

**Vučina Zorić**

## Izobraževalna politika v socialistični Črni gori

**Povzetek:** V članku predstavljamo in analiziramo proces oblikovanja, razvoja in izvajanja izobraževalne politike v Jugoslaviji, kot je potekal v Črni gori, eni izmed njenih republik. Pri raziskovanju smo se osredotočili predvsem na ugotavljanje in preučevanje posameznih značilnosti socialističnega koncepta vzgoje in izobraževanja v Jugoslaviji in Črni gori na podlagi analize pristojnosti in delovanja relevantnih ustanov, procesa odločanja o izobraževalnem sistemu, šolstvu in izvajanju izobraževalne politike nasploh ter vodenja vsega trojega. Tako smo obdelali in raziskali izvor in bistvo številnih težav, reform in pomembnih odločitev ter dogodkov, ki so odločilno vplivali na razvoj in usodo socialistične pedagogike in razvoj izobraževanja in šolstva v Črni gori. Analizirana obdobja razvoja izobraževalne politike v Jugoslaviji, če jih preučujemo v Črni gori, zaznamujeta proces prenosa pristojnosti s federacije na republike in hkratna precejšnja centraliziranost pristojnosti pri oblikovanju prosvetne politike v najvišjih partijskih organih v državi, pri čemer so državni in predvsem republiški organi lahko odločali o njej in sprejemali predpise za uresničevanje svojih odločitev. Pri raziskovanju te teme smo si prizadevali, da bi ponudili ustrezen vpogled v številne značilnosti in včasih celo posebnosti tedanjih izobraževalnih reform v Jugoslaviji in Črni gori, še zlasti od obdobja uvajanja samoupravljanja.

**Ključne besede:** upravljanje izobraževalnega sistema, socialistični izobraževalni koncept, samoupravljanje, decentralizacija, izobraževalna politika, Jugoslavija, Črna gora

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Znanstveni prispevek

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## Uvod

Po drugi svetovni vojni je bila Črna gora ena od republik zvezne države Jugoslavije, utemeljene na socialistični ideologiji in ureditvi, to pa se je seveda kazalo tudi v njeni uradni izobraževalni politiki oziroma v pedagoškem konceptu. A če izraz socialistična pedagogika »uporabljamo za različne koncepte socialistične vzgoje oziroma vzgoje v socialističnih državah; danes se najpogosteje uporablja za pedagoške koncepte, nastale na podlagi različno razumljenega marksizma v socialističnih državah v drugi polovici 20. stoletja« (Jakšič 1996, str. 466), potem o njej v Črni gori v sestavi Jugoslavije lahko govorimo izključno kot o izvajanju ali udejanjanju uradne izobraževalne politike, in ne kot o izoblikovanem ali razvitem znanstvenem ali pedagoškem konceptu.<sup>1</sup> Zanimivo, da v edinem pedagoškem leksikonu, ki je izšel v Črni gori (to je bilo leta 2005), ni geselskega članka *socialistična pedagogika* ali podobnega, je pa v njem geselski članek *socializem*. Ta je opisan kot »družbena ureditev, utemeljena na družbeni lastnini proizvodjalnih sredstev, v kateri ni razrednega izkoriščanja in v kateri velja geslo: vsak po svojih sposobnostih, vsakemu glede na njegovo delo« (Damjanović 2005, str. 285). Najsi je to naključje ali ne, zadnji del navedene razlage je krilatica, ki je bila zapisana v *Ustavi SFR Jugoslavije* (1974) in se (v tej ustavi) neposredno nanaša na samoupravljanje, ne na socializem na splošno. V obdobju 1945–1990 v Črni gori:

- ni bilo pedagogov, ki bi se v večjem obsegu ukvarjali z oblikovanjem ali razvojem socialistične pedagogike kot teoretičnega ali znanstvenega koncepta, ampak so se bolj posvečali predstavljanju in analiziranju uradne vzgojno-izobraževalne politike v tedanji republiki s socialistično ureditvijo; bili pa so takšni, ki so teoretično, posebej pa še praktično nepretrgano prispevali k izvajanju, preverjanju in upravljanju izobraževalne politike, med njimi je treba brez dvoma omeniti Ratka Đukanovića, Pavla Gazivodo, Rada Delibašića in Radovana Damjanovića;

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<sup>1</sup> Pri pripravi članka nismo upoštevali mednarodnih referenc, ker ustreznih referenc, ki bi se nanašale na preučevano temo, sploh ni.

- ni bilo niti študijskega programa za študij pedagogike, inštituta ali podobne ustanove, ki bi se s socialistično pedagogiko ukvarjala na znanstveni podlagi.

V članku predstavljamo izpeljano teoretično raziskavo, katere namen je bil predstaviti in analizirati enega od bistvenih kazalcev poteka oblikovanja, razvoja in rabe socialistične pedagogike v Jugoslaviji na primeru ene od njenih republik, Črne gore, skozi proces decentralizacije izobraževalne politike in upravljanja izobraževalnega sistema. Za ta predmet raziskovanja smo se odločili, ker je to eden od načinov, da se seznanimo s sestavo tedanjih pedagoških vprašanj in z glavnimi značilnostmi številnih preoblikovanj socialističnega koncepta razvoja izobraževanja in šolstva v Jugoslaviji in Črni gori. Analiza tega vprašanja se ne osredotoča predvsem na ugotavljanje pristojnosti posameznih ustanov, ampak želi ponuditi relevanten pregled in razlago najpomembnejših in prelomnih dogodkov pri oblikovanju izobraževalnih politik in še posebej pri organiziranju upravljanja prosvete v Črni gori. Skoraj v celoti smo bolj kot klasifikaciji Nikole Potkonjaka (1980) in Miloša Starovlaha (1986) naklonjeni tisti, ki jo najdemo pri Vladeti Cvijoviću in Branislavu Kovačeviću (1996), ker se nam zdi ustreznejša za Črno goro; po njej je potek upravljanja izobraževalnega sistema, pa tudi proces decentralizacije izobraževalnih politik v Jugoslaviji in še posebej v Črni gori za potrebe analize mogoče razvrstiti po razmeroma natančno razmejenih obdobjih:

1. 1945–1951, obdobje *administrativnega* socializma;
2. 1951–1963, obdobje *odmiranja* države in začetkov samoupravljanja;
3. 1963–1974, obdobje *poprakov* samoupravnega koncepta;
4. 1974–1990, obdobje *popolnega* (razpada) samoupravljanja.

Čprav se ta obdobja na marsikateri ravni prepletajo in medsebojno prežemajo, menimo, da je razvrstitev upravičena glede na številne dogodke, ki jih ločujejo kot mejniki v samem sistemu upravljanja izobraževanja v Črni gori, in glede na celoto dogodkov na ravni vse Jugoslavije in znotraj nje.

### **Obdobje *administrativnega* socializma 1945–1951**

Obdobje od leta 1945 do 1951 se v Jugoslaviji najpogosteje imenuje obdobje *administrativnega* socializma (Cvijović in Kovačević 1996, str. 97; Grbić 1975, str. 88; Starovlah 1994, str. 49), ker je imela takrat na tako rekoč vseh življenjskih in delovnih področjih odločujoč vpliv zvezna država, to pa se je v marsičem nanašalo tudi na dejavnost šol in splošnega izobraževanja. Vendarle so imele vzporedno s tem v Jugoslaviji vse od njene ustanovitve zvezne enote zagotovljeno pomembno stopnjo (posebej formalne) samostojnosti na številnih področjih vzgoje in izobraževanja, deloma pa tudi pri upravljanju tega. Na primer, organ prve vlade zvezne republike Črne gore je bilo tudi Ministrstvo za prosveto s posameznimi organizacijskimi enotami: Oddelkom za narodno izobraževanje,

kulturo in umetnost, Splošnim oddelkom, Planskim oddelkom in Personalnim oddelkom.

Po *Ustavi FLR Jugoslavije* (1946), v kateri je bilo sicer zelo malo določil, ki bi se neposredno nanašala na izobraževanje, je morala temeljna in splošna načela, na katerih naj bi temeljili zakoni o izobraževanju, sprejemati skupna država (prav tam, člen 44, točka 24), razčlenile oziroma operacionalizirale in konkretizirale pa naj bi jih republike v republiških predpisih (prav tam, člen 94, točka 24). Vendar pa »[...] so bili prvih pet povojnih let tako rekoč vsi predpisi, ki so se ukvarjali z izobraževanjem v Jugoslaviji, v glavnem enaki« (Starovlah 1994, str. 56). Treba je poudariti, da sta v skladu z ustavo obstajali dve kategoriji ministrstev: zveznorepubliška in republiška, to je tista, ki so bila pri delovanju bolj neodvisna od zveznih organov upravljanja, med njimi pa je bilo tudi Ministrstvo za prosveto. Vendar pa niti tako samostojno Ministrstvo za prosveto vse do leta 1951 ni bilo pristojno za vse šolstvo v republiki. Strokovno izobraževanje na primer je bilo tako rekoč v celoti v pristojnosti drugih ministrstev (na primer za industrijo in gradbeništvo, promet ipd.), udeležba Ministrstva za prosveto je bila pri tem le skromna (Cvijović in Kovačević 1996, str. 120–121). Sicer pa je takrat po ustavi (1946) na zvezi ravni obstajal samo vladni Komite za prosveto in kulturo, ker je bilo na teh področjih državne uprave uveljavljeno skupno upravljanje (prav tam, člen 89).

Čeprav je Prosvetni svet Črne gore, svetovalni organ prosvetnih oblasti, obstajal že od leta 1944 in je večidel oblikoval izobraževalno politiko v republiki, ga zaradi dogodkov, ki so sledili, danes marsikdo imenuje in obravnava kot začasni Prosvetni svet (Medojević 1988). Pri Ministrstvu za prosveto Črne gore so ga namreč spet ustanovili samo dve leti pozneje (Uredba o osnivanju ... 1946), a je bil še vedno zgolj svetovalno telo in uradniška institucija s podobnimi pristojnostmi kot Svet za strokovno in poklicno izobraževanje pri Ministrstvu za industrijo in rudarstvo (Pravilnik o Savjetu ... 1945). Treba je poudariti, da so imeli v tem obdobju bistveno vlogo pri udejanjanju prosvetne politike tudi organi za prosveto krajevnih, mestnih in okrajnih ljudskih odborov, saj so v praksi izvajali ukaze, navodila in priporočila višjih oblasti. Posebno nižji upravni organi so imeli visoko stopnjo in velik obseg odgovornosti, ker so za svoje delo odgovarjali tudi tistim, ki so jih volili, predvsem pa višjim upravnim organom in še posebej Ministrstvu za prosveto, katerega podaljšana roka so bili (Cvijović in Kovačević 1996, str. 122–123).

