

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN ROMANIA

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Hull

by

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Summary of Thesis submitted for Ph.D Degree

by R.A.N. MacGregor-Hastie

on

The History of Education in Romania

This study of education in Romania begins with an investigation of the geographical factors affecting the Romanian people's evolution in general, and the emphasis is on their Romanity in particular. The early history of Dacia is outlined, as a well developed agro-military society comes into being. The Roman conquest by Trajan leads to a fusion of the culture of conquerer and conquered, with the Latin language supreme and substantial Roman settlement. After the formal withdrawal of the Romans, Christianity comes from Rome rather than from Constantinople, reinforcing a Romanity which is one of the characteristics of the emergence of the voivodats of Moldavia and Wallachia, in the twelfth century, though the Orthodox Church has overwhelmed the Roman Catholic. In Transylvania, the Roman Catholic tradition survives under Magyar suzerainty. The Romanity of the culture of all three provinces survives Slav, Magyar and Turkish oppression, and finds expression in the translation of religious texts, into Romanian, and the setting up of Romanian language schools in the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century, public, primary and grammar schools prepare a minority for higher education in France, and after the de facto independence of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859, education at all levels develops, French influence prevailing. At the end of the century, Spiru Haret lays the foundations for universal public education, and after the addition of Transylvania to the core of the reformed State in 1918, a Greater Romania makes slow progress, hindered by political and military demands on the budget. Liberation in 1944 by the Soviet Red Army ensures a period of sovietisation of every aspect of life, but after 1965, the Romanity of institutions and people is once again stressed by Nicolae Ceausescu. 1968 marks the beginning of a new 'Romanian way', and important statutes, examined here in detail, point the way forward. The author's visits to Romania in

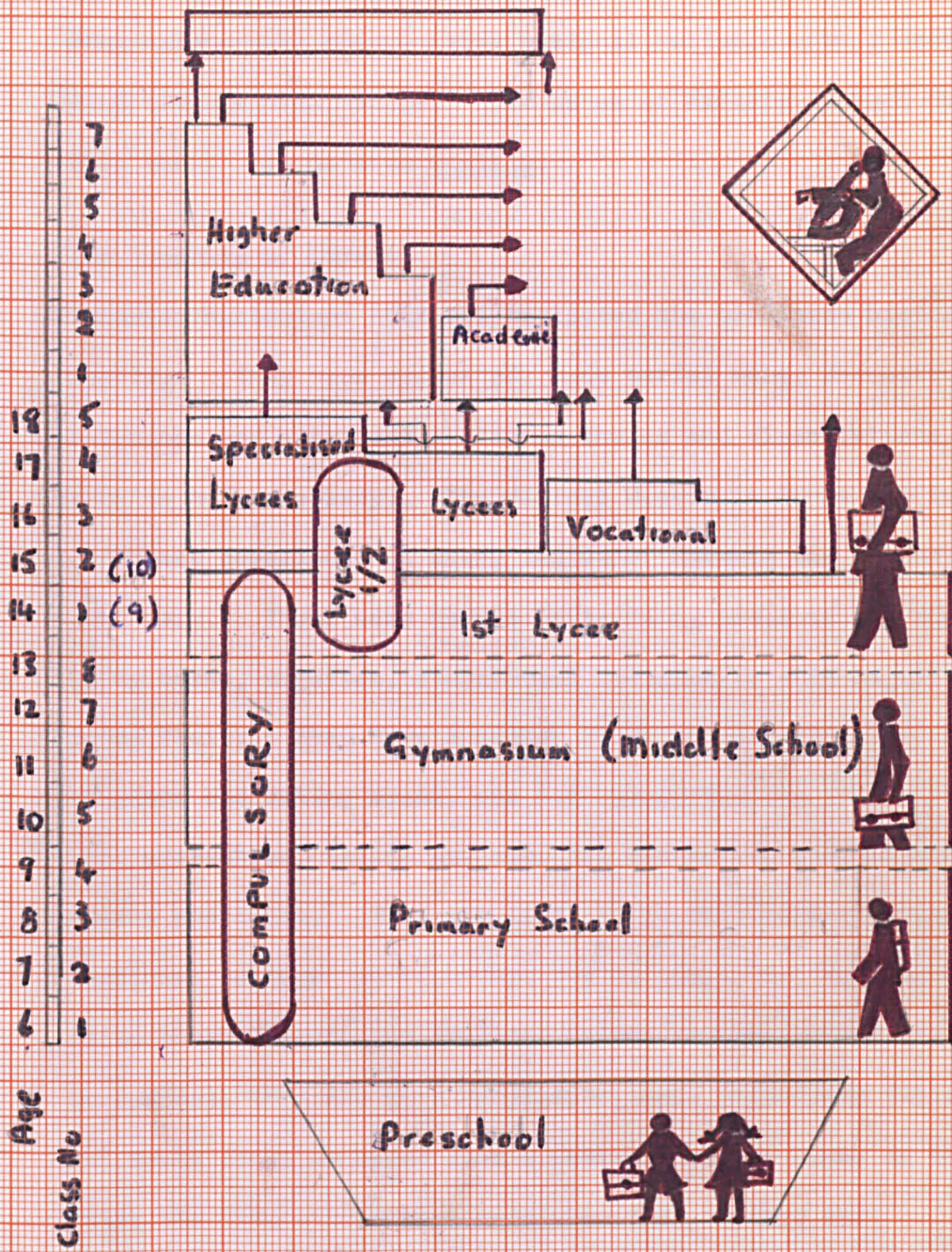
1974, 1975, 1976 and 1977 are reported and the condition of educational institutions described.

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The Educational Hierarchy in Romania 1976



GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Any study of education in Romania (whether it be the Kingdom of Dacia, re-constituted by Michael the Brave, the Union of the Provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Kingdom of Romania, the People's Republic of Romania or the Socialist Republic of Romania) has to take note of the fact that, as one writer put it: "Romanians live their history". ⁽¹⁾ This does not mean merely that they observe national holidays with a proper nod in the direction of dead heroes. The sense of history is much more pervasive than that. It is even visible.

2. The Romanity of Romania

Romanian historians have not neglected the pre-Roman history of their country. They have excavated, made aerial maps, reconstructed pre-Roman buildings and sites and published theses and dissertations, but in a way this is not necessary. The Village Museum in Bucharest is a collection of houses demolished in every region of Romania and reconstructed in a vast park. These were houses lived in by peasants and they are surrounded by barns, pigsties, storehouses designed to suit conditions in pre-Roman Dacia. They have a number of features unique in Europe - the two kitchens and eating areas, one for summer and one for winter, the carved wood everywhere, inside and out, the painted exteriors, the stills for tsuica and so on. They are lived in by Daco-Romanians who do not wear 'national costume' on high days and holidays, but wear clothes very similar to those depicted on Trajan's Column in Rome, every day of the week. On Sundays, they add more decoration, more embroidery (waistcoats, aprons), but Dacia lives on seven days a week. And the names on the milestones are those the Romans must have seen when they marched in.

Now the Romans did not attempt to destroy this vigorous and decorative

(1) Rau, A., in Steaua, Cluj, March 1975, (Editorial, p. 1).

civilisation when they conquered it. They merely added to it. Their language eventually submerged the Dacian, they built towns of their own and gave them Roman names, and, perhaps most significant of all, they gave the province a Romanity which survives in the name of the present day state itself. Romania is the only former province of the Empire which has kept the name, Rome, alive. Slavs, Magyars and Turks have tramped to and fro across Romania, perhaps hoping to leave their mark, but when they left, Daco-Romania was always much the same as it had been before. During the worst period of Turkish oppression, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was no blurring of the outlines of a national identity. The reverse was true, the language developed as fast as other vernaculars. The first schools were set up not by occupying powers, but by native Romanians who taught their language and history to other, eager, Romanians. When contacts with France, in the eighteenth century, were made, it was as between two sibling nations, heirs of Rome. In the twentieth century, France is as happy to welcome and be influenced by the work of Ionescu and Tzara as Romanians have been to welcome French literature and art. Eminescu's criticisms of his fellow countrymen in nineteenth century Paris was that they were inadequate as 'heirs of Rome'.⁽¹⁾ Bucharest is what Paris would have been had its town plan been completed, 'the Rome of modern times'.

3. Ethnic minorities

The certainty of identity has made it possible for Romanians to welcome settlers from all over Europe. Some came as invaders, some just drifted down the Danube, some (Germans) were invited to bring with them new agricultural and administrative skills. Serbs, Slovaks, Saxons, Bulgarians, Russians, Ukrainians, Greeks, Turks have all settled happily as did the Roman legionaries before them. No attempt was ever made to extinguish their national identities, and provision for their schooling has grown step by step with the growth of the State system of public education. The only

MacGregor-Hastie R.A.N. *The Last Romantic*. Univ. of Iowa Press for UNESCO p.56
(translation of poem Third Letter) 1972.

group which has 'made trouble' is the Magyar, and that because Hungary has always looked covetously at the wealth of Transylvania and held it as a vassal state for five hundred years. There were Daco-Romanians in Transylvania for a thousand years before the Magyars, and Magyars in Romania, like other minorities, have their own schools, newspapers, magazines, publishers and ethnic institutions, but there is a continuing clash of national personality, perhaps like that between the English and the Scots. Magyars try to claim all sorts of privileges. They used to claim that they were the guardians of the Roman Catholic tradition in Orthodox Eastern Europe, yet Romania was converted to Christianity by Rome five hundred years before the Magyars reached Europe. Magyars claim that they are more cultured, cultivated, genteel, but there is no evidence of this. (1) Their attitude has produced in Transylvania a greater pride among Romanians in being Romanian; even more, Transylvanian Romanians think of themselves as superior to Romanians from the other provinces, "more direct heirs of Rome". (2)

4. Relations with East and West

Most countries of Eastern Europe think of themselves as such. Poland likes to think of herself as an outpost of the West in the East, rather than the other way round, but the Poles, with all their Catholic tradition, are Slavs. Romania tends to think of herself as part of the West, not merely an outpost of it. Perhaps this is because the major invasions, for a thousand years were from the East, and the feeling generated spontaneously that there must be something 'Western' in Romania to defend, to attract the invader. Yet there is something illogical about Romanian attitudes, private and public. The Romans extinguished the native language of the Dacians, but there is no trace of anti-Roman attitudes in

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- (1) The Grievances of the Hungarian Minority in Romania, Magyar-Szekely, (Budapest) 1922. The March 1966 Census shows 16.781.000 Romanians (87.8%), 1.603.000 Magyars (8.4%), 377.000 Germans (2%), 342.000 others (1.8%).
 - (2) The Romanian Question in Transylvania and in Hungary, Antwerp, Vienna, 1892, Preface p(ii).

legend, formal textbook or foreign policy. The Turks occupied large tracts of Romania for centuries and committed some notable atrocities, yet the feeling towards the Turks is one of affectionate contempt, in a way like that of the English for the Irish. Anti-semitism ⁽¹⁾ is deep-rooted in Romania, yet Romanian artists have translated anti-semitism into art (especially in paintings by Grigorescu), there are Jews everywhere in public life, and Communist Romania has never followed the Soviet anti-Israeli line in politics. Russia acted during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the 'protector' of Orthodox Romania, and, arguably, from 1944 as the 'protector' of Communist Romania, yet all Slavs, and Russians in particular, are cordially disliked and it is largely on the strength of this dislike that Ceausescu was able to build the autonomy of the Romanian Socialist Republic within the 'Soviet bloc'.

5. Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact and Comecon.

Romania was 'liberated' by the Red Army in 1944, and celebrates the 'Day of Liberation from the Fascist Yoke' annually. The Soviet Union gave a great deal of material aid, especially on the establishment of a People's Republic of Romania in 1948 and for several years after. The Communist-led Government of the period 1948-1965 joined everything (Warsaw Pact, Comecon) proposed by the Soviet Union, yet from 1960 on popular dislike of the Russians as people nudged the Romanian Government and Party nearer and nearer to a 'Tito's Yugoslavia' position. ⁽²⁾ With the election of Ceausescu to the Secretaryship General of the Romanian Workers' Party in 1965, ⁽³⁾ the pace of 'liberation' from Moscow increased. Statues of Soviet leaders disappeared from the public parks. The affect on education included the fading away of Russian from the curriculum. Books in Russian became more and more difficult to find. Diplomatic relations with the

(1) Goldsmid M., The Persecution of the Jews in Romania, London 1872.

(2) MacGregor-Hastie R., Don't Send Me to Omsk, London 1962, Macdonald.

(3) Then renamed the Romanian Communist Party (PCR).

United States of America improved, and had it not been for the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Red Army in 1968, the 'deRussification' of Romania might have gone further. Fear of the Soviet invasion of Romania, either to punish that country for its ingratitude or to 'purge the revolution' held it back. By 1971, Ceaușescu had restored the Romanian Communist Party's hold on 'the revolution' and had toned down the 'deRussification'. Since then he has walked a political tightrope stretched between external autonomy and internal orthodoxy, looking for Communist allies as well as capitalist friends in the United States, Europe and the Third World. Romanian's membership of Comecon and the Warsaw Pact continues, though Ceaușescu pursues his own economic policy in disregard of Comecon guidelines, and his troops do not always take part in Warsaw Pact manoeuvres. Similarly, lipservice is paid to the 'scientific triumph of Marxism Leninism', but every parish has its priest and the 'propaganda centres' in village and town are deserted in favour of the parks, the beaches and the bars.

6. Accuracy and availability of information in Romania.

The author first went to Romania as a Foreign Correspondent in 1957, and has spent at least a month a year there ever since, latterly as the principal translator ⁽¹⁾ of Romanian literature for the UNESCO Collection of Representative Works, and editor of the University of Iowa Press' Bilingual Text Series. Over the years the author has got to know many of the people who are now at the 'top' - politicians, writers and artists, publishers, educationalists and academics. So life was made relatively easy for him in 1975, when over a period of five months the author visited or revisited universities, schools at every level and teachers' centres, and had long talks with teachers, pupils and students and at the Ministry of Education, notably with Director-General Professor Mihai Sora.

(1) See list of other works in the field of Romanian Studies, p.287

Nevertheless, the heirs to the Roman gods of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* were alive and well. In his pioneer study ⁽¹⁾ of teacher training in the USSR and its satellites, Nigel Grant seems to have found Romania the most confusing. He reports in his dissertation that he was given three different answers to the simple question: "How many two year teacher training colleges are there in Romania?" Even speaking Romanian, and vested officially as Secretary-General of the British Association for Romanian Studies, the author found it sometimes difficult to get a simple answer to a simple question, ten years after Grant's visit. In these ten years, 'people' have become perhaps more accessible, but statistics as published even less reliable.

In 1973 the World Population Congress was held in Bucharest, and the Head of State is reported as having ordered the alteration of the population figures for Romania, upping them from the Census 20 million to 22 million. The author's impression is that all official statistics, including those supplied to the UNESCO Year Books, must be treated with some suspicion. Wherever possible official statistics were checked without letting anybody know what was going on. For example, on visits to three nursery schools, the author counted the number of classrooms, teachers, pupils and so on, checked them against local records and records held at the Ministry and has reported the real figures. Outside Romania, information is difficult to find and assessment and evaluation of it by disinterested people rare.

The International Bureau of Education in Geneva wrote to the author that: "a search in our Centre of Documentation was not successful concerning the history of Education in Romania". The IBE Year Books, 1933-1939, contain short, general chapters on 'trends' in Romania, but no more.

(1) Grant N., *Teacher Training in the USSR and Eastern Europe*, Ph.D. thesis, Glasgow 1969, pp.146-167.

The British (Museum) Library has virtually nothing on education in Romania (1) - indeed so little on Romania itself it includes publications like 'Romania in Words and Pictures' with a German text.

The US Office of Health, Education and Welfare commissioned two studies of Education in Romania, both by a lecturer at New York City University and both now out of date. For the rest, the Romanian Studies Association of America reports only work in progress. (2)

The London Comparative Education library, which lists Romania as Rumania, contains Grant (sopra cit) and four other works originating outside Romania other than the US publications (sopra cit) of the Sixties.

Most of the information contained below, therefore, was gathered on the ground in Romania, notwithstanding the standard Romanian reply to each and every question: "Unde vrei să ajungi?" ("What are you up to now?", lit. Where do you want to get to?")

The author tried to get at the history of education in Romania.

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- (1) There are more books by the author on Romania than by any other single author.
 - (2) Romanian Studies Association of America Bulletin (Ed. Dr. Norman J. Fry), Univ. of Florida, November 1975.

PART ONE

As I.L. Kandel notes in his *Studies in Comparative Education*, "... the comparative approach (to education) demands first an appreciation of the intangible, impalpable spiritual and cultural forces which underlie an educational system; the factors and forces outside the school matter even more than what goes on inside it". (1)

It is impossible to do a meaningful study of the educational system of a country without a close examination of these forces, set up by geographical factors, historical traditions, the evolution of language and the settlement of ethnic minorities, religious traditions and debts to other systems. Part One of this investigation, then, concentrates on these factors up to the re-emergence of an independent Romania in 1859. Attention is drawn to opportunities for education where they existed, were imported, or evolved, during these two millenia, and due to the unfamiliarity of the country to the student in Western Europe (three spellings of the name of the country are current in the UK Press), the development of this civilisation from the fusion of the ancient Dacian and Roman civilisations has been studied in some detail.

(1) Kandel I.L., *Studies in Comparative Education*, Boston 1933.

THE PHYSICAL AND HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF ROMANIA

1. Landforms

The landform pattern of Romania is a simple one. It consists of the Danube Delta to the East, which is tangential to a ring of plains (the Moldavian Plain, the Wallachian Plain and the Western Plain or Banat - the Pannonian Plain to the North, which would complete the ring, was 'liberated' by the Soviet Union in 1945). Inside this ring of plains is a ring of mountains (the Eastern Carpathians, Southern Carpathians and Western Carpathians) and in the middle of it the Transylvanian Basin, the heartland of Romania.

2. The Danube Delta

The River Danube meanders from the frontier with Yugoslavia - the Iron Gates - sometimes subdividing, until it reaches the town of Galați. There it comes together in a single stream and flows tidily through a gap between spurs of the Moldavian and Dobrogean plateaux. After twenty-five miles or so it divides again, into three main streams - the Chilia Channel in the North, the Sulina Channel in the centre and the St. George's Channel in the South; the Sulina Channel, dredged and straightened, is the main channel for shipping. Between these channels is a large expanse of swamp, lakes, sandy islands and marsh grass, rich in fish and wild bird life. Paradoxically, the areas to the North and South are infertile, swept by hot, dry winds and the whole Black Sea coastline of the Delta is wisely used as a 'seaside paradise' for international tourists, a great hard currency earner.

3. The Plains

The Moldavian Plain stretches northwards from the Danube Delta for about 200 miles to the River Prut, the frontier with the Soviet Union, and the Prut forms the Eastern limit, too. To the West are the Eastern

Carpathians. The Plain, about fifty miles wide, consists of soft Upper Tertiary and recent deposits moulded into a corrugated pattern by innumerable rivers feeding the Danube. As the Plain rises away from the Delta it becomes slowly more fertile - "famous strip of black soil ... still strewn with castles ruined in the Tartar wars" ⁽¹⁾ - with rich farmland and extensive woods. The Wallachian Plain, which stretches from the Delta to the Iron Gates (over 200 miles) is floored with Pliocene deposits and furrowed by tributaries of the Danube; there is a belt of marshy land along the Danube itself (the frontier with Bulgaria). The farther East the Plain stretches, the drier it becomes, until where it joins the Moldavian Plain the rainfall is down to 20 inches a year. Vegetation varies from the broadleaved in the West to wooded steppe in the East (the Baragan Steppe).

A train journey from Constanza on the Black Sea Coast along the Wallachian Plain takes twenty hours through apparently endless maize fields, with the blur of trees to the North and a smudge of the Southern Carpathians. From Turnu Severin to the North West, the Western Plain, watered by the Rivers Criş, Mureş and Timiş, stretches from the sandy dunes which extend into Hungary down to the alluvium of the Danube flood area, and is an intensively farmed area feeding the industry of the Banat, of which the principal city is Timişoara.

4. The Mountains ⁽²⁾

The Eastern Carpathians are a continuation of the Eastern Slovakian range, now 'liberated' by the Soviet Union. They extend South East from what is now the frontier with the Soviet Union, turn West to border the Wallachian Plain and follow this to the Danube gorges and frontier with Yugoslavia.

The Western Carpathians go North from the Danube and end at the Pannonian

(1) Fisher H.A.L., A History of Europe, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London 1938, Vol. 2, p.732.

(2) Martonne E., The Carpathians, Geographical Review 3 (1917) p.423.

Plain, of Central Europe.

The Eastern Carpathians consist largely of Palaeozoic schists and igneous rock. In the centre is the core of old, hard rocks, gorged by the River Bistrița and its tributaries. This core is surrounded by folded, Secondary beds which become wider as they stretch South. The uplands, though often wooded, are unattractive for human settlement (up to 6.895 feet), which has been established in nine basins covered in loess and alluvium, intensively cultivated and densely populated.

The Southern Carpathians are often called the Transylvanian Alps. To the East they start at Predeal, and the Fagaras Mountains (up to 6000 feet) stretch as far as the Olt. A peneplain spreads over a number of ranges to form the Paring Mountains, and after a gap cut by the Jiu, a complex structure stretches from the Jiu gorges to the Western Plains. The igneous core here has been much eroded, there are zones of Secondary rocks and spectacular gorges between wooded slopes. This is the birthplace of the sculptor, Brancuși.

The Western Carpathians are divided into three separate masses. In the South, a continuation of the Transylvanian Alps, high mountains with wooded gorges, forms the Eastern limit of the Banat plains. Then the Poiana Ruscai massif, similarly composed, ends in the East at the Hațeg Basin, drained by the Rivers Mureș and Strei, and to the North in the Poiana Ruscai Mountains or Munți Apuseni. Deep, narrow valleys cut into the Munți Apuseni, but join wider valleys and small plateaux, and it is here that the Romanians always retreated in times of disaster. It is a region never penetrated by Magyars, Germans or other immigrants. It is now sparsely settled, pastoral, with 'folk customs and costumes' in everyday use.

5. The Transylvanian Basin

This basin is said to be one of the most distinctive landform regions in Eastern Europe. It was formed during the early Tertiary period, and later contained a lake, the bed of which consisted of deposits of sands, marls and clays. The lake vanished, but the bed remains level and to a depth of some 10.000 feet. The Basin is now drained into the Pannonian Basin, though it is said that it was once drained to the East. It is a very fertile expanse of rolling hills and wide valleys, little wooded but carefully farmed by German and Magyar immigrants as well as by the native Romanian population. Large, prosperous villages and market towns are dotted overall. The Basin has had a settled, agricultural population since Neolithic times, a sequence of distinctive and generally advanced cultures.

6. Climate (1)

Climate in Romania varies with the relief pattern, but in the main it has a continental climate, with hot summers, cold winters and most of the light rainfall in the early summer. There is more rain in the mountains, and the Black Sea Coast has less, but the weather system is nearly always dependent on the high pressure area which develops over Russia. The predominant winds are from the North East (the Crivăt), and so temperature is usually two or three degrees lower in Moldavia than in Wallachia or the West. January is a freezing month, even in the Danube Delta and in Transylvania temperatures of -28.9°C have been recorded. There are short Springs, and a July average of 22.8°C , though 43.3°C has been recorded. The generally light rainfall and hot summers make irrigation important in all the lowland regions of Romania. The long snow cover (sometimes four months) favours autumn sowing of all crops, which are then protected from the cold to germinate quickly with the thaw.

(1) Atlas Geografic RSR, Bucharest 1965

7. Vegetation and soil

Though there are few variations in climate in Romania, there is a great variety of soils. These range from the stony mountain soils, to the chernozem (black earth) of the Moldavian Plain, and lie in concentric rings round the Transylvanian Basin. At the centre is an area of degraded chernozem, which blends into the brown forest soils and the skeletal soils of the Carpathians. At the outer margin of the mountains, podzols merge into brown forest soils again, then into degraded chernozem and true chernozem in Eastern Wallachia, Moldavia and Dobrogea. There is alluvial soil along the banks of the Danube and larger rivers, and extensive marsh and swamp areas. These soils produce in their turn, concentric patterns of vegetation modified by man. The Transylvanian Basin was formerly lake, then deciduous forest, and is now nearly all farmland. The mountains have alpine pastures between 5000 and 6000 feet, then conifers, deciduous trees down to light natural vegetation and marsh grass in the Danube basin.

8. Settlement and trade

Settlement in Romania has followed a pattern early established. In the main, it follows the pattern of the country's relief.

In the Transylvanian Basin are very old settlements, the villages much as they must have been two thousand years ago. The houses are made of wood on stone or brick foundations, with shingle roofs, and a porch or verandah for sitting on, or sleeping out in the summer. Much of the wood used in the construction is daubed and plastered, but the exposed beams and pillars for the porches are carved and decorated. A fenced yard contains the basic farm buildings and the 'summer kitchen'. Villages consist of strings of such houses along the main road and there is no 'centre', 'village green' or pond. The church takes its place on the roadside with the other houses. In recent years, attempts have been made to introduce

'modern housing' with sanitation, piped water and electric light, but peasants normally allocate these to 'foolish young people' who look for employment in the town and keep no pigs.

Villages in Moldavia and Wallachia are similar, though on the Black Sea coast houses tend to be of whitewashed stone. In Moldavia, the painting and decorating of houses extends to churches and monasteries, many of which are carefully preserved and very beautiful. Icon painting (on glass in Transylvania) developed from house decoration, and is still a folk art for local consumption. In 1970, the Romanian Government introduced strict controls on the export of these icons.

Towns and cities in Romania are altogether more grand. The small fortified towns of various immigrant populations (walled, gridiron settlements) still survive in the Banat and Wallachian Plain, but most towns are recognisably 'Western', post Renaissance. There is only one city with a population over one million, and that is the capital, Bucharest. This is an administrative phenomenon. The majority of large settlements have populations of between 100.000 and 200.000, and they are the centres of industrial growth. However, over a fifth of Romanian towns are between 10.000 and 25.000 and are really overgrown market towns, onto which have been grafted some light industries but which still retain their atmosphere, waking for the weekly market at which goods are sold, men hired and women married. Migration from the countryside has been to these small towns, rather than to Bucharest, which attracts, in the main, intellectuals, artists and whores from the villages. (1)

The 'grandness' of Romanian towns and cities is of two kinds. Bucharest, Timișoara, Brașov, Craiova and Reșița have a hard core of medieval domestic architecture, essentially French and German provincial. There are tree

(1) Dezvoltarea Industriei Republicii Populare Română, Direcția Generală de Statistica, Bucharest, 1964.

lined boulevards, pavement cafes, opera houses and cathedrals, and the substantial villas of the bourgeoisie (now used as offices or subdivided into flats). Then there is a periphery of industrial estates and new housing estates in the contemporary Leggo manner. There are occasional examples of Soviet wedding cake architecture, like the Scînteia Palace in Bucharest. And there are large restaurants and night clubs, each one with its 'dollar shops' at which capitalist luxuries may be bought only in hard currency (valută).

The smaller towns (10.000 to 25.000) still have cobbled streets, sturdy but not particularly elegant houses, small shops and one 'superior' hotel-restaurant in the centre, and peasant houses on the periphery. Some effort is made to cater for tourists during the summer months, but the tourist presence is tolerated only. 'Real life' is lived at the level of buying and selling, gossip, Party educational work by activists, and intrigue.

It is important to remember that Romanians have never shown indiscriminate enthusiasm for town life. In 1930, only a fifth of the population lived in towns and cities, in 1956 less than a third and in 1976 an estimated third plus. Arguably, life is more pleasant in the country than in the towns. Certainly, during the months of July and August town life is unbearable. It has been suggested that the presence of foreign administrators in the towns for hundreds of years made towns unattractive to Romanians themselves. Whatever is the reason, Romania has always been, and still is, the least urbanised part of Europe.

The prime function of the town in Romania is the organisation of trade. In the towns the produce of 5.500 state and collective farms is processed, accounted for, and despatched to home and foreign markets. The oil is refined at Pitești and Ploiești, where chemical industries use the by-

products; the cereals are milled and the wine bottled within fifty kilometres of where they are produced; wool is spun and woven and made into clothes in the towns serving the shepherds (Galați, Suceava, Lugoj); timber is cut and stacked near the forests. The railway lines which serve these towns are there to transport goods, to larger centres and abroad. Passengers are also carried, to work in these towns, but even the international expresses are made up of at least 40% of goods wagons. 59% of the working population is engaged in agriculture, lives in villages, visits towns for work or play rather than wanting to live there. And the crop area in Romania is increasing, rather than decreasing, so this pattern of work and life is not likely to change in the near future. (1)

The consequences for the organisation of education are obvious.

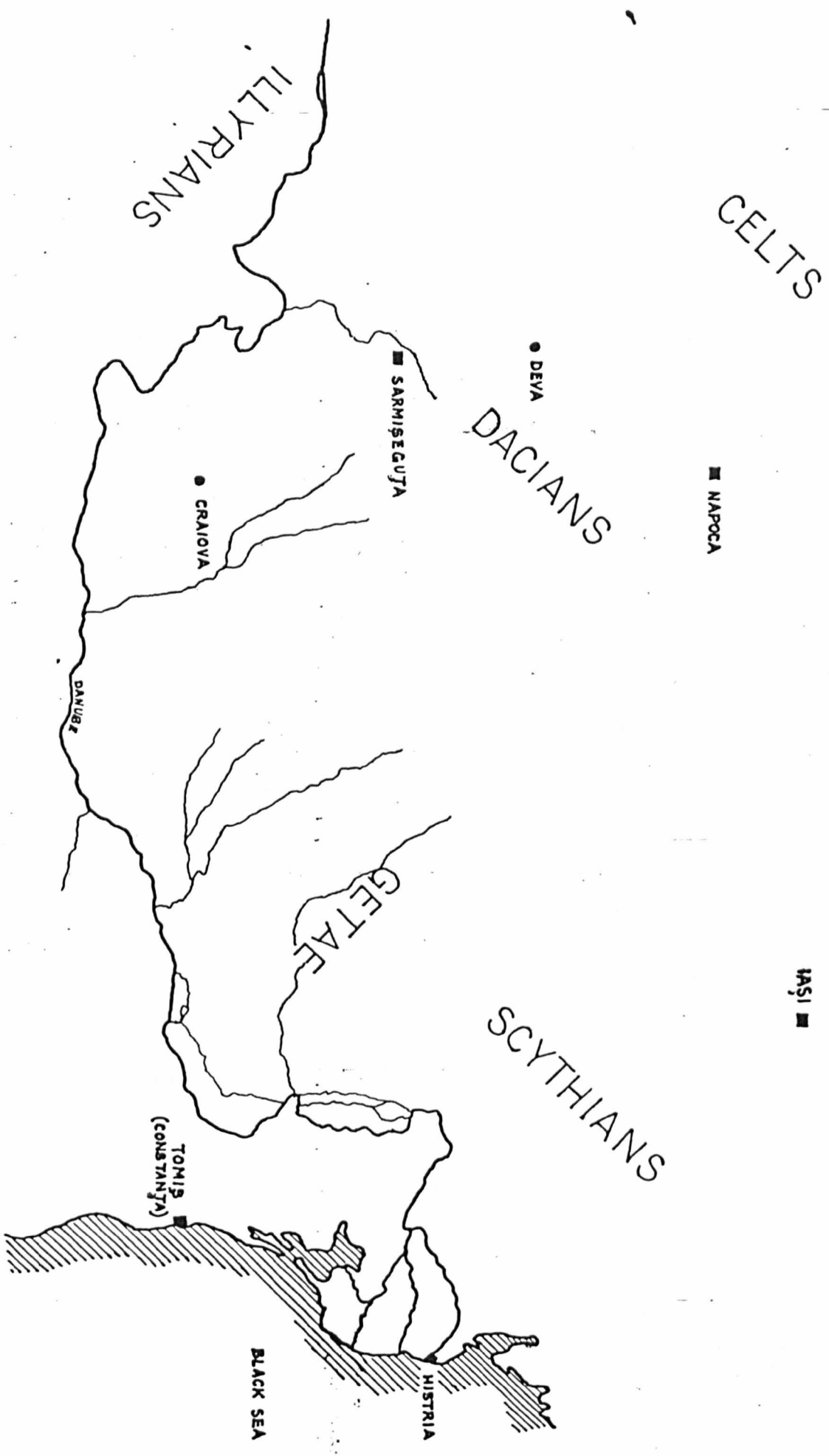
(1) Dezvoltarea Industriei RPR sopra cit.

EARLY HISTORY - DACIA AND DACO ROMANIA

1. The personality of education in Romania owes a great deal to the personality of the Romanian people evolved in earliest times.

The first traces of human existence in what is now Romania go back more than 100.000 years to Paleolithic times. Human bones have been found fossilised in caves in Ohaba and Cioclovina, and near Craiova, and work on the giant Danube dam at Turnu-Severin has turned up polished stone tools and some pottery and other evidence of settlement which suggests that Man lived in the region continuously from Paleolithic times to the better researched Neolithic Era. By 4000 BC there were substantial hut settlements and recent excavation has revealed Early Neolithic traces at Starcevo dated at 5500 BC. There were elaborated caves as well as huts near present day Craiova, and in the North East near Iași, and evidence that the Danube was used for trading six thousand years ago. Copper and bronze objects found in Cernavoda and other parts of Transylvania have been dated at 2500 BC at the latest. By the beginning of the Iron Age, and end of the Bronze Age (c.1200 BC) immigrants, notably Proto-Thracian, had joined the people of the Danube settlements and a distinct Daco-Getic tribe had coalesced, inhabiting an area stretching from the south of present day Transylvania to what is now the frontier with Yugoslavia. Transylvania was a well-known centre for the making of bronze and gold objects, selling agricultural implements north of the Carpathians and south of the Danube, dealing in an accepted currency. Darius, in his account of the invasion of Thrace in 514 BC, notes that there were cities on the Black Sea coast, established by Greeks, which were already old in time. Histria, Callatiș and Tomiș, had, in fact, been developed from primitive settlements during the seventh century BC and, as Darius also notes, enjoyed the protection of the kings of the Getae, Daci or Thraco-

DACIA - 500 BC



Getians. (1)

Histria and its neighbours were Iron Age cities, with well laid out streets, efficient sanitation and well organised port and banking facilities. They were associated with the Middle Danube and Transylvanian settlements with which they traded, and the whole Daco-Getic complex easily survived the rise of Scythian influence (perhaps invasion) in the sixth century BC, and repelled a Scythian invasion in 350 BC, under King Atheal of the Thraco-Getae in the Lower Danube. Illyrians were held in the West, and a wave of Celts in 300 BC absorbed. However, though the cities grew and prospered, political hegemony seems to have remained with the kings in the interior, and Ovid, in exile on the Black Sea, writes scathingly of the Getae whose loyalty was not to Scythia Minor but to tribal unions in the mountains. Certainly, the power structure of the union of Daci and Getae was well known to men like Alexander the Great, who tried to extend his empire northwards. In 335 BC Alexander invaded present day Oltenia, and Lysimac of Thrace was roundly defeated in battle some years later by the Dacian King Oroles, who added Eastern Transylvania to his kingdom. Twenty years later, King Ruboboştes overthrew a Scythian regime which had taken over the Black Sea coastal towns. By the beginning of the second century BC, Daco-Getic rulers had consolidated their hold over two-thirds of present day Romania. The process of consolidation was completed under King Boroboştes in the first century BC and the Dacian unitary state reached its zenith under King Decebal (87-106 AD). The advanced nature of this unitary state attracted the curiosity of Greek and Roman alike. Ptolemy noted the existence of over forty urban centres (davae, polis), serving rural hinterland and outlying rural areas from the Iron Gates to the Black Sea. These urban centres, some of which had been permanent human settlements for six centuries, were well laid out, with

(1) Hasegan M., Feudal & Pre-feudal Daco-Romania, Bucharest, FLPH, 1957

councils of soldiers who devoted one year in four to civic and civilian administration. Many of the features of a contemporary urban centre were already visible - efficient sanitation and street cleaning, public baths, markets and courts of justice - and some have survived to the present day (especially in Tomiș-Constanța). The Black Sea towns were slave-owning, as had been the Greeks who founded them, but the urban centres in the interior do not seem to have been so. In any event, the slaves were in the main captives taken during various wars, and the Dacians seem to have become a single race, speaking a single language, with status determined by military rank and the size of estates farmed in the country. And Dacia was prosperous, these estates farmed as well as the towns were run, trade with much of the known Western world already an established fact. It was certainly the largest state to remain unconquered by the Romans at the death of Julius Caesar, the dawn of Dacian Romanity.

2. Dacian civilisation and its impact abroad
- The historical geographer, the literary historian and the educationalist can all find traces of Geto-Dacian civilisation in familiar texts. Dr. Jane Leake ⁽¹⁾ has recently been concerned to identify the Geats of Beowulf with the Getae to whom Herodotus refers, and among whom Ovid spent his exile. She concludes that the author of Beowulf, writing in a Latin-Christian milieu, "chose to write about the Getes rather than the Jutes or Gauts or any specific and historical Germanic tribe because by doing so he could make Beowulf the personalised hero-ancestor of the Teutonic tribes and thereby celebrate the accomplishment of the race from which all the invading nations came". In this way "the poet could capitalise on the mythic and monstrous past which had come to be associated with the Getes through their association with the Giants of Thrace, and all the monstrous and wild men who, in Antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages

(1) Leake J., The Geats of Beowulf, (Univ. of Wisconsin Press 1967) p.133

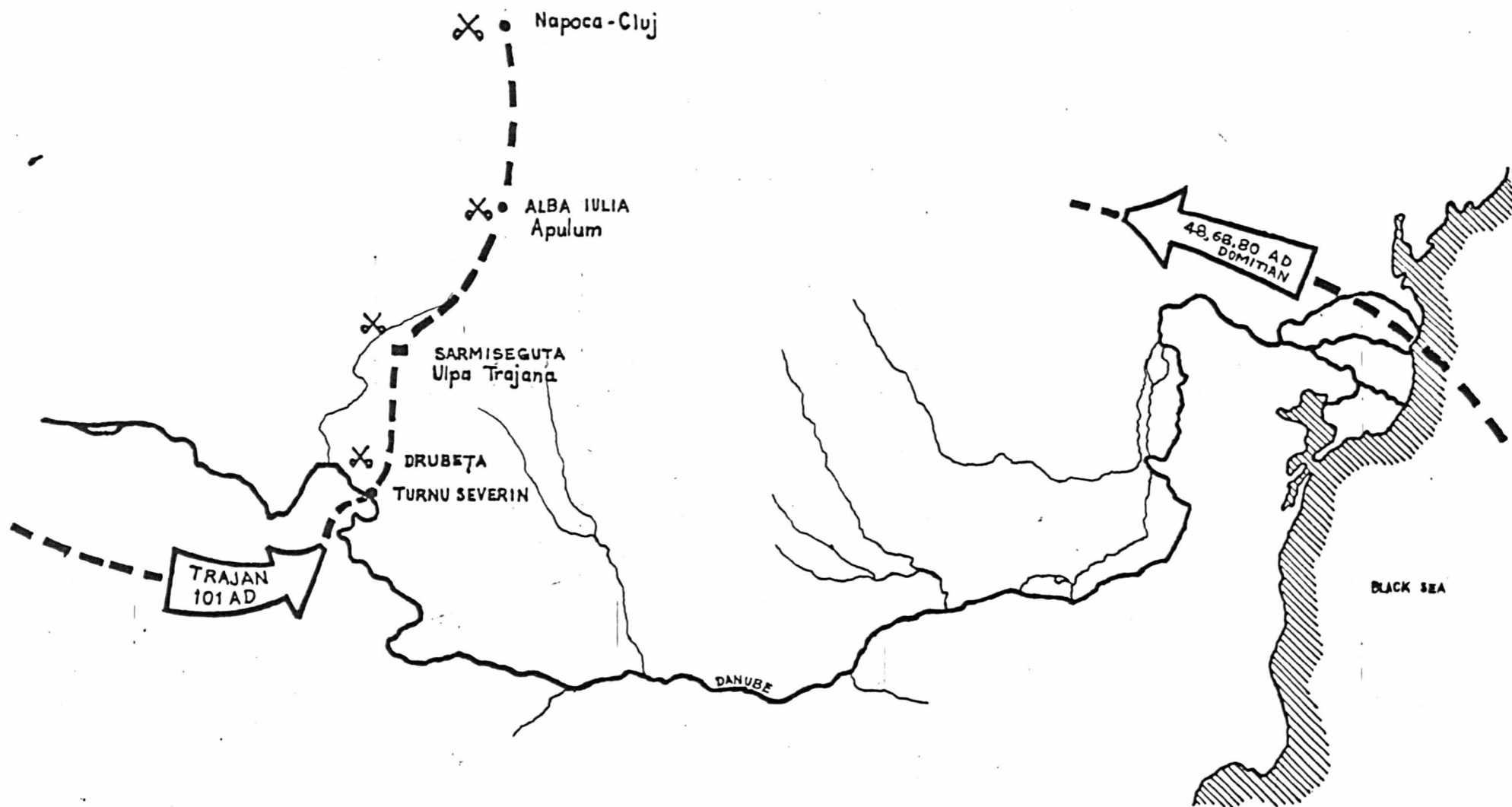
were thought to live in the Northern regions of the world, as well as with Gog and Magog, the sons of Japeth, the evil race Alexander the Great helped to imprison in the Caucasian mountains, yet still sufficiently close to the legendary past to capitalise on the folk memory of such figures as Hygelac the Dane". Dr. Leake shows how "from Strabo's time on, the Getae and the Daci were considered to be the same people and their names could be and were used interchangeably. Further, during the Middle Ages, Daci and Dani were taken to be synonymous terms, so that the Danes could reasonably be referred to as Getes". Dr. T.E. Pickford ⁽¹⁾ has noted that Getae came to be used as a poetic equivalent of Gothi, especially by Claudian, and that later it was commonly used in prose, too, so that by the sixth century it could be said that the Goths are Getae, and two early medieval encyclopedists, Jerome and Isidore, both link the Getae/ Goths with Magog and maintain that Goths were Getae were Scythian.

Certainly, as Dr. Pickford writes, Dacia or Geto-Dacia impressed itself on Roman cartographers, who made the Maeotic swamps extend as far north as what we know as the Baltic, and Scythia is made to reach as far as the Northern Ocean. The Middle Ages refused to gainsay the authorities of Antiquity, but instead, as learning and scholarship moved north of Rome and Greece, so too, the Northern tribes of wild and monstrous men were pushed further and further north.

The Roman Empire at the beginning of the first century AD was probably at its most 'religious', in the sense that the old social order of gods and goddesses was being challenged by a new theology and way of life, the Christian. There were, too, attempts at a meaningful synthesis for the whole range of religious phenomena. The most important questions, Mircea

(1) Pickford T.E. in Miorita, (Univ. of Waikato 1974) p.106

ROMAN CONQUEST OF DACIA



Eliade, the Romanian philosopher has said, ⁽¹⁾ were those which revolved around Man's experience of the Sacred. This is taken in the widest sense to indicate Man's sense of something real and ultimate, Absolute, which confers meaning on the rest of life. This Sacred power "provides a fixed centre which is expressed in an awareness of Sacred Space, a cosmos hallowed by a Sacred Centre, a spiritual home, and Sacred Time, focussed on those sacred origins recounted in the myths of gods and heroes and re-enacted in rituals". For Eliade, these religions are still most clearly expressed in the religions of archaic societies, in the ancient cultures of Europe and Asia. In the European context, Eliade notes the strength of the folk religion of the peasantry with its harvest and fertility rites, its painted Easter eggs, ritual marriage of trees and so on. In the first century AD ⁽²⁾ Dacia seemed to offer the most stable, unchallenged folk religion, oddly classless and ahierarchical, the Sacred world not remote from the secular world, even the gods seen riding oxen which were used at other times to pull the plough.

