Chapter IV
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Communism and Education

Communism is a theory or a system of social values in which the individual has no right to private property and all things are held in common. It is a system of society with vesting of property in the community, each member working for the common benefit according to his capacity and receiving according to his needs. As a political system it owes its origin to the writings of Karl Marx, a political philosopher of the nineteenth century (1818-1883). (The important writings are Class Struggle in France (1850), Das Capital (1867, 1885), Value, Price and Profit (posthumous) Manifesto of the Communist Party (with Engels in 1848)).

Communism posed the greatest challenge to capitalism which existed from time immemorial in the form of kingship and feudalism. The basis of capitalism was private ownership of the means of production. The idea grew that capitalism itself was an evil and that it needed to be replaced by a different kind of social and economic system in which the means of production would be owned by the
society as a whole and not by a few individuals. Many philosophers and reformers in the past had expressed their revulsion against inequalities in society and in favour of a system in which every one would be equal. However, these ideas had remained mere flowery dreams. The French Revolution of 1789 with its promise of equality had given a new impetus but no particular system. The French Revolution while it put an end to the autocratic rule of French emperors, did not usher in an era of equality in economic, social and political life. It led to an attempt to overthrow the existing government in France with a view to building a society based on socialistic ideas. This attempt, known as Babeuf's conspiracy, is an important event in the history of communism.

There are some other socialists, such as Saint Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen, generally known as utopian socialists, who recognised the evils of capitalism and proposed the establishment of a new and better system of society. They visualised a society free

from exploitation and one in which all would contribute
their best and would share their labour. However, the
methods they advocated for the establishment of such a
society were impracticable and ineffective. Hence they
came to be called utopian socialists. Many groups and organisations were also formed
to spread socialist ideas and to organise workers. Interna-
tionalism was one of its important features. In 1847,
its name was changed to the Communist League and it
declared as its aim the downfall of the bourgeoisie, the
rule of the proletariat, the overthrow of the old society
of middle-class based on class distinction and the
establishment of a new society without classes and without
private property. It instructed Karl Marx and Frederick
Engels to draft a Manifesto. Thus the Communist Manifesto first appeared in
German in February 1848. The influence of this document in
the history of the socialist movement is without a rival.

It was the work of Karl Marx and his lifelong associate
Frederick Engels. Through their work they gave a new
direction to socialist ideology and movement. Engels
frequently referred to their views as scientific socialism.
In Anti-Dühring he attributed this advance to Marx, 'These
two great discoveries, the materialistic conception of
history and the revelation of the secret of capitalist
production through surplus-value, we owe to Marx. With
these discoveries socialism became a science'4.

The Communist Manifesto stated that the aim of
workers all over the world should be the overthrowing of
capitalism and the establishment of communism. It pointed
out that communism was not only desirable but also
inevitable. Marx believed that production should be carried
on for social good rather than for profits for a few5. The
exploiting classes would disappear and a classless society
would emerge in which there would be no difference between
what was good for the individual and for society as a whole.
It would bring men an abundance of material and spiritual
wealth and create conditions for their happiness. In return

4. Engels, Frederick 'Auli - Dühring', p. 43
it makes certain serious demands on men. Material and
spiritual wealth was something men were to obtain through
their labour. There could be no equality while men did not
consider their fellows as their friends and brothers. Those
who were subject to religious prejudices cannot be free in
the full sense of the word. Communism rejected a moral
education grounded in divine ordinance.

The communist educational philosophy has more
of an affinity for realism. The realistic implications are
obvious when communist science presupposes a physical
reality independent of man's mind. Secondly, communist
educational philosophy seems to be materialistic as it
gives importance to economic outlook. The postulates for
its theory of learning rest in a materialistic view of
human nature, 'If a child does not do well in the school,
he is sent not to the psychologist to be examined and
interviewed, but to the physician to see whether he is well'.
Communists cherish the hope of destroying all traces of

6. Brubacher, John S., 'Modern philosophies of Education,
capitalist mentality and of producing a new communist man. To educate new men means to reshape their psychological make-up, their attitudes to work, family and society. In other words it brings about a true revolution in their mentality and behaviour.

