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Dosežki in protislovja v razvoju šolstva in pedagogike v socialistični Makedoniji (1945–1990)

Povzetek: Štiri desetletja in pol razvoja vzgoje in izobraževanja v socialistični Makedoniji so imela v zgodovini makedonskega šolstva posebno mesto in pomen. V le nekaj letih po koncu narodnoosvobodilne vojne so bili postavljeni temelji nacionalnega sistema vzgoje in izobraževanja, ki se je vse do osamosvojitve leta 1991 intenzivno razvijal in širil v okvirih enotnega sistema federativne Jugoslavije. Njegov idejni temelj je bila marksistična teorija znanosti, ki je določala cilje, načela ter vsebino vzgojno-izobraževalnega dela na vseh šolskih stopnjah.

V prispevku obravnavamo značilnosti razvoja šolstva in pedagogike v Makedoniji v času nastajanja socialistične družbe. V analizi se osredotočamo na dosežene uspehe, pa tudi na omejitve in protislovja sistemskih reform na področju izobraževanja v tem času. Pri tem se sklicujemo na izvirne dokumente, na podlagi katerih sta se oblikovali izobraževalna politika in praksa v tedanji republiki in v katerih so predstavljeni osnovni postulati jugoslovanske marksistične pedagogike, ob tem pa tudi elementi drugih pedagoških teorij, ki so vplivale na konceptualizacijo, organizacijo in metodiko dela v makedonskih šolah v času socializma.

Ključne besede: razvoj šolstva v Makedoniji, jugoslovanska marksistična pedagogika, socialistična vzgoja in izobraževanje

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Znanstveni prispevek

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Uvod

Več desetletij trajajoče obdobje socialistične družbe v Makedoniji v okviru nekdanje Jugoslavije je bilo izjemnega pomena za razvoj njenega šolstva in prosvete. S svojim sodelovanjem v narodnoosvobodilni vojni si je makedonski narod prvič v svoji zgodovini in po več stoletjih prizadevanj za nacionalno in družbeno svobodo izbral lastno državnost, s čimer so bili ustvarjeni tudi pogoji za nastanek nacionalnega sistema vzgoje in izobraževanja. Razvoj slednjega je potekal po enakih temeljnih načelih in etapah, ki so bili tudi sicer značilni za izobraževanje v jugoslovanski federaciji, a z izrazitejšo intenzivnostjo, očitno zlasti v prvih letih po koncu druge svetovne vojne. To je bilo namreč obdobje ekspanzije in naglega preseganja prosvetne zaostalosti v Makedoniji. Nobena druga družbena dejavnost v državi se v tem obdobju ni razvijala tako hitro in dinamično kot prav vzgojno-izobraževalna (Kamberski 1994, str. 6), saj je bila ne nazadnje tudi osnovni dejavnik družbenega, ekonomskega, kulturnega in znanstvenega napredka Makedonije. Njena poglobljena značilnost je bila neprestano in hitro povečevanje števila ter vrst vzgojno-izobraževalnih institucij, pa tudi vključenost otrok, mladih in odraslih vanje.

Z nekoliko bolj umirjenim tempom se je razvoj sistema vzgoje in izobraževanja nadaljeval tudi naslednja desetletja, vzporedno z njim pa so nastajale tudi osnove pedagoške znanosti. Njeni začetki sicer segajo pod okrilje sovjetske pedagogike, njena teorija socialistične vzgoje in izobraževanja pa je bila odvisna od politike ter ideološko zaznamovana z marksističnim znanstvenim pogledom na svet. V tem prispevku bomo naredili kratek pregled razvojne poti pedagoške znanosti v socializmu, nato pa z izvirnimi, zlasti takratnimi programskimi dokumenti prosvetne politike v Makedoniji identificirali osnovna načela vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema, kot so se tudi povsem praktično manifestirala pri pedagoškem delu v makedonskih šolah.

Pregled razvoja pedagogike in pedagoškega raziskovanja

Podobno kot na področju šolstva so se tudi na področju pedagoškega raziskovanja v Makedoniji odražale splošne razvojne značilnosti jugoslovanske federacije.

V prvem desetletju po koncu druge svetovne vojne je bila pedagoška znanost v Makedoniji, tako kot v širši jugoslovanski skupnosti, slabo razvita. Kot ugotavljajo raziskovalci in pričevalci iz tega obdobja, takrat namreč še ni bilo nobene znanstvenoraziskovalne institucije, prav tako pa tudi ni bilo strokovnjakov, ki bi se ukvarjali s tovrstno dejavnostjo na področju izobraževanja in vzgoje (Potkonjak 1977, str. 183). Izjema so bile katedre na Filozofskih fakultetah, čeprav tudi tam ni bilo dovolj možnosti za razvoj pedagoške znanosti (prav tam). Na katedri za pedagogiko Filozofske fakultete v Skopju, katere začetki segajo v leto 1946, ko je bila ustanovljena ta najstarejša visokošolska institucija v Makedoniji¹, sta vse do začetka šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja pedagoške discipline poučevala dva učitelja in prav toliko asistentov (Temkov idr. 2006, str. 97). Če torej upoštevamo, da je vse do osvoboditve Makedonije in ustanovitve Filozofske fakultete v Skopju obstajala izjemno skromna znanstvenoraziskovalna tradicija na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja (prav tam, str. 98), je mogoče reči, da v tem najzgodnejšem povojnem obdobju v Makedoniji tako rekoč ni bilo niti institucij niti v njih zaposlenih, ki bi se resneje ukvarjali z znanstvenoraziskovalnim delom, prav tako pa ni bilo niti možnosti ter ustreznih pogojev, da bi se to lahko intenzivneje razvijalo, saj so bili pedagoški delavci angažirani zlasti pri reševanju osnovnih težav povsem praktične narave (širjenje mreže šol, usposabljanje učnega kadra v osnovnih in srednjih šolah, priprava učnih načrtov in izobraževalnih programov, učbenikov ipd.). Tudi zato je bilo mogoče leta 1955, ob desetletnici izhajanja revije *Prosvetno delo*, tj. prve in najpomembnejše makedonske revije za vzgojo in izobraževanje, v njej zaslediti oceno, da »pri nas še vedno nimamo v zadostni meri organiziranega in sistematičnega znanstvenoraziskovalnega dela in prav tako ne utrjenih temeljev, da bi lahko dobro posploševali nove izkušnje iz naše pedagoške prakse« (Deset godini ... 1955, str. 340).

V takšnih razmerah se je izhod iskalo v sovjetski pedagoški in marksistični filozofski teoriji ter v programu komunistične partije in njenih drugih dokumentov (Angeloska-Galevska 1998, str. 91). Cilji, načela in vsebine vzgojno-izobraževalnega dela so se na vseh šolskih stopnjah gradili na idejnih podlagah marksizma, ki je bil razumljen kot »znanstvena teorija, razrednoosvobodilna ideologija in revolucionarna praksa delavskega razreda« (Damjanovski 1985, str. 28). Z namenom, da vzgojo in izobraževanje osvobodijo ostalin »meščanske šole« in »buržoazne ideologije«, so se makedonski pedagoški delavci obrnili k sovjetski pedagogiki, ki je veljala za edino znanost o socialistični vzgoji (Angeloska-Galevska 1998, str. 92). Pri njej so iskali in našli smernice za razvoj metodologije pedagoškega raziskovanja tudi raziskovalci v širši jugoslovanski skupnosti. O tem denimo priča referat Vladimirja Mužića, ki ga je ta predstavil na enem od simpozijev v šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja in v katerem avtor poudarja, da je bilo »od osvoboditve do približno 1952. leta [...] delo pedagogov na področju metodologije omejeno na prevode poglavij, ki so bila

¹ Filozofska fakulteta v Skopju je bila kot podružnica Filozofske fakultete v Beogradu ustanovljena leta 1920 v tedanji Kraljevini Srbob, Hrvatob in Slovencev. Njeno delo je bilo prekinjeno z začetkom narodnoosvobodilnega in antifašističnega boja, nato pa se je visokošolska tradicija nadaljevala v Ljudski republiki Makedoniji z ustanovitvijo nove Filozofske fakultete leta 1946, ki je bila tudi prva visokošolska ustanova poznejše makedonske univerze v Skopju.

posvečena pedagoškim metodam v posameznih sovjetskih učbenikih pedagogike« (Mužic 1963, str. 354). Celo po sporu uradne jugoslovanske partijske in državne politike z informbirojem leta 1948 je *naklonjenost* do sovjetske pedagogike ostala nespremenjena. Argument za to je mogoče najti denimo v *Zakonu o Univerzi v Skopju* (1949), ki je določal, da »ta najvišja znanstvena in izobraževalna ustanova v Ljudski republiki Makedoniji znanstveno sodeluje in izmenjuje znanstvena spoznanja, dela ter publikacije z drugimi univerzami v FLRJ ter s tujimi univerzami, zlasti s tistimi iz SSSR in držav ljudske demokracije« (Zakon za univerzitetot ... 1949, 2. člen).

