



His
toria
scholas
tica

2024
10

Mezinárodní časopis
pro dějiny výchovy a vzdělání

International Review
for History of Education

Národní pedagogické muzeum
a knihovna J. A. Komenského

Technická univerzita
v Liberci

Praha 2024

Historia scholastica

Číslo 2, prosinec 2024, ročník 10

Number 2, December 2024, Volume 10

Vedoucí redaktor *Editor-in-chief*

prof. PhDr. Tomáš Kasper, Ph.D. (tomas.kasper@tul.cz)

Zástupkyně vedoucího redaktora *Deputy Editor*

PhDr. Markéta Pánková (pankova@npmk.cz)

Redakční rada *Editorial Board*

prof. PhDr. Martin Holý, Ph.D. (Historický ústav Akademie věd ČR)
doc. PhDr. Dana Kasperová, Ph.D. (Technická univerzita v Liberci)
prof. PhDr. Jiří Knapík, Ph.D. (Slezská univerzita v Opavě)
prof. PhDr. Milena Lenderová, CSc. (Univerzita Pardubice)
prof. PhDr. Karel Rýdl, CSc. (Univerzita Pardubice)
doc. Mgr. Jaroslav Šebek, Ph.D. (Univerzita Karlova v Praze a Akademie věd ČR)
doc. PhDr. Růžena Váňová, CSc. (Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze)
Mgr. Magdaléna Šustová (Muzeum hlavního města Prahy)
prof. Dr. Marta Brunelli, Ph.D. (Università di Macerata)
prof. Dr. Antonella Cagnolati (Università di Foggia)
prof. Dr. Marcelo Caruso (Humboldt Universität Berlin)
prof. Dr. Lucien Criblez (Universität Zürich)
prof. Andreas Fritsch (Deutsche Comenius Gesellschaft)
prof. Dr. Gerald Grimm (Universität Klagenfurt)
prof. Dr. Andreas Hoffmann-Ocon (Pädagogische Hochschule Zürich)
prof. PhDr. Blanka Kudláčková, Ph.D. (Trnavská univerzita v Trnavě)
prof. Dr. Eva Matthes (Universität Augsburg)
prof. Dr. András Németh (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Budapest)
prof. Dr. Jürgen Oelkers (Emeritus Professor Universität Zürich)
prof. PhDr. Jaroslav Pánek, DrSc., dr.h.c. (Historický ústav Akademie věd ČR)
prof. Dr. Simonetta Polenghi, Ph.D. (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore Milano)
prof. Dr. Edvard Protner (Univerza v Mariboru)
prof. Dr. Dr.h.c. Ehrenhard Skiera (Univ. Prof. a.D. Europa-Universität Flensburg)

Výkonná redaktorka *Executive Editor*

Mgr. Lucie Murár (murar@npmk.cz)

Vydavatelé *Publishers*

Národní pedagogické muzeum a knihovna J. A. Komenského
Valdštejnská 20, 118 00 Praha 1, Česká republika, IČ 61387169, www.npmk.cz
Technická univerzita v Liberci, Fakulta přírodovědně-humanitní a pedagogická
Studentská 1402/2, 461 17 Liberec 1, Česká republika, IČ 46747885, www.tul.cz

Obálka a grafická úprava *Cover and Graphic Design*

Pavel Průša

Sazba *Type Setting*

Mgr. Lucie Murár

Tisk *Printed by*

Tiskárna PROTISK, s. r. o., Rudolfovská 617, 370 01 České Budějovice, Česká republika

Časopis *Historia scholastica* vychází 2× ročně. *Historia scholastica is published twice a year.*

Indexováno v *Indexed in*

SCOPUS, ERIH+, DOAJ, EBSCO, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory

ISSN 1804-4913 (print), ISSN 2336-680X (online)

Číslo registrace MK ČR E 22258

Obsah

Contents

- Úvodník** 7 — Tomáš Kasper & Markéta Pánková
Editorial
- Studie** 11 Improving Children's Health. Hygiene, Medicine and
Studies Pedagogy in the Italian School-medical Service
and the Case of Milan (1950–1970)
— Simonetta Polenghi
- 33 Schule und Unterricht unter den Bedingungen
des Strafvollzugs im 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel
des Nürnberger Zellengefängnisses
*School and Lessons under the Conditions of the Penal System
in 19th Century on Example of the Nuremberg Cell Prison*
— Daniel Oelbauer
- 53 The Children in Need in Postwar Macedonia (1944–1950)
— Suzana Miovska-Spaseva
- 81 “Every City Dweller is, if not Ill, at Least in Need
of Recovery.” The *Schullandheim* (Rural School Hostel)
in the Context of Crisis and Reform after the First
World War
— Esther Berner
- 107 Education and Vulnerability. On the Historiographical
Analysis of the German Educational Discourse
on Punishment in the “Short” 19th Century
— Carsten Heinze
- 131 Deutungskämpfe um das Schulfach Wirtschaft –
Eine historische Diskursanalyse zur Pädagogisierung
gesellschaftlicher Problemlagen
*Conflicts of Meaning within the Implementation Period of a New
School Subject Economics – a Historical Discourse Analysis
of the Pedagogization of Social Problems*
— Maximilian Husny

**Studie
Studies**

- 153 “What We Can Do.” New Year’s Pioneer Revue at Prague Castle and the New Image of Socialist Childhood
— Jiří Knapík
- 181 Preparation of the Future Elites of the Communist Party in the Period of Communism in Slovakia
— Blanka Kudláčková
- 203 Sovietization in Poland and its Impact on Education and Pedagogy
— Janina Kostkiewicz
- 227 Latinčina ako predmet diskusie v rámci reformy strednej školy v 1. ČSR. Význam klasického vzdelania
Latin as a Subject of Discussion within the Reform of Secondary Schools in the First Czechoslovak Republic. The Importance of Classical Education
— Annamária Adamčíková
- 263 Škola – služba systému, státu či bezpečí žáka. Vývoj školní edukace v bezpečnostní problematice
School – Service to the System, State or Safety of the Pupil. Development of School Education in the Field of Safety Issues
— Miroslava Kovaříková
- 291 Vzdělávání jako podnikání: Role soukromých škol v procesu institucionalizace komerčního školství v Čechách do roku 1918
Education as a Business: the Role of Private Schools in the Institutionalisation of Commercial Education in Bohemia up to 1918
— Petr Kadlec
- Varia**
- 315 The State as the Owner of Education: Totalitarian Regimes and Education in Europe in the Second Half of the 20th Century. An International Conference, 12–13 October 2023, Trnava, Slovakia
— Simonetta Polenghi

Věnování

Dedication

Toto číslo je s úctou věnováno PhDr. Markétě Pánkové, zástupkyni šéfredaktora časopisu *Historia scholastica* a bývalé ředitelce Národního pedagogického muzea a knihovny J. A. Komenského, k jejímu životnímu jubileu.

Redakce časopisu Historia scholastica

This issue is respectfully dedicated to PhDr. Markéta Pánková, Deputy editor of *Historia scholastica* Journal and former director of the National Pedagogical Museum and Library of J. A. Comenius, on the occasion of her jubilee.