The most important aspect of the physical environment as it impinges on the student is the economic. Communism holds that the mode of production of material things determines the character of social and political institutions. Communists believe that the value of goods is measured by the labour expended on them. As labour is the central point in the communist philosophy, it has an important part to play in education. As Marx pointed out in Das Capital, 'the labour of the individual asserts itself as a part of the labour of society, only directly between the products, and indirectly, through them, between the producers. To the latter, therefore, the relations connecting the labour of one individual with that of the rest appear, not as direct social relations between individuals at work, but as what

they really are, material relations between persons and social relations between things. As labour is the central pre-occupation of the school, it is to be studied in all its economic, political, scientific, social and aesthetic aspects. Regarding the political aspect, communism treats school as a deliberate instrument of state policy. Indeed the school is a weapon in the hands of the ruling class, and teachers are soldiers in the battle for communism. Thus communism is in itself, merely an economic system, which is to be judged on economic and political grounds. Communist education is clearly designed by philosophical analysis, social purpose, educational research at great depth and continuous experiment to support the communist way of life. This system has been most efficiently worked out in the USSR and to some excellent theorists are also found in the German Democratic Republic. Every Communist state has its own gloss on fundamental principles, common elements are clearly recognised in all countries in eastern Europe.

In China Mao-Tse-Tung's (Mao-Ze-Dong) stress on class struggle, noted in the last section, has brought questions of ideology and different class interests to the fore. Mao separates man's acquisition of knowledge into two stages, the perceptual stage and the stage of rational knowledge. In the first stage man sees only the phenomenal side, the separate aspects the external relations of things. After a time the accretion of percepts brings about a change of quantity into quality and thus concepts, judgements and inferences are formed. This is the rational stage. But whatever may be the case, both Russian and Chinese Marxism put tremendous stress on propaganda and study. In China this comes in the walk of centuries of Confucian moralising. In Russia it follows a century in which liberal democrates preached the importance of secular scientific thought. The ABC of communism where the authors express a view seems to typify communist thought. 'Communist propaganda has become a necessity for the whole society now undergoing regeneration. It must accelerate the inevitable process of transformation.

The state propaganda of communism becomes in the long run a means for the eradication of the last traces of bourgeois propaganda dating from the old regime, and it is a powerful instrument for the creation of new ideology of new modes of thought, of a new outlook on the world.\[13\] Marx, being concerned above all with seeing the world as it is in order to change it, regards education as a process of forming and changing a person's consciousness and character. Marx's vision of communism at a period when men were to become increasingly self-conscious and self-determining has manifold implications for education. It is both a criterion for judging current efforts and a guide to the defining of aims and methods. Since communism is a movement which abolishes the present state of affairs, it implies the activity of both teacher and pupil in the process throughout. Educating, as Marx noted during a discussion of the topic by the general council of the First

International (August 1869) is necessary to bring about a change of social circumstances\textsuperscript{14}. He added significantly that 'We must therefore commence where we were. Communism is both a critical tool to be employed in the examination of current education and a guide to change for the better. As a critical tool it raises a host of questions: about the role of different educating and socialising agents and their inter-relations, about the relation between ideology and action, about the suitability of different kinds of schools, and about the desirability of compulsory schooling itself, or about the nature of the knowledge transmitted in education and its stability for young people at different stages of emotional and intellectual development.'\textsuperscript{15}

**4. Aims of Communist Education**

Under Communism, the ultimate purpose of education is to strengthen the state and the building up of a classless society. Communist education sets itself a main

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\textsuperscript{14} Marx, Karl, 'The General Council of the First International' 1869 (Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow), p. 140.

\textsuperscript{15} Young, M.P.D. 'Knowledge and Control (ed)' 1950, pp. 117-31.
broader task than mere instruction. It not only aims at providing the youth of the country with those kinds of knowledge and skills that will be most useful to the state, but also it seeks to remould the character of the individual and insulate a uniform pattern of prescribed beliefs, attitudes, sentiments and values consonant with communist ideology.

Soviet leaders view education as an effective means of achieving social change and economic development. In communism there is an inseparable relationship between the system of education and the society it is designed to serve. The basic aim of Soviet education, therefore, is to prepare an individual for service in a collectivist society which is said to be presently in a transition from socialism to communism.