3. Roman invasions and conquest

The temptation to conquer and absorb into the Empire this economically, politically and philosophically stable state had been felt in Rome since the first half of the first century BC. It was only the death of Julius Caesar which halted an expedition against the Dacian King Boroabeştes. Minor expeditions were organised in 48 AD, 68 AD and 80 AD but the Dacians repelled the invaders without difficulty. It was not until the end of the century that part of Dobrogea was conquered and annexed to the province of Moesia, but the Black Sea ports were really only an outlet for

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- (1) Eliade M., *Zalmoxis: The Vanishing God. Comparative Studies in the Religions and Folklore of Dacia and Eastern Europe*, University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- (2) Eliade M., *The Quest - History & Meaning in Religion*, University of Chicago Press 1969 p.iv; see also the review by Ninian Smart in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 5th February, 1970.

some of its economic surpluses. The Dacian Kingdom, under Decebal, was left intact and he defeated Domitian's armies in 98 AD. This success was Decebal's undoing. Trajan pledged himself to avenge this and other defeats and organised one expedition (101-102 AD) as a sort of reconnaissance, then a successful campaign, in 106 AD, which reduced Oltenia, Transylvania and the Banat and resulted in Decebal's suicide and the incorporation of his kingdom into the Empire as the Province of Dacia. (1) This bald statement of success gives no clue to the difficulties endured by Trajan, or of the lengths to which he had to go to conquer and subdue this extraordinary people. Even the graphic account on Trajan's Column (2) in Rome understates the difficulties. Trajan had to build a bridge across the Danube (the pillars are still visible at Turnu Severin) in order to get troops and supplies over fast enough to prevent them being annihilated by the Dacian army, and it took the combined resources of contemporary Romania and Yugoslavia to duplicate this bridge in 1951. The land had to be conquered village by village. Every Dacian man and woman was liable to military service when called upon - the Column shows Dacian women as police, torturers and interrogators of prisoners.

Even after the death of Decebal, there were frequent insurrections, taken all the more seriously because Dacia was now a bastion against the threat of barbarian invasion. The insurrections were not surprising - an immense amount of booty was taken home to Rome by Trajan.

4. Roman pacification of Dacia

To try to win over the conquered Dacians, the Romans tried to divide the country into administrative regions which followed locally familiar boundaries. At first, the province was divided into Upper and Lower Dacia (Transylvania and Oltenia) and then into Dacia Porolissensis, Dacia

(1) Daiocoviciu G., Romania, Bucharest, FLPH, 1958.

(2) Miclea I., The Column, Cluj, Editura Dacia, 1974.

Apulensis and Dacia Malvensis. Administrative centres were created on the sites of old Dacian cities: Ulpia Trajana on the site of Sammissegeta, the old religious and cultural capital; Apulem - Alba Iulia, a military and administrative centre; Drobeta - Turnu Severin, the Danube port; Potaissa - Cluj, a commercial and military centre like Napoca-Cluj; Porolissum-Salaù, a military centre; Ampelum-Slatina, Alburnus Major - Risia, Salinae - Ocna Mureşului the mining centres for gold and iron. Only one new town was built, Romula, as an extra port on the Danube.

There are few records of town life in Roman occupied Dacia and the presumption by Romanian historians is that little changed. After all, Dacian settlements were at least as well organised as many Roman towns, at home or in other imperial provinces. It seems reasonable to suppose that Trajan favoured the founding of libraries; he founded a splendid library in the Forum Trajanum and this almost certainly contained papyrus rolls he looted from Dacia (the Column shows soldiers carrying such rolls) and other parts of South East Europe. Again he favoured the spread of public literacy (most civil servants in Rome came from the ranks of foreigners and freed slaves), and carried on Domitian's patronage of higher education. James Bowen says that "in Spain, Gaul, Illyria, Dacia ... libraries were established and the Roman system of schools was introduced, primarily concerned with Latin literature and language ...",⁽¹⁾ but this probably served only as a system for the preparation of recruits for the civil service. In the villas of senior officers, there would be freed slaves (libertini) functioning as accountants (dispensatores, tabularii, arcarii), secretaries (amanuenses) and teachers (litteratores, grammatici and rhetores) or maybe, as the Romanian tradition has it, they were not freed slaves but Dacians and Daco-Romans administering their own country.

(1) Bowen J., A History of Western Education, Methuen 1972, Vol.1, p.199



5. Birth of Daco-Romania

This pacification was surprisingly successful. By the time the Romans were forced to abandon Dacia in 271 AD, the Dacians had become so Romanised that they had come to think of themselves as the custodians of a Roman tradition in Eastern Europe, an attitude of mind which is commonplace still. After all, Romania is the only former province of the Empire to keep the name Rome alive in its own name. In 1974, the late Zaharia Stancu, then President of the Romanian Writers Union, could write: "The story of the birth of our people has known a strange and troubled history. Nobody knows what has become of the elegies written by Ovid during his exile at Tomiş, in the language of the Getae which was harmonious, rich and suggestive enough to attract the famous poet; the Emperor Trajan's diary of his campaigns against the Dacians, modelled on Julius Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, has been lost; lost, too, are the notes of the Greek doctor who accompanied him on his two campaigns. After eighteen centuries, our hearts go out both to the conquered and the conquerors who begot us. We have received from the former our steadfastness, the clothes worn by our peasants in the mountains, the wooden houses and the soil on which we live, while the latter bequeathed to us their language, customs, pride, tenacity and the name we bear". (1)

It was in some ways an odd fusion of peoples. The cultural traditions of the host nation survived in the language of the conquerors - and it is perhaps interesting to note that a higher proportion of legionaries at the end of their military service chose to take a land grant in Dacia than in any other province of the Empire.

6. Roman withdrawal from Daco-Romania

With the exception of Dobrogea, which maintained close links with the

(1) Stancu Z., in *The Column*, supra cit at p.8

Byzantine Empire until the end of the tenth century AD, Daco-Romania disappeared from historical record for seven hundred years. Urban life declined and successive migrations of Huns, Avars, various Slavs and Magyars came, left traces in tombs and settlements, then moved on. Christianity reached the Romanian heartland in the fourth century AD, from Rome and reinforced the cultural influences predominant, and the priests who converted the Daco-Romans tended to stay on. It is only recently that archaeologists have confirmed the whereabouts of the fortified towns (Moresti in Transylvania, Sarata Monteoru in Wallachia) which were all that survived of urban life. The expansion of Bulgaria in the South and Serbia in the West brought invading armies into contact with Daco-Romania and tales of its wealth got back to the Bulgarian and Serbian Empires. This wealth consisted, it was said, of treasure buried in the days of the Emperor Aurelian. The trove at Pietroasa, now in Romanian hands again, with its massive gold plate, makes it easy to understand the enthusiasm of these Dark Age invaders for what had survived of a great civilisation. During the ninth century AD, Bulgarians crossed the Danube and found the great treasure at Sinnicolau Mare in the Banat, and in the tenth century, the Magyars, pushing south from their new state of Hungary, turned up treasure in Transylvania, and took home tales of a decadent but homogeneous culture.

7. Survival of Romania

Fortunately, many of the folk tales of this period, in which the ethos of this culture was enshrined, have survived in Magyar ⁽¹⁾ and Romanian ⁽²⁾ versions. Some of the folk tales are immediately interesting because they confirm points of view which are traditional among Romanian historians -

(1) Degh L. (Ed.) *Folk Tales of Hungary* (trans. Judit Halasz), Routledge Kegan Paul, London 1965.

(2) Păcală, Tândală & other Romanian Folk Tales, compiled, translated and edited by Jean Ure. Methuen, London 1960.

for example, the conviction that Christianity came to Romania from Rome rather than from Constantinople. Some religious historians, looking at Moldavia and Wallachia and their largely Orthodox Christian populations have assumed that only the Banat knew missionaries from Rome. However, the Romanian view, that all Romania was 'Roman Catholic', later in great part submerged by the Orthodox Church, seems to be supported by the sheer quantity of Marian cult tales and symbols in Transylvanian folk tales. The Marian rosary, the pearly head dress used at weddings, the association of the head dress with virginity (the loss of the one is held synonymous with the loss of the other in the tale 'Bagoliasonica'), are all 'Roman'. The form of ballad adapted in the indisputedly Roman Catholic Hungary, a form which is a simplification of the Romanian doina, suggests a litany. The spread of the doina (ballads like that of 'The Walled-in Wife') and even the lay vestments of the Romanian peasantry to the North of Europe via the Anjou hegemony in Hungary in the thirteenth century (the pearly kings and queens of East London wear Romanian costume), suggests a culture which though besieged and in some ways decadent was at least charged with vigorous ideas.

8. The peasant culture of Romania

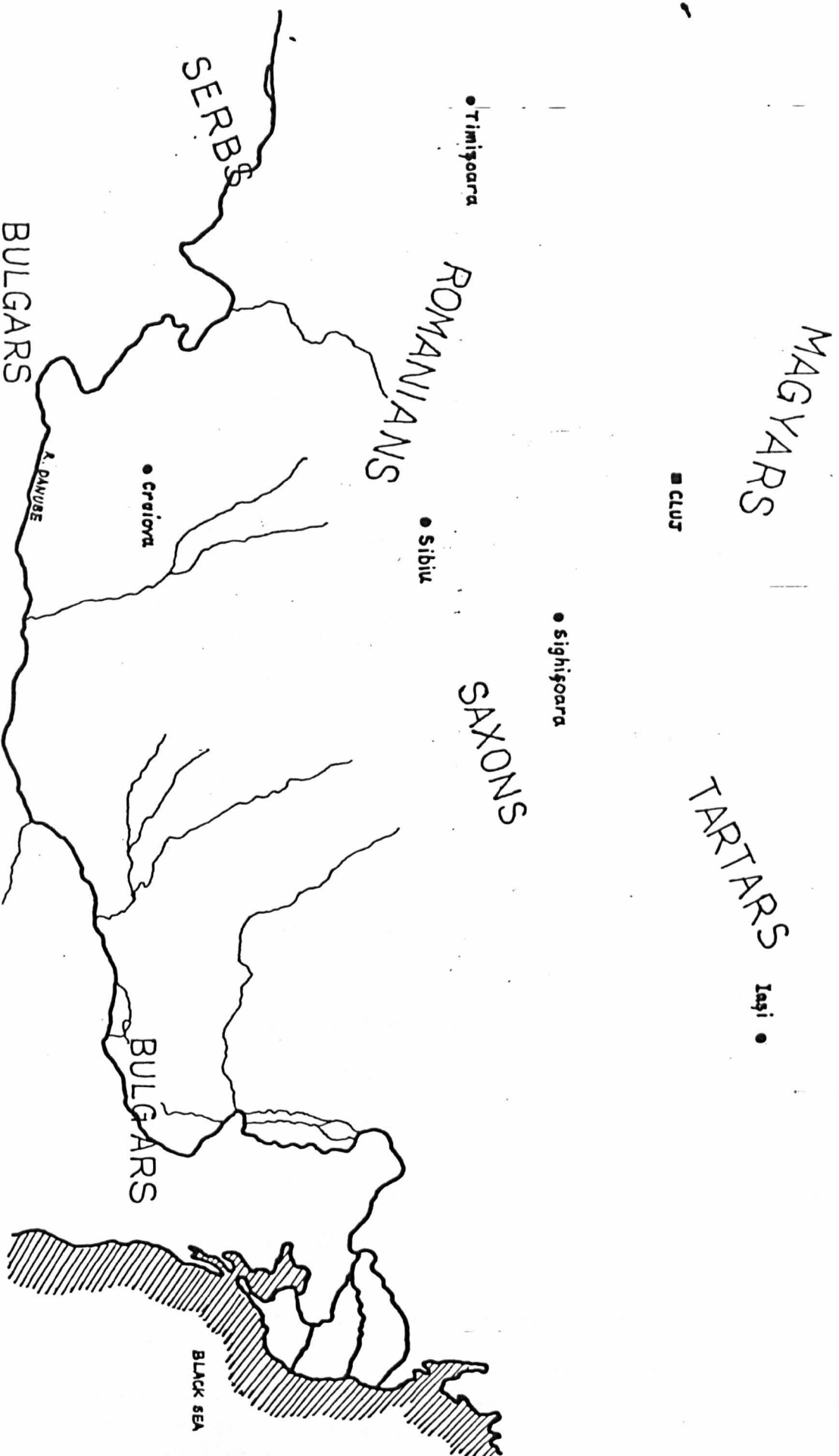
Dr. Norman Simms notes; ⁽¹⁾ "The real concern of the tales is with a demonstration of peasant cleverness and the affirmation of an archaic sense of justice. To this end, ogres, giants, and other impossible creatures, are merely an occasion for someone, usually a peasant, to reveal his innate wit or to point out an injustice in the world. A shrewd tongue is shown to be of greater value than the chance ownership of great wealth. This shrewdness is what is important to the peasant, even to the rulers of the isolated Daco-Romanian communities struggling to survive in

(1) Norman Simms, in a review article, *Miorița*, Hamilton NZ, June 1974, p.125 (Pacala, Tandala etc. *sopra cit*).

a desert of Huns, Slavs and Magyars. The king in "The King's Son and the Straw Mat Maker" realises that the important thing in life is to have a skill. Hence he only gives his daughter to the prince who can do something useful, beyond the romantic prowesses and courtly mannerisms. "That craft of yours", he says when the young man shows that he can weave straw mats, "is worth more than a kingdom, for I know that even if you lose your throne your wife won't have to starve".

In several tales, the Good Lord and Saint Peter wander through the world (i.e. Romania) searching for clever men and testing the moral worth of all. These heroes are no doubt modelled on the real life monks who wandered about Daco-Romania keeping alive their Christianity and the Latin tradition. In the tales, there is no general antipathy to kings and nobles, but the respect given to them, the story tellers seem to imply, must be earned by exercise of the same virtues required in the simplest peasant. In 'The Salt at Dinner', the youngest princess is banished from court for her frank but cryptic remark that she loves her father as much as salt is needed at table (her two elder sisters had compared their love to sugar). By her honesty and hard work, however, the girl gets back her titles and is able to humiliate her father in public and bring him round. Working in the kitchen of a neighbouring king, the girl shows not only skilfulness in preparing meals, but fairness to all, masters and servants alike. Moreover, she spends her spare time reading. When the prince returns wounded from the wars, the princess-kitchen maid nurses him and her virtues win his love. These same virtues convince his parents to allow their son to marry a mere scullery girl. At the wedding, to which the princess has persuaded her inlaws to invite her father, cleverness clinches the matter - cooking a saltless meal with sugar in the salt bowl, the princess proves her original point. Justice is an important theme in all the tales, and this justice is archaic - that is to say it belongs to

DACIA - 12TH CENTURY



the pre-industrial and pre-political countryside, a justice based on respect for land and those who humanised it, stressing the need for mutual respect, hospitality to all, harmony with nature and self respectful modesty.⁽¹⁾

These folk tales give a clear picture of life lived in small communities, close to the soil, with kings who were little more than village elders, but communities with an ethos of their own, which is still the predominant ethos in twentieth century Romania.

9. Political evolution of Romanian communities

During the Middle Ages, these communities began to coalesce again, began the long road back to the re-establishment of the unitary Daco-Roman state. The petty rulers extended their authority, rather more often by marriage than by conquest, and the communities slowly reacquired the territory of former Dacian kings. In the lower Danube, the jupan Dumitriu, and in Transylvania the voivadats of Menumorut, Glad, Ahtum, Gelu-Gyula, had the status of feudal states and were recognised as such by their neighbours. The form of social organisation was rather more 'democratic' than feudal systems elsewhere in Europe, and corresponded more closely to that of pre-Roman Dacia. The peasants were not serfs, but freemen, owning their own house and courtyard; the land was shared out more or less equally between them, and the forests and pastureland were held in common. Taxes were paid in kind to the voivod and there were obligations to military service, limited, however, to one son from each family. (1)

To the South and East of the Carpathians the picture was a very different one; here, Tartar domination was absolute.

The Transylvanian voivadats seem to have encouraged the fastest and most varied forms of development of social, economic and political organisation.

(1) Hasegan M., Feudal and pre-feudal Daco-Romania, Bucharest 1957, at pp.110-113.

From the end of the eleventh century the smaller voivodats slowly merged to form, by the end of the thirteenth century, one voivodat which existed under Hungarian 'protection' until 1541, when it became an independent tributary state of the Ottoman Empire. It was in Transylvania that there was a planned immigration (of Szeklers, Saxons) in the twelfth century, an immigration bringing with it agricultural skills unknown to the vast majority of Daco-Romans. There was no 'conservative' opposition to this immigration, as there might well have been in guild-controlled commercial society in Western Europe. Immigrants were allowed to set up their own administrative institutions and enjoy rights and privileges in their own judete (seven for the Szeklers, nine for the Saxons).

In the lower Danube, the jupan Dumitriu increased its territory, and by the thirteenth century there were neighbouring voivodats (Litovoi and Seneşlaú) and knezats (Ioan, Farcaş) all with the 'free feudal system' peculiar to Daco-Romania. These states became rich, straddling as they did the trade routes between a powerful Serbia, Poland and the Danube Delta.

10. Role of Christian churches in reconstruction of Daco-Romania

The Christian church played an important role in the next stage of federation and merger. (1)

The heartland remained Roman Catholic though with little contact with Rome. With the passing of imperial authority to Constantinople, and the Schism, a numerical majority of Daco-Romanians found themselves a part of the Orthodox Church, though with their own autonomous province and patriarch. Moldavia, under the influence of the Russian Orthodox mother church of Kiev, was to remain Orthodox. Wallachia was to remain predominantly Orthodox, but with substantial numbers of members of other cults. Transylvania, under Hungarian influence, returned to Roman Catholicism, (2)

(1) Iorga, Nicolae, A History of Romania, London, Unwin, 1928 at pp.34-39

(2) see also map at p.239 of this work.

though some of the Saxon enclaves left the Church for Protestantism in the sixteenth century.

11. Early attempts at reunification of Daco-Romania

By the beginning of the fifteenth century these three Romanian states in embryo - Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania - were acknowledged as such by Romania's neighbours to the East and West, though Turkey claimed suzerainty over Moldavia and Wallachia, and Hungary over Transylvania. The names of princes and voivods find their way into the histories of other countries. Mircea cel Bătrîn (Mircea the Old, 1386-1418) who defeated the Turks, and Vlad Dracul (Vlad the Devil - the Dracula of legend-1437-1446), who sold virgins to Princess Anne of Bohemia who believed she would have eternal youth and beauty if she bathed in their blood, were both Princes of Wallachia. Vlad Tepes (Vlad the Impaler, 1456-1462) the Wallachian Prince who taught the Serbs and Turks a new variant of execution, Stefan cel Mare (Stephen the Great, 1457-1504) and Ion Vodă cel Cumplit (John the Terrible, 1572-1574) who fought Turks and Russians alike, were Princes of Moldavia, Mihail Viteazul (Michael the Brave, 1593-1601) reunited for three short years the three states and brought back into being the old Kingdom of Dacia. (1)

A surge of national pride gave the Romanians the strength to endure another two hundred years of foreign occupation.

12. Dosoftei, a cultural pioneer

Symbol of this resurgence of national pride to Romanians is the man they call their First National Poet. Dosoftei was born in 1624 in Moldavia, entered a seminary at the age of ten and was consecrated bishop in 1658. From that moment on, he set to work to translate the liturgy into Romanian and have Mass said in the vernacular in all the churches in his diocese,

(1) Seton Watson R.W.A., History of the Romanians from Roman times to the Completion of Unity, OUP 1934, pp102 ff

and to have the Romanian language taught in his seminaries. He was a pioneer, not only in Daco-Romania but also in the whole of the Eastern Orthodox Christian community. From a broad base in Eastern European literature (his family was Macedo-Romanian, and he read Polish as well as the Church Slavonic of his own religious training), he demonstrated the virtues of Romanian as a language for poetry. As Dan Zamfirescu writes: "He is the first great poet of Orthodox Eastern Europe to have written in the language of his homeland, giving voice to feelings close to the aspirations, experience, joys and hopes of his own people. His special poetic genius found itself a broad area of expression in his translation and versification of the Book of Psalms."

The impact of Dosoftei's work was as great as that of the translators of the Book of Common Prayer, Authorised Version of the Bible and the Scottish Book of Metrical Psalms. It gave his people a common standard for the spoken and written language. "Within a few decades, the revolution he had started in Moldavia had triumphed throughout Romania. In Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania and the Banat, everybody spoke the same language, listened to it every day of the week, had an incentive to learn to read the language they heard used in sermons and on every occasion when fine words were spoken. So the tendency in other neo-Latin countries for literature to become a preoccupation for an elite was avoided, as it had been in England." (1)

Dosoftei was, in fact, a close student of the evolution of the Anglican and other Protestant Churches, and it was because of his close connection with the Court of James II that he was able to find political asylum in Poland in 1686 under Jan Sobieski, friend of the Stewarts and father in law of James III. Contemporary scholars attribute to Dosoftei the scholarly preservation of the earliest manuscripts in Romanian, including

(1) Zamfirescu D., *Primul Poet National (Dosoftei, First National Poet)* in *Tribuna Romaniei* 1974, No. 47 at p.11.

the "Words of Grigore de Nazianz" (1424) and others threatened with destruction during the wars of Ion Voda and Stefan cel Mare, but it was probably more the buttressing of the language against Serb, Magyar, Ukrainian, Russian and Polish threats to its currency and the embryo literature of the reuniting nation state.

13. Romanity of language of Daco-Romania

However, the surviving manuscripts are of great interest to scholars working on the latinity of the Romanian language and the historical continuity of the teaching of the language. The German philologist, Alexandru Cihac, known as 'the Roesler of Romanian Philology', published a dictionary in 1912 purporting to show that words of Latin origin accounted then for only one fifth of the national word stock, and this assessment was accepted without question, though with regret, until 1942, when Professor Dimitrie Macrea appraised the word stock of the Romanian language on the basis of the then best extant dictionary, that of J.A. Candrea. Macrea showed that of the 43.269 words listed, 23.311 were either inherited or borrowed, and 18.958 formed at the time of origin of the Romanian language. More recent and scrupulous studies have established the pre-eminently Latin origin of a majority of Romanian words in use, and two books (Professor G. Mihaila's ⁽¹⁾ Dictionary of the Old Romanian Language and Professor C. Dimitriu's ⁽²⁾ Romanity of some Old Romanian Texts) have demolished the theory that the language was 're-Romanised' in the nineteenth century (an argument used by Magyars in political campaigns to reclaim parts of Transylvania). One example from Professor Mihaila's book shows the origin of the vocabulary of the Neacșu

(1) Mihaila G., Dictionary of the Old Romanian Language, EER Bucharest 1974.

(2) Dimitriu C., Romanity of Some Old Romanian Texts, Junimea, Bucharest 1974.

Letter (1521).⁽¹⁾

Professor Dimitriu⁽²⁾ comments: "In this and other ancient texts examined, the Roman element accounts for almost 80% of the entries and nearly 90% of the words used in texts (that is, words circulated) as compared with the non-Roman element whatever its origin ... We can therefore conclude that the vocabulary of the old Romanian language is as Roman as the vocabulary of the modern Romanian language."

14 General diffusion of Romanian language by seventeenth century

Professor Mihaila⁽²⁾ adds: "What is also interesting is that Romanian is now known, vice a study of the Neacșu Letter and others, to have been the language of the chancelleries, especially those of Moldavia and Wallachia which were headed by Romanians, largely run by Romanians, issuing edicts to people with Romanian names and living in places with Romanian (not Magyar or Turkish) names." Professor Mihaila goes on to conclude that there is obviously no truth in previous assumptions that the language of administration, even of the Church, was anything other than Romanian. This conclusion is important because it has long been known that the first Romanian schools were established in the sixteenth century at Cotnari and Radaceni in Moldavia, but little is known about their organisation, curriculum or even language of instruction, though it would seem likely to be Romanian. By the middle of the seventeenth century 'The School of the Three Hierarchs' founded near Iasi, and the language of instruction of

(1) The Letter contains 628 different words, originating as follows:

Latin	207	Greek	6
Neo-Latin Romanian derivatives	185	Old Russian	6
Old Slav	59	Onomatopaeic	5
Slavonic	43	Saxon	3
Unknown origin	30	Polish	2
Magyar	26	Tartar	2
Thraco-Dacian	24	Italian	1
Bulgar	17	Serbocroat	1
Turkish	11		

(2) Dimitriu and Mihaila supra cit.

this school was certainly Romanian, though it prepared candidates for Church and lay administration and so taught Greek, Turkish and the Slav languages.

Points of comparison with Western Europe, the establishment of the vernacular and the roles of schools in this, are difficult to find. General education in the vernacular had been non-existent. There were no monastery or cathedral schools open to the laity in the Middle Ages, nor, in the sixteenth century were there any plans for mass literacy. ⁽¹⁾ The schools at Cotnari and Radaceni, and later, Iași, were the result of individual enthusiasm by the clergy in those places, who made arrangements with local gentry as a source of pupils and finance. Not that pupils were restricted to the sons of the gentry. Seminarians whose vocation was in doubt were transferred to the schools. There is no central policy-making authority in the Orthodox Church, no equivalent of the Pope; the Ecumenical Patriarch, usually the Patriarch of Constantinople, has no direct influence on the conduct of the lives of Orthodox priests in Serbia, Romania, Greece or any other of the autonomous Patriarchates. Nor did the Patriarch of Romania impose a general policy on his clergy. Dosoftei was only a bishop, but he made drastic changes of liturgy and language, and nobody thought this odd.

15. Romania at the end of the seventeenth century

The campaigns waged by sixteenth century Wallachian and Moldavian leaders had whetted the appetite of all Romanians for a reunion of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania. A language used by all in private and public life, an awareness of a common history, a sense of Romanian identity were all evident. In this no single institution played a determining role. Church and state leaders worked together and individually to the

(1) Iorga N., Histoire de l'Enseignement en pays Roumain, Bucharest, Edition de la Caisse des Ecoles, 1933.

common end. The ethnic minorities, always made welcome by the Romanians, had no objection to a reconstitution of a Dacian monarchy. Even the Magyars, in the main, were as prepared to accept life under a Romanian monarch as they were to be ruled from Vienna as part of an Austro-Hungarian Empire.

FROM THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO INDEPENDENCE

1. The European wars of the seventeenth century took up men and resources which might well have been used to roll back the Turks and Islam from the doorstep of Western Europe. The Roman Catholic Church was pre-occupied with the digestion of the decisions taken at the Council of Trent, and with the promotion of wars against heretics at home, and was less than whole hearted about the possibility of reclaiming Eastern Europe. Poland seemed 'safe', at the end of the Thirty Years War. Hungary was closely guarded by Austria. It seemed more important to try in a desultory fashion to reclaim England and the Netherlands, or promote wars between them, than to worry unduly about the Turkish presence in largely Orthodox South East Europe. And so the Turks consolidated their position in Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Romania.

2. Turkish policies in Romania in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries spent a great deal of time and effort in the building up of a civilian bureaucracy. The holy war against the infidel had spent itself, and to some extent the military were discredited. There was still pressure on the Imperial Government to keep up the strength of the army in preparation for the next holy war, and so recruitment among the subject peoples was kept high; there was a system of conscription which was supposed to compel long term military service by one male in each family. However, it was policy to decentralise the administration of the various provinces of the Empire and put it into civilian hands. This would have many advantages. Austro-Hungary, Russia and Italian traders on the Black Sea coast would not come into such close contact with non-Christians, so there would be a less obvious occupation of South East Europe, less temptation to 'liberate' the region. And so the Romanian principalities or provinces

of Moldavia and Wallachia were given as perquisites to (mainly Greek) families in the service of the Empire, and Greek officials presided over the bureaucracy throughout. By the end of the seventeenth century, these 'Phanariots' (they took their name from the lighthouse at Istanbul (Constantinople) near which a prosperous Greek colony had established itself), dominated the public life of Moldavia and Wallachia and gave it a peculiar tone which it retains today.

3. Byzantinism

Life was not easy for the Greek bureaucracy in Moldavia and Wallachia, both because the Romanian natives were hostile, and because it took a long time to get a policy decision from Istanbul (Constantinople). And so, after equipping themselves with fine houses, furniture and objects d'art (some stolen), the Phanariots settled back to enjoy Romania without really doing anything, on the principle that a man who said even 'No' had a fifty per cent chance of being wrong. This attitude became deeply engrained in the minds of Romanians working for the Phanariots, and the practice of offering 'inducements' to do something became widespread. The inducements took the form of presents to wives or friends, the bribery as indirect as the decision making process, and persist in Communist Romania, as does the pious hope on the part of the bureaucrat that the petitioner will go away. Nigel Grant ⁽¹⁾ came up against 'Byzantinism' when in Romania to do research for his work on Teacher Training in the USSR and Eastern Europe and his experience is not unusual. Yet though this Phanariot influence was strong, the Romanian identity survived in Moldavia and Wallachia and the desire for independence did not diminish.

4. Survival of Romanity during Phanariot administration

It is certainly true that, during the latter part of the seventeenth, and the whole of the eighteenth centuries, the use of Romanian at an official

(1) Grant N., Teacher Training in the USSR and Eastern Europe, supra cit

level was eroded by political circumstances. In 1691, Transylvania became an autonomous province of the Austrian Empire, administered by a Governor, with the title of Prince of Transylvania added to those of the Habsburg Crown. From 1708 in Moldavia and 1716 in Wallachia, the Princes were nominated from Constantinople from among Greeks who had rendered special services to the Ottoman Empire. Inevitably, German, in Transylvania, and Greek, in Moldavia and Wallachia, became necessary for ambitious young men and women who wanted to make a career away from the farms. Nevertheless, by the middle of the eighteenth century there was already a movement, led by Gheorghe Lazar in Wallachia and Gheorghe Assachi in Moldavia, which exerted a great deal of influence on Romanians of all classes and was directed to return Greek, Turkish and Russian to the status of 'foreign languages' and avoid the danger that Greek and Turkish would become languages of instruction. This culturally purist group allied itself to a political movement working for complete independence from Austria, Turkey and the Phanariot Greeks in the service of the Turks. There were uprisings, provoked by the stupidity of foreign administrators - in 1714 peasants in Transylvania were asked to bear a *corvée* (unpaid forced labour) of four days a week at the direction of the Austrian Governor and his bailiffs - but in the main the political movement was led by cultivated men who tried to achieve by diplomacy what they knew they could never achieve by force. In 1785, a group of Transylvanians, all graduates of the University of Vienna, used a court favourite to persuade Emperor Joseph II to issue a decree effectively abolishing the *corvée* (though it remained a formal obligation until 1848). In Moldavia and Wallachia, nationalists were as subtle. They kept Romanian alive as an official language by suggesting that Romanians were too stupid to learn other languages, and simultaneously documented their claim to be taken seriously as a cultured people by publishing, in Romanian, Turkish, Greek and Russian, commentaries on the writings of Nicolae

Olhaus, the friend of Erasmus, Ioan Honterus, Grigore Ureche, Miron Constin, Ioan Neculce, Dimitri Cantemir, Constantin Cantacuzino and Ferencz Pariz Papai, all Romanians whose work was well known in Western Europe and published in France, in particular, during the century of the Enlightenment. The Turks and Greeks may not have been much impressed, but a steady stream of (in particular) French scholars flowed towards Romania and established the close cultural relationship which still exists today.

5. Revival of folk art and literature

Under the stimulus of administrative reforms by Constantin Mavrocordat in Wallachia (1746) and Moldavia (1749), a reappraisal of the heritage of folklore began - crafts like embroidery, icon painting, the decoration of the exteriors of churches, even the restoration of the cathedral (Romanesque) at Alba Iulia and the ancient castles at Hunedoara and Cluj-Napoca, not to speak of the pastoral ballads (Miorita) and haiduk songs (Toma Alimoş, Pinteia the Brave). with their roots in the history of the survival of this remarkable people.⁽¹⁾

There was a great renewal of interest in the art of painting on glass. The art is said to be of Byzantine origin, but it is more likely to have reached Transylvania from Italy, via the Tyrol, Austria and Bohemia. In the sixteenth century primitive workshops for making glass (glăjării) were known at Risnov in South Transylvania, and painting seems to have started on the spot, using as models the religious subjects engraved in the newly printed religious books circulating there at this time.

The most famous centre, however, was the monastery and village of Nicula, near Cluj; in 1699 an icon painted there (of the Virgin Mary) is said to have shed tears, and the oldest icon painted on glass which survives is from Nicula, and is dated 1802. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, painters from Nicula had travelled throughout Moldavia, Wallachia

(1) Nicolae Iorga, *sopra cit.*

and the Banat. In order to cope with the demand for icons, not only as religious objects of devotion but as something specifically Romanian, the studios or workshops were highly organised: one person drew the outline, another wrote the inscriptions, a third applied gold leaf, a fourth painted in the colours and so on. Local architecture featured in the backgrounds, even local costumes (the black cloak and hood from Transylvania on Our Lady of Sorrows), but as Marcela Focsa says:⁽¹⁾ "The beauty of Romanian icons on glass mainly resides in their colour - the way tones are selected and harmonised reveals an unerring instinct." These schools/workshops in a way mark the beginning of vocational education in what is now Romania.

6. Political preparation for independence

So effective was the cultural lobbying and the political intrigue, that during the Napoleonic Wars both sides committed themselves to the future independence of Moldavia and Wallachia, though the Austrians were reluctant to promise more than autonomy "in the form of a lasting association with Our Imperial Crown" (Joseph II). There were more revolts in Transylvania (1784-1785, 1812) and in Wallachia (1821) but these were crushed. Nevertheless, the hint of violence at a time when the Western Powers were tiring of violence was probably enough to have a promise of autonomy written into the Treaty of Andrianopolis (1829) which ended the Russo-Turkish War (1828-1829). The Treaty put an end to the Ottoman monopoly of Romanian foreign trade. This was to have far reaching effects. At the outset, the Romanian landowning class saw a way of increasing its wealth by trading overseas and depositing part of the proceeds in the capitals of Western Europe (Paris, London and Berlin), and the short term satisfaction this brought, because it was a way of avoiding Turkish and Austrian taxes, later developed into a pattern of

(1) Fosca, Marcela, Romanian Icons Painted on Glass, London Thames & Hudson 1970.

commercial contacts which strengthened the independence movement. The availability of funds, especially in Paris, was soon translated into a steady flow of Romanian students to the Sorbonne, and, on their return, a strengthening of the embryonic educational system at home.

7. Growth of educational institutions

The Bucharest Polytechnic, served by the 'grammar schools' mentioned above, founded in 1815, became by 1835 "one of the most important, if not the most important, institution of higher learning in Eastern Europe, modelled on the new schools of Paris". ⁽¹⁾ New high schools were built on the model of the French lycee ⁽²⁾ - 288 in Wallachia and 55 in Moldavia - and staffed in part by French teachers brought over on what must have been one of the first 'teacher exchange programmes', stimulated by continued Franco-Romanian commercial and social contacts. French textbooks were introduced, too, and may still be found in large numbers in the second hand bookshops of Bucharest and Iasi.

However, the ending of an effective Ottoman suzerainty in Moldavia and Wallachia did not bring de facto independence to the principalities. As the Turks moved out, the Russians moved in, ostensibly to protect the Orthodox Church from Muslim aggression, and the freedom of Romanian trade. In effect, the Russian Protector, Kiseleff, stifled most of the protests made in Moldavia against the 'russification' of the administration. In Wallachia and Transylvania, nonetheless, the native Romanians carried on creating their own administrative machinery, relying on the Treaty's guarantee of progress towards self government. ⁽³⁾

(1) G. Mihaila, *sopra cit.*

(2) i.e. the lycee of 1802.

(3) Seton Watson, *sopra cit.*

8. The uprising of 1848

Perhaps inevitably, the revolutionary atmosphere in Europe, and especially in France, affected this steady, almost uneventful progress and Wallachians were led by Nicolae Balcescu in an uprising in 1848 to coincide with political events in Paris. This was, though premature, surprisingly successful, and a Provisional Government under Balcescu ran the province for three months as a going political and economic concern. In Transylvania, there was a mass meeting on the Field of Liberty on 15th May, 1848 followed by an insurrection of some thousands of peasants. Unfortunately, the long standing dislike and mistrust of Romanians for Hungarians made it impossible to link the uprisings in Hungary and Transylvania, and the Habsburg and Tsarist Russian monarchies were so alarmed by the success of Balcescu,⁽¹⁾ that after all was quiet in Transylvania they turned a blind eye towards the Turks, who marched into Wallachia and 'restored order' there, too.

9. Last steps towards independence

But it was obvious to the Tsar, the Austrian Emperor and the Queen's Government in London, that there was no holding down the Romanians in such a way that it did not disturb the balance of power. The Tsar was anxious to have a friendly Romania as a ready ally should he decide to invade Turkey. The British Government was anxious to keep Turkey, 'the sick man of Europe' alive as counterweight to Russian power, and to prevent a Russian overflow of naval power into the Mediterranean, and so was anxious that an independent Romania should not be pro-Russian. The Habsburgs in Vienna wanted a friendly Romania which would keep the Hungarians under close surveillance, though the Austrian Emperor was not convinced that it was necessary to grant Transylvania its independence.

(1) Nicolae Balcescu, *Memorie*, centenary edition, Bucharest 1972, Ed. Scinteia .

Romanians in all three provinces, led by Balcescu and Mihail Kogalniceanu, soon realised that there were few diplomatic obstacles to independence, at least for Moldavia and Wallachia. Kogalniceanu discouraged violence and eventually found a solution acceptable to all. On 5th January, 1859, Alexandru Ioan Cuza was elected Prince of Moldavia; the Tsar had already approved the choice of a prince who had Russian family connections, and, anyway, he liked Cuza. On 24th January, 1859, to noisy applause, Cuza was also elected Prince of Wallachia and after a triumphal drive through the streets of Bucharest dubbed himself Prince of the Romanians. The British, French and Turkish Governments had already let it be known that they liked Cuza, too. When he assured the Habsburg Emperor that he had no intention of 'liberating' Transylvania, Cuza achieved the de facto reunification of his country with frontiers as wide as those of Decebal's Dacia in 100 AD.

10. Conclusion

By the end of 1859, Europe in general was aware not only of the emergence of a new nation state, but of the emergence of one with a distinctive character, personality and culture. The ancient Dacian civilisation and the new civilisation brought with them by the invading and conquering Romans had already fixed the parameters of the Romanian personality by the time the Roman Empire came to an end. Throughout more than a millenium of isolation from other neo-Latin civilisations and cultures, the Romanity of Romania never diminished, nor was the neo-Latin language much diluted, in spite of oppression and threats of oppression from invading Slavs, Turks and Magyars. Paradoxically, the invaders, like the Romans before them, were enchanted by Daco-Romania and its people and many settled there, introducing a substantial number of ethnic minorities without racial conflict, except where Magyar nationalism in Transylvania appeared and reappeared as a consequence of the re-drawing of the Northern

frontiers. Part of the Romanity preserved was the Christianity brought from Rome, which though overwhelmed by the Eastern Orthodox Church in Moldavia and Wallachia retained much of its atmosphere including the Marian cult. Romania in 1859 had become rather like the Veneto in Italy from which so many of the legionaries were recruited for the invasion of old Dacia, a country of peasants in small villages, with market towns to serve them, looking towards only one large, capital city. Like the Veneto, too, it was a country of potentially great mineral wealth, though unlike the Veneto the exploitation of this wealth, especially in oil, had been exploited since Roman times.

The Romanian identity, audible in the language, visible in the architecture and costumes of the people, was to express itself in an explosion of patriotism and diligence, not least in the evolution of a distinctive educational system, already foreshadowed in this first part of the investigation.

PART TWO

Part Two of this investigation deals with (1) the modernisation of the economy and political institutions, and of the educational system which serves them, from the Union of the Provinces in 1859 to the end of the Second World War, drawing attention to the impact on the educational system of this period of social, political and economic tensions. It goes on (2) to study the orientation and re-orientation of an educational philosophy, outlook, organisation, curriculum and teacher training system since the Communist assumption of power at the end of 1947.

INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER (1859-1914)

1. External relations

The years following the Union of the Provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were years of intense activity, political, economic and cultural, ending in the evolution of educational and other institutions as we see them today.

The new Union was recognised as 'autonomous', but not yet independent. None of the Great Powers was really sure it had done the right thing in allowing the re-formation of a State which had uncertain loyalties. The Sultan of Turkey still thought of himself as 'overlord' of the Provinces, though his real power was as limited as that of the British Queen as Head of the Commonwealth was to be a hundred years later. The Tsar felt protective when he thought of the Orthodox Christians of Romania still threatened by the Muslim Turks. The Austro-Hungarian Emperor thought the Romanians wished him well, but still had a faint suspicion that one day Transylvania might follow Moldavia and Wallachia into the Union. The German Emperor and British Empress were generally nervous when they read or heard of political fervour in Europe; the British and French Governments feared that in any impending war with Russia, Romania might take the Russian side and make for an 'untidy campaign'.

2. First steps in reconstruction

The behaviour of Cuza's chief minister, Mihail Kogalniceanu, did nothing to reassure anybody. In 1864 he abolished all traces of serfdom, including the formal legal liability to forced labour and the obligation on peasants not to leave the lands they worked. In fact, this reform was to help the owners of large estates to consolidate them, but the first impact was to create a new proletariat free to move to the cities and towns and seek employment there. It had not occurred to anybody outside Romania

that the country was rich in more than grain, game and salt, or that an industrial revolution, with its consequent social and political changes, could take place in the near future.

3. Exploitation of natural resources ⁽¹⁾

Kogalniceanu's freed peasants moved quickly to areas where economic expansion was likely. From the Danube to the Northern frontiers, new oil wells were sunk. The petrol refined from the oil extracted from Romania's subsoil is of high quality, non-corrosive and exploitable without any great technology. The streets of Bucharest were already lit by petrol vapour street lamps in 1861. 99.8% pure methane gas deposits were developed close to deposits of salt, making available an almost inexhaustible source of basic materials (chlorine, hydrochloric acid, sodium salts) for a chemical industry, again even where only a rudimentary technology was available. There were well known coal deposits all over Romania; in the Petrosani basin (Lupeni, Petrila, Vulcan, Lonea) it was ideal for coking, as were some deposits in Bacau and Cluj, and all those in the Banat. In addition to coking coal and anthracite, there were extensive deposits of lignite all along the southern edge of the sub-Carpathian regions.

Ferrous metals were well known in all three Provinces. The iron ore in Hunedoara region and in the Banat had been exploited since Roman times. There were mapped deposits of manganese in the Dorna, of gold, zinc and lead in the North. The gold veins were as valuable as those known in Tsarist Russia, and there are now known to be extensive deposits of uranium. Both Kogalniceanu's political activity, and the publicity given to the national stock taking of resources, attracted the interest, political and economic, of Western Europeans in general, the British and French in particular. Throughout 1865 the chancelleries were loud with whispers

(1) Hasegan M., Physical Geography of Romania, Bucharest 1957, pp.24-38

about what to do to ensure that Romania remained politically and economically exploitable.

4. Carol, the Russo-Turkish War, political and economic consequences.⁽¹⁾

In February, 1866, a solution was arrived at; Cuza was persuaded to hand over his throne (of Moldavia and Wallachia) to Carol of Hohenzollern, a Prussian princeling.

In 1877, under Carol, still unsure on his throne, Romania took part in the Russo-Turkish War on the side of the Tsar, and in return, at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, received her de jure independence. The celebrations of formal release from Turkish suzerainty lasted for a year, and in the general joy the Prussian king was accepted as, if nothing else, a lucky mascot.

