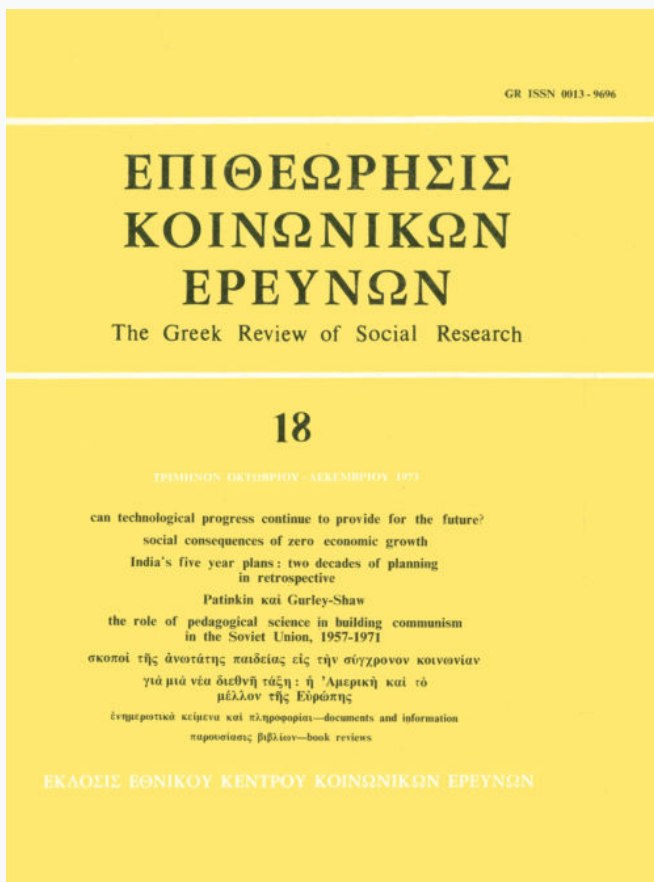


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The role of pedagogical science in building communism in the Soviet Union, 1957-1971

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by way of introduction

**the role of
pedagogical science
in building communism
in the Soviet Union,
1957-1971**

by
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The «multinational socialist republic», which came into being in 1923, according to the Marxist theorists should begin «withering away» in the «not so distant» future: the state was intended to be temporary, for it was considered necessary for only a relatively brief period. There is no way of anticipating the precise final form of the structure and organization of the world communist society or even of the envisioned intermediate stages in the evolution of «social formations». What is certain is that in the meantime the Soviet leaders are hard at work «building communism» within the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

In the typical Western society, as a rule, social change is far behind technological and economic development, while political change is likely to be still further away. «Social and international changes affect but slowly the political system and seem indeed more affected by it.»¹ The educational system, which in the case of most countries is controlled by the political system, clearly lags still further behind. If one had to represent pictorially the interaction of the economic, social, political and educational systems in a Western country, a caravan made up of four camels at various distances apart would be a close approximation. They would be tied together with elastic strings so as to allow plenty of freedom—even racing in the opposite direction; occasionally they would proceed forward, but not necessarily at the same speed. By contrast, the situation in the Soviet Union would, at least at the policy-making level, be approximated by a troika pulled by four horses accustomed to move in whatever direction was indicated by the Party coach-master at the time (See Fig. 1).

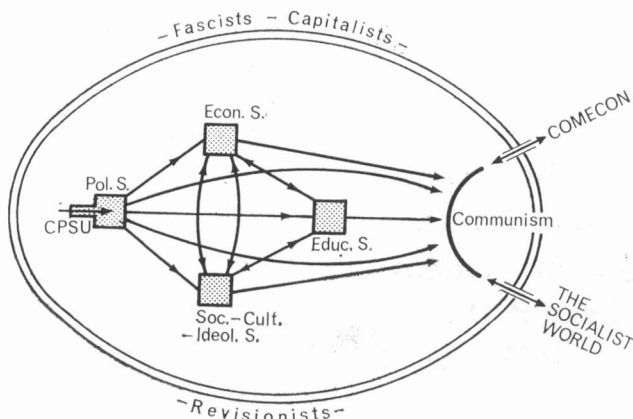
That education has a very important role has always been assumed by all societies. In fact, the perceived purposes of education, when expressed in general terms seem to be almost identical irrespective of social, cultural or ideological orientations. It is only upon attempting to analyse the concepts and define the terms involved that this apparent convergence largely disappears.

Throughout the whole Soviet period the educational system has been a tool at the service of the political, economic and socio-cultural sectors in the process of building communism. More explicitly, the instru-

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1. Stanley Hoffman, *In Search of France* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 106.

FIGURE 1. *The Communist Troika*



mental role of education has been the preparation of highly qualified technical and scientific manpower and administrative personnel; socialization into, and legitimization of, the political system as well as recruitment of political 'elites'; and, last but not least, building the new Soviet man.

The degree to which each of these functions has been emphasized has depended, primarily, on the philosophy of those at the top. Lenin wanted the school to keep away from cheap propaganda, for it had very serious work to do, even if it was of an intermediate nature: education, certainly, was not the tool for changing the social order.¹ Later Stalin wanted the school to step in as his faithful ally in order to help with the tight control considered necessary during those early times and gradually make his policy of terror unnecessary. On the other hand his emphasis on rapid technological progress and high production of engineers literally knocked the school off its course with lasting consequences. Khrushchev, in turn, thought he, at last found the answer

to the serious problem of labor shortage by recruiting the school population while solving at the same time, among others, the problem of differentiation between physical and mental labor, a matter of great ideological significance.

Although the volume, if not the quality, of the existing Western literature on Soviet education is more than impressive—and, apparently, more or less proportional to the resources allocated for the purpose—so far the special subject of Soviet Pedagogical Science has not received adequate attention. This seems to be due to a number of reasons, including the relative unavailability of «hard» data; the fact that writers in most non-Communist countries until very recently have confused Pedagogical Science with what is commonly termed in the West as Education; and, no doubt, the difficulty of the task, given the widely interdisciplinary nature of the subject.

The adjective «pedagogical» comes directly from the Greek word «παιδαγωγικός», which means «that which relates to the upbringing (rearing) of children». Clearly, the domain of this field of knowledge cuts across those of Psychology, Physiology, Philosophy and Research Methodology, and relates closely to a number of other disciplines including Sociology and Political Science.

This paper, of which the scope by necessity is very limited, begins with an analysis of the goals of Pedagogical Science as indicated by Khrushchev in his Grand Design of Building Communism; proceeds with a discussion of the resources made available for their implementation; focuses on the organiza-

1. At one of those historic parties of the Petersburg Marxist circle back in 1894 (where Lenin is supposed to have met his future wife), when conversation turned to the subject of illiteracy and some of the participants expressed the view that education was one safe way of changing the social order, Lenin quickly dismissed the idea with «a cold, little laugh that Krupskaja never forgot»: if anyone «wanted to save the country through the Committee of illiteracy, we won't hinder him». Political revolution should clearly precede cultural development, the reverse amounting to nothing more than childish fantasy. [F. Lige, «Lenin and the Politics of Education», *Slavic Review*, Vol. 227, No. 2 (June 1968), pp. 230-257].

tion and administration of Pedagogical Science and Pedagogical Science Research, in particular; and after examining the new measures introduced on the eve of, and following Khrushchev's exit, while simultaneously attempting an assessment of the degree of success in the context of the Communist Party objectives, it concludes with some reactions relating primarily to the importance of current fundamental, theoretical work of the Soviet pedagogical scientists on certain issues of world-wide concern.

