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ABSTRACT

The Soviet government has consistently relied upon the country's educational system, including adult education, to advance its ideological, social, and economic goals. In the Soviet Union, education has been used to promote Soviet identity, minimize the impact of religion, advance the status of women, and help increase worker productivity. Adult education programs have many different purposes, including eliminating illiteracy, raising occupational skill levels, attaining a 100-percent secondary school completion rate, raising ideological and political levels, and encouraging cultural enrichment and constructive use of leisure time. All of the country's adult education programs are regulated by the government. They are completely government financed and are free to adult learners. Virtually all adult education takes place on the students' own time. Both formal and nonformal programs make up the country's adult education system. The formal school programs for adults integrate adult education courses into the existing framework of secondary, vocational, or higher education. The curricula of evening, correspondence, and day classes are largely the same. Approximately 13 million Soviet citizens are enrolled in over 47,000 people's universities. These universities combine features of formal and nonformal education. Although they have definite curricula and academic programs, they do not purport to provide a standardized body of knowledge. Many students attend them to prepare for exams given at work or through other schools; in and of themselves, certificates of completion from people's universities do not give individuals any additional rights or status. Museums, libraries, clubs, theaters, and cultural centers are other providers of nonformal, nonschool programs for adults. Trade unions play a large role in workplace educational programs, which are primarily intended to improve worker productivity. (MN)

ADULT EDUCATION

IN

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

by

Rita L. Wells and Douglas N. Goetz

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

I. INTRODUCTION

> The Soviet system of education is, in its entirety, one of the most crucial and potent influences shaping the lives of millions of Soviet citizens and fundamentally conditioning the whole future of Soviet society and the Soviet state.
>
> (Tomiak, 1983, p. vii)

In this paper, adult education in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) will be examined. Adult education in any country does not develop in a vacuum. The dynamics of Soviet adult education can only be understood within the broad context of Soviet culture. Geographical and demographic data about the Soviet Union will be reviewed. The impact of religion will be discussed. The roles, in Soviet society, of women will be examined. Soviet political, economic, and educational systems will be discussed.

Having "painted" the context for adult education in the U.S.S.R., the authors of this paper will then discuss the role of adult education in the Soviet Union. The purposes of Soviet adult education as well as the formal and informal systems of delivery will be discussed. Through examination of contextual issues in general, and adult education in specific, the authors will show the role of adult education in "shaping the lives of millions of Soviet citizens".

The "Soviet Union" and the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" (U.S.S.R.) will be used interchangeably in this paper. In a like manner, the terms "Russian" and "Soviet" will be used interchangeably.

II. THE U.S.S.R. -- THE CONTEXT

A. Geography

In The Soviet Union, Parks and Moore (1986) note that the Soviet Union

> . . . is the largest country in the world, with an area measuring 8.65 million square miles and stretching across 11 time zones. About two-and-one-half times larger than the United States, the Soviet territory extends from the Baltic Sea to the Bering Strait. . . . This large land mass shares borders with 12 other nations: Afghanistan, China, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Hungary, Iran, Mongolia, North Korea, Norway, Poland, Romania and Turkey. (p. 3)

In The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Shoemaker (1983) describes the topography of this large country. A large part of the Soviet Union is on the same latitude as Alaska; the U.S.S.R.'s southernmost point is on the same latitude as Oklahoma City (p. 4).

The geography and climate of the U.S.S.R. have a significant impact on population density, economic development, and agrarian capability. Shoemaker (1983) notes,

> Climate is one of the most significant factors in determining the conditions of life and the direction of development in the Soviet Union. . . . The climate of Russia has placed severe limitations on the country's capacity to feed adequately a huge and growing population. . . The land includes desert and subtropical areas, but the great bulk of the soil remains frozen for many months each year. Rivers and harbors are free of ice only for a few months. . . (p. 4)

Twenty-five percent of the land is too cold or too dry for agriculture, thirty percent is covered by forests, and only fifteen percent is suitable for agriculture (Shoemaker, z1983, p. 5).

