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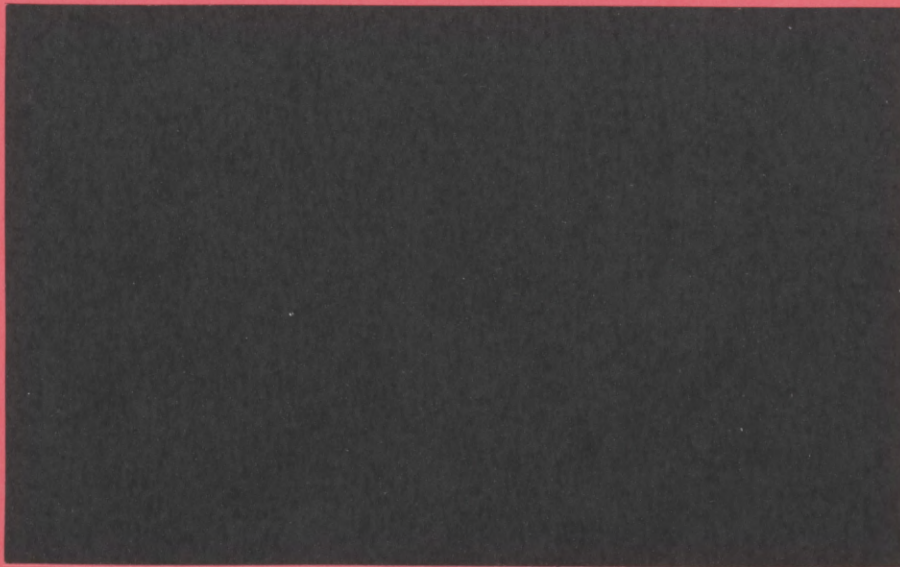
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Working Paper No. 109

HOW CHILD LABOUR WAS ERADICATED IN THE
USSR: INTEGRATING SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

by

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Preface

Child labour in its various forms remains enormously prevalent in many parts of the world, particularly in rural and urban areas of low-income countries. Some of the work done by children is beneficial in the sense that it contributes to their physical and intellectual development, and is often a very practical form of education that is certainly not worse than that provided by the available institutional schooling. But in general child labour is deplorable, in that the children concerned are subject to exploitation, oppression and a premature exposure to social pressures that hinder their personal development.

Child labour has declined in the course of industrialisation, with the formalisation of employment, the spread of protective legislation, and the growth of school attendance. It still persists in some fairly industrialised societies, in certain types of "informal" establishments and, more generally and less likely to have damaging effects, in casual part-time job done in periods when there is little or no conflict with schooling. But in such societies schooling predominates.

Some observers, such as Ivan Illich and Ivan Berg, have questioned the concentration on formal schooling as the desirable means of developing children. Some have argued such as Bowles and Gintis recently in the United States, that schooling is merely a means of inculcating children with attitudes and behaviour required by the prevailing economic system - providing potentially docile workers and acquiescent consumers. If so, some form of practical activity might be more conducive to child development than institutional schooling, or at least help to offset its more dubious intentions.

What is the prime objective of education? William Morris, the great writer and revolutionary socialist, put the matter quite clearly:

"It must of necessity cease to be a preparation for a life of commercial success on the one hand, or of irresponsible labour on the other.... It will become rather a habit of making the best of the individual powers in all directions to which he is led by his innate dispositions; so that no man will ever "finish" his education while he is alive."¹

This is surely the criterion by which to judge all educational systems in "advanced" countries; and if forms of child work activity contribute to that process, preserving a curiosity and imagination so precious in childhood, then they should be cherished rather than stamped out.

The Population and Labour Policies Research Programme has been doing some work on methodological aspects of studying the causes and implications of child labour in low-income environments, but has done no work on the changes that have been occurring in industrialised countries. The present paper has been contributed as an overview of the changing situation in the USSR and has been presented by the Deputy Minister of Education of the USSR. As such, it represents an official point of view and stresses the major achievements made in eradicating child labour and increasing schooling and related educational facilities in the country. What is of particular interest for those with little knowledge of

¹ W. Morris, *Socialism: its growth and outcome* (with E.Box) (London, 1893), p.317.

the Russian experience is the close relation the authorities have maintained between schooling and the needs of industrial production. The paper indicates that schooling is "chiefly preparation for work in industry and agriculture" (p. 18) and stresses the attempts made to integrate school with training. What is perhaps surprising is that whereas the social division of labour has changed during the post-revolutionary era there is apparently little stress on the need to change the detailed division of labour, many workers remaining in jobs involving "monotonous routine operations". It would be most interesting to consider the complex interrelationship between the design of education, as a means of developing and refining human creativity and abilities, and the labour process. Many have traced the functionality of schooling for the available job but few analyses have considered the impact of a broadening education on the nature of jobs. Is it too optimistic to suppose that the provision of a liberal form of education would have a strong impact on job design and the division of labour? Or should we accept that technology and the drive for accumulation shape the detailed division of labour and determine the nature and extent of schooling? The latter is a sobering possibility, with ramifications that go well beyond the subject matter of the present paper.

Guy Standing.

I. ERADICATION OF CHILD LABOUR IN RUSSIA AFTER THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

1. Premises of the Study

Child labour means participation by children in the production process. For child labour to be used to any extent in developing and increasing productivity certain objective socio-economic and technological conditions have to exist. Such prerequisites were created by the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century. "In so far as a machine dispenses with muscular power", wrote Karl Marx,

it becomes a means of employing labourers of slight muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all the more supple. The labour of women and children was, therefore, the first thing sought for by capitalists who used machinery. That mighty substitute for labour and labourers was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage-labourers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the workman's family, without distinction of age or sex.¹

This is our first premise in dealing with the question of child labour.

Another premise for our study involves purely social factors. Social and technical factors are considered here as a single interrelated whole rather than separately, in isolation from one another. Classical philosophy teaches that truth is always specific. In our view, this precept, should also be followed with regard to child labour.

The third premise has to do with the consequences of using and relying on child labour in the production process. Extensive use of child labour reduces considerably or even rules out opportunities for a good and proper education. After all, time is essential for developing human potential, and when a child's time is totally taken up in factory labour, his scope for acquiring knowledge, the fundamentals of science and for developing his intellectual abilities narrows substantially. Finally, and above all, the use of child labour in production is detrimental to a child's health.

2. How the child labour problem was dealt with after the October Revolution

In pre-revolutionary Russia child labour was extensively used in various sectors of the economy. The growth of the workers' movement and protests of public opinion compelled the Tsarist government to make a number of laws restricting the use of child labour, so that the minimum age for juvenile employment was set at 12, and night work for children between 12 and 15 years of age was prohibited. During the First World War, however, the Russian government passed a law which practically invalidated the restrictions of earlier legislation. This law allowed employers to use child labour for nightwork and underground in mines.

Today, child labour in many countries is still widely employed in various sectors of their economics. The International Labour Organisation has estimated

¹ K. Marx: *Capital*, vol.I. Progress Publishers, (Moscow, 1978), p.372.

55 million children under 15 years are employed in industrial production, many in violation of the Convention concerning minimum age for admission to employment.¹ In Colombia, there are three million working children in the 8 to 15 age group.² The respective figures for the USA are about 800,000; for Italy 600,000; and for Great Britain 650,000.³

The earliest decrees of the New Soviet authorities banned the use of child labour. Under socialism participation by minors in the production process is merely the practical implementation of the fundamental principle of Soviet education which provides for close links between schooling and practical work and the best possible blend of education with socially productive labour, so as to ensure a balanced intellectual, civic, cultural and physical development for the young. Child labour is not used for raising output or boosting the national product. The aim is an organic combination of schooling with socially useful work. This principle is clearly and explicitly reflected in the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Republics. Article 42 of the Constitution, in reference to the guarantees of the right of citizens of the USSR to health protection, stipulates that this right is ensured....

by special care for the health of the younger generation, including prohibition of child labour apart from the work done by children as part of the school curriculum...⁴

Indeed, given the desire to provide the young with a balanced upbringing, the ban on child labour for the protection of children's health does not affect schooling and education through work, always an integral part of the socialist approach to education.