Given the inadequacy of the compartmentalized social sciences for the satisfactory examination of real life situations and the fact that the political, economic and social aspects of the Soviet system are so tightly interwoven, the discussion of even narrowly defined topics invariably turns out to be close to a formidable task. Proper presentation of the relevant issues in their correct perspectives demands a lengthy discussion for the purposes of bringing to the surface the salient forces at work in the present socio-cultural environment as well as its historical antecedents. For the sake of brevity and other reasons of convenience, in this case it will be assumed that the reader is thoroughly familiar with the general contemporary scene in the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev's «grand program for building communism» and the tasks of pedagogical science

The extraordinary 21st Congress of the CPSU, which, according to the editors of *Sovetskaya Pedagogika*, «will go down in world history as the congress of builders of communism, as an outstanding event in our epoch», was convened in January 1959 in order to adopt a seven-year plan for the period 1959-65.¹ It turned out that it also provided the opportunity for—or, as it has been claimed,² focused its attention on—«condemning decisively and expelling the anti-Party factional group» of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov, Bulganin and Shepilov, who «had attempted to destroy the unity of the Party, to turn it away from Lenin's path».³

As a result of the highly successful implementation of the decisions of the previous Congress, Khrushchev informed his attentive audience, the Soviet Union «now has the opportunity of entering a new and most important period of its development, the period of developed construction of communist society».⁴ He

proceeded to enumerate the goals of the new period, the most important of which were manifold development of productive forces and production growth, especially in the domain of heavy industry needed for building the material-technical base of communism; raising of the living standards of the «toilers»; gradual transition from socialist state government toward communist self-government; and «complex and responsible tasks» in the realm of Pedagogical Science.

The complex and responsible tasks which were assigned to Pedagogical Science comprised an extraordinarily ambitious program, all basic ideas of which were to be repeated at all three Communist Party congresses of the period during which Khrushchev was the undisputed leader of the Soviet Union.⁵ For the next eight years they became the subject of thousands of articles and endless speeches within the Soviet Union and at the same time provided Western «experts» and «analysts» with apparently inexhaustible material for all kinds of «analyses», ranging from the patriotic—as usual—effort of George S. Counts⁶ to the astonishingly realistic version of Radio Liberation.⁷ [As it can readily be seen, this process at present shows no signs of having spent its energy!]⁸

Briefly, Khrushchev's educational reforms centered on the following three basic concepts: (a) the combination of education and production («as it is put in the Communist Manifesto, that great work by K. Marx and F. Engels») and thus «bringing the schools closer to life»; (b) the extension of the «immeasurably better fashion» of upbringing of children, namely the system of boarding schools; and (c) special educational care for «particularly gifted children

5. These were the 20th, 21st and 22nd.

6. George S. Counts, *Khrushchev and the Central Committee Speak on Education* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959). The author begins as follows: «I first want to thank Premier Nikita Khrushchev and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for a clear and dramatic demonstration of the way in which educational policies are formulated under a dictatorship» (p. ix).

7. Albert Boiter, «The Khrushchev School Reform». Mimeo (1959?) [New York, American Committee for Liberation].

8. The main documents on which this section is based include: «On Strengthening of Ties between School and Life and the Further Development of the Public Education System», namely the Forty-Eight «Theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR» (which were approved on November 12, 1958, a few weeks prior to the commencement of the 21st Congress); Khrushchev's memorandum, «Regarding the Strengthening of Ties between School and Life and the Further Development of the Public Education System», submitted to the Central Committee, apparently in support of his proposals; Khrushchev's Seven-Year Plan Theses published on November 14, 1958; and Khrushchev's Report to the Congress in January 1959.

1. *Sovetskaya Pedagogika* «The Grand Program for the Building of Communism», *Soviet Education*, Vol. VII, No. 7 (May 1959), p. 3.

2. Leo Gruliov and Charlotte Saikowski (Eds.), *Current Soviet Policies*, IV (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), p. vii.

3. *Sovetskaya Pedagogika*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

4. Gruliov, *op. cit.*, Vol. III (1960), p. 43.

who at an early age show an aptitude, for example, for mathematics, music or fine arts».¹

The structural changes which were deemed necessary for the implementation of the above ideas include the transformation of the ten-year school into a new, comprehensive (general-labor-poly-technic) institution for all children; the extension of compulsory school attendance from seven to eight years; the introduction of «a second phase» of «on-the-job» education by means of various types of day and evening, urban and rural «work-schools», where students would combine studies with «work at enterprises, collective farms or special shops», as well as of a considerably extended network of urban and rural schools offering secondary education without requiring time off from work; and finally, the setting up of special schools exclusively for gifted children.

At the level of the curriculum the changes were to prove of an unprecedented scale. «Our general education», Khrushchev pointed out to the Central Committee, «suffers from the fact that we took too much from the pre-Revolutionary gymnasium whose object was... abstract knowledge sufficient for the receipt of a diploma». As a result, he continued, girls and boys consider that the only acceptable way of life for them is higher education. «Some of the ten-year-school graduates unwillingly go to work...; some of them even consider this an insult.» Great changes, he felt, were also needed in the higher educational institutions, where «at present, many young people who graduate... have little knowledge of work practices and are inadequately prepared for work in industry».²

Khrushchev was relatively very brief on the subject of boarding schools in his report to the 21st Congress. In fact, he had not even mentioned boarding schools in his memorandum to the Central Committee. Undoubtedly his emphatic statements to the 20th Party Congress in 1956 provide a striking contrast:

The socialist state can and must organize the upbringing of children in immeasurably better fashions, for we must form not an aristocratic caste, deeply hostile to the people, but builders of a new society, people of great spirit and lofty ideals, wholeheartedly serving the people, who are marching in the vanguard of all progressive mankind. How then should we approach the practical solution of this problem? It would seem expedient to set about building boarding schools (we must give some thought to the name) in the suburbs, in the countryside, in healthful wooded areas. These schools should have bright, spacious classrooms, good

dormitories, well-equipped dining rooms, thoughtfully furnished centers for all kinds of extracurricular activities, creating all conditions for the rounded physical and mental development of young citizens of the Soviet land. Children should be enrolled in these boarding schools only at the request of their parents. The children would live in these boarding schools and the parents could visit them on holidays, during vacations or after school hours. Good teachers who meet the lofty calling of engineers of the souls of the rising generation should be selected for these schools.... Along with this we must set about solving another big educational problem—that of providing state creche and kindergarten care for all children of nursery and preschool age whose parents so desire...³

Addressing the 21st Party Congress, Khrushchev spoke of the need for «[heightening] the role of the state and society in the upbringing of children, intensifying assistance to the family by the state and society». Then he went on to anticipate that by the end of the 7-year period (1965), the boarding school enrollment would be 14-fold greater than that of 1958, rising from 180,000 to at least 2,500,000 (while the total number of elementary and of secondary school children would be 30,000,000 and 40,000,000 respectively);⁴ and that the number of children in kindergarten schools in the same period would rise from 2,280,000 to 4,200,000. Finally, as if to make up for the rather detached treatment he afforded his beloved topic, he climbed to a much higher level of enthusiasm, adding that

