

ALEŠ GABRIČ

ŠOLSKA REFORMA 1953-1963

Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino
Ljubljana 2006

Pregled vsebine

PREDGOVOR	9
ŠOLSTVO V SLOVENIJI V ZAČETKU PETDESETIH LET	13
<i>Opuščanje šolske politike iz prvih povojnih let</i>	13
<i>Razdrobljenost obveznega osemletnega šolanja</i>	19
<i>Srednje šole in zaostanek strokovnega šolstva</i>	25
<i>Šolstvo v očeh slovenskih pedagogov</i>	29
<i>Šolstvo v očeh politikov</i>	46
PRIPRAVA NOVEGA ŠOLSKEGA SISTEMA	49
<i>Komisija za reformo šolstva in druge pristojne ustanove</i>	51
<i>Popolnoma enotna ali delno diferencirana osnovna šola?</i>	57
<i>Kakšen kader naj poučuje na osnovni šoli?</i>	61
<i>Drugi odprti problemi šolske reforme</i>	66
<i>Javna razprava o stališčih Komisije za reformo šolstva v Sloveniji</i>	73
<i>Predlog sistema izobraževanja in vzgoje v FLRJ</i>	82
<i>Sprejem Splošnega zakona o šolstvu 25. junija 1958</i>	90
PODOBA NOVEGA ŠOLSKEGA SISTEMA V SLOVENIJI	97
<i>Uzakonitev enotne osemletne osnovne šole</i>	99
<i>Učiteljski kader za poučevanje na osnovnih šolah</i>	120
<i>Strokovne šole pridobivajo na pomenu, a gimnazij (še) ne ukinjajo</i>	135
<i>Šolstvo narodnih manjšin</i>	156
<i>Izvenšolsko izobraževanje</i>	174
<i>Skrb za izboljšanje materialne osnove šolstva</i>	194
REFORMA VISOKEGA ŠOLSTVA	209
<i>Ljubljanska univerza v prvem povojnem desetletju</i>	211
<i>Oblikovanje načel visokošolske reforme</i>	221
<i>Uvajanje višješolskega in stopenjskega študija</i>	237
EPILOG	257
POVZETEK	265
SUMMARY	273
VIRI IN LITERATURA	283
OSEBNO KAZALO	297

Povzetek

Od prevzema oblasti leta 1945 je poskušala nova politična elita podrediti šolstvo lastnim ideološkim in političnim potrebam. Do srede petdesetih let je oblast več pozornosti namenjala političnim in gospodarskim vprašanjem, o kulturni problematiki pa še ni imela izdelanega celovitega koncepta zaželenih sprememb. Čeprav je imela pogloblitve smernice potrebnih sprememb v šolstvu že načrtane, pa se obsežnejše šolske reforme še ni lotila.

Za ta korak se je jugoslovansko državno vodstvo odločilo leta 1953, ko je zvezna skupščina ustanovila Komisijo za reformo šolstva. Stališča, cilji in zahteve, ki naj bi jim zadostila šolska reforma, so bili izdelani v Beogradu, različne predloge pa je usklajevala Komisija za reformo šolstva, ki jo je vodil Miloš Žanko. Slovenski člani komisije so bili Draga Humek, Vlado Majhen in Franc Kimovec, vsi trije zagovorniki sprememb v skladu s političnimi potrebami vladajoče stranke. Potek reforme je nadzoroval odbor za prosveto Zveznega izvršnega sveta pod predsedstvom Rodoljuba Čolakovića.

Pri večini vprašanj, ki jih je odprla šolska reforma, se je v polemikah pojavilo več, pogosto nasprotujočih si stališč. Komisija za reformo šolstva je v večini primerov zagovarjala stališče vodilnih političnih struktur v državi. Večinsko mnenje med slovenskimi znanstveniki, pedagogi in šolskimi praktiki se je pogosto razlikovalo od predlogov Komisije za reformo šolstva, vendar pogosto ni bilo upoštevano v uradnih stališčih, zapisanih v zakonskih predlogih šolske reforme. Tudi mnenja med slovenskimi znanstveniki in pedagogi niso bila enotna. Del jih je podpiral s pomočjo politikov sprejeta načela šolske reforme, nekaj ljudi je imelo svoja ločena mnenja. Po odmevih s strani stroke pa je bilo le čutiti večinski odpor do nekaterih načel, ki so izhajala in so bila podrejena ideološkimi načelom vladajoče stranke.