Večidel do leta 1949 so tako rekoč o vsem odločali partija in zvezni organi. Decembra 1949 je bila sprejeta *Resolucija tretjega plenarnega zasedanja CK KPJ o nalogah v šolstvu* (Rezolucija ... 1950), to pa je bil eden od najpomembnejših dogodkov v razvoju izobraževalne politike v Jugoslaviji. Resolucija je bila sprejeta z namenom, da se izpeljejo pomembne spremembe, posebno v upravljanju izobraževanja, katerih namen je bil zagotoviti »[...] krepitev in odločnejše prevzemanje pobude v vseh šolah in šolskih ustanovah ter preprečevanje birokratizma v delu organov, ki vodijo šolstvo« (prav tam, str. 4). Tako so tedaj, v času vse očitnejšega oddaljevanja od sovjetskega zgleda, opozorili na nekatere izmed bistvenih težav v šolskem sistemu, poskušali aktivirati upravni in učiteljski kader, se zavzeli za višjo stopnjo svobode izražanja in življenjskosti v šolah, ki so bile tedaj prevladujoče ideološko obremenjene z upoštevanjem smernic, nadzorom in samonadzorom,

ukvarjanjem z obliko na škodo vsebine in kakovosti pouka ter nerazumevanjem zaželeni smeri razvoja glede na nove potrebe. Prav tako so se na tej podlagi sčasoma občutno povečale pristojnosti republiških ministrstev, nato so se pristojnosti z republik prenesle na občine v želji, da se upoštevajo potrebe posameznikov, s čimer se je precej intenzivno začel proces decentralizacije upravljanja izobraževanja v Jugoslaviji.

Skupna država in republike so nepretrgano sprejemale petletne načrte dejavnosti in razvoja. Tako se je *Petletni načrt razvoja Črne gore 1947–1951* (Petoletni plan ... 1947), kakor povsod po FLRJ, med drugim še naprej osredotočal na temeljno zagotavljanje ustreznih razmer za delo izobraževalnih ustanov, ne pa tudi na bistvene spremembe v izobraževanju. Težave so bile res žgoče, zato je bila najpomembnejša naloga iz načrta opismeniti vse državljane. Ker pri razmeroma številnih opismenjenih v povojnem obdobju tečaji niso imeli trajnejših učinkov, se je to področje od leta 1953 skušalo urediti tako, da so opismenjevanje umestili predvsem v ustanove za izobraževanje odraslih in ga organizirali v ljudskih in delavskih univerzah v posameznih oddelkih teh ustanov (Backović 2001, str. 231). Delo ljudskih univerz v okrajnih središčih Črne gore je usklajevala Osrednja ljudska univerza na Cetinju, ustanovljena septembra 1946 kot ustanova Ministrstva za prosveto z uradnim namenom širjenja znanosti, kulture in ideologije.

Že oktobra 1945 je Začasna ljudska skupščina Demokratične federativne Jugoslavije sprejela zakon o obveznem sedemletnem šolanju, julija 1946 pa ga je Ljudska skupščina FLRJ potrdila (Opšti zakon ... 1946) in je bil sprejet tudi v Republiki Črni gori (Zakon o uvođenju ... 1946). Kot vse druge tedanje odredbe, sprejete na ravni federacije, je bil *Splošni zakon* kratek in načelen in je skupščine zveznih enot zavezoval, da v skladu z razmerami, značilnimi zanje, sprejmejo svoje zakone, ki bodo usklajeni z načeli *Splošnega zakona*. Tako so bile v Jugoslaviji od ustanovitve spoštovane posebnosti in dejanske potrebe vsake od njenih članic. V Črni gori je bilo treba najprej zagotoviti všolanje otrok v štiriletne šole in oblikovati višjo osnovno ali nižjo srednjo šolo, pri čemer naj bi se višje osnovne šole odpirale postopoma z odobritvijo Ministrstva za prosveto in na predlog okrajnih ljudskih odborov (Cvijović in Kovačević 1996, str. 102). V Črni gori so osnovne šole, v katerih je šolanje potekalo sedem let, začele odpirati vrata v šolskem letu 1947/48, dve leti pozneje pa je bil izpeljan prehod na osemletne osnovne šole. S tem je bilo udejanjeno stališče iz *Resolucije V. kongresa KPJ o osnovnošolskem izobraževanju* (Odluke V. kongresa ... 1948), na podlagi katere je Vlada FLRJ maja 1950 uzakonila to obveznost, pri tem pa republikam prepustila, da predpišejo način in pogoje, pod katerimi naj bi cilj dosegle. Hkrati so se v skladu s smernicami iz petletnega načrta in zaradi pomanjkanja srednješolskega strokovnega kadra v Črni gori začele odpirati tudi nižje in popolne srednje strokovne šole, v okrajih in občinah pa so potekali še namenski tečaji za opravljanje najpreprostejših strokovnih del za polkvalificirane delavce (ki so jih potrebovali na primer pri gradnji proge Nikšić–Titograd). Kot smo že navedli, so jih ustanavljala ustrezna ministrstva (ne Ministrstvo za prosveto), ta so jim tudi predpisovala programe in izvajala nadzor, nemara pa je prav to razlog, da so bile dveletne in triletno srednje strokovne šole za kvalificirane delavce, ki bi morale več kot 50 % pouka izvajati v podjetjih, teoretični

del pa v šolah, po mnenju republiških državnih in političnih organov neustrezne, kar zadeva množičnost, odnos podjetij do njih in kakovost nasploh. Poleg tega je bilo tudi štiriletnih srednjih strokovnih šol v Črni gori malo in so jih ustanavljali počasi, v nasprotju z gimnazijami, ki so bile v prednosti, ker so zagotavljale splošno izobrazbo, imele so tradicijo in so večinoma delovale v poslopijih, ki med vojno niso bila poškodovana (Starovlah 1994).

### **Obdobje odmiranja države in začetek samoupravljanja (1951–1963)**

Sprejetje *Temeljnega zakona o državnih gospodarskih podjetjih in višjih gospodarskih združenjih, ki jih upravljajo delavski kolektivi* (Osnovni zakon... 1950) je pomenilo občuten obrat, kar zadeva splošno ureditev skupne države, dokončen obrat pa je sledil s popolno in javno zavrnitvijo sovjetskega modela in z iskanjem novega ter z uvajanjem delavskega samoupravljanja z delavskimi sveti. Čeprav je že prej mogoče govoriti o nekaterih napovedih tega, je bil to specifičen in konkreten začetek samoupravljanja, ki velja za poseben poskus *odmiranja* države. Čeprav naj bi poskus uveljavili na vseh področjih in pri upravljanju teh področij, se je najprej začel pri družbenih dejavnostih (izobraževanje, kultura, znanost, zdravstvo in socialno skrbstvo).

Leta 1951 so se sklepi s *Tretjega plenarnega zasedanja CK KPJ* (Rezolucija... 1950) začeli intenzivno uvajati v zakonski obliki, to pa je povzročilo velike spremembe v državni upravi. V zvezi s Črno goro je na primer treba posebej omeniti sprejetje *Uredbe o ustanovitvi sveta za prosveto in kulturo pri okrajnih in mestnih ljudskih odborih* (Uredba o osnivanju ... 1951), s katero so bili ustanovljeni sveti kot organi družbenega upravljanja (in sočasno kot upravni organi), ki jih je imenoval ljudski odbor, namesto prejšnjih poverjeništev za prosveto in kulturo pri okrajnih in mestnih izvršnih odborih. Ljudski odbori so imenovali člane svetov, sveti pa so obravnavali vsa pomembna vprašanja, ki so bila v pristojnosti okraja oziroma mesta, samostojno odločali in pripravljali predloge za ljudski odbor. To je bilo konkretno izvajanje poskusa oziroma uveljavljanje priporočil *Tretjega plenarnega zasedanja CK KPJ* (Rezolucija ... 1950), da je treba pri podružbljanju državne uprave v družbenih dejavnostih izhajati z nižjih ravni. Tudi na višjih upravnih ravneh so bile izpeljane številne spremembe, in to od republiških ravni do zvezne. Razpustili so večino dotedanjih ministrstev, med njimi tudi Ministrstvo za prosveto. Namesto njega so ustanovili Svet za prosveto in kulturo Republike Črne gore (Uredba o osnivanju ... 1951), za druge dejavnosti iz pristojnosti razpuščenega ministrstva pa sekretariate. Namesto vlade je bil ustanovljen izvršni svet, pri ZIS-u (Zveznem izvršnem svetu) je obstajal samo Odbor za prosveto, pozneje pa je bil namesto njega ustanovljen Sekretariat za prosveto in kulturo. Na podlagi vsega zapisanega je mogoče sklepati, da se zvezni državi družbene dejavnosti, kakršna je bila prosveta, še vedno niso zdele posebej pomembne.

Svet za prosveto in kulturo Republike Črne gore je bil glavni upravni organ za področje prosvete; ugotavljal je razmere in sprejemal pravilnike, odloke, navodila in pojasnila za uporabo zakonov in predpisov, predlagal akte, ki jih je

sprejemal izvršni svet, skrbel za nadzor republiških ustanov in razvoj družbenega upravljanja, za sodelovanje s sveti v okrajih in mestih itd. Reorganizirali so se tudi ljudski odbori oziroma leta 1952 ljudski okrajni odbori in takrat so njihovim svetom zaupali izvajanje zakonov in predpisov ljudskega odbora, pa tudi opravljanje drugih upravnih poslov, s čimer naj bi dali poudarek upravnim poslom, ki so jih opravljali, ne samo ukvarjanju z načelnimi vprašanji razvoja družbenega upravljanja (prim. Medojević 1988).

