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Pedagogika in šolstvo na Hrvaškem od zaključka druge svetovne vojne do konca petdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja

Povzetek: V tem prispevku avtorja analizirava razvoj pedagoške teorije na Hrvaškem v času Federativne ljudske republike Jugoslavije, tj. v obdobju od zaključka druge svetovne vojne do konca 50. let prejšnjega stoletja. Dve desetletji med obema vojnama sta bili zelo plodno obdobje razvoja pedagoške teorije na Hrvaškem. Pedagogika je leta 1928 postala univerzitetni študij, njeni glavni teoretiki, predstavniki duhoslovne oziroma kulturne pedagogike pa so se ukvarjali s ključnimi vprašanji pedagogike – bodisi kot avtonomne znanstvene discipline (Stjepan Matičević in Stjepan Pataki) bodisi kot filozofske discipline (Pavao Vuk - Pavlović). V novih socialističnih družbenih in političnih okoliščinah po drugi svetovni vojni je bil razvoj vede grobo prekinjen. Pedagogika na Hrvaškem je bila prisiljena pozabiti in prekiniti povezanost z lastno pedagoško dediščino. Stjepan Pataki je postal pionir razvoja socialistične pedagogike tako na Hrvaškem kot tudi v celotni Jugoslaviji. Pedagogika je začela v narodnih skupnostih, ki so sestavljale Jugoslavijo, v sklopu vse večje državne unifikacije, ideologizacije in centralizacije izgubljati svoje razvojne značilnosti. Na tej poti se je začel razvijati amalgam jugoslovanske socialistične pedagogike. Vzporedno so se intenzivno obnavljale porušene in gradile nove šolske stavbe, izobraževalo se je učiteljski kader, odpiralo se je nove šole ter nasploh vzpostavljalo razmere za dosledno izvedbo predpisov o obiskovanju šole vseh šolskih obveznikov, prav tako pa se je potrebam nove družbene ureditve prilagajal tudi šolski sistem. Skoraj stoletje stara formalna struktura šolskega sistema je doživljala temeljite spremembe, do katerih je praviloma prihajalo na podlagi političnih odločitev vladajoče komunistične partije. Z učnimi predmeti in različnimi oblikami zunajšolskega delovanja se je izvajala zaželena družbeno-moralna vzgoja v duhu vladajoče ideologije.

Ključne besede: socialistična pedagogika, šolska reforma, Hrvaška, 1945–1960

Znanstveni prispevek

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Uvod

V članku strukturiramo razvoj pedagoške teorije in šolskega sistema v socialistični Hrvaški od njenega konstituiranja leta 1945 do konca petdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja. Pod močnim vplivom državne ideologije sta bili v tem obdobju prepoznavni naslednji dve obdobji: razvoj socialistične pedagogike in šolstva pod neposrednim vplivom Sovjetske zveze do leta 1950 in začetek razvoja *tretje poti* samoupravne socialistične pedagogike in šolstva od leta 1951 naprej. V prvem obdobju je pedagogiko popolnoma obvladovala državna ideologija, v drugem pa se je začel proces postopnega upadanja vpliva države in politično proklamirane ideologije. Pedagoške posledice takšnega razvoja opazujemo vzporedno z razvojem pedagogike Stjepana Patakija, edinega profesorja, ki je ohranil kontinuiteto dela v okviru študija pedagogike na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Zagrebu v treh državah: v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, ki ji je Hrvaška pripadala pred drugo svetovno vojno, v t. i. Neodvisni državi Hrvaški, ki je nastala v času vojaške okupacije, in v povojni socialistični Hrvaški. V tem času se je v hrvaškem šolstvu začel razvoj nove socialistične ureditve, ki se je poenotila pod močnim sovjetskim vplivom (1945–1950), in se je tudi zaključil z oblikovanjem enotnega jugoslovanskega šolskega sistema (1951–1958).

Gre za neempirično metaanalitično celostno analizo obsežnega pedagoškega gradiva (Mužić 2004), ki se vrednoti v kontekstu splošnih zgodovinskih okoliščin tistega obdobja. Raziskovanje ima makrozgodovinski značaj z elementi mikrozgodovinske analize, še posebno pri preučevanju biografskega in pedagoškega opusa Stjepana Patakija (Radeka 2001).

Etatistična socialistična pedagogika pod vplivom Zveze sovjetskih socialističnih republik

V prvem obdobju etatiziranega socialističnega razvoja neposredno po drugi svetovni vojni se je pedagogika nekritično oblikovala po vzoru sovjetske socialistične

pedagogike. Na začetku je bilo prepovedano vsako zgledovanje po lastni pedagoški dediščini, tako da je bil zanemarjen bogat korpus predvojne pedagogike na Hrvaškem.¹ Razvoj etatistične faze monistično zasnovane socialistične pedagogike v Jugoslaviji, katere sestavni del je postala tudi hrvaška pedagogika, je bil pod močnim vplivom Zveze sovjetskih socialističnih republik (ZSSR) – revolucionarne zaveznice in politične somišljenice, hkrati pa tudi ekonomske, ideološke, družbenopolitične, znanstvene in splošno kulturne vzornice še iz druge svetovne vojne. Povojna hrvaška in jugoslovanska socialistična pedagogika, temelječa na državno predpisani ideologiji, je bila v apologetskem odnosu do ZSSR. V teh okoliščinah je bila prevzeta že izdelana struktura socialistične pedagogike ZSSR, ki se je razvijala že od časa oktobrske revolucije v Rusiji leta 1917 (Spehnjak 1993). V času izrazite centralizacije, ideološkega nadzora in čistk neposredno po revoluciji se je primernost hrvaških in jugoslovanskih pedagoških teoretikov zreducirala na kakovost interpretacije sovjetske socialistične pedagogike in njenega uveljavljanja v jugoslovanski socialistični pedagogiki. Pedagoška dela, ki so v tem času nastala v Jugoslaviji, so polna citatov iz političnih razglasov, ki se sklicujejo na Marxa, Engelsa in Lenina, državniške govore Stalina in Tita, *Ustavo* in druge jugoslovanske zakone ter na dela sovjetskih pedagogov. Jugoslovanski pedagoški koncept je bil prevzet iz sovjetske pedagogike, v kateri je bila vzgoja razumljena kot pomembna naloga države, katere cilj v razrednem boju je, »da okrepi in utrdi socialistično državo« na temelju *vsestransko razvitega človeka*; pri tem se je predvsem mislilo na »novo vzgojo, ki formira komunistično zavest množic« (Jesipov in Gončarov 1947, str. 23, 36 in 28), z vodilno vlogo partije in Stalina.

Pedagoška dela, prevedena iz ruščine, so bila takoj po vojni teoretska osnova za hrvaške in tudi jugoslovanske pedagoge: pedagogiko so usvajali iz učbenika *Pedagogika* B. P. Jesipova (1894–1967) in N. K. Gončarova (1902–1978) (1947), iz zbornikov del *O vzgoji (O vaspitanju)* (1947) in *Osnovni problemi pedagogike (Osnovni problemi pedagogije)* (1947), potem iz *Pedagogike (Pedagogija)* v uredništvu P. N. Gruzdjeva (1889–1953) (1949) ter iz številnih drugih sovjetskih pedagoških del.

Članek Vladimirja Schmidta *Smernice sodobnega pedagoškega dela*, objavljen najprej v prvi povojni številki slovenskega pedagoškega časopisa *Popotnik* (Schmidt 1945/46), potem pa še v zvezni *Sodobni šoli* (Šmidt 1946), in za tem še članek Dragutina Frankovića *Politika in vzgoja* (1948) ter učbenik Stjepana Patakija *Uvod v občo pedagogiko* (1948) spadajo med ključna pedagoška dela, ki so v tem obdobju nastala v Jugoslaviji (Filipović 1971, str. 513).²

¹ V programskem *Uvodu* v prvo številko *Pedagoškega dela (Pedagoški rad)* je Ivo Tošić (1946) v ospredje postavil konkretne aktualne probleme prosvetne politike in organizacije dela v šolah, medtem ko je pedagoško teorijo postavil v ozadje, četudi meni, da je pomemben dejavnik v izobraževanju prosvetnih kadrov. V tem kontekstu je kritiziral tiste prosvetne delavce, ki delajo »po kalupih tuje, reakcionarne pedagogike« in ki razumejo samo »stare pedagoške principe v vzgoji« (prav tam, str. 1–5).

² V omenjenem članku si Vladimir Schmidt prizadeva za spoznavanje nove vloge pedagoške znanosti in šolstva v socialističnem družbenem življenju: »Borba med reakcionarnimi in progresivnimi silami ne poteka le na ekonomskem, političnem in vojaškem področju, temveč tudi na kulturnem in znanstvenem, torej tudi na področju pedagoške teorije in prakse.« (Šmidt 1946, str. 17) Za uresničenje tega je »predvsem treba prevzgojiti in preusmeriti svoje pedagoško razmišljanje. Dejstvo je, da so naše pedagoške generacije rasle pod vplivom nemške pedagogike. [...] Nemške pedagoške teorije so se prikazovale, kot da imajo splošno veljavnost, in zato je pod njihov vpliv padel vsakdo, ki se z

Obdobje *tretje poti* samoupravne socialistične pedagogike

Po jugoslovanskem prelomu z ZSSR v drugem obdobju, od petdesetih let 20. stoletja, se je pedagogika na Hrvaškem in v celotni Jugoslaviji oddaljila od Sovjetske zveze in bloka socialističnih držav ter začela postopni razvoj v okviru uradno razglašene ideološke doktrine *tretje poti* samoupravnega socializma.³ Nov ideološko-politični okvir zanjo in za novo smer prosvetne politike je konec leta 1949 določil tretji plenum Centralnega komiteja Komunistične partije Jugosla-

njimi ni kritično ukvarjal, še posebno zato, ker so skrbno prikrivale svojo reakcionarnost. [...] Vse to nam narekuje, da do nemške pedagogike zavzamemo skrajno kritično stališče. Pri tem nam bo zelo koristilo preučevanje sovjetske pedagoške literature, ki je že prevzela to stališče.« (Prav tam 1946, str. 17–18) Indikativno je, da se zadnja poved omenjenega navedka razlikuje v Schmidtovi prvi verziji članka, objavljenega v ljubljanskem *Popotniku* leta 1945/46, in poznejših verzijah, objavljenih leta 1946 v beograjski *Sodobni šoli* in zbirki avtorjevih razprav iz leta 1985 (Schmidt 1985). V *Popotniku* piše tako: »Pri tem nam bo mnogo koristil študij ruske in sovjetske [poudarek S. R. in Š. B.] pedagoške literature, kjer so to že storili.« (Schmidt 1945/46, str. 6) V *Sodobni šoli* je ta poved videti tako: »Pri tem nam bo zelo koristilo preučevanje sovjetske [poudarek S. R. in Š. B.] pedagoške literature, ki je že prevzela to stališče.« (Šmidt 1946, str. 18) V avtorjevi knjigi *Socialistična pedagogika med etatizmom in samoupravljanjem* je ta poved enaka slovenski izdaji: »Pri tem nam bo zelo koristil študij ruske in sovjetske [poudarek S. R. in Š. B.] pedagoške literature, kjer so to že storili.« (Schmidt 1985, str. 34)

Ni znano, ali je izostanek ruske pedagogike v članku v zveznem pedagoškem časopisu *Sodobna šola* rezultat cenzure ali samocenzure – to niti ni tako pomembno. Pomembno je, da je navajanje ruske pedagogike – ki jo je mogoče razumeti kot pedagoško literaturo v okviru Ruske socialistične federativne sovjetske republike (RSFSR) do konca leta 1922, pa tudi kot predrevolucijsko pedagogiko ruskega carstva – v neskladju z uradnim ideološkim razglaševanjem v neposrednem povojnem jugoslovanskem obdobju. Vse kaže, da je to bil razlog za intervencijo v vodilnem jugoslovanskem pedagoškem časopisu, ki je imel najmočnejši vpliv, zaradi česar je bil tudi deležen najmočnejšega državnega ideološko-političnega nadzora. Ta primer opozarja na nujnost kritičnega spoznavanja zgodovinskih virov in na njihovo stalno preverjanje, da bi se izognili napakam, povzročenim zaradi njihovega pasivnega prevzemanja.

³ Že sama hitrost, s katero je prišlo do ponovnega obrata, ter ostrina, s katero je le-ta ponovno zasekal v pedagogiko, kažeta na neznanstveni potek dogodkov. Ponovno je bila *čez noč*, s političnim obratom, opuščena *etatistična socialistična pedagogika* in so bila oblikovana vodila razvoja nove smeri *samoupravne socialistične pedagogike* na Hrvaškem in v celotni Jugoslaviji.

V procesu naravnega evolucijskega razvoja znanosti je obdobje od sredine do konca štiridesetih let prekratka doba za sistemsko preučevanje in izgradnjo nove pedagoške smeri razvoja. Ponovna sprememba že nekaj let po prvem radikalnem preobratu, ki je ponovno, četudi ima isto izhodišče kot prejšnja, z njo v svojevrstnem protislovju, napeljuje na sklep, da gre za nenaravno pot znanstvenega razvoja.