The Western European chancelleries were pleased with Carol and Romania, and the Russians, too, had cause to be grateful. The general gratitude and pleasure showed themselves in massive investment of British, French, German and Austrian capital. Between 1866 and 1887, 173 new factories had been built; in six years from 1887 to 1893, 183 more, all foreign financed, were built in Bucharest and Ploiești. The extraction of petrol base rose from 16.000 tonnes a year in 1881 to 250.000 tonnes in 1900, so that by the end of the century, Romania had more miles of track than any other country in Eastern Europe, and more than Spain and Portugal together.⁽²⁾

There were, of course, 'social complications'. The rapid industrialisation, financed by foreign capital, but made possible because of the availability of millions of freed peasants, helped these same peasants to learn to ask for an ever increasing share in their country's prosperity. The

(1) Charles Upson Clark, *United Romania*, New York, Dodd, 1932.

(2) Hasegan M., *sopra cit.*

Romanian Workers' Association, founded in 1872, extended its influence rapidly, started its own newspaper (The Socialist) in 1877 and had formed its own political party (The Romanian Workers' Social Democratic Party) by the end of 1893. Trades union and political organisation went hand in hand, and were helped by the sympathy of writers and other intellectuals, who resented the influence of foreigners in their newly independent country.

5. Restatement of natural identity in literature

Imaginative literature in Moldavia dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the writings of George Asaki (1788-1869) and in Wallachia from Ion Eliade Radulescu (1802-1872), though they were both 'in the French tradition', and it was not until Anton Pann (1794-1854) produced collections of folk tales and legends that it is possible to speak of a 'Romanian Literature'; this identity became clear in the work of Vasile Alecsandri (1821-1890). Dr. Norman Simms writes:⁽¹⁾ "The life of Vasile Alecsandri is that of a nationalist creating a national literature and, to a great extent, a literary language, from the raw material of his own native folk songs and tales. For historical and geographical reasons, as well as linguistic ones, Romania came to base its national literature on folklore, with French and classical influences in the background." Alexandre Cioranescu notes:⁽²⁾ "For Alecsandri and for those who have followed in his steps, national poetry is Romanian space, with all its cosmic implications, mystical and historical - the sole chance of survival for the nation." But this is perhaps too rhetorical by implication. Alecsandri did not collect folk songs and tales sentimentally, nor with "the mechanical precision of the modern anthropologist" (Simms); rather he approached them as a poet, as a fervent

(1) Norman Simms in CAVE No.6, Hamilton NZ 1974 at pp.78.

(2) Alexandre Cioranescu, Vasile Alecsandri (trans. Goleescu and E.D. Tappe) Twayne World Authors New York 1973.

nationalist, as a man weaving the stuff of education where the prime object of education is an awakening self consciousness.

Because he and his contemporaries were aristocratic romantics at heart, neither Alecsandri nor Pann nor Asaki had a realistic view of the peasant, and there never were the idyllic villages of which he wrote. In a way, they were all Goldsmiths and no Crabbe. Yet they had to overcome enormous difficulties. Like most Romanian aristocrats in the early nineteenth century, Alecsandri had to turn to France for his culture and education - only French universities would accept them. Dr. Norman Simms notes: "He could not even write prose in his native language ... and taught himself to write Romanian when he undertook to be a poet. Not only did he have to teach himself the language as a written vehicle for his thoughts, but he had to create for himself a poetics and a poetic vocabulary equal to his classical trained and Gallically nurtured sensibilities. He did this by turning as no Romanian before him had done with such fervour or success, to the doine, the songs of the people. Professional folklorists find Alecsandri's Poesi Populare unsatisfying as fieldwork material, but Romanians have seen that their literature begins with these doine ... In his theatre, too, which Alecsandri undertook and devoted most of his time towards as a way of creating a national heritage of drama and a feeling of national unity, he is uneven. Yet he has the honour of writing, if not the best at least the first truly literary comedies, dramas and historical plays in the language." (1)

And Alecsandri was a man of action who took his ideas onto the political stage to such effect that he was a serious alternative candidate to Cuza for the crown of the Union of Principalities.

(1) Simms, Cave, supra cit.

6. French and German influence in the Union

After the Union, German influence grew slowly, and both Vienna and Berlin opened their universities to Romanians. Mihai Eminescu, Romania's National poet, (1850-1889) was, like his contemporary, Ion Luca Caragiale (1852-1912), who spent the last twelve years of his life in Berlin, suspicious of France, and in particular of Paris. Eminescu chose to study in both Vienna and Berlin and contrasted the 'seriousness' of life and thought there with the 'superficiality' of the French tradition as it was transferred to Romania by the 'belles-lettristes'. For Eminescu Paris was synonymous with effeminacy.⁽¹⁾

Caragiale, in his satirical plays (A Stormy Night, M. Leonid), criticised the same tendency among emigre Romanians in Paris to be attracted only by the superficial, "polishing the wits until the brain wears away", and pointed out that this form of provincialism was debilitating, divisive in a country searching for unity. Caragiale, Anton Bacalbasa (in the magazine The Romanian Joke), Ion Creanga (1837-1889), George Cosbuc (1866-1918) looked for "a greater seriousness", ideally not German but Romanian in origin and hoped to encourage it by educational reform.

At the outset, it seemed as if a German educational system would be established, then 'naturalised'. The Prussian King did everything he could to open German universities and secondary schools to his courtiers' children. He even gave money for the purchase of uniforms for the three Gymnasias established in Bucharest in 1870, and commissioned the translation of textbooks. The Vienna orientated schools in Transylvania

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- (1) MacGregor-Hastie R., The Last Romantic - Mihai Eminescu, University of Iowa Press, 1972.

In his poem, Third Letter, he writes of his contemporaries:

You have been seen in the worst quarters of Paris, in the worst places,
with the worst men and women, with the depraved and the obscene,
losing your youth and fortune, gambling, drinking, but then
how could Paris make you worse or better when there never was
good in you? With monocle and cane, beards trimmed
and heads pomaded until nothing sticks inside the brain
but a waltz learned in some ballroom, leaving nothing else behind...
Heirs of Rome!

impressed Moldavians and Wallachians who were anyway looking forward to the day when Transylvania would join the Union. However, the French influence was too strong.

7. Spiru Haret and the growth of an educational system

In 1864, Kogalniceanu had passed an Education Act which made elementary education free and compulsory; cities were to set up schools immediately and be responsible for their maintenance, and rural districts were to open schools in collaboration with 'well-meaning people' (priests already running private schools, philanthropic landowners, writers with estates in the country).⁽¹⁾ But little was done to implement the Act, if only because after Carol's accession and de jure independence it was felt that Romania should start again. Carol's failure to establish an educational system with a German flavour revived interest in Kogalniceanu's plans and Spiru Haret, appointed in 1880 to be Secretary General⁽²⁾ of the Ministry of Education and Cults set out to make the Act function. Spiru Haret, made Minister of Education in 1893, was to dominate the educational scene for a quarter of a century and virtually the whole of the system inherited by the Communists in 1944 owes its structure to him.

Spiru Haret, born 15th February, 1851, in Iasi, where he went to a local primary school and the Saint Sava Lycee, read mathematical physics at the University of Bucharest, graduating at the age of 23. He went on to become the first Romanian to defend successfully a dissertation in mathematics at the University of Paris, in 1878. Returning to Romania, he taught for a short time at a gymnasium, then at the University of Bucharest, becoming an Education Inspector in 1883, Inspector General in 1887, Secretary General at the Ministry in 1889, then Minister for Education until 1907. He was commemorated at the Education Congress of 1907 by

(1) Iorga N., History of Education in Romania, Caisse des Ecoles, Bucharest 1933.

(2) Haret's Memorie, Bucharest, 1975.

Iorga as "the shining example to all those who dedicate and rededicate themselves to education". (Tribuna Romaniei, Bucharest, February 1st 1976).⁽¹⁾

Haret's first task was to make the best use of scarce resources; he had few purpose built schools, perhaps 500 trained native Romanian teachers and a very small budget. His stock of textbooks consisted almost entirely of translations from the French and German, and the 'universities' of Bucharest and Iasi, from which he could hope to get teachers and books, had spent the twenty odd ^{years} of their formal existence quarrelling about the constitution of their senates and the status of their staff. In Timisoara there was a 'university' which was no more than a higher training school for pharmacists and engineers. So Haret decided to begin at the lowest level in the educational hierarchy and try to offer at least four years of elementary education to as many Moldavians and Wallachians as possible.

8. Relations with Church (primary schools)

Haret's wife was a very devout woman, the daughter of a priest, and with her help he persuaded the Patriarch of the Orthodox Province of Romania to co-operate with him.⁽²⁾ Where priests were already running schools which were efficient, Haret promised to help them with funds, books and recognition as 'qualified teachers', pledging himself to pay them salaries when this became possible, and even some sort of pension at the age of seventy.

In return, the Patriarch agreed to ask the priests to enlarge their schools, spend more time working in them and admit as pupils any and all who met the age requirement (6-10); Lutherans, Unitarians, Baptists and

(1) Iorga N., supra cit

(2) Author's conversation with Pop Victor, Tziganesti, Romania 1975.

Evangelicals were not to be excluded and though their conversion was to be prayed for they were not to be treated as inferior.

In areas where there were no efficient church schools, Haret promised to open them, using church or other buildings, careful not to undermine the authority of the priest, who was to rank equal to the local mayor and above the teacher; there were good financial reasons for this clarification of status, because local 'authorities' earned money witnessing documents, writing letters and giving evidence at local courts.

9. Relations with local authorities

Haret also co-operated with local factory owners and landowners in town and country, urging them to make time and facilities available and pointing to the greater productivity of a literate work force.

In every provincial capital, and the metropolis, an Education Committee was to be appointed with responsibility for school building and teacher training, and this was to be financed locally. Syllabuses and textbooks would be supplied by the central government, in consultation with the universities, committees of headmasters of secondary schools and employers' representatives. The four years of elementary education were to be thought of as a minimum, and wherever gymnasias could be financed (with a contribution from pupils' parents) they ought to be established as soon as possible.

Inevitably, such a 'system' relying so heavily on the goodwill of private individuals as well as on inexperienced local administrators, produced patchy results. With rare exceptions, the closer a family lived to a major centre of population, the better an education was available (and then, often, only to boys). The gentry with homes in town and country had the best of both worlds, schools in town during term time and extra coaching during the school holidays from poor priests and teachers anxious to

round up their incomes. (1)

10. State of education in Transylvania (Austro-Hungary)

The situation in Moldavia and Wallachia was the more frustrating for Haret because in Hungarian-administered Transylvania, education was making formidable progress under the Minister, Jozsef Eotvos, appointed in 1870 with a brief to make life under Budapest more attractive than in the new Romania. (2)

Eotvos started at the other end of the educational hierarchy. His great friend, Ion Maiorescu, had spent four years as Haret's predecessor at the Ministry of Education. Maiorescu's conclusion was that sheer lack of resources in the public sector made any plan for universal primary or secondary education futile. He convinced Eotvos that a rapid expansion of higher education would create a demand for more lycees, gymnasia and elementary schools, and at university and lycee level there were plenty of parents able to pay for any expansion.

11. University of Cluj (3)

During the year 1872, Eotvos held a number of meetings in Cluj and Sibiu, with teachers and influential parents, and at Arad with the Synod of the Orthodox Church, and it was agreed that State and Church and private individuals would finance a Public University of Cluj. The University was granted its charter on 12th October, 1872, by the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz-Josef, with faculties of Medicine (State and private finance), Law (State and private finance), Philosophy, Literature and History (Church and State finance) and Mathematics and Natural Sciences. An annexe of the Law Faculty was established in Sibiu, where teaching was to be in German. The University opened on 10th November, 1872, with 56

(1) Iorga N., *sopra cit*

(2) Giurescu C., *Transylvania in the History of Romania*, London, Garstone Press, 1972, p.115

(3) Stefan Pascu, *Universitatea din Cluj*, Cluj, Editura Dacia 1972, p.14

teachers and 269 students, 173 of them law students. The emphasis on legal education was perhaps inevitable, given the Government's need for locally trained administrators - Government had to be seen to be efficient in Transylvania if 'Greater Romanian Nationalism' were to be discouraged.

12. Teacher training and 'teacher export'

In 1874 a teacher training college was opened in association with the new University of Cluj. The language of instruction in Cluj was supposed to be Magyar, but in practice a great deal of instruction was given in Romanian and as early as 1880 doctoral dissertations could be defended in Romanian. The success of the teacher training college proved to be an embarrassment to both Haret and Eotvos. The demand for more lycees, predicted by Maiorescu, did not materialise. Parents were not enthusiastic about the idea of opening up the lycees, graduation from which guaranteed a safe job in the administration, to those who did not go up to the new University. Some new lycees were opened, and many new middle and elementary schools, but Cluj-trained teachers were not prepared to teach at these lower levels. Consequently, there was a migration to Romania (Moldavia and Wallachia) on such a scale that Giurescu could write: "At the turn of the century, there was hardly a lycee, grammar school, teacher training or commercial college in Moldavia and Wallachia without one or two teachers from Transylvania. Papiu-Illirian, Damaschin Bojinca, who ran the seminary at Socola and lectured in Law at Iasi, Ion Bianu who was in charge of the library of the Academy, Mindescu who taught German in Bucharest, Densosianu and Paul who taught Latin and Aesthetics respectively at Iasi University, and others, had considerable influence. In secondary education, Transylvanian teachers who wrote standard textbooks included Dimitrie Laurian (philosophy), August Treboniu (philosophy), Ioan Cliniciu (history), Gheorghe Popa-Lisseanu (Latin),

Gheorghe Fontanin became a member of the Romanian Academy, Dimitrie Gaiaunu headmaster of Unirea High School in Focasani (and author of the standard history of the town) and mayor for years, and Munteanu taught at the Commercial High School in Galati for over forty years; setting the pattern for commercial education in Romania." (1)

13. Secondary and Primary school reforms

Eotvos and his successors corrected their mistakes in Transylvania (2) with the use of a number of ingenious devices. Fees at lycees were fixed in such a way that the fewer the pupils, the greater the burden which fell on individual parents - this as an inducement to parents to press for the increase of the number of pupils on the roll. The number of gymnasia (3) (middle schools) was increased by the simple expedient of tacking them on to existing elementary schools, and teachers were required to spend a few years at one of these 'general culture schools' before they could seek employment in lycees. Fines were levied on parents who did not send their children to elementary schools and in villages where there were no schools the onus was put on parents to set up their own.

14. Haret, the left and the (Orthodox) Church

Until he became Minister of Education in 1893, Haret lacked the power to legislate, even by decree, and he had to carry on patiently with his attempt to make four years of elementary school education available to all. (4) The collaboration with the Orthodox Church worked well, in the main, and in 1888 he offered the same sort of arrangement to the Romanian

(1) Giurescu, supra cit

(2) Curticapeanu V., Die Rumanische Kulturbewegung in der Osterreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, Bucharest 1966.

(3) The gymnasium in Romania fits in between the elementary school and lycee, a middle school.

(4) Haret S., Învățămîntul la Romania Noua, Bucharest 1899 and Archiv la Ministerul Învățămîntului, Str Nuferilor 3.

Workers' Social Democratic Party which had opened 'village clubs' in rural, even remote, areas to educate peasants for 'revolutionary tasks'. The failure of successive peasant revolts (1888, 1892, 1894) in various parts of the country convinced the Party that it would not be a betrayal to work with the Ministry of Education for 'the common end of literacy and political awareness', so in many village clubs Party members taught politics to adults and the basic reading and writing skills to children; in return, Haret promised immunity from 'police interference' (a promise he could not always keep). That this odd alliance was at all possible was only because the Party was more interested in 'liberating' Transylvania from Austro-Hungary than in questioning too closely the order at home. (1)

Once he became Minister of Education, Haret quickly programmed a restructuring of the schools. The close collaboration with the Church became more complementary, and as the Party moved Left, Haret severed his connection with it (it was dissolved in 1899). State funds were made available for the opening of elementary schools in every community with a population larger than 5000, though this still left some 60% of all children with no school other than the local priest's catechism classes. The Transylvanian practice of attaching gymnasias to elementary schools was followed, and success in the leaving examinations made a qualification to teach in these 'general culture schools'. Teachers qualifying in this way had to spend five years on probation (stagiar), and sometimes they were not paid until they had finished this probationary period, but lycees did grow in size and number and the flow of general culture school teachers steadily increased. By the beginning of the school year 1898/1899 there were some 10.000 trained teachers working in general culture

(1) Co-operation between Church and State is common in both Eastern and Western Europe, but this sort of collaboration between Church (for a time), State and a Left, Revolutionary Party is rare in Western Europe. It helped to make possible Party-State Government after 1945 in Eastern Europe.

schools and lycees. (1)

15. Higher Education and the Union

Encouraged by this success, Haret turned his attention to the universities of Bucharest and Iasi. Without saying it in so many words, he hoped for some sort of business-like organisation similar to that evolved in Cluj - a working faculty structure with libraries and laboratories, and a teacher training college. He was faintly surprised to discover that the universities were not grateful for his offers of help, even resented it as 'interference with the natural autonomy of a university'. In the end, he sought out men involved in old quarrels (like that between Bucharest Polytechnic and Bucharest University about which had precedence) and used them to get invitations to mediate, then legislate. Haret's Higher Education Act of 1898 put both universities firmly under Ministry of Education control, with the Minister having the right to appoint the Rectors (in Transylvania, faculty staff at Cluj and Sibiu elected chairmen and the Rector of Cluj University). In return for financial assistance with buildings and apparatus, the universities agreed to expand teacher training in concurrent degree courses as well as postgraduate specialisation. In the national economic interest, Bucharest was to supervise the training of petroleum engineers at Ploiesti and chemical engineers at Craiova. Iasi agreed to 'stress the Romanity' of the North East, always menaced with annexation by Tsarist Russia - this meant, in practice, to produce large numbers of trained men and women who could teach in the Romanian language. In 1899, Haret had passed his Vocational Education Act, which placed an obligation (not specified in detail) on both employers and the State to train men to work in the expanding industries and continue with that training during their employment.

(1) Haret S., op cit

It is undoubtedly true that Spiru Haret laid the foundations of the Romanian educational system at all levels, and began to see positive results in his lifetime. Unfortunately, the political situation at home and abroad slowed down the rate of progress for which he had planned.

16. Political halt to educational progress (1)

The whole of the Balkans was politically unstable. From Romania, everybody's attitude looked menacing. To the North, Transylvania was still under Austro-Hungarian occupation and seemed to be losing its enthusiasm for unification with free Romania. To the North East, Tsarist Russia occupied Romanian-speaking areas of Bessarabia and Moldavia and seemed reluctant to let them go. To the South, Bulgaria was still nominally part of the Ottoman Empire, though ruled by the Saxe-Coburg Prince Ferdinand. To the West, Serbia and Montenegro were independent but unstable. Romania's great wealth began to disappear into a pit of military expenditure with nothing to show on the surface. The budgets for education and much else that was non-military were cut drastically. (2)

The situation along Romania's frontiers was to deteriorate throughout the first decade of the twentieth century. To the North, there was a great deal of Magyar unrest. There was a resurgence of Magyar nationalism - a demand that Hungarian regiments should have a separate command structure, that the language of these regiments be Magyar, that they should have their own insignia and so on. From 1903-1905 Hungary even had its own Parliament and there was some pressure put on the Habsburgs to 'separate the monarchy'. In the end Magyar leaders supported the Austro-Hungarian Emperor in his efforts to put down nationalists, if only because they realised that an independent Hungary would almost certainly lose

(1) Gilbert F., *The End of the European Era*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1970, p.79 et seq.

(2) There was an ambitious plan to duplicate the French Baccalaureat curriculum (see Iorga, *sopra cit*) as established in the Law of 1902, but this was dropped.

Transylvania to Romania.

In Serbia and Bulgaria there was unrest, too. As long as they campaigned for the freedom of Slavs under Ottoman rule, the Habsburg monarchy was sympathetic to Serbian aspirations, but in 1903 the pro-Habsburg King Alexander of Serbia was assassinated. Serbs then began to campaign for a 'union of the Southern Slavs', and most of these Southern Slavs were under Austro-Hungarian rule. Bulgaria wanted not only freedom from Turkey, but also 'their' province of Macedonia, claimed also by Serbia. The Habsburgs offered support to the Bulgars, Russia to the Serbs.

17. Balkan Wars

Hostility smouldered, broke into war in 1912. Bulgaria and Serbia believed that as Italy had distracted Turkey's attention and was obviously defeating her in the war over sovereignty in Tripoli, now was the time to seize their irredenta lands and drive the Turks out of South East Europe for good.

Turkish troops were, in fact, defeated several times, but Bulgaria made a diplomatic settlement difficult with its 'non-negotiable' demand for the whole of Macedonia. The intransigence of the Bulgarian Government provoked a second Balkan war, with Romania, Greece, Turkey and Serbia on the other side. In 1913 Greece and Serbia shared out virtually the whole of Macedonia. Romania, in exchange for a renunciation of a claim to parts of Macedonia where 75,000 Wallachians were living, was ceded the south of Dobrogea, at Bulgaria's expense. Serbia's demand for a cession of the whole of Albania was opposed by Austria-Hungary and even Tsarist Russia, and it was frustration in this which led to the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife at Sarajevo on June 28th, 1914, and so to the First World War. The Romanian historian, Titulescu often suggested that Germany actively promoted the Balkan wars

and even organised the assassination at Sarajebo in order to force Austria-Hungary into a war against Britain and France.

Whatever the precise origin of the First World War, it had two very important consequences for Romania - the Austro-Hungarian Empire was finally dismembered, and the Tsarist regime in Russia was replaced by the Communist Government of the Soviet Union.

GREATER ROMANIA TO PEOPLES' REPUBLIC (1914-1947)

1. Romania and the First World War

There was never any doubt that Romania would go to war on the side of Great Britain and France. The war was a popular one in every sense of the word, uniting all parties other than a tiny group of members of the discredited, pacifist, Second International. On 15th August, 1916 the Romanian army crossed the frontier into Transylvania, routing the Austro-Hungarian troops there and ^{was} received with open arms by the population at large. But while the celebrations were in full swing, a German-Bulgar-Turkish army, led by the German General Mackensen, invaded Dobrogea and defeated the Romanians at Turtucaia; thus encouraged, the Austrian General Falkenhayn took the offensive in Transylvania and drove the Northern Romanian army back through Oltenia, entering Bucharest on 6th December, 1916. Until the summer of 1918, Romania remained largely under German occupation, the King and Government in exile in Iași, but a slow process of rebuilding a regular and partisan army made it possible for Romania to go on the offensive and by the end of the War be in occupation of the whole of Transylvania as well as nearly all the territory held before the War.

2. 1918 - 'Greater Romania'

The stubbornness of Romanian resistance, tying up many German divisions needed on the Western Front, surprised the Western allies - there was the canard about only Romanian officers above the rank of major being allowed to wear perfumed gloves, and much more. And so it was not surprising that after the War Romania was given carte blanche to help herself to any territory with a substantial Romanian population. Transylvania had already been occupied, with its population of 2.700.000 Roman-

ians, Magyars, Szeklers, Germans, Slovaks and Ukrainians, and Bukovina, to the North, was handed over, with its population of 275.000 Romanians, 300.000 Ukrainians and 170.000 Germans. Bessarabia was seized from a weakened Russia, still in the throes of the Bolshevik Revolution. Bessarabia, with 1.000.000 Romanians, 900.000 Ukrainians Germans and Jews had been taken by Russia from Turkey in 1812 and named Moldavia - in 1924 the Soviet Union recognised a Moldavian Soviet Republic - but it had always been thought of as part of Moldavia proper.

When the map had been redrawn, the territory of post-war Romania was almost three times as large as pre-war, and had a population of 16 million, including 1.500.000 Magyars and Szeklers, 400.000 Germans, 1.100.000 Ukrainians and 750.000 Jews, not to speak of small colonies of Slovaks, Bulgars and Serbs. It was an impressive expansion, and put new strains on the administrative system, including the hierarchy of the Ministry of Education; a few weeks after the first Ministry officials moved to Cluj, there was an invasion by the short-lived Bolshevik regime in Hungary, fortunately defeated, but it was all unsettling.

However, the accession of Transylvania certainly enriched the cultural life of Greater Romania, and gave her well trained administrators. The historians Lupaş, Lapedatu, Silviu Dragomir, Metes, Daicoviciu, Prodan, Otetea and Paşcu were all elected to membership of the Romanian Academy, as were geographers Vasile Merutiu and Tiberiu Moraru. Partenie Cozma and Ion Lapedatu, both economists, were recruited to the service of the Government in general, the Ministry of Education in particular.⁽¹⁾

(1) Giurescu C., Transylvania in the History of Romania, *sopra cit.*

The first task was to homogenise education throughout the new kingdom. This was not easy. Transylvanians believed that education there was more universally available and of a higher standard than in Moldavia or Wallachia, and were afraid of 'dilution'. Moldavians and Wallachians felt that as they had 'liberated' Transylvania, there should be a proper feeling of gratitude in Cluj.

3. Political obstacles to progress

As it happened, political controversy inside the new Romania slowed down the pace of any changes felt desirable. There was economic chaos, only partly caused by the war, and in a general atmosphere of social and political unrest the Left became well organised. In 1920 there was a general strike, and in 1921 the Romanian Communist Party was formed, its hierarchy studded with bright strike leaders. The Government was trying hard to establish a single system of land tenure, limiting the size of estates, redrawing boundaries, and though many of the measures would have benefited the individual peasant in the long run, many peasants resented any sort of change and allied themselves with the Communists in the towns. In 1923, the Government tried to satisfy popular demands for power sharing with a new Constitution, and in 1924 banned the Communist Party, encouraging the formation of Peasants' Parties, Peoples' Parties, any sort of association with a populist name which would absorb and institutionalise radical energies. These devices were only partly successful - there were peasant uprisings in 1924, 1926, 1927 and 1928, a forestry workers' strike in 1925 and a great miners' strike at Lupeni in 1929 - but some sort of order was restored. The troublesome King, Carol, was forced to leave the country in 1926, and his small son, Michael, reigned in a Regency.

4. Education reforms 1925 - Private Schools

By the middle of 1925, it was possible to start legislating for educat-

tional reform. The Law dated December 22nd, 1925 was the result of months of discussion with radicals in Parliament and experts outside it, and applied only to the private sector in education. The thinking behind the Law was that the growth of private education should be discouraged, because of the general shortage of teachers and non-human resources. To the Left, this was presented as a pledge to make education available as quickly as possible to the children of all peasants and workers, but this laudable aim was only a small part of the truth. Many Romanian leaders, especially those who had led the fight for the rejoining of Transylvania to Romania, felt that it would be wise to prevent "small discontented groups committing themselves to pointless expenditure and the waste of scarce resources in the vain hope of the reversal of political decisions now taken". (1) By this, the Transylvanians, led by Octavian Goga meant that some Magyar Transylvanians were by no means delighted to be detached from Hungary, to see their language demoted and their influence diminished; it looked as if many of them would support moves already under way to establish Magyar schools, clubs, even settlements, to create a state within a state in the hope that at least the northern part of Transylvania would be reunited with Hungary. Because most of the Magyars were Roman Catholics, this drive to discourage Magyar private schools extended to a discouragement of private Catholic schools, and by extension again to the parochial primary schools. The Law of 22nd December, 1925, (2) in fact, laid down certain conditions which made it virtually impossible for anyone to open a private school for children between the ages of 7 and 11 where there existed already a State primary school. A high tax on fees made the private 'prep school' accessible only to the very rich (this was a period of boom in the recruitment of English, French and German nannies) though some ingenious parents managed

(1) Author's conversations with Madame Goga, Ciucea 1975.

(2) c.f. the French Law of 1924 (parification of curricula of prep-lycees and primary schools).

BOYS SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1928

GRADE	HOURS PER WEEK																				EXTRA CURRICULAR	
	Religion	Romanian	Latin	Greek	French	German / English	History	Geography	Philosophy / Sociology	Law / Pol. Econ / Civics	Mathematics	Physics or Chemistry	Natural Sciences	Hygiene	Music	Drawing	Calligraphy	Gymnastics	Moral Education	TOTAL	SUMMER SPORT	WINTER CRAFTS
Col 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
TOTAL	13	24	14	2	17	9	14	12	4	3	19	12	11	2	9	7	2	14	7		14	7
1	2	5	0	0	3	0	2	2	0	0	3	0	2	0	2	1	1	2	1	26	2	1
2	2	4	0	0	3	0	2	2	0	0	3	2	2	0	2	1	1	2	1	27	2	1
3	2	3	2	0	3	0	2	2	0	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	27	2	1
4	2	3	3	0	2	3	2	2	0	0	3	3	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	28	2	1
5	2	3	3	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	3	3	2	0	1	1	0	2	1	29	2	1
6	2	3	3	1	2	2	2	0	2	1	2	2	2	0	1	1	0	2	1	29	2	1
7	1	3	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	0	2	1	1	1	0	2	1	29	2	1

plus 3 hours of minority language

Ministerul Instrucțiunii, State Printer

Bucharest 1929

to open 'dancing academies' and even founded Boy Scout (Cub Scout) troops which were really elementary schools in disguise.

5. Secondary education reform 1926-1929

On 16th April, 1926 a Law was passed 'regulating' vocational secondary schools for boys and girls. It concerned boys and girls who had completed four years of elementary education and three years of gymnasium (boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18) and wanted to prepare themselves for 'basic trades' (hairdressing, office work, hotel and catering trades, electrical trades and plumbing) as well as those who would go on to higher technical institutes to take four year degree and diploma courses. The trades unions, in pressing for the extension of vocational education at 'nominal fees' stated that they were anxious to make up for the lack of opportunities for apprenticeship, especially in remote areas, and the technical and vocational schools made only a nod in the direction of the humanities as an ingredient in the curriculum. In a way, the Law was successful in that the number of opportunities for technical and vocational education did increase, but it also started a trend for children destined for the lycee (and the university) to start a prep-lycee at the end of the four year elementary cycle; this impoverished the gymnasium and turned it into a lower technical school. New laws in 1928 and 1929 were needed to reverse this trend and the General Public Secondary School Law of 1928 and the Parochial Secondary Schools Law of 1929 were designed to do just that.

In a way both laws dodged the issue of the devaluation of the gymnasium. In future there were to be both four year elementary schools and seven year elementary schools 'respecting local customs and traditions'. In principle, a boy or girl who finished a seven year cycle of elementary education could pass on to Year 4 of the secondary cycle, but as most seven year elementary schools were in rural districts where there were

GIRLS SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1928

GRADE		HOURS PER WEEK																						Extra curricular Activities	
		Religio	Romanian	Latin	Greek	French	German / English	History	Geography	Philosophy / Sociology	Law / Pol. Econ. / Civics	Mathematics	Physics / Chemistry	Natural Science	Hygiene	music	Drawing	Calligraphy	Gymnastics	moral Education	Total	Domestic Economy	Summer:	Winter:	
																							Sport	Crafts	
Col	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
Total		13	24	14	2	17	9	14	12	4	3	19	12	11	2	9	7	2	14	7		7	14	10	
1		2	5	0	0	3	0	2	2	0	0	3	0	2	0	2	1	1	2	1	26	1	2	2	
2		2	4	0	0	3	0	2	2	0	0	3	2	2	0	2	1	1	2	1	27	1	2	2	
3		2	3	2	0	3	0	2	2	0	1	3	2	1	1	1	0	2	1	27	1	2	2		
4		2	3	3	0	2	3	2	2	0	0	3	3	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	28	1	2	1	
5		2	3	3	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	3	3	2	0	1	1	0	2	1	29	1	2	1	
6		2	3	3	1	2	2	2	0	2	1	2	2	2	0	1	1	0	2	1	29	1	2	1	
7		1	3	3	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	0	2	1	1	1	0	2	1	29	1	2	1	
																								} plus 3 hours per week minority language	

plus 3
hours
per week
minors
language

Min. Instructionii : Programele analitice ale învățământului secundar (lice, gimnaziu și clasele I-III a școlilor normale) întocmite în conformitate cu legea învățământului secundar din 1928, Bucharest 1929.

no secondary schools proper, this rule was just a sop to the idea of universal secondary education. In the real world, there were to be three types of gymnasia - for boys only, for girls only and mixed. Gymnasias were to offer a three year cycle of education, after which boys and girls could pass on to the four year lycee cycle, or to technical and vocational schools with a 'higher education stream'. Here it is as well not to forget the prestige and influence of Bucharest Polytechnic with its vested interest in technical/academic education. The Rector of the Bucharest Polytechnic, senior to every other academic in Romania except the Rector of Cluj University, kept a wary eye on the gymnasia. The Rector of Cluj (Romanian) University, anxious to assert his pre-eminence vis a vis the Rector of the Magyar University of Cluj, pleaded constantly with the Ministry of Education in Bucharest to give Transylvania an ever greater share of resources in the pre-University sector as well, and there were 'patriotic arguments' in favour of his being given the funds for which he asked - the Hungarian Government had closed down 320 Romanian schools between 1907 and 1912.

6. Reconstruction in Transylvania

There were other consequences of the last anti-Romanian spasm of Magyar rule in Transylvania. ⁽¹⁾ The Government in Budapest had slowed down industrial progress so that in the whole region there were only 534 industrial enterprises of all sizes, with a capital of 12,429 million lei, 192,522 applied horse power, 74,948 employees and an output valued at 14,593 million lei. The extent of national investment in Transylvania between 1919 and 1940 may be judged from the facts that 1,039 new industrial enterprises were set up there, with a capital of 14,5320 million lei, 141,372 applied horse power, 79,943 employees and an output of 18,966 million lei. With investment on this scale, it is perhaps not surpris-

(1) Giurescu, Prof. Constantin G., Transylvania in the History of the Romanian People, lecture transcript (1970) in the possession of the author.

ing that the good intentions behind the educational reforms were often frustrated by lack of money. It was not, in fact, until the later Thirties that money began to be diverted to education. In 1938 and 1939 when the commercial schools and classical lycees were reorganised, it was reckoned that though enrolment in primary schools had reached 2.500.000, enrolment in the secondary sector, public and private, was only 200.456. Fewer than 35.000 (of whom 27.000 were men) survived the secondary sector and went on to higher education (11.000 to read Law, 6000 to read letters and philosophy, 3000 to Bucharest and Cluj Polytechnics, and most of the remainder to teacher training).⁽¹⁾

7. Political unrest and obstacles to progress - Fascism to War

Alas for Romanian education, the home and foreign policies of the Government led to disaster. The returned (1930) King Carol tried to rule as Vittorio Emmanuele was doing in Italy, as the stamp of approval given to a Right Wing dictatorship. Most of the tragicomedy of Italian Fascism was exported to Romania, and little of the solid achievement in education, child and maternity welfare, roadbuilding and communications in general. This led to disaster, to the Vienna Diktat in 1940 by which Northern Transylvania was ceded to Hungary, and to the Treaty of 1940 by which part of North East Romania, including the university towns of Cernauți (Chernovtsy) and Chisinau (Kishinev), was ceded to the Soviet Union. In education, as in every other sector of public and private life, the mood was one of pessimism. For four years, everybody 'held the ring'. In 1944, with the help of two Romanian divisions, the Soviet Union liberated Romania from German occupation, and Romania was able to finish the Second World War, as she had the first, on the side of the victorious allies.

8. End of War and Monarchy

The country was governed first, after the 'liberation' of August 23rd,

(1) Giurescu, lecture transcript (1970) sopra cit

1944 by General Sanatescu, though Carol's son, Michael, remained on the throne to which he had succeeded in 1940. However, Sanatescu had only the two, Communist-led, Army divisions with which to keep order internally; the rest of the Army was in Czechoslovakia and Hungary fighting with the Soviet Red Army. Inevitably, and with the personal intervention of Andrei Vishinsky, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, the Government was pushed farther and farther Left, until on March 6th, 1945 a 'Government of National Unity' was formed which preserved a show of multi-party coalition but was in reality under Communist control. But in a little more than two and a half years, pressure from the Communist Party within and the Soviet Union without led to the abdication of King Michael on December 30th, 1947 and the proclamation of the 'Peoples' Republic of Romania'.

PEOPLES' REPUBLIC TO SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

1. External relations

The acquisition of power by the Romanian Workers' (Communist) Party in 1948 was received at home and abroad with mixed feelings. There was nothing the old Western Allies could do about it; Churchill had 'handed over' the Balkans as a Soviet sphere of influence at Yalta and had been surprised by the persistence of the Romanian monarchy. No Western civil servant had the foresight to realise the potential importance of Romania's oil and oil technology (Soviet technicians and bureaucrats, on the contrary, ordered an immediate feasibility study for a 'Friendship pipeline'). The Communist world at large was pleased by Romania's 'decision'; in a way it compensated for the increasing 'disobedience' of Tito's Party in Yugoslavia. Romania's doors to the West slammed shut; the doors to the East were flung wide open.

This 'decision' to rely on the Soviet Union in particular, and the Communist bloc in general, for future social, political and economic development was generally welcomed by the minority industrial proletariat in the towns, if only because it was felt that things could not be more chaotic, and Soviet capital might well facilitate industrial expansion. The Transylvanian bourgeoisie was hostile, but then it had always struck a rather superior attitude to Slavs as such, pitying rather than contemptuous. In Moldavia and Wallachia, people had learned to live with Avars, Bulgars, Magyars, Russians, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Phanariot Greeks and a German Royal Family; another period of Russian hegemony could not be worse than the last.

2. Anti-Illiteracy Programme 1945-1948

Throughout 1948, meetings of the Party Praesidium and the Great National Assembly debated the future organisation and prospects of the Romanian

Official, Bucharest, August 1948, 6 pages. Part 1: 177 at pages 8322-8324.

Peoples' Republic. In the education sector, there was a general review of successes and failures. On the credit side, there was the 1945-1948 campaign to eradicate illiteracy. During this period, the number of illiterates had declined from over 4.000.000 to just over 3.000.000 (out of a population of circa 18.000.000). The Party saw no reason to change the essential organisation of the campaign, which had been supervised by UNESCO.⁽¹⁾ There was a slight shift of emphasis towards the rural areas, where most of the illiterates were. Books and other aids were transferred from urban 'street schools' (run by literate volunteers in the evenings) to village schools open for six hours a week between October and March. All illiterates between the ages of 14 and 55 were required by law to register for these classes and frequent them until they were literate. General supervision of the classes was transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Party, and as a long term object illiteracy was to be completely eradicated by the end of 1958.

3. Sovietisation of education

In other areas, the Party and the Great National Assembly laid down guidelines for a gradual change away from a Franco-German ideal in education, towards a Soviet system "in harmony with the new aspirations of the people". The guidelines were laid down in a number of decrees of the Praesidium of the Great National Assembly,⁽²⁾ codified as the Education Reform Act of 1948. These decrees and the Act were eventually given constitutional sanction in Article 80 of the Constitution finally approved on September 24th, 1952:

"Every citizen has the right to education. This right is guaranteed through general, free and compulsory primary education; through the system of State scholarships

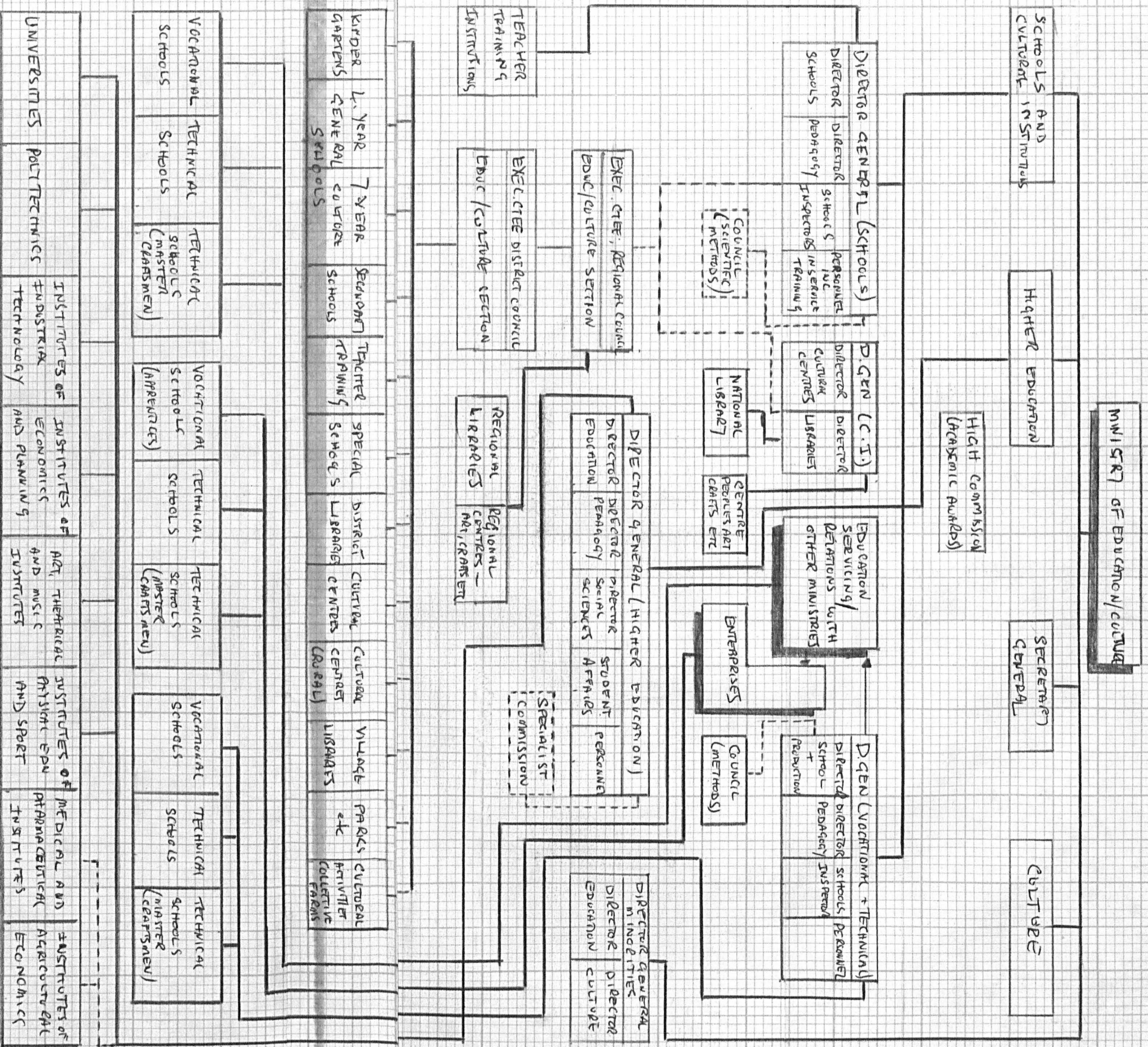
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- (1) The Liquidation of Illiteracy in the R.P.R., in Fundamental and Adult Education, UNESCO Paris, 1958, Vol. X.4.146 et seq.
- (2) Decrees of the Praesidium of the GNA, RPR, published in the Monitorul Oficial, Bucharest, August 1948, especially Part 1/177 at pages 8322-8324.

for deserving students and pupils in higher, secondary and primary educational establishments; and through the organisation in industrial firms, State enterprises, machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational education for workers. Education at all levels is a responsibility of the State."

