"MAKARENKO SYSTEM": EDUCATION THROUGH THE COLLECTIVE

for the development of the New Soviet Man,
and its application in Soviet Education

by

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INTRODUCTION

Very little has been written on Makarenko in the West. In England, W.L. Goodman wrote in 1949 a simple account of Makarenko's work which he based mainly on quotations taken from "The Road to Life."

In France, in 1954, Irène Lézine undertook a more systematic study of Makarenko's pedagogical work, selecting a wide range of topical questions from his writings, and unified them into a whole with her own comments and descriptions. Although she stated that Makarenko's educational thought is "indissolubly interwoven into the economic structure of the socialist society and reflects its ideology," she nevertheless maintained that Makarenko's teachings could very profitably be put to use by Western "educators and parents of good will," who are sincerely desirous of creating a sane and happy childhood for the youth of today.

In 1956, Leonhard Froese, from Germany, dealing with Makarenko's contribution to Soviet educational thought, took a somewhat similar position to that of Lézine's, maintaining that "Makarenko System" has values which transcend the use to which they were put in the USSR, and that, with some alterations, it could be advantageously used within the framework of Western educational thought. Concluding that Makarenko's work had essentially educational, rather than political values, he attributed to the Makarenko System certain universal and positive elements.

Frederic Lilge of California, in a monograph published in 1958, analyzing Makarenko's educational ideas in the context of Soviet society, concluded that however powerful his system of education may

be, it can, nevertheless, not achieve its goal of forming the New Man since the Party is not wholeheartedly dedicated to this end but only interested in controlling the masses.

In 1959, Gerhard Moebus, a German psychologist, in his study of the psychology of Communism, questioned Makarenko's dedication to the formation of the New Soviet Man, maintaining that he has in fact developed a system of education for the service to Stalin in view of an unquestioned subordination of the individual to the aims and purposes of the State and the Dictator.

In the USSR, the literature on Makarenko and his educational theories is very abundant. Articles, pamphlets, books, Master and Doctoral theses deal with various aspects of his life, work and ideas.

The purpose of this dissertation is threefold: First, it endeavours to show why the system of education through the collective developed in the Soviet Union. Secondly, it tries to describe the central point in that system. Thirdly, it traces briefly the initial opposition to this system on the part of the official Soviet educational authorities and its subsequent acceptance by Soviet political and educational authorities as well as its present-day application in Soviet education.

Reliance has been placed mainly on Makarenko's original works which were published in seven volumes.

The works of Marx-Engels, Lenin, Krupskaya and Bubnov have been used for formulating a picture of the theories lying behind Soviet education necessary for a better understanding of Makarenko's role and importance, and of some of the reasons for the abolition of pedology.

Judging from many statements in Soviet literature, the successful establishment of Communism, or of a Communistic society, seems to

depend largely on the transformation of the normally individualistic human being into a New Man - into a collectivist. The Marxists believe that such a man can be formed only through, and within, a well-integrated collective. Thus, Communist education might be conceived of as education through the collective.

In the 1920's Soviet educational leaders were busily experimenting with various Western educational theories. Isolated from the current trends, attempting to educate juvenile delinquents known as "besprizornye," A.S. Makarenko formulated, and perfected, his system of education through the collective.

Makarenko found through his own experience that the educator has little influence on the individual child, and that the formation of a young person's character and personality depends on a multiplicity of influences. He concluded that, since the greatest impact on the child's development is exercised by his own peers, by their values, attitudes, expectations and moral standards, the educator ought to organize the peer-group influence in such a way as to bring about its most favorable combination; and this can be achieved only within a well-integrated collective.

The Collective through which Makarenko sought to educate the growing generation, called Pedagogical Collective, is formed of a Children's Collective and a Collective of Educators.

The Children's Collective is composed of units called the Primary Collective. Every child is attached to one of these for the duration of his stay at the institution. Through the years, each Primary Collective, or detachment, develops its reputation and traditions. (As, incidentally, does the whole Pedagogical Collective.)

From his detachment each child is daily despatched to various

tasks and chores within temporary, or "flying" units, often called "brigades." The activities of the brigades are competitive in character and each individual child contributes his points earned to the total of his Primary Collective. The same principle is applied to marks earned in the class-room. The detachment to which an individual belongs is fully responsible for the behaviour and progress of each of its members.

The educator seldom deals with an individual child directly but influences him through demands upon the detachment; Makarenko called this procedure "parallel pedagogical effect."

The Collective of Educators is carefully composed of teachers who complement each other by their individual character and personality as well as their special skills.

The roles of leadership and subordination within the Pedagogical Collective are so intricately intertwined that a child's function may alternate from the position of the all-powerful Commander on Duty to a simple member of the collective in the course of a single week. In this way, Makarenko believed, each child will learn how to obey and command - a characteristic which, in Makarenko's opinion, is basic to the New Man.

It seems obvious that this system of education through the collective should easily become reminiscent of a military organization and of the training of officers. Indeed, the Soviet educational authorities, representatives of the "progressive" school of educational thought which was en vogue in the 1920's and early 1930's, and particularly the Pedologists, did not wait long to attack Makarenko and his system of education. By 1936, however, the Party demanded that education follow the "Line"; Pedology and experimental education were abolished, and Makarenko's star rose rapidly.

After World War II, many Soviet schools began experimenting with the "Makarenko System." In 1956 a decree was issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party for the establishment of a new type of boarding school which should undertake the task of implementing Makarenko's ideas and further them by experimentation.

The reason for this decision seems to be the current Soviet belief that the time for the development of Communist Society, the stage which, according to Marxism, follows the Socialist Society, has finally come. The complete establishment of a Communist Society being feasible only after regeneration of human beings, it became imperative to accelerate the up-bringing of the "New Man." Makarenko's method seems to be considered as "The" method capable of bringing about the education of that "New Man."

In this dissertation attention has been directed mainly to the description of Makarenko's system of education through the collective and of the background necessary for understanding the importance of that system and the role it plays in Soviet education. This has meant that a large number of problems and questions, many of which would have been very interesting to study, have thus been ignored.

For example, how lasting were the "reforms" of the waifs discharged by Makarenko? Have these youngsters remained "collectivists," or "forced altruists," or have they reverted to their original "individualism" once they left the collective? How scientific really are Makarenko's views on human nature and human psychology?

To what extent can one accept Makarenko's principle of deriving ethics from social demands rather than from transcendent morality? For if ethics were equated with social demands then Makarenko's principle of deducing the aims of education from social needs would be justi-

fiable, if not, indeed, the only reasonable thing to do.

Can Makarenko's realization of the bolshevik "principle of combining general education with toil," as dramatically illustrated by the school-reforms of 1958, be considered as the final formula for polytechnical education, as it is implied by some of the most recent Soviet publications.

Studies on Makarenko's historical role in polytechnical education or in the formation of the new boarding-schools in 1956 should also prove interesting.

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"MAKARENKO SYSTEM": EDUCATION THROUGH THE COLLECTIVE

CHAPTER ONE

AIMS OF COMMUNIST EDUCATION: TO DEVELOP THE "NEW SOVIET MAN"

Contrary to a wide-spread belief in the West that Communism is primarily concerned with the establishment of a new philosophical, political, and economic system, Jean Lecroix declares that, "Marxism is not so much concerned with the construction of a philosophic, political, and economic system as with the formation of a new man."[1]

For a successful realization of its accelerated socialized industrialization the Soviet regime had to create new types of incentives for work and develop new psychic structures which would make possible the formation of a new collective man. According to Kultschytskyj, "Russian Communism has exerted enormous efforts to bring into being this psychic structure and this new man."[2] "Its psychological conquest," said Berdyaev, "is more important than its economic conquest."[3] M.I. Kalinin, the former president of the Supreme Council of the USSR, wrote:

> If I were asked what is the most important task of the Soviet teacher, I would reply, "to build a new man. . .." We are creating a new socialist man. This man must be inculcated with the best human qualities. 4

As late as 1938, when Makarenko's work and ideas became

1 J. Lecroix, Marxisme, Existentialisme, Personnalisme (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1950), p. 5.

2 A. Kultschytskyj, "Psychological Trends in the Transformation of Soviet Man," Studies on the Soviet Union (Munich, Institute for the Study of the USSR, No. 3, 1959), p. 94.

3 N. Berdyaev, Les Sources et le Sense du Communisme Russe (Paris, Gallimard, 1951), p. 197.

4 M.I. Kalinin, O Kommunisticheskoi rabote i vospitanii (Moscow, APN, RSFSR, 1948), p. 146.

widely known, there was still no clear definition of a concept of the "New Man" in the Soviet Union.[5] F. Lilge of the University of California, supports this statement when he writes:

> The distinguishing characteristics of the new Communist Man had not been clearly defined before Makarenko's writings appeared, and his work helped to focus the image. 6

In view of the constant efforts on the part of the Party and the Soviet administrative authorities to bring about the "collectivization" of the "Soviet Man," it would seem paradoxical that a clear concept of this "New Man" should not have been formulated prior to the mid 1930's. The tactical necessity for the introduction of the New Economic Policy and the subsequent retardation of collectivization due to the complexities involved in the "kulak" purges do not seem to be sufficient justification for the lack of definition of the "New Man."

While on the surface the political and administrative authorities were busily grappling with practical problems of forced industrialization and collectivization of the country in the "backstage" of the Party a fierce ideological struggle was pursued. The Party was at grips with the question of "Human Nature." This was a problem of profound basic significance however trifling it may have appeared to the un-initiated Western observers.

Marx and Engels had equated human nature with the history of evolving mankind.[7] They firmly rejected any absolute or eternal essence of human nature; for them, human nature was essentially subject

[5] A.S. Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," Sochineniya v semitomakh (Moscow, APN, RSFSR, 1957), V, 106.
A.S. Makarenko, "Opyt metodiki raboty detskoi trudovoi koloni," ibid., V, 467.
A.S. Makarenko, "Maksim Gorky v moei zhizni," ibid., VII, 300.

[6] F. Lilge, Anton Semyonovich Makarenko (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1958), p.19.

[7] V. Venable, Human Nature: The Marxian View (New York, Alfred Knopf, 1945), p.26.

to change. Their understanding of the general character of human change is systematically involved with their philosophies of nature and society; it follows logically, and is properly deducible from them.

Venable, in his study of the Marxian concept of Human Nature states that:

> . . . historical, biological and sociological evidence indicated to Marx and Engels that man changes; human mutability was implied in their theory of historical materialism and was a sanction of the socialist objective. 8

The determining factors in human change as Marx and Engels believed, are:

> . . . man's own concrete productive practices in the business of maintaining the concrete material conditions necessary to the actual continuance of life. 9

In other words, man changes in proportion to the changes in the "superstructure" - political and cultural relations of society - which are effected by the changes in the "substructure" - economic formation of society. Since the individual alone cannot change either of these, it follows that he is not responsible for what he is. Thus, Marx could write:

> My standpoint, from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them. 10

Unfortunately, in his third thesis on Feuerbach, Marx seems to have expressed precisely the opposite point of view when he declared that, ". . . it is men that change circumstances" and, ". . . the educator himself needs educating,"[11] attributing thus to man an active

[8] Ibid., p.44.

[9] Ibid., p.45.

[10] K. Marx, "Preface to the first German edition of the first volume of Capital," Selected Works (Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958), II, 451.

[11] K. Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," ibid., II, 403 f.

as opposed to a passive role in the ultimate changes in his nature.

This ambiguity in the Marxian concept on changes in human nature being directly connected with changes in social relations eventually led to serious conflicts and diametrically opposed interpretations. Plekhanov and his relatively moderate followers, the Mensheviks, emphasized the aspect of "inevitability" or "determinism" of social changes while the extremist Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, emphasized the need for a leading élite which would "educate" the masses, or the "voluntaristic" aspect of Marxism. One will recall that this divergence of opinion was brought to the fore in the Congress of 1903 at which the notorious break between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks took place.

The dispute involved mainly the element of revolution and revolutionary action. Lenin, borrowing from Tkachev without acknowledgment, developed the point of view that the party ought to be formed of small, highly disciplined, groups of dedicated revolutionaries who would lead, rather than follow, the trends of social developments, thus introducing into Marxism the element of "elitism"[12] to the detriment of the Mensheviks' more orthodox Marxian emphasis on spontaneity and inevitability. The Second International was not particularly concerned with "Human Nature." This problem was destined to wait for a solution until after the Revolution.

After 1917, many Soviet officials who knew Marx's writings intimately, and who had not primarily been concerned with using his theories, as Lenin did, for purposes of attaining the ultimate power, for a long time continued holding the position the Mensheviks had taken earlier, namely: the inevitability and determinism of historical

[12] Cf. G. von Rauch, A History of Soviet Russia (New York, F.A. Praeger, 1957), p.115.

and social changes affecting human nature. On the one hand they accepted Lenin's thesis that history had to be given a "push," and on the other hand they held that human nature was determined by historical and social conditions. This inconsistency either escaped Lenin's attention and that of his entourage, or else they chose to ignore it. This situation was later to create much confusion.

Stating that the first Soviet criminal code of 1919 maintained that ". . . crime in a class society is the result of the latter's social structure, not of the 'guilt' of the criminal," R.A. Bauer concluded that the individual was not considered responsible for what he is, but that the responsibility lay entirely on society.[13] This was a tacit recognition of the theory of "inevitability" or "determinism" on the part of the Soviet regime.

Such a theory seemed wholly justifiable and entirely orthodox from the point of view of Marxism for in his "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," Marx wrote: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."[14] In his well-documented book on the "New Man in Soviet Psychology," describing the Soviet psychological theories held in the 1920's, Bauer states that:

> . . . man was a machine, an adaptive machine which did not initiate action but merely reacted to stimuli from its environment. Concepts like "consciousness" and "will" were suspect; they smacked of subjectivism, voluntarism, idealism. After all, man and his behaviour were determined by antecedent social and biological conditions. 15

[13] New Man in Soviet Psychology (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959), p.38.

[14] Marx, op.cit., I, 368.

[15] Bauer, op.cit., p.5.

In the earlier period of Bolshevik rule, psychology was widely applied in industry, medicine, criminology, and delinquency, in the study of social attitudes, and particularly in education - in the form of testing and guidance activities in the school.

Actually this was a continuation of pre-war tsarist practices. After the turn of the century, and especially after the Revolution of 1905, educators and psychologists had begun experimenting with, and introducing Western theories, particularly from Germany and the United States. This influx of Western ideas ceased with the World War I and was resumed after the Revolution of 1917 with great vigour. The Communist leaders, anxious to overtake the U.S.A., felt the need of emulating the practices which they thought to be partly responsible for the great advances of the Americans, a phenomenon which is reminiscent of the present-day tendency of the "under-developed" countries to imitate Western technology, which they believe to be the key to prosperity.

But, in the late 1920's, the conflict over "determinism" or "inevitability" and "voluntarism" or "revolutionary activism," broke out once again; this time in terms of "spontaneity" versus "intervention."[16]

The immediate cause for this situation was the emphasis placed on the goals which Soviet society was to achieve as a result of the Stalinist Revolution of 1928. This meant the beginning of the end of "spontaneity," "determinism," "experimentation" and freedom. Man has become an increasingly purposeful being who was less and less the creature of his environment, and more and more the master of his own destiny, responsible for his actions.

Thus one could observe the paradoxical situation of having,

[16] Ibid., p. 7.

in a society built on the principle of inevitability, practices based on the theory of voluntarism and intervention while prior to this period, in psychology and education, spontaneity and determinism or inevitability existed side-by-side with the Leninist regime founded on voluntarism and revolutionary activism.

In the period between 1930 and 1938 not only had the concept of man's role in society changed, but the country was industrialized, agriculture collectivized and the institutions of Soviet society centralized and coordinated with the over-all plans of the state. As a logical result the aim of Soviet education henceforth became that of fitting man into a new society, into Stalin's Soviet society.[17]

The question as to whether the creation of the "New Man" or the "Soviet Man" is a condition for a successful establishment of a new order, or the creation of a new order the condition for the development of a new man, remains under Stalin purely a matter of academic speculation. A ruthlessly practical ruler, Stalin understood that Soviet citizens, as they then were, would never accept the tyranny he prepared for his country; thus, for purely pragmatic reasons, he needed the creation of a New Soviet Man.

Bauer, writing in 1956, stated that, ". . . virtually all of applied psychology is confined to developing techniques of education and to training the New Soviet Man."[18] Whatever the philosophical or political trends, the practical activities of education of the growing generation had to be carried out on all levels. Besides the problem of educating the youth in general and higher schools, the

[17] G. Moebus, Psychagogie und Paedagogik des Kommunismus (Koeln und Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1959), p.89.

[18] Bauer, op.cit., p.5.

Soviet authorities had to cope with the care for the ever-growing numbers of homeless waifs. Thousands of homes for the "besprizornye" have been established. In an isolated corner of the Ukraine, Anton Semyonovich Makarenko was in charge of one of this type of institution.

Perhaps independently from the ideological and political struggles of the Soviet leaders,[19] in his attempt to educate juvenile delinquents, basing himself mainly on Marxian philosophy, Makarenko developed his system of education. Realizing how little influence he had, as an individual educator, on his charges, he organized a powerful collective capable of exerting irresistible pressure on the individual waifs.

Being essentially a pragmatist, he understood that education without a precise goal to be achieved was hardly possible or desirable. Considering juvenile delinquents as essentially anti-social beings, he tried to change their nature in order to make it possible for them to find a place in society. The Soviet society being a new one he felt that he had to make "New Men" out of these youngsters.[20]

Impatient with the pre-Revolution tendencies of the Russian intelligentsia for speculative theorizing, and the influence these tendencies exercised on the post-Revolution pedagogical thought, he adopted the Bolshevistic revolutionary activist attitude toward the problems of life in general and those of education in particular.