The editors of Historia scholastica

S The Children in Need in Postwar Macedonia (1944–1950)

Suzana Miovska-Spaseva^a

^a Ss. Cyril and Methodius University
in Skopje, Faculty of Philosophy,
Institute of Pedagogy, Macedonia
suzana@fzf.ukim.edu.mk

Received 16 April 2024

Accepted 17 June 2024

Available online 31 December 2024

DOI 10.15240/tul/006/2024-2-003

Abstract The article examines the educational and social needs of children in the devastated and impoverished People's Republic of Macedonia (Narodna Republika Makedonija – NRM) as one of the constituent units of the Yugoslav Federation (Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija – FNRJ) in the first years after the end of World War II. The focus is primarily given on the measures and activities that the Macedonian policy makers undertook in the areas of education and social protection of children and the changes their implementation brought in children's

life. Based on the study of a large number of legal acts and other primary sources, the various aspects of the democratization of education and social care in the new postwar political context are examined: expansion of the school network, access to educational and social institutions and services for all children, recognition of the right to education in the mother tongue, establishment of pre-school education, special education and the protection of vulnerable children. The research interest is also focused on the needs of a large number of children refugees, mostly Macedonians, who were evacuated during the civil war in Greece from its northern parts and sent to the socialist states in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe. Most of them were housed in Yugoslavia and especially in Macedonia, which in 1948 became the largest transit center and shelter for thousands of children in need. Based largely on archival material and testimonies of child refugees, the article sheds light on the process of evacuation of children, their life in children's homes throughout Macedonia and the endeavors of the state to meet their needs for shelter, food, education and normal life.

Keywords children in need, child protection, postwar education, child refugees, Macedonia

Introduction

The period immediately after World War II is one of the most important and challenging stages in recent Macedonian history marked by

far-reaching political, social and educational changes. Those are years in which the foundations of the Macedonian socialist state were laid following a long struggle of Macedonian people for national freedom, social justice and cultural emancipation. Fighting together with the other Yugoslav nations against the fascist occupiers for four years, the Macedonians gained their statehood within Yugoslav federation as a state community of free and equal nations.¹ The People's Republic of Macedonia became one of the six republics in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, and the Macedonian language became one of the three official languages in the Yugoslav Federation, along with Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian (Jurukova, 1990, p. 53). It was a period of the so-called administrative socialism (1945–1953), of a strictly centralized state and economy, of party monopoly and ideology of monism.

The economic, cultural and educational conditions in post-war Macedonia were unfavorable. Yugoslavia at that time was one of the most underdeveloped countries in Europe, and Macedonia was one of its least developed republics, without its own industry and with extremely primitive agricultural production. The population in Macedonia was mostly agricultural and poor: 69.4% of all agricultural families were unable to realize a surplus for the market (Jurukova, 2003, p. 35). The educational structure of the population was extremely poor. In 1944, 67.5% of the total population over 10 years of age was illiterate; according to the 1948 census, 48,8% of the entire population over the age of 10 had not attended any school (Statistički godišnik na SRM, 1968, p. 6). In the report of the Presidium of ASNOM² from 1944 it is written: "Education was in a very difficult position due to a lack of professional staff, textbooks, school buildings..." (Veljanovski, 1987, p. 395). The

1 Deklaracija na AVNOJ [AVNOJ Declaration], 1943. Fund AVNOJ, 8/1496. Arhiv na oddelenieto za dokumentacija pri Institutot za nacionalna istorija, Skopje.

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

damage to cultural and educational institutions during the war was extensive. During the retreat from Macedonia, the occupying armies completely or partially damaged almost all school buildings, and destroyed school equipment, teaching aids and rich school archival materials. This situation is confirmed by testimonies: “In November 1944, the buildings of almost all the schools in Macedonia were badly damaged, and the school inventory (desks, tables, blackboards, cabinets, etc.) was completely destroyed and taken away...” (Jurukova, 1990, p. 73). In addition, as a result of the expulsion of educational staff who did not want to be in the service of the Bulgarian educational policy authorities during the occupation, there was a serious shortage of teaching staff in Macedonia after the end of the war. When Macedonia was liberated, a total of 312 teachers were available, and for the normal functioning of the schools, 3000 to 3500 teachers were needed (Hristov, Todorovski & Veljanovski, 1984, p. 446).

As a consequence of the war damage and the inherited unfavorable conditions in all spheres of social life, most of the children in Macedonia in the first years of fragile peacetime lived in constant and urgent need for food, shelter, education, care, safety and protection. In the following text the state initiatives and policy actions to meet the specific educational and social children’s needs will be discussed.

School Access to All Children

Education was a top priority in the agenda of the Macedonian government since its constitution in 1944. It was considered to be the key factor for overcoming illiteracy and the poor educational structure of the population and a prerequisite for achieving progress in all areas of social life. Therefore, the Macedonian policymakers in the first years after the war undertook a series of activities to restore and expand the school network from the pre-war period and to meet the educational needs of all children. Hence, since the very beginning, the new Macedonian educational system was founded on the democratic principles which were incorporated in the first Constitution of the People’s Republic of Macedonia from 1946 (Ustav na NR Makedonija, 1947) and will remain pillars of the further development of education in Macedonia:

- accessibility of all schools and other organized forms of education to all the children, regardless their social status, gender, ethnic and religious origin;
- mother tongue education, in accordance with the principle of equality in education for all the constitutive nations and minorities in the Yugoslav Federation (Krneta, 1978, p. 111);
- compulsory and tuition-free primary education in public schools.

Organized efforts to open primary schools were made even before the final liberation of Macedonia. In the newly liberated areas, intensive activities for adapting school buildings, equipping them with school furniture and teaching aids, recruiting teachers, and creating curricula and methodological guidelines and texts, took place simultaneously with the enrollment of students: “[...] while these preparations are being made, students can be enrolled [...]” (Kamberski, 1994, p. 64).

After the war, the initial activities were aimed at enrollment of all children aged 7 to 10 years in four-year primary education, which resulted in an almost 40% increase over the pre-war period (94.6% in 1952/53, compared to 46.2% in 1939/40) (Osnovni statisticki podaci..., 1957, Statisticki godisnik na SRM, 1968). A great incentive for the development of the school network in Macedonia was the adoption of the Five-Year Plan of the National Economy of the People’s Republic of Macedonia for 1947–1951, which defined the educational priorities: “to eliminate illiteracy and ensure the education of the masses of people from the cities and villages. Children should be provided with a healthy development and education that will create hardworking, courageous and free citizens. By 1951, 30% of the entire school population should be covered with seven years of schooling” (Kamberski, 1994, p. 58). The available data of the official state statistics testify to the dynamic development of primary schooling in this five-year period and show a constant increase in the number of schools, students and teachers. Thus, in the period 1944–1950, 1096 schools were renovated and built in Macedonia (Opstoobrazovatelni skoli i skoli za nastaven kadar vo Makedonija 1940/41 – 1950/51, 1955, pp. 28, 29). In the academic year 1950/51, the number of primary school students increased by 72.2% compared to

the academic year 1944/45,³ which is the result of the increase in the birth rate, but also of the legal regulation of compulsory primary education and the increase of its duration from four to seven years (*Zakon za sedumgodisno osnovno obrazovanje*, 1948, p. 279), and later to eight years (*Resenija za otvranje osmoletki*, 1950).

