". Article 11 states that the Headmaster is appointed by the local Education Department. Article 17 states that teachers are appointed and dismissed by the same Education Department. Article 19 states that the technical personnel (janitors etc.) however is appointed and dismissed by the Headmaster. Article 20 says that the School Council consists of all teachers, one representative of the lower personnel, and the school physician. The local branches of the Communist Party, of Trade Unions, local Soviets and the Communist Union of Youth

may also send their representatives. Article 22 states that the Headmaster, in case of his disapproval of the decisions of the School Council, can stop their application in practice. In exceptional cases the Headmaster has the right to undertake measures without preliminary discussion in the School Council (Article 23). According to Article 26 the entrance into the Unified Labour School is open to all children of the ages 8-17. In those cases when the actual accommodation does not permit to accept all children the preference must be given to children of working people. Article 32 says : The work of the school is based on the detailed theoretical and practical study of the labour 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 pupils and create knowledge of solidarity of Labour in its struggle with Capital as well as preparation for useful productive and political activity (Article 35). Article 36 requires the introduction of pupils' self-government in all schools, while Article 37 confirms the old precept of the radical education on the abolition of all kinds of penalties. These are the main points of the new Act.

Now let us analyse this law in comparison with the Act of 1918. We shall take point by point in detail. The aim of education is no longer to bring up a well-rounded personality, but a class-conscious proletarian vocationally prepared for some definite task. In order to achieve this aim the principles of the earlier legislation are in many cases entirely reversed. 1) Universal and compulsory primary and secondary education is not even mentioned in the new law. On the contrary, as the accom-

modation in the schools is sufficient only for about 50 % of the school population, Art. 26 definitely states that children of working people should have the preference. In practice that means that the local administrators can refuse to accept any child of any recalcitrant parent. 2) Free education for all is also omitted in the new Act. In practice fees were introduced not only in secondary schools, but in many primary schools as well. Only the children of the " governing " class, i. e. proletariat, are educated free. We must mention here again that primary education was always free in Russia even in the periods of the darkest reaction under the Tsars. 3) Secularization of education with the principle of neutrality towards religion is openly disavowed by the Government. The new legislation definitely prescribes the propagating of atheism as an official doctrine in all schools. In this way the schools are made narrowly denominational, because dogmatical atheism is in no way better than any other dogmatical creed. The ABC of Communism has taken the place of the old catechism but the same bigoted spirit remains. 4) Compulsory co-education in all schools is the only principle which remains unchanged. 5) A single Ladder system for all groups of the nation is not openly disowned, but in practice the name alone remained as the structure of the new system is adapted to the requirements of the State industry and the Communist Party, without any regard to the needs of the individual itself. We shall deal with this question later. 6) Freedom of local initiative with extreme decentralization of administration is abandoned as official policy. As we have seen from Articles 10, 19, 22 and 23 the Headmaster has autocratic powers and is in no way bound by the decisions of the School Council. As he is a

nominee of the Education Department it is clear that nothing is left of the autonomy of an individual school. Every District Education Department is strictly subordinated to the Provincial Education Department and all Provincial Departments are subordinated to the Republican Commissariat of Public Instruction. The decentralization was achieved only as regards the six component Republics of the Union and some national Republics of the R. S. F.S.R. but within each Republic the Commissariat of Public Instruction exercises a very strict control. 7) The idea of a Labour School in the sense of active and free methods of instruction has given way to a uniform " Labour curriculum " in the sense of a pure intellectual propaganda of the orthodox Communist dogma. The same may be said of the pupils' self-government which in the new conditions has degenerated into the rule of the privileged body of Communist Pioneers under the guidance of the Union of Communist Youth. We shall deal with these changes in chapters VIII and IX.

Thus from the ideas of the first period very little remains, As we have compared the ideology of the first period with the democratic Russian tradition and have shown their historical connection, so we shall try now to prove that the policy of the second period is similar to the absolutist policy of the reactionary periods of Russian history. The absolutist tradition was founded as a political theory during the reign of Nicholas I, (1825-1856). Just then, in the beginning of the thirties of the last century, the Minister of Public Instruction, Count S. Uvarov, in his reports to the Emperor, expounded his ideas on education. The absolute Russian monarchy was based on the privileged class of the gentry and on the institution of serfdom. In every

country, thought Count Uvarov, the educational system is called to uphold the established order. So it was in the Russia of Nicholas I. The education imparted to the sons of the nobility and the sons of the serfs could not be and should not be of the same character. The former were destined to rule and the latter to obey and to endure. Therefore the lower groups of the population must be prohibited from entering secondary schools and higher institutions. These were reserved for the privileged classes from which the Government recruited officers for the Army and Navy and civil servants for its many Departments. But as the Government required literate peasants to fill the posts of the lower officials in the villages, a net-work of primary schools was established in the country districts with that aim. Nicholas I, contrary to the opinion of Count Uvarov, insisted on purely utilitarian character of education. Both systems the primary schools and the secondary schools had to serve purely utilitarian purposes. But there was no connection between the two. The curriculum of all schools was adapted to the future professions of the pupils and did not aim at all at imparting a liberal education. Subjects of general cultural value as for instance classical languages, ancient history and philosophy were looked upon with suspicion as of no utilitarian value and promoting ideas dangerous to the established order. The aim of the education was not to prepare well-rounded personalities but specialists to fill the various Departments, and faithful servants of the autocratic monarchy. In full accordance with this the curriculum was imbued with three ideas : Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality. Everything unorthodox in religion or philosophy was excluded from the schools. Even the Chairs of Philosophy in the

Universities were abolished as the subject itself seemed to be dangerous. The history taught in the schools was a history of heroic exploits of the Tsars and their faithful followers. The main characteristic features of this system were : 1) different education for different social groups ; 2) utilitarian character of education imparted ; 3) intolerance towards unorthodox opinions and persecution of dissidents ; 4) partisan interpretation of history and other subjects ; 5) extreme centralization of administration ; 6) abolition of free secondary and University education ; 7) abolition of autonomy of the Universities ; 8) establishment of special exclusive boarding schools for the nobility, i. e. the governing class. If we look some pages further it would seem that we are describing the characteristic features of the second period of Soviet policy. Of course we do not presume that the Soviet Government quite consciously studied and imitated the educational policy of Nicholas I. The Russian absolutist tradition survived in many institutions side by side with the democratic tradition and the Soviet Government had no need to search the archives, because Russian life preserved sufficient traces of the old regime. There is no doubt however that the second absolutist period of Soviet policy in education continues the absolutist policy of Nicholas I. Certainly there are differences, but only in contents and not in form. The governing class of hereditary nobles is replaced now by the governing class of " hereditary proletarians ", the Orthodox faith by materialistic atheism, the dictatorship of Nicholas I by the dictatorship of Stalin, the extreme nationalism by extreme internationalism, but the essence of the whole order is the same. The schools have the same utilitarian aims, to prepare specialists for the governmental

Departments and faithful members of the Communist Party. To achieve these aims the same means are employed as those enumerated just above. Even such details as the abolition of the Chairs of Philosophy in the Universities and establishment of privileged boarding schools for the sons of the governing group are followed by the Soviet Government. At first sight the internationalism of the present rulers seems to be an exact opposition of the nationalism of Nicholas I, but both those theories are based on the same belief in Russia as a chosen land and on the same wish to dominate Europe or even the whole world from Moscow. We will not follow this analogy any further, but we think that the reactionary character of the present Government can be sufficiently proved by the reader himself from the subsequent chapters.

Let us see what practical results were attained during this period. Whereas the results of the first Utopian period may be styled a dramatic failure, the results of the more realistic second period might be presented as moderate success. The Government actually succeeded in preparing a new Party shift through the organization of the Union of Communist Youth and special boarding schools for young Communists. It is difficult to estimate how many of the young Communists joined the Party for the sake of a career and how many sincerely believe in its precepts. The fact is that about two million young people belong to the Communist organizations. The old guard can retire fairly assured that there will be enough new Communists to replace them. However, the old heroes of the civil war are one by one, very often against their own wish, replaced by the new Communist intelligentsia formed in the party schools. The other aim of the second period—

the preparation of experts for the various State Departments and for State industry and farms was not so satisfactorily realized. The general level of the present intelligentsia is even according to the official estimates lower than of the educated people of the old regime. The secondary school of this period would not even be described as such in Germany or France; they were in fact higher elementary schools which gave a very defective knowledge of such subjects as History, Languages, Literature, Science and Mathematics. The only subject which was studied in detail was Communistic doctrine and the History of the Revolutionary Struggle. The Universities and Technical Colleges had to deal with this imperfect material and in consequence had to lower their standards to the level of the new students. The new engineers, teachers, physicians and lawyers were not well educated generally and even their own speciality they knew quite superficially. There was certainly a minority among them, who, having risen from the ranks, owing to their determination and abilities, made up for the lack of general education by their thirst for knowledge and who undoubtedly will fill the gaps of their school education by reading and experience. As a rule however the new Communist experts very often are obliged to sacrifice the industrial and agircultural needs of the country to partisan aims. The severe discipline of the Party demands an unconditional obedience, so that the new experts often have to fulfil orders which they themselves consider unpractical.

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CHAPTER IV

MATERIAL BASIS OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM

The first Chapters gave a general outline of the Soviet educational policy, the following Chapters will study in detail the different sides of the present conditions. In this Chapter we have to deal with educational finances and with educational statistics. As Universities and vocational schools will be dealt with in separate Chapters we shall omit them at present from our considerations. In order to be able to compare the present policy with the pre-war conditions we shall give a short description of the educational finances under the State Duma during the decade 1906-1916. As already mentioned educational institutions were not concentrated under the Ministry of Public Instruction, but almost every other Department administered schools of its own, notably the Ministries of Trade and Commerce, of Agriculture, of Ways and Communications, the War Ministry, the Department of Maria Fedorovna, administering a large net of schools for girls, and the Holy Synod. Therefore the educational budget of the Empire greatly surpassed that of the Ministry of Public Instruction. But as this Ministry administered the great majority of schools and was specially designed for that purpose we shall study the educational finances of the old regime on the budget of the Ministry of Public Instruction. The total budget of the Ministry during the decade 1906-1916 increased from 44.121 thousand Rubles up to 165.159 thousand Rubles (£ 1 = 10 Rubles). The

expenditure on elementary education increased from 8.819.000 Rubles up to 72.336.000 Rubles and the percentage of the expenditure on elementary education to total budget of the Ministry rose from 20 to 43. These figures show clearly the process of democratization, which was going on with an increasing rate. The budget of the Ministry represented the expenditure of the central Government on secondary and higher education, on elementary schools directly administered by the Ministry and on the subventions to the local authorities for the introduction of universal education. The local authorities also spent large sums on education, raised from local rates. The provincial and district Zemstva increased their expenditure on education from 25.314.000 Rubles in 1905 up to 104.596.000 Rubles in 1914 and the Municipalities also increased their expenditure on education during this decade from 10.5 to 30 5 million Rubles. The system of grants which was working during this period was enacted by the Duma in 1908. According to it the Ministry agreed to pay subventions to all local authorities which undertook to establish a net of primary schools sufficient for universal education. The grants were calculated on the combined basis of the number of teachers and pupils. As the usual one-teacher class was about fifty pupils, so the Government paid for each fifty pupils an annual grant of 360 Rubles plus 60 Rubles for religious instruction for each 100 pupils. The total grant to each local authority was calculated by dividing the total number of pupils in primary schools of the given authority by fifty and multiplying by 390. In 1916 out of 441 District Zemstva 421 received these grants and out of 789 Municipalities 376 were on the Grant List. In the non-Zemstvo

provinces (i.e. provinces where local self-government was not introduced, such as Poland, Siberia, Caucasus and Turkestan) 96 Districts received grants on the same basis. Apart from these subventions a special fund was established for loans to local authorities for building new schools. The grant was bestowed only on the condition that all expenditure on building and maintenance should be taken over by the Zemstva and that the peasants' village communities should be exempted in future from this obligation.

Thus just before the Revolution the expenditure on elementary education was divided between the central and local authorities on equitable terms. In some Districts the subventions of the Government furnished the main source of the budget, in other places especially in many Municipalities, St. Petersburg included, primary schools were maintained entirely out of local rates. The majority of secondary and Higher Schools for males were State institutions maintained by the Treasury ; secondary and higher schools for girls on the contrary were in the greater part private or Municipal institutions subsidized by the Government, the chief source of their income being fees. The local authorities very often granted subsidies to secondary schools as well, but their grants played an insignificant role in the total expenditure on secondary and higher education of the country. The total expenditure on education of all central Departments in 1916 amounted to 270.775.000 Rubles or 8.2 % of the total budget of the Empire. In 1912 the total expenditure of the Treasury on education was 170.206.000 Rubles or 6.4 % of the total budget. During the last four years of the old regime the annual increase amounted to 25 million Rubles or in relation to the whole budget 0.5 % per annum. If we add the

expenditure on education from local sources the total sum will amount to about 350 million gold Rubles, besides which private sources furnished about 30 million Rubles per annum. These are the figures with which we have to compare the expenditure of the Soviet Government.

The first period of Soviet policy , the years 1918-1921, is a period of civil war and continuous inflation of the Russian Ruble. The frontiers of the R. S. F. S. R. were shifted all the time by the opposing armies and roughly coincided with the " Great-Russian " provinces of European Russia. The value of the Ruble depreciated every day and at the end of the period was almost nothing. In these circumstances to give figures which could be compared with the pre-war data is almost impossible. As the Soviet Government nationalized all private schools, the budget of the Commissariat of Public Instruction included the expenditure on all those schools which were maintained formerly by private donations and fees. On the other hand the new Soviet local authorities were not yet organized, the local rates were not collected and the Government had to maintain all schools from appropriations from the general funds of the Republic. Thus the budget of the Commissariat of this period is hardly comparable with the educational budget of the Imperial Government. During 1918 the Soviet Government expended on education 3.074.343.000 Rubles or 6.6 % of the total budget ; in 1919 the expenditure owing to the continuing depreciation of paper money rose to 17.279.343.000 Rubles or 8 % of the total budget and in 1920 to 114.366.070.000 Rubles or 10.9 %. The only figures which could be compared for this period are the percentages of the expenditure on education to the total budget. If we consider that local

rates furnished more than one third of the total pre-war expenditure on education, then the Soviet figure of 10.9 % for 1920 did not exceed the figure of 8.2 % spent by the central Government on education in 1916.

With the end of civil war the territory of Soviet Russia almost coincided with the Russia proper of the late Empire. The Government could pay more attention to the problems of administration and finances and the second period of Soviet policy witnessed an entire reorganization of the educational budget. The complete centralization of expenditure in the hands of the Commissariat of Public Instruction was replaced by a division of financial burdens between central and local authorities. According to the decree of 10 December, 1921, the local authorities had to maintain out of local sources the following institutions : 1) all Children's Homes, Kindergartens, and other institutions of pre-school period for normal children, 2) all institutions for adult education (theatres, libraries, schools for illiterates and the like), 3) vocational schools partly out of local rates and partly out of the funds of the Commissariat, 4) all expenditure on repair and equipment of these institutions and the new buildings. The ordinary primary and secondary schools and the Universities remained in the budget of the Commissariat. But this distribution of financial burdens did not remain for long unchanged. Every year more and more expenses were relegated to the local authorities. According to the decrees of 12 November, 1923 and 29 October, 1924 and lastly of 25 April 1926, local authorities have to maintain out of local sources all schools, including primary and secondary schools as well. The Universities, Higher Technical Colleges, Junior Technical Schools, Party Schools and Workers Faculties alone

remained in the budgets of Commissariats of Public Instruction of the six Republics. We have to mention here that according to the Constitution of the Union, adopted on July 6, 1923, the expenditure and administration on Education, Health and Social Welfare are exempted from the competence of the Union Government and relegated to the Governments of the six " independent Republics ". Thus in order to find out the expenditure of the whole Union on education we have to sum up the expenditure of the federal Government of the Union with the expenditure of the six independent Republics : 1) R. S. F. S. R.—Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, 2) U. S. S. R.—Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, 3) B. S. S. R.—White-Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, 4) Z. S. F. S. R.—Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, 5) UZ. S. S. R.—Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic and 6) T. S. S. R.—Turkoman Socialist Soviet Republic. The last two republics are formed out of Russian Turkestan and the former dependencies of Bokhara and Khiva.

The following table gives the total expenditure of the central Government of the Union plus the total expenditure of central governments of the six Republics, and the expenditure on education by the federal Government and the governments of the six Republics in millions of Rubles :

Years	Total expenditure	Federal expenditure on education	Expenditure on educ. of 6 Repub.	%% of exp. on education to total
1922–23	1,463.5	—	56.1	3.8
1923–24	2,267.1	19.5	83.3	4.5
1924–25	2,902.2	26.7	122.9	5.1
1925–26	3,980.7	40.8	161.7	5.1
1926–27	5,225.0	46.7	188.1	4.5
1927–28	6,449.5	89.0	191.9	4.3

The next table gives the expenditure on education from all central sources and from local sources and their ratio, in millions of Rubles :

Years	Local	%%	Central	%%	Total expenditure on education
1923–24	161.4	61.1	102.8	38.9	264.2
1924–25	231.7	60.7	149.6	39.3	381.3
1925–26	335.1	62.3	202.5	37.7	537.6
1926–27	471.7	66.4	234.8	33.6	706.5
1927–28	567.8	66.9	280.9	33.1	848.7

We see how the legislation of 1924 affected the distribution of financial burdens. The participation of central governments decreases continuously and from 39.3 % fell to 33.1 %. In pre-war Russia the ratio was just reversed and the local authorities had to provide only about 40 % whereas the central Government furnished the rest or 60 %.

Now let us see the ratio of the expenditure on education to the total expenditure out of local sources. In 1914 the expenditure of Zemstva local authorities on education equalled to 31.1 % of the total local expenditure. The Soviet figures for the whole Union are the following :

Years	Local Expenditure			
	Total	On Education	%%	in million Rubles
1923–24	649.4	161.4	24.8	
1924–25	1,020.6	231.7	22.7	
1925–26	1,437.2	335.1	23.3	
1926–27	1,914.7	471.7	24.6	
1927–28	2,131.8	567.8	26.6	assigned

From these figures we see that the local authorities

have not yet reached the pre-war ratio. The central authorities are however far behind the pre-war figures. The next table shows the comparative figures of the percentages of educational expenditures to total expenditure :

Central	in 1916 — 8.2 %	in 1927-28 — 4.3 %
Local	in 1914 — 31.1 %	in 1927-28 — 26.6 %

Now let us compare the absolute figures. In this case is better to take the data of 1913-14 because that was the last year when the Ruble was equal to its gold value. In that year the total expenditure on education of central and local authorities according to Soviet statisticians (P. Grigoriev) equalled 381.4 million gold Rubles or for the population of 175 million it amounted to 2.18 gold Rubles per head. Lunacharsky in 1925 gave even larger figures. He calculated for the R. S. F. S. R. territory 2.93 gold Rubles per head in 1913. For the same territory he gave the following figures for Soviet years : 1923—1.75 Rubles, 1924—2.68 Rubles and 1925-26—3,68 Rubles. Reducing the Chervonets Rubles to gold Rubles Lunacharsky gets to a figure of 1.84 gold Rubles per head in 1925-26. We can calculate these figures for the whole Union, as the total population of the country increased from 138.5 million in 1924 to 147 million in 1926. Therefore the total educational expenditure per head equalled 2.5 chervonets Rubles in 1924-25 and 4.83 chervonets Rubles in 1926-27. Reducing these sums to the gold Rubles, according to the estimates of Soviet experts, we get the figures : 1.24 Rubles for 1924-25 and 2.30 gold Rubles for 1926-27. The assigned expenditure for 1927-28 if realized will slightly exceed the latter figure. The result is that only in 1927-28 did the Soviet Government approach the pre-war level in

absolute expenditure on education. The Soviet statistician P. N. Grigoriev gives slightly different figures which we will give in the form of a table. All data are for the year 1926-27. In millions of Rubles :

Expenditure	Total	On Education	%% to the total	Population in million	Expenditure per head
					Rubles
A) Pre-war	4.270,1	381.4	8.9	175.1	2.18
B) Soviet					
a) Chervonets	5.949.5	617.5	10.4	146.9	4.20
b) Gold Rubles	2.778.9	287.2	—	—	1.96
%% relation to pre-war	65.2	75.0	—	—	89 9

It is very interesting to compare the expenditure of the six Republics of the Union. The absolute figures are given in the appendix, here we give the percentage of the population and of the expenditure on education from central sources :

	%% of total population		%% central expenditure on educ. in 1924-25		in 1927-28	
Russia	68.6		63.5		57.5	
Ukraine	19.8	91.8	17	85.5	22.5	85
White Russia	3.4		2		5	
Transcaucasia	3.9		10		8.1	
Uzbekistan	3.6	8.2	3	14.5	5.2	15
Turkmenistan	0.7		1.5		1.7	

This table shows that the pure Russian provinces spend less per head than the non-Russian provinces. The same takes place inside the R. S. F. S. R. where the autonomous national Republics spend more from central sources per head than the Russian provinces. We shall speak about this policy in detail in Chapter XIII on national minorities.

Two more questions should be mentioned here before we pass to the statistics. We have not got the detailed figures and have to quote P. N. Grigoriev again. According to his calculations for the year 1925-26 the main part of the local budget is borne by the peasant communities. The cantons and villages furnish from 40.6 to 62.8 % of the total local budget on education. The primary schools are maintained almost entirely by peasant communities. In 1925-26 in R. S. F. S. R. the cantonal peasant communities had to provide 74.2 % of the total expenditure on primary schools. Such conditions existed in Russia only in the sixties of the last century when the newly established Zemstva very reluctantly spent money on education. But with every year the District and Provincial Zemstva increased their participation in the educational budget and during the last years of the old regime the State and the Zemstva covered about 95 % and the peasant communities only about 5 % of the total expenditure on elementary education. The other point is the ratio of the expenditure on primary schools to the total expenditure on education. In the budget of the Imperial Government 43 % of the total expenditure on education were taken by elementary schools and 57 % by secondary and higher education. The six central governments of the Soviet Union spend only 10.6 % of their educational budget on primary schools. The former Zemstva and Municipalities spent from 70 % to

95 % of their total educational budget on elementary schools the present local authorities allot to primary schools only 41 %. The conclusion is obvious that the financial burdens were distributed more equitably in pre-war Russia.

In order to appreciate correctly the material conditions of the Soviet school system it is necessary to know some figures as they are given in the official Soviet statistics. As already mentioned the schools in pre-war Russia were distributed among many Ministries and were not centralized under the Ministry of Public Instruction. The Holy Synod, The Ministry of War, the Ministry of Ways and Communications and the Ministry of Agriculture had their own systems of schools. Apart from the State schools there existed many schools of different denominations. The total number of elementary schools maintained by the State in 1915 was 116.234, with 8.039.987 pupils (for the Russian Empire without Poland and Finland). The number of denominational schools (Jewish and Mahomeddan) in 1912 was 15.000, with about 500.000 pupils. In order to compare with the figures of Soviet Russia we have to subtract the territories of the Baltic border States, Bessarabia and the provinces ceded to Poland. This work was done by the Soviet statisticians and according to their calculations there were on the territory of the present Union of Soviet Republics in 1914-15 104.610 elementary schools with 7.235.988 pupils. During the first period of Soviet policy new elementary schools were founded without any system or plan. The thirst for knowledge among peasants stimulated by the Revolution was so great that they themselves founded schools without inquiring of the authorities if they were able to maintain them. This happened not only in Soviet Russia but also in those

parts of Russia which were under the jurisdiction of the White Armies. The figures for 42 central provinces are alone available. In 1918-19 in this part of Russia not less than 4.065 new elementary schools were opened. In 1919-20 2.726 and in 1920-21 2.756; during the first three years of the civil war one part of Russia opened 9.547 new schools. In 1920-21 the total number of primary schools for the whole Union reached the figure of 114.235 schools with 9.211.351 pupils. As already mentioned the finances were centralized during this period and the paper Ruble was depreciating every day. The sums allocated from Moscow were insufficient and arrived always too late, having depreciated on the way. When the peasants realized that they had to maintain the schools themselves they began to close them. The next year 1921-22 shows a decrease of 15 000 schools and the year 1922-23 gives only 87.559 schools with 6.808.157 pupils. In two years of famine 27.000 schools were closed. After that year the conditions gradually improved, the administration and finances were put into comparative order and the number of schools and pupils in them began to rise. In 1927-28 the number of primary schools reached the figure of 116.373 with 10.503.000 pupils. In the Appendices we give detailed tables of the growth and distribution of primary schools. Here we shall only note that the undoubted growth of the number of pupils in the primary schools is not accompanied by a corresponding increase of the expenditure. Thus according to the official figures the average expenditure for the whole Union on one pupil in 1924-25 was 11.77 Chervonets Rubles, which means only 5.47 Gold Rubles, whereas in 1910 the 31 Zemstvo provinces expended 11. 69 Rubles per pupil on an

average. That means that in 1924-25 the sum equalled only 46.8 % of the pre-war expenditure. Lunacharsky in his speach, published in "Izvestia", September 20, 1926, said that "in 1926 we expended 18 Chervonets Rubles per pupil, or 40 % less than was expended by the Tsarist Government! It is also essential to note that the lion's part of this expenditure is taken by teachers salaries (81.5 %), whilst in 1910 the Zemstvo schools spent for this purpose only 52.6 % of their budget." Lunacharsky therefore quite rightly said in the same speech that "the bare school which can only maintain its teacher and is unable to spend anything on other needs of the pupils is becoming useless".

Whereas the primary schools were left almost unchanged by the Revolution the fate of secondary schools was different. The introduction of the Ladder system had cut the old secondary schools into two parts, the lower four years joined primary schools and the upper four years were separated into the Schools of the Second Grade. All the Intermediate Schools of the old regime were raised in their rank and joined the upper divisions of secondary schools as Schools of the Second Grade. We shall deal with this question in detail in Chapter VII; here we are concerned with the statistics only. Owing to the changes in the classification it is difficult to compare the pre-war figures with the Soviet data. The total number of secondary schools in the Empire without Poland and Finland just before the Revolution reached the figure of about 2.400 schools with 720.000 pupils. The Soviet statisticians have calculated the figures for the present territory of the Union; according to them in 1914-15 there were altogether 1.790 secondary schools with 565.000 pupils in the borders

of the present Union. The number of Intermediate Schools on the present territory was about 1.500 schools with 200.000 pupils. During the first years the Schools of the Second Grade were founded by hundreds. In the 42 central provinces in 1918-19 397 new schools of the Second Grade were opened, in 1919-20 346 new schools and in 1920-21 211 new schools. It is interesting to note that out of 950 new schools 750 were opened in the villages. This result was not so much due to the conscious policy of the Government as to the demands of the peasantry itself. The figures for the whole Union for 1920-21 give 4.163 Schools of the Second Grade with 569 thousand pupils. In order to understand the discrepancy of these figures with the figures for 1914-15 (1.790 schools with 565.000 pupils) we have to explain how these numbers were arrived at. The 1.500 Intermediate schools with about 200.000 pupils were added to this category and thus with the newly opened schools the total number reached the figure of 4.163 schools. The number of pupils however did not increase because the lower classes of former secondary schools were cut off and the majority of new schools had only one or two classes. After that year the number of schools began to decrease and the number of pupils to increase. It is explained partly by the addition of a year to the course of the second grade and partly by the restoration of former secondary schools with a nine years course. Many schools were closed altogether after the decree of August 31, 1925, which established a certain proportion of secondary schools to the primary schools. The last figures for 1927-28 give the number of secondary schools as 1.811 with 870.000 pupils. The detailed figures are given in the appendices.

In conclusion of this chapter we shall mention the condition of the school-buildings. During the Revolution and civil war hundreds of school-buildings were either entirely destroyed or brought into such condition that a capital repair was necessary. Unfortunately during the first period it was almost impossible. The majority of the new schools opened during this period had to work as a second shift in already existing school-buildings. The figures for forty provinces of central Russia show that whereas during the four years 1914-17 4.934 new buildings were erected out of which 3.440 were specially designed for schools, during the three years of civil war only 1.894 new buildings were provided for new schools, out of which only 657 were specially designed for schools. Therefore about 8.000 new schools had to work as a second shift. The existing school-buildings were in the majority of cases very small. Thus the schools with one room formed 48.5 % of the total number, with two rooms 30.1 %, with three rooms 11.0 % , with four rooms 4.4 % and with five and more 6 %. When the conditions became more normal the building of schools was resumed. The sums assigned to that purpose however are very insufficient. As we remember the Imperial Government assigned yearly for that purpose 10 million gold Rubles and the actual expenditure in 1914 reached 22 million Rubles. The local authorities added to that even more. The following table gives the figures for the period 1924-27. The sums expended on building new schools and on capital repair from central and local sources :

IN THOUSAND RUBLES

	1924–25	1925–26	1926–27
CENTRAL			
on building	2.785	4.188	12.543
on cap. repair	4.176	7.113	8.951
Total	6.961	11.301	21.494
LOCAL			
on building	1.300	5.952	12.946
on cap. repair	10.591	17.816	17.322
Total	11.891	23.768	30.268

We have to reduce the chervonets Rubles to the gold standard and then we shall see that even in 1927 the Soviet Government had not reached the pre-war figures.

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CHAPTER V

The Teachers

Teachers are the driving force of any educational reform. Without their active cooperation all the regulations and most radical legislation of the Government remain on paper and achieve but little. We have therefore to devote a special chapter to this profession. In old Russia as in all other countries there were three distinct groups in the teaching profession. At the top were the University teachers, who were considered as State officials, received civil ranks and were comparatively well off. The second group was composed of secondary school masters, usually graduates of a University, who also were State officials and were awarded civil ranks. Their salaries however were not quite adequate to their social standing and the majority of them had to look for some additional work beside their permanent posts. The third group consisted of primary school teachers. The great majority of them were not considered as State officials, had no exemption from military service as the other two groups and received no civil ranks. Their salaries were quite inadequate and the majority of rural teachers owned or leased small farms as a source of additional income. In distinction to some other countries, in Russia there was no class feeling between the groups, and all teachers, including University professors considered themselves as members of one profession engaged in the same work. There was rather a tradition among Russian Liberal and Radical circles to idealize the rural teacher

and to compare his work to that of a religious missionary. There were many instances of University graduates voluntarily becoming primary school teachers in rural communities, although they had every opportunity of getting a post in a town secondary school. The political parties vied with each other in paying compliments to the selfsacrificing work of rural teachers. Rural teachers themselves were very proud of their cultural role among the peasantry and although they sometimes envied the better salaries and social standing of the other two groups they would never consent to acknowledge any inferiority. A great part of primary teachers were peasants by origin, were closely connected in their daily life with the rest of the peasants and were rightly considered by the other two groups of the profession as true representatives of the people. They took an active part in the Russian revolutionary movement and thousands of them were arrested and banished during the old regime. The secondary school masters were not so radical as a group, the headmasters and senior assistant masters as a rule were stout Conservatives and only among the younger assistant masters and teachers of private secondary schools active revolutionaries were met. The University teachers in their majority were moderate Liberals, although there was a group of diehard Conservatives among them. It is not astonishing therefore that in 1905, when the semi-political All-Russian Teachers' Union was formed, the primary teachers were the initiators and took the leading part. The University teachers formed a separate Academic Union but many of them were members of the general union as well. In Russia the unity of profession was thus achieved earlier than in Western Europe. The social

standing of Russian teachers was much higher than that of their European colleagues. Not only teachers of the Universities and secondary schools but rural teachers of primary schools as well were accepted among the intelligentsia as equal members. In this respect Russian educated society was very democratic. Among the peasantry and the lower groups of town population teachers were esteemed and honoured perhaps even more than clergymen. In rural districts teachers were the centre of every activity. They were schoolmasters in the school, organizers of co-operatives and mutual-aid societies in the village, advisers in agricultural questions and lastly, the political leaders of the peasantry. Such was the body on whose cooperation the success of the Communist educational policy greatly depended.