In Marxist disquisitions, education of the whole man is envisaged as the ideal, to be achieved through a combination of intellectual, physical and polytechnical education. The education of the 'whole man' whether in the image conceived by Marx, Dewey or any other educational philosopher, is an exercise in the realm of the ideal, and unless the 'parts' which make up the 'whole' are defined, the concept remains abstract and unreal.

By indentifying themselves with common good of this collectivist society the Soviet state and its single ruling communist party subordinate the mental and physical training of individuals to serve their needs. The individual is provided with the opportunity to develop his personal abilities only within the confines of choices determined by the state on the basis of the broad social, political and economic objectives postulated in the national development plans and policy guidelines, which are promulgated jointly by the top administrative organs of the government and the central committee of the Communist Party.

All educational institutions in the Soviet Union are required to propagate communist ideology, through their curricular programmes and organised extra-curricular activities. In primary and secondary education all courses in the humanities and social sciences expound the communist outlook. The ultimate aim of all these practices is to create a new Soviet man. The new Soviet man according to Marx will attain complete unity of mental and physical labour for service to society in the communist philosophy, where unity of theory and practice are fully achieved and all differences between mental and manual labour are finally eliminated as a source of exploitation and social distinction. In accordance with these ideals, the Soviet school is called upon to prepare well rounded individuals who have mastered the foundations of academic knowledge and who are at the same time capable of productive physical labour. The school is intended to create patriotic and loyal citizens who take an active part in producing material wealth and social values needed by the Soviet Union.  

Over a century ago, Marx propounded the principle that education in a communist society should combine academic instruction with material production — that productive physical labour should be an integral part of the educational process along with book learning. Functional education as it is now embodied in the Soviet system of polytechnical training was supposedly based upon these fundamental percepts; and communist theoreticians have consistently represented it as the most appropriate means of achieving the objectives laid down by Marx. If functional education is to keep pace with technological progress, it must necessarily provide more and more specialised type of training which further the division of labour. In so doing it negates the Marxist ideal of a well rounded education aimed at eliminating the division between mental and manual labour. The thesis of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which outlined the 1938 programmes of educational reform reaffirmed these ideals once again declaring - 'The Soviet School is called upon to prepare well rounded, educational individuals who have mastered the foundations of knowledge and who at the same time are capable
of systematic physical labour, to instil in the young the
desire to be useful to society and to take an active part in
producing the values of society needs. Thus the thesis of
the central Committee highlights the theory that the task
of education is a unifying one, to nurture in every individual
both academic knowledge and the capacity to perform manual
labour, there by realizing the Marxist goal of 'complete
unity of mental and physical labour'.

Soviet writers have hailed the reform programme
as a move to return Soviet schools to the only correct path -
the path of labour-education of the youth as charted by
Lenin in the early years of the regime. It is added, however,
that under the reform programme, all this will come to an end,
the school will return to its proper path as charted many
years ago by Lenin. It will be made a true school for labour.
The student will be made to work, people will be educated to
love work and to know how to work. Thus the aim of nurture
and general instruction in communist Russia is to aid in the

22. N. Dubov 'Deistvital' no trudovialia shkola (The true
labour school), Novyiher (New World January 1939),
p. 25-27.
all round development of a healthy, strong, actively brave independently thinking and acting man, acquainted with the many sides of contemporary culture, a creator and a warrior in the interests of the proletariat and consequently in the final analysis in the interest of the whole of humanity.

The official communist policy in China, as in the more mature communist society of the USSR, was to make the school a more efficient tool for economic development and ideological orientation of the people. In one important document, a government spokesman wrote that 'our objectives is to educate the working class to contribute their efforts positively and efficiently toward the consolidation and development of the victory they have already achieved, toward the fortification and strengthening of their new positions as the nation's master, and toward the ideal construction of their country'. With those objectives in mind, the cardinal problem remains as to how to achieve labour-oriented schooling for the masses without sacrificing altogether the essential

23. Education for the proletariat in Communist China, Communist China Problems, Research series, the Union Research Institute, Hongkong Kowloon, 1956, p. 2.
academic preparation of the relatively small number of persons required by the socio-economic plan for advanced professional tasks. Much of Mao's writings in this vein concern the behaviour of cadres but three old articles (serve the people 1944, in memory of Norman Bethune, 1939, and the foolish old man who removed the Mountains' 1945) were intended to focus some more general aspects. They extol serving the people absolute selflessness, persistence and hard work, modesty and the ability to learn from others.