In any discussion of gainful employment of children from the historical standpoint, the words of Friedrich Engels should not be forgotten:

"The first day it seizes political power the working class will have to take much more stringent action to safeguard women's and children's labour than just a bill introducing the ten or even eight hour working day!"⁵

One of the first Soviet decrees was designed to introduce the eight-hour working day, to ban children from gainful employment and to regulate employment of adolescents. The same provisions were incorporated in the Russian Federation's Labour Codes of 1918 and 1922. The decree on the eight-hour working day was enacted on the fifth day of the October Revolution. It was binding on all industrial operations, whether private or public, and covered the entire labour force. The decree included as safeguards a number of articles regulating the employment of young people. Article 9, for example, stipulated that minors

¹ *Pravda*, 7 September 1979.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Pravda*, 2 September 1979.

⁴ The Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Article 42, Moscow 1977.

⁵ K. Marx and F. Engels: *Collected Works* (2nd. edition) Vol. 7 (Moscow, 1957), p.242.

under the age of 14 could not be gainfully employed, while adolescents between 14 and 18 years of age were not allowed to work for more than six hours a day. A note to Article 9 of the Decree stated that as of January 1, 1919 no employment of minors under the age of 15 was to be permitted. Article 6 of the decree barred persons of both sexes under 16 years of age from night work. Article 15 ruled that adolescents under the age of 18 were not to be permitted to work underground; Article 18 placed an absolute prohibition on overtime for persons under the age of 18. The decree set forth stiff penalties for failure to comply. Article 28 read "persons contravening this legislation shall be punishable by law, and sentenced to up to one year's imprisonment".

Finally, working hours were reduced, the pay for the shorter working day was made equal to that for the full eight-hour day and finally the work of young people was arranged to permit education and training combined with actual work.

Naturally, the enforcement of legislation on youth and child employment relating to hours, wages and other working conditions required extra resources and at first created considerable difficulties for State-owned enterprises, especially in view of the grave economic situation of the young Soviet Republic in its earliest years. Nevertheless, during this period the Soviet authorities in no way diluted the labour legislation for young people. In fact, the protection offered by them was extended and a compulsory quota of vacancies specially set aside for young people was introduced.

The enforcement of labour legislation in general and juvenile labour laws in particular also necessitated enormous organisational endeavours by the agencies. On 8 November 1917, shortly after the October Revolution, the People's Commissariat of Labour (Narkomtrud) was formed. Departments were set up to deal with occupational safety, social insurance, manpower distribution, and to assert workers' rights over the power of capitalist employers, etc.

In May 1918 the Government of the Russian Federation enacted a decree establishing a Labour Inspection Board, the objective of which was "to protect the lives, health and work of all those engaged in any economic activity, and extending to the entire range of living conditions of persons engaged in employment, both at their places of work and elsewhere."¹

This decree set out in the minutest detail the Inspection Board's method of work. Under the decree, it was given the broadest possible powers in combatting contraventions of employment of labour protection regulations, including those concerned with juvenile labour protection. The Board was responsible to the People's Commissariat of Labour and the latter's local offices (labour departments). Labour inspectors (local officials) were elected by trade union councils and were given wide powers ranging from the right to impose fines on those who failed to take the proper steps to protect the lives and health of workers, including young people, to the right to bring legal action for malicious and persistent violation of labour regulations. Under a resolution by

¹ *Collection of Statutes*, 1918, No. 36, art. 474.

the Government of the Russian Federation of 31 July 1918, the People's Commissariat of Labour issued an ordinance for the Labour Inspection Board where the rights and duties of labour inspectors were listed in detail.¹ The Board was assisted by local working-class organisations, such as trade unions and works committees actively enforcing strict observance of the labour legislation.

The foregoing helps show the way the child labour problem in the Soviet Union was dealt with, how the ban on child labour was instituted and how, in an effort to promote balanced development of the young, their health and interests were safeguarded through regulations governing their employment.

3. Legislation on youth employment in the USSR

Youth employment in the USSR is subject to various laws, particularly the Fundamental Principles governing the Labour Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics (herein after referred to as "the Fundamental Principles") which form the basis for regulating labour relations in which the trade unions play a key part.

The Fundamental Principles, which constitute an act of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, contain a separate chapter on the employment of young persons.² The nine articles in this chapter set forth regulations governing various aspects of youth employment.

The first, Article 74, lays down the statutory minimum age for employment. It stipulates that

it is unlawful to employ any person under 16 years of age: Provided that, in exceptional cases, it is permissible to employ persons who have reached their fifteenth birthday, with the consent of the works, local or branch-of-union committee.³

Two articles (75 and 78) prohibit the employment of persons under 18 years on arduous work in unhealthy or dangerous working conditions, or underground work.⁴ Under these articles, it is unlawful to employ young persons under 18 on nightwork, overtime or on rest days and holidays.

Considerable attention is paid in the Fundamental Principles to the health protection of young workers. Article 76 provides that "all persons under 18 years of age shall undergo a preliminary medical examination before being accepted for employment, and after that they shall undergo a regular medical examination every year until they have reached their eighteenth birthday."⁵

¹ *Collection of Statutes*, 1918, No. 56, Art. 620.

² International Labour Office: *Legislative Series 1970 - USSR 1*, Geneva, ILO, 1970, p.20.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

For persons under 18 the law provides for a shorter working day. The working week for young people from 16 to 18 years of age is one of 36 hours, and from 15 to 16 years of age it is of 24 hours. (The normal working week in the USSR is 41 hours). It should be noted that, notwithstanding the shorter working day, working people under 18 are paid at the same rates as those at corresponding grades who work a complete day.

Separate articles in the Fundamental Principles (Articles 33 and 79) regulate the length of annual leave for persons under 18 years of age and the time at which it may be taken.¹ Manual and non-manual workers under 18 years of age are entitled to an annual leave of one calendar month in summer or, if they so choose, at any other time of year.

The Soviet State maintains a constant effort to expand and improve the general education and vocational training of young people to take account of scientific and technological progress and the growth in output, and it pays close attention to prompt placement in jobs and to vocational guidance for young people who discontinue or interrupt their full-time general education or vocational training for one reason or another. The system of job quotas is used to give prompt assistance to such young people in finding employment.

Article 80 of the Fundamental Principles establishes a special procedure for placing young people in employment. It lays down that every undertaking and establishment shall reserve a certain quota of posts for the employment, industrial training and apprenticeship of young persons who have completed their general education or vocational and technical school training, and other young people under 18.²

It is of great importance that the nature of work done by young people reflects the trade and skills that they have acquired. This need is catered for under Article 81, which says: "Young workers who have completed their training at vocational and technical schools, and young persons who have completed their training in special skills in higher educational establishments and specialised secondary institutions shall be provided with employment in keeping with the skills and vocational training they have acquired".³ The status and qualifications obtained by the young through completion of training at educational institutions mirror the existing division of labour and also display their occupational and technical abilities. Qualifications, however, are not merely a yardstick for evaluating their abilities. They are also a key factor in their subsequent vocational development and progress. The guarantee contained in Article 81 of the Fundamental Principles is therefore crucial if young working people are to show a high degree of efficiency and quality in their work as well as for the moulding of their abilities and skills.

¹ Ibid.

² Op. cit. 20-21

³ Op. cit. 20-21

Thus, legislation on the employment of young persons in the USSR can be seen to be in total conformity with the ILO standards, the complete protection of children and young people being a fundamental goal. This is true for the statutory minimum age for employment, for the mandatory medical examination of minors, for the prohibition against young people being employed on arduous work in unhealthy or dangerous working conditions, and for the prohibition of night work, overtime, and work on rest days and holidays.¹

II RISING EDUCATION STANDARDS OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Human progress presupposes a steady growth in educational levels beginning with childhood and youth. Education, in terms of both its standards and content, has to meet different needs at different stages in the development of society.

1. Universal secondary education

The extension of public instruction, notably the system of secondary education, with its focus in the general school, is essential in the growth of a socialist society.

Tsarist Russia left to the Soviet State a legacy of extremely low literacy (in 1897 only 28.4 per cent of the population between the age of 9 and 49 were literate; the figure for the female population was a mere 16.6 per cent)² and a very poor system of teacher-training unable to meet the country's requirements for secondary school teachers. In 1919-1920 Soviet Russia had just 108,000 teachers, of whom 3,500 (3 per cent) had higher education, 13,000 (12 per cent) were graduates of secondary teacher-training schools, 46,000 (42 per cent) had completed their education at general secondary schools, 11,000 (10 per cent) had incomplete secondary education, 15,000 (14 per cent) had secondary church school education, 2,000 (2 per cent) had incomplete secondary church school education, and 18,000 (17 per cent) had received elementary and home education.³

The growth of general education since the Revolution can be seen from the following table.⁴

Table 1

	1914	1977
Nos. of students (in thousands)	9,656	46,468
Nos. of teachers (in thousands)	280	2,652

¹ International Labour Office: *ILO Standards for Child and Young Persons* (Supplement to Report II), (Geneva, ILO, 1979).