In a discussion on the problems of Soviet education Makarenko said:

> Our logic must be a Marxian logic, a dialectical logic. From the

[19] Lilge forwarded the idea that Makarenko, living and working in a secluded village in Ukraine, and not being a member of the Party himself, was completely ignorant of the current trends and political struggle carried out among the higher Party and administrative echelons in Moscow. Cf. Lilge, op.cit., p.5.

[20] Makarenko, "Tsel'vospitaniya," op.cit., V, 357.

> point of view of that logic, we cannot allow any means which would not lead to the aims which we have established for ourselves. Purposefulness, and dialectics of educational method, this is what constitutes the basic propositions which must lie at the foundation of the Soviet system of education. 21

Accepting Lenin's teachings on the necessity of political education,[22] Makarenko believed it impossible to educate a person, or even carry on educational processes, without a clear and definite political aim. Such an aim, he believed, cannot be deducted from the study of a static human nature,[23] from psychology or biology, as the contemporary educators believed,[24] but must be found in the needs of society and in the goals and dictates of the struggle for socialism.[25]

The Soviet Society in the 1920's, even before the introduction of Five Year Plans, urgently needed cultured and well-educated workers. Consequently, Makarenko wanted to provide his "New Man" with a solid academic background possibly with at least secondary education. He wanted to give him a technical - preferably polytechnical - training. The "New Man" had to be disciplined and politically developed as well as a devoted member of the working class, a member of the Komsomol, a Bolshevik. Makarenko wanted to inculcate in him the feeling of duty and the concept of honour; or in other words, as Makarenko said, "he

[21] Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo vospitaniya," ibid., V, 104.

[22] Cf. "We cannot accept the old point of view of a-political education, we cannot develop cultural activity in isolation from the political." Lenin o narodnom o brazovanii, eds. N.A. Petrov and V.S. Shevkin (Moscow, APN, RSFSR, 1957), p.354.

[23] It has been shown that Marx believed in a constantly changing human nature. See above p. 4.

[24] See chapter on pedology, p. 54.

[25] Cf. Makarenko, ibid., pp.103,113 f.
Makarenko, "Tsel vospitaniya," op.cit., V, 346 f.
I. Lézine supports this idea when she writes, ". . . pour lui [Makarenko] les lois de l'éducation découlent des lois mêmes de la vie en URSS." Lézine, A.S. Makarenko (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1954), p.5.

must be aware of his dignity and of that of his class, and must be proud of it."[26] The "New Man" must be able to submit to his comrades and ought to be able to give them commands. He must know how to be ". . . polite, stern, goodhearted, and merciless, depending on the circumstances of his life and struggle."[27] He must be an active organizer, persistent, toughened; he must be able to control himself and influence others. Should the collective punish him, he must respect both the collective and the punishment. The "New Man" ought to be:

> . . . gay, cheerful, severe, able to fight and build, able to live and love life; he must be happy. And, he must be such not in the future, but in the present. [28]

The educator, according to Makarenko, must create from the young generation energetic and ideal members of the socialist society, capable at each moment of their lives to find, without hesitation, the correct criterion for their personal behaviour, but who are at the same time capable to demand from others too such correct behaviour. A young man, in his opinion, can never step forth in life as a bearer of a personal perfection, or only as a "good" or "honest" man, but he must, first and foremost, stand out as a member of his collective, as a member of society, responsible not only for his own actions, but also for those of his comrades.[29]

Having established the type of person he wanted to educate, Makarenko was faced with a difficult dilemma. He asked himself:

[26] Makarenko, "Pedagogi pozhimayut plechamy," op.cit., II, 396 f.

[27] Idem.

[28] Makarenko, "Hudozhestvennaya literatura o vospitanii detei," ibid., V, 363.

[29] Makarenko, "Tsel' vospintaniya," ibid., V, 356.

> Am I supposed to compress each individual into the same pattern? Is that plan, that programme [for the development of the New Man] to be the same for all? Am I to develop a standardized individual? If this were so I would have to sacrifice the charm of the individual, his many sidedness, the particular beauty of his personality; and if I do not sacrifice, how can I pretend to have a programme? 30

He refused to solve this problem in an arbitrary fashion, and allowed his experience to solve it for him. After ten years of observation of his charges and much analytical meditation, he could say:

> I understood, through my educational work, that yes! there must be a general programme, a standard one, but also, there must be individual ammendments to it. 31

For him, the question did not arise whether a boy should be courageous or cowardly - all his pupils had to be taught to be courageous. But when talent, or other individual differences, were in question, Makarenko categorically refused to compress each person into the same mould.

At one occasion, one of his pupils decided to follow the then-fashionable custom of studying engineering, although he was an exceptionally talented actor. Makarenko interfered with the young man's decision pointing out to him that for the sake of social pressures he was not to sacrifice his own happiness and bury a talent which would in the end, anyway, be useful to society.[32]

It could be argued perhaps with some cynicism, that Makarenko was primarily interested in developing all the potentialities of each individual for the best service to the State. However, whether the State or Society is served by the talents of its members seems irrelevant as long as the individual, by developing his potentialities,

30 Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," ibid., V, 118.

31 Ibid., p. 119.

32 Ibid., pp.119,120.

becomes a contented and happy person.[33]

One could also question Makarenko's right to interfere with the decision or wishes of a boy whom he educates even if by doing so he tries to bring about the ultimate happiness of that boy. Although Makarenko never felt at ease about the question of his right to interfere with as sacred a thing for him as an individual's life, he forwarded the premise that an educator should be ready to take a professional chance just as a surgeon takes a chance when operating on the brain, and accept full responsibility for his work.[34] The problem, as Makarenko saw it, was a question of methodology - how to perform the necessary operation in order to develop the character of an individual in that direction which is useful and indispensible to society without doing harm to the person's individuality.

Makarenko has developed his theory whilst there was still no official party-line in the field of education.

Although there was a general agreement as to the fact that the task of the Soviet regime was to develop a new man, no one seemed to know how this was to be done. It was not clear whether the changed social conditions would inevitably bring about changes in human nature or whether these psychological changes were to be brought about

[33] Makarenko's writings are permeated with his concern for the individual's happiness. His story, told in the "Book for Parents," about the family of Stepan Denisovich Vetkin could be cited as an example. The family with its thirteen children was a happy one in spite of considerable financial difficulties and occasional starvation. A common joy united the family through indissoluble bondage of love and dedicated purpose. At one occasion the opportunity presented itself for one of the children to obtain a profitable job which could have materially helped the whole family collective. As the acceptance of the job would have meant the separation of one member from the rest of the family, without hesitation, parents and children refused to accept the opportunity. They preferred their happiness to any material well-being. Makarenko upheld this family as the greatest example of, and illustration for his principles of education.

[34] Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," op.cit., V, 120.

forcibly, through voluntary intervention, as the Revolution had been brought about.

Studying the Marxist classics and probably most of the literature on Western progressive education available up to the Revolution and for a short time after it, Anton Semyonovich Makarenko, without sacrificing the individual, has worked out both a philosophy and practical techniques for producing the new type of Soviet Man.

CHAPTER TWO

EDUCATION THROUGH THE COLLECTIVE

In spite of its vicissitudes, generally speaking, Communist education differs from Western education essentially in that it attempts to educate the child within the collective and through the collective. Whereas the most common aim of Western education is to strive to develop the child's inner capabilities for personal happiness, or, as in many denominational schools, to prepare the individual for life eternal, the Communists claim to educate their youth in view of a ". . . struggle for a happy life for all toilers here on earth, in a communistic, classless society. . .," where, allegedly, all exploitation of man by man has been destroyed.[1]

The Communist aim of education requires that the child be developed into a "collectivist," capable of putting the interests of the group above his own; in other words, that he become a "New Man." The forceful pursuit of such goals tends to create a type of psychic collectivization which often assumes the character of identification of the individual with the mass, and dangerous tendencies to extroversion, as demonstrated A. Kultschytskyj.[2]

However, this is a danger to which any system of education devoted to universal, or mass-education, is exposed, as illustrate

[1] P.N. Shimbirev, "Printsipi vospitaniya kommunisticheskoi moraly," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 3 (1951), 104.

[2] Cf. A Kultschytskyj, "Psychological Trends in the Transformation of Soviet Man," Studies on the Soviet Union, No. 3 (1959), 94-109.

some American sociological reports.[3]

The Communists, unfortunately, do not see any harm in the individual's abdicating his individuality in favour of merging himself into the mass and identifying himself with his collective since, for the first time in the history of humanity, they claim, in a communist society ". . . there is no conflict between individual and society." Moreover, declares the Soviet pedagogical academician Shimbirev, "It is only within a communist collective that a full development of all individual creative power and capabilities has been made possible."[4]

Although the germ of the Communist concept of education through the collective can be discerned in the works of Marx and Engels,[5] and although Lenin, through the influence of his wife Krupskaya, has had some conception as to what communist education should be,[6] it is mainly Stalin who can indirectly be credited with the development of the idea of education through the collective, and particularly with its forced introduction into the Soviet system of

[3] Some American Sociological reports illustrate the various manifestations of this problem.
J.A. Kelley, College Life and the Mores (New York, Columbia University, 1949).
O. Smucker, "The Campus Clique as an Agency of Socialization," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXI (1947), 163-168.
A. Suchman, "The Values of American College Students," Long Range Planning for Education: report of the 22nd Education Conference, American Council on Education (Washington, 1958).

[4] Shimbirev, loc.cit.

[5] Cf. "It is only within the community that each personality can obtain the means for an overall development of his capabilities; therefore, personal freedom is possible only in the community." K. Marx and F. Engels, as quoted in O vaspitanju i obrazovanju (Belgrade, 1948), p.82.

[6] Lenin, basically a man of action, was mainly interested in practical results. In his opinion, "the task of the new pedagogy is to coordinate the teaching process with the tasks of socialistic organization of society." Lenin o narodnom obrazovanii (Moscow, 1957), p.247.

education.

Echoing Marx and Engels, in his discussion on some problems of Leninism, Stalin wrote:

> Collectivism, socialism, does not deny but combines the individual interests with the interests of the collective. Socialism cannot abstract itself from individual interests. Only the socialist society can give these personal interests the most complete satisfaction. 7

In spite of the fact that the idea of collectivism has played a primary role in Soviet life and institutions ever since the Revolution, until the mid thirties surprisingly few educators have concerned themselves with developing a system of education based on the collectivist principle. Lenin's wife, N.K. Krupskaya, was one of those few interested in this question. She never developed her ideas on the collective into an integrated system nor formulated methods for their application, but indicated a psychological basis for education through the collective.

Referring to the movement of Pioneers - a Communist version of "Cubs" and "Brownies" - which she founded for the earliest possible education of children in the communist spirit, Krupskaya wrote:

> In the organization children get used to feel collectively, to act collectively, to submit to the will of the collective. . . the child is used to having before his eyes the interests of the whole, and to connect all his activities to those of the collective. A definite psychology of the collective is being formed in him; a psychology which is the best regulator of instincts, [a psychology] which destroys the feeling of being without protection or feeling of loneliness. The sooner the child begins to live a collective life, the greater the probability that he will grow up into a future communist who can whole-heartedly give himself for the common cause. 8

7 J.V. Stalin, Voprosy Leninisma, 10th ed. (Moscow, n.d.), p.602. Significantly, Stalin identified socialism with collectivism, although the "New Deal" has demonstrated that collectivism does not necessarily imply socialism. Cf. Stuart Chase, A New Deal (New York, Macmillan Co., 1932).

8 N.K. Krupskaya, "Vospitanie molodezhi v Leninskom dukhe" Molodaya Gvardiya (Moscow, 1925), p.252.

This somewhat Pavlovian automatic or mechanical social response sought by Krupskaya, became the basis of the system of education which A.S. Makarenko developed. In a public lecture delivered in 1939, discussing the problems of communist education, he said:

> Our task is not so much to develop correct and rational relations to the problems of behaviour, but to educate correct habits; that is, such habits which make the individual act correctly not simply because he has decided to do so, but because he cannot do otherwise since he has become used to doing so. 9

Faced with the urgent problem of re-educating waifs and juvenile delinquents, who in the early 1920's multiplied at a staggering rate due to war, revolution, foreign intervention and famine,[10] Anton Semyonovich Makarenko turned for help to all the books and manuals on pedagogy he could obtain.

The pedagogical literature of his time could offer no solution for his problems; he could use as a guide, declares Irène Lézine in her descriptive book on Makarenko, only ". . . his knowledge of the classicists of Marxism-Leninism to whom he referred constantly in order to transpose their basic principles into his work."[11]

9 Makarenko, "Kommunisticheskoe vospitanie i povedenie," op.cit., V, 409 f.

10 The number of juvenile delinquents and waifs was evaluated to over 2½ million in 1910 and augmented greatly through the war, revolution and its aftermath in spite of the literally thousands of homes for children.

Ilya Ehrenburg wrote an interesting novel about the gangs of waifs, faithfully describing the life of these young people. Cf. Le Second Jour de la Creation (Paris, Gallimard, 1936).

A vast literature exists dealing with this problem from a variety of points of view, some writers putting the blame on the Soviet regime, others on the unfortunate circumstances outside the control of the Bolsheviks.

11 I. Lézine, A.S. Makarenko (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1954), p.18.

Frederick Lilge, of the University of California does not support this statement maintaining that Makarenko knew very little about Marxism-Leninism. Cf. A.S. Makarenko (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1958), p.5. This position seems difficult to maintain in view of Makarenko's frequent and accurate

The Marxian philosophic basis, however, could not provide Makarenko with the necessary methodology for a practical realization of his educational aims. He felt compelled to develop new methods then unknown in educational circles. This he achieved by carrying out an experiment with the youngsters under his charge.[12]

Living day and night with those whom he was to "re-educate" and sharing their miserable lot, he felt that he had a unique opportunity to learn from the youngsters themselves. Endowed with an unusual power of observation, he hoped to find out what makes the young criminals "tick" and thus discover the laws which govern their behaviour. Pragmatically he made several attempts before he eventually developed a system enabling him to guide and educate the boys and girls for what he considered a decent and normal social life.[13]

The method of education resulting from Makarenko's experiment was that of education in the collective, through the collective

references to the classicists of Marxism-Leninism. Cf. "I am guided by the general principles of Marxism and the penetrating indications of comrades Lenin and Stalin." Makarenko, op.cit., IV, 436.

For more detailed study of the ideologico-political basis of Makarenko's pedagogical concepts see: Ter-Gevondiyan, A.G., "Ideino-politicheskaya osnova pedagogicheskikh vzglyadov Makarenko," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 3 (1949), 10-19.

12 "At the [Gorky] Colony and at the [Dzerzhinsky] Commune, Makarenko, basing himself on the Marxist-Leninist teaching on education, developed his own system of organization of the process of education, formulated the basic theoretical premises of that system, and verified them in a practical way." Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, 2nd Ed. (1954), XXVI, 90.

See also Makarenko, "Maksim Gorky v moei zhizni," op.cit.,VII, 301.

Lézine, op.cit., p.21.

13 For more detail see Makarenko, The Road to Life (Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), passim.

See also: Makarenko, "Doklad v pedagogicheskom uchilishche," op.cit., V, 410.

Makarenko, "Kommunisticheskoe vospitanie i povedenie," ibid., V, 438.

Lézine, op.cit., p.111.

and for the collective.[14] This method eventually came to be regarded in the Soviet Union as a scientific one. Commenting on Makarenko, the large Soviet Encyclopedia has this to say:

> Through his practical educational work at the Gorky Colony and Dzerzhinsky Commune, Makarenko has enriched Soviet Pedagogy with a scientifically based pedagogical work of education in the children's collective. 15

On April 13, 1957, an order was issued by the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR to the effect that Makarenko's ideas and methods be implemented in all boarding schools proposed by the chairman Khrushchev in 1956 for the creation of ". . . spiritual prerequisites for completing. . . the transition from the lower stage of Communism to its higher stage,"[16] and be further developed through experimentation.[17] More will be said about this in the chapter dealing with the application of Makarenko's principles in Soviet education.

Although Makarenko solved most of the problems of Communist education in the spirit of the Party and Soviet authorities,[18] in reality his system was based on his intimate knowledge of the nature of adolescents.

The general truths implied in Makarenko's basic principles has been confirmed by recent American sociological studies carried out, probably, without any awareness of Makarenko's system.

[14] J.N. Medynski, A.S. Makarenko (Berlin, Volk un Wissen, 1954), p.80.

[15] Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, 2nd ed. (1954), L, 557 f.

[16] Pravda, February 15, 1956.

[17] Deineko, M.M., 40 let Narodnogo Obrazovaniya v SSSR (Moscow, Uchpedgiz, 1957), p.157.

[18] Cf. "A.S. Makarenko, Pedagog-novator," editorial, Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 3 (1949), 3.

These studies have revealed that, generally, the group influence is a most important factor in the education of a child. Several studies, based on an analysis of group life in a number of schools, have pointed out that the peer-group climate is a powerful factor in determining the values the students learn, as well as their attitude toward school and learning.[19] Smucker, for example, in his study "The Campus Clique as an Agency of Socialization" concluded that the peer-group influence has more impact on the student's character development than the formal educational process of the school.[20]

Sociometric studies have revealed that youngsters have a natural tendency toward ganging up in groups.[21] These groups have their norms, expectations, and traditions. A survey conducted at the USAF Academy has shown that such "traditions" are deliberately created. They give a particular institution its distinctive culture, ". . . complete with values, status, structure, role prescriptions, socialization of new members, and the rest."[22]

Although the results of sociometric studies should be taken with some reserve, since, looking for group structures, by their nature, they are bound to emphasize any tendency to "groupness," the above examples illustrate the fact that Makarenko's observations were

[19] H. Taba, School Culture: Studies of Participation and Leadership (Washington, American Council on Education, 1955).

[20] O. Smucker, op.cit., p.168.