Glede osnovnega vprašanja reforme, vprašanja obveznega osemletnega šolanja, je Komisija za reformo šolstva zagovarjala popolno enotnost na osnovni stopnji šolanja. Diferenciacija med učenci naj bi sledila šele po petnajstem letu starosti na srednješolski stopnji, torej po dokončanem obveznem osemletnem šolanju. Za to načelo so se zavzeli tisti slovenski šolniki, ki so podpirali temeljna načela šolske reforme. Številni osnovnošolski učitelji in srednješolski profesorji,

predvsem gimnazijskih, pa so opozarjali, da popolna enotnost pomeni zaviranje bolj sposobnih pri njihovem razvoju.

Pri vprašanju, kakšno izobrazbo naj bi imeli učitelji bodoče enotne osemletne osnovne šole, so se stališča zastopnikov različnih republik zelo razhajala. Slovenski zastopniki v Komisiji za reformo šolstva so zagovarjali mnenje slovenskih profesorjev, da morajo vsi učitelji doseči visoko stopnjo izobrazbe. Toda na račun poenotenja šolstva v vsej državi je Komisija za reformo šolstva sprejela predlog o začasni uzakonitvi le dvoletnih pedagoških akademij, torej zahtevo po višješolski namesto po visokošolski izobrazbi za učitelje osnovnih šol. Sprejetje takšnega predloga je naletelo v Sloveniji na skorajda soglasno enotne negativne odmeve. Slovenski pedagogi so zahtevali takojšnjo uzakonitev in postopni prehod na štiriletne pedagoške akademije.

Mnenja predstavnikov različnih republik v pristojnih organih so se močno razlikovala tudi pri vprašanju vloge gimnazij v novem šolskem sistemu. V južnih predelih Jugoslavije so bili zelo glasni goreči kritiki gimnazij, ki so trdili, da je to šola buržoazne mladine, ki ne sodi v socialistično stvarnost. Zato so se zavzemali za popolno ukinitvev gimnazij ali pa za njihovo preoblikovanje v neke vrste srednjo strokovno šolo za specialne poklice. Tovrstni predlogi v Sloveniji niso dobili podpore. V odzivih slovenskih pedagogov lahko najdemo dvoje prevladujočih mnenj. Na eni strani zagovornike krepitev vloge gimnazije na srednješolski stopnji — pri tem so bili zelo glasni univerzitetni profesorji — in na drugi strani zagovornike postopnega izenačevanja gimnazije z ostalimi srednjimi šolami. To je veljalo predvsem za tiste ljudi, ki so podpirali stališča Komisije za reformo šolstva.

Vprašanje strokovnih šol so v pristojnih organih reševali skladno s problematiko gimnazij. V »deželi delavcev in kmetov« so komunistični ideologi večjo veljavo kot umskemu pripisovali fizičnemu delu. V šolstvu se je to odražalo v podpori šol, ki so poučevale bodoče strokovnjake za delo v proizvodnji. Torej bi morali na srednješolski stopnji strokovne šole popolnoma izenačiti z gimnazijami. Najostrejši nasprotniki teh tendenc so bili univerzitetni profesorji, ki so trdili, da dajejo srednje strokovne šole preslabo splošno znanje in da maturanti teh šol ne morejo slediti študiju na fakultetah v takšni meri kot gimnazijski maturanti. Zahteve po izenačevanju gimnazij in strokovnih šol so postale zelo aktualne tudi zato, ker so prosvetne oblasti od srede petdesetih let dalje postavljale čedalje lažje

pogoje za vpis na visokošolske ustanove. V prve letnike visokih šol so tako začeli prihajati študentje z zelo različno predizobrazbo, kar je v precejšnji meri onemogočalo normalen potek študija.

Načrtovalci šolske reforme so menili, da je treba v učnih načrtih na vseh stopnjah šolanja povečati delež šolskih ur, namenjenih tehnični vzgoji in praktičnemu delu. Nasproti temu naj bi se zmanjšalo število ur za tiste predmete, ki so po mnenju ideologov zgolj odvrčale učence od realnih problemov sedanjosti in jih vodile k idealističnemu gledanju na življenje. Takšne »napake« so našli predvsem pri humanističnih strokah, ki v vseh političnih sistemih najbolj trpijo pod udarci ideoloških nestrpnostev. Največ kritik in s tem tudi največ političnih očitkov je letelo na »neustrezno« obravnavanje učne snovi pri slovenskem jeziku in pri zgodovini.