Zmedo in dezorientiranost pri praktičnem uveljavljanju načel družbenega upravljanja v primerjavi z družbenopolitično ureditvijo iz leta 1946 so skušali odpraviti z novim konceptom na ravni federacije, kar je bilo zajeto tudi v *Ustavnem zakonu o temeljih družbene in politične ureditve LRČG in republiških organov oblasti* (Ustavni zakon ... 1953), po katerem so temelji državne ureditve postali družbena lastnina proizvodjalnih sredstev, samoupravljanje proizvajalcev v gospodarstvu in ljudstva v občinah, mestih in okrajih. Tako se je samoupravljanje v prosveti udeleževalo v obliki samouprave ustanov, sodelovanja poklicnih družbenih organizacij in državljanov v organih državne uprave (prav tam, člen 6). Zdi se, kot bi bilo pri tem eksperimentu bistveno načelno preverjanje možnosti udeležanja koncepta v praksi, potem pa bi se nemara iz učinkov lahko razbralo, kako postopke zakonsko urediti. V novem *Ustavnem zakonu o temeljih družbene in politične ureditve in republiških oblastnih organih* (Ustavni zakon ... 1957) je bila še bolj poudarjena upravna funkcija Sveta za prosveto (in ne kot prej tudi za kulturo, za to je bil ustanovljen samostojen svet), v njegovi pristojnosti pa so bili republiški upravni posli v šolstvu, predšolski vzgoji, izobraževanju odraslih in vojaški vzgoji zunaj vojske. Po reorganizaciji državne uprave leta 1956 so bile v *Zakonu o organizaciji državne uprave* (1956) in še posebej leta 1958 v *Splošnem zakonu o šolstvu* (Opšti zakon ... 1958), ki je narekoval tedanjo obsežno reformo šolstva in je bil pomemben mejnik v skupnem sistemu izobraževanja, še podrobneje navedene naloge občinskih, okrajnih in republiških svetov, pa tudi (novega) Prosvetnega sveta Jugoslavije, ki ni imel upravnih pooblastil, ampak je samo obravnaval posamezna vprašanja, pomembna za vse, po potrebi izdajal priporočila in določal izhodišča za učne načrte in programe ter oblikoval splošna načela za izdajanje učbenikov. Pri naslednji reorganizaciji državne uprave, leta 1962, so sveta spet združili v enega, Svet za prosveto in kulturo, in to do sprejetja nove *Ustave SR Črne gore* (Ustav ... 1963) in vnovičnega organiziranja državne uprave ter razpustitve sveta (prim. Cvijović in Kovačević 1996).

Sicer pa so do tedaj splošni nadzor nad izvajanjem zakonov in predpisov opravljali sveti, strokovno-pedagoški nadzor pa strokovne službe svetov. Republiški svet je opravljal (predvsem) nadzor nad srednjimi, okrajni pa nad osnovnimi šolami, pri čemer sta sodelovala; takšno delovanje je bilo prevladujoče do sprejetja *Uredbe o ustanovitvi Republiškega zavoda za napredek šolstva LRČG* (Uredba o osnivanju ... 1955). Zavod je začel delovati leta 1956. Toda šele *Uredba o organizaciji in delu Zavoda za napredek šolstva LRČG* (Uredba o organizaciji ... 1959) je bolj poudarila strokovno-pedagoški nadzor skupaj z raziskovalno-analitičnimi nalogami (Gvozdenović idr. 1986, str. 71). Še več, leto pozneje so se z *Zakonom o prosvetno-pedagoški službi* (Zakon o prosvetno-pedagoški službi ... 1960) pove-

čali pristojnosti zavoda in nekatera upravna pooblastila, zavod je tudi formalno postal upravna ustanova, ustanovljenih pa je bilo še pet medobčinskih zavodov za prosvetno-pedagoško službo. Od kod pravzaprav Zavod za napredek šolstva v Črni gori ravno v tem času? Ker zvezna telesa – to je takrat dejansko pomenilo samo Odbor za prosveto ZIS-a – niso mogla bistveno vplivati na prosvetno politiko in spremljati, kaj se na tem področju dogaja v republikah, hkrati pa prejšnja republiška ministrstva niso bila sposobna zares ustrezno opravljati svojih nalog, je bil na pobudo Odbora za prosveto ZIS-a leta 1955 ustanovljen Zvezni zavod za preučevanje šolskih in prosvetnih vprašanj. Zvezni zavod je bil za šole samo svetovalno telo, deloval je kot nekakšen zbirni center in se je ukvarjal s preučevanjem podatkov, povezanih s šolsko problematiko (Starovlah 1993, str. 56). Potem so se republike lotile ustanavljanja svojih zavodov, pri čemer so obstajale pomembne razlike v njihovih pristojnostih, vse skupaj pa lahko štejejo za del procesa decentralizacije upravljanja izobraževanja v Jugoslaviji.

### **Obdobje popravkov samoupravnega koncepta (1963–1974)**

Z ustavo skupne države in z republiškiimi ustavami iz leta 1963 ter z ustavnimi dopolnili (leta 1967 in 1971), ki jih je bilo 42, so se med drugim uveljavili tudi: nedotakljivost pravice državljanov do samoupravljanja, svobodno združeno delo s proizvodnimi sredstvi v družbeni lasti in samoupravljanje v proizvodnji in pri delitvi družbenih proizvodov (člen 6, str. 264) ter že prej razglašana načela in pravica do samoodločbe skupaj z odcepitvijo. Poleg tega so se povečale pristojnosti republik, zato se je ime zvezne države znova spremenilo, postala je Socialistična federativna republika Jugoslavija, s čimer poudarek ni bil več (in to ne samo nominalno) na *narod(n)i*, ampak na socialistični ureditvi. Ker (niti) v zvezi s to ustavo ni bilo splošnega soglasja, o čemer pričajo številna dopolnila, ki so omogočila še večjo slabitev oblasti federacije in prenašanje pristojnosti na republike, je mogoče podvomiti tudi o njeni kakovosti, saj so zvezni organi postali samo koordinatorji in skupni organi, niso pa bili nadrejeni republiškim. Lahko govorimo tudi o nadaljevanju te usmeritve, kar zadeva enotnost vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema in (ne)podrejenost pri upravljanju v Jugoslaviji v naslednjih letih in v naslednji *Ustavi SFR Jugoslavije* (1974).

Zaradi zmanjšanja pristojnosti federacije je bil razpuščen Zvezni sekretariat za izobraževanje in kulturo, namesto njega pa ustanovljen svet, ki je bil državni organ nižjega reda. Tako so bili tudi v Črni gori razpuščeni državni sekretariati in sekretariati izvršnega sveta za posamezna področja in poleg njih še Svet za prosveto, kulturo in znanost, ustanovljen pa je bil sekretariat, ki bi – enako kot drugi – moral skrbeti za izvajanje zasnovane politike in zakonov, sprejetih v skupščini in izvršnem svetu, in zanju pripravljati predloge zakonov in drugih predpisov. Republiški sekretariat za izobraževanje, kulturo in znanost je prevzel naloge državne uprave, sektor za izobraževanje pa ločeno naloge za predšolske ustanove, osnovne, srednje in posebne šole, visokošolske organizacije, delavske in ljudske univerze, domove, telesno vzgojo itd.



Leta 1966 je bil ustanovljen Pedagoški svet Črne gore, ki je sicer nadaljeval tradicijo Prosvetnega sveta – ta je imel v šolstvu pomembno upravno funkcijo in je bil strokovni organ ter je med drugim sprejemal izhodišča za učne načrte in programe za osnovne in srednje šole, včasih pa tudi za višje (celovite programe za višje šole je sestavljal Republiški zavod za napredek šolstva) (Medojević 1988). Pedagoški svet je na predlog zavoda samostojno predpisoval, kateri učbeniki naj bi se obvezno uporabljali v šolah. Republiški zavod je imel enaka pooblastila kot prej, le da je bil z *Zakonom o prosvetno-pedagoški službi* (Zakon ... 1965) organiziran na nov, samoupravni način, prav tako medobčinski zavodi za prosvetno-pedagoško službo. Uresničevanje samoupravljanja je bilo podrobno predpisano tudi za takšne ustanove. Treba je poudariti, da se je v tem obdobju pokazala potreba po inšpektoratih, ki naj bi nadzorovali spoštovanje predpisov, kar je bilo kot možnost predvideno v zakonskih rešitvah, kajti samoupravna normativna dejavnost se je začela na vseh ravneh nenadzorovano razraščati, zato je bil sprejet *Zakon o prosvetni inšpekciji* (Zakon o prosvetnoj ... 1973), na podlagi katerega je bil ustanovljen Republiški prosvetni inšpektorat v sestavu Republiškega sekretariata za prosveto, kulturo in znanost (prim. Cvijović in Kovačević 1996).

Novost v upravljanju šol je bila, da so samoupravni organi v njih tedaj samostojno odločali o notranji delitvi dohodka, v njihovih svetih pa so bili tudi predstavniki družbene skupnosti, ki so sodelovali pri odločanju, saj je šlo za dejavnost velikega družbenega pomena. To je bil eden od primerov razpleta kulminacije odnosov med organi družbenega upravljanja, ki so pred tem delovali v senci državnih organov oziroma so ti gospodarili z njihovimi materialnimi sredstvi (Mićunović 1975, str. 314).

V tem obdobju je šolstvo dobilo dobre temelje, posebej srednje strokovno šolstvo, saj se je gospodarstvo razvijalo, potrebe po šolanih delavcih so naraščale, vedno več učencev pa je razmišljalo o selitvi iz vasi v mesta. Šole so se vse pogosteje združevale v šolske centre, glavni razlog je bila gospodarnost (najpogosteje so se združevale srednje strokovne šole in šole za kvalificirane delavce), toda z liberalizacijo vpisne politike in izenačevanjem pogojev za redno in izredno šolanje se je že takrat začel proces slabšanja kakovosti strokovnega izobraževanja z naglo in nenadzorovano rastjo števila srednješolcev kljub nezadostnim zmogljivostim, čeprav se je hkrati povečevalo tudi število šol (Cvijović in Kovačević 1996, str. 150–157).