[21] See: L.A. Cook, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified 10th Grade Class," American Sociological Review, X (1945), 250-261.
R.J. Havighurst and B.L. Neugarten, Society and Education (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1957).
A.B. Hollingshead, Elmstown's Youth (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1949).

[22] O.G. Brim, Sociology and the Field of Education (New York, Russel Sade Foundation, 1958), p. 59.f.

not an isolated case and that even in the West conclusions similar to his have been arrived at.

It has been revealed that a basic motivating factor of an individual within an institution with an established set of traditions is to achieve a satisfactory social position within that institution and particularly within his peer-group.[23] De Haan and Havighurst have shown that the desire of the individual for peer-acceptance is so powerful that he will go to great lengths and personal sacrifice in order to be accepted in his group.[24] Such a desire will make the individual conform to the norms of his group for better or worse, depending on the values of the group.[25]

Cantor, in an enlightening book,[26] has explored the possibility of a systematic use of the knowledge of peer-group influence in the educational process.

The conscious manipulation of the individual with a view to achieving certain aims has become commonly known as "social engineering." In that sense, Makarenko could be called a "social engineer" devoted to education of children for a "well-adjusted" social life within the framework of the Soviet realities; devoted to the education of the "New Man," the new "Soviet Man."

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[23] C.W. Gordon, The Social System of the High School: A Study in the Sociology of Adolescence (Glencoe,Ill., The Free Press, 1957).

[24] R.F. De Haan and R.J. Havighurst, Educating Gifted Children (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957).

[25] A.L. Baldwin and others, Talent and Society (New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1958).

[26] N. Cantor, The Teaching-Learning Process (New York, Dryden Press, 1953).

CHAPTER THREE

CHILDREN'S COLLECTIVE AND ITS ORGANIZATION

Commenting on his own educational work at the Dzershinsky Commune, Makarenko said:

> I have succeeded in making the collective itself an important, creative, severe, punctual, and scientific power. This cannot be achieved by mere legal means (the establishment of laws, rules, and regulations); such a collective cannot be created in two or three years. It is a precious, a very precious thing. But, once such a collective is created, it must be preserved jealously, and then, the whole process of education develops very easily. 1

Essipov and Goncharov, in their official manual for Soviet educators entitled "Pedagogika" available in English in its partial translation by Counts and Lodge as "I want to be Like Stalin," wrote the following:

> A pupil collective, if correctly organized is, in the first place, an aid to the teacher and the school director in the achievement of tasks of communist education and in the struggle for a high quality of knowledge. In the second place, a pupil collective is a school for the formation of social habits in the children and for the preparation of citizens who will be able to put social above personal interests. In the third place, a pupil collective is a way of organizing the self-activity of children in various spheres of work which is directed toward their cultural development and the satisfaction of their needs and interests. 2

Prior to Makarenko's developing his methods and crystallizing his thoughts, Soviet educators had no definition of the collective in line with the ultimate aims of the Party. In his well-documented study on the evolution of Soviet pedagogy, L. Volpicelli has shown the various experimental methods and theories which dominated the educa-

[1] Makarenko, "Nekotorye vyvody iz moego pedagogicheskogo opyta," Sochineniya, V, 233.

[2] Counts and Lodge, "I Want to be Like Stalin" (New York, 1947), p.88.

tional scene of the Soviet Union in the 1920's and early 1930's.[3] Perhaps the clearest definition of the collective was forwarded by the school of thought known as pedology. According to the Pedologists, the collective is, ". . . a group of individuals, interacting upon each other and reacting together to various stimuli."[4]

Such a definition could not satisfy Makarenko who saw in it a description which could fit any group of frogs, octopi, molluscs, or a group of people accidentally gathered together in a street-car or a city square. For him, the Soviet society was one large collective with a definite goal toward which it was striving, composed of a chain of smaller interdependent collectives which also were striving toward the same goal; namely, the building of socialism. Each separate collective, therefore, had to be composed of interdependent individuals, striving toward a common goal, living through common interests, and united in a common struggle.

Defining and describing the collective as he understood it, Makarenko wrote:

> The collective is a complex of personalities who are striving toward a goal, who are organized, and who possess organs of a collective. Where an organization of collective exists, there are organs of the collective; there is an organization of individuals endowed with power, entrusted by the collective. The question of relationship of a comrade to another is not a question of neighborliness, but a question of definite interdependence. And even if comrades find themselves in equal conditions, they go side by side in one rank, fulfilling closely resembling functions; they are bound together not by a simple friendship, but by a general responsibility in work, by a general participation in the work of the collective. 5

[3] Volpicelli, L'Evolution de la Pédagogie Soviétique (Neuchâtel-Paris, Delachaux et Niestle, 1954), passim.

[4] Makarenko, "Opyt metodiki raboty detskoi trudovoi kolonii," op.cit., V, 470.

[5] Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," ibid., V, 210.

Makarenko's system of education was founded on a conception of a collective united by a network of tight interdependences based on a unanimity of purpose, and which has its leading organs to which all the members voluntarily submit. Such a collective appeared easily controllable from above and could not escape the attention of the "Cheka" first, and later that of the higher Soviet authorities.

Gerhard Moebus, a German psychologist, saw Makarenko as the representative of a pedagogical technology and pedagogical pragmatism both serving the goal and means of accustoming man to "collective existence" and subjecting him to the communist state and the communist party of Lenin and Stalin. He stated that it was anything but accidental that Makarenko found recognition for the methods of his collective pedagogy ". . . only late and then with the help of the Cheka and the Communist Party."

> Makarenko's activity as an educator of lost and delinquent youth would have remained unique, a pedagogical experiment whose importance no one would have overestimated, had not Makarenko himself become his best literary propagandist and had not this literary production coincided with Soviet pedagogy which was conditioned more and more by the goal of fitting Soviet man, the "New Man," into a "New Society." 6

Both Moebus and the Soviet authorities have misunderstood and misrepresented Makarenko's system of education. While the former unduly stressed Makarenko's period of "educational dictatorship," described in his "Road to Life," the latter have conveniently ignored the fact that Makarenko was actually very much interested in the welfare of the individual, as the following quotation indicates:

> The organizational duty worthy of our epoch and of the Socialist Revolution consists in having one find a method which will although common and unified, offer the possibility for each separate personality both to develop his capacities and to preserve his individuality. 7

6 G. Moebus, Psychagogie und Paedagogik des Kommunismus, p.88 f.

7 Makarenko, "Tsel'vospitaniya," op.cit., V, 353.

Believing that he could best achieve his aims of formulating a new Soviet system of education based on the principle of collectivism, Makarenko attempted to form a healthy and dynamic children's collective. He wanted to create a collective which is related to life, which has before it a definite aim, a definite perspective, and which lives through the interests of its own group and those of the whole country; a collective which has a common organization of its endeavours, its governing body, and in which every individual is responsible not only for his own work and success but also for that of his comrade and of the whole collective.

He felt that only through such a collective could he hope to educate citizens capable of satisfying both their own individual needs and those of society at large.

But what did he have on hand for carrying out his work? What kind of pupils did he have? How well trained were the educators who helped him? What kind of buildings and equipment did he have at his disposal?

In September 1920 he was summoned by the chief of the Gubernia Department of Public Education at Poltava, Ukraine and almost forced to take the assignment of organizing a colony for besprizornye - homeless waifs and juvenile delinquents roaming over the country-side, stealing, robbing, killing, and practising prostitution for a mere survival - creating of them the "New Man," the "Soviet Man."[8]

The future Gorky colony consisted of a few dilapidated buildings on the outskirts of Poltava which, before the Revolution used to be a reform school for juvenile delinquents. To help Makarenko in his task,

[8] Makarenko, The Road to Life (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), I, pp.26,27.

Kalina Ivanovich, an elderly, uneducated man, was appointed as manager of supplies. It must be pointed out that the colony possessed no materials whatsoever and that the financial support promised by the authorities was totally inadequate even for a modest beginning.

After two months' struggle with the various branches of the ineffectual bureaucracy, the two men succeeded in wangling some food and material for a patchy repair of one of the buildings. By then, Makarenko succeeded in convincing two female teachers to join his staff, and the colony was "ready" for the "reception" of its first charges.

On the fourth of December, 1920, the first "pupils" arrived: six tough boys, four of them about eighteen years old, sent for housebreaking while bearing arms, and two younger ones, accused of theft.[9] Makarenko's pedagogical work for the creation of the "New Man" had thus been inaugurated, with a half-dozen boys who were in frank opposition not only to his pedagogical system, ". . . but to the very principles of human culture itself."[10]

While the armies of General Wrangel brought war and desolation in the vicinity, the six boys nightly plundered the neighbouring villagers. In an attempt to find some kind of solution to his pedagogical problems, Makarenko feverishly read all the books on education he could obtain.

> The chief outcome of all this reading,' he wrote later,' was a firm, well-founded conviction that the books had yielded me very little in the way of science or theory, and that I should have to wring my own theories out of the sum total of the actual phenomena, as displayed in everyday life. At first I felt, rather than understood, that what I needed was not a set of abstract formulae, which I should anyhow have been unable to apply, but immediate analysis of the situation, followed by immediate action. 11

[9] Ibid., p.36.

[10] Ibid., p.38.

[11] Ibid., p.42.

Food being the primary need of man, the boys were forced to look after themselves. Gradually, however, they realized that their "educators" were in the "same boat." They instinctively felt the need for a concerted action. Together with Makarenko they began plotting ways and means of wringing some supplies out of the various authorities. This fact, nevertheless, was not sufficient to create a comradely spirit in the colony.

New arrivals began swelling the unruly group of colonists. As the cold prevented many from looting the neighbouring villages, theft within the colony became an ever growing practice. Not only the meager supplies of the institution began disappearing, to be sold outside for tobacco or food, but also the boys started stealing from each other, creating a tense atmosphere of suspicion among themselves. Makarenko, in the meanwhile, used every opportunity to point out the moral and ethical implications of their actions.

One day, someone robbed the cook, an elderly woman who used to share all her worldly possessions with the miserable boys at the colony. After a skillful investigation Makarenko discovered the culprit, gathered the boys, and in firm indignant terms described the crime to the group:

> To have robbed an old woman, whose only happiness consisted in her wretched possessions, to have robbed one who had shown more affection for the boys than anyone else in the colony, just when she turned to them for aid, - surely anyone capable of this must have lost all human semblance, he must be, not simply a beast, but a skunk. A man should be able to respect himself, should be strong and proud and not rob feeble old women of their little all. 12

The speech made a great impression; the culprit became the object of a united and vehement attack. At last, a collective feeling started animating the colony. Thereafter the boys began actively cooperating

12 Ibid., p.72.

with Makarenko.

When some outside robbers attacked the cart bringing food for the colony, the boys unanimously decided henceforward to send an escort to meet the cart on its way home. When the local authorities proved themselves incapable of protecting the state forest against illegal cutting of trees by peasants, the boys proudly took upon themselves the task of patrolling the forest in return for a considerable profit for the colony. When a number of peasants began operating illegal stills, the boys took great delight in tracking down and breaking them into bits. Gradually, the colony became united in a common effort, and a collective spirit began developing among the "besprizornye." They were proud to be useful to themselves as well as to society at large.

As the number of colonists grew and life became more and more complex the youngsters established rules and developed traditions regulating their own relations. Gradually they realized the necessity for a collective way of life and the need to subordinate their own personal interests to those of the collective. Under Makarenko's skillful guidance, they organized their socially useful work, such as work in the fields, in the flower garden, in the park and in the workshops which they built themselves. They organized their cultural and artistic life, forming clubs, an orchestra, and a library; and they organized their own holidays, excursions, and Remembrance Days commemorating their common joys of collective efforts and successes.

From the projection of immediate pleasures and satisfactions of one's animal instincts, such as hunger, toward pleasures derived from the pursuit of joys of a higher or abstract order, such as socially useful work, and ultimately service to humanity as a whole, Makarenko

derived his "system of perspectives."[13]

He believed that life without joys was not viable. The child, as well as the adult, must be able to look forward to some joy or else life becomes unbearable. It is the joy of tomorrow that gives a zest to life today.

But there is joy and joy; the joy of eating an ice-cream cone is not the same as that of building a flower-bed; the joy of winning a sports competition is not the same as the joy of successfully completing a Five Year Plan.

One type of joy is of a lower character, closer to the animal in human nature, believed Makarenko; another type is more elevated, abstract, ideal, and spiritual. One deals with the individual's immediate satisfactions, the other with collective needs. The highest form of joy is that of serving humanity, the largest of all collectives, the collective which encompasses and embraces all other collectives.

Makarenko's "system of perspectives," or of "lines of perspectives," consisted in gradually raising the horizon of his pupils from the lowest type of joy to the highest; in leading them progressively from the satisfaction of their animalistic appetites to the more elevated pursuit of satisfying the needs of the Soviet Union.

Newer and newer assignments, a constant moving ahead, rejoicing about the successes, the joy of tomorrow, these are the things which, in Makarenko's experience, give a powerful "esprit de corps" to a collective. As soon as such a collective finds itself without work, without new goals, as soon as it loses its dynamism, as soon as its traditions weaken, the collective begins to lose its perspective and falls apart.

[13] Cf. Makarenko, "Metodika organizatsii vospitatel'nogo protsessa," op.cit., V, 74-81.

Perhaps for these reasons Soviet leaders even today constantly challenge their people to newer and greater efforts through "social emulation."

Naming the colony after the great Russian writer Maxim Gorky and undertaking a correspondence with him in 1925 gave the juvenile delinquents a sense of identity and unity. By May 1926, the colony was so well-organized and the traditions so well established that the collective itself became a tremendous educational factor, and Makarenko became anxious to put his newly developed system of education on supreme trial.

The home for children at Kuryazh near Kharkow was to be disbanded and the Gorky colony moved there. Some 280 Kuryazhite children and their forty educators were to be absorbed by the Gorky colony. Believing in the power of the educational influence of his collective, Makarenko demanded that the educators of Kuryazh be discharged.

In his "Road to Life"[14] he vividly described how 150 Gorkyites, with only eight educators, "conquered" the unruly Kuryazhites within a few days, proving to Makarenko that his system of education through the collective does work and is a most powerful help to the educator. A special advanced detachment of Gorkyites was sent to Kuryazh. Their task was to make the necessary material arrangements for the arrival of the Gorkyites, and especially to learn all they could about the Kuryazhites.

On the day of the arrival of the Gorkyites a general meeting was called. A resolution passed by the advanced detachment was read. In simple terms its thirteen articles described the duties of all the

[14] Makarenko, The Road to Life, Vol. III, passim.

colonists and the composition of detachments.

> The combined genius of Zhorka, Gorkovsky and Zhevely, had enabled them to distribute the Kuryazhites in the various detachments with the utmost precision, taking into consideration the ties of friendship, the abysses of enmity, individual dispositions, tendencies, aspirations and idiosyncracies. . .
>
> The original Gorkyites were distributed with equal conscientiousness - the strong and the weak, the energetic and the languid, the austere and the gay, real human beings, and approximates to that category - all found their places in accordance with sundry considerations. 15

The resolution was duly discussed by the assembly, unanimously passed, and carried out. "The process of conversion," wrote Makarenko, "began immediately after the general meeting, and took three hours - a record figure for any sort of conversion."[16]

Soviet educational circles at first looked with suspicion and later with animosity at Makarenko and his new methods. The Commissariate of Public Education sought his dismissal. In the meanwhile the Ukranian OGPU (Cheka) took notice of Makarenko's successes in the re-education of delinquents and offered him the possibility of organizing a children's labour commune near Kharkov, giving him full freedom to apply his system of education through the collective. Dismissed from the Gorky Colony in September 1928, Makarenko took over the leadership of the new Commune, named after the founder of Cheka, F.E. Dzerzhinsky.

At the Dzershinsky Commune Makarenko proceeded unhampered to organize his Pedagogical Collective and fully apply his new methods of education.

The collective through which Makarenko intended to carry out the

15 Ibid., p.218 f.

16 Ibid., p.219.

education of the New Man is called the Pedagogical or General Collective. It is composed of the Collective of Children and the Collective of Educators. It is one and indivisible, and represents a link in the chain of other Soviet collectives of which it is a part.[17]

The Children's Collective, in its turn, is subdivided into smaller units called Primary Collectives, which serve as a link between the individual and the general collective. Within the Primary Collective all individual members are ". . . bound together constantly, actively, in a friendly way, vitally and ideologically."[18] The education of the individual is carried out in the Primary Collective through a process which Makarenko called the Parallel Pedagogical Effect.

Normally no one in the collective deals directly with the individual pupil. The director (centre of the collective) and all the organs of the collective (Komsomol Bureau, Commanders' Council, General Assembly, and the Collective of Educators) seldom approach the individual but act upon him through demands directed at the Primary Collective. In its turn the latter applies pressure on the individual through what American sociologists describe as peer-group influence.[19]

The concept of Parallel Pedagogical Effect stemmed from Makarenko's belief that the aim of his educational work did not consist in re-educating a few hooligans but in educating a definite type of citizen, releasing from the institution ". . . a fighting, active and

[17] Makarenko, "Nekotorye vyvody iz moego pedagogicheskogo opyta," Sochineniya, V, 232.

[18] Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," ibid., V, 164. Actually as he implied it himself, Makarenko borrowed this concept from earlier Soviet pedagogical theories which proposed the use of "collective of contact" or "contact collective" cf. Loc.cit.

[19] Ibid., pp. 163-190, passim.

living character. . .;" an aim which can be achieved only if one educates everyone instead of ". . . bringing to order a separate individual."[20]

The Primary Collective is composed of not less than seven and not more than fifteen children. Makarenko found that if there are less than seven persons in a unit they tend to transform themselves into a collective of friends, into a secluded group of individuals while, on the other hand, if there are more than fifteen, the children tend to split into smaller groups, and develop lines of division.[21] Obviously such a separatist practice would be inconsistent with the Soviet conception of the New Man.