Pet let po ustanovitvi Komisije za reformo šolstva, v katerih so potekale živahne polemike, usklajevanje predlogov in preizkusi novosti na eksperimentlanih šolah, je jugoslovanska skupščina 25. junija 1958 sprejela Splošni zakon o šolstvu, temeljni jugoslovanski zakonski akt o šolski reformi, na osnovi katerega naj bi republike pripravile natančnejše predpise za posamezne vrste šol. Splošni zakon o šolstvu je uzakonil enotno osemletno osnovno šolo, za učitelje na njih pa predpisal šolanje na (zgolj) dvoletni pedagoški akademiji. Na srednješolski stopnji sta bili izenačeni gimnazija in strokovne šole, pogoji za vpis na visoko šolo pa so bili precej lažji kot pred leti. Na visokošolski stopnji je bila razbita celovitost študija na tri dvoletne cikle (višji, visoki in podiplomski), uzakonjena inverzija študija, znižane zahteve za diplomu, doktorat in habilitiranje za univerzitetnega predavatelja.

V vrhu slovenske partije so se zavedali, da so bila sprejeta načela, ki v vrstah pedagogov in kulturnikov niso imela večinske podpore. Vodstvo Zveze komunistov Slovenije je namreč v poročilu iz leta 1958 zapisalo: »Kljub njihovim različnim mnenjem o posameznih nebistvenih vprašanjih, so skoraj vsi (med njimi so tudi člani ZKS) zavzeli odklonilno stališče o najbolj važnem vprašanju šolske reforme - o reformi osemletne šole. (...) Njihovo stališče ni bilo odklonilno samo do stališča Zvezne komisije o reformi šolstva, temveč je bilo v bistvu nenapredno, ker je zagovarjalo konservativne poglede na vlogo gimnazije, ker je bilo proti možnosti prehoda dijakov iz srednjih strokovnih šol na univerzo in ker je bilo proti enotni osemletni šoli v času obveznega šolanja. (...) Od začetka razpravljanja

o reformi šolstva se je v razpravah in na sestankih prosvetnih delavcev jasno izražala tendenca, 'da je šolstvo področje, na katerem se pojavljajo vprašanja, ki so jih sposobni obravnavati in reševati samo strokovnjaki', skratka živo se je kazal odpor proti kakršnemukoli vmešavanju družbeno političnih sil v področje šolstva.«

Po sprejetju Splošnega zakona o šolstvu so zvezna in republiške skupščine pospešeno izdajale predpise o šolskem področju. Novosti na osnovnošolski stopnji, kjer je reforma izničila poprejšnje razlike med nižjimi gimnazijami, višjimi osnovnimi šolami in osemletkami in uzakonila obvezno enotno osemletno osnovno šolo, so začeli v Sloveniji uvajati že v šolskem letu 1957/58, po sprejetju slovenskega zakona o osnovni šoli 8. oktobra 1959 pa so bile dokončane s sprejemom novega učnega načrta aprila 1960. Nova osnovna šola je vsem državljanom omogočila enake pogoje v času osemletnega obveznega šolanja, s tem pa teoretično izenačila možnosti vpisa na srednje šole. Ob tem vsekakor spodbudnem rezultatu je treba poudariti, da je poenotenje škodovalo prej zahtevnejšim šolam, torej nižjim gimnazijam. Učni načrt v enotni osnovni šoli je bil manj zahteven kot v nekdanjih nižjih gimnazijah, s tem pa so ostali prikrajšani bolj sposobni učenci. O dodatnih predmetih ali paralelkah za zahtevnejše učence v tistem času prosvetna oblast še ni premišljevala.

Korak nazaj je šolska reforma za Slovenijo prinesla pri vprašanju šolanja učnega kadra. Tudi v tem primeru so bile spremembe prilagojene manj zahtevnemu tipu šole v času pred spremembami. Zahtevani nivo izobrazbe z dokončano višjo šolo je bil kompromis med izobrazbo učiteljev iz prejšnjih ljudskih šol in osemletk, na katerih je poučeval kader iz učiteljišč (torej s priznano srednješolsko izobrazbo) in višje pedagoške šole (z višješolsko izobrazbo), ter nižjimi gimnazijami, na katerih so poučevali tudi diplomanti fakultet (torej z visokošolsko izobrazbo).