By implication, only the State has the right to offer education; this is the privilege associated with its assumption of responsibility for education. Briskly, therefore, on July 21st, 1948, at the opening of the Education debate, all foreign schools ⁽¹⁾ were ordered not to reopen in September. Similarly, Church schools of all denominations were to be concerned in future only with 'Church matters' and not with general education. Decree No. 176 of August 2nd, 1948 confiscated all Church assets used for educational purposes and transferred them to district councils. On the following day, August 3rd, 1948, Decree No. 175 summarised the aims of the new system as follows:

- (1) the eradication of illiteracy;
- (2) the spread and democratisation of primary education to include all children of school age and adult illiterates;
- (3) the education of young people in the spirit of peoples' democracy and the raising of cultural standards generally;
- (4) the guidance of extracurricular activities;
- (5) the training of intermediate and higher cadres of specialists needed for the consolidation of peoples' democracy and the building of a socialist society;
- (6) the training of teachers;
- (7) the training of people in research and creative activity in all fields of science and culture.

(1) for example: schools run by the Marcelline Sisters in Cluj, the Salesians and American Baptists in Bucharest.



ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION IN THE RSR (ROR) 1957

(WORLD SURVEY II: PRIMA 2) EDN) GENENA: UNESCO 1958 P 894-896)

4. Opposition to Sovietisation

But it was all very well for the Party, and its obedient Great National Assembly, to summarise the aims of the new system. In the atmosphere of euphoria which characterised Party life in 1948, it did not occur to Party leaders that there might be opposition from inside the educational system.⁽¹⁾ Yet many teachers felt uneasy. They had been uneasy as more and more untrained 'literate volunteers' had been brought into the system during the first illiteracy campaign, and there were complaints of 'dilution' familiar in other contexts. There was a fear that many of the 'volunteers' would be taken on as paid teachers, and this fear increased as speech after speech stressed the importance of "improving the social composition of the teaching and student body", eliminating those with "unhealthy social backgrounds" and so on. Students in lycees and universities, traditionally a privileged class, did not show much enthusiasm for welcoming their proletarian brothers to the lecture rooms. When a number of teachers and students was dismissed at the beginning of the academic year 1948-1949, a quiet hostility to the Education Reform Act grew.

But the strongest opposition to the new aims came from inside the education bureaucracy. Between 1948 and 1953, several different ministries had educational responsibilities. There was a Ministry of Higher Education, responsible for universities and polytechnics; there was a Ministry of Public Education, responsible for the compulsory cycle (primary); there was a Ministry of Culture, responsible for music, art, drama and special scientific education; and there was the Ministry of Labour and Directorate General of Reserves of Workers, responsible for emergency training programmes. There were also Party organisations with functions which paralleled those of the ministries, at central, regional and district level.

(1) Author's talks with teachers involved in the 1948 reorganisation, especially Professor Mihail Bogdan.

There were jealousies and rivalries between all these bodies, and especially between Party officials (not always teachers) set to supervise the 'tone and direction' of work by professional civil servants.

5. Reorganisation of Ministry of Education

By the end of the academic year 1952/53 it became obvious that no substantial reforms would take place without a major reorganisation at the centre, and a single Ministry of Education was set up to take the place of the Ministries of Higher Education, Public Education and Labour (Education). For five years between 1957 and 1962, the Ministries of Education and Culture merged, but this was not a success and in 1962 the 'practical cultural functions' were hived off to the State Committee for Education, Culture and Art, responsible for cinema, theatre, publishing, plastic arts and popular science. With the exception of this merger, the Ministry of Education has been responsible for the running of the system on a year to year basis since 1953. There have been various internal reorganisations as the former ministries were welded into one, but since 1953, civil servants at the Ministry of Education have felt themselves to be 'in charge' and this has helped morale considerably.⁽¹⁾ At the same time, the Party began to be more careful in its choice of cadres working with Ministry officials, wherever possible appointing former teachers, and, of course, requiring that senior Ministry officials be Party members. This increasing co-operation is reflected in an increase of mutual trust, and whereas the percentage appropriation of national resources for education fell from 1948 until the 1953 changes took effect in 1954/55, there has been a steady rise ever since.

6. 'Democratisation of schools'

An interesting sidelight on the Party's attempts to 'democratise the

(1) Ion Dodu Balan, Vice-President of the State Committee for Culture, in conversations with the author, June, 1975.

FINANCE FOR EDUCATION 1951-60

YEAR	BUDGET APPROPRIATIONS		EDUCATION / OTHER %
	EDUCATION	OTHER	
1960	million lei 3,491.4	55.409.5	6.3
1959	2.970.8	48.259.5	6.16
1958	2.771.2	44.688.9	6.2
1957	2.717.4	43.854.3	6.2
1956	2.445.7	41.934.5	5.83
1955	2.196.5	42.915.7	5.12
1954	2.140.7	38.352.0	5.58
1953	2.296.2	35.638.0	6.46
1952	1.936.4	28.988.2	6.68
1951	1.682.5	21.706.8	7.75

student body' is the 'problem of school fees'. Though primary education had still been free and compulsory since 1948,⁽¹⁾ fees for post primary education were retained until the academic year 1961/62 and used as a weapon in the war against 'superior attitudes and a refusal to understand the nature of popular education'. Between 1948 and 1953, there was a general rule that children of 'antifascists' alive or killed in the 'struggle to liberate the fatherland' had priority of access to schools, and children from 'unhealthy social backgrounds' had to wait until these meritorious orphans had taken places in secondary schools and universities. However, there was still a fair amount of money in the pockets of parents rated 'unhealthy', and many lycees found ways of maintaining 'an incorrect social balance'. One device was to refuse to admit children of poor 'antifascists' if they could not pay on the first day of each term (most of these children received scholarships, but with the usual bureaucratic delay in paying them). In 1953, a decree of the Ministry of Justice⁽²⁾ put an end to all that. Children of 'antifascists' were exempt from school fees, as were children of 'heroine mothers'. There was a 75% reduction for children of stachanovisti, peasants on collective farms and miners, and a 50% reduction for parents of poor workers and peasants (earning less than 600 lei a month in towns and 200 lei in the country). There were other reductions for children of civil servants, soldiers and engineers on essential work of reconstruction, and reductions of up to 50% for 'good, progressive behaviour'. All fees payable were to be handed over on October 15th and February 25th, though no student could be refused admission for nonpayment. Fees were fixed at 300 lei for secondary schools, 500 lei for institutions of higher education, calculated annually.

(1) Financing of Education, UNESCO Paris 1955, pp.220 et seq.

(2) Colecție de legi, decrete, hotărâri și dispoziții, Ministerul Justiției, 1953 and 1961, Editura Stiintifica, Bucharest, at pp.116 and 43 respectively.

POPULATION OF ROMANIA : CENSUS FEB. 21.

1956

Col 1	Totals			Urban			Rural		
	Total 2	male 3	Female 4	Total 5	Male 6	Female 7	Total 8	male 9	Female 10
Total	17,489,450	8,503,420	8,986,030	5,474,264	2,683,738	2,790,526	12,015,186	5,819,682	6,195,504
0.4	1,848,812	944,838	904,474	483,068	247,037	236,031	1,365,744	697,301	668,443
5.9	1,634,885	831,840	803,045	393,867	199,368	194,499	1,241,018	632,472	608,546
10.14	1,329,917	675,183	654,734	355,100	180,007	175,093	974,817	495,176	479,641
15.19	1,582,215	782,125	800,090	519,161	270,885	248,276	1,063,054	511,240	551,814
20.24	1,595,379	805,084	790,295	543,349	286,634	256,715	1,052,030	518,450	533,580
25.29	1,560,772	785,523	775,249	548,504	279,450	269,054	1,012,268	506,073	506,195
30.34	1,374,768	660,178	714,590	486,529	230,158	256,371	888,239	430,020	458,219
35.39	856,488	389,721	466,767	314,960	143,634	171,326	451,528	246,087	295,441
40.44	1,130,498	524,938	605,560	401,764	194,844	207,420	728,734	330,594	398,140
45.49	1,110,829	543,187	567,642	373,717	186,611	187,106	737,112	356,576	380,536
50.54	928,660	458,910	469,750	298,062	145,619	152,443	636,598	313,291	317,307
55.59	800,037	373,984	426,053	249,685	114,979	134,706	550,352	259,005	291,347
60.64	620,898	268,861	352,037	183,978	78,830	105,148	436,920	190,031	246,889
65.69	480,119	201,911	278,208	138,428	56,751	81,677	341,691	145,160	196,531
70.74	346,771	145,175	201,596	97,202	38,555	58,647	249,569	106,626	142,949
75.79	180,989	71,461	109,528	53,373	19,305	34,068	127,616	52,156	75,460
80.84	72,140	28,348	43,792	22,314	7,834	14,480	49,826	20,514	29,312
85.89	25,186	9,176	16,010	7,915	2,578	5,337	17,271	6,598	10,673
90.94	6,212	1,963	4,249	1,888	513	1,375	4,324	1,450	2,874
95.99	1,913	486	1,427	453	112	341	1,460	374	1,086
100 and over	487	103	384	102	22	80	385	81	304
Not stated	1,475	925	550	845	512	333	630	413	217

ETHNIC DIVISION OF POPULATION (CENSUS 21/2/1956)

ETHNIC GROUP	GROUP	FIRST LANGUAGE
TOTAL	17.489.450	17.489.450
ROMANIAN	14.996.114	15.680.686
HUNGARIAN	1.587.675	1.653.700
GERMAN	384.708	395.374
JEWS (YIDDISH)	146.264	34.337
GYPSIES	104.216	66.882
UKRAINIAN / RUTHENIAN	60.479	65.252
SERB / CROAT / SLOVENE	46.517	43.057
RUSSIAN	38.731	45.029
SLOVAK	23.331	18.935
TARTAR	20.469	20.574
TURKISH	14.329	14.228
BULGAR	12.040	13.189
CZECH	11.821	6.196
OTHER (eg. Greek, macedonian Albanian)	42.756	29.011

7. Political and social unrest

The slow decline in material living standards of the old bourgeoisie achieved the desired object - this was the period of flight to the West by children of the formerly well to do - and the numbers of peasant and worker children in secondary and higher education increased, though no statistics were ever published. There were speeches and articles in the Press, expressing satisfaction with the progress of the reform. However, to the astonishment of the Party, events showed that far from children of workers and peasants creating 'an atmosphere of socialist emulation', they were found to emulate quickly the manners and attitudes of the surviving minority of children of the old bourgeoisie. Girls, in particular, began to dress and speak, as the Editor of Almanac Literar said, "as if they had never seen a pig". Even worse, when the Hungarian uprising against the then Stalinist regime took place in 1956, students at both universities in Cluj demonstrated in sympathy with students in Budapest. The demonstration was put down with some severity and an inquiry opened into 'shortcomings in the political education of young people.' (1)

It was found that there was "a certain lack of seriousness and a belle-tristic approach to life in general". Students attending the bi-weekly lectures and seminars on Marxism-Leninism were not well prepared. Knowledge of the history of Socialism was sketchy. The Union of Working Class Youth (UTM) had failed to arouse enthusiasm at the compulsory mass meetings. The Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' (Communist) Party criticised itself for believing that decisions taken in 'the period of reconstruction' to 1953 had been automatically implemented. A number of measures designed to improve discipline in the post primary system,

(1) Hotărîrea Biroului Politic al CC al PMR cu privire la unele măsuri de îmbunătăţire a munci politice educative în rândul studenţilor (Decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party on measures for improving educative political work in the student sector), Bucharest 1956, Editură pentru literatură politică, at p.29, including discussion of Decisions of the CC made 1941-53 published Bucharest 1954, Editură pentru literatură politică, p.297 ff.

WEEKLY LESSONS (50 minutes) IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1960

SUBJECT	GENERAL CULTURE/ GYMNASIUM					LYCEE				TOTAL		%	
	11	12	13	14	15	SCIENTIFIC		CLASSICAL (HUMANITIES)		SCIENCE	Hum.	SCIENCE	Hum.
						16	17	16	17				
AGE													
TABLE 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
TOTAL	28	30	30	35	36	37	36	37	35	231	230	100.	100.1
Romanian lang. and lit.	5	5	4	3	3	3	3	4	4	26	28	11.3	12.2
History	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14	14	6.1	6.1
Constitution	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.4	0.4
Russian	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	18	19	7.8	8.3
English, French or German	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	8	9	3.5	3.9
Latin	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	4	2	4	10	1.7	4.3
Political Economy	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	2	0.9	0.9
Philosophy	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	2	0.9	0.9
Psychology and Logic	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0.4	0.4
Mathematics	4	4	4	5	5	6	6	2	2	34	26	14.7	11.3
Astronomy	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0.4	0.0
Physics	0	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	16	16	6.9	7.0
Chemistry	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	10	10	4.3	4.3
Natural Science	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14	14	6.1	6.1
Agriculture / Industry	2/3	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	11	11	4.8	4.9
Agneulture / Industry	3	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	11	4.8	4.9
Machinery (practical)	0	0	0	2	2	3	3	3	3	10	10	4.3	4.3
Geography	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	14	14	6.1	6.1
Drawing	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14	14	6.1	6.1
Music	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	7	5	3.0	2.2
Physical culture	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	6	6	2.6	2.6
"Collective" (sports, choir)	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16	16	6.9	7.0
Choir	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	6	2.6	2.6
Social education	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	1.3	1.3
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	7	3.0	3.0

including sectors of higher education, were introduced - among them a general instruction to make the wearing of school uniform compulsory.⁽¹⁾

8. Implementation of 1948 Education Reform Act

Nevertheless, after what came to be known as the 'political hiccough' of 1956 serious attempts were made to implement the Education Reform Act of 1948. There was, for countries with a Communist regime, a surprising amount of consultation with parents of primary school children, and discussion in the Central Committee of the RWP during 1956 showed that this was the sector least affected by the 'political hiccough'. Several explanations were offered for this: that they were building on the sure foundations laid by Spiru Haret in the nineteenth century; that the curriculum was understandable by parents of younger children, even by those parents who were semi-literate, and not remote from 'real life'; that the Government directed the bulk of capital investment to the building and equipping of primary schools. There was some opposition to a Decree ordering the gradual phasing out of single sex schools, and the long term aim of compulsory coeducation, but this opposition died down fairly quickly. There was wholehearted approval in rural Romania of the stated policy of integrating school life with out-of-school life, even to the extent of making children work on the land during the school holidays.

9. Compulsory general education

In principle, 'general education' was compulsory, as from the 1958/59 school year, for seven years of a child's life. In view of the lack of school buildings in remote areas, this meant that many Romanian children enjoyed only four years of general education until 1960/61, but by the end of the school year 1961/62 99% of all children were declared enrolled in the 'seven year school'. In line with the debt owed to the Soviet

(1) Decision 1128 on the Gradual Introduction of School Uniform, Ministry of Justice Collection of Laws, Decrees and Regulations, 1956, Editura Științifică at p.41.

EVENING CLASSES (GENERAL CULTURE SCHOOLS) GRADES 5-7
AND CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

SUBJECT	GRADE		
	5	6	7
TOTAL	20	20	20
ROMANIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE	6	5	4
HISTORY	2	2	2
CIVICS	0	0	1
RUSSIAN	2	2	2
MATHEMATICS	4	4	4
PHYSICS	0	2	2
CHEMISTRY	0	0	2
NATURAL SCIENCES	3	2	1
GEOGRAPHY	2	2	2
DRAWING	1	1	0

GRADES 8-11

SUBJECT	GRADE			
	8	9	10	11
TOTAL	20	20	20	21
ROMANIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE	3	3	3	3
HISTORY	2	2	0	2
POLITICAL ECONOMY	0	0	0	2
SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM	0	0	2	0
RUSSIAN	2	2	2	1
MATHEMATICS	4	5	6	5
ASTRONOMY	0	0	1	0
PHYSICS	2	2	3	3
CHEMISTRY	2	2	2	2
NATURAL SCIENCES	3	2	1	1
GEOGRAPHY	2	2	0	2

Union for 'liberation from under the Fascist yoke' in 1944, Russian became compulsory from the fifth year on, and brighter pupils could opt for English, French or German from the sixth year, if there were teachers available (not always the case for English, the language of 'imperialist Britain and America'). Again, 'Communist ideology and morality' were taught, as in Soviet schools, from the age of ten (year three). No choice was left to individual teachers or headmasters. Curricula and syllabi were handed down as before from the Ministry in Bucharest as soon as reorganisation had been completed, *judetul* by *judetul*.

10. Control of textbooks

There were some problems with textbooks,⁽¹⁾ all of which lacked the 'correct' political flavour, but the State controlled Pedagogical and Didactic Publisher, and the magazines PEDAGOGICAL REVIEW and EDUCATION GAZETTE kept them under constant review while new textbooks were prepared. By the beginning of the school year 1961/62 it was said that new and adequate textbooks were available in all schools. The Ministry of Education was very careful about this, declaring all textbooks its own property and requiring that they be handed in at the end of each school year; in this way the Minister could ensure that a book discovered to be 'incorrect' could be quickly withdrawn from circulation and replaced with one more 'ideologically positive'.

Nowhere is the control over textbooks more visible than in the discipline of history. From the sixth year, modern and contemporary history was taught. Until 1956,⁽²⁾ all history was rewritten to idealise the Soviet Union, which 'carried the entire weight of the struggle against Hitlerite Germany'. Stalin's role was said to have been decisive. After 1956,

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- (1) Some problems concerning school textbooks, *Luptă de Clasă* (Class Struggle), Bucharest June 1950 p.85 et seq.
- (2) Vianu, Al., *Istoria moderna și contemporană*, Bucharest, 1950. Dragomirescu Ion and Lascu, Nicolae, *Istoria antică și modernă*, Bucharest 1956. (Editură Didactică și Pedagogică).

Stalin was gradually written out of his 'leading role', and by 1959 (1) there was reference to the part played by Britain and America in the Second World War. When relations between Romania and the United States improved in 1960 after the Romanian pledge to compensate American nationals for property confiscated in 1948 (including schools), there was mention of 'Soviet-American co-operation in the fight to liberate Europe'. Churchill is first mentioned as a war leader in 1961. The jamming of English language broadcasts by the BBC and Voice of America was stopped in 1963, in which year it became just possible to receive textbooks from abroad. Even in the Sixties, however, teachers were encouraged to 'give proper weight to the struggles of the Socialist countries' and 'patriotic poems' were required reading in literature classes.

It was not possible to pass into a secondary school, or from a secondary school into a university, without a grade 5 in 'scientific socialism'.

11. Crash programme for technical and vocational education

At the secondary end of the seven year school, a secondary syllabus proper was devised by the Ministry of Education, designed to influence as many pupils as possible to take up vocational and technical education 'to satisfy the immediate demands of the economy and to act as teachers for following worker cadres.' Soviet aid had been, if not disinterested, massive. Whole factories had been delivered to centres like Petroşani, and even residential centres like Bucharest had been given gifts ranging from the Scinteia Palace (where all newspapers were printed and the State Committee for Culture had its home) in classical Soviet wedding cake architecture, to old trams from Kiev and Odessa which happened to fit the tracks in the Romanian capital. However, Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Soviet Moldavian Communist Party, realised that the presence

(1) Vianu Al., and Dumitru Almaş, *Istoria moderna si contemporana*, Bucharest 1960 (Editură Didactică şi Pedagogică).

of Soviet technicians would be less well received in a country as proud and nationalistic as Romania, so factories and trams were both left undermanned and there was an urgent need for shopfloor and lower grade technicians. The need was met immediately, as the need for teachers had been met during the UNESCO sponsored anti-illiteracy campaign, by volunteers teaching new skills, in the evenings, but this could only be a stop gap measure. The pre-War apprentice schools were abolished. A Co-ordinating Commission for Vocational Education was established which ran training schools between shifts in factories, in primary schools in the evenings. The Soviet style and title "System of Labour Reserves" was given to a register of those being trained for work in the new factories (some 50.000 boys from towns and villages, between the ages of fourteen and eighteen) and along with the training they received 'instruction in aspects of socialist endeavour'. (1)

In 1955 this crash programme came to an end, and the technical training was transferred to secondary technical schools and vocational centres (later schools). The meetings held by Party and Government in 1955, established three categories of school - those for apprentices, those for skilled workers and craftsmen, and those for foremen and master craftsmen. All three categories were to be jointly supervised by the Ministry of Education and the relevant ministries to which local factories were responsible. Apprentices, skilled workers and foremen were all to sign contracts committing them to work in the supervising factories, which would look after their housing, health and other needs.

'The new seriousness of approach' was underlined by giving the secondary schools (for apprentices and skilled workers) the formal status of 'high school', though it would be untrue to say that principals of

(1) Misico V. and Danes F., Dezvoltarea învățământului profesional și tehnic din țara noastră, Revista de Pedagogie, Bucharest, April 1959.

lycees accepted this reclassification of 'teaching workshops'.

12. Reform of Higher Education

The Party had even more difficulty with the 'traditionalist and backward looking' attitudes of university rectors, than with principals of lycees. From 1948 to 1956, there was a general reluctance on the part of Party officials to inquire too closely into the workings of universities and polytechnics, partly because many if not most Party cadres had had no higher education and were intimidated by (in particular) the universities.⁽¹⁾ There were decrees urging the 'production' of more teachers for secondary schools, and an attempt to infiltrate trusted Party workers into faculties most easily identifiable with targets for the Economic Plans (1945-50, 1950-55, 1955-60), but little active interference. In 1944 a Hungarian language university had been re-established at Cluj, and a Medical School at Tirgu Mures, in an attempt to win over the Magyars in Transylvania. It was not until after the Hungarian Counter Revolution in 1956 that this and other placatory gestures ceased, and a Decree of 1957 ordered a reorganisation of higher education. Beginning with that academic year, universities and other institutions of higher education were left responsibility for registration, attendance, graduation, examination and re-examination and for the organisation of correspondence courses. The Party and Ministry assumed responsibility for 'the recruitment of staff and students of proletarian origin and the elimination of bourgeois ideas'. The Magyar University in Cluj was 'merged' with the Romanian University and 'bourgeois nationalism' was actively discouraged among Magyars and members of other 'cohabiting nationalities'. There was a general shift of emphasis away from the humanities, towards 'postgraduate work for engineer economists

(1) Aurelia Apostolescu, Unei probleme ale învățămîntului superior tehnic (Some Problems of Higher Technical Education) in Luptă de Clasă (The Class Struggle), Bucharest, March 1960.

and others', in an attempt to identify higher education more closely with the 'productive sector',⁽¹⁾ even urging students to think favourably about a career in industry. Throughout 1958-59 there were meetings of staff and students to discuss topics such as 'admission policy and procedure'. The old requirement was a leaving certificate (maturita liceala) from a lycee, to which was added the leaving certificate from the new technical schools. In addition, in 1959,⁽²⁾ it was agreed to admit graduates of the Soviet modelled Rabfak (Workers Faculty), as well as "children of meritorious workers and peasants who have studied regularly and are recommended by peoples' councils".⁽³⁾

13. Influence of Chinese Cultural Revolution

Indeed, for the next five years or so, as Romania came increasingly under the influence of the Peoples' Republic of China, the idea of a 'cultural revolution' began to germinate in Romania. There was even talk of increasing the amount of 'voluntary work' done by teachers at all levels, of holidays on farms and collectives harvesting the grain, even of exchanges for up to a year between teachers and factory foremen. In the end, nothing much came of all the talk, and even the 'open admissions policy' fell into disrepute when students, highly recommended by some Party official, failed in large numbers to pass examinations. Some university teachers think of this period as positive, because there was a temptation to raise academic standards with the express, if unadmitted, object, of keeping Party nominees out. There was little opposition to a general Ministry instruction to favour the pure and applied sciences at the expense of law and the humanities, because this

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- (1) On Postgraduate studies, Ministry of Justice, Bucharest, October 23rd, 1961, in Scînteia of that date.
 - (2) Adunarea cadrelor didactice din instituttele de învățămîntului superior din Cluj (meeting of the higher education staff in Cluj) reported in Scînteia, July 4th, 1959.
 - (3) Second National Conference of Student Associations, reported in Scînteia, February 20th, 1959.

had been already agreed as desirable by the 'old academics'. The raising of academic standards had an interesting side effect in that it favoured the return to their jobs of teachers dismissed because of 'political unreliability' or 'unhealthy social background'. It even favoured the rehabilitation of 'unhealthy' poets, whose work was quite unlike the 'socialist realist' verse the Party hoped to promote; Lucian Blaga, a former diplomat, and Octavian Goga, a former Prime Minister, both during the period of pre-war neo Fascism, both acquired a new, posthumous popularity.

14. Party Congress of 1965 - Ceaușescu's New Way

It was not until the Party Congress in July, 1965, that a detailed review of the educational system, as it had developed since 1948, was made and discussed at length. This Congress was notable for a number of reasons: the name of the Party was changed from the Romanian Workers Party to the Romanian Communist Party (the Party Congress itself became the Fourth Congress of the Workers Party and the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party) and the post of General Secretary of the Party was given to Nicolae Ceaușescu.

The dropping of the 'Workers Party' style and title was in keeping with the brisk and purposeful approach associated with Ceaușescu by his admirers. The 'coalition' of workers' parties no longer existed. The Communists were everywhere in control. Why retain a misleading label? There had been a Romanian Communist Party since 1921. Let it be as if there had never been anything else.

In his speech ⁽¹⁾ to the Party Congress, Ceaușescu stressed the key role to be played by the educational system in the next stages of Romania's

(1) Ceaușescu N., *Congresul a IX-lea al PCR* (Ninth Congress of the RCP), speech published by Editura Politică, Bucharest, 1965, esp. pp.21-101.

(1) Bolan S. and others, *Development of Romania - a new look*, Institute and Scientific Information, Bucharest 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025.

development. He hinted that this would be 'essentially a Romanian way', that there would be less dependence, economically and ideologically, on the Soviet Union, China or any other 'fraternal' power. There had been mistakes. Too many textbooks had been translated from the Russian, without regard to 'the special circumstances of Romania'. Free, compulsory education had been recently lengthened to eight years, but the quality of that education was doubtful. There were too few teachers. There was too little equipment. And where was the leadership from the higher education sector? Was this, or was it not, the nation of Michael the Brave, Stephen the Great?

Taking the hint, teachers, students and civil servants set to work to survey the system,⁽¹⁾ list its defects and make recommendations for a major reform.

(1) Balan S. and others, Development of Education in the RSR, Scînteia and Scînteia Tîneretului, Bucharest 1964, 1965, 1966 (Education Supplements, June).

THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1968

1. Background to 1968 Act

The most important educational reform in Romania's history took place in 1968, a consequence of the slow resurgence of Romanian nationalism. It covered the whole field of education, from the part-time country schools to the universities, and the way in which it was devised and implemented shows clearly the way in which the educational system is run in post-war Romania.

The story of the Reform Act really began in July, 1957, when Miron Constantinescu was dismissed from the Politburo of the Romanian Workers' Party, by its then Secretary-General Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, for 'anti-Party activities'. These 'anti-Party activities' consisted of taking an anti-Soviet line, of commenting critically on the decline in standards since 1948, the year of the alignment of Romanian education with the principles and practices current in the Soviet Union. The reforms of 1956/57 had done nothing to de-Sovietise Romanian education. It was not that Gheorghiu-Dej did not sympathise with Constantinescu, but rather that he thought the moment inappropriate for such comments, given the economic and political dependence of Romania on the Soviet Union at that time. However, Constantinescu had the good fortune to be a close friend of Nicolae Ceauşescu, who shared his views and was already in line to succeed Gheorghiu-Dej, and Ceauşescu slowly contrived Constantinescu's rehabilitation.

2. Crescendo of Russophobia

During the years 1960-1962 Constantinescu conducted a quiet but persistent campaign inside the Party and the Government aimed at the gradual de-Sovietisation of 'all sectors of Romanian life'. Constantinescu's strength was greater inside the Party than inside the educational

hierarchy as such, and his first success came in September, 1963, when the Maxim Gorki Institute of Russian Language and Literature, the principal agency for Soviet influence on the educational system, and part-financed by the Soviet Communist Party, was deprived of its autonomy and disappeared into the School of Slav Languages and Literature of the new Foreign Languages Institute, the University of Bucharest. This concrete achievement earned him the post of Deputy Minister of Education, and enabled him to initiate discussion inside the Ministry on "further necessary reforms in the light of revealed tendencies to underestimate the internal strength of the Romanian people".

In September, 1964, he was able to publish, over the signature of the then Minister of Education, Stefan Balan, what was in fact a policy statement for the reform of the whole educational system. The article laid down some 'general lines of advance', which it was hinted, would soon become a political, and statutory reality.⁽¹⁾

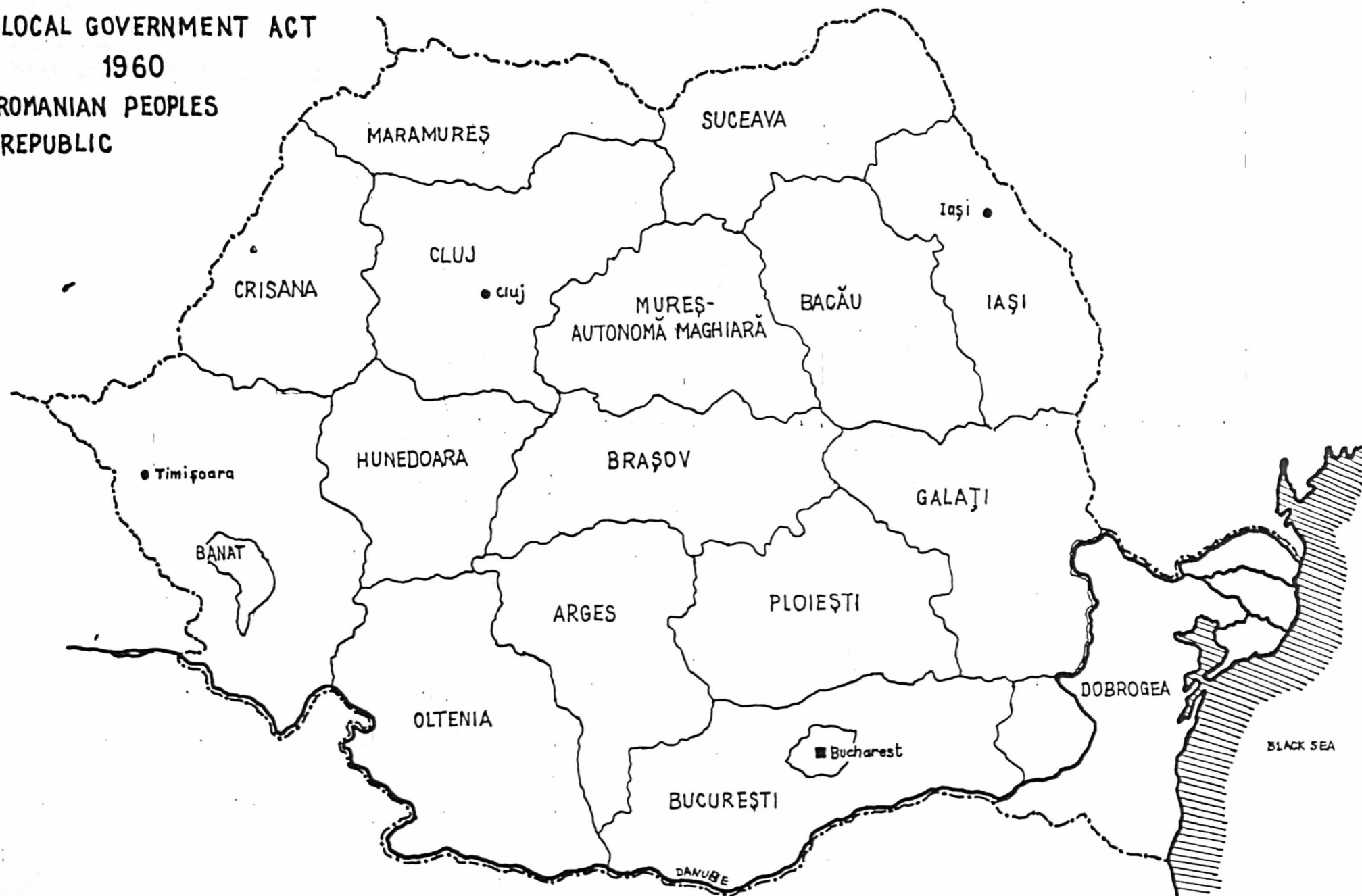
3. Aftermath of Ceaușescu's rise to power

In March, 1965, Gheorghiu-Dej died, and Nicolae Ceaușescu became Secretary General of the Party. At the Ninth Party Congress in July,⁽²⁾ Ceaușescu announced "the development and improvement of education at all levels, including the extension of compulsory education", already referred to, and emphasised, in a widely reported speech, that this would be one of the Party's major objectives during the next five years.

Discussion of the measures necessary for the development and improvement of schools, textbooks, the curriculum at all levels and ancillary facilities, went on throughout 1966, and was summed up in the Communist Party newspaper for young people.⁽³⁾

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- (1) Dezvoltarea Învățămîntului RPR, Luptă de Clasă, Bucharest, Vol.XLIV 1964.
 - (2) Congresul a 9^a PCR (PMR) July 1965, supra cit p.21
 - (3) Scînteia Tîneretului (Spark of Youth). Studiu pentru Dezvoltarea Învățămîntului, Scînteia Tîneretului Bucharest, 21st July 1967.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT
1960
ROMANIAN PEOPLES
REPUBLIC



THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF
ROMANIA
(LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT 1968)



The article referred to three full-length reports - on higher education, general education and general and technical education - which were submitted to a Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, April 22-25th, 1968. The reports were approved and reissued as a Central Committee Directive. At this stage the Great National Assembly received the Directive, reissued it as a Draft Bill and presented it to the Assembly by Balan and Constantinescu. The Bill became law on May 13th, 1968 as the Education Act of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The implementation of the Act began during the academic year 1968-69, Constantinescu replaced Balan as Minister of Education in 1969, to carry out in the spirit and the letter what was, after all, 'his' reform.

It is important here to stress that both before and after his appointment, Constantinescu received encouragement, in private and in public, from Ceaușescu. Without this it would have been impossible to move the normally lethargic, Byzantine bureaucracy. Without this, it would have been impossible to promote reform in local government as a necessary prelude to the implementation of educational reforms.

4. The Local Government Reform of 1968

One of the difficulties faced by Balan and Constantinescu was that Romania had been divided in 1948 into administrative regions for political reasons which had nothing to do with efficiency or convenience of administration. There were sixteen regions in all. Some were extensions of the administrative responsibility of the major cities - Bucharest, Cluj, Brașov, Iași, Ploiești, Suceava, Galați, Băcau. Some were survivals of parts of regions long since diminished in importance and responsibility - Crișana, Hunedoara. Dobrogea existed as a buttress against the Bulgarians, to whom it had formerly belonged. The Banat reflected the aspirations of the Schwabian minority in the West.

The Mureş-Magyar Autonomous Region had been created to placate the substantial number of people of Hungarian origin living there. Oltenia and Argeş were more or less 'social-sentimental' regions - Argeş is to Bucharest what the Home Counties are to London.

It was, therefore, difficult, for a Minister of Education in Bucharest to achieve any sort of uniformity throughout the country. At times when it was felt there might be unrest in a particular region (as in Mureş-Magyar during the Hungarian insurrection of 1956), extra funds had been diverted there, some of which were used to build or modernise schools, employ extra staff, even publish new, 'locally patriotic' textbooks. Some of the 'city-regions' were, anyway, richer and more advanced than others. There were traditional rivalries between Bucharest, Cluj and Iasi, between the Saxons in Braşov and the Schwabians in the Banat. There was an enormous difference in the density of population of different regions.

All these anomalies were well known, so it was, perhaps, not surprising that without public discussion, the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party issued a General Directive on February, 14th, 1968, which became a Draft Bill laid before the Great National Assembly and passed into law two days later.

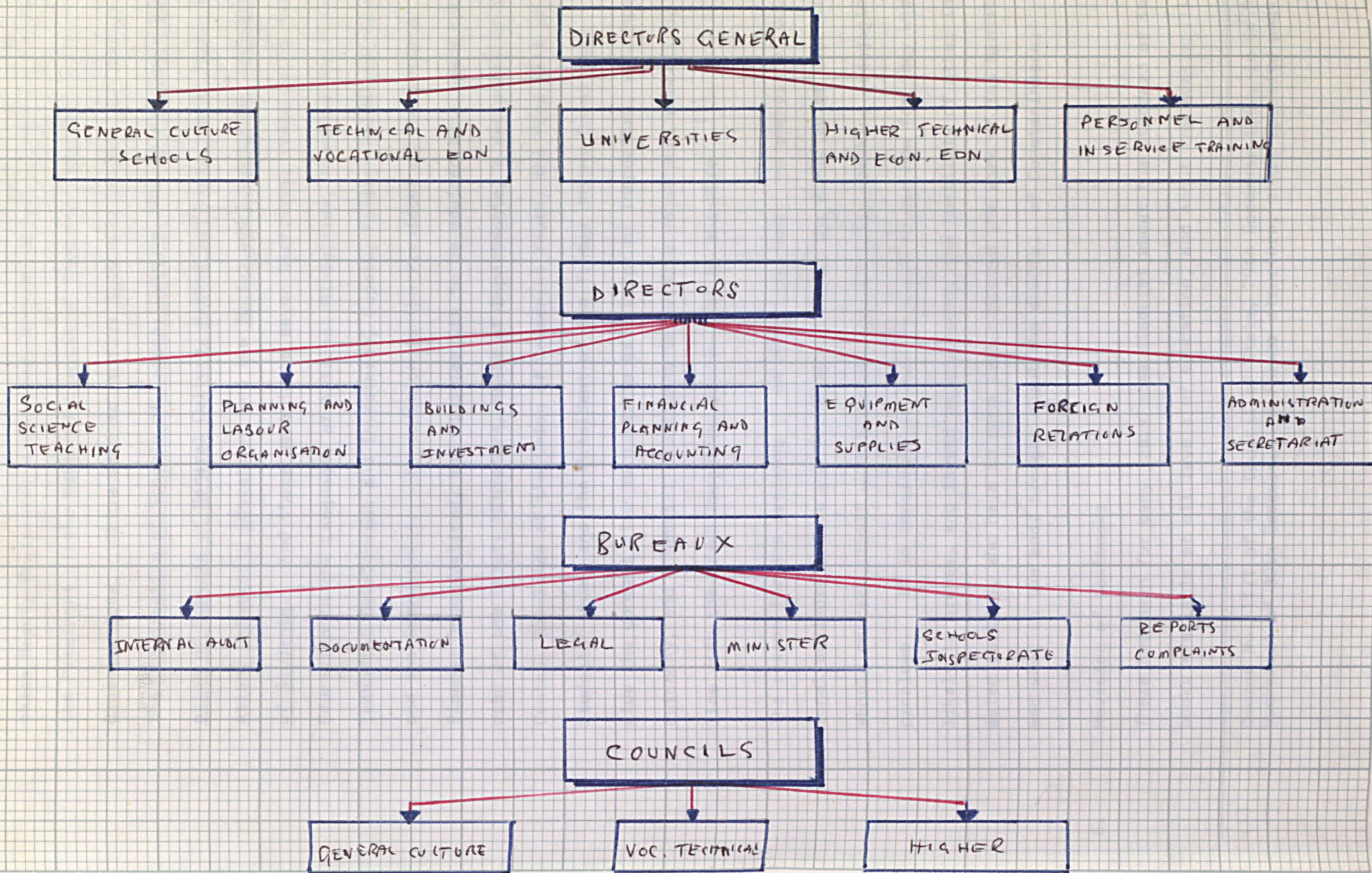
This law (No. 2 of 1968 On the Administrative Division of Romania) divided the country into 39 judete-counties: Alba, Arad, Argeş, Bacau, Bihor, Bistriţa-Nasaud, Botoşani, Braşov, Braila, Buzău, Caraş-Severin, Cluj, Constanţa, Covasna, Dimboviţa, Dolj, Galaţi, Gorj, Harghiţa, Hunedoara, Ialomiţa, Iasi, Ilfov, Maramureş, Mehedinţi, Mureş, Neamţ, Olt, Prahova, Saţu Mara, Salaj, Sibiu, Suceava, Teleorman, Timiş, Tulcea, Vaslui, Vilcea and Vrancea. The Municipality of Bucharest, apart from being the most important of the newly named 45 Municipalities, was to have the status of judet.

In principle, the new judete were more or less equal in population and resources, including, naturally, school population and local resources available to the Ministry of Education (playing fields, camps for holidays as well as school buildings and libraries). Inevitably there were some disparities, as between Bucharest and remote areas like Suceava, but in the main the worst of the anomalies were removed and the Ministry of Education could rely on decisions taken centrally being implemented locally in a more or less just and uniform way.

5. The Reform of the Ministry of Education

Reforms of the structure at local level were quickly followed by reforms at a national level, not least in the Ministry of Education itself. The transfer of personnel known to be not in sympathy with the 1968 Act was given first priority. There was, anyway, a 'general redistribution of personnel' throughout the Civil Service during 1968, largely because Ceaușescu had himself made Head of State as well as Secretary General of the Party in December 1967, and was anxious to surround himself with loyal and sympathetic executives. The redistribution of personnel was made easier because the local government reform made available at judet level a large number of posts of considerable status. Civil servants at the Ministry of Education, as at any other ministry, were well aware of the realities of the political situation and protested only privately at being moved out of the capital. The fact that by the summer of 1969 Constantinescu was not only Minister of Education, and a member of the Council of Ministers, but also a member of the Praesidium of the Party made argument pointless and rash.

On March 14th, 1969, the Great National Assembly enacted its Law No. 7/1969, later modified by Law No. 20/1969 (which stressed the principle of collective leadership), by which the Ministry of Education was completely reorganised. There were to be a Minister of Education and



three Deputy Ministers, a Secretary General and an ex-officio adviser, the President of the National Council of Pioneer-Communist Youth-Organisations. There were to be five Directors General, in charge of the Organisation of Schools of General Culture, the Pedagogical Organisation of Schools of General Culture, Higher Technical and Economic Education, University Education, and the Social and Educational Activities of Students. And there were to be seven Directors, responsible for Education in the Languages of National Minorities, Planning and Finance, Technical Development and Investment, Supply, Foreign Relations, Audit and the Secretariat. In addition to the President of the National Pioneer Organisations, the Minister was to be advised by a board composed of the Deputy Ministers, Heads of Departments, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the President of the Students' Union and the President of the Trades Unions Committee. Outside the general structure was to be a Corps of Inspectors, with nominal autonomy, and a special department to promote vocational education, in line with the crash programme recommended by the Party. (1)

The reason for the presence of so many 'outsiders' as members of occasional advisory boards was the directive that the Ministry of Education should concern itself with some new, not strictly speaking pedagogical problems. It is important to look at these to see how far they were likely to arouse, and indeed have aroused, the hostility of other interested parties, who have in some cases hampered the work of the Ministry and who, in the end, brought about the downfall of Constantinescu.

6. Revision of textbooks

There had been for many years some disquiet about the standard of textbooks available at all levels of education, and about the availability

(1) Decree No. 1171 of the Council of State, 29th December 1968, in Scinteia, Bucharest of 30th December, c.f. former structure, chart opposite page 78.

of textbooks and source material published abroad, especially in 'the West'. Many locally produced textbooks were just bad by any criteria. There were translations of the more extreme Marxist textbooks published in the Soviet Union and no longer in line with the new policy of 'autonomy' within the Soviet bloc which Ceausescu was claiming. And so the Minister was empowered to arrange for the preparation of textbooks, their commissioning, writing and editing, and eventual publication by the Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House under the Minister's direction. Constantinescu took this directive very seriously, and commissioned a great many original textbooks and translations. By so doing, he angered a great many people. He angered the Writers' Union, whose President was a member of the Council of State, and many writers who had been producing books for use in schools and now found themselves up against 'unfair competition'. He angered members of the Institutul de Ştiinţe Pedagogice (Institute of Pedagogical Science) who had been producing and distributing textbooks and creating their own unfair competition. And he angered the directors of the various publishing houses, whose importance was judged by the size of their lists and now saw these diminishing. His translations programme angered the President of the Institute for Foreign Languages, Dr. Jean Livescu, also President of the Bucharest Teachers Training College and Rector of the University of Bucharest, who was not consulted.