Commenting on the ideal type of Primary Collective Makarenko wrote:

> In my opinion the ideal primary collective is only that collective which feels unified, bound together, and feels its own strength, but at the same time is aware of the fact that it is not a company of friends who have come to an agreement, but a social phenomenon, a collective, an organization which has certain obligations, certain duties, certain responsibilities. 22

As long as the General Collective is still fairly weak, the Primary Collective must be formed of individuals of the same age group. But in a strong collective which has been united through its organization and discipline, and where a precise regime and healthy traditions have been established, the units ought to be formed of mixed age groups.

> Such an organization of the Primary Collective has a better educational effect - it gives a more compact [sic] influence of age groups and provides ideal conditions for a steady accumulation of experience and transmission of experience of older generations; in it the youngsters receive a diversity of knowledge and information, develop habits of behaviour, working skill, learn how to respect the older ones and their authority. As for the older ones, their duty toward the little ones, and their responsibility for them,

[20] Ibid., p.175.

[21] Makarenko, "O moem opyte," op.cit., V, 256.

[22] Ibid., p.257.

> develop features in them which are indispensible to a Soviet citizen, namely respect for man, magnanimity towards him, and the capacity to make demands and, finally, such characteristics as are necessary for a future man of family, and many others. 23

Makarenko linked the Primary Collective to a family unit. In a family children often range from babyhood to manhood; there is no artificial and arbitrary age grouping. It is precisely this variety in age, and the consequent variety in maturation, experience and outlook on life, which Makarenko sought to introduce into the Primary Collective by insisting on its composition from mixed age groups.

At the head of each unit there is either a nominated or an elected commander. The commander is to be nominated by the Collective of Educators as long as the General Collective is weak or the Komsomol organization insufficiently capable of leading the general public opinion within the collective.

A collective is considered weak so long as it is no more than an agglomeration of people gathered either by accident or by someone's design. In fact, a weak collective is not even a collective for Makarenko, and he used the term for lack of a better one.

As for a "strong collective," perhaps the following quotation could illustrate what Makarenko meant by it. The text refers to the period of preparation for the "conquest" of Kuryazh.

> Never before had there been such an atmosphere of friendly solidarity, such a profound sense of collective responsibility. The slightest transgression was met with unmitigated astonishment, and a curt, expressive adjuration, "And you mean to go to Kuryazh!" . . .
>
> It was a joy, perhaps the deepest joy the world has to give - this feeling of interdependence, of the strength and flexibility of human relations, of the calm, vast power of the collective, vibrating in an atmosphere permeated with its own force. 24

In the early stages of the formation of a collective, while the

23 Makarenko, "Metodika organizatsii vospitatel'nogo protsessa," op.cit., V, 11.

24 Makarenko, The Road to Life, II, 334 f.

collective is still weak, the members of the Communist Youth Organization, the Komsomol, are called upon to play a leading role. During their secret meetings they are briefed about the decisions to be taken at the next general meeting and assigned the task of agitating in favour of well-defined resolutions. The agitation is carried out prior to the meeting. During the meeting itself, one Komsomol usually makes the motion, another one seconds it, while the others speak in support of it. Through this procedure usually enought non-Komsomol members of the collective also vote in favour of the resolution. However, as the strength of the collective grows the leading role of the Komsomol organization gradually diminishes.

In a weak General Collective, the primary duty of the educators is to unite the Active,[25] with the help of the political influence of the Komsomol organization, and involve it in an energetic work of the collective and its self-government. The Commanders are to be appointed from among the influential Komsomols or members of the Active, by a decree of the director of the institution, and upon examination of the candidate by the leaders of production, the Komsomol organization, and the Council of Commanders.

In a well-organized collective, on the other hand, the Commanders are to be elected. The detachment nominates its own candidate in close cooperation with the organs of the collective and then elections are carried out at a general meeting of the collective; only full-fledged

[25] The Active is made up of those pupils who have a correct attitude toward, and relationship with the institution and its functions, and who take active part in the body of self-government, in the leadership of work in production, and in club and cultural activities. In Makarenko's own words, "The Active is that healthy and indispensible reserve in the children's educational institution which guarantees the connection between generations within the collective. An Active which grows and develops replaces those pupils in social work who leave the institution and thus, ensure continuity and unity in the collective."
"Metodika organizatsii vospitatel'nogo protsessa," Sochineniya, V, 33.

members of the collective have the franchise on such occasions.[26]

To be eligible for Commandership a youngster must have the following qualifications: be devoted to the interests of the establishment, be a good student at school and a shock-worker (udarnik) in production; he must possess a variety of technical qualifications and skills, must have "innate gifts" [sic] of tactfulness and sense of organization, be energetic, honest and able to influence youngsters beneficially.

Each commander must endeavour to form his detachment into an as closely-knit collective as possible. He is not endowed with any kind of statutory authority but must base it on the foundations of his own good work, exemplary behaviour, his membership in the Komsomol and the moral authority this membership conveys,[27] and on his persistent personal efforts to become a chief and leader.

Detachment commanders are elected (or appointed while the collective is still weak) only for the period of three to six months, after which they cede their place to another member of their unit, and become regular members once again. This system of rotation gives an opportunity to every Communard[28] to play a role both of leadership and subordination and teaches him both how to give orders and take them.

Apart from the Commander, each detachment elects its own assistant-commander and a sports and club-activity coordinator, who together form the executive of the unit. The duties of the executive are as

[26] The general practice at the Gorky Colony was that no child could obtain the title "Collectivist" until he has proved, through exemplary behaviour, over a shorter or longer period of time, that he deserved to be a member of the collective.

[27] Not every child could join the Komsomol. The admission to the organization being restricted, membership in it conveyed a special aura of awe-inspiring respect on the part of the un-initiated.

[28] At the Dzerzhinsky Commune; upon proof of correct behaviour and attitude, boys were accepted, at a general meeting, into the ranks of the commune as regular members and were given the title "Communard." The title was highly respected, and the boys were proud of it.

follows:

1. - to make sure that all students strictly follow the timetable of the day, that they get up on time, that they are not late in the dining hall, that they leave on time for work and school, that in the evening they return to the institution on time; that they go to bed at the prescribed time.

2. - the executive must look after the samitary conditions of the detachment, make sure that cleaning and bed-making are done on time and properly, that those on duty according to a list of order, fulfil their assignments; take care of washing and bathing, of the students' hair cuts, their washing hands before meals; get all the students used to the preservation of cleanliness; make sure that they do not smoke, that they do not roll on their beds in their clothes, that they do not start disputes and fights in the dormitories etc.

3. - to follow the success of the students in their school work, to organize help for those who lag behind, to assure order in the detachment during preparation of school home-work.

4. - to make the students join various sport and other clubs, to organize reading of books, and magazines, and collaboration on wall news-papers.

5. - to struggle for the raising of the cultural level of the students, for the eradication of the use of gross words and swearing, to regulate friendly relationships, to get them used to solving their conflicts without disputes and fights; to fight energetically against even the smallest use of violence of the older and stronger against the younger and weaker.

6. - to lead an energetic struggle against negative inclinations of individual students, to develop among the members of the detachments a respect for the work of others, for their peace, rest and interests.

7. - to observe the formation of separate little groups and friendly relationships within the detachment, in order to encourage and develop those which are useful (such as sport groups, radio-drama groups, etc.) and to energetically wipe out those which are detrimental (antisocial); to request that the exceptionally harmful members be thrown out of the detachment. 29

The detachment-commanders form a Council of Commanders which must always work in cooperation with the administration and pedagogical leaders, and rely on the constant help and instruction of the Collective of Educators.

Although in the Makarenko System, the Council of Commanders

29 Makarenko, ibid., p.14 f.

serves as a powerful means of student self-rule, the main body of self-government is the general meeting of all the members of the institution. The decisions voted upon by a majority have an irrevocable character and not even the director of the institution or its sponsor, the fearful OGPU, could veto the resolutions.[30]

A general meeting takes place at least twice a month; and it is open to all members of the collective whether they have the title of Communard or not. On matters of a general nature, such as organizing cultural activities in the clubs, all present can vote; however, on matters concerning admission or expulsion of a Communard, only the full-fledged title holders have the right to vote.[31]

In order that these meetings be not unduly prolonged, an interesting custom was introduced at the commune. Under no pretext, could anyone, during the debate, talk for longer than one minute exactly. This fact forced every person who intended to talk to think well in advance of what he was going to say; and it also provided for amusing situations which made these meetings pleasant and attractive.[32]

[30] Makarenko tells the story of an incident when the collective suggested the expulsion of an "incorrigible" member, as they called him; even though both Makarenko himself and the representative of the Cheka organization tried to convince the Communards of the necessity to keep the culprit within the collective in order to exercise a beneficial influence on him, when the time for counting the votes came, the collective almost unanimously voted in favour of expulsion; and the boy was expelled. Cf. "O moem opyte," op.cit.,V, 274-276.

[31] Makarenko, "Metodika organizatsii vospitatel'nogo protsesa," ibid., V, 17-21.

[32] Ibid., V, 22-24.

CHAPTER FOUR

COLLECTIVE OF EDUCATORS

Having established the type of personality he wanted to develop, Makarenko proceeded to organize the Pedagogical Collective in which, and through which, he could best attain his goal. Believing that "the Collective is the educator of the personality,"[1] he organized the Primary and General Collectives in such a way that they exercise the greatest positive influence on the individual. In this set-up, however, the role of the Collective of Educators risked becoming entirely blurred.

In order to facilitate the analysis and understanding of the role of educators, for purely methodological reasons, Makarenko dialectically differentiated between the functions of "educator" and "teacher."[2]

Accordingly, the teacher's function is to teach, instruct, train, develop knowledge and skills. His role is essentially of a cultural type. The duty of the educator, on the other hand, is to educate, bring up, or develop the child's character and personality, and train his habits and attitudes; it is his task to form his pupils into true men and women, and good citizens. Both teaching and education, however, are part of the pedagogical sciences, and ought to be connected. All work in the class-room is educational work; but to

[1] Makarenko, "Pedagogi pozhimayut plechami," Sochineniya, II, 299.

[2] Cf. Makarenko, "O moen opyte," ibid., V, 268; "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," ibid., V, 111, 113; "Razgovor o vospitanii," ibid., V, 513.

[3] Makarenko, "Iz opyta raboty," ibid., V, 313. Makarenko deplored the fact that the concepts of education and teaching were still confused in Soviet educational theories of the late 1930's. Cf. "Volya, muzhestvo, tseleustremlennost," ibid., V, 423.

reduce educational work to teaching alone is impossible.[3]

Makarenko was not particularly concerned about teaching methods, and consequently, never proposed any innovating ideas on the academic formation of youth. His main concern was education proper, in the sense of up-bringing.

In his opinion, if education is carried out properly, that is if the educator creates a favorable atmosphere and correct relationships, the child becomes exposed to many forces, such as his family, society, his peers and the general environment of the institution, and these forces influence him to perform according to his best capacities. Teaching becomes merely a question of instruction; and the teacher can devote his time and energy to formulating the best possible methods for opening and developing the intellectual and academic interests and skills of his pupils.

Makarenko firmly believed that the art of educating does not depend on talent but that it is a skill which any normal person without physical or mental handicaps could learn, very much as one learns the professions, provided that he is properly trained and applies himself.[4] For Makarenko it was inadmissible that the education of millions of Soviet children should depend on so-called "talented educators," particularly since these were rare.[5] Talent, in his opinion, makes one musician, engineer, physician, or educator better than another; but even without talent one can become a master of his craft.

[3] Makarenko, "Iz opyta raboty," ibid., V, 313. Makarenko deplored the fact that the concepts of education and teaching were still confused in Soviet educational theories of the late 1930's. Cf. "Volya, muzhestvo, tseleustremlennost ," ibid., V, 423.

[4] cf. Makarenko, "Vospitanie v seme i shkole," ibid., IV, 489.

[5] Ibid., p.488.

Education is a specialization; like any other specialization it can, and must be taught. Makarenko was convinced,

> . . . that perhaps it is just as easy to teach how to educate as it is to teach children mathematics, reading, teach them how to be good milling machine operators or lathe workers. [6]

In a speech delivered in 1947 to an assembly of teachers at Leningrad, he strongly suggested that teacher's colleges develop methods capable of forming professional pedagogues. Echoing Marx's Third Thesis on Feuerbach, he exclaimed, ". . . whom does an educator who is not educated himself pretend to educate?"[7]

It must be pointed out that in the USSR, as in some other European countries, teaching and education are not considered to be one and the same thing. Teaching deals with instruction, and education with upbringing. When Makarenko speaks of pedagogues, he means "educators," and not "teachers." However, he does not say that a teacher should not also be an educator. On the contrary. He separates the two functions only methodologically - for a better understanding of their essence.

Makarenko conceived of three stages in the training of educators at the pedagogical institutes. First, their character must be formed and their behaviour polished. Secondly, they must be taught special skills and habits. Thirdly, they must be given a thorough academic foundation.[8]

In order to understand this great role which Makarenko attributed to the training and educating of teachers in the pedagogical

[6] Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitanya," op.cit., V, 178.

[7] Makarenko, "Nekotorye Vyvody iz moego opyta," ibid., V, 234.

[8] cf. Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," loc.cit.

institutes, one should keep in mind the extremely primitive nature of the uneducated masses of Russia from the ranks of which most of the teachers and educators were recruited in the 1920's and 1930's.

The final touches to the teacher's education, according to Makarenko, are to be given on the job, by skillful colleagues, members of a well-integrated Collective of Educators. He compared the educators with engineers, stating that no institution creates engineers but only confers the title, and that one becomes an engineer in the full sense of the word only after several years of practical work in a factory.[9] In the same manner, he said, one becomes truly an educator only after practical work under the sympathetic guidance of older and more experienced colleagues.

Makarenko never advocated a stereotyped character for educators; on the contrary, he expected his teachers to be true to themselves even at the risk of transgressing certain pedagogical principles or rules. If certain rules have been developed as guides for educators, the necessity to be true to oneself should take precedence over any tendency to stick to these other "guiding principles." For example, he suggested that educators should not refrain from "cracking a joke," showing anger or displeasure, or teasing when they feel like doing so.[10] He rejected the idea that, in the name of some "pedagogical ideals," educators ought to abstain from showing their temper when outraged by some undesirable act of their pupils. In his opinion, nice words by a poised pedagogue irritate students when they fully realize that their action deserves the wrath of the educator. The pupils think that the suave-spoken teacher is a "phony." Makarenko described what

[9] Makarenko, "Vopitanie v seme," op.cit., IV, 490.

[10] Makarenko, "O moem opyte," ibid., V, 273.

he called a "scale of feelings" which extends from mere dissatisfaction to full anger, and strongly suggested that educators should learn how to show such a variety of feelings at appropriate times. "A master ought to know," he wrote, "when he should subdue his feelings and when he ought to let them loose."[11]

The educator, according to Makarenko, must be a vital force, consciously and constantly oriented toward his work. His behaviour must provide a good example for his pupils to imitate; and his whole being should have an ever-present educative effect, regardless of whether he is being observed or not. His manners must be polished, he should walk, stand, and sit gracefully; and he must always be dressed neatly and in good taste.

Makarenko's main concern as an innovator dealt with the so-called "special skills" which the educator should acquire. His insistence on these skills was at varience with the Soviet educational practices of his day. Perhaps the most important of these skills is acting.[12]

The educator should master the art of mimicry. If a given situation requires that he show indignation, he must be able to do so without words, expressing himself unmistakably through the control of his face and posture.[13]

The educator must also know how to use his voice, and express himself in the most precise and distinct way.[14] However, the educator's

[11] Makarenko, "Nekotorye vyvody iz moego opyta," ibid., V, 246.

[12] Ibid., p. 234.

[13] Makarenko, "O moem opyte," op.cit., V, 269.

[14] Makarenko, "F D-1," ibid., II, 292.

acting is not the same in nature as that of stage-acting. While the actor on the stage merely satisfies the aesthetic feelings of the spectators, the educator fully realizes that his acting serves the purpose of moulding human beings. "Our Communist work cannot be indifferent," Makarenko said. "We must know how to work with faith in man, with our heart, with genuine humanism."[15] "We Soviet Pedagogues," stated Makarenko, "must bring up future fathers, and future mothers."[16] Whereas a stage-actor remains emotionally uninvolved, if he is to play his role successfully, the educator, because of the noble nature of his acting, cannot afford to be detached from the role he plays, and his emotions must be fully and genuinely engaged.

Makarenko taught that an educator must be a master of his trade, a professional specialist; he must know what precise effect he wants to produce on the child; and to do that, he must know precisely the way in which the child's mind operates and accepts outside influence. Put differently, the educator should be an accomplished practitioner of applied psychology. This knowledge should be acquired at pedagogical institutes.

When confronted with mischief, the educator must fully know what is going on in the child's mind, and act accordingly: he ought to show only that degree of indignation which the child expects from him; the punishment must fit the crime. The feeling which the educator shows is not of the same nature as the child's interpretation of it; it is a reflection of the educator's concern for the transgressor's welfare. The educator merely "translates" his true feelings into the language of the child; and it is for this very performance that he must

[15] "Razgovor o vospitanii," ibid., V, 515.

[16] Makarenko, "Mazhor," ibid., II, 300.

be an accomplished actor.[17]

Speaking at the Institute of Applied Sciences for Special Schools and Children's Homes in Moscow, on October 20, 1938, Makarenko suggested that pedagogical institutes should organize psychodrama courses for the training of future teachers in the art of talking to children. He illustrated his thought by an example of handling theft.