Začetna smer povojnega razvoja se namreč v tako kratkem času ni mogla teoretsko sistematizirati niti vzpostaviti zveze s pedagoško prakso, ki bi porodila kakršno koli znanstveno ali strokovno potrebo po njeni spremembi. Poleg tega je vsaka sprememba, ki izhaja neposredno iz znanosti in njene prakse, rezultat postopnega evolucijskega procesa, ki zahteva precej daljše časovno obdobje – kot je primer z reformskimi smermi v pedagogiki na prehodu iz 19. v 20. stoletje. Naposled spoznanje, da so tudi te spremembe ponovno vodili pedagoški teoretiki, med katerimi so mnogi v razmeroma kratkem časovnem obdobju zagovarjali celo tri različne pedagoške pristope (medvojno pluralno pedagogiko, monistično zasnovano *etatistično socialistično pedagogiko* in zdaj *samoupravno socialistično pedagogiko*), napeljuje na sklep, da so vzroki sprememb zunajpedagoške narave.

S tretjo potjo se je označevalo oblikovanje nove *samoupravne socialistične pedagogike*, ki bi kritično zavračala *buržoazno*, pa tudi *etatistično socialistično pedagogiko*. V tem novem ideološkem kontekstu je bil pedagoški razvoj določen tako: »Marksistično-leninistični nauk o vzgoji kot sestavnem delu borbe za zmago in razvoj socializma se odločno postavlja tako proti lažnim in neznanstvenim razumevanjem reakcionarne pedagogike v stari družbi kot tudi proti revizionizmu in izkrivljanju v teoriji in praksi socialistične pedagogike, ki je to samo po imenu.« (Pataki 1951a, str. 7)

vije v Beogradu (Koren 2012, str. 75), ki je jasneje opredelil novo smer razvoja socialistične pedagogike pod močnim državnim ideološko-političnim nadzorom. V skladu s partijskimi navodili se je socialistična pedagogika počasi kritično odpirala nekaterim področjem predvojne pedagogike, ob neizogibnem upoštevanju državne uradno razglašene ideološke doktrine.

V začetni fazi graditve *tretje poti* pedagoškega razvoja sta se začela dva vzporedna procesa pedagoškega razvoja. Po eni strani je v tej fazi prevladoval proces distanciranja od do tedaj prevladujoče »sovjetskocentrične« pedagoške literature z začetkom postopne kritične analize predvojne pedagoške dediščine.

V tem obdobju so na Hrvaškem in v celotni Jugoslaviji še zmeraj ostajali isti vodilni pedagoški teoretiki, med njimi pa so se pri obračunavanju z etatizmom in »sovjetskocentrizmom«, v skladu z novim ideološkim pristopom, posebej odlikovali Dragutin Franković, Stjepan Pataki, Radovan Teodosić (1907–1986) in Vladimir Schmidt. Med najpomembnejšimi pedagoškimi študijami tega časa je treba izpostaviti članek Dragutina Frankovića (1950) *O sovjetskih definicijah predmeta pedagogike*, nato učbenik *Obča pedagogika*, ki ga je uredil in kot soavtor sodeloval Stjepan Pataki (1951) – z njim pa je izrinil sovjetska učbenika pedagogike Jesipova in Gončarova (1947) ter Gruzdjeva (1949) –, nadalje Patakijev (1951b) članek *Poti in naloge naše pedagoške znanosti*, knjigo Radovana Teodosića (1952) *Osnove znanstvenega pedagoškega nasledstva, dekadenca buržoazne in revizionizem sovjetske pedagogike* ter zelo pomemben članek Vladimirja Schmidta *Kako naj danes pri nas razvijamo pedagoško znanost*, ki je bil najprej objavljen v *Sodobni pedagogiki* (Schmidt 1952), zatem pa še v *Sodobni šoli* (Šmidt 1952). Na začetku tega obdobja je Pataki objavil še dva pomembnejša članka, ki sta pomagala pri strukturiranju nove smeri pedagoškega razvoja: *O nekaterih temeljnih vprašanjih pedagogike* (Pataki 1953a) in *Poti naše pedagoške znanosti* (Pataki 1953b).

(Dis)kontinuiran razvoj pedagoških teoretikov na Hrvaškem

Kontinuiteto pedagoškega dela v okviru študija pedagogike na Univerzi v Zagrebu, od Kraljevine Jugoslavije (med obema svetovnima vojnima) do Federativne ljudske republike Jugoslavije (po drugi svetovni vojni), je ohranil le Stjepan Pataki. Vztrajanje na univerzi in v pedagoški teoriji je imelo svojo ceno: Pataki se je moral odreči kulturni pedagogiki, ki je bila razumljena kot *buržoazna*, in sprejeti ideologizirano, *socialistično pedagogiko*. Poleg njegovega prispevka – še posebno po njegovi nenadni smrti leta 1953, v drugem obdobju *tretje poti* – samoupravne socialistične pedagogike do šestdesetih let 20. stoletja, je ključen najprej tudi prispevek Dragutina Frankovića, nato pa še Mihajla Ogrizovića, Vladimirja Poljaka, Vladimirja Mužića in Anteja Vukasovića.⁴

⁴ Raven totalitarizma, v katerem je oblikovana povojna pedagogika na Hrvaškem in v vsej Jugoslaviji, potrjuje prav nesorazmernost med heterogenim poreklom teorij vodilnih jugoslovanskih pedagoških teoretikov pred vojno in izrazito poenoteno pedagogiko, ki so jo ti isti avtorji razvijali po vojni. Med njimi so bili namreč zelo uveljavljeni predvojni predstavniki idealistične filozofske usmeritve (S. Pataki), vidni predstavniki različnih reformskih pedagoških smeri (kulturne pedagogike – S. Pataki – in

Ne glede na postopno demokratizacijo družbenih in temu primerno tudi pedagoških razmer, je v tem obdobju pedagogika na Hrvaškem ostajala v okviru normativno-vrednostnega sistema, ki je bil zasnovan na politično postavljenem cilju vzgoje v vlogi socialno strukturirane pedagogike, kolektivizma v vzgoji, vzgoje socialističnega družbenega patriotizma in vzgoje novega socialističnega človeka. V teh okoliščinah so povojni razvoj pedagogike na Hrvaškem določale zunajpedagoške družbene razmere. Pedagogika je bila prilagojena ideološkim zahtevam družbe (Radeka 2000, str. 212–213).

Pedagoški razvoj Stjepana Patakija

V razmeroma kratkem življenju, ki ni trajalo niti pol stoletja, ter delovni dobi slabega četrta stoletja se je Stjepan Pataki razvil v zelo pomembnega hrvaškega pedagoga, ki je edini ohranil kontinuiteto dela od Kraljevine Jugoslavije prek t. i. Neodvisne države Hrvaške do Federativne ljudske republike Jugoslavije. Bil je deležen usode Hrvaške, njegov pedagoški opus pa je tipičen odraz pedagogike na Hrvaškem, ki je bila v prvi polovici 20. stoletja deležna hitrih družbenih preobratov in totalitarizmov.

Obsežen in ploden opus Stjepana Patakija prehaja okvire sorazmerno kratkega življenja: objavil je skupno 101 delo; od tega je deset knjig (10 % od skupnega števila objavljenih del) in 91 člankov (90 % objavljenih del). Poleg tega je objavil še dve univerzitetni skripti in prevod enega članka, po njegovi smrti pa je izšla še ena skripta z njegovimi deli. Bil je sourednik enega pedagoškega priročnika, samostojno pa je uredil en učbenik, zbornik del in univerzitetno skripto, kjer je bil tudi soavtor. Sodeloval je tudi pri nastajanju vseh treh najpomembnejših enciklopedij, ki so na Hrvaškem izšle v času njegovega življenja. Za njim je ostalo deset člankov in dve neobjavljeni knjigi.⁵

V obdobju kulturne pedagogike do leta 1944 je Pataki objavil sedem knjig in 45 člankov, tj. 51 % vseh del (70 % knjig in 49 % člankov). Od skupaj 1599 strani objavljenih del je 956 strani (60 %) iz obdobja kulturne pedagogike: 521 strani je v knjigah (povprečno 74 strani na knjigo) in 435 v člankih (povprečno devet strani na članek). Povprečno je objavljajal 2,5 dela oziroma 46 strani letno (povprečno 2,2 članka letno in po eno knjigo vsaka tri leta). Iz tega obdobja sta ostali neobjavljeni dve knjigi: doktorska disertacija in nedokončan učbenik kulturne pedagogike.⁶

Struktura kulturne pedagogike Stjepana Patakija je ostala nedokončana zaradi prisilne prekinitve njenega razvoja. Razvoj Patakijeve kulturne pedagogike med letoma 1928 in 1944 (na eni strani omejen z avtorjevo mladostjo, na drugi pa s hrvaško ideološko zavrnitvijo nemškega pedagoškega kroga) je izjemno

pedagogike delovne šole – A. Defrančeski, M. Janković, J. in M. Demarin idr.), pa tudi pedagogi, ki so se pred vojno izobraževali pod vplivom različnih pedagoških tokov, ki so bili po svojem habitusu bistveno drugačni kot povojna socialistična pedagogika v Jugoslaviji (V. Schmidt, D. Franković, P. Šimleša, Z. Pregrad, K. Škalko, M. Koletić idr.). Kljub razlikam so po vojni vsi razvijali socialistično pedagogiko. Razlike med njimi je bilo mogoče prepoznati šele v niansah in do konca nedorečenih stališčih.

⁵ Bibliografija Patakijevih objavljenih in neobjavljenih del je objavljena v Radeka 2000, str. 494–507.

⁶ Prav tam.

kratka doba za razvoj sistematične teorije. Še posebno če upoštevamo, da pred tem na Hrvaškem ni bilo razdelane pedagoške teorije, na katero bi se le-ta mogla opreti. V takih okoliščinah je Pataki v teoriji kulturne pedagogike razvijal izvirni pristop v živem odnosu do filozofije, pedagogike nemškega kulturnega kroga in najvidnejših teoretikov pedagogike na Hrvaškem – Stjepana Matičevića in Pavaa Vuka - Pavlovića (gl. več v Radeka 2000, str. 428–431).

Kljub svoji necelovitosti Patakijeva teorija kulturne pedagogike rešuje cel niz temeljnih pedagoških in vzgojnih vprašanj, med katerimi so najpomembnejša: kriteriji utemeljevanja pedagogike kot samostojne znanosti, odnos filozofije in pedagogike, filozofsko izhodišče pedagoškega pristopa, položaj vzgoje v človekovem življenju, moč in meja vzgoje, pedagoško izpolnjevanje znanstvenih kriterijev, vprašanje določanja ciljev vzgoje, moč vzgojnega delovanja in status vzgojitelja kot nosilca vzgojnega procesa. V razmeroma kratkem času je izdelal izvirno pedagoško teleologijo (prav tam, str. 429).

Zraven navedenih tem se je Pataki v svoji teoriji kulturne pedagogike lotil tudi niza drugih razprav, s katerimi pa se ni prišlo do ustreznih rešitev ali pa po tematski strukturi ne spadajo v njen temeljni koncept, kar pa ne pomeni, da si glede zanimivosti ne zaslužijo posebne pozornosti in nadaljnje obdelave. Med njimi je treba posebej izpostaviti naslednje: spogledovanje s panpedagogizmom in nasprotovanje antifilozofski pedagogiki, polemične razprave s tradicionalno in *reformsko pedagogiko* (posebej s pedagogiko delovne šole, pedocentrizmom in sovjetsko socialistično pedagogiko), kritično opazovanje različnih teoretskih pristopov drugih predstavnikov kulturne pedagogike, obdelava psihologije otroštva in mladostništva ter celoten niz problemov v zvezi s pedagoškim standardom v tistem času na Hrvaškem, njeno šolsko organizacijo ter politiko vzgoje in izobraževanja (prav tam, str. 429).

Koncept kulturne pedagogike je Pataki utemeljil že v prvih delih tega obdobja. Kljub nekaterim neskladnim delom znotraj teorije kulturne pedagogike (določene terminološke nenatančnosti, kot nerešeni odnosi med pojmi razvoj – oblikovanje, gojenje (*uzgaj*) – vzgoja (*odgaj*) – izobraževanje (*obrazovanje*), pedagogika⁷ – andragogika ipd.) v njej ni niti radikalnih obratov niti protislovnosti v zvezi s temeljnimi vprašanji. Patakijeve nedoslednosti so najpogosteje posledica njegovega odprtega pristopa k drugim pedagoškim teorijam, ko v obravnavanju le-teh občasno sprejema posamezne dele njihove argumentacije in jih vstavlja v svojo teorijo – s tem neredko eklektizira lasten pristop. Vseeno pa se pozneje praviloma vrača k svojim prvotnim stališčem. Zaradi tega kritična analiza pokaže, da trdno jedro koncepta kulturne pedagogike Stjepana Patakija vseeno ostaja dosledno.