In the late fifties the trend of discussion was couched in terms of fostering for the working class, tens of millions of intellectuals who are red and expert. The CECF and state council directive of September 1958 which set education this aim, later defined the required 'new man'. A new man of all round development in the communist society is one who has both political consciousness and culture, and is capable of taking up both mental and physical labour. The call of the party for the fostering of workers with socialist consciousness and culture' correctly interprets the meaning of all-round development.

24. Price, Renal F. 'Marx and Education in Russia and China' (Printed in Great Britain by offset lithography by Briling and Sons Ltd. 1977). p. 223.

25. Fraser, S. 'Chinese Communist Education Records of the First Decade, New York, Wiley, 1965,
Communism is held to be the sole repository of truth and the party is its unique interpreter and driving force. The communist school is one of the various transmission belts conveying its impulses to the masses. The goal is the transformation of society.\(^\text{26}\)

4.2 **Curriculum**

The doctrine of communism is studied at all levels of schools and universities, as also the history of the party and the contributions of the leaders of the state. Political education and political economy are very important subjects. There have been three major stages in the development of the primary and secondary school curricula in the Soviet corresponding to the three historical stages - (1) the experimental period from 1918 until about 1931, (2) the period of relative stability and standardization from 1934 until 1954 and (3) the period of adjustment and reform which began in 1955.\(^\text{27}\)

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Just as the communist Revolution destroyed the old social order, so it destroyed the old schools. The new communist government of Soviet Russia in October 1918 adopted a resolution for the establishment of a unified labour school. The programme of those labour schools was said to be based on the principle of transferability. The pupils in all the schools throughout the country were to follow identical instruction so that each grade and each level of schooling would interlock.

In 1920 three recommendations were made in regard to curricula: (1) the complete secularization of education in all parochial schools, (2) introduction of labouring activity in combination with instructions and (3) the abolition of sharp demarcation lines between individual subjects of instruction so that subjects in the same topical areas (i.e. Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics and Biology) would blend together. The last development was known as the 'complex

method of the labour schools and it dominated the
instruction process in the early 1920's. But it was the
'labouring activity' which was the moving spirit of new
education. Labouring activity was any activity associated
with useful physical labour in workshops, field activities
or self service. In the second stage there was no modifi­
cation. The final structure of school system and the
curricula was defined in 1934, and with some minor
modification this was the system which continued intact in
the mid 1950's. The third phase is the most interesting
one as it includes polytechnical instruction.

Visitors of the USSR and the eastern Europe
generally appreciate two fundamental and complementary parts
of the school system of education. The first is the
provision through an agreed common curriculum of certain
established syllabuses spread over ten years of schooling;
the second is the provision of extra-curricular opportunities.

29. Ravkin, I. Sovetska Shkola V period vosstanovlenie
narodnogo khoziaistva, (1921-1925). The Soviet
School in the period of Reconstruction of the
All communist educational systems have first proceeded to eradicate creation of an alphabet for the illiterate nomadic people. Mathematical learning and the development of scientific interests are also areas of great success. Instructions in Algebra formerly went as far as binomials, permutations and inequalities and introduced complexes. It is intended in the new programme that applied trigonometry be shifted to geometry courses and trigonometric functions to algebra and be given in grades 10-11. Mathematics olympics are held annually to encourage promising young mathematicians.31.

The dignity of work as a socially desirable element is taught through polytechnicisation. In grades 9-11 a basic course on production is given (agriculture or metallurgy, agriculture or industrial production). In both cases, physics, biology, chemistry and mathematics are applied to the instruction. On production fundamentals, there are about 14 different options - machine building.

plant, electric power plant, railroads, agricultural products etc. The student selects only one of the options and receives both theoretical and practical instructions.

In grade 9, 10 and 11 an additional 1,124 hours must be spent preparing for a specific trade-skill within any given area of productive activity, (such as net worker, carpenter, clerical worker, etc.) 32. Finally optional courses on car maintenance, driver education, cloth design, electrical appliances, radio-repairing, agricultural machinery, maintenance techniques of animal breeding etc. are also provided.