Glede na dejstvo, da so bile v teoretsko-metodološkem pogledu naloge pedagogike izpeljane iz operativnih stališč partijskih in državnih organov, zapisanih v posameznih političnih dokumentih (programih, resolucijah ipd.), sta za njen razvoj v tem obdobju značilna apologetstvo ter odsotnost kritičnega pristopa (Angeloska-Galevska, 1998, str. 94–95).

Razmere se začnejo postopno spreminjati konec petdesetih in na začetku šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, ko pride, po besedah Potkonjaka (1977), do »delne streznitve od vplivov sovjetske pedagogike« (prav tam, str. 185) ter sprejemanja metodoloških spoznanj empirično-induktivne »buržoazne pedagoške metodologije« (prav tam). V naslednjih desetletjih je bilo zato mogoče v Makedoniji zaznati pozitiven razvojni trend na področju pedagoškega raziskovanja. Ta se je denimo odražal v pričakovanju izobraževalne politike, da se bo pedagoško raziskovanje dejavno vključevalo tudi v praktično izvajanje šolskih reform, ter v dejstvu, da se je znanost, pa čeprav še vedno razmeroma sramežljivo, vse bolj razumelo v funkciji zagotavljanja napredka v praktičnem vzgojno-izobraževalnem delu. S tem so tesno povezana prizadevanja za hitrejši razvoj metodologije pedagoškega raziskovanja, »predvsem njenih raziskovalnih tehnik in instrumentov«, s čimer bi bilo mogoče preseči »slabosti, povezane s t. i. deduktivno in normativno pedagogiko« (Koprovski 1985, str. 2). Hkrati se je povečevalo tudi število znanstvenih delavcev ter delavcev s pedagoškega področja. K temu je prispevala zlasti katedra za pedagogiko na Filozofski fakulteti v Skopju, ki je razširila in poglobljala svoje znanstvenoraziskovalno delo: povečalo se je število učiteljev z znanstvenimi nazivi; ob koncu petdesetih in na začetku šestdesetih let so bile na Filozofski fakulteti uspešno zagovarjane prve doktorske disertacije s področja pedagoških znanosti; z akademskim letom 1980/81 so se začeli izvajati podiplomski programi pedagogike, leta 1983 so bila uspešno zaključena prva magistrska dela, do leta 1990 je nato naziv magistra pedagoških znanosti pridobilo 11 kandidatov, kar 14 pa jih je doktoriralo.² Ob tem se je okrepilo tudi sodelovanje znanstvenoraziskovalnih delavcev iz Makedonije na zveznih strokovnih in znanstvenih srečanjih, povečevalo pa se je tudi število znanstvenih in strokovnih prispevkov, objavljenih v reviji *Prosvetno delo* (Temkov idr. 2006, str. 96–99). Vse našete dejavnosti so prispevale k razvoju pedagoške znanosti v Makedoniji, pa tudi k napredku na področju pedagoškega dela v vzgojno-izobraževalnih institucijah.

² Podatki o številu magistrskih in doktorskih del so bili pridobljeni iz centralne evidence Filozofske fakultete v Skopju.

Teoretične osnove sistema vzgoje in izobraževanja

V splošnem so bila načela, po katerih se je vzpostavljala vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem Ljudske republike Makedonije, pozneje Socialistične republike Makedonije, pod neposrednim političnim vplivom in so se tudi sprejemala na kongresih zveze komunistov. Partija je v svojih resolucijah določala vzgojne cilje, iz teh pa je nato Zavod za napredek vzgoje in izobraževanja formalno izpeljal operativne naloge in programe ter jih tudi izvajal od zgoraj navzdol. Poleg tega so resolucije za seboj potegnile tudi spremembe zakonodaje, na podlagi le-teh pa so nastale spremembe v učnih načrtih ter programih. Tako je bil npr. skladno z *Resolucijo Zvezne skupščine o razvoju vzgoje in izobraževanja na samoupravni podlagi* (1970) spremenjen *Zakon o srednješolskem izobraževanju SR Makedonije* (1970), nato pa je republiški Zavod za napredek šolstva pripravil učne načrte ter programe srednješolskega izobraževanja, ki so začeli veljati s šolskim letom 1974/75 (*Sredno obrazovanje ...* 1973).

Te partijske direktive in odredbe je povzemala ter citirala tudi pedagoška znanost v Makedoniji, saj je bila, skupaj s šolo, zavezana izgradnji edinstvenega modela političnega mišljenja in ravnanja. Njena idejna podlaga je bila marksistično-leninistična vzgojna teorija, ki je prežemala celotno šolanje učencev, od osnovne šole do univerze. »Ustvariti je treba razmere za vse širše in vse bolj sistematično marksistično izobraževanje,« je leta 1975 v Titovem Velesu poudaril tedanji predsednik Jugoslavije Josip Broz Tito (Bezić 1978, str. 25). Prav te razmere se je v Makedoniji uresničevalo s konceptualno vzpostavljenostjo in idejno-politično zasnovanostjo celotnega vzgojno-izobraževalnega dela.

V nadaljevanju bomo skušali identificirati ključna načela, ki so teoretično utemeljena z marksistično pedagoško teorijo in na podlagi katerih je bil zasnovan sistem vzgoje in izobraževanja v Makedoniji v 45 letih njegovega socialističnega razvoja.

Demokratski pristop k izobraževanju

Marksistična pedagogika je pripisovala velik pomen vzgoji in izobraževanju delavskega razreda, saj je izhajala iz prepričanja, da sta močno orodje njegovega osvoboditve. Ker politično razsvetljevanje množic zahteva večjo splošno kulturo, je bila po osvoboditvi ena od najpomembnejših nalog prav dvig kulturne in izobrazbene ravni prebivalstva. Da bi ta cilj tudi dosegli, je bilo že od same vzpostavitve sistema vzgoje in izobraževanja v Makedoniji šolanje brezplačno, osnovnošolsko izobraževanje pa obvezno. Idejno-družbeno pa začenja povojni sistem vzgoje in izobraževanja v Jugoslaviji nastajati že v času narodnoosvobodilne vojne, ko so bili oblikovani temeljni postulati nove prosvetne politike, v kateri so se izrazile zlasti demokratske težnje:

- dostopnost vseh šol in drugih organiziranih oblik vzgoje in izobraževanja za vse otroke, mladino in odrasle, ne glede na njihov socialni in ekonomski položaj, narodno ali versko pripadnost;

- zavzemanje za načelo enakopravnosti narodov in narodnosti v vzgoji in izobraževanju;
- zagotavljanje pouka v maternem jeziku (Krnet 1978, str. 111).

Po osvoboditvi je bil položaj Makedonije na področju izobraževanja in prosvete izjemno slab. O tem priča podatek, da je bilo leta 1945 nepismenih 75 % prebivalcev, starejših od deset let, po podatkih iz popisa prebivalstva leta 1948 pa je bilo 48,8 % prebivalcev, starejših od deset let, brez kakršne koli formalne izobrazbe (Statistički godišnik ... 1968, str. 6). Zato so bili sprejeti ukrepi za obnovo šolske strukture, kakršna je bila pred vojno, pa tudi za njeno širjenje in bogatenje z novimi vzgojno-izobraževalnimi institucijami, od predšolske ravni do izobraževanja odraslih.

Skladno z načelom izobraževanja v maternem jeziku so se že v obdobju narodno-osvobodilne vojne ter ASNOM-a³ v Makedoniji poleg mreže šol z makedonskim učnim jezikom ustanovljale tudi šole z učnimi jeziki narodnih manjšin (albanskim, turškim, srbohrvaškim). Tako je že leta 1944/45 delovalo 60 osnovnih šol z albanskim učnim jezikom, ki jih je obiskovalo 3975 učencev pod vodstvom 104 učiteljev, 3334 učencev je pod vodstvom 49 učiteljev obiskovalo 37 šol s turškim učnim jezikom, dva učitelja pa sta na dveh šolah poučevala 186 učencev v srbohrvaškem jeziku (Jurukova 1990, str. 91). V naslednjih letih se je mreža šol širila tudi na preostalih stopnjah izobraževanja: leta 1947 se je tako začel proces ljudskega izobraževanja v maternem jeziku na srednješolski stopnji (Zlatku 1985), od leta 1952/53 so se na višji ravni v albanskem in turškem jeziku usposabljali učitelji nižjih razredov osnovnih šol, od leta 1958 dalje pa tudi učitelji višjih razredov osnovne šole ter srednješolski učitelji (Pedagoška akademija ... 1972). V času razvoja socializma v Makedoniji se je delež učencev teh narodnosti stalno povečeval in leta 1974/75 je znašal 26,2 % (Kamberski 1994, str. 80).

