

SOVIET APPROACH TO CHARACTER TRAINING

The Case of Student Collectives

by
Darge Wole*

Abstract

Socialist revolution entails fundamental changes in the values, aspirations as well as behaviors of society towards a total identification with the proletariat, a characteristic recognized as the hallmark of communist morality. Such value changes owe much to the role of schools in the character training of youth and, in this respect, it appears that the Soviet student collectives have achieved considerable success in instilling socialist consciousness among youth. Thus attempt is made to identify the social and psychological variables accounting for the relative success of the collectives and with these variables as a basis, suggestions are made for the organization of Ethiopian student youth with specific behavioral goals, evaluation methods and reinforcement patterns.

Introduction

General Nature of Character

Character, like consciousness, is an all-pervading yet illusive term. It is at one and the same time a social and psychological phenomenon, deriving its vitality from its august sponsor, the social system, and the superstructures thereof. In psychological literature, it is sometimes equated with the whole domain of personality. At other times, it is confined to individual idiosyncrasy.

Psychologists regard the subject of character as an area of extreme concern. According to Cronbach, "the highest peak among the educator's responsibilities is the development of character."¹ In the same vein, P'an Shu, President of the Psychological Society of China in 1962, described "the study of psychological problems in moral education" and "the training of workers with socialist consciousness and culture" as a major task for psychologists.²

Allport, Cronbach, English and English, Goldenson, Lindgren and May have offered definitions of "character".³ Psychoanalysts, Beha-

* Lecturer, Department of Psychology, Addis Ababa University.

Editor's Note: The article was received prior to the establishment of COPWE and REYA.

SOVIET APPROACH TO CHARACTER TRAINING

The Case of Student Collectives

by
Darge Wole*

Abstract

Socialist revolution entails fundamental changes in the values, aspirations as well as behaviors of society towards a total identification with the proletariat, a characteristic recognized as the hallmark of communist morality. Such value changes owe much to the role of schools in the character training of youth and, in this respect, it appears that the Soviet student collectives have achieved considerable success in instilling socialist consciousness among youth. Thus attempt is made to identify the social and psychological variables accounting for the relative success of the collectives and with these variables as a basis, suggestions are made for the organization of Ethiopian student youth with specific behavioral goals, evaluation methods and reinforcement patterns.

Introduction

General Nature of Character

Character, like consciousness, is an all-pervading yet illusive term. It is at one and the same time a social and psychological phenomenon, deriving its vitality from its august sponsor, the social system, and the superstructures thereof. In psychological literature, it is sometimes equated with the whole domain of personality. At other times, it is confined to individual idiosyncrasy.

Psychologists regard the subject of character as an area of extreme concern. According to Cronbach, "the highest peak among the educator's responsibilities is the development of character."¹ In the same vein, P'an Shu, President of the Psychological Society of China in 1962, described "the study of psychological problems in moral education" and "the training of workers with socialist consciousness and culture" as a major task for psychologists.²

Allport, Cronbach, English and English, Goldenson, Lindgren and May have offered definitions of "character".³ Psychoanalysts, Beha-

* Lecturer, Department of Psychology, Addis Ababa University.

Editor's Note: The article was received prior to the establishment of COPWE and REYA.

viorists and cognitive developmentalists have also expressed different points of view regarding the development of character.⁴ In general, however, the salient features of character can be indicated as follows:

- a) Character involves the development of social values and attitudes necessary for congenial relationship and effective interaction with other members of society. In the words, character development implies the ability to make the "correct" choice when one faces a conflict between individual interest and social interest.
- b) The development of character is highly influenced by early training.⁵ Yet, character formation, being a continuous process, is susceptible to change in later years.
- c) Character development may be regarded as a developmental process with particular stages.⁶ Thus it signifies a movement from the Amoral or "Egocentric" stage of morality to the "Rational", from the lower to the higher, from the particular to the general or from individual concern to social concern.
- d) Character training demands a responsibility both on the part of the socialization agents and the individual trainee. The responsibility of the socialization agents entails a positive and systematic approach in individual guidance and the responsibility of the trainee involves conformity to social norms of behavior.
- e) In pre-socialist systems, particularly in feudo-bourgeois and bourgeois societies, the individual is usually subjected to the varied, sometimes contradictory influences of different socialization agents, including the family, peer groups and religious denominations. Thus in understanding character development it is important to identify the major social groups with whom the individual interacts.
- f) Character development is not a simple adoption of rules and regulations. Instead, it is an expression of an active mind, constantly organizing and re-organizing its experiences and gradually evolving a system of values, bearing the stamp of individual or class needs and interests.⁷