7. Ethnic minorities

Constantinescu was also directed to organise and supervise the language education of national minorities, textbooks, equipment and curricula. This offended writers and publishers as before, who joined in protest with Magyar officials who resented interference in what they called 'a sensitive area'. It also offended nationalistic people throughout the former Magyar autonomous region, and made life in the județe with

Magyar majorities extremely difficult. Because it was impossible to protest against the political directive, Ceausescu being so well entrenched, the protests were all directed at the Minister of Education.

Similarly, the Minister's new powers to award scholarships (worth up to 500 lei a month) and to 'guide scientific research' (including its financing) provoked accusations of nepotism, favouring one national minority as against another and one category at the expense of another.

8. Polytechnicisation

The power vested in the Minister to decide where university and other higher education graduates should work made abuses and corruption almost inevitable. One example brought to the attention of a member of the State Council was that of a graduate in English, Rodica Culianu, perhaps the best student of her year but without 'connections' who was placed as a correspondence clerk at a shoe factory and only 'rescued' by members of the Writers' Union. (1)

And as the Reform Act began to affect the organisations of vocational and technical schools, all manner of vested interests revealed themselves, adding their hostility to that of the other interested groups. The Ministers responsible for the construction of machinery, electricity, chemicals, light industry, finance, labour and agriculture, as well as the Central Union of Handicraft Co-operatives, all felt they should take a share of decision making, and eventually forced the creation of a Council of Vocational and Technical Education with only two members, the Minister and Deputy Minister, from the Ministry of Education.

9. Role of the Inspectorate

It says much for Constantinescu that he was not deterred by this opposition. Because of his political power, he chose to fight back using

(1) Report to Academician Zaharia Stancu, June 1972.

the Inspectorate as his private army, and putting pressure on the Consiliile Populare Județene - the County Councils. These Councils are elected and appoint committees, each one with responsibility for a local organ of central administration. The Education Sections in each județ were susceptible to pressure from Bucharest⁽¹⁾ - many of the elected and co-opted members were and are teachers - and from the local Party apparatus, which carries out the decisions of the national apparatus. The General Inspectorate was directly responsible to Constantinescu;⁽²⁾ the Local Inspectorate was responsible both to the Minister and to the County Councils. Both inspectorates worked hard from the start to implement both the spirit and the letter of the 1968 Act. Their spokesman, M. Radian made this intention clear in an article in Romania Libera 24th February, 1968.⁽¹⁾

Both the General and Local Inspectorates were divided into groups of inspectors with clearly defined responsibilities: for the major subjects taught, for personnel (including appointment, promotion, dismissal and transfer of teachers and the welfare of pupils including the award of scholarships, school meals and the building of boarding schools), 'sensitive areas' (territorial responsibility for backward areas and areas inhabited by national minorities) and the administration of dependent institutions. It is easy to see how they were able to exert their influence on members of the teaching profession and ancillary services to ensure that the Minister's wishes were carried out.

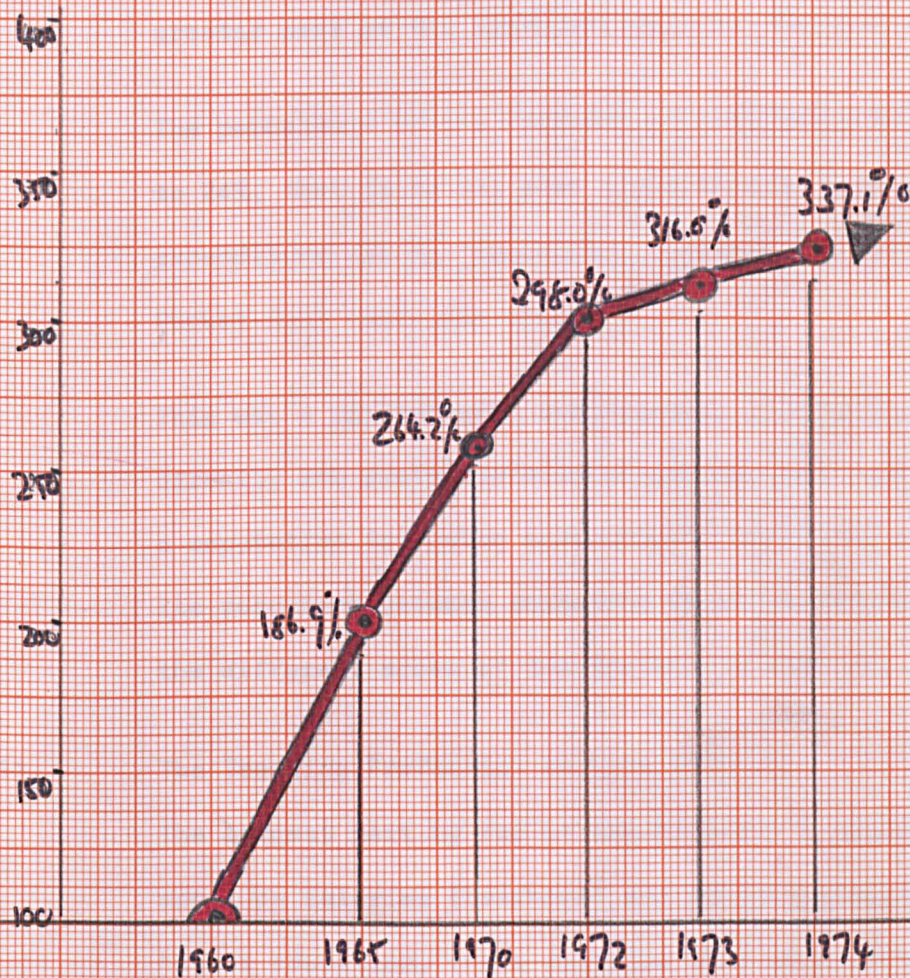
However, it was probably the extent of the Minister's control of finance which was largely responsible for his success, especially for his domination of the staff at his Ministry and at local levels, and of the

(1) Buletinul Oficial No.8, Bucharest, 14th January, 1969.
Radian - M., Inspectoratele Scolare la început de drum (The School Inspectorate at the Beginning of the Road) Romania Libera, Bucharest, 24th February, 1968.

(2) see Teachers' Statute, p.216.

Education Budget 1960-1974

Rate of
Growth / 1960



teaching profession as such.

10. The Financial Provisions of the Reform Act of 1968
- Constantinescu's first success in this field was to increase the appropriation of funds for education by almost 100%. He did this in two ways. First, he continued to persuade Ceaușescu, as he had done since 1965, that more money should be spent for 'social and cultural purposes' - the figure was 22.361 million lei in 1965 (three and a half times the figure for 1955), 33.560 million in 1968, nearly 40.000 million in 1970.⁽¹⁾ Then, taking advantage of the Decree which increased the responsibilities of the Minister of Education, he took over part of the appropriations for physical culture, health and social welfare and the greater part of the appropriation for 'culture and science'.⁽²⁾

The percentage of the national appropriation for all purposes increased to 24%, that is to say that under Constantinescu a quarter of all State expenditure was on 'social and cultural actions' (as the Statistical Pocket Book describes them).

This was a considerable achievement, and endeared the Minister to all directly and professionally concerned with education. He also acquired a reputation for being scrupulously fair when it came to allocating finite resources between competing levels of education, as well as between the different areas of the Ministry's activity.

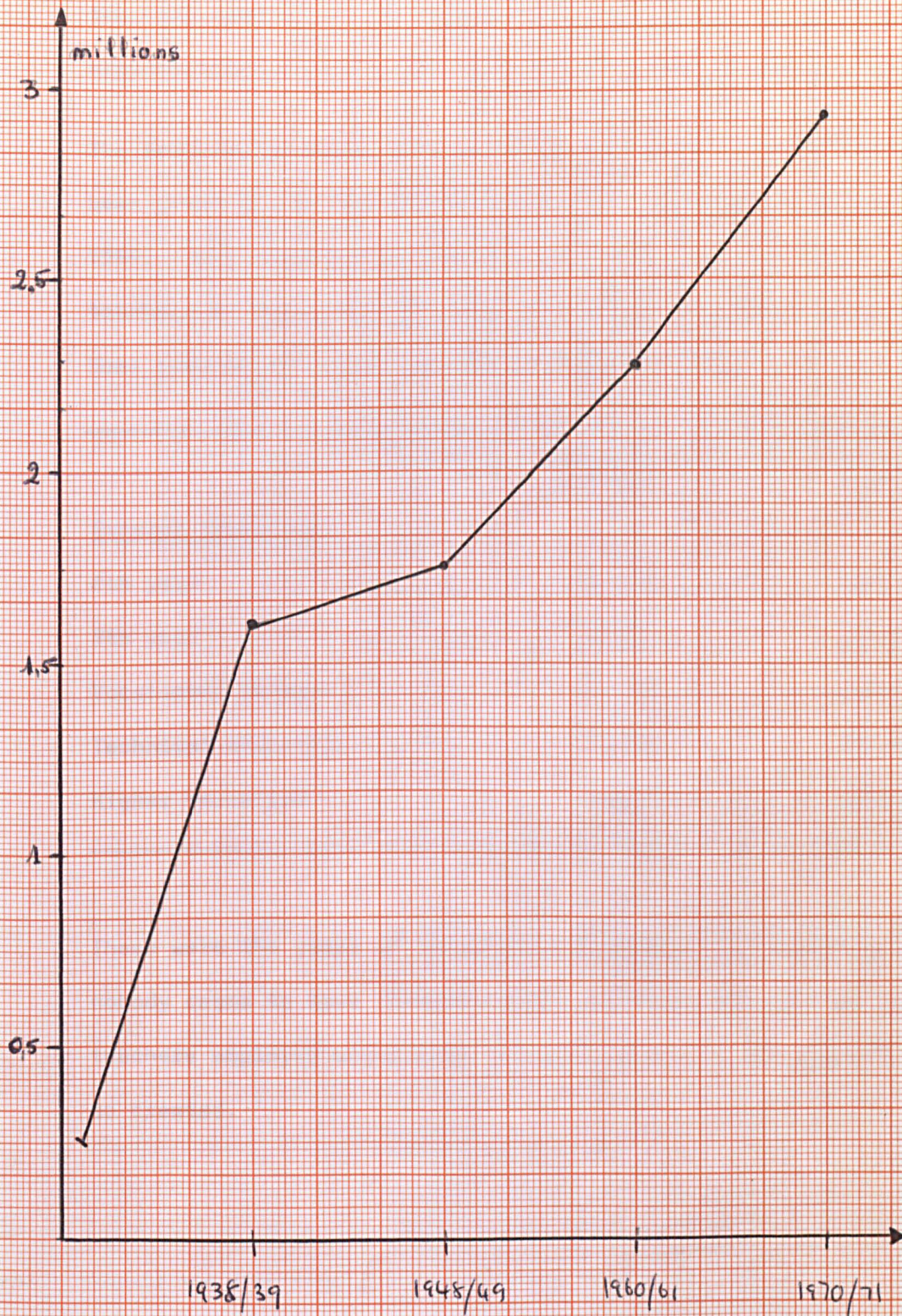
11. The Teaching Profession and the 1968 Act
- The largest part by far of the Ministry's appropriation had always been spent on salaries (teachers' and administrators'). In the case of higher education, these salaries were paid direct by the Ministry of

(1) The lei fluctuates between 12 and 16 to the dollar US.

(2) Statistical Pocketbook of the RSR, Central Statistics Board, Bucharest, annually.

Pupils in Compulsory Education (classes 1-10)

1938-1971



Education; in the case of all other levels they were paid through the Județe or county councils. After he had re-organised the Ministry itself, Constantinescu's highest priority was the re-organisation of the teaching profession, its training, salaries and conditions. This re-organisation was given the force of law in March 1969. (1)

The teaching profession's own views of the need for re-organisation had been given at the National Conference of Teachers, Bucharest, February 1969. Not surprisingly their concern was to increase the number of teachers to keep pace with ever increasing enrolment at all levels. Some statistics recently published show the size of this increase:

	<u>1960/61</u>	<u>1966/67</u>
<u>General Education</u>		
8th year	182.216	306.239
9th year	46.550	99.553
Vocational Schools	30.236	59.512
Technical education	11.082	23.876
Higher education	10.296	21.742

(2)

These were the years of 'population explosion' in Romanian schools, and nobody seems to have foreseen them. The figures for the numbers of teachers employed underlines the seriousness of the classroom situation so created.

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- (1) Law concerning Teaching Personnel in the RSR No. 6/1969, GNA March 14th, 1969, published in Buletinul Oficial of that date.
- (2) Revista de Pedagogiă, Bucharest, May 1974.

	<u>1960/61</u>	<u>1966/67</u>
<u>General Education</u>		
8th year	11.261	13.456
9th year	3.260	5.098
Vocational education	7.330	11.615
Technical education	2.913	4.072
Higher education	8.917	13.404

(1)

At the Conference there were also expressions of dissatisfaction with pay, working conditions outside the large urban centres and 'inequalities' in the allocation of first posts, but the shortage of teachers was the problem which teachers felt should be solved most urgently.

12. Background to teacher training in Romania

One of the difficulties was the rather complex and confused state of teacher training in Romania. There was no single institution responsible for it, and historical accident rather than central planning had determined its structure. There were four ways of becoming a teacher:

- (a) After eight years of general culture school, a boy or girl could opt for five years of training at a Teacher Training Lycee, and graduate with a certificate entitling him or her to teach in kindergartens or the first four years of elementary school. The average age of entry was fourteen, of certification, nineteen.
- (b) A variant of this was the Two Year Teacher Training College, to which pupils who had completed the academic lycee were admitted. They tended to be rather older on admission (19-21). Their certificate, again,

entitled them to teach as far as the fourth year of elementary school.

The Teacher Training Lycees were by far the more popular. During the academic year 1968/69, there were twenty-six of them, with 16.961 students and 864 tutors. There were only eight Two Year Teacher Training Colleges, with many fewer students, some of them external, even correspondent, students.

Then there were two institutions considered to be part of the Higher Education sector:

- (c) There were fourteen Three Year Teacher Training Colleges, five of them in the university towns of Bucharest, Cluj, Iași, Craiova and Timișoara, and nine of them in major centres, Baia Mare, Brasov, Constanta, Galati, Oradea, Pitești, Suceava and Tirgu-Mureș. These colleges were divided into Schools (Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Physical Education, etc.) and trained subject teachers for the fifth to eighth years of the elementary school system. In the university towns they were under the jurisdiction (though not part of) the universities; in the other centres they were autonomous, responsible to the Minister of Education himself for their courses.
- (d) In each of the universities there were Departments of Education, offering five year courses for subject teachers of mathematics and science, four year courses for teachers of the humanities.

So there was an enormous variety in admission procedures, standards, expectations and organisation, producing uncertainties and anomalies in promotion and status. There was no specific requirement that teachers in lycees should be graduates, nor was it unknown for Two Year College trained students to teach in the upper elementary school.

13. "The Teachers' Charter" (1)

The Teachers' Statute, and Constantinescu's edict On the Structure of Teacher Training in 1969-70 (1) brought about many desirable changes. According to Constantinescu, it was necessary to simplify the structure of teacher training as soon as possible. The first priority was the abolition of the Two Year Teacher Training Colleges. In the long term, the Teacher Training lycees would be abolished, too, and all teacher training take place at Three Year Teacher Training colleges. Constantinescu also favoured the abolition of University Departments of Education, shifting the responsibility for research to the colleges. In this he was never likely to be successful as far as the older universities of Bucharest, Cluj and Iași were concerned, but the new (1965) universities of Craiova and Timișoara were susceptible to greater pressure from the centre.

14. In-Service Training

What Constantinescu did achieve immediately was a raising of the status of teachers at the lower levels, especially in remote parts of the country. In principle, all teachers had been encouraged to further their own education, to publish and attend professional courses. However, in towns and villages far from the university towns, with inadequate public transport (the private ownership of means of transport is severely limited in Romania), good intentions often stuck, literally, in the mud. Beginning in the academic year 1969/70, all teachers were given grants to cover their expenses during summer short courses, often held at seaside resorts to give a greater incentive to attend. These courses were to be organised at the Ministry by the Director of the Institute for In-Service Training of Teachers (Institutul pentru Perfecționarea Cadrelor Didactice -^{translated} literally, the Institute for the

(1) Gazeta Învățământului - (Education Gazette), Bucharest, 10th October, 1969.

Perfecting of Didactic Cadres) and well known educators were drafted in from every level to take these courses. From the teachers' point of view, the courses had an added advantage, in that they enabled teachers from remote areas to meet and impress those able to arrange for their promotion and transfer to larger centres of population.

15. Classification of teachers

The Teachers' Statute ⁽¹⁾ also clears up some obscurities in the classification of teachers.

At the lowest level, teachers in kindergartens and day nurseries were all to be known as Educators (educatoare). The minimum qualification for appointment was success in the final examinations at a five year Teachers' Training lycee or any pedagogic institution in the higher education sector.

Teachers of the first four years of elementary education needed the same qualifications, the only difference being that teachers who had higher education were to receive preference in appointment and promotion. However, 'Educators' were to be encouraged to become School-teachers (învățători) in elementary schools by taking special diploma courses, and the policy of the Ministry was to discourage people from staying in the pre-school sector all their teaching lives. Subject teachers at the upper levels of elementary education, and in secondary schools were to enjoy the title 'Professors' (profesori), and must have a degree or diploma from some institute of higher education. It was the policy of the Ministry to make a degree compulsory, but in view of the fact that until 1965 there were only three universities in the country, this was a long term objective (1990). The only teachers who were to be allowed to teach without degrees at this level, were craft instructors or physical

(1) for full text and commentary see below, separate chapter.

education teachers. Constantinescu's own note on this in the edict on the Structure of Teacher Training suggests that he favoured a constant inflow of craftsmen and sportsmen from outside the teaching profession and he organised special schools for their preparation for school work (licee de specialitate și de specializare postliceala - lycees for specialised training, and post lycee training).

16. Appointment procedures

In view of a certain amount of discontent and complaint of nepotism, the system of appointment was clarified, too. In future (post 1969) all vacancies in the elementary and secondary sectors were to be notified by the county authorities to the Ministry of Education. To these lists were to be added the names of recent graduates from university education departments and the various colleges, and the complete list of all the teachers was to be appraised by the Inspectorate. At this stage, 'social considerations' were to be taken seriously - how long a teacher had been in a remote part of Romania, how long in a school far from his or her birthplace, how long in a place remote from a university or higher education institute, and, inevitably, the teacher's 'status' in the Party. Here the appropriate sections of the executive committees of county councils were to be involved - suggesting specially serious shortages (teachers of foreign languages, physics) and other needs. Then there was to be a competitive examination where transfer was involved, followed by appointment as a probationary teacher (stagiar) no matter how long since graduation.

17. Probation and tenure

Confirmation of tenure and appointment at any given rank was to take place after three years and taking into consideration the results of another examination. For pre-school teachers, the examination would now consist of papers in Romanian language and their own minority

language (where applicable), literature and oral examinations in these and in 'the psychology of pre-school education' and pedagogy in general. Here it is perhaps important to note that on the examining boards for pre-school teachers were to sit representatives of the collective farm, factory or other enterprise which first opened the kindergartens; in general, the kindergartens in the countryside were more closely supervised by non-professionals than pre-school units in towns or on industrial sites. Under the heading, 'the psychology of pre-school education' were to be considered, for example, the teacher's 'general attitude to workers' and peasants' children' and 'problems facing the Fatherland today'. (1)

Teachers in the first four years of elementary schools, on appointment or promotion, were to become definitivare (permanent appointments) if they succeeded in an examination consisting of papers in Romanian (or minority) language and literature, and oral examinations in elementary mathematics, child psychology and general education, and in 'scientific socialism'. For the last of these, a member of the local Party would normally sit in as assessor.

Subject teachers at higher levels were to take a fairly stiff examination in their subject and oral examinations in pedagogy and 'scientific socialism'. Passing these examinations was to be by no means automatic, even for teachers with many years service who have to re-establish tenure after transfer. It was suggested that some teachers be allowed to take the examination a fourth time where they had previously failed.

This new rigour was welcomed by those who felt that some appointments had been made in the past without reference to qualifications or experience, but was resented by older teachers, who had asked for transfer not just to get to the capital or regional capital but for perfectly

valid personal reasons. However, in spite of the 'scientific socialism' vivas and the presence of non-educationalists on the boards, most teachers agreed that the system introduced by Constantinescu was fairer than before.

18. Regrading of teachers

Another innovation pleased those teachers who did not want to move but who had got as far in the promotion race as local conditions allowed. From 1969 it was possible for teachers to seek 'regrading'. When a teacher had five years to his or her credit as a 'permanent appointee', he or she could apply for a special inspection. The Ministry of Education would normally concede this, and, in addition, arrange for a colloquium (covering more or less the same ground as that covered by the examinations for tenure). Success would mean that the teacher be ranked Grade II. The pass number for Grade II was 5 out of 10. Teachers getting a pass number of 10 could apply after another four years to be promoted to Grade I - no colloquium here but publication was a precondition of promotion, and this would include the publication of a doctoral dissertation. Teachers with a lower pass number in the Grade II colloquium and inspection would have to wait for five years before they could apply for promotion to Grade I.

The whole purpose of this regrading, and of special titles and prizes awarded at each level (on Teachers Day each year, June 30th), was to encourage teachers to go on with study and research and publication. There were to be various financial incentives to do so, including the reduction of the period between salary increments (from the normal five years to a minimum of three). Informally, Constantinescu let it be known that he favoured raising the status of teachers outside higher education, to narrow the salary and status gap between university professor and kindergarten teacher.

While all these changes on the organisation of the teaching profession were going on, Constantinescu put into practice the desired reforms in the school system, confident that the teaching profession would support him when drastic changes had to be made.

19.

Pre-school Education and the Reform Act of 1968

The Minister's ideas were summarised in an article in the Education Gazette outlining the kindergarten programme for the School Year 1969/70. In this article ⁽¹⁾ he stated the aims of pre-school education as follows:

- to develop the child's capacity to move and co-ordinate movement
- to achieve a balance between outgoing and disciplined behaviour
- to develop perception and understanding
- to advance the child's capacity to concentrate
- to improve memory and speech
- to develop thought, creativity and independence

It was well-known that Constantinescu, as an important member of the Party, had always urged a rapid expansion of pre-school education. He had reminded comrades since 1965 that Romania had had quite a respectable pre-school enrolment even before the Second World War; in the School Year 1938-39, 90.787 children had attended kindergartens (as opposed to nurseries or *camine de copii*, with a limited educational role). How much more important it was in the struggle to evolve Communist Man that children should be put pe drum (on the way) at the earliest possible age. So it was not surprising that he should plan for steady expansion in this sector.

The first move was to increase the control exercised by the Ministry and county authorities over the 10.000 kindergartens in Romania, and diminish

(1) Aplicarea Programei grădinițelor copii in anul scolar 1969-70. Gazeta Învățământului, Bucharest, 19th September, 1969.

the effect of the 'supervision' by factory councils, collective farm councils and other, parent orientated, bodies. To this end he issued an instruction that all pre-school organisations should be allocated to one or other pre-school district (*circumscripție prescolară*) in the charge of a school inspector. Factory and other councils would be encouraged to meet the directors and inspectors to discuss ways in which they might help to improve facilities, but the pedagogic responsibility was to lie in future with the professional teachers and the Ministry.

This change brought a number of protests from trades unionists who felt they knew more about 'scientific socialism' and Communist Man than most teachers,⁽¹⁾ but Ceaușescu's known support for Constantinescu tended to make the protests rather muted.

Naturally enough, the teachers⁽²⁾ supported Constantinescu's line, too, as they did his redistribution of staff to ensure that facilities for pre-school education were available all over Romania, even in the remotest parts. By the end of 1969, the 10.000 pre-school units were very fairly distributed, with a staff of over 17.000 and a total enrolment of some 420.000.

20. Elementary Education and the Reform Act of 1968.

The 1968 Act did two things which made necessary some sort of reform of the elementary school system: it lowered the age of admission to six years old from seven and it raised the school leaving age from fifteen to sixteen. It was generally felt that the lowering of the age of admission would present few problems. The expansion of pre-school education would 'improve the preparedness of children' and the raising of the school leaving age 'need not increase pressure on the specialised

(1) *Revistă de Pedagogia*, Bucharest, May 1969.

(2) Author's conversations with teachers, 1968, 1969.

lycees'. The transitional period for the completion of the programme of school building, teacher training and so on was to be five years; completion was to be 'guaranteed' by the beginning of the school year 1973-1974.

21. The 'General Culture School'

Here it is important to note what Romanian educationalists mean by the expression 'școală de cultură generală - general culture school'. The 'general culture school' is 'elementary' in that it offers what in Great Britain would be thought of as a preparation for some sort of secondary education. With the raising of the school leaving age it was to offer something more, roughly equivalent to what is offered by British primary and middle schools (6-13). However, for most Romanian children it was just 'school', the only school they went to, a terminal school. The first eight years of 'general culture school' were compulsory for all children. At the age of fourteen a minority of children was chosen by examination, teacher assessment and 'general assessment' (including an assessment of social and political maturity), to go on to various sorts of specialised secondary schools, but the great majority of Romanian children stay on at the 'general culture school' for another two years and then go out to work. In the school year 1969-70, some 45% of children who had completed eight years of 'general culture school' stayed on for a ninth year at their school; some 25% left because there ^{were} no school buildings to house them; the remainder went on to some sort of lycee or vocational school. Even in the school year 1969-70, ⁽¹⁾ a substantial number (27%) of pupils who had completed eight years of 'general culture school' satisfied the 'compulsory education for ten years' requirement by going to work and studying on what in Great Britain would be known as day release courses (this is especially true of remote rural areas,

(1) Revistă de Pedagogie, Bucharest, 18th September, 1969.

where there is a shortage of labour).

According to the Ministry of Education, the eight or ten year schools were designed to:

- help pupils to a mastery of the fundamentals of general culture;
- help their intellectual and physical development;
- give moral and civic training;
- cultivate a love for work;
- guide and prepare pupils for further study.

The curriculum for a typical school year (1969) shows how this was to be accomplished:

Eight Year Cycle:										
Subjects	Years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Drawing		2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	hours per week
Writing		0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	
PE		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
Music		2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	(mostly sing- ing)
History		0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	
Languages		0	0	0	0	3	3	3	3	(Eng./Fr./Ger. /Russ.)
Romanian		9	9	8	6	5	4	4	4	(Lang. & Lit.)
Biology		0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	
Chemistry		0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	
Geography		0	0	1	2	2	2	2	2	
Mathematics		4	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	
Physics		0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	
Workshop/Lab./ Dom. Econ.		0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	

(1)

(1)

Ministry of Education, Bucharest, Prof M. Sora to author, 1975.

The teaching of Russian had been compulsory. Constantinescu favoured its placing on a par with English as a language to be 'recommended', but made an exception in the cases of those județe with a common frontier with the Soviet Union - here Russian was to be 'highly recommended'. (1)

Those boys and girls who stayed on at the 'general culture schools' were to follow much the same curriculum, with the addition of Romanian literature, more Mathematics and at least four hours a week of 'practical work' in some factory, shop or agricultural enterprise. (2) In some areas the number of hours of practical work was to be allowed to exceed four hours a week, to such an extent in some cases that it became difficult to decide whether the boys and girls were at school, or at work doing 'day release' courses. However, it was the stated intention of the Ministry of Education that schools of general culture should not, after ten years, be thought of as terminal in the future, but should lead to part time, vocational or 'cultural' study. In a way, this was as much a departure from the Soviet model, as the relegation of Russian from a compulsory subject to an elective one, and was welcomed by all the teachers organisations; hence, perhaps, the limited amount of 'civics' (one hour a week in the tenth year) because political education in the future was to be concentrated on the young adult rather than on the young schoolchild.

22. Appointment and duties of general culture school heads

There had been some criticism of the quality of educational administration at the lower levels, and the 1968 Act and subsequent edicts tried to satisfy this. There had been allegations that school heads had been appointed for other than pedagogical reasons - in particular that headmasters who had in some way disgraced themselves (usually politically) in

(1) Ministry of Education, Bucharest, Pref M.Sora to author.

(2) c.f. polytechnicisation in USSR, and 'work experience' in Great Britain.

the large urban centres were foisted on schools in remote areas, much as happens to teachers and others in the Soviet Union. Articles 40-45 of the 1969 Statute made it quite clear that headmasters of schools should not only be teachers with a minimum of five years experience, but should, ideally, be appointed from among members of staff of the school they will head. Again, a Teachers Council in each school was to have the right and duty to advise the headmaster, and to make recommendations on appointments. Finally, general culture schools were to be supervised directly by the county or județe authorities in their day to day administration.

The Teachers Statute ⁽¹⁾ gave headmasters the right not only to represent the school in dealings with education and other authorities but also to ensure that the requirement for compulsory education was fulfilled in their catchment areas (*circumscripție școlare*). This latter power strengthened the hands of heads in their dealings with local Party committees factory and collective farm councils, and counterbalanced the committee and council powers to 'supervise' their schools. Especially in rural areas, the power to enforce attendance gave head teachers a great deal of bargaining strength.

One power head teachers failed to have attributed to them was any sort of responsibility for curricula or textbooks, the choice of which remained the prerogative of the Ministry of Bucharest.

23.

Secondary Education and the Reform Act of 1968

At the end of eight years of general culture school, boys and girls who want an alternative to vocational education, could now opt for one of several lycees. The most academically rigorous were the classical and scientific lycees, French in influence, reinvigorated during this period

(1) See Teachers Statute, below, separate chapter, at p.205.

of 'desovietisation'. Admission was by competitive examination - written and oral in mathematics and Romanian language, and oral in Romanian history including contemporary history (during this oral test, pupils with 'incorrect attitudes' were discarded). Candidates had to be under seventeen years of age, but they need not have just left general culture school. Candidates of over seventeen years of age were to have special evening and correspondence courses organised for them and get an extra month's leave from their places of employment to prepare for and take examinations.

In smaller centres, there might be one lycee, offering under the same roof both classical and scientific curricula; in larger centres there could be two lycees, classical and scientific.

24. The Classical Lycee

The Classical Lycee in 1968/69 offered a course of about thirty hours a week in the humanities. In the larger centres, pupils had a choice between the Classical 'current' (Greek and Latin) and the Modern (modern foreign languages, philosophy and Romanian literature). A typical syllabus was: ⁽¹⁾

Subject	Year	1	2	3	4	
Physical education		2	2	2	2	hours a week
Art		2	2	0	0	
Music		1	1	0	0	
Domestic economy, crafts		1	1	1	1	
History		2	1	2	2	
History of Literature		0	0	1	0	
Latin		2	2	2	2	

continued...

(1) Ministry of Education, Bucharest, Prof M. Sora to author.

Subject	Year	1	2	3	4	
First Language		3	3	3	2	hours a week
Second Language		3	3	3	3	
Philosophy & socialism		0	0	0	2	
Psychology and Logic		0	0	0	1	
Romanian Lang. & Lit.		3	4	4	4	
Astronomy		0	0	0	1	
Mathematics		4	3	3	2	
Biology		2	2	2	2	
Chemistry		2	2	2	2	
Geography		1	2	0	2	
Physics		3	3	3	2	

Again, as in the general culture schools, Russian language (and history, literature) was quietly relegated to an 'option', or integrated into the general teaching of history and literature. This does not mean, however, that the influence of the Romanian Communist Party was any the less - the Party background of the reforming Minister, Constantinescu, made this always unlikely if not impossible - but rather that emphasis was placed on the 'Romanian ways'. In the Classical Lycee, this meant a great deal of time was to be spent relating the history of contemporary Romania to that of Roman Dacia, a return to the native experience, a West-orientated system but the West of a hundred years ago - the Paris of 1848 rather than the Petrograd of 1917. Inevitably, this rehabilitation of the 'old Romania' has given great importance to the study of Latin, and one of the unforeseen consequences of the Act, in the short term, was to create a shortage of Latin teachers. Many of the teachers 'retired' during the Soviet-orientated reforms of 1948 were quickly

brought back into circulation. Nevertheless, the subject 'Socialism' was to be taught virorously, and attempts made to hold back too much of an interest in the United States of America during the teaching of 'world literature'. Already in 1969 in an article on The Class Struggle, Mihai Iordanescu (1) was warning against any slackening off in political education and urging teachers to keep up to date with the latest developments in Marxist Leninist theory, never forgetting that the role of the lycee was to 'educate in the spirit of socialist patriotism'.

25. The Scientific Lycee

The Scientific Lycee was a very forward-looking school, and it is here that many of the experiments in curriculum reform started to take place. The Classical Lycee was generally regarded as being too 'traditional', and even by 'desovietising' it, the Ministry felt that radical changes there would be difficult to bring about. However, experiments were made in the Scientific Lycee designed to make pupils choose at an earlier age between Mathematics and Physics on the one hand, and Chemistry and Biology on the other. In the Report of the Ministry of Education for June 1968, these and other experiments were foreshadowed, and the reason for the encouragement of an 'earlier choice' of specialisation was given as the 'necessity to satisfy the greater specialisation in the economy'. Pupils were to take lessons in the Humanities, but for many fewer hours than their contemporaries in the Classical Lycees, and, in their Science subjects, urged to decide by the end of the second year which of the Science faculties in universities they would apply to for student status. During the school holidays, pupils were to be encouraged to work in factories and plants, to do their 'practicals' not just as a gesture to the wider community but as specific preparation for higher education and future employment.

(1) Iordanescu, Luptă de Clasă, Bucharest XLIX 1969.

Here, too, experiments with new text books took place soon after the Reform Act of 1968. Scientific textbooks until then had nearly always been translations from the Russian, yet Romania has a long tradition of excellence in, especially, Mathematics - Ion Barbu (Dan Barbilian), the poet, was a mathematician of European stature. From 1968 the Ministry provided the interested members of universities with specifications for new textbooks, had them vetted by the Institute of Pedagogical Science and has used them in selected schools, many of them in the Scientific Lycees. It was planned to wait until the end of a four-year lycees trial period before the new books were generally adopted.⁽¹⁾

26. Peripheral Lycees

In addition to the Classical, Scientific and Teacher Training lycees, there were a number of different schools already given the style and title, lycee, though they were really 'higher grade vocational schools' (a former 1957 title). The so called agricultural lycees - licee agricole - were given the title in an attempt to raise the status of post-elementary education in rural districts, and only the general subjects teachers were supplied by the Ministry of Education. The instructors, the majority of the staff, were appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture. Laboratories and workshops were usually laboratories and workshops on collective farms or local veterinary hospitals, chemical fertiliser plants and so on.

The so called economics lycees were designed to produce cadres of trained office workers, and offer courses in office management, budgeting, book-keeping and marketing as well as the token general subjects, and nearly always depended on some large industrial or commercial enterprise.

(1) Lustig and Vidrascu, Manual Școlar între ceea ce este și ce poăta se fie Știința Tinerețului, Bucharest, May 29th, 1968.

There were also industrial lycees, dependent on factories, which trained future works managers in a combination of administration and technology, and two health lycees - licee sanitare - which trained dental technicians and medical technicians of one sort or another.

The 1968 Act and the Ministry's Report for the School Year 1968-69 suggested that these specialised lycees would last for as long as Romania needed a crash programme to produce technicians and middle managers, but that eventually they would divide into two 'levels of development' - the brighter pupils would go up to universities and the rest into a new type of vocational training institution.⁽¹⁾

27. Vocational and Technical Education and the Reform Act of 1968

The discussion document prepared before the passage of the Act - *Studiu pentru Dezvoltarea Învățământului Professional si Tehnic*⁽²⁾ revealed a great many deficiencies in the structure of vocational and technical schools. For as long as Romania had been content to accept the role of supplier of raw materials and agricultural products to Comecon, an annual figure of 50.000 skilled workers trained might have been acceptable, but the rise to power of Ceaușescu was synonymous with a plan to increase in Romania's industrial potential. At the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, a commission was ordered to study "all aspects of the problem of increasing the quantity and quality of facilities for technical education".⁽³⁾ This commission made its report in November, 1967 and it was passed to the Ministry of Education, where the Vocational and Technical Education Council discussed it and published its recommendations in the Educational Gazette. These were that certain shortcomings had to be overcome. There had been a failure to organise the apprenticeship schemes, some new, some a carry-over from pre-war years, in such a

(1) *Gazeta Învățământului*, Bucharest, 9th February 1968, *sopra cit.*
 (2) *Gazeta Învățământului*, Bucharest, 939 - 19th January, 1968.
 (3) *Congresul PCR sopra cit.*

way that instruction kept up with new developments in practice. Again, apprenticeship schemes seemed to have been encouraged only by smaller firms and factories where such schemes existed before the Socialist era. There had also been a failure, possibly due to opposition by the teaching profession, to organise extensive evening classes and day release classes.

The 1968 Act proposed to do two things: to increase the numbers of skilled workers by organising a network of vocational schools, and to improve the qualifications of existing skilled workers with a programme of technical education for 'intermediate personnel'.

The vocational schools were instituted immediately, with day and evening sessions admitting nearly a quarter of a million pupils. An admission examination, consisting of written and oral sessions in Romanian (language only) and Mathematics, was more or less a formality because it had been decided that most of the applicants would pass.⁽¹⁾ The age limit of 18, too, was waived in many cases, or raised to 25, for those who wanted to attend day sessions. However, once general admission had been granted, it was made quite clear to the pupils and their parents that the 'urgent needs of the Fatherland' would dictate the length and duration of the courses they would follow. The Ministries in Bucharest, the Co-operative Union, and other state agencies, made up the list of trades in which tradesmen were in short supply and maintained an overall supervision of the schools, even though they were organised and staffed by the Ministry of Education. The highest planning organ in the State, the State Planning Committee (Comitetul de Stat al Planificării), and the Ministry of Labour influenced the final choice of trades taught because they allocated scarce material resources.

The parents of the pupils were brought into the running of these vocational schools at an early stage. It was stressed to them that they must

ensure that the pupil stayed at the school for the required number of years; if they did not, then they had to repay to the State the total cost of all tuition and maintenance. Parents also guaranteed that their sons and daughters would go on to work at the trades for which they had been trained, in firms and factories connected with the schools. (1)

Apart from vocational subjects, (e.g. lathe operators, shoe-repairing), there was a general curriculum which included Romanian language and some literature (contemporary literature - these courses were organised in Cluj and Bucharest by the Writers' Union), and mathematics and political science (Marxism, Leninism). It was Constantinescu's intention that exceptionally bright pupils at vocational schools should be encouraged to transfer to the Scientific Lycee, but there is no evidence that this was ever translated into fact.

Short courses for apprentices were to be held at the vocational schools (two to three months during school holidays) and the schools were to organise courses lasting from three to twelve months in accordance with a Decree of the Council of (2) Ministers. These 'special courses for qualification and perfection', were designed to encourage workers to go on with their theoretical and practical education, and offer the possibility of promotion from one wage scale to another as an incentive; the wage scales were determined nationally, so this was a real incentive and not dependent on the whims of directors of local firms and factories.

In addition to the vocational schools, the Act expanded the technical schools established in 1956 at which master craftsmen were to be given their formal qualifications and take courses which would fit them for

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- (1) Even in a 'classless society' 'social categories' were recognised; craft education was considered superior to general trade training, and so on up the socio-economic ladder.
- (2) Buletinul oficial, Bucharest, 6th November, 1969.

junior posts in management. The technical schools were to recruit from workers who have spent at least three years, and preferably five years, at work and had a leaving certificate from a lycee or vocational school. There was accepted a wide range of academic ability among the pupils, who could be of any age, and at any time the Council of Ministers could instruct the Ministry of Education to waive admission qualifications altogether (as was done for the machine tool industry in 1971).

The vocational and technical schools occupied perhaps the most politically sensitive area in education, and there was a certain amount of resentment on the part of inspectors and officials at the Ministry of Education, and on the part of practising teachers, that the syllabus, curriculum and admission and qualification requirements could be so easily varied.

However, the needs of the nation as adumbrated by Party and Government were stressed as paramount, and discussion limited to ways in which inspectors might supervise standards at judete level.

28. Higher Education and the Reform Act of 1968

A major study of the 'problems' affecting the quality of higher education was published in 1967,⁽¹⁾ as ordered by the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. This stated baldly the reasons for the 'many shortcomings'. There had been an unfortunate tendency to equate Romania's problems with those of the Soviet Union, and to follow the Soviet Union blindly in the solution of those problems. Textbooks, curricula - even the system of grading students' work from 1-5 (instead of the former 1-10) - had all been imported in the first flush of enthusiasm for socialisation, itself equated with sovietisation.

(1) Studiu privind dezvoltarea învățămîntului superior, Revistă I.S., Bucharest, 1967.

In the Study for the Development of Higher Education, it was said tactfully that "the Romanian experience had been undervalued". This would be corrected immediately. It was also hinted that more attention would be paid to the experience of other, non-Socialist, countries, and in this connection it is important to bear in mind the impact felt in Eastern Europe of student riots in Western Europe in 1968. Certainly in Romania, the reorganisation of higher education included the establishment of forms of consultative assembly with student membership.

Constantinescu's first move was to place the rectors of all the institutes of higher education under his control. These institutes were classified as follows: Universities (Iași, Cluj, Bucharest, Timișoara, Craiova), Technical institutes (Bucharest Polytechnic, Bucharest Institute of Constructional Engineering, Petroșani Institute of Mines, Ploiesti Institute of Petroleum, Bucharest Institute of Petroleum, Gas and Geology, Ion Mincu Institute of Architecture in Bucharest, Brașov Polytechnic, Cluj Polytechnic, Galați Polytechnic, Iași Polytechnic and Timisoara Polytechnic), Institutes of Agricultural Economics (Bucharest, Iași, Cluj, Timișoara), the Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies, the Medical Institutes (Bucharest, Cluj, Iași, Timișoara, Târgu-Mureș), Conservatories (Bucharest, Iași, Cluj), Theatre schools (Tirgu-Mureș and Bucharest), Art Schools (Bucharest, Cluj), the Bucharest Institute of Physical Education, and the Teacher Training Institutes and Colleges (Bucharest, Bacau, Baia Mare, Brașov, Bucharest, Cluj, Constanza, Craiova, Galați, Iași, Oradea, Pitești, Suceava, Timișoara, Târgu-Mureș). Each of these institutes of higher education had a rector, in some cases called president, whose appointment and dismissal was the responsibility of the Minister. In principle, the Senate or Professional Council recommended a short list of three of their number, from which the Minister was to choose and the rector, in principle, had tenure for four years.

However, a rector who was not in sympathy with the aims of the Government would find it difficult to remain in office.

29. Internal reorganisation of higher education

The autonomy of the universities and other institutes was really protected by the Senate or Professional Council. The Reform Act of 1968, however illusory the autonomy it confirmed for rectors, did establish 'the principle of collective leadership' in institutes of higher education, and by so doing gave the 'collective leadership' a broad base for its authority and considerable power, perhaps more power than was intended. Senates (in universities) and Professional Councils (in other institutes) were to be composed of the rectors and their deputies, the deans of faculties and four members of each faculty (elected for four years), and delegates from the Romanian Communist Party, Young Communists, National Union of Teachers and 'interested student associations'. What the Act forgot to specify was that the elected faculty members should be teachers, so that many students were elected (especially research students); the Act also omitted to say that only one student body per institute could be represented on senates and professorial councils. The upshot of these omissions was that student representatives, and representatives of young members of staff, outvoted the 'Establishment' at the start.

This reinvigorating of what had been a very formal council in the past had many important consequences.