Družbeni značaj izobraževanja

Eno od temeljnih načel, po katerih je štiri desetletja in pol potekal razvoj vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema v Makedoniji, je njegov družbeni značaj. Načelo je bilo uveljavljeno še pred dokončno osvoboditvijo države, ko je predsedstvo ASNOM-a na seji 8. januarja 1945, opirajoč se na temeljna določila *Resolucije o značaju družbenih odnosov*, sprejelo sklep o ukinitvi vseh zasebnih šol in prepovedi njihovega delovanja (Veljanovski 1987, str. 36–37). S tem je bila onemogočena kakršna koli zasebna iniciativa v procesu institucionalizacije sistema vzgoje in izobraževanja. Družbeni značaj izobraževanja v Makedoniji je določala tudi prva *Ustava Ljudske republike Makedonije* iz leta 1946 (Ustav na NRM ... 1947), to načelo pa se je nato ohranilo vse do osamosvojitve države leta 1991. Do petdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja so bile šole povsem v pristojnosti države, zaradi česar je ta

³ ASNOM je kratica, ki pomeni *Antifašističko Sobranie na Narodnoto Osloboduvanje na Makedonija* (Antifašistični svet narodne osvoboditve Makedonije). To je bil vrhovni in izvršni organ ljudske oblasti federalne Makedonije, konstituiran 2. avgusta 1944 v samostanu Prohor Pčinjski.

imela tudi pravico odločati o vseh ključnih vzgojno-izobraževalnih vprašanjih, kot so denimo določanje ciljev in nalog, ustanavljanje šol in drugih prosvetnih ter kulturnih ustanov, predpisovanje učnih načrtov, programov in pravilnikov o organizaciji vzgojno-izobraževalnega dela, zagotavljanje materialnih razmer ter finančnih sredstev za delo šol, zaposlovanje in odpuščanje učiteljev ipd. (Kamberski 1994, str. 44–45). To kaže na uveljavljenost centralističnega sistema upravljanja, ki se seveda odraža tudi v organizaciji dela šole kot državne institucije. Po tretjem plenumu Centralnega komiteja Komunistične partije Jugoslavije konec leta 1949 (Petranović idr. 1983, str. 484) sta družbeni položaj in vloga vzgoje in izobraževanja v Makedoniji dočakala spremembe v smeri deetatizacije in demokratizacije, kar se kaže predvsem v decentralizaciji pristojnosti državnih organov ter v uvajanju organov družbenega upravljanja šolstva in prosvete (denimo šolskih odborov, svetov) (Kamberski 1994, str. 58–60).

Ločenost šole od religije

Znano stališče Karla Marxa, utemeljitelja marksizma, da je religija »opij za ljudstvo« (Zlebnik 1983, str. 151), je postalo sestavni del enega od najpomembnejših načel sovjetske in jugoslovanske pedagogike – tj. načela antireligiozne vzgoje. To je postalo najpomembnejši postulat tudi v organizaciji šolstva in prosvete v socialistični Makedoniji. S prvo *Ustavo Ljudske republike Makedonije* (1947, 37. člen) se je vzpostavila formalna ločitev šole od cerkve, nakar se je ta sekularni značaj izobraževanja ohranil več desetletij. Omeniti je treba, da je bil v prvem uradnem osnovnošolskem učnem načrtu iz leta 1944, ki ga je sprejelo predsedstvo ASNOM-a (Hristov idr. 1984, str. 238), kot tudi v *Začasnem načrtu in programu* iz leta 1945 (Zbornik dokumenti ... 1964), verouk oziroma verski pouk še vedno vključen kot fakultativni učni predmet v prvih štirih razredih osnovne šole; program je pripravila verska oblast, potrdila pa ga je prosvetna oblast. A že v naslednjih programskih dokumentih osnovne šole izbirnih religioznih vsebin ni več mogoče zaslediti. Marksistično izobraževanje in oblikovanje »znanstveno-materialističnega pogleda na svet« (Nastaven plan i programa ... 1966, str. 7) kot dva od pglavitnih ciljev vzgoje in izobraževanja mladih ne potekata le z uvajanjem marksističnih učnih vsebin, ampak tudi kot usposabljanje za kritično marksistično vrednotenje vseh preostalih vsebin, s čimer postane vpliv drugih idejnih usmeritev, vključno z religioznimi, povsem onemogočen.

Cilji in naloge vzgoje in izobraževanja

V socializmu je imelo vprašanje vzgojnih ciljev in nalog – kot eno od najkompleksnejših in najodgovornejših vprašanj pedagoške znanosti – ideološko-politični značaj in pomen. Sledilo je družbenemu razvoju in spremembam v organizaciji in upravljanju družbenih odnosov, čeprav so nekateri cilji in naloge ostali nespremenjeni: »Mladina mora spoznati in razvijati našo revolucionarno tradicijo, saj se tako mlade generacije povezujejo z najsvetlejšo dediščino socialistične revolucije skozi ves socialistični razvoj,« je poudaril predsednik SFRJ, Josip Broz Tito, v svojem govoru

na Desetem kongresu Zveze komunistov Jugoslavije in dodal: »Trajne vrednote, ki jih je ustvarila naša revolucija, so neizčrpen vir socialistične vzgoje mladine – za krepitev bratstva in enotnosti naših narodov in narodnosti, jugoslovanskega socialističnega patriotizma, internacionalizma, borbenosti in požrtvovalnosti.« (Deseti kongres SKJ ... 1974, str. 51) Naštete vrednote so zares obstale, saj jih srečamo še v formulacijah ciljev idejno-vzgojnega delovanja med mladimi 15 let pozneje, ko se je jugoslovanska federacija sicer že bližala svojemu koncu. Na znanstvenem srečanju, ki je bilo v Skopju posvečeno idejni vlogi vzgojno-izobraževalnega dela, je denimo Potkonjak (1989) poudaril naslednje naloge, vsebine in področja le-tega: marksistično izobraževanje, razvijanje jugoslovanskega socialističnega patriotizma ter negovanje bratstva in enotnosti jugoslovanskih narodov in narodnosti, samoupravna socialistična opredeljenost mladih, razvijanje medosebnih odnosov ter odnosa do dela in dolžnosti ter do družbene lastnine (prav tam, str. 44–47).

Mnoge od teh ciljev in nalog ni težko odkriti niti v uradnih dokumentih, s katerimi je bilo urejeno vzgojno-izobraževalno delo v socialistični Makedoniji. Formulacije vzgojnih ciljev je mogoče srečati v prvih dokumentih Poverjenišтва za prosveto, resornega organa predsedstva ASNOM-a, ki so bili namenjeni konsolidaciji in institucionalni preobrazbi osnovnošolskega izobraževanja v Makedoniji. V prvem od teh dokumentov z naslovom *Začasni načrt izobraževanja in usposabljanja v osnovnih šolah*, ki ga je Poverjenišтво za prosveto izdalo 30. septembra 1944, je tako v formulacijah vzgojnih ciljev mogoče prepoznati nekatere od naštetih sestavin oziroma načel (Hristov idr. 1984, str. 235):

- znanstvenost: »[...] da učenca seznani z našo stvarnostjo [...]«;
- kolektivnost: »[...] da postane član kolektiva, v katerem ni prostora za sebične in individualistične težnje [...]«;
- trajnost: »[...] da učenca usposobi za uporabo peresa in knjige ne le, dokler je učenec, ampak tudi pozneje [...]«;
- skupnost, bratstvo in enotnost: »[...] da učenca seznani s stvarnostjo drugih bratskih narodov; ga navdihne z duhom našega boja, ki ni ločen, ampak povezan z bojem drugih bratskih narodov Demokratične federativne Jugoslavije [...]« (prav tam).

Pozneje je med razvojem socialistične družbe očitno ponavljanje teh istih ciljev, ki jih v bolj ali manj modificirani oziroma integrirani obliki srečamo v zakonskih in programskih dokumentih. Na primer v *Splošni programski strukturi*, tj. učnem načrtu in programu za osnovno šolo iz leta 1973, kjer je vzgojni cilj zapisan z besedami: »Samoupravna socialistična družba išče mnogostransko, svobodno in humano osebnost, ki je sposobna opravljati svoje funkcije v zapletenih okoliščinah življenja in dela.« (Osnovno učilište ... 1973, str. 5) Načelo skupnosti, bratstva in enotnosti se tudi čez 30 let ni spremenilo, prav tako ostaja kolektivnost, pri čemer se poudarek daje »skladnosti osebnih in družbenih interesov«, znanstvenost pa ima jasno usmeritev: »usvojiti marksizem in njegov znanstveni pogled na svet [...]« (prav tam).

Ideja kolektivnosti se je kot eden glavnih postulatov marksistične teorije izobraževanja v jugoslovanski skupnosti udejanjala z negovanjem in razvijanjem skupnosti, bratstva in enotnosti jugoslovanskih narodov in narodnosti. Jugoslovanska mladina se je tako oblikovala v duhu tega največjega dosežka narodnoosvobodilne borbe in revolucije, ta pa ji pomeni zagotovilo za stabilnost jugoslovanske federacije (Bezić 1978, str. 25–27).