Z ustavo iz leta 1963 in z ustavnimi dopolnili so bile tako rekoč vse pristojnosti federacije v zvezi z izobraževanjem prenesene na republike, to pa je bil eden od razlogov, da so se te začele vse intenzivneje osredotočati na svoje posebnosti v skupnosti oziroma na nacionalno kulturo in uveljavljanje te. V Črni gori je bilo celo na tem področju in v tem obdobju veliko notranjih nesoglasij zaradi večnarodne in večverske sestave. Ta nesoglasja so se pozneje še okrepila in lahko rečemo, da so se po svoje ohranila do danes, ko je Črna gora neodvisna država.

### **Obdobje *popolnega* (razpada) samoupravljanja (1974–1990)**

Za to obdobje so značilni poskusi, da bi dosegli *popolno* samoupravljanje, in to s svobodno menjavo dela in z interesnim združevanjem v samoupravnih interesnih

skupnostih. Kmalu se je pokazalo, da ta poskus oživljanja oslabiljene zvezne države in razmer v gospodarstvu, ki so se jim pridružili še nekateri dejavniki zunaj Jugoslavije, ni spodbudil razvoja republik in pripomogel k ohranitvi skupne države. Temeljna politična izhodišča za bližajočo se reformo sistema vzgoje in izobraževanja so navedena v *Ustavi SFR Jugoslavije* (Ustav ... 1974), republiških ustavah, sklepih *X. kongresa ZKJ* (X. kongres ... 1974), ki so se nanašali na samoupravno preobrazbo sistema vzgoje in izobraževanja, in *Zakonu o združenem delu* (Zakon o udruženom ... 1976), nekatere od glavnih točk pa so se glasile:

- v sklopu preobrazbe sistema družbenega samoupravljanja mora izobraževanje postati sestavni del celote združenega dela in delavci morajo biti neposredno udeleženi pri odločanju o njem;
- izobraževanje na vseh ravneh mora biti pod enakimi pogoji dostopno vsem;
- dvig splošnoizobraževalne ravni strokovnih šol, pri katerem mora biti poudarjeno marksistično idejno-politično izobraževanje, mora postati pomemben pogoj za zagotovitev enakih možnosti za nadaljevanje kateregakoli dodatnega izobraževanja v vsej delovni dobi in za to, da bomo kos izzivom znanstveno-tehnološkega razvoja v svetu.

Poleg tega je nova ustava praktično dejavnost izobraževanja še bolj oziroma tako rekoč popolnoma prenesla v pristojnost republik, tako da so se tudi skupni funkcije, interesi in potrebe urejali po sistemu družbenega dogovarjanja in sporazumevanja (Đukanović 1988, str. 39). Skupščina Črne gore je sprejela *Zakon o samoupravnih interesnih skupnostih izobraževanja in vzgoje* (Zakon o samoupravnim ... 1974), s katerim je bilo predvideno ustanavljanje teh skupnosti v občinah in republikah. Občinske je bilo mogoče ustanoviti za eno ali več občin in prek njih so se zagotavljala sredstva za financiranje predšolskega in osnovnošolskega izobraževanja in vzgoje, delo medobčinskih zavodov za prosvetno-pedagoško službo, strokovno izpopolnjevanje učiteljev itd. Predvideno je bilo, da jih, če se ne ustanovijo s samoupravnim sporazumom udeležencev v svobodni menjavi dela, ustanovijo občine s sklepom.

V republikah sta bili z *Zakonom o samoupravnih interesnih skupnostih izobraževanja in vzgoje* (prav tam) ustanovljeni dve samoupravni interesni skupnosti (SIS-a): za osnovnošolsko in usmerjeno (tj. srednje-, višje- in visokošolsko) izobraževanje. Upravljali sta ju skupščini, sestavljeni iz dveh svetov, sveta uporabnikov in sveta izvajalcev storitev, takšna zasnova pa je bila tudi sicer temelj zamisli o samoupravnih interesnih skupnostih. Odločalo se je s soglasjem obeh svetov, skupščine pa so med drugim pripravljale programe razvoja dejavnosti, merila za dodeljevanje sredstev posameznim uporabnikom itd. Praktična uveljavitev takšne zasnove je bila zelo težavna, ker se delegati združenega dela iz materialne proizvodnje v SIS-ih v glavnem niso zanimali za delo organov teh skupnosti, predstavniki izvajalcev storitev pa so bili večinoma prezaposleni z dodeljevanjem sredstev uporabnikom, tako da je najpogosteje vse vodilo v birokratizem in vedno večjo razbohotenost strokovnih služb. Ko je Skupščina SRČG obravnavala vprašanja s področij, za

katera so bili ustanovljeni SIS-i in ki so bila v republiški pristojnosti, je skupščina SIS-a o njih enakopravno odločala skupaj s pristojnimi sveti republiške skupščine (prim. Cvijović in Kovačević 1996).

Z *Zakonom o republiških upravnih organih* (Zakon o republičkim ... 1974), sprejetim na podlagi ustave, naj bi se še natančneje določile posamezne pristojnosti upravnih organov, zato je bila naloga Republiškega sekretariata za izobraževanje, kulturo in znanost med drugim tudi nadzorovanje sistema financiranja, udejanjanje novega vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema, skrbel je za kadre itd., podobno pa je bilo tudi delovno področje občinskih sekretariatov. Pomemben del teh dejavnosti je prav tako sodil na delovno področje SIS-ov, zato je bilo pristojnosti zelo težko razmejiti.

V tem obdobju se je (spet) začela velika reforma izobraževanja, ki je z nekaterimi zakonskimi dopolnitvami trajala do razpada Jugoslavije. Za reformo je bilo bistveno, da je bil izobraževalni sistem tako rekoč v celoti v pristojnosti republik, očitno pa so se na številnih področjih v skupni državi že kazali znaki bližajočega se razpada federacije. V poskusu, da bi se ta proces ustavil, je bil leta 1981 sklenjen dogovor med republikami in pokrajinami o temeljnih sistema vzgoje in izobraževanja, s katerim naj bi zmanjšali razlike med njimi v pojmovanju reforme, toda z družbenim dogovarjanjem niso prišli do zadovoljivih rezultatov. Med drugim je bila ena od posledic takšnih razmer nenehno nenadzorovano povečevanje števila srednjih šol in širjenje njihove mreže. Še naprej se je gmotni položaj izobraževanja izboljševal, usmerjeno izobraževanje pa so favorizirali ne glede na dejanske potrebe gospodarstva in družbenih dejavnosti. Koncept sodelovanja izobraževanja in združenega dela posebej v materialni proizvodnji ni bil nikoli kakovostno izpeljan v skladu z zamislimi. Zaposlovanje je bilo vse težje, hkrati pa se je, tako kot danes, naglo povečevalo število srednješolcev in študentov, kajti v izobraževanju so bili prisiljeni videti možnost za odložitev zaposlitve, ki so jo lahko izkoristili, in to ne iz nesebičnosti, ampak zaradi slabega gospodarskega položaja v vsej državi. Pri tem so šole zaradi omejene porabe in vse slabšega gmotnega položaja prosvetnih delavcev tekmoval, katera bo privabila več kandidatov za izredno šolanje (tistih, ki so izpite plačevali), najprivlačnejše pa so bile šole, za katere se je razvedelo, da na njih najhitreje prideš do diplome (Cvijović in Kovačević 1996, str. 177). Seveda v takšnih okoliščinah kakovost izobraževanja ni mogla biti v skladu s pričakovanimi učinki reforme.

Še vedno so se pristojnosti pri upravljanju izobraževanja marsikje prekrivale. Republiški sekretariat za izobraževanje, kulturo in znanost na primer ni opravljal samo upravnih nalog, Zavod za napredek vzgoje in izobraževanja pa je poleg strokovnih nalog samostojno opravljal tudi nekatere upravne naloge, kot je bil nadzor nad upoštevanjem predpisov o organiziranju in delu šol ter rabi učbenikov, s čimer se je ukvarjala tudi Prosvetna inšpekcija. Pedagoški svet je v skladu z *Zakonom o Pedagoškem svetu SRČG* (Zakon o Pedagoškem ... 1976) poleg dotedanjih strokovnih nalog dobil še širšo družbeno funkcijo pri izvajanju izobraževalne politike in vsa pooblastila republiškega upravnega organa: za samostojno sprejemanje učnih načrtov in programov za predšolsko in osnovnošolsko izobraževanje, prvo stopnjo usmerjenega izobraževanja itd., pa tudi ugotavljanje in preučevanje dosežkov v vzgojno-izobraževalnem sistemu, s čimer se je prav tako ukvarjal zavod, ali pre-

dlaganje standardov prosvetne politike ipd., kar je bila tudi naloga Republiškega sekretariata za izobraževanje, kulturo in znanost.

V tem zadnjem obdobju samoupravljanja so se prav tako spet spremenili imena in položaj, sestava in pristojnosti upravnih organov v družbenih dejavnostih, kar ponazarja dezorientiranost v poskusih, da bi jih (na novo) *podružbili*. Republiški sekretariat za izobraževanje, kulturo in znanost je bil leta 1984 razpuščen, ustanovljen je bil Republiški komite za izobraževanje, kulturo in znanost, ki je imel v glavnem enake pristojnosti, brez določil o odgovornosti za razmere na svojem področju in skrbi za kadre, dodatno pa je moral spremljati izvajanje prosvetno-kulturnih in znanstvenih dejavnosti narodnosti, ki živijo v Črni gori (Zakon o izmjenama ... 1984, str. 179). Leta 1989 so bile kot posledica burnega političnega dogajanja izpeljane spremembe v Izvršnem svetu Črne gore; z zakonskimi spremembami so bili razpuščeni republiški komiteji, namesto njih pa ustanovljeni sekretariati, tako da je Republiški komite za izobraževanje, kulturo in znanost (spet) postal Republiški sekretariat za izobraževanje, kulturo in telesno vzgojo in prevzel naloge upravnega organa na svojem področju. Treba je poudariti, da je sledilo sprejetje številnih predpisov, s katerimi so bili samoupravljanje in samoupravne interesne skupnosti tako rekoč odpravljene, *Zakon o družbenih dejavnostih* (Zakon o društvenim ... 1990) pa je dovolil ustanovitev zasebnih in mešanih vzgojno-izobraževalnih ustanov. Kmalu so bile vpeljane še nekatere pomembne spremembe v upravnem sistemu, tj. namesto Izvršnega sveta Skupščine Črne gore je bila ustanovljena Vlada Črne gore, namesto sekretariata pa ministrstva, pri čemer je bilo ustanovljeno tudi Ministrstvo za prosveto in znanost (Zakon o izmjenama ... 1991, str. 33–37).