In the future it is planned to provide the possibility of raising all children in boarding schools, which will facilitate solution of the tasks of communist upbringing of the growing generation and of drawing fresh millions of women into the ranks of active builders of communist society.⁵

Khrushchev's particular approach to the subject of boarding schools in his memorandum to the Central Committee and his report to the 21st Congress has given rise to a number of speculative interpretations. That he was «the inspirer» and a consistently strong supporter of the idea of boarding schools needs no defense.⁶ With this in mind, if any importance is to be attached to the question at all, the «careful» treatment seems likely to be due partly to Khrushchev's strategy of choosing to attack systematically one problem at a time—after all, the idea of boarding schools had its premiere three years earlier—and partly to increasing parents' resistance.⁷

3. Gruliov, *op. cit.*, Vol. II (1957), pp. 50-51.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 54.

5. Gruliov, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 54.

6. See, for instance, E. Afanasenko, «Five Years of the Boarding Schools», *Shkola-Internat*, 1961, No. 5 [translated in *Soviet Education*, Vol. IV, No. 5 (March 1962), pp. 3-6].

7. This question will be taken up again below.

1. N. S. Khrushchev, «Regarding the Strengthening of Ties between School and Life and the Further Development of the Public Education System», *Soviet Education*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (December 1958), p. 7.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

What exactly was in the mind of the Communist Party Chief, who suddenly turned into a radical educational reformer, is not known. No doubt, Khrushchev's personal experiences played a very important role in his entire way of thinking. The young ex-shepherd boy, who worked his way to the top through the mine and the factory and the Communist Bible, could hardly fail to register deep in his mind the ideas of «socially useful labor» and polytechnical education and come to the conclusion that the industrial plant is the best possible school for molding the «new Soviet man». He, himself, was the living example of what the factory and the school of life could produce. A school system built around the idea of unifying education and labor seemed bound to solve the important ideological question of the communist upbringing of children but also help provide the answer to the serious shortage of working hands which resulted from the colossal losses in World War II and became accentuated due to the ambitious plans to surpass the United States in both economic and military might. Besides, Khrushchev must have been well aware that the school, whatever its structure and purpose, is not the only socialization agent: the influence of the family, given the strong attachment of Soviet children to their parents,¹ is so great as to be able to counteract and undermine the effect of the school.² The only solution to this problem seemed to be the raising of all children in state boarding schools. They would not only rear a Communist generation according to plans, away from unsettling influences, but they would also make available to the Communist state, in addition to the labor of the relieved parents, a huge reservoir of manpower³ so conveniently placed with respect to farms, shops and enterprises.

1. See Urie Bronfenbrenner, *Two Worlds of Childhood: US and USSR* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970), pp. 7-14 and 70-91.

2. Khrushchev disliked the «interference» of the family in the affairs of the state in any form: witness his denunciation of parents' influence on university admissions, which, he claimed, was so great that, «although there are competitive examinations for admission..., it must be admitted that passing examinations frequently is not enough to gain enrollment» (See: Khrushchev, «Regarding the Strengthening...», *op. cit.*, p. 4); and his resentment of «the fact there are few children of workers and collective farmers in the institutions of higher education» (*Ibid.*, p. 7). This in not to say, however, that Khrushchev felt confident enough to ignore the resistance of the family. Observe, for instance, his making clear that, at least at the beginning, «children should be enrolled in these boarding schools only at the request of their parents» [Gruliov, *op. cit.*, Vol. II (1957), pp. 50-51].

3. See also Jeremy R. Azrael, «Fifty Years of Soviet Education», *Survey*, No. 64 (July 1967), pp. 56-57.

problems in transmission of party directives

Whether I. A. Kairov, the President of the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, and E. I. Afanasenko, the Minister of Education of the RSFSR, were among the audience when Khrushchev released his relentless attack on the Pedagogical Academy on the occasion of his report to the 20th Congress, has not been possible to determine, but they could not have been too far away.*

...Although measures for introducing polytechnical training in schools were envisaged in the 19th Party Congress directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan, progress is still very slow in this respect. Many officials of the public education system and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences are still busy with general talk about the benefit of polytechnical instruction but do nothing to put it into practice. There must be a quicker turn from words to deeds.⁴

By contrast, no direct criticism on the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (or the Ministry of Education) of the RSFSR was contained in the report to the 21st Congress. Khrushchev confined himself to stressing the «serious demands» the 7-year plan made upon «all branches of the social sciences». All social scientists faced the task of «creatively generalizing and giving bold theoretical solutions of new problems raised by life.⁵ Similarly the approach in the theses of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers was decidedly mild and positive. That no such a strong measure was required at least at the level of the Party Congress became obvious during a general meeting of the regular and corresponding members of the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, which was convened less than six weeks after the conclusion of the Congress (March 17 - 18, 1959). Kairov, the President of the Academy, in his special report, «Decisions of the 21st Extraordinary Congress of CPSU and the Tasks of Pedagogical Science»,⁶ after describing the 21st Congress as «one of the major landmarks in the advance of Soviet Society towards Communism, pointed out that during the past three years Soviet Pedagogical Science had concentrated on «polytechnical education and the preparation of pupils for practical activity», along the guiding lines of the 20th Congress. On the other hand, it should be ad-

* P.S.: Kairov, indeed, was there! He was even elected (by the Party Congress) a member of the Central Inspection Commission (*Pravda*, February 26, 1957, p.1).

4. Gruliov, *op. cit.*, Vol. II (1957), p. 50.

5. Gruliov, *op. cit.*, Vol. III (1960), p. 55.

6. I. A. Kairov, «Decisions of the 21st Extraordinary Congress of CPSU and the Tasks of Educational Science», *Soviet Education*, Vol. I, No. 9 (July 1959), pp. 3-10.

mitted, he continued, that «sufficient effort was not made» on all frontiers and, therefore, the criticism levelled at «our Pedagogical Science at the 21st Congress was fully justified». Kairov proceeded to outline the work of the Academy for the next five years, stressing that the task of training the «new human being» is a part and parcel of the plan for «the large-scale construction of Communism» in the Soviet Union:

My considered view is that in the next five years, work on the following problems will occupy a major place in the research carried out by the Academy and all its institutes.

1. The ways to achieve a close connection between education and upbringing and life, labor and practice in building Communism.
2. Unity and reciprocal ties between general polytechnical education and vocational training.
3. The content of instruction in the first and second stages of secondary education.
4. The form and methods of school activity in schools of the new type.
5. Content and training methods of various levels of the general-education labor polytechnical schools.¹

Addressing the same meeting later in the day, M. A. Melnikov, an Academy Presidium associate, presented the «Scientific Research Studies Program of RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences for 1959—a program about which Khrushchev could have no reason to complain—noting that «the research studies connected with the school reform would have value not only for practice but also for the development of pedagogical science». Melnikov's hopes were the very expectations of the Communist Party and Khrushchev, in particular: the building of Communism could not be based on existing bourgeois theoretical concepts; scientific theories in the land of socialism should be based on the experience of socialist life and, in turn, should be intended to provide much-needed guidance in the process of transition from socialism to communism. In plain words, Pedagogical Science should be looked upon as an instrument for building Communism, a role extended unexceptionally to all the social and the physical sciences.