It soon became obvious that rectors were to be not only subject to ministerial control, but also to control by the 'consultative' bodies over which they were supposed to preside. In fact, only the rectors' powers to confer higher degrees were not open to question. The appointment and dismissal of staff and students, and the supervision of physical

facilities (hostels, refectories, etc.) were now effectively the prerogative of a senate or professorial council, as are all other matters academic or administrative. Some of the consequences of this shift of power will be examined later.

Paradoxically, departments within faculties, the heads of which were appointed by the Minister, were much more closely controlled from the Ministry and had much less powerful advisory councils (with no student representation), so the Minister when in conflict with a university Senate had to make a pincer movement, using the rector and the departmental councils as his pincers.

30. Sub-degree work in higher education

What everybody in higher education agreed at the outset was that the number of graduates had to be rapidly increased if Romania was to have the cadres necessary for an expansion of the economy, with all the social, cultural and educational problems that would pose. It was hardly possible to increase the number of students overnight, so in the short term a number of emergency measures were taken. The first was to establish an 'intermediate diploma', rather on the lines of the proposed British Diploma in Higher Education, in those areas of technical education where an increase in the supply of qualified men and women was most urgent. Beginning in the academic year 1970-71, the polytechnics at Cluj, Iași and Timișoara were to offer a three-year course under the general supervision of the Bucharest Institute of Architecture leading to qualification as 'leader of an architectural team' or 'diplomaed architect', for those who did not want to, or were not thought capable of, completing the five-year degree course but were good enough to be clerks of works or senior architectural assistants. During the same academic year, schools of engineering, including chemical engineering at Craiova, were also to introduce intermediate courses, with the

option open to those who took them to return later to complete their degrees. Even medical schools co-operated, reducing the number of years of study necessary for some specialities (stomatology, anaesthetics) from six to five. The only resistance to this crash programme came from the rector of the Bucharest Polytechnic. However, the Professional Council overcame the rector's opposition, and he was dismissed. The introduction of sub-degree work to provincial establishments made it necessary to loan junior members of staff to them, the loans made principally by institutes in Bucharest. Inter-university loans alone produced dramatic changes in staffing ratios, so that by the end of the academic year 1970-71 these were one teacher to eighteen students in Bucharest, one to thirteen in Cluj, one to ten in Craiova and Iași, and one to eight in Timișoara.

This reversal of the 'normal' drift towards the capital provoked favourable comment inside the Party, and made it easier for the Minister to convince teachers at a lower level in the school hierarchy to move out to the provinces, too. It also helped to stop a drift of students to the University and Polytechnic in Bucharest, to the impoverishment of Iași and Cluj in particular.

In the non-technical faculties or universities, there was also an attempt to 'speed up' the graduation process (from five to four years) by eliminating a number of supplementary courses in return for compulsory practical work during the vacations; this could be practical work relevant to the student's discipline - medical students working for three weeks as medical assistants - or work with a political purpose, on farms, in factories, in remote parts of Romania, to bring students back into touch with the 'toiling masses'.

The increased influence of students was responsible for the enactment of a sort of Students' Charter in March, 1969. As soon as they are accepted by the institute of their choice, students had to sign a contract binding in law with the rector as representative of the State, and if they did not sign could not receive their identity card (legitimatie) and record book (carnet). Without a legitimatie no student was allowed into a lecture hall, and without a carnet he had no evidence to present of success or failure during his course, so cannot graduate. In return for these documents and agreement to attend all classes, lectures, seminars and tutorials, students were guaranteed under this contract a certain number of rights. They received free tuition, free medical attention including convalescence, tickets for cultural events, access to libraries and a job at the successful end of their course. They were also guaranteed the right to take part in elections to the Senate or Professors' Council and take an ongoing interest in the organisation and administration of the institute they frequent.

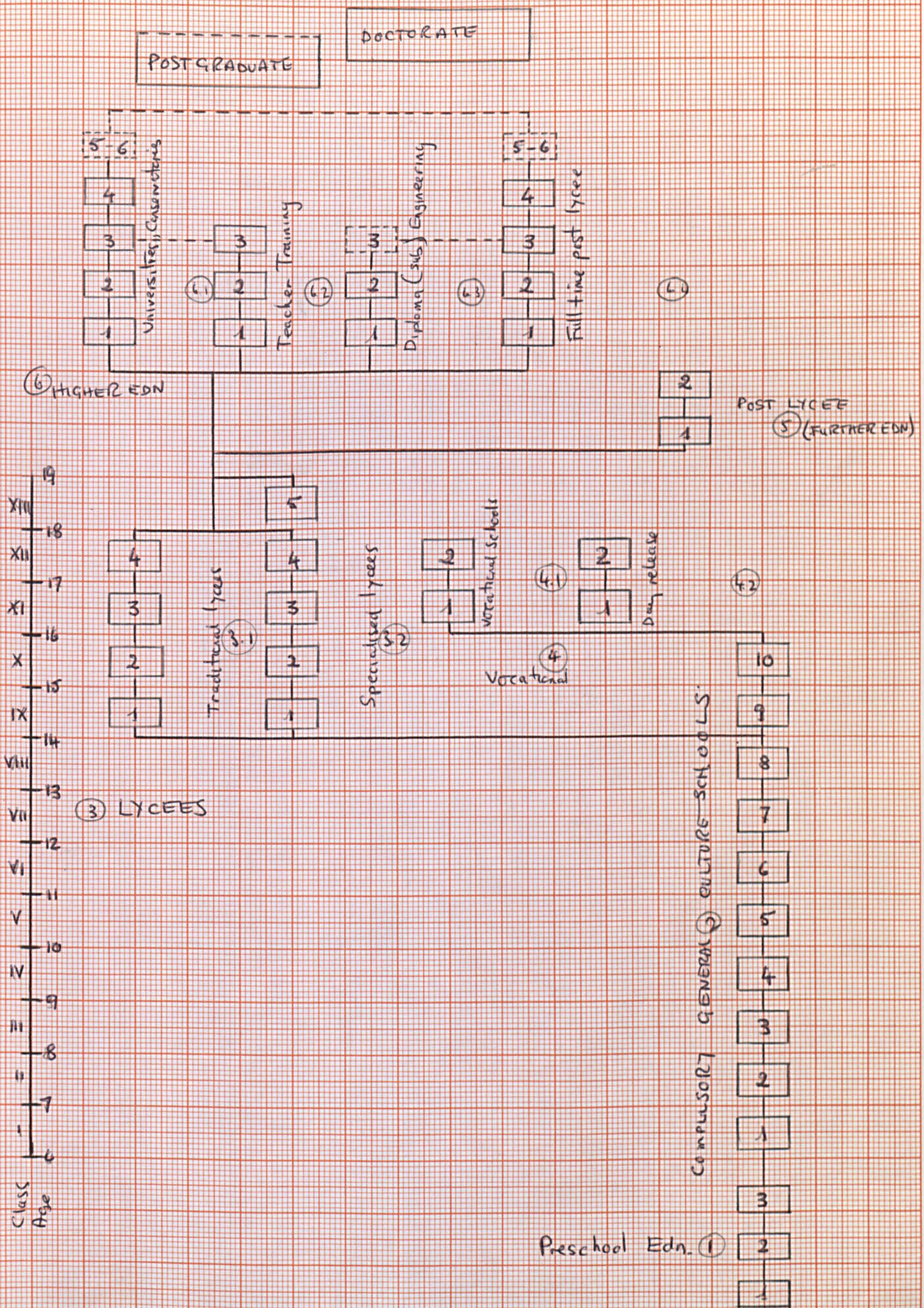
As Professor Bogdan (supra cit) has said:⁽¹⁾ "Perhaps the greatest of all the achievements of the 1968 Act has been to create a feeling of confidence in student and teacher alike that learning really is the collaborative process we have always said it was."

(1) Bogdan, Prof. M., Cluj, 1974, conversations with the author.

31. Conclusion

The Education Act of 1968 marked a turning point in the history of Education in Romania, away from Sovietisation towards a restatement of the national identity in education terms. Like all major reforms it met with opposition, and a reform of both Local Government and the Ministry of Education was necessary before a start could be made to implement it, though teachers generally favoured it and had their status assured by the terms of the so-called Teachers' Charter. Even after these preparatory reforms, it took some time before the spirit and the letter of the Act were respected.

General Organisation of Education (1968 Act)



EDUCATION SINCE THE 1968 REFORM ACT

1. General considerations

A publication by the Ministry of Education, distributed via Romanian embassies throughout the world notes: "The 1968 Directives of the Romanian Communist Party for modernising education at all levels and adjusting it to the requirements of the country's social progress, as well as the Law on Education of the same year, made possible the achievements with which the 1970/71 school year was finished and created the premises for the further development of education in the rhythm of the socio-economic dynamics and of the contemporary technical scientific revolution." The pamphlet stresses: "the ever growing needs of economy determined by the development of industry, agriculture, building, architecture" and the "new five year plan (1971-75) directing the efforts of the country toward a rapid development of modern industrial branches (on the basis of mechanisation, automation and cybernetics) turning out products with parameters of high quality."⁽¹⁾

The general tone of this and other publications is one of urgency, and there is increasing emphasis on the "guiding role of the Party and its strong leader, Nicolae Ceaușescu".

The urgency is only in part the natural dynamic of a country with many successes in modernisation and industrialisation to its credit, with an appetite for more. There were external political factors which created a crisis atmosphere in 1968, and which brought about a concentration of power in the hands of the President of the Republic and Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party. Perhaps the most important of these was the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union in 1968.

(1) The Development of Education in the Socialist Republic of Romania, Ministry of Education, Bucharest, 1973.

Romanian fears of a similar invasion were considerable because Romania has pursued since 1965 a foreign policy virtually independent of the general line drawn by the Soviet Union, a foreign policy as 'adventurous' as the domestic policies of Dubček and Svoboda in Czechoslovakia. In the same year, 1968, there were a number of rumours about the state of health of Marshal Tito, ruler of neighbouring Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Federal Socialist Republic has always been unstable, and since 1966 it was well known that separatists in Croatia and Slovenia, and to a lesser extent Macedonia, had 'provisional governments' ready to proclaim their independence whenever Marshal Tito died. It was also well known that the Soviet Union had as little intention of allowing the Yugoslav Federation to disintegrate as it had of allowing the leaders of Czechoslovakia to move towards social democracy. The road to Belgrade from Moscow goes through Romania, and there were fears that it might not remain untravelled by Soviet tanks.

There were also fears in Romania that faithful servants of the Soviet Union like Hungary (since 1956) and Bulgaria would take advantage of the 'confusion' to reclaim parts of Transylvania and the Dobrogea which they accuse Romania of having 'stolen by diplomacy'.

In these circumstances it is not perhaps surprising that the Romanian people in general were willing to give their leader dictatorial powers. It is also understandable that educationalists, including senior officials in the Ministry of Education, should have been subject to harsh criticism for their failure to respond to the urgency of which Ceauşescu constantly reminded his people. In his speech to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, in June 1973, Ceauşescu observed:

"There are still certain deficiencies in the demesne of education.

The Ministry of Education, educational institutions in general,

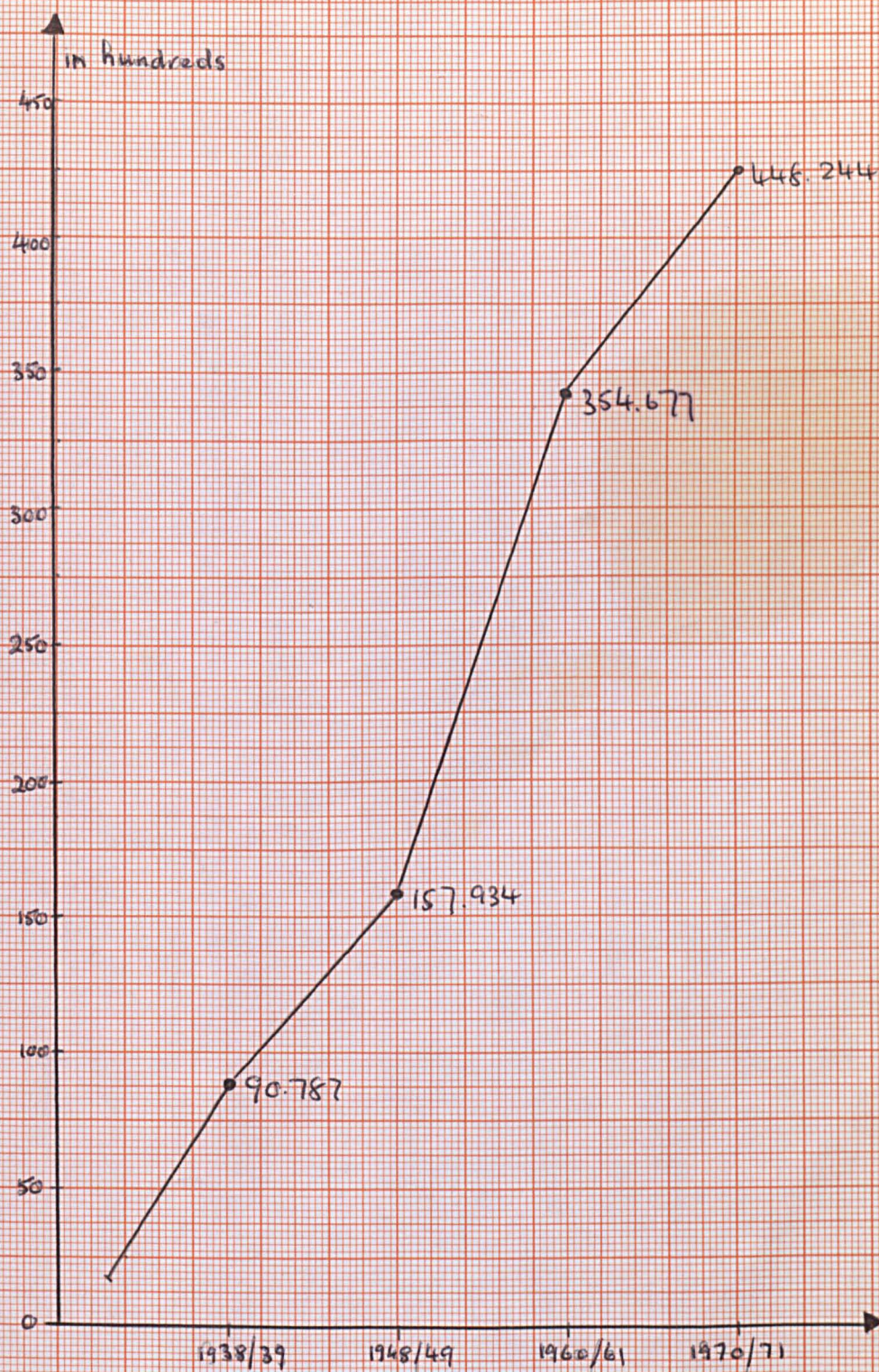
ministers with responsibilities in this area, have not paid close enough attention to the decisions of the Party or to the accomplishment of the goals of the (1968) Act. There are deficiencies in planning, in vocational training as well as in higher education ... There is a certain mentality, deeply rooted in the Ministry of Education ... and this mentality has exercised a negative influence on the accomplishment of the goals set by the 1968 Plenum of the Central Committee, especially where they concerned the integration of education with the realities of life." (1)

There was much more of this, and the whole text was published, not by the Communist Party daily newspaper, but by the educational publishing house for distribution to all concerned.

It is fair to say, then, that there is a 'firm, guiding hand', the pressure of which is noticeable throughout the period of the 1971-75 Five Year Plan. The influence of the President and Secretary General's wife, Elena, has also been not inconsiderable. She is known to favour a greater emphasis on scientific and technological education (she is an industrial chemist by training) and an extension of pre-school education to enable women to take a full part in the drive to strengthen the Romanian economy. The emphasis on science, scientific exchanges and the teaching of modern languages to facilitate such exchanges became more and more obvious throughout this period. The Cultural Agreement between Great Britain and Romania signed in March, 1975, consists largely of the 1966 Agreement with lengthy appendices reordering priorities in favour of 'scientific and technological co-operation'.

(1) Ceaușescu N., Speech to the 18-19 June, 1973 Plenum of the CC of the PCR, Editura didactica si pedagogica, Bucharest, 1973.

Children in kindergartens 1938 - 1971



2. Pre-school education since the 1968 Reform Act

In general, the status of teachers in kindergartens, and of assistants in nursery schools, has improved steadily. Various speeches by Ceaușescu gave an impetus to this improvement, which he described as "fairly satisfactory only" in his 1973 speech to the CC of the RCP.

He noted then:

"Nursery schools must also take part in the process of education and formation of the child. Here in Romania, we have not paid enough attention to pre-school education. We must make sure that in the future all children are effectively included in the system - at the very least benefitting from the last year of pre-school education ... We must consider nursery schools, even creches, as something more than cloakrooms where children are left and, instead, as an integral part of the educational system ... And in the Ministry, we must leave behind the mentality which seems to condemn 10% of all children in any category to a lesser education, or, indeed, no education." (1)

Given this general line, the education authorities had no alternative but to buckle to and provide the facilities, even in those outlying areas to which travel is difficult and where facilities are scarce.

Ministry of Education statistics suggest that in 1970 there were 10.336 kindergartens, and that between 1971 and 1973 kindergartens for 30.000 children were built, and places for another 20.000 children provided by extensions to existing buildings.

It is, of course, useful to see at first hand, to verify statistics, so visits were made in April 1975 to new kindergartens in Bucharest and Cluj-Napoca, and to a long established kindergarten in the latter.

(1) Ceaușescu N., *sopra cit*

3. Grădinița 57, Bucharest

This is a new, purpose-built, kindergarten, into which is integrated a day nursery which serves the Tricotaj (Knitwear) factory. Kindergarten, factory and residential district were put up together between 1970 and 1971 in the Drum Tabori district, some five kilometres from the centre of Bucharest and the main international highway E 20. The whole complex is something of a showplace to visitors arriving by car or motor coach, and buildings are surrounded by small parks and gardens.

The Headmistress of the Grădinița said that she had places for 93 children from the age of six months to three years, and 283 places for children from three to six years.

The day nursery children are divided into eight groups, each with a teacher and two medical assistants. Each group has its own suite of rooms, consisting of an entrance lobby (in which the children's home clothes are exchanged for school clothes, and where they are given a cursory medical inspection every morning and a complete check up once a term), a kitchen and diningroom, a play room and a dormitory with a cot for each child.

The kindergarten children are also divided into groups of about ten children each, with two teachers (who work in shifts) and one medical assistant. They have larger suites of rooms, with more room for play, desks for academic work, a display area for their own art and craft work, an entrance lobby for changing and medical inspection and a sleeping area. They share dining rooms, one to each two groups.

The children are well cared for in every way, happy and cheerful, though the Headmistress obviously ran what in the Royal Navy is called a 'tight ship'. Discipline was severe, no eccentricities of hairstyle were permitted in staff or children, no smoking was allowed anywhere and there

were exhortations to learn to be good Communists on the walls of every public area. The senior class (Gruppa Mare) performed patriotic dances and songs, the title of the loudest of which was "Romania, Ceaușescu", which had won a national pop song contest. This class had performed several times on national television and its teacher was obviously no mean producer and exploiter of the children's talents (which were considerable).

The curriculum of the day nursery groups consisted largely of play, but the three year olds were already learning embroidery, pottery decoration and patriotic songs and dances.

The kindergarten curriculum was more complex, and had been evolved in consultation with the Bucharest University Faculty of Pedagogy. There were games to teach mathematics and logic, sets of symbols and reading cards for each child as well as toys of the sort to be found in British schools (cars, tractors, teddy bears, bricks, etc.). From the age of four the Romanian language is taught systematically for four hours a week, and from the age of five, the children have a choice of English or French for two hours a week.

The Headmistress, Dumitra Mocanu, said that the foreign language classes were "the fruit of close collaboration with parents, who pay part of the salary of the language teacher". There is no Parent-Teacher Association, but a Parents' Council which meets once a month and elects its own officers. This Parents' Council works closely with the Education Officer of the District Communist Party Committee and the Teachers' Council to ensure "that teachers carry out their noble and highly responsible social and patriotic task of education thereby contributing to the multi-lateral development of the human personality and to the flourishing of our socialist system and nation".

Whole of Romania (known also as the Teachers' Station, Bucharest, 1971, Revised Form, Publishing Association of pedagogues, no. 176, 177, 182.

There is also a close connection between the Grădinița and the General Culture School to which the children move on at the age of six (or seven if they have to repeat a year for failing to reach the required standard), and with the Pedagogical Lycee which uses the Grădinița for teaching practice.

All the teachers on the staff were products of the Pedagogical Lycee, which offers a five-year course (ages 14-19) for intending teachers in the pre-school system. The Headmistress herself had been to a Two-Year Teaching Training College after five years of General Lycee (combined Classical and Scientific). The medical assistants had done two years of specialised training, from age 16-18 after finishing a General Culture School. Even the cooks and kitchen assistants had done a one-term course in 'the dietetic care of children'.

One of the Headmistress' regrets was that no men are involved in pre-school education, but she felt that "new and favourable circumstances" might induce men to spent at least part of their teaching career in this sector. She said:

"Our experience is like that of some Scandinavian teachers who came to visit us. In their kindergarten, a male plumber or electrician coming to do repairs distracts the attention of all the children and they follow him about like the Pied Piper. In Scandinavian schools, I understand, there are now men working as teachers and administrators."

The "new and favourable circumstances" consist of various awards planned to bring salary scales and promotion for kindergarten teachers into line with salary scales for teachers in secondary schools. As the Teachers' Statute of 1968 ⁽¹⁾ had recommended, kindergarten teachers on appoint-

(1) Law Pertaining to Status of Teaching Personnel within the Socialist Republic of Romania (known also as the Teachers' Statute or Teachers' Charter), Revised Form, Editură didactică și pedagogică, Bucharest, 1971, articles 176, 177, 182.

ment got an immediate pay rise of two increments; kindergarten staff 'guiding pedagogical work' (teaching practice and research by visiting scholars) got another two increments; and bearing in mind that most kindergarten teachers are non-graduates, especially welcome was a rise of two increments for any teacher in this sector with 25 years service. In addition, teachers qualified to teach in secondary schools are now guaranteed no loss of salary or prospects if they choose to work for a time in kindergartens.

The Headmistress said that the quantity and quality of equipment, visual aids, even furniture suggested a higher budget pro capita than for children in General Culture Schools or Lycees. This was certainly a fact, and was made possible because of the direct participation of the Ministry of Health, as well as the District Party and Parents' Council. The Ministry of Health paid the salaries of visiting doctors and nurses, and of the medical assistants on the staff, as well as supplying all the medical equipment and such things as cot mattresses and sheets.

4. Grădinița 56, Cluj-Napoca
- This is also a new, purpose-built kindergarten, opened on the 1st September, 1972 as the first tenants moved into flats in the new residential district it serves. There is no industrial complex associated with it, so the boys and girls tend to be of a better social mix than those at Grădinița 57 in Bucharest. Among the fathers' professions recorded were: army officer, doctor, lawyer, teacher, mechanic, worker. The fact that the new residential district was built not only to cope with a rising population (natural increase plus immigration from the countryside) but also to clear part of the city centre for new hotel building, was, again, a factor accounting for a greater variety of families of origin of the children.
- The Headmistress, Anna Moishe, said she had 716 children on the roll,

130 in the day nursery or creche, and 586 in the kindergarten. The children were divided into 70 groups, 13 in the day nursery. Two of the kindergarten groups were for children from Magyar-speaking families (though they also had to learn Romanian) with teachers of Magyar origin. There were 23 teachers in all, with one medical assistant to each kindergarten group, three medical assistants to each day nursery group.

Mrs. Moishe said the Gradinita was by no means exceptionally large; in Transylvania in general, the policy was to build large schools at every level in the educational system. It has long been Government policy to try to mix Romanian and Magyar speaking children as much as possible and to discourage the creation of educational ghettos, and Ceaușescu, in fact, repeated this general intention in his speech to the June, 1973 Plenum of the CC of the RCR. Mrs. Moishe said that this policy had been generally implemented in Transylvania since 1968, and suggested that some of the city centre clearance had also been planned to 'mix' new districts by nationality of origin as well as by class.

The Grădinița was well designed, in its own gardens with the usual equipment (slides, roundabouts) for outdoor play. Each group was encouraged to look after a part of the garden and there seemed to be a healthy spirit of 'socialist emulation' there. Both day nursery and kindergarten children had a general entrance, which led into a large lobby for changing into school clothes and medical inspection. Thereafter each group moved to its own suite of rooms - playroom, classroom (kindergarten), dormitory (day nursery), kitchen and eating area (which doubled as a rest area in the case of kindergarten children). The curriculum was the same as that of Grădinița 57 in Bucharest, and laid down fairly firmly by the local General Inspectorate (responsible to the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health and the local agencies of these, as well as to the local authority). The only difference lay in the

classes in Magyar for the Magyar children, who learnt also Romanian and one other modern foreign language (a choice of English, French or German).

Equipment seemed to be also standardised, and there were the usual patriotic and political exhortations. However, in general, the 'political presence' was less felt than in Bucharest. Questions about this met with no response, but later one of the School Inspectors said that as all the Magyar children were practising Roman Catholics, and many of the Romanian children (especially immigrants from the countryside) practising Orthodox Christians, there was 'less time spent at this stage on ideological and metaphysical questions'. The Inspector himself was a practising Orthodox Christian and remarked in passing that it had been no handicap in his career, though he was unlikely ever to be moved to Bucharest.

The local Communist Party had no direct contact with the Grădinița, and left political work to members of the teaching staff who were Communists (nine out of 23, including the Headmistress).

Much more active was the Parents' Council, which had teachers as ex officio members (three out of a total of 17 councillors). The Parents' Council not only paid for 24 hours of English teaching a month, but also 18 hours of French and German and many extra activities like visits to places of historical interest (for the leaving class) and even to the seaside. The President of the Parents' Council, Major Andrescu, had also persuaded the Council to buy school uniforms for wear outside the Grădinița, and folk costumes for the occasional evening performances by the leaving class.

The atmosphere of the Grădinița seemed to be more relaxed than the one visited in Bucharest, and the staffroom not only jollier but full of

books and magazines. Five of the staff were university graduates, of fairly recent date and this may have been the reason for the fashionable young clothes and the 'swinging' talk. The other members of staff had been to the Pedagogical Lycee, and the senior members to five yearly refresher courses held at the University of Cluj. As in Bucharest, material assistance by the Ministry of Health was responsible for the abundance of medical equipment as well as the large staff of trained medical assistants.

5. Grădinița No. 1 (Ion Creanga), Cluj-Napoca

This is an unashamedly 'superior' kindergarten, conscious of the fact that the building which houses it was once the town house of a Transylvanian nobleman. It is set in what is still the most fashionable residential district of Cluj, near the city centre and with only hospitals (including fee-paying hospitals) nearby to represent 'industry'. Most of the 'beau monde' of Cluj has sent its children there (it has been open for twenty years), and supports it financially; the theoretical pro capita payment per month is 36 lei, but nearly all parents pay at least 100 lei. The gardens of the villa are well tended, and the play equipment lavish, some of foreign origin. The standard of furniture and decoration is higher than that of any normal school and the medical equipment, too, seemed to be very new and efficient in operation.

The Grădinița caters for 190 children, in seven groups; one of these groups is for Magyar speaking children. There were thirteen teachers on the staff, but in addition a large number of visiting teachers, some paid (the modern foreign language teachers), some parents in the teaching profession giving a few hours a week voluntarily (these included the Head of the English Department in the University). The School Inspector responsible for nursery education had been Headmistress, and had moved to the Inspectorate straight from the school. Perhaps because of

the social origin of the pupils, and the lack of any day nursery associated with the Grădinița, the atmosphere was more adult and sophisticated than kindergartens seen elsewhere. Even the games seemed to be adaptations of adult games, and the music library contained as much Mozart and Vivaldi as it did records of nursery rhymes.

The Headmistress, Anna Filiman, admitted that her school was 'unusual', but said that it refused no child who lived in the neighbourhood. It just so happened that the Transylvanian bourgeoisie had not been so clearly identified with the pre-war Fascist policies of the then Government, and so had not been 'dispersed' as had the bourgeoisie in Moldavia and Wallachia. And the Cluj bourgeoisie happened to live in her catchment area. She seemed a little embarrassed by these circumstances, and had made some effort to paste up slogans (We Work With Love) where the walls were not covered with original oil paintings; this meant that most of the slogans were in the dining room and made slogans like "We Will Put Our Heart Into What We are Doing As Does our Strong Leader" read rather oddly. However, the curriculum was the standard Grădinița curriculum, and the two medical assistants were healthy peasants, as were the kitchen staff; eight of the teachers had been to a Two Year Teacher Training College, but were of peasant origin, too, so the rather grand ambiance was somewhat mitigated by their manners. One of the most attractive 'extras' in the school was the Puppet Theatre. The Headmistress had a professional puppet master as 'adviser' but the children made all the puppets and costumes and wrote most of the scripts. The Theatre was not used to publicise the Grădinița, which seemed to think of it as a 'private cultural strength'.

The Visits to the kindergartens in Bucharest and Cluj-Napoca were organised for the author by the Ministry of Education in Bucharest and the Județul Cultural Commission (Education Section) in Cluj-Napoca.

The general impression received on visiting these three kindergartens was one of steady improvement in the quality of plant and buildings, the training of teachers and of the evaluation of pre-school education as a stage in its own right.

6. General growth of pre-school education

According to Ministry of Education statistics published in 1974, 45.7 per cent of all pre-school children aged three to six go to kindergartens of one sort or another. As compared with pre-war Romania, the scale of activity is very impressive:

School Year	No. of units	No. of teachers	No. of children
1938-1939	1.577	1.819	90.787
1971-1972	10.809	20.174	506.488
1972-1973	11.542	23.224	591.670

The Ministry maintains that this sort of progress will continue until the latest Educational Plan Projection, for 1980-1981. There will be 'a considerable acceleration' once the draft bill for 1975 becomes Law, and a constant review of the various types of pre-school education will ensure that by 1980-1981 the most positive experiences have been shared throughout the country, regardless of geographical location or country of origin of the children's parents.

7. Types of pre-school education available

The different types of pre-school education are described as follows:

- (a) Kindergartens with a six-hour daily programme, giving instruction only and wholly integrated into the compulsory general educational system; in towns this means a school year starting on 17th

September and finishing on 15th June; in rural areas pre-school (and other types of) education is adapted to the needs of agriculture and the school year runs from 1st March to 1st December.

- (b) Kindergartens with an extended daily programme which provides instruction, meals, rest and supervision for 10-12 hours a day.
- (c) Kindergartens which look after children from Monday morning until Saturday afternoon; meals, rest and supervision are provided in hostels built on the same site as the kindergarten teaching unit.
- (d) Special kindergartens for handicapped children. These are divided into categories (for the deaf, blind, spastic, mentally defective, etc.) and may or may not be residential according to the seriousness of the defect) responsibility for these kindergartens is shared between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health. There are 96 special schools of one sort or another (1973) looking after 15.500 children of pre-school age.
- (e) Kindergartens for orphans, which are integrated into institutions for the general education of orphans; there are 128 of these and they look after (1973) 25.000 orphans.

8. General aims of pre-school education
- In all these establishments, except the special schools, education for the five year old is closely correlated so that there is an easy passage to the neighbouring elementary cycle of education.

According to a Ministry of Education circular:

"The content of educational work in all kindergartens comprises, in terms of age, many activities aimed at developing intellectual

skills (teaching using all sorts of aids, teaching of a knowledge of the environment and aspects of social life with which children ought to become speedily familiar) as well as speech skills, elementary habits of discipline and civilised behaviour, physical exercises and outdoor games. Optional learning of a foreign language of world wide circulation - English, French, Russian, German, Italian - for two or three hours a week, started experimentally in 1969-1970, has been extended in the following years and will be so extended." (1)

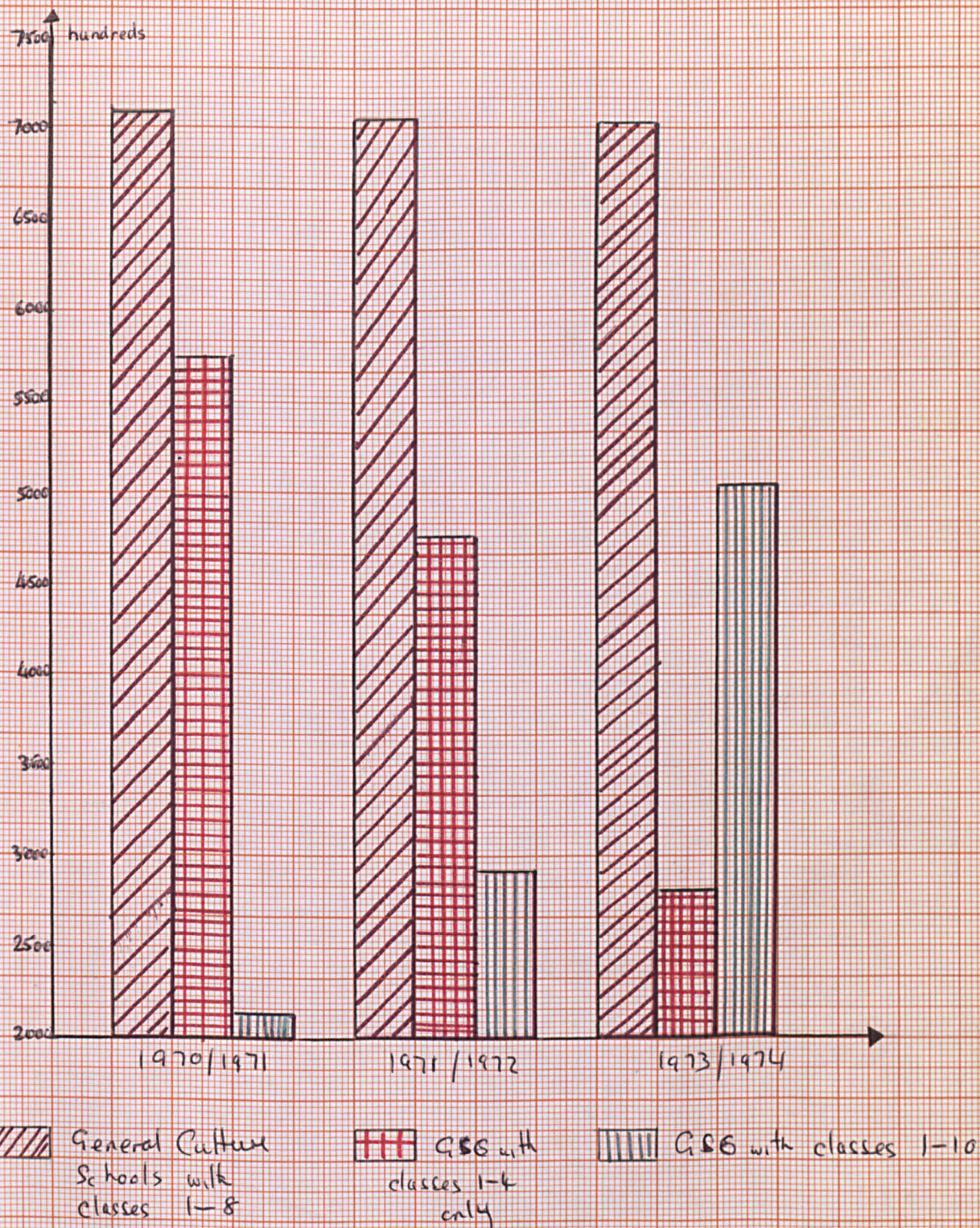
It is perhaps useful to note here that "civilised behaviour" includes social graces which have virtually disappeared in England - the 'party piece' to be performed for guests at tea time, girls curtseying and boys bowing before they sing, recite poetry or dance. Well behaved children are much admired in Romania.

Since the 1968 Act, the Ministry of Education has published a great many surveys of progress in pre-school education, including textbooks for three-, four- and five-year olds, and since 1971-1972 a monthly magazine edited at the Institute for Pedagogical Sciences. Since 1971 a Pre-school Education Advisory Board has functioned at the Ministry of Education, and to it practising teachers make reports and suggest new lines of research.

The intention of the 1968 Act was that by 1975, 64.3 per cent of all three to six year olds would attend a kindergarten, and by 1981 this would have increased to 84 per cent. In general, experience favours the kindergarten with the extended programme (10 to 12 hours a day), and it was intended that by 1975-1976 and 1980-1981 respectively some 44.7 per cent and 73.2 per cent of all children should go to this sort

(1) Ministry of Education Circ. No. 3/1973, (Ed. Prof. G. Vaideanu), Bucharest, May 1973.

Pupils in Compulsory Education 1970-1974



of school. However, the 1975 draft bill presupposes a faster rate of increase than this, though at the time of writing the precise figure had not been published.⁽¹⁾

There is also the complication that kindergartens in rural areas tend to be dependent on agricultural producers' co-operatives, and these co-operatives have reported that by 1975-1976 they would only be able to absorb some 29 per cent of village pre-school children, and even by 1980-1981 only some 50.6 per cent. This is not so much due to a lack of funds or goodwill, but rather to traditional patterns of rural life which allot to pre-school children important tasks like pasturing sheep and cows, dairying (watching the churns), even doing household chores. Notwithstanding mechanisation, natural expectations from the countryside have increased to such an extent that the pre-school reserve of labour is precious.⁽²⁾

9. Primary School education since the 1968 Act
- An initial difficulty here is one of definition, since official publications by the Ministry of Education refer loosely to the whole ten-year cycle of compulsory education as 'primary', but also refer to the first four years of this ten-year cycle as 'primary'. The reason for the looseness of the terminology is almost certainly human. Most of the civil servants at the Ministry of Education began their own schooling before the Second World War when children going on to secondary schools and higher education completed a four-year cycle of primary education, the only compulsory cycle. This was all they shared with the majority of the population (four million of whom never went to any school at all). The gradual extension of compulsory schooling from four to seven to

(1) Draft Bill for Presentation to the Great National Assembly, Autumn 1975.
 (2) On Some Problems inherent in the Expansion of Education in Rural Areas, Bucharest, March 1975, Pedagogical Review at p.29.

eight and now ten years has been completed so quickly that it has left many civil servants confused if not bemused.

Nevertheless it would be a mistake to think that the whole ten-year cycle now offers a homogenous education to all. The Teachers' Statute recognises a difference of status as between teachers of the first four forms, and those teaching upper forms and specialist subjects. Similarly, the 9th and 10th years, which became compulsory in 1968 - where they are available - are dedicated, for the vast majority of school-children, to preparation for work. A Ministry of Education publication, dated December 1974, notes:

"The curriculum for the 9th and 10th grades of the general school is intended to give the pupils ample general knowledge and, at the same time, to give them a technical and productive training for their further qualification in vocational schools or in production. The number of classes assigned for the subjects which give the pupils their technical and productive training represents about 33% of the total number of classes provided for in the curriculum." (1)

In schools visited in rural areas, this 33% was often 70%, because of the exigencies of the agricultural work for which most of the pupils were being prepared, and in urban areas, transport to a factory training complex, changing into work clothes and back again and so on, seemed to cut down the time available for academic work to no more than 10% of the 36 hour school week. Members of the school inspectorate commented (2) that in rural areas the shortfall in time available for 'general cultural formation' was often made up in the evenings and during the school holidays by 'participation in the cultural life of the village'. Certainly, even small villages visited had a 'cultural centre', part club and part

(1) Education in Romania, Bucharest 12/74, p.37.

(2) Interviews conducted by the author, April-September 1975 in the RSR.

evening institute, where a certain amount of formal education was given, but this activity was voluntary, and in the nature of things confined to a small minority of young people.

10. Special problems of ethnic minorities

There are other conditions in some parts of Romania which tend to confine 'education' in the narrow sense of the word to the first part of the ten-year cycle. In the Banat, for example, immigration has created problems for the local schools inspectorate which is charged with giving all children a basic education in their mother tongue. Here the demarcation lines between kindergarten and general culture school tend to be blurred. In the Timisoara judeţul, there is the following provision for ethnic minorities:

Kindergartens:		
	German language	75
	Magyar	27
	Serb	12
	Ukrainian	2
	Bulgar	2
	Slovak	1
General Culture Schools (four-year cycle):		
	German language	84
	Magyar	34
	Serb	20
	Slovak	2

(1)

(1) Statistics for 1974-1975 supplied by the Faculty of Pedagogy, University of Timișoara, April 1975.

In principle, the Ukrainian, Slovak and Bulgarian children 'take up Romanian as their mother language' in the 5th form of the general culture schools and carry on with their basic education completely assimilated, but the impression received was that, as these minorities inhabit small groups of villages they were left to their own devices after the 'primary cycle'.

11. The 'gymnasium'

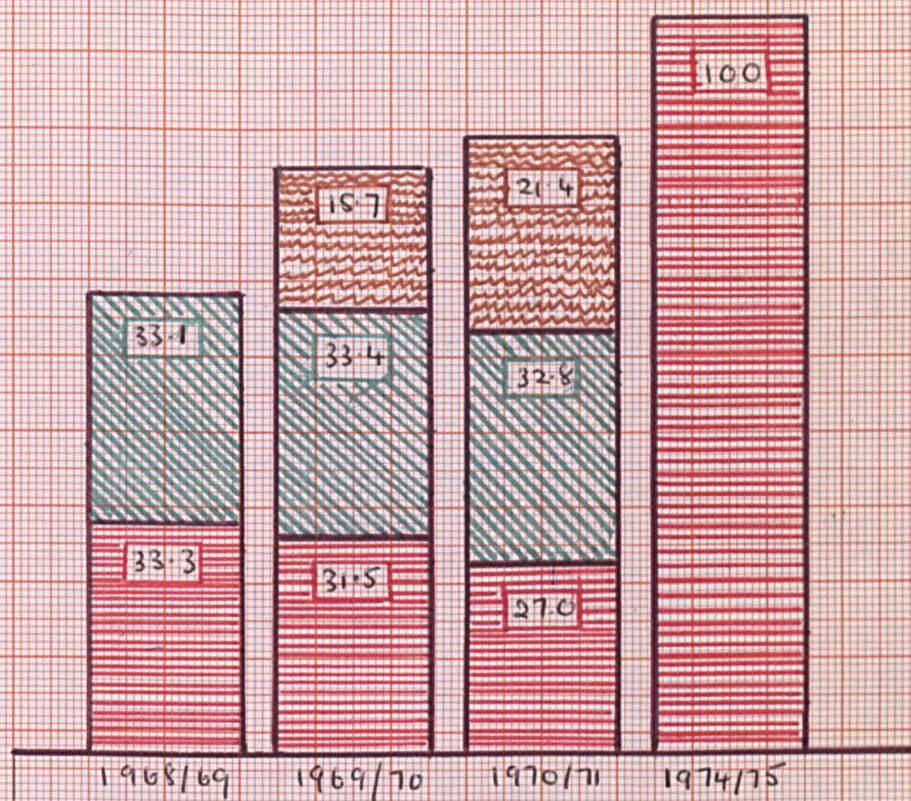
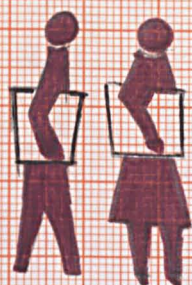
In some Ministry of Education publications the second cycle of education in the general culture schools is referred to as 'the gymnasium' (forms 5-8) and lycee education is referred to as beginning with the ninth year: "In graduating from the 8th form or gymnasium, pupils may pursue their studies at general secondary schools, at specialised secondary schools or in the 9th and 10th forms of ten-year general culture schools." (1)

Some idea of the 'blurring at the edges' at the 8th Form may be gleaned from the situation at the end of the 1970-1971 school year, by which date the 1968 Act guide lines were being followed all over the country. There were 2.941.00 boys and girls in general culture schools up to and including the 8th Form. In their first year of lycees (classical or scientific), that is to say years 9 and 10 of compulsory education, there were 72.980 students; the so-called specialised lycees had a year 9 of 27.500 students; the vocational schools had 81.000 in the ninth year of the compulsory cycle; 38.000 boys and girls were already apprentices on day release; and 69.900 boys and girls were attending general culture schools which had introduced Forms 9 and 10. The expected 'leaving class' from the general culture schools numbered 350.000.