Along with the expansion of the school network, the Macedonian educational authorities took measures regarding the program consolidation of primary education. The first official documents with a normative and methodological character were enacted in 1944–1945, aiming at providing a common core curriculum and incorporating the new school concept into the practical organization of the primary schools in early post-war Macedonia. The temporary plan for training in elementary schools adopted on September 30, 1944⁴ was the first document in Macedonia which, in addition to the program structure, determined the goals and tasks of primary education: “Primary education is mandatory and lasts seven years. The purpose of primary education is to enable the student to use pen and book not only while he is a student, but also afterwards; to acquaint him with our reality and that of other fraternal nations; [...] to inspire him with the spirit of our struggle, which is not separate, but connected to the struggle of the other fraternal nations of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia.”⁵ The spirit of togetherness and the emphasized social dimension of the student and the school were also present in the Special Instruction of the Commission for Education within the Presidium of ASNOM dated January 10, 1945 (Kamberski, 1994, p. 65.). In this program document with an instructional character, teachers were asked to carry out a “real revolution in the old school”, to transform it “from a learning institution into a part of

3 Statisticki podatoci za site vidovi ucilista vo Makedonija od 1944–1951 [Statistical data for all types of schools in Macedonia from 1944–1951]. Fund 170/26, Unit 3/72-80. Drzaven Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

4 Privremen nastaven plan i program za obuka vo osnovnite ucilista [Provisional curriculum for training in primary schools], 1944. Fund ASNOM/5. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

5 Ibid.

social life, from a book school into a social school". It should grow into a community of equal, free and hard-working children, into "a small student state, in which order, discipline, hygiene, achievements and everything else are the work of the students themselves, and not something imposed by teachers or officials". In terms of the teaching methodology, the Instruction calls for "relocating the pedagogical center, so that the student, who was a planet, become the sun around which the school program and the weekly distribution of lessons, order, hygiene and everything else in the school will revolve".

Although in these first program documents related to primary schooling in postwar Macedonia can be easily traced elements of the new school (Dewey's educational theory, Kerschensteiner's working school, social pedagogy), they did not find direct realization in practice. Primary school work in the early post-war period was firmly rooted in the Marxist and Leninist theory of education (such as developing a "universal" or "multilateral" personality) and in the achievements of the People's Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution (among which the greatest was the "brotherhood and unity of Yugoslav peoples and minorities"), and methodologically articulated in the traditional model of teaching (Miovska-Spaseva, 2015, pp. 124–126).

In the following years, the primary school curriculum was regulated by the Provisional program for primary schools adopted in 1946 (Angelovski, 1985, p. 85). Until 1948 the curricula were under the jurisdiction of the republics (Potkonjak, 1977, p. 43), and afterwards they were developed on the basis of the federal framework curriculum.

Education in Mother Tongue

One of the key factors for increasing student enrollment in schools was mother tongue education. The right to education in the mother tongue was already recognized in practice during the National Liberation War (1941–1944) when the first schools were opened, and guaranteed by the first Constitution of the Republic (Ustav na NR Makedonija, 1947). This is especially important if one take into account that

in pre-war Yugoslavia Macedonians, as well as members of minorities, did not have the right to school in their native language.

At the first meeting of ASNOM in 1944, the Macedonian language was declared the official language in Macedonia (Resenie na ASNOM..., 1945), and a year later its alphabet (Rezolucija po prasanjeto za makedonskata azbuka, 1945) and orthography (Resenie za pravopisot na makedonskiot jazik, 1945) were codified. Thus, for the first time in Macedonian schools, teaching was delivered in a standard Macedonian language. This created conditions for writing textbooks and manuals in Macedonian, thus contributing to raising the level of teaching in schools. Namely, before the codification of the alphabet, the first partisan schools in Macedonia did not have textbooks written in the Macedonian language. Textbooks from pre-war Yugoslavia were used, as well as bulletins, leaflets and slogans written in Macedonian that had more political and revolutionary than educational significance (Kitanoski, 1973, p. 31). In accordance with the ethnic structure of the population in Macedonia and the policy of national equality in the field of education, primary schools were opened not only in the Macedonian language, but also in Albanian, Turkish and Serbo-Croatian, for the children of the minorities.

The table below presents the development of the 4-year primary school network in the four languages of teaching in the period 1944–1950, and the increase in number of the primary students and teachers.

Table 1. Number of primary schools, students and teachers according to language of instruction (1944–1950)⁶

School year	Schools				Students				Teachers			
	MK	AL	TR	SC	MK	AL	TR	SC	MK	AL	TR	SC
1944/45	828	60	37	2	75602	3975	3334	186	1701	104	49	2
1945/46	830	142	55	7	85363	15494	6702	1166	1527	264	125	19
1946/47	816	148	65	7	86389	15980	7280	1408	1485	269	123	19
1947/48	964	166	71	2	97472	20714	10203	1702	1612	314	165	18
1948/49	982	179	71	7	94959	20714	10722	1717	1546	376	163	23
1949/50	1100	209	100	8	101549	26349	12621	1303	1745	421	249	22

6 The table is made by the author based on the statistical data given in Jurukova, 2003, pp. 65–73.

Statistical data show an increase in the number of schools, students and teachers in minority languages. Thus, compared to the academic year 1944/45, when in 89.3% of the primary schools teaching was in Macedonian, in 6.5% in Albanian, in 4% in Turkish and in 0.2% Serbo-Croatian, in the 1950/51, the number of primary schools with teaching in Macedonian language was 77.5%, 14.6% in Albanian, 7.1% in Turkish and 0.8% in Serbo-Croatian. The situation is similar in relation to the number of pupils and students: the number of pupils and teachers from minorities is increasing, while the number of Macedonians is decreasing.⁷

In addition to these schools, in this period there were also mixed schools in Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish and Serbo-Croatian languages, even with classes with less than 10 students. Their number was constantly increasing, so that in the academic year 1955/56 in Macedonia there were 74 mixed schools (Zlatku, 1985, p. 171).

This rapid and successful development of schools for minorities was, however, accompanied by the same difficulties faced by schools in the Macedonian language: lack of professionally qualified teaching staff, teaching aids and textbooks. In addition, part of the Turkish and especially the Albanian families did not enroll their children in school because they considered that going to school is “wasted time” and that “school is not necessary for village children” (Mustafa Avzi, 1985, pp. 184–185). Therefore, in the period 1945–1950, the enrollment of children, especially girls, in the four-year primary schools was below the planned minimum, and in the school year 1947/48 the dropout rate of students from the Albanian and Turkish minorities reached up to 90% (ibid, p. 185).

The issue of the lack of teaching staff was common to all nationalities in Macedonia and was addressed with equal commitment by the educational authorities. In the beginning, teachers’ courses in

7 Zbirna tabela za osnovnite ucilista, za ucenicite i za nastavniot kadar vo Makedonija od 1939/40 do 1950/51, [Summary table for primary school teachers, students and teaching staff in Macedonia from 1939/40 to 1950/51] pp. 291–309. Fund 170/26, Unit 7. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish were organized during the summer vacation every year from 1945 to 1953. In 1945, the first teacher's school with teaching in the Macedonian language was opened, and shortly afterwards two more were established (Miovska-Spaseva, 2013, pp. 129–146). In 1947, a regular class in the Albanian language was opened at the teacher's school in Skopje for the preparation of teachers for elementary schools in the Albanian language, and from the school year 1950/51, an independent teacher's school in the Albanian language began to work in Tetovo. By expanding the primary school network and extending the duration of compulsory schooling, the level of teacher education raised. Thus, in the academic year 1947/48, post-secondary teacher training college were established in Skopje with the aim to prepare teachers for the lower classes of the secondary schools and upper classes of the primary schools, as well as educators for the students' homes and dormitories (Uredba za osnivanje Visa pedagogoska skola vo Skopje, 1947, p. 312). This institution played a particularly significant role in training staff not only in the Macedonian language, but in Albanian and Turkish as well.