Učitelji so že kmalu občutili tudi praznino, ki je nastala z ukinitvijo šolskega inšpektorata. Nadomestek le-tega je bila v letih 1959-60 ustanovljena prosvetno-pedagoška služba, ki pa ni mogla enakovredno zamenjati starih inšpektorjev. Prvenstvena naloga te službe je bila izdelava poročil in analiz, ne pa neposredna inšpekcija na terenu, ki je poprej učiteljem pomagala najti izhod iz nastalih težav pri delu z učenci. Poleg tega novi zakonski predpisi niso omenjali, kaj narediti z učitelji, ki so dobili za svoje strokovno delo negativno oceno.

Na srednješolski stopnji je bila največja sprememba zakonsko izenačevanje ravni vseh tovrstnih šol in možnost enakopravnega vpisa na visokošolske organizacije. Toda to izenačevanje je bilo narejeno predvsem z administrativnimi predpisi, ne pa z dejanskim izenačevanjem zahtev za dokončanje srednje šole. To bi lahko dosegli z izenačevanjem predmetnikov za splošnoizobraževalne predmete in izenačevanjem zahtev za izobrazbo pedagoškega kadra, ki je poučeval na tej stopnji šolanja. Za gimnazijo so še naprej veljale visoke zahteve, za strokovne šole pa niso bili predpisani obvezni splošnoizobraževalni predmeti in tudi ne diploma visoke šole kot pogoj za profesorje na teh učnih ustanovah. Izenačevanje ravni šol je bilo torej bolj navidezno kot dejansko.

Velike pridobitve šolske reforme so bile spremembe na tistih področjih, ki jih šolska oblast pred tem ni reševala po enotnih kriterijih in je bilo reševanje težav prepuščeno tistim, ki so se z njimi srečevali.

Velike spremembe je v času šolske reforme doživelo t.i. izvenšolsko izobraževanje (tudi šolanje ob delu). S šolskim letom 1959/60, ko je bila ustanovljena Zveza delavskih in ljudskih univerz Slovenije, so začeli veljati enotni zakonski predpisi. Od organizatorjev večernih šol in dopolnilnih tečajev so prosvetne oblasti zahtevale enako stopnjo zahtevnosti kot od istovrstnih šol v rednem šolstvu. To je bil pogoj, da so lahko svojim slušateljem izdale diplomu, ki je omogočala enakopravno možnost vpisa na višjo stopnjo šole kot maturantom iz rednih šol. Z vpeljavo novega, celovitega sistema izvenšolskega izobraževanja je bila omogočena pot do izobrazbe marsikateremu posamezniku, ki zaradi vojnih let ali slabih socialnih razmer ni mogel priti do izobrazbe po redni poti.

Druga pomembna novost je nastala pri problematiki manjšinskega šolstva za pripadnike italijanske in madžarske manjšine v Sloveniji. Pri tem se je morala slovenska oblast ozirati na pritiske znotraj Jugoslavije. Predvsem Srbija je nasprotovala preveč radikalnim spremembam, saj bi, če bi slovenska stališča obveljala za vso državo, morala tudi sama popuščati Albancem na Kosovu, tega pa ni bila pripravljena storiti. Proti nekaterim spremembam je bila tudi slovenska sosedna Italija, saj se je bala zahtev po recipročnosti in ni bila pripravljena Slovincem v Italiji dovoliti toliko, kolikor so bile slovenske oblasti pripravljene dati Italijanom v Sloveniji. Slovenska oblast je začela ob koncu petdesetih let zagovarjati zahtevo po popolni dvojezičnosti v šolstvu in v javnosti na jezikovno mešanih področjih. Tega pa zaradi omenjenih nasprotovanj in praktičnih težav,

predvsem pomanjkanja učiteljev, ki bi tekoče obvladali dva jezika, ni bilo mogoče narediti v nekaj letih. Kljub temu so bile spremembe od leta 1959 velik korak naprej v uveljavljanju enakopravnosti jezikov obeh avtohtonih narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji. S tem letom je državna oblast v Sloveniji prevzela finančno odgovornost za manjšinske šole, s šolskim letom 1959/60 pa so začeli v šolah na jezikovno mešanih področjih veljati predpisi, po katerih sta italijanščina in madžarščina pridobili na veljavi.