## Sklep

V Jugoslaviji je bilo upravljanje v vzgoji in izobraževanju na zvezni ravni dejansko in v procesu sprejemanja najpomembnejših odločitev v velikem obsegu centralizirano. Hkrati pa je tako rekoč od ustanovitve države potekal bolj ali manj neprekinjen proces decentralizacije v izobraževalni politiki, ki jo je na primeru Črne gore mogoče spremljati na podlagi posameznih dogodkov, dosežkov in njihovih posledic v tehle obdobjih.

- a) 1945–1951, obdobje *administrativnega* socializma – sprejetje prvega zakona o izobraževanju v Črni gori 1945/46; podaljšanje obveznega osnovnošolskega izobraževanja s štirih na sedem let od leta 1947; obvezna osemletna osnovna šola od leta 1950; vzpostavljanje mreže srednjih šol; zagotavljanje možnosti za razvoj višjega in visokega šolstva; sistem solidarnosti do manj razvitih republik; ideološki razkol z ZSSR; napoved reorganizacije državne uprave na področju izobraževanja in omogočanje republikam, da na tem področju prevzemajo vse več pobude; zvezno ministrstvo je opravljalo nadzor, določalo splošne smernice in vodilo evidence, Črna gora pa je, upošteva je sklepe partije, sprejela nova učni načrt in program za osnovne šole, to pa je vodilo do prestrukturiranja organov državne uprave, ki je bilo izpeljano leta 1951.

- b) 1951–1963, obdobje *odmiranja* države in začetkov samoupravljanja – obrat h konceptu samoupravnega socialističnega razvoja; nova ureditev vzgoje in izobraževanja, ki se kaže kot nov šolski sistem, enoten in dosleden; čeprav je imela federacija vse manj pristojnosti, je ohranila pristojnost, da z resolucijami in drugimi splošnimi akti (partije in) zvezne skupščine usmerja reformo; do tedaj največja ekspanzija šolstva v Črni gori (mogoče večja kot kjerkoli v Jugoslaviji), ki je bila posledica reforme šolstva, gospodarskega napredka itd.
- c) 1963–1974, obdobje *popravkov* samoupravnega koncepta – namesto sveta sekretariat; obnovi se delo Pedagoškega sveta Črne gore; na novo, samoupravno se organizira Zavod za šolstvo; možnost, da na podlagi upravljanja v šolah te samostojno odločajo o notranji delitvi dohodka; vse večja množičnost in zmanjšanje kakovosti srednješolskega izobraževanja; pomembna vlaganja v izobraževanje v republiki.
- d) 1974–1990, obdobje *popolnega* (razpada) samoupravljanja – spodbujanje gospodarstva in krepitev federacije sta ostala neuresničena cilja; velikopotezno reformo izobraževalnega sistema, ki so jo sprva hvalili in je bila deležna široke podpore, pozneje pa so ji vse bolj nasprotovali, je treba obravnavati v kontekstu tedanjega dogajanja v federaciji; končala se je skupaj s samoupravljanjem zaradi globoke krize v federaciji in postala ideološka in politična; čeprav je imela številne pomanjkljivosti, ji je treba priznati prizadevnost in nekatere dosežke, od katerih so se posamezni ohranili tudi po razpadu skupne države.

Posebno ustava iz leta 1974 je zagotovila večje pravice republikam in hkrati zapostavila usklajevanje med njimi, s katerim naj bi ohranili in razvijali enotni izobraževalni sistem, pri čemer niti republiške ustave niso predvidele visoke ravni usklajenosti in skupne izobraževalne politike, ki bi bila nujno zavezujoča. Narobe razumljena, udejanjena ali zlorabljena demokratizacija države je pripeljala do razpada enotnega izobraževalnega sistema in same federacije. Pri samoupravnih interesnih skupnostih so se s slabo organiziranostjo, brezbriznostjo, birokratizacijo, veliko negospodarnega delovanja, podvajanjem opravil in prekrivanjem pristojnosti pri upravljanju izobraževanja v takratnih okoliščinah pokazale številne pomanjkljivosti pri uveljavljanju zamisli v praksi.

Za vsa našeta obdobja, ki so bila zelo kompleksna in med seboj povezana, je značilen tipičen in nepretrgan proces decentralizacije upravnih organov v izobraževanju oziroma prenašanja pristojnosti s federacije na republike, čeprav je bila pristojnost oblikovanja izobraževalne politike večidel centralizirana v najvišjih partijskih organih v državi, državni in zlasti republiški organi pa so lahko odločali predvsem o udejanjanju te politike in sprejemali predpise. Črni gori je bila v Jugoslaviji zagotovljena razmeroma visoka stopnja samostojnosti pri izvajanju, ne pa tudi pri določanju bistva, koncepta ali smeri razvoja izobraževalne politike. Videti je, kot da je zvezna (izobraževalna) politika ves čas poskušala uravnotežiti skupne interese oziroma interese skupnosti, posebnosti in potrebe svojih članic, torej republik. Vendarle so sčasoma republike vse bolj poudarjale te posebnosti pri upravičevanju ali podpori vse večje decentralizacije, kar se je pogosto zlorabljalo.

Čeprav je bilo samoupravljanje v bistvu osredotočeno na človeka in ideološko upravičeno, je bilo v izobraževalni politiki neredko razumljeno in uporabljeno kot idealno sredstvo za manipuliranje z različnimi nameni. Kakor da je bilo pri tem na zvezni ravni izobraževanje oziroma upravljanje izobraževanja zanemarjeno oziroma mu v skupni državi niso pripisovali tolikšnega pomena kot nekaterim drugim področjem. V praksi je samoupravljanje na številnih področjih povzročilo, da sta se poučevanje in pedagoški razvoj zanemarila zaradi normativnega birokratizma, zaposlovanja in delitve gmotnih sredstev. Pri upravljanju izobraževanja so bili opazni nenehno iskanje poti, ustanavljanje in razpuščanje ustanov, spreminjanje pristojnosti in imen ustanov, prekrivanje in slabo usklajevanje dejavnosti.

Treba je poudariti, da na decentralizacijo – tudi v izobraževanju – v Jugoslaviji lahko gledamo kot na nekaj, kar je bilo tesno povezano ne le z zvezno ureditvijo, ampak tudi s konceptom socialističnega samoupravljanja. Zamisel o samoupravljanju ni bila izvorni izum socializma v Jugoslaviji, bila pa je različica udejanjanja tega izuma. Bila je nadgradnja in značilna različica udejanjanja delavskih svetov in delavskega samoupravljanja iz Marxovega koncepta socializma, ki je bil v Jugoslaviji uporabljen posebej za odmik od ideologije in izobraževalne politike tekmice Sovjetske zveze. Namen samoupravljanja je bil z decentralizacijo upravljanja republiških izobraževalnih politik tega tudi demokratizirati, ne pa ga parcializirati na škodo enotnega vzgojno-izobraževalnega sistema. Njegova kakovostna diferenciacija po republikah znotraj integriranega izobraževalnega sistema ni bila uresničena iz številnih razlogov, od katerih smo navedli samo nekatere. Toda čeprav je imela izobraževalna politika v Jugoslaviji in Črni gori v obdobju 1945–1990 številne pomanjkljivosti, je zaslužna tudi za veliko dosežkov, ki so še danes pomembni, precej in v marsikaterem segmentu je prispevala k razvoju šolstva in ustanov, pristojnih za upravljanje izobraževanja v državah, ki so nastale na ozemlju nekdanje Jugoslavije.

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Prevod: Nada Colnar



**Vučina Zorić**

## Educational policy in socialist Montenegro

**Abstract:** This paper presents an analysis of the process of creating, developing, and implementing of educational policy in Yugoslavia, as illustrated by the case of Montenegro, one of its republics. The research is primarily focused on the identification and consideration of certain characteristics of the socialist concept of education in Yugoslavia and Montenegro through an analysis of the competences and work of relevant institutions, their decision-making procedures, and the management of systems of education and educational policy in general. In this way, the author emphasizes and re-examines the origin and essence of the numerous difficulties, reforms, and important decisions and events that have had a substantial effect on the development and destiny of socialist pedagogy and the development of education and schooling in Montenegro. The analyzed stages of development of educational policy in Yugoslavia, in the case of Montenegro, have been marked, on one hand, by the process of transferring responsibilities from the federation to the republics. On the other hand, the development has been characterized by the largely centralized jurisdiction of creating educational policy in the highest party organs of the state, in which predominantly republican bodies have been able to make decisions and regulations primarily on their application. The research into this theme endeavors to provide relevant insight into many specifics—and, sometimes, into the originality of the reforms of education in Yugoslavia and Montenegro, particularly during the period of the introduction of self-management.

**Keywords:** management system of education, socialist concept of education, self-management, decentralization, education policy, Yugoslavia, Montenegro.

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## Introduction

After World War II, Montenegro became one of the republics of the federal state of Yugoslavia based on the socialist ideology and concept—which, of course, was reflected in official education policy, as well as in the conception of education. However, if socialist pedagogy means “the name for different concepts of socialist education or education in socialist countries; today the most common term for pedagogical concepts was built on the foundations of Marxism understood differently in socialist countries the second half of the 20th century” (Jakšić 1996, p. 466), then, in the context of Montenegro—though it is still a part of Yugoslavia—we consider socialist pedagogy almost exclusively in the context of the conduct or implementation of formal education policy, instead of in the context of created or developed scientific or educational concepts. It would be interesting to point out that, in the only pedagogical lexicon ever been printed in Montenegro—and until 2005—there were no such terms as *socialist pedagogy*. However, there is the term *socialism*, which has been defined as “a social system organized on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, in which there is no class exploitation and with the motto: from each individual according to his ability, to each individual according to his work” (Damjanović 2005, p. 285). Coincidentally or not, the last part of the specified guidelines is a slogan that served an integral role of the *Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* (Ustav... 1974) and that (in the *Constitution*) was directly related to self-management, rather than to the socialism in general. During the period between 1945 and 1990 in Montenegro:

- There were no pedagogists that would, on a larger scale, create or develop socialist pedagogy as a theoretical or scientific concept. Instead, they dealt mostly with the presentation and analysis of official educational policy in the former socialist republic. Still, there were those on the theoretical—and, in particular, on the practical plane—who continuously contributed to the implementation, review and management of educational policy. Among these, it is inevitable to mention Ratko Djukanović, Pavle Gazivoda, Radovan Damjanović and Rade Delibašić.