Kljub nedokončanosti Patakijeve kulturne pedagogike in neobstoječi kontinuiteti v razvoju te smeri do danes si znanstvena raven te pedagoške teorije zasluži ponovno pozicioniranje v sodobnem pedagoškem dogajanju na Hrvaškem. Še posebno ker je aktualna pedagogika zaposlena z raziskovanjem prak-

⁷ Op. prev.: V času med obema vojnama (in delno tudi pozneje) so nekateri pedagoški teoretiki na Hrvaškem pomensko ločevali med izrazoma *pedagogija* in *pedagogika*: v izvirniku je navedena triada *pedagogija – pedagogika – andragogija*.

tičnih pedagoških tem, pri čemer povsem zavrača temeljna vprašanja pedagoške teleologije.⁸

Socialistična pedagogika Stjepana Patakija se bistveno razlikuje od njegove kulturne pedagogike, ključna razlika med njima pa izhaja iz položaja pedagoške znanosti v različnih zgodovinskih okoljih: medtem ko se je v kulturni pedagogiki teorija vzgoje gradila z ustvarjalnim raziskovalnim trudom, v socialistični pedagogiki nastaja z interpretacijo danega ideološkega diskurza. Kljub temu da Patakijeva socialistična pedagogika v okviru celotne monistično zasnovane socialistične pedagogike ni imela (niti ni mogla imeti) izvirnega pristopa, ampak je bila recepcija in interpretacija danega ideološkega okvira, je njena posebna vrednost, da je s procesom deatizacije in graditve *tretje poti* med prvimi, ob pomoči pedagogike in vzgoje, speljevala utopične projekcije o revolucionarnih spremembah družbe v realne okvire, v katerih zavzemata ustrezno mesto v skladu s stvarnimi možnostmi; to je razširilo domet pedagogike iz izključno normativne v deskriptivno in eksplikativno nalogo, kar je v metodološko raziskovalno nalogo poleg deduktivnih uvedlo tudi induktivne raziskovalne metode itn. (prav tam, str. 488). Na podlagi tega je mogoče sklepati, da je bil Stjepan Pataki ključni teoretik pedagogike na Hrvaškem in v celotni Jugoslaviji v prvi polovici 20. stoletja – tako v prvem kot tudi na začetku drugega obdobja njenega razvoja.

V obeh delih Patakijevega pedagoškega opusa – kulturni in socialistični teoriji – je veliko protislovnosti, ki izhajajo iz teoretsko-epistemološkega nasprotovanja pristopov obeh smeri. Širša razlaga teh protislovij bi zahtevala občutno več prostora, kot ga imamo na voljo, zaradi česar bomo kot primer predstavili protislovje v okviru problema določanja cilja vzgoje.

V skladu s Patakijevo kulturno pedagogiko je vzgoja aktualiziranje duha s kulturo ob istočasnem nadaljevanju in razvijanju kulture z duhom (več o tem Pataki 1933, str. 173). Pataki meni, da cilj vzgoje izvira iz življenja in kulture, zaradi česar ga kot organskega dela dialektičnega odnosa med življenjem in kulturo od njiju niti ni mogoče ločiti. V tem kontekstu sklepa: »Najvišje duhovne vrednote – resnica, dobrota, lepota in absolutno – predstavljajo najpomembnejše cilje vzgoje. Znanje, moralnost, umetnost in vera sestavljajo bistveno vsebino vzgoje in izobraževanja. Drugi cilji, npr. nacionalni, socialni, državljski vzgojni cilj, priprava na poklic itn., morajo biti, ob vsej svoji posebnosti, usklajeni s temi najpomembnejšimi cilji vzgoje; z njimi morajo biti naravnost prežeti. Jasen vzgojni cilj temelji na objektivnem zaporedju vrednot (lestvica vrednot).« (Pataki 1943, str. 57) Ugotavljanje lestvice vrednot Pataki prepušča pedagoški teleologiji v sodelovanju z aksiološko filozofijo.

V skladu s Patakijevo socialistično pedagogiko pa vzgojni cilj izhaja iz uradno razglašene ideološke doktrine. Že samo s tem ni vprašljiv. »Taka vzgoja, v svojem bistvu in po svojem cilju socialistična, vodi v ustvarjanje svobodne in vsestransko razvite osebnosti, ki se zavzema za dobrobit in napredek celotne družbe. Oblikovanje

⁸ Dobrim poznavalcem sodobnih pedagoških razmer na Hrvaškem je blizu trditev cenjenega (na žalost medtem pokojnega) hrvaškega pedagoškega teoretika Antuna Mijatovića, ki je v svojevrstni pedagoški oporoki trdil, da je hrvaška pedagogika imela boljši znanstveni položaj in stanje na začetku 20. stoletja kot na njegovem koncu (Mijatović 2001, str. 149).

socialističnega naraščaja, socialističnega človeka – to je najpomembnejši cilj naše vzgoje.« (Pataki 1951a, str. 57) Pedagogiki preostaja, da pripravi načine njegovega uresničevanja skozi pet nalog – intelektualno, moralno, fizično in estetsko vzgojo ter politehnično izobraževanje.

Torej, od začetnega kozmopolitskega pristopa k cilju vzgoje, v katerem se posameznik personalizira v skladu s sistemom vrednot, ki ga morata pedagogika in filozofija utemeljiti na najvišjih standardih kulture, se to vprašanje na koncu zreducira na vzgojo dobrega socialističnega državljana.

V tem kontekstu je neposredno po koncu druge svetovne vojne prišlo do splošnega poenotenja, ideologizacije in centralizacije. Pedagogika je v narodnih skupnostih, ki so sestavljale Jugoslavijo, izgubila svoje specifičnosti (več o tem Radeka 2000, str. 212). V nasprotju s predvojnimi obdobjem, v katerem se je razvoj pedagoške teorije pomembno razlikoval med banovinami, ki so sestavljale Kraljevino SHS (Jugoslavijo), se povojna socialistična pedagogika Stjepana Patakija ni pomembno razlikovala od teorije preostalih pedagogov (in to ne velja le na Hrvaškem), ampak tudi od razvoja pedagogike v drugih jugoslovanskih narodnih skupnostih.

Ideološkost (pedagoškega) besedila

V času Patakijevega življenja v prvi polovici 20. stoletja je potekala zgodovinska drama. Usoda Hrvaške na robu evropskih političnih dogajanj se je zaključevala v nespravljivih skrajnostih: spadala je med najrevnejše dele mogočnega evropskega večnacionalnega cesarstva pred prvo svetovno vojno, po njej pa med najbogatejše dežele večnacionalne kraljevine; bila je del ideološko in nacionalno najbolj krvavih spopadov v času druge svetovne vojne, v katerih se je izvajala brutalna nacistična rasna politika z neizmernimi posledicami, pa tudi del totalitarizma nove večnacionalne socialistične skupnosti, v kateri se je, po meddržavnem konfliktu z etatiziranim vrhom socialističnih družb konec štiridesetih let 20. stoletja, začel politični eksperiment iskanja *tretje poti* deetatiziranega socialističnega razvoja na robovih socialističnega totalitarizma (prav tam, str. 481–482).

V takih razmerah ni moglo biti prizaneseno pedagoškemu delu Stjepana Patakija. Začetna usmerjenost teorije na eno najuglednejših smeri zahodne pedagoške dediščine pod odločilnim vplivom nemškega kulturnega kroga je bila bistveno zreducirana že v času druge svetovne vojne. Po vojni se je zmanjšala na novo socialistično ideologijo pod vplivom ZSSR. V okviru vsesplošne ideologizacije družbe je bila pedagogika pretvorjena v služabnico režimske ideologije.

V tem pogledu obstajajo razlike v stopnji ideološkosti besedila glede na raven totalitarnosti oblasti, pod okriljem katere le-to nastaja, pa tudi odvisno od tega, koliko nosilci vladajoče totalitarne ideologije kot družbeno pomembno štejejo strokovno, znanstveno ali umetniško področje, na katero spada sestavni del besedila. Upoštevajoč (utopičen) značaj, ki ga vsaka totalitarno organizirana družba pripisuje vzgoji in posledično tudi pedagogiki kot njeni teoriji, so ideološki pritiski na pedagogiko in vzgojo izjemno močni – pomembno močnejši kot na nekaterih

drugih znanstvenih, strokovnih in umetniških področjih, na katerih je mogoče ohraniti manjše ali večje enklave svobode razmišljanja in ustvarjanja.

Ustvarjanje novega šolskega sistema

Kot ena od republik, ki so sestavljale Federativno ljudsko republiko Jugoslavijo (FLRJ, od 1963 Socialistična federativna republika Jugoslavija, SFRJ), je Hrvaška svoje šolske zakone in predpise morala usklajevati z zveznimi. Večje spremembe in reforme šolskega sistema so potekale na podlagi predhodnih političnih sklepov in dokumentov. Vse pomembne strateške odločitve sta sprejemala Centralni komite Komunistične partije Jugoslavije (KPJ) in njegov Politbiro, za operativni, izvedbeni del pa so bile zadolžene šolske komisije, ki so bile »dober primer prepletanja državne in partijske oblasti: isti ljudje so zasedali najpomembnejše funkcije na prosvetnih ministrstvih in v komisijah za šolstvo Centralnega komiteja KPJ in republiških centralnih komitejev.« (Koren 2012, str. 34)

V prvih povojnih letih se je intenzivno obnavljalo porušene šolske zgradbe in gradilo nove, izobraževalo učiteljski kader, odpiralo nove šole in v splošnem vzpostavljalo pogoje za dosledno izvajanje predpisov o obiskovanju šole s strani vseh šolskih obveznikov, pa tudi prilagajalo šolski sistem potrebam nove družbe (prim. Godišnjak ... 1951; Školstvo u FNRJ ... 1952).

Ločimo dve značilni obdobji razvoja šolstva in prosvetne politike v razdobju od konca vojne do konca petdesetih let. Prvo obdobje obsega čas od leta 1945 do 1950, ko je prišlo do preobrata v prosvetni politiki po tretjem plenumu CK KPJ, ki je potekal 29. in 30. decembra 1949. Drugo obdobje pa je trajalo do leta 1958, ko je bil sprejet jugoslovanski *Splošni zakon o šolstvu*, kar je pomenilo zaključek procesa ustvarjanja zakonodajnega okvira za enoten šolski sistem in dosledno izvajanje šolske reforme na vseh ravneh (Opšti zakon ... 1958).

Prvo obdobje – od leta 1945 do 1950

Zakon o ljudskih šolah iz leta 1929 je v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji predpisal osemletno šolsko obveznost, ki pa se praviloma ni izvajala, in to predvsem zaradi tega, ker država ni zagotovila ustrezne ekonomske podpore in potrebne infrastrukture, delno pa tudi zato, ker del prebivalstva ni bil naklonjen temu, da bi svoje otroke pošiljali v šolo po zaključeni nižji osnovni šoli (Steinman 1964, str. 17). Visok delež nepismenosti, z izjemo Slovenije, je prebivalstvo predvojne Jugoslavije uvrščal v kulturno zaostalo populacijo Evrope, kar se je nanašalo tudi na Hrvaško, ki je bila po deležu pismenih v celotnem prebivalstvu v ugodnejšem položaju kot preostali del države, izvzemši Slovenijo (prav tam, str. 16). V Preglednici 1 so prikazani podatki o splošnem in specifičnem deležu nepismenosti v predvojni in povojni Jugoslaviji.

	1921 splošni delež nepismenosti	1931 splošni delež nepismenosti	1931 ⁹ 15.–24. leto starosti	1948 splošni delež nepismenosti	1948 15.–24. leto starosti
Jugoslavija	50,5	44,6	37,8	24,5	12,8
Srbija	53,5	46,9	/	26,8	11,7
Hrvaška	37,5	31,5	19,1	15,6	5,2
Slovenija	8,9	5,5	/	2,4	0,7
BiH	78,2	70,0	/	44,9	30,6
Makedonija	77,4	67,5	/	40,3	21,1
Črna Gora	62,5	56,1	/	20,4	6,7

Preglednica 1: Delež nepismenosti na Hrvaškem v predvojni in povojni Jugoslaviji (Steinman 1964)

Zanemarjeno šolstvo je bilo svojevrsten izziv novi oblasti in kazalnik za takojšnje ukrepanje v obliki akcij za opismenjevanje ter sprejetje novega zakonodajnega okvira za izvajanje lastne prosvetne politike. Kmalu se je pokazalo, da le sprejetje zakona še ne pomeni tudi systemske rešitve šolskega vprašanja, še posebno v obdobju, ko so obstajale in se »spotoma« reševale številne organizacijske težave tako na zvezni kot na republiški ravni. Zvezno ministrstvo prosvete je bilo oblikovano marca 1945, že naslednje leto pa je bilo reorganizirano z ustanovitvijo Komiteja za šole in znanost ter Komiteja za kulturo in umetnost, ki sta bila leta 1948 združena v Ministrstvo za znanost in kulturo Vlade FLRJ, tega pa je že leta 1950 zamenjal Svet za znanost in kulturo (Koren 2012). V tem obdobju so delovala tudi republiška ministrstva za prosveto. Ministrstvo za prosveto Ljudske republike Hrvaške je bilo ukinjeno leta 1951, ko je bil z reorganizacijo republiške vlade namesto Ministrstva za prosveto in Ministrstva za znanost in kulturo oblikovan Svet za prosveto, znanost in kulturo Vlade Ljudske republike Hrvaške (Franković 1958, str. 476).