The right to education in mother tongue was also implemented through the publication of school textbooks. In 1945 the first Primer in Macedonian language was published (Pop Eftimov et al., 1945), in the same year the first primer in Turkish was printed, and a year later in Albanian (Zlatku, 1985, pp. 176–178). In the beginning, textbooks written in Macedonian were translated into the languages of the minorities, for which a significant number of qualified translators were hired. At the same time, efforts were made to provide conditions for the creation of original textbooks for minority children in Macedonia. Thus, in the first ten years after the liberation, textbooks were published by 8 Albanian and 10 Turkish authors (*ibid.*, p. 177).

Preschool Childcare and Education

In addition to the intensified activities regarding the education of school children, the educational authorities in Macedonia in the early post-war period also paid great attention to the social protection and education

of preschool children.⁸ The employment of women mothers, as well as the migration of the population from the countryside to the city, emphasized the need for organized childcare in preschool institutions. Hence, in the initial period they received only children whose both parents were employed. The first kindergarten was opened in Skopje in February 1945, and a few months later two more were opened in Skopje. In these three kindergartens 54 children from 3 to 7 years were enrolled in specially adapted residential buildings, with living rooms, bedrooms, dining rooms, kitchens and the most necessary sanitary devices. The total area of the kindergartens was 90 m², with an average of 1.66 m² for each child. 6 people with incomplete education were employed in the kindergartens.⁹ One year later, nurseries started to operate as a consequence of the country's industrial development and the growing need to help the working mothers. The first nursery school with 70 children was opened in 1946 in the cigarette factory in Skopje.¹⁰

Seasonal kindergartens have also made a significant contribution to the expansion of the network and the spread of interest in preschool institutions until the 1950s. However, with the change in the method of financing (from budget financing to self-financing), the interest in attending them dropped significantly, and thus the coverage of children.

8 Godisen plan za rabotata na Otsesekt za preducilisni i vonucilisni ustanovi pri Ministerstvoto za prosveta na NRM [Annual plan for the work of the Department for Pre-School and Out-of-School Institutions at the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Macedonia], 1946. Fund 170/11, Unit 11/28–38, pp. 28–38. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

9 Izvestaj za rabotata na Otsesekt za preducilisni i vonucilisni ustanovi pri Ministerstvoto za prosveta na NRM [Report on the work of the Department for Pre-School and Out-of-School Institutions at the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Macedonia], 1947. Fund 170/11, Unit 18/73-75. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

10 Izvestaj za rabotata na Otsesekt za preducilisni i vonucilisni ustanovi pri Oddelenieto za skolstvo na Ministerstvoto za prosveta na NRM od januari 1945 do dekemvri 1948 [Report on the work of the Department for Pre-School and Out-of-School Institutions at Department for Schooling at the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Macedonia from January 1945 till December 1948], 1948. Fund 170/11, Unit 20/78-83. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

Beside kindergartens and nurseries, pre-school classes were established as non-compulsory and tuition free institutions for pre-school education of children aged 4–7. The educational activities were carried out in mother tongue in several areas: physical education, games, drawing, modeling and working with other materials, getting to know nature, musical education, developing speech, developing basic mathematical representations (Napatstvie za organizacija i rabota vo zabavistata, 1957, p. 520).

Initially, all preschool institutions, except pre-school classes, were treated as social welfare institutions under the authority of the Ministry of Social Policy. This status was regulated at the federal level by the first document on kindergartens, in which they were defined as “social institutions of the people’s government for daily care, nurturing and public education of children from 3 to 7 years of age”, and a basic requirement for admission of children was “that the mother should be at work during the day outside the house” (Napatstvie za organizacijata, socijalno-zdravstvenata i vospitna rabota..., 1945, p. 827). By the decision of the Government of NRM in 1948, kindergartens passed under the authority of the Ministry of Education and became educational institutions. In that way the interest of working parents in preschools increased. The work of preschool institutions was intensified with the adoption of the 1948 Federal Decree on the opening of kindergartens and nurseries,¹¹ which obliged all larger organizations that perform economic and other activities to open kindergartens and nurseries for the children of their employees. After the adoption of this decree, preschool institutions were opened in all cities in Macedonia, which significantly increased their number and the number of children enrolled.

The expansion of the network of preschool institutions of different types raised the issue of education of qualified personnel. The first step of the Ministry of Education and Culture to address this issue was the establishment of a class for pre-school teachers at the teacher’s school

11 DARM, 1947. Fund: Pretsedatelstvo na Vladata na NRM, 7/63.

in Skopje in 1948/49.¹² Two years later the Ministry adopted the Regulations for the organization and work of kindergartens (*Pravilnik za organizacija i rabota na detskite gradinki*, 1950), which until 1959, when the first law on preschool education was enacted, regulated the admission of children, their health care, educational activities, as well as the role and tasks of preschool educators and parents. These regulations preserved the social character of the kindergartens, since they were to “admit only children whose mothers went to work...” and defined them as “institutions of care and upbringing of healthy children from the age of 3 till starting school” in which all the activities were to be carried out in the mother tongue.

Education and Care for Children with Special Needs

There was no organized protection, education and rehabilitation for children with special needs in Macedonia before the war. There were only two classes for children with mental disabilities with 10–15 students each at two elementary schools in Skopje and one class with 18 students at the elementary school in Kumanovo (Kondarko, 1961, p. 320). In the first years after the war, with the joint efforts of the Ministry of Social Protection, the Ministry of Education and the Associations of the Deaf and Blind, special homes and shelters with educational character were organized for children and young people with visual, hearing and speech impairments, and with mental developmental disabilities. The first home for 32 blind children and young people was opened in 1946 in Bitola. Due to a lack of professional teachers, the five children who were literate were responsible for teaching other students in the home until 1951 (Janeva-Angelova, 1985, pp. 189–190).

In 1949, the first home for hearing-impaired children was opened in the village of Petrovec near Skopje, and in the same year a primary

12 Izvestaj za rabotata i problemite na preducilisni i vonucilisni ustanovi pri Ministerstvoto za prosveta na NRM vo tekot na 1949/50 godina [Report on the work and problems of the pre-school and out-of-school institutions at the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Macedonia during 1949/50], 1950. Fund 170/11, Unit 39/223–228.

school for deaf children was opened near the home. Considering the poor spatial and hygienic working conditions and difficult communication with the city, in 1950 the home was moved to Skopje, where it was integrated with the Home for Blind Children and Youth, thus forming the so called Institute for Defective Children. This Institut would later grow into an important specialized institution for care, education and initial rehabilitation of children with various developmental disabilities and mark the institutional and conceptual foundation of the special education in Macedonia (Ajdinski, 1986, pp. 62–67). The legal acts regulating special education will be enacted more than a decade later.

Children's Homes and Student Housing

From the very beginning, the Yugoslav Federation and Macedonian Republic invested great endeavors and funds in the protection and education of the children who lost their parents in the war, had poor socio-economic background, and attended schools outside their place of residence. Already during the National Liberation War, in conditions of constant movement and danger of military actions, protection of children without parental care was organized in the liberated territories in a large number of children's homes, as well as in several dormitories attached to partisan gymnasia. Only after a few years, in addition to foster care and adoption, a wide network of children's homes and boarding schools was developed as social institutions in which children and young people in need received free accommodation, food, clothing, health protection and everything else they needed for normal living.