Definition of the Problem

The most basic requirement in socialist character is a total identification with the proletariat.⁸ To this fundamental trait are attached an imposing array of personality characteristics including (a) the ability to make one's interest consistently subservient to the interest of the proletariat (b) a commitment to productive labor (c) a feeling of common ownership with regard to public property (d) a scientific attitude

towards the understanding and solving of social problems (e) optimism with regard to social development (f) a sense of patriotism and proletarian internationalism.⁹

This paper seeks to examine the influence of Soviet student collectives on the development of socialist character with reference to the following questions:

1. What are the organizational approaches used to facilitate the development of socialist consciousness among collective members?

2. What is the contribution of student collectives in terms of resolving the perennial issues of individual interest versus social interest, parental pressure versus group pressure and conformity versus autonomy?

There is sufficient justification for such an undertaking. A nation which is in the process of transforming itself from a feudo-bourgeois system to a socialist system ought to be conscious of the various approaches that have been used to encourage the development of socialist character among youth. As Redl points out, "Change of a social system brings about modification of character cultivated in society at large and reinforced by learning in school."¹⁰

Furthermore, according to Makarenko, the collective is an indispensable element in developing self-discipline among youth.¹¹ Bronfenbrenner has also indicated the superior role of soviet student collectives in the socialization process.¹² Thus, in general, the study has considerable significance not only to the teaching-learning processes but also to the social and political role of youth.

A Brief Description of Student Collectives

In the Soviet Union, one of the most significant forces that influence the development of individual character is the collective. Redl defines the collective as "a group of people with the same interest working together toward a mutual goal."¹³ The major task of the collective is to develop the feeling of "being a member of the socialist society."¹⁴ Thus, student collectives are organizations designed to promote socialist values among the school population. In Soviet schools, student collectives involve two major groups: the class collectives and the student and youth organizations including the Octobrists (age 8-10 years), the Pioneers (age 10-16) and the Komsomols (age 16-23).¹⁵

The class collective is designed to supplement the teacher's effort in providing academic instruction and in encouraging the development

of collective consciousness through group activity. Each class collective has student monitors and a supervising teacher.¹² A class collective may be subdivided into smaller units known as "links", with a monitor for each link. The progress of each class collective is evaluated weekly as well as monthly. The evaluation is based upon academic criteria such as the successful completion of a project and moral criteria such as the "execution of civic responsibilities".¹⁷ However, it appears, that in the evaluations emphasis is given to "conduct" rather than to academic performance.¹⁸

The monthly evaluation is conducted by the school collective and is used to compare the performance of the various class collectives within the school and to reward the outstanding collectives for their achievement. The rewards include letters of appreciation to parents and announcements at student assemblies or in the school newspaper.¹⁹ The class collective which wins the monthly competition also rewards its best members in a similar fashion.

Furthermore, the class collective offers a forum for mutual criticism, self-management and organizational practice. For instance, members are encouraged to criticize each other from the point of view of the group. In fact the ability to expose a friend's misconduct is considered a great virtue.²⁰ In addition, members are allowed to evaluate each other by suggesting ways of overcoming the defects they observe. What is more, the management of reward and punishment is left to the collective "as early as possible."²¹

The Octobrist, the Pioneer and the Komsomol organizations are larger and more developed forms of the student collective, recruiting their members from class collectives and reinforcing the values of these collectives. For instance, referring to the role of the Pioneers, Krupskaya notes: "In this organization, the children learn to think and act collectively, and to subordinate themselves to the demands and interests of the collective."²² In order to facilitate the activity of the Pioneers, "Rules for Pupils" have been prepared.²³ Furthermore, members elect a Pioneer Council to coordinate their activities.²⁴