The training of teachers was almost exclusively in the hands of the central Government. There were some training colleges established by the Zemstva but even these few institutions were supervised by the Government and had to follow the Governmental regulations. The teachers of primary schools were trained either in Teachers' Seminaries (men) or in the pedagogical grade of the Girls' Gymnasia (women). As these two sources were insufficient to fill all the vacancies the graduates of the clerical seminaries, of diocese schools for the daughters of the clergy, of boys secondary schools and even people with home education were often appointed as teachers of primary schools. The teachers of Higher Elementary or Intermediate Schools were trained in Teachers' Institutes which can be described as higher institutions with ample general and professional education. In 1915 there were in Russia (without Poland and Finland) 43 Teachers' Institutes and 168 Teachers'

Seminaries. In 1916 another 5 Institutes and 25 Seminaries were founded. Teachers of secondary schools were usually graduates of the Faculties of Arts and Science of the Universities.

The Soviet Government abolished the difference between the Teachers' Seminaries and Institutes and transformed them into Educational Technicums with a three years' course based on a seven-years' elementary and intermediate course. In 1927 there were 375 Educational Technicums with 57.722 students. These institutions train teachers for primary schools, Kindergartens and lower political schools. In the Ukraine besides them are about 100 two-year Educational Courses with almost 9.000 students trained for the same aim and many primary teachers are trained in the " pedagogical sections " of the Second " Cycle " of the Secondary Schools with a two-years course of study. The education and training of a future primary school teacher therefore lasts from 9 to 10 years, including the primary school. Teachers of Secondary Schools are trained in separate Educational Institutes or in Educational Faculties of the Universities where the vocational training is combined with a general academic and political education. In 1928 there were 27 Institutes with 15.886 students and 15 Educational Faculties with about 9.000 students. The course of these institutions usually lasts four years and the students are supposed to have received a complete secondary education. The majority of Secondary Schools, however, include primary grades and the appointment of teachers is more dependent on political qualifications than on vocational training thus making in practice little difference between the teachers of primary and secondary schools. In 1927 out of a total

number of teachers in secondary schools only 47 % were graduates and only 58.2 % former students of higher institutions. The present standard therefore is considerably lower than in pre-war times when the non-graduate teachers were an exception in secondary schools and were allowed to teach only in the lower grades or the non-academic subjects as music, gymnastics etc.

The composition of the body of students in the Training Colleges in 1914 and 1925 gives an idea of the classes from which the teachers are drawn. In 1914 the students were children of the following groups in%%:

In	Gentry and Officials	Workers and Craftsmen	Peasants	Others
Teachers' Institutes	2.6	20.7	72.5	4.2
Teachers' Seminaries	2.8	14.1	78.6	4.5

In 1925 the students were children of the following groups in %%:

In	Officials	Workers	Peasants	Craftsmen	Others
Institutes of Education	34.8	15.5	31.0	2.9	15.8
Technicums	20.4	14.6	53.8	2.5	8.7

As is seen from these tables the number of peasants in the Training Colleges is considerably less at present than it was before the Revolution.

The salaries of teachers, as already mentioned, were insufficient during the old regime. According to the last scale established during the Duma period the teachers of primary schools received an original salary of 30 Rubles

per month with increments of 5 Rubles for every five years of service. Thus after twenty years' service the teacher received 50 Rubles per month. This was quite insufficient for an aged teacher with a family. The teachers of secondary schools usually received per annum 75 Rubles for an hour per week, so that for 24 hours per week the teacher received 150 Rubles per month. A class master received an additional salary and there were increments for every five years of service. The average salary thus amounted to about 200 Rubles per month. The salaries of Professors and Readers were usually from 250 Rubles per month, which was the lowest standard salary, up to 600 and more in case of numerous faculties. The Revolution considerably lowered the general standard of living and with it the scale of salaries. During the first period of the Soviet Government the continuous devaluation of paper money renders it quite impossible to calculate the real value of the Teachers' salaries, but undoubtedly it was many times lower than before the Revolution. When the Soviet finances were stabilized on the basis of Chervonets Ruble the salary scales were also stabilized, although owing to the continuous devaluation of the Chervonets they are revised every year. Thus the average salaries of teachers of the R. S. F. S. R. for 1922-24 for different types of schools were as follows : (per month in Chervonets Rubles) :

Institutions	September 1922-23	September 1923-24
Mass schools of the I & II grade	7.76	9.18
Vocational schools	8.67	12.00
Political schools	8.87	10.00
Experimental sch.	21.90	25.00

Institutions	September 1922-23	September 1923-24
Workers Faculties, Universities & H. Inst.	30.30	48.48
Scientific Instit.	31.41	47.74
Soviet Party Schools	14.67	33.90
Communist Universit.	47.00	48.14

The salaries of teachers of primary and secondary schools are the lowest on the scale and the salaries of partisan schools the highest. For later years we have average yearly salaries for different republics and different groups of schools. We shall give only the figures for the R. S. F. S. R. in detail as the figures for the whole Union almost coincide with them. Thus in this Republic teachers received per month in Chervonets Rubles : (average)

Institutions	1925–26	1926–27	1927–28 (1st quarter)	
Universities	72.11	78.66	88.89	(Professors in 1927 — 101 R. and in 1928 — 140 R.)
Schools in larger cities	47.67	55.75	64.35	
Schools in smaller towns	37.72	45.28	50.45	
Schools in rural districts	31.84	36.48	41.47	

The official scale for the teachers of the schools of the I grade and of the II grade was as follows (the given above figures being an average of both) :

For R. S. F. S. R.	1925–26	1926–27	1927–28
Teachers of sch. of I grade	32	37	47.46
Teachers of sch. of II grade.	45	55	75.19

In the White Russian Republic the salaries are more or less identical with those of the R. S. F. S. R., in the Ukrainian and Transcaucasian Republics the scale is slightly higher, but in the two Asiatic Republics — Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan — the scales are considerably higher than in Europe. Thus the teachers of University rank received from 101 to 178 Chervonets Rubles, the teachers in towns from 70 to 93 and the rural teachers about 70 Rubles. This higher scale is explained by the lack of native teachers and the necessity of transferring teachers from Europe. The authorities are very often in arrears in paying teachers' salaries and some time several months pass before the due amount is fully paid. Even during the last year, 1929, the position has not improved. According to the data of theofficial Uchitelskaya Gazeta (Teachers Weekly) of 3 March, 1929, the Departments of Education owed teachers the following amounts: in Kuban district—64.710 Rubles, in Don district—61.733 R., in Armavir district—7.885 R., in Shakhta district—6.601 R. and in Black Sea district—7.852 Rubles. The present salaries if reduced to their gold value are only a fraction of pre-war salaries, for the teachers of primary schools amounting only to 60 % and for the teachers of secondary and higher schools to 20 % of pre-war salaries. The solemn promise of Lenin that the proletarian Government will pay its teachers much higher salaries than the bourgeois states remains thus unfulfilled.

The insurance system of the Soviet Government includes insuring of "invalids of labour" (old age pensions), crippled workers and the families of both categories. The pensions however are insufficient and usually amount to about one third of the salary. The insurance of unemployed

teachers is on the same lines as of industrial workers. Unemployed members of trade-unions receive one third of their salary for a period of nine months in a year and up to 18 months for one period of unemployment. If we consider that salaries for lower groups are under the existence minimum, then it is clear that a third part of it is quite inadequate even for bare existence. Gratuitous medical assistance and low charges for rooms slightly alleviate the position of retired teachers but cannot replace the lack of income. The teachers in Soviet Russia are most conspicuously underpaid and receive remuneration on a lower scale than industrial workers. Thus the average wages of manual workers in Soviet industry were in 1926 — 65 Rubles, and in 1928 — 75.4 Rubles, primary teachers 37 and 47 Rubles. The number of unemployed teachers comparatively is very great, about eleven percent of the total number of teachers. The absolute number of unemployed is slowly but constantly growing. Thus in 1926 — there were 74.000 unemployed teachers, in 1927 84.900 and in 1928 — 86.700 This fact is all the more incomprehensible as the school net-work is insufficient and only covers 70-75 % of children and is supposed to be increasing steadily so that many schools complain of shortage of teachers. The causes of unemployment are many: besides the lack of finance and low salaries which compel many urban teachers to combine two or three posts in several schools working on a shift system, one of the important causes of the unemployment is the transforming of Russian schools into native in all autonomous republics and areas. Thus the unemployed teachers are almost without exception Russians, whilst the members of national minorities are always sure to find a post.

The trade-union movement among Russian teachers is very young. The tsarist Government prohibited any unions among teachers, which had any professional or political character. Only societies for mutual aid and co-operatives were tolerated by the authorities. But even these societies could unite teachers of a small locality and any federation of such societies on a national scale was strictly forbidden. Thus the All-Russian Teachers Union was founded only in 1905 when the authority of the Government was badly shaken by the revolution. In these circumstances the Teachers' Union had a pronounced political character and was more like a radical political party than a non-political trade-union. As soon as the authority of the Government was more or less stabilized the Union was prohibited and continued to exist illegally. As a legal organization the Union was revived immediately after the Revolution of 1917 when early in the spring four regional congresses were held in St. Petersburg, Moscow Odessa and Kiev, which were followed by an All-Russian Congress of the Union in Petersburg. The Union was a professional body with a certain political programme of a democratic character. Teachers of all existing educational institutions as well as private tutors were eligible for membership and the great majority of them actually joined the Union. The Union as a democratic body was emphatically against the dictatorship of the Communist Party and during the first months of the Soviet Government even participated in the political struggle. The Soviet Government from the outset retaliated with drastic measures. The Union was officially dissolved and a new Union of Internationalist Teachers was formed under the patronage of the Government. This device was however not quite successful, very

few of the pro-communist teachers entering the new Union and the great majority of teachers remaining in opposition. Then the Government decided to organize teachers on the so called " industrial " basis. As in industry workers and officials were organized in single industrial trade-unions irrespective of the work performed and in accordance with the division of industry into branches, so all the teachers, clerks, officials and manual workers engaged by the Commissariat of Public Instruction were united into one trade-union of " workers of public instruction ". In this way the communist officials and clerks plus the janitors and other manual workers could counterbalance the influence of actual teachers in the new union. The membership is officially voluntary but in practice is compulsory as non-members cannot get any posts and are deprived of many privileges which members enjoy. Therefore the membership is continuously rising. Thus in 1923 there were 382.000 members, in 1925, 551.000, in 1926, 710.000, in 1927, 754.000 and in 1928, 798.000. Not all of them are teachers about one quarter are clerks and janitors. The students of training colleges are also members of the union, and form about 8 % of the total membership. The great majority of teachers are non-partymen. Thus in 1927 only 4.8 % of rural teachers, 8.9 % of urban teachers and 5.6 % of University teachers belonged to the Communist Party. If we add even the 8 8 % of young primary teachers who belonged to the Union of Communist Youth we shall get less than 9 % of the whole body of teachers who could be fairly called adherents of Communism But the direction of the Union affairs is entirely in the hands of the Communists. The cantonal committees have 12 % of Communists, the District Committees 36%, the

Provincial Commitees 56 % the Central All-Russian Committee 84 % and in the Executive 100 % of members are Communists. In this way the Party controls the whole Union.

Participation in management and in determination of educational policy was always one of the demands of Teachers' Unions. During the old regime the teachers had no powers whatever in this respect, and were strictly subordinated to the authorities. The Revolution of 1917 at first seemed to change the position entirely. The All-Russian Teachers' Union sent their representatives to the State Committee of Education which was the Consultative Commitee of the Ministry. The local education committees of Zemstva and Municipalities included, to about one third of their members, the representatives of local teachers unions. The posts of headmasters had become elective and sometimes even the posts of Directors of Education were filled after a consultation with the local branch of the Teachers' Union. With the advent of the Soviet Government during the first period of its educational policy the position remained officially unchanged, but when the All-Russian Union was dissolved the authorities consulted the Union of Internationalist Teachers, which united the pro-communist teachers alone and did not represent the teachers at large. As we have seen, the second period of Soviet policy abolished even that small amount of teachers' participation in management which had been tolerated during the first period. At present, although the Central Committee of the new Union has some powers and influence, it consists of Communists alone and as members of the Party they have to follow the orders of the Party and not the interests of their Union. The

ordinary members of the teaching profession have no influence whatever and are entirely in the hands of the Communist authorities.

As a result the status of teachers at present is much worse than it was even during the old regime. Supervised officially by Communist Inspectors and unofficially by every member of the Party or even of the Komsomol (Union of Communist Youth) the teachers are liable to punishment and dismissal for every voluntary and involuntary mistake in interpreting the official doctrine. Beside their usual school duties they have to participate in all official celebrations and to take an active part in an anti-god propaganda and any kind of propaganda which the authorities prescribe. They have to express views and beliefs which they do not share and they dare not express openly their religious views if they have any. The majority of teachers are women. This process was accelerated by War and Revolution so that in 1927 71 % of primary teachers were women, in secondary schools they were still in a minority forming only 42.3 %, but with every year their relative number increases. However low the status of men teachers is, the position of women teachers is especially deplorable. Completely dependent on the Communist Chairman of their local authority they sometimes are compelled to concede to their immoral demands in order to retain their posts. Unfortunately such cases have occurred too often during the last years. In 1928 the official weekly of the Union "Uchitelskaya Gazeta" thought even necessary to issue a special number (N.43) devoted to the "impossible outlaw position of the female educational worker in the country". The remuneration of teachers is so low that they cannot properly clothe

themselves and often are an object of ridicule to the population. In these circumstances only exceptional enthusiasts or hopeless failures can join the profession. The lot of a teacher is so unenviable that during the last years is noticed a growing shortage of students in Educational Technicums and Institutes. Thus in 1929 in the institutions of R. S. F. S. R. one fourth of all vacancies remained unfilled. In particular the privileged Communist youth avoids the career of a teacher. Luckily for Russian schools the corps of teachers left by the old regime are still unexhausted and even now form the majority. It is impossible to withhold admiration for the courage and endurance with which they carry on their responsible work. Only the firm belief that they are working for the better future of Russia can give them strength to perform their duties. It is astonishing how in this environment they still attain positive results and apply new methods and new ideas. We hope that the time will come when Russia will solemnly acknowledge her indebtedness to this profession.

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CHAPTER VI

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

The problem of universal and compulsory education occupied the attention of Russian statesmen a long time ago. The first attempt to introduce compulsory education was made by Peter the Great. By his Ukaz of February 28, 1714, all boys of all orders were ordered to attend schools from the age of ten to fifteen. But the gentry was very much opposed to compulsory education and on January 18, 1716, they were exempted from it. In 1720 the exemption was extended to town population owing to their complaints, and in 1722 the clergy was likewise freed from compulsory attendance. The first attempt was an unqualified failure. For the second time the problem of compulsory education was discussed at the " Commission for the drafting of new laws ", established by Catherine the Great in 1767. This Commission expressed quite definitely the principle of compulsory education and elaborated a system of penalties for recalcitrant parents. Unfortunately the scheme was lost in the governmental archives and had no practical results. For the third time the problem came to the lime light in the period of great reforms during the sixties of the 19th century. But although the Minister of Public Instruction, Count D. Tolstoy, was favourably inclined towards

this measure the public in general was not ready for such legislation. The representatives of the gentry and of some Zemstva expressed the view that the State has no right to compel citizens to send their children to school. The classical Liberal point of view of non-interference of the Government had many adherents among the Russian intelligentsia of that time. The Government on the other hand was frightened with the enormous costs of compulsory education, which were wrongly calculated on the basis of the eight years compulsory attendance, whereas in Russia the average length of school attendance did not exceed three years. These considerations compelled Count D. Tolstoy to drop the scheme altogether. In the 20th century with the general development of elementary education the scheme once more became the subject of discussion. Several projects were elaborated by the Government but with no practical results.

Only with the institution of the State Duma was the problem dealt with in a practical manner. As already mentioned a comprehensive Education Act was not passed by the Duma, but the law of May 3, 1908, laid an actual foundation stone for the introduction of universal education. According to it the local authorities had to prepare plans of universal education in their districts, which should be realized not later than in a period of ten years. All Zemstva and Municipalities whose plans were approved by the Ministry were entitled to receive 390 Rubles annually for every 50 pupils in their schools. The scheme worked satisfactorily and its development can be seen from the following table :

Years	Plans in operation		Sums assigned by the State Duma, Rubles.	
	District Zemstva	Towns	On universal education, lay system.	For building purposes.
1907	17	2	6.750.000	—
1908	122	14	13.650.000	—
1909	185	38	19.650.000	1.000.000
1910	303	51	29.650.000	4.000.000
1911	326	61	36.650.000	10.000.000
1912	381	151	45.650.000	10.000.000
1913	390	228	55.650.000	14.000.000
1914	(400)	257	58.650.000	12.416.000
1915	414	334	61.650.000	10.000.000
1916	421	376	65.350.000	10.000.000
1917	438	494	Applied to the Ministry 17 Zemstva and 118 Towns.	

This table shows that of the total number of 441 District Zemstva only 3, and of the total number of 789 Municipalities 295, did not begin the actual working of the scheme. Among the Municipalities however were some very progressive cities, as Petrograd for instance, which did not apply for subventions of the Ministry in order to remain quite independent, but which were much advanced in the introduction of universal education. At the end of the period 15 District Zemstva completed their plans, 31 Zemstva were just completing theirs and about 65 % of all Zemstva required less than 5 years to complete theirs. All the largest cities such as Petrograd, Moscow, Odessa, Kiev and others, 33 in all, have also established a sufficient number of schools. The 31 non-Zemstvo provinces were administered directly by the Ministry, which began to introduce the scheme in these provinces as well. In 1915 the scheme was working

in 96 Districts of non-Zemstvo provinces. About ten years were required in order to introduce universal education throughout the whole Empire . In 1915 a Bill was introduced in the Duma on the " New Statute of Primary Schools " in which the principle of compulsory education was for the first time recognized by Russian legislation. Compulsory attendance could be introduced into practice by the decisions of Zemstva and Municipalities or in non-Zemstvo provinces by the decision of the Education Committee of the District and with the approval of the Ministers of Public Instruction and Interior. Only those Districts and Towns however were allowed to resort to compulsion, which had established a sufficient net-work of schools. The parents who failed to send their children to school were liable to pay a penalty up to 25 Rubles per annum. In case of an illness or efficient home education the children were exempted from attending schools. However this Bill did not become an Act owing to the Revolution and subsequent dissolution of the Duma.

During the short period of the Provisional Government no new legislation on compulsory education was enacted. The Government assigned additional sums for speeding up the introduction of universal education, but owing to the civil war this assignment remained unrealized. The new Soviet Government, as already mentioned, declared from the start universal and compulsory education for the the ages 8-17. This declaration was intended specially for propaganda purposes and foreign consumption. Nobody who knew Russian conditions could seriously contemplate compulsory attendance for nine age groups. Not a single practical measure was undertaken by the Commissariat of Public Instruction in order to realize this ambitious program.

When the civil war was ended and the Government was firmly established there was no further need for such declarations. The Education Act of 1923 does not say a word about universal and compulsory education. That the Government at that period thought little about universal education is seen from the fact of charging fees in all schools, including primary schools. On January 1, 1925, in the towns 61.5 % of primary schools charged fees, on an average 9.6 Rubles per annum; 36.7 % of the pupils had to pay these fees. The law forbade fees in the country districts, but evidently it was circumvented, as in those schools which were inspected for this purpose 46.6 % of pupils were paying fees. In secondary schools about 45 % of all pupils paid fees from 12 to 20 Rubles per annum, on an average.

The work was seriously resumed only in 1925. On June 15 the Gosplan (the State Planning Committee) approved the ten years financial scheme for the introduction of universal education in the R. S. F. S. R. (Russia proper). On August 31 was issued a decree " on introduction of universal education and building a school net-work " in the R. S. F. S. R. During the same year other Republics of the Soviet Union issued similar laws. As every Republic has different conditions we have to deal with each separately. The law of the R. S. F. S. R. will serve as an example of Soviet legislation on this subject. Article 1 established a time limit for the complete realization of the reform, which is the year 1933-34, for the whole Republic; different provinces might attain this aim even before, according to local conditions. Article 2 limited the further development of secondary schools to a certain ratio, until universal primary education is realized. Articles 11 and 12 stated that this

ratio should not exceed 10 % for the pupils of the First Cycle ' of the Second Grade (V, VI, and VII grades) and 2.5 % for the pupils of the Second ' Cycle ' of the Second Grade (VIII and IX grades). Article 18 quite definitely stated that the net-work of secondary schools can be approved only after the approval of that of primary schools. Article 3 declared that the primary school should be actually accessible and free for all children of school age. But "until the order of realization of the net-work of primary schools be determined, the Executive Committees of the Provincial Soviets have the right to take fees in primary and secondary schools in towns and urban districts". Article 5 stated that as a norm a class of 40 pupils shall be taken. Article 6, that as a norm a primary school should have four teachers. Article 7, that the radius of a school district should not exceed three versts. Article 8, that one teacher should not be given more that two groups. These last four articles are taken in full from the Bill of the Duma. Articles 14 and 15 divided the financial burden between central and local authorities. The local authorities (provincial, district and cantonal) should furnish the main part of required sources. The Republican Government will give subventions only for the teachers' salaries and for building purposes, in certain proportion, variable according to locality. The last articles deal with the training of teachers and scholarships for future teachers. This Soviet law in its chief features repeats the legislation of the State Duma, but there are certain very significant innovations. Article 3 in fact legalized the existing practice of charging fees in primary schools. Never before had Russian legislation officially recognized this principle. Russian primary schools in law and in fact

were always free. The second innovation is the limitation of the number of secondary schools. All the former Governments and even the Soviet Government itself greatly promoted the growth of secondary schools. During the first period of Soviet policy secondary schools grew like mushrooms and their number was almost doubled. Now as the ratio was larger than allowed by the new law, the authorities had to close many secondary schools in order to fulfil the pseudo-democratic demand of the Government. That a certain coordination of efforts is necessary and that the distribution of secondary schools was not even, is recognized by everybody, but the remedy applied was very severe and contrary to the true interests of the nation. As we have seen from the chapter IV the number of secondary schools decreased continually up to 1926, when it began to grow again. The number of pupils however steadily increased and this evident demand of the population for secondary education has compelled the local authorities to found new secondary schools since 1926, neglecting the rigid regulations of the Government.

Other Republics issued similar laws with some modifications. The time limit was fixed for each Republic differently. The Ukrainian Republic fixed it at 1932-1933 which is the shortest in the whole Union. The White Russian Republic at 1934-35, Georgia at 1935-36, Armenia at 1936-37 and Azerbeidjan at 1937-38. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are in such a backward state that they cannot expect to complete the scheme before 1939-1940. The whole plan was calculated in accordance with the movement of child population. Owing to the decreased birth-rate during the war period the child population of Russia as of all belligerent countries showed a marked decline

for certain post war years. Thus according to the census of 1926 the total number of children of 12-15 years amounted to 15 million, whereas the number of children of 8-11 years (born in 1914-17) was equal only to 11 million, or four million less. This exceptional decline gave the Government an opportunity to speed up the introduction of universal education. However the plan elaborated with such details in 1924 was not realized during the first years.

In the largest unit of the Union, the R. S. F. S. R., in 1927-28 the ratio of school going children to the total number of children of ages 8-11 according to the plan should have been 72; according to the school census at the beginning of 1928 the actual ratio was only 68.4. If the authorities are behind their plans during the years of a marked decrease of child population we can hardly expect that they will be able to fulfil the demands of the plan in the years of an increase of child population. The critical year is the year 1929-30 when the lowest number of children is reached. After that the number of school age children will be gradually but continuously increasing. According to plan the number of new classes should increase every year. Thus in 1925-26 for R. S. F. S. R. only two thousand classes should be opened, in 1927-28 already 4.5.000, in the next year 8.6.000 new classes and in 1931-32 as many as 25.5.000. With every year the difficulties will increase and there is little hope that the Government will be able to surmount them. In the autumn of 1928 it was already evident to the Government itself that the plan cannot be realized in the prescribed period. It appears that the age groups of children were calculated wrongly and are larger than was presumed, on the other hand the actual cost of a new class unit surpassed greatly

the estimated amount owing to the devaluation of the Chervonets. Universal education will be realized in 1933-34 only in the most progressive areas; in the rest of the Union perhaps it will require another decade of continuous and strenuous work.

Now we shall deal with the problem of illiteracy. Compulsory and universal primary education will eliminate illiteracy among future generations, but the present adult population has to be dealt with by different methods. For this purpose the Soviet Government organized a special system of courses and classes for adults. The first Sunday schools for adults were opened in Russia in the fifties of the last century owing to the activities of the famous surgeon and educationist N. I. Pirogov. But already in 1862 they were all closed by the Government as politically dangerous. The Statute of 1864 again permitted the establishment of such schools and since that time many Zemstva, Municipalities and private organizations have maintained hundreds of Sunday schools for adults. The central Government however was always suspicious and did not promote their development. Owing to the lack of funds the whole movement was based on the gratuitous work of elementary teachers and members of liberal and radical circles. In these circumstances the fight against illiteracy among adults could not be well organized, and achieved insignificant results. The local authorities were unable to assign large sums for this purpose and the Government for the first time paid serious attention to adult education only in 1915, when the Minister of Public Instruction, Count P. Ignatiev, attempted to introduce radical reforms.

With the advent of the Soviet Government the situation was entirely changed. The Government proclaimed the

fight against illiteracy as one of its most important tasks. Large sums were assigned for that purpose by the Commissariat of Public Instruction. But during the time of civil war and the period of continuous inflation the courses for adults more resembled political meetings than regular classes. The illiteracy was not diminished in any considerable degree. More systematic work began after the end of civil war. The financing of adult education was entirely relegated on the local authorities which had according to the decree of the Commissariat of Public Instruction to spend not less than 17 % of their educational budget on the education of adults. In 1920-21 the whole Union had 40.967 classes for the liquidation of illiteracy with 1.158 thousand pupils. The years of famine however witnessed a wholesale closing up of these classes and in 1922-23 the number of classes was only 3.535 with 111.000 pupils. During the last few years the numbers of pupils were again over a million. The detailed figures are given in the appendix. The census of 1920 registered about 15 million illiterates up to 35 years of age. Till 1928 about 8 million people passed through the classes for illiterates, but owing to a very short and hurried course of study the majority of them relapse again into illiteracy. The ratio of illiterates is being diminished continuously but not in proportion with the efforts and money spent.

The census of 1926 again registered about 66 % of illiterates in the Union. The following table gives the data for the three censuses 1897, 1920 and 1926.

THE %% OF LITERACY FOR ALL AGES

	The whole Union			Towns		Country districts	
	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women	Men	Women
1897	31.8	13.1	22.3	57.8	37.4	27.7	9.8
1920	40.9	24.4	31.9	65.8	53.3	38.3	19.2
1926	50.8	29.2	39.6	70.3	56.6	46.5	23.3

The figures for 1920 might fairly represent the achievements of the pre-revolution period because during the three years of civil war illiteracy was hardly decreased in any perceptible degree. The figures for 1926 represent the achievements of the Soviet Government. These figures however are not so favourable if we take the ratio for different ages. In the R. S. F. S. R. the ages 8-11 give 52.9 % of illiterates, the ages 12-15 — 35.5 %, the ages 16-34 — 31.1 %, the ages 35-49 — 49.2 and the age groups over 50 — 72.5 %. In other words these data show that the best results were achieved by the school just before the Revolution and that the ratio of illiterates among the younger groups is steadily growing. Similar figures are given by the official organ " Vlast Sovietov " N. 44-45, 1928, which, summarizing the achievements of the October Revolution, says : " The children from 12 to 16 give the ratio of literates from 62.8 to 64.5 %, whilst the percentage of literate children of the ages 8-11 years gives a considerably lower figure. Out of 6.488.055 children of these ages (in the R. S. F. S. R. without the autonomous republics) only 3.025.649 children were literate or 46.8 %. The last figure is especially threatening as it indicates firstly conside-

rable decrease of literates among children, and secondly, the advent of a huge wave of illiterates. It is especially great for the rural population where the percentage of illiterate children of these ages (8-11) amounts to 59.2 %... It is necessary to note that whilst the number of pupils in both primary and secondary schools increases from year to year (beginning from 1922) the ratio of children in primary schools has decreased during the last three years, because the growth of population overtakes the increase of pupils. At the same time the increase of pupils overtakes the growth of schools, which as a result creates in the Republic the incoming acute crisis of school buildings. This problem is the more acute because the work of the classes for liquidation of illiteracy among the adults (from 16 to 34 years) have up to present given very poor results. Thus out of total number of illiterates of these ages—8.494.893—the classes for liquidation of illiteracy have dealt with only 7.8 % (on 1 December, 1926, for the R. S. F. S. R. without the autonomous republics). If however we take the number of pupils who passed through the classes as a percentage of the total number of illiterates we get the insignificant figure of 0.3 %. That means that out of 1.000 illiterates of these ages only 3 men passed through the classes. " It seems that if the Government will not tackle this problem more energetically the ratio of illiterates among the younger groups will increase, especially in the few coming years when the child population of the Union will pass the years of decline and will show a normal increase. The fight against illiteracy among the adults is futile in the present conditions because for every adult taught in the schools for adults the rising generation gives one new illiterate adult. The work has

to be done at once from both ends otherwise the ratio of illiterates is more or less stabilized.