Izvedbo šolske reforme je omogočal nov način financiranja šolstva. S sredstvi, ki so se namensko zbirala v novoustanovljenih šolskih skladih, je dobilo šolstvo od začetka šestdesetih let naprej mnogo boljše materialne pogoje za delo. V Sloveniji se je to najbolj odrazilo v gradnji novih srednješolskih in visokošolskih ustanov in vzpostavitvi enakomerne mreže osnovnih in podružničnih šol. Precejšen delež sredstev je bil porabljen tudi za uvoz najnovejših učnih pripomočkov. Poleg občinskih skladov za šolstvo, iz katerih so se pokrivala zahteve osnovnega in srednjega šolstva, je veliko breme nosil še republiški sklad za šolstvo. Iz tega so se financirale visokošolske ustanove, posebne šole in v dogovoru z lokalnimi oblastmi tudi manjšinske šole in delavske ter ljudske univerze.

Najmočnejši odpor intelektualcev je komunistična oblast pričakovala pri izvedbi reforme visokošolskega študija, zato se je nanjo še posebej temeljito pripravljala. S to problematiko se ni ubadala Komisija za reformo šolstva, temveč je predloge za reformo visokošolskega študija pripravila posebna zvezna komisija, ki jo je vodil Krste Crvenkovski. Stališča, ki jih je oblikovala ta komisija, so se precej odmaknila od uveljavljenih akademskih razmerij. Zato je tudi naletela na odpor univerz v vsej Jugoslaviji.

Nasproti celovitosti univerze je komisija predlagala krepitev vloge fakultet, nasproti zahtevam po manjših fakultetah so se iz političnih krogov javljale zahteve po združevanju fakultet v večje enote. Zahteve univerzitetnih profesorjev po zahtevnejših diplomskih delih in disertacijah so v političnih strukturah »preslišali« in se zavzemali za znižanje zahtev za diplome in doktorat. Fakultetna vodstva so večinoma nasprotovala krajšanju študija in ustanavljanju novih in novih višjih šol, s katerih bi lahko diplomanti prestopali na drugo stopnjo fakultetnega študija. Univerzitetni profesorji so poudarjali, da gre za dva različna tipa šol in dvoje različnih vrst študijev. Politični krogi so zahtevali še znižanje zahtev za

habilitacije za univerzitetne profesorje. Fakultete naj bi v novem šolskem sistemu bile predvsem pedagoške ustanove, raziskovalna dejavnost pa naj bi se razvijala predvsem na znanstvenih inštitutih. Pristojna zvezna komisija skorajda ni predlagala sprememb, ki bi jih na ljubljanski univerzi pričakali odprtih rok.

Vse omenjene spremembe so naredile močno zarezo v šolstvu. Po pripravah od leta 1953 dalje so bile v Sloveniji uzakonjene v letih 1958 do 1962. Reformiranje šolstva v teh letih lahko ocenimo kot največjo, najbolj temeljito in najbolj celovito šolsko reformo, ki smo jo v preteklosti doživeli Slovenci. Zajela je vse stopnje šolstva, od osnovne prek srednje do visoke in podiplomskega študija ter poleg tega prinesla še bistvene spremembe v organizaciji manjšinskega šolstva, izvenšolskega izobraževanja in financiranja šolstva. V osnovi je sicer šlo za realizacijo načrtov, ki jih je komunistična oblast nakazala že takoj po prevzemu oblasti, toda tokrat so bile stvari pripravljene na bistveno višjem strokovnem in političnem nivoju kot spremembe v prvih povojnih letih. Začrtane smernice so temeljile na strokovnih analizah, sistematičnosti in sočasni obravnavi vseh stopenj šolanja. Mnenje strokovnjakov je pridobilo na veljavi, a je bilo še vseeno podrejeno ideologiji vladajoče stranke.

Vsi načrti do leta 1963, ko je bil po sprejetju nove ustave ukinjen Svet za šolstvo Slovenije in so se spremenile pristojnosti državnih organov, še niso bili dokončani. Številne spremembe, ene bolj in druge manj posrečene, je po idejah, zapisanih ali izrečenih že v petdesetih letih, šolstvo v socialističnem času doživljalo vse do padca komunistične oblasti v Sloveniji.