Attempts have been made to develop the whole curriculum with a polytechnical approach, for example, mathematics is clearly related to industry and industrial development. Efforts are also made to give every pupil in the last four years at school real life experience in factories and collective farms.

One school session per week is spent in a factory or on a collective farm. This approach is being modified somewhat in Russia and in East Germany. Some excellently detailed syllabuses in wood and metal work, in electronics, and in

animal husbandry and agriculture have been prepared. An important change in communist education is to provide some element of curricular choice for older pupils. All pupils continue with the study of the Marxist-Leninist ideas as well as the main body of the common curriculum.33

In regard to religion and sex there seems to be at present little difference between Russian and western schools. Anti-religious education has been a feature of education in USSR and China. Lenin wrote a number of articles on religion; he argued the point which he was to repeat whenever he mentioned religion: 'Religion teaches those who toil in poverty all their lives to be resigned and patient in this world, and consoles them with the hope of reward in heaven'.34 Communism rejects a moral education grounded in divine ordinance. Such a moral is too likely to cloud the minds of workers and peasants for easy victimization by the exploiting class.

Unlike USSR, the Chinese communist stated that academic endeavours unsupported by physical labour would not be tolerated. In keeping with this plan three types of schools were developed: full-time schools, part-time schools and spare-time schools. The courses in all were free from many of the impractical and feudalistic subjects in the social sciences and humanities.

The Chinese educational policy was for consistent instruction in schools of political ideology. Students at all levels are expected to attend regular meetings and demonstrations which are wholly political, and are organised by the Communist party units. Thus the principle of the Chinese schools is to 'apply the mass line in the political, administrative, pedagogic and research work in the schools'\textsuperscript{35}. In communist countries education has been politically oriented and integrated with labour. The goal of all these schools is to prepare a class of socially minded workers.

\textsuperscript{35} Lo-Ting-Yi 'Education must be combined with Productive Labour' Foreign Languages Press, Peking 1958, pp. 25-26.
The instruction time in communist educational establishments is about equally divided between lectures and other forms of instruction. Lectures are usually given by professors and other competent instructors. Attendance is mandatory. The lecture materials require outside preparation and reading assignments. The lecture technique along with the routine note making by students have been however a source of controversy.

The purpose of the lecture in Soviet higher education is to offer a full presentation of a given subject.

The lectures do not usually involve a problem approach or include professional comment, but rather are detailed exposition of the course material. Note taking is considered necessary since the final examination is usually based on the lecture material. In addition to lectures there is sectional instruction for small groups in such subjects as

37. Vvsh, No. 12 December, 1958, p. 64.
38. Vvsh, No. 4 April, 1959, p. 66.
mathematics, theoretical mechanics, physics and foreign language. This type of instruction usually requires specific home assignments. Another type of sectional instruction is the seminar, used commonly in the humanities, socio-economic and political subjects and advanced specialized engineering and science subjects during the fourth and fifth years of study. Seminars may be conducted by either an instructor or a ranking professor. Laboratory instruction in a variety of science subjects usually has two phases. One is designed to test the student's preparedness for laboratory exercises and consists of an assignment with a subsequent oral test on the use of equipment. The second is the performance on the laboratory exercise itself, the results of which must be submitted in report form. Most of the laboratory exercises are pre-set according to a manual, with specific instructions given as to method and grading.

In the humanities and social sciences, there are usually term papers assigned by the professor on a given topic. In engineering and applied fields there are computational

or drafting problems, course projects or other special assignments, which are usually supervised by the professor through individual consultation. In the communist educational method, where more importance is given to independent studies, specific stress is put on assigned problems and study topics on text books. It does not involve free inquiry on the part of the student but rather has some sort of regimentation with regard to particular topics. The four academy of sciences insist on routine lecture attendance and note taking, the performance of prescribed laboratory exercises and the digestion of assigned study materials. President Nesmianov has called it the passive acquisition of knowledge which gives work to the memory without over burdening it with active or creative thought.