- There was no study program of pedagogy, institute, or similar institution that would deal with socialist pedagogy on a scientific basis.

This paper presents a theoretical study, with the objective of presenting and analyzing one of the important indicators of the stream creation, development, and application of socialist pedagogy in Yugoslavia. These goals are accomplished in the context of one of Yugoslavia's republics—in this case, Montenegro—through the process of decentralization educational policy and the management of the education system. The stated object of this study was chosen because it provides a way to examine the structure of the pedagogical problems during the period between 1945 and 1990, as well as to explore the main characteristics of the many transformations of the socialist concept of educational development in Yugoslavia and Montenegro. The analysis of the problem is not focused primarily on monitoring the competence of certain institutions; instead, it offers a relevant review and interpretation of the major and crucial events in the area of development of education policies—and, especially, education management—in Montenegro. Rather than subscribe to the classification provided by Nikola Potkonjak (1980) and Miloš Starovlah (1986), we tend to agree almost completely with the one offered by Vladeta Cvijović and Branislav Kovačević (1996), which seems more justified in the case of Montenegro. Specifically, the management of the education system—with reference to the process of decentralization of educational policy in Yugoslavia, and especially in Montenegro—can be classified for the sake of analysis to sharply defined periods, as follows:

- 1) 1945-1951: the period of *administrative* socialism;
- 2) 1951-1963: the period of the *dying away* of the state and the beginning of self-government;
- 3) 1963-1974: the period of the *correction* of the self-management concept; and
- 4) 1974-1990: the period of the total *decomposition* of self-management.

Although these periods were largely intertwined, we believe that they were defined in the right way due to the many events that differentiated them and represented turning points, both in the system of education management in Montenegro and in the overall event timeline of Yugoslavia.

### **The period of administrative socialism (1945-1951)**

The period from 1945 to 1951 is commonly referred to as the period of *administrative* socialism (Cvijović and Kovačević 1996, p. 97; Grbić 1975, p. 88; Starovlah 1994, p. 49) because, in almost all areas of life and work, the greatest power belonged to the state government, which was largely related to the activities of schools and overall education. However, simultaneously, it was given a significant

degree of independence (especially formal independence), not only in the many areas of education in Yugoslavia, but also in a certain level of its management. For example, the first federal government of Montenegro had the Ministry of Education (Ukaz... 1945, p. 1), with special organizational units: the Department of People's Education, Culture and Arts; the General Department; the Planning Department; and the Personnel Department.

According to the *Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia* (Ustav... 1946), which altogether contained very few provisions directly related to education, the basic and general principles for legislation in the field of education were supposed to be adopted by a common state (ibid., article 44, paragraph 24). Their elaboration, operationalization, and concretisation were meant to bring each republic its own regulations (ibid., article 94, paragraph 24). However, "[...] during the first five post-war years, were mostly identical to almost all legislation in the field of education in Yugoslavia" (Starovlah 1994, p. 56). It is important to point out that there were two categories of ministries, according to *Constitution*: the Federal-Republican and the Republican. The Republican ministries were more independent in relation to the management of federal agencies within their areas, and among these was the Ministry of Education. However, even such an independent Ministry of Education did not have jurisdiction over the entire school system until 1951. For example, vocational education fell almost entirely under the jurisdiction of other ministries (e.g., industry and construction, transport, etc.), with minimal cooperation from the Ministry of Education (Cvijović and Kovačević 1996, pp. 120-121). Otherwise, according to the *Constitution* (Ustav... 1946) at the federal level, the Government Committee for the Field of Education and Culture was the only committee designed for the general management of these areas of public administration (ibid., article 89).

The Educational Council of Montenegro, although it has existed since 1944 as an advisory body to educational authorities, significantly created educational policy in the republic. However, due to the following events, it has been called, even now, the Interim Educational Council (Medojević 1988). Specifically, the Ministry of Education of Montenegro was established (again) 1946 (Uredba o... 1946), but it was still only an advisory body and official institution with similar competencies to the Council for Vocational and Professional Teaching, which worked at the Ministry of Industry and Mining (Pravilnik o... 1945). It is important to point out that the local and city people's committees of authority during this period played important roles in achieving the educational policy of carrying out orders, instructions, and recommendations of higher authorities in practice. In particular, lower administrative authorities had significant extent and scope of responsibility, since they were responsible for their actions both in front of those who had elected them and, primarily, in front of the higher administrative authorities, particularly the Ministry of Education, for which they served as "an extended arm" (Cvijović and Kovačević 1996, pp. 122-123).

For the most part, until 1949, almost all decisions were brought by party and federal authorities. *The Resolution of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia Tasks in Education* (Rezolucija...

1950) was adopted in December 1949 as one of the most important events in the development of educational policy in Yugoslavia. The final goal was to bring significant changes, especially in the management of education, in order to “[...] strengthen and manifest to a larger degree the initiative in all schools and educational institutions as well as to prevent bureaucracy of the bodies that govern schooling” (ibid., p. 4). Thus, through the obvious rift with the Soviet model, some of the main problems in the school system were pointed out. This step activated among the administrative and teaching staff support for a higher degree of freedom of expression and school vitality—which was, till then, evidently burdened by following directives related to control and self-control, by satisfying form at the expense of the content and quality of teaching, and by a lack of understanding of the desirable direction of development as a result of new needs. This gradually resulted in the significantly increased competence of the republican ministries, which spread from the republics to the municipalities in order to meet the needs of individuals. This movement, quite intensively, launched the process of decentralization of educational management in Yugoslavia.

The combined state and republic was continuously enacting five-year action plans of development. Thus, *the Five-Year Development Plan of Montenegro 1947-1951* (Petogodišnji... 1947), as well those adopted in the whole FPRY (Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia), focused on the elementary creation of conditions for the operation of educational institutions, but not on the fundamental changes in education. Due to the urgency of the problem, the plan primarily involved task action literacy for all citizens. Since a relatively significant number of literate, post-war period courses weren’t successful, the authorities had been trying to ensure that literacy was predominantly placed within institutions for adult education and that it was organized in public and worker universities, as well as within the departments of these institutions, since 1953 (Backović 2001, p. 231). Otherwise, the work of people’s universities in the districts of Montenegro was coordinated by the Central People’s University in Cetinje, which was founded in September 1946 as an agency of the Ministry of Education, with the official aim of spreading science, culture and ideology.

In October 1945, the Provisional People’s Assembly of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia adopted a law on compulsory seven-year education. This law was confirmed in July 1946 by the People’s Assembly FPRY (Opšti zakon... 1946) and adopted in the People’s Republic of Montenegro (Zakon... 1946). Like all other former provisions at the federal level, *The General Law* was short and principled, and committed assemblies of federal units had to comply with specific conditions and adopt laws to comply with its principles. Thus, in Yugoslavia, the foundation, specialty and real needs of each of its members were respected. The authorities of Montenegro were obliged to provide educational processes for four-year schools and to create more primary and lower secondary schools. Thus, more elementary schools opened gradually with the approval of the Ministry of Education, on the proposal of district people’s committees (Cvijović and Kovačević 1996, p. 102). In Montenegro, the seven-year period primary schools began to open in 1947/48, and two years later, these schools were reorganized into eight-year primary schools.

This was the result of the realization of *Resolution of 5th Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party on Primary Education* (Odluke... 1948), which was based on how the Yugoslav Government legislated this commitment in May 1950 and let the republics prescribe the manner and conditions of achievement. On the other hand, given the ambitions of the five-year plan and the lack of vocational personnel in Montenegro, the opening of lower and full secondary vocational schools began, along with courses targeted for the simplest of professional activities for the semi-skilled workers (e.g., the construction of the railway Nikšić-Titograd). These were, as has already been said, opened by the relevant ministries (and not the Ministry of Education), which had prescribed the programs and supervised the processes. This is perhaps the reason why the two-year and three-year vocational schools for skilled workers, which are supposed to have more than 50% of the teaching process in the companies, and the theoretical knowledge in schools, were unsatisfactory for republican state and political organs in terms of massiveness, treatment of companies and the quality in general. In addition, there were not enough four-year vocational schools in Montenegro, and the opening process for new schools was very slow (in contrast to gymnasiums, which had a certain kind of benefit due to their general education, tradition and trend of preserving the majority of buildings) (Starovlah 1994).

### **The period of the dying away of the state and the beginning of self-government (1951-1963)**

The adoption of the *Basic law on management of state economic enterprises and higher economic associations by working collectives* (Osnovni zakon... 1950) resulted in a significantly increased turnaround in the overall system of the common state. It also led to the full and public rejection of the Soviet model and the search for a new one, as well as the introduction of workers' self-management through worker councils. Although there were some earlier announcements, this legislation served as the specific and concrete beginning of self-government as a special experiment of the disappearance of the state. Although the experiment was meant to be implemented in all areas, it began in the social sectors (e.g., education, culture, science, health and social care).

In 1951, the conclusions of the *Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee Communist Party of Yugoslavia* (Rezolucija... 1950) began to be introduced in the legal form, leading to major changes in state administration. For example, with regard to Montenegro, it is important to point out that the adoption of the *Regulation on the establishment of the councils for education and culture at the districts and municipal people's committees* (Uredba... 1951) established the councils as the organs of social management (and, at the same time, as the administrative authorities) appointed by the people's committees, instead of by previous bodies of education and culture in the executive committees of districts and cities. Instead, following this act, the people's committees appointed the members of the councils, and the councils discussed all of the important issues for their jurisdictions (i.e.,

district or city), incorporating independent decisions and giving suggestions to the people's committees. This was a concrete realization of the experiment and of the implementation of recommendations from *Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee Communist Party of Yugoslavia* (Rezolucija...1950), which had the objective of transforming the state administration into social activities that would start at lower levels. There also were a number of changes, from the republic to the federal level, at the higher levels of government. In fact, the majority of previous ministries, including the Ministry of Education, were abolished. In their place, the Council for Education and Culture of the Republic of Montenegro was established (April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1951), which also addressed other activities within the jurisdiction of the abolished ministries or secretariats. The Executive Council was established instead of the Government. The only body for education was the Education Committee in the FEK (Federal Executive Council) which was later replaced by the Secretariat of Education and Culture. The above leads us to the conclusion that the state still did not care very much about such social activities as education.