B. Political System

Since the 1917 October Revolution, the power in the Soviet Union has centered in the Communist Party. The government structure parallels the Communist Party structure (Parks and Moore, 1986, p. 10). Decisions are made by a very few individuals at the top of the Communist Party. Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution states,

> The Communist Party, armed with Marxism-Leninism, determines the general perspectives of the development of society and the course of the home and foreign policy of the USSR, and imparts a planned, systematic and theoretically substantiated character to the struggle for the victory of communism.
>
> (Parks and Moore, 1986, p. 10)

The basic principle of the Soviet government is "democratic centralism" (Shoemaker, 1983, p. 42). This is based on the concept that the leaders at the top are elected by the lower ranks. Therefore the leaders make central policies which are to be followed unconditionally by those in the lower levels. This results in national political cohesion and political stability. It also results in individual goals being subordinated to those of the state.

Membership in the Communist Party is restricted to approximately seven percent of the population (Perry and Roberts, 1986, p. 10). Members are considered an elite who receive benefits from Party membership through better housing, admission to better universities, newer cars, and better jobs.

C. Demographics: Ethnic Diversity and An Aging Population

The Soviet Union has a population of approximately 278 million; the only countries in the world which have larger populations are China and India (Parks and Moore, 1986, p. 171). The U.S.S.R. is divided into fifteen union republics which are sovereign states. Each of the fifteen republics is unique in terms of language, religion, and ethnic background.

The U.S.S.R. contains over 170 different ethnic groups which speak more than 130 different languages (Parks and Moore, 1986, p. 6). Russian is the official language; however, there is great tolerance for the other languages. Article 45 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states that "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to . . . attend a school where teaching is in the native language . . ." (Yagodin, 1987, p. 5).

With this cultural diversity, strong nationalistic--as opposed to Soviet--feelings often appear in the republics and among the many ethnic groups. In a chapter entitled "Nationality Question" from the book The Soviet Union in the 1980's, Gail Lapidus notes the dichotomy between regional nationalistic pressures and the official "democratic centralism" structure of the Soviet Union,

> The Soviet leadership must therefore tread a delicate line between acknowledging the legitimacy of a growing national consciousness and curbing what it sees as undesirable manifestations of national egoism, chauvinism, and conflict.
>
> (Hoffmann (Ed.), 1984. pp. 101-102)

Nationalistic pressures may become more intense if population growth trends continue as they have in recent years. In an chapter entitled "What Ails The Soviet System?" from the Hoffmann book, Timothy Colton notes,

> The most alarming [demographic trend] from the Russian vantage point is the enormous asymmetry in fertility between the European population [of the U.S.S.R.] and the other Soviet peoples. . . . Whereas the Russian population will increase by 2.4 million between 1979 and 2000, the Moslem total is expected to grow by 20 million. By the turn of the century, the Russians, with 47 percent of the population and only about 40 percent of all 0-to-9-year-olds will no longer be a majority.
>
> (Hoffmann (Ed.), 1984, p. 19)

With such alarming demographic trends, the Soviet Union may intensify efforts to educate members of the various ethnic groups in Soviet--versus nationalistic, ethnic--ways. Shimoniak (1970) noted,

> Soviet indoctrination has no limits for achievement of the desired patriotic education. The children are educated in the spirit of love for Russia--regardless of their nationality . . . . The Russians make a great deal out of national culture, but in reality they apply more intensely oppressive techniques toward the non-Russian people of the Soviet Union than did the czars. (p. 61)

Demographic data also shows a trend to children as a smaller proportion of the Soviet population and the elderly as a growing segment of the population. The following statistics are taken from The Soviet Economy: Toward the Year 2000 (Bergson and Levine, 1983, p. 87),

(Numbers are in thousands)

Ages	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
All	178,547	212,372	241,640	265,049	289,206	308,050
0-15	57,386 (32.1%)	66,647 (31.4%)	74,769 (30.9%)	69,304 (26.1%)	77,955 (27.0%)	78,144 (25.4%)
16-59	102,656 (57.5%)	119,467 (56.3%)	130,589 (54.0%)	154,806 (58.4%)	160,796 (55.6%)	170,968 (55.5%)
60 +	18,505 (10.4%)	26,258 (12.4%)	36,282 (15.0%)	40,939 (15.4%)	50,455 (17.4%)	58,938 (19.1%)

D. Religion

Karl Marx called religion "the opiate of the people"; according to Soviet statistics, seventy percent of the population is atheist (Parks and Moore, 1986, p. 4). The largest religion in the Soviet Union is Russian Orthodoxy with eighteen percent of the population. Moslems, Jews, Protestants, and Roman Catholics together constitute less than twelve percent of the population.