Tudi v Makedoniji sta bila bratstvo in enotnost dve od najpomembnejših nalog v vzgoji socialistične samoupravne osebnosti. Tako z neuradnimi kot uradnimi državnimi dokumenti je bilo poskrbljeno, da so učni predmeti in vsebine omogočali razvoj bratstva in enotnosti ter skupnosti narodov in narodnosti v Makedoniji in Jugoslaviji (Angelovski 1985, str. 97). To se je udejanjalo predvsem z učnim procesom in skoraj ni bilo učnega predmeta ali področja, pri katerem to ne bi bilo primarna vzgojna naloga (Nastaven plan i programa ... 1950; Nastaven plan i programa ... 1966; Sredno obrazovanje ... 1973), enako pa je veljalo tudi za obšolske in izvenšolske dejavnosti učencev, denimo medšolska srečanja, delovne akcije, športna tekmovanja, kulturne prireditve, izlete, ekskurzije, taborjenja ter druge oblike srečevanja pionirjev in mladine.

Široko splošno izobraževanje

Leninova misel, da »postaneš komunist šele, ko svoj spomin obogatiš z znanjem vsega bogastva, ki ga je doseglo človeštvo« (Žlebnik 1983, str. 254), ponazarja, kako velik pomen je marksistična pedagogika pripisovala intelektualni vzgoji, usvajanju sistematiziranega znanja ter širokemu teoretičnemu izobraževanju, ki naj bi zagotovilo oblikovanje izobraženih pripadnikov socialistične družbe. Zato je bil cilj vzgoje v Socialistični republiki Makedoniji razvijanje »vsestranske« ali »mnogostranske« osebnosti (Nastaven plan i programa ... 1966; Osnovno učilište ... 1973), dosegalo pa se ga je v šolah, ki so učence sistematično izobraževale s pomočjo poučevanja širokega izbora učnih vsebin in velikega števila učnih predmetov. Za programe v teh šolah je bil torej značilen enciklopedizem, kar je vodilo do preobremenjenosti učencev. Prav to je bil tudi razlog za več vsebinskih sprememb v osnovnošolskem izobraževanju (v letih 1957, 1959, 1966, 1972 in 1980) (Bezdanov 1979, str. 30–33), ki so bile namenjene bodisi korekciji števila delovnih dni in ur bodisi uvajanju oziroma ukinjanju posameznih področij in oblik pouka. Eden od temeljnih razlogov za prvo reformo osnovnošolskega izobraževanja ob koncu petdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, ki je prinesla nove učne načrte in programe osemletne osnovne šole, je bil »preobremenjenost učnih programov in njihova neskladnost s psihofizičnimi zmožnostmi učencev« (Angelovski 1985, str. 88). Cilj popravkov učnih načrtov in programov leta 1966 je bil »zagotoviti večje število ur za nekatere učne predmete, ki jih zahtevajo praksa in sodobne družbene potrebe« (prav tam, str. 89). Leta 1972 se je v Makedoniji ponovno spremenila vsebina osnovnošolskega izobraževanja, pri čemer je eden od razlogov za uvedbo nove programske strukture spet preobremenjenost učencev (prav tam, str. 92). Lahko bi torej trdili, da izvedene reforme – vsaj ko je šlo za osnovnošolsko izobraževanje – niso prinesle temeljitih sprememb, v učnih programih pa se je v času socialističnega razvoja makedonskega šolstva

in izobraževanja odražala primarna težnja po usvajanju bolj ali manj obširnega korpusa znanja.

Enciklopedični značaj izobraževanja je tesno povezan še z nekaterimi drugimi značilnostmi učnih programov makedonskih šol v času socializma. Programi so bili namreč pretežno zaprtega tipa, predpisani *od zgoraj* in šolam niso omogočali veliko manevrskega prostora, čeprav je bilo po spremembah leta 1959 in 1966 (Nastavni planovi i programi ... 1960; Nastaven plan i programa ... 1966) občinam in šolam omogočeno, da učni načrt dopolnjujejo glede na specifične potrebe lokalne skupnosti. Hkrati se je vse do začetka devetdesetih let v makedonskih šolah izvajalo unificirane in »sociocentrično usmerjene« programe, kar pomeni, da izhodišče vzgoje ni bil otrok, ampak interesi socialistične družbe (Kamberski 2000, str. 66). To denimo potrjujejo značilnosti učnih programov iz leta 1980, po katerih se je daljše časovno obdobje izvajal pouk od četrtega do osmega razreda osnovne šole (Opšta programska struktura ... 1981). V tako usmerjenih programih se izobraževanje obravnava bolj kot »družbena, državljanska dolžnost, ne pa kot ena od osnovnih individualnih pravic. To je pristop, po katerem država odloča, kakšno osebnost potrebuje za zadovoljitev lastnih potreb, in ne, kakšna osebnost naj se avtonomno razvija po svojih lastnih zmožnostih, potrebah in interesih. Država s svojimi organi določa cilj in vsebine izobraževanja, s programi pa ne določi le, kaj bo predmet poučevanja, ampak tudi to, v kolikšnem obsegu in po kakšnem vrstnem redu se bo kaj obravnavalo ipd. Vse to so strogo predpisane sestavine programa, ki jih šola in učitelj kot izvajalca ter učenec kot neposredni udeleženec nimajo pravice spreminjati.« (Kamberski 2000, str. 67)

Učenec kot subjekt vzgoje

Vsestransko razviti graditelji socializma zavestno usvajajo znanje (Žlebnik 1983, str. 254–255). Znana Leninova spoznavna triada, tj. »od živega opazovanja k abstraktnemu mišljenju ter od tod k praksi« (Bognar in Matijević b. l., str. 9–10), je vzpostavljala teoretsko osnovo sovjetske didaktike, ki je, po mnenju nekaterih avtorjev, v jugoslovanskem prostoru prevladovala še 30 let po koncu druge svetovne vojne (prav tam, str. 5). Načelo zavestnega usvajanja znanja je bilo v makedonskih šolah privzeto že v prvi etapi poveljnega razvoja, z vidika metodike pouka pa se je vztrajalo pri uporabi učnih metod, ki imajo raziskovalno-ustvarjalni značaj, kar pomeni, da učencem ni treba posredovati gotovega znanja, ampak ga morajo sami odkrivati (Rakovodstvo za učitelite ... 1945, str. 5).

Načeli zavestnosti in aktivnosti nista značilni le za marksistične teorije pouka, ampak tudi za druge teoretične tokove, ki jih je mogoče zaslediti na področjih organizacije in metodike vzgojno-izobraževalnega dela v makedonskih šolah. V prvih uradnih dokumentih, ki imajo normativni, programski in didaktično-metodični značaj in s katerimi so se vzpostavljale osnove novega koncepta šole v Makedoniji, je tako mogoče prepoznati elemente socialne pedagogike, pragmatične pedagogike, delovne šole in didaktičnega modela kompleksnega pouka (Angelovski 1985, str. 87; Kamberski 1994, str. 66).⁴

⁴ Zanimiv je podatek, da se je kompleksni pouk v Makedoniji promoviral še 13 let po tem, ko je bil v Sovjetski zvezi uradno ukinjen leta 1932 (Enciklopediski rečnik pedagogije ... 1963, str. 399).

V uradnih dokumentih prve makedonske vlade, ki so bili izdani leta 1945, je mogoče zaslediti tudi formulacije zahtev po reformi stare šole, ki so tako rekoč identične tistim, ki jih je v knjigi *Šola in družba* zapisal John Dewey kot glavni predstavnik pragmatistične pedagogike (Dewey 1949). Tako denimo v enem od dokumentov lahko preberemo: »Eden od prvih in najpomembnejših ciljev, ki mu morajo slediti učitelji v novi makedonski šoli, je povsem preobraziti, reorganizirati staro šolo, jo podvreči pravi revoluciji«, tako da se pretvori »iz šolske ustanove v del družbenega življenja, iz knjižne v družbeno šolo.« (Kamberski 1994, str. 65) V teh besedah ni težko prepoznati Deweyjevih prizadevanj za »globoko in popolno preobrazbo tradicionalne šole,« ki bi morala postati »embrionalna oblika družbenega življenja«, »kraj, kjer otrok živi« (Dewey 1935, str. 15–19).