² *Public Education, Science and Culture in the USSR, Statistical Survey*, (Moscow, 1977) p.9 (in Russian).

³ F.G. Panachin: *Teacher Training in the USSR* (Moscow, 1975) p.9 (in Russian).

⁴ *Education, Science and Culture in the USSR*, op.cit. pp. 7-8; *Economy of the USSR*, 1977, op. cit. p.421.

Between 1918 and 1977, State and cooperative undertakings and establishments built 178,200 general schools with 50.8 million places.¹

The Soviet secondary education system has met all the challenges involved and has greatly contributed to the historic effort to build a new society, providing a strong spur to social and economic progress. The Soviet secondary education system assists the development of society by training and educating the young to meet the tasks facing society, generations of harmoniously developed, ideologically sound individuals, with a dedication to Communist ideals.

As a result of the massive secondary education programme, the vast majority of children in the USSR now have completed secondary education, as can be seen by comparing the numbers of those completing all types of secondary schools with the numbers of first-form pupils for the relevant years.

In 1970 secondary education was completed by 69 per cent of former first-formers; in 1975 by 89.3 per cent; in 1976, by 91.2 per cent; in 1977, by 95.7 per cent; and in 1978, by 97.7 per cent.²

It will thus be seen that the period 1971-1975 saw the final transition to universal secondary education. It is integral to the socialist way of life. In Article 45 of the Soviet constitution a legislative seal is put on this accomplishment. The article 45 reads:

Citizens of the USSR have the right to education. This right is ensured by free provision of all forms of education, by the institution of universal, compulsory secondary education, and broad development of vocational, specialised secondary, and higher education, in which instruction is oriented towards practical activity and production; by the development of extra-mural, correspondence and evening courses; by the provision of state scholarships and grants and privileges for students; by the free issue of school textbooks; by the opportunity to attend a school where teaching is in the native language; and by the provision of facilities for self-education.

Universal secondary education is the logical result of the evolution of socialist society towards Communism. At the same time, this historic achievement is essential to and a major factor in further improving socialist society in all its aspects: economic, socio-political, technological and cultural.

2. Secondary education as a necessary general educational requirement for all

Universal secondary education meets the needs of our society. The content and goals of secondary education are determined by a combination of factors. "Education in general depends on living conditions", wrote Karl Marx.³ These

¹ *Education, Science and Culture in the USSR*, op. cit. pp. 7-8; *Economy of the USSR*, 1977, op. cit. p.421.

² V.N. Yagodkin: *Teaching staff at schools and improved education of students* (Moscow, 1979) p.23 (in Russian).

³ K. Marx and F. Engels: *Works*, Vol. 6, p.591.

factors include, in particular, the level of productive forces, the particular shape taken by the division of labour, social and production relations, the class structure of society and ideological aspects of the latter. One cannot therefore agree with the view sometimes expressed by educationalists that "the general tasks of education flow from the requirements of material production and its progress in the present and future".¹ It would be wrong to underestimate the tremendous impact of modern production on education. Even so, the development of universal secondary education is only partly determined by production. For example, our economy has, and will probably have for some time yet, unskilled jobs which do not require a thorough general education. Thus, in 1975, 41.9 per cent of the Soviet industrial labour force was engaged in manual labour.² Many of these jobs are very simple, sometimes involving elementary operations. Despite this, the inference should not be made that universal secondary education is "premature".

The need for universal secondary education is prompted, among other things, by social, political and ideological factors. Indeed, their importance is continuously growing. In a sense, they are even more important than production and technological factors. The continuing process of development and improvement that socialist democracy is undergoing, and the growing involvement of working people in the life of the community, place an increasing demand on the ideological education of the young, their political consciousness and cultural level. Secondary education has the task of inculcating in the young a high level of Communist consciousness as a basis for social behaviour, of immunising them against the alien influences and phenomena, still sometimes encountered in our new society.

The growing relative importance of ideology in school education stems in part from the characteristics of the present stage technological revolution.

The need to improve the qualitative aspects of economic development and speed up technological progress is intimately linked with the education of the masses in the Communist spirit. This growing bond between two aspects of policy arises from the very nature of the stage now reached in the building of Communism. Socialism has reached a stage when the moulding of a new man is not only the prime aim of social progress, but also the best way of accelerating that progress and achieving the highest labour productivity in the world.

In the final analysis, the outcome of international economic competition is decided by people, and this depends on them being equipped with scientific knowledge and professional skills, advanced ideas, and, most important of all, a high degree of consciousness which channels these vital qualities to serve the State's broadest interests. The social awareness of the ordinary worker

¹ M.P. Kovalev: "Scientific progress and the rise of the educational standards of young people", *Sovetskaya Pedagogika*, 1976, No. 1, p.15.

² *Socio-Economic Aspects of Labour* (Moscow, 1977) p. 20 (in Russian).

plays an important, often decisive role, in efforts to improve work efficiency and quality. This is borne out by the fact that there are still some undertakings and establishments which have failed to achieve a breakthrough in labour organisation and discipline, not so much because of a shortage of funds or facilities, skilled manpower or the like, but because of a lack of commitment on the part of management and workers, and the survival of past activities in the mentality of the people concerned.

With the high priority being given to enhancing the effectiveness and quality of production nowadays, it is not enough to be just a competent specialist in one's own field. It is essential to be active and dedicated in promoting, following and introducing innovations into daily practice, even if this means overcoming the most adverse circumstances. School education must meet that challenge. The content, goals and efforts of secondary schools must be increasingly geared to the task of educating a younger generation that is socially committed, intolerant of outworn attitudes and willing and ready to build Communism.

To sum up, due to a combination of factors, complete secondary education is an essential for every worker in present day Socialist society. The factors involved are continuous technological and structural improvements, the technological revolution, improvements to social relations and the Socialist way of live, the development of Socialist democracy, the steadily increasing importance of workers in management and in running society as a whole, the moulding of an all-round individual, and of fostering of a Communist outlook, moral principles and convictions. All these make universal secondary education necessary.

3. The evolution towards universal secondary education

The introduction of universal secondary education involves a number of complicated problems which cannot be solved overnight. It can only be gradually achieved, in step with the consolidation of Socialism, the creation of the material and technical base, the improvement of social relations, and the promotion of the Soviet People's intellectual development. This process is made possible only through the tremendous efforts of State and nation, and the great care and attention given to schools by various public bodies and the people as a whole.

The Soviet public education system has passed through a number of stages to achieve this. Compulsory primary seven and eight-year education succeed one another in the development of the educational system, paving the way for universal secondary education.

The eight-year school is the basis on which secondary education has developed. The following table shows the variation in the number of those completing eight year schools in the past four decades.¹

¹ USSR Economy in 1977, op. cit., p.490.

Table 2

	Years				
	1940	1950	1960	1970	1977
Number of those completing eight-year schools (in thousands)	1860	1491	2383	4661	4874

The mid-sixties saw considerable growth in numbers of those completing eight-year schools, and the trend has continued into the more recent past.

Under the Soviet education system, unless the standard for each year's education is met the whole year must be repeated. For universal secondary education to be a success it was essential for teenagers to complete their eight-year schooling in good time (i.e. before the age of 16). The general improvement of eight-year education, which reduced the number of pupils repeating a year, was the reason for the growing percentage of schoolchildren leaving school on time (it rose from 87.4 to 95.3 per cent in 1978).¹

Thus most young people now complete eight years of schooling at the proper time, paving the way for effective universal secondary education.

This does not mean that there are no more problems with the eight-year programme. Though the average percentage of those completing eight years of school on time is generally high, in some Republics and regions it is as low as 90 per cent.² This means that in some parts of the country effective eight-year schooling remains to be achieved.