The Council for Education and Culture of the Republic of Montenegro, as the chief administrative authority in the field of education, performed and discussed the issues of ordinances, orders, instructions and explanations of the application of laws and regulations. It also proposed acts brought by the Executive Council that were concerned with the control of central government institutions and the development of social management. Finally, it engaged in cooperation with the councils in the districts and cities, etc. There was a reorganization of people's committees (i.e., the people's committees of districts) in 1952, and then their councils were entrusted the enforcement of laws, the regulations of the people's committees, and the performance of other administrative tasks. This change emphasised the councils' administrative duties and did not just consider the principled issues of the development of social management (see: Medojević 1988).

Confusion and disorientation in the practical application of the principles of social management, particularly in relation to the socio-political system of 1946, attempted to resolve the new concept at the federal level via the *Constitutional law on the basics of social and political order PRM and republican authorities* (Ustavni zakon... 1953). Through this law, the social ownership of the means of production, the self-producers in the economy, and the people in the municipality, the city and district became the planning grounds of the country. In this way, self-management in the field of education was accomplished through the self-government of institutions and the participation of social organizations and citizens in the state administration (ibid., article 6). The objective of the new experiment was the ability to determine the functioning of the concept in practice—and, then, helped by the results, to decide how to standardize procedures. Through the new *Constitutional law on the basis of social and political order and republican authorities* (Ustavni zakon... 1957), the administrative functions of the Council of Education were further emphasized (since the Council of Education and Culture was no longer in charge following its split). Within its competence were administrative jobs in the republic and in the field of education (i.e., in preschool

education, in adult education, and in non-army military education). After the reorganization of state administration carried out in 1956 by the *Law on organization of public administration* (Zakon...1956) and, in particular, in 1958 by the *General law on education* (Opšti zakon... 1958), which dictated a comprehensive reform of the education system and was a significant milestone in the overall education system, tasks of the municipal, district, and republican council were enumerated in detail. Similar tasks were described for the (new) Education Council of Yugoslavia—which, although it was given administrative powers, only raised certain questions of mutual interest, gave the necessary recommendations, and established the basis of curricula and general principles on the issue of textbooks. Under the new reorganization of the state administration in 1962, two councils merged into one—the Council for Education and Culture—until the adoption of the new *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Montenegro* (Ustav SR Crne Gore... 1963), the new organization of state administration, and the abolition of the Council (see: Cvijović and Kovačević 1996).

Otherwise, in the past period, the general supervision over the implementation of laws and regulations was carried out by the councils, and the professionally pedagogic supervision was conducted by the professional services of the councils. The task of the Republican Council was mainly to secure control over the secondary education, and that of the district councils was to secure control over the primary schools (with their mutual cooperation). This cooperation was dominant until the adoption of the *Regulation on Establishing the Bureau for Improvement of Education PRM* (Uredba... 1955), which was implemented in 1956. However, only the *Regulation on the Organization and Operation of the Bureau for Improvement of Education PRM* (Uredba... 1959) placed emphasis on professionally pedagogic supervision, involving both research and analytical functions (Gvozdenović et al. 1986, p. 71). Moreover, a year later, according to the *Law on educational and pedagogical services* (Zakon... 1960), the Bureau received enhanced competencies, certain administrative powers, and the formal status of an administrative institution founded on the five inter-municipal Bureaus of educational and pedagogical services. The question was: How and for what reason had the Bureau for the Improvement of Education in Montenegro appeared at that particular time? Keeping in mind that the federal bodies—which, at that point, practically referred to the Education Committee of the Federal Executive Council—could not seriously influence educational policy or monitor educational events that happened in the republics, while, on the other side, previous republican ministries were not enough capable of performing their functions, the initiative of the Education Committee of the FEK 1955 resulted in the establishment of the Federal Bureau for the Study of School and Educational Issues. The Federal Bureau for the school was only an advisory body, which functioned as a kind of collection centre and dealt only with the study of data from field school problems (Starovlah 1993, p. 56). Then, the republics joined in establishing their own Bureaus, though there were significant differences in their jurisdictions. This, overall, can be considered another example of the decentralization of education management in Yugoslavia.



### **The period of the correction of the self-management concept (1963-1974)**

The *Constitution* of the common state and the constitutions of the republics established in 1963, as well as the constitutional amendments (1967 and 1971; including 42 at that time), determined, among other things the inviolability of: citizens' rights to self-government; citizens' rights to free and mutual cooperation on the means of production of social property and self-management in the production and distribution of social products (*ibid.*, article 6, p. 264), under the previously proclaimed principles and the right to self-determination, including secession; and the extended jurisdiction of the republics. These led to a change in name, such that the state came to be called the State of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the emphasis was shifted, not only nominally, from the people to the socialistic structure. Keeping in mind that there was no general agreement with the Constitution (as evidenced by the numerous amendments that enforced an even greater weakening of the powers of the Federation and the transfer of responsibilities to the republics), it is possible to problematize quality of the Constitution, since the federal authorities were only in charge of coordinating, and not of superior bodies. One can speak of the continuity of this trend in terms of the unique educational system and the subordination of management in Yugoslavia—and, later, the next *Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* (*Ustav... 1974*).

The Federal Secretariat for Education and Culture was abolished due to the reduced powers of the federation and replaced by the Council as the national authority of lower rank. Thus, in Montenegro, there was a reversal of the state secretariats and the secretariat of the Executive Council for certain areas, as well as of the Council for Education, Culture and Science. There was also established a secretariat, which, like the others, was supposed to manage the implementation of the established policy and law of the Assembly and the Executive Council, as well as to prepare draft laws and other regulations. The Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Science performed the duties of the state administration and the education sector, especially in the context of preschool, primary, secondary and special schools, higher education organizations, workers' and people's universities, physical education, etc.

However, the Pedagogical Council of Montenegro was established in 1966 for the purpose of continuing the tradition of the Educational Council, which had substantial administrative function in education, was a professional body, and—among other things—provided the basics of the curriculum for primary schools, secondary schools, and, sometimes, for other institutions (for more comprehensive list of schools, see the Republican Bureau for Improvement of Education) (*Medojević 1988*). At the proposal of the Bureau, the pedagogical Council independently prescribed which textbooks should be used compulsorily in schools. The Republican Bureau had the same authority as before, but the *Law on educational and pedagogical services* (*Zakon... 1965*) was organized as a new approach to self-management, as well as to inter-municipal institutions for educational and pedagogical service.

It precisely required the founding of self-government in these institutions. It is important to emphasize that, during this period, the need for an inspectorate to control the application of regulations became clear. This was otherwise foreseen as a possibility for legal solutions, since the self-governing normative activities at all levels had begun to grow uncontrollably. This growth resulted in the adoption of the *Law on Educational Inspection* (Zakon... 1973), which established a Republican Educational Inspectorate within the Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Science (see: Cvijović and Kovacević 1996).

The novelty in the field of management of schools was that their self-governing bodies, at that point, independently decided the internal distribution of incomes. Their advice also included representatives of the community who were involved in decision-making, which was strongly related to the activities of particular social interest. This is one example of a solution to the culmination of the relationships among the organs of governance that were previously overshadowed by state authorities—or those that managed material resources (Micunović 1975, p. 314).

During this period, education was given a strong foundation, especially with regard to vocational education, for the development of the economy, since there was a clear need for more educated people. As a result, there was a great interest on the part of students, who migrated from the countryside to the cities. The cities were, then, increasingly transformed into school centres, mainly for economic reasons (i.e., the integration of vocational schools and schools for qualified workers). However, in addition—helped by the liberalization of enrolment policies and equalizing of conditions for regular and part-time education—the process of degrading the quality of education through the sudden and uncontrolled increase in the number of high school students had already begun, spurred by insufficient capacity (even though the number of schools was increasing at the same time) (Cvijović and Kovacević 1996, pp. 150-157).

According to the *Constitution* (Ustav... 1963) and its amendments, almost all federal competences in the field of education were transferred to republic ones. This was one of the causes enabling republics to focus on specific features of the community or of national cultures and their affirmations. Even within Montenegro, in this field and at that time, there were many internal disagreements, due to the field's multinational and multi-religious structure. However, this disagreement grew even greater later on. It can be said, in some way, that many internal disagreements from era Yugoslavia continues to exist even today in Montenegro as independent state.

### **The period of the total decomposition of self-government (1974-1990)**

This phase is characterized by attempts to achieve *total* self-government through the free exchange of labour and mutual interests, such as self-governing communities of interest. It will soon be shown that such an attempt to resuscitate an already loose federal state and economic state, against the backdrop of other factors outside Yugoslavia, was no stimulus for the development of the republics

or the preservation of the common state. Specifically, the fundamental political basis for the upcoming reform of the educational system was defined in the *Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia* (Ustav... 1974), in the constitutions of each republic, in the decisions relating to the transformation of the self-governing system of education of the *Tenth Congress of the CPY* (1974), and in the *Law on Associated Labour* (Zakon o udruženom... 1976). Some of the basic assumptions were as follows:

- as part of the transformation of the social self-management, education should become an integral part of the whole of associated labour, and workers should become directly involved in decision-making in the process of education;
- education at all levels should exist under the same conditions, such that it is available to everyone; and
- raising the general education level of vocational schools through prominent Marxist ideological and political education should be an important condition for the acquisition of equal conditions and for the continuation of any education throughout individuals' working lives, as well as for meeting the challenges of scientific and technological development in the world.

The new *Constitution*, actually, transferred educational activities to the supervision of the republics, along with all of the common features, interests and needs of the regulated system of social compacts and communication (Djukanović 1988, p. 39). The Montenegrin Parliament passed the *Law on Self-governing Communities of Interest of Education* (Zakon... 1974), which planned the establishment of such self-governing communities in the municipalities and the republic. The municipal ones were established for one or more municipalities, and, through them, the funds for financing preschool and primary education were secured—as were those for educational and pedagogical services, teacher training, etc. It was stipulated that, if self-governing communities failed to be established by valid self-management agreement of the participants in the free exchange of labour, the Municipal Assembly may establish them by its own decision.