The many meetings and frequent speeches and self-criticisms, which followed the 21st Congress of the Communist Party sooner or later came to an end. Programs were prepared and pedagogical scientists went to work with renewed determination. Gradually, however, it began to become clear that the available resources and structures were not adequate for the ambitious task. Despite the fact that the Soviet leaders had, from the outset, attached great importance and had given much personal

1. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

attention to the science of pedagogy, its organizational and personnel resources left much to be desired.

The center of pedagogical activity for the Soviet Union was the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, just as the RSFSR Ministry of Education was looked upon as the initiator and leader in the field of Education—for there was neither a USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences nor a USSR Ministry of Education. The Academy, which was established in 1944, was intended to «help in planning and developing scientific research work in the field of Pedagogical Sciences» (Article 2)² and «render scientific aid to Pedagogical and Psychological centers and laboratories as well as to the departments of Pedagogy at universities and teacher training institutes» (Article 3).³ It consisted of eight Research Institutes, seven of which were situated in Moscow and one in Leningrad. Each one specialized in a particular field of pedagogical research as indicated by their titles: Institute of Psychology, Institute of Theory and History of Education, Institute of Nationality Schools, Institute of Art Education, Institute of Physical Education and School Hygiene, Institute of Defectology, Institute of Teaching Methods and Leningrad Institute of Pedagogy.⁴

The personnel of the Academy in 1959 included 97 academicians—30 full and 67 corresponding members—and 565 research and academic personnel. (The figures for 1960 were 92 and 577 respectively.)⁵ Of the 30 full members 21 were over 60 and the remaining 9 about 60 years of age.⁶ The normal business of the Academy was conducted by a Presidium of some 5 or 6 members. Surprisingly, according to Goncharov, «only less than half the Academy's regular and corresponding members work in the Institutes. The Presidium has until now failed to involve all of them in active participation in the management of the Academy's scientific-research work».⁷ As in the case of the

2. There was, however, a USSR Ministry of Higher Education.

3. A. I. Markushevich, «On Coordination of Scientific Research in the Field of Pedagogical Sciences», *Sovetskaiia Pedagogika*, 1962, No. 9; translated in *Soviet Education*, Vol. V, No. 1 (November 1962), pp. 60-63.

4. Based on fragmentary information scattered in a number of articles written by the President of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, I. A. Kairov.

5. Nicholas De Witt, *Education and Professional Employment in the USSR* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 429; and N.K. Goncharov, «Building Communism in the Schools», *Soviet Education*, Vol. I, No. 4 (February 1959), p. 16 [Goncharov's figures for 1959 are 96 and 500 respectively].

6. Kairov, «Decisions of the 21st Extraordinary Congress...», *op. cit.*, p. 10.

7. N. K. Goncharov, «Results of Scientific-Research Studies of the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences for 1958», *Soviet Education*, Vol. I, No. 9 (July 1959), p. 16.

British Royal Society and the Académie Française, the members were not appointed but were (and continue to be) elected by their fellows. (It is well known that membership brings, besides a large salary, honor and prestige.)

Research in Pedagogical Science was also conducted at 11 Pedagogical Institutes in the form of theses for advanced degrees in Pedagogy. All 7 Institutes which had the authority to grant a doctoral degree were situated in the RSFSR.¹ The remaining of the 206 Pedagogical Institutes, scattered throughout the USSR, concentrated on secondary school teachers' training.

The quantity of work produced by the Academy in any one year is certainly impressive. Thus, plans for 1958 provided for 90 projects, as a result of which 434 studies were to be written. Following Khrushchev's theses, the Presidium cancelled 13 of the old studies and added 56 new ones, so that altogether 477 studies were completed.² In addition, the Academy in that same year «prepared for the press more than 150 and published 257 works with a total circulation of 7,417,000 copies».³ Further, «propaganda of educational data held a prominent place» in the work of the Academy: 2160 lectures and reports were delivered, while in the second half of the year «special attention was given to problems of school reform in connection with... comrade N. S. Khrushchev's memorandum to the Presidium of the C. C. ... and the theses of the C. C. and the USSR Council of Ministers' on Strengthening the Ties between School and Life...».⁴

The Academy has been served by its own press, through which, besides text-books, encyclopedias and other educational works, a large number of pedagogical journals are published, including *Soviet-skaya Pedagogika*, *Voprosy Psikhologii* and *Semy i Shkola*.⁵

By far the most important problem of the Academy, as was admitted by its President and other members, was the lack of coordination of research—not only between the Academy on the one hand and the Pedagogical Institutes of the Union Republics and University Departments on the other, but also among research institutes of the Academy itself. President Kairov, accordingly, pressed for a number of specific tasks: great improvement in internal cooperation; coordination of the activities of the Academy

and the Pedagogical Institutes of the Union Republics; and establishing contacts among the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the Academy of Sciences and other scientific organizations.⁶

On the part of the RSFSR Ministry of Education all that seemed possible to be done under the circumstances, apart from strongly criticizing the Academy⁷ was the publication of annual research plans of the teacher training institutes of the Federation. This began for the first time in 1957.⁸ Four years later, the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR decided to entrust the task of coordination of research to the Ministry of Education of the Federation, and a Coordination Council was set up for the purpose, including members of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and members of the scientific personnel of teacher training institutes and universities.⁹

Similar coordination councils began being established in other republics. Thus, such a body was set up in the Ukraine in 1959, but «as yet it is only by accident that we learn that the Ukraine, Georgia and other places are also engaged in studying themes that interest us», remarked the Deputy Minister of Education of the RSFSR in 1962. The need for a «single all-Union Center» for the coordination of pedagogical research, was certainly felt but, despite Khrushchev's warning, there still seemed to be no «quicker turn from words to deeds».

There was some progress, however, within the Academy in the form of new research institutes, which were set up in order to take care of studies relating to specific aspects of Khrushchev's reforms: Institute of General and Polytechnical Education, Institute of Preschool Education, Institute of Production Training, and Institute of Evening and Correspondence Secondary Schools.

Finally, four months before the commencement of

6. Kairov, «Decisions of the 21st Extraordinary Congress...», *op. cit.*, p. 8.

7. Afanassenko, the RSFSR Minister of Education, who had himself been indirectly charged by Khrushchev with talking more than acting, told the All-Russian Teachers' Congress on July 6, 1960: «We can no longer tolerate the fact that the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences does not give sufficient serious attention to the fundamental theoretical problems arising out of the present tasks of communist upbringing, and makes insufficient use of the experience of the foremost schools. The teachers are waiting for the Academy to give them scientifically based recommendations...» [E. I. Afanassenko, «The School at the Present Stage of Building Communism and the Tasks of the Teachers», *Sovetskaiia, Rossiia*; translated in *Soviet Education*, Vol. II, No. 9 (July 1960), p. 40].

8. Markushевич, «On Coordination of Scientific Research...» (1962), *op. cit.*, p. 61.

9. Universities in the USSR do not have Departments of Education [See list of universities in *World of Learning* (London: Europa Publications), 1947, ..., 1970-71; also official handbooks of universities of Moscow and Leningrad].