Prvi šolski zakon v novi Jugoslaviji – *Splošni zakon o sedemletnem osnovnem šolanju* – je stopil v veljavo oktobra 1945. Ker infrastruktura ni bila pripravljena, sam pa je tudi imel bolj deklarativen kot pa operativen značaj, ta zakon sam po sebi ni zagotavljal tudi dejanske izvedbe predpisanega osnovnega šolanja. Za njegovo realizacijo so morali poskrbeti republiški zakoni. Zaradi tega je bil leta 1946 na Hrvaškem sprejet *Zakon o obveznem sedemletnem šolanju*. »Sedemletka« bi morala postati najbolj množičen tip šole, ki bi nastal z rastjo (razširitvijo) štiriletne osnovne šole ali z njeno združitvijo z nižjimi razredi tedaj še zmeraj osemletne gimnazije. Predvojne meščanske šole so bile preoblikovane v nižje razrede gimnazije ali v višje razrede osnovne šole. Popolnega izvajanja sedemletne šolske obveznosti ni bilo mogoče izpeljati v kratkem času, zaradi česar so se v praksi razvile različne kompromisne rešitve ali pa sama obveznost ni bila dosledno izvajana. Na to so računale tudi prosvetne oblasti, o čemer govori podatek, da je v *Zakonu o petletnem planu za razvoj narodnega gospodarstva LR Hrvaške* iz leta 1947 predvideno, da

⁹ Podatki v tem stolpcu so vključeni v preglednico iz besedila (Steinman 1964, str. 13). Na žalost v uporabljenem viru ni podatkov o specifičnem deležu nepismenosti za leto 1931 za preostale jugoslovanske republike.

obvezno sedemletno šolanje zajame vsega 60 % šolskih obveznikov (prav tam, str. 428).

Na področju srednješolskega izobraževanja ni bilo jasne strategije razvoja razen favoriziranja strokovnih šol glede na gimnazije. Takoj po vojni so bile odprte t. i. *partizanske gimnazije* (v Zagrebu, Osijeku in Hvaru) za pospešeno šolanje mladih, ki so prekinili šolanje z odhodom v vojno (prav tam, str. 443). Vse samostojne nižje gimnazije so bile preoblikovane v višje razrede sedemletnih šol, od šolskega leta 1949/1950 pa se je začel proces skrajševanja gimnazij na štiri višje razrede oziroma postopno ukinjanje osemletnih gimnazij, kakršne so obstajale od sredine 19. stoletja (Godišnjak ... 1951, str. 46). Pri uresničevanju petletnega načrta in sploh pri graditvi nove družbe je bila pomembna vloga namenjena strokovnemu šolstvu. Neposredno po drugi svetovni vojni so bile vaješke šole zamenjane s šolami učencev v gospodarstvu. Za izobraževanje kvalificiranih delavcev so bile ustanovljene industrijske šole, razširjena pa je bila tudi mreža štiriletnih srednjih strokovnih šol. Število učencev v strokovnih šolah je stalno naraščalo. Tako se je od leta 1945 do 1949 število učencev v nižjih strokovnih šolah skoraj podvojilo (z 22.000 na 43.700). Poseben poudarek je bil na pritegovanju učencev v srednje strokovne šole (*planski vpis*), ki so postale konkurenca gimnazijam. Če je še v šolskem letu 1945/1946 od vseh učencev srednjih šol bilo 63,6 % učencev višjih razredov gimnazij, 20,5 % učencev srednjih strokovnih šol in 15,9 % učencev učiteljskih šol, je bilo v šolskem letu 1949/1950 največ učencev srednjih strokovnih šol, tj. 45,5 %, gimnazijcev je bilo 39,4 %, učencev učiteljskih šol pa 15,1 % (prav tam, str. 68). Do leta 1952 so bile strokovne šole pod vodstvom resornih ministrstev.

Pomanjkanje učiteljev po drugi svetovni vojni, do katerega je prišlo zaradi žrtev vojne, pa tudi zaradi povečanja števila osnovnih šol, je bilo odpravljeno z različnimi oblikami skrajšanega, specialnega in pospešenega šolanja. Poleg šol za učitelje so bili organizirani različni funkcionalni razredi, ki so učence pripravljali za nadaljevanje šolanja v šolah za učitelje, pedagoški tečaji in podobne oblike hitrejšega usposabljanja učiteljev. V štirih letih, med letoma 1947/1948 in 1950/1951, so redni učenci šol za učitelje (ki so bile skrajšane s petih na štiri leta) zaključevali četrti razred po prvem polletju, da bi lahko začeli hitreje delati. V šolskem letu 1949/1950 je bila v Zagrebu ustanovljena nova vrsta srednje šole s pedagoško usmeritvijo – vzgojiteljska šola, s čimer se je začelo sistemsko šolanje vzgojiteljev za otroške vrste (prav tam, str. 50).

Prilagajanje učnih načrtov in programov, strokovno *preusmerjanje* učiteljev (Vajnaht 1946), obračunavanje z »zastarelimi pedagoškimi in kulturno-političnimi razumevanji« (Demarin 1946, str. 214) ter »pedagoško-ideološko izobraževanje učiteljev« (Pataki 1946, str. 10) so morali zagotoviti zaželeno vzgojno komponento pouka kot enega pomembnejših dejavnikov ustvarjanja nove socialistične družbe. *Okvirni načrt za politično-ideološko izgradnjo prosvetnih delavcev* poudarja potrebo po pravilni politični vzgoji prosvetnega kadra, »ker lahko le prosvetni delavci, ki imajo visoko razvito politično in družbeno zavest, gradijo zavedne državljane« (Okvirni plan za ... 1947, str. 1). Od učiteljev so pričakovali *preučevanje* petletnega načrta in zgodovine NOB, kot literaturo pa so imeli na razpolago številna besedila glavnih partijskih ideologov in Titovih govorov (prav tam, str. 3–8). V času spora

z informbirojem je Milovan Đilas v svojem *Poročilu o agitacijsko-propagandnem delu Centralnega komiteja Komunistične partije Jugoslavije* poudarjal potrebo po marksistično-leninističnem izobraževanju šolskih generacij ter vzgajanju delovnih ljudi v duhu jugoslovanskega patriotizma (Đilas 1948, str. 29).

Ustvarjanje enotnega šolskega sistema (1951–1958)

Tretji plenum CK KPJ je dal nove smernice prosvetni politiki, ki jih vsebuje *Resolucija o nalogah v šolstvu*. Ob poudarjanju doseženih rezultatov se je pokazalo tudi na slabosti in pomanjkljivosti dotedanjega dela na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja, postavljene pa so bile naloge, ki jih navajamo v skrčeni obliki: 1) vzgoja novega, svobodnega, pogumnega socialističnega človeka s širokimi in raznovrstnimi razumevanji; 2) enotna celota vzgoje in izobraževanja ter ustvarjanje pogojev za obvezno osemletno šolanje; 3) izdelava, dopolnitev in popravljanje učnih načrtov in programov; 4) decentralizacija v vodenju šol in širša iniciativa republikam na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja ter kulture; 5) izboljšanje materialnega položaja prosvetnih delavcev in njihovo stalno strokovno in idejno izobraževanje; 6) partijske organizacije se morajo bolj angažirati na področju šolstva, od skrbi za politično in ideološko izobraževanje prosvetnih kadrov do izboljšanja materialnega temelja šolstva (Rezolucija ... 1949). Besedilo *Resolucije* je bilo sestavljeno na podlagi Đilasovega (1949) referata *Problemi šolstva v borbi za socializem v naši državi*.

Resolucija je bila osnova za sistemsko reformo šolstva. Na Hrvaškem je bil leta 1951 izdan *Zakon o ljudskih šolah*, ki je predpisal obvezno osemletno šolanje, četudi je bila na zvezni ravni šele naslednje leto s *Splošnim navodilom o šolah v splošnih izobraževalnih šolah* (Opće uputstvo ... 1952) sprejeta iniciativa tretjega plenuma CK KPJ. Upoštevaajoč nezadovoljivo infrastrukturo je *Zakon* ponudil kompromisne rešitve, na primer šestletno šolo kot prehodni tip šole v krajih, kjer ni bilo pogojev za osemletno obvezno šolanje ali za nadaljevanje šolanja na nižjih gimnazijah. V šolskem letu 1956/1957 je osemletno šolanje na Hrvaškem zajemalo 93,7 % otrok, od tega 43,6 % v t. i. osemletni šoli tipa B z omejenim programom, ki je nastala z razširitvijo šestletne šole, v kateri so v višjih razredih poučevali učitelji¹⁰, ne pa predmetni učitelji ali profesorji (Blaženčić 1957, str. 23).

Istočasno z vzpostavljanjem šolske mreže in reševanjem organizacijskih problemov so pri pripravi novega enotnega sistema izobraževanja delovale komisije za reformo šolstva. Na zvezni ravni je bila leta 1953 ustanovljena Komisija za reformo šolstva (*Komisija za reformu škola općeg obrazovanja u FNRJ*), znotraj katere so bile ustanovljene podkomisije za posamezne ravni šolanja in vrste šol. Istega leta je bila ustanovljena tudi hrvaška Komisija za reformo šolstva, ki jo je vodil Josip Škavić (Rješenje ... 1953, str. 82).

Po vrsti posvetovanj in razprav je bil leta 1957 sprejet *Predlog sistema izobraževanja in vzgoje v FLRJ*, ki je izhajal iz enotnega šolskega sistema s tremi osnovnimi stopnjami: prvo stopnjo predstavlja enotna obvezna osemletna šola;

¹⁰ Op. prev.: Mišljeni so učitelji razrednega pouka, učiteljiščniki.

druga stopnja obsega mrežo strokovnih in splošnoizobraževalnih šol (gimnazije); tretja stopnja obsega višje in visoke šole ter fakultete. Predlog je vseboval tudi predšolsko vzgojo, posebno šolstvo, izobraževanje odraslih in izobraževanje učiteljev (Prijedlog ... 1957).

Na podlagi *Predloga sistema izobraževanja in vzgoje v FLRJ* je bil leta 1958 sprejet *Splošni zakon o šolstvu*, s katerim so bile urejene vse stopnje šolanja. Enotna obvezna osnovna šola je bila na republiški ravni na Hrvaškem potrjena z *Zakonom o osnovni šoli* leta 1959, ko sta bila sprejeta tudi nov učni načrt in program, katerih predhodnik je bil *Osnutek dokumenta o osnovni šoli* (Nacrt dokumenta ... 1958) Zveznega zavoda za preučevanje šolskih in prosvetnih vprašanj. Na podlagi tega sta bila na Hrvaškem istega leta prirejena obširen učni načrt in program osnovne šole z naslovom *Osnovna šola – programska struktura* (Osnovna škola ... 1958). Gre za temeljni dokument za delo v šoli, ki na skoraj 300 straneh prinaša »konkretno gradivo za realizacijo vzgojnih ciljev in idejne koncepte osnovne šole« (Osnovna škola ... 1965, str. VII), s čimer je bil zaključen večletni proces oblikovanja enotne osemletne osnovne šole. Do leta 1961 je obvezno šolanje zajemalo skoraj celotno populacijo šolskih obveznikov, tj. 99,9 % v starosti sedem do deset let in 94,4 % v starosti 11 do 14 let (Enciklopedija Jugoslavije 1988, str. 387).

Gimnazija je postala štiriletna splošnoizobraževalna srednja šola. Poleg najbolj razširjene gimnazije splošnega tipa se ustanavljajo tudi gimnazije naravoslovne, pedagoške, matematične in jezikovne usmeritve, kot štiriletni šoli pa delujeta tudi dve klasični gimnaziji – v Zagrebu in Splitu. Od leta 1952 so vse strokovne šole v pristojnosti ministrstva za prosveto, in ne pod vodstvom resornih ministrstev. Strokovne šole se delijo na: šole za kvalificirane delavce, šole za visokokvalificirane delavce, tehnične in druge strokovne šole za gospodarstvo in javne službe ter umetniške šole. Šola za učitelje je od šolskega leta 1952/1953 ponovno petletna (Nastavni plan in program ... 1952).

Ob zunanji reformi šolstva so bile spremembe in prilagajanje učnih načrtov in programov stalnica celotnega povojnega desetletja. Te spremembe so bile delno pogojevane s postopnimi spremembami šolskega sistema, delno pa z ideološkim profiliranjem šole. Na podlagi odloka Sveta za znanost in kulturo Vlade FLRJ je bil od šolskega leta 1952/1953 naprej v vse šole uveden učni predmet *družbena in moralna vzgoja* s ciljem, »da pri učencih razvija kulturne navade in da vzgaja lastnosti socialističnega človeka« (Nastava društvenog i moralnog odgoja 1952). Z učnim načrtom in programom iz leta 1958 sta bila v osnovno šolo uvedena dva nova predmeta: tehnična in proizvodna vzgoja (od četrtega razreda) ter gospodinjstvo (od šestega razreda). V srednjih šolah se je izvajala predvojaška vzgoja, poučevane pa so bile osnove marksizma in leninizma ter družbene in državne ureditve FLRJ. V ponudbo tujih jezikov, ob angleškem, nemškem in francoskem, je bil uveden tudi ruski jezik (Osnovna škola ... 1958).