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CHAPTER VII

THE EDUCATIONAL LADDER

The idea of the Ladder school system is very old. The chief point of it is the equality of educational opportunity to all children irrespective of their origin, creed or pecuniary position of their parents. This was advocated by Plato, Sir Thomas More, John Knox, Comenius, Rousseau, Condorcet, only to name the most famous among many. In Russia these ideas as already mentioned formed the main conception of the democratic tradition. The Ladder system though not duly realized was the first Russian State system and existed for about fifty years before it was abolished by Nicholas I. During the sixties of the last century the Government of Alexander II again tried to reestablish equality of opportunity, but failed and introduced a compromise between the two Russian historical conceptions. In the twentieth century the Government of Nicholas II prepared not less than ten different schemes of a Ladder system, but was incapable of realizing even the most modest of them. The only step towards the aim was the law about Intermediate Schools enacted by the Duma in 1912. The Minister Count P. Ignatiev during his short period of office made an attempt to elaborate a practical scheme of a democratic ladder system. The Provisional Government took over this scheme and prepared a Bill for reform. The Bill divided all schools into three consecutive steps of one ladder. The first step was to be formed by all primary schools of the old

regime and of all preparatory and the first grades of former secondary schools. The new primary school was begin instruction one year earlier than the old one, i. e. from the age of seven instead of eight, and to have a course of four years. The second step was to consist of all former Intermediate Schools and of the grades II, III, IV and V of former secondary schools. The last pre-University step was to be a new High School with a three or four years' course and had to comprise the grades VI, VII and VIII of former secondary schools. The plan was a 4-4-3 plan which very much resembled the Norvegian system of 1896 and in many respects anticipated the new Austrian school system of 1927. In this way the two parallel tracks of elementary and secondary education were united into one ladder, common for all. The primary education had to last up to the age of 11, the intermediate up to the age of 15 and the high school leading to Universities up to the age of 17-18. The last step, the three years High School, could have had a classical and a modern bias with various modifications. The division of schools into three steps was well adapted to the historically existing primary and Intermediate schools and the reform could have been realized with the least possible regrading of old schools.

The Soviet Government took over the scheme and for some time hesitated whether to accept it or to remodel it. At last it was decided to regrade the old schools into two steps only and to shorten the school ladder to nine years. The Education Act of 1918 introduced the new " Unified Labour School ", which was divided into two steps, the Labour School of the First Grade with five years of instruction and the Labour School of the Second Grade with four

years. The regrading of old schools was done in the following way. All the primary schools had to add another year and form the new School of the First Grade. All preparatory and I, II, III grades of secondary schools were to be separated and also form the Schools of the First Grade. The Intermediate Schools had either to become Schools of the First Grade or to raise the age by one year and form the School of the Second Grade. The Grade IV, V, VI and VII of secondary schools were also transformed into the School of the Second Grade. The grade VIII of old secondary schools was altogether abolished. By this regrading the Soviet Government sought to introduce a common school for all with a nine years' course, obligatory for all children and giving access to the Universities and other Higher Institutions. The Government was prompted as it thought by democratic reasons. However, its conception of democracy was entirely wrong, as democracy does not mean uniformity and the lowering of all standards to an average. The practical application of this reform necessarily brought with it a general lowering of standards. The School of the Second Grade was formed partly of former Intermediate Schools and of the upper grades of old secondary schools without the last grade VIII. Thus the new secondary education was lower than the old and perhaps slightly higher than the old intermediate education. The worst thing which happened was that the reform was realized more externally by changing names, while the contents of the new schools remained more or less unchanged. The rural primary school remained as it was, as the fifth year could be added in exceptional cases only. The old Intermediate Schools, raised to a higher standard, could not be staffed with graduate teachers as they were not available

in such numbers and the old teachers remained at their posts. Certainly they could not complete further training at once and in practice continued to teach in the new Schools of the Second Grade as they used to teach in the old Intermediate Schools. Only those schools which were transformed from the old secondary schools more or less retained the old standards. In this way the intended Ladder system with the supposed equality of opportunity was not actually realized. The rural school of the First Grade was much lower than the town school of the same grade and the Schools of the Second Grade were very different in their standards depending on their origin from the old Intermediate or old Secondary Schools. The chief aim of the reform to afford the peasant boys and girls the opportunity of secondary education was hardly attained as they could not compete with the pupils of town primary schools and could not in practice enter the School of the Second Grade as they had completed the course of only four primary grades instead of required five. The accessibility of University education was also more nominal than actual, as the new students were not sufficiently equipped to attend University lectures. We shall speak about this later in the Chapter on Universities.

The defects of this purely external reform were evident and the Government was obliged to take into account the actual conditions. The new Education Act of 1923 replaced the previous division of the Unified Labour School into two steps by a division into three steps which corresponded more closely to the real conditions of school life. Although the previous names of the First and Second Grades were retained, in fact the Second " Cycle " of the Second Grade formed a third step. The course of the School of the First

Grade was shortened by a year and at present the School of the First Grade is the old Russian primary school with four years of instruction. The School of the Second Grade received an additional year and was divided into two Divisions: the First "Cycle" with a three years' course and the Second "Cycle" with a two years' course. The following table shows the parallel grading of the old Russian schools, of the scheme of the Provisional Government and of the two Acts of the Soviet Government:

Ages	Old Russian system		The scheme of the Provisional Gov.	The Act of 1918	The Act of 1923
7–8					
8–9	Primary	Preparat grades.	Primary		
9–10	School		School	The School	The School of the First
10–11	four	S Grades	four years.	of the First	Grade,
11–12	years.	e I c S o c II n h		Grade,	four years.
12–13	Intermed.	d o III	Intermediate	five years.	The First "Cycle" of the Second Grade, three years.
13–14	School.	a o r l IV	School.		
14–15	four	y s. V	four years.	The School of the Second Grade, four years.	
15–16	years.	eight VI	The High School.		The Second "Cycle" of the Second Grade two years
16–17		years. VII	Latin and Modern bias three years.		
17–18		VIII			

The actual practice went even further in restoring the pre-revolutionary conditions. The real structure of the present Soviet school system with its manifold types of schools has but very little in common with the simplicity of the scheme of the Act of 1923. There exist in practice three different kinds of schools : the four years primary school being the first grade of the legal scheme, the seven years intermediate school including in the same building and under the same management the first grade and the first cycle of the second grade of the legal scheme and the nine years school which includes both complete grades of the legal scheme and is practically the secondary school of the old regime. The practice went so far from the legal scheme that even the terms of the Act are not used at present. In all official documents and papers the existing schools are simply called the " four-years ", the " seven-years " and the " nine-years " schools, and thus the new terminology does not reflect the principles of the Unified School, but the actual practice. The term of the " School of the Second Grade " is used at present only to design a separate type of school with a five years' course corresponding to the Second Grade of the Act of 1923. These schools are not numerous and exist solely in the R. S. F. S. R.and Transcaucasia. In the Ukraine the nine years' schools also do not exist, their second " Cycle " being substituted by separate two years' Courses with a vocational curriculum. Besides these main types of schools many quite new kinds of schools have been created during the last few years. They are either of more or less partisan character, like the Schools of Peasant Youth and the Schools of Workers Youth, or of vocational character like the Technicums, or combining both like the Factory Schools. A new general Statute of the

school system corresponding more to the actual practice was elaborated by the Commissariat of the R. S. F. S. R. in 1929. It has to supersede the obsolete Act of 1923 but has not until now been published. The following table illustrates the manifold variety of schools existing at present in Soviet Russia. The figures are taken from the last available official sources (1927-28) and show the respective importance of different school types in the educational system of the Soviet Union and their reciprocal relations.

<table>
<tr><td>Ages</td><td colspan="8">2.086 Kindergartens with 104 thousand children.</td><td>Years of School attendance</td></tr>
<tr><td>8</td><td rowspan="5">The Nine-Year School 874 Sch. 556 thous. pupils</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="5">The Seven-Year School 5.487 Schools 1.960 thous. pupils</td><td colspan="6" rowspan="5">The Four-Year School 108.502 Schools 8.364 thousand pupils, embracing about 70 % of children of 8-11 ages</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>9</td><td>2</td></tr>
<tr><td>10</td><td>3</td></tr>
<tr><td>11</td><td>4</td></tr>
<tr><td>12</td><td>5</td></tr>
<tr><td>13</td><td rowspan="2">Classes with vocational bias.</td><td rowspan="2">Tech-nicums</td><td rowspan="2">Voca-tion. Cour-ses.</td><td rowspan="2">The School of the Second Grade. 937 Sch.</td><td rowspan="2">Workers Faculties 122 with 49 thous. students</td><td rowspan="2">Workshops 320; 21 thous. pupils</td><td rowspan="2">Lower vocat. schools 1417; 139 thous. pupils</td><td rowspan="2">Factory Schools and Workers youth school 903; 99 thous. pupils</td><td rowspan="2">Schools of Peasant Youth—1010 88 thous. pupils</td><td>6</td></tr>
<tr><td>14</td><td>7</td></tr>
<tr><td>15</td><td rowspan="2">1.038 191 th. stud.</td><td rowspan="2">1074 118 th. pupil.</td><td rowspan="2">313 thous. pupils.</td><td>8</td></tr>
<tr><td>16</td><td>9</td></tr>
<tr><td>17</td><td colspan="8" rowspan="3">Universities and other Higher Institutions. 129 with 158 thous. students.</td><td>10</td></tr>
<tr><td>18</td></tr>
<tr><td>19</td></tr>
</table>

Besides these schools there were 2.161 Childrens Homes with 196 thousand inmates, 261 institutions for exceptional children with 22 thousand inmates and 613 Partisan schools with 53 thousand pupils.

Let us try to analyse sociologically the above figures in order to ascertain whether and in what degree the actual structure of the Soviet school system fulfils the purpose of a Unified School. The main purpose of the educational ladder is to secure for every child the opportunity of an advanced education according solely to his abilities and his achievements without any regard to the financial conditions of his parents. This principle of equality of educational opportunity is deeply rooted in the democratic idea of personality and its right to a free development. It is so understood all over the world and we have seen (Chapter II) that it was understood in the same sense by the Communists during the first period of their policy and even found legal expression in the Act of 1918. The Utopian maximalism of its aims frustrated, however, the practical application of its democratic ideas. Educational practice shows that their realization requires the raising of the standard of the upper grades of the elementary school, the transformation of the latter into a separate step of intermediate education, having as its special purpose the psychological differentiation of pupils. Only thus can a selection through differentiation be secured which does not exclude the majority of pupils from an advanced education, but provides for everybody the kind of education by which he is capable of profiting. Having proclaimed the compulsory attendance of both steps of the "Labour School" the Act of 1918 abolished the intermediate schools without even securing

the universal accessibility of primary education. The lack of any kind of intermediate education and the absence of any adaptation to individual differences of pupils is one of the most characteristic features of the present Soviet school system. This fact could not even be concealed from foreign admirers of the Soviet educational system, one of whom, Mr Carleton Washburne, does not hesitate to call this practice simply " stupid ".

In fact, a glance on the figures of the above table is sufficient to see the extreme lack of educational opportunity even for the brighter children in the present system. For the overwhelming majority of children in the four years schools there is only a very narrow opening to an advanced education. Out of about 1.5 million children who annually complete their primary education less than 3.5 % can enter in practice the School of the Second Grade. And this is the only way which can lead them to Universities and High Technical Schools. The access to the Workers Faculties is open only to a small privileged body of students and the passage into the upper grades of the Seven-years and Nine-years schools cannot be considered, as the latter are overcrowded by their own junior pupils. Besides, the standard of instruction in their junior grades is much higher than in the four-graded primary school. The Soviet educationists complain almost in every number of the official press that even the proletarian child of an urban four-graded school is quite unprepared to follow the curriculum of the Seven-years and Nine-years schools because the latter are in no way adapted to the former in spite of the provisions of the Act of 1923. The great majority of the ex-pupils of the primary schools have no opening at all and the rest have to be content with the partisan semi-education provided

by the Schools for the Peasant Youth or with the scant vocational education given in the Factory and Lower vocational schools, without any prospect of further education. But even all these schools can provide for hardly more than 10 % of all pupils who complete the course of primary schools. The position of the Seven-years schools seems to be much better in this respect. Out of about a thousand pupils who annually complete the course about 6 % are provided with an opportunity of an advanced vocational education. But it requires a good deal of personal energy and of good luck, after completing the training in a Technicum, or in a two-year Course, to obtain a vacancy in the institutions of University rank. Even the successful pupils of the Nine-years schools which should lead directly to the University have to pass a relatively difficult entrance examination and to be subjected to a selection test of their origin according to the "class principle" (see Chapter XII).

Usually the three different educational ways correspond to the three main groups of social activity (the manual workers; the executive officers in industry, trade and public service, and the leaders of the nation who are creative workers). We see that in the Soviet school system this difference of educational ways is much more pronounced than in those "bourgeois" countries which succeeded in introducing the democratic educational ladder. There is in Soviet Russia less opportunity of an advanced education, less interchange between the different educational ways, a striking absence of any selection through differentiation and of any adaptation to the individual abilities of pupils. Vocational choice has to be decided too early, for the overwhelming majority at the age of 8 years, which is much

earlier than in Germany, U. S. A. or in this country. The democratic system with its differentiation and adaptation to individual abilities certainly requires great financial resources and Russia at present lacks those resources and cannot compete with the great democracies of the West. But the true reason which allowed the Unified Labour School to degenerate into a privileged school system is unfortunately of a purely political character. The educational policy of the Soviet Government during the second period quite frankly denounces the principle of democracy and the idea of personality. Both these notions are mere " bourgeois " prejudice. To these obsolete principles of the Western civilization they oppose the principles of utility and of selection on the basis of class origin. They are the necessary superstructure to the " Dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition ". The aim of the school system is " to supply the State industry with skilled labour according to the demand of the State Boards controlling it " and the selection has to secure the predominance of the Communist Party in the direction of State and industry. Let us quote a very typical statement of one of the most prominent Soviet educationists : " The selection of brighter and exceptionally gifted children is at least for the present inadmissible. It would mean the closing the doors of higher educational institutions to the proletariat and the peasantry. After a more or less long period, when the general level of development and education of the large masses of the proletariat and peasants will be raised, we shall be perhaps able to try the system of selection of the most gifted students among the proletarian and peasant people. Until then we have to rely on the

worker and peasant of average ability , so to say on the " man of mediocre ability ".

Let us now see to what extent the Soviet school system has achieved these particular aims of the Communist educational policy. The methods of class selection are various. One of them is the dividing of pupils in Seven years and Nine-years schools into two groups. The first receives free places and is supposed to belong to "the toiling classes", but in practice is formed by children of those parents who have some connections with the governmental institutions. They are either members of the Communist Party or of Trade Unions or are officials in some Department. The second group is formed by fee-paying pupils, who are children of " bourgeois " parents. In 1925 the fee-paying pupils formed 40.7 % of the total number, in 1927 their ratio was lowered to about 25 %. The fees for these " non-working " groups are very high from 160 to 300 Rubles per annum. By these regulations only privileged or wealthy parents can give continued education to their children. The unprivileged groups of the proletariat or the poorer peasants have to be content with elementary education. But, the results of this class policy are very unsatisfactory. With the results of this policy in the Universities we shall deal in the corresponding chapter. Here we shall give the latest figures of the social composition of pupils in primary and secondary schools according to the Report of the Commissariat of Public Instruction for the R. S. F. S. R. for the year 1928-29. In this republic the relative strength of different social groups in schools of general education was as follows, (in %%) :

The type of schools.	Years	Industr. workers	Agricult. workers [1]	Peasants	Officials	Others
Four-years Schools	1924–25	10.5	—	77.2	5.9	6.4
	1926–27	8.2	2.4	78.0	5.7	5.7
Seven-years Schools	1924–25	34.2	—	25.1	26.2	14.5
	1926–27	33.1	1.3	27.3	26.8	11.5
Nine-years Schools	1924–25	30.1	—	11.4	37.5	21.0
	1926–27	28.3	0.6	11.0	42.5	17.6
Schools of the Second Grade	1924–25	15.0	—	25.4	37.2	22.4
	1926–27	15.6	1.5	29.4	34.5	19.0

It is very interesting to compare these figures with the pre-war ratio. The last available figures are for 1914, the first year of the war.

Schools	Peasants	Workers[2] & Craftsm.	Officials & Gentry	Merchants	Others
Boys Gymnasia	22.0	26.9	32.3	9.9	8.9
Real Schools	32.1	29.6	22.6	9.6	6.1
Girls Gymnasia	25.5	35.2	21.6	9.4	8.3

In order to understand the rate of democratization during the old regime we shall compare the last figures with the figures for 1904. The percentage of gentry and officials

1 In 1924-25 the agricultural workers were not separated as a group.

2. 'Tsekhovye i meshchane' which means 'common citizens and Factory workers'.

during the last pre-war decade decreased from 43.8 % to 32.3 % in Boys Gymnasia and from 30.6 to 22.6 in Real Schools, whereas the number of peasants rose from 12.0 % to 22 % in Boys Gymnasia and from 21.7 % to 32.1 % in Real Schools. The Soviet Government not only stopped the normal process of democratization which was going on, but even diminished the ratio of peasants and workers in secondary schools. The Peasants and Workers Government in this respect is behind the Tsarist Government.

But the most striking result of this class selection policy is the steady decrease of pupils of the working class in the upper grades of secondary schools. The official Soviet press is full of complaints in this respect. Uchitelskaya Gazeta (Teachers Paper) of 2 November, 1928, writes: " The percentage of the children of workers attending secondary schools has decreased during the last two years... At the upper end of the school the " toiling nucleus " is decreasing steadily. The general rule is that only single pupils from the " toiling nucleus " pass into the upper grades of the Nine-years school and of the School of the Second Grade. Whilst in the lower form of the Nine-year school the " toiling nucleus " amounts to 34.4 % , it decreases in the eighth year of school attendance to 18.8 %. The figures taken at random illustrate the following : in the school of Vladimir out of 23 pupils who completed the course only one belonged to the working class. In the 57th school of Moscow out of 62 only two were workers. In the 33rd school only 9 were workers out of 85 who completed the course. The school N 22 which belongs to the factory " Red Star " had 99 successful pupils and among them 27 workers. The same is typical not only for Moscow but for all other proletarian centres". These are the results

of the class principle of selection, which denies democratic methods based on abilities and interests of pupils and relies on the " average pupil " who is supposed to be faithful to the Communist dictatorship. They prove with the greatest degree of evidence the Utopian character of any dictatorship which believes in the mechanical power of a mere material force. Education is a spiritual force and cannot be mastered by means of a dictatorship which sacrifices the principle of personality to that of utility. An atmosphere of freedom and democracy, acknowledging the inviolable rights of personality is the only way to secure the legal claim of the working class to equality of educational opportunity.

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CHAPTER VIII

Curriculum and Methods

During the first period of Soviet educational policy the leading part in educational reforms was taken by enthusiasts who in general were not Communists themselves and were little versed in the Marxist ideology. Thus it happened that the Commissariat of Public Instruction took as a model the pedagogical ideas of Western Europe and America based on individualistic principles and connected with the idealistic philosophy. The new theories of active instruction connected with manual work elaborated by Kerschensteiner and Lay in Germany and by Dewey in America served as an example. The Tolstoyan tradition of free education served as another source of Soviet school theories. On this theoretical foundation was based the Soviet " Labour School ". The term itself is a direct translation of the German " Arbeitsschule " and thus shows the origin of the new theory. But although the progressive teachers followed the ideas and practice of Kerschensteiner and Dewey, the Communists themselves could not consent simply to imitate the methods of these " bourgeois " pedagogues. They had to add some Marxist flavour to the ideas of active instruction. The conception of Labour was therefore selected as the centre around which the whole curriculum should revolve. " The aim of the ' Labour School ' should not be a training for some craft, however, but a ' polytechnic ' education, giving to

children the knowledge of the methods of the most important forms of Labour, partly in the school work-shop, partly on a school farm and partly in the factories themselves." "As an approach to the ideal the school has to transmit to the pupils the main methods of work in the following branches: carpentry and furnishing, including turnery and woodcutting, metal work, including forging, forming, melting and tempering, leather work, printing and others. In rural districts the centre should be formed by agriculture". According to this ideal of a polytechnic education the Commissariat of Public Instruction issued model curricula on all subjects, which however were not to be taken as cut and dried programmes which could not be changed. On the contrary it was supposed that every school as an autonomous individual institution, would elaborate its own programme in accordance with general principles, but adjusted to local conditions. The schools of the Second Grade could vary greatly concerning the branch of Labour which should be taken as a basis for the study of the polytechnic culture. In order to master it and with it the whole group of sciences and humanities, it is possible to start from any individual industry as they are all so much intervowen at present. A textile factory, metallurgic works, a sugar factory, shipping, agriculture, railways, post and telegraph, any of these branches could be taken as the starting point. Such was the ambitious programme, but the conditions of civil war and general impoverishment of the country were hardly suitable for its realization. The great majority of schools had neither school work-shops, nor school farms. The majority of teachers were insufficiently prepared for the new methods and received very meagre salaries. The pupils often had neither copybooks,

nor pencils to write with. It was already an achievement if in these circumstances they acquired the elementary knowledge in the three R-s. It is no wonder that the results were very far from the expectations. The Report of the Commissariat for 1917-1920 thus sums up the situation: "The attempts at a straight-forward realization of this programme without a sufficiently thoughtful taking into account of the actual conditions were met with so many insurmountable obstacles that they have given very meagre and sometimes even negative results. They inevitably tended either to narrow training in some craft or to very coarse forms of manual work which were quite unnecessary from a pedagogical point of view and were exhausting for the weak organisms of children". We know that usually the "Labour School" meant sweeping and washing the floor of the school, cutting wood for the fires and similar domestic work. Certainly this was not intended as a basis for a polytechnic culture. But the teachers, having no other means of connecting their instruction with some kind of manual work, choose the only available way to fulfil the orders of the Commissariat.

The new period of educational policy as already stated brought with it a change in methods and curriculum as well. The "Labour School" in the new interpretation should endeavour to form in the pupils "the class proletarian consciousness and instincts". Although "the theoretical and practical study of human labour activity and its organization" remains as the centre of the whole curriculum the aim of it is different. Now this "concentration" on Labour is no longer intended to change the old passive instruction into active methods connected with the self-activity of children and individual initiative of teachers.

Its aim is the class or Communist consciousness. " The Labour activity is now nothing less than the Marxist doctrine of class struggle, which should be forced into the heads of the pupils ", as one of the foremost Soviet educationists, A. Pinkevich, very well expressed the new aim. The new programmes issued by the Commissariat of Public instruction are no more " model curricula ", but obligatory programmes which should be taught in all schools without any modifications. The school is recognized now by the Communist Party as one of the most effective means to speed up the advent of communistic society and therefore it must be subordinated to the partisan communist ends. In the programme of the Russian Communist Party the aim of education is defined thus : " During the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i. e. during a period when the conditions for a complete realization of Communism are prepared, the school ought to be a tutor in the principles of Communism; more than that, it ought to be a centre of an ideological, organized educational influence of the proletariat on the non-proletarian masses in order to educate a generation, capable of establishing Communism in its integrity ". It is evident that such an aim can be attained only through the means of a strict subordination and prohibition of any initiative of the non-communist teachers, who form an overwhelming majority. In fact the old passive instruction had to be reintroduced. The Scientific Committee (GUS) of the Commissariat prepares the curriculum, and detailed instruction how to follow it, and the teachers have to fulfil the orders without any criticism. All the text-books are published by the Commissariat and distributed among the schools. The teachers have no right to use any other text-books. This

policy meant a complete reversal of the principles proclaimed in 1918. In these circumstances the new programmes of synthetic or " complex " instruction were issued (1923).

According to them the division of educational material into separate subjects is abolished and all sciences and humanities are redistributed into three parallel columns. In the centre stands the column "Labour", and on each side of it the columns " Nature " and " Society ". All the information which was given by old subjects is divided among these three columns. Every year some individual industry is selected as the central " complex ". Thus in the first grade the central theme is the " labour activity of the family in a village or an urban district ". Under the column " Nature " stand " the seasons " and under the column " Society "—" the school and the family ". In the second grade the central theme is already enlarged and includes " the labour activity of the village or the urban district in which the pupil is living ". Side by side with it is enlarged the material under the two other columns. Under " Nature " stands " air, water, soil, the cultural plants and domesticated animals " and under " Society "—" public institutions in a village or town ". In the third grade in the centre stands " local economics ", on one side " elementary knowledge of physics and chemistry " and on the other " public institutions of the province and pictures from the past of the locality ". In the fourth grade—ages 11-12—the central theme is formed by " the economics of the R. S. F. S. R. and other States ", corresponding to which one side has " the geography of Russia and other countries and the human body " and the other " the constitution of Russia and other countries and pictures from past of the humanity ". From this scheme it is seen

that the usual subjects of a primary school, the three R-s, drawing, manual work and singing, are absent in the new curriculum. The official explanatory note to this programme says that " all these subjects should not be separated into special lessons, the teaching of them should not take a form of special training, they should be acquired in the process of learning of the above given material ". It is evident that such themes as the economics of Russia for a child of 11-12 years is an abstract material, which can be acquired only passively or even learned by heart. The conception of Labour as an activity is replaced here by the Marxist doctrine of Labour and Capital.

This Marxist scheme in the programmes for the Schools of the Second Grade is realized still more logically. Thus in the fifth grade (or the first grade of the second step) in the centre stands " agriculture and its branches ", which includes " the characteristics of the agricultural regions of Russia. The cultivation and manuring of soil. The agricultural implements. Cultivation of agricultural plants. Cattle-breeding and poultry farming. Agriculture in Western Europe and in America. Application of scientific research to agriculture ". Under the column " Nature " we find here : " Physics and chemistry in so far as they are necessary to understand the climate and the biology of plants. Soil. Different soils of Russia. Observation of weather. Meteorology. Climate of Russia. Biology of plants. Distribution of flora in Russia. The animal kingdom, the influence of the mode of life on the organism. Animals, having positive and negative importance for agriculture ". Under the column " Society " we have : " Peasants and landlords. Serfdom. The struggle of peasants against landlords. The peasantry and the Tsar.

The Crimean War. The liberation of serfs. The want of land and injustice towards peasants. The peasants and landlords farming. The union of peasants and workers. The conquest of power. The Land-Act. The struggle of peasants in Western Europe. Jackerie. Peasant Wars. The Great French Revolution". In order to prove that the central column on "Labour activity" does not represent the active work of the pupils themselves, but a material of a purely dogmatical learning, we shall give here the contents of this column for the later years. In the seventh grade it contains: "The chaos in public organization of Labour in capitalistic countries, inefficient spending of productive forces. The systematical planning economy under Communism. Rationalization of production. The Soviet system as a transition from capitalism to communism". The eighth year is devoted to a "history of Labour" and the last year to a "scientific organization of Labour". Again we notice the absence of such usual subjects of every secondary school as the native language, mathematics, foreign languages, drawing and even manual work, which it seems should occupy an important place in a "Labour School". The explanatory note says: "The scheme supposes that the native language, mathematics, arts and manual work shall be used only as means of acquiring the given material". Taking in particular the native and foreign languages, their concentration around "Labour" is in practice nothing more than an artificial selection of pieces for reading in accordance with their contents and political tendency. Neither the literary quality, nor the suitability for a certain age are considered at all; the piece has to be connected with the main theme. For instance in the fifth grade only those works or pieces

are read which describe the life of peasants, peasants' revolts, serfdom and the like.

Such is the method, which was proclaimed as one of the most important inventions of the Soviet Government in the field of education. The idea of synthetic teaching is not at all so new. It was advocated in Europe by Kerschensteiner, Decroly, Ferrière, by Dewey in America and by Ushinsky, Tolstoy and Shatsky in Russia. It was put into practice by Socialist educationists in the primary schools of Vienna and the ten years' experience of this attempt was met by an unqualified success. According to this theory and practice synthetic teaching means that in the primary school the starting point should be not the abstract, systematically arrayed scientific subjects, but the actual life which surrounds the child, undivided into various disciplines. In the secondary schools however the synthetic method does not mean abolition of separate subjects, but only their interdependence and coordination. The synthetic method was advocated in the West as a reaction against the passively dogmatic learning of the different subjects, but not as an abolition of the scientific division into different disciplines. The communistic interpretation of this method has taken the outward shell but retained all the defects of the old passive and dogmatic instruction. The "invention" of the Communist pedagogues is nothing more than a distortion of other people's ideas. Even their famous division into the three columns: Labour, Nature and Society, was advocated before by Decroly and Ligthardt. The latter however by "Labour" understood individual activity of pupils, which in the process of instruction is enlarged and simultaneously liberated, whilst it is filled with contents from "Nature"

and " Society ". The Communists, on the contrary, have replaced it with an abstract and dogmatic doctrine of the class struggle. The underlying principle of active teaching is the idea of the personality of the child, and the synthetic method has as its proper aim assuring to the child the free development of his perceptive capacity, provoking his eagerness for the scientific systematic knowledge which has to explain to the pupil his own experience, instead of being imposed on him in a dogmatic way from outside. As the idea of the personality of the pupil was substituted in the Communist education by the principle of the proletarian class struggle, requiring from the pupil in the first place faithfulness to the Party as the " vanguard of proletariat " and to the Soviet State as its supposed " fatherland ", the " complex " method could but degenerate into a passive learning of an orthodox creed. The abolition of subjects involved in it was the best means to substitute the traditional " bourgeois " system of knowledge by the new Marxist system and to mask it by the radical slogans of the new educational theory. From an active school as it was at any rate meant in the first period of the Soviet educational policy the " Labour School " has become in the second period a partisan school trying to impose on the pupils an orthodox system of a settled dogma by the hands of indifferent or even recalcitrant teachers. That in this way instruction was sacrificed to the Moloch of Communism was at last recognized by the Communists themselves. The new programmes were not realized in practical teaching, but they disorganized the school and disheartened the teachers. Lunacharsky himself related how the majority of schools applied the new method. " The majority of schools, " said he, " teach

the old subjects, but they consider that they are applying the complex method, because they include among other subjects some " complex ". Their curriculum is for instance : arithmetic, reading, writing and " sheep "... " Sheep " appears to be a " complex " ; they sacrifice " sheep " to the new method and teach as they used to do ". Practice has found many ways to evade the official requirements. The most usual " complexes " are " the October Revolution ", " Lenin ", " the First of May " and the like. Fixed to special periods in the year these " complexes " are worked out by teachers and pupils and are paraded before the Inspectors. During the rest of the year, however, the old subjects are taught in the old way. This unqualified failure of the " complex " method led to a new change. On the fifth congress of directors of education in Moscow in May-June, 1926, the Prime Minister Rykov and many directors from different provinces quite definitely condemned the programmes of the Scientific Committee of 1923. The Commissariat of Public Instruction was compelled to acknowledge its failure. The history of the programmes during the years 1924-27 is a continuous dissolution of the " complex ". Very soon after the introduction of the new programmes the authorities, acknowledging the impossibility of teaching mathematics and physics on the complex method, allowed the teaching of these two subjects and chemistry " outside the complex ". In the autumn of 1925 the Moscow Commissariat issued a Circular recommending the introduction of special lessons in Foreign Languages, which had " to be freed from an artificial and arbitrary connection with the complex theme ". After a long and animated discussion in the Scientific State Council the native language, Geography and Literature

were restored as independent subjects (outside the complex) in 1926.