Podobne analogije je mogoče prepoznati tudi v odnosu do položaja učenca v učnem procesu. Deweyjeve znane besede o potrebi po kopernikanski revoluciji, po kateri bo otrok postal kot sonce, okoli katerega se bodo gibala izobraževalna sredstva, in središče, okoli katerega se bodo lahko organizirali (Dewey 1935, str. 20), je mogoče v skoraj identični obliki najti v programskem dokumentu Poverjenišтва za prosveto pri predsedstvu ASNOM-a: »Zdaj bi se moral pojaviti novi Kopernik, ki bi premestil pedagoško središče, tako da bi učenec, ki je bil doslej planet, postal sonce, okoli katerega bi se gibal šolski program, tedenski raspored ur, šolski red, higiena in vse, kar se še dogaja v šoli. Ta novi Kopernik bo v naši šoli novi makedonski učitelj.« (Kamberski 1994, str. 66)

Programski dokumenti v povojnem obdobju so zagovarjali tudi načela aktivnosti, funkcionalnosti ter samoaktivnosti, ki so bila pod izrazitim vplivom Kerchensteinerjeve delovne šole (Angelovski 1985, str. 87). Prepoznati pa je bilo mogoče tudi didaktični model kompleksnega pouka, ki je bil zastopan v prvem in drugem razredu osnovne šole, kjer sicer »izgubljajo posamezni učni predmeti [...], a prihaja do izraza celovit proces študija objektivne stvarnosti, ljudske in družbene sredine« (Rakovodstvo za učitelite ... 1945, str. 25).

Četudi ne tako eksplicitno, je mogoče vpliv pragmatistične pedagogike in posameznih tokov t. i. nove šole opaziti v nekaterih uradnih dokumentih, povezanih z reformo osnovnošolskega izobraževanja, ki je v Makedoniji potekala v šestdesetih in zgodnjih sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, pa tudi v programskih dokumentih iz poznih sedemdesetih let, v katerih se je razglabljalo o kakovosti pouka ter skušalo na tem področju doseči napredek.

V strateških usmeritvah dolgoročnega razvoja in reforme vzgoje in izobraževanja v republiki je tako mogoče pod površjem ideoloških fraz identificirati nekatere sestavine, ki kažejo na že omenjene tokove (Bezdanov 1979):

- individualni pristop k pouku;
- spremembe tradicionalne organizacije pouka in šolskega življenja v smeri večje aktivnosti učencev in uporabe sodobnih učnih metod in sredstev;
- spremembe na področju discipliniranja, ki gredo v bolj sproščeno smer: »Tradicionalen, zakonsko predpisan sistem je nujno treba zamenjati z edinstvenim pravilnikom hišnega reda ter z medosebnimi delovnimi in pedagoškimi odnosi med učitelji, učenci in drugimi zaposlenimi, ki omogočajo skupno presojo in so

deležni verifikacije v samoupravnem organu šole, kamor so vključeni starši in drugi predstavniki družbene skupnosti.« (Prav tam, str. 132);

- spremembe vloge učitelja: ta naj bi namesto predavatelja in arbitra pri ocenjevanju znanja ter vedénja učencev postal organizator, posrednik, svetovalec in pedagoški sodelavec: »Dosedanjo predvsem predavateljsko in vlogo učitelja kot arbitra pri ocenjevanju znanja in vedénja je treba nadomestiti z vlogo organizatorja in posrednika pri usvajanju le osnovnega znanja, z vlogo svetovalca pri izboru virov in metod samostojnega učenja ter z vlogo pedagoškega sodelavca, ki skupaj z udeleženci – obiskovalci postavlja standarde posameznikovega vedénja in humanih medosebnih odnosov.« (Prav tam, str. 133)

V teh istih priporočilih je poudarjeno, da se je nujno treba odločno boriti proti vsem »tujim, za marksizem in socializem nesprejemljivim pojavom, pa tudi proti vplivom meščanskega liberalizma« (prav tam). Najbrž tudi zato vsa zgoraj opisana priporočila, pa tudi tista iz zgodnejših obdobj, niso našla poti v prakso in šole v Makedoniji tudi v naslednjem desetletju najpogosteje niso odstopale od svoje običajne tradicionalne didaktično-metodične artikulacije pouka. Tudi v času razvoja socializma so tako v makedonskih šolah prevladovali frontalno učno delo, prenos gotovega znanja in njegovega memoriranja, avtoritarnost učiteljev, receptivnost in pasivnost učencev – torej značilnosti, ki ustvarjajo podobo tradicionalne šole in pouka (Kamberski 2000, str. 68).

Sklep

Če socialistični razvoj pedagogike in šolstva v Makedoniji ovrednotimo z današnje časovne distance, je mogoče reči, da je šlo za obdobje doseganja impresivnih rezultatov, v katerem je prišlo do višje kulturno-prosvetne ravni prebivalstva, pomembnih konceptualnih, strukturnih in organizacijskih sprememb v vzgojno-izobraževalnem sistemu, a hkrati tudi do protislovij ter razkoraka med teoretično zasnovanimi in deklarativnimi zahtevami na eni in njihovo praktično realizacijo na drugi strani. Pedagoška znanost je bila v funkciji ustvarjanja državne izobraževalne politike in osmišljanja reformskih ukrepov, katerih cilj je bil napredek vzgoje in izobraževanja. Pogosto pa ti ukrepi niso presegli okvirov tradicionalnih rešitev in so bolj ali manj prispevali samo k manjšemu izpopolnjevanju ter posodabljanju razmer. Tudi zato je pedagoška znanost v tem obdobju prenašala breme nakopičenih teoretično-metodoloških dilem pri reševanju vzgojno-izobraževalnih problemov.

Celovito gledano to obdobje pomembno prispeva k razvoju vzgoje in izobraževanja v državi, saj vzpostavlja trdne temelje, ki so še danes vgrajeni v izobraževalni sistem neodvisne Makedonije: dostopnost šolanja, neselektivnost, pravica do izobraževanja v maternem jeziku, sekularnost izobraževanja. To so značilnosti, ki kažejo na demokratizacijo izobraževanja, če ga primerjamo z razmerami v Makedoniji pred drugo svetovno vojno, in omogočajo kontinuiteto razvoja vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema v državi. A hkrati je ta sistem, ki se je v Makedoniji gradil skoraj pet desetletij, obremenjen tudi s partijskim in ideološkim monizmom, ki prežema

šolsko delo in pedagoško znanost v celoti, s tem pa omejuje svobodo mišljenja in delovanja učencev ter prosvetnih in znanstvenih delavcev. To je dediščina, ki se je je nova država, Republika Makedonija, želela čim prej osvoboditi ter z odpiranjem k pluralizmu in tržni ekonomiji razvoj svojega vzgojno-izobraževalnega in sistema in pedagoške znanosti zapeljati v drugo smer.

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Suzana Miovska-Spaseva

Achievements and contradictions in the development of schooling and pedagogy in socialist Macedonia (1945-1990)

Abstract: The period of the forty-five years of the development of education in socialist Macedonia has a significant place and great importance in the history of Macedonian schools and education. In just a few years after the end of World War II, the foundations of the national system of education were established, and it continued to develop intensively within the unified system of Federal Yugoslavia until the independence of Macedonia in 1991. Its ideological basis was Marxist scientific theory which determined the objectives, principles and content of educational work at all levels of schooling. This article explores the characteristics of the development of education and pedagogy in Macedonian socialist society. The analysis is focused on the successes that were achieved, but also the limitations and contradictions of the systemic reform activities that were undertaken in education during that period. The research is based on the original documents with which the educational policy and practice in the former socialist republic were built. They are used to discuss the basic principles of the Marxist pedagogy that developed in Yugoslavia, as well as elements of other educational theories that influenced the conceptual set-up, organization and teaching methodology of the socialist schools in Macedonia

Keywords: School development in Macedonia, Marxist pedagogy in Yugoslavia, Socialist education.

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Introduction

The decades-long construction of a socialist society in Macedonia, which took place within the former Yugoslavia, is of exceptional importance for the development of its school and education. By participating in the People's Liberation War, the Macedonian people fought their way to statehood for the first time in their history and centuries-long struggle for national and social liberation, and thanks to that, the conditions for building a national educational system were created. It proceeded on the same fundamental principles and was carried out through the same developmental stages that were characteristic of education in the Yugoslav federation, but with an enhanced intensity that was evident especially during the first years after the end of World War II. This was a period of expansion and rapid elimination of the inherited educational backwardness in Macedonia. No other social activity in the country at that time had such speedy and dynamic development as education had (Kamberski 1994, p.6), for it was the principal factor in the social, economic, cultural and scientific development of Macedonia. Its main feature was a constant and rapid increase in the number and types of educational institutions, as well as the inclusion of children, youth and adults within the country.

The development of the educational system continued in the decades that followed, although with a more moderate pace. In parallel and in correlation with this development, the fundamentals of pedagogy were established. Its beginnings were located in the heart of Soviet pedagogy, and its theory of socialist education was politically conditioned and ideologically defined by the Marxist scientific view of the world. This paper provides a brief overview of the development of the pedagogy during this time of socialism, and then, using the original, and first of all, program documents of educational policy in Macedonia during the development of the socialist society, attempts to identify the basic principles of the educational system that were realized in the educational practices of Macedonian schools.