Pomembno vlogo pri izvajanju prosvetne politike in vsiljevanju dominantne ideologije so imeli tudi številni drugi dejavniki – učbeniki, šolska berila, otroške in mladinske revije, zunajšolske dejavnosti, šolske slovesnosti, zaznamovanje zgodovinskih dogodkov, pionirske organizacije in podobno. Vsi so bili v vlogi ureničevanja poslanstva šole in vzgoje novega človeka. Nedvomno velja, da je imela

prosvetna politika področje vzgoje in izobraževanja za poligon boja »za spremembo človekove zavesti« (Đilas 1949, str. 7) z namero ustvariti novega človeka, vendar »koliko [so] take oblike kulturne manipulacije«, se sprašuje Koren, »lahko pedagoško učinkovite, vplivajo na razmišljanje in vrednotne sodbe tistih, katerim so bile namenjene,« (Koren 2012, str. 515) in na primeru pouka in politike zgodovine ugotavlja, da je »v prvih 15 letih obstoja FLRJ v najboljšem primeru dosegala delne rezultate: zmeraj je bila prisiljena v kompromise, ki so izhajali iz nezmožnosti v celoti uresničiti načrtovane strategije« (prav tam, str. 517). Izvajanje zunanje reforme šolstva, pa četudi na podlagi kompromisov, je mogoče razumeti kot uspešno dejanje. Po nekaj letih stihijskih in nedomišljenih poskusov spreminjanja šolskega sistema je bila naposled opredeljena njegova formalna struktura, ki je bila na Hrvaškem prisotna tudi na začetku 21. stoletja.

Sklep

Pedagoška teorija in pedagoška praksa sta bili pod enako močnim vplivom dominantne ideologije. V prvih povojnih letih manevrski prostor ni bil velik. Lojalnost se je dokazovala z zvestobo sovjetskim vzorom in odmikom od predvojne kulturne pedagogike in delovne šole, kar je pomenilo tudi odmik od najpomembnejših predstavnikov te pedagogike in te šole, če so vztrajali pri svojih strokovnih, zlasti pa pri ideoloških usmeritvah. Politični monopol ene stranke je pedagogiko in šolstvo razumel kot izvajalki njenih ciljev. Nekateri pomembni medvojni profesorji in učitelji, npr. Vlado Petz in Salih Ljubunčić, so ostali izolirani in izključeni iz strokovne pedagoške skupnosti. Petz (b. l.) je neuspešno poskušal objaviti rokopis *Teorija izobraževanja*, nedvomno svoje življenjsko delo, enako velja za Salaha Ljubunčića, ki je poskušal objaviti svoj rokopis *Naš šolski sistem*, ki ga je dokončal sredi priprav na reformo šolskega sistema sredi petdesetih let.¹¹ Že leta 1952 se je zavedal, da obstajajo nova pravila, saj je v svojem dnevniškem zapisu napisal naslednje: »Prej so pedagogi – pisci pisali neposredno pod vplivom spoznanja, zdaj pišejo po dobljenem položaju. V tem je bistvena razlika: pri prejšnjih pedagoških piscih je bilo zmeraj mogoče ugotoviti znanje in izkustvo, načitanost in naštudiranost, medtem ko današnji pišejo brez poznavanja stvari. Razen tistih, ki so že prej pisali, tisti, ki danes pišejo o pedagogiki in njeni problematiki, kažejo, da so zelo malo brali, in četudi navajajo literaturo, kažejo, da so to delali površno. S sprejemanjem 'socialističnega odnosa' v obravnavanju znanosti brišejo vse tisto, kar ni 'znanstveno', znanstveno pa je zanje le marksistično razumevanje. Tako so se osvobodili branja in dela vsega, kar je zunaj tega okvira.« (Ljubunčić 1952)

Analiza sprememb v šolstvu v prvih petih povojnih letih kaže na nezadostno pripravljene posege v šolski sistem in delo na način poskusov in napak. Največji uspeh je pričakovano dosežen na področju saniranja šolskega prostora in v akcijah opismenjevanja. Spreminjanje celotnega šolskega sistema je, kot se je pokazalo,

¹¹ Oba rokopisa sta shranjena v osebnih fondih arhivske zbirke Hrvaškega šolskega muzeja v Zagrebu: HŠM A 3753 (Salih Ljubunčić) in HŠM A 4719 (Vlado Petz). Ljubunčić je rokopis dokončal leta 1954, v nekem zapisu pa navaja, da ga je ponudil v objavo Šolski knjigi – a nikoli ni bil objavljen.

zahtevalo boljšo strokovno pripravljenost. Skrb za napredek šolstva je kot trajno nalogo dobil Zavod za napredek pouka in splošnega izobraževanja, ki je bil ustanovljen v Zagrebu leta 1955. Vzporedno z izvajanjem reforme šolskega sistema se je ustvarjala tudi nova kadrovska baza, ki je pozneje imela pomembno vlogo v republiških prosvetnih organih in institucijah.

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Pedagogy and school system in Croatia between the end of World War II and the end of 1950s

Abstract: In this paper we analyse the development of pedagogical theory in Croatia as part of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in the period between the end of World War II and the end of 1950s. The two decades between the two World Wars marked a prolific period in the development of pedagogical theory in Croatia. A university programme of pedagogic study was established in 1928, while major theorists and representatives of the spiritual-scientific, or cultural, pedagogy addressed key issues of pedagogy both as an autonomous scholarly discipline (Stjepan Matičević and Stjepan Pataki) and as a philosophical discipline (Pavao Vuk-Pavlović). However, under the new socialist regime that emerged at the end of World War II, the development of pedagogy was abruptly interrupted. Pedagogy in Croatia was forced into obscurity and was disconnected from its own heritage. Stjepan Pataki came to be regarded as the forerunner of socialist pedagogy in both Croatia and Yugoslavia. Within the broader context of general unification, ideologisation and centralisation of the state, the pedagogy of national communities comprising Yugoslavia lost its developmental specificities. This marked the beginning of the amalgamation of Yugoslav socialist pedagogy. This period also witnessed intensive work in the areas of reconstruction of old school buildings, construction of new ones, education of teachers, opening of new schools, creation of conditions conducive to the consistent implementation of compulsory education regulations and adjustment of the new school system to the needs of the new society. Almost a century old formal school system underwent radical changes implemented as a result of the political decisions of the ruling Communist Party. Teaching subjects and various forms of extracurricular activities were used as means of instilling desirable social and moral conduct, in keeping with the spirit of the dominant ideology.

Keywords: socialist pedagogy, school reform, Croatia, 1945-1960.

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Introduction

This paper outlines the development of pedagogical theory and school system in socialist Croatia from the time it was established in 1945 until the end of the 1950s. Heavily influenced by the state ideology, the period encompasses two stages: the development of a socialist pedagogy and school system under the direct influence of the Soviet Union that lasted until 1950, followed by the emergence of the *third way* socialist self-management pedagogy and school system from 1951 onwards. During the first stage, pedagogy was entirely dominated by the state ideology, while the second stage saw the gradual weakening of state influence and politically driven ideology. We examine the pedagogical implications of such development by studying the works of Stjepan Pataki, the only professor who pursued his research at the University of Zagreb's Faculty of Philosophy without interruption through three different regimes: the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, to which Croatia belonged before World War II, the so-called Independent State of Croatia that emerged during the war, and the post-war socialist Croatia. During that time, the Croatian school system witnessed the emergence of a new socialist system, unified under the strong Soviet influence (1945-1950) and completed by the creation of a single school system of Yugoslavia (1951-1958).

This paper presents a non-empirical, meta-analytical holistic study of extensive pedagogic materials (Mužić 2004) evaluated in the context of general historical circumstances of the period. The research is macro-historical in nature, with elements of micro-historical analysis, particularly when focused on the lifework and pedagogic achievements of Stjepan Pataki (Radeka 2001).

Statist socialist pedagogy under the influence of USSR

During the first stage of the statist socialist progress that immediately followed World War II, Croatian pedagogy was blindly modelled on the Soviet socialist pedagogy. At its very beginning, no reference to its own pedagogical heritage was permitted, so a rich corpus of the entire pre-war pedagogy in Croatia was

ignored.¹ The development of the statist stage of monism-based socialist pedagogy in Yugoslavia, whose constituent Croatian pedagogy had become, was strongly influenced by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – a revolutionary ally and a politically like-minded entity, but at the same time an economic, ideological, social-political, scholarly and cultural leader since World War II. The Croatian and Yugoslav post-war socialist pedagogy, based on the state-defined ideology, was subservient to that of the USSR. Under the circumstances, the ready-made structure of the Soviet socialist pedagogy, which emerged after the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 (Spehnyak 1993), was simply accepted. At the time of immediate post-revolutionary centralisation, ideological checks and purges, the talent of Croatian and Yugoslav theorists of pedagogy was reduced to the quality of their interpretation of the Soviet socialist pedagogy and its implementation into its Yugoslavian counterpart. Pedagogical texts of that time were bursting with quotations from political proclamations referring to Marx, Engels and Lenin, from speeches made by Stalin and Tito, from the Constitution and other Yugoslav laws, and from the works of other Soviet pedagogues. The Yugoslav concept of pedagogy was adopted from the Soviet pedagogy, where education was understood as an important task of the state, whose aim in the class struggle was to “strengthen and consolidate the socialist state” on the basis of a *universally educated man*. This primarily refers to “new education that forms the communist consciousness of the masses” (Jesipov and Gončarov 1947, pp. 23, 28 and 36), with the Party and Stalin in leading roles.

Translations of Russian works on pedagogy formed the theoretical basis for Croatian and Yugoslav pedagogues in the period immediately following the war: pedagogical theory was acquired from the textbook *Pedagogika* (1947) by B. P. Jesipov (1894-1967) and N. K. Gončarov (1902-1978), collections of essays *O vaspitanju* (1947) and *Osnovni problemi pedagogije* (1947), the book *Pedagogija* (1949) edited by P. N. Gruzdev (1889-1953), and many other Soviet texts on pedagogy.

The key pedagogical works written in Yugoslavia during this period include Vladimir Schmidt’s article “Smernice savremenog pedagoškog rada,” first published in the first post-war issue of the Slovenian pedagogy journal *Popotnik* (Schmidt 1945-46) and subsequently in the federal journal *Savremena škola* (Šmidt 1946), Dragutin Franković’s article *Politika i odgoj* (1948) and Stjepan Pataki’s textbook *Uvod u opću pedagogiju* (1948) (Filipović 1971, p. 513).²

¹ In the programmatic Introduction to the first issue of *Pedagoški rad*, Tošić (1946, pp. 1-5) foregrounds concrete topical issues of educational policy and organisation of work in schools, placing pedagogical theory in the background, even though he considers it an important factor in the teaching staff development. In that sense, he criticizes those who work according to the “models of a foreign, reactionary pedagogy” and understand only “old pedagogic principles in education” (ibid.).

² In the said article Vladimir Schmidt argues for the introduction of a new role of the science of pedagogy and schooling to socialist public life: “The struggle between the reactionary and progressive powers is not waged only in the field of economy, politics and the military, but in culture and science as well, and thus also in the field of pedagogical theory and practice” (Šmidt 1946, p. 17). In order to achieve this, “we must firstly re-educate and re-direct our pedagogical thought. It is a fact that our pedagogues have for generations been under the influence of German pedagogy. [...] German theories seemed to be generally relevant, so for those without critical judgement it was easy to fall under their influence, especially as they carefully veiled their own reactionism. [...] This implies that we should

The period of the third way socialist self-management pedagogy

After the separation of Yugoslavia and the USSR, pedagogy in Croatia and Yugoslavia entered its second phase, from the 1950s onwards. Characterized by a shifting away from the Soviet Union and the socialist block, it started growing within the framework of the doctrine of the *third way* of self-managing socialism.³ This new ideological and political framework and the new direction of educational

take a seriously critical stance towards German pedagogy. We can gain a great deal from studying texts of Soviet pedagogy, where such stance has already been taken.” (Ibid.) It is significant that the last sentence differs in the first version of Schmidt’s article published in Ljubljana’s *Popotnik* in 1945-46 and later versions published in 1946 in Belgrade’s *Savremena škola* and in the 1985 collection of the author’s discussions. The sentence in *Popotnik* states: “We can gain a great deal from studying texts of Russian and Soviet pedagogy, where such stance has already been taken” (Schmidt 1945-46, p. 6). In *Savremena škola* the sentence is as follows: “We can gain a great deal from studying texts of Soviet pedagogy, where such stance has already been taken” (Šmidt 1946, p.18). In Schmidt’s book *Socijalistička pedagogija između etatizma i samoupravljanja*, the sentence is the same as in the Slovenian edition: “We can gain a great deal from studying texts of Russian and Soviet pedagogy, where such stance has already been taken.” (Schmidt 1985, p. 34).

We do not know whether the absence of *Russian* texts in the article published in the federal journal *Savremena škola* was a result of censorship or self-censorship. However, it does not matter so much. It is noteworthy that the reference to Russian pedagogy – which may be taken to refer to either the pedagogical texts from the period of Russian Federation until 1922, or to the pre-revolutionary pedagogy of the Russian Empire – conflicts with ideological proclamations of the immediate post-war period in Yugoslavia. This was probably the reason for the censorship evident in the leading Yugoslav pedagogical journal whose influence, and subsequently the state-performed ideological and political control, was the strongest. This instance warns us about the necessity to view historical sources critically and to continually check them in order to avoid errors caused by their passive acceptance.