The year 1927 brought the radical change. Then new programmes were issued which superseded the obsolete programmes of 1923. The new programmes differ from the old by the abolition of the trinity of the columns of "Labour", "Nature" and "Society", and by restoration of traditional subjects in the School of the Second Grade, and partly even in the primary schools. The new curriculum prescribes the devoting of a definite number of hours to each separate subject. We shall quote here the compulsory time-table for the first cycle of the School of the Second Grade (V, VI and VII years): Mathematics—4, 4, 5 hours per week, Physics—4, 4, 4; Chemistry—1, 2, 2; Science—3, 4, 4; Geography—2, 2, 2; Native Language and Literature—5, 5, 4; Political Literacy—4, 4, 4, Foreign Language—3, 3, 3; Drawing and Painting—2, 2, 2; Manual Work—3, 3, 3; Gymnastics—2, 1½, 1½; Singing and Music—2, 1½, 1½. Total 35, 36, 36 hours per week. Of the traditional subjects Religion, Ancient Languages and History remain banished. Instead of History and Religion a new subject "the knowledge of society" usually called Political Literacy is introduced. That is all that is left of the unfortunate "complex". Usually this subject is entrusted to orthodox Marxists who have the task of imbuing the pupils with the Marxist doctrine and materialistic interpretation of history. The programmes of 1927 mean the victory of the inward logic of education over the attempt to use education as a means for mere political propaganda. Traces of the latter are quite visible even now, especially in such subjects as Geography and Literature; even the Reading-books for Foreign Languages are full of

political propaganda promoting Soviet patriotism and the contempt for the rotten culture and the imperialistic governments of the " bourgeois " Western countries. But nevertheless they include a good deal of didactic innovation suggested already before the Revolution by Russian progressive educationists and not realized in the pre-bolshevist programmes. Without having restored the old programmes they nevertheless mean in many respects the acknowledgment of the progressive tradition of Russian pedagogical thought.

Here we have also to mention that usually the teacher of Political Literacy is entrusted with the anti-religious propaganda. As we have already stated the neutrality of schools towards religion, proclaimed in 1918, was very soon replaced by a very dogmatic and intolerant teaching of atheism. Special time is alloted to this propaganda and pupils are even induced to take part in the anti-religious processions and performances. In the primary rural schools with one class-teacher the anti-religious propaganda is very ineffective and many teachers even omit it altogether. In secondary schools on the contrary the Communist teachers devoted much energy to this subject and some times succeeded in turning religious pupils into avowed atheists. One of the benevolent foreign observers of the Soviet educational system, Carleton Washburne, calls this practice of " intoxication " of children with Communism and atheism " deplorable " and even adds that " to some of us it would seem criminal ". Without approving this practice he tries to " understand " it and says that " Russia, like many European countries, is accustomed to a State religion, including very definite religious training in the public schools ". However as regards the intoxication of pupils

with the " State religion ", the Soviet school may to some extent be compared only to the school of the absolutist regime of Nicholas I a hundred years ago. The teaching in Russian schools before the War was so permeated with democratic ideas that reactionary politicians had some reason in calling them the sources of liberal and socialist propaganda. Washburne himself is known as an adherent of new ideas and according to his words " the new education sees its aim in resigning from all propaganda, trying to train children to see both sides of each problem in order that they may make their own judgment. " If this definition be true, the Communist theory and practice has restored the worst features of the " old education ". In the hands of the Communist educationists the " new education " in its most radical and Utopian form happened to be at first the most efficient means of destruction, and later, during the "constructive " period of their policy, the mask which conceals their reactionary tendencies.

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CHAPTER IX

PUPILS' SELF-GOVERNMENT AND CHILDRENS' MOVEMENT

Pupils' self-government is supposed to be one of the chief aims of the Soviet school system. From the start of the Revolution it was proclaimed as a basic principle of the new education and since then it has played a great role in educational theory and school practice. Together with the enormously developed children' s movement it undoubtedly presents a new fact in Russian education. In the history of Russian secondary schools there were two attempts to introduce the principle of self-government. The first was made by the famous surgeon and educationist N. I Pirogov, whilst he was the Curator of the Kiev Educational Region in the sixties of the last century. He introduced pupils' courts into the schools of his region. He was, however, misrepresented at the Court of St. Petersburg and had to resign his post. This idea was considered as dangerous from the political point of view. The second attempt was made during the Revolution of 1905. During the famous general strike secondary schools joined the movement. The pupils elected their delegates which formed in each town a strike committee. Each form elected its " elders " who had to look after the discipline and order. The Government tolerated this movement only during the doubtful period of the struggle, and as soon as it felt itself stronger this form of self-government was prohibited. However for six months a system of self-government existed which left a certain tradition among the pupils

of secondary schools. The atmosphere of the autocratic regime and of strict supervision, however, could not be united with the principle of self-activity of the pupils. Even literary and scientific " circles " among pupils were strictly forbidden. No wonder that in these circumstances pupils formed illegal political " circles " which were influenced by revolutionary and subversive propaganda. In 1905 these " circles " formed even a " Northern federation of secondary schools pupils ", which put forth demands of a general character concerning the reform of secondary education. All these problems, as well as problems of constitutional government, were undoubtedly outside the competence of boys, but the liberal intelligentsia supported this movement at that time. During the Duma period the position was a little better. Some private schools encouraged the activity of pupils and introduced new principles of physical training. The absence of sports and games in Russian schools and the strictly military character of official gymnastics under the guidance of Army officers was characteristic of the old regime. The new ideas made some progress after the revolution of 1905. In this respect the activity of the well-known educationist Lesgaft, who elaborated a new scientific system of physical training, was of great importance. He founded in St. Petersburg a special Institute of Physical Training from which many new teachers graduated. At that time was also founded the " Settlement " of Stanislaus Shatsky, where the founder attempted to create a " School of Life " in which the pupils themselves took an active part in the organization of school life. In 1910 the boy-scout movement was started which, connected with the system of excursions, has greatly promoted the habits of self-government among the pupils. In

order to counterbalance this movement, suspicious by its liberalism to the Government, the latter also tried to introduce new methods of physical training. Several hundreds of Czech " Sokols " were invited to Russia to introduce the Czech system of Sokol gymnastics which played such an important role in the regeneration of the Czech nation. Side by side with it the Government promoted the movement of " Poteshnye ", a kind of cadet training among the pupils of secondary schools. But this movement, led by reactionary and nationalistic groups from the start acquired a pronounced militarist character. In uniforms, with toy rifles on their shoulders, children and adolescents paraded before military authorities and even before the Tsar himself, and much of their activity was spent in preparation for such functions. Met with suspicion from the intelligentsia this movement gradually lost ground and disappeared altogether before the War. The Great War greatly promoted the growth of activity among the pupils of secondary schools and boy-scouts. The circles in the upper forms of secondary schools and among boy-scouts for helping the troops and the wounded could not be prohibited at that time by the Government. The Revolution of 1917 brought with it a radical change. The Provisional Government allowed the pupils to form various circles in schools as well as outside the latter. The boy-scouts and girl-guides were actually encouraged and promoted by the Government, so that at the time of the Bolshevist coup d'etat the organization numbered more than 50.000 members.

During the first period of its educational policy the Soviet Government proclaimed the most extreme views concerning school discipline. The new Soviet school was

pictured as a kind of "Commune" or a "Collective" where pupils should play even a greater role in the administration of the school than the teachers, who were suspected politically. We have seen (chapter II) how these views influenced the Education Act of 1918, which forbade any kind of punishment and gave to the pupils the right of a deciding vote in the Pedagogical Councils. In practice however it led, according to the evidence of Soviet educationists themselves, to an extraordinary lowering of discipline and to disorganization. The pupils spent a great part of their time in conferences and meetings, which attempted to solve problems beyond their understanding. Very soon the children were tired of this game and lost any interest in it. It is interesting to note that pupils' self-government from the start was opposed to the abolition of punishments. Pupils' courts liberally administered punishments, sometimes very severe. Only in those boarding schools, where some talented educationists were at the head, could pupils' self-government thrive and give positive results. The extraordinarily hard conditions of life during those years put before children the problem of self-help and even the necessity of providing food and fuel with their own hands. In these conditions some forms of self-government were very suitable and helpful.

During the second period of its educational policy the Soviet Government radically changed its views. The Act of 1923 entrusted the administration of the school entirely to a headmaster appointed by the local educational authority. Not only the pupils but even the assistant masters were deprived of any right of participation in management. In accordance with it the "Theses" of the State Scientific Council (GUS) circulated among the schools in 1923 quite

differently define pupils' self-government. Self-government is not a means for school management, it does not free the teacher of his responsibility to maintain discipline in his class. It is not an imitation of the Soviets—State organs of administration—as it was very often understood during the first period. Self-government is a spontanuous activity of pupils, united by common interests outside the official curriculum of the school. It must grow organically out of the children's life and not be imposed on them from outside ; it must be an " organization of school life ", a " business participation of children in the life of adults ". The collective work of children must be its object. During the period of 1922-25 this more correct and realistic point of view was actually realized in practice. In every class were elected " Class Committees ", in every school—" Pupils' Committees " which organized celebrations, processions etc. In some schools various commissions were organized, for instance : sanitary commission, excursion commission, text-book commission and the like. The schools promoted the activities of various " circles ", such as circles of naturalists, of literature, of chess players, theatrical circles and others. In some villages were organized circles for combating illiteracy, and children endeavoured to teach their parents and neighbours the three R's. In some places were active the circles of political grammar and of anti-god propaganda. But in spite of the enthusiasm of the teachers pupils' self-government, as Mrs Krupskaya said in 1925, was not progressing well. Its development was hindered by prevalent conditions of school life, when the majority of schools had to work in two or even in three shifts and the school buildings were not available for social activities. From 1925, when the school examinations

were reintroduced more emphasis was laid on instruction and no time was left for " self-government ". However, the movement has been influenced most perniciously by the rigid " class policy " since 1925, which brought into the school the Communist methods of " class war ".

During the first period of educational policy the Soviet educationists did not think necessary to organize children in special Communist unions. The school was represented as a cradle of the future Communist society and the participation of children in the " class war " seemed to be unnecessary and unpedagogical. Since the introduction of the New Economic Policy the conditions have changed. The Union of Communist Youth (Komsomol) was organized and the Party consciously sought to prepare a " new shift " by involving children in political struggle. In accordance with Communist tradition the Komsomol endeavoured to monopolize the youth movement and demanded the prohibition of all " non-proletarian " organizations of youth. As we have mentioned already the boy-scout movement was successfully progressing in 1917. During the civil war, however, the organization was divided between the two opposing armies and experienced a temporary setback. With the end of the war the organization was again revived in 1920. In order to counterbalance this " bourgeois " movement it was decided to organize a rival Communist movement on similar lines. Thus the organization of " Youthful Communists " was started and many boy-scout groups, in order to survive, joined the new movement. They retained, however, the methods and practices of boy-scouts and tried to be non-party. The Communists soon realized that this organization is the same old " bourgeois " boy-scouts, only renamed. It was decided to start afresh on

strictly partisan lines. In 1922, the present organization of the Pioneers of Communism was founded (the full name " The Children's Communist organization of Young Pioneers in the name of Comrade Lenin "). It took over from the boy-scouts the methods of work and even their terminology, adding only Communist slogans filled with Marxist ideology. From the start the Pioneers put themselves in sharp opposition to the boy-scouts. In May, 1922, the Scout Masters, in spite of the warning of the Komsomol, convened a conference of scout leaders which was attended by 40 representatives from different provinces. The conference was arrested by the G. P. U. (political police) and the delegates were compelled to disband their organization. As one Soviet historian says " after this debacle of the scout movement the Komsomol took over all the experience which was accumulated by the scout masters." The Pioneers increased very rapidly. In 1923 there were only 4.000 members, in 1924 10.000 and in 1926 the number of Pioneers had already risen to 1.800.000.

The pioneers are organized in brigades, each brigade having some institution as a basis. In rural districts the brigades are centred around local schools , in the towns on the contrary, around some place of " production ", so that the child should associate its life with industry from the earliest period. Each Pioneer Brigade is assigned to a Komsomol cell, one of the members of which becomes the leader of the brigade. Every child before being admitted has to give a promise in the presence of the brigade and representatives of the Komsomol and the Party . The text of the promise runs thus : " I, a young Pioneer of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in the presence of my comrades solemnly promise that 1) I shall stand steadfastly

for the cause of the working class in its struggle for the liberation of the workmen and peasants of the whole world ; 2) I shall honestly and constanly carry out the precepts of Ilich (Lenin), the laws and the customs of the young Pioneers." The five " laws " of the Pioneer demand his loyalty to the working class and that he should be " always ready " to defend the Revolution. The five " customs ", taken from the boy-scouts, speak of diligence, cleanliness, alertness, appreciation of his own and other people's time, his own and other people's health and forbid him to swear, smoke and drink. Loyalty to the working class is interpreted in the " Guide of the young Pioneer " (Moscow 1924) as an obligation to spy on his elders. If a pioneer detects that some " nepman " exploits his employees he is obliged " to denounce him before the authorities and demand a severe punishment for the infringement of Soviet laws ". Thus the duties of a young Pioneer include besides the study of Communism and participation in revolutionary celebrations and propaganda, espionage on his adult neighbours and even relatives. In 1925 the successful Pioneer movement began to organize younger children into the " Union of Little Octobrists ". In all Communist organizations the leadership is secured to the next older organization by an overlapping of ages. Thus in Komsomol the members belong to the ages 14-23. The older members from 21 years usually belong to the Communist Party. The Pioneers embrace the ages 10-15, the Little Octobrists up to 11. Thus the oldest Pioneers are simultaneously members of the Komsomol and the youngest are the leaders of the Little Octobrists.

This children's movement as well as the Komsomol undoubtedly has many healthy features : there is an

enthusiasm, a romanticism, so attractive to young people, habits of self-government and activity, physical training and sports which were absent in the old school. All this is a heritage of the boy-scout movement which even after its disbanding brings its fruit. But all these healthy signs of life are poisoned by involving children in partisan politics, a practice which has no precedent and surpasses even that of the Fascist Ballila.

As early as 1925 the Soviet press sounded the alarm about the health of the Pioneers. The medical inquiry of school children showed that the health of pioneers is considerably worse than that of non-pioneers. Out of 20.000 school children investigated in Moscow 45 % were suffering from anemia and 36 % had a functional disorder of the heart. " The analysis of this fact, " says the author of this inquiry, " convinced us that the chief cause of this overworking is the overburdening of children, not so much with actual lessons (only 3½-4 hours per day), but with social activities, circles, celebrations, pioneer's duties etc". A special investigation of 168 Pioneers in 5 Moscow brigades showed that 25 % of children slept only 8 hours, 17 % only seven hours, 3 % six hours, and that 26 % went to bed at 12 p. m. and later. Since then the position has not changed for the better. All writers, even the most benevolent foreign observers, note the tired and overserious look of Russian schoolchildren. This overburdening of Pioneers and members of the Komsomol with social and partisan activities is the main cause of the failure of the " class selection " in the schools about which we spoke in chapter VII. " It is known to everybody, " writes a well known Soviet educationist, " that Pioneers and members of the Komsomol, the Communist pupils, as

a rule almost without exception, put social activities before instruction ". The consequence is the reverse selection of proletarian children in the upper forms of secondary schools. The " class policy " in the school is defeating itself, proving once more that the school cannot be made a simple means of political propaganda.

The Communist children's movement could have had only a pernicious influence on the practice of pupils' self-government. The duties of Pioneers include the organization of special " Pioneer Forposts " in the schools which have to be " unconditional leaders of the inner life of the school and take an active part in the building up of its cultural and educational sides ". The " Forposts " are obliged to propagate in the school international and anti-religious views, they have to arrange political discussions and reading of newspapers. A special guide for pupils' self-government (1926) recommends the teacher to consult the " Forpost ". " The Pioneers are the first friends and helpmates of the teacher. It is necessary to elect as many Pioneers as possible to the Pupils' Committee, and the various commissions ; the teacher should select his candidates and the Forpost its own. Then the teacher should not impose his will, but should agree with the Pioneers. The final right to select candidates for pupils' self-government should be retained with the Council of the Forpost ". Such is the position if the teacher is loyal towards Communism. If however he is neither a Communist nor a member of the Komsomol the Forpost is obliged to spy on him. No wonder that in 1925 the Union of Educational Workers deemed necessary to publish a special book on " The Teacher and the Komsomol " in which the teachers, especially rural, are defended from the

supervision of too zealous Komsomol. In these conditions pupils' self-government retains only the outer shell, whilst the contents are entirely distorted by the Communist monopoly in the school. All active children are excluded from participation in self-government if they are not Pioneers, but the latter are overburdened with political and partisan work which undermines their health. Even the official introduction to the new programmes of 1927 says the following : " The investigations of the inspection of the Commissariat concerning discipline have shown that in the schools of the Second Grade certain results have been attained. But these achievements not seldom are bought with the price of considerable lowering of the work of self-government. Sometimes the organs of self-government have been transformed into punitive commissions behind which stands the teacher. Because of that the interest in self-government among pupils is waning, it ceases to embrace large masses of pupils ". Discipline is restored because punishments are freely used, including even expulsion from the school, although the Act of 1923 forbidding any punishments is not repealed. Pupils' self-government actually does not exist except in a few experimental schools and purely Communist institutions, where all the pupils are members of the Komsomol. But just these schools are exhibited to foreign visitors as examples of the Soviet system of pupils' self-government. During the last years the Soviet press has often written about the existence of illegal organizations among the pupils. That would be only a natural result of present conditions. It is naive to think that in the atmosphere of dictatorship and monopoly of the Communist Party such an institution as pupils' self-government could thrive. The

number of Pioneers and members of the Komsomol in educational institutions in 1926 was 1.400.000 and 160.000 respectively, together only about 1.600.000 out of 11.500 000 pupils and students. That means that only 14 % of pupils can in practice take part in pupils' self-government.

The Communist children's movement, is however, a fact of very great importance. The attempt of the dying Tsarist regime to organize a kind of patriotic cadet corps among the pupils was a complete failure. But the Soviet Government succeeded in organizing a similar movement on a much larger scale. Owing to the Pioneers the Russian school is much more militarized at present than, at any time before. The numerous Pioneers celebrations, processions and parades are permeated with a specific militarist spirit. The Soviet Government is quite consciously moving towards a complete militarization of general education. In 1929 were issued the Regulations for military education and training in the schools of the Second Grade. According to these regulations military training is introduced in all secondary schools in the three upper forms, and includes : general knowledge of the organization of the Red Army, Army Regulations, shooting practice, military topography, military drill, technical methods of warfare and sanitary education. The teaching is entrusted to the officers of the Red Army and supposes theoretical and practical training during 60 hours per annum. That means two hours weekly, i. e. the same time as is devoted to physical training according to the new programmes. The military training which is realized under the combined supervision of the Commissariat of Public Instruction and the Administration of the Army (PUR) will evidently

be supplied with sufficient means, unlike the small sums which were assigned for sports and gymnastics. The physical training of pupils is threatened by the substitution of pure military drill, although at one time (1920-23) it seemed that the Soviet Government was moving in the right direction when the former Courses of E. Lesgaft were transformed into a well equipped Institute of Physical Training.

The short experience of pupils' self-government during the revolutionary years has left its traces, however, on Russian pupils. Many foreign observers point out the independence, unconstraint and maturity of Russian pupils, which is explained by the hard experience of their childhood and unusually difficult conditions of life. And pupils' self-government, notwithstanding its distortion, still continues to exist formally. The Pioneers and the Komsomol themselves oppose often the authorities and the Communist Party, exhibiting with it the romanticism so peculiar to youth, which can hardly be subordinated to the opportunism of daily politics. Sports and games as in Western Europe during the post-war years, have caught the imagination of Russian youth and the movement is steadily growing. Many Pioneers and young Communists join these organizations solely for sporting purposes. All these facts are laying a foundation for a better future of Russian youth and ensure the impossibility of returning to the old school discipline which was prevalent before the Revolution.

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CHAPTER X

EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

In Russia as in all other countries there is a large number of children, who are abnormal either physically or mentally. A third group, morally defective children, must be added to the number of exceptional children. These children form an especially large group in Soviet Russia after the civil war and Revolution. There are no reliable statistics as to the exact number of children of all these groups. Some approximate estimates give the number of blind children of ages 1-18 years as about thirty thousand and the number of deaf children of the same ages approximately 80 000. The number of mentally defective is not known even approximately, but if we take the percentage of these children in other countries as a measure, Russia must have about 200.000 mentally defective children of school age. If we add to this number the epileptics, the partially blind and deaf children as well as crippled, the total number of physically and mentally defective children will probably amount to a half of a million. The number of morally defective children cannot be estimated even approximately. In the exceptional conditions of civil war, Revolution and famine of 1921-22 millions of children were abandoned by their families or have lost both of their parents. The great majority of these children were normal in all respects and some of them were very capable and even gifted but the special circumstances of wandering and destitute life developed in many of them criminal tendencies. The

majority of these children therefore must be classified as morally abnormal. The total number of destitute children ran at one time into seven million according to the statement of Mrs. Krupskaya (Lenin's widow). Thus Russia is faced with a problem which does not exist in any other country. The Soviet Government cannot escape, at any rate a partial, responsibility for such a state of affairs. Never in the history of mankind were such great numbers of children left entirely to their own resources.

We shall deal with the physically and mentally defective children first. The first institutions for physically defective children were founded by Alexander I. In 1806 in St. Petersburg was opened the first State school for the Deaf and in 1807 the French pioneer V. Hauy came to Russia and founded the first school for the Blind. Since then many other schools for both groups have been founded by various private bodies. The first school for crippled children was established by private initiative in 1892. The Imperial Government, however, besides giving some subsidies to private institutions did not take much interest in the education of defective children. The magnitude of the problem was even not suspected and public attention was not yet attracted to it. The feeble minded children were left quite unnoticed by the authorities and there was no provision for them till the end of the century. The first private school for the feeble minded was established in St. Petersburg only in 1882. But in 1908 the Moscow Municipality took the initiative and founded special classes for feeble minded children. In 1912 the St. Petersburg Municipality followed the example of Moscow. But there were no State institutions for this group. After the Revolution new schools for mentally defective were founded

in the largest cities mostly by local initiative. The Soviet Government was entirely occupied with the problem of adjusting the old system to the new Communist ideas and did not pay much attention to the education of defective children. Only in 1924 a conference was convened in Moscow to work out a plan and a new policy. All existing institutions of this kind were brought into a system and some new schools and homes were founded. They were divided into two groups : the schools for defectives and the homes for defectives which were boarding institutions. The institutions for the Blind and for the Deaf were almost without exception founded before the war, the majority of the existing institutions for the Feeble-minded on the contrary were established since the Revolution. The Soviet Government did not bring any new methods of instruction of defectives, neither has it trained new teachers. The best of the few teachers of defectives are all of the old pre-war institutions. The only innovation is the attempt to associate the defective children with communistic doctrine and the movement of the Communist Youth. The normal youthful Communists, however, shun their abnormal comrades and in practice the defectives have not taken part in the movement as the authorities desired. The second innovation is the principle of selection. As the existing institutions are insufficient for accommodating all defective children of the country, the authorities therefore select the inmates in accordance with their origin, i. e. the so called proletarian children are taken in preference. The total number of these institutions is quite insignificant. Thus in 1927 there were 54 schools for feeble minded children with 7.677 pupils and 34 Homes with 2.771 inmates. That is for a country which probably has not less than

200.000 feeble minded children. The Homes for the Blind and for the Deaf in the same year numbered in the whole Union 84 with 5.832 inmates. Thus of the half million of physically and mentally defective children, only 16.000 are placed in corresponding institutions.

The problem of destitute children, who in the majority may be considered as morally defective, is of much greater importance. The physically and mentally defective children even if neglected can never be a social danger of great importance. The destitute children, on the contrary, form the source from which the criminal world is supplied with new recruits. They possess all their senses, which are even sharpened by their experience. Such children if morally abandoned become dangerous criminals. The causes which created this problem in Russia are numerous. First the Great War which rendered hundreds of thousand of families fatherless and which caused millions of people to migrate from the area adjacent to the front, then the civil war with all its horrors and epidemics and on the top of it the exceptional famine of 1921-22, when millions of people died from starvation and millions of children became homeless. To these temporary causes are added the permanent causes of the Soviet regime. The unemployment, the constant propaganda against the family and of sexual laxity, the propaganda against religion and " bourgeois morality "—all these causes contribute not in a small degree to the present state of affairs, when the army of destitute children receives annually new recruits and their number has become more or less stabilized. During the first years the Soviet authorities sincerely thought that it was a temporary problem caused by War and Revolution . But later they could not deny its permanent character. Mrs Krupskaya

wrote at the end of 1925 : " 75 % of destitute children are not a product of past calamities and disorganization, they are the result of the present conditions—unemployment and pauperism among the peasants ". Of course the Communists will never agree that their propaganda is one of the contributing causes. On the contrary, they think even now that by propagating the new morality of Communism among children they are helping to solve this problem.

The policy of the Government towards destitute children underwent several changes. During the first years when the communistic dreams were not yet shattered the destitute children were welcome material for a communistic experiment. The Communist leaders wanted to supplant family life by communal living on the lines of a Platonic State. This experiment we have already mentioned in Chapter II. They have not realized the magnitude of the task and the financial sacrifices it involves. They have build up a vast system of Children's Homes which at one time housed about 800.000 inmates. Besides orphans and destitute children many working families were persuaded to hand their children to the State institutions. But the lack of money and of organization was an obstacle which even the original communist enthusiasm could not surmount. Instead of being the cradles of future communistic society these institutions became the " children's graveyards " or the " factories of angels " as they were called by the public. The authorities were obliged to close many of these homes and to send home all those children who had their families or relatives. The famine of 1921-22 again filled all existing institutions with destitute children and the Government was obliged once again to open already closed homes. That was the most difficult period.

Without the generous help of the American Relief Administration, the Society of Friends and the Save the Children Fund, the Soviet Government would not have been able to save millions of children from the slow and cruel death But as soon as the critical moment passed the Government again began to close Children's Homes and to send children back to their provinces. Now the Communists declared that during the transition period towards the communistic society, the family cannot be abolished and therefore the State institutions should be open only to orphans and half-orphans. The Homes were cleared of all children who had parents, irrespective of their ability to maintain them. Many impoverished peasant families were unable to accept their children back and the children again returned to their wanderings. In this way, although the total number of destitute children never again reached the incredible figure of seven millions, the problem of destitute children has become permanent. The number of these children fluctuates between 400 000 and half a million.

The radical change in the Soviet policy happened in 1924 when a second Congress of the Social-Legal Guardianship of Children was convened in November. The Congress officially recognized that the State is unable to cope with the problem without the help of the public. Therefore the task should be divided, the State should provide only for the orphans and " Soviet society " should take care of all other destitute children. However, this recourse to private initiative was very limited. Only the members of the Communist Party and of Trade Unions were allowed to form the so-called societies of Children's Friends, the other groups of the population being forbidden to form private societies for this purpose. These societies distri-

buted children among peasant families and collected funds among its members. The reform changed the composition of inmates in the State institutions. In 1924 in all Children's Homes there were 76 % of orphans, 29.5 % of half-orphans and only 3.5 % of children who had both parents alive, but who had lost connection with their families. Side by side with this reorganization, the Second Congress changed the methods of treatment. Previously the authorities treated the majority of the destitute children as morally defectives and many Homes were officially called as those for morally defectives. The Second Congress declared that all destitute children are the result of the capitalistic order and are quite normal, being only the victims of the economic conditions. The theory of moral defects was declared to be entirely wrong and of bourgeois origin. Therefore all so called morally defectives should be brought up together with the rest of the children. In fact, however, the division into two types of Children's Homes was retained. Till now in the official abstracts we find Homes for morally defectives. But this decision has affected the treatment of children. Before they were treated as unfortunates who needed medical attention rather than disciplinary punishment. Now this theory was declared a bourgeois sentimentalism and children were to be trained for work, if need be by force and punishment. The Commissar of Health Semashko in 1926 wrote in " Pravda " : " The institutions for the children of the street should have a special regime. The basis of the regime should be firmness and discipline. Enough of sentiment ! The regime should be firm, with an iron discipline... The medical institutions are only for insane, epileptic and narcomaniac children. Almost every destitute child is infected by the beginnings

of these illnesses. But all the State Hospitals will not suffice for all these border cases ".

The results of this new policy are not very encouraging. The Homes are filled with children and adolescents who are habitual drunkards, thieves and lead a loose sexual life. They do not recognize the authority of their guardians and teachers, and defy their orders. The teachers in their despair often resort to corporal punishment, which however is prohibited by law. The general conditions in these Homes are appalling. We shall quote the annual report of the Commissariat of Public Instruction for 1924 (R. S. F. S. R.). " In Moscow as well as in other provinces in the majority of Children's Homes the inmates have insufficient nourishment, which in addition has no variety ; there is constant want of clothing—often one pair of boots for twenty children, one overcoat for ten children ; lack of furniture—one bed for two-three people, crowding together, antihygienic conditions and as a result of all this, mass infection of children with skin diseases, consumption and bone tuberculosis, eye and other diseases ". " Owing to lack of accommodation in hospitals the Homes are crowded with epileptic, insane, idiot and even siphylitic children ". According to the last Report of the Moscow Commissariat for 1928, conditions have not improved during the last years. The Report states that the buildings are absolutely unsuitable and quite dilapidated owing to a total absence of any repairs, that the equipment is insufficient and in some places entirely absent (often ordinary chairs and tables are lacking), that in many Homes the furniture in dormitories is quite old and unsuitable and that children receive starvation rations and insufficient clothing. In order to save healthy

children from infection the Government was obliged to found special Children's Homes for siphylitic children. The health of children in ordinary Homes is very bad. In the summer of 1927 in Moscow several suburban and municipal Homes were inspected by medical specialists. According to their report, the percentage of healthy children was as follows : in suburban Homes 29 % of boys and 31 % of girls, in the city Homes — 29 % of boys and 43 % of girls. Tuberculosis alone claimed 29 % of boys and 19 % of girls. If the Homes in the capital are in such conditions it is not probable that in the provinces the position is better. The number of Homes is continuously decreasing. In 1922 there were in the Union about 8.000 Homes with 700.000 inmates. In 1924—4.785 Homes with 340,000 children and in 1927 only 2.023 Homes with 183.000 children. This decrease does not mean the successful solution of the problem; it means that the State more and more relegates the responsibility for destitute children on to the shoulders of the public at large.