The further development of universal secondary education can be seen in the growing number of those completing general secondary (ten-year) schools. The following table shows trends over the past four decades.³

Table 3

	Years				
	1940	1950	1960	1970	1977
Number of secondary school graduates (in thousands)	303	284	1055	2581	4101

¹ V.N. Yagodkin: op. cit., p.22, (in Russian).

² Ibid., p.22,

³ *USSR Economy in 1977*. op. cit. p.490.

Most of those completing eight-year full-time and evening schools continue on to other educational centres where there are facilities for complete secondary education. In 1975 96.5 per cent of boys and girls with eight-year education did so, while in 1978 the percentage reached 98.8 per cent.¹

This was the background; now secondary education in the USSR is compulsory and universal. Young people nowadays begin their adult life and work after they have received adequate secondary education, which gives them an opportunity of finding their identity, of social involvement, and of participation in the social and political life of modern society.

4. The main types of secondary schools:
their role and development

In recent years secondary schools have developed along several lines. The following table shows the development of the main types of schools in the period 1970-1978.²

It also shows the importance of general schools and the contribution of evening schools which has on the whole increased, greatly assisted by a nationwide campaign to provide secondary education for every young worker, which encouraged hundreds of thousands of young workers to continue part-time studies without discontinuing active employment. There has also been a marked growth in the importance of secondary vocational schools: from 1.8 per cent in 1970 to 15.5 per cent in 1978.

Table 4

Figures in millions	Years		
	1970	1975	1978
Those completing eight-year schools	4.66	5.21	4.73
Those continuing secondary (ten-year) school studies	3.66 (78.5%)	5.03 (96.5%)	4.67 (98.8%)
Of which: those studying in ninth year of general day schools	2.56 (54.9%)	3.21 (61.7%)	2.84 (60.1%)
Those studying in ninth year of general evening schools	0.50 (10.8%)	0.86 (16.5%)	0.69 (14.6%)
Those studying at specialised secondary educational establishments	0.52 (11.1%)	0.50 (9.5%)	0.41 (8.6%)
Those studying at secondary vocational schools	0.08 (1.7%)	0.46 (8.8%)	0.73 (15.5%)

Note: Percentages refer to the proportions proceeding from the lower level attained.

¹ V.N. Yagodkin: op. cit., p.23

² Ibid., p.24.

The successful introduction and provision of universal secondary education was brought about in a variety of ways, such as the availability of high-skilled teaching staff and better educational facilities, the constant updating of education and its organisation in the light of the latest pedagogical theory and practice. The positive influence of such factors has grown considerably in the last few years.

In 1971-1975 the State built new general schools for 6.5 million students, including schools for 4.5 million students in the countryside.¹ In addition, schools for 1.5 million students were built by collective farms in the same period.²

It was then that the principles were formulated for a new system of studies in special subject laboratories in schools, with the number of laboratories continually growing.

Of decisive importance in introducing universal secondary education were the teachers. In 1971-1975, some 769,500 teachers and graduates of higher or specialised secondary educational establishments began to teach. Among them were 370,600 graduates from the day departments of teachers' training institutes, 313,200 graduates of other training colleges and 85,700 university graduates.³

In the last few years new elements have been added to secondary education. It has been brought closer to the present-day level of science and technology; new emphasis has been given to ideological and political aspects of education. Schoolchildren are encouraged to regard secondary education as their own ambition, to understand its value in the modern world, and to take a broader view of the future progress of society, the economy and culture.

Today, efforts to improve the system of universal secondary education are gaining momentum. The Guidelines for the Development of the Soviet Economy 1976-1980 provided for further expansion of educational facilities. By 1980 new school buildings were constructed, for a total of seven million schoolchildren, including schools for 4.5 million rural schoolchildren.⁴ The public instruction system has taken in another 750,000 young teachers who have graduated from teacher training institutes and colleges. In addition, more than 200,000 education personnel are taking continuation courses at evening schools and correspondence departments.⁵ Progress has been made in in-service training of teachers. Thus, an all-round programme has been successfully brought into being to improve the quality and effectiveness of secondary education.

¹ *USSR National Economy in 1977*, op. cit. p.421

² *Ibid.*

³ V.N. Yagodkin: op.cit., p.24.

⁴ *XXVth Congress of the CPSU* Moscow, 1976, p.220.

⁵ See V.N. Yagodkin: op. cit., p.26.

As has been mentioned, universal secondary education is a key to the further development of Socialist society. It is needed to assist in further improving the Socialist structure of society in every respect; but it is equally the result of that process that has made it possible for all young people and for every person to have access to secondary education.

5. Some problems in developing the educational system

From time to time, as it develops and improves its educational system, Soviet society meets with various problems for which it must promptly find solutions.

The introduction of universal secondary education has removed the contradiction that appeared at a certain stage of Socialism's development between the general educational levels of the young and our society's need to make further socio-economic progress, which implied more effective production, better workmanship throughout construction, the integration of all in society, the all-round development of the human personality, etc.

In removing the first contradiction, however, the introduction of universal secondary education gives rise to other contradictions of a higher order. This is inherent in the very nature of progress, and Marxist dialectics regards it as an integral part of any real development in nature.¹

With the introduction of universal secondary education, a contradiction has emerged between the relatively high general educational level of the young and the existence of certain jobs with a low functional and intellectual appeal, jobs that are monotonous or arduous. Such jobs are avoided by young people with secondary education and are understaffed.

Since the 1960's and especially with the advent of universal secondary education, the secondary school, whose primary function in the past was to supply students for higher educational institutions, has become a major source of blue-collar workers in various sectors of the economy. For example, the economy took in 1.7 million school-leavers in 1975, 1.8 million in 1976, 1.8 million in 1977 and 1.7 million in 1978, i.e. 62.2, 61.2, 59.9 and 57.3 per cent respectively, immediately after completion of their studies at secondary general day schools. This caused a contradiction between the need to bring secondary school leavers into productive work in the community and the fact that in many cases, their qualifications for blue-collar jobs were inappropriate. Note was taken of this fact in a decision of December 1977 by the Communist Party's Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on improvement of the education of general school students and their training for practical work. Inadequate vocational training was exposing school-leavers to serious difficulties as they started

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Marxism-Leninism has shown that the contradictions in the development of a Socialist society are not mutually antagonistic. This principle has been the subject of extensive analysis in Soviet philosophical literature and therefore will not be discussed here.

active working lives and this was singled out in the decision as being one of the major shortcomings in secondary schools.

Now that secondary education has become universal and since the bulk of those leaving school after ten years of education have to be directly integrated in economically productive work in the community, mainly in industry, psycho-social problems arise. Sizeable numbers of young people long accustomed to viewing the secondary school as a stepping-stone to higher educational institutions, would settle for nothing short of a university place, or, at least, one at a training college and, eventually, careers as engineers, researchers, doctors, technicians, lawyers etc.

The major changes, particularly the spur given at secondary schools to education and training for work and vocational guidance, the accelerated development of vocational schools, and other measures have somewhat altered schoolchildren's attitudes to blue-collar jobs. Yet it is naturally difficult to make radical changes to this situation so quickly. Sociological studies of senior-year classes at general day schools indicate that school-leavers' attitudes to higher education at university and technical college level have remained relatively unchanged.¹

These problems stem from the growing pains and the present stage of development in Soviet society. Though they are certainly not a cause for conflict this does not prevent them from existing or having all the usual symptoms of problems.

They are being treated systematically and in orderly fashion, however. In preparing comprehensive socio-economic programmes, due account is being taken of them. For example, the contradiction between the general educational standards of young people and the character of certain types of work is being resolved primarily by improving plant and equipment on the one hand and management on the other. The Soviet Constitution says: "The State concerns itself with improving working conditions, safety and labour protection and the scientific organisation of work and with reducing and ultimately eliminating all arduous physical labour through comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production processes in all branches of the economy".² The Central Committee and Council of Ministers' decision of December 1977 provides a scientific programme designed to make substantial improvements in schoolchildren's manual training, work/education, career counselling and preparation for active employment. And, lastly, improved vocational training of young people and school-leavers in-service training help introduce general school-leavers to the world of work. Between 1976 and 1980, vocational schools enrolled 6.7 million and trained 4.6 million skilled workers with school-leaving certificates, an increase of 140 per cent over the period between 1971 and 1975.³

¹ V.N. Shubkin: "Dream Banks and the Balance of Destinies", *The Literary Gazette*, Jan. 8, 1975; V.N. Shubkin: *Sociological Experiments* (Moscow, 1970).