Two SCIs (self-managing communities of interest) for primary and directed (i.e. secondary and higher) education were established for the territory of the Republic, according to the *Law on Self-governing Communities of Interest of Education* (Zakon... 1974). These were run by the Assemblies, which were composed of two chambers: the one consisting of the users, and the other involving the service providers. This concept was the essence of the idea of self-governing communities of interest. All decisions were made according to the approval of both chambers, and the Assemblies, among other things, specified the programs of development activities, the criteria for the disbursement of funds to beneficiaries, etc. The practical application of such a concept faced numerous difficulties, since the delegates of associated labour of material production in the SCI were generally uninterested in the work of these communities. The representatives of service providers were also mainly preoccupied with the allocation of resources for users. This situation

commonly lead to more complicated bureaucracy and huge professional services. When the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro discussed issues in the fields for which SCI had been established, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Republic, the Assembly of the SCI tended to exist on an equal footing with the relevant councils (see: Cvijović and Kovačević 1996).

The objective of the *Law on State Authorities* (Zakon... 1974), adopted after the *Constitution*, was to further refine the individual responsibility of administrative authorities. Consequently, the Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Science, among others, was obliged to follow a system of financing, to implement the new educational system, to take care of staff, etc. A similar scope of work was assigned to the municipal secretariats. Since a significant portion of these activities fell under the scope of the SCI, it was very difficult to separate jurisdiction.

This period (again) was known as a period of significant educational reform—which, along with certain legal adjustments, lasted until the breakup of Yugoslavia. An important factor in this reform was that the educational system was already almost completely under the domain of the republics, while the indicators of future disunity were already transparent. An attempt to stop this process occurred in 1981, through an agreement between the republics and provinces based on educational system. This agreement sought to mitigate the differences between the republics and the provinces in the understanding of the reform; however, the system of social agreements did not provide satisfactory results. Among other things, one of the consequences of such a state was continuous and uncontrollable increases in the number of secondary schools. The material position of education was still being repaired, and vocational education was still favored (regardless of the actual needs of the economy and its social activities). The concept of educational cooperation and united work, particularly in the area of production, had never been achieved in accordance with these ideas. Finding employment became increasingly difficult, on the other hand (as it is nowadays). Moreover, there was a growing number of high school and college students because they were forced to see the education as a deferred chance to be of benefit—not out of altruism, but due to the difficult economic situation of the whole country. Additionally, due to the restrictions on spending and the increasingly difficult position of educators, schools competed to obtain more part-time students (who were paying for the exams). Such an appeal was successful if a school enabled the quick acquisition of diplomas (Cvijović and Kovačević 1996, p. 177). Of course, in such circumstances, the quality of education was not in line with the expectations of reform.

There were, again, many overlapping responsibilities in the field of education. For example, the Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Science did not perform only administrative tasks, and the Bureau for the Improvement of Education, in addition to expert tasks, also performed independent and some administrative tasks, such as the supervision of the implementation of regulations concerning the organization and operation of schools and the application of textbooks—which dealt with educational inspection. The Pedagogical Council, in accordance with the relevant *Law of the Pedagogical Council of SRM* (Zakon... 1976), received wider social function in the implementation of educational poli-

cies and in all the powers of the Republican administrative body, including independent decisions in terms of curricula for pre-school and primary education, first-stage direction, etc. However, it was also assigned to monitor and study the achievements brought up by the educational system, which also dealt with the Bureau, and to propose measures of educational policy, etc., which was the task of the State Secretariat for Education, Culture and Science.

Thus, in this last period of self-government, the entities' names and statuses changed again, as did the structures and powers of the administrative authorities in the social services sector. This reality illustrates the disorientation in the attempts to achieve new *socialization*. The Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Science was repealed in 1984 and replaced by the Republic Committee for Education, Culture and Science, which had largely the same jurisdiction, but without the responsibility for the situation in its area or for taking care of personnel. However, it was additionally in charge of monitoring and realizing the educational, cultural and scientific activities of national minorities living in Montenegro (Zakon... 1984, p. 179). In 1989, due to turbulent political events, changes were made to the Executive Council of Montenegro, especially in relation to legislation. These changes helped to abolish the republican committees, and to set up in their place the secretariats and the Republican Committee for Education, Culture and Science—which was (again) transformed into the Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Physical Culture as the administrative body for its area. It is important to point out that this period was followed by the adoption of a number of regulations that effectively abolished self-management and self-managing communities of interest. *The Social Activity Law* (Zakon... 1990) allowed the establishment of private or combined educational institutions. Very soon, significant changes were introduced to the system of administration: for example, instead of *The Executive Council of the Assembly of Montenegro*, the government was established, and instead secretariats, ministries (including the Ministry of Education and Science) were established (Zakon o izmjenama... 1991, pp. 33-37).

## Conclusion

On one hand, the centralization of power in the field of education was, to a significant degree, responsible for the most important decisions in Yugoslavia at the federal level. On the other hand, almost since inception of Yugoslavia, a more or less continuous process of decentralization of education policies was present. This decentralization can also be followed through the example of Montenegro and the individual events, achievements and effects that occurred in different stages of the educational process:

1. The period from 1945 to 1951, or the period of *administrative* socialism, was significant because of the adoption of the first law in the field of education in Montenegro in 1945/46, which increased the duration of

compulsory basic education from four years to seven years beginning in 1947; introduced mandatory eight-year primary school beginning in 1950; established a network of secondary schools; enabled the preconditions for the development of higher education; created a system of solidarity for less developed republics; initiated an ideological break with the Soviet Union; took the first steps towards the reorganization of state administration in the field of education and enabled republics as wider initiatives in this area; and controlled the Federal Ministry by providing general guidelines and record-keeping. Montenegro's next party decision was to adopt a new curriculum for primary schools, which led to the restructuring of the state administration (executed in 1951).

2. The period from 1951 to 1963, the period of the *dying away* of the state and the beginning of self-government, marked a turn to the concept of the self-governing socialist development and a new system of education (which was reflected in the new school system, which was unique and consequential). Although the Federation was given less jurisdiction, it had maintained the authority to direct the reform through resolutions and other general acts (the party), as well as acts passed by the Federal Assembly. This period also saw the largest ever expansion of education in Montenegro (perhaps like nowhere else in Yugoslavia), due to the reform of the education system, economic progress, and so on.
3. The period from 1963 to 1974, or the period of the *correction* of the self-management concept, implemented the Secretariat instead of the Council; reopened the Pedagogical Council of Montenegro; developed a new self-governing organization for the Bureau for the Improvement of Education; created the ability to—by controlling the schools—independently determine the internal distribution of income; led to the growth, overcrowding, and devaluation of the quality of secondary education; and encouraged significant investment in education in the republic.
4. During the period from 1974 to 1990, or the period of the total *decomposition* of self-management, significant changes including achieving an unrealized goal of stimulating the economy and strengthening the federation. An ambitious reform of the education system—which, in the beginning, was widely supported, but that later became increasingly challenged—must be seen in the context of the complete situation in the Federation. Moreover, self-management faded away, due to the significant crisis in the Federation, and it developed an ideological and political character. Finally, although reform had many shortcomings, its efforts and certain achievements have to be pointed out, as does the fact that some of these achievements have survived beyond the dissolution of the common state.

In particular, the *Constitution* adopted in 1974 allocated greater rights to the republics, while simultaneously neglecting their coordination in order to survive and develop a unified education system. At the same time, the constitutions of the republics did not provide a high level of compliance, and common education

policy was not necessarily binding. The misinterpreted or misused democratization of the country led to the breaking of a unified system of education and of the Federation itself. The self-governing interests of communities, along with poor organization, a lack of interest, bureaucratization, irrational work, the duplication of effort, and overlapping authority all showed numerous limitations in practice.

All of these periods, which were highly complex and interrelated, were characterized by the specific and continuous process of decentralization of administrative authority in the field of education: that is, the transfer of competencies from the federation to the republics. However, although mainly the centralized jurisdiction and the policy of education were in the highest party organs of the State, the state (and, primarily, the republican authorities) were able to make decisions and regulations primarily on their application. Montenegro, as one of the Yugoslavian republics, had a relatively high degree of autonomy in running—but not in creating—essential, concepts or education policy developments. It seems that the federal (educational) policy was permanently trying to find a balance between common interests (or the interests of the community) and the specific needs of its members (i.e., the republics). However, over time, the republics increasingly emphasized their uniqueness in order to justify or support greater decentralization, which was greatly abused. Although self-management had, primarily, an essentially humane orientation and an ideological justification, in the field of education policies, it was very often observed and used as an ideal means for manipulation. Additionally, the management of education was neglected at the federal level—and it was not considered as important as some other areas in the same state. In practice, the self-management of many areas resulted in neglecting teaching and pedagogical development, at the expense of normative bureaucracy, employment, and material distribution. There was a continuous wandering in the area of education, as well as the constant establishment and abolition of institutions, changes in jurisdictions and institution names, and overlapping and poorly coordinated activities.

It is important to underline that decentralization, at least in the field of education, in Yugoslavia can be seen as something that is closely linked, not only to the federal constitution, but also to the concept of socialist self-management. The idea of self-government is not an original invention of socialism in Yugoslavia; however, its version of application certainly is unique. It represents an upgrade of a specific variant of the realization of the 'councils and workers' self-management of Marx's concept of socialism—which, in the case of Yugoslavia, was used to distance from ideology and educational policy, especially in relation to its competitor, the Soviet Union. Self-governance through decentralization, as seen through the example of the management of educational policies of the republics, aimed at democratization, and not at the expense of a unified educational system. Its quality differentiation throughout the republics was not achieved within an integrated educational system for many reasons, of which only a few were specified. However, although the educational policy in Yugoslavia and Montenegro during the period from 1945 to 1990 had numerous shortcomings, it also had numerous achievements that are still significant: for example, to a significant extent, in many segments, it

contributed to the development of schools and institutions in charge of educational management in the newly created states of former Yugoslavia.

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