Considering the fact that during the war many boarding schools were damaged or destroyed, in the first post-war years army barracks, buildings of former schools and private apartments were also used as children's homes. As permanent or auxiliary institutions, dormitories were opened at almost every gymnasium, primary school and vocational school. According to the available statistical data, the number of children's and youth homes and their residents, in 1946 grew by five times compared to the pre-war situation: from 116 institutions with 10,066 residents in 1939, to 582 institutions (175 children's homes and 407 youth homes) with 52 417 residents (Statisticki godisnjak FNRJ,

1954, p. 355). In the following years, the number of children's homes and boarding schools and the number of the children and young people who were accommodated constantly increased, both at the federal and the republic level.

In Macedonia, which, compared to other republics, started with the smallest number of social institutions and their residents, there was a dynamic and almost constant expansion of the network of institutions and increase in the number of residents. This trend of rapid development in the period from 1947 to 1951 is shown in table 2.

Table 2. Children's homes and boarding schools by type (1947–1951)¹³

Year	Children's homes primary education		Boarding schools Gymnasia		Boarding schools vocational education		Boarding schools practical training		Total	
	homes	residents	homes	residents	homes	residents	homes	residents	homes	residents
1947	8	630	2	114	4	790	3	110	17	1644
1948	5	472	2	113	66	5137	7	412	80	6134
1949	9	546	/	/	22	6681	12	738	43	7965
1950	12	838	63	3776	23	4573	12	1125	110	10312
1951	76	4080	19	1841	42	6696	2	153	139	12770

During this period, there were 4 types of institutions for children and youth in Macedonia:

- Homes for primary school children (ages 7–14) opened to a large number of children whose parents died in the war and whose education was interrupted because of the war. These homes were the most numerous in the first post-war years, and played a significant role in the care and education of primarily village children. The statistics show that their number in 1948 declined, and in 1951 increased sharply.
- Dormitories that housed students from gymnasia and other secondary schools. They also included students attending teacher schools and courses that prepared them to become teachers in a short period

13 The table was created by the author based on the statistical data on the situation in children's homes and boarding schools in Macedonia in the period 1947–1951, which are presented in the Collection of materials from the conference on children's homes held in May 1960 (Juhas& Mihajlo [ed.], 1961, pp. 20–25).

of time. Unlike other Yugoslav republics in which the number of these institutions was significantly higher in the first post-war years (Juhas, 1961, p. 22), in Macedonia there were only 2 boarding schools, which were abolished in 1949. Their number significantly increased in 1950, and since 1951 it has been decreasing both in Macedonia and in other republics (*ibid.*).

- Dormitories at secondary vocational schools for young people who mostly came from the villages to acquire professional knowledge. Since there was a lack of professional staff who was considered to be of great importance for the industrial development of the country, the number of these boarding schools grew rapidly until 1951 in all the Yugoslav republics, except in Macedonia where the peak was reached in 1948.
- Dormitories at industrial schools and other schools with practical training, attended by the children of farmers and workers as a result of the large influx of unskilled people from agriculture and their mass employment in non-agricultural areas. In 1951, there was a sharp drop in the number of this type of dormitories, which is primarily the result of the transition to a new way of financing boarding schools.

The number of employees in children's and youth homes was relatively small. In addition to a manager and sometimes an educator, the home usually employed a housekeeper, cooks and support staff. As the health, cultural and educational needs of children grew, so did the number of educational, medical and administrative staff. Life in the dormitories was organized as a combination of family life and school life. Considering that the family was dominantly patriarchal in that period, and the school had the characteristics of the so-called old school, the attitude of educators towards children largely reflected the military system of work and life: strict discipline, constant supervision and obedience: "we commanded, and the students carried out those commands, they worked, and we sovereignly assessed, punished etc." (*ibid.*, p. 77). The arrangement of the homes was done according to the school's pattern, and following the organization of the school activities, the children from the homes were led to cultural events in groups.

The intensive development of the children's homes and students' housing until 1951 was closely related to the budgetary financing regarding their construction, equipment and maintenance. They were tuition-free institutions, in which a large part of the students received state scholarships. However, with the Decision on the financing of student dormitories and other social institutions (*Resenje o finansiranju djakih domova...*, 1951) they were declared to be institutions with independent financing, thus the main part of the costs for their maintenance were covered by the school fees of the students. The local or republican authorities (people's boards) continued to cover the expenses for the orphans, victims of fascism and children from socially disadvantaged families. Nevertheless, in the following period the number of children and accommodation facilities decreased significantly.

Protection of Child Refugees

Only three years after the end of the World War II, the Macedonian and Yugoslav leadership played a key role in the internationally organized program for the evacuation and protection of children from the civil war in Greece (1946–1949). Namely, in 1948 and 1949 Macedonia became the largest shelter and transit center of 25,000 to 28,000 refugee children¹⁴ (90% were Macedonians, and the rest Greeks), aged from three to fourteen, who were evacuated from northern Greek villages by communist activists and sent in the “brotherly” socialist countries in the Balkans and Eastern Europe where they would have peaceful life, care, food and education, until the end of the war conflict.

Regardless of the reasons for the evacuation of the children, which undoubtedly had a humanitarian, political and ethnical dimension (Sarova Mircevska, 2012, pp. 27–35; Hadjievaska, 2021, pp. 372–373), and of the different interpretations and naming of these historical events in different national contexts and by different authors (Ristovic, 2000; Sjöberg, 2011, Danforth and Van Boeschoten, 2012; Kitanoski &

14 The number of evacuated children is different in different sources. See more in: Sarova Mircevska, 2012, p. 23; Kirjazovski, 1989, p. 37.

Donevski, 2016), the fact is indisputable that thousands of children left their homes and were separated from their families, thus exposed to traumatic experiences that will leave a lasting mark on their lives. Accompanied by pre-recruited and trained girls and young women, and guarded by the soldiers of the Democratic Army of Greece, the columns of children secretly crossed the border points with Yugoslavia, and in smaller numbers with Albania and Bulgaria. The Yugoslav Red Cross together with The Committee for Social Care under the government of FНРY in collaboration with the Macedonian government played a major role in organizing the evacuation, transferring the children to other countries, as well as accepting the largest number of refugee children in its territory. In those poor times, it was a difficult and complex task to provide thousands of children with shelter, food, clothing, medical care and education. According to the incomplete data from March 30, 1948 to September 1949, 14,028 children were transported from Greece to the lands of the so-called democratic countries, and more than 11.000 children were accepted in Yugoslavia and accommodated in children's homes in Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia (Buckova Martinova, 1998, p. 33; Kirjazovski, 1989, p.37).

As soon as the evacuated children crossed Greek-Yugoslav border, medical teams were sent to examine them, after which they were transferred and temporarily accommodated to already prepared shelters/reception points in Macedonia (Resen and Bitola). They stayed there until their organized placement in children's homes, that is, until their departure to other Yugoslav republics or to one of the Eastern European countries (Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and as the number of refugees increased, to East Germany and the USSR). Considering the constant influx of new groups of refugees, adults and children, and the great poverty in Macedonia at that time, the living conditions in the shelters were unsatisfactory. One of the witnesses remembered the Brailovo shelter as "a small place, with walled shacks", where the life conditions were harsh: "It was difficult, especially with food. At that time there was poverty, there was no food, especially for us children. You could have a piece of bread for the whole day" (Sarova Mircevska, 2012, p. 91). Another testimony confirms the situation: "[...] They gave

us bread, they gave us food, but it was not enough. They gave one loaf of bread each, but that was for three days. We, being hungry, would have eaten the first day and we were hungry for two days” (ibid., pp. 91–92).