1. John Kolasky, *Education in Soviet Ukraine* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1968), p. 127.

2. Goncharov, «Results of Scientific-Research Studies... for 1958», *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

5. Nigel Grant, *Soviet Education* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 141.

the 22nd Congress, the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR approved «measures for improving the training of scientific and pedagogical personnel». In view of the «serious shortcomings in the training and advanced studies of scientific and pedagogical personnel», the State Planning Committee of the USSR was instructed to make provisions, beginning with 1962, «for an additional 1,000 full-time research [positions] at higher educational [institutions] for faculty members working on their doctoral theses on vital economic or theoretical problems».¹

In the meantime a draft of the new Party Program was published and, as usual, guided discussion on several aspects of its contents was encouraged. The 22nd Congress, which was to adopt the new program, met on October 17, 1961. Kairov, the President of the Academy, addressing the Congress, expressed his deep conviction that the new Party Program would be adopted unanimously. He welcomed, in particular, «the inclusion of the moral code of the builder of Communism», which ought to form the basis of the work of the children's upbringing; he also scorned bourgeois sociologists for believing that the Soviet Union was bound to fail in its efforts to create the new Soviet man.² This moral code, as subsequently approved, comprises the following «principles»:

Devotion to the communist cause; love of the socialist motherland and of other socialist countries.
Conscientious labor for the good of society—he who does not work, neither shall he eat.
Concern on the part of everyone for the preservation and growth of public wealth.
A high sense of public duty; intolerance of actions harmful to the public interest.
Collectivism and comradely mutual assistance: one for all and all for one.
Humane relations and mutual respect between individuals—man is to a man a friend, comrade and brother.
Honesty and truthfulness, moral purity, modesty and unpretentiousness in social and private life.
Mutual respect in the family, and concern for the upbringing of children.
An uncompromising attitude to injustice, parasitism, dishonesty, careerism and money-grubbing.
Friendship and brotherhood among all peoples of the USSR; intolerance of national and racial hatred.
An uncompromising attitude [toward] the enemies of communism, peace and the freedom of nations.
Fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries and with all people.³

1. *Pravda*, June 17, 1961.

2. «Speech of Comrade I. A. Kairov at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU» *Narodnoe Obrazovanie*, 1961 No. 11; translated in *Soviet Education*, Vol. IV, No. 7 (May 1962), pp. 24-29.

3. CPSU, *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (New York: International Publishers, 1963), p. 122.

Kairov proceeded to assure the Congress that the Academy was hard at work eliminating many of its earlier shortcomings. Measures were being taken for the improvement of planning and coordination, «bringing research themes closer to life» and focusing the work of the Academy on the scientific problems relating to the implementation of «the Law on the School». He certainly would spare no effort in helping to make it possible to rear honest workers devoted to the construction of Communism, the immediate practical task of the Soviet people.⁴

The approved goals of the Party in the «spheres» of ideology, education and instruction could be summed up briefly as follows: «the shaping of a scientific world outlook; education through labor; promotion of communist morality; inculcation of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism; attainment of «all-round and harmonious development of the individual»; «elimination of the survivals of capitalism in the minds and behavior of people»; «the exposure of bourgeois ideology»; introduction of universal compulsory secondary education (in the next decade), the duration of which would be eleven years; the public upbringing (in boarding schools, kindergartens and nurseries) of children of preschool and school age whose parents so wished; creation of conditions for highstandard instruction and education of the rising generation; and further expansion of higher and secondary special education.⁵

With such new inputs added to the old tasks, nobody at the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the RSFSR Ministry of Education could possibly complain of boredom. Then, as if the headaches relating to the implementation of the Communist Party directives were not enough, Comrade Afanassenko, the RSFSR Minister of Education, stepped up his attacks—...all this calls for pedagogical guidance, but the Academy... [is] as yet rendering little

4. The New Party Program defines Communism as follows: «Communism is a classless social system with a single form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society; under it, the rounded development of people will be accompanied by growth of productive forces on the basis of constantly developing science and technology, all the springs of public wealth will yield abundantly, and the great principle 'From each according to his abilities to each according to his needs' will be applied. Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, in which labor for the good of society will become a prime, vital need in everyone, a necessity recognized by all, and the abilities of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.» [Gru-liov, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV (1962), p. 14; also CPSU, *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, p. 122].

5. CPSU, *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, pp. 119-127.

assistance...»¹ giving the impression that he had recently acquired the habit of asking only embarrassing questions—«the question arises as to whether the boarding schools in view of their distinctive features, should have a special curriculum...»²—to which no answers seemed to be easily forthcoming.

The complaints regarding the work of the Academy continued unabated in the following years, until attention moved to the simultaneously growing criticism of the very essence of the educational reforms that were so dear to Khrushchev's heart. In June 1963, on the occasion of the Party Plenum on ideological work, Ilyichev charged that, indeed, a new word, «backwatcher», had come into frequent use. Production training, he claimed, was so poorly organized that the pupils simply stood there and passively watched the workers.³ In January 1964 a number of school directors in Moscow went so far as to question the wisdom of «[spending] three years teaching trades [which could be assimilated] in three or four months» and of insisting on providing children with specialties which they certainly did not intend to apply after graduation.⁴

Complaints came in increasingly not only from students, parents and teachers but also from within the Party and the Government. Thus, in February 1964 the Lithuanian Minister of Education, M. Gedvilas, pointed out that in the case of the non-Russian schools, production training became possible only by extending school hours, with the result that «an already large load on the children has become even larger»⁵—which was the very opposite of one of the much publicized goals of the reform.

Equally painful for Khrushchev must have been the very slow progress made in connection with the boarding schools. The high cost of their construction, the unwillingness of the parents to «surrender» (the upbringing of) their children entirely to the State,⁶ the short supply of suitably qualified teachers,⁷ and the declining interest of the children in what often amounted to extended school hours, proved more than sufficient barriers to guarantee the complete failure of the ambitious boarding-school program. Despite the great publicity and contrary

to expectations that the number of students in boarding schools would reach 2-1/2 million by 1965, the number even in the late 1960's was approximately the same as in the late 1950's, namely about one million. The unpopularity of this institution was general and the case of the RSFSR was no exception: in 1962 the number of students in the boarding schools of by far the largest Soviet republic did not exceed 400,000.

Briefly, by the beginning of 1964 there was such an outcry, in particular, in the Soviet press, that a writer in this country came to the conclusion that... the 1958 school reform [had] been fully tested and found wanting. It [remained] to be seen whether the Soviet Communist Party [would] undertake another major educational reform...⁸

Brezhnev's new orientations

In light of the widespread, continuous criticism of the most important aspects of the 1958 law, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government finally decided to abandon what has come to be known as Khrushchev's School Reform. Thus, in August 1964 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers decreed a reduction by one year of the school program (of 11 years), thus retreating to the pre-1958 10-year school. The organization of the 10 school grades would be in the form of 4-4-2⁹ (as contrasted to the previous post-1958 form of 4-4-3; and to the earlier forms of 4-3-3 and 4-3-2 in Stalin's era and the 1920's, respectively). The Ministries of Education of the republics were accordingly charged with the task of «introducing appropriate changes to the curricula and programs... and of ensuring the planned and organized transition... to the new terms of instruction» with two years, beginning with September 1, 1964.¹⁰

The very brief official text of the resolution (about 290 words) appeared in both *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on August 13, 1964. On that same day *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* carried a long «Report» (5,000 words) by Comrade Afanassenko, the RSFSR Minister of Education, which had been delivered at an all-Russian conference on public education held in Moscow during the preceding two days (August 11 and 12). In the published text,¹¹ after the usual introductory reference to Lenin's ideas, Afanassenko began his second paragraph as follows:

8. J. Pennar (1964), *op. cit.*, pp. 73-77.

9. This structure is not a formula based on some important pedagogical consideration—which is the case in all countries.

10. *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. XV, No. 33 (September 9, 1964), p. 20.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

1. Afanassenko, «Five Years of the Boarding Schools», *op. cit.*, p. 6.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Pravda*, June 19, 1963; quoted by J. Pennar, «Five Years After Khrushchev's School Reform», *Comparative Education Review*, June 1964, p. 74.