In addition to all this, effort is made to enhance the feeling of social responsibility among the three organizations by requiring older groups to take care of the younger ones. Thus "Pioneers work with the younger group of children (the Octobrists) and assist them in their activities and school work if necessary, and the Komsomol members assume practically all responsibility for the pioneers".²⁵

Public self-criticism and mutual criticism continue to be important aspects of the socialization process in the three organizations. For instance, the official organ of the Komsomols, the *Komsmolskaia*

Pravda, has played a significant role in criticizing bourgeois tendencies among youth.²⁶

Furthermore, the three organizations seem to signify a gradual approach in promoting youth towards social and political responsibility. Thus, a member of the Octoberist is admitted to the Pioneer organization if his socialist conduct has been found to be satisfactory. A similar but a more rigorous requirement is applied in recruiting Komsomol members from among the Pioneers.²⁷

In general, it is possible to identify some major features in the socialization role of the student collectives. Firstly the collectives are provided with specific behavioral goals and various mechanisms are created to help them achieve these goals. Secondly the collectives usually employ social reinforcement instead of material reinforcement. Thirdly, competition is primarily on group basis rather than on individual basis. Finally, the student collectives seem to place a heavy stress on the individual's conduct.

The Socialization Role of Student Collectives

In this section attempt will be made to give first a general assessment of the collectives' socialization role. This will be followed by a description of the major psychological factors involved in the socialization role of the collectives.

A General Assessment of Student Collectives

Research strongly suggests that the student collectives have been considerably effective in enhancing the individual's feeling of social responsibility. For instance, experiments involving children from England, the United States, West Germany and the Soviet Union led to the conclusion that "... Soviet children are much less willing to engage in anti-social behavior than their age-mates in (the) three Western countries."²⁸ Furthermore, a comparison of Swiss and Soviet children suggested that Soviet children have a much stronger tendency "to do something" about the misconduct of another individual (a peer) than Swiss children.²⁹ In addition, it appears that punishment administered by the collectives is more effective than punishment administered by school authorities and parents, especially in the case of adolescent training.

On the other hand, however, there are some significant issues which remain to be resolved. For instance, to what extent does the collective system curb individual initiative and creativity? Which supervisory roles should be assigned to the student collectives and under what conditions should parents and teachers intervene in the activity of the collectives?

The question of creativity becomes significant because creativity implies divergence. In fact, divergent thinking is considered to be "the most important area in creative talent".³⁰ Furthermore, some literature strongly suggests that "creative persons are more devoted to autonomy... more independent in judgment ... more dominant... more radical..."³¹ Creative endeavors also imply such motivations as the need for recognition, achievement and variety.³² How, then, can the collective process, with its emphasis on conformity to group norms, provide for individual initiative and radical thought?

The answer seems to be a contradiction in terms because although the collective system encourages creativity it encourages it along predetermined lines. Anderson's "Open System"³³ as a suitable environment for creativity appears to be open only to the extent that the individual's activities are consonant with socialist values and goals. Indeed, in a response to a criticism levelled by F.H. Allport against the collective's ability to encourage the expression of individuality, Bekhterev writes "... our experimental data indicates that the collective (depending on its make-up) does not retard but, on the contrary, stimulates manifestations of personality, and it is obvious that it stimulates these manifestations wherever the individual qualities of the personality... more or less coincide with the general tenor and general direction of the collective's activity."³⁴ Smirnov adds, "The personal remains personal as long as it does not conflict with the interests of society, of the group..."³⁵

At the same time, however, it can be seen that Soviet educators and researchers are conscious of the cost involved in the use of the collective system when they write: "By developing primarily the task-oriented aspects of human relationships in the children's collective and allowing other characteristics to develop as they may, we in the last analysis impoverish the personality of the child."³⁶ It is therefore legitimate to conclude that, like other forms of human activity, "creativity" has to be defined or re-defined in terms of its social context.