³ The very speed of such reversal of events and the fierceness of the mark it left on pedagogy bears witness to a non-scholarly manner of these developments. Once again, an almost *overnight* political turn caused the *statist socialist pedagogy* to be abandoned and the prerequisites for a new *self-managing socialist pedagogy* created in both Croatia and the rest of Yugoslavia.

In the process of a natural evolutionary development of a discipline, the period between mid-1940s and the end of the decade is too short for a systematic study and growth of the new pedagogical direction. Yet another change that occurred only a few years after the first radical turn, and which although coming from the same source to a certain degree opposes it, suggests that this was an instance of an unnatural path for the development of a scholarly discipline.

Namely, the initial direction of post-war development did not manage to become part of the theoretical system in such a short time, nor to establish a connection with a pedagogical practice that might have created any form of scholarly or professional need for it. Besides, any change stemming from immediate discipline and its practice is a result of a gradual evolutionary process requiring a significantly longer time period – as is the case with the reformist movements in pedagogy between the 19th and the 20th century. Lastly, the knowledge that these changes were again led by theorists of pedagogy, many of whom advocated as many as three different approaches to pedagogy in a relatively short time (pluralist pedagogy between the two wars, monism-based *statist socialist pedagogy* and now the *self-managing socialist pedagogy*), suggests that the causes of the changes were not rooted in pedagogy itself.

The third way marked the growth of new socialist self-managing pedagogy that would take a critical distance from the bourgeois pedagogy, as well as from the *statist socialist pedagogy*. This new ideological context described the growth of pedagogy in the following way: “Marxist and Leninist teachings on education as an element of the struggle for the triumph and progress of socialism rises decisively against false and non-scholarly conceptions of reactionary pedagogy in the old social order, as well as against the revisionism and corruption in the theory and practice of the quasi socialist pedagogy.” (Pataki 1951, p. 7)

policy was defined in the third plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, held in Belgrade at the end of 1949 (Koren 2012, p. 75). It offered a new direction for the development of socialist pedagogy under strict ideological and political control of the state. Following Party guidance, socialist pedagogy gradually became critically open towards some areas of pre-war pedagogy, as long they respected the ideological doctrines proclaimed by the state.

During the initial phase of establishing the *third way* pedagogy, two parallel processes of pedagogical development were in progress. On the one hand, this phase was marked by a distancing from the previously dominant Soviet-centred pedagogical texts and on the other hand, it was the start of a gradual critical evaluation of the pre-war pedagogical heritage.

The leading theorists of pedagogy in Croatia and Yugoslavia at this stage were the same as before, with Dragutin Franković, Stjepan Pataki, Radovan Teodosić (1907-1986) and Vladimir Schmidt standing out as scholars who were countering statism and Soviet centrism in accordance with the new ideology. The most significant pedagogy studies from the time include Dragutin Franković's article "O sovjetskim definicijama predmeta pedagogije" (1950), the textbook *Opća pedagogija* edited and co-authored by Stjepan Pataki (1951), which replaced Soviet pedagogy textbooks by Jesipov-Gončarov (1947) and P. N. Gruzdjev (1949), Pataki's article *Putovi i zadaci naše pedagoške nauke* (1951a), Radovan Teodosić's book *Osnove naučnog pedagoškog nasleđa, dekadencija buržoaske i revizionizam sovjetske pedagogije* (1952), and a very important article titled *Kako danas razvijati u nas pedagošku znanost* by Vladimir Schmidt, first published in *Sodobna pedagogika* (Schmidt 1952), and then in *Savremena škola* (Šmidt 1952). At the beginning of this phase, Stjepan Pataki published two more notable articles in support of the new structure of pedagogical development: *O nekim fundamentalnim pitanjima pedagogije* (1953) and *Putovi naše pedagoške nauke* (1953a).

(Dis)continuous rise of pedagogy theorists in Croatia

Stjepan Pataki was the only scholar whose pedagogic pursuits at the University of Zagreb continued without interruption from the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (between the two World Wars) until the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (after the Second World War)⁴. Staying on at the University and in the field of pedagogy was not without challenges though: Pataki had to discontinue his work on cultural pedagogy, which was considered bourgeois, and embrace the ideologized socialist pedagogy. Apart from him, and particularly after his sudden death in 1953, key contributors to the field included Dra-

⁴ An assistant, Marijan Koletić, briefly joined Pataki in 1946, and transferred to College of Teacher Education in Zagreb the following year. Zlatko Pregrad from the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb joined the Institute as a lecturer in the academic year 1946/47, and Petar Šimleša (1910-1988) as an assistant. Two years later, in the academic year 1948/49, Dragutin Franković (1913) joins the Institute as an assistant, followed by Mihajlo Ogrizović (1916-2005), Vladimir Poljak (1920-1999), Vladimir Mužić (1925), Ante Vukasović (1929) and Dora Vinski (1913-1995) (Mužić et al. 1989, pp. 8-9 and Damjanović 1998, pp. 165-166).

gutin Franković, Mihajlo Ogrizović, Vladimir Poljak, Vladimir Mužić and Ante Vukasović.⁵

Despite the gradual democratisation of social, as well as pedagogical, circumstances, during this phase pedagogy in Croatia was bounded by the normative value system based on the politically proclaimed goal of education as a function of socially structured pedagogy, collectivism in education, education as a form of socialist patriotism, and education of the new socialist man. Under such circumstances, the post-war development of pedagogy was determined by social factors outside of pedagogy itself. Pedagogy was adapted to the ideological requirements of the society (Radeka 2000, pp. 212-213).

Development of Stjepan Pataki's pedagogy

During his relatively short life, spanning less than 50 years of which almost half working, Stjepan Pataki assumed a prominent position in Croatian pedagogy as the only scholar to have remained active through the period from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, to the so-called Independent State of Croatia, to the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. He shared the destiny of Croatia, and his pedagogic body of work is a vivid example of how the discipline was affected by sudden social upheavals and totalitarianisms in the first half of the twentieth century.

Stjepan Pataki's extensive and rich opus exceeds the limits of his relatively short life: he published 101 works in total, ten of which were books (10% of all published works) and 91 were articles (90% of all published works). He further published two sets of university lecture notes and a translation of an article, and another set of lecture notes with his works was published posthumously. He co-authored one pedagogical reference book in addition to co-authoring and editing a textbook, a collection of articles, and a set of lecture notes. Pataki participated in the preparation of all three major encyclopaedias published in Croatia during his lifetime. Two books and ten articles remained unpublished after his death.⁶

During the period of cultural pedagogy until 1944, Stjepan Pataki published 7 books and 45 articles or 51% of all his works (70% of books and 49% of articles). Out of the total of 1599 published pages, 956 pages (60%) are dedicated to cultural

⁵ The disproportion between the heterogeneous pre-war theoretical backgrounds of leading Yugoslav theorists of pedagogy and the markedly homogeneous pedagogy those theorists developed after the war, clearly points to the degree of totalitarianism that existed when post-war pedagogy was being developed in Croatia and other parts of Yugoslavia. Namely, there were among them some well-established pre-war representatives of idealist philosophical orientation (S. Pataki), eminent representatives of various reformist movements within pedagogy (Pataki as a representative of cultural pedagogy and A. Defrančeski, M. Janković, J. and M. Demarin and others as representatives of pedagogy of the working school), as well as the pedagogues who had been educated before the war under the influence of various pedagogical currents and whose frame of mind was significantly different from the post-war socialist pedagogy in Yugoslavia (V Schmidt, D. Franković, P. Šimleša, Z. Pregrad, K. Škalko, M. Koletić and others). Despite their differences, after the war they all worked in the area of socialist pedagogy. The differences among them could only be seen in nuances and their vaguely expressed viewpoints.

⁶ The bibliography of Stjepan Pataki's published and unpublished works can be found in: Radeka (2000, pp. 494-507).

pedagogy: 521 pages in books (on average 74 pages per book) and 435 pages in articles (on average 9 pages per article). He published 2.5 works, or 46 pages, per year on average (2.2 articles a year and one book every three years). Two books from this period remained unpublished: a doctoral thesis and an unfinished textbook on cultural pedagogy (*ibid.*).

The structure of Stjepan Pataki's cultural pedagogy remained incomplete because its development was forcibly interrupted. The emergence of Pataki's cultural pedagogy between 1928 and 1944 (framed, on the one hand, by the author's youth and on the other by an ideological distancing of Croatia from the German pedagogical circuit) was too short a time span for the development of a systematic theory, especially because Croatia lacked a pedagogic theory that could serve as an antecedent. Under these circumstances Stjepan Pataki was, within the theory of cultural pedagogy, developing a unique approach directly related to philosophy, the pedagogy of German cultural milieu, and to the works of the most prominent pedagogy theorists in Croatia – Stjepan Matičević and Pavao Vuk-Pavlović (for more information, see: Radeka 2000, pp. 428-431).

In spite of its incompleteness, Pataki's theory of cultural pedagogy solved a number of fundamental pedagogical and educational questions, including the criteria for establishing pedagogy as an autonomous scholarly discipline, the relationship between philosophy and pedagogy, the philosophical basis of pedagogy, the role of education in human existence, the power and limit of education, the way pedagogy fulfils scholarly criteria, the question of defining the goal of education, and the status of educators as the exponents of educational process. In a relatively short time, he had constructed an original pedagogical teleology (*ibid.*, p. 429).

Apart from the issues mentioned, in his theory of cultural pedagogy, Pataki initiated a range of other discussions that were not resolved appropriately or whose thematic structure did not belong to its basic concept, which is not to say that they do not deserve particular attention and further elaboration. Among these, the following stand out: vacillation with pan-pedagogism and resistance to anti-philosophical pedagogy, polemic debates with traditional and *reformist pedagogy* (especially the pedagogy of the working school, paedo-centric pedagogy and Soviet socialist pedagogy), critical observations about different theoretical approaches of other representatives of cultural pedagogy, development of childhood and youth psychology, and concerns related to the pedagogical standard of that time in Croatia, its school organisation and educational policy (*ibid.*).

Stjepan Pataki established the concept of cultural pedagogy in his first works of that period. Despite some disharmonious segments within the theory itself (terminological ambiguities such as unexplained relationship between the concepts of developing/forming, rearing/upbringing/education, pedagogy/andragogy etc.), no radical reversals or contradictions concerning the fundamental issues were noted. Pataki's inconsistencies stemmed mostly from his open approach to other theories of pedagogy, elements of which he sometimes borrowed for his own arguments, building them into his own theory – thus often making his approach eclectic. However, he would afterwards usually return to his initial positions. A critical analysis, therefore, shows that the core of Pataki's cultural pedagogy concepts remains stable.

Although Pataki's concept of cultural pedagogy has not been finalised and the development of his theory has not been continuous, it deserves to be revisited in the context of the recent pedagogical developments in Croatia owing to its scholarly value. It is particularly relevant to the current theory, which is concerned with exploring practical pedagogical issues and ignores the fundamental questions of pedagogic teleology.⁷ In that sense, the concept of cultural pedagogy developed by Stjepan Pataki still offers some very relevant solutions to the issues haunting modern-day Croatian cultural pedagogy.

In the period of socialist pedagogy after 1945, he published 3 books and 46 articles, or 49% of his works (30% of books and 51% of articles). Out of the total of 1599 published pages, 643 pages (40%) were published in the period of socialist pedagogy: 274 pages in books (on average 91 pages per book) and 369 pages in articles (on average 8 pages per article). During this period, he published 5.4 works on average, or 71 pages a year (5 articles per year on average and one book every three years). Ten articles, comprising 9 lectures given on various occasions and one programmatic article, remained unpublished in this period (for more information, see: Radeka 2000, pp. 391-392).

Pataki's theory of socialist pedagogy emerged in the immediate post-war era, when the official ideology defined the foundations of the entire pedagogy, the direction of its growth, and even the models to which it should aspire. In that milieu, the development of Pataki's theory was also continually linked to official ideological proclamations. Creative development of the theory was not possible under those circumstances. Theorists at that time were distinguished on strength of the quantity and quality of their interpretation of the given ideological framework.

Stjepan Pataki's concept of socialist pedagogy was in development for a short period of time. It was initiated by the new ideology in 1945, and its progress was interrupted by Pataki's death in 1953. Although the development time of his socialist pedagogy theory was considerably shorter than that of his cultural pedagogy theory, Pataki elaborated the concepts of the former significantly better than those of the latter. Interestingly, the reason behind this is non-scholarly: Pataki's socialist pedagogy (together with the entire Croatian and Yugoslav post-war pedagogy) passively accepted and reinterpreted the concept of Soviet socialist pedagogy during the first stage of its development and followed the new proclaimed doctrine of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CC CPY) in the second stage.

The sudden death of Stjepan Pataki several years after the political breakup with the USSR in 1948 prevented a comprehensive re-conceptualisation of his socialist pedagogy developed on the Soviet model of socialist pedagogy. Pataki started this process but was unable to complete it. Thus, in its basic assumptions, his concept of socialist pedagogy was modelled on Soviet socialist pedagogy, but was beginning to turn near the end of that period toward a freer search for solutions

⁷ Those familiar with the recent situation in Croatian pedagogy will know about the statement which the eminent (and now, sadly, late) Croatian theorist of pedagogy Antun Mijatović made in a kind of pedagogy testament, saying that *the scholarly status of Croatian pedagogy was much better at the start of the twentieth century than at its end.* (2001, p. 149)

in accordance with the pursuit for a new ideological and political doctrine of the self-managing socialist society.