These figures show that only a fifth of Romanian school-children in that year had gone on to a ninth year of formal education; the remainder was

(1) Învățământul în RSR - supra cit, pp.24, 27.

Generalisation of Compulsory 10 year Education



ex Class 8 General Culture



Lycee



Vocational



General Culture
terminal classes

already being trained specifically for 'productive work'.

A Ministry publication commented:

"The curriculum of the 9th and 10th Forms of the general school is similar to that of the first two years of the secondary school. Therefore the pupils who, after having graduated from the 8th Form, go on to the ten-year general school, can, when they have graduated from the 9th or 10th Form of that general school, be admitted to the second or third form of the secondary school, taking examinations in 2-3 subjects." (1)

12. Limitation of application of 1968 Act

It is clear, then, that only a fifth of Romanian school-children think of the eight forms of general culture school as 'primary school'. For the remainder it is just 'school', and apart from day release and part-time voluntary education, eighty per cent of Romanian children have finished their 'cultural formation' at the age of fourteen.

This was certainly not the intention of the 1968 Act. "The generalisation of ten-year education" spoken of in the Act's preamble meant the keeping of children together to share ten years of general education, the elimination of the 'general culture school with Forms 1 to 4 only' (though there were still 3000 of these in the school year 1974-1975), a levelling up and the creation of equality of opportunity for all. As the status and quality of teachers in the general culture schools rises, thanks to the Teachers' Statute, (2) discontent in these schools increases. What has happened is that there now exists comprehensive education for the bulk of the population up to the age of fourteen, and thereafter a strict division into something resembling the old British grammar,

(1) *Învățămîntul în RSR* supra cit, pp.24, 27.

(2) "Teachers' Statute" supra cit and below, separate chapter.

technical and secondary modern schools.

Most teachers interviewed believed in the eventual establishment of a ten-year 'primary' school, to be attended by all children from 6 to 16; thereafter the training for 'productivity', for profession, vocation or trade could begin. This was felt to be particularly important in remote and rural areas where 'cultural formation' was centred on the general culture school. One teacher noted that the function of the priest, in former times, in these areas, had been to share his own higher education (among other things) with the minority which had an appetite for it, and, indeed, in one village, Tziganeşti, the priest, Father Victor⁽¹⁾ managed to carry on this tradition; he had a good knowledge of French, German and English language and literature and an impressive library. In present day Romania, however, largely because of the political activity of American Baptists⁽²⁾ the mission of priests is formally limited to the liturgical (not even the evangelical). Here it is perhaps worth noting that many boys, especially in Moldavia, went on to junior seminaries after four years of primary education (often all that was available), not necessarily with the intention of becoming priests; some of the leaders of the Romanian Communist Party were seminary educated (as, indeed, was Stalin).

13. Programmes to extend validity of 1968 Act
- Representations by teacher members of the Communist Party have brought some criticism of the Ministry of Education by Ceauşescu himself, of the "generalisation of ten-year education". Ceauşescu noted:

"The school, the teacher, have a duty to find the forms of education most appropriate to the children who follow the ten-year course.

It is the duty of us all not to eliminate from schools those who

(1) Interviews with author, April, 1975.

(2) Illegal distribution of Bibles while supposedly on holiday in Romania.

find it difficult to learn, but to find new ways to help them. It is inadmissible that there should be young men reporting for military service who have finished only one or two classes. The educational system must ensure that all young people leave school having attained the level one would expect after ten years of education ... The old system, with its roots in the past, must be eliminated. We cannot tolerate a situation in which some young people went to a lycee after the 8th Form, and some to training for work. Every child must get used to the idea that he is not preparing himself for life as a civil servant, but to contribute to society according to his real abilities." (1)

This rebuke from on high, has resulted in the publication by the Ministry of Education of new target dates for 'generalisation' - now the school year 1976-1977, - and an admission that only 91% of school children had, in fact, been enrolled in the ten-year cycle in 1972/73.

An important policy statement goes as follows:

"From the 8th Form, instead of Forms 9 or 10 attended until now by 8th Form leavers who did not enrol in a secondary school, there will be a third cycle within the ten years of compulsory education, which will be a junior high school (Forms 1 and 2). In this way, instead of the former two terminal forms attended by children who had not gone up to a lycee, all gymnasium leavers (Form 7) will be admitted to a junior high school." (2)

The new timetables, too, though these exist for the moment only on paper, stress less the 'training for productivity' for the majority of pupils.

Limits are, in fact, suggested:

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- (1) Ceaușescu N. on some deficiencies in the Structure of Ten Year Education, Șcînteia, 1st May, 1974.
 - (2) Invatamintul in RSR, sopra cit

"In Forms 1-4 pupils should become familiar with handling simple tools and performing simple tasks, self help in the house and elements of hygiene; in Forms 5-8 pupils should become acquainted with the basic raw materials, but the application of theoretical skills could take place during a two week continuous practice, possibly during the school holidays."

As far as academic subjects are concerned:

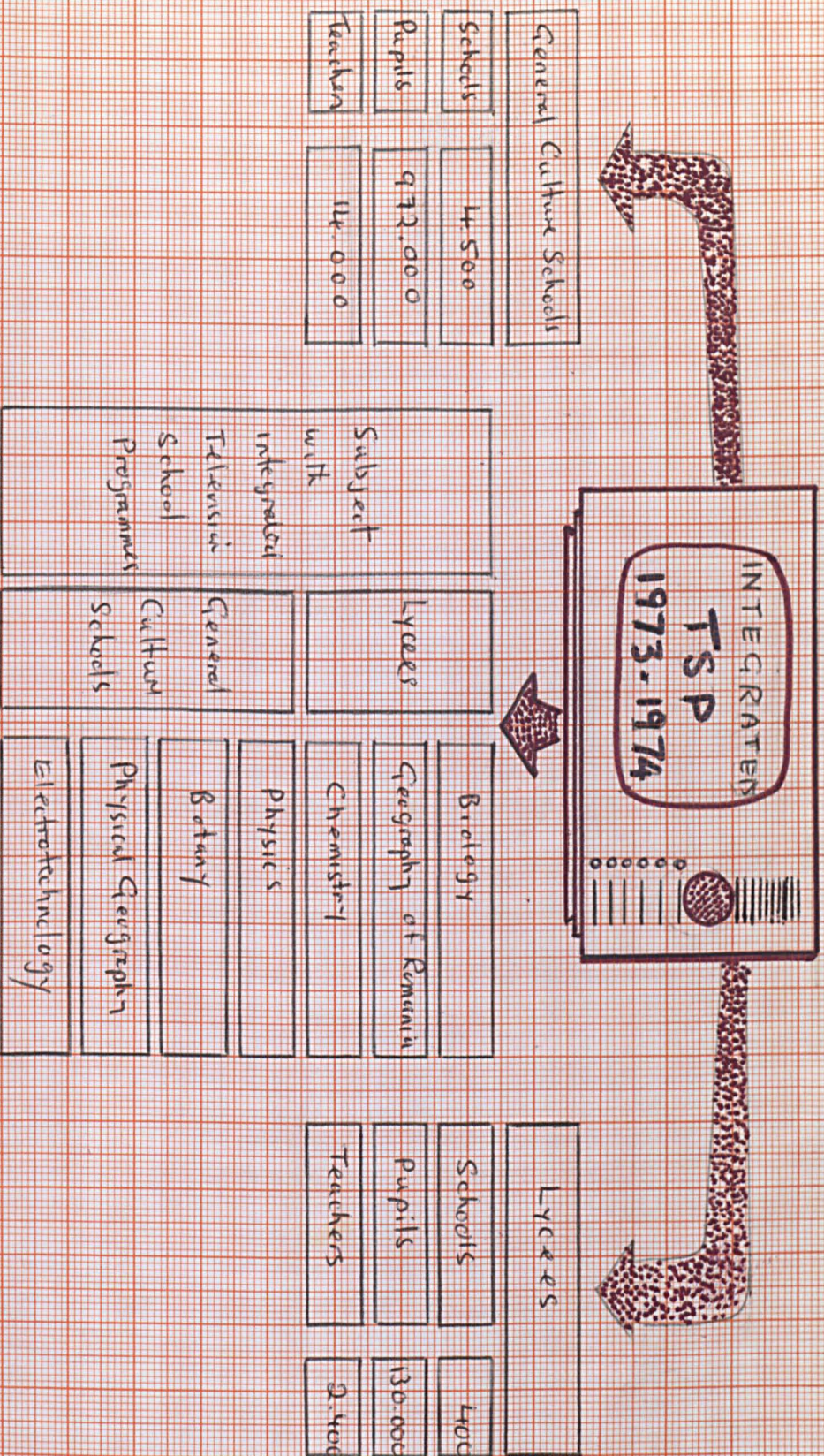
"The weekly timetable will consist of four groups of main subjects, 40% of pupils time will be devoted to the humanities, 31.8% to scientific subjects, 22.2% to artistic and physical disciplines and 6% to practical subjects. Half of the time allotted to the humanities should be for the study of the Romanian language and Literature; of the group of scientific subjects mathematics is taught in all forms."

14. 'Repetition'

A debate has been going on since 1968 about the desirability of 'repetition'. As things are at the moment (1975), a pupil moves up the school if he has a minimum of 50% for academic subjects and 60% for 'behaviour'. Cases have been reported of pupils who remained, physically, members of a ten-year school but never got past Form 4, not to speak of the handful Ceausescu mentioned who had not got past Form 2. The teaching profession favours 'repetition', as an aid to discipline and also because teachers can earn substantial sums preparing pupils who have failed in June for 'second chance' examinations in September. Some educational theorists, however, notably Professor Dan Balbulescu ⁽¹⁾ of Timisoara, believe in what is known as 'ten per centing'. The idea is that a pupil is better off understanding ten per cent of what is being taught in Form 10, than staying in Form 4 until he has understood 100% of what is being

(1) Balbulescu D. Some Problems in Education, *Orizont*, Timisoara, 1974.

TV in Schools



taught there. Nobody at the Ministry of Education would comment on this, but some teachers felt that automatic promotion from class to class would be a bad thing, though eliminating 'bad old habits' and making political and social discrimination under the heading 'behaviour' impossible.

15. Television and other audio-visual aids

What ought to be a politically less sensitive area - the use of television in schools - became a 'difficult question' in 1974. The wife of President Ceaușescu has never liked writers, including writers for television, and this dislike was vastly increased when her prospective son-in-law, the writer Petru Popescu, defected to the West and married a wealthy American woman of Romanian descent.

The 1968 Act predicted a great increase in the use of visual aids, including radio and television, and it was generally believed that, especially in remote and rural areas, it would increase equality of educational opportunity. General culture schools in these areas were, generally, deficient in laboratory facilities; the teaching of the humanities in a country in which literature and the arts are held in awe was less of a problem. Between 1969 and 1973 a series of programmes was written and produced to be 'integrated' into the school timetable as drafted by the Ministry of Education and modified by judeten authorities. By the beginning of the school year 1973-1974 some 972.000 pupils in 4500 schools were using 'integrated television programmes', supervised by 14.000 specially trained teachers. The programmes were limited to Botany, Physical Geography and Electrotechnology, but they were of high quality and were showing some satisfactory results in the examinations held in remote and rural areas. However, since 1974, the budget for 'integrated television programmes' has been cut and other visual aids which do not involve writers have become more freely available. The

School Buildings 1974-1975

	Compulsory Cycle	Lycees	Trade and Technical	Post Lycees	Higher Education
Institutions	14.761	1.058	585	137	42
Classrooms	65.028	13.699	2.485	351	1.970 (including applications etc)
Studies/ Laboratories	12.153	6.667	1742	190	3.034
Workshops	8.574	3.499	1.410	43	1.469 (including rooms for "practical work")

thinking now is that instead of looking at a television film of a laboratory, pupils should go and work in one during part of the school holidays. Nevertheless, pressure to expand the use of radio (little exploited as an educational medium) and television is very strong, and it is possible that in the future the primary cycle will benefit even more from the use of the media during school hours.

16. Physical facilities - general culture schools

The physical equipment of primary schools visited (not always those chosen by the education authorities) seemed adequate, and since 1968 the increased budget for education has helped to improve it. There is also, as suggested by Ceaușescu in 1968, a continuous campaign to integrate the general culture school into the life of the community, using the buildings as recreation and study centres for the non-school population. For this reason, perhaps, there seemed to be no problem of finding labour and materials for building maintenance and extensions, though it is important to remember that 86% of all school buildings in Romania are post-1948, so there are few old, cracked classrooms. The general culture school buildings seen were all traditional in style, 'because the parents like the schools to look like schools' and because Romania's climate (in Bucharest the temperature range is from 35⁰+ to 18⁰- C) does not encourage 'modern' styles like what the British Architectural Review calls 'the greenhouse', (great expanses of glass) or 'the plutonium plant' (massive walls, glass and concrete). Classrooms visited were all decorated with pupils' work - woodwork, embroidery, even icons in one school - and assembly areas with works by local artists or on loan from local art galleries and museums. Each classroom had its own store, for which the teacher is responsible, and these seemed to be well stocked with learning aids of all kinds (of Romanian manufacture). The only shortage seemed to be of tape recorders and film projectors.

There is no tradition in Romania of playing fields around the schools. What land there is is not concreted over but planted with trees and flowers, and used in the evenings as sitting areas by the local population. Pupils and parents are responsible for the upkeep of the gardens, though sometimes a caretaker (nearly all of them seemed to be women) gives a hand.

There seemed to be no standard size of school or class, but there is an official upper limit of 24 pupils to each class.⁽¹⁾ This is not always adhered to throughout the school day - science and woodwork and physical education seemed to take place with up to 50 pupils involved. Again, those pupils, even in Forms 1-4 who were especially keen on crafts or sport tend to pursue these interests after school at workshops used for evening classes, and recreation areas not especially reserved for schools. The staffing ratios for the 'primary' and 'gymnasium' cycles were not readily available, but one headmaster said they were 1-20 for 'general classes', and 1-50 for specialist subjects. The ratios seemed to vary greatly from județul to județul - the closer the school building programme was to completion, the more money was spent on teachers' salaries.

17. Parent-teacher relations

Participation by parents in the life of schools in the ten-year compulsory cycle seemed to vary from județul to județul, town to country. In the larger schools there were often two Parents' Committees, one for Forms 1-4 and one for the upper or gymnasium part of the school. This was explained in terms of "the relevant experience of parents"; parents who had been to higher educational institutions tended to spend a great deal of time ensuring that the primary cycle, Forms 1-4, was well organised, realising that it was here that the future academic success of

(1) [^]Învățământul în RSR, supra cit

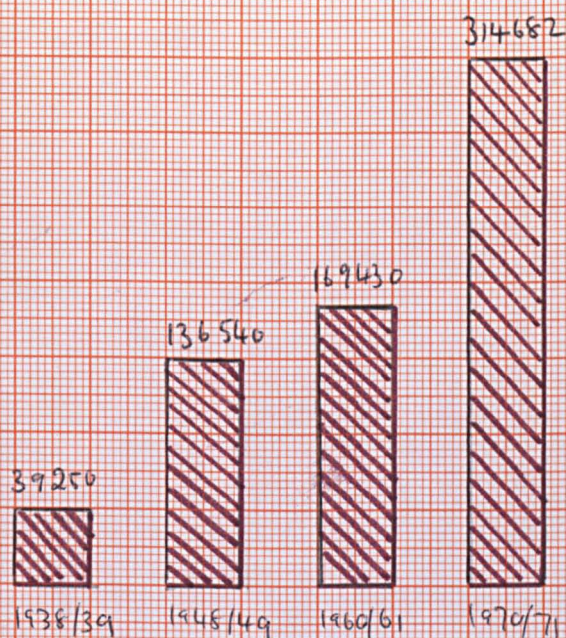
their children was assured or not; parents who had not had a higher education tended to be more interested in the way the upper school was preparing their children for well-paid jobs.

Teacher participation in the work of Parents' Committees is compulsory, and in urban areas, the participation of a member of the District (Sector) Committee of the Communist Party.

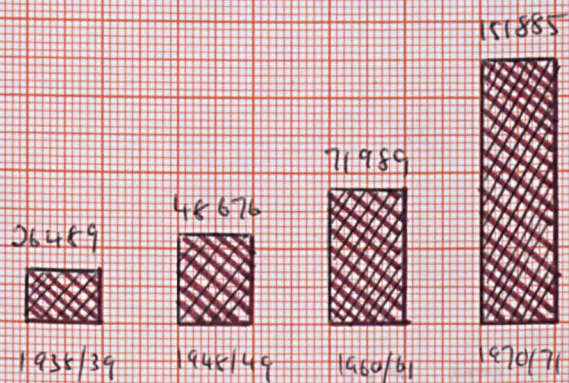
Everywhere in this primary and 'gymnasium' cycle of education there was optimism, and a belief that whatever lacunae there were in the operation of the 1968 Act, these could be and would be filled.

For some idea of the range and quality of the equipment available to schools in the nursery, primary and middle school range, the reader is referred to the collection at the Institute of Education, University of Hull, deposited there by the author. The collection consists of examples of visual aids (formal and disguised as toys and games) for the teaching of mathematics and logic, and also a selection of craft work by children from ages 2-10 - embroidery, dolls, paper work, patriotic motifs in wood and textiles and some pottery decorated by nursery schoolchildren.

Pupils in Vocational and Technical Education 1938-1971



Students in Higher Education 1938-1971



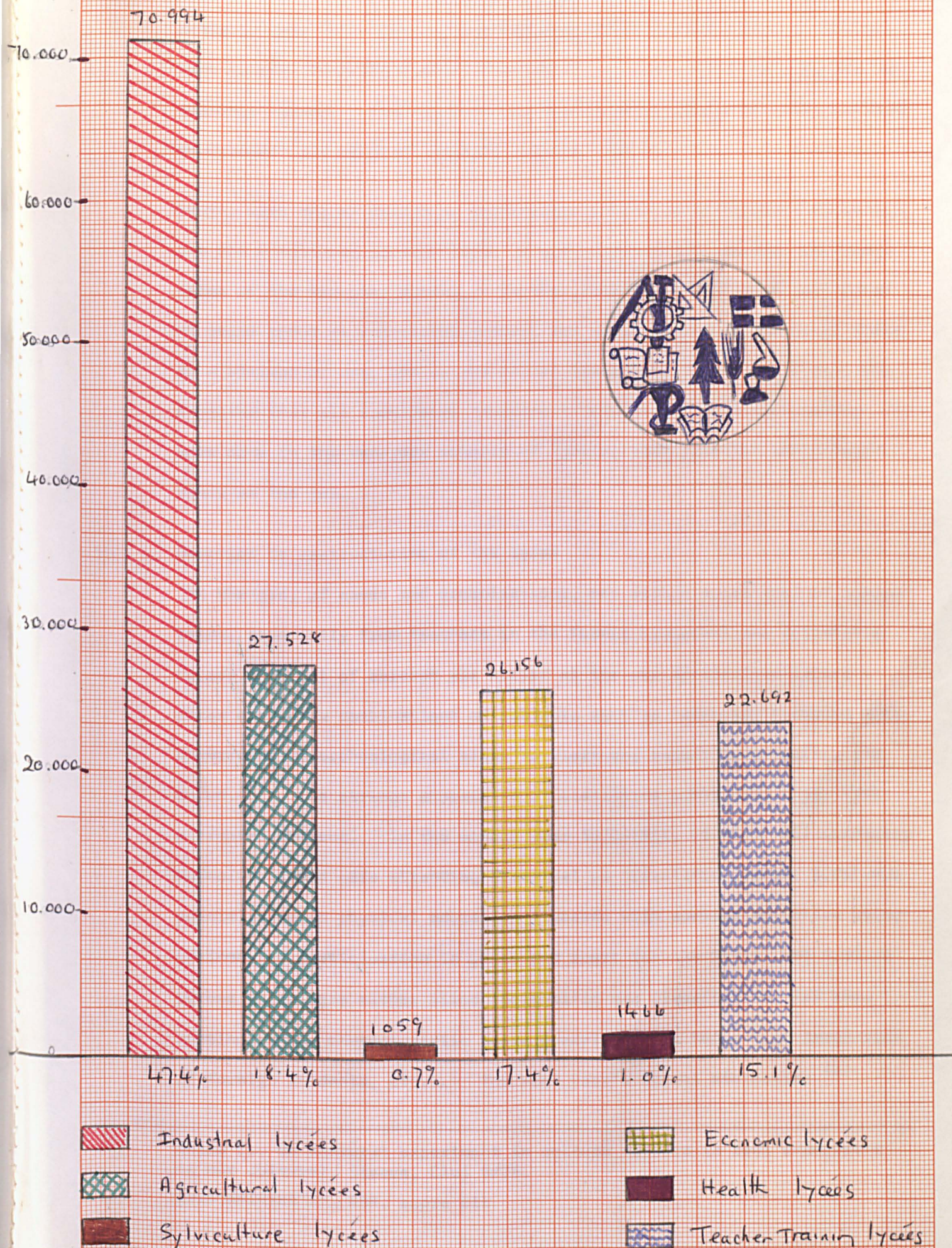
18. Secondary and Vocational Education since the 1968 Reform Act

The general intention of the 1968 Act was to improve the quality and quantity of both secondary and vocational education, and in the school years 1968-1969 and 1969-1970 the predictable steps were taken - more funds were allocated for school building, equipment and other resource material. However, during these two years there was a general change of direction in thinking at top levels in Government and the Party and this affected the whole idea of the relationship between life in school and life out of school.

The secondary school, as it was, was a day school, academic in character, offering four years of study (or an evening school offering a five-year course), known by its French name lycée. However, already in 1966 the Ministry had discussed a plan to 'generalise' all education after the compulsory eight (now ten) year cycle which was not higher education. There were a number of schools offering training for industry, as health workers, forestry technicians and so on; they belonged properly to the sector of vocational and technical education. During the years following the 1968 Act, the distinction between the lycée and the vocational or technical school became invidious. It was felt that by prolonging the differentiation, the State was perpetuating 'school snobbery', that the lycéens in the old Classical or Scientific tradition enjoyed, or thought he enjoyed, special privileges.

At first it was thought sufficient to cut down the number of entrants to the Classical or Scientific lycée, and at the same time increase the number of Scientific lycéens as compared to those in the Classical school. So during the academic years 1968-1969, 1969-1970 and 1970-1971 the proportion of Scientific lycéens increased by 2% per year as compared to the Classical, and a number of vocation schools were 'socially up-graded'. At first they were known as secondary schools, then from the

Distribution of pupils by Specialised Lycées (1972/1973)



academic year 1971-1972 as 'specialised lycees', health lycees, pedagogical lycees, forestry lycees, agricultural lycees, industrial lycees and economic lycees. The old Scientific and Classical lycees were 'socially downgraded' and renamed 'General Culture Lycees'.

Again, with the extension of eight-year to ten-year compulsory education, the old vocational schools began to lose their pupils to the new upper forms of the ten-year school. In the school year 1971-1972 the number of years spent at vocational schools was reduced from a minimum of three to a minimum of one, and by the end of the school year 1975-1976 it was expected that all vocational training in addition to the preparatory work done in the ten-year schools or 'junior high schools' would take place on the job.

19. Reaction to restructuring of the lycee

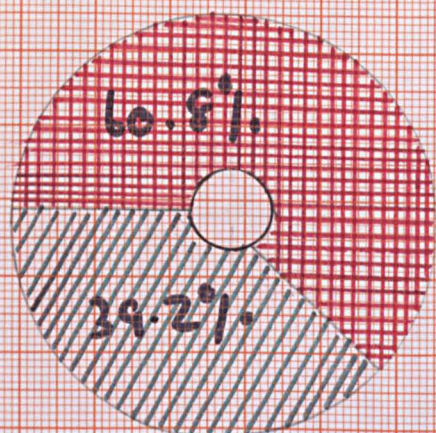
The changes, of names and organisations, met with a great deal of opposition, especially from teachers in the former Classical and Scientific lycees. A lot of sarcasm was hurled at the new specialised lycees - jokes about new combinations of subjects such as Latin and Plumbing with excursions to archaeological sites to visit and repair Roman baths, and so on. (1) The strange appearance of statistics publishing after 1971 attracted comment. In the school year 1970-1971, 83.4% of all secondary school-children were attending Classical or Scientific lycees; 4.9% were specialising in physical education (lycees with special abilities being trained for participation in games and sport for the State) and 6.6% in lycees which were either mixed (Scientific and Classical) or had some distinguishing characteristic (were quadrilingual, had a high proportion of foreign students, etc.). The next year's school statistics (2)

(1) Noica C., Un adevărat experiment în cultură noastră (a real experiment in our culture), Steaua, Cluj 6/75.

(2) Învățămîntul în RSR, supra cit

Restructuring of the lycée

1970-1971



1971-1972



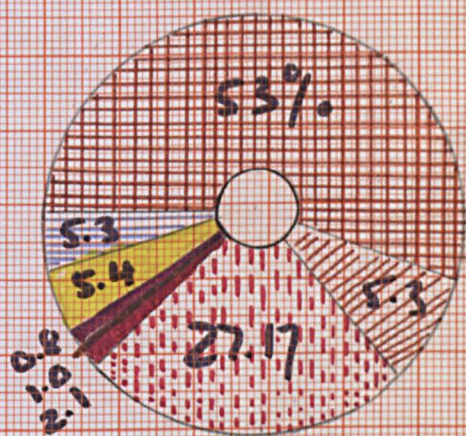
 Scientific


 Classical


1970-1971





1971-1972




 Classical


 Lycées with technical edn groups


 Scientific lycées (maths and Physics spec.)


 Specialised lycées

 Lycées where all teaching is in a foreign language

 Traditional lycées with "work in production" programmes

 Classical lycées

 Arts lycées

 Physical education lycées

showed that only 53% of all secondary school-children were attending the old Classical or Scientific lycées (now General Culture Lycées); 5.4% were at art schools, 27.17% at 'specialised lycées', 5.3% at physical education lycées, only 1% following the old Classical lycée syllabus undiluted by mathematics and 5.3% the old Scientific lycée syllabus. Then there were mysterious 'lycées with a special programme of work in production', to 100%. A professor was reproved for saying that unlike England where, eventually, nobody would go to a grammar school, in Romania now everybody would go to one, thus demonstrating just how much more academically apt Romanians were than the English.

The extent of the dilution of the lycée may be judged by comparison of the numbers of schools. In the school year 1970-1971 there were 577 lycées, 226 agricultural etc. schools (to become specialised lycées) and 403 vocational and technical schools (many of which were being upgraded to be specialised lycées). By the end of the school year 1972-1973 there were 355.328 pupils at General Culture lycées and 149.895 at specialised lycées. A Ministry publication states:

"The network of specialised lycées is constantly developing. By the end of the 1974-1975 school year the number of general culture lycées and the number of specialised lycées will be in the ratio of one to one." (1)

Apart from the sarcasm, genuine anxiety has been expressed at the virtual disappearance of the sort of rigorous academic mind training characteristic of the old lycées, as well as at the mixing of the classical and scientific streams (only 7% of the secondary school population is allowed to keep to the old syllabus, and those only where a Latin and Greek based classical culture is thought valid, or where the syllabus is designed to produce high grade mathematicians on the Soviet pressure cooker model).

(1) [^]Învățămîntul în RSR, supra cit.

"When every school is a grammar school, no school is a grammar school", is a comment often heard. There are real fears that as all teachers in the secondary sector are now 'professors', and have the right to apply for transfer from one lycée to another, it would be possible for a man or woman with a vocational school background to be given a post in a former Classical lycée - even for a forestry school teacher to become headmaster of a former Scientific lycée. There are similar fears about the morale of pupils, who will 'lose pride in membership of an intellectual elite'. Minimum admission qualifications have certainly been reduced to the basic examination in Romanian language and mathematics and 'other skills'. These other skills may be 'sporting prowess' (in the case of sports lycées), or 'a knowledge of timber technology' (in the case of 'forestry lycées'). In principle, it is perfectly possible for a pupil to pass from one lycée to another, beginning with football and going on to Latin and Greek as special subjects. These may sound extreme examples, but lycées visited during the school year 1974-1975 had 'technical and humanities sections', and pupils with 'technical skills' were sitting side by side with traditional lycéens in classes in Romanian language and literature, history and geography, subjects which had to be taught in such a way as to be accessible to non-academic pupils.

The only secondary sector which seems to have benefitted from the new thinking is that which caters for music, art and ballet. Some 25.000 pupils attended secondary schools preparing them for the conservatoires, studios and Upper Ballet School in 1974-1975, more pupils than there were at 'sports lycées' and more than there are in the whole music, art and ballet sector of secondary and higher education in Great Britain. Here standards have been maintained because there is obviously no place for a gas fitter in a ballet school, and boys and girls studying art, music and ballet have, in a way, an immediate 'practical value' to the State;

even second and third year pupils are used to entertain visitors to the holiday resorts as part of their 'practica'. But they were exempted in 1972 from the provision that:

"In order to train pupils to play a full part in productive life, all attending secondary schools will work for one day a week in industrial units, on building sites, on farms and will follow a continuous period of practical training during the school holidays." (1)

20. Curriculum reform

'Curriculum reform' has followed the changes of name and organisation. All secondary school-children now have a 'common trunk of subjects which facilitates passing from one section to another'. The 'common trunk' consists of the Romanian language, history, geography, general science, arithmetic, Marxism-Leninism, drawing, music and physical education. Whether a child is preparing to become an industrial administrator, forestry worker, health assistant, primary school-teacher (in the pedagogical lycée), professor of Greek or blacksmith, he or she will follow courses in these subjects.

However, those teachers in the old Classical or Scientific lycées who are convinced that the 'generalisation of the lycée' is not only a great mistake but also a temporary aberration have fought hard to keep, even in 'mixed lycées' the hard core of curriculum subjects of the old academic school. They have succeeded in making a choice obligatory at the end of the first year of lycée - a choice between the common trunk plus Romanian literature, Greek or Latin and two modern foreign languages (the old Classical core) or Mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology (the old Scientific Core) or a new 'general culture curriculum'. The 'new general culture curriculum' does not appear to be exhaustive or exhausting and

(1) Învățământul în RSR, supra cit.

corresponds suspiciously closely to the 'liberal studies' ⁽¹⁾ followed in the old vocational and technical schools. Of course, this choice imposes on the pupils who follow the 'common trunk' and the old lycée syllabus an enormous burden of work - the more onerous bearing in mind the practical work and 'patriotic work' they have to do during term time and the holidays. Nevertheless the burden has been taken up though it is difficult to tell whether the ambition which supplies the necessary strength is that of the pupils, or their parents, or the teachers who resent the intrusion into the old, nineteenth century, French 'superior studies' the ideas of a man who never knew them from the inside. At the Ministry of Education there was some understandable reluctance to discuss this rear-guard action by the 'professeurs'. One Ministry official said that it had not gone unnoticed, that even Ceaușescu had urged teachers to cut down the weekly work load of lycéens to 36 hours. Perhaps things would be reconsidered.

21. Development of modern foreign language teaching

One group of (mainly) lycée teachers which has benefitted from Ceaușescu's personal interest in the educational system is the corps of teachers of modern foreign languages. During his speech to the Plenum of the CC of the PCR in June, 1973, he referred to the 'question of foreign languages'. He began by administering a rebuke to members of the 'cohabiting minorities' who were slow to learn Romanian or persisted in thinking of it as a foreign language.

"Romanian is not a foreign language in Romania! It is the language of our Socialist society, and every citizen must know it. There can be no equality if the citizens of a country do not know the language of the State, the only one which can make it possible for them to be deployed in any area of activity."

(1) Author's conversation with lycée teachers, Cluj, 1975.

He went on to say:

"In general the situation as far as the teaching of foreign languages goes is far from satisfactory: on the contrary, there are serious deficiencies in this direction. We have to guarantee to our young people the opportunity to learn foreign languages at school. If we think of the future, of the coming together of nations, it is clear that the teaching of foreign languages will play a fundamental role - not only in Romania, and where the relationships between co-habiting nationalities is concerned, but on a larger scale. But apart from that, still far away, we must say that access to the conquests of modern science and technology will not be possible without a knowledge of at least two languages of world circulation ... The Ministry of Education is at fault for not adopting measures necessary to form cadres for teaching these languages - Russian, English, German, French... Urgent measures must be taken to improve matters." (1)

Of course, urgent measures were taken. Men and women who had found comfortable niches in ministries because of a knowledge of foreign languages were ordered to take short courses and prepare to start teaching at the beginning of the academic year 1974-1975, and during the Spring of 1975 this 'shakeout' was still going on. Money was made available for the purchase of language laboratories and textbooks. Extra increments of salary were offered to teachers of foreign languages to add to their stock, and to teach at evening classes as well as by day (the learning of the 'language of production' became compulsory for all section leaders in industry - forewomen at the sparking plug factory near Cluj had to learn Italian, for example, the language of their trade in plugs). There was even talk of making it easier to travel abroad to learn foreign

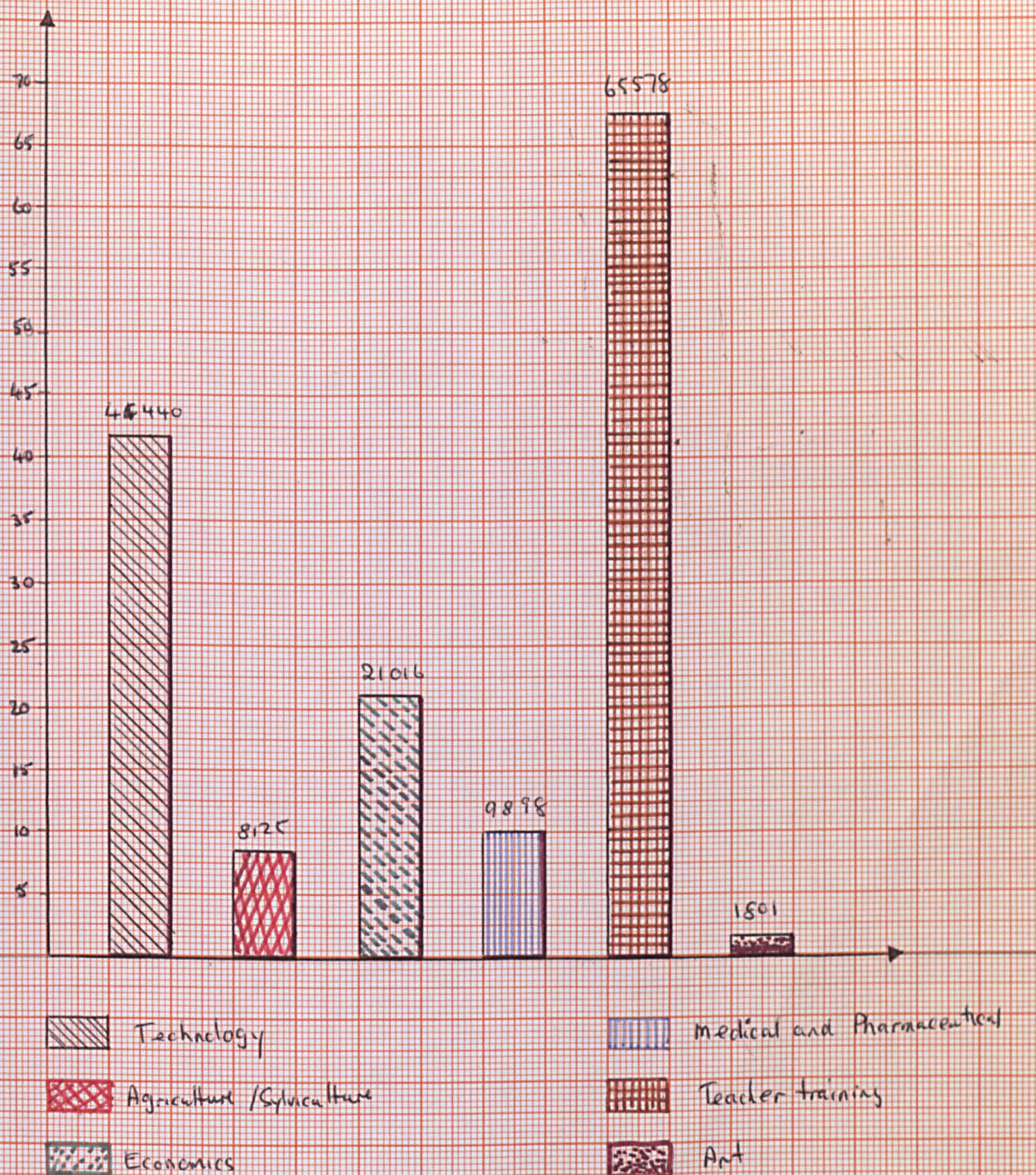
(1) Ceaușescu N. in On Some Questions of Teaching Languages of World Circulation, *Scînteia*, 19th May, 1974.

languages ⁽¹⁾ (though this came to nothing and it is still extremely difficult for a student to get a clearance from the Security Service and so a passport). One genial idea which was an immediate success was the establishment of lycées where all subjects are taught in one of the languages of major circulation in the world. The idea was born at the Ministry of Education during 1971, after a study of the European schools in the member countries of the EEC. These European schools use different 'vehicular languages' at different stages in a pupil's career; the primary stage is taught in the mother language, from 11-15 all subjects are taught in a second language (which must be a Community language), and from 15-19 in a third language (ideally a language of a member country of the EEC). A tentative experiment was made during the academic year 1971-1972 in the cities of Iași, Cluj and Bucharest. After Ceaușescu's speech the emphasis was changed slightly and there is now only one vehicular language used in each of the lycées chosen to take part in the extended experiment. No figures were available for the number of children taking part, but there were 300 pupils being taught in English in Cluj-Napoca in 1975, at the Lycée Adi Șincă, and a similar number will certainly be taught in English in Iași, Timișoara, Craiovia, Constanza and Turnu Severin, and probably five times that number in Bucharest. English is the language being given greatest priority, with French, German and Russian following in that order.

Inevitably, like the extra syllabus followed by the rear-guard of the old lycée, the extra ability required of pupils by this foreign language programme, will make it difficult to persist with the 'generalisation of the lycée'. There are, in fact, signs that it is being abandoned, without

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- (1) Author's conversation with R. Watkins (Cultural Attache HBME, Bucharest) 1975.
- (2) cf schools in USSR (including primary schools) where all subjects taught in English.

Students in Higher Education 1970-1971



ever anybody saying so - the 'specialised lycées' are now being referred to as 'specialised high schools', and the old lycées seem to be winning their battle to restore the status quo as at the time of the passing of the 1968 Act.

22. Higher Education since the 1968 Act

It is difficult to isolate in the text of the 1968 Act any specific programme for higher education, other than 'expansion'. However, speeches by the then Minister of Education, Constantinescu, and his successors, Malița (since 1974 a special adviser to the President) and Niculescu, have suggested two general directions in which higher education is moving:

- (1) a decentralisation, moving various institutions out of the former centres of Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Iași and Timișoara;
- (2) priority to technical and scientific education, including short courses and day and evening classes 'integrating higher education with research and production'.

Perhaps not surprisingly, in the higher education sector, things happened slowly. In 1969, the sixth university, at Brașov, was formally chartered. In the autumn of 1970, the University of Cluj was 'restructured'; a Faculty of History and Philology, and a Faculty of Economic and Administrative Studies were established in Sibiu, over a hundred miles from Cluj; in Cluj itself remained Faculties of Biology (Biology, Botany, Zoology) and Geography (Geography and Geology), History and Philosophy, Law, Economic Studies, Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics; in Cluj, too, and integrated into the University, a three-year (subsequently four-year) Pedagogical Institute with Faculties of Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, Natural Sciences and Agriculture, Philology, Plastic Arts and Physical Education. In the same academic year, 1970-1971, there was a growth of the Institutes of Engineering at Baia Mare and Hunedoara, of the

HIGHER EDUCATION - TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION 1975



Pedagogical Institutes at Baia Mare and Oradea and of the Mining Institute at Petroșani, all at the expense of the University of Cluj, which had thought of them as 'dependences'. Similarly, the Drama Institute, Medical School and Pedagogical Institute at nearby Tirgu Mureș grew, and opinion in Cluj is that the growth took place with funds which ought to have been allocated to the University, Art School, Polytechnic, Medical School and Agricultural Institute there.

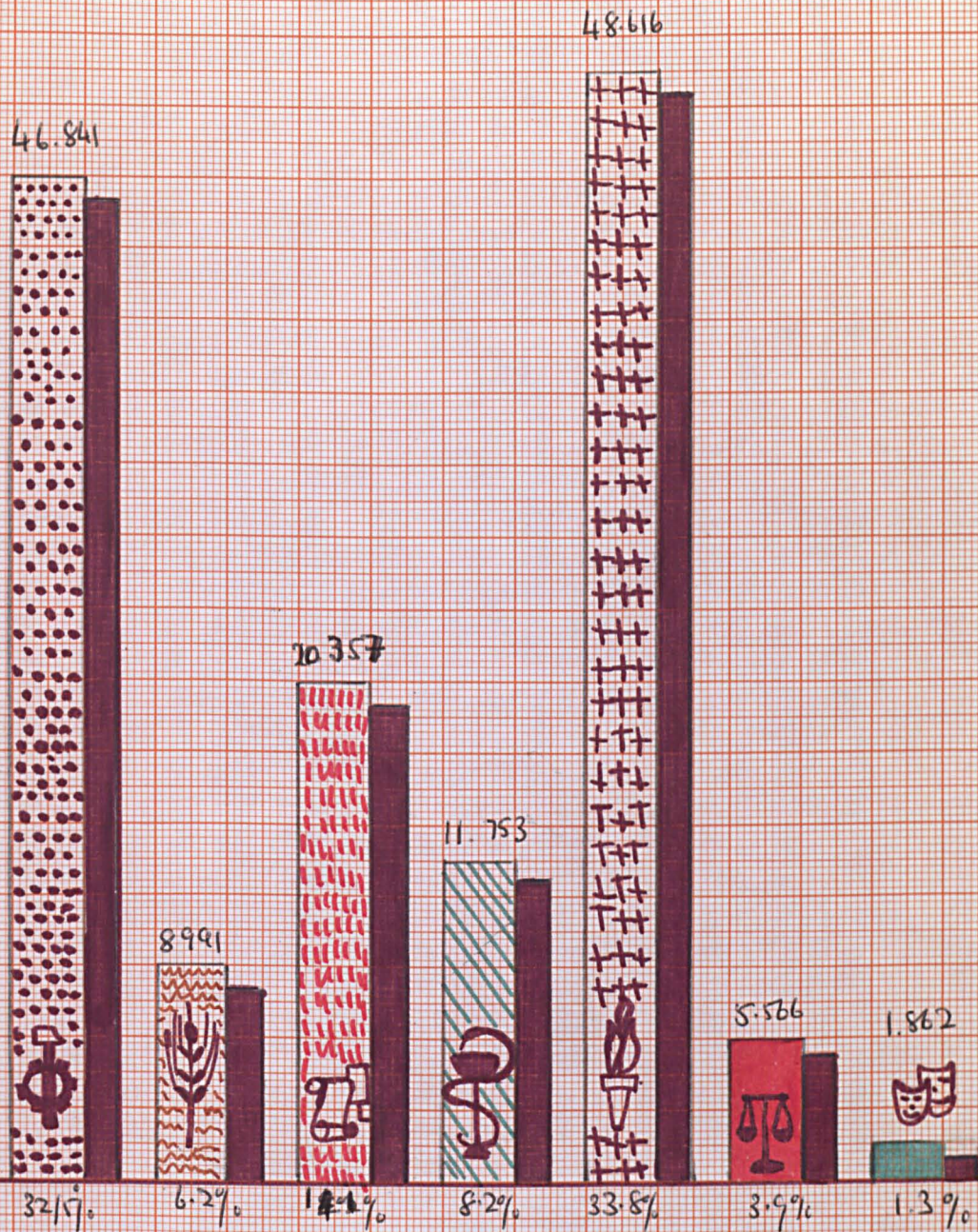
Again, in 1970-1971, Iași saw funds diverted to the Polytechnic and Pedagogical Institute at Galați, the Pedagogical Institutes at Suceava and Bacau, all at the expense of Iași University, School of Medicine, Conservatoire, Polytechnic and Agricultural Institute. Bucharest lost ground to the Pedagogical Institutes at Pitești and Constanța, to the Petroleum and Gas Technology Institute at Ploiești, to the Engineering Institute in Pitești as well as to the universities Craiova, and Brașov (though this did not function until 1972). Only the University of Timișoara seems to have grown at a steady pace without competition from its educational hinterland, in spite of the fact that the School of Medicine, the Polytechnic and the Agriculture Institute have all grown fast in recent years.