As with nationalism, there is an uneasy balance between official Soviet policy and religion. The Soviet union appears particularly sensitive to outside criticism regarding religious persecution. Parks and Moore (1986) note, "The regime has grown to tolerate some religion rather than suffer the repercussions of arousing religious dissent and international criticism" (p. 172).

In the educational system, religion is treated as " . . . superstitious, backward, and old-fashioned" (Parks and Moore, 1986, p. 173). Religious communities are allowed to train clergy only to replace those who die or retire.

E. The Role of Women in the U.S.S.R.

Article 35 of the Soviet Constitution states, ". . . women and men have equal rights in the U.S.S.R. As realized, these rights guarantee to women opportunities

equal to those accorded men in the receipt of an education and professional training . . ." (Tomin, 1984, p.18). Marxist ideology blamed the exploitation of women on the bourgeois family and capitalism. From the outset of Soviet power in the 1920's, strong efforts were made to increase levels of literacy, education, and productive employment of women (Parks and Moore, 1986, p. 172).

Women comprise more than half the labor force. In many ways, Soviet society is more progressive than United States society in terms of benefits and opportunities for women. Soviet mothers receive sixteen weeks of maternity leave at full pay and have an option of taking another year off at half pay (Parks and Moore, 1986, p. 172). There is an extensive network of child care centers.

Soviet women account for approximately forty percent of all engineers, twenty-five percent of judges, fifty percent of research specialists, forty-five percent of teachers in higher education, eighty-four percent of all public health workers, and eighty-six percent of economists (Parks and Moore, 1986, p. 172). The most important areas in which women are not equally represented are the upper levels of the Soviet political party, the Soviet enterprise system, and the military.

In the 1980's, Soviet women participate in education much the same as Soviet men. There is no need for "re-entry women" or other specialized programs for Soviet women.

F. Economy

The Soviet economy is a centrally planned economy which is run by the government. All industrial, commercial, and agricultural activities are owned by the Government (Parks and Moore, 1986, p. 161). The Soviet Union is an abundant producer of metals, petroleum products, lumber, cotton,

steel, coal, crude oil, fish, and seafood (Shoemaker, 1983, p. 4). However, the U.S.S.R. is plagued by "Low industrial productivity, dependence on foreign sources of agricultural commodities, and a dearth of consumer goods . . ." (Parks and Moore, 1986, p. 161). The rate of economic growth has averaged two to three percent in recent years (Campbell, 1985). As mentioned under A. Geography above, the climate of the Soviet Union is poorly suited to agricultural development.

Soviet leaders have tried numerous approaches to help improve economic conditions: long-term planning through the use of five-year plans, importing outside technology, quotas for workers, and education programs to increase worker productivity.

G. Education

Since the end of World War II, the requirement for elementary and secondary education has been increased substantially. Immediately after World War II, primary level education became mandatory. Today, Soviet educational levels have been increased to ten years of compulsory elementary and secondary education (Yagodin, 1987). Darinskii (1984) noted,

> The majority of young people starting out in life today have a higher general education than older people who began their working career under the difficult conditions of wartime. It is therefore inevitable that the general education level of adults lags behind the level of the younger generation. (p. 86)

This lower level of education among the older Soviet citizens has created a demand for the updating of these adults' educational levels.

H. The Context--In Summary

The Soviet Union is a study in contrasts. It is the world's largest country--yet a large percentage of its land is unusable because of topography and climate. The Soviet political system is based on the centralized power of those at the top of the Communist party. However, the U.S.S.R. is a land of cultural diversity with strong nationalistic sentiment among the many republics and ethnic groups. The population is aging. There is a strong difference in education levels between the older Soviet citizens and the younger ones. Women have gained equal status in education, literacy, and professional status--but are conspicuously absent from positions of power in government and the military. Political cohesion and stability exist, but often at the loss of individual choice.

The Soviet government has consistently relied upon the educational system to advance its goals. The educational system has been used to promote Soviet identity, to minimize the impact of religion, to advance the status of women, and to help increase worker productivity. Mass education has been used to further ideological, social, and economic goals. Within this context, the role of adult education in the Soviet Union will be examined.