Overview of the development of Macedonia's pedagogy and pedagogical research

In the same way as in the school system, the development of pedagogical research in Macedonia bore the features of the overall development of the Yugoslav federation. During the first decade after the end of World War II, pedagogical science in Macedonia, as well as in the entire federation, was insufficiently developed because it own, as other researchers and witnesses of the time say, no scientific research institutions or special personnel who would perform such activity in the field of education (Potkonjak 1977, p. 183). Exceptions were the Cathedras at the Faculties of Philosophy, but in these, too, no conditions for the development of pedagogical science were created (ibid.). At the Cathedra for Pedagogy at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, whose start was connected with the foundation of the Faculty in 1946¹, up to the beginning of the 1960s, the curriculum of pedagogical disciplines was covered only by one or two teachers and the same number of assistants (Temkov et al. 2006, p. 97). Keeping in mind that before the liberation of Macedonia and the foundation of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, there was a very modest scientific research tradition in the field of education (ibid., p. 98), we can say that in this earliest post-war period in Macedonia there were almost no institutions and qualified personnel that could do more serious scientific research work nor were there opportunities and conditions for its more intensive development, for the pedagogues were mainly engaged in solving basic problems of a practical nature (expanding the school network, qualifying the teaching staff for primary and secondary schools, developing teaching plans, programs and textbooks, etc.). That was why the editorial board of the first and most significant Macedonian journal for education, *Prosvetno delo*, on the occasion of the ten-year anniversary of its existence, provided its estimate that "[...] we still do not have enough organized and systematized scientific research work, the basis for the solid generalization of the new things looming in our pedagogical practice has not been established yet" (Deset godini na ... 1955, p. 340).

In this situation, an exit was being looked for in the Soviet pedagogical and Marxist philosophic theory and in the program of the Communist Party and other party documents (Angeloska-Galevska 1998, p. 91). The goals, principles and contents of the educational practice at all levels of schooling were being built on the ideological foundations of Marxism, which was understood as "a scientific theory, a class liberation ideology and a revolutionary practice of the working class" (Damjanovski 1985, p. 28). In striving to liberate the educational and pedagogical process from the recidivism of the "civil school" and the "bourgeois ideology", Macedonian pedagogical workers turned to Soviet pedagogy, which was perceived as the only science about socialist education (Angeloska-Galevska

¹ The Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje was founded in 1920, in what was then the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, as a branch of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. Its work was interrupted at the beginning of the liberation and anti-fascist war, and the higher education tradition in the People's Republic of Macedonia was resumed with the establishment of the new Faculty of Philosophy in 1946, which was the first constituent unit of the future Macedonian university in Skopje.

1998, p. 92). It was the source in which the researchers in the entire Yugoslav community sought and found directions for the development of a methodology for pedagogical research. In Vladimir Mužić's paper, presented in a symposium in the 1960s, he pointed out that "from the liberation up to about 1952 ... the work of the pedagogues related to methodology was limited to translations of chapters dedicated to pedagogical methodology in certain Soviet pedagogical textbooks" (Mužić 1963, p. 354). In Macedonia, even after the conflict between the official Yugoslav party and state policy with the Soviet Inform Bureau in 1948, this *inclination* toward Soviet pedagogy remained unchanged. As an example, there is an argument about this in the Law for the University in Skopje from 1949, here it is demanded that "[...] this highest educational institution in NRM (the People's Republic of Macedonia) needs to cooperate in the scientific work and exchange scientific experiences, scientific papers and publications with the other universities in FNRJ (the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia) and with foreign universities, first of all with the universities in the USSR and the other countries of the people's democracy" (Zakon za univerzitetot... 1949, art. 2).

The development of pedagogy during this period is characterized by apologetics and the absence of critical approaches, for its tasks were theoretically and methodologically deducted and consisted of the operationalized stances of party and government bodies, contained in certain documents (programs, resolutions, etc.) (Angeloska-Galevska 1998, p. 94-95).

The situation gradually started changing at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s when, as Potkonjak wrote (1977, p. 185), it comes to a "partial sobering from the influence of Soviet pedagogy" and an acceptance of the methodological legacy of the empirical-inductive "bourgeois methodology of pedagogy." In the next few decades, a positive trend in the development of pedagogical research in Macedonia occurred. This is reflected in the fact that educational policy makers start seeking out inclusion of the research in the practical realization of school reform, and that science, though still timidly, puts itself in the function of promoting educational work. Closely related to this is the speedy development of the methodology of pedagogical research, "especially of its research techniques and instruments", in which way "the weaknesses emanating from the so-called deductive and normative pedagogy would be overcome" (Koprovski 1985, p. 2). At the same time, the number of scientists and scientific works in the field of pedagogy increased. A special contribution to this was provided by the Cathedra for Pedagogy at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, which widened and deepened its scientific research work: the number of teachers with scientific titles increased; by the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, the first doctoral dissertations in the field of pedagogical sciences were defended at the Faculty of Philosophy; starting in 1980/81, post-graduate studies of pedagogy were established; the first master's thesis was defended in 1983, and by 1990 eleven candidates acquired the scientific title of Master of Pedagogical Sciences, and fourteen candidates acquired the doctorate²; the participation of scientific research workers from Macedonia

² The data on the number of master's and doctoral theses were taken from the internal records of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje.

intensified in the federal expert and scientific meetings and conferences; and the number of expert and scientific papers published in the Macedonian journal *Prosvetno delo* increased (Temkov et al. 2006, p. 96-99). All these activities contributed to the development of pedagogical science in Macedonia, as well as to improving the work in its educational institutions.

Theoretical basis of educational system in Macedonia

In general, the principles on which the educational system of the People's Republic of Macedonia, later the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, was founded and built, were under direct political influence and were drawn up at the Congresses of the Communist Party. In its resolutions, the party was determining the educational goals that were then formally operationalized by the Institute for the Improvement of Education (*Zavod za unapređivanje na vospitanieto i obrazovanieto*) into tasks and programs carried out from top to bottom. These resolutions caused changes in the laws on the basis of which teaching plans and programs were developed and implemented in the schools. For example, the Resolution of the Federal Assembly on the Development of Education on Self-Management Basis (*Rezolucija Savezne skupštine...* 1970), caused changes in the law for the secondary education of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia (*Zakon za srednoto...* 1970), and based on these changes, the Republic Institute for Improving the School System (*Republički zavod za unapređivanje na školstvoto na SR Makedonija*) prepared teaching plans and programs for secondary education, whose implementation started in the school year 1974/75 (*Sredno obrazovanie...* 1973).

Also, pedagogical scientists in Macedonia cited these party directives and were, together with the schools, in the service of building a unique model of political thinking and action. The ideological basis for this model was the Marxist-Leninist theory of education that permeates the complete schooling of students, from primary to higher education. "We must create conditions for wider and more systematic Marxist education," said the then president of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, in his speech in Titov Veles in 1975 (Bežić 1978, p. 25). And these conditions were created in Macedonia through the conceptual setting and ideological and political foundation of the entire educational work.

In the next part of the paper, we shall identify the main principles upon which the educational system in Macedonia was based during its forty-five years of socialist development, and which have their theoretical foundation in Marxist pedagogical theory.

Democratic approach to education

Marxist pedagogy places great importance on the education of the working class, since it considers education to be a powerful tool for the liberation of the people. Political enlightenment of the masses requires raising the general culture; therefore, one of the most important tasks after the liberation was raising the

cultural and educational levels of the population. In the realization of this goal, with the establishment of the educational system in Macedonia, schooling became tuition-free, and primary education compulsory. The ideological and social construction of the post-war educational system in Yugoslavia had already started during the People's Liberation War (*Narodnoosloboditelna borba*), when the basic postulates of the new educational policy were formulated, in which the following democratic goals were especially expressed:

- Accessibility of all schools and other organized forms of education to all children, youth and adults, regardless of their social and material status, or ethnic and religious origins.
- Proclamation of the principles of equality in education for all the peoples and ethnic minorities, and providing teaching in the schools in the students' mother tongue (Krnetić 1978, p. 111).

After liberation, Macedonia's starting position in the field of education was extremely bad. This is testified to by the fact that in 1945, 75% of the population at the age of 10 or more were illiterate, and according to the data from the 1948 census, 48.8% of the entire population over the age of 10 did not have any school education (*Statistički godišnik na SRM* 1968, str. 6). For that reason, steps were being taken to restore the school structure that existed during the pre-war period, as well as the system's enhancement and enrichment with new educational institutions, starting from the pre-school level up to the education of adults.

The principle of providing education in the students' mother tongue was implemented in Macedonia even during the period of the People's Liberation War and ASNOM³, when simultaneously with the development of the school network in the Macedonian language, schools in the languages of ethnic minorities were being opened (Albanian, Turkish and Serbo-Croatian). In 1944/45, there were 60 primary schools with 3,975 students and 104 teachers with curriculum in Albanian, 37 schools and 49 teachers with curriculum in Turkish, and 2 schools with 186 students and 2 teachers with curriculum in Serbo-Croatian (Jurukova 1990, p. 91). In the following years, the school network expanded into other levels of schooling: in 1947, the development of schooling in the students' own native language started in the field of secondary education (Zlatku 1985); in 1952/53, training in the Albanian and Turkish languages at the college level was initiated for teachers of the lower grades in the primary schools, and in 1958, for teachers of the higher grades in the primary schools and in the secondary schools (Pedagoška akademija "Kliment Ohridski" 1972). During Macedonia's socialist development, the participation of students from ethnic minorities increased continually compared to that of the total number of students, so in 1974/75 it was 26.2% (Kamberski 1994, p. 80).