The problem of adult intervention in the activities of the collective is another area of considerable concern. On the one hand, it is required that the collectives promote the objectives of the educational system in terms of imparting systematic knowledge and encouraging the development of specific attitudes and values. Hence teachers and others involved in the educational process have a duty to ascertain whether the activities of the collectives are in line with the educational goals of the social system or not. Thus teachers should see to it that the collective is engaged in "worthwhile" activities. They should also suggest corrective actions and provide orientations when necessary. They need to intervene when there is too much unjustified pressure on

an individual member. They should also help the collective in making a systematic evaluation of its activities. Such roles are easy to define but there are certain areas in which adult intervention becomes questionable.

For instance, Makarenko recommends that the right to punish "freshmen" should be left to the teacher while the right to pardon should be given to the collective.³⁷ Yet according to the same writer, "No matter how talented the pedagogue is, he has no right to act on his own"³⁸. Krupskaya also suggests that adults should not interfere "when children begin a joint project"³⁹ but she hastens to add that collective members should not be allowed "excessive amusements".⁴⁰ Thus although adult supervision of collective activities can generally be understood in terms of clarifying goals and sub-goals and helping the collectives achieve these goals through different methods, the outcome heavily relies on the training and ingenuity of the supervisors.

A Psychological Perspective on Student Collectives

The psychological factors involved in the activities of the collectives can be considered from the following vantage points.

I) Social Support for the Common Goal

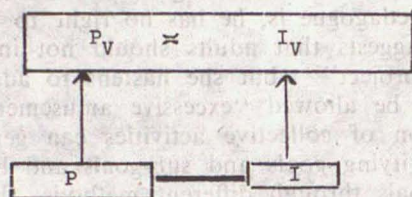
As indicated earlier, the common goal which binds collective members together is their orientation towards the same socialist values. Such a common goal is perhaps one of the fundamental requirements for group success. For instance, a study by M. Deutch strongly suggests that when compared with a "competitive" group with no common goal, a cooperative group shows "greater coordination of efforts" and better "understanding."⁴¹

In this respect, both the family and the school seem to facilitate the internalization of the common values by collective members. For instance, the school system provides specific behavioral targets ("Rules for Pupils") and it encourages the collectives to assume the responsibility of self management as early as possible. Effort is also made to supplement the task of the collectives in character training by providing parents with detailed information regarding the desirable values and the family activities that help to develop these values. What is more, the collectives have political significance. In fact, they form the basis for training the Soviet man or the "new" man under the guidance of the Party.

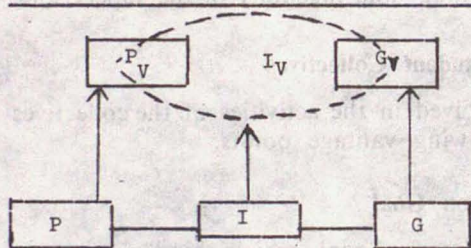
Thus, by demanding a coherent approach in child training, the social system encourages the positive transfer of an attitude from one social context to another. Such a systematic approach seems to bridge

the gap between parental values and peer group values, a familiar source of conflict for children.

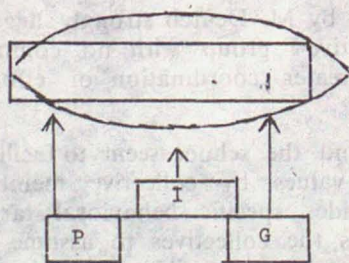
The following sketches attempt to illustrate this point.