Within the concept of socialist pedagogy, Stjepan Pataki developed a range of pedagogical and educational issues in the new spirit, the most significant of which included: a philosophical interpretation of the socialist approach to pedagogy within the framework of pedagogical teleology, an analysis of the significance of education in human life, a definition of the scholarly criteria of pedagogy, an interpretation of ideologically and politically defined goal and tasks of education, the relationship between functional and intentional education, and the question of the power and limit of education. He developed the corpus of socialist pedagogy from teleological tasks of education, particularly focusing on physical and intellectual education, polytechnic education, and moral and aesthetics education in that context; besides, he paid particular attention to the teacher as the key factor of institutional education and to family as the major extra-institutional factor (*ibid.*, pp. 475-478).

In his theory of socialist pedagogy, Pataki also discussed other issues, not entirely elaborated or relevant to the framework of his rounded concept. These included the relationship between pedagogy and psychology, discussions about reformist movements in pedagogy, an overview of the situation in pedagogy and schooling in the USSR, the problems of discipline and marking, ideology and political quality of teaching and a range of educational-political issues (*ibid.*).

Stjepan Pataki's concept of socialist pedagogy, as well as his concept of cultural pedagogy, seems to display certain contradictions. However, unlike the concept of cultural pedagogy, where the contradictions appear as a result of his active participation in a range of discussions and debates and his theoretical detours into different disciplines, the controversy around Pataki's concept of socialist pedagogy is subdued and the possibility of accepting different scholarly discourses very restricted. Thus the strongest contradictions appear as a consequence of a slight loosening of ideological strictness after the breakup with the Soviet Union and the socialist block. That is to say, following the turn in the political orientation of the Central Committee of CPY, Pataki discontinued his passive treatment of educational themes in his socialist pedagogy theory and gradually lent them a pedagogical dimension or interpretation. He created a space for new approaches (with elements of old, pre-war ones) to pedagogy and education, in opposition to the earlier, socialist viewpoints. For instance, he restored the *descriptive-explanatory* role of pedagogy alongside its normative one; he introduced empirical research methods, problematized the definition of educational goals, separated functional and intentional education, and realigned the power of education to more realistic expectations. However, the premature death of the author interrupted his active participation in the process of extracting pedagogy from the control of the state, which would probably have led to a comprehensive re-conceptualization of Pataki's socialist pedagogy (*ibid.*, pp. 477-478).

Although Stjepan Pataki's socialist pedagogy appeared under strict ideological control along the lines of the Soviet socialist pedagogy, a comparative analysis of his and other theories emerging under the same social circumstances reveals that

Pataki's theory was inevitable in the post-war socialist pedagogy, both in Croatia and Yugoslavia, because of its structure, the level of completeness, and the level of substantiation of approaches. This was primarily due to the direct addressing of pedagogical issues and their treatment quality, which surpassed the existing solutions in socialist pedagogy. His intensive efforts and approach make Stjepan Pataki the pioneer of socialist pedagogy development in Croatia and Yugoslavia.

Discrepancy between the two theories in the pedagogical opus of Stjepan Pataki

Qualitative comparative analysis of Stjepan Pataki's opus alongside the pedagogical opuses of his contemporaries confirms his status as a leading theorist of pedagogy in Croatia and Yugoslavia (see more in: Radeka 2000, pp. 279-287 and 379-389). Pataki was continually at the forefront, addressing and solving key problems in pedagogy. That was the trait of his entire theoretical opus – both the pre-war segment of bourgeois origin, as well as the post-war socialist pedagogy. His pre-war pedagogy belongs in the league of exceptional pedagogical theories in Croatia, while his post-war pedagogy made him the leading pedagogy theorist not only in Croatia, but also in Yugoslavia, whose pedagogy borrowed significantly from that of Croatia.

A chronological developmental-dynamic analysis of the entire pedagogical opus of Stjepan Pataki reveals his two approaches to pedagogical theory. In the period before World War II (which extended, with significant reduction, to the war as well), and on the strength of his academic qualifications and inclinations, he developed the theory of cultural pedagogy that most strongly influenced the emergence of the national pedagogical science between the two wars. After the war, he leaned toward the only existing officially proclaimed socialist pedagogy. Unlike his approach to cultural pedagogy, which was self-motivated (developing his original approach – different from other approaches to cultural pedagogy), the post-war socialist approach was determined by social circumstances. These did not permit a free approach to pedagogy nor any dissonant overtones (particularly at the start of this phase, when Pataki was active). The essence of the pedagogical approach at the time was limited to interpreting the approach to pedagogical theory defined in advance.⁸

The socialist pedagogy of Stjepan Pataki is crucially different from his cultural pedagogy. The essential difference between the two theories stems from the position of pedagogical science in various historical contexts: within cultural pedagogy, the theory of education was built by creative research efforts, while in social

⁸ This still does not mean that his pedagogic theory from the post-war period was not important. Considering how he interpreted the given ideological frame in the course of development of pedagogic theory, the differences between works of individual authors were not irrelevant – regardless of the fact that those works shared more similarities among themselves than the pre-war works had done. At that time, expressions of direct and clear viewpoints in relation to important pedagogical issues were often replaced by allusions, or by writing “between the lines”.

pedagogy it appeared as a result of interpreting the given ideological discourse. However, while it is true that Pataki's socialist pedagogy did not offer (nor could have offered) an original approach but rather accepted and interpreted the given ideological framework, its value lay in the fact that through the process of reducing the control of the state and building the third way, it was among the first to – by means of pedagogy and education – lower the utopian expectations of revolutionary changes in society to a realistic level. The scaling down of expectations to realistic possibilities expanded the role of the pedagogy from normative to descriptive and explicative, introduced inductive research methods alongside deductive ones, and so on (*ibid.*, p. 488). We can therefore conclude that Stjepan Pataki was the key theorist of pedagogy in Croatia and Yugoslavia in the first half of the twentieth century – during the first as well as the second stage of pedagogical development.

The two parts of Pataki's pedagogical opus – the cultural and social theory – abound in contradictions. These can be attributed to the theoretical-epistemological difference of approach in these two theories. A more detailed exploration of these contradictions is currently beyond this scope of this paper. We therefore illustrate the difference by using an example: defining the goal of education.

According to Pataki's cultural pedagogy, education is defined as the actualisation of spirit through culture, with a simultaneous continuation and growth of culture through the spirit (see Pataki 1933, p. 173). Pataki believes the goal of education springs from life and culture, and as an organic part of that dialectic relationship it cannot be separated. In that context, he concludes: "The highest spiritual values – truth, kindness, beauty and the absolute – represent the principal goals of education. Knowledge, morality, art and faith are important parts of upbringing and education. Other goals, such as national, social, citizenship education, vocational education etc., however special, must be adjusted with the principal goals of education, must be imbued by them. A clear educational goal rests on the objective sequence of values (value scale)" (Pataki's unpublished manuscript written about 1943, p. 57). He leaves the definition of the value scale to pedagogical teleology combined with axiological philosophy.

On the other hand, according to Pataki's socialist pedagogy, the goal of education stems from the officially proclaimed ideological doctrine. As such, it is unquestionable. He writes: "This kind of education, socialist in its essence and its goal, leads to the growth of a free and universally developed personality dedicated to the good and progress of entire society. The primary goal of our education is the formation of a socialist generation, of a socialist man" (Pataki 1951, p. 57). It remains the task of pedagogy to define the modalities of achieving that goal through five tasks – intellectual, moral, physical, aesthetic and polytechnic education.

Therefore, starting with the initial question of a cosmopolitan approach to the goal of education, in which an individual is personalised in accordance with the value system that is to be established by pedagogy and philosophy according to the highest cultural standards, the issue comes down to the education of a good socialist citizen.

In this context, there ensued a general unification, ideologisation and centralisation after World War II. Pedagogy in national communities that were part of

Yugoslavia lost its specificities (for more information, see: Radeka 2000, p. 212). Unlike the pre-war period, during which the development of pedagogy theory was significantly different among the individual states of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of Yugoslavia), the post-war socialist pedagogy of Stjepan Pataki was not markedly different from other pedagogues' theories, not only in Croatia but across other Yugoslav national communities.

Degree of ideologisation of a (pedagogical) text

An historical event occurred during the lifetime of Stjepan Pataki in the first half of the twentieth century. The fate of Croatia on the margins of political developments resulted in some contradictory extremes: the country was one of the poorest regions in the pre-World War I European empire, as well as one of the richest areas in the post-war multinational monarchy; it was ideologically and nationally a part of the bloodiest World War II conflicts in which ruthless Nazi politics was carried out with unforeseeable consequences, and also a part of the totalitarianism of the new multinational socialist community, where the conflict with the statist leadership of socialist societies, by the end of 1940s, grew into a political experiment of discovering the *third way* of de-statist socialist growth on the margins of socialist totalitarianism (ibid., pp. 481-482).

Under such circumstances, Stjepan Pataki's pedagogical opus could not escape unharmed. The initial theoretical focus on one of the most prominent movements in the Western pedagogical heritage under the influence of the German cultural milieu was already significantly weakened during World War II. After the war, it changed to a new socialist ideology under the influence of the USSR. Within the framework of the universal ideologisation of society, pedagogy was transformed into a servant of the regime's ideology.

Differences are evident in the degree of ideologisation of a text vis-à-vis the level of totalitarianism under whose wing the text was created and the level of social importance accorded under the totalitarian ideology to the professional, scholarly, or artistic discipline in which the text was created. Considering the (utopian) significance a totalitarian society attaches to education, and therefore to pedagogy as its theory, the ideological pressure on pedagogy and education is rather strong. It is considerably stronger than in some other professional, scholarly and artistic fields in which smaller or bigger enclaves of free thought may be preserved.

Creation of a new school system

As one of the republics of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY after 1963), Croatia had to adjust its school laws and regulations with the federal ones. Large scale changes and school system reforms were carried out on the basis of political decisions and documents preceding them. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and its Politburo made all the impor-

tant strategic decisions, while the implementation duties were assigned to school commissions that were “[...] a good example of the state and party governance coming together: the same people held the leading positions in ministries of education and in Central Committee’s and republican central committees’ school commissions.” (Koren 2012, p. 34)

During the first post-war years, intensive efforts were undertaken to restore destroyed school buildings, construct new ones, educate teaching staff, open new schools, and generally to establish conditions for consistent implementation of regulations on compulsory education, as well as adapt the school system to the needs of the new society (see *The Yearbook... 1951*; *School System in FPRY... 1952*).

There were two characteristic phases in the development of the school system and educational policy in the period between the end of the war and the end of 1950s. The first phase covers the period from 1945 to 1950, which marked a turning point in the educational policy, following the third plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPY held on 29 and 30 December 1949. The second phase lasted until 1958, when the *General School Act* was passed for the whole of Yugoslavia, which marked the end of the legislation process aimed at establishing a unified school system and the consistent implementation of school reform on all levels (*General School Act... 1958*).

The first phase – 1945 to 1950

The eight-year compulsory education stipulated by the *People’s School Act* passed in 1929 was generally not implemented, mostly because the state had not secured economic support and necessary infrastructure and partly because some people were not inclined to send their children to school after they had completed the lower elementary school (Steinman 1964, p. 17). Due to high illiteracy rate, with the exception of Slovenia, Yugoslavia was among the culturally underdeveloped European populations, despite the inclusion of Croatia, which was slightly better off in terms of literacy rate than the rest of the country, excluding Slovenia (*ibid.*, p. 16.). Table 1 shows the data on general and specific illiteracy rates in pre-war and post-war Yugoslavia.

	1921 General illiteracy. rate	1931 General illiteracy. rate	1931 ¹ 15-24 years	1948 General illiteracy. rate	1948 15-24 years
Yugoslavia	50.5	44.6	37.8	24.5	12.8
Serbia	53.5	46.9	/	26.8	11.7
Croatia	37.5	31.5	19.1	15.6	5.2
Slovenia	8.9	5.5		2.4	0.7
B&H	78.2	70.00		44.9	30.6
Macedonia	77.4	67.5		40.3	21.1
Montenegro	62.5	56.1		20.4	6.7

Table 1: Illiteracy rate in Croatia in pre-war and post-war Yugoslavia (source: Steinman 1964)

⁹ The data in this column were integrated into the table from the text (Steinman 1964, p. 13). Unfortunately, the source does not give information about specific illiteracy rates in other Yugoslav republics in 1931.

The neglected school system posed a challenge for the new authorities and acted as an indicator for prompt action in teaching literacy and passing new legislative framework for the implementation of their educational policy. However, they soon learned that passing legislation does not lead to a systematic solution of the problem with education, especially in a period fraught with numerous organisational problems that were being addressed in an ad hoc manner, both on the federal and republic level. The Federal Ministry of Education was established in March 1945, to be re-organised into the Committee for Schools and Science and the Committee for Culture and Arts, which were then combined in 1948 to form the Ministry for Science and Culture of the FPRY Government, only to be replaced two years later by the Council for Science and Culture (Koren 2012). Ministries of education in the republics were also active in this period. The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Croatia was abolished in 1951, when, due to the re-organisation of the Republic's Government, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science and Culture were replaced by the newly founded Council for Education, Science and Culture of the Government of the People's Republic of Croatia (Franković 1958, p. 476).