In the first place the teacher must have a clear idea of what precisely "child theft" is; he ought to know the moral and psychological distinctions between "theft" in the proper sense of the word and "circumstantial evidence," "transgression," and "necessity." These concepts ought to be clarified within the framework of a philosophy of education. Secondly, the teacher must learn the logic of various situations: he must be able to conduct an investigation so that his interrogation of the child not only bring forth the truth, but that the interrogation itself have an educative effect on that child. Finally, a couple of student-teachers should dramatize a realistic situation in the presence of their colleagues and professors who, at the end of the performance, analyse, criticize, and discuss the "educator's" approach both to the "child" and to the "problem of theft."[18]

Believing that ". . . the face is the mirror of the soul," Makarenko insisted that educators should master the art of "reading faces," if they are to "mould the soul" intelligently.[19] For him, no educator could pretend to be a master of his craft if he is not capable

[17] Makarenko, "O moem opyte," ibid., V, 269.

[18] Ibid., p.270 f.

[19] Ibid., p. 268.

of interpreting emotions revealed by the child's facial expressions. Here, too, his mastery of acting will help the educator. It is possible that Makarenko had physiognomy in mind when he referred to "reading faces," since the art of judging character from features of face had still many followers in the 1920's. It will be remembered that the scientific view of the meaning of features and expressions was markedly advanced by Darwin, who pointed out that the expressions of emotions were associated with serviceable habits, once really useful, and now refined miniatures, suggestive of their ancient service.

The primary task of the educator is the greatest possible "rapprochement" to the Primary Collective and the developing of the greatest possible friendship with it. The educator must not organize love for the satisfaction of his personal emotional needs nor seek gratitude from his pupils, but should let love appear spontaneously, and unnoticeably on the basis of his own efforts for their welfare.[20] He must manipulate (engineer) the atmosphere in the Primary (and General) Collective in such a way as to induce the children into active meditation and reflection on the aims and purposes of the whole collective.

Should some one commit a theft, the educator must do his utmost to get his group interested in the problem of theft. In the ensuing group-discussion of the detachment the children will decide whether stealing is desirable or dangerous; they will find ways and means of applying pressure on the culprit, who will eventually repent and conform to the group expectations, realizing that his own interests are also served if theft is eliminated from the collective.[21] The educator's duty is to stimulate the unit into activity by stimulating the demands

[20] Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," op.cit., V, 180.

[21] Makarenko, "Pedagogi pozhimayut plechami," ibid., II, 399, 402.

of the collective upon the individual personality.

Proper education, according to Makarenko, is possible only when the greatest demands upon the individual are coupled with the greatest respect for him.[22] If the educator is convinced of the righteousness of his cause, he can make demands right to the extremes, ". . . and the child will always do what is necessary."[23]

Faced by any kind of misbehaviour of an individual, the educator must not react before the collective does, Makarenko taught. At best, the educator can attempt to guide the reaction of the children, or he may influence the individual only in as much as he himself is a member of the collective. This does not mean, however, that the educator will remain a passive onlooker.

> Every moment of his life at the collective the educator must be ready to mobilize his thought and experience, tactfulness and willpower in order to be able to recognize the many-sided manifestations, wishes, and aspirations of the collective, and must be ready at any moment to help it with his advice, influence, opinion, and, sometimes, even his will-power. 24

Makarenko did not believe in education based on a process of direct teacher-pupil influence; he did not believe in the teacher directly affecting the behaviour of the pupil even when the former was acting as a member of the collective. Yet he was concerned with the problem of affecting the behaviour of the individual. He wanted the educator to organize and manipulate the child's environment in that way which would produce the most positive results. Such a programme, however, would be almost impossible for one educator to achieve, and Makarenko turned his attention to the organization of a Collective of Education.

[22] "Nekotorye vyvody iz moego opyta," ibid., V, 229.

[23] Makarenko, "O moem opyte," ibid., V, 269.

[24] Makarenko, "Pedagogi pozhimayut plechami," ibid., II, 299 f.

Makarenko strongly objected to the Soviet custom of speaking about "the educator," in the singular form, and called this practice "erroneous" and "almost dangerous."[25]

Education, in his opinion, cannot depend on the individual educator, since this would imply that a good educator educates well while a bad one educates poorly. Estimating that perhaps as many as eighty percent of educators are untalented, Makarenko shuddered at the thought that eighty percent of the thirty-five million Soviet school children might be brought up by these educators.[26] He therefore emphatically rejected the idea of education depending on the whims of individual teachers and suggested the "scientific" formation of Collectives of Educators.

In an address to an assembly of teachers in Leningrad, Makarenko declared :

> One cannot educate a collective, or at least a children's collective, without a collective of educators. It is absolutely beyond doubt that one cannot educate a collective if each one of the fifteen pedagogues educates according to his own views and wishes. Obviously, there must be a collective of educators. 27

On another occasion he stated that it is better to have five weak and untalented educators who are united in a collective through identical thought and ideals, are enthusiastic about the same principles, have a similar style, and work in a united way, rather than have ten good educators who work in isolation, each on his own.[28]

Makarenko publicly deplored the fact that nothing had been

[25] Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," ibid., V, 177.

[26] "Vospitanie v seme i shkole," ibid., IV, 488.

[27] "Nekotorye vyvody iz moego pedagogicheskogo opyta," ibid., V, 231.

[28] Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," ibid., V, 179.

written in the Soviet Union up to his time about a systematic organization of the Collective of Educators,[29] and felt obliged to develop his own theories.

The Collective of Educators, according to him, is a homogeneous group of teachers united by the same ideals, believing in the same principles, having an integrated and unified plan of work, style, and tone of action, the same precise approach to the child, and the same enthusiasm for an active life.[30] They are so well united that they can tell each other even unpleasant things, without anyone of them feeling offended, and are capable of giving orders to each other and taking orders from each other without feeling either important or subjected.[31]

But, such a well-integrated collective could not be obtained by pure chance. Its composition must be as scientifically organized as possible, and not done haphazardly, advocated Makarenko. According to him, the problem of composing teaching staffs has been grossly and dangerously neglected in the USSR due to the popular belief that anyone can teach provided he is put into the position of educator.[32] He, therefore, made the suggestion that the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences study this problem seriously and devise rational theories and methods of composing a teaching staff of the Collective of Educators.[33]

From his long career as director of a colony for juvenile delinquents, Makarenko had been bound to formulate certain precise

[29] "Nekotorye vyvody iz moego pedagogicheskogo opyta," ibid., V, 231.

[30] "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," ibid., V, 179.

[31] "Vospitanie v seme i shkole," ibid., V, 490.

[32] "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," ibid., V, 178.

[33] Ibid., p.182.

theories of his own with regard to the formation and composition of a Collective of Educators. Indeed, when his Gorky Colony was moved to Kuryazh,[34] and Makarenko inherited not only the juveniles from the Kuryazh colony but also the forty odd educators, he categorically demanded the dismissal of all educators with the exception of eight, leaving the pupil-teacher ratio roughly twenty to one.[35]

On the basis of his own experience, Makarenko found out that educators of different sex have different effects on the personality of children, and, accordingly, he advocated that the number of male and female teachers in a collective be precisely determined, on the basis of a scientific study of child reaction to representatives of either sex.[36]

For similar reasons, he was concerned about the effects of the age and physical appearance of educators on children, and insisted that at least some of the members of his staff be young and physically attractive. He sought to create a Collective of Educators representing a cross-section of people one meets in everyday life.

In the course of a series of lectures, Makarenko described his own approach to the selection of his Collective of Educators. At one occasion he had twenty-two pedagogues and one vacancy.

> I saw, he said, that all the others were like myself (ugly and old) whereas it is necessary that children be fascinated by aesthetics, by beauty in the collective. Let them fall a little in love! That love will be of the best type; not of a sexual character, but a kind of aesthetics. [37]

Consequently he hired a pretty young woman teacher.

Although age, sex and physical features played an important role

[34] See Appendix - Biography.

[35] The teacher-pupil ratio at Kuryazh before the arrival of the "Gorkyites" was approximately 10 - 1. See "Vospitatel'" ibid., I, 662.

[36] "Nekotorye vyvody iz moego pedagogicheskogo opyta," ibid., V, 232.

[37] "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," ibid., V, 183.

in Makarenko's concept on the composition of a Collective of Educators, he felt that, perhaps, the educator's character and temperament exercised an even greater impact on the character formation of the child, and therefore, suggested that this question be carefully studied and the exact nature of this kind of influence determined. Selecting his own staff, Makarenko made sure of choosing some members who were gay by nature, others sullen, some witty and others dull, some easy-spoken and soft-hearted, and still others harsh and solemn.[38] Striving to find a complement for each character, he hoped to create as life-like a collective as possible. For Makarenko a Pedagogical Collective was nothing less than a complex society in miniature.

The average length of tenure of the Collective of Educators also is very important, Makarenko taught, and this problem too ought to be scientifically solved.[39] In order to secure continuity of traditions, and to have a greater influence on the pupils, the staff must be composed of members of various lengths of service within the collective; and the average length of tenure of the Collective of Educators ought to be greater than the average length of time the pupils remain within the collective. Pupils, according to Makarenko, have less respect for teachers who are "new-comers" than they have for "old-timers" who know everything and on whom one can hardly play any tricks.

[38] Loc.cit.

[39] Makarenko wrote three articles in preparation for his book "The Road to Life" but they were not published until 1957, when they appeared for the first time in the second edition of Makarenko's collected works. In these articles he set down a number of guiding principles for what he called the "Scientific Organization of the Collective of Educators." He used some elementary statistics to determine what he called the "Coefficient of the Collective of Educators."Cf. "Dlitel'nost' pedagogicheskovo kollektiva," op.cit., I, pp.663-73.

The Collective of Educators does not have obligations only toward the collective of children; it has yet another function to fulfil.

It has been pointed out [40] that Makarenko believed that the true formation of a pedagogue is achieved not at the Institute of Education but in a practical situation within a living collective. This final formation of an educator should be carried out by a well-integrated and "scientifically" composed Collective of Educators in which the older and more experienced teachers, help the younger and inexperienced new arrivals, thus developing and fortifying their sense of mutual responsibility.

In summary, therefore, the teacher has two roles to play: teaching and educating. Whereas teaching is an art requiring a special methodology of communicating knowledge and skills, education is a complex craft consisting of a skilful manipulation of the collective for the creation of a proper atmosphere favourable to both learning and to bringing up the personality. Obviously such a concept can hardly be fully applied by an individual educator; consequently, Makarenko turned to the idea of the Collective of Educators.

For him, a Collective of Educators ought to be organized scientifically, and not haphazardly, as the current practice used to be. The educators must be united by identical ideals, believe in the same principles, have an integrated and unified programme, style and tone of action; they must have the same precise approach to the child. The Collective of Educators must be selected in such a way that the age, sex, physical appearance and character of individual educators complement each other and reflect the cross-section of people in society in general.

[40] See above, page 43.

Makarenko's innovating ideas, his highly unified approach to education and his quasi-militarized organization of the collective, rapidly aroused the animosity of contemporary educators who were still busily experimenting with Western "child-centered" "laissez-faire," and "individualistic" types of education.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONFLICT WITH PEDOLOGY

The Large Soviet Encyclopaedia calls pedology a "reactionary bourgeois pseudo-science" of child-study, founded on the recognition of a "fatalistic conditioning of the child's fate through biological and social factors, influence of heredity, and of an unchangeable environment."[1]

Pedology appeared toward the end of the nineteenth century and was widely accepted in the U.S.A., from where it spread to Western Europe. Its founders were the American psychologists, G.S. Hall, I.W. Parker, J.W. Cook, J. Dewey and others. Basing themselves on Darwin's doctrine of evolution, Rousseau's suggestion for a study of the child, and the Herbartian movement, they became interested in the study of individual differences and biological development of the child. According to the Soviet Encyclopaedia they have attempted to establish biological differences between children of different social background, and on this basis, tried to prove that ". . . the difference in the status of the exploiters and exploited is justified by nature itself."[2]

Toward the end of the 1920's and the beginning of the 1930's pedology, or child study, was widely spread in the USSR, and was regarded as the doctrinal basis of Soviet pedagogy,[3] probably because

[1] Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, 2nd ed., XXXII, 279.

[2] Loc.cit.; see also V, 370 and XLVI, 280.

[3] I. and N. Lazarevitch, L'École Soviétique (Paris, Les Iles d'Or, 1954), p.32.

of the Darwinian element in it. Pedological thought found many supporters in the Commissariate of Public Education, among official supervisors and inspectors of education, and among various circles of educational theoreticians of the Academies of Pedagogical Sciences.[4] Some 2500 educators, among whom Bukharin, Lunacharsky and Krupskaya, attended the First All-Union Congress of Pedology which lasted from December 1927 to June 1928.[5]

This fact should not occasion surprise, for when the Bolshevic Revolution swept away old ideas and institutions, and its leaders undertook the construction of a new social order, education, one of the main pillars of any society, had to be reorganized. Breaking away from the traditional system of education, many Soviet educators turned to the West for new ideas. They were impressed by "modern" and "progressive" methods of education which had developed along "child-centered" lines - some undoubtedly inspired by the doctrines of Rousseau. John Dewey's philosophy, programs like the "Dalton" and "Winetka" plans, and "unit" or "project" methods were widely imported into the USSR.[6] Experimental psychologists, biologists, Pavlovian reflexologists, and sociological researchers studied the child through observation, surveys, tests, and measurements. They discovered the existence of various types of children, such as "retarded," "difficult," "delinquent," "gifted" etc. This revelation led them, by necessity, to the establishment of a variety of aims and methods of teaching.

[4] Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, XXXII, 279.

[5] G.Z.F. Bereday, W.W. Brickman and G.H. Read, eds., The Changing Soviet School (Cambridge, The Riverside Press, 1960), p. 63.

[6] Ibid., p. 64 f.

Basing themselves on G.S. Hall's "Biogenetical Law," the Pedologists concluded that people are born with certain general tendencies which determine their capabilities, personality, and character. Faced with this fatalistic determinism, the best an educator could do was to strive to discover what each separate child's tendencies were, and allow them to develop through self-expression. Thus education of the 20's and 30's became characterized by an "individualistic" trend.[7]

Today it seems surprising that such a patent individualism should have developed in a society dedicated to collectivism, and that this trend could proselytize so many followers among the official circles, and all the more so because today the Large Soviet Encyclopaedia claims that Pedologists have "grossly vulgarized Marxism" in their attempt to base their beliefs on an "empirical philosophy,"[8] an unpardonable crime from a Bolshevik point of view. Pedology seemed like a cancerous growth grafted on Soviet society. As such, it appears that it was certain to disappear as soon as the contradiction became apparent. The question arises: Why, then, had pedology flourished even among officials of the state? Ushakov, in his "Reasoned Dictionary" states that the pedological thought appeared in Soviet education as a result of a ". . . transposition, without critical considerations, . . . of some principles of bourgeois pedagogy. . .,"[9] thus attributing

[7] For more details on the trends in Soviet Education during the late 1920's and early 1930's, see:
G.Z.F. Bereday, W.W. Brickman, G.H. Read, eds., The Changing Soviet School, pp. 57-76.
Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, L, 557.
A.S. Makarenko, Sochineniya (Moscow, 1958), V, 361.
I.N. Medinski, A.S. Makarenko (Berlin, Volk und Wissen, 1954), p.63.
U.S. Department of Health, Welfare and Education, Education in the USSR, p. 13 f.
L. Volpicelli, L'Evolution de la Pédagogie Soviétique (Neuchâtel et Paris, Delachaux et Niestle, 1954), passim.

[8] Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, XXXII, loc.cit.

[9] As quoted by I. and N. Lazarevitch, op.cit., p.32.

almost an aura of child-like uncritical innocence to the supporters of pedology. In view of the subsequent venomous attacks unleashed against the Pedologists, Ushakov's explanation seems rather naive, or charitable at least.

The problem should perhaps be seen in its relation to the concept of the "New Man," discussed in chapter two of this dissertation.

It was pointed out that in the period between 1917 and 1936, the Communist Party emphasized Marx's deterministic concept according to which the individual is the product of his environment. Since the individual's environment is not of his own making he cannot be held responsible for what he is.[10]

This concept was suitable to the Soviet leaders as long as the criminal or anti-social tendencies of some citizens of the Soviet Union could be attributed to the negative influence of the capitalistic Tsarist regime. However, this philosophy became embarrasing once the new Soviet generation grew up and demonstrated very much the same tendencies. It became necessary to cease blaming the environment and to make the individual responsible for his own personal actions; hence the changes in outlook toward man and his behaviour as reflected in the "Stalin Constitution", in the revision of the criminal code, in philosophy and psychology, and in education.

This reorientation of the Party Line with regard to the considerations on human nature at the philosophical level was paralleled by another, more practical reorientation necessitated by the concrete problems of industrialism and collectivization of agriculture. The coordination of all the institutions in the Soviet Union of the 1930's with the overall goals of the State required more and more intervention

[10] See chapter: "Aims of Communist Education," page 6.

and less and less reliance on spontaneous processes. During that period, according to Professor R.A. Bauer, the dominant conception of man became that of an ". . . increasingly purposeful being, who was more and more the master of his own fate, and less and less the creature of his environment."[11]

If we look at the Soviet Union in the period prior to the mid-thirties, we find this "deterministic" philosophy in all spheres of life. Hence the statement made by the Large Soviet Encyclopaedia, to the effect that pedology "grossly vulgarized Marxism," appears entirely unjustified, unless it were to add that the whole Party Line of that time also grossly vulgarized Marxism.

On July 4, 1936, pedology and its theories of child self-expression, individual development, and biological determinism was declared an enemy of the proletariate and outlawed by a decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.[12]

Without going as far as I. and N. Lazarevitch, who, in their study "L'Ecole Soviétique," attributed the hostile attitude of the party toward pedology to the influence of Makarenko,[13] one can safely say that there is evidence to the effect that Makarenko's influence played some role in the abolition of pedology; at least in the sense that it helped focus the attention of the party on the "deviations" of that school of educational thought.