² The Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, (Moscow, 1977), p.21

³ V.N. Yagodkin: op.cit.

Another problem arose in the early nineteen-sixties when the needs of the technological revolution and the socio-economic and cultural development of Socialist society were obviously not being met by teaching given at general schools. This was resolved by updating the latter.¹

The modernising curricula during the past decade in its turn showed that the new syllabus was hampered by old teaching methods. This was remedied by introducing specialised classroom teaching, elective courses, the problems solving approach to teaching, etc.

Needless to say, development of the education system does not end with the modernising of secondary education and the introduction of new teaching techniques. Nor does it dispose of all the contradictions that give rise to the need for development or are attendant on it. The Ministry of Education, the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Educational Sciences are working hard to improve education still further in line with new requirements. Guidelines for this work are set out in the decision of the Central Committee and Council of Ministers decision referred to above. Changes are being made to curricula, syllabi and textbooks to rid them of unnecessarily complicated and secondary matter and to make sure that within the required limits, they contain the fundamentals of the relevant sciences and increase the relevance of the subjects studied to vocations, to their future working lives and in educational terms, and also to make them more comprehensible and to improve continuity and the logical relationship between each successive stage of teaching. The Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Educational Sciences were instructed to determine by 1980 a uniform general education level for general, special and vocational schools. Similar steps are being taken to improve teaching and education methods.

This problem-solving process is never ending and at each stage in the evolution of the education system new problems emerge. Thus, any blueprint for the development of an education system and any series of related measures should be planned with due regard for both advantages and disadvantages, for the possible emergence of harmful trends. Provision should be made not only to eliminate long-standing problems but also to solve new problems that will inevitably come to light. It is this approach that makes it possible to offset adverse effects, to anticipate developments and ensure both in theory and practice an integrated approach to the management of such a complex system as education.

¹ See, M.P. Kashin: "On the Results of Updating the Soviet School's Education Content" in *Sovetskaya Pedagogika*, 1976, No. 3; (Moscow, 1976); E.I. Monoszon: "Problems of Improving Education during the Revolution in Science and Technology" in *Sovetskaya Pedagogika*, 1972, No. 1; *The Prospects for Developing the Content of General Secondary Education: Collected Papers* (Moscow, 1975).

III. THE EDUCATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE FOR WORK AND LIFE IN SOCIETY

1. General approach

The education of children and young people for work, a prime function of the educational system, is regarded here in the context of Soviet society as a whole and of how the young are being trained to take their place in it.

The acquisition by children of a conscientious attitude to work is essential to Soviet education, where it must never be forgotten, either in theory or practice, that a Communist attitude to work is governed by the realities of society.

To instill a conscientious attitude to work is a complex task, of which Lenin said:

It will take many years, decades, to create a new labour discipline, new forms of socialities between people, and new forms and methods of drawing people into labour.
It is most gratifying and noble work.¹

Socialism is a society of working people that does not exempt people from the duty or the need to work, though it drastically changes the nature of the latter. The fact that society owns the means of production makes it impossible for any one individual to exploit others and own the products of their labour; everybody must work in a Socialist society, hence the saying that Socialism and labour are indivisible.

One formulation of the universality of work under Socialism can be seen in Article 60 of the new Soviet Constitution, viz.

It is the duty of, and a matter of honour for, every able-bodied citizen of the USSR to work conscientiously in his chosen, socially useful occupation, and strictly to observe labour discipline. Evasion of socially useful work is incompatible with the principles of Socialist society.²

It is very important for the building of Socialism and Communism that this principle be consistently adhered to. Work has to be both universal and obligatory in order to ensure steady economic progress; and it is vital for moulding a Communist attitude to life and increasing mass political activity that it should be creative. Article 14 of the New Soviet Constitution formulates the role of labour in the social progress made under Socialism, in capital accumulation by the community and in improving standards of living and social conditions for every Soviet man and woman, as follows:

¹ V.I. Lenin: *Collected Works* Vol. 30, p.518.

² Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow, 1977, p.50.

The source of the growth of social wealth and of the well-being of the people, and of each individual, is the labour of Soviet people free from exploitation.

The State exercises control over the measure of labour and of consumption through the principle 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.' It fixes the rate of taxation on taxable income.

Socially useful work and its results determine a person's status in society. By combining material and moral initiative and encouraging innovation and a creative attitude to work, the State helps transform labour into the prime vital need of every Soviet citizen.¹

The foregoing premises are the principles governing education of the young for work.

2. Universal secondary education and vocational training

Education for work has always been important at Soviet schools, and for a number of reasons is growing ever more so. As general secondary education has become universal and compulsory it has created the need to give education a more work-oriented slant and to increase vocational guidance through the schools.

The December 1977 decision, of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers referred to in the preceding section states that "with the present country-wide transition to general education, schools must provide school leavers with a sound knowledge of the essentials of science and of work skills for use in the economy. Schools must resolutely begin to prepare young people for work in industry and agriculture, where they will have to acquire a consciously chosen trade. This fact must be clearly recognised by Soviet teachers, school-children and their parents."²

The majority of those leaving school now do so from the tenth year of full-time secondary education, at which point many of them immediately take up economically productive employment or undergo short-term vocational training before doing so.

About 14,500,000 children are estimated to have completed full-time secondary school in the five years 1976-1980. Of these 46 per cent or 6,600,000 will eventually have received industrial or vocational training in full-time higher and secondary education or technical schools.³ More than 7,900,000 young people have begun their working careers, immediately upon leaving school or after a short vocational training course in factories.

This situation means, among other things, that guidance has had to be given to millions of teenagers in choosing their careers after leaving school, especially for those going straight to work in factories or farms without

¹ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

² *Pravda*: 29 December, 1977.

³ V.N. Yagodkin, op. cit., p.205.

attending specialised schools and colleges. The secondary schools have had to help in guiding them into those branches of the economy in greatest need of manpower, and have had to plan, arrange and put into effect vocational training for them. To prepare their pupils for life in present-day society, they are duty bound to combine a thorough theoretical education with planned vocational training. "We used to regard secondary school as a prelude to intellectual work", says M.A. Prokofyev, Minister of Secondary Education of the USSR. "Now, it is chiefly preparation for work in industry and agriculture, where manual and intellectual activities are indivisibly linked".¹

The economy needs growing numbers of workers with a complete secondary education. This means that the need to promote work skills and provide job guidance at secondary schools is proportionally greater.

Until quite recently the main productive force of working people was the result of their experience and skills; but this is no longer enough. In our age of scientific and technical progress the worker needs not only skills and on-the-job experience but also a practical knowledge of machinery and mechanics and a theoretical background in industrial technology. In other words, in order to be able to act as a productive force, people must have a proper scientific and technical grounding, and the foundations for this lie in general education at secondary schools.

Not that industry under Socialism has not previously needed workers with a secondary school education, but the numbers previously required involved fewer trades and types of work. Today, the list of jobs and types of work requiring a secondary education has grown considerably, with about 90 per cent of the skills required in iron- and steel-making and 80 per cent of those in engineering needing the general educational background of a ten-year secondary school or a secondary technical school.² Today there are over 280 trades that can be learned only after secondary technical education; some need an even more detailed educational background.³

The demand in many industries for workers' skills that can be acquired only with a complete secondary school background can never be satisfied unless special steps are taken. The most important of these is to improve vocational training and guidance at schools (a prime pre-requisite for the development of modern industry).

The need to expand vocational training in schools is also influenced by the fact, a highly relevant one, that there are still jobs in industry consisting of monotonous routine operations, some of them very arduous. At this stage, we cannot get along without people prepared to undertake such work, because the goods and services they produce are essential to the community.

¹ Interview in *Education* No. 9, 1977 p.11.

² *Economic Sciences*, 1977, No. 9, p.120.

³ *Communist*, 1976, No. 17, p.5.

Scientific and technical progress, especially as applied to industry, adds to the prestige of the related occupations in such fields as electronics, radio, computers, and automation; young people leaving schools are naturally interested in getting jobs in these fields, with their greater scope for inventiveness and a creative approach, for applying knowledge acquired at school, and for self-improvement in their chosen field. And yet, there is still a need for manpower in the most ordinary jobs, where work is not so interesting or creative. Eventually, comprehensive mechanisation and automation will make such occupations unnecessary. But it must be remembered that this is a long process, and it will never be possible to eliminate dull or arduous work completely. For this reason, vocational training in the school must be based on a sensible approach to life and to the constantly changing face of employment, and should also point out the social importance of all work in society.