³ ASNOM is the acronym for the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Macedonia (*Antifašističko Sобрание na Narodnoto Osloboduвање na Makedonija*), which represents the first supreme government authority in the People's Republic of Macedonia that was constituted on August 2, 1944 in the monastery of Prohor Pchinski.

Public character of education

One of the basic principles on which the four and a half-decade development of the educational system in socialist Macedonia was based, was its public character. It was established even before the complete liberation of the country, when the Presidium of ASNOM, in its session held on January 8, 1945, and pursuing the fundamental provisions of the Resolution on the Character of Social Relations, brought forth a decision to abolish all the privately owned schools and ban their work (Veljanovski 1987, p. 36-37). With this measure, the possibility of any private initiative in the institutionalization of the educational system was excluded. The public character of education in Macedonia was confirmed by the Constitution of the People's Republic of Macedonia enacted in 1946 (Ustav na NRM... 1947) and this principle remained until the declaration of Macedonia's independence in 1991. By the 1950s, the state had the school system in its jurisdiction, and thus the right to decide on all important issues in the field of education, such as defining goals and tasks; founding schools and other educational and cultural institutions; prescribing teaching plans, programs and books of rules for the organization of the educational work; providing conditions and finances for the schools; determining the employment and lay-offs of teachers, and so on (Kamberski 1994, p. 44-45). In this way, a central system of management was promoted, which, of course, also had repercussions for the organization of the schools as governmental institutions. After the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia at the end of 1949 (Petranović et al. 1983, p. 484), the social status and functioning of the school system in Macedonia experienced changes in the direction of de-etatization and democratization, which can be perceived in the decentralization of the competencies of the government bodies and the introduction of social self-management bodies for managing the school system (i.e., the introduction of school boards and councils) (Kamberski 1994, p. 58-60).

Secularization of schools

The famous interpretation of the founder of Marxism, Karl Marx, that religion is "the opium of the people" (Žlebnik 1983, p. 151) was adopted and implemented in one of the most important principles of the Soviet and Yugoslav pedagogy - anti-religious education. This principle was also the main postulate in the organization of the school system and education in socialist Macedonia. By enacting the first Constitution of the People's Republic of Macedonia, the schools were separated from the church (Ustav... 1947, art. 37), and the educational system kept this secular character during its decade-long socialist development. However, it is necessary to mention that in the first official curriculum for the primary schools, inaugurated in 1944 by the Presidium of ASNOM (Hristov et al. 1984, p. 238), as well as in the Interim Plan and Program (*Privremen plan i program*) from 1945 (Zbornik dokumenti... 1964), scriptural education, or religious instruction, was included as an optional school subject in the first four grades of primary school, with the program worked out by the religious authorities and approved

by the educational authorities. However, in the next program documents for the primary school religious content was completely omitted, and Marxist education, the “scientific-materialistic view of the world” (Nastaven plan i programa... 1966, str. 7), which was one of the main goals in the education of the young people, was pursued not only as an introduction of Marxist content, but also as a tool for enabling the Marxist critical valorization of all content; in this way, the influences of other ideological orientations, including religious ones, were excluded.

Goals and tasks of education

One of the most complex and sensitive problems of pedagogical science, the issue of the goals and tasks of education, had an ideological and political character and importance during the period of socialism. This issue was being harmonized with the social development and the changes in the organization and management of social relations, but some goals and tasks remained unchanged: “The youth ought to be acquainted with and to develop our revolutionary traditions, in which way the young generations are linked with the brightest achievements of the socialist revolution during the entire socialist development”, pointed out the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, in his speech held during the Tenth Congress of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. He added: “The permanent values our revolution has created are an inexhaustible source of the socialist education of the youth - for strengthening the brotherhood and unity of all our peoples and ethnic minorities, Yugoslav socialist patriotism, internationalism, the fighting spirit and sedulousness” (Deseti kongres SKJ... 1974, p. 51). These values indeed remained permanent, since we see them in the formulation of the goals of the ideological and educational activities among young people some fifteen years later, when the Yugoslav federation was at its end. For example, at the scientific conference in Skopje, which was dedicated to the ideological function of educational work, Potkonjak (1989, p. 44-47) pointed out the following tasks, content and fields of the ideological education of the young people: Marxist education; the development of Yugoslav socialist patriotism and cherishing the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and ethnic minorities; the self-management socialist orientation of the young people; the development of attitudes toward work, duties and public property; and the development of interpersonal relationships.

Many of these goals and tasks are not hard to identify in the official documents by which the educational work in socialist Macedonia was regulated. Formulations of the goals of education can be found in the first documents issued by the Presidium of ASNOM, by which an attempt was made to consolidate and transform the primary education in Macedonia institutionally. In the first document issued by the Ministry of Education (*Poverenstvo za prosveta*) on April 3, 1944, the Interim Plan for Training in Primary Schools (*Privremen plan za obuka vo osnovnite školi*), we can identify several elements or principles in the formulation of the educational goals:

- Scientific foundation: “Acquainting the students with our reality”;
- Collectivism: “Making the student a member of a community where there is no place for egoistic and individualistic striving”;
- Permanency: “Training the student to use a stylus and book, not only while being a student, but also after that”;
- Community spirit and brotherhood and unity: “Acquainting the students with the reality of other brotherly peoples; inspire them with the spirit of our struggle that is not separate from, but instead is connected with the struggle of the other brotherly peoples in the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia” (Hristov et al. 1984, p. 235).

In the later period of the development of the socialist society, these same goals are repeated in more or less modified and/or integrated forms in the legal and program documents. This occurs, for example, in the General Program Structure - curriculum for primary schools from 1973, where the goal of education is formulated in these words: “The self-managing socialist society requires a multilateral, free and human person, capable of performing his/her functions in the complex conditions of life and work” (*Osnovno učilište...* 1973, p. 5). Community spirit, brotherhood and unity is an unchangeable principle even thirty years later; collectivism also remains, and an emphasis is put on the “harmonization of personal and social interests”; and the scientific foundation has a clear orientation: “the adoption of Marxism and its scientific view of the world...” (*ibid.*).

The idea of collectivism, which is one of the main theoretical postulates of the Marxist theory of education, in the Yugoslav society was epitomized as cherishing and developing the community spirit, brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and ethnic minorities. The Yugoslav youth was being shaped in the spirit of this greatest achievement of the National Liberation War and the revolution, and for them it had to be a warranty for the safety and the durability of the Yugoslav federation (Bežić 1978, p. 25-27).

In Macedonia, too, teaching about brotherhood and unity was one of the most important tasks in the education of a socialist self-managing personality. In all official and unofficial state and self-management documents, attention was always paid to the way school subjects and content enabled the development of the brotherhood and unity of the people and ethnic minorities in Macedonia and Yugoslavia (Angelovski 1985, p. 97). This was realized, above all, through the teaching process (there was almost no school subject or a field where that was not its primary educational task) (*Nastaven plan i programa...* 1950; *Nastaven plan i programa...* 1966; *Sredno obrazovanie...* 1973), as well as through the extra-curricular and outside-of-school activities of the students, like the meetings between schools bearing the same name, various labor actions, sport matches, cultural manifestations, outings, excursions, camping and other gatherings of children (Tito’s pioneers) and youth.

Wide general education

Lenin's thought that "a person will become a communist only when he/she enriches his/her own memory with the knowledge of the complete richness humanity has achieved" (Žlebnik 1983, p. 254), illustrates the great importance the Marxist pedagogy places on intellectual education, the adoption of systematized knowledge, and the wide theoretical education that ought to provide the formation of the educated builders of socialist society. That was why the goal of education in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia was developing a "universal" or "multilateral" personality (Nastaven plan i programa... 1966; Osnovno učilište... 1973), and its realization was carried out in the schools, where a systematic education was acquired based on studying the comprehensive content of a large number of school subjects. This means that the programs in Macedonian schools were characterized by encyclopedism, which led to overloading the students. The issue of that overload was the reason for many changes in the primary education curriculum (1957, 1959, 1966, 1972, 1980) (Bezdanov 1979, p. 30-33), which were directed to corrections of the working days' fund and working hours and/or to the introduction and abolishment of certain fields and forms of teaching. For example, one of the basic reasons for the first primary education reform at the end of the 1950s, which brought new teaching plans and programs to the primary schools, was the "overloading of the curriculums and their disharmony with the psychophysical abilities of the students" (Angelovski 1985, p. 88). The corrections of the teaching plans and programs in 1966 had the goal of "providing larger number of classes for some school subjects indicated by the practice and the current social needs" (ibid., p. 89). In 1972, more changes were made to Macedonia's primary education curriculum, and one of the reasons for the introduction of the new program structure was, again, the overload of the students (ibid., p. 92). This means that the reforms that were conducted, in the case of primary education, did not bring any significant changes and that the curriculum during the period of the socialist development of Macedonian schools and education reflected the priority of acquiring a more or less comprehensive amount of knowledge.