Simultaneously with the shelters, children’s homes for the youngest refugees were opened in Macedonia. Out of 41 children’s homes in Yugoslavia, 12 were located in Macedonia. In May 1948, the Macedonian Red Cross, in cooperation with the Ministry of Social Affairs, opened the first two homes for these children: one located in Matka near Skopje, which initially accommodated 332 children of preschool and school age, together with 10 women accompanying them from their native villages, and the other in the Skopje village of Petrovec, where 208 school-age children were accommodated (Kitanoski & Donevski, 2016). Starting from 1949, in the next few years, many children’s homes were opened, especially for refugee children. They accommodated younger children without parents, children whose parents were in Eastern European countries, but also children of parents located in Macedonia, who did not have the conditions to take care of them. All children attended compulsory primary education. The older ones, who had a desire for further education and professional development, were included in secondary education institutions and were accommodated in student dormitories that existed in the larger towns of Macedonia. In the following years, their numbers increased steadily as a result of the continuous influx of young people from the Yugoslav Red Cross homes in Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia.

Life in children’s homes was organized according to prescribed norms regarding accommodation, hygiene, health care, nutrition and clothing, educational and cultural work with children, financing and material costs. Those standards were prepared by the Ministry of Education of Macedonia, on the base of the federal guidelines for all social institutions of this type throughout the territory of Yugoslavia. All the norms and rules aimed to provide the children with proper physical development, conditions for schooling and their formation

into cultured, disciplined, determined and honest people, completely loyal to the homeland.¹⁵

However, the stipulated standards were hardly implemented in practice, because of the numerous difficulties the children's homes faced: they worked in already existing facilities that were often hastily and incompletely adapted, had no built-in sanitary units and water supply network, were equipped with old and insufficient furniture, had constant lack of bedding, kitchen utensils and hygiene products (Sarova Mircevska, 2012, p. 99). Although the health service was regulated by guidelines,¹⁶ in the majority of children's homes, there was no health service. Part-time doctors and nurses performed only a health examination of the children upon their admission to the institution, as well as systematic examinations twice a year.

In children's homes, special attention was paid to including children in schools according to their age, and to monitoring their school achievements and behavior. Education in the various types of secondary schools was supported by numerous scholarships awarded by the respective state institutions. A significant component of the children's lives in the homes were also extracurricular and leisure activities, which were supposed to foster community spirit, friendship and cooperation between them: pioneer and youth organizations for school-age children; children's occupations (evenings of children's works, indoor games, thematic contests, making wall newspapers), recreational activities (excursions in Macedonia and other parts of Yugoslavia, vacations in children's resorts, pioneer camping (Sarova Mircevska, 2012, pp. 101–103).

15 Napatstvija za organiziranje na nastavno-vospitnata i opsto-prosvetnata rabota vo detskite domovi za deca od uclisna vozrast [Guidelines for organizing teaching and general educational work in children's homes for children of school age], 1948. Fund Ministerstvo za prosveta na NRM (1945–1951) 170/4, Unit 33. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

16 Napatstvija za zdravstvenata sluzba vo detskite domovi, gradinki i internati [Guidelines for the health service in children's homes, kindergartens and boarding schools], 1949. Fund Ministerstvo za prosveta na NRM (1945–1951) 170/4, Unit 51. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

The issue of child refugees in Macedonia was treated by the Macedonian government within the general issue of refugees from the Aegean part of Macedonia, who were mostly Macedonians and therefore were housed in Macedonia as a “mother” country. According to statistics, in the period 1945–1950, 16,068 refugee families with 71,591 members passed through Macedonia.¹⁷ Their protection, which requested large material costs and numerous organizational and personnel issues in a period of a decade, represented a great burden for the fragile post-war Yugoslav and, especially, Macedonian economy. The situation will be further aggravated in the coming period with the repatriation of refugees settled in Eastern European countries, for which Macedonia was the preferred destination. As the repatriation process will intensify in the mid-1950s, the number of child and adult refugees in Macedonia will continue to increase, and thus the state will continue to bear the responsibility for their integration into the life of the community.

Conclusion

The earliest post-war stage of the development of the Yugoslav Federation, and the People’s Republic of Macedonia as its integral part, is an extremely challenging and turbulent period of state building. On the political level, the foundations of the new social order were laid in which the state responsibilities in all areas of human life were strongly expressed. The primary task of the federal and republic policy makers was to overcome and compensate the damages of the war and to get the country out of the inherited economic and cultural backwardness. It was a complex and ambitious task for the fragile Macedonian economy burdened with poverty, undeveloped industry and destroyed infrastructure. Therefore, urgent measures for reconstruction and development were required and projected in the so-called five-year plans as the main tools of the centralized economy (Veljanovski, 2002, pp. 50–51).

17 Godisen izvestaj od rabotata na Ministerstvo za socijalni grizi za 1950 godina [Annual report of the work of the Ministry of Social Care for 1950], 1950. Fund 171/3, Unit 29. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

The educational and social tasks were particularly numerous and difficult to implement. The number of illiterate population, broken families and socially endangered children was huge. Preschool and special education almost did not exist, school buildings were destroyed, there were no textbooks, there was a lack of teaching staff and other personnel. Starting practically from scratch, the state during this period laid the foundations of the systems of education and social protection of children and youth, which will define the direction of development in these areas in the coming period.

On the educational level, significant progress was being made compared to the pre-war situation, considering that education and schooling for the first time were based on democratic principles that will be incorporated into the modern Macedonian educational system: the right to education for all children without any discrimination, free and compulsory primary education, education in mother tongue for Macedonians and for the minorities living in Macedonia. Impressive results were achieved in terms of increasing the cultural and educational level of children and youth, in the expansion of the network of educational institutions, especially at the primary level, and in their structural, programmatic and organizational setting. In general, no other social activity in the country at that time had such speedy and dynamic development as education had (Kamberski, 1994, p. 6), for it was the principal factor in the social, economic, cultural and scientific development of Macedonia.

On the other hand, large investments were also made in the area of child protection. In the first post-war years, there was a strong need in Macedonian society to heal the children's wounds made by two wars: one at home that had just ended leaving huge numbers of orphaned, poor, hungry and illiterate children, and the second war that took place in a neighboring country, in which 28,000 refugee children were victims of the post-war complex constellation of national and international political relations and interests. The refugee children who transited or stayed in Macedonia also experienced the consequences of the post-war ideological conflict between Yugoslavia and the USSR in 1948, which would later affect the process of repatriation of children from

Eastern European countries (Sarova Mircevska, 2012, pp. 119–126). The Macedonian state allocated huge material resources and human potential to accommodate all children in orphanages and boarding schools, to include them in educational institutions, provide them with health care and scholarships, and organize cultural and recreational activities. Very often, children from Macedonia and refugee children lived together in children's homes and student dormitories, and some of the homes that were specially built for the refugee children will continue to be used as homes for orphaned children from Macedonia.