A. Initial Status of the individual in which he assumes parental values (PV)



B. A Condition of Maximum Conflict between parental values and group values (GV)



C. A Condition of Minimum Conflict between parental values and group values.

☐ = Parental Values
 ○ = Group values

Diagram 1 : Some forms of Parental and Group Influence on Individual Character

Diagram 1 (B) indicates that the individual is likely to experience a serious psychological disequilibrium when there is no similarity between parental and group values. On the other hand, in a condition where group values show a significant overlap with parental values (as in "C" above), the individual probably faces little or no conflict. In the case

of student collectives, effort is made to create a harmony between parental values and group values. This type of effort helps not only to minimize the conflict in the value orientation of the individual but also to avoid any disinhibitory effect inconsistent demands may have on the individual's behavior.⁴²

Perhaps the major social support to the values of the collectives is expressed through a system of upgrading in which members of a student collective become eligible to join higher forms of collectives, including the Party, by demonstrating their devotion to the common values. Thus the practicality of the values in social life probably has a significant role in enhancing the individual's commitment to these values.⁴³

2) Group Pressure for Conformity

Because of the overwhelming importance attached to group competition, there is a high pressure on collective members to contribute as much as possible to the achievement of their group. In other words, each collective tries to maintain individual conformity to group standards through "Systematic group pressure, competition and peer censure".⁴⁴ There are a number of factors which facilitate the effort of the collectives in achieving individual conformity to group aspirations. First, there are studies which strongly suggest that cooperation among group members increases when the gratification of one depends on the cooperation of another.⁴⁵ The fact that the collectives have the power to administer reward and punishment also contributes to their effectiveness in commanding individual conformity. In fact, according to some investigations, punishment administered by the collectives seems to be more effective than punishment administered by school authorities or parents.⁴⁶

Furthermore, conformity to group norms of behavior seems to be facilitated by the general tendency of individuals to seek group acceptance. For instance, a study by Hyman strongly suggests that when individuals compare themselves with reference groups, they do so not only in "economic" or "intellectual" terms but also in terms of character in order "to achieve the most satisfactory position possible."⁴⁷ Such a drive for group acceptance is likely to assume prominence among members of student collectives because the collectives are organized in such a way that an individual considered unfit by a collective automatically becomes an isolate.

Moreover, there is some literature which suggests that individual conformity to group standards becomes high when the group is small and the individual is a minority.⁴⁸ In this respect the classroom link, a subdivision of the class collective, seems to facilitate individual conformity to group decisions.

In general, therefore, it appears that the student collectives are in a position, both socially and psychologically, to demand individual conformity to group norms of behavior. But conformity thus achieved entails a number of issues not yet fully explored. For instance, the emphasis on conformity may have a negative consequence on the development of the individual's creative ability. In fact, according to some studies, "creative performers are most often independent, asocial and consciously original"⁴⁹

Conformity to collective values should also be assessed in terms of the individual's commitment to these values. That is, generally an individual may be expected to conform to group goals when he perceives the goals as satisfying from the point of view of his needs and aspirations. Sometimes, however, individuals show conformity to group goals not because they consider the goals as satisfying but because they want to avoid the harsh consequences of non-conformity. Furthermore, in ambiguous situations, individuals may identify with the majority for the mere purpose of expediency. It also appears that capable members feel committed to the goals of their group only in so far as the distribution of reward is "fair".⁵⁰ Thus, conformity does not necessarily imply commitment and the degree to which student collectives resolve such anomalous conditions has yet to be established.

Summary and Recommendations

A socioeconomic transformation, by definition, implies a corresponding change in social values and individual character. In this respect, socialist revolution entails the development of proletarian values such as collectivism, respect for work, optimism and internationalism.

In this paper, an attempt has been made to explore the ways in which student collectives in the Soviet school system contribute to the development of character.

As a background to the main issue, the paper has provided a brief account of the nature and development of character. In this respect, it has been indicated that character development necessarily involves social interaction. It has also been pointed out that the individual's early interactions with parents and peer groups lay the foundation for his adult personality.

As agents of socialization, student collectives in the Soviet Union are characterized by a hierarchical organization in which the individual advances from the lower to the higher levels by demonstrating his conformity to group norms of behavior. Thus the classroom link is

the germ cell that develops to larger forms of collectives such as the *komsomol* in a gradual process involving group evaluation of individual character.

Student collectives try to foster individual commitment to group goal by stressing the member's role as a model. Thus through a system of group adoption, older children are encouraged to take care of younger ones. In terms of group sanction, perhaps the most serious action taken against non-conformists is the withdrawal of group acceptance. It also seems that on the whole, the collectives give more weight to social reinforcement rather than material reinforcement.