In both Russia and China moral and political education is explicitly conveyed by such mass media as the press, radio, television, library, museum and public lecture of various kinds, and also through the arts especially literature, cinema and theatre. Theoretical justification is provided by citing works of Lenin and Mao-Se-Tung.

40. Vvah No. 1 January 1959, p. 18.
There are four descriptive grades in Soviet education. Excellent (otlichno), good (khoroeho), satisfactory (nadvoelet voritel'no), or poor (plokho). The two higher grades - excellent and good - are considered honor grades, and to graduate with distinction a student must accumulate mostly 'excellent' grades. Some courses which certify the competition of an assignment or require qualifying tests before the student may take the final examination, use the credit system for evaluation.

In order to graduate, the Soviet student must have at least passing grades in all the subjects included in a student's programme of study. Originally decreed in 1936 and still in effect to day, 'the sole criterion of success of a student in a higher educational establishment is the passing of the final examinations and the qualifying credit tests on time as specified by the programme of study'.

There are several kinds of examinations and grading procedures. In small group courses the student is graded on his regular homework assignments, a passing cumulative grade is a prerequisite for taking the final examination. In some courses, in addition, a written qualifying test is given before the student may take the final oral examinations. In courses where lectures and sectional instruction are combined, such as physics or chemistry, the student is almost invariably required to take a course credit test, the passing of which is a prerequisite to taking the final examination. Term assignment may be either graded or also given credit.\textsuperscript{42}

Final examinations are either oral or written or both. Oral examinations, which are the most common type, last about 20 to 25 minutes, written examinations usually last two hours. Written examinations have two or three questions which are asked of all examinees. Oral examinations have three to five questions printed on individual cards, which are drawn

at random by the student. Upon drawing, the student is given time to prepare his answer and may be asked additional questions if it is not considered satisfactory for determining his grade. Most subjects have a final examination, and there may also be several course credit tests. Ordinarily, the final examinations are conducted by the professors while the cumulative grading, the qualifying examinations and the course credit tests are handled by teaching assistants.

The total number of course credit tests and final examinations range between 70 and 90 during a 5 or 5½ years programme. These examinations are divided about evenly between qualifying tests and final graded examinations. They are taken during specially scheduled periods at the end of the academic term.

Three or more unsatisfactory grades at the end of any term usually result in dismissal. One or two unsatisfactory grades put the student on probation and he must take the examination over within 2 weeks to a month after the beginning of the following term. With the consent of the director, a student may during the examination session, repeat an examination either because he failed it or else to try to
improve his original grade. If the student still fails, and there are not more than two subjects involved, he may carry a debt but he must take the examination again. If by the end of the spring term, however, any debt incurred by the student during the previous academic year has not been cleared, he is either dismissed or under rare circumstances, is permitted to repeat the year. It would seem that if a student is really failing, he is expelled, but that if he is failing in one or two subjects, he is given a chance to improve his grades through repeat examinations.

In the mid 1930's criticisms of the number and severity of examinations resulted in a decree limiting the number of final grade examinations in any term to five. Other criticisms pointed out that the numerous examinations led to 'grade slaving'. Nevertheless, they are viewed essentially as the best method of evaluating the work of students at the higher level. As the repeated make up examinations are allowed, there have certainly been frequent complaints in the soviet press about 'liberalism' in this

regard and demands for 'stricter grading' procedures. At
the end of each term, Soviet higher education establishments
prepare tabulations of the grades received by their students
in each division.

In both USSR and China selection of subjects
gradually moves up through the school grades. But it is not
quite so simple, for while in many countries students have
been expelled for failing examinations during their tertiary
schooling, this has apparently been rare in the two countries
considered here. Once granted entry to tertiary schooling
every effort is made to help students through. Secondly,
there is the question of what Richman refers to as high
talent manpower. Richman compares the percentage of
tertiary graduates in industry in China, the USSR, the USA
and India. He assumes that more is better, and that the
proportion in the USA is nearest to the ideal. Recent atten-
tion, focused on just what use is made of knowledge and skills
acquired at school, and the factors which go to make success-
ful innovation in industry, suggests the need for caution in
coming to conclusions in this area.