III. Adult Education in the U.S.S.R.

A. The Role of Adult Education in the U.S.S.R

Adult education within the Soviet Union takes on many shapes and forms that reflect the political inclinations and goals of the country. Furthermore, adult education is encouraged and supported in the written doctrines and government proclamations of the Soviet Union.

The most important features of [adult] continuing

> education are expressed in the Soviet state's fundamental documents, in the Constitution of the USSR, and in the Principles of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on Public Education. Continuing education presupposes the right of all citizens to receive an education--the universality of education.
>
> (Darsinkii, 1984, p.33)

This philosophy for its citizens has not always been the position of the government. From the early years of the Soviet Union, Lenin strongly supported adult education. However, at times other priorities, economic and political, took precedent over the education of the masses. Also, history has been unkind in that, during the past century, the Soviet Union twice has been completely disrupted as a large percentage of its population became casualties of war. Over twenty million Soviet citizens died during World War II. During the struggle of the second World War, formal adult education programs took a back seat to the Soviet Union's fight for survival (Brown (Ed.), 1982). The commitment of the Soviet government to education is reflected in the attention given to re-building the education system after the war and the vigor with which adult education flourishes today.

Government documents express support for adult education from the standpoint of <u>opportunity</u>. Yet, from the standpoints of <u>content</u> and <u>purpose</u>, further and deeper analysis is required. An analysis of the educational opportunities available to an adult in the U.S.S.R. requires a review of the purposes as well as the formal and informal systems of delivery of adult education.

B. Purposes of Adult Education in the U.S.S.R.

- Literacy

The Soviet Union has reported great strides in overcoming illiteracy since the first years of the Soviet Republic. The 1897 population census data from pre-revolutionary Russia showed that seventy-two percent of the population was illiterate (Maksimov, 1974, p. 46). Savicevic noted that Lenin decreed in 1919 that illiteracy in the Soviet Union would be eliminated (Charters, 1981, p. 76). Millions of illiterate Soviet citizens learned to read and write in classes formed in schools, workplaces, and clubs. By 1970 the Soviet Union considered the problem of illiteracy eradicated.

> The question about literacy was not included in the census questions for the 1970 population census because the 1959 census showed that illiteracy had been almost totally eliminated from the country. An insignificant number of illiterates between the ages of 9 and 49 remained, and they were unable to learn to read and write because of chronic illness or physical disabilities.
>
> (Maksimov, 1972, p. 50)

Soviet reports do not identify the criteria used for defining literacy. Nor are there easy methods for Westerners to verify the Soviet data. However, the Soviets appear to consider the literacy problem something of the past. Literacy is no longer identified as a major purpose for Soviet adult education in the 1980's.

- Raising Occupational Skills

Soviet legislation requires that production training facilities be established for on-the-job training and advanced training of workers (Darinskii, 1984, p. 34). Workers who have received training are issued a certificate stating that they have mastered a given specialty and are assigned to a higher skill group. The Soviet program to raise occupational skills is open to all workers. Darinskii (1984) notes that this program's

> . . . scale mounts with each passing year due to continuing change in the technology, economics, and organization of production, the emergence of new economic branches, new occupations and specialities, and changes in the content of people's production activity. (p. 35)

This reflects the goals of the Soviet Union's centrally planned economy. Education of workers is seen as a way of increasing productivity and economic growth.

- Completion of Secondary Education

The completion of at least a secondary education by all workers is currently a goal of the Soviet government. As was discussed in Education above, compulsory secondary education was initiated in the Soviet Union in the years after World War II. Many older Soviets lack the educational background which is now compulsory for youth. Maksimov (1974) noted,

> The plans for social and cultural programs at production enterprises and (state) organizations and at state and collective farms call for a rise in the educational level of workers and collective farmers and for an (opportunity for them) to

> obtain a complete secondary education. This is required by modern scientific and technological advancement and is necessary for the all-round development of the Soviet man. (p. 49)

Once again, education is seen as a way to develop human resources--workers--in the Soviet Union to help meet economic goals of the government.

- Raising the Ideological and Political Levels of Soviet Citizens

Darkenwald and Merriam note, "In the broadest sense, all education is political. Whether education supports the status quo of stable societies or is used as a tool in nations undergoing dramatic change, it is impossible to deny . . . the political aspect of education" (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982, p. 208).