4. *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, January 18, 1964; quoted by Pennar (1964), *op. cit.*, p. 75.

5. *Izvestiya*, February 22, 1964; quoted by Pennar (1964), *op. cit.*, p. 75.

6. See Bronfenbrenner, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-91. Note in particular the strong family ties of the Soviet people.

7. Azrael, «Soviet Union», *op. cit.*, p. 258.

«The law on strengthening the ties between school and life adopted by the Supreme Soviet has improved the system of public education», said N. S. Khrushchev.

The third paragraph is almost equally interesting:

N. S. Khrushchev went on to say that «the problems of improving public education demand special consideration. The Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government are studying the experience of reorganizing the schools in order to take additional decisions on questions of public education».

After stating, first, what Lenin advised and, second, what Khrushchev believed, Afanasenko proceeded to what amounted to actual demolition—in the nicest possible way—of the whole edifice of Khrushchev's educational reforms (despite direct statements to the contrary), while trying hard to create the impression that the changes were almost routine readjustments. Five years of experience had shown, he said, that the one-year extension of the secondary school program was not justified and, moreover, because of inadequacy of resources, production training proved a waste of time leading to «serious dissatisfaction among pupils, their parents and the public».⁴ The new changes, however, should not be interpreted as a return to the old system. The secondary school would «continue to develop as a labor polytechnical school with production training», except that pupils would receive «more extensive general technical education» which would enable them to master rapidly a specialty after leaving school.⁵

Afanasenko returned to the theme of the reforms two weeks later in an article published in *Pravda* on August 31, 1964. The tasks of the Soviet school were the upbringing of the new Soviet man; the inculcation of love towards labor; and the cultivation of the will to overcome difficulties of high communist morality, of a sense of duty toward the Soviet society, and of loyalty to the Communist Party and its ideals. The new syllabi that were being prepared by the RSFSR Ministry of Education and the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, he stressed, aimed at substantially raising the SCIENTIFIC level of secondary education.⁶

On October 15, 1964, that is within two months after the abandonment of the 1958 law on «The Strengthening of Ties between School and Life... its inspirer, Nikita S. Khrushchev, unexpectedly «resigned» his positions as First Secretary of the Commu-

nist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of USSR. During the seven years between then and the date of his death⁷ he withdrew to the background maintaining complete silence («I am just a pensioner»).

The attacks on the work of the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, despite the impressive quantity of its publications (in 1965 alone «124 works were prepared for publication, 183 books and brochures were published, and 551 scientific articles appeared in journals»⁸) and some noticeable improvement in the quality of the research, continued to be intensified in the following years, reaching a climax in 1966 with Academician Monoszon as the main critic. Writing on the «Basic Trends in the Research of the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences» early in 1966, he found much to praise in connection with both the work done and a five-year research plan for the period 1966-1970, but he also had much to condemn: «... It must be acknowledged that pedagogy is still unable to meet the demands made upon it by the practice of communist upbringing. Pedagogy bears responsibility for the shortcomings in the work of preschool institutions, schools of general education, evening schools and correspondence schools».⁹ He was especially concerned that «we still do not have basic works on methods of providing schoolchildren with a communist upbringing». He returned to the attack shortly afterwards on the occasion of the report to the General Meeting of the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences on «The Major Results of Research... in 1965».⁹ He charged that research projects at times were not clearly defined; the practice of wasting energy on minor topics still persisted; the socio-economic aspects of education were not adequately investigated (only two persons were involved in research on the economics of public education); the results of scientific research were not

4. By strange coincidence, while this very paragraph was being written, the announcement came over the radio that the old man had died (on September 11, 1971) of a heart attack at the age of 77.

5. He emphatically denied authorship of what was presented as his «Memoirs» by a Western publisher in 1970.

6. E. I. Monoszon, «The Major Results of Research at the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in 1965 and the Tasks of Further Improving Scientific Research on Problems of Upbringing and Instruction», *Sovetskaiia Pedagogika*, 1966, No. 5; translated in *Soviet Education*, Vol. VIII, No. 11 (September 1966), pp. 3-16.

7. E. I. Monoszon, «Basic Trends in the Research of the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences», *Sovetskaiia Pedagogika*, 1966 No. 1; translated in *Soviet Education*, Vol. VIII, No. 6 (April 1966), p. 3.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

9. Monoszon, «The Major Results...» (1966), *op. cit.*, pp. 3-16.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

2. *Ibid.* Note that this principle is identical to that of the British Industrial Education Act (1965), which, in turn, brings to mind the cases of a number of Latin American countries.

3. *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. XVI, No. 35 (September 23, 1964), pp. 38-39. Emphasis added by this writer.

promptly implemented, and often nothing beyond publication was done; the lack of coordination continued to greatly inhibit progress; and the urgent question of recruitment of new research scientists remained unsolved.

At last, a few weeks after the 23rd Congress (March 29 - April 8, 1966), during which it was decided that the introduction of 8-year universal compulsory education should be completed by 1970, the signs for the long awaited far-reaching changes became distinctly visible. On May 5, 1966 *Pravda* carried the following brief announcement: «The Presidium of the Russian Republic Supreme Soviet has appointed Comrade Mikhail Alekseyevich Prokofyev Russian Republic Minister and has relieved Comrade Ye. I. Afanasenko of these duties in view of his transfer to other work.¹ In August 1966 the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the USSR Council of Ministers decided to establish a USSR Ministry of Education and to re-constitute the RSFSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences as an all-Union institution. The first President of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences was V. M. Khvostov—Kairov was «kicked upstairs» as Chair-

man of the Presidium—and the first USSR Minister of Education, M. A. Prokefyev, who was for this reason succeeded in his former position by A. I. Danilov. Thus, by the end of 1966 all protagonists among the *dramatis personae* associated with the pedagogical science developments of the previous decade and, in particular, with Khrushchev's school reforms, either «retired» unexpectedly or were transferred to «other work».

As a result of the ensuing extensive reorganization, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences today consists of 13 Research Institutes, 12 of which are situated in Moscow and 1 in Leningrad. [See Table A]. The number of full members has risen to 48 and that of corresponding members to 76. The Presidium of the Academy consists of 4 members, Professor I. A. Kairov (Pedagogy; former President of the Academy), Professor F. F. Korolev (Pedagogy; former Director of Institute of Theory and History of Education), Professor G. S. Kostyuk (Psychology) and Professor M. A. Prokofyev (Chemistry; USSR Minister of Education).