However, when evaluating the achievements in this earliest stage of the socialist development in Macedonia, it should be taken into account that the educational work with children and young people in children's homes, schools and student dormitories was strictly centralized and reflected the ideological domination and control of the Communist party. The educational goals and programs were rooted in the theory of socialist education that was politically conditioned and ideologically defined as a "class liberation and revolutionary practice of the working class", and aimed at liberating the educational theory and practice from the recidivism of the "bourgeois school and ideology" (Damjanovski, 1985, pp. 23–43). Therefore, the upbringing and education in post-war Macedonia carried a burden of the party control, ideology of monism, apologetics and absence of critical approaches.

Literature

- AJDINSKI, Ljupco, 1986. *Opstetsvenata zastita i rehabilitacija na licata popreceni vo fizickiot i psihickiot razvitok vo SR Makedonija 1945–1985* [Public Protection and Rehabilitation of Persons with Disabilities in Physical and Mental Development in SR Macedonia 1945–1985]. Skopje: IPZRO Fonografika.
- ANGELOVSKI, Krste, 1985. Sadržinata i programskata struktura na osnovното vospitanie i obrazovanie [Content and Program Structure of Primary Upbringing and Education]. In: KOPROVSKI, Ljupco et al. (eds.). *Vospitaniето i obrazovaniето vo Makedonija 1943–1983*. [Upbringing and Education in Macedonia 1943–1983]. Skopje: Prosvetno delo, pp. 80–97.
- BUCKOVA MARTINOVA, Fani, 1998. *We Too Are Children of Mother Earth*. Skopje: Združenie na decata begalci od egejskiot del na Makedonija.

- DAMJANOVSKI, Anatoli, 1985. Cetirieset godini sloboden razvoj na vospitaniето i obrazovaniето vo Makedonija [Forty Years of Free Development of Education in Macedonia]. In: KOPROVSKI, Ljupco et al. (eds.). *Vospitaniето i obrazovaniето vo Makedonija (1943–1983)* [Upbringing and Education in Macedonia 1943–1983]. Skopje: Prosvetno delo, 1985, pp. 23–43.
- DANFORTH, Loring M., VAN BOESCHOTEN, Riki, 2012. *Children of the Greek Civil War: Refugees and the Politics of Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ISBN 978-0-226-13598-4.
- HADJIEVSKA, Ivana, 2021. The Position of Oral History Testimonies from the “Child Refugees” in Macedonian Politics of Memory. Case Study: Testimony of a Child Refugee from the Greek Civil War. *Pro Tempore*. No. 16, pp. 371–392. ISSN 1334-8302.
- HRISTOV, Aleksandar, TODOROVSKI, Mile & VELJANOVSKI, Novica, 1984. ASNOM Dokumenti. Vol. 1, Book 2. Skopje: INI.
- JANEVA-ANGELOVA, Cveta, 1985. Specijalno vospitanie i obrazovanie [Special upbringing and education]. In: KOPROVSKI, Ljupco et al. (eds.). *Vospitaniето i obrazovaniето vo Makedonija 1943–1983*. [Upbringing and Education in Macedonia 1943–1983]. Skopje: Prosvetno delo, pp. 189–198.
- JUHAS, Mihajlo, 1961. *Domovi ucenika-internati. Reforma organizacije zivota i rada ucenika. Zbornik materijala sa savetovanja o domovima 1960 godine* [Student Dormitories-boarding Schools. Reform of the Organization of Students' Life and Work. Collection of Materials from Counseling on Homes in 1960]. Beograd: Savremena skola.
- JURUKOVA, Nada, 2003. *Kulturno-prosvetni pojavi i procesi vo Makedonija (1944–1953)*. [Cultural and Educational Phenomena and Processes in Macedonia (1944–1953)]. Skopje: Institut za nacionalna istorija. ISBN 9989-624-85-2.
- JURUKOVA, Nada, 1990. *Osnovnoto vospitanie i obrazovanie vo Makedonija (1944–1950)*. [Primary Upbringing and Education in Macedonia (1944–1950)]. Skopje: Institut za nacionalna istorija.
- KAMBERSKI, Kiro, 1994. *Od bukvar do univerzitet* [From Primer to University]. Skopje: Prosvetno delo.
- KIRJAZOVSKI, Risto, 1989. *Makedonskata politicka emigracija od egejskiот del na Makedonija vo Istocna Evropa* [Macedonian Political Emigration from the Aegean Part of Macedonia to Eastern Europe]. Skopje: Kultura.
- KITANOSKI, Boro, 1973. *Prvite makedonski ucilista vo NOB* [The First Macedonian Schools in NOB]. Skopje: Nasa kniga.
- KITANOSKI, Misko & DONEVSKI, Giorgi, 2016. *Deca begalci od Egejska Makedonija vo Jugoslavija* [Refugee children from Aegean Macedonia in Yugoslavia]. Toronto: Risto Stefov Publications. E-book available at: https://macedonianhistory.ca/Stefov_Risto/Refugee_Detsa%20Begaltsi%20-%20e-book%20Macedonian.pdf.

- KONDARKO, Blagoj, 1961. Specijalnoto školstvo vo NR Makedonija. *Prosvetno delo*. Skopje: Zdruzenie za teorija i praktika na obrazovanieto "Obrazovni refleksii". No. 5–6, pp. 320–331.
- KRNETA, Ljubomir, 1978. *Pedagogija*. Beograd: Naucna knjiga.
- MIOVSKA-SPASEVA, Suzana, 2013. Development of Primary Teacher Schooling in Macedonia (1869–1963). Roots and Fruits of a Century-long Tradition. History of Education and Children's Literature. Edizioni Università di Macerata, Italy. Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 129–146. ISSN 1971-1093 (print)/ISSN 1971-1131 (online).
- MIOVSKA-SPASEVA, Suzana, 2015. Achievements and Contradictions in the Development of Schooling and Pedagogy in Socialist Macedonia (1945–1990). *Sodobna pedagogika/Journal of Contemporary Educational Studies*. Ljubljana: Zveza društev pedagoških delavcev Slovenije (ZDPDS). Vol. 66 (132), Issue 2, pp. 114–128. ISSN 0038-0474.
- MUSTAFA, Avzi, 1985. Nekoi specifični problemi vo razvoju na osnovnoto obrazovanje i vospitanie kaj narodnostite vo SRM [Some specific problems in the development of basic education and upbringing of minorities in SRM]. In: KOPROVSKI, Ljupco et al. (eds.). *Vospitanieto i obrazovanieto vo Makedonija 1943–1983 [Upbringing and Education in Macedonia 1943–1983]*. Skopje: Prosvetno delo.
- Napatstvie za organizacija i rabota vo zabavistata [Guide for organization and work in the pre-school classes], 1945. *Sluzben list na DFJ [Official gazette of DFJ]*, No. 57/I.
- Napatstvie za organizacijata, socijalno-zdravstvenata i vospitna rabota za deca od pretskolska vozrast vo gradovite i industriskite mesta [Guidelines for the organization, social-health and educational work for children of preschool age in cities and industrial areas], 1945. *Sluzben list na DFJ [Official gazette of DFJ]*, No. 82.
- Opstobrazovatelni skoli i skoli za nastaven kadar vo Makedonija 1940/41 – 1950/51 [General education schools and schools for teachers in Macedonia 1940/41 – 1950/51]*, 1955. Skopje.
- Osnovni statistički podaci o razvoju i stanju školstva u FNRJ. Dokumentacija uz Deklaraciju o sistemu obrazovanja i vaspitanja u FNRJ [Basic statistical data on the development and state of education in FNRJ. Documentation with the Declaration on the system of education and upbringing in FNRJ]*, 1957. Beograd: Savezna narodna skupština.
- POP EFTIMOV, Dimitar, CUCUK, Spase, JOSIFOVSKI, Jonce, KUNOVSKI, Vasil, KIRANDZIJSKI, Jordan & RISTIC, Gjogje, 1945. *Bukvar so citanka [A primer with a reader]*. Skopje: Drzavno knigoizdatelstvo na Makedonija.
- POTKONJAK, Nikola, 1977. *Od etatistike ka samoupravnoj socijalistickoj osnovnoj skoli [From state to self-governing socialist primary school]*. Belgrade: Prosveta.