Destitute children together with defective children are under the administration of the Department of Social-Legal Guardianship of Children. This Department is a subdivision of the Department of Social Education of the Commissariat of Public Instruction. It administers directly, however, only the institutions for exceptional children. For the supervision of children outside the institutions a special Institute of Social Inspection was established in 1921 by the decree of September 22. The task of this Inspection is twofold : a) the struggle with pauperism, prostitution and crimes among children and help to destitute children and b) defence of children from exploitation and cruelty in their families and in private employment. The Inspec-

tors are called Brothers and Sisters of Social Help. They are under the direction the Department of Social-Legal Guardianship of Children. Their duties include: 1) policing the public places, doss-houses and other resorts of criminals. They have to arrest all destitute children and transfer them to the appropriate institutions. 2) To observe the behaviour of children outside their homes and to stop hooliganism, drinking, smoking, card playing and swearing. 3) To inspect private homes and to prevent exploitation and cruelty and misdemeanour. 4) To guard their physical and moral wellbeing and to prevent accidents to children. 5) To inspect in general the conditions of life of children and adolescents. Unfortunately the number of these inspectors is insufficient to cope with so many destitute children. On the other hand the law allows young persons of 18 to be appointed as inspectors if they are members of the Union of Communist Youth. All other citizens must be at least 21 years and of unimpeachable character. This is a serious mistake as the young Communists are not steady themselves and cannot perform such responsible duties. The inspectors arrest disorderly or destitute children and bring them to special institutions which are called " Receptors ". These are temporary Homes where children are inspected by specialists and classified. Some are returned to their parents, some are distributed among permanent Homes and defectives are sent to special Homes. There are (1927) about two hundred of these Receptors which temporarily house about 12,000 children. The results of the last investigation made by the Moscow Commissariat in 1928 among 1.100 destitute children detained in the Receptors show that 43 % of them were

habitual vagabonds who had lived in the streets for two and more years; 14.8 % of them from 3 to 5 years, 9.4 % more than five years. Only 51.2 % spent less than a year in the streets and the insignificant remainder (6.4 %) had had no such experience. 17.7 % of these children were registered as criminals and 10.5 % of them served their terms in places of detention. 73.5 % of all investigated children were adolescents of twelve years and more and only 26.5 % were children of younger ages. The causes of their vagabond life were various: 52 % went to the streets owing to the death of both parents, 30 % as a result of starvation and poverty of their families, 10.9 % ran away from the cruelty of their parents and 7 % in consequence of lack of supervision. The origin of these 1.100 children was as follows: 35.4 % children of workers, 47 % children of peasants, 5.6 % children of officials and others 10.8 %. The detailed statistics show that among youthful offenders occurred murderers, some of whom had committed this crime for the second time. There is no special treatment of these young criminals, who are usually distributed among other children and are considered more as victims then as offenders. The success of the prudential training in these institutions is very doubtful. The discharged adolescents very often relapse into the same habits and crimes from which they had to be cured. It is no wonder that meagre results are attained if we remember the conditions of these Homes and the methods which are employed.

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CHAPTER XI

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

It is a curious coincidence, that during reactionary periods the Russian Government has always devoted much attention to vocational education. Reaction and vocational education are not necessarily connected in themselves. In Russia, however, general education was always regarded by the Government with certain suspicion and the latter tried to divert the existing thirst for knowledge into vocational channels. The Soviet Government faithfully followed the tradition established by its Tsarist predecessors. During the first Utopian period of Soviet policy, vocational education was almost forgotten, but during the second reactionary period vocational education has become a most important task of the Government.

The first vocational schools in Russia were founded even before the reign of Alexander II, but they were few in numbers and under the direction of various Departments. The first attempt to draw up a general plan of vocational education was made by Alexander II in 1878. However, only in August 1884 was the " General scheme of vocational education in Russia " issued. This scheme, which was inspired by J. A. Vishnegradsky, divided all the professional men needed in industry and trade into five categories : a) directing engineers with a scientific education, b) commercially educated leaders of industry and trade, c) the engineers and technicians who could work under the leadership of scientific engineers, d) skilled craftsmen and

e) workers. According to these divisions vocational education was to be divided also into five grades. These grades did not compose a ladder, but each was to be organized exclusively for the preparation of professional men of certain attainments. The Ministry of Public Instruction accepted the scheme in its general outlines, but instead of establishing five grades of vocational education only instituted four. The Statute was issued in 1888. By it the vocational schools were divided into the following four groups : a) the Crafts and Industry Schools, b) the Lower Technical Schools, c) the Middle Technical Schools and d) the Higher Technical Institutes. The first group prepared skilled workmen, the second skilled foremen, the third assistant engineers and the fourth Diploma Engineers. The Crafts Schools accepted pupils of elementary schools after two or three years of study and had a three years' course. There were two departments, of locksmiths and of carpenters. The Lower Technical Schools accepted pupils from the sixth year of the higher elementary schools and the course lasted also three years. There were three departments : a) Mechanical, b) Chemical and c)Building. The Middle Technical Schools accepted pupils from the fifth class of the Real Schools and had a four years' course. There were five sections : 1) Mechanical, 2) Chemical, 3) Building, 4) Agricultural and 5) Mining. The Higher Technical Institutes accepted only matriculated pupils and had four or five years' course. There were several Technological and Polytechnic Institutes and special Institutes for Agriculture, Mining, Forestry, Ways and Communications, Architecture and Commerce. The second part of the scheme of Vishnegradsky concerning commercial education was put into practice later in 1894 by his successor

as Minister of Finance, J. Witte. The Statute was issued in 1896 and divided all commercial schools into four groups : a) Commercial Courses, b) Trade classes, c) Trade Schools and d) Commercial Schools. The two first groups were established for the employees in the commercial firms to help them in their vocation. The Trade Schools had a three years' course and gave vocational education for those who were going into trade. The Commercial Schools were secondary schools with seven or eight classes, which combined general and commercial education. In the special conditions of the old Russian regime these Commercial Schools gave general secondary education for those groups which were discontented with the secondary schools of the Ministry of Public Instruction or to whom access was debarred, as for example the Jews. Therefore they cannot be considered as really vocational schools. The total number of vocational schools with the exception of Commercial Schools and Higher Institutes in 1914 on the present territory of the Soviet Union was 2.877 with 266.982 pupils.

Thus the Soviet Government received a heritage of a coordinated system of vocational schools. This heritage, however, was not appreciated during the first period of Soviet policy. The ideal of polytechnic education seemed to be in contradiction with specialization. The existing Department of Vocational Education of the old Ministry was abolished as superfluous. Lunacharsky three years later himself recognized the mistake: ". The Commissariat of Public Instruction from the start committed a mistake, by abolishing the Department of Vocational Education. We hoped,' said he ", that the Unified Labour School could completely replace technical schools ". The result was

that the local authorities understood this act as a signal and began to close vocational schools by transforming them in schools of a general type. Thus in 1918-19 on the territory of European R. S. F. S. R. out of approximately 1.500 vocational schools with about 170.000 pupils only 475 schools with 33.259 pupils were left, i. e. one thousand schools were closed. The Trade Unions were first to recognize the futility of the attempt to impart a " polytechnic " education in ordinary primary and secondary schools. In opposition to the official aim of polytechnic education they defended specialized vocational education, without which it was impossible to fill the ranks of skilled workmen depleted by war and Revolution. The Ukrainian Commissariat combined with these utilitarian reasons theoretical considerations. We have already mentioned in the third Chapter the views of the Ukrainian educationists. In Russia proper they did no go so far as to subordinate the whole educational system to vocational aims. There the vocational schools were established side by side with the system of general education and not as a second step of the whole system as in the Ukraine. By the decree of 29 January, 1920, the Department of Vocational Education was reestablished under the name of the Chief Committee of Vocational Education (Glavprofobr). Officially it was a Department of the Commissariat of Public Instruction, but in practice it was, and is still, almost independent. Not only all vocational schools, but all Universities and other higher institutions, were subordinated to this Department, as any kind of higher education was considered to be vocational.

The new scheme of vocational education was issued on 20 July, 1920. According to this scheme the first step in

vocational education is formed by the vocational and technical schools for adolescents and similar courses for adults. The middle technical education is imparted in the day and evening Technicums and the higher education in the Universities and Higher Technical Institutes. The scientific education of post-graduate students is given in separate Scientific Institutes. The aim of all these schools is to prepare specialists of different qualifications. The vocational and technical schools prepare masters (foremen), the Technicums—engineers of narrow qualification, the Higher Institutes—directing engineers, and the Scientific Institutes research-engineers. Each grade of vocational education is based on a corresponding grade of general education. Vocational schools are built upon the four-years primary schools, Technicums on the seven-years schools and the Higher Institutes and Universities on the nine-years schools. The Scientific Institutes are designed for post-graduate study. As we see, the new Soviet system of vocational education is similar to the old Russian system established in 1888. Characteristic of the Soviet system is a possibility to leave vocational schools at the end of each year without losing the qualification acquired. Every year brings some new qualification and it is not necessary to complete the whole course in order to receive a certificate. The scheme of 1920 was put into practice in 1921 and all existing vocational schools were renamed, thus the lower technical schools became vocational schools, whilst the Middle Technical Schools were renamed into Technicums. Many of the old lower technical schools were also raised to the rank of Technicums although they had insufficient equipment and were staffed by insufficiently qualified personnel.

Apart from these schools, which were in fact the old schools slightly transformed, the Soviet Government established the so-called " factory schools " which had no predecessors under the old regime. The Trade Unions were suspicious of the technical schools which so much reminded them of the old technical schools of the old regime. They wanted vocational schools in the factories themselves in order to combine the daily work in the factory with the possibility of acquiring new qualifications. The majority of trade unionists did not aspire to become engineers, but they wanted to become skilled foremen. Factory schools are designed for adolescent and young workers actually occupied in industry. The basis for these schools is also formed by the schools of the First Grade. The course lasts the same four years as in the ordinary vocational schools. The recent tendency is to raise their standard and to graft them on the seven-years schools instead of on to four-years primary schools. They have to prepare workers for large industrial concerns. The peculiarity of these schools, as mentioned, is their close connection with some individual factory. Usually they are housed in the factory building and the pupils are working in the factory as apprentices. Instruction in general, political and vocational subjects takes usually about 18 hours per week and the practical work in the factory from 24 to 34 hours. The growth of these factory schools can be seen from the following table (for the whole Union) :

1921	45	schools	with	1.825	pupils
1923	639	»	»	42.597	»
1924	745	»	»	68.819	»
1927	903	»	»	99.122	»

Factory schools were established in all branches of industry and the relative importance of each branch can be seen from the data for the Union in 1925-26 :

Branches of industry	Metallurgical, Machines, electrotechnical.	Textile	Railways	Mining	Public works (clerks)	Chemical	Printing	Foodstuffs	Confectionary
N. of Schools	253	127	147	48	36	42	41	37	15
N. of pupils	28.267	16.631	13.106	3.464	3.401	3.394	3.211	2.175	1.788

Branches of Industry	Building	Water Transport	Woodwork	Brick and stone work	Leather	Paper	Agriculture	Various	Total
N. of Schools	11	19	23	27	17	18	17	49	927
N. of pupils	1.491	1.430	1.422	1.091	1.076	1.011	861	4.753	88.372

Such branches as railways, metallurgical and textile industries occupy the first places. Not all of these schools are founded by the Soviet Government, for some of them, especially the railways' schools, existed before the Revolution.

The great majority of technical schools and Technicums are old schools transformed. These schools differ from the old vocational schools not so much in the standard of vocational training as in the kind of general education provided, which at present is chiefly political and even partisan. Quite changed is the classification and general organization of middle vocational education. In this group are now included the former teachers' seminaries, art and musical schools which before the Revolution were not included in the system of vocational education and existed in connec-

tion with the schools of general education. At present all these schools as well as the schools of dentistry and midwifery are added to the former Middle Technical Schools and form the new group of Technicums. The figures for 1925-26 for the whole union give the number of each type of Technicums and the number of pupils.

Type of Technicum	N. of schools	N. of pupils	Ratio to the total N. of pupils.
Pedagogical	354	55.456	31.2
Industry	139	32.734	18.2
Agriculture	182	23.021	12.5
Music & Theatre	73	19.483	11.4
Economics	63	15.216	8.9
Medical	81	15.011	8.3
Architecture	16	4.576	2.5
Communications & Telegraph	23	4.486	2.5
Railways	22	3.838	2.1
Arts	17	2.828	1.6
Applied Arts	9	1.521	0.8
Total	979	178.170	100

The pedagogical, medical, musical, art and theatrical Technicums, which really are not Technicums at all, take more than half of the pupils and the agricultural Technicums only 12.5 %. From these figures it is evident that the Technicums and also the technical schools and courses do not serve industry and agriculture so much as they should do, but prepare professional men for the lower public services. They prepare what might be called a quasi-intelligentsia with an ambition to be equal to members of fully

qualified professions. In the Soviet conditions of lack of intelligentsia the graduates of Technicums very often occupy responsible posts. As a temporary measure it is perhaps unavoidable, but in future the Technicums should serve mainly industry and agriculture.

Side by side with the day schools the Government established evening courses which are intended for adult workers. These courses are usually connected with some industry and are housed in the factory buildings. There are two types of courses: short-term and long-term. The syllabus is similar to those of factory schools and Technicums. With the Higher Technical Institutes we shall deal in the next chapter. The Higher institutions are maintained entirely by the six republican budgets, the vocational schools and Technicums are maintained jointly by central and local funds. Thus in 1927-28 the six Republics spent 16. 736.000 chervonets Rubles on Technicums and 731.000 Rubles on vocational schools. The local authorities in the same year spent on vocational education 29.085.000 Rubles. The last figures for 1927-28 give the following number of schools and pupils for the whole Union:

Type of school	N. of schools	N. of pupils
Technicums	1.038	190.582
Vocational schools	1.417	139.430
Factory schools	903	99.122
Long-term courses	1.074	120.086
Short-term courses	1.303	75.135
Workshops	320	21.585
Total	6.055	645.940

According to Soviet educationists the characteristic feature of the Soviet school system is its vocational bias. The Marxist conception of education as a mere superstructure of economic life caused as we have seen the change of policy during the second period. In the Ukraine the general education was shortened by two years and the second cycle of the Nine-years schools was replaced by vocational courses. A similar attempt was made in Moscow in 1926, but failed owing to the resistance of the Universities and national minorities. A compromise was reached by the two tendencies by which the upper grades of the nine-years schools were to provide a general education with a vocational bias. The majority of schools have chosen the educational bias, but there are schools with a " cooperative ", " chemistry " or even " foreign languages " bias. The latter two are only a mask for a general education with an emphasis either on science or humanities. In spite of this ambitious phraseology the actual share of industry and agriculture in the Soviet school system is yet very insignificant. In comparison with the " bourgeois " countries the vocational education in Soviet Russia is only in its very beginning. The ratio of pupils in lower and middle vocational schools to the total number of pupils in primary and intermediate schools is only 5 % (for the Ukraine 5.4 %). The same ratio gives for Switzerland—24 %, for Germany—19 %, for Czechoslovakia—15 %, for England—12 % and for France —8 %. Thus the permeation of the Soviet school system by economic life is much less than in the " bourgeois " countries. The number of vocational schools in Soviet Russia is not only relatively small; it is even insufficient to meet the existing demand for vocational education.

According to the report of the Moscow Commissariat in 1927, the vocational schools of the R. S. F. S. R. were able to accommodate only 40 % of the candidates.

In Western Europe vocational education is closely connected with industry and agriculture, and is built up, at any rate in its tendency, in accordance with the democratic idea of " selection through differentiation ". Vocational guidance is helping to ensure a free choice of vocation and to adapt it to the abilities and interests of the adolescents. Certainly Russia is too poor at present to evolve a similar differentiated system of vocational education, but there are other reasons as well. The democratic principle of vocational guidance has given way to the principle of class selection in order to ensure the dictatorship of the Communist Party.

In conclusion of this chapter we shall give a comparative table of the social origin of pupils in vocational schools for pre-war and Soviet periods. In 1914 the ratio according to origin was as follows (in % %):

1914	Peasants	Craftsmen & Workers	Gentry & Officials	Merchants	Others
Lower & Middle vocational schools	49.4	32.2	9.2	4.7	4.5
Teachers Train. Colleges	76.5	15.7	2.7	1.7	4.4
Higher Technial Institutes	22.4	31.6	24.5	14.1	7.4

During the Soviet period the ratio was as follows (in % %):

The type of schools	Years	Workers	Peasants	Officials	Others
Universities & Higher Technical Institutes	1923–24	15.3	22.5	34.4	27.8
	1926–27	25.3	25.3	37.5	11.9
Technicums	1923–24	17.7	36.5	31.8	14.0
	1926–27	22.7	30.9	36.1	10.3
Vocational Schools	1923–24	30.1	34.7	20.4	14.8
	1926–27	29.8	31.2	28.0	11.0
Factory Schools	1923–24	80.1	7.6	7.2	5.1
	1926–27	75.8	7.4	13.0	3.8

We notice that even in vocational schools and courses the pre-war ratio was hardly less democratic than now. At present the children of officials form about a third part of the total number of pupils in Technicums and vocational schools. The only exception is the factory schools which cater mainly for workers, but they accommodate only a sixth part of all pupils in vocational schools. We must not forget, however, that a considerable number of people serving in State Departments are registered as workers owing to their "proletarian" origin. The ratio of children of "benchworkers" actually engaged in industry and agriculture would be much less.

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CHAPTER XII

UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER HIGHER INSTITUTIONS

We haue mentioned already that the Provisional Government restored the autonomy of Universities and other institutions of higher learning. When the Soviet Government was established the Universities had completed the reorganization and had newly elected Rectors and Deans. As we have seen the new Government at first proclaimed the principle of self-government, and even intended to extend it, with some restrictions, to the secondary and primary schools. Therefore during the first period the Soviet Government could not abolish the existing autonomy. and limited its control by appointing a commissary to each of the Universities. The innovations were rather directed towards the democratization of the body of students. In accordance with the proclaimed principle of free and equal education for all, on August, 6, 1918, a decree was issued, which abolished the matriculation examinations and opened the doors of the Universities to all citizens without distinction, who were above the age of 16 years. This measure almost doubled the number of students. Thus in 1917-18 in all Moscow higher institutions the number of students was 38.440 and in 1918-19, after the decree, their number rose to 69.645. This influx of uneducated workers and clerks disturbed the normal work of the Universities. The lecture rooms and laboratories were overcrowded and the instructors and assistant lecturers were unable to cope with so many inexperienced students, who unavoidably

destroyed the laboratory material without any profit to themselves. The majority of these unprepared students soon recognized themselves the uselessness of attending lectures which they could not understand and dropped attendance during the first year. In 1919-20 in Moscow higher institutions only 47.604 students remained and about 22.000 new students left the Universities. The attempt to democratize the Universities by leaving the doors wide open to all wishing to enter has failed and the Government had to devise new means. Lenin himself initiated a new way. As experience has proved that workers and peasants cannot attend University lectures without due preparation, the Government decided to found special courses for workmen and peasants in order to fill the higher institutions with actual proletarians. Thus the so called " Workers Faculties " came into being. In the autumn of 1919 the corresponding decree was issued and 12 of these Workers Faculties were founded, mainly in Moscow and St. Petersburg. In 1920 another 35 Workers Faculties were founded in the provincial towns as well. Usually they were attached to some University or Technical College and were served by the staff of those institutions. Only workmen from the factories or poor peasants were admitted, on the recommendation of some governmental, Communist or trade-union organization. They studied for three or four years the ordinary subjects of secondary schools and afterwards were admitted as regular students in preference to all other candidates. Practice has proved that the majority of students of these Workers Faculties could not compete with the pupils of Soviet secondary schools and were insufficiently prepared for University study. But as we have seen the Soviet second-

ary schools cater mainly for the upper groups and if the Universities had accepted students after a competitive examination, then the pupils of the Workers Faculties would have had no chance of higher education. In order to rectify this " social injustice " the Government issued every year special entrance regulations for the Universities. Every year a definite percentage of all vacancies in higher institutions has been reserved for the students of the Workers Faculties and the rest distributed among different organizations. For instance in 1923 the regulations were based on the principle of " class selection ". All the students of the Workers Faculties were taken without competition. The remaining vacancies were distributed as follows : the Communist Party—25 % of places, the Central Committee of Trade-Unions—35 %, the Union of Communist Youth—15 %, the G. P. U. (the Cheka)—3 %, the provincial Education Authorities—2 %, for the peasants and Army invalids —10 % and for the fee-paying students 10 %. The results of these regulations were negative ; the students sent by Party and Trade-Union organizations were as badly prepared as the pupils of the Workers Faculties. The only students more or less well prepared were the fee-paying candidates, who however formed only about 5 % of the whole. The evident failure of these privileged students in their academic work and the growing demand for experts in consequence of the New Economic Policy with its State capitalism compelled the Government to change its University policy. Thus in 1925 were issued new regulations according to which the peasants received 15 % of the vacancies, the working intelligentsia 10 % and the pupils of secondary schools 25 %. Thus the Party and Trade-Union organiza-

tions were given only 50 % instead of former 80 %. In the 1926 the regulations were again changed and this time the principle of " class selection " was not very much pressed. The pupils of Workers Faculties received 35 % of all vacancies, the working intelligentsia—10 %, the non-Russian nationalities—8 % and the Army and other official organizations 2 %. The remaining 45 % of vacancies were left free to pupils of secondary schools who had to pass a competitive examination. The latter includes besides the academic subjects a special examination in " political literacy " which is an inquiry into the political mentality of the candidate rather than a test of his knowledge.

In spite of this careful selection the majority of Russian students are far from being Communists. The majority of freshmen are officially Communists, as it is almost impossible to get into a higher institution without professing Communistic views. Once admitted the students very soon drop the official creed and declare themselves to be non-party men. Among the fourth-year students the Communists form not more than 10 %. The Government was compelled to apply drastic measures in order to " purge " the Universities from undesirable elements. The professors were ordered to examine very strictly all students in all subjects, and special Commissions were appointed to examine them in Marxist doctrine and the " political literacy ". All non-proletarian students who failed in these examinations had to be expelled. In 1924 about 23.000 students were expelled and in 1925 about 40.000 followed their unfortunate colleagues. In two years about 63 000 students were so " purged ". The famous tsarist Minister of Public Instruction, L. Casso, in 1910 expelled

from all Universities about 6,000 students and his action aroused indignation not only throughout Russia but even abroad. The expulsion of sixty thousand students by the Soviet Government was met with silence in Russia and indifference abroad. The students alone tried to protest but in consequence many of them found themselves in the remote regions of Siberia. The repressions were so severe that the Russian students were silenced. The conditions of life of Russian students were never sweet. During the tsarist period many of them were often half starving and continually persecuted by the police. But in comparison with the present conditions of governmental supervision and repressions the persecution of students under the old regime was very mild. The State scholarships are awarded only to those students who have some connection with the Communist Party or the Union of Communist Youth (Komsomol). About a third part of the students get these scholarships which amounted in 1927-28 to 35 Rubles per month (about £ 1. 10. 0 in gold), a sum quite insufficient to meet the most elementary needs. The housing conditions in State hostels for these students are very bad. The majority of students have one bedroom for ten and more persons. Only one reading room is provided for each 200-300 students. Often, however, reading rooms and even dining rooms are entirely absent. The other two-thirds of the students have to maintain themselves. If a student shows some signs of unorthodox opinions he usually loses his scholarship and in consequence has to drop his studies. The principle of free education was abandoned in the second period as we have seen and at present students who do not get State scholarships have to

pay fees from 25 to 225 Rubles per annum in accordance with their income. In these circumstances the measures for democratization of higher institutions had only a relative success. We shall compare here the data for 1914 and the Soviet period. The percentage of students according to their origin was as follows for 1914 :

In	Peasants	Workers [1] & Craftsm.	Gentry & Officials	Merchants	Others
Universities	14.5	24.3	36.0	10.9	14.2
Technical Institutes	22.4	31.6	24.5	14.1	7.4

For the Soviet period the percentage was the following :

Universities and other Higher Institutions		1923–24	1925–26	1926–27	1927–28
Entered	Workers	24.4	32.5	28.7	34.6
Studied		15.3	24.6	22.5	26.9
Entered	Peasants	25.7	29.0	22.2	24.4
Studied		22.5	26.2	23.3	24.2
Entered	Officials	44.5	27.1	36.6	25.0
Studied		34.4	36.8	42.3	39.4
Entered	Others	5.4	11.4	12.6	16.0
Studied		27.8	13.2	11.9	9.5

Comparing these data with those for 1914 we notice a considerable increase only in the ratio of peasants; the ratio of workers and officials has not changed very much. Even at present the largest group of students are children of

1. ' Meshchane i Tsekhovye '.

" officials ". We have to add that these figures include students of the Workers Faculties, which are in fact a preparatory school and could not be considered as academic Faculties. The figures show that the " workers ", the largest group among freshmen decrease in ratio in later years. The same happens with the members of Communist organizations. An official inquiry made in ten higher institutions of Moscow and Leningrad in 1928 stated that the ratio of the members of the Communist Party and of the Komsomol was decreasing continuously in senior years. Thus among freshmen they formed 60 %, among second year students 42.8 %, among third year 20.2 %, among fourth year students 8.5 % and among fifth year students only 3.9 %. Commenting these figures the " Komsomolskaya Pravda ", an official paper of the Komsomol, pointed out that the main causes of this " reverse selection " are the impossible housing conditions of the proletarian students, their unsatisfactory preparation, the overburdening of Communist students with political activity, in which they are obliged to take part for the privileges they enjoy and lastly, the sense of a favoured body which may be exempted from the academic duties of an ordinary student. This failure of class selection compels the Government and the Party to devise some new measures. But the Communists are divided on this point. The right wing, the Komsomol and the " industrialists " anxious to raise the efficiency of Soviet industry are willing to abandon the rigid policy of class selection and to raise the academic standards. But the centre of the Party led by Stalin advocate a further strengthening of class selection, and the second tendency seems to have an upper hand.

The policy of the Soviet Government towards the

teaching staff of the Universities followed similar lines. The autonomy of higher institutions, granted by the Provisional Government, was not enjoyed for a long time. The Soviet Government very soon was convinced that a dictatorship is not compatible with the principle of self-government. The overwhelming majority of professors were non-communists and even anti-communists and naturally opposed some of the innovations. If the Government wanted to produce a new generation of Communist intelligentsia the autonomy of the body of professors had to be abolished. For two years the Government hesitated to abolish the principle which had been upheld for a century by all Russian progressive and socialist circles. But in 1920 the fate of the Universities was decided. In the autumn of that year two decrees were issued about the administration of the Universities. The Council of Professors, which was the legislative body of the autonomous Universities, was deprived of its powers and was subordinated to the Board of the University, which formerly possessed only executive powers. Previously the Board consisted of the Rector and Prorector elected by the Council of Professors and four Deans elected by four Faculties. Now the Board was no more elected by the Council of Professors but appointed by the Government. In Moscow for instance the Board consisted of eleven persons, of whom only two were representatives of the professors, the other nine being appointed by different Government and Communist bodies. Even the two representatives of the professors were usually either Communists or pro-communist professors, as nobody else was eager to belong to the Board in these circumstances. The Board elected the Rector and the Deans and had the authority to deal with all problems of University life.

The election of professors to vacant chairs was also abolished by these decrees. Even under the old regime the vacant chairs were filled by the Faculties by majority vote of Professor-members of the corresponding Faculty and afterwards approved by the Council of Professors, representing the University as a whole. Now the Faculties could only discuss the candidates and present the name to the so called State Scientific Committee, which appointed professors in all higher institutions of the country without any regard to the wishes of the Faculties concerned. The new Boards very soon proved their inability to direct the affairs of higher institutions and in 1924 were replaced by Boards with five members for bigger institutions and three members for small provincial institutions. Three members out of five or two out of three are appointed by the Government and the minority by the professors. The Council of Professors is not altogether abolished but has only advisory powers. Moreover the students send their representatives in equal numbers with the professors and therefore the professors are usually outvoted as the representatives of students belong to Communist organizations. In practice the Councils have no influence on University affairs and very often are not convened at all. The body of professors has undegone great changes during these twelve years of Soviet Government. Many old professors died during the civil war and famine, many were shot as counter-revolutionaries and about 300 were exiled or emigrated voluntarily. Many of professors were dismissed or not allowed to lecture in their special subjects. The vacant places were filled by new men, the so called " red professors " who in the majority of cases have no academic degrees, but are members of the Communist Party and orthodox

Marxists. The abolition of academic degrees in 1919 made this practice possible. Even during the period of extreme reaction under Nicholas I, the restriction in appointment of professors with the degree of doctor or master limited the arbitrariness of the Government. The Soviet measure, meant at first as a democratic reform, was used in practice for undermining the autonomy of the Universities. In 1926, however, new qualifications for University professors were issued and the degree of doctor was restored. The abolition of the traditional " freedom of teaching " was a necessary consequence of such policy. In the beginning of each term professors have to present a detailed programme of their lectures which have to be approved by the Board of the University under the control of the Department of Vocational Education. The " active Communists " among the students supervise the teaching from the point of view of its conformity to the Marxist doctrine. All these measures have but slightly raised the number of Communists among the teaching staff of higher institutions. In 1927 only 6 % of University teachers belonged to the Communist Party. In order to raise this ratio a " campaign of reelection " of all professors was started in 1928. Special commissions composed of Rectors, Deans and representatives of Communist students were organized to examine all professors as to their research work, teaching ability and " social activity ". As a result of all these measures many University chairs are vacant. In 1928 more than a quarter of chairs and assistant posts remained unfilled owing to the lack of candidates, in spite of considerable lowering of standards required. The low salaries (see chapter on teachers) compel professors to combine posts in many institutions. In consequence they are obliged to

deliver about twenty and more lectures per week. There is hardly time left for original research and due preparation of lectures. It is astonishing that in these conditions Russian scientists not only perform their duties but succeed in enriching their respective branches with highly qualified research work.