[11] Bauer, ibid., p.7

[12] Sbornik rukovodyashchikh materialov o shkole, N.I. Boldyrev, ed. (Moscow, APN, RSFSR, 1952) pp. 95-99.

[13] Op.cit., p.32.

Prior to 1936 no Soviet writer attacked pedology openly,[14] while Makarenko's writings swarm with hostile references to the "pedagogues from the Olympus," as he called the Pedologists, ever since the late 1920's. Furthermore, whenever present-day Soviet educational writers refer to pedology, almost inevitably they mention Makarenko as its "great opponent." Thirdly, according to Professor Teodosic, Soviet educators, in their present-day struggle against the remnants of pedology, largely rely upon the authority of Makarenko's writings.[15]

Although during his lifetime Makarenko was not a member of the party,[16] he worked out for himself, in accord with his Marxist readings, a line which he followed consistently, and which, in one of the party shifts, happened to become the Party Line. Contrary to Lilge's opinion that Makarenko was not well acquainted with Marxism,[17] it would seem that he, in fact, had a better understanding of Marxist thought than the vast majority of his contemporaries.

The German psychologist Gerhard Moebus wrongly attributed the early support Makarenko was given by the CHEKA to the fact that the security police, being mainly concerned with the suppression of criminality among juveniles, welcomed his system of education of a "Stalinist iron-hand" type.[18] The Stalinist "iron-hand" was still at least seven

[14] The conclusions of my research have been confirmed by a letter dated October 10, 1958, from Professor R. Teodosic, one of the greatest authorities on Makarenko outside the Soviet Union.

[15] R. Teodosic, ibid.

[16] In his letter of January 31, 1959, Professor Teodosic stated that Makarenko died just when his name was to be placed on the list of candidates for admission to the party.

[17] Frederic Lilge, A.S. Makarenko (Berkely and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1958), p. 5.

[18] Gerhard Moebus, Psychagogie und Paedagogik des Kommunismus (Koeln und Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1959), p. 88.

years away when Makarenko was evolving his practices. Moebus based his observations mainly on the Gorky Colony period, particularly the period before the "conquest" of Kuryazh, when, by necessity, Makarenko felt forced to be an "educational dictator," as he admitted it himself.[19] Furthermore, Moebus' theory implies that the CHEKA would have accepted any system of education, regardless of its "Weltanschaung," as long as it could help them in their task.

It seems more plausible that Makarenko was thoroughly familiar with Marxism in its Leninist version, and realized from the outset that the economic "laissez-faire" of the New Economic Policy was only a temporary "tactical withdrawal" by Lenin, and that the educational "progressivism," as expressed in the great variety of experimentation with Western ideas, would sooner or later disappear under a more or less forced socialization of the country. He could thus, almost instinctively, feel the "deviations" of pedology and combat them openly.

Pedological thought was supported not only by the majority of educational theoreticians but also by the ministries of education of the Republics, and their supervisory staff. The officials who supervised Makarenko's work at the Gorky Colony soon found themselves in head-on clash with the unorthodox and unconventional methods of this revolutionary educational innovator.

> The innovating activities of Makarenko,' declares the Large Soviet Encyclopaedia,'have met a violent opposition on the part of the supporters of the ideology of the Pedologists, an ideology strange to the Soviet regime, and the Ukrainian nationalists who were disguised enemies. At the end of 1928 they succeeded in forcing him to leave the colony. 20

[19] Makarenko, "Nekotorye vyvody iz moego pedadogicheskogo opyta," Sochineniya, V, 233.

[20] Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, XXVI, 90.

The Pedologists identified the waifs with the image of a kind of Byronic hero. The waif was assumed to be a philosopher and a wit, an anarchist and destroyer, a hoodlum and an avowed enemy of all ethics; he was said to be a thief, drunkard, rake, drug addict and syphilitic. The Pedologists believed that the waifs were organized, that they had leaders and a strict discipline, a regular strategy of thievish operations, and their own elaborate rules and regulations.[21] This description of the "besprizornye" became widely accepted in the West in the 1920's and 1930's.

Makarenko was firmly opposed to this idealized picture. Having spent sixteen years sharing the daily life of homeless waifs, he was well qualified to declare that they were simply ordinary children, placed through unfortunate circumstances in unfavourable and unnatural conditions to which they tried, more or less successfully, to adapt themselves.[22] For him, the waifs represented a problem only inasmuch as they were individuals to be educated.

The problem, as Makarenko saw it, was ". . . how to develop the future New Man out of a criminal homeless waif."[23] Therefore, the educator, both the theorizing and the practising, must not indulge in a fruitless exercise of classifying types of individuals, but must seek methods making possible the education of children with a view to developing a definite type of man. Consequently, concluded Makarenko, the approach to the problem of educating juvenile delinquents must not be different from that of educating so-called normal children.

[21] Makarenko, "Dlitel'nost' pedagogicheskogo killektiva," op.cit., I, 467.

[22] Makarenko, "Hudozhestvennaya literatura o vospitanii detei," ibid., V, 364.

[23] Ibid.

The inspectors of the Ukrainian "Narkompros" (Commissariate of Public Education), and several pedological theoreticians, assailed Makarenko along various lines of application of his theories. One of the main points of their attacks was his system of so-called "militarization."[24] They often referred to his colony as "barracks" and to Makarenko as a "gendarme" or "colonel," and spread the rumour that he had been an army officer before taking charge of the colony.[25]

In reply to his accusers Makarenko explained that the whole question of "militarization" in the colony was no more than a game which children enjoyed playing, and in which the educators also took part.

For example, the use of uniforms, an old Russian practice, abolished after the Revolution partly because it was reminiscent of the Tsarist regime, while giving children a certain aesthetic pleasure, was not necessarily a mark of militarism, insisted Makarenko. He argued that many non-military organizations, such as railway and post-office employees, and many others in Russia , traditionally wear uniforms. The uniform gives the members of a collective a distinct feeling of belonging, he stated, and helps to unite them into a compact group.[26]

The educators and inspectors who visited Makarenko reproached him for the introduction into the commune of military drill, military terminology for designating the officials of the collective, military demeanor of children and educators on duty, elaborate ceremonies around

[24] Makarenko, Road to Life (Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955), III, 280, 358.

[25] In reality, Makarenko was discharged from the army, shortly after conscription, due to his extremely poor eyesight.

[26] "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," op.cit., V, 132 f.

the flag, and use of a sentry in front of the Commune, complete with rifle. Not perturbed unduly, Makarenko simply replied that these practices are:

> . . . a tradition which decorates the collective, and gives to the collective that exterior skeleton within the frame of which it is possible to lead a beautiful life, and which, therefore, fascinates. [27]

In all fairness to Makarenko, it must be noted, however, that he had never really copied the army. In fact, the complex "military game" played at the colony was the creation of the colonists themselves. It was only much later that the boys of the Gorky Colony were asked to join the ranks of the General Military Training Department.[28]

The so-called "military drill" consisted mainly of group physical exercises, and shortly after its introduction among the unruly juvenile delinquents it began showing obvious positive results. In his "Road to Life," Makarenko described his impressions about the changes in the physical comportment of the boys.

> The first thing I noticed was a good influence of a proper military bearing. The whole outward appearance of the colonist changed - he became slender and graceful, stopped slouching against table or wall, could hold himself erect with ease and freedom, without feeling the need of props of any sort. By now, it was easy to distinguish new boys from old-timers. The gait of the boys became more confident and springy, they began to hold their heads higher, they lost the habit of thrusting their hands into their pockets. 29

Makarenko's insistance on physical education seems wholly in line with the three meanings given to education by Marx and Engels at The First International Congress and his oblique reference to education in the Communist Manifesto. In their message to the Temporary Central Council, they defined education as consisting of mental training, physical exer-

[27] Ibid., p. 133.

[28] Makarenko, Road to Life, I, 343.

[29] Loc.cit.

cise as provided by gymnastics and military drill, and technical instruction.[30]

The Pedologists often criticized Makarenko for his strictness toward children and his tremendous demands made upon them. Perhaps one of the numerous instances could be used as a case in point.

In Kharkov, at a mass meeting of "Friends of Children," Makarenko appeared with the whole colony, including the little children of hardly ten years of age. They had just walked a distance of six miles from the Colony to the city. An angry "intellectual lady" from the Ukrainian Narkompros approached Makarenko and began scolding him for his "cruelty" toward the children. Outrageously shocked when calmly told that it would have been unfair to leave these children at the colony since, after the meeting, the collective was to go to the circus in town, she demanded that the "little ones" be immediately sent back home. Her demand was received by hearty laughter from the little ones and Makarenko's categorical refusal to obey. "The lady looked commiseratingly at these hopelessly militarized children, and took her departure,"[31] Makarenko concluded his story.

Believing that "punishment makes slaves" the Pedologists severely criticized Makarenko, and the Narkompros inspectors often called him to order. They considered as particularly shocking his practice of "arresting" children, and forcing them to stay, an hour or so, in "jail."

The fuss raised was entirely unjustified, and reflects the pedantic dogmatism of the official educational authorities. Actually, the "jail" was Makarenko's office; the child could sit there and read,

[30] K. Marx and F. Engels, O vaspitanju: obrazovanju (Belgrade, Biblioteka Saveza Prosvetnih Radnika Jugoslavije, 1948), p. 101.

[31] Road to Life, III, 358 f.

or talk to Makarenko on any topic except on his own "transgression." Furthermore this "ultimate form of punishment" was administered exclusively to "Colonists" or "Communards" (a title which only a youngster "already reformed" was given after a ceremonial reception), and was highly honoured in the collective.[32]

On the whole, Makarenko believed that punishment should be used very infrequently, and then only if both the collective and the culprit acquiesced in its necessity.

> Above all, 'he wrote, 'one must endeavour to punish as rarely as possible, and only in the case that one cannot manage without punishment any longer, that is, when it becomes obviously purposeful and when it is supported by public opinion. 33

The punishment never exceeded the crime, and was given in such a form as to educate not only the guilty individual, but also the entire collective. The following two examples may illustrate Makarenko's practice of punishment.

A young Komsomol (member of the Communist Youth Organization) insulted a teacher. Although he was in the right, his action was considered indecent. A general meeting was called, and the following resolution passed: "Pioneer Kirenko, (the youngest member of the colony), will explain to "Komsomol" so-and-so how one ought to behave in such a case." After the meeting, the little boy explained to his senior what his mistakes were, and at the following general meeting the officer on duty reported that the order had been executed. The "Komsomol" was then asked if he had understood what the little one had told him; upon his positive reply he was dismissed and the case forgotten.

[32] Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," op.cit., V, 159-161. See also above, p.

[33] "Nakazaniya i mery vozdeistviya," ibid., V, 49 f.

On another occasion, a boy was involved in a scandal on his day-off. The General Assembly brought forth the following resolution: "On his next day-off, on that date, at 3:05 p.m., he is to meditate about his action, and report about it to his commander." The boy carried out his "punishment" to the letter.[34]

Makarenko believed that as education must be performed by the collective, so must the punishment.[35]

Generally speaking the whole conflict between the Pedologists and Makarenko is reducible to one central point: the insistence of the former that education is carried out through a teacher-pupil relationship, and Makarenko's stubborn maintaining that there is no such "set of two." "I repeat," he said, "there is no such a pair!"[36] For him, there is a "school," an "organization," a "collective," a "general style of work," but there is no "teacher-pupil," independent of the collective.[37]

In Makarenko's opinion, the teacher has little or no influence on the individual child. The child learns, works, and behaves mainly in proportion to peer-group, parental, or social pressures and influences. The role of the educator is to organize these, or help organize them, in such a way as to make them exercise desirable types of pressures and influences.

In the final analysis, the whole problem boils down to the question of the pursuit of aims in education. While the pedagogical aims of the Pedologists were a-political, or as Makarenko said: "In reality, pedology was a policy hostile to us [the Communists]," those of Makarenko were political in the strictest sense of the word.

[34] Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," ibid., V,162f.

[35] "Razgovori o vospitanii," ibid., V, 515.

[36] "Nekotorye vyvody iz moego pedagogicheskogo opyta," ibid., V, 230.

[37] "Opyt metodiky raboty detskoi trudovoi kolonii," ibid., V, 230.

For Makarenko, social realities, and the ever-changing needs of social life and development, were both the source and the goal of the aims of education, and the greatest and most noble task of the educator should be to prepare future citizens who are such as the Soviet and Communist society needs them.[38]

[38] "Problemy shkol'nogo sovetskogo vospitaniya," ibid., V, 114.

CHAPTER SIX

APPLICATION OF "MAKARENKO SYSTEM" IN SOVIET EDUCATION

After Makarenko's death in 1939 the influence of his system of education progressively gathered momentum and came to full efflorescence by the tenth anniversary of his death, and to fruition in 1956.

Makarenko's ideas helped the Soviet educational authorities to focus their attention on the need for a methodological separation of education proper (upbringing) and instruction (teaching) for more efficiency in both fields.

Up to the mid 1930's education and teaching were fused into one single process; all teaching was education, all learning, development. Neither had its own methodology. Thereafter, however, the teaching process reverted to the pre-Revolution, Czarist approach of strict academic instruction in the old European tradition. Instruction once again became a severe and authoritarian discipline.

For the purpose of the formation of cadres this approach appeared satisfactory, and excellence in the various fields of learning was considered possible. However, a purely academic training of the growing generation not being satisfactory for the ultimate goals of the Communist Party, since it alone was insufficient to provide citizens who would think and act as Communists, it was felt necessary to formulate methods of education capable of developing the New Soviet Man. It is at this juncture that Makarenko's ideas played a definite role.

During the years immediately preceding World War II, as well as during the war, little could be done for the overhauling of the processes of education since all the efforts of the teachers were channelled toward

the speedy formation of various industrial and military cadres. With the end of the war, efforts were speeded up for the creation of a "Communist Education." Makarenko and his theories, practical experience, and advice were progressively given wider attention.

Professor Radovan Teodosic of the Instutite of Pedagogical Research of Belgrade, who translated almost all the works of Makarenko into Serbian and did extensive research on him, spent three months in the Soviet Union in 1958 and had the opportunity to verify these statements personally. He met Makarenko's wife, Galina Stakhievna, as well as some of his former charges (Kalabalin, Zemlyanski-Robespierre and others). In a personal communication to the present author, Professor Teodisic wrote the following:

> After [World War II] in the development of the Soviet system of education and in the organization of schools, and educational institutions, one can greatly feel, directly and indirectly (Makarenko's) influence in several directions:
>
> 1. - in the theoretical formulations of the polytechnical education, that is in the combining of instruction [school education in the academic subjects] and production, an idea which is one of the vital features of the reform of Soviet schools from 1954 up to now [October 1958]. One can notice not only direct appeals to Makarenko, and his practical achievements in the "Maxim Gorky" colony and "Dzerzhinsky" commune, but the very organization of work is largely based on his ideas.
>
> 2. - in the theoretical formulations of the need for a new type of school which is gradually being introduced in the USSR (boarding schools). Many policies are directly based on Makarenko's ideas.
>
> 3. - in the formulation of principles and methods for the teaching of ethics in general and in the organization of student-collectives in particular.
>
> 4. - there are frequent references to Makarenko in the struggle against the relapse to pedology (especially in connection with the efforts for the best possible results in the schools).
>
> 5. - many of the children's homes (for war orphans) are organized almost entirely on the basis of Makarenko's pedagogical concepts.
>
> 6. - Makarenko is introduced into the textbooks of history of education along with the other classics. [1]

[1] Letter, October 10th, 1958.

The early stages of the process of introduction of Makarenko's system of education were characterized by increasing theoretical studies of his ideas.

"Sovetskaya Pedagogika," the official journal of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR[2] began publishing a great variety of articles dealing with the theoretical aspects of Makarenko's system of education. In the jubilee issue for the thirtieth anniversary of the October Revolution in November 1947, N.A. Lyalin published a detailed study of the "Pedagogical Heritage of A.S. Makarenko."[3] The next issue carried an article which referred to some of Makarenko's opinions on the value of manual work in the education of children.[4] For the tenth anniversary of Makarenko's death, in March 1949, practically the whole issue of "Sovetskaya Pedagogika" was devoted to this educator. The following titles from this issue indicate both the range of Makarenko's influence and the interest of Soviet educators in his ideas:

"A.S. Makarenko - a pedagogical innovator"
"The ideologico-pedagogical basis of Makarenko's pedagogical concepts"
"Makarenko as psychologist"
"A.S. Makarenko on education in the Soviet family"
"The pedagogical works of A.S. Makarenko in the Slavic countries"
"From A.S. Makarenko's correspondence with L.V. Konisevich"
"From the experience of work in the F.E. Dzerzhinsky Home for Children No.1 of Kharkov"
"On the education of some cultural habits of students"
"The pedagogical heritage of A.S. Makarenko"

The same issue published, for the purposes of an essay competition,

[2] This Academy was founded in 1944 and sets the tone and unofficially gives the directives for the development of the system of education of all the federated republics and autonomous regions.
L. Volpicelli, L'Évolution de la Pédagogie Soviétique (Neuchâtel-Paris, Delachaux et Niestle, 1954), p. 202.

[3] N.A. Lyalin, "O pedagogicheskom nasledstve A.S. Makarenko," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 11 (1947), 81-90.

[4] I.A. Pechernikova, "Metody trudovogo vospitaniya shkol'nika u sovietskoi seme," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 12 (1947), 88-98.

thirteen titles with a variety of themes dealing with the study of Makarenko's pedagogical heritage.[5]

Themes of a general theoretical nature continue to appear in the Soviet press in a fairly regular fashion. In 1950, I.A. Blinkov and I.A. Pechernikova wrote articles discussing education in the home and the roles of the school and pedagogical literature in this domain, and attributed great importance to Makarenko in these fields.[6]

In 1951 and 1952, several studies dealt with the problems of education in Communist ethics, morality and character formation of youth. Pedagogical theoreticians, like A.K. Baturin, P.N. Shimbirev, and R.I. Zhukovskaya, frankly relied on Makarenko's ideas on these questions.[7]

The interest in Makarenko's system of education did not remain on an academic or theoretical level. Experiments with education through the collective along the principles indicated by Makarenko were introduced in various schools immediately following the war.