44. Richman, B.M. 'Industrial society in Communist China'.
While the discussion on China during the past few years has centred on questions of attitude to study and how to select those who will be better able and more willing to serve the community. In the USSR attention has been centred on students' knowledge and intellectual calibre. In conclusion it may be noted that both in China and USSR most final examinations are oral, the personal judgment of the professor or teacher may be a factor, one which cannot of course be measured objectively.

The development of a good moral character is an essential part of the communist education. At present there is too much propaganda about the work children are expected to do. They are made into missionaries of the communist faith, at an early age. But it is good for young people to feel themselves part of the community, and to have the sense that they ought to be useful as far as their capacities permit. The behaviouristic part of moral education in Russia is admirable, and has, if testimony is to be believed, the consequence that even the ablest of young men feel themselves part and parcel of the community. Communism has discovered a moral discipline which modern youth can accept, and a way of life in which modern youth can be happy.
The common good is ranked very high in communist philosophy. Respect for school property, group work and play, co-educational projects are all aspects of working for the common good. In the communist system discipline is a most important virtue. Soviet educationists strongly stress two main notions. Conscious discipline, involving a positive sense of responsibility to one's fellows, and a spirit of collectivism. From early years children must be educated in such a manner that a state of discipline will remain as their permanent possession.

In the communist education, the true value of any object is to be measured by the amount of human involvement. Labour is a matter of honour, glory, valour and heroism. It gives men the opportunity to serve his fellowmen, thus promoting the common good. Once the complete transformation of society has been achieved, the old forms of education will disappear and men will develop his full nature by participating in social life. The


46. Witting, Horst. 'Philosophical origin communist pedagogy' Soviet Survey No. 30 (October 1959, December 1959), pp. 77-81.
ideal of fusing knowing with doing in a polytechnical education is surely the most important of communist ideology on education. Marx found education a tool of the dominant class and product of the classical philosophical dualism of mind and body, idea and action.\textsuperscript{47}

Education in China also serves the same function as economic reconstruction and political propaganda. The first priority of education is that communism should be perpetuated, the second is that a powerful state with a modern industrial and agricultural economy must be created.\textsuperscript{48} The object of education in communist China is to train workers with socialist consciousness and culture. The moral service and the service to the state is the important point to be considered in Chinese education.

But in spite of all these advantages there are numerous insufficiencies, obscurities and outright errors in the communist system of education. Firstly, the communist theory of history which was one of the most

\textsuperscript{47} Wingo, Max 'Philosophy of Education. An Introduction' (Printed at Rukia Printers, 1975), p. 299.

\textsuperscript{48} Fraser F., 'Education and Communism in China and Anthology of Commentary and Documents' International studies group (London).
important contributions, has shown itself inadequate for interpreting the events of this century. Marx considered his interpretation of history to be scientific. But this theory has been found inadequate to predict that a communist revolution would occur in Russia and China when it did but not. Revolutions in many other countries where the downtrodden suffered from the exploitation by the rich. Secondly, communist conception of the class stratification of society as being a function purely of the economic base is now seen as an oversimplification. Granted that economics is closely related to class structure, it still does not follow that all class-structure and all class relations are determined simply by the forces of economic production. Moreover, the communist did not advocate 'polytechnical' education in order simply to produce mechanics and technicians, rather, he said that the system was the only way to produce complete human beings. In this he is reminiscent of Rousseau, who at an earlier time had said in a famous book on educational theory: 'Instead of making a child stick to his books, if
I employ him in a workshop his hands labour to the profit of his mind, he becomes a philosopher, but fancies he is only a workman. Thus the communist violently rejected the class-oriented educational heritage and pursued a new goal of equal educational opportunity for all workers and peasants. Marxist-Leninist doctrines have been widely disseminated and interpreted by the schools and the party. Schools, factories, farms, youth and adult groups, and all mass media have been used as instruments in the education of the new Soviet citizen, and the good books of 'communism' have been as widely read as the Bible in certain nations. Of course it would be useless to attempt to determine how much of the advance in science, industry, agriculture education and the general well being of the people have been achieved under equally vigorous leadership employing

a different guiding principle. Nevertheless, the communist
have predicted from the outset that their effectiveness
could be measured in quantitative terms, and in this
respect their predictions have been sustained by many
critics of education.