The first school-related law in new Yugoslavia – *Seven-year Elementary School Act* – came into force in November 1945. Considering the lack of infrastructure and the Act's rather declarative character, it did not by itself guarantee actual implementation of the prescribed compulsory education. The legislation in the republics was supposed to ensure the implementation of the Act. Hence, the *Act on Compulsory Seven-year Education* was passed in Croatia in 1946. The seven-year school was meant to become the most widespread kind of school, created by the growth (extension) of the four-year elementary school or its merging with the lower grades of the then eight-year comprehensive secondary school. Pre-war city civic schools were transformed into lower grades of comprehensive secondary school or higher grades of elementary school. It was not possible to fully implement the seven-year compulsory education in a short period of time. Various compromises were introduced in practice, and consistency was not enforced. This was something that the educational authorities had expected as is indicated by the fact that the *Act on a Five-Year Plan of National Economy Development in NR Croatia*, passed in 1947, anticipated that only 60% of the people under legal requirement to go to school would be included into the compulsory seven-year education (Franković 1958, p. 428).

With regard to secondary education, there was no clear development strategy apart from favouring vocational schools over comprehensive ones. Immediately after the war, the so-called *partisan schools* were opened (in Zagreb, Osijek and Hvar) with the goal of quick education of young people who had interrupted their schooling to go to war (Franković 1958, p. 443). All independent lower secondary comprehensive schools were transformed into higher grades of seven-year elementary schools, and the process of reducing comprehensive secondary schools to four grades or of gradually closing down eight-year comprehensive schools that had existed since the mid-nineteenth century started in the academic year 1949/50 (The Yearbook... 1951, p. 46). Vocational education was given an important role in

the realisation of the five-year plan and generally in the construction of the new society. Immediately after World War II, apprenticeship schools were replaced by secondary trade schools. Industrial schools were established for educating qualified industrial workers, and the network of four-year vocational schools was extended. The number of students in vocational schools kept growing. Between 1945 and 1949, the number of students in lower vocational schools had almost doubled (from 22,000 to 43,700). Particular efforts were put into attracting students to secondary vocational schools (*planned enrolment*), which grew to compete with comprehensive schools. In the academic year 1946/47, of all the secondary school student population, 63.6% students were in the higher grades of comprehensive secondary schools, 20.5% were in vocational schools, and 15.9% in teacher education schools, while in 1949/50 the number of students in vocational schools was the highest – 45.5%, followed 39.4% students in comprehensive schools and 15.1% in teacher education schools (*ibid.*, p. 68). Until 1952, the vocational schools were under the jurisdiction of the relevant ministries.

The shortage of teachers after World War II, caused by the losses of war as well as by an increase in the number of elementary schools, was resolved by various forms of shortened and specialised education programmes. Apart from teacher education schools, various functional classes were established, preparing students for the continuation of schooling in teacher education schools, pedagogy courses, and similar forms of fast-track teacher training. During the four-year period, from 1947/48 to 1950/51, full-time students in teacher education programmes (reduced from five to four years) would leave school after the first semester of the fourth grade so as to start working as soon as possible. In the academic year 1949/50, a new type of secondary school of a pedagogical nature opened in Zagreb – a school for pre-school teachers – marking the beginning of the systematic education of pre-school teachers (*ibid.*, p. 50).

The adjustment of teaching plans and programmes, professional re-orientation of teachers (Vajnaht 1946), the settling of accounts with the “old-fashioned pedagogical and cultural-political viewpoints” (Demarin 1946, p. 214) and “pedagogic-ideological education of teachers” (Pataki 1946, p. 10) was to ensure an appropriate pedagogical component of teaching as one of the significant elements in the process of building a new socialist society. The *Framework Plan for Political and Ideological Education of Educators* (1947, p. 1) emphasized the need for correct political education of teachers as it was believed that “[...] only those educators who possess a highly developed political and social awareness can build that awareness in the citizens.” Teachers had to *study* the Five-year plan and the history of the People’s Liberation War, relying on numerous texts by leading Party ideologists and Tito’s speeches (*ibid.*, pp. 3-8). At the time of conflict with Informbiro, in his *Report on Agitprop Activity of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia* (1948, p. 29) Milovan Đilas emphasized the need for educating the youth in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and raising the working classes in the spirit of Yugoslav patriotism.

Creation of a unified school system (1951-1958)

The third plenary session of the Central Committee CPY provided new guidelines for the educational policy formulated in the *Resolution on School System Tasks*. In addition to identifying achievements, the resolution pointed to weaknesses and shortcomings of previous educational efforts and outlined the following new tasks: 1) education of the new, free and daring socialist man who will hold tolerant and diverse views; 2) creation of a unified system of upbringing and education and of the conditions for a compulsory eight-year education; 3) making, improving, and adjustment of teaching plans and programmes; 4) de-centralisation in school management and allowing more initiative in the area of education and culture to the republics; 5) improving the economic status of teachers and their continual *professional and ideological advancement*; 6) better engagement of party organisations with education – from taking care of political and ideological development of teachers to the improvement of the economic status of schools (Resolution... 1949). The text of the resolution was based on Đilas's report *The Problems of the School System in the Struggle for Socialism in Our Country* (1949).

The resolution served as the basis for a systematic school reform. In 1951, the *People's School Act* was passed in Croatia, which stipulated compulsory eight-year education, although the initiative of the third plenary session of the Central Committee CPY was accepted at the federal level only a year later by the *General Guidance Note on Schools of General Education* (1952). With respect to insufficient infrastructure, the *People's School Act* offered compromising solutions, such as a six-year education as a transitory kind of school in areas where there were no conditions for compulsory eight-year schooling or for continuation of education in lower comprehensive schools. In the academic year 1956/57, 93.7% of children in Croatia were enrolled in eight-year education, and 43.6% of those attended the so-called B-type eight-year elementary school with reduced programme, which emerged as an extension of the six-year school and where lower elementary school teachers taught in higher grades, instead of subject teachers or professors (Blaženčić 1957, p. 23).

Simultaneously with creating the network of schools and resolving organisational issues, commissions for school reform worked to prepare a new unified system of education. The Commission for General Education School Reform in FPRY was established in 1953, which included sub-commissions for individual levels of education and types of schools. The Croatian Commission for School Reform was established in the same year, headed by Josip Škavić (Decision... 1953, p. 82).¹⁰ *A Proposal for an Educational System in FPRY* was adopted, after a number of consultations and discussions, that outlined a universal school system with three basic levels: the first level included the universal compulsory eight-year education;

¹⁰ The Commission included 20 members in total, among whom there were the representatives of educational policy, scholarly community and school practice. Alongside Škavić and the secretary Danica Nola, there were also: Dušan Dimić, Nikola Sekulić, Ivo Sarajčić, Josip Roglić, Pero Šimleša, Danilo Viher, Ivan Leko, Josip Lukatela, Bogdan Svilokos, Heda Haladi-Dic, Tone Peruško, Božena Radoničić, Gustav Šindler, Stanka Tupec, Ignacije Jendrašić, Nikola Cuculić, Drago Mijić and Mladen Koritnik.

the second level included a network of vocational and comprehensive schools; and the third level covered higher schools, colleges and universities. The proposal also included pre-school education, special needs education, adult education and teacher education (Proposal... 1957).

On the basis of the *Proposal for an Educational System in FPRY*, the *General School System Act* was passed in 1958, regulating all levels of education. The universal compulsory eight-year elementary school at the level of the republic was instituted in Croatia by the *Elementary School Act* passed in 1959, at a time when the new teaching plan and programme was adopted, preceded by a *Draft Document on Elementary School* (1958) issued by the Federal Institute for Studying of School and Education Related Issues. Along those lines, a comprehensive teaching plan and programme entitled *Elementary School – Programmatic Structure* (drafted in 1958, published in 1960) was prepared in the same year in Croatia. This was a vital document for schools, which through almost 300 pages specified “concrete materials for achieving educational goals and conceptual solutions for elementary schools” (Elementary School... 1965, p. VII), ending the several year-long process of establishing a universal eight-year elementary school. By 1961 almost the entire population of those legally required to attend school were enrolled in compulsory education – 99.9% of those aged 7 to 10 and 94.4% of those aged 11 to 14 (Enciklopedija Jugoslavije... 1988, p. 387).

Comprehensive schools became four-year secondary schools of general education. In addition to the most widespread comprehensive schools of general orientation, there were also those that focused on areas of natural history, pedagogy, mathematics and languages. The two classical comprehensive secondary schools – in Zagreb and Split – also operated as four-year schools. In 1952, all vocational schools came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education rather than their relevant ministries. Vocational schools were divided into schools for skilled workers, schools for highly skilled workers, technical and other vocational schools for economy and public service, and schools of art. In 1952/53, the schools for teacher education again offered five-year programmes (Teaching plan and programme... 1952).

Alongside the external reform of the school system, changes and adjustments to teaching plans were a regular feature of the post-war decade. These changes were partly caused by the gradual changes in the school system and partly by an ideological profiling of schools. Pursuant to a decision issued by the Council for Science and Culture of the FPRY Government, the subject of *social and moral education* was introduced in all schools in the academic year 1952/53, with the aim “to teach culture to pupils and imbue them with socialist traits” (Teaching the Social and Moral Education... 1952). The teaching plan and programme for 1958 introduced two new subjects into elementary schools: technical and industrial education (in the fourth grade) and household management (in the sixth grade). Secondary schools conducted pre-military training and taught the basics of Marxism and Leninism, as well as the social and state system of FPRY. Teaching of foreign languages, apart from English, German and French, also included Russian (Elementary School... 1958).

Numerous other factors played a significant role in the implementation of the educational policy and the imposing of the dominant ideology – textbooks, reading lists, children’s and youth magazines, extracurricular activities, school ceremonies, anniversaries of historical events, pioneer organisations and so on. All these worked to achieve the schools’ mission and raise the new man. Educational policy clearly considered education to be a training ground for the struggle to “change human consciousness” (Đilas 1949, p. 7) with the intention of creating the new man. However, “[...] how can such forms of cultural manipulation,” asks Koren (2012, p. 515), “[...] be pedagogically effective, influence the thoughts and value judgements of those they were aimed at?” On the basis of the example of classroom teaching and political history, he concludes that “[...] in the first 15 years of its existence, the FPRY could at best only achieve partial success: it was continually forced to compromise due to the impossibility of achieving desired strategies to full extent” (ibid., p. 517). The implementation of external school reform, even with some compromise, may be seen as successful. After several years of unorganised and ill-defined attempts at changing the school system, its formal structure – still existing in Croatia at the beginning of the 21st century – was finally defined.

Conclusion

In the post-World War II period, the theory and practice of pedagogy were heavily influenced by the dominant ideology in Croatia. During the initial post-war period, the space for action was not large. Loyalty was proven by allegiance to Soviet models and distancing from pre-war cultural pedagogy and the working school, including the leading protagonists of that pedagogy and that school, if they persevered with their professional and, in particular, ideological orientation. Political monopoly of a single party required a pedagogy and a school system that would carry out its goals. Some distinguished between-the-wars professors and teachers were isolated and excluded from the pedagogical community, such as Vlado Petz and Salih Ljubunčić. Petz was unsuccessfully trying to publish the manuscript *Theory of Education*, undoubtedly his life’s work, just as Salih Ljubunčić was trying to publish his manuscript *Our School System*, which he completed in the midst of school reform preparations in the mid-1950s.¹¹ However, as early as 1952, he realised that new rules are in power, and he noted the following in his diary:

Pedagogues-authors used to write under a direct influence of cognition, while now they write in accordance with their position. There is a significant difference there: previous writers on pedagogy always revealed knowledge and experience, a great extent of being well-read and scholarly, whereas today’s authors write without insight. With the exception of those who had written before, the present-

¹¹ Both manuscripts are kept in private foundations – HŠM A 3753 Ljubunčić Salih and HŠM A 4719 Petz Vlado – in the Archives collection of the Croatian School Museum in Zagreb. Ljubunčić completed his manuscript in 1954, stating in a note that he had sent it to Školska knjiga to be published. But it has never been published.

-day authors writing about pedagogy show they have not read widely and if they mention any bibliography, it only reveals their shallowness. By applying the "socialist stance" to their discipline, they erase everything non-scholarly, "scholarly" in their opinion being only the Marxist. Thus they free themselves of reading and working with anything outside that particular framework (Ljubunčić 1952).

The analysis of changes in the first five post-war years points to insufficiently prepared interventions into the school system and activities carried out on the basis of trial and error. Most success was, expectedly, achieved in improvements to school buildings and in literacy campaigns. The transformation of the entire school system, as it turned out, required better professional preparation. The Institute for Advancement of Teaching and General Education, established in Zagreb in 1955 was entrusted with the permanent task of improving education. The period of the school system reform also witnessed the creation of a core collection of new educators, who were going to play an important role in educational bodies and institutions at the level of the republic.

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