In general, it appears that the student collectives have been effective in achieving individual conformity to common socialist values. This success can perhaps be explained in terms of the group pressure that the individual member senses everyday and the general social support given to the common values. However, some issues have been raised regarding adult supervision of student collectives and the effectiveness of the collectives in promoting individual initiative and creativity.

Generally, the collective approach suggests a re-definition of the role of parents, teachers and peer groups in the socialization process. Thus, emphasis is given to the role of youth in maintaining self-discipline among themselves, and the success of parents and teachers in character training is measured by their ability to make children self-managing as early as possible. In other words, the child is first expected to be "obedient" to adults and then transfer this tendency to the collective situation by adopting group norms of behavior.

The collective approach has particular significance to the Ethiopian educational system. Thus in addition to formulating clear objectives in terms of fostering the development of socialist values, the Ethiopian educational system needs to consider which objectives can best be attained through the collective approach. Accordingly, it seems necessary to re-examine the content of the Curricula as well as the teaching and evaluation methods in order to allow for more group participation.

More specifically, in order to enhance the development of socialist consciousness among student youth and encourage them to become effective participants in productive social activities, it is suggested that the Ethiopian educational system be re-vitalized along the following lines:

1. Since early education lays the foundation for the development of the child's values and since a number of pre-schools are being opened by various mass organizations, especially the *kebeles*, it is suggested that teacher training institutions design special programs for the training of pre-school teachers.

Furthermore, workshops on collective upbringing should be organized for elementary and pre-school teachers by the Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Addis Ababa University and the educational attaches of socialist countries.

2. In the preparation of textbooks and teaching aids, more attempt should be made to include tasks and projects which involve group work, group competition and problem solving. Thus, at the pre-school and elementary school levels, play as well as teaching materials can be designed in such a way that they require the cooperation of different individuals to make them work. In the high schools, it is possible to arrange for a group of students to study different aspects of a technical or social problem and submit a coherent report.

3. In Proclamation No. 103 of 1976 regarding the administration of schools by the people, emphasis has been placed on the involvement of parents in helping schools maintain student discipline and in motivating the effort of schools to combine theory with practice. The involvement of parents in school programs is no doubt essential to the effectiveness of a provision in which students continue to study under adult supervision is likely to be short-lived.

Thus the usefulness of establishing student associations for self-management and as forerunners to a national youth league cannot be underestimated. These student associations should have specific responsibilities in terms of coordinating student activities and they should be well-represented in the school administration committee.

4. It is also suggested that student teams or task units be established at each grade level first in the high schools and then, after a follow-up study, in the elementary schools.

The number of student teams may vary from grade to grade but a student team should not be too large to coordinate. Furthermore, attempt should be made to provide each student team with an advisor from among the teachers. The student teams at each grade level can also form a student council to coordinate their activities, and the representatives of the student councils shall assume leadership in the school's students' association.

The major tasks of the student teams would be to help the school create a more conducive atmosphere for educational activities and to undertake group projects in cultural, agricultural or other social fields.

5. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture and Sports should take the initiative to provide to schools broad guidelines

regarding the role of student councils and student associations in supervising the activities of their members.

6. The Ministry of Education should also seriously consider introducing an evaluation scheme in which students are assessed not only in terms of their academic performance but also in terms of their general conduct and social contributions. The evaluation scheme should give particular attention to the following factors:

- (a) Academic performance remains to be an essential aspect of the student's activity and should therefore be given due weight in the evaluation.
- (b) Creative activities or successful completion of social projects should be given special consideration.
- (c) Effort should be made to involve student teams in the evaluation.
- (d) It would be useful to develop a system in which outstanding student teams and individuals are given public recognition through certificates of merit and other means.
- (e) Students who fail to demonstrate the desired values should be given a re-orientation by the student council. Recalcitrant cases may be handled by the students' association or the school committee.

7. In the training of secondary school teachers, emphasis should be given not only to an analysis of socialist educational systems but also to the psychology of human development and group dynamics. Practicums can also be arranged for prospective teachers to work with student teams.