Although the pre-war Russian Universities did not follow the German practice of unlimited freedom of learning a certain choice of subjects nevertheless existed. The Soviet Government abolished even that small amount of choice. The students have to follow a prescribed rigid curriculum including " political " and even " military " subjects, and are examined according to definite regulations. Such subjects as Leninism, Dialectic Materialism, Soviet economics, military training and drill are obligatory for all students irrespective of faculty.

All these changes gravely affected the life of Russian higher institutions, but the Faculties of Arts and Law suffered most of all. In 1920 these faculties were closed as inconsistent with the new Communist order. The Faculties of Arts were combined with the Faculties of Science and formed new Educational Faculties with the vocational aim of preparing teachers for secondary schools. The historical departments were combined with economic disciplines of closed Faculties of Law and formed new Faculties of Social Science. The Chairs of Philosophy were abolished and replaced by new Chairs of Marxist Ideology. In 1922, however, the demand for educated lawyers led to restoration of the Faculties of Soviet Law. The old Russian division into four Faculties of Law, Medicine, Arts and Science is replaced therefore at present by new division into Faculties of Education, Soviet Law, Social Science, Medicine and

Technical Faculties, which before existed separately. As we have seen, during the second period the ideal of polytechnic education was replaced by an ideal of vocational education. The old Universities with their tradition of general scientific education were not suitable for the preparation of narrow specialists. The very name "universitas" meant a system of knowledge and not utilitarian preparation for future careers. On the other hand the tradition of self-government and the esprit de corps were very strong among the University professors. Their corporative opposition could have been broken only by the dissolution of Universities. In the R. S. F. S. R. this last step was not accomplished but in the Ukrainian Republic even the name of University does not exist any more. As the Ukrainian practice is a more logical form of the Communist theory of higher education, we shall describe it in detail.

We have already mentioned that the Ukrainian Commissariat of Public Instruction as early as 1920 elaborated the new theory of vocational education. The State requires organizers and directors for its factories, teachers for its schools, physicians for its hospitals and lawyers for its courts. But the State does not generally require well educated people who are not specialists in something. The old Universities, with the exception of their Faculties of Medicine, gave a good scientific education, but were not specially concerned with preparation for practical professional work. The old idea of "universitas" was connected with idealistic German philosophy, just as the present system is connected with materialistic Marxist doctrine. The school system and especially the higher education in this conception is an organic part of the economic system of the country. It has to serve utilitarian aims, must

prepare specialists needed by the Government. Moreover the number of specialists of each category needed by the Government has to be calculated in advance by various Departments, and the higher institution should prepare just the required quantity of different specialists. Certainly the old Universities were not suitable for such a task. They were dissolved by the Ukrainian Government in 1921 and replaced by separate independent Institutes for various vocations. The Institutes of Education are vocational higher schools for teachers, the Institutes of Red Law prepare red lawyers, the Institutes of Economics—red industrialists, the Technical Institutes—engineers, and the Institutes of Medicine—physicians. They are quite independent of each other and pursue narrow vocational aims. Apart from these Institutes transformed from former Faculties, there are Agricultural Institutes and Institutes of Music and Painting. Other Republics of the Soviet Union did not go so far, but retained the name and the organization of a " University " having changed their structure on the pattern of the R. S. F. S. R. described above. But the majority of these Universities in the R. S. F. S. R. as well as in other Republics are nothing more than two or three vocational Institutes combined under the same roof. Thus in the R. S. F. S. R. many Universities have only two Faculties, those of Medicine and of Education. The University of Nizhny Novgorod, for instance, has only two Technical Faculties, and so on. The Universities of Soviet Russia have little in common with the old Russian Universities. Having deprived them of their self-government and their freedom of teaching and learning the Soviet Government has tried to transform them into mere vocational schools. With this purpose they were in 1920 subordinated

to the new Department of Vocational Education (Glavprofobr) together with vocational schools and Technicums. The traditional unity of research work and teaching was rejected and old research centres of the Universities were in 1921-22 separated and as special " Research Institutes " put under the control of a special State Department of Scientific Research (Glavnauka). But the evident failure of this policy, which deprived Universities of their best scientific forces and materials, has been recently acknowledged by the authorities. In 1927-28 some of these Institutes were restored to their mother-universities.

The vocational policy of the Soviet Government in trying to connect academic work with the economic life of the country succeeded only in destroying the old organization of Universities, but failed to create any new methods of academic study. This policy rather resembles more the policy of Napoleon, who established a centralized " Université Impériale " which consisted of many vocational Institutes subordinated entirely to the needs of the Government. Here as elsewhere the Soviet Government has followed the example of absolute rulers of the past.

The numbers of higher institutions in the Soviet Republics is hardly comparable with the number of Universities and Technical Colleges in Imperial Russia. Many present day higher institutions would not have been classified as such before the Revolution. All the higher schools of music, drama and art were not before included amongst the higher institutions. Russia possessed 11 Universities, 22 Higher Courses for Women, 16 Higher Technical Institutes and about 20 State and private Colleges and Schools of University rank. The total number of students in these institutions was about 90.000. The Soviet statisticians

give quite different figures. They give the number of higher institutions in 1914-15 as 97 with 110.000 students, including under this heading higher institutions of Music and Art, Veterinary Institutes, Archeological Institutes and some private institutions not chartered under the old regime. By dividing the old Universities into four or five separate Institutes and by creating many quasi-higher institutions they raised the number of them to 244 in 1920 with 207.000 students. All the Higher Courses for Women were transformed into co-educational institutions and at present there are no special higher schools for women with the exception of several Schools of Midwifery. The old Russian Universities had been already open to women on equal terms with men since 1915, i. e. before the Revolution. The number of female students in pre-war times amounted to 25.000 and formed about 30 % of the total number of students. At present female students form 29 % of the total number. Thus the proportion of both sexes has not changed since the Revolution. The year 1923 was critical in the existence of all the newly created institutions. Founded by local authorities owing to the enthusiasm of the first period of Revolution, but without any regard to practical possibilities, they disappeared as rapidly as they were established. In 1923, 95 new institutions were closed. However, many of them have survived and eight large towns owe their Universities to the Revolution. The demand of the population for higher education is constantly growing and these new institutions undoubtedly serve the nation's needs and will remain in future.

We give the detailed figures of the evolution of higher schools in the appendix, here we give the last avail-

able data (for the year 1927-28) for the whole Union :

Type of school	Number	N. of students	Ratio of women
Universities	20	53.009	44.2
Industrial & Technical	23	39.405	7.9
Agricultural	30	22.421	14.8
Pedagogical	27	15.886	51.3
Medical	10	10.322	51.2
Economic	7	9.692	16.2
Art & Music	12	6.860	39.5
Total	129	157.595	29.8

We see from this table that only a third part of the students are studying in the Universities, the other two thirds are pursuing a narrow vocational education. If we consider that the majority of the Soviet Universities are also a combination of two or more higher vocational schools we come to the conclusion that in Soviet Russia there is no room for that general higher education which is usually given in Western European and American Universities.

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CHAPTER XIII

NATIONAL MINORITIES

Russia is not a uniform national State as France or England, but is inhabited by about 80 different nationalities of various races and creeds. Even now after the secession of Poland, Finland, the Baltic States and Bessarabia, twenty three percent of the population of the whole Union belong to non-Russian nationalities. If we add to non-Russian minorities the White Russians and Ukrainians, who form about 24 % of the total population, we get two almost equal halves: Great Russians 53 % and others 47 %. In these circumstances the rigid policy of Russification which was pursued by the old regime could hardly succeed. If the majority of White Russians and Ukrainians and also Jews could accept the Russian literary language as their own, the non-Russian minorities had to learn it as a foreign language. The Imperial Government did not recognize the Ukrainians and White Russians as separate units and therefore forbade the establishment of schools in their languages (or dialects). The non-Russian nationalities, on the contrary, were allowed to found private schools with their native languages as means of instruction. The State system of schools, including Zemstvo schools, as a rule was Russian. Only in exceptional cases during the first two years of primary schools could teachers use native languages. The State secondary and higher schools were without exception Russian. This policy led to an inequality of educational opportunities, the result of which was a much

higher ratio of illiterates among non-Russian and especially Mahomedan nationalities. We should exclude the non-Russian protestants who were even better supplied with schools than the Russians themselves. But they owed their better position to the old Lutheran tradition of universal education and not to the preferential treatment of the Government. This policy of the Imperial Government aroused much opposition among the nationalities and in Russian progressive circles as well. But even after the Revolution of 1905 the State Duma was unable to pass any legislation in favour of the minorities. The policy of Russification was proceeded with up to the last day of the old regime.

Only with the Revolution of 1917 were the restrictions imposed by the Imperial Government rescinded. The Provisional Government proclaimed an equality of all nationalities and permitted the local authorities to found schools for non-Russian nationalities in their mother tongue. Many Municipalities and Zemstva availed themselves of this opportunity and in the autumn of 1917 established hundreds of schools for different nationalities. The first State law concerning national minorities was enacted by the Ukrainian Government during the short period of its independence. At that time the theory of national-personal autonomy was in vogue among the minorities. The Ukrainian Government accepted this theory as the best solution of the problem, and tried to apply it in practice. According to the law of January 6, 1918, the Russian, Jewish and Polish minorities received an autonomy in educational and cultural matters, and any other minority could receive it, if ten thousand of its citizens would petition the Senate. The Ministry of Education established

Russian, Jewish and Polish Departments which were staffed by representatives of the respective nationalities. The practical application of this doctrine met with many difficulties. National-personal autonomy is based on the so called national cadastres. Every citizen is registered in some cadastre, Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish or any other, and in consequence theoretically has the right to attend the schools of his nationality, but is not entitled to enjoy the opportunities afforded by the schools of any other nationality, as the Government should distribute the funds among the nationalities in proportion with their registered cadastres. Many Jews and Ukrainians, although registered in their respective cadastres, preferred to send their children to Russian schools and in practice this law was not enforced. The Ukrainian Republic as an independent unit did not last very long and was soon incorporated in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government solved the problem of national minorities in a different way. It took several years until the present system was evolved in all its details, but the Communist Party from the start declared its intention to afford equal opportunity to all nationalities which inhabit Russia. As soon as the Soviet Government seized power it issued on November 3, 1917, the declaration of rights of nationalities, proclaiming the equality of all races and creeds. The Third Congress of the Soviets in January, 1918, declared that, " The Russian Soviet Republic is instituted on the basis of free union of free nations as a federation of Soviet national Republics ". This declaration was afterwards included as one of the articles in the Federal Constitution. The Communist Party did not agree with the theory of national-personal autonomy. In their

opinion it was a bourgeois theory, favourable to the upper classes and fostering the spirit of nationalist seclusion. Proletarians of whatever origin are internationalists and do not need protection from proletarians of another nationality. If they need their native schools and higher institutions it is not for the purpose of evolving some specific national culture, but in order to acquire quicker and better the common proletarian culture which is international in its character. Therefore it is unnecessary to build up a cumbrous edifice of central organs of all nationalities with jurisdiction over the same territory. The best solution would be a territorial autonomy based on ethnic and linguistic units. The actual policy of the Government was in conformity with these ideas. Such parts of Imperial Russia as during the period of civil war became independent of Moscow and embraced territories inhabited by more or less homogeneous populations of non-Russian origin, or by different branches of the Russian nation, were recognized as independent Soviet Republics, which joined the Union voluntarily and have even the formal right of secession. Thus were formed the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, the White Russian S. R., the Georgian S. R., the Armenian S. R., the Azerbaidzhan S. R., and later the Uzbek and Turkoman Soviet Republics. The three Transcaucasian Republics—Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidzhan formed the Transcaucasian Federation although remaining quite independent in educational matters. All these republics have their own State language and their own legislation. The whole educational system is build up in the language of the native population.

The Russian Federative Republic, which comprises European Russia inhabited by the Great Russians and Siberia,

has evolved a different system of federation. The State language is Russian throughout the Republic, but the non-Russian nationalities living in a compact territory received self-government of different degree. The more advanced nationalities received the full status of a Soviet Republic with a full autonomy in educational matters, whilst the more backward peoples received a status of autonomous regions with limited powers. Thus eleven national republics were created inside the R. S. F. S. R. The first nationality which received an autonomy was the German colonists on the Volga, the German Volga Commune being instituted on October, 9, 1918. Tartars of the Kazan region received their autonomy on April 5, 1918; Bashkirs— on March 23, 1919; Kirghizs— on September 1, 1920; Chuvashes and Karels in June and Cheremises on November, 10, 1920. At present (1928) there are eleven republics and twelve autonomous regions within the R. S. F. S. R. The Ukrainian Republic has one autonomous republic within its frontiers— the Moldavian S. S. R. The Uzbek Republic has also one—the Tadzhik S. S. R. Georgia has two autonomous republics and one autonomous region and Azerbaidzhan one autonomous republic and one autonomous region. Only the White Russian, the Turkoman and the Armenian Republics are unitary States without any autonomous territories. Thus we have four different forms of solving the problem of national minorities. Seven nationalities besides the Russians themselves, the Ukrainians, the White Russians, the Georgians, the Armenians, the Azerbaidzhan Tartars, the Uzbeks and the Turkomans have received a full Dominion status and cannot altogether be considered as minorities. The Russians who live in these Republics are treated as a minority and the native population is

the "governing nationality". The eleven autonomous Republics of the R. S. F. S. R., i. e. the Yakut, the Chuvash, the German, the Kirghiz, the Kaizak, the Tartar, the Buryat, the Karel, the Bashkir nationalities and two the mixed territories of Crimea and Dagestan received a status which might be compared to that of the Northern Ireland. But as all these territories have a strong Russian minority (in Crimea and Karelia even a majority) the system of education is bilingual, both languages, Russian and native, being recognized as State languages within the respective Republics. We might add here that in the two independent Republics—the Ukraine and White Russia—the Russian language is recognized as a second State language and is obligatory in all schools. The third form is presented by the autonomous regions. These territories are subordinated to the Moscow Commissariat of Public Instruction and have only a local self-government. The fourth form is met with within the borders of each Republic in educating the minorities scattered among the majority and other minorities. Thus there are in the whole Soviet Union 24 Commissariats of Public Instruction (eight independent and sixteen autonomous republics). They are formally quite independent of each other as there exists no federal educational authority for the whole Union. In practice, however, unity of educational policy is secured by a strong centralization of the Communist Party which is the ruling body of the Union and has always sufficient means of ensuring its dictatorship in educational as in other matters. Educational autonomy actually concerns only the organization of instruction in native tongues, whilst the structure of the school system and the general direction of educational policy remains the same for the whole Union, with slight dif-

ferences in the Ukraine and White Russia, mentioned in previous chapters. However, the four forms of national autonomy might become in future important factors in developing an actual decentralization of administration.

Let us deal with the various forms of autonomy separately. First come the independent Republics which according to the constitution of the Union of July, 6, 1923, have even the right of secession from the Union. It must be mentioned that this independence is in fact illusory as the Army, the Navy and all communications are in the hands of the federal Government. Moreover all the eight independent Republics are governed by the same united Communist Party. Of all Republics Ukraine alone might claim some actual independence from Moscow, because the Ukrainian Communists are jealous of their rights and are sufficiently strong to deviate from the policy announced in Moscow. All other Republics repeat in many languages what has been said in Moscow and usually translate the Russian decrees into their State languages without any attempt at separate legislation. As four of these Republics, Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaidzhan had their own national governments during the civil war, the policy of transforming the old Russian schools into native was started even before their incorporation into the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government only continued the previous policy and completed the reorganization. In the Ukraine, Georgia and Armenia it was more or less an easy task as there were qualified native teachers. It was different in the White Russian, Azerbaidzhan and two central Asiatic Republics. There were few or even no qualified teachers of native origin, and the languages themselves were not stabilized and had no modern literature worth mentioning. The national-

ization of schools had to be proceeded with gradually. side by side with the training of native teachers. Even now in these Republics the secondary and higher schools are mainly staffed by Russians who teach in Russian. In White Russia secondary schools, and the University of Minsk will complete their reorganization in a few years and the whole educational system will be based on the White Russian language. In the Mahomedan Republics of Azerbaidzhan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan it will take a much longer period, as the Mahomedan population is very backward, especially in rural districts. Thus in the Ukraine in rural districts 54.7 % of men and 26.8 % of women are literate, whereas in the Mahomedan Republics the ratio of literates in rural districts is as follows : Azerbaidzhan—13.3 % of men and 3.4 % of women, Uzbekistan—3.9 % of men and 0.7 % of women, Turkmenistan—5.1 % of men and 0.8 % of women (Census 1926). In these circumstances it is futile to found a University or even secondary schools in the native languages. Attention must be directed to the establishing of primary schools and the training of teachers. The other difficulty in Mahomedan Republics was the Arabic alphabet. It was not well adapted to the Turkish-Tartar languages and the use of it required more time to master the modern curriculum. The Government therefore initiated the movement in 1922 for the adoption of the Latin alphabet. In 1926 the First Turko-Tartar Congress in Baku decided to replace the traditional Arabic alphabet by a Latin transcription adapted to Turkish languages. This new alphabet is introduced now among all Mahomedan nationalities. Turks, Tartars, Turkomans, Uzbeks, Kirghizes, Bashkirs and others, all have to use the new transcription with variations suitable to each

language. This reform made possible the speeding up of the liquidation of illiteracy and in general the quicker building up of the whole system. In 1927-28 in Azerbaidzhan there were already 92.481 pupils in Turkish primary schools out of a total 155.677 pupils of all primary schools. In Uzbekistan—80.967 pupils in Uzbek primary schools out of a total 129.147 pupils. The growth of secondary native schools is not so rapid. In Azerbaidzhan in the same year there were only 4.623 pupils in Turkish secondary schools out of a total 15.263 pupils in secondary schools. The Uzbek secondary schools have just been started, and in 1927-28 there were 2.754 pupils in these schools out of a total 14.139 pupils in secondary schools.

The Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and lately White Russia have completed their reorganization, and their systems of native schools are working more or less normally. The comparative development of native education in all independent Republics may be seen from the following table. The figures give the number of pupils in primary and secondary schools per 1.000 of population of the eight " governing nations " who are taught in their native languages in the territories of their respective Republics: White Russia—118, Georgia—113, Armenia—100, Ukraine—85, Russia—79, Azerbaidzhan—68, Uzbekistan—23 and Turkmenistan—20. From this table we see that four non-Russian Republics with Christian populations are in a better position than Russia herself and only the Republics with Mahomedan populations are behind Russia.

Of the eight Republics which form the Soviet Union the Russian Federative Republic is the least homogeneous and is inhabited by many nationalities and tribes which are at different stages of evolution. The policy had to be here

differentiated and the nationalities had to be divided into separate groups according to the level of their civilization. The Moscow Commissariat of Public Instruction issued on 27 April, 1927, principles of transition of national minorities' schools to their native languages. All nationalities are divided into four groups. The first group are those small and dispersed tribes, which have no alphabet and no national culture. These tribes have to be taught in Russian schools through the medium of Russian, as their own languages are insufficiently developed to acquire modern culture. The second group is formed by those nationalities which also have no alphabet and no national culture, but which live together in compact communities and use their native language in their daily life. For this group the primary schools have to be founded in their own tongue, but secondary and higher education they are to receive through the medium of Russian. The third group contains large nationalities, which have their own alphabets and their native intelligentsia. They are to have primary and secondary schools in their native tongues, but higher education they are to receive in Russian institutions. Special Chairs of their Languages are to be established in the Higher Institutes on their territories. The last group is formed by those large nationalities which inhabit a compact territory and have their own culture and historical tradition. They are to have all educational institutions, including the Universities, in their own languages. This elaborated policy is not yet fully realized, but the Government is acting in accordance with these principles. We have therefore to describe the actual position of different nationalities irrespective of their classification by the Commissariat of Public Instruction. The autonomous territories of the

R. S. F. S. R. are divided into Republics and Autonomous Regions. We have however to divide them into two unequal groups according to the actual position of their educational systems.

The first group comprises four Republics: the German on the Volga, the Karelian, the Tartar of Kazan and the peninsula of Crimea. These territories are inhabited by more or less advanced nationalities, which have their national traditions and culture, especially in the case of the Germans. The Tartars of Kazan and of the Crimea are the most advanced among the Mahomedan nationalities of Russia. The educational system was well developed even before the Revolution and the task of the Soviet Government consisted in transforming the existing Russian schools into native. In both Tartar territories there were many Tartar denominational schools, which were partly secularised and added to the system of native schools. In the German and in both Tartar territories the work of reconstruction is almost completed, and there are many secondary native schools and several Technicums. The Universities of Kazan and of the Crimea remain Russian, but they have Tartar Departments. The Karelian Republic inhabited by a branch of Finnish nationality has not yet completed the reorganization, as the Karelians speak many dialects and the Finnish literary language is unknown to the majority of the natives. Up till now they have few secondary schools and only about four hundred primary schools. Moreover 63 % of the population are Russians who are supplied with Russian schools. The second group comprises seven Republics and eleven Autonomous Regions. These territories are inhabited by peoples which had no literary language and some of them had even no

alphabet. The Russian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Eastern Languages as a preliminary task had to create alphabets, grammars and dictionnaries. For many nationalities this task is accomplished so far as the primary schools are concerned. There are however several mountain territories of Northern Caucasus which have no native schools even now. Native secondary schools are founded only in six of these Republics (Chuvash, Kirghiz, Kaizak, Bashkir, Dagestan and Buryat) and in three Autonomous Regions (Votyak, Mary, Zyryan). There are no higher institutions for the nationalities of this group. In Moscow there are special Departments for them in Russian institutions. The following table gives the number of pupils in native primary and secondary schools for the most important of those nationalities which had territorial autonomy in 1927-28 :

Nationality	NUMBER OF PUPILS IN		Per thousand of population	
	the whole Union	the resp. Republic	in the Union	in the resp. Republic
1) Tartars	290.570	—	81.6	—
a) Crimea	—	21.595	—	116.1
b) Volga	—	100.532	—	80.8
2) Germans	108.072	34.002	90.6	89.7
3) Chuvashs	76.114	50.146	68.9	75.3
4) Kaizaks	69.686	79.820 (evident mistake)	17.6	21.5
5) Votyaks	33.998	29.859	66.8	74.0
6) Mary	27.080	19.478	63.6	78.6
7) Bashkirs	24.869	23.898	63.2	67.0
8) Kirghiz	17.584	16.980	23.0	25.7
9) Zyryan	16.575	—	72.7	—
10) Carelian & Finnish	16.377	4.149	41.7	40.8
11) Buryats & Mongols	9.663	9.343	40.8	43.4

The third form of the problem is met within each of the eight independent Republics and within the frontiers of the 27 autonomous territories. Here even the sovereign nationalities are treated as minorities if they live outside their own Republic. That is the problem of dispersed minorities. They have no independent administrative organs, but in each Republic the Commissariat of Public Instruction has a Department of Nationalities staffed by representatives of all minorities. These dispersed minorities might be divided into three groups. The first group comprises nationalities which have their national States outside the Soviet Union. They are the Poles, Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Germans, Bulgarians, and small communities of other foreign nations; we might add to this group the Jews. All these peoples have their own intelligentsia and native teachers, and the Government has simply to allot funds and the communities themselves are able to develop their educational systems. Usually these groups are better supplied with schools than the rest of the population. The Jews are an exception as the majority of them do not favour the establishment of schools in Yiddish and prefer to send their children to Russian or Ukrainian schools. This section of the Jews therefore cannot be considered as a minority because they speak Russian and often do not belong even to the Jewish religious community. The minorities of Western origin had the following number of pupils in primary and secondary schools with their own language of instruction in 1927-28: (in brackets the ratio of pupils to 1.000 of population): Germans—108.072 (90.6), Jews-Jiddish—116.177 (61.5), Poles—39.285 (108.3), Greeks—13.235 (67.6), Moldavians—11.879 (45.1), Bulgarians—7.668 (72.3), Estonians—6.181 (44.3), Letts—

3.820 (33.0), Czechs—1.043 (41.6), Swedes—99 (52.8). The Eastern foreign nationalities: Koreans—13.827 (81.0), Chinese—338 (3.4), Persians—1.787 (23.8), Sirians—957 (61.7), Kurds—373 (11.9).

The second group comprises the three branches of the Russian nation. Although they are officially treated as minorities outside their respective Republics, in practice they feel themselves the "governing nation". Especially must this be said about the Russians as the Russian language is recognized everywhere as the language of the Union. In all non-Russian Republics the Russian minorities are better supplied with schools than the native majorities. The following table gives the ratio of pupils in Russian and native schools per thousand of respective populations:

Republics	Azerbaidzhan	Armenia	Georgia	Uzbek	Turkmen	Kirghiz	German
Russians	143.1	133.4	177.1	151.7	180.8	149.6	145.2
Natives	67.8	100.1	113.9	22.9	20.1	25.7	89.7

There are two reasons for this difference. First, that Russians inherited a well developed net-work of schools from the old regime and second, that in all these Republics Russians form the town population, which is usually better supplied with schools. The only exceptions are the Ukrainian and the White Russian Republics, where the ratio is as follows: in the Ukraine Russians—74.7 and Ukrainians—85.0, in White-Russia—Russians—40.6 and White Russians—118.2. In these two Republics many millions of native population have accepted Russian culture and language as their own. The nationalist Governments of these two Republics initiated a policy of compulsory Ukrainization and White-russification of these masses, often against their expressed wishes. The Soviet Government, in order to win

over the nationalist intelligentsia, continues the same policy, although the census of 1926 registered 11.6 % of Ukrainians (3.6 millions) and 26.8 % of White Russians (1.3 millions), who had given the Russian language as their native tongue. Hence the difference in favour of Ukrainians and White Russians.

The third group of dispersed minorities comprises those remnants of aboriginal tribes which still live in quite primitive conditions. Before any schools could be founded it was necessary to compile dictionnaries of their languages and write Grammars and text-books for them. This task, as mentioned, is being done by the Russian Academy of Sciences and for some tribes it is already accomplished. It is doubtful if these tribes will ever have secondary schools in their languages, which are so primitive that will hardly be able to assimilate complicated modern civilization. The aboriginal tribes have from one to ten schools for each tribe. The following table gives the number of languages which are used in the Soviet Union in different types of schools :

Institutions	In how many languages
Kindergartens	30
Schools of Ist Grade	66
Schools of IInd Grade	18
Seven years Schools	37
Nine years Schools	23
Vocational Schools	23
Technicums	22
Universities	5

In order to show in what difficult conditions the renascence of many nationalities is going on we shall give two more tables. The first table gives the total number of

volumes in all libraries of the Union according to languages in which they are printed. In Russian there are 36.575.000 volumes, in Ukrainian—1.168.000 volumes, in Tartar—289.000, in German—280.000, in French—227.000, in Yiddish—213.000, in Armenian—178.000, in Polish—161.000, in Georgian—103.000, in Turkish—100.000, in English—63.000, in Arabic—48.000, in Uzbek—35.000, in Votyak—25 000, in White Russian—23.000, in Chuvash—22,000, in Kaizak—17.000, in Bashkir—11,000, in Mari—9.000, in Latvian—8.000, in Finnish—7.500, all other languages have less than five thousand volumes in the whole Union. With the exception of Russians and perhaps Ukrainians all other nationalities have such a scant supply of books in their native languages that it is astonishing how their educational systems can exist. The second table gives the number of University teachers according to their origin. In 1927 in the whole Union there were 13.019 Russian scientists, 1.771 Ukrainian, 205 White Russian, 2.499 Jews (nearly all speaking Russian as their daily language), 254 Germans, 254 Armenian, 205 Georgian. All other nationalities have together only 114 such teachers. The Jews and Germans are serving in Russian institutions. Thus only Armenians and Georgians beside the three Russian branches are able to staff an institution of higher learning. The Ukrainians have many Higher Institutes. The White Russians, Armenians and Georgians have a University each. In these circumstances the achievements of the Soviet Government in the field of national education are very considerable. It is certainly one of the few positive results of the Soviet educational policy. These results were possible through a special system of financial subventions from central funds to the

minorities. Thus whereas the Russians in the R. S. F. S. R. receive from the Treasury about 1.2 Chervonets Rubles per head for educational needs, the Autonomous Republics and regions receive from the same source about 3.8 Cherv. Rubles per head. Without this central help the autonomous territories, usually the most backward in Russia, would not have been able to undertake the enormous work of reorganization. This policy of the Soviet Government may be just and generous, being the only way to repay Russia's debt to those aboriginal inhabitants of territories, conquered during the centuries by Russians and left neglected by the Imperial Government. Unfortunately this policy is marred by the Communist doctrine which pervades the curriculum of all national schools. For many nationalities, some of which are still in nomadic stage of evolution the Marxist doctrine of the struggle of Capital and Labour is as incomprehensible and unreal as some mystic philosophy. They acquire the new dogma as a new religion and simply exchange Buddha and Mahomed for Marx and Lenin. What they really imbibe very easily is the propaganda against the Western capitalist world. The internationalism of the Communist Party is reflected in their minds as a militant patriotism for the first Workers' and Peasants' State which is the fatherland of all enslaved Eastern nationalities. In Moscow they are induced to see the centre of the new Eurasian world opposed to the rotten civilization of bourgeois Europe. But in spite of the partisan character of education imparted, the national renascence of all Russian minorities is an actual fact which brings with itself immense possibilities in the future.

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CHAPTER XIV

PARTISAN TRAINING AND PARTISAN SCHOOLS

All the Commissariats of Public Instruction in all the Republics have three main Departments: the Department of Social Education (Glavsotsvos), the Department of Vocational Education (Glavprofobr) and the Department of Political Education (Glavpolitprosvet). The last Department was established on February 23, 1920 by uniting the political departments of the Party, Trade-Unions and the Commissariat of Public Instruction, while the political department of the Red Army was affiliated to it but retained its independence. We have dealt with the work of the first two Departments, and now we have to describe the work of the last. The third Department as its official aim has the " political education of adult Soviet citizens ". In all other countries it would be called adult education, in Russia however it must be called partisan training, as the Marxist doctrine, the programme of the Communist Party and political proganda form the chief items of the curriculum of its institutions. In its work the Department of Political Education is closely connected with the Communist Party, especially with the " Agitprop " i. e. Agitation-Propaganda Department of the Party. Whereas other Departments have many non-party. officials this Department is almost exclusively staffed by the members of the Party, or of Communist Youth, who are appointed with the approval of the local Party Committee. The interdependence of the Party and the Soviet State is best of

all seen in the work of this Department. Its aim, its methods and its staff are entirely partisan, but its budget is part of the State budget based on the general taxation. In practice the Department of the State and the Communist Party are so intervowen that we have to describe the Party organization in order to understand the work of the Department.