These efforts for developing a system of education through the collective closely followed the general trend in Soviet ideology. I.M. Shchitko wrote in an article:

> Our task, the task of the educators, consists in educating the growing generation into collectivists and supplying our Fatherland with the most valuable builders and members of a communist society.[8]

[5] S.I. Akkerman, "Pedagogicheskie chteniya studentov," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 3 (1949), 126-127.

[6] I.A. Blinkov, "Voprosy semeikogo vospitaniya u pedagogicheskoi literature," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 10 (1950), 113-120.
I.A. Pechernikova, "Shkola i semya," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 10 (1950), 12-28.

[7] A.K. Baturin, "Vospitanie volevikh chert kharatera u nehashehikhsya," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 6 (1952), 29-36.
P.N. Shimbirev, "Printsipi vospitanuya kommunisticheskoi morali," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 3 (1951), 97-110.
R.I. Zhukovskaya, "Kommunisticheskoe vospitanie doshkol'nikov," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 3 (1951), 116-119.

[8] I.M. Shchiko, "Organizatsiya detskogo kollektiva," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 6 (1952), 22-28.

Shchitko, the director of the Oleg Kshev Children's Home at Malevk, described the experiment his institution carried out since the end of the war in establishing a children's collective along Makarenko's principles. The attempts to form a closely united children's collective were based mainly on the organizing of children's self-governing bodies similar to those of the Dzerzhinsky Commune.

"Although Makarenko was not particularly interested in strictly didactical problems, the application of his ideas greatly helped the teachers in their task of educational and academic work," stated I.A. Vinnichenko in his description of the educational methods of A.S. Makarenko in school life.[9] He quoted Makarenko's statement that:

> The school must be a united collective in which all the processes of education are organized, and the individual member of that collective must feel his dependence on it, he must be devoted to its interests and, above all, value these interests. 10

Commenting on Makarenko's statement, Vinnichenko maintained that ". . . experience shows. . ." that the formation within the classroom or the school of a strong and closely united pupil collective ". . . always leads to the raising of the level of student success."[11]

Vinnichenko attempted to demonstrate the validity of Makarenko's theories by a series of examples drawn from the experiences of various schools in the district of Kiev. To illustrate the truth of Makarenko's statement that "where a strong collective exists there are no problems of discipline," he mentioned the example provided by M.P. Zhovtobryukh School for Boys No. 92 at Kiev.

[9] I.A. Vinnichenko, "Vospitatel'nye metody A.S. Makarenko u shkol'noi proktike," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 1 (1954), 38-50.

[10] A.S. Makarenko, Sochineniya, V, 119.

[11] Vinnichenko, op.cit., p. 38. He made reference to some experiments carried out at the secondary school No. 61 of Kiev.

One of the teachers successfully used several of Makarenko's methods, particularly the reliance on the "Active," and the co-operation with parents, for the "conversion" of some students who showed signs of "deviation."[12]

Makarenko's system of "lines of perspective" based on the "joy of tomorrow" was successfully organized, immediately after the war, at the seven year school of Furyansk and the school No. 1 at Nezhinsk, both in the district of Kiev. The pupils repaired their own buildings, decorated them to their own taste, planted a tree nursery, and established new traditions, elected class and school leaders, committees, and a powerful self-government.[13]

According to Vinnichenko, collective traditions, of the type Makarenko suggested, have been in existence for several years in the school No. 53 of Kiev. The school collective has its orchestra, organizes evening debates, makes reports on the successes and general work of the students. Former pupils of the school, now employed, also take part in the evening activities, discussing their own life and problems. Community leaders are invited to acquaint the students with the problems of industry and general productivity and agriculture, as well as problems connected with community planning and community activities.[14]

Similarly, in school No. 153 of Kiev, former students, presently studying at the university, regularly visit the school talking to the pupils on the life which they can expect at the higher institutions of learning, and on general problems connected with the choice of a future

[12] Op.cit., p. 42.

[13] Ibid., pp. 43-45.

[14] Ibid., p.45.

vocation.[15] Such practices of school and society cooperation were unknown in the Soviet Union before Makarenko drew the attention of educators to their great importance.

Referring to Makarenko's special attention to the use of school "wall news-papers" (a student wall bulletin) as a tool of education, Vinnichenko illustrated the values of this principle with the practice in the schools No. 130 and No. 135 of Kiev, where the former has a daily and the latter a weekly wall news-paper published.[16]

School No. 130, furthermore, very effectively uses the so-called "military game" to which Makarenko has attributed great educative values.[17]

A.S. Karlova, an experimental teacher at school No. 45 in Kiev, successfully applied Makarenko's principle of "the highest possible demands upon the individual coupled with the highest possible respect for him," in her attempt to develop in her pupils habits of good and punctual behaviour. She approached the individual, following the example of Makarenko, only through the collective.

These children have had dramatic personal experiences during the war. Many of them lost their parents; all of them had been subjected to ruthless treatment by the Nazi occupators; most of them had developed extremely negative attitudes towards life in general and the school in particular. Yet, if one is to believe Vinnichenko's report, the application of Makarenko's system of education showed most positive results. Gradually the pupils became fully dependable, self-reliant, and full of initiative.[18]

[15] Ibid., p. 46.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., p. 47.

[18] Ibid., p. 48.

Concluding his well-illustrated report, Vinnichenko paid a high tribute to Makarenko when he wrote:

> A.S. Makarenko has left for us a rich arsenal of methods of education. From this arsenal it is possible to draw weapons not only for the education of moral traits in children, traits which are necessary for the communistic society, but also for the struggle for a high successfulness [sic] and deep, broad knowledge, as well as for a well-balanced development of physical and mental capabilities of the growing generation. 19

Professor Veikshan, of the Institute of the Theory and History of Pedagogy of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR, at the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of Makarenko's death wrote an analytical description of Makarenko's teachings. He described the great reputation and importance of Makarenko's theories in the period of transition from the socialist phase of Soviet development to that of communism, the avowed aim of the Bolsheviks.

> The pedagogical ideas of A.S. Makarenko and his remarkable experiment of work on the communist education of children deservingly have received the greatest popularity among our people and received broad dissemination among teachers.
>
> The task of the policy makers of the pedagogical sciences and of the teachers consists in the further development of A.S. Makarenko's pedagogical concepts and in the creative application of his heritage in compliance with the new demands which are imposed on the school in the period of a gradual transition from socialism to communism. 20

Significantly, however, Veikshan expressed his regret that, as late as 1954, the basic principles of Makarenko's system of education were still all too weakly stressed in the ". . . scientific formation of didactics and in the organization of the teaching of children in the schools."[21]

Soviet educational authorities have long neglected to explore

[19] Ibid., p. 50.

[20] V.A. Veikshan, "A.S. Makarenko - vydayushchisya pedagog-novator," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 3 (1954), 13.

[21] Veikshan, ibid., p. 21.

the advantages of collaboration with the parents in the upbringing of their children. It is highly probable that this was the outcome of the early attitude of the Party, under the influence of Madame Kollontai, towards the family. Having first-hand knowledge of the tragic consequences of the destruction of the family, since many of his "besprizornye" were the sad product of this bankrupt policy, Makarenko could easily see the great values and effectiveness of home and school co-operation once the family institution was re-introduced in the USSR. He was perhaps the first if not the only Soviet educator to advocate a conscious teacher-parent co-operation in education. Many Soviet teachers eventually followed his suggestion and have mobilized the efforts of the parents in their attempt to achieve better results in the classroom. However, most of these attempts have been rather shy and isolated and there is still no evidence of a Home and School Association in the Soviet Union as widely spread as in North America.

Kosareva, a teacher at School No. 9 of the city of Orl, reported in 1954 on her attempts to conduct individual work with the parents of here pupils - repeaters, in accordance with the teachings of Makarenko, particularly relying on his principle of "perspectives."[22]

I.G. Lysenko, the principal of Kryukov Secondary School No. 9 in the city of Kremenchug, in the Poltava district, the town where Makarenko had taught in his early career,[23] the same year, reported that his school strongly advised the parents to read and study Makarenko's literary works and the literature on him and his theories available at the Makarenko museum of that city.[24]

[22] A.V. Kosareva, "Individual'naya rabota s roditelyami-odno iz osnovii preduprezhdeniya vtorogodichestva," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 8 (1954), 65-79.

[23] See Appendix, Biography, p. 92.

[24] I.G. Lysenko, "Rabota shkoly s roditelyami," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 8 (1954), p. 45.

Soviet society is characterized by "collectivism" as opposed to the Western "individualism", but, the application of the principle of collectivism in a school situation presents some serious difficulties; at least this is what Y.L. Kastorskii, the principal of the Perechenskoi Secondary School of the Velikohokskoi district, has found out. His teachers had a formal attitude toward their pupils; they did not attempt to develop initiative and self-activity among pupils. They regarded the children as an:

> . . . object of education, forgetting that an integrated children's collective is one of the most important conditions for success in a communistic education of school children. 25

As a result, the pupils had no vital interest in their established goals and assignments. The teachers were incapable of creating an interesting content of life which would attract all pupils to creative and practical work and make them feel part of the class-collective and, through it, of the general school collective.

Upon a thorough study of Makarenko's writings the staff decided to attempt an organization of a school collective along his teachings. Since the decisions which they carried out clearly illustrate the way in which Makarenko System can be applied in non-residential schools, it is felt necessary to quote the full text:

> 1. In the course of every school year it is the duty of the collective of pupils to work for the realization of this or that general and practical measure; while doing so, never to permit any interruptions, stoppages, or "deserted spots" in work which are not filled with the expectation of the morrow's joy.
>
> 2. Every general school-measure must be discussed with the active of the classroom, detachment, team, group, or the school.
>
> 3. Business motions, which are brought forth during the deliberations of the active, the committee, must be brought forth for discussion at the Komsomol student meetings.

25 Y.L. Kastorskii, "Nekotorye Meropriyatiya po Organizatsii detskogo kollektiva," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 8 (1954), 45.

4. In no circumstances to place before the student-collective assignments which are beyond their strength or which are not linked with the general goals.

5. Systematically to sum up the work of individual pupils and children's collectives, taking note without failure of the facts of their growth and progress.

6. To utilize all the means, which sharpen the initiative of the individual pupils as well as that of the whole collective (the teachers' notices in the school newspaper, radio performance, the expression of thanks through a communication from the school principal, book rewards, entering honors into the school book and into the album "History of our School," pasting pictures of outstanding individual pupils or collectives, of teams, detachments, class-rooms etc.)

7. To create such situations that all students may have individual missions.

8. In no circumstance to impose on students ready-made conclusions, plans, decisions, etc. To develop in every way possible initiative and self-activity of pupils.

9. In carrying out of all work, base oneself on the school-wide organization of the Komsomol and Pionеers.

This work was connected with "socially useful work" and building of school traditions, in co-operation with the Kolkhoses of the districts; the results were "electrifying."[26]

Although many experiments have been carried out in the Soviet Union with the application of Makarenko's system of education, and although moral encouragement for further experimentation on the part of theoreticians was not lacking, Soviet educational authorities did little until 1955 for a systematic and generalized introduction of Makarenko's principles into the Soviet school.[27]

Yet even before this time, certain definite trends which were to give Makarenko's system of education its right place, were clearly noticeable. The Communist Party began emphasizing the necessity of "building Communism," since socialism had already become a reality. Many educators realized that in such conditions the building, developing and

[26] Kastorskii, op.cit., p. 46 f.

[27] P.I. Plotnikov, "Vospitanie detskogo kollektiva v shkole," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 2 (1955), 106.

strengthening of children's collectives in the schools have become ". . . one of the most important problems in the praxis of the work of the Soviet school and in the theory of Soviet Pedagogy."[28]

Agitating for a speedy introduction of Makarenko's system of education on a nation-wide scale became more and more common. P.E. Plotnikov attempted to summarize both the extant literature connected with that system and the publication reporting various successful experimentations with it. According to him, up to 1955, mainly two problems had been studied with regard to Makarenko's system, namely: ways and means for organizing and educating the Primary Collective in the classroom, and the developing of a General School Collective.[29]

Turning to the books which reported on the experiments carried out with Makarenko's system, Plotnikov summarized the experiences of the schools No. 5 and No. 243 of Moscow, Nos. 49 and 45 of Rostov, in various schools of eight towns, ten districts, and one of the autonomous republics of the RSFSR. He stated that all these experiments have shown that the Makarenko System has tremendous results, and that in all these schools the teachers had the opportunity to see the effectiveness of this method. The author felt encouraged by the fact that all the books he reviewed were a step forward in the application of Makarenko's System to schools in general.[30]

Soviet "democracy" has its own unique peculiarities. On the "pyramid" of the elected representatives of the whole population is superimposed the "pyramid" of the Party hierarchy. Although the latter is a rather thinly spread or rarified structure, in view of the extremely

[28] Loc.cit.

[29] Ibid., p. 107.

[30] Ibid., pp. 106-115.

low percentage of population belonging to the party, its overall frame encompasses the whole "pyramid" of civil elected machinery from the smallest local organizations right up to the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet. This arrangement makes it possible for Soviet "democracy" to be a "guided democracy."

When and if the Praesidium of the Central Committee of the Party decides to introduce a new legislation it gives directives through the party channels to the members at the bottom of the "pyramid" for a campaign of agitation in favour of the proposed legislation.

In such cases these local governmental branches send their propositions, suggestions and resolutions through their own channels right to the top of the general "pyramid" and the Soviet representatives have a chance to vote in favour of the new legislation. In this way a form of democracy is preserved and the laws and directives usually get some popular support.

It cannot be proved beyond doubt that this principle was applied with regard to the introduction of Makarenko's theories in Soviet education, although the general Soviet practices suggest that this has in fact been the case. It is certain, however, that by the end of 1954 the numerous isolated experiments carried out with Makarenko's ideas in many schools of Ukrain and the RSFSR attracted the attention of I.A. Kairov, the president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR and former minister of education of the RSFSR.

Kairov delivered a speech to the Praesidium of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences during its congress of December 13-14, 1954.[31] In this speech he drew the attention of the pedagogical theoreticians to some of the short-comings of Soviet education. As the second great

[31] I.A. Kairov, "O sostoyanii i zadachekh sovetskoi pedagogicheskoi nauki," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 3 (1955), 3-30.

shortcoming of Soviet educational theory he indicated that:

> The theoretical pedagogy is not continuing the creative development of Makarenko's ideas, and takes little part in introducing these into schools, particularly with respect to the organization of children's collectives. The school is left pretty much to itself in the field of educational work. 32

Kairov suggested the introduction of combining academic work with production in schools ". . . as Makarenko practised in his experiment, basing himself on the Marxist-Leninist principle."[33] Foreshadowing the great school reform of 1958, he made the remark that in Soviet education children are often mistakenly regarded as the object of instruction and education while, ". . . in reality, they are also the subject of education,"[34] (in the sense that they educate each other). For them the school and the place where they live and work, and all the other aspects of child activity, are also life, as Makarenko's experiment demonstrated.

> Makarenko said that man is not educated in parts but that he is formed synthetically, through the sum total of influences to which he is exposed; therefore, the individual means of influence may prove to be either positive or negative. The decisive factor is the total sum of means which are organized in a harmonious way. 35

To achieve the desired aims, Kairov advocated the organization of cohesive children's collectives. They were not to be an end in themselves, but a tool in the formation of a well balanced development of the human personality as well as a means for including that personality in social life.

> The most important thing which we must apply from the pedagogical heritage of Makarenko is his method, his approach to the solution of the most complex, most contradictory problems of education. 36

[32] Ibid., p. 10.

[33] Ibid., p. 22.

[34] Ibid., p. 25.

[35] Loc.cit.

[36] Ibid.

Kairov's speech did not long remain a mere voice in the desert. Practical experiments were undertaken in the field of education in boarding schools.[37] In 1955-56 sixty-five million rubles were spent on schools for poor-sighted, blind, deaf and dumb, and other children needing special education; ten schools had grades one to five, and two schools grades one to seven, for normal children. Altogether nineteen hundred and fifty pupils attended these schools. At the end of the school year a committee, chaired by A.I. Shustov, presented a report in which the suggestion was made to further the experiments in order to overcome the shortcomings and difficulties so that these schools may spread across the whole USSR.[38]

During the academic year 1956-57 more than three hundred boarding schools with over sixty-two thousand students were opened in the Soviet Union.[39] According to the sixth Five Year Plan, the number of these schools and pupils was to triple in 1957-58, and by 1960 the staggering number of one million pupils educated in boarding schools to be reached.[40] In actual fact, according to the most recent reports, this figure was doubled, so that today there are over two million children being brought up in boarding schools which are applying Makarenko's system of education.

The final impetus for a nation-wide application of Makarenko

[37] This type of school seems the most appropriate for an effective application of the Makarenko System.

[38] V ministerstve prosveshcheniya RSFSR, "O uchebno - vospitatel'noi rabote shkol-internatov Moskvy," Sovetskaya Pedagogika, No. 2 (1957) 121-124.

[39] M.M. Deineko, 40 let narodnogo obrazovaniya USSR (Moskva, Uchpedgiz, 1957), p. 104.

[40] Ibid., p. 165.