Education is one of the most viable methods for the Soviet Government to address a multitude of issues which run counter to Soviet ideology. Education can help to change nationalistic, religious, and ethnic sentiments. The state directed education system can be a tool for political cohesion and stability. Education can be a way of building Soviet self-esteem and giving a sense of Communist purpose.

Tomiak (1983) predicted increased use of education for ideological and political purposes,

> It therefore seems certain that one of the most important themes of Soviet education in the 1980's will be the need to make political education more effective and more all-pervasive than ever before. . . . there is a reaction against what is seen to

> be an increasing ideological threat from outside; secondly, a concern to eliminate attitudes which are inconsistent . . . and thirdly, a desire to improve the population's attitude towards work. . . . (p. 147)

- Cultural Enrichment and Use of Leisure Time

An additional factor influencing the growth or development of adult education within the Soviet Union is the development of free time. It is interesting to note that the Soviet work day was reduced to seven hours in 1961 (Brady and Allen, 1974). Soviets work six days a week.

> The annual free time of the entire working population in the USSR is approximately one-fifth of the total annual time fund. Socialist society is interested in seeing to it that a person uses his free time rationally for rest, for development, and for the enjoyment of his rights as a human being, a family person and a citizen.
>
> (Darinskii, 1984. p. 40)

The purposeful use of free time is highly prized and valued in the Soviet life, not just for the sake of enjoyment. Adult education programs geared to cultural enrichment and the use of leisure time have been sponsored by schools, workplaces, museums, and libraries.

C. Formal and Informal Systems of Delivery

- Systems of Delivery

Among the systems of delivery of adult education in the Soviet Union are: the formal school programs; the People's Universities; the non-formal, non-school programs offered by clubs, libraries, and museums; and adult education programs

offered through the workplace and trade unions. Each of these systems of delivery will be discussed in greater detail below.

- Financing

All of these systems of delivery are free to the adult learner and are financed by the Soviet Union (Miguov, 1970).

- Scheduling

Virtually all adult education takes place on the student's own time. Darinsky (1984) noted, ". . . for the most part, the vocational,, general, and political education of adults takes place exclusively in their free time" (p. 40).

- Control

All education in the Soviet Union is regulated by the government.

> The work of all educational establishments throughout the country is controlled by the central state bodies--union and republican Ministeries of Education and Ministeries of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education.
>
> (Migunov, 1970, p. 229)

- The Formal School Programs

The formal school programs of adult education integrate adult education courses into the existing framework of secondary, vocational, or higher education. Courses are offered at different times but the curricula are virtually the same. Savicevic notes,

> The school system of adult education includes the following forms: secondary general-educational

> schools for adults which aim to provide adults with complete secondary education in three basic ways --through evening education, correspondence education, and education in shifts; vocational schools for adults, the programs of which can be combined with general education; and adult education in institutions of higher education.
>
> (Charters (Ed.), 1981, p. 77)

Because of the flexibility offered through evening and correspondence courses workers can study through the school system without leaving their jobs. Savicevic also notes, "Adults who are working and studying at the same time receive social and financial incentives: public recognition, paid leave for consultations and examinations, and improved chances of promotion" (Charters (Ed.), 1981, p.77).

- The People's Universities

Approximately thirteen million Soviet citizens are enrolled in over forty-seven thousand People's Universities in the U.S.S.R. (Darinskii, 1984, p. 39). The People's Universities cannot easily be classified as formal or non-formal; they have characteristics of both. They provide adults in the Soviet Union with a systematic opportunity for self-education.

Darinsky (1974) notes that the main function of the People's Universities is the " . . . organisation of post-school self-education of adults and the providing of guidance to them in the fields of general education, culture and professional training" (p. 52). A People's University is a public educational establishment with a definite body of students. However, there are no entry level requirements for students.

The People's University has a definite curriculum and academic program. However, the People's University does not purport to provide a standardized body of knowledge. Students are not required to pass exams and demonstrate competency. Many students, however, study at the People's Universities to prepare for exams given at work or through other schools.

The certificate of completion a student receives from a People's University does not give the student any added status or rights. As was noted above, many students will study at the People's University so they can take exams elsewhere. If they pass exams through other organizations, they will then receive certificates of competency which will give them higher status at work.