The Communist Party had in July, 1927, about 1.800.000 members including candidates. The so called " cell " forms the basic unit. The cell represents the organization of Communists either territorially, as for instance in the same village, or by institutions, as in a factory or a school. If there are more than three Communists in the same village or the same institution they form a " cell ". Rural cells are subordinated to the Cantonal Committee and town cells to the ward committees. The higher body both for cantons and small towns is the District Committee. The next body is the Provincial Committee which unites districts and larger cities. The Republics form the next step and the last is the All-Union Committee. Each lower body elects delegates to the next above Committee, but the Secretaries are usually appointed from above. The admission of new members is very complicated. Adults are admitted only after a period of candidacy lasting from six months to two years, depending on the origin of the candidate, and after an examination in Marxist doctrine and Party programme. The young people are admitted through the Union of Communist Youth. That is an organization of young people from fourteen to twenty three years of age. It is built up on similar lines to the Party and is closely connected with it. The older members of the Komsomol, the Russian

abbreviation for the Communist Union of Youth, are at the same time members of the Party. In this way the leadership is in the hands of the Party. This Union was organzied in 1918, and originally had only 22.000 members. In 1919 there were 96.000 and in 1920 already 400.000 members. At present Komsomol unites more than two millions of young people. Of this number about 150.000 are simultaneously members of the Party. This overlapping of the two organizations ensures the continuity of tradition and personal contact. Every secondary school and every higher institution have a " cell " of Komsomol. As the Communists are the official leaders of the mass of non-party citizens, so the young Communists are official leaders of pupils and students in all educational institutions. Every member of the Komsomol is obliged to take part in some kind of public or civic activity. As part of this obligatory activity is reckoned the study of Marxist doctrine and general development of their political consciousness. Besides, they have to take an active part in the pupils' self-government in educational institutions, to participate in all revolutionary celebrations, to propagate the Communist doctrine among their families, especially to take part in the anti-religious propaganda, and the older members have to serve and work in the same way as the members of the Party. We have already described the activities of the two younger organizations: the Pioneers of Communism and the " Little Octobrists " , here we are concerned with the two older organizations which work hand in hand with the Department of Political Education.

Adult education in Russia has an old tradition. The first Sunday schools for adults were started by the famous surgeon N. Pirogov in Kiev in the early sixties

of last century (1859). Very soon in all larger towns were founded the " Societies of Literacy " which opened many Sunday schools for adults, that taught not only the three R's but the elements of History and Science as well. The movement was supressed in 1862 by the Government, which was suspicious of political propaganda. Later, however, the Government rescinded the prohibition and the Societies of Literacy began to work again very successfully. The movement had an entirely private character and the schools existed on voluntary contributions and gratuitous work of the intelligentsia. Just before the War the number of pupils in Sunday schools exceeded 100.000 adults. At the end of the nineties, in industrial centres of Russia, another movement—that of University Extension—was started. These courses were not formally connected with the Universities but in fact they were usually founded by young University teachers and were staffed by professors and lecturers of higher institutions. The teaching consisted of popular lectures similar to the old University Extension of this country, what is now called the extensive method of Adult Education. These courses developed especially after the Revolution of 1905. In many towns, for instance St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkov, and Tomsk, these so-called " People's Universities " had their own buildings and permanent salaried staff and developed into independent higher institutions. The most famous of them was the Municipal University of Shanyavsky in Moscow. This University was founded by the generous endowment of General Shanyavsky and was taken over by the Moscow Municipality. In 1914 there were about ten thousand students who could attend not only systematic courses in all branches of knowledge, but different subjects of a practical, vocational

character, such as co-operation, local self-government, education and others. Side by side with the extensive method of education, this University introduced also many Tutorial classes with permanent students. Similar institutions were the "People's University of Lutugin" in St. Petersburg and the "Municipal University of Makushin" in Tomsk. The Moscow Society for the Dissemination of Technical Knowledge organized a special commission for helping the numerous tutorial classes which existed independently. The commission issued Syllabuses for Self-education which were published in tens of thousands of copies and were used throughout Russia. Many outstanding Russian scientists took part in this movement, for instance Sir Paul Vinogradov and Professor Milyukov. In 1910 a Central Bureau of Popular Lecturers was organized in Moscow and united, about 300 lecturers and had branches in more than fifty towns. Both movements—Sunday schools and University Extension—were organized and directed by radical and "Populist" intelligentsia, but Marxists took also an active part and tried to use these movements for political propaganda. Many leaders of the present Communist Party were lecturers in these institutions; thus Mrs. Krupskaya was one of the directors of the Smolensk Evening Classes in St. Petersburg. After the revolution of 1905 the Zemstva also began to take a more active part in this movement. Many of them had already before the War special Departments of Adult Education. Their task was to encourage private initiative in the Sunday school movement and to organize popular libraries and the publication of cheap literature. Especially known were the publications of Vyatka Provincial Zemstvo which were distributed throughout the country in hundreds of thousands.

The central book stores organized by Zemstva served local libraries, to which they sold popular literature on credit and at reduced prices. In 1914 the total number of popular libraries, maintained by local authorities and private societies, reached 8.000. Just before the War the all-Russian Congress of Adult Education took place. One of the members, Mr. Medynsky, who at present is one of the Communist leaders of Politprosvet, formulated the principles of the Adult Education movement in Russia. According to his ideas at that time, when he was still a Menshevik, these principles were : free education, decentralization, absence of any compulsion, public self-activity and participation of students and readers in the general organization of classes and libraries. His formulation was directed against any interference of the Government, which however was unable to take control of the movement. His ideas when he himself became one of the Communist authorities were quite different.

The March Revolution of 1917 partly changed the character of the adult education movement. Encouraged by general enthusiasm even the more backward local authorities established special departments of adult education and assigned large sums for that purpose. The Provisional Government created a new Department of the Ministry specially devoted to Adult Education and also assigned a special large sum. But the general character of the movement was greatly influenced by political propaganda and hardly retained its old aims and methods. In the circumstances of intense political struggle which degenerated into an open civil war, adult education as such ceased to exist. Thus the reorganization of adult education by the Soviet Government into a political propaganda only

concluded this process. After 1920 the local departments of adult education were replaced by branches of "Politprosvet", which worked in close connection with the Communist Party. All kinds of adult education were subordinated to the State and maintained by the State. At first the Soviet Government supposed that primary and secondary education would soon be compulsory and universal and that Universities will be accessible to all. In these circumstances adult education was deemed to be superfluous and all centres of adult education were either transformed into ordinary schools or Universities or closed. The Universities of Shanyavsky in Moscow, of Lutugin in Petrograd and of Makushin in Tomsk were all closed. Of People's Universities which were transformed into higher institutions the majority existed for some three years and were also closed in 1923. The buildings and equipment were transferred to the newly created institutions of Politprosvet. The new institutions are based on principles diametrically opposite to those which directed the old Russian movement of adult education. The principle of neutrality in politics and religion is openly repudiated, extreme centralization has taken place of former decentralization, the voluntary and private character of adult education is replaced by State organization and principle of compulsion.

At present the following institutions are subordinated to the Department of Political Instruction (Glavpolitprosvet): 1. Schools of Political Grammar, Soviet Party Schools and Communist Universities, all three being purely partisan institutions but maintained by the State and 2) Courses for Adults, Workers Universities, Liquidation of Illiteracy Centres, Libraries, Reading-rooms, Workers Clubs and Popular Homes which serve the non-party masses and

are maintained mainly by local authorities and partly by Soviet Trade-Unions and Co-operatives.

The partisan schools present a complete system of partisan education. The lower type of these schools, the Schools of Political Grammar, are established for the members of the Party, of the Komsomol and for candidates to the Party. It is presumed that all members of the Party have to pass through these schools. In 1927 only 15 % of scholars were non-party men, usually workmen, delegated by trade-unions. These schools vary in their curriculum, and teach from four to eight hours per week during a period ranging from three months to two years. The syllabus consists of separate themes such as " industry and agriculture in capitalistic countries and in the Soviet Union ; the cementing of the working class and of the peasantry and the Soviet authority ; the essence of the New Economic Policy (at present—the Five-years Plan of Industrialization) ; co-operation and the road towards socialism in the village " etc. The average general education of pupils in these schools is very low. According to Samuel Harper " many of the party members are assigned to the schools of Political Grammar who really need to go first to a liquidation-of-illiteracy centre or to a school for the semi-literate ". The second type of partisan schools —the Soviet Party Schools— are founded not for average members but for future " agitator-propagandists and workers of political education ". These schools are filled only by members of the Party and of the Komsomol, delegated by different partisan organizations. All pupils receive State scholarships and maintenance grants. The syllabus of these schools is also political, but includes subjects of a more general character, such as Political Economy,

History of the class struggle, History of the International and of the Communist Party, Marxism and Leninism. A special military syllabus completes the curriculum, which lasts usually two or three years. The military subjects include the organization of the Red Army and its Regulations, shooting practice, military drill, military topography, technical methods of warfare, military engineering, military chemistry, sanitary education ; the total number of hours devoted to military subjects, including drill, amounts to 160 per annum. Women are also trained in these schools and form a considerable proportion of the pupils. Before 1926 there were two types of Soviet Party Schools : the School of the First Grade and the School of the Second Grade. They differed in the level of the pupils and of the teaching. Since 1926, when their reorganization was undertaken, all Soviet Party Schools have a two-years course with the aim of preparing " propagandists and workers of political education ". In 1923-24 there were altogether 299 Soviet Party Schools with 25,000 pupils; in 1927-28 their number rose to 593 with 45.000 pupils. The Higher Institutions of partisan education are called Communist Universities. Students of these Universities are recruited exclusively from the members of the Party and Komsomol, having usually secondary education and partisan experience. As an exception non-partisan nationals of eastern origin (Kirghizs, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Hindoos) are also accepted, as these nations have few Communists. The aim of these higher institutions is to prepare the higher Communist officials and teachers of Soviet Party Schools. In 1923-24 there were 13 Communist Universities with 6.450 students, in 1927-28 their number rose to 27 with 8.850 students. The students are usually delegated by

some partisan organization and all are maintained by the State. The maintenance of one pupil in Soviet Party Schools cost in 1927-28 545.4 Chervonets rubles per annum, in the Workers Faculties—484.9 rubles, in ordinary Universities—664.8 rubles and in the Communist Universities—1.101,5 rubles. The Soviet State spends more on partisan students than on others. The majority of Communist Universities are centred in the two capitals. The oldest are the Sverdlov Communist University at Moscow and the Zinoviev Communist University at Leningrad (St. Petersburg). In 1921 a special Communist University of National Minorities of the West was founded in Moscow, with a section in Leningrad. For the Orientals there are three Communist Universities : two of them are in Moscow, the Communist University of Sun Yat Sen, mainly for the Chinese, and the Ural-Siberian Communist University for Russian Asiatics; the third Communist University for Orientals is in Tashkent. Kharkov, Kiev, Minsk, Kazan, Saratov and Uralsk have one Communist University each. The highest institutions are the Communist Academy and the Lenin Institute, both partisan scientific institutions, maintained by the Government of the Union. The course in all higher partisan institutions is of four years and the syllabus a detailed study of Marxism, materialistic philosophy, economics, history and military subjects. The Communist Universities educate the Communist aristocracy, and its graduates are all destined to occupy the most responsible posts in the State and Party service. They remind us of the few aristocratic boarding schools of the old regime, as they have the same aims and the same methods of selection. Their privileged position is emphasized by the abundance of financial assistance they receive from the State. The salaries of the

teachers in the Soviet Party Schools are much higher than of the teachers in ordinary schools, the professors in Communist Universities being paid three times more than the professors of other Universities. The apparatus and the equipment of partisan schools and Universities are the best in the whole Union. These schools are supposed to be compulsory for members of the Party and Komsomol, but during the first period of revolution and civil war the Communists were too much occupied with other things and had no time for attending these schools. Since 1924, however, the obligation was enforced and up to 1927 out of one million members of the Party 368.000 had passed through the Schools of Political Grammar, about 65.000 have completed their partisan education in Soviet Party Schools, and three thousand had received higher education in Communist Universities.

The Department of Political Education administers also the institutions for Adult Education proper. We have dealt already with the Centres of Liquidation of Illiteracy and Schools for Semi-literates in chapter VI. Here we shall mention that the principle of compulsory education of illiterates which was proclaimed at first has been replaced in 1923 by voluntary attendance. The course has also been gradually lengthened from three months to one year. The older peasants avoid these centres, as even the teaching of the three R's is permeated with political propaganda. The local authorities which have to maintain these centres are disappointed with the results and are diminishing their assignments for this purpose. The central governments also assign comparatively small sums for adult education proper; thus in 1927-28 only one million rubles was devoted to that purpose, whereas the Soviet Party Schools were assigned

7 million and the Communist Universities 5.5 million rubles. The second group of institutions for adult education consists of public libraries, reading-rooms and the so called "Red Corners". The public libraries are mostly old libraries established by the Zemstva and Municipalities before the Revolution. Many of them were enriched during the Revolution by thousands of volumes confiscated from private libraries. Even in some village library one can meet now luxurious editions of Russian classics and books in foreign languages, which can be of no use to the peasants. In 1924 the Department of Political Education issued a kind of "Index Librorum Prohibitorum", according to which certain books are not available for the general public. Such authors as Plato, Kant, Schopenhauer, and such books as the Bible, the Koran, the Talmud, are all included in the Index. All books published by Russians abroad are prohibited, and all foreign books and periodicals are allowed for circulation only after a very strict examination and censorship. In some localities certain works of Pushkin, Leo Tolstoy, Turgenev and together with them the works of L. Trotsky (after his expulsion) were banned and even some works of Marx and Lenin are not available. Thus for instance in the province of Smolensk the provincial commission prohibited in 1925-26 the circulation of 4.694 titles. All lists of prohibited books have to be sent to Moscow for confirmation. In order to check the superfluous zeal of some local censors the Moscow authorities have lately published a list of books which should *not* be prohibited. In 1925-26 the number of libraries reached its maximum: 19.749 with 3.516.000 readers in the whole Union. Since then their number has gradually decreased and in 1927-28 was only about 18.000. Only

half the libraries have more than 1.500 volumes. The rest is the so called "migratory libraries" with a few hundred volumes predominantly of political literature and propaganda pamphlets. The " Reading-Rooms " are separate institutions and have been created by the Soviet Government. They were conceived as peasants clubs for reading local and central newspapers. In 1926-27 each Reading-Room was assigned 25 rubles for newspapers and pamphlets. According to the evidence of S. Harper, which is confirmed by the official press, the adult peasants very seldom visit these rooms because the literature available is predominantly partisan. In practice the Reading-Rooms are the headquarters of the local Communist cell and the centre of propaganda campaigns which are ordered from above. The librarian (izbach) is usually a member of the Komsomol and is obliged to lead the " campaigns " in his locality. The number of these Reading-Rooms is decreasing lately; thus in 1925-26 there were in the Union 24.924 such institutions and in 1927-28 only 21.876. They are giving way lately to more primitive " Red Corners ", which are less costly and require no separate building. They are actually corners in the premises of the village Soviet, co-operatives or Komsomol. In 1926-27 25.000 Red corners were founded, in 1927-28 their number rose to 39.000. If the Reading-Rooms with their political literature cannot satisfy the needs of peasants, much less can the Red Corners where political propaganda is lowered to the level of street meetings. In industrial centres instead of Reading-Rooms the Workers-Clubs have been established. They are maintained by special cultural commissions of trade-unions. The Workers-club is the centre of political training, its whole life has to be " saturated with political

and vocational content ", according to the resolution of the Fifth Trade-Union Congress. In 1927 in the whole Union there were about six thousand Workers-clubs with 900.000 members. Participation in the activities of these clubs is officially voluntary. The workers attend the lectures organized by the club very reluctantly and " prefer the church or the public house " as the official press complains. It is explained by the narrow partisan character of the lectures and discussions. During the last two years the clubs began to organize lectures of a general educational character in consequence of the absenteeism of workers from political lectures. Even dancing parties were organized, in which the bourgeois dances are supposed to be replaced by the new " proletarian " dance step, which has to be athletic in character, so as to promote physical development.

Lately, however, is to be observed the growth of a new kind of institution which proves that political propaganda no longer attracts either the peasants or the workers. Both are evidently weary of political grammar. In spite of compulsion, attendance at the institutions of political education has become irregular and the pupils are grumbling, for they say that all they hear in those schools they have heard already in reports or have read in the newspapers. Samuel Harper in his impartial book on this subject gives the results of an investigation in the province of Ryazan in 1926. This investigation " revealed that both types of schools of political grammar, in city as well as in village, are losing their authority not only among Party members and members of the Komsomol but also among the non-party active elements". It was stated that the peasants among the

members of the Party were avoiding these schools. The interests of workers and peasants are directed towards the problems of general education and practical life. The necessity to satisfy these needs and the wish to " withhold peasants and workers from attending churches and sectarian meetings " compelled the Department of Political Education to open classes and courses of general educational value and to discontinue the practice of compulsory attendance at centres for the liquidation of illiteracy and schools of political grammar. Thus in 1926 were refounded the " Workers Universities " (pre-revolutionary People's Universities), closed by the Soviet Government during the first period of its policy as superfluous. In 1926-27 21 such Universities were opened and in 1927-28 their number rose to 62 with 15.667 students. Attendance at these evening classes is voluntary and the subjects taught are more of a general character, such as history, psychology, science, physics, mathematics, or of practical importance such as shorthand, foreign languages, agriculture, radiotelegraphy, rather than of a political character. So, influenced by life, the Soviet educationists are returning to the principles of the old Russian adult education movement : neutrality in politics, voluntary attendance, and adaptation of courses to the interests and requirements of actual workers and peasants and not to the imaginary wishes of an abstract " proletarian " who is supposed to be directed by his " class consciousness ". The latter never existed in Russia and was created in the laboratory of Marxist thought. Unfortunately this new movement is only in its beginning. The Schools of Political Grammar and the Soviet Party Schools still consume the greater part of the budget of the Department of Political Education

and the new movement receives little encouragement. The methods and habits of political propaganda have permeated the work of the Department to such an extent that it is difficult to abstain from them. If during the first period of the Revolution Communism with its revolutionary hopes and enthusiasm had undoubtedly a positive influence on the dissemination of education among the masses, having awakened millions of people, at present it is a reactionary force obstructing the way of the Russian nation towards enlightment and progress. And the thirst for knowledge once awakened cannot be satisfied with ready-made formulas of Marxist dogma. The correspondence schools organized in Moscow by the Department of Political Education show clearly that this thirst for knowledge is constantly growing. The popularity of these courses among peasants is explained by the impossibility of propaganda as the teachers have to answer the requirements of their correspondents. According to the Soviet statistics 50 % of correspondents are peasants and 20 % workers, i. e. these courses have the most democratic body of pupils. All other schools for adults serve rather the officials and the members of the Party.

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CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION.—THE NEW CULTURAL POLICY

Those foreigners who judge the Soviet school system most benevolently, emphasize as its especially positive feature the fact that it is a unique system which has undertaken a mass experiment in unheard of dimensions. In fact the " freedom " of the Soviet Government to experiment over millions of children was unlimited, and the Government used this freedom to the full. During the eight years 1919-27 three entirely different programmes were introduced. The teachers were compelled to change the previous plan without completing it. The famous programmes of 1923 suffered the same fate. Their failure was officially recognized in 1926. It is interesting to note that simultaneously with the official burial of the " Complex" in Russia, the translation of the programmes of 1923 was published in Paris, where the French admirers of Soviet experiments recommended the Complex method as one of the greatest achievements of Soviet educational theory. This constant change of policy has resulted in the disorganization of instruction. Professor N. Rozhkov, one of the prominent Soviet educationists, thus described its results in 1926 in the " Narodnoe Prosveshchenie, " the official organ of the Commissariat of Public Instruction : " The standard of literacy in our schools is exceptionally low. Not in technical literacy alone (the three R's) but in general literacy as well (elementary knowledge in geography, science, physics, social science, mathematics etc.). This deficiency

is prevalent both in primary and secondary schools. The illiteracy of pupils on the background of general reconstruction is noticed by the workers, and Soviet public opinion emphatically demands a change of policy. Complaints were heard from all sides. The peasants complained that rural schools apply the newest methods and teach politics and economics but fail to perform their proper task, i. e. to teach their children the three R's. The Universities and Higher Institutes complained that the freshers were badly prepared and failed to understand the lectures. The State Departments complained that the graduates of the Higher Institutes could not be trusted with responsible work, as they lacked the required knowledge. Russia has paid dearly for those ten years of experimenting which in the end has led to the acknowledgment of failure by the Communists themselves. They were finally obliged to recognize the laws of educational evolution and the logical impossibility of making the school a simple means of a "State propaganda of Communism". In the same year (1926) A. Rykov himself, the President of the Soviet of Commissaries, condemned this policy having called it the "policy of the tug of war". His demand of "stabilized programmes" expressed the general opinion of teachers and even of governing circles. The new programmes of 1927 were therefore declared from the start to be "stabilized". In the introduction to these programmes it was solemnly promised that this is the final change and the teachers now could work without any fear of new change. The sad results of previous experiments were acknowledged and declared to be "legitimate expenses of building up a new school".[1] The well-known American educationist J. Dewey, in his Impressions of Soviet Russia says: "this experiment is,

just as an experiment, by all means the most interesting one going on upon our globe—though I am quite frank to say that for selfish reasons I prefer seeing it tried in Russia rather than in my own country". Russian children are looked upon as a new kind of rabbit for vivisectionist experiments which may bring interesting results for benevolent observers. Another American educationist, Scott Nearing, called the Soviet school a "field of battle" for new ideas. But the number of "dead" and "wounded" was so great that the Soviet authorities themselves began to speak of a "new cultural policy" in the field of education, similar to the "new economic policy", introduced by Lenin in 1922 in the field of economics. As the essence of the new economic policy consisted in the restoration of the elements of capitalism (State capitalism) during the period of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", so the new cultural policy seemed to restore all the essential elements of the old school, retaining only the exterior slogans of the "Labour School", which continued to exist officially. The new economic policy was the result of the interests of the State combined with the pressure of the peasantry. The new cultural policy was caused by the same factors. As long as the State is not yet "abolished" but only "conquered" by the Communist Party it requires educated officials and experts, the so called "specialists". This urgent task of preparing the experts was obstructed by the second aim of the Soviet school—the bringing up of the new Communist "shift". The more attention is paid to political and partisan education, the less is achieved in the field of general and vocational education, and vice versa. The Communists had either to abandon their partisan principles of selecting

the students or to reconcile themselves to badly prepared experts. Thus the constant pressure of the leaders of industrial departments, the so called " industrialists ", has led the Soviet Government to a gradual reestablishment of the Universities as institutions of higher learning. The separation of Institutes of Research from the Higher Professional Institutes which was accomplished during the second period has now been recognized to be a mistake and the principle of unity of research and higher instruction, which is the basic principle of any University, came into force again. We have seen in Chapter XII how this change of policy affected the Universities, raising the standards of academic study by replacing the rigid principle of class selection of students by competitive examinations of the candidates. During the years 1926-28 the " political grammar " was not so much emphasized as before, and seemed to become more or less a formal affair. This gradual change of policy could not but affect secondary schools as well. They had to be adapted to the requirements of the higher institutions. We have described in the chapter on curriculum how this pressure of the Universities changed the new method of " complexes ". The programmes of 1927 have made a clean sweep of the complex method " as any mechanical reconstruction of it would deprive the new scheme of any logical structure. It was necessary to create the scheme anew, taking into consideration the requirements of the present day ", as said one of the Communist leaders in education, M. Pistrak. We have quoted in Chapter VII the new time-table which reintroduced in the First Cycle of the Second Grade separate subjects instead of the three columns of the complex method. In the Second Cycle, the two upper forms of

the Nine-years schools, the new time-table of 1927 is as follows : Political Grammar 3,4 hours weekly ; Russian Language and Literature 3,3 ; Mathematics 3,3 ; Science 3,3 ; Chemistry 2,2 ; Physics 4,3 ; Astronomy 0,2 ; Economic Geography 2,0 ; Foreign Language 2,2 ; Gymnastics 2,2 ; hours reserved for special subjects according to the bias of the school 13,13. Total 36,36 hours per week. Through Universities and secondary schools the pressure of the " raison d'état " transmitted itself finally to the primary schools. As Universities demanded that secondary schools should give systematic education in all subjects, so secondary schools in their turn demanded that primary schools should give systematic training in the three R's and in general knowledge. Though not abolishing the " project-themes ", (this American term is used now in preference to the obsolete " complex "), the programmes for primary schools of 1927 allotted a definite number of hours to the training in the three R's and other usual subjects of a primary school.

In the field of primary education the interests of State coincided with the interests of the peasants. The peasantry was opposed to the partisan propaganda in the schools and demanded training in the three R's and teaching of general knowledge. The old pre-revolutionary rural school satisfied these elementary needs, but the Soviet rural school failed to do so. The Soviet periodical press of the year 1926 was full of complaints of the peasants. The peasants, discontented with the official schools began to found their own, the so-called " contract " schools, which activity the Government was forced to permit. At first these free schools were built and organized illegally, but they were erected in such numbers that the Government thought best

to legalize this movement by imposing certain conditions. Thus the peasants were allowed to erect the school building and to choose a teacher, but the latter had to be approved by the authorities and the school had to submit to the supervision of governmental Inspectors. The Commissariat of Public Instruction was very much perturbed by these spontaneous activities of the peasant population. The organ of the Commissariat wrote in 1926 : " The need of the peasantry in elementary education is so great, that they, irrespective of financial burdens, over the heads of the authorities, found new schools. We are in danger of letting loose the reins from our hands. The opening of the contract schools is a serious warning to us. The peasantry by opening their schools powerfully accelerate the tempo of the development of education, which seems to be too slow for them, and in this way they are correcting the Soviet system ". The other official periodical wrote thus : " Often the peasantry do not wait for the realization of our plans and themselves build the school with their own resources. This is good and bad. It is good, because in this way we are approaching the realization of universal education in the country; it is bad, because the schools founded exclusively by the peasants without the participation of Soviet authorities do not always secure for us the strict line of Soviet educational policy ; very often these schools become a tool of an anti-soviet propaganda in the hands of the " kulak " elements of the village ". These quotations are very significant. They show that there are two processes in Russia which are working side by side. One is the official Communist current which is mainly destructive and the other is hidden below the surface, in the depth of the new post-revolutionary life, and is positive

and constructive. All the efforts of the Communist Party and of the State machinery which they conquered were directed to the destruction of old Russia. Old beliefs and old customs, old morality and old art, the old educational system and the old judicial system, there is not a single institution of old Russia that was not attacked. They started an entire revaluation of values. But below the exterior of the old autocratic regime Russia was rich in spiritual culture and hidden forces. These positive factors were genuinely democratic, and undermined the antiquated fabric of the old regime as they continue to work under the surface of the new Communist order. The new autocracy of the Communists has replaced the autocracy of the Tsars, but in spite of them both the birth of Russian democracy can but be detained though not stopped altogether. By tearing away the dam of the old regime the Revolution let loose the accumulated forces of the nation and flooded the country. But this flood can be compared to the spring floods which accidentally destroy the buildings, but fertilize the soil for the incoming harvest. The turmoil of the war and the Revolution was not lost on the peasantry; they have shaken away the old passivity and actively interfere with the educational policy of the Government.

As a third driving and positive force which compels the Soviet Government to adopt a democratic policy even against its own wish we should reckon the national minorities. We have seen in the chapter on minorities how native schools are developing under the direct patronage of the Government. Although the Government by founding native schools is pursuing its narrow partisan aims, the renascence of Russian minorities has a real cultural value. The communistic phraseology is only a screen, inevitable

in the circumstances, but it cannot conceal the ant-communistic content of the new national consciousness of many minorities. There are still many unhealthy signs of extreme nationalism and narrow provincialism among some of the minorities. There are voices which advocate a complete separation from Russia and the building up of an independent national culture. For the great majority of Russian minorities this aim is not only practically unattainable but even quite impossible. Surrounded by the Russian continental ocean these small islets have no future outside the Russian State and can develop neither materially nor spiritually unless they closely cooperate with the Russian majority and willingly imbibe the great Russian culture with which their more primitive cultures cannot hope to compete. The negative attitude towards everything Russian is a natural and only temporary result of the persecutions under the Tsars and of the Communist fanaticism of the present rulers. The minorities, however, are gradually beginning to appreciate the cultural role of the Russian State and to distinguish the Russian nation from its temporary rulers. They are beginning to understand that a complete separation from Russia is a blind alley which would lead them nowhere and that the only possible solution of national entanglement in Russia is a democratic federation. To this goal the Soviet Government is leading them willingly and unwillingly.

The fourth and the most important positive force in Russian educational politics is the teachers. We have seen in Chapter VIII that even now after twelve years of communist propaganda about ninety per cent of the teachers remain untouched by the official doctrine and are faithful to the old Russian democratic tradition. In spite of

strict supervision and quick punishment, in conditions of great poverty, with insufficient school apparatus and lacking text-books, Russian teachers fulfil their cultural mission according to their conscience. During the long period of the Tsarist regime they were accustomed to a stubborn struggle with the Government and step by step won concessions from it. The heritage of serfdom—the illiteracy and passivity of the peasantry—is gradually disappearing mainly due to their strenuous efforts. Having remained at their posts in the school they continue the same struggle under more difficult circumstances. With unabated enthusiasm they try to follow their own way, which is indicated to them by their common sense and modern educational theory, ignoring whenever possible the imposed official partisan aims. Life itself is the greatest ally of the teachers as it repudiates the narrow and abstract training in Marxist doctrine.