- Pravilnik za organizacija i rabota na detskite gradinki [Rulebook for organization and work in kindergartens], 1950. *Sluzben vesnik na NRM* [Official gazette of NRM], No. 14.
- Resenie na ASNOM za zaveduenje na makedonskiot jazik kako sluzben jazik vo makedonskata drzava [ASNOM's Decree of announcing the Macedonian language as an official language in the Macedonian state], 1945. *Sluzben vesnik na FEM* [Official gazette of FEM], No. 1.
- Resenje o finansiranju djackih domova i ostalih socijalnih ustanova [Decree of financing of children's homes and other social institutions], 1951. *Sluzbeni list FNRJ* [Official gazette of FNRJ], No. 49–50.
- Resenie za pravopisot na makedonskiot jazik [Decree of Orthography of the Macedonian language], 1945. *Sluzben vesnik na FEM* [Official gazette of FEM], No. 12.
- Resenija za otvoranje osmoletki [Decrees for opening of eight-year primary schools], 1950. *Sluzben vesnik na NRM* [Official gazette of FEM], No. 24, p. 171; No. 30, p. 227; No. 31, p. 131.
- Rezolucija po prasanjeto za makedonskata azbuka [Resolution on the issue of the Macedonian alphabet], 1945. *Sluzben vesnik na FEM* [Official gazette of FEM], No. 7–8.
- RISTOVIC, Milan, 2000. *A Long Journey Home: Greek Refugee Children in Yugoslavia, 1948–1960*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies.
- SAROVA MIRCEVSKA, Katerina, 2012. *Nova destinacija-nova tatkovina: decata begalci od egejskiot del na Makedonija vo Jugoslavija i Makedonija 1948–1960* [New destination – new homeland: refugee children from the Aegean part of Macedonia in Yugoslavia and Macedonia 1948–1960]. Skopje: Az-buki. ISBN 9989151911.
- Statisticki godisnik na SRM* [Statistical yearbook of the SRM], 1968. Skopje: Republicki zavod za statistika.
- Statisticki godisnjak FNRJ* [Statistical yearbook of the FNRJ], 1954. Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku.
- Uredba za osnivanje Visa pedagogska skola vo Skopje [Decree of establishment of Teacher college in Skopje], 1947. *Sluzben vesnik na NRM* [Official gazette of NRM], No. 31, p. 312.
- Ustav na NR Makedonija, 1947. *Sluzben vesnik na NRM* [Official gazette of NRM], No. 1.
- VELJANOVSKI, Novica (ed.), 1987. *ASNOM Dokumenti* [ASNOM Documents]. Skopje: INI, Vol. I/3.
- VELJANOVSKI, Novica, 2002. *Makedonija 1945–1991 drzavnost i nezavisnost* [Macedonia 1945–1991 statehood and independence]. Skopje: INI. ISBN 9989-624-69-0.

Zakon za sedumgodisno osnovno skolovanje [Law on seven-year primary education]. *Sluzben vesnik na NRM* [Official gazette of NRM], No. 24.

ZLATKU, Avni, 1985. Vospitanieto i obrazovanieto na decata na narodnostite i drugite narodi vo SRM [Upbringing and education of the children of minorities and other peoples in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia]. In: KOPROVSKI, Ljupco et al. (eds.). Vospitanieto i obrazovanieto vo Makedonija 1943–1983 [Upbringing and Education in Macedonia]. Skopje: Prosvetno delo.

Archive Materials

Godisen izvjestaj od rabotata na Ministerstvo za socijalni grizi za 1950 godina [Annual report of the work of the Ministry of Social Care for 1950], 1950. Fund 171/3, Unit 29. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

Godisen plan za rabotata na Otsekot za preducilisni i vonucilisni ustanovi pri Ministerstvoto za prosveta na NRM [Annual plan for the work of the Department for Pre-School and Out-of-School Institutions at the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Macedonia], 1946. Fund 170/11, Unit11/28-38. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

Deklaracija na AVNOJ [AVNOJ Declaration], 1943. Fund AVNOJ, 8/1496. Arhiv na oddelenieto za dokumentacija pri Institutot za nacionalna istorija, Skopje.

DARM, 1947. Fund: Pretsedatelstvo na Vladata na NRM, 7/63.

Izvestaj za rabotata i problemite na preducilisni i vonucilisni ustanovi pri Ministerstvoto za prosveta na NRM vo tekot na 1949/50 godina [Report on the work and problems of the pre-school and out-of-school institutions at the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Macedonia during 1949/50], 1950. Fund 170/11, Unit 39/223-228.

Izvestaj za rabotata na Otsekot za preducilisni i vonucilisni ustanovi pri Ministerstvoto za prosveta na NRM [Report on the work of the Department for Pre-School and Out-of-School Institutions at the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Macedonia], 1947. Fund 170/11, Unit18/73-75. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

Izvestaj za rabotata na Otsekot za preducilisni i vonucilisni ustanovi pri Oddelenieto za skolstvo na Ministerstvoto za prosveta na NRM od januari 1945 do dekemvri 1948 [Report on the work of the Department for Pre-School and Out-of-School Institutions at Department for Schooling at the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Macedonia from January 1945 till December 1948], 1948. Fund 170/11, Unit 20/78-83. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.

- Napatstvija za organiziranje na nastavno-vospitnata i opsto-prosvetnata rabota vo detskite domovi za deca od uciliska vozrast [Guidelines for organizing teaching and general educational work in children's homes for children of school age], 1948. Fund Ministerstvo za prosveta na NRM (1945–1951) 170/4, Unit 33. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.*
- Napatstvija za zdravstvenata sluzba vo detskite domovi, gradinki i internati [Guidelines for the health service in children's homes, kindergartens and boarding schools], 1949. Fund: Ministerstvo za prosveta na NRM (1945–1951) 170/4, Unit 51. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.*
- Privremen nastaven plan i program za obuka vo osnovnite ucilista [Provisional curriculum for training in primary schools], 1944. Fund ASNOM/5. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.*
- Statisticki podatoci za site vidovi ucilista vo Makedonija od 1944–1951 [Statistical data for all types of schools in Macedonia from 1944–1951]. Fund 170/26, Unit 3/72-80. Drzaven Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.*
- Zbirna tabela za osnovnite ucilista, za ucenicite i za nastavniot kadar vo Makedonija od 1939/40 do 1950/51 [Summary table for primary school teachers, students and teaching staff in Macedonia from 1939/40 to 1950/51]. Fund 170/26, Unit 7. Drzaven arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje.*