The People's Universities have diverse curricula in response to the diverse needs of Soviet adult learners. There are specialized People's Universities of the Public Professions which provide professional continuing education to adults employed in public administration positions in the Soviet Union (Darinsky, 1974, p. 52). There are also People's Universities of Technical Progress which specialize in vocational self-education. Other People's Universities specialize in medical education, parent and teacher education, cultural education, and socio-political education.

Just as the curricula are diverse, so too are the methods used in the People's Universities. Darinsky (1974) notes,

> The higher the People's University's level, the wider the range of methods and means employed: discussions, business-like games, seminars, practical classes, course papers, graduation theses, etc., the greater the role of the students's independent work. (p. 54)

The main emphasis is on self-education. Students are expected to take responsibility for their learning.

A People's University has a permanent staff of administrators and teachers. In most cases, the faculty and staff of People's Universities work on a volunteer basis and receive no pay. Darinskii (1974) notes, however, that ". . . a university encourages the efforts of the administration and teachers in various ways, including material incentives, such as monetary bonuses, valuable gifts, scientific business trips, tourist trips and official citations" (p. 53).

- The Non-Formal, Non-School Programs

Museums, libraries, clubs, theaters, and cultural centers all offer non-formal, non-school programs of adult education. Savicevic (1981) notes,

> All these forms and institutions organize various forms of cultural and educational activities for adults and none has examinations or issues degrees, but this kind of learning is no less significant than that organized through school forms, since it contributes to the satisfaction of intellectial curiosity, the enrichment of inner life, and the creative use of leisure time.
>
> (Charters, (Ed.), p. 78)

One of the major sources of support for these non-formal programs is the All-Union Znanie Association which was formed in 1947 (Brady and Allen, 1974). Originally, the purpose for the Znanie Association was to help workers understand--through adult education--scientific and technological changes. The membership of the Znanie Association consisted of professionals and scholars from many disciplines. Member groups were formed in all areas of the Soviet Unions.

The Znanie Association arranges lectures and exhibitions. Efforts are made to present lectures in the native language of the adult learners. The Association is also very active in publishing books and pamphlets; each year they also publish a yearbook called Science and Mankind (Brady and Allen, 1974, p. 77). A factory is maintained by the Znanie Association for the production of audio-visual aids which are used by the local groups which present lectures and exhibitions.

Znanie Association activities have broadened in scope from science and technology to the arts, economy, and international affairs. The Znanie Association provides lecturers and curriculum guidelines for the People's Universities. Association members also are involved in exchanges of information with foreign scholars.

- Adult Education Programs Through the Workplace and the Trade Unions

One of Lenin's initiatives was a closer link between labor and education (Savicevic, 1981). Each worker and collective farmer must periodically take advanced vocational education courses which are offered through their workplaces (Darinsky, 1984). Enterprises and institutions are required by Soviet law to establish production training facilities for on-the-job-training of workers.

Soviet trade unions play an important role in adult education programs through the workplace. Zemliannikova (1982) notes,

> Trade unions are especially concerned with seeing to it that labor collectives perform their educational functions. These functions are carried out not only within the framework of enterprises and organizations as a whole but also in their primary cells--ships,

brigades, links, divisions . . . . (p. 27)

Through the use of adult education in the workplace, the Soviet has tried to improve worker productivity and economic growth.

C. Summary--Adult Education Role, Purposes, and Systems of Delivery

Adult education in the Soviet Union is ". . . one of the most crucial and potent influences shaping the lives of millions of Soviet citizens . . ." (Tomiak, 1983, p. vii). The Soviet government strongly supports adult education programs. Financing is provided by the government; centralized control is exerted by the government.

Adult education programs have many different purposes: raising occupational skill levels; completion of secondary education; raising ideological and political levels; and cultural enrichment. There are varied systems of delivery: formal school programs; People's Universities; non-formal programs through museums and libraries; and adult education programs through the workplace. The following matrix summarizes the relationship between systems of delivery and purposes served by adult education in the Soviet Union.

PURPOSES / SYSTEMS	Raise Skill Levels	Completion of Sec Ed.	Ideol & Political	Cultural Enrich
Formal School:				
Voc. Ed.	X		X	
Gen. Ed.	X	X	X	
Higher Ed.	X		X	
People's Universities	X		X	X
Non-Formal Museums, Libraries			X	X
Workplace	X		X	

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