The new Soviet Constitution says in Article 40, "Citizens of the USSR have the right to work". That means guaranteed employment and pay in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work, and not below the state-established minimum), as well as the right to choose their trade or profession, type of job, and work in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, training and education, taking due account of the needs of society.

This right is ensured by the socialist economic system, steady growth of the productive forces, free vocational and occupational training, improvement of skills, training in new trades or professions, and development of the systems of vocational guidance and job placement.¹

The right to choose between different types of work, and between specific jobs, is closely connected with the needs of society; work must be recognised as a social duty, and a responsible attitude to one's work is a basic prerequisite for the development of both society and the individual.

Our characters develop mainly through our practical work. As we work our views on the world around us are formed. In work our political convictions take shape.

It can therefore be seen that the business of providing young people with a proper education for work is of paramount importance to the State, affecting as it does the formation of their ideological, ethical, and civic convictions. It can be accomplished through the joint efforts of schools, work teams, the community and the family. A young person will then enter adult life with a good knowledge of what work is like in his chosen field and understand how important the part he plays will be to the economy.

¹ See Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, p.33.

3. How the goal is being reached

General secondary schools in the USSR have much experience in educating young people for socially productive work, in vocational training and guidance, and in broadening their social conscience. In the last few years, much has been done by departments of education, teachers and non-scholastic bodies to improve ways of doing so and to help them choose an occupation in life. The main aims, fundamentals and structure of vocational training and guidance have been laid down. A system is evolving whereby manual work training as a school subject will be linked with practical in-service training, extra-curricular work and extra-mural hobbies, ranging from technical model-building to agricultural experimentation, and with various types of occupational guidance.

Many secondary schools have introduced vehicle mechanics or tractor driving for upper grades, as a subject. Other subjects include farm techniques and animal husbandry, or typing and office work.

In the ninth and tenth (or eleventh) year, inter-school vocational training and production centres have begun to be introduced; these have proved to be a good way of improving the quality and efficiency of vocational education, character training, and occupational guidance for schoolchildren in senior years. There are now over 1,300 such centres in the country.¹ More and more, schoolchildren are being brought into economically productive employment, especially during summer vacations. In 1977, for example, children in the seventh to ninth years at general secondary schools took part in various work activities, as shown in Table 5.²

The network of clubs and circles of young technicians and young naturalists expanding, as are groups interested in model-building or agricultural experimentation outside school. All these activities are being brought more closely into contact with what is socially useful and related to subsequent careers than used to be the case.

Vocational guidance, a vital part of education for work, is based on current and future manpower requirements in various fields. Other aspects of such education vary as a function of changing needs. Witness to the success in training children for future careers is shown by the close links between the school and industry, and the increasing part being played in education, character training and teaching of good citizenship by groups of workers from factories and collective and state farms.

In the Kemerovo Region, for example, the task of vocational training, academic education, and career guidance is being tackled throughout school, from the early grade to graduation, jointly by teachers, factory staff, and the community.³

¹ V.N. Yagodkin, op.cit.

² Ibid., p.212.

³ See *Teachers Gazette*, August 2, 1977.

Table 5:

	Total	Subtotals				
		Apprentices at state and collective farms	Work and recreation camps	School forestry activities	Environment protection in forest lands	Others
Work teams	262,826	45,008	29,128	9,925	63,632	116,133
Nos. of pupils (in thousands)	11,315	3,264	2,510	477	1,597	3,466

The Kemerovo region has 1,200 secondary schools, with 390,000 senior pupils who all receive vocational training. An additional 116,000 young people attend specialised secondary schools and vocational technical schools. Over 90 per cent of senior pupils continue training during the summer in children's work teams.

In education for work as in everything else, it is the final result that counts. In the Kemerovo region, as a rule, half of all school-leavers acquire trades, not only because vocational education, character training and occupational guidance have become an integral part of school life and enjoy public support, but also because new more effective methods have been built into them.

The *Khimprom* undertaking is a good example of development in the Kemerovo region. Activities there are designed for schoolchildren of every year and include visits to the factory, meetings with workers, research into the history and traditions of the factory as well as work there itself. The undertaking provides an advisory service, a council for support to schools and families, and a careers lecture course. On the shop floor space has been made available for theoretical classes and practical laboratories. There are four well-appointed class-rooms, for operators, laboratory staff, turners and electricians respectively. The classes are taught by highly skilled specialists in permanent touch with educators and the education authority. This makes for efficient co-ordination of vocational training with the broader role of the schools, the humanities and natural sciences. The schoolchildren tend to be favourably influenced by their tutors' maturity, creative attitude to their work and working-people's pride.

The sixteen training and production centres in the region deal with vocational training and career guidance on a comprehensive basis. Their workshops and laboratories provide half of all senior pupils in the region with courses in 43 trades and types of work. By 1980 they were providing training in twenty-five centres to all school children.

They are coordination centres for vocational guidance, acting as an umbrella for the Inderdepartmental Council, which includes representatives of industry and schools. Their curricula sub-divided into sections for the fourth to sixth, seventh to eighth and ninth to tenth years based on age differences, psychology, experience and academic performance are the fruit of joint efforts by educators, sociologists and industrial managers. In 1974, 53 per cent of school-leavers went into trades taught at such centres and by 1976 the figure had gone up to 78.3 per cent.

Vocational guidance does not end when school breaks up for the summer. The state farms of the region have sixty-one camps for young city dwellers, accommodating 6,000 boys and girls every month during vacations. Most of the camps are on permanent sites built to modern standards - with heating, drying rooms, showers, club and canteen facilities of their own. Cold springs and autumns are no longer a problem.

The camps continue the work started in school. They consolidate occupational skills, promote interpersonal contacts and team spirit, and help generate enthusiasm.

There are other work teams of schoolchildren in the region: production groups, school forestry activities, etc. In another activity, senior schoolchildren have been formed into a work team, run according to ideological and organisational rules developed jointly by the education authority and the regional committee of the young communists league (Komsomol).

An archeology camp and an history-and-ethnography camp managed by university professors have been providing interesting innovations in patriotic education. In short, summer vacations offer new and more interesting opportunities for education. The Kemerovo Regional Department of Education plans to extend the career centres to summertime activities also.

The Avtozavodsk District in the city of Gorky is another good example of education for work and vocational guidance.¹ The main plant of the Gorky Motor Works has been completely re-tooled in the last few years (with investments worth 400 million roubles in 1971-1976, or 2.4 times more than in the preceding five years). Priority was given to improving labour conditions to make work more creative and attractive.

Mechanisation and automation of formerly labour-intensive processes have transformed many factory floors beyond recognition. Thousands of former manual workers now attend part-time upgrading and retraining courses. For example, many former unskilled workers or loaders now work as computer operators, adjusters, forklift drivers, etc.

And still, with today's shortage of manpower, the Gorky Motor Works would not have been able to solve its staffing problems without the help of the secondary schools. The works management have realised that vacancy notices alone are no longer effective. New and more effective forms of education for work and careers guidance have to be sought if everyone is to find a job to his or her liking, especially given the present labour shortage.

¹ *Pravda*: July 20, 1977.

One successful innovation is the Works Training Shop providing vocational training for senior school pupils of the Avtozavodsk District, where everything is "for real". The unit produces items needed by the works, youngsters operate lathes and milling machines, and work as fitters, electricians, radio-operators, or car assembly workers. In the sewing shop, girls sew overalls for the workers. During their practical work, students get acquainted with works' staff and traditions. The task of training skilled workers is soon to be facilitated by the completion of a study centre (with 22,000 m² floor space) including both factory shops and a hostel.

As a result of joint efforts of schools, the works' staff, and the public of the Gorky Avtozavodsk District, the school has become a springboard for many wanting to work at the car plant. In 1974-1976 more than 3,000 high school leavers in the district joined the works.

These examples show how the joint efforts of schools, factory staff and public bodies can be effective in productivity, vocational and character training and as careers' guidance.