Summary

After taking power in 1945, the new political regime in Yugoslavia sought to subject the national school system to its ideological and political interests. Before the mid 1950's, it paid more attention to political and economic, rather than educational issues, regarding which a concept of desired changes had not yet been fully developed. Although some guidelines for the changes in the school system had already been drawn up, the Yugoslav government refrained from embarking on a comprehensive educational reform.

It decided to take this step in 1953, when the Federal Assembly formed the School Reform Commission. While the goals and requirements of the reform were defined in Belgrade, the task of the above Commission, headed by Miloš Žanko, was to consolidate the different proposals. The Slovene members of the Commission – Draga Humek, Vlado Majhen and Franc Kimovec – all supported the proposed changes that suited the political interests of the ruling League of Communist. The progress of the reform was supervised by the Federal Executive Council's Board of Education, presided by Rodoljub Čolaković.

Most of the questions, opened by the school reform, triggered polemics with many, often opposing views. In most cases, the Commission defended the position of the leading political structures in the country. Although the opinions of Slovene scientists and pedagogues often clashed with the Commission's proposals, they were rarely considered in its official positions that were, later on, laid down in the school reform draft. The views of Slovene scientists and pedagogues also diverged. Some supported the school reform principles enforced by politicians, while others adhered to their own views. The response of the educational profession nevertheless showed an overwhelming opposition to some principles which were based on and subordinated to the ideology of the ruling Party.

Regarding the fundamental issue of the reform – that of a compulsory eight-year school - the School Reform Commission advocated a total uniformity at elementary school level. The differentiation of pupils was planned only after the age of fifteen, at secondary school level, when the compulsory eight-year course had been completed. This was upheld by those Slovene pedagogues who supported the basic principles of the school reform. A large number of elementary

and secondary school teachers, particularly those in gymnasiums, warned that a total uniformity would stifle the progress of more talented pupils.

There was strong disagreement among the representatives from different republics when discussing the qualification required for future teachers in eight-year elementary schools. The Slovene representatives on the Commission upheld the position of Slovene professors that all teachers should obtain higher education. However, for the sake of the uniformity of the school system nationwide, the Commission adopted the motion for a temporary enactment of two-year pedagogic academies, thereby endorsing the demand for a two-year, rather than a four-year, higher education. In Slovenia, the motion met with an almost unanimous negative response. The Slovene pedagogues demanded an immediate introduction of and a gradual transition to four-year pedagogic academies.

Another issue over which the representatives from individual republics strongly disagreed was the role of gymnasiums in the new school system. The loudest critics from the southern parts of Yugoslavia claimed that gymnasiums were schools for bourgeoisie youth and, therefore, had no place in socialism. They strove for their total abolition or, at least, transformation into some sort of secondary schools for specialised professions. Such proposals found no support in Slovenia. Among the responses of the Slovene pedagogues two positions prevailed. The first, with university professors as its most vocal exponents, advocated a more prominent role of gymnasiums in secondary education, whereas the second, upheld mostly by those who agreed with the views of the School Reform Commission, favoured a gradual equalisation of gymnasiums and other secondary schools.

The issue of vocational schools was dealt with by relevant bodies in a similar manner to that of gymnasiums. In the “land of workers and peasants”, communist ideologists attributed greater value to physical work than intellectual. In the field of education, this attitude was reflected in the promotion of schools training future experts for the work in production. It followed that, at secondary school level, vocational schools and gymnasiums had to be equalised. University professors, who were the greatest opponents of such tendencies, argued that vocational secondary schools gave insufficient general knowledge and that, consequently, the graduates from such schools would not be able to follow university studies as well as those from gymnasiums. The demands for the

equalisation of gymnasiums and vocational schools became very topical, also due to the fact that, in the latter half of the 1950's, educational authorities started lowering the criteria for enrolment in higher education institutions. As a result, the first year university students displayed a very uneven level of knowledge, making the normal course of study difficult.