System came in February 1956. At the now famous XXth Party Congress, Chairman Khrushchev stated that Soviet education must develop:

> . . . builders of the new society; men with a great soul and high ideals, who wholeheartedly serve their people, and who march in the avant-guarde of the whole progressive mankind.
>
> And how are we to solve this task in practice? Obviously, we must immediately begin establishing boarding schools. . . which would provide all the conditions for a well-rounded physical and spiritual development of the young Soviet citizen. 41

Several months later, on September 15, 1956, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR issued a decree for the introduction of boarding schools on a nation-wide scale.[42]

The "Decree on Boarding Schools" was not the result of a hasty decision, according to N.P. Nezhinskii, but has been carefully considered for a long time.[43] Nezhinskii maintains that the long history of the decree began in 1932, when the Central Committee brought forth the resolution "On the curriculum and regime in the elementary and secondary schools." Following this, and some other unspecified resolutions of the Party, Makarenko formulated a plan for the General Secondary School, and submitted it in 1933 to the Commissariate of Public Education of the Ukrainian SSR. In many respects, according to the same author, Makarenko's suggestions for the formation of a system of boarding schools was a forerunner of and a model for the new type of boarding schools decreed in 1956.[44] In his monograph, Nezhinskii gives a summary of the plan which Makarenko suggested in 1933. It seems most significant that the programme forwarded by the

[41] Dokumenty i materialy po perestroike shkoly, M.S. Zenov, ed. (Moscow, Uchpedgiz, 1960), p. 159.

[42] Ibid., pp.160-163.

[43] N.P. Nezhinskii, O soedinenii obucheniya s obshtestvenno - poleznym trudom (Moscow, Znanie, 1956), Series 11, No. 15.

[44] Loc.cit.

decree of September 15, 1956, bears great resemblance to that proposed by Makarenko twenty-three years earlier.

The purpose of these schools has been clearly defined by the "Decree on Boarding Schools" issued by the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR on April 3, 1957.

> The Boarding school is an institution of a new type of general upbringing, instruction and education, with the purpose of solving, on the highest level, the tasks of preparing builders of communism who have an all-rounded education and culture. 45

Now that, according to the Party leadership, the final stage of building Communism is rapidly approaching, Makarenko's System of education in the collective, through the collective and for the collective in view of forming the "New Communist Man," will probably be called upon to play an ever-growing role for the practical realization of the new Communist society.

45 Deineko, loc.cit.

CONCLUSION

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The establishment of Bolshevik rule in Russia was followed by a great search for a Communist system of education. It was generally agreed that a new Soviet Man had to be developed, but it was not quite clear just how this was to be achieved.

Under the leadership of N.K. Krupskaya, greatly influenced by Tolstoy, a child-centred philosophy of education was gradually introduced in the Soviet Union, and developed into a school of thought which came to be known as pedology.[1] Various experiments with Western, particularly American ideas were undertaken more or less successfully. The Winetka and Dalton plans were given a fair trial.[2] The traditional school was completely destroyed. However, no system of education, or synthesis of systems seemed to satisfy the demands of the party leaders.

On March 4, 1936, Pravda deplored the fact that there has not yet been developed a socialist system of education based on the concept of education through the collective. The article stated that "the tremendous power of public opinion as a regulating and educating factor can be brought forth in the child's consciousness only in a united school collective." Four months later, on July 4, 1936, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party outlawed pedology and its child-centred philosophy of education, and issued orders for the introduction of a socialistic system of education. The educational theories of Lunacharsky, Shatsky, Blonsky, Pokrovsky and others were condemned and the Pedologists declared as "vulgarizers" of Marxism.

By that time, however, the socialist educational conception

[1] L.Froese, Ideengeschichtliche Triebkraefte der Russischen und Sowjetischen Paedagogik (Heidelberg, Quelle und Meyer, 1956), p.170.

[2] I.and N. Lazarevitch, L'Ecole Soviétique (Paris, Les Iles d'Or, 1954), p.24.

which was to replace pedology and all other educational theories had already been developed. R.S. Cohen states that:

> At a time when it was deemed progressive in Russia to cultivate the pure spontaneity of the child and his learning process, Makarenko was acting on that combination of discipline, understanding, individual growth and community devotion which later became the foundation of educational thinking in the USSR. 3

The decisions of the Central Committee against pedology, which according to L. Froese, coincided completely with Makarenko's much earlier criticism of that school, were an implicit stamp of approval on Makarenko's pedagogy. However, not until after his death did his system become officially accepted as the indisputable "general line" of Soviet education.[4]

On February 15, 1956, Pravda reported Khrushchev's statement that "the time has arrived to introduce the last phase leading to a Communistic Society." He proposed the establishment of boarding schools in order to create "the spiritual prerequisites for completing . . . the transition from the lower stage of Communism to its higher stage." Commenting on the "Decree on Boarding Schools" of April 13, 1957, M.M. Deineko, an historian of Soviet education, declared that the task of the newly established boarding schools is to "attempt to find the best forms and methods of educating various age level groups . . . basing themselves on Makarenko's experience and his principle of education

[3] "On the Marxist Philosophy of Education," N.S.S.E. Educational Yearbook, 54 (1955), p.208.

Similarly, V. Gmurman, commenting on Makarenko's work "Experiment in Methodology" in which he described his educational theories and practices, states that "it is necessary to keep in mind that this work was written at a time when . . . many executive functions were entrusted by the Commissariate of Public Education to pedologists."

"Komentarii i primechenya," A.S. Makarenko, Sochineniya (Moscow, APN, RSFSR, 1957), V, 539.

[4] Froese, op.cit., p.149.

in the collective and through the collective."[5]

Although today Soviet educators and authorities pay much tribute and lip-service to Makarenko's system of education through the collective, they both misunderstand and misrepresent his ideas.

For Makarenko, the individual and his real interests are above those of the collective. The individual submits to the collective only for his own ultimate benefit. The collective being composed of real people, the interests of each separate member are safeguarded by means of certain limitations on the individual's fancy for licentious behaviour. The freedom of one member of the collective stops where that of the others begins. The individual owes his first loyalty to the collective to which he belongs because it is through it that he enters into contact with the rest of the Soviet Union, and because it is within it that he finds his true freedom.

Soviet authorities and educators tend to ignore this important aspect of Makarenko's ideas, and use his system divested of its original spirit for purposes of promoting the interests of the state often to the detriment of the individual. The Introduction to Makarenko's "Learning to Live" published in Belgrade in 1950, states:

> In contrast to the false idolizing of A.S. Makarenko practised today in the Soviet Union, we Yugoslavs, on the contrary, see in Makarenko an author and pedagogue who devoted his whole life to the struggle against bureaucracy and to the formation of a methodology of Communist education, the real basis of which the USSR bureaucracy, both of his day and of the present times, has completely stifled. 6

One may wonder just how permanent Makarenko's reputation of "the Outstanding Pedagogue-Innovator" will remain, and what the fate of his educational theories will be. Is he to be degraded as so many of his

[5] 40 let naradnogo obrazovaniya v SSSR (Moscow, Uchpedgiz, 1957), p.167.

[6] A.S. Makarenko, Zastave na kulama (Belgrade, Prosveta, 1950), p.7.

predecessors have been? Are his theories to be replaced, in their turn, by some new ideas as, once, they had replaced those of the Pedologists?

Present trends in Soviet life and attitude towards the past suggest that such will not be the case. Perhaps Makarenko's fame will be cut down to its right proportions; perhaps Soviet educators will cease to pay exagerated lip-service to the merits of his methods; but Makarenko will probably never have the fate most of his predecessors had.

In the past few months, selected pedagogical works of A.V. Lunacharsky, S.T. Shatsky and M.N. Pokrovsky have been published in the USSR together with those of A.S. Bubnov, their Stalinist opponent. According to the latest indications, the pedagogical writings of one of the main supporters of the pedological "pseudo-science" which "vulgarized Marxism," P.P. Blonsky, are also to appear shortly. This rehabilitation of educators is paralleled by that of political thinkers like G. Plekhanov, their past degradation being cunningly attributed to the errors of the "cult of personality."

It is one of the secrets of the future what exactly the fate of Makarenko's system of education through the collective will be. One fact is certain, however. At the present, "Makarenko System" remains considered as the basis of Communist education, and the only capable of bringing about the development of the New Communist Man.

"A strong collective is the foundation of foundations of the Soviet educational system."[7]

[7] G.S. Counts and N.Lodge, trans., "I want to be Like Stalin" (New York, the John Day Co., 1947), p.84.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF MAKARENKO

Anton Semyonovich Makarenko was born on March 1, 1888 at Byelopolye in the district of Kharkov. His father was a painter at the Southern Railways. In 1904 Makarenko finished a four year teacher training course at Kremenchug in the Poltava Gubernia and the following year graduated from a one-year pedagogical course at a higher teachers' college obtaining the title of "People's Teacher."

Between September 1, 1905 and September 24, 1911, Makarenko was employed as teacher in a two-grade school at Kryukov on the Dnieper. From the beginning of his career he took an active part in the organization of teachers of the Southern Railways. He took the rostrum in 1905 and participated in the formulation of resolutions regarding the basic principles of organization. From September 25, 1911 to October 4, 1914, he taught again in a two-grade railway school, this time at the Dolinskaya railway station at Hersonskoy Gubernia. On August 1, 1914, he entered the Teachers' Institute of Poltava, where he wrote his first literary work, an essay entitled "The Foolish Day," dedicating it to Maxim Gorky.

During World War I, his studies were interrupted for a short period. On September 20, 1916 Makarenko was enlisted in the army but, because of poor eyesight, he was discharged on March 19, 1917. He could thus return to Poltava Teachers' Institute and graduate on June 15. He was awarded a gold medal for his graduating dissertation entitled, "The Crisis of Contemporary

Pedagogy." [1]

That same year, 1917, he was appointed to the position of inspector of the higher elementary railway school at the Kryukov station, and became a member of the collegiate of the Kryukov section of People's Education. After the Revolution, between September, 1919 and September, 1920, he acted as principal at the Second Elementary City School at Poltava, and was elected member of the Gubernia Board of Governors of the Union of Workers of Education.

September 3, 1920, was a turning point in the life of Makarenko. He was asked to organize a colony for juvenile delinquents - "besprizornye." Moved by his great respect for Maxim Gorky and wishing to use Gorky as a model for his charges, Makarenko named the colony after the famous Russian writer. He directed this colony until September 3, 1928.

In 1921, Makarenko was elected member of the Poltava City Council. In the fall of 1922, he undertook non-residential studies at the Central Institute of Organizers of People's Education, People's Commissariat of Education of the RSFSR but, due to the tremendous demands which the affairs of the Gorky Colony imposed on him, Makarenko had to abandon his further academic development.

Wanting to stimulate their desire for improvement and to unite them into a stronger collective, Makarenko suggested to his

[1] Cf. Makarenko, "Zayavlenie v central'nyi institut organizatorov narodnovo prosveshteniya," Sochineniya, VII, 402.

charges at the colony, that they undertake a correspondence with Maxim Gorky.[2] In the summer of 1925, he personally wrote a letter to Gorky, then at Capri, Italy, where the Russian author lived for reasons of health. Gorky replied immediately and the correspondence between the two men continued until Gorky's death in 1936. Makarenko's letters throw much light on his inner life during his struggles in educating the "besprizornye."

The Gorky colony was transferred on May 15, 1926 to Kuryazh near Kharkov, to the former home for children of the All-Ukranian Commission for Children's Relief. This home having been disbanded just before the arrival of the Gorky colonists, 280 of its pupils had to be incorporated into the newly arrived Gorky Colony. The conquest of the unruly Kuryazhists by the well-organized Gorkyites is vividly described in Makarenko's pedagogical poem, "The Road To Life."

In June 1927, Makarenko was asked by the Ukranian OGPU to take part in the organization of a children's Labor Commune at New Kharkov, which was named after the founder of the CHEKA, F.E. Dzerzhinsky. When the Commune was opened in the early winter, Makarenko became its director, a post which he retained until July 1, 1935. Although very occupied with the new commune, Makarenko carried on his work at the Gorky Colony commuting between the two institutions until September 3, 1928, when he was fired from the Gorky Colony by the Commissariat of Public Education.

At the new Commune, Makarenko had a chance to apply his new

[2] N.A. Sundukov, "Perepiska vospitannikov kolonii im. M. Gorkogo s A.M. Gorkim," Sovetskaya Pedagogika (No.1, 1954), pp.118-138.

educational theories developed during his experience at the Gorky colony, where, since 1922 he had been carrying on an experiment in education through the collective. His methods were violently attacked and criticized by the pedagogical authorities of the late 20's. In a speech on the "Basic principles of the organization of the process of education at the Dzerzhinsky Colony," delivered on March 14, 1928, at a meeting of the section for social education of the Institute of Scientific Research in Pedagogy of the People's Commissariat of Education of Ukrainian SSR, and in the period of debate which followed, Makarenko expanded his views on socialized education, and defended his theories; but without much success.[3]

In the summer of 1928 Maxim Gorky, on his trip to the Soviet Union, paid a visit to both the Gorky Colony and the Dzerzhinsky Commune. One year later in his work "Around the Union of the Soviets," he described Makarenko as a "pedagogue of a new type."[4] By the beginning of the 1930's Makarenko's ideas were given some recognition.

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Dzerzhinsky Commune in December 1932, for his energetic and devoted work, Makarenko was given several decorations and great honours by various Ukrainian State authorities. On June 1, 1934, he was accepted as member of the Union of Soviet writers of the USSR. In 1935 he was elected to the Council of Dzerzhinsky District of the City of Kharkov. On July 1 of the same year, he was appointed as Assistant Director of the department of Labour Colonies of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, and moved to Kiev.

Aware of the uniqueness of his experiment, Makarenko decided

[3] For a description of this meeting see: Chapter 14 entitled "Rewards," Road to Life, part III, pp.376-407.

[4] Published in Nashi Dostizheniya (Moscow-Leningrad, 1929), Book 2.

in 1925 to write a book, in the form of an epic, describing his experiences at the Gorky Colony. Between 1927 and 1932 he worked on the characteristics of the types and prototypes for his "Pedagogical Epic" (The Road to Life). It was not, however, until September 1935, that he succeeded in finishing all the three parts of his book.

While working on his major literary work, Makarenko wrote a smaller book about the life of the Dzerzhinsky Commune entitling it "1930 Marches On," which he finished in November 1930. Two years later he wrote the story "F D-1," and undertook the writing of a larger book on the methodology of education.

After 1935 his literary work under Gorky's moral encouragement became prolific. In 1937 Makarenko wrote the first volume of his "Book for Parents" - a work of great importance which, unfortunately, he was never to finish.

This work marks another radical change in Anton Semyonovich's life. His intensive work with children sapped all his energies, and for the first time in his life, he was separated from daily contact with young boys and girls. The remaining few months of his existence were devoted entirely to literary work and public conferences on problems of education in the Soviet Union.

During this period he wrote many articles, short stories, and plays, a few film scripts, and a sequel to his "Road to Life," entitled, "Learning to Live."

In 1936 Makarenko made several public appearances during which he defended his views and work before various bodies of representatives of the prevalent pedagogical school of thought still antagonistic to his ideas. He took part in a debate on his book

"The Road to Life," organized by professors and students of the Pedagogical Institute of the Moscow district. He also spoke at the Superior Communist Institute of Culture, as well as at the Writers' Home of the union of Soviet writers in Moscow, where he replied to the objections and criticisms of readers, authors, and critics.

From October 1936 to January 1937, without relinquishing his post of Director of the Department of Labour Colonies, he directed the Colony at Brovarakh near Kiev.

In February 1937, for reasons of health, Makarenko and his wife moved to Moscow. (He married while living in Kiev). Although advised by doctors not to work too hard, in 1937, he delivered several lectures, collaborated on newspapers and journals, wrote and published many essays and dissertations about problems and questions in the fields of general political life, education, literary work and literary criticism.

In January 1938 he gave a series of four lectures on the "Problems of Soviet School Education" to the executives of the People's Commissariat of Culture of the RSFSR.[5] In the spring and summer of the same year he made several public speeches on problems of education in the family, raised in his "Book for Parents."[6] On October 16 he delivered a speech at the Congress of Teachers of Leningrad and district. The stenographic transcript of the speech was later published under the title "Some Conclusions from my Pedagogical Experiments."[7] Two days later he spoke about his book,

[5] Cf. Makarenko, "Problemy shkol'novo sovetskovo vospitaniya," Sochineniya, V, 103-224.

[6] Cf. "Razgovor s chitatelem," ibid., IV, 431-81.

[7] Cf. "Nekotorye vyvody iz moevo pedagogicheskovo opyta," ibid., V, 226-50.

"Learning to Live" at a meeting of readers at the Leningrad Palace of Culture.[8] On the 20th of that month he discussed his experience before the Institute of Applied Sciences for Special Schools and Children's Homes of the NKP of the RSFSR. In January 1939 Makarenko wrote "An Open Letter to F. Levine" in which he replied to Levine's criticisms of "Learning to Live."[9]

Toward the end of the 1930's Makarendo's new concepts on education were officially recognized and accepted by the authorities of the U.S.S.R. On February 1 he was given the Medal of the "Worker of the Red Banner."

In the course of the last few months of his life, Makarenko was in continuous demand for speeches and lectures. By that time he was fully aware of the fact that he had, in effect, developed a system of education which would become the foundation of Communist Education, a fact to which many of his statements bear testimony. The central theme of his lectures of the spring of 1939 indicate his great concern for the development of a genuine Communist Education free of all Western influence.

On April 1, 1939, at the age of 51, Anton Semyonovich Makarenko died of a heart attack while travelling in the train. He was buried in Moscow at the cemetery of Novodevich. A monument with a sculptured child looking up towards a bespectacled face in relief and a simple inscription indicating the name and date of his birth and death, stands over the tomb of the man who dedicated his whole life to the education of future citizens of the Soviet Union.

[8] Cf. "O povesti' Flagi na bashnyakh'. Vstrecha s chitatelyami," ibid., III, 442-47.

[9] Cf. "Otkrytoe pismo F. Levinu," ibid., III, 448-54.

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