During the past few years there has been a considerable change for the better in such education and guidance in rural areas too. More than 17,000 schools now offer courses and training in tractor driving or operation of other agricultural machines. During the next five years such courses will be provided by 6,630 more schools. The total number of school children being trained as agricultural machine operators will reach 2.3 million.¹

It is also important for a system of vocational education, character training and job guidance to be developed and introduced generally into schools. The system should include a variety of different elements, designed to perform specific functions as part of a whole and contribute to its development. Such a system is still evolving in much of the country, and there are only a few schools reaping full benefits from it.

In our opinion a pedagogically effective system should cater for the following:

1. Formation of a conscientious attitude to practical work in teaching of all the natural and mathematical sciences and the humanities; i.e. strict observance of the principle of polytechnic education;
2. Familiarisation of school children with progress in modern science, technology and production, and development of various technical skills;
3. Their constant and active involvement in socially useful work in industry and agriculture, taking due account of age and health;
4. Effective organisation of their homework through parents;
5. Education for work through the development of a modern training infrastructure, including applied training and production centres, industrial training workshops at factories, provision of modern machinery, equipment, allotment of land, etc. to schools;

¹ See Yagodkin, op. cit., p.216.

6. General familiarisation with various trades through joint efforts of industrial, agricultural, commercial service and transport undertaking;
7. Statistics for the placement of school-leavers and analysis of the results of placement.

A system of vocational education, character training and job guidance for school students will help prepare young people for life, work and the fulfilment of their public duty, i.e. ensure the full awakening of their social consciousness.

4. Purposes and principles of state government policy

Educating young people for work and rousing their social awareness cannot be achieved without suitable state policies. According to the Central Committee and Council of Ministers' decision of December 1971 a wide range of measures to strengthen the training infrastructure of general secondary schools in the desired direction are being implemented.¹ The following are to be accomplished in 1979-1985: the establishment of training workshops in schools which do not have them, and the extension of inter-school training and production centres; provision of general secondary schools with training equipment and aids for the purpose; and the provision of motor vehicles tractors and other agricultural machines, and household electrical appliances as well as specialised school equipment for study rooms and workshops at general secondary schools.

We proceed from the assumption that education and character training of older school children for work are not the same thing as vocational training, despite the close affinity of the two processes. Allied phenomena or processes similar to one another do not mean they are identical. A general secondary school retains its indivisible, work-oriented polytechnical character; it cannot act as a specialised vocational institution. As a source of manpower for the modern economy and via higher education establishments for the engineering, technical and other cadres in the country, general secondary education is very important and as the scientific and cultural revolution progresses and society as a whole continues to develop, its importance will continue to grow. Parallel with this, efforts should be made in general secondary schools to make considerable improvements to education, character training, and vocational guidance of young people for work and adult lives. A high level of education, writes M.A. Prokofiev, has always been considered as laying the groundwork for intellectual careers alone. Now we need to go beyond that notion. With the introduction of compulsory secondary education, schools must also prepare their pupils for study at university, technical college or vocational school, for work in factories or on the farm.²

¹ Op.cit.

² See *National Education*, 1977, No. 9, pp. 10-11.

- The December 1977 decision of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers envisaged a range of measures to that end:

- Organisation of effective education for work, vocational guidance of schoolchildren, making use of places of work, collective and state farms, to that end their participation in socially useful work depending on their age, with a view to helping schoolchildren on completion of their eighth year to make a conscious choice for their future education, to opt for one particular kind of specialised and vocational training;
- Improved practices for providing young people leaving general secondary schools after the eighth year with places at vocational and technical schools and secondary specialised educational establishments, and to do the same for the ninth year of general secondary schools on the basis of uniform annual and longer-term plans, as part of the combined plans of economic and social growth of autonomous republics, territories, regions, towns and districts, taking into account nationwide interests, local demand for skilled specialists and the right of students to make their own choices in education;
- An increase from two to four hours a week in work-oriented training in the ninth and tenth (eleventh) years (within curriculum limits) - with due account being taken of the catchment area of the school (whether it is rural or urban), of training workshops in various types of undertaking of vocational and technical schools, and of other facilities for study such as workshops and laboratories free transport to and from work; preparation of new programmes on education for work at all grades together with the pertinent training; and manuals and aids
- Provision of increased numbers of specialists in this approach to the teaching profession and improved training for them at teacher training institutions; systematic refresher courses in teacher training for engineers and technicians already employed in schools; extension of departments for training teachers and senior instructors in the approach to engineering; and technical and agricultural facilities and institutes;
- Establishment of the post of inspector of education for work, vocational training and guidance in regional and district (town) departments of education;
- Establishment of career advisory and employment services, for those completing secondary school under municipal authorities (local Soviet) and composed of educators, employers, representatives of political and public bodies and parents; and creation of career guidance facilities at secondary general education schools;
- Establishment of an interdepartmental council for career guidance coordination, responsible to the Ministry of Education and composed of representatives from the State Planning Committee, State Committee for Labour and Social Affairs, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Komsomol and other ministries and departments concerned;
- Planned employment in various sectors of the economy of all those leaving general school and not wishing to proceed to further study,

having due regard for public needs and the school-leavers who wish to go straight to productive work;

- Assistance from governmental bodies and employers to the education for work approach and in career guidance, including the appointment to every secondary school of one factory or other concern to assist in looking after vocational training and career advisory matters;
- Extension of inter-school vocational training and production centres; and the general involvement of schoolchildren in such socially useful activities as workshops, school production groups, summer work camps, etc.
- Strengthening of the education for work infrastructure by altering school-buildings to fit present-day requirements; and better provision of schools with machinery, equipment and tools, and other technical education aids.

It is hoped that the foregoing measures will give school-leavers in the USSR the right kind of background to meet the changing impact of science and technology in their post-school working lives.

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Selected Publications of the Population and Labour Policies

Research Programme¹

1. General Material on the Research Programme

ILO: World Employment Programme: Population and development - A progress report on ILO research with special reference to labour, employment and income distribution (Geneva, January 1981), 3rd edition, Reference WEP 2-21/PR.6. (*)

This report includes a full bibliography. The 2nd edition of this publication (February 1979) is available in French and Spanish.

2. Books and Monographs

R. Anker: Research on women's roles and demographic change: survey questionnaires for households, women, men and communities with background explanations (Geneva, ILO, 1980). (*)

S. Braganca et al: The simulation of economic and demographic development in Brazil (Geneva, ILO, 1980). (*)

M.G. Castro, L.M. Fraenkel et al: Migration in Brazil: Approaches to analysis and policy design (Brussels, Ordina, 1979). (***)

W.J. House and H. Rempel: The Kenya employment problem (Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1978). (***)

A.S. Oberai: Changes in the structure of employment with economic development (Geneva, ILO, 1978). (**)

-----: Demographic and social information in migration surveys: Analytical significance and guidelines for data collection (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)

G. Pyatt and A. Roe: Social accounting for development planning, with special reference to Sri Lanka (Cambridge University Press, 1977). (***)

M. Rasevic, T. Mulina, Milos Macura: The determinants of labour force participation in Yugoslavia (Geneva, ILO, 1978). (**)

G.B. Rodgers, M.J.D. Hopkins, R. Wéry: Population, employment and inequality: BACHUE-Philippines (Farnborough, Saxon House, 1978). (***)

G. Standing: Labour force participation and development (Geneva, ILO, 1978). (**)

-----: Migrants and the labour process: A module for migration surveys (Geneva, ILO, 1981). (*)

G. Standing and G. Sheehan (eds.): Labour force participation in low-income countries (Geneva, ILO, 1978). (**)

G. Standing and R. Szal: Poverty and basic needs (Geneva, ILO, 1979). (**)

M. Todaro: Internal migration in developing countries (Geneva, ILO, 1976). (**)

¹ Availability code: * available on request from ILO, Population and Labour Policies Branch; ** available for sale from ILO Publications; *** available for sale from a commercial publisher.