School reform planners believed that, at all educational levels, the curriculum should have an increased number of technical education and practical work hours. On the other hand, they wanted to reduce the number of hours for those subjects which, according to ideologists, diverted students' attention from genuine current problems, leading them to an idealistic view of life. Such "errors" were found especially in humanist sciences which have been the main target of ideological intolerance in all political regimes. Most criticisms and, with them, political reproaches were levelled at the "improper" treatment of educational topics in the subjects of Slovene language and history.

On 25th April 1958, five years after the foundation of the School Reform Commission, where numerous proposals had been discussed, consolidated and, afterwards, verified in experimental schools, the Yugoslav parliament passed the General School Act, which became the country's basic legal instrument on educational reform. On its basis, individual republics were supposed to prepare detailed regulations for individual types of schools. The General School Act prescribed a uniform eight-year elementary school and (only) two-year training at a pedagogic academy for its teachers. At secondary school level, gymnasiums and vocational schools were equalised and the criteria for university enrolment considerably lowered. At the higher education level, study was broken down into three two-year cycles (two-year, four-year and postgraduate), inversion study was legalized and the requirements for obtaining a diploma, doctorate or academic title of a university lecturer lowered.

The leaders of the League of Communists of Slovenia were well aware that the new regulations had no majority support among Slovene pedagogues and cultural workers. In their annual report, they wrote: »In spite of differing views on certain non-essential issues, almost everyone (including some members of the League of Communists of Slovenia) took a negative view on the key issue of the school reform – the reform of the eight-year elementary school. Their position regarding the views of the School Reform Commission was not only negative but,

essentially, non-progressive, defending the conservative role of the gymnasium, opposing the enrolment of the graduates from secondary vocational school in the university, as well as the idea of a uniform, compulsory eight-year school. (...) In their school reform related discussions and gatherings, educational workers had clearly expressed the position that 'when it comes to education, issues can only be addressed and resolved by experts'. In short, they displayed an obvious opposition to any interference by political bodies in the field of education.«

After the passing of the General School Act, the federal parliament and those in individual Yugoslav republics started issuing education related regulations at an accelerated pace. At primary school level in Slovenia, where the reform had abolished the former differences between lower gymnasiums, higher primary schools and eight-year schools, prescribing instead a compulsory uniform eight-year elementary school, the first novelties were introduced in the academic year 1957-58. They were completed after the passing of the Elementary School Act, on 8th October 1959, with the adoption of a new school curriculum in April 1960. The new elementary school offered equal conditions to all citizens throughout the compulsory eight-year schooling period and thereby, theoretically, also equal opportunities for enrolment in secondary schools. In spite of its apparently positive aspects, this uniformity was actually detrimental to formerly more demanding schools, i.e. lower gymnasiums. The curriculum in the elementary school was less exacting than in a former lower gymnasium, thus depriving more talented pupils of additional knowledge. At the time, educational authorities had not yet considered additional subjects or parallel classes for such pupils.

In Slovenia, the school reform was a backward step also with regards to teacher training. This was another case of changes being adapted to the less demanding schools from the pre-reform period. The required level of education (a two-year pedagogic academy) was a compromise between the qualification of the teachers from former public and eight-year elementary schools, who had only completed teacher training college (secondary education) or a two-year pedagogic school (a first degree of higher education), and that of the teachers from lower gymnasiums, among whom were also university graduates with the second degree of higher education.

In addition, teachers felt the void that remained following the abolition of the school inspectorate. The founding of an educational service in 1959 was not an adequate replacement for the former inspectors. The primary task of this service was to produce reports and analyses rather than carry out direct field inspections which had previously helped teachers resolve difficulties in their work with pupils. The new regulations, for example, made no provision on how to deal with teachers whose vocational work had received a negative assessment.

The greatest change at secondary school level was the formal equalisation of all schools, which was supposed to guarantee equal opportunities for university enrolment to all pupils. This equalisation, however, was only achieved on paper, through administrative regulations, without actually affecting the curriculum, the level of pupils' knowledge or the qualificational requirements for the teachers employed by such schools. Gymnasiums preserved their high standards. No general education subjects were prescribed for vocational secondary schools nor was a university diploma a requirement for the professors teaching in these schools. The equalisation of school levels was, therefore, more of an appearance than a reality.

Among positive achievements of the school reform were the changes in those areas where, previously, problems had not been addressed systematically by educational authorities, but *ad hoc* by individuals who encountered them.