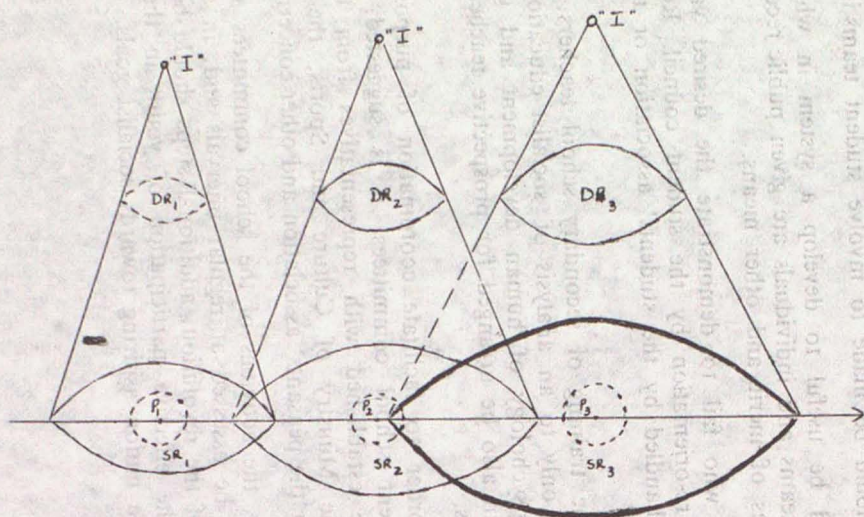
8. In order to facilitate coordination of purpose and activity among different school committees, it is suggested that a central committee be established with representatives from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture and Sports, the City Dwellers' Association or the peasants' association and other concerned institutions.

Moreover, the activities of the school committees and the student teams should be assessed at regular intervals and, in accordance with the demands of the revolution, additional steps should be taken in order to enhance the effective participation of youth in the political and social life of a nation aspiring towards socialist goals.

Infancy and Childhood

Youth

Adulthood



P=The person with a particular potential interacting with different social regions.

SR= Social region involving such elements as the family, peer groups, co-workers, etc.

DR= Dominant Psychological region involving the social values that have the most appeal to the individual. These are "Class" values.

S= Self or self-concept - the unifying element in the person's interactions with society.

Individual Character as a Product of Social Interaction

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. L.J. Cronbach, *Educational Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1954), p. 576.
2. R. Chin and Ai-li Chin, *Psychological Research in Communist China* (Mass.: MIT Press, 1969), p. 134.
3. Cronbach, *op. cit.*, p. 577; H.B. English & A.C. English, *A Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psychanalytical Terms* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1958), p. 83; R.A. King, *Readings for an Introduction to Psychology* (New York: MC-Graw Hill, 1971), p. 325; R.M. Goldenson, "Character development", *The Encyclopedia of Human Behavior*, Vol. I (1970), pp. 196-198; H.C. Lindgren, *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (New York: John Wiley, 1969), p. 183; P.R. May, *Moral Education in School* (London: Methuen Education Ltd., 1971), p. 18.
4. See, for instance, B.R. McCandless, *et al.*, *Children and Youth* (Hindsale The Dryden Press, 1973), pp. 268-270; L. Kohlberg "Psychological View of Moral Education", *The Encyclopedia of Education*, Vol. 6 (1971), pp. 398-406; A.W. Kay, *Moral Development* (New York: Schochen Books, 1969), p. 67; May, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24, 27-28.
5. For instance, according to Hurlock, the Period of Infancy is a "Critical" age in "laying down the foundations of many behavior patterns, many attitudes toward others and toward the self. . . ." See, E. B. Hurlock, *Developmental Psychology* (New York: Mc-Graw Hill, 1959), p. 78.
6. The universality and age-limits associated with these stages have however been questioned. See, for instance, L. Berkowitz, *The Development of Motives and Values in the Child* (New York: Basic Books, 1964), pp. 50-52; R.L. Gorsuch & M.L. Barnes "Stages of Ethical Reasoning and Moral Norms of Carib Youths," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 4 (Sept., 1973), pp. 283-301; P.T. Ashton, "Cross Cultural Piagetian Research," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 45 (Nov., 1975), pp. 475-506.
7. A diagram which depicts the major processes in character development is provided in the Appendix.
8. Lenin wrote: "We say that our communist morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of proletarian class struggle... Morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and unite all the working people around the proletariat." See *Lenin on Youth* (Moscow: Progress, 1970) pp. 243 & 245.
9. For more details, see Chin & Chin, *op. cit.*, p. 134; H.B. Redl, (trans. & ed.), *Soviet Educators on Soviet Education* (London: Free Press, 1964) XXXIV; G. Smirnov, *Soviet Man* (Moscow: Progress, 1973) pp. 172-190; G.Z.E. Bereday, *et al.*, *The Changing Soviet School* (Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1960), p. 402; N. Grant, *Soviet Education* (London: Univ. of London Press, 1964), pp. 46-48, 50-51).
10. Redl, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
11. Alexei Kalinin, *Preschool Education in the USSR* (Moscow: Novosti Press, n.d.), p. 19.
12. E.B. Page, (ed), *Readings for Educational Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), p. 390.
13. Redl, *op. cit.*, XXXIV
14. Bereday, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 419.
15. Redl, *loc. cit.* It should be indicated, however, that the age brackets indicated by Redl are different from those provided by Bronfenbrenner. According to Bronfenbrenner the age brackets are the following:

- Octoberists - (7-9); Pioneers - (10-15) and Komsomols - (16-28). See U. Bronfenbrenner, *Two Worlds of Childhood* (New York: Pocket Books, 1973), p. 39. Note also that the Komsomol includes Youth members who are not students.
16. The description of the class collective provided here is based on the account given in Bereday, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-422.
 17. Bronfenbrenner, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 68.
 18. Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
 19. Redl, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
 20. Bronfenbrenner, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
 21. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23
 22. Redl, *op. cit.*, p. 225
 23. Bereday, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 415
 24. Bronfenbrenner, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63
 25. L.B. Katterle, *Schools in the Soviet* (Wash. D.C. American Assoc. of school Administrators, 1965), p. 58.
 26. Bereday, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 425-426.
 27. For more details regarding the political role of these groups, see G.Z.F. Bereday & J. Pennar, eds., *The Politics of Soviet Education* (London: Stevens & Sons, 1960), pp. 45-57.
 28. Bronfenbrenner, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
 29. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84
 30. S.J. Parnes & H.F. Harding, (eds.) *A Source Book for Creative Thinking* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1962), p. 179.
 31. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 181
 33. H.H. Anderson, (ed.), *Creativity and Its Cultivation* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), p. 251
 34. M.T. Iovchuk & L.N. Kogan, *The Cultural Life of the Soviet Worker* (Moscow: Progress, 1975), p. 26.
 35. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
 36. Bronfenbrenner, *op. cit.*, p. 92
 37. Redl, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
 38. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
 39. *Ibid.*, p. 232
 40. *Ibid.*, p. 230
 41. J.W. Thibaut & H.H. Kelley, *The Social Psychology of Groups* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1961), pp. 258-259. Similar studies have been reported in D. Cartwright & Zander (eds.), *Group Dynamics* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 414.
 42. A more detailed account regarding the disinhibitory effects of inconsistent training is provided in H.J. Klausmeir & W. Goodwin *Learning and Human Abilities* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) p. 79 ff.
 43. The importance of "practicality" in character training is of course well-established in psychological literature. See for instance B. & J. Simon, eds. *Educational Psychology in the USSR* (Stanford: University Press, 1963) p. 43.
 44. McCandless, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-284.
 45. Y. Brackbill, ed., *Infancy and Early Childhood* (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 405.
 46. Redl, *op. cit.*, p. 35 ff.
 47. A.T. Jersild, *The Psychology of Adolescence* (New York: MacMillan, 1969), p. 267.
 48. McCandless, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
 49. Cronbach, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
 50. I.D. Steiner, *Group Process and Productivity* (New York: Academic Press, 1972), p. 15.