Apart from the President and the Presidium, other important figures linked with the Academy are 3 Vice-Presidents, Professor A. I. Markushevich (Mathematics), Professor V. G. Zubov (Physics) and Professor A. G. Khripkova (History); 1 Chief

1. *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. XVIII, No. 18 (May 25, 1966), p. 32.

TABLE A. *The Institutes of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (In Selected Years)*

1957-1958		1963-1964		1970-1971	
1.	Theory and History of Education	1.	X	1.	General Educational Problems
2.	Psychology	2.	X	2.	General Educational Psychology
3.	Non-Russian Schools		—	3.	Russian Language Instruction in National Schools
4.	Art Education	3.	X	4.	X
5.	Physical Education and School Hygiene	4.	X	5.	Child and Adult Physiology
6.	Defectology	5.	X	6.	X
7.*	Pedagogical Science (Pedagogy)		—	7.	General Pedagogy
8.*	Natural Science (Lesgaft)		—		—
		6.	General and Polytechnical Education	8.	Labor Education and Vocational Studies
		7.	Industrial Training		—
		8.*	Adult Education	9.*	X
				10.	Pre-School Education
				11.	Education Methodology and Standards
				12.	School Equipment and Technical Aid
				13.	Environmental School Education

* Situated in Leningrad

X Same Institute as opposite in previous column

SOURCE: Based on information given in «The World of Learning» (London, Europa Publications) for the years 1947, ..., 1970-71.

Learned Secretary, Professor N. P. Kuzin (History); and 3 Academician-Secretaries, Professor E. J. Monoszon (Pedagogy), Professor A. V. Petrovsky (Psychology) and Professor I. D. Zverev (Biology).

Thus among the 12 senior officers mentioned above included are 3 specialists in Pedagogy, 2 Psychologists, 3 Historians, 1 Mathematician, 1 Physicist, 1 Chemist and 1 Biologist.

The combined number of full and corresponding members (124) represent a great many of the branches of human knowledge: Psychology (33), Mathematics and Physical Sciences (24), Languages and Literature (22), Humanities (19), Pedagogy (16), Natural Sciences (5), Medical Sciences (4) and Esthetic [Art] Education (1)¹ [See Table B].

The new, extended tasks of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences were defined by the Central Committee of the CPSU in a special document, the content of which appeared in *Sovetskaia Pedagogika* in April 1969:²

The Academy... is charged with conducting and coordinating research³ along basic lines of development in pedagogy, general and pedagogical psychology, and developmental physiology; with furthering the development of the pedagogical sciences in the union republics; with arranging a program of scientific information on pedagogy and schooling in the USSR and in foreign countries; with disseminating pedagogical knowledge among the people. It is envisaged that the accomplishment of these tasks will be pursued in close cooperation with the USSR Academy of Sciences and with branch academies and scientific institutions of the union republics.

The «basic orientations» of the activities of the Academy were also outlined by the same document: (1) analysis, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of fundamental issues in the theory and methodology of pedagogy, and study of the history of pedagogical thought in the Soviet Union; (2) «investigation of, and generalisation from, practical experience in... communist upbringing...» and the influence of peers, family and society, as well as drafting recommendations «on matters concerning... upbringing in the spirit of communist morality, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism»; (3)

1. Based on Table B, which, in turn, is based on information given in *The World of Learning: 1970-71* (1970), pp. 1288-1290.

2. «In the Central Committee of the CPSU», *Soviet Education*, Vol. XI, No. 12 (October 1969), pp. 3-6.

3. Besides the 13 Research Institutes of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, 15 research institutes for education and schools in the union republics, and more than 200 universities and teachers' colleges are conducting research in education. E. I. Monoszon, «The Status of Research and its Tasks in the Area of Moral Education», *Sovetskaia Pedagogika*, 1969, No. 12; translated in *Soviet Education*, Vol. XII, Nos. 6-7 (April-May, 1970), p. 128.

improvement of syllabi and methods of teaching in schools, and formulation of «scientifically valid recommendations» on general and polytechnical education and manual training...; (4) investigation of «the conditions that determine—and the basic regularities that govern—the shaping of personalities...»; (5) «study of the higher nervous activity of children and teen-agers...»; (6) analysis of issues on educational planning and economics of education; and (7) continuous study of foreign pedagogy, and criticism of bourgeois pedagogical theories.⁴

The Central Committee was also very specific with regard to the old problem of research coordination. The Academy is, accordingly, charged with the responsibility of «drafting proposals on basic lines of research... surveying the annual and long-range plans of union republic research [institutions], and with drawing up an all-Union plan for major research... and a plan for implementing the results of this research...».⁵

TABLE B. Membership of Academy of Pedagogical Sciences by Discipline

Branch of Knowledge	Full Members	Corresponding Members	Total Members
Pedagogy	8	8	16
Psychology	12	21	33
Physiology of Growth	—	1	1
Physiology of Higher Nervous Activity	1	2	3
Philosophy	1	—	1
Political Economy	—	2	2
History	9	4	13
History of Ethnography	—	1	1
Geography	—	2	2
Mathematics	2	4	6
Physics	2	7	9
Chemistry	4	4	8
Astronomy	—	1	1
Natural Sciences	—	1	1
Biology	—	3	3
Botany	—	1	1
Literature	3	2	5
Philology	5	8	13
Russian Languages and Literature	1	2	3
Foreign Languages	—	1	1
Art Education	—	1	1
TOTAL	48	76	124

SOURCE: Based on information provided for each member in *World of Learning* (London, Europa Publications), 1970-71.

4. «In the Central Committee of the CPSU» (1969), *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5. See also V. M. Khvostov, «Basic Directions in the Activity of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR», *Shkola i Proizvodstvo*, 1970, No. 1, translated in *Soviet Education*, Vol. 12, Nos. 6-7 (April-May, 1970), pp. 23-36.

5. «In the Central Committee of the CPSU» (1969), *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Finally, the USSR Ministry of Education and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences were asked to take all necessary measures for «augmenting and systematizing scientific information on the content and methods of scientific research»; and—jointly with the USSR Council of Ministers' State Committee on Science and Technology and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education—solve the problem of shortage of properly qualified scientific personnel in the field of Pedagogical Sciences.¹

Further guide-lines—if only indirect—for the work of the Academy were provided by two Party documents, «On Measures for Further Improving the Work of the General-Education Secondary School»² and «Statutes of the Secondary General-Education School».³ Evidently, the Academy cannot possibly complain of inadequacy of incoming guide-lines. In order that the out-going information and instructions be as readily available, the Academy has increased the number of its journals from three to five: *Sovetskaia Pedagogika*, *Voprosy Psikhologii*, *Russkii Iazyk v Natsional'noi Shkole*, *Voprosy Defektologii*, and *Sm'ia i Shkola*.⁴

some comments and reactions

1. One of the common characteristics of all societies is that the social sciences, irrespective of time and location, have been in general out of phase with the problems of their environment. Not only is there a significant time-gap between the occurrence of social change and its introduction into the world of interests of the social scientists—if that, indeed, ever happens—but, almost invariably, there exists a second gap, not infrequently as great if not greater than the first, between analysis and policy-making on one hand and implementation on the other. The magnitude of the second gap is often a function of a multitude of variables, one of which, in most cases, is the «cultural distance» between the place for which policies were intended and the community where they are, in the end, implemented. Both of these gaps are—or should be—the concern of both communist and non-communist, developed as well as developing societies. The Soviet Union has from the very beginning attempted to minimize this cultural distance by denouncing the

«bourgeois» social sciences and adopting an ambitious program of building a new body of knowledge consonant with the communist environment. The domain of the Pedagogical Sciences has been no exception.