The encyclopedic character of the education was closely related to some other characteristics of the programs realized in Macedonian schools during the period of socialist development. Namely, they were predominantly closed programs prescribed *from above*, without any possibility for intervention by the schools, although with the changes in 1959 and 1966 (Nastavni planovi i programi... 1960; Nastaven plan i programa... 1966), an opportunity was given to the municipalities and the schools to complement the teaching plan and program according to the specific needs of the local community. At the same time, up to the beginning of the 1990s, the programs in the Macedonian schools were unified and "sociocentric oriented", which means that the starting point of education was not the child, but the interests of the socialist society (Kamberski 2000, p. 66). A confirmation of that, in an example, is found in the features of the curriculum from 1980 that was implemented in the classes from fourth to eighth grade in primary schools during a longer period of time (Opšta programhska struktura... 1981). In these

programs, education was treated more “[...] like a social, citizen’s duty, not as one of the fundamental rights of the individual. This is an approach by which the state determines what kind of personality is required so the state could satisfy its own needs, and not a personality that develops autonomously and according to his/her own abilities, needs and interests. Through its bodies, the state defines the goals and the contents of education, and through the programs it defines not only what will be taught, but also in what scope, following what order, etc. They are strictly prescribed elements of the program in which the school and the teacher, as the one who implements, and the student himself/herself, as a directly involved and interested party, have no right to change anything [...]” (Kamberski 2000, p. 67).

The student as a subject of education

Universally developed builders of socialism consciously adopt knowledge (Žlebnik 1983, p. 254-255). Lenin’s famous triad of cognition, “from live observation to abstract thinking, and from the latter to the practice” (Bognar and Matijević 2015, p. 9-10), was the theoretical basis of the Soviet didactics, which, according to some authors, dominated in Yugoslavia some thirty years after World War II (ibid., p. 5). The principle of clarity was adopted in the schools in Macedonia even during the first stage of the post-war development, and regarding teaching methodology, the implementation of research and creative methods was insisted on, which implied that students ought not to be provided with ready-made knowledge, but they have to discover it by themselves (Rakovodstvo za učitelite... 1945, str. 5).

The principles of clarity and activity are not a characteristic of the Marxist theory of learning only, but also of other theoretical currents that can be identified in the organization and teaching methodology of educational work in the Macedonian schools. Therefore, in the first official normative, programmatic and didactic-methodological documents in which the fundamentals of the new concept of schools in Macedonia were laid, we can identify elements of social pedagogy, the pedagogy of pragmatism, and the working school, as well as a didactic model of complex teaching (Kamberski 1994, p. 66; Angelovski 1985, p. 87)⁴.

For example, in the official documents of the first Macedonian government, issued in 1945, formulations can be found for reforming the old school that are almost identical to those pointed out by the main representative of the pedagogy of pragmatism, John Dewey, in his book *School and Society* (Dewey 1949). In this document it is stated: “One of the first and most important tasks of the teachers in the new Macedonian school is to perform a complete rework, a complete reorganization, a true revolution of the old school,” which ought to be transformed “from schooling institution into a part of the social life, from a bookish school into a social school” (Kamberski 1994, p. 65). In these words, it is easy to recognize Dewey’s efforts to create a “[...] deep and complete transformation of traditional school,” which ought to become “an embryonic form of social life” and “a place where the child lives” (Dewey 1935, p. 15-19).

⁴ Interesting is the fact that complex teaching was promoted in Macedonia thirteen years after its official abolishment in the Soviet Union in 1932 (*Enciklopedijski rečnik pedagogije* 1963, p. 399).

Similar analogies can be found concerning the position of the student in the teaching process. Dewey's famous words about the need for a Copernican revolution where the child will become a sun around which all the educational means will rotate, and a center around which they will be organized (Dewey 1935, p. 20), can be found in an almost identical form in the program document of the Ministry of Education (*Poverenstvo za prosveta*) of the Presidium of ASNOM: "Now it is supposed a new Copernicus will appear who ought to move the pedagogical center, so the student, who has so far been a planet, shall become a sun around which the school program and the weekly schedule of lessons, the order, hygiene, and everything else in the school will rotate. That new Copernicus for our school will be the new Macedonian teacher" (Kamberski 1994, p. 66).

In the program documents during the post-war period, the principles of activity, functionality and self-activity were also advocated, which were under the influence of Kersensteiner's working school (Angelovski 1985, p. 87). Also recognizable is the didactic model of the complex teaching implemented in the first and second grades in primary schools, in which, as formulated in the document, "[...] individual school subjects are lost [...], and an integral process of studying the objective reality, the human and social environment, comes to expression" (Rakovodstvo za učitelite... 1945, str. 25).

The influence of the pedagogy of pragmatism and certain currents of the so-called new school, although not in explicit form as in the aforementioned examples, can be seen in some official documents related to the reform of the primary education in Macedonia during the sixties and the early seventies of the past century, as well as in the program documents from the late seventies where the quality of the teaching was reviewed and attempts for its improvement were made. In the strategic directions of the long-term development and reform of education in Macedonia, under the mask of ideological phraseology, some elements pointing to the directions mentioned above can be identified (Bezdanov 1979):

- Individual approach in the teaching process;
- Change of the traditional organization of teaching and school life, in the direction of greater activity by the students and the implementation of modern methods and tools;
- Change of the system of discipline in the direction of its relaxation: "The traditional system established by the law needs to be replaced by a unified rulebook of house rules and mutual work and pedagogical relations between the teachers, students and the other employees, which will be jointly established and verified in the self-management school body, where the parents and other representatives of the society will be involved" (ibid., str. 132);
- Change of the teacher's role, from lecturer and arbiter in the assessment of the knowledge and the behavior of the students, into an organizer, mediator, advisor and pedagogical associate: "The so far mainly lecturing role of the teachers and their role as arbiters in the process of the evaluation of students' knowledge and in their behavior toward the students, must be replaced with

the role of organizers and mediators in the process of the acquisition of basic knowledge only, with the role of consultants in the choice of the sources and methods of independent study, and with the role of pedagogical associates who together with the participants-visitors, work out the norms of individual behavior and interpersonal, humane relations" (ibid., p. 133).

However, in these same recommendations, it is stressed that a decisive struggle is necessary against all the "[...] foreign phenomena that are unacceptable to Marxism and socialism, as well as against the influences of civil liberalism" (ibid.). Probably because of that, these recommendations as well as the ones from the earlier period, which all incorporate new approaches in the educational work, did not find direct realization in practice. Hence, during the next decade, most of the schools in Macedonia did not deviate in their didactical and methodological articulation from the usual traditional model. That is why it can be said that during the period of socialist development, the dominant aspects of teaching in the Macedonian schools consisted mainly of frontal work, the transfer of ready-made knowledge and its memorization, the authoritarianism of the teacher, and the receptiveness and passivity of the students - all characteristics that give a picture of a traditional school and teaching (Kamberski 2000, p. 68).

Conclusion

Evaluating the socialist development of the school system and pedagogy in Macedonia from today's distance, we can say that it was a period of achieving impressive results regarding the increase in the cultural and educational level of the population, and significant conceptual, structural and organizational changes in the educational system, but it was also a period of discrepancies and contradictions between the theoretically founded and declared demands and their realization in practice. Pedagogical science was in the function of creating educational policy in the country and conceiving reform activities whose goal was the improvement of the process of education. But, very often those reforms did not go beyond traditional solutions and contributed, if any, to only minor improvement and modernization of the situation at the time. For this reason, during this period pedagogy bore the burden of the accumulated theoretical and methodical dilemmas in solving educational problems.

On the whole, this period represents a significant contribution to the development of education in the country, as it laid solid foundations that have been incorporated into independent Macedonia's educational system today: the accessibility of schooling, non-selectivity, the right to education in an individual's mother tongue, and secular education. These are the characteristics that indicate the democratization of education regarding the educational situation in Macedonia before World War II and allow for the continuity of the educational system in the country. However, at the same time, this system, which was built over almost five decades in Macedonia, carries a burden of the party and the ideology of monism

that permeates the whole school work and pedagogical science, and restricts the freedom of thought and actions of the students, teachers and scientific workers. This is the legacy that the new state, the Republic of Macedonia, has sought to let go of as soon as possible, since the very beginning of its constitution in 1991, and by opening the door to pluralism and a market economy, to focus the development of the educational system and pedagogy in another direction.

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