3. Articles

- I. Adelman, M.J.D. Hopkins, S. Robinson, G.B. Rodgers and R. Wéry: "A comparison of two models for income distribution planning", in Journal of Policy Modeling, 1979, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- R. Anker: "The effects of group level variables on fertility in a rural Indian sample", in Journal of Development Studies, October 1977, Vol. 14, No. 1.
- : "An analysis of fertility differentials in developing countries", in Review of Economics and Statistics, February 1978, Vol. 1x, No. 4.
- R. Anker and G. Farooq: "Population and socio-economic development: The new perspective", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), 1978, Vol. 117, No. 2.
- R. Anker and J.C. Knowles: "An empirical analysis of mortality differentials in Kenya at the macro and micro levels", in Economic Development and Cultural Change, October 1980, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 165-85.
- W.J. House and H. Rempel: "Labour market pressures and wage determination in less developed economies", in Economic Development and Cultural Change, 1978.
- J.C. Knowles and R. Anker: "An analysis of income transfers in a developing country: The case of Kenya", in Journal of Development Economics (Amsterdam, North Holland), 1981, Vol. 8, pp. 205-226.
- A.S. Oberai: "Migration, unemployment and the urban labour market", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), March-April 1978, Vol. 115, No. 2.
- : "State policies and internal migration in Asia", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), March-April 1981, Vol. 120, No. 2, pp. 231-44.
- A.S. Oberai and H.K. Manmohan Singh: "Migration, remittances and rural development: Findings of a case study in the Indian Punjab", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), March-April 1980, Vol. 115, No. 2.
- : "Migration flows in Punjab's Green Revolution Belt", in Economic and Political Weekly, March 1980, Vol. XV, No. 13.
- C. Oppong: "Household economic demographic decision-making: Introductory statement", IUSSP Proceedings of 1978 Helsinki Conference, 11 pp.
- C. Oppong and E. Haavio-Mannila: "Women, population and development", in P. Hauser (ed.): World population and development: Challenge and prospects (New York, Syracuse University Press, 1979).
- P. Peek and G. Standing: "Rural-urban migration and government policies in low-income countries", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), November-December 1979, Vol. 118, No. 6.
- J.L. Petrucelli, M.H. Rato, and S.L. Bragança: "The socio-economic consequences of a reduction in fertility: application of the ILO-IBGE national model (BACHUE-Brazil)", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO). September-October 1980, Vol. 119, No. 5.
- G.B. Rodgers: "Demographic determinants of the distribution of income", in World Development, March 1978, Vol. 6, No. 3.
- : "Income and inequality as determinants of mortality: An international cross-section analysis", in Population Studies, 1979, Vol. 33, No. 2.
- G.B. Rodgers and G. Standing: "Economic roles of children in low-income countries", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), January-February 1981, Vol. 120, No. 1.

- R.P. Shaw: "Bending the urban flow: A construction-migration strategy", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), July-August 1980, Vol. 119, No. 4.
- G. Standing: "Aspiration wages, migration and urban unemployment", in Journal of Development Studies, January 1978, Vol. 14, No. 2.
- : "Migration and modes of exploitation: social origins of immobility and mobility", Journal of Peasant Studies, January 1981, Vol. 8, No. 2.
- : "Basic needs and the division of labour", in Pakistan Development Review, Autumn 1980, Vol. XIX, No. 3, pp. 211-235.
- G. Standing and F. Sukdeo: "Labour migration and development in Guyana", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), November-December 1977, Vol. 116, No. 3.
- R. Wéry: "Manpower forecasting and the labour market", in International Labour Review (Geneva, ILO), May-June 1978, Vol. 117, No. 3.
- R. Wéry, G.B. Rodgers and M.J.D. Hopkins: "Population, employment and poverty in the Philippines", in World Development, 1978, Vol. 6.
- R. Wéry and G.B. Rodgers: "Endogenising demographic variables in demo-economic models: The BACHUE experience", in Pakistan Development Review, Autumn 1980, Vol. XIX, No. 3.

4. Recent Working Papers in print¹

WEP Working Papers are preliminary documents circulated informally in a limited number of copies solely to stimulate discussion and critical comment. They are restricted and should not be cited without permission. A set of selected WEP Research Working Papers, completed by annual supplements, is available in microfiche form for sale to the public; orders should be sent to ILO Publications, International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland. Many, but not all, of the papers in this series exist or may be issued in microfiche form.

- WEP 2-21/WP.63 Urban employment in the 1980's: The cases of Kenya and the Philippines
- by Gerry B. Rodgers and Richard Anker, May 1978.
- WEP 2-21/WP.66 Population, progrès technique et social, développement, économique et emploi - modèle démographique et socio-économique
- by G. Blardone, M.Ch. Leroy et G. Parisot, avec la collaboration de P. Collin, E. Fauvet, Ch. Harzo, J.A. Sanchez, R. Vallette, D. Vernay, June 1978.
- WEP 2-21/WP.69 Demographic change and the role of women: A research programme in developing countries
- by Richard Anker, November 1978.
- WEP 2-21/WP.70 A demographic-economic model for developing countries: BACHUE-International
- by R. Scott Moreland, December 1978.
- WEP 2-21/WP.71 Approaches to the analysis of poverty
- by G.B. Rodgers, May 1979.
- WEP 2-21/WP.72 Migration and modes of exploitation: The social origins of immobility and mobility
- by Guy Standing, June 1979.

¹ These working papers are available free, while stocks last, from ILO, Population and Labour Policies Branch, CH1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland.

- WEP 2-21/WP.73 Semi-feudalism, migration and the State in Guyana
- by Guy Standing, September 1979.
- WEP 2-21/WP.74 Transmigration and accumulation in Indonesia
- by J.P. Perez-Sainz, September 1979.
- WEP 2-21/WP.75A Household fertility decision-making in Nigeria
- by Ghazi M. Farooq, July 1979.
- WEP 2-21/WP.76 Female labour force participation and the production system in Brazil
- by Maria Helena de Cunha Rato, August 1979.
- WEP 2-21/WP.78 Interpretation of relations among mortality, economics of the household, and the health environment
- by T. Paul Schultz, September 1979.
- WEP 2-21/WP.81 The economic roles of children in low-income countries: A framework for analysis
- by Gerry Rodgers and Guy Standing, October 1979.
- WEP 2-21/WP.82 Feasibility study for the construction of an economic-demographic model for Indonesia
- by Andrew Elek, January 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.83 Labour policies, female labour force participation and fertility: A research design
- by Warren C. Robinson and Stanley P. Stephenson Jr., January 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.84 Bachue modules: Population, household income and labour market
- by René Wéry, January 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.85 Analysing women's labour force activity with the WFS: Insights from Sri Lanka
- by Guy Standing, March 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.86 Endogenising demographic variables in demo-economic models: The Bachue experience
- by René Wéry and Gerry Rodgers, April 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.87 The exploitation of children in the "informal sector": Some propositions for research
- by Alain Morice, May 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.89 Labour market structure, child employment, and reproductive behaviour in rural South Asia
- by Mead Cain and A.B.M. Khorshed Alam Mozumder, June 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.90 Household and non-household activities of youths: Issues of modelling, data and estimation strategies
- by Mark R. Rosenzweig, June 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.92 Soft science: On thinking about population
- by Richard Blandy, August 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.93 The Labour Market of Bachue-Brazil
- by Maria Helena da Cunha Rato and Sergio Luiz de Bragança, September 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.94 A synopsis of seven roles and status of women: An outline of a conceptual and methodological approach and a framework for collection and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data relevant to women's productive and reproductive activities and demographic change
- by Christine Oppong, September 1980.

- WEP 2-21/WP.96 Female labour force participation in Peru: An analysis using the World Fertility Survey
- by Gerry Rodgers, with assistance from David Viry, September 1980.
- WEP 2-21/WP.97 Urban in-migration and remittances: A case study of Ludhiana in the Indian Punjab
- by A.S. Oberai and H.K. Manmohan Singh, January 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.99 Demographic and social information in migration surveys: Analytical significance and guidelines for data collection
- by A.S. Oberai, January 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.101 Patterns of migration in Tanzania
- by Henry Bernstein, March 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.102 Concept and measurement of human reproduction in economic models of fertility behaviour
- by Ghazi Farooq, March 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.103 The political economy of investment in human capital
- by Irma Adelman and Jairus M. Hihn, March 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.104 Surveys of internal migration in low-income countries: The need for and content of community-level variables
- by R.E. Bilsborrow, April 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.105 Income transfers and remittances: A module for migration surveys
- by Guy Standing, April 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.106 A field guide to research on seven roles of women: Focussed biographies
- by Christine Oppong and Katie Church, May 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.107 Migration, production and technological change: Analytical issues and guidelines for data collection and analysis
- by A.S. Oberai, June 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.108 Migration and income distribution
- by Gerry Rodgers, July 1981.
- WEP 2-21/WP.109 How child labour was eradicated in the USSR: Integrating school and society
- by V.N. Yagodkin, July 1981.