2. Serious transmission problems retarded and frustrated implementation of Khrushchev's policies in connection with the process of building the new Soviet man. Evidently one of the most important sources of these problems was the inadequacy of the existing machinery for turning nebulous ideologies into simple operational plans.

3. Khrushchev was well aware that school is but one of the socialization agents of a society. The family, the peers, the society itself, and, more recently, the mass media have been such strong competitors in all cultures that their influence not infrequently seriously undermine or even completely neutralize the effect of the school. When seen in this connection Khrushchev's idea of boarding schools for all children brings vividly to mind Archimedes' «eureka!».

4. There is strong evidence that «a warm, constricting mother-child relationship maximizes dependency and produces a child who is readily socialized to adult standards».⁵ If this assumption is indeed universally valid, and since its conditions are fully met by the Soviet society, then Soviet children should be expected to show much greater readiness for imitation of their parents' standards than is the case in a country such as the United States. Under these circumstances, Strumilin's solution of public upbringing «from cradle to graduation» should be the obvious improvement on Khrushchev's answer.

5. What was grossly underestimated is the potential of the parents' resistance, which in the end forced the Party to retreat abruptly, pointing out that, after all, it «has never considered it possible to supplant the family by society».⁶ From then onwards Party resolutions have been careful never to omit a much repeated conditional clause: «...if their parents so wish...».

6. Khrushchev's reform measures for «strengthening the ties of the school with life» seem to deserve the most careful examination. Although from time immemorial it has been held that life is the best possible school or that «people grow with their jobs» and their responsibilities, it was not until very recently that social scientists came to suspect that a prolonged working situation could have irreversible effects on the very personality of the worker. On-going research in the United States and elsewhere seeks to establish a one-to-one correspon-

1. *Ibid.*

2. See Appendix.

3. See Appendix.

4. N. P. Kuzin, «The Work of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences», *Sovetskaia Pedagogika*, 1969, No. 5; translated in *Soviet Education*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (December 1969), pp. 13-36.

5. Bronfenbrenner, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

dence between certain characteristics of «the industrial plant» on the one hand and certain personality traits on the other.¹ What Khrushchev seems to have aimed at is the implementation of this bold hypothesis,² which must have strongly appealed to him for very personal reasons.

7. The concept of labor (or polytechnical) education, far from falling out of fashion among the Soviet leaders and Soviet social scientists, continues to hold a central position in Soviet Pedagogical Theory. In the words of the President of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences,

After the October 1964 plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPSU... we rejected the sweeping attempts to introduce vocational training. But of course we did not in any way reject the principles of polytechnism... However, the concept of polytechnical education requires some further rethinking...^{3 4}

8. Closely related to Khrushchev's great expectations from labor education are a series of scientific investigations into the secrets of molding the human character through «socially useful, productive work».⁵ Simultaneously, considerable importance has been attached to the subject of the inculcation of particular personality traits.⁶ On this single theme 51 dissertations were defended between 1967 and 1970.⁷ A very special place in this massive scientific project is reserved for M. G. Kazakina's dissertation, *The Shaping of Moral Ideals in the Adolescent in the Course of Civic Activity*, which investigates «the means by which an ideal is shaped as motivation for the behavior and activity of adolescents». (Kazakina has concluded that «the purposeful molding of communist ideals is most effectively implemented by organizing the practical life

1. The most prominent related project is a cross-cultural study by Alex Inkeles.

2. In referring to Blonsky's *The Labor School* (1919), Goncharov observes that «P. P. Blonsky viewed plants and factories not as places of employment for the students, but as schools of life, as a tremendous educational force». [N. K. Goncharov, «Building Communism in the Schools», *Soviet Education*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (February 1959), p.23.]

3. V. M. Khvostov, «Basic Directions of Scientific Research Work in the Pedagogical Sciences», *Sovetskaiia Pedagogika*, 1968, No. 4; translated in *Soviet Education*, Vol. 11, No. 7 (May 1969), p. 36.

4. In fact, a Research Institute for Vocational Training was established at the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences in 1966 and continued functioning until 1969/70 when, apparently after appropriate changes, it was renamed to Research Institute for Labor Education and Vocational Studies [Based on information given in *The World of Learning*, *op. cit.*, 1965, ..., 1970-71].

5. Monoszon, «The Status of Research and its Tasks in the Area of Moral Education» (1969), *op. cit.*, p. 109.

6. In this respect the moral code for the builder of Communism should prove an invaluable guide.

7. Monoszon, «The Status of Research...» (1969), *op. cit.*, p. 110.

and civil life of a group of children».)⁸ A new series of investigations should begin soon in an effort «to discover the regularities by which knowledge turns into views and convictions that are reflected in everyday human behavior».⁹

9. It should have by now become obvious that the very poorly mapped entity called «man» is currently undergoing an intensive investigation by Soviet Science. Philosophers have for centuries occupied themselves with discussing man as a bipolar being — an individual and a social being. The emphasis shifted from one pole to the other depending on the times, the society and the investigator. In the Soviet Union the question seems to have been «settled» once and for all: man's individuality flourishes in the collective; man is basically a social being—his individuality is a secondary characteristic. It is not quite clear whether this belief has been scientifically tested, but the impression that one conveys is that this is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition. Much of what is practised in the Soviet Union today—and to that extent all over the world—is based either on assumptions formulated on the basis of past human experience or on fundamental ideological premises.

10. Given the colossal energy spent in the field of Pedagogical Science in the Soviet Union, it would seem impossible to defend the view that the West has nothing to profit by following carefully Soviet pedagogical research. In 1970 alone 10,000 research scientists conducted studies in Education, Psychology and Developmental Physiology¹⁰ on projects approved and guided by the new USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. Although only a small proportion of these investigators held doctoral degrees,¹¹ the nature of their studies, in general, is such that no serious social scientist could afford to dismiss both their answers and their questions. In light of the measures mentioned earlier in this paper, the quality of the research studies is bound to improve considerably. Currently there is so much interest in pedagogical research that «questions of education constitute one-third of all research being conducted [in the Soviet Union]».¹²

11. It is beyond the scope of this paper to attempt a comparison of Pedagogical Science research in the Soviet Union and in the Western world. There-

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

10. *Uchitel'skaia Gazeta*, March 3, 1970, «Results and Prospects», *Soviet Education*, Vol. 12, Nos. 6-7 (April-May, 1970), p. 15.

11. In 1970 in the whole USSR only 167 persons held doctorates in Education [*Ibid.*, p. 17].

12. Monoszon, «The Status of Research...» (1969), *op. cit.*, p. 107.

fore, here it is simply singled out that the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences has recently attached great emphasis on inter-disciplinary studies — which is also the present tendency in the United States. Indeed, given all that has been said above, one is tempted to suggest that a properly equipped Western educational institution should consider the possibility of undertaking the task of bringing to the attention of research scientists and university teachers some of the most important research themes of Soviet Pedagogical Science—which would be treated as research hypotheses or merely stimuli for related studies in this country and elsewhere.

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