The issue of the struggle between the Communist rulers and the laws of educational evolution cannot be doubted, but it is interesting to observe how the Soviet Government, armed with the apparatus of State compulsion and legislation, has been itself compelled to retreat before the spiritual force hidden in the logic of education. Communist educational theory, owing to its abstract and mechanical character, has only been able to complete the destruction of the old school but powerless to create anything new and durable. This circumstance explains why all the creative efforts come from the body of teachers and not from the Government. This activity of the teachers was by no means limited to those few experimental institutions which were granted a special immunity by the Soviet Government, and which continue to develop the old Russian

tradition of " free education ". Even in the ordinary rural schools the creative activity of the teachers has not been entirely suppressed. The teachers use any possible outlet which is allowed them by the official plans and programmes. In the first instance we have to mention the " regionalist movement " which emphasizes the given locality as the starting point of the whole curriculum. The " complex method " was used by the teachers in this interpretation and if there are any positive results of " complex teaching " they are due to the use of it made by the teachers and not to the official Marxist distortion of it. The " regionalist pedagogics " have created a vast literature in Russia, including numerous text-books and method handbooks, in which the different regions of Russia are studied in accordance with local linguistic, geographic and historical peculiarities. Many first rate scientists and institutions, including the Academy of Sciences, took an active part in this work. This regional pedagogics is closely connected with the renascence of the national minorities of which we have spoken before. The revival of the philological study, the so called " formal school " in linguistics and literature must be mentioned as a second instance. In 1922 it led to a very suggestive scheme for reforming the traditional teaching in these subjects, and many traces of this scheme can be found in the official programmes of 1927. The attempts to apply American and Western European new ideas in education, as for instance the Dalton Plan, should likewise be mentioned. It is especially characteristic for the Soviet regime that all this activity of educational thought and practice was developing quite independently of the official Communist theory and often in direct opposition to it. The years

1922-23 were a period of high success of this movement. The local authorities suffered these activities as they felt the educational force behind them and also because they often understood the practical impossibility of the official programmes. But since 1925, and in the Ukraine even earlier, the central government has increased its pressure on the teachers and the spontaneous educational movement among teachers is beginning to lose the ground. The teachers have had to obey, and to apply the new programmes. According to the evidence of one of the Soviet authorities in education the application of the new programmes was however purely formal. "The living spirit of our programmes," says M. Pistrak, "the Marxist kernel which we tried to put inside them has in practice been sterilized". Having suppressed the independence of the teachers the Government in 1927 issued new programmes which were as we have seen a concession to teachers and common sense. According to the same Soviet educationist the teachers understood these programmes as a "retreat from the complex and Marxism, and having left the instruction of the latter to the teacher of political grammar, they occupied themselves as best they could with the instruction of separate subjects". In fact up to 1928 it seemed that after a long period of experimenting a new period of stabilization had begun. It seemed that the positive factors of the Russian school—the "industrialists", the peasantry, the national minorities and the teachers—had won the battle against the "dictatorship of the proletariat", which was compelled under their pressure to initiate a "new cultural policy". Unfortunately since 1928 the position has again changed. The new programmes, in spite of their solemnly proclaimed stability,

are shaken to the very foundations. The whole school system which seemed to be firmly established, is shaken by the threatening new change. Once more, for the fourth time, the Soviet school enters the period of feverish reconstruction. The results of this, probably the last, period of Soviet educational policy cannot yet be summarized. We shall limit our description therefore to a short sketch.

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CHAPTER XVI

Conclusion. The five-years cultural plan

The newest period of Soviet educational policy is closely connected with the " Five-years plan of industrialization ", which has become well-known even abroad. This industrialization of the Union, according to the Communist leaders themselves, is the last stake of the Communist Party in its struggle for the realization of Communism. This plan has as its aim a gigantic industrialization of Russia by investing during five years about 15.5 milliards of gold rubles in State industry and reorganizing the whole national economy, including agriculture, on collectivist principles. Introducing the New Economic Policy in 1923 Lenin said : " we are retreating now, but we are doing it in order to have more space for a longer jump forward ". The five-years plan, initiated by the present dictator Stalin, is this new " jump forward ". The aim of it is the abolition of the New Economic Policy and the final liquidation of those remnants of private enterprise, which were not annihilated during the period of " military Communism " and which compelled Lenin himself to retreat. They are the private tradesman and the small private industry, the so called nepmen and the well to do peasant, the " Kulak ". Finally, as the clergy are supposed to be the allies of these capitalistic forces, the five-years plan puts as its aim the élimination of all religious organizations throughout the Union. We cannot discuss here the details of this ambitious scheme. We shall only mention that

a considerable section of experienced and more educated Communists, those who were the closest friends of Lenin, declared it to be fantastic and Utopian. Only with the help of the G. P. U. could Stalin succeed in suppressing the " right wing opposition " inside the Party. At present the Party, purged of its sceptical elements, is again united and enthusiastic about the coming " socialization ".

The " cultural five-years plan " is an organic part of the general scheme of industrialization. During these five years the school has to produce the number of engineers, technicians, agriculturists, foremen and skilled workmen, which is necessary for the industrialization of the country and collectivisation of agriculture. Secondly the school has to succeed in liquidating illiteracy and " religious prejudices ", a task which could not be achieved during the previous ten years. During these five years the introduction of universal education has to be completed and secondary and higher education has to become accessible to all " toiling masses ". The last aim is to be achieved by a stricter class selection so that 90-100 % of students will be of " proletarian " origin. As the cultural five-years plan is as yet only a scheme we can only give here the provisional figures which, however, are not realized and perhaps never will be. These figures nevertheless characterize the gigantic dimensions of the proposed reform. The existing Kindergartens in 1927-28 accommodated 82.000 children, who formed only 0.6 per cent of the children of 4-7 years. The plan proposes to double this number till 1932-33. The number of Children's Playing Grounds, which at present accommodates 203.000 children is to be also more than doubled in order to accommodate 506.000 children in 1932-33. The four-years pri-

mary schools and the corresponding grades of Secondary schools which accommodate at present 70 % of children of 8-12 years, have to be increased to such an extent that 90 % of all children of these ages should be accommodated in 1932-33 including 100 % of the age 8. That means increasing the accommodation from 9.942.000 to 14.186.000 children. The last year of the five-years plan is supposed to be the first year of the introduction of compulsory and universal education throughout the Union. We have seen in the chapter on compulsory education that the elaborated schemes were supposed to complete the introduction of universal education at a much later date. We know also that as late as on September 28, 1928, the Commissariat of Public Instruction of the R. S. F. S. R., postponed the original time limit for three years as the practical realization of the schemes was far behind the expectations. The five-years plan therefore proposes a practically impossible acceleration of the work. The liquidation of the illiteracy and the development of libraries, reading-rooms and clubs has also be accelerated according to the plan. During this period 14 millions of adults have to be taught the three R's, whereas in 1927-28 there were only 1.315.000 pupils in these centres. The plan proposes even the introduction of compulsion and penalties if illiterate adults will not come to these centres. The number of Reading-Rooms is supposed to be increased by 75 %, the number of libraries by 50 % and the number of clubs by 25 %. We have seen however that during the last three years their numbers have gradually decreased. The number of pupils in intermediate classes has to be increased by 25 % and in the upper forms of secondary schools by 111 %. The contingent of " workers of the highest qualifi-

cation ", i. e. the number of University students is supposed to increase by 13 %. The contingent of " workers of high qualification " or the number of pupils in Technicums must be increased by 47 %. Lastly the contingent of " workers of middle qualification " or the number of pupils in lower vocational schools has to be increased from 343.000 in 1927-28 to 1.541.000 in 1932-33, or by 350 %. Even the authors of the plan do not suppose that the number of factory and vocational schools could be developed to such an extent. They propose to increase the number of factory schools by 150 % and of vocational schools by 45 % only. But the majority of the new skilled workers will be taught in the Evening Courses, which have to accommodate in 1932-33 813 thousand pupils, (at present there are only 40 thousand in these Courses). In order to raise the standard of instruction the plan proposes to increase the salaries of teachers in 1933 to an amount double the present salaries (1928) which shall reach thus the average pre-war level of 30 gold Rubles. According to the estimates of the authors of the plan the realization of this gigantic scheme will require about 9 milliard rubles during the five years, including about two milliard rubles for building and about one milliard for maintenance grants. Even these enthusiastic authors, who so easily find milliards of rubles for socialist reconstruction, have been unable to find revenue which would cover this enormous expenditure. They assert that about 1.800 millions should be covered by " voluntary contributions " as neither the State nor the local budgets would be able to provide the total amount.

The impossibility of this unique scheme of cultural reconstruction is evident at present to all more or less responsible Communists. At any rate the published

official materials show that the first year of the realization of the plan has not fulfilled the necessary quota. Thus for instance the sums assigned for building new primary schools in 1928-29 were only 52 % of the amount proposed in the plan, the latter being only 50 % of the required amount according to the official publications. Even with the money available the authorities succeeded in building only one third of the proposed school buildings owing to the rise in price of the building materials. If we take the increase in the number of pupils in primary schools we get only 4.9 % for 1928-29, whereas the plan supposed an increase of 6.9 %. The increase for 1928-29 is only slightly higher than for the two previous years; thus for 1926-27 it was 4.5 % and for 1927-28 3.6 %. The same failure of the plan in the first year of its operation is noticed in all other items. The official calculation puts the unfulfilled amount as 10 %, but they calculate in rubles and not in the number of pupils or schools. And the value of the chervonets ruble during this time has decreased by 20 % at the least. The actual assignments for all educational institutions in 1928-29 amounted only to 65 % of the sums proposed in the plan. If we consider the devaluation of the chervonets ruble we get only 50 % of the fulfilment of the plan. Only in one point were the propositions of the plan more than fulfilled. The number of adults who passed through the centres of the liquidation of illiteracy in 1928-29 surpassed the proposed number by 1½ times. This was achieved not by additional assignments, but by compulsory mobilization of members of the Party and Komsomol as teachers and of all workers in State factories and farms as pupils. The official figures, however, do not mention anything about the results of this

remarkable " Cultural offensive " as it is called by Communists. They only state that the number of adults who were compelled to attend classes in these centres exceeded the proposed number. How many of them became actually literate is unknown. The Soviet press itself, estimating these figures, adds that in 1926-27 when attendance was voluntary the percentage of those who relapsed into illiteracy was 34 %.

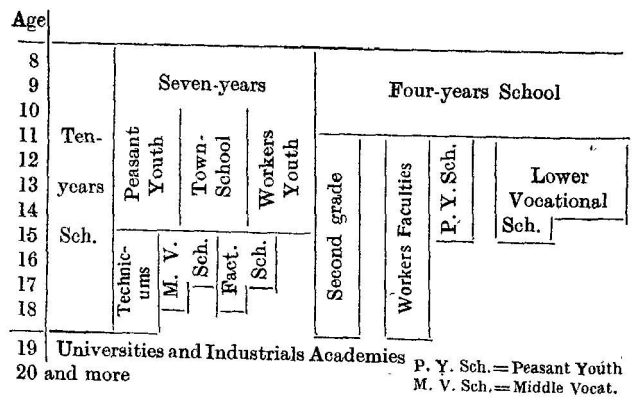
It is not our task to guess here the material results of this latest mass experiment of the Soviet Government in the field of education. Our aim is to show how the five-years plan has influenced the general educational policy. Without any exaggeration the present period of educational policy might be called a militarist period. The spirit of the whole movement and the measures adopted remind one more of the time of war than of peaceful evolution. The educational authorities speak of " cultural offensive ", " pre-school offensive ", " front of education ", " anti-religious front " etc. The measures are nothing less than military mobilizations. Thus in order to increase the " workers " nucleus in higher technical institutions to 70 % and in agricultural institutes to 75 %, the Communist Party, the Komsomol and the Trade-Unions are ordered " to send to the higher technical institutions in 1930-31 not less than 2.000 and in 1931-32 not less than 3.000, and to the agricultural institutes, 1.000 and 2.000 workers and Communists. In the two coming years they have to prepare for the higher technical institutions in 1929 3.000 nd in 1930-31 5.000 skilled workmen ; for the agricultural institutes 2.000 agricultural and forestry workers. All these groups of future students have to be supplied, besides the usual scholarships, with additional

sums out of the means of those State enterprises where they have worked," In the same decree the Komsomol is obliged to prepare annually for technical institutions 5.000 of its members. The Political Board of the Red Army is obliged to prepare annually out of demobilized workers and peasants 3.000 men for technical and agricultural institutions. This decree not only changes radically the social composition of the body of students, but introduces a new principle of mobilization. The usual type of students in " bourgeois " countries, who voluntarily select their academic studies is replaced by Communist students who are mobilized and " appointed " to various institutions. In order to facilitate matters for these new students, all entrance examinations, as well as intermediate and final examinations, are abolished. Special commissions of professors (in a minority) and Communist representatives pass the students according to their attendance. Even the course of higher institutions is shortened by a year (three instead of four) in order to accelerate the " output " of red engineers. All successful students are obliged to serve in industry according to their speciality not less than three years by appointment of the authorities. The recent project of the Statute of Higher Institutions published in December, 1929, completes this new reorganization of Universities. According to it the Directors of Institutes and Universities, who take the place of the previous Rectors, are entrusted with dictatorial powers, including the dismissal and appointment of the teaching Staff. Similar measures are taken in order to change the social composition of the University teachers. Thus the Moscow Commissariat of Public Instruction issued a Circular in August, 1929, " about the mobilization of 50 Communists for preparation for scientific work in the field of educa-

tion ". The mobilized scientists were to have not less than three years' Party experience, not less than five years teaching experience, age limit 35 years, ought to have " a completed higher education or knowledge of corresponding amount ". The selection of candidates is made by a special commission, which orders the various provinces to supply a definite number of candidates. This territorial distribution is necessary because the Communists very unwillingly enter the career of a professor as the latter is unprofitable. At any rate Lunacharsky in his last speach said: " We hardly can expect that Communists and workers, having completed their higher education, would willingly accept 80 rubles per month and for three years prepare themselves for a career of a professor ". Evidently Lunacharsky doubted the posibility of a successful militarization of education. As too civilian he was dismissed and replaced in September, 1929, by a soldier, comrade Bubnov, who distinguished himself as the Head of the Political Board of the Red Army.

The new militarist policy breaks up even the very system of Soviet education, as it was formed during the preceding ten years and has been described in this book. The autonomy of " independent " republics in the region of vocational education is curtailed and throughout the Union a " unified system of industrial-technical education " is introduced. According to this system all vocational institutions are divided into seven groups: a) higher institutions for preparing the engineers of narrow (3-4 years of instruction) and of wide qualifications (4-5 years of instruction); b) Faculties of Science and Industrial-technical Faculties of higher institutions for preparing of scientists and engineers for laboratory work; c) Industrial Academies for preparing

the administrative personnel for industry with 2-3 years of instruction; d) Middle Technical Schools or Technicums for preparing the technical staff for large and medium industrial concerns with 3-4 years of instruction for those who have completed the course of Seven-years schools; e) vocational-technical schools for preparing the lower administrative personnel with 2-3 years of instruction after the completion of the course of Seven-years schools; f) factory schools for preparing the skilled workmen in large and medium industrial concerns with a 2-3 years' course after the completion of the course of Seven-years schools; g) lower vocational schools with 2-3 years' course for preparing workmen in small industrial concerns for those who have completed the course of the four-years primary school. All the syllabuses and curricula are to be unified for the whole Union. In connection with the shortening by one year of the course of the higher institutions, the course of the Nine-years schools is to be lengthened by one year, making them into Ten-years schools. The latter have a special task of preparing students for the higher institutions. The Seven-years schools are transformed into preparatory schools for the Technicums and Factory Schools. In industrial centres special Seven-years schools for the children of workers are to be founded on a wide scale. In rural districts, on the contrary, all Seven-years schools are to be transformed into Schools of Peasant Youth, which will have the special task of preparing the "leaders and active workers in collective farming". Even the Ukraine has to abandon her peculiar system and to adopt the "new unified scheme". This new scheme we can represent in the following table, which should be compared with the table given on page 90.



This scheme, even more than that of Chapter VI, divides the school system in three different and unconnected ways (lower, middle and higher qualifications), which decide the fate of the child from the earliest age. It has a still more pronounced vocational character and neglects entirely the right of the child to get an adequate education. The absolutist tendency of the Soviet regime manifests itself more sharply and destroys without rest the principles of the democratic ladder system. The higher education is assured only for the Communists and " toilers " who are appointed to the University by the Party and State authorities.

The latest period however is full of innovations which often contradict each other and even the Five-years plan. One of the latest decrees repeals the scheme of new primary schools elaborated in accordance with the plan, and orders the founding of new schools preferably in the State and collective farms. The other decree introduces into all rural

schools an agricultural bias, ordering at the same time all teachers of these schools to pass during the next four years through a special course in agriculture. The syllabus of the educational Technicums has had to be changed accordingly. The third decree introduces " uninterrupted production " into all schools. That means that the schools have to work throughout the year and throughout the week (no Sundays). The pupils and teachers are divided into groups, each group having different days of rest and different vacations. The Soviet Government hopes to economize in this way on building new premises, by doubling the efficiency of the existing school buildings. However, all these decrees are put in practice by local authorities with bad grace, and have not yet changed the character of Russian schools.

In conclusion we shall describe the new programmes of primary schools which had to be introduced in 1929-30 instead of the programmes of 1927, which had been declared to be permanent. As we remember, the last programmes, having destroyed the " complex ", meant an adaptation of instruction to the level of children's minds and were a concession to a general demand for instruction in the three R's and general knowledge. The new programmes of 1929 do not introduce again the once abolished " complex ". The reform is limited by an increase of the political element at the expense of general education. Thus from the first year the children have to be acquainted with " the pernicious influence of religious beliefs and superstitions ". They have to learn by heart verses " about various episodes of Lenin's life ". The children " are obliged to take part in anti-Christmas and anti-Easter campaigns ", which was actually done during last

Christmas, although with little success, in all schools. The teachers have to " demand a hundred per cent attendance at schools during these days " and they have to suggest to children that they should demand from their parents " usual food during the time of Great Lent ". During the first year the teachers are obliged to organize children for " co-operative work in the fields during the spring ". In the third year (age 10 years) " it is necessary to study the question of the class composition of the village and of the class struggle which is going on among the peasants ". The fourth year must be devoted to the following themes : 1) On what the harvest depends and how to increase it. 2) The struggle of toilers in Tsarist Russia and the October Revolution. 3) The Union of S. S. R. and the construction of socialism. The Red Army as the weapon of the toilers. 4) The man and the soil. 5) The spring work in the fields and the participation of the school in the struggle for harvest. We see that the " retreat " of 1927 was not a stabilization of programmes, but a retreat, accord to Lenin's words, in order to get " more space for a longer jump forward ". In their political " jump forward " the programmes of 1929 surpass the programmes of 1923 many times. Political propaganda is no longer covered by the slogans of the " new education ". The school is made quite frankly a means in the " acute class struggle ". We have mentioned already that this struggle is understood in military terms and that military training is an integral part of the curriculum.

Thus the absolutist and militarist nature of Communism has been manifested completely during this latest period of its educational policy. Four years ago it was still hidden behind the radical slogans of new education.

Accepting those declarations at their face value, radical opinion of the Western world morally supported the Soviet experiments. But in spite of this support and of the powerful apparatus of State compulsion Communism was compelled to retreat before the inner laws of education, before the ideal laws of the human spirit. Practice has proved that the transformation of schools into the exclusive means of political struggle and of education into partisan propaganda leads to the destruction of both. But schools and education are necessary to life and progress, and in the past the positive forces of the Russian nation have come victorious out of the struggle with the mechanical forces of the dictatorship. What will be the results of this second still more ruthless "offensive" against common sense and the inner laws of education, is difficult to predict. We believe, however, that the destruction which it will bring with itself will be only a temporary setback and that the Russian nation and the Russian school will be strong enough to survive for a better future.

Looking back on the past twelve years of Russian Revolution we see that the process of destruction of the old Russia has been accompanied by a process of reconstruction. If the former has been due to the activity of the Communist Party, the latter has been caused by the positive forces already mentioned: the peasantry, the teachers, the national minorities and the " industrialists ". It is impossible to deny that since the Revolution Russia has made some headway in the field of education. The growth of literacy, the growth of primary schools, and lately, the growth of vocational education is an established fact. But this development is proceeding in comparatively

modest dimensions which do not surpass the normal growth of the country as it was going on during the last pre-revolutionary decade. If in some respects the Revolution has accelerated the growth of primary education, it has been achieved at the expense of the standards of secondary and higher education. One might say that all the positive elements of the new school—pupils' self-government, physical training, regional pedagogics, schools for minorities—are to a greater extent the result of a normal evolution of the Russian school than the result of the educational policy of the Soviet Government. We have seen that the latter leads to a degeneration of those principles into a kind of Soviet jingoism and militarism. The Communist international ideal is least of all the cause of these achievements and is a dead weight on the neck of the Russian nation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE U. S. S. R., INDEPENDENT REPUBLICS AND AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS AND REGIONS

According to the last census of 1926 there were in the whole Union 147 millions of population of which 77.7 million were Great-Russians, 31.2 million Ukrainians and 4.7 million White-Russians. Of non-Russian nationalities three Mahomedan nations of Uzbeks, Kaizaks and Tartars count more than three million each. Eight nationalities count more than a million each : Georgians, Turks, Jews, Armenians, Mordvins, Chuvashs, Germans, Tadjiks. Six nationalities have more than half a million each : Poles, Kirghizs, Turkmen, Bashkirs, Daghestans, Votyaks. The rest is divided between about 60 nationalities having from one thousand up to 400.000 population,of which 18 nationalities count more than a hundred thousand and 35 more than ten thousand. In percentage the Great-Russians compose 53 % of the total, the Ukrainians and White-Russians 20 % and the non-Russian nationalities 27 %. If however taken not by origin, but by native language the figures will be more favourable for Russians : Russians 57 %, Ukrainians and White-Russians 17 % and non-Russians 26 %.

Independent Republics

1. *R. S. F. S. R.*—Russians : 73.4 %, by origin and 77.2 % by language ; Kirghizs : 5.7 % ; Ukrainians : 4.4 % ; Tartars : 3.6 % ; White-Russians : 1.7 % ; Mordvins : 1.1 %; Germans : 0.7 % ; Jews : 0.6 % and all other nationalities 9.8 % (each less than 0.5 %). Total population 100.8 mill.

2. *U. S. S. R.* (*Ukraine*).—Ukrainians : 74 % ; Russians : 13.4 % ; Jews : 6.8 % ; Germans : 1.4 % ; others (Poles, Moldavians, Bulgars and others) : 4.4 %. Total population 28.9 mill.

3. *B. S .S. R.* (*White-Russian*).—White-Russians : 70 % ; Russians : 17 % ; Jews : 9 % ; Poles : 2 % and others : 2 %. Total population : 5 mill.

4. *Z. S. F. S. R.* (*Transcaucasian Federation*). In %%.

Republic	Turks	Georgians	Armenians	Russians	Others	Total population in thousands
Azerbaidjan	62.1	0.4	12.2	9.5	18.0	2.315
Georgia	5.1	67.0	11.5	3.6	12.8	2.666
Armenia	8.7	—	84.4	2.2	4.7	880
Z.S.F.S.R.	28.2	31.4	22.7	5.7	12.0	5.861

5. *UZ. S. S. R.* (*Uzbekistan*).—Uzbeks : 66.0 % ; Tadjiks : 18.3 ; Russians : 4.6 ; others : 11.1. Total population : 5.3 mill.

6. *T. S. S. R.* (*Turkmenistan*).—Turkmen : 70.2 % ; Uzbeks : 11.6 % ; Russians : 8.2 % and others : 10 %. Total population 1 mill.

Autonomous Republics

Within the R. S. F. S. R. in %%.

Republic	Chief Nation	Russians	Other minorities	Others
1) Yakut	85.0	11.1	1.0 (Tungus)	0.4
2) Chuvash	75.6	19.6	2.2 (Tartars)	2.6
3) Volga German	67.4	21.3	9.7 (Ukrain.)	1.6
4) Kirghiz	66.6	12.3	11.9 (Uzbeks)	9.1
5) Kaizak	57.2	23.4	10.2 (Ukrainians)	9.2
6) Volga Tartar	47.9	43.4	4.9 (Chuvash)	3.8
7) Buriat	43.8	52.7	—	3.5
8) Karelian	36.8	58.4	0.9 (Finns)	2.9
9) Bashkir	23.7	39.8	17.2 (Tartars)	19.3
10) Crimean	25.1 (Tartars)	42.2	6.2 (Jews) 10.8 (Ukrainians)	15.7
11) Daghestan	61.1 (Avars)	12.9	11.2 (Kumyks)	14.6
Within the U. S. S. R. (Ukraine) :				
12) Moldavian	34.5	16.3	42.2 (Ukrainians)	7
Within the UZ. S. S. R. (Uzbekistan) :				
13) Tadjik	65.4	—	32.4 (Uzbeks)	2.2 (Kirghizs)

AUTONOMOUS REGIONS OF THE R. S. F. S. R.

Region	Chief nation	Russians	Other minorities	Others
1) Ingush	96.5	1.3	—	2.2
2) Chechen	94.5	3.3	—	2.2
3) Osetin	84.2	13.3	1.0 (Germans)	1.5
4) Kabardin	64.5	13.7	14.8 (Balkars)	7
5) Karachaev	81.9	4.1	5.9 (Cherkess)	8.1
6) Adygei	46.1 (Cherkess)	46.6	—	7.3
7) Votyak	53.4	43.5	2.5 (Tartars)	0.6
8) Kalmyk	75.5	15.8	5.3 (Ukrainians)	3.4
9) Zyryan	92	6	—	2
10) Mari	53.1	42	—	4.9
11) Oirat	30.7	61.2	—	8 1

APPENDIX II

Number of schools and of pupils according to the official statistical abstracts for the whole Union. The figures for 1914-15 are calculated for the present territory of the Union.

Years	*Primary Schools* number of		*Second. Schools*[1] number of	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1914–15	104,610	7,235,988	1,790	563,480
1920–21	114,235	9,211,351	4,163	564,613
1921–22	99,396	7,918,751	3,137	520,253
1922–23	87,559	6,808,157	2,478	586,306
1923–24	87,258	7,075,810	2,354	752,726
1924–25	91,086	8,429,490	1,794	710,431
1925–26	101,193	9,487,110	1,640	706,804
1926–27	109,044	9,925,000	1,724	791,000
1927–28	116,373	10,503,000	1,811	870,000

Years	*Vocational Schools*		*Universities and Higher Institutes*	
	Schools	Pupils	Institutions	Students (in thousand)
1914–15	2,877	266,982	91	125
1920–21	3,727	293,811	244	207
1921–22	4,025	324,721	278	224
1922–23	3,649	312,533	244	213
1923–24	4,066	412,909	176	205
1924–25	3,967	449,202	160	165
1925–26	4,335	529,248	134	162
1926–27	5,124	594,000	131	160
1927–28	5,992	639,000	129	158

1. The number of secondary schools for 1914 does not include the 1,500 Intermediate Schools with about 200,000 pupils. The figures for subsequent years include these schools.

Years	Schools for liquidation of illiteracy		Workers Faculties		Soviet Party Sch. and Communist Universities	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Students	Schools	Pupils
	Pupils in thousands.					
1920–21	40,967	1,158	54	18	49	5
1921–22	17,983	456	85	27	156	13
1922–23	3,535	111	108	39	245	24
1923–24	17,364	535	130	46	312	31
1924–25	44,375	1,396	113	43	241	31
1925–26	50,925	1,639	108	47	255	35
1926–27	47,842	1,554	109	46	371	43
1927–28	42,177	1,318	122	49	613	53

APPENDIX III

Ratio of literates according to the census of 1926

Republic	Towns		Rural districts	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
S. S. S. R. [1]	70.3	56.6	46.5	23.3
R. S. F. S. R.	72.8	59.4	48.0	24.1
U. S. S. R.	72.9	57.4	54.7	26.8
B. S. S. R.	73.3	59.4	50.1	21.5
Z. S. F. S. R.	60.2	45.7	26.0	13.2
Azerbaidjan	53.0	33.9	13.3	3.4
Armenia	59.2	42.0	30.1	8.0
Georgia	68.6	59.4	35.2	22.4
UZ. S. S. R.	35.4	19.0	3.9	0.7
T. S. S. R.	58.7	40.0	5.1	0.8

For the whole territory of the Union men—50.8 and women—29.2.

1. The whole Union.

APPENDIX IV

The number of scholars per 10.000 inhabitants for the territory of the present Union of S. S. R.

Years	in all schools	out of which were in		
		Secondary sch.	Vocational sch.	Higher Instit.
1904–05	388	22	(7) ?	4.3
1914–15	545	38	18	8.3
1920–21	786	43	22	15.8
1924–25	702	50	32	11.8
1927–28	818	58	42	10.7

APPENDIX V

The percentage of children of the ages 8-11 provided by primary education in all kinds of schools for the whole Union and the six Republics in 1927-28.

Republic	in towns	in rural districts	for the Republic
U. S. S. R.	98.4	65.3	70.1
R. S. F. S. R.	98.0	63.7	68.4
UKRAINE	104.1	76.0	80.5
WHITE RUSSIA	102.2	76.5	80.2
TRANSCAUCASIA	104.7	72.1	78.7
UZBEKISTAN	61.8	17.8	27.6
TURKMENISTAN	109.2	18.2	31.1

The excess over 100 % includes children of older ages retarded in primary grades.

APPENDIX VI

Expenditure on education. In thousand rubles.

Source	(gold rubles)	chervonets rubles		%% to the total budget respect.		
	1914	1924–25	1926–27	1914	1924–25	1926–27
State	235.695	117.259	184.881	6.5	4.4	4.1
Local	145.666	228.486	432.625	20.0	27.0	28.3
Total	381.361	345.745	617.506	—	—	—
Per head	2.18	2.54	4.20			
Gold rub.	2.18	1.52	1.96			

The figures are taken from N. Grigoriev, Moscow, and slightly differ from those given in the text.

APPENDIX VII

The expenditure of Commissariats of Public Education of six Republics.

Actual expenditure for the first years and assigned for the last two years.

IN MILLION CHERVONETS RUBLES

Republic	1924–25	1925–26	1926–27	1927–28	1928–29	Population in % %
R. S. F. S. R.	82.2	109.4	130.1	101.5	124.3	68.6
UKRAINE	20.3	28.4	32.2	37.6	48.1	19.8
W. RUSSIA	2.8	6.0	6.5	7.9	11.0	3.4
TRANSCAUCAS.	12.1	11.2	12.2	13.6	17.7	3.9
UZBEKISTAN	3.9	4.7	5.1	8.0	11.2	3.6
TURKMENISTAN	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.9	3.6	0.7
TOTAL	122.9	161.7	188.1	171.3	215.8	100

APPENDIX VIII

Towns which had Universities or Institutions of University rank in 1925. Asterisk denotes those towns which had such institutions before the advent of the Soviet Government.

1. R. S. F. S. R. : 1) Leningrad*, 2) Moscow*, 3) Voronezh*, 4) Nizhny Novgorod, 5) Samara, 6) Saratov*, 7) Smolensk, 8) Uralsk, 9) Kazan*, 10) Rostov on Don*, 11) Simferopol*, 12) Tomsk*, 13) Irkutsk*, 14) Vladivostok*.

2. Ukraine: 1) Kharkov*, 2) Kiev*, 3) Odessa*, 4) Ekaterinoslav*. (Dnipropetrovsk).

3. White Russia : 1) Minsk. 4. Azerbaidjan : 1) Baku. 5. Georgia : 1) Tiflis*. 6. Armenia : 1) Erivan. 7. Uzbekistan : 1) Tashkent. Thus during the Soviet Government eight towns received institutions of University rank.

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