The school reform brought great changes in the so-called extra-curricular education (including study from work). The uniform regulations came into effect in the academic year 1959-1960, when the Union of Workers' and People's Universities of Slovenia was founded. Educational authorities demanded that the organisers of evening schools and supplementary courses offered the same level of education as that in corresponding regular schools. Only by meeting this requirement were they allowed to issue diplomas that gave their graduates the same opportunities for enrolling in higher level schools as those from regular schools. The introduction of the new extracurricular educational system opened the doors to many people who were unable to obtain the desired qualification in a regular way because of the war or their social condition.

Another important novelty concerned the education of Italian and Hungarian minorities in Slovenia. In this matter, however, the Slovene authorities had to bow in front of the pressures from within Yugoslavia. Serbs, in particular, were against

any radical changes, for if the Slovene principles were to be applied throughout Yugoslavia, Serbia would have to make concessions to the Kosovo Albanians, which it was unwilling to do. Slovenia's neighbour, Italy, also opposed some of the changes, fearing reciprocity claims. It was reluctant to give its Slovene minority as much as the Slovene government was prepared to give the Italians in Slovenia. At the end of the 1950's, the Slovene leadership started expressing demands for a total bilingualism in education and public life in ethnically mixed areas. This, however, was not feasible within a few years, due to the said opposition and practical difficulties, especially the shortage of teachers with fluency in two languages. Still, the changes introduced in 1959 contributed significantly towards the emancipation of the two minority languages in Slovenia. That year, the Slovene government assumed financial responsibility for minority schools. In the academic year 1959-1960, regulations came into force in linguistically mixed areas, giving greater prominence to the Italian and Hungarian languages.

The execution of the school reform was made possible by the new manner of funding. The resources, purposely collected in newly established school funds, gave schools much better material conditions for work in the early 1960's. New secondary schools and universities were built in Slovenia and an evenly distributed network of elementary schools with local branches was established. A considerable portion of the resources was spent for the purchase of the latest imported educational tools and learning aids. Apart from the municipal funds, which covered the expenses of elementary and secondary schools, a large burden was shouldered by the national school fund. This provided the means for higher education institutions, special schools and, in agreement with local authorities, schools for minorities and the so-called workers' and public universities.

The communist regime prepared itself particularly well for the reform of higher education, where it anticipated the strongest opposition by intellectuals. This reform was not conducted by the School Reform Commission but by a special federal commission, led by Krste Crvenkovski, which prepared the proposals for it. The positions taken by this commission represented a considerable deviation from the existing academic principles. Consequently, they were met with resistance from all Yugoslav universities.

Against the integrity of the university, the Commission proposed the strengthening of the role of faculties and, contrary to the demands for smaller faculties, political circles called for the merging of faculties into larger units. Political structures ignored the demands by university professors for higher criteria for diploma theses and dissertations, striving instead for even lower requirements for obtaining diplomas and doctorates. Most faculties were against the shortening of study courses and the opening of new two-year first-degree colleges, from which graduates would pass to the second degree of faculty study. University professors argued that it was a matter of two different types of schools and two different kinds of study. Political circles demanded further lowering of the criteria for obtaining the academic titles of university professors. In the new school system, faculties were expected to be, first and foremost, educational institutions, with research activities being confined mainly to scientific institutes. Almost none of the changes proposed by the Federal Commission were ever welcomed by the University of Ljubljana.

All the above changes, which had been prepared since 1953 and legally enforced between 1958 and 1962, cut deeply into the Slovene school system. The school system reform, carried out during that period, may be regarded as the most thorough and comprehensive in Slovene history. It embraced all educational levels – from primary and secondary, through to higher and post-graduate – bringing substantial changes to the organisation of the education of ethnic minorities, extracurricular education and the funding of education. The school reform was essentially a matter of executing the plans of the communist regime, indicated immediately after their taking of power. This time, however, changes were implemented at considerably higher professional and political levels than those in the first post-war years. Guidelines were based on expert analyses, a systematic approach and a simultaneous consideration of all educational levels. Although expert opinions had become better appreciated, they remained subordinated to the ideology of the ruling Party.

By 1962, when the Council of Education of Slovenia was abolished after the adoption of the new Constitution, the competences of federal institutions changed, with not all plans being implemented. Until the downfall of the communist regime, the school system in socialist Slovenia went through many, more and less successful, changes, some of which were based on the ideas from the 1950's.