By the end of the academic year 1972-1973 there were higher educational institutions in nineteen cities and towns, including the university cities of Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Iași, Timișoara, Brașov and Craiova. There were 143.986 students, 103.172 on day courses, 999 on evening courses and 30.815 on extra mural courses - some 2.000 of the students were foreigners, mostly from developing countries.

23. Decline in numbers in higher education

Apart from the new university at Brașov, other new higher educational institutions (i.e. other than faculties decentralised) include the Medical

Higher Education in Romania (1972-1973)



Technological



Agricultural



Economics



Medicine



University (and 3/4 year teacher training)



Law



Arts

School at Craiova, the Land Improvement School and the Subengineers School in Bucharest which trains students to the equivalent of the British Higher National Diploma. What is interesting is that notwithstanding the establishment of new institutions and the decentralisation of others, the number of students in higher education declined from 1972/1973 as compared with 1970/1971 (103.172 fulltime day students as compared with 107.437). The decline may be small, but it is significant. Various explanations were offered for it: decentralisation now means that admission to a higher educational institution is no longer a guarantee of change of residence, of a move to the large urban centres (an individual may not change his or her place of residence without official permission); the academic standards in general have been raised, so some weaker brethren have been discarded; a new emphasis has been put on absorbing graduates into industry rather than assuming that they will go into the professions.

24. Redirection of Graduates

This last 'change of direction indicated by the Party and by Comrade Ceausescu personally', seems to have been the main reason why higher education has become slightly less attractive.

The Rector of the University of Cluj, Stefan Paşcu, noted that in the five years 1968-1969 to 1973-1974, his university graduated 9.061 students: 334 mathematicians, 302 physicists, 360 chemists, 629 biologists and geographers, 962 historians and philosophers, 1970 philologists, 1248 jurists, 528 economists and 2688 graduate teachers. Of these, 1.4% became teachers in higher education, 1.5% research workers, 6% jurists, and 85.1% teachers in primary and secondary schools. Only 6% went to work in state industrial or commercial enterprises. This, noted the Rector, was "a situation which must change, and in order to prepare more students for work in production after graduation, the amount

of practical work done during their academic career must increase".⁽¹⁾

A Ministry of Education publication added, ominously:

"The goal of higher education is to provide future staff in all fields of activity, with substantial general knowledge and selective knowledge to enable them to cope easily with future production tasks and readily adapt themselves to various technological improvements. Curricula will contain a greater number of applied sessions. Practical work will be carried out in higher education workshops, or in economic-administrative, social, cultural or educational units. Practical work will vary in quantity from eight weeks in universities, to twenty-two months in medical schools."⁽²⁾

Various answers were given to the question: "Why is there this increasing emphasis on the integration of higher education with research and production?":

- (1) Students can prepare seriously to assume social responsibilities in the future, making a greater contribution to the progress of society:
- (2) Workers will understand better the training of leading cadres:
- (3) Elitism, Byzantinism and dilettantism will be eliminated from the mentality of those receiving higher education:
- (4) Economic growth will be stimulated.

Of these four answers, (3) has the greater ring of truth to it in the ear of the author (who has been coming and going to and from Romania for eighteen years).

(1) Pașcu S., The University of Cluj, Dacia, Cluj, 1974.
 (2) Social Integration in Higher Education, Ministry of Education, Bucharest, May, 1974.

25. Elitism, Byzantinism and Dilettantism

Elitism is a danger readily understood, in a country in which in the past 'the good life' was lived only by those who had a higher education. It is still visible in the inverted snobbery of waiters and hotel staff, who will turn away workers ('persons who have obviously not studied') unless they are armed with a letter from a Party official. It is not that those who 'have studied' make a great show of their learning, unless they belong to the post-war minority which has been 'socially promoted' thanks to higher education (as in England only people of working class or lower middle class origin boast of having a First Class Honours degree). It is much more important to show good manners and refinement of taste than to wave a diploma in people's faces.

And here the peculiarly Romanian sin of Byzantinism continues to attract the Party inquisition. Byzantinism involves pretending to know much less than one really does know, so that one will be asked to do less, and was once a patriotic duty to do as little as possible for the Turkish or Phanariot administration of subject Romania.

Dilettantism is a refinement of Byzantinism. When one's knowledge is discovered and it is no longer possible to pretend one does not have it, then the work must be done, but as if it were a hobby. Here perhaps it is important to note that the Romanian scientist and technologist have never had a lower social status than 'the man with the Arts degree'; the reverse is probably true - Bucharest Polytechnic is older and more prestigious than Bucharest University. However, even great scientific and technological works must be presented as if they were done in leisure time. Timișoara was the first city in Europe to be electrified, but the engineer responsible preferred to have a theatre named after him by a grateful municipality rather than have the work as such commemorated - as if his great passion in life was the theatre and he had

electrified the city by 'just messing about with a few wires in his spare time'.

It is easy to see how and why these attitudes infuriate the members of ruling Communist Party, who tend to be aggressively non-elitist, to boast of all their achievements all the time and are proud of their professionalism.

26. Role of Status of Students in higher education

In his speech to the Plenum of the CC of the PCR,⁽¹⁾ Ceaușescu urged student members of the Communist Party to use their organisations (the Union of Communist Youth and the Association of Students) to 'shake up' the higher education sector and 'make human values prevail'. He noted that university senates were supervised by the local Party secretaries, though there was no constitutional reason why students should not exercise the same supervision and make helpful suggestions to their teachers. But as one student activist observed in 1975:

"We already have our academic work, our practical work during the vacations, our military service one day a week, and patriotic work at weekends. We know that Comrade Ceaușescu works eighteen hours a day, seven days a week, but we do not all have his qualities."⁽²⁾

Nevertheless, since 1968 students have taken a more active part in university administration, perhaps because many of their material problems have been solved. By 1970-1971, 62% of all students received grants to cover the cost of accommodation, meals and living expenses, and by 1974-1975 this percentage had increased to 85%. Steady progress in the building of hostels, student restaurants and clubs has meant that by the end of the academic year 1973-1974, some two-thirds of all students had

(1) Ceaușescu N., Address to the Plenum of the CC of the PCR, 1973, op cit

(2) Conversation with the author, April, 1975.

a hostel place available. Facilities vary from university to university, as is to be expected. The older universities of Bucharest, Cluj and Iasi, established in city centres to cater for a tiny minority of the population, have greater problems than new universities like Timisoara, which had thirty acres allocated to it on which to build residential accommodation within walking distance of the university. Perhaps more likely to change attitudes in higher education is the Law No.2⁽¹⁾ of 1971 for improving the training of personnel. A similar Law was passed during the first phase of the Cultural Revolution in the Peoples Republic of China. It was designed to combat what the Communist Chinese called 'mountain-top-ism', that is to say the attitude of mind of those at the top of any hierarchy (administrative, pedagogic, political) which 'because a place there is, in a sense, an arrival, it all too frequently ceases to be a point of departure'.

The Personnel Training Act, in its preamble states that it sets out to improve:

"The training of all personnel by providing an institutionalised national system for the continuing education of all employees.

Improving one's qualifications is a patriotic duty for all citizens ... By the end of the current five-year plan, the entire working population of Romania will be enrolled in a form of continuing education".

The thinking behind this Law is that graduation from a university will no longer be thought of as an end in itself, even an end to the education of the student, nor is the university to be thought of as 'the end of the educational road'. University graduates, including university teachers, will carry on with their education. Education and 'training' become virtually synonymous. In an odd sort of way, Romanian Communist

(1) Law for the Improvement of the Training of Personnel No. 2/1971, Official Gazette, 19th Feb., 1971.

Man is to be turned into a Romanian Renaissance Man. A university philosopher may well find himself teaching ethics to a plumber, and then find himself a pupil of the plumber at a 'training for citizenship' class next evening. The university becomes just one place at which a form of education or 'training for life' may be had.

A Ministry publication notes: "Education is seen as an open system, the development of which implies receptivity to social demands, a co-ordination of internal functions and a self regulating capacity".⁽¹⁾

27. Research ⁽²⁾

During the academic year 1971-1972, there were many debates about how the Law could be put into practice, and some university teachers made representations to the Ministry of Education that 'research was the only valid way of continuing the training of university staffs'. This caused some anger at the Ministry, and angered in particular the new Minister, Malita, who accused the universities of being 'slippery' and trying to avoid their social obligations. He was, in general, unsuccessful in his dealings with Rectors and Principals, and was replaced in 1974, by Niculescu, for this reason. Niculescu, with the greater authority of a high ranking Party official, let it be known that he would stand for no slipperiness and outlined in detail the research and training programmes for universities valid until 1980. He ordered that "the entire professorial corps must develop scientific research work, and will be supplied with special personnel. 20% of the total research work force will be supplied by the Ministry of Education. There will be student/teacher research teams. Developing and stimulating science and research in higher educational institutions will take into account the following:

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- (1) [^]Învățămîntul in RSR (Education in the RSR), supra cit
 - (2) See also charts opposite p.236

1. scientific traditions evolved in Romania in the schools of mathematics, chemistry, physics, medicine, geology and history;
2. all the fields of science, technology and art developed in higher education;
3. the possibility of promoting inter and intra-disciplinary teams;
4. a material base for both teaching and research;
5. the necessity for all research to be concerned with solving the problems raised by economic, scientific and cultural progress in Romania, especially:

detecting and introducing new natural resources into the economic circuit and optimum utilisation of all known resources;

extending the work of scientific and technological institutions, devising new products and technologies and updating operations in industry;

developing new agricultural techniques;

promoting scientific research into environmental protection and public health;

expanding research in information systems, decision making, management science and systems theory;

promoting research in the social and human sciences and aesthetics;

promoting research in areas in which Romania has an international reputation - medicine, mathematics, chemistry, physics, petroleum technology, etc.

"

Niculescu stressed the importance of point 4, reminding all that:

"according to the 1970 Law on Scientific Research, most research units in Romania will become self supporting economic units, so that the subjects and themes chosen are dictated by the demands of their direct beneficiaries. In this manner, the rational plan for scientific research becomes part and parcel of the national plan for multilateral development."

What this means in practice is that, say, students from the Faculty of Philology in the University of Cluj will work as tourist guides and in other ways in the tourist industry during their vacations (the National Plan foresees continuing growth here, in an industry which earns a great deal of foreign currency), and the budget for research in the Faculty will depend to a great extent on the revenue the students generate. The Ministry of Tourism will calculate the extent of the student's contribution, and will advise the Ministry of Education, which will in turn approve estimates and the budget. Some students saw the intrinsically absurd in this idea:

"Are we expected to use every means to urge German tourists to buy Romanian plum brandy with their marks so as to facilitate the purchase of source materials from Germany and finance study tours there?" (1)

However, humour tends to be discouraged at an official level in Romania, when the Plan is being discussed, and the official attitude is that students of languages are no different from students of agriculture who ought to be able to increase the profitability of the farms on which they work during the vacations, and with which work their own research is co-ordinated, and so finance this research.

In a country in which education is non-fee paying, there is necessarily

(1) Varna, I. Students Union Newspaper (UTC), Cluj, June, 1975.

one exception to the rule that research must be self financing, and that is pedagogical research. Even here, however, in the preamble to its dicta on pedagogical research, the Ministry of Education warns against "hesitation and inertia".

The "Permanent Forum of the National Colloquium on Pedagogy" has, in fact, pledged itself to do away with hesitation and inertia. The Forum has dealt, since its establishment in 1970, with a variety of topics:

1. the contribution of education to Romania's socio-economic development with special reference to the training of the labour force;
2. promotion of an interdisciplinary approach in primary and secondary education by reshuffling curricula and changing the professional attitudes of graduates;
3. the development of 'practical pedagogical research' as opposed to 'abstract themes', e.g. the development of the study of education management, education economics, educational planning, the sociology of education, school ergonomics, the social and vocational integration of youth;
4. educational institutions in the context of urbanisation, environmental protection, etc;
5. the generalisation of pre-school education;
6. the updating of the technology of teaching;
7. the updating of systems of recovery of the handicapped;
8. the evolution of a socio-educational system for the prevention of juvenile delinquency;
9. the perfection of educational institutions as social enterprises.

and democratic institutions;

10. the revision of educational attitudes in the light of new data provided by biology, psychology, genetics, infant neuropsychiatry, cybernetics, sociology, mental hygiene, ergonomics and systems theory.

All pedagogical research in Romania is directed by the Commission for the Co-ordination and Use of Research in Education Science. This has the status of an advisory body to the Ministry of Education, and is fed itself with ideas by the Permanent Forum, the Institute of Pedagogical Science, pedagogical centres in institutions of higher education in general, and other, more specialised centres like the Laboratory of Education Sociology. Ideas also reach the Commission from bodies to which it is affiliated, either directly or indirectly, such as the International School Rating Association in Stockholm, the Moscow Academy of Pedagogical Science, the Budapest National Pedagogic Institute, the UNESCO Institute of Education in Hamburg and foreign universities.

The Commission's decisions on priorities for educational research are handed down right to the classroom floor by official publications and by journals such as the Pedagogical Review, Forum, Higher Education Review, the Review of Lycée and Professional Education, the School Tribune, all of which are approved by the Ministry of Education.

As the Commission says:

"The human potential for scientific research in education is provided above all by the staff of over 13000 senior teachers in over 1000 departments in higher education, plus the staff of 16 specialised research centres, 5 calculus centres, 19 laboratories and 6 experimental schools."

And here it is perhaps important to note that all these teachers do feel

mobilised for educational research, and have to give an annual account of what they have contributed to it - whether they are heads of departments of philosophy in universities or of building technology in polytechnic institutes.

— BACKGROUND FACTORS —						— CONSEQUENCES for EDUCATION —							
	Political	Economic	Social	Linguistic	Religious	Pre-School	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Teacher Training	Adult		
Bulgaria	Closest to U.S.S.R but Slav "mother country" More autonomy since 1961	Progress in urban areas	Turks, Gypsies not amenable to government	Slav	Muslim minority Orthodox majority but not "committed"	SCHOOL ATTENDANCE PROBLEM WITH GYPSIES and MUSLIMS			STRONG LINK AS IN USSR between Sec and Higher, but unique "tekhnikum"	In tertiary (Higher) area	Expanding including participation by writers and artists		
Yugoslavia	Federation of six republics : autonomous	great differences in level of economic achievement	Conflict between Serbs, Croats, Slovenes	Slav (but Two different scripts)	Croatia, Slovenia - R.C. Serbia Orthodox Bosnia, Macedonia } Muslim and Montenegro Orthodox	EDUCATION IS ORGANISED	REPUBLIC by REPUBLIC - not Federation wide	Little Progress				Great local autonomy	Traditional lycees survive in Slovenia and Croatia
Hungary	Caution since Soviet suppression in 1956	Steady progress in town and country	Intense national pride pre-eminence of capital	Magyar - a minority language	Roman Catholic	Slow progress only	most progress here	Political discrimination at end of compulsory cycle	Traditional interest in foreign languages	In tertiary area	Popular in countryside		
Czechoslovakia	Union of two nations : caution since Soviet suppression in 1968	Advanced industrial Czechs Agricultural Slovaks	Traditional rivalry rather than conflict between Czechs and Slovaks	Slav	Protestant Czechs Roman Catholic Slovaks	Language of instruction varies from ethnic group to ethnic group		Political discrimination at end of compulsory cycle				Diffusion throughout country. Prague no longer most important centre	In tertiary area
Poland	Nationalist but limited autonomy in Soviet bloc	Developed industries, large, backward rural areas	Sophisticated city dwellers Backward peasants	Slav Some German in west	Roman Catholic Church strongest in E. Europe	CHURCH PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION AT EVERY LEVEL, EMPHASIS ON NATIONAL LANGUAGE and CULTURE			Catholic Univ. (Lublin) Seminaries included	In tertiary area	Expansion in towns		
D.D.R.	"One half of divided Germany"	Progress in competition with F.D.R.	Homogeneous Upper classes fled to west Siege mentality	German	Protestant	EDUCATION IN SPIRIT (and often organisation) closer to F.D.R. than USSR			Political discrimination at end of compulsory cycle			In tertiary area	Where has technical bias, well supported
Albania	Sinophil	Most backward in E. Europe	Albanian	Muslim majority		Little progress	most progress has been made here	None until 1950	Heaviest investment in this area	Little progress			
Romania	Nationalist Some autonomy seized especially since 1965	Some old established industries, recent expansion overall	Tradition of absorption of ethnic minorities	Neo-Latin language Some Magyar and Slav	Orthodox in Moldavia and Wallachia Roman Catholic in Transylvania	AT EVERY LEVEL, EMPHASIS ON NATIONAL LANGUAGE and CULTURE			French Lycee the model, attempt to upgrade other secondary education	Seminaries included	In Secondary and tertiary areas	Very advanced	

EDUCATION IN EASTERN EUROPE

Comparative educationists are bred to the dictum "To know thyself, compare thyself to others", and it is their business to look at the difference between educational systems and sort out the factors which have brought about these differences. So it seems useful at this stage to extend the comparison between Romania past and present, and the implied comparison with more familiar (including the English) systems, to other countries in Eastern Europe, similar to Romania in some ways (a long history of conquest and survival) but different in other aspects of their social, political and economic evolution. In this way, what is specifically Romanian becomes more evident.

The point chosen for this exercise, the year 1968, marks the twentieth anniversary of the lowering of the Iron Curtain on 'Eastern Europe'.

1. Since the end of the Second World War, the term 'Eastern Europe' has come to mean all those countries Winston Churchill agreed should be predominantly under Soviet influence. Stalin interpreted this agreement as meaning that Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia should be wholly under Soviet political and economic control. As it happened, Yugoslavia (from 1948) and Romania (from 1965) have been to different degrees autonomous members of the 'Eastern bloc', while part of Germany (now the German Democratic Republic) has been added to the original list. There have also been unsuccessful revolts in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, against Soviet political and economic control. Albania has for many years been a Communist outpost in Europe of the People's Republic of China.

2. Political movements since 1968

The highwater mark of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe came in 1968, with the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Red Army, with Hungarian, Bulgarian, East German and Polish troop support. 'The West' (i.e. the

NATO Pact powers) seemed helpless, certainly unwilling to help the Czechs who had tried to re-establish social democracy in their country. It was not the first time Czechoslovakia had been let down by erstwhile friends in Western Europe. In 1938 the country had been thrown like a bone to Hitler, who was thought of as a good anti-Communist; now the country had been thrown to the arch-Communists. In Eastern Europe in 1968, the behaviour of the West was noted without surprise. After all, deaf ears had been turned to pleas for help during the Hungarian anti-Soviet revolt of 1956. What was different about 1968 was that Brezhnev's order to suppress the Czech Government disillusioned a whole generation of loyal Communists who, partly for reasons of racial antagonism, had been prepared to overlook the repression of 1956 in Hungary. Since 1968, Eastern European communists and members of the underground have been more discriminating in their devotion or hostility to Moscow. Anti-Communists and non-Communists know that 'the West' is not a libertarian paradise. The unemployment figures in Britain, Italy, France and even Germany are wellknown, and more people have died in Ulster at the hands of the British Army, than in Czechoslovakia at the hands of the Red Army. The incidence of drug addiction, abortion, amateur prostitution, in European capitals is well reported. On the other hand, the persecution of dissident intellectuals in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is wellknown, too. Low productivity in industry and agriculture is well reported, and unfavourable comparisons made with productivity in industry (in Italy and Germany) and agriculture (in Great Britain). Again, the rejection by Spain and Portugal of the Communist alternative to dictatorship, and the Italian Communist Party's polycentrist line, give food for political thought.

In general, since 1968, the peoples of Eastern Europe have become more nationalistic, and though the demand for a return to non-Socialist

government is miniscule, there is a general rejection of Russian 'guidance', a revived hatred of Great Slav Chauvinism, and a strong dislike of all things Russian in Romania and Hungary, the non-Slav states in Eastern Europe.

3. Economic factors

Polycentrism, or the drift away from Moscow management of every aspect of life, is complicated by the economic structure of Eastern Europe. Geographically, the Northern plains invite movement to the East, and the great river of Eastern Europe, the Danube, flows into the Russian dominated Black Sea. Old trade routes have been reinforced and the Eastward flow of goods increased. Pipelines have been laid, East to West and West to East, and in the early days of the Soviet bloc a serious attempt was made to turn Poland, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria into little more than suppliers of raw materials to Soviet industry;⁽¹⁾ even the well established industrial states of Czechoslovakia and what is now the DDR were rehabilitated very slowly. Given the existence of the 'Iron Curtain', the population of the Soviet Union (230 million) was a market magnet to the DDR (18 million), Poland (30 million), Czechoslovakia (14 million), Hungary (10 million), Bulgaria (8 million) and Romania (21 million). However, since 1968, there has been an attempt by some Eastern leaders to change the pattern of production and trade. President Ceausescu of Romania scrapped his Soviet airliners and re-equipped TAROM with British aircraft; office machinery in Bucharest comes now from Britain and Italy; the only motor car manufactured in Romania is a Renault, under licence; tourists from the West fill the splendid seaside ghettos on the Black Sea.

Poland and East Germany are similarly involved in ongoing trade

(1) Ionescu G. The Breakup of the Soviet Empire in Europe, Penguin 1965, pp 123 et seq.

negotiations with the UK and FDR, and these are more sophisticated than the former barter of raw materials for finished or semi-finished goods; the collapse of the British motorcycle and motor car industry has invited the import into the UK of such East-West hybrids as the Italian Fiat manufactured under Licence in Poland. Czech motor cars (Skoda) are also making headway in the UK, though the East Germans (Wartburg) have been less successful if only because their approach to design and equipment is Russian. A considerable amount of commercial printing is done in Czechoslovakia for Western European publishers, and both Hungary and Romania export ready-made men's clothing to Britain and Holland. The old patterns of trade, then, are changing and commercial relations with the Western European countries and even the USA have had a direct impact on education at the level of vocational training. FE colleges, for example, in the UK now train operators and maintenance engineers from East European countries to look after British machinery exported there, and these trainees in their turn teach apprentices and other workers. Rolls Royce and Bristol Polytechnic now have close ties with the Bucharest Polytechnic, the Warsaw Higher Technical School and Budapest Polytechnic. The former Bolton Technical Teachers' Training College has offered courses to instructors from all over Eastern Europe, as it does to technical teachers all over the world.

4. Cultural factors (1)

The Soviet Union would have liked to inherit a homogeneous cultural tradition which they could have recast in the Marxist-Leninist mould. However, not all Eastern Europeans are Slavs - Hungarians are Magyars, Romanians Latin, not to speak of the Germans in the DDR and the sui generis Albanians - so there was never any possibility of imposing the will of

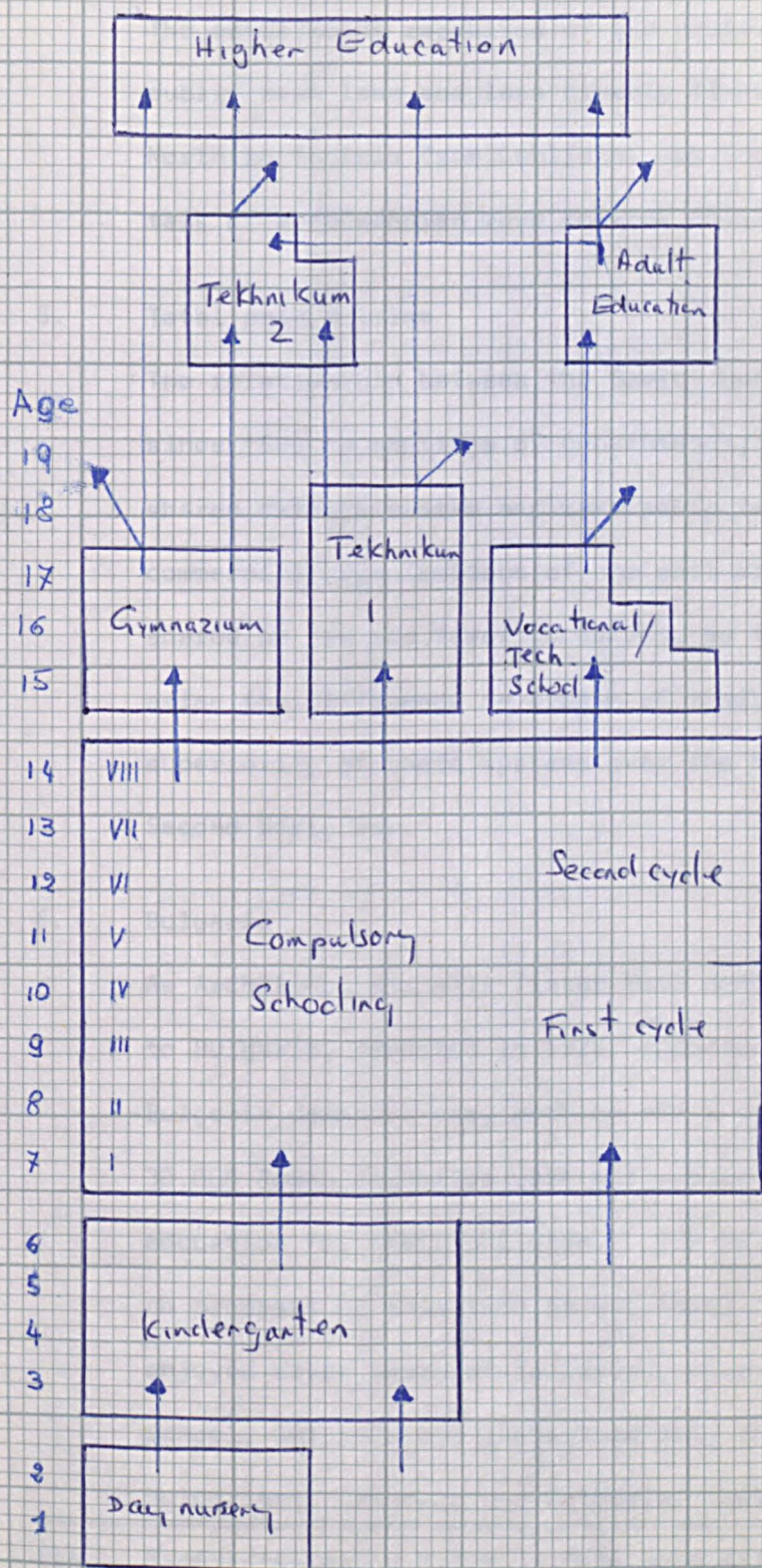
(1) cf Grant N. Society Schools and Progress in Eastern Europe, Pergamon 1969, pp 20 et seq.

the most numerous Slavs (the Russians) on the least numerous, the Southern Slavs. In any event, the traditional flow of culture is from West to East, not the other way round. Poles think of themselves as an outpost of the West in the East, and are fiercely Roman Catholic, as are Magyars in Hungary and Transylvania. The Slav cultural flow is from West to East, too. It was Cyril and Methodius from Bulgaria who gave most Slavs, including the Russians, their alphabet and Christianity. Bulgarians like to think of themselves as the cultural innovators and custodians of tradition, notwithstanding the Soviet Union's greater wealth, much as some Englishmen drown talk of dollars with lines from Shakespeare. Russians in the Soviet Union resent both Polish cultural aloofness and Bulgarian cultural patronage, as the Russian Orthodox Church resented both in Tsarist times. Hans ⁽¹⁾ is quite wrong to say "the Eastern Church could not play any cultural role in the Balkans", even during the years of Turkish hegemony. The Bulgarian and Romanian churches, autonomous provinces of the Orthodox Church, were a vital cultural link between their people locally and between them and Russia, and it was as protectors of the Orthodox Church that the Tsars justified their intervention in Balkan affairs. Again, the Soviet Union would like to ignore the 30 million Muslims in the Union, and the 3 million in the Balkans, yet the first Muslim university antedates the founding of Moscow as a trading post. Muslims in Eastern Europe are not only the most numerous group among the illiterates, but resist attempts to make ⁽²⁾ them literate in the non-Muslim tradition; this, however, is a Yugoslav problem in the main and does not affect the Soviet Union's cultural policies in Warsaw Pact countries.

Since 1968, the cultural identities of the lesser Slav nations have been

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- (1) Hans N. Comparative Education, Routledge Kegan Paul, London 1964, p.96.
 (2) Dedijer V. The Beloved Land, McGibbon and Kee, London 1961.

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stressed more and more, though Romanian (Latin) nationalism is the most obvious in Eastern Europe. The Bulgarian triumph with the Thracian Treasures Exhibition in London in 1976 was only one example of a resurgence of national pride. Polish, Hungarian and Romanian musicians are more likely to play in London, Paris and Milan, than in Moscow or Kiev. The constituent republics of the post-war Yugoslav Federal Socialist Republic seem less and less closely linked; the only Slovene motorway goes North to Austria from Ljubljana, not South to Zagreb and there is open talk of a Macedonian move towards Bulgarian hegemony.

5. Total polycentrism

The relationship between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has become, since 1968, a marriage of convenience, with the marriage limited to a shared defence system and membership (when convenient) of Comecon and commercial organisations of one sort or another. Education is one bed shared on few and fewer occasions, as the Eastern European states emphasise the difference in origin of their own systems and, sometimes, the superiority of these systems over the Russian imposed on them after the Second World War.

6. Bulgaria

As Archbishop Roncalli (later Pope John XXIII),⁽¹⁾ then Apostolic Visitor to Bulgaria, reported in 1928, opportunity for education in pre-war Bulgaria depended very much on who a child was and where he lived. The 30.000 Roman Catholics were all assured of three or four years of primary education for their children. The half million Muslims had virtually no prospect of education at any level. The Orthodox majority supposedly enjoyed seven years of education, four of primary and three of middle school, but this was guaranteed only in Sofia, Plovdiv and Tirnovo. Rich Bulgarians, Catholic and Orthodox, could pay their children's way through

(1) MacGregor-Hastie R.A.N. Pope John XXIII Abelard Schuman N.Y. 1962 pp 62 ff

lycées (on the French model), and for this tiny minority this meant (for boys) automatic admission to university and the possibility of post-graduate studies in Germany or France. There were three Catholic finishing schools for girls, and for the children of the Baptist minority there were American high schools in Sofia and Plovdiv. Post-war Communist statistics tend to be unreliable, but Nigel Grant quotes Nevena Geliazkova ⁽¹⁾ as saying that "as late as 1944, there were nearly 2000 villages with no schools at all, and 100,000 children with no schooling", though discrimination against Muslims (recent memories of Turkish occupation and oppression) may have been responsible for the size of these figures rather than scarce resources.

After the war, Bulgaria became the most loyal, the most Stalinist, of all the Soviet colonies in Eastern Europe. The author uses the word colony because all the country's resources were administered by the Soviet Union, with Soviet personnel 'advising' native Bulgarians in the organisation of the economy, social, political and educational life. The Bulgarian Constitution of 1947 ⁽²⁾ might enshrine rights to free education, with national minorities guaranteed the right to have instruction in the mother tongue, but in effect this meant the suppression of foreign schools, and the imposition of Russian as a second language virtually to the exclusion of all others. Soviet history and geography were taught in all schools from the age of 9, and Marxism-Leninism from the age of 11. Until 1961, the Bulgarian Government followed the Soviet educational model slavishly, and there was no place for deviation to take into consideration local differences. The first priority was the mobilisation of the work force, 'workers, peasants and intellectuals', for the

(1) Geliazkova N. (ed.) *Prosperity and Culture in Bulgaria*, FLPH Sofia 1964 p.100 quoted in Grant N. *Society, Schools & Progress in Eastern Europe*, Pergamon 1969, p.78.

(2) Constitution of the BPR, 1947, Article 79.

reconstruction and expansion of the Bulgarian economy. Pre-school education liberated parents for 'useful work', and children up to the age of seven years were dumped in hurriedly organised day nurseries and kindergartens, at factories and on collective farms. The impact was mostly on urban life; old women in the country had always looked after the babies and young children of working peasants. As resources became available, pre-school teachers were trained and pedagogically meaningful equipment made available, though on the author's visits to Bulgaria in 1975 and 1977,⁽¹⁾ these improvements seemed to be confined to the towns.

Between 1944 and 1958 the old seven-year cycle of primary and middle school education was kept intact, though Russian was introduced as a compulsory subject in classes V to VII. By 1958 every Bulgarian school child went through classes I to IV at a village school, then classes V to VII at a middle school in the market town which serves the villages; there was still some difficulty enforcing school attendance among gypsies and Muslims. In 1958, compulsory education was increased from seven to eight years, and an attempt made to follow the Russian example by insisting on a 'closer relationship of the school with life'; in rural areas this changed nothing, as children had always worked on the farms after school and during the holidays, but in the towns some effort was made to organise visits to factories as well as 'voluntary' street cleaning in classes VII, VIII.⁽²⁾

The great change in the secondary cycle was the expansion of technical education in the immediate post-war years. This was in line with Soviet practice. After the seven or eight (after 1958) years of primary and middle school, most were, and are, encouraged to go to the 'tekhnikum' or to a vocational secondary school. The 'tekhnikum' has no real

(1) Author's visits at the invitation of Sofia Press and the Bulgarian Union of Writers, April 1975, 1977.

(2) Muzio G. *Un Giro nei Paesi Balcanici*, Torino, 1959.

equivalent in Western Europe, nor does it have a precise equivalent elsewhere in Eastern Europe. The thinking behind it is to encourage a choice of vocation at as early an age as possible and to discourage an increase in numbers of vocationless arts graduates. The 'tekhnikum' offers a first level course in general, technical and vocational subjects, and success in the examinations taken after four years qualifies the student for admission to higher education. Some 'tekhnika' are part of the higher education sector, and admit students who have been through the old lycées and the first level 'tekhnika' - medical and veterinary schools, schools of higher technology (mining, civil and mechanical engineering) belong to the second level of 'tekhnika'. In 1956 there were some 20.000 students in 'tekhnika'; in 1976 this number had increased to over 200.000.⁽¹⁾

The vocational secondary school is less ambitious and trains skilled labourers for town and country.

The old lycées, sometimes known as such, but officially gymnazia, offer what Bulgaria has in the way of academic gracious living to a fifth of all fifteen year olds. During the period 1944 to 1961, the old curriculum, similar to that of an English grammar school sixth form, was invaded by Russian, Russian history, Marxism-Leninism and the like. There was never any division between Science and Modern or Classical bias, but a traditional spread of options, to which the Russian subjects were quickly relegated. In 1961, Tudor Zhivkov, a disciple of Nikita Khrushchev, took over the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and has kept it up to the time of writing (1977). He has encouraged a less slavish imitation of Soviet models, in education and elsewhere. This is not to say that the Bulgarians have ceased to be the most pro-

(1) SGNRB (State Statistics Office of the BPR) Sofia, from which all statistics here are taken.

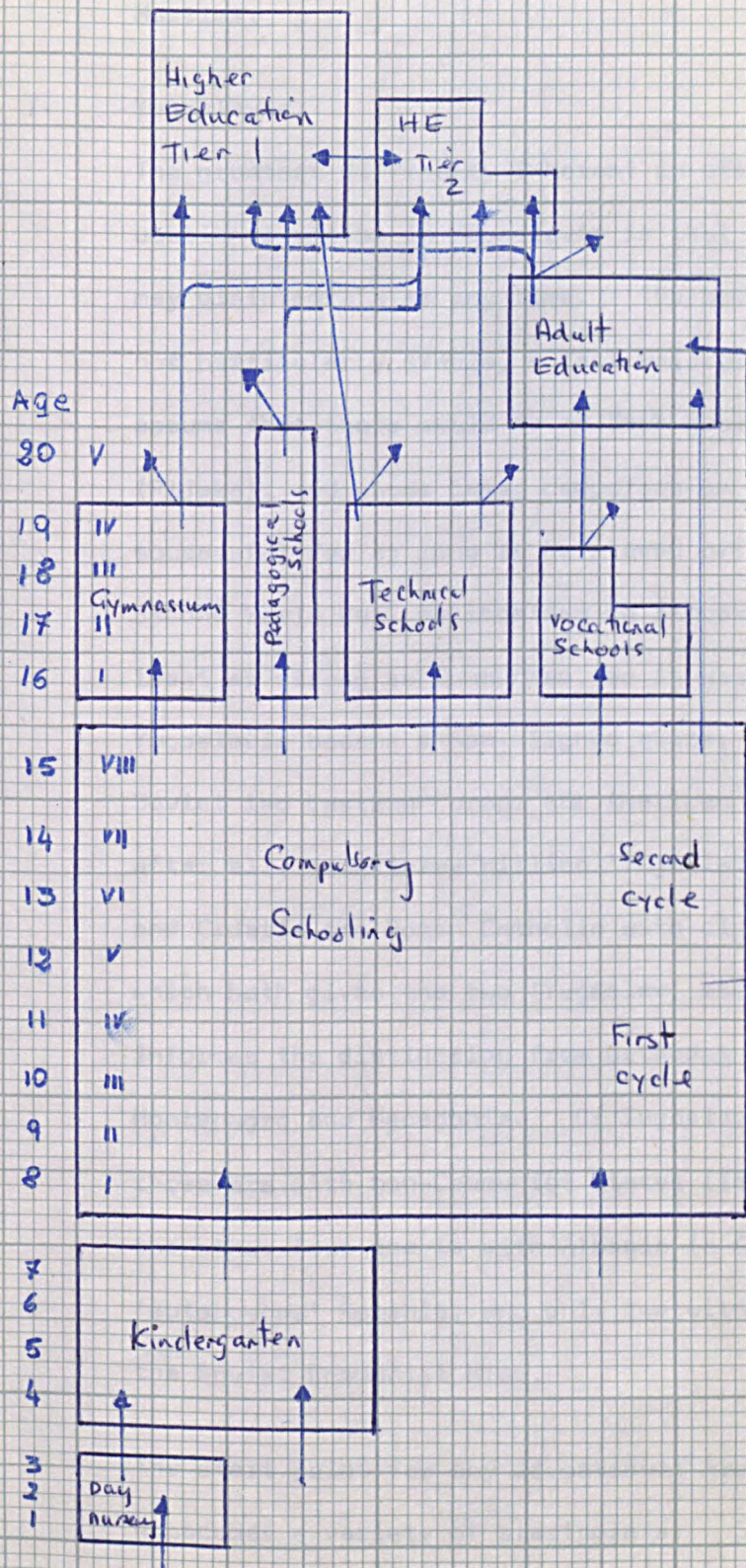
Soviet, or rather pro-Russian of all Eastern Europeans, but rather that he symbolises, as does Ceauşescu in Romania, a resurgence of national pride. This has extended to a cultural reorientation, even to co-operation with the author ⁽¹⁾ in Western and UNESCO-sponsored literary projects in spite of Soviet and Soviet inspired opposition.

Zhivkov is also less enthusiastic than Soviet educators on polytechnicisation and vocational training in general secondary schools has been dropped. He sees education as a "free flow of ideas, growing in number and quality from childhood through adulthood to retirement."⁽²⁾ The division between the old primary and middle schools has been abolished, as has that between primary, middle and gymnasium. There has been a growth of adult education, including voluntary participation in 'cultural formation' at evening classes. Writers are encouraged to tour factories and read to factory cultural circles, and to visit the villages. Teacher education is now part of higher education, where formerly (as in Romania) primary school teachers were trained in specialised secondary schools; teacher training, like teaching, tends to be formal but teachers tend to be well informed, well read and with wide cultural interests and the teacher training institutes not a 'second best' to universities.

One notable consequence of 'de-Sovietisation' has been the explosion of interest in the English language. French has returned to its post-war position as the most popular second language, but English is not far behind.⁽³⁾ The USA has a Deputy Chief of Mission responsible exclusively for cultural relations, including educational exchanges.⁽⁴⁾

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- (1) eg MacGregor-Hastie R.A.N. Anthology of Bulgarian Verse, Sofia Press and University of Iowa, 1977.
 - (2) Zhivkov T. address to CC of BCP reported in Sofia News, 4th April 1976.
 - (3) c.f. Grant N. op cit, p.341.
 - (4) The author has been responsible for the recruitment of Bulgarian writers to the University of Iowa International Writing Programme.

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The only black spot on the Bulgarian escutcheon is the lack of provision of schools for the handicapped. There are only twice as many places for these as there are for specially gifted children at music, ballet, art and mathematics schools. The tradition that handicapped children just do not go to school seems to be dying hard, especially among the Muslims.

7. Yugoslavia

The greatest difficulty inherent in attempting a description of the educational system in Yugoslavia is that the Federal Socialist Republic may disintegrate at any time. The pre-war Kingdom of Yugoslavia was not particularly stable, a fact wellknown to Mussolini, who was right to assume that there would be no Serb protest at his occupation of Fiume (Rijeka), and whose later campaigns in all the Yugoslav states were successful for as long as he played off one against another. After the Second World War, nationalism in Slovakia, Croatia and Serbia was at least as strong as Communism, so it was not surprising that in 1948 Yugoslavia became a non-aligned state, anxious to bridge the gap between Soviet led Eastern Europe and American led Western Europe. There are, after all, some three million 'Yugoslavs' in the USA. Again, Slovenia and Croatia are Roman Catholic with close links to Austria and Italy, which both gives the two 'Yugoslav' states a Western orientation and reinforces the distinction from Orthodox Serbia and the Muslims of Bosnia, Montenegro and Macedonia. Of Yugoslavia's seven European frontiers, three are with non-Communist states (Italy, Austria and Greece) and of the other four one is with Albania (a Chinese satellite), one with 'autonomous' Romania, and only two with more or less orthodox members of the Soviet Communist bloc.

The start point for any educational programme - the amount of illiteracy - becomes a variety of startpoints. States which have a substantial

Muslim population have a high rate of illiteracy; Bosnia recorded 32% illiteracy in the 1961 Census. In Catholic Slovenia in 1961, illiteracy was 1.8%, about the same as in the United Kingdom. The high rate of illiteracy in Bosnia, almost matched by the 22% in Serbia and Montenegro, and 25% in Macedonia, sixteen years after the end of the Second World War shows the extent of the problem still facing Yugoslav educationalists, the slow rate of progress sustained.⁽¹⁾ Given such cultural differences between the different states, perpetuated in differences of wealth, a national, or rather federal, policy for education was never possible. Had an attempt been made to impose one from Belgrade in Serbia, it would have been sabotaged in the other five republican capitals. The Federal Secretary for Education and Culture, and the President of the Chamber of Education and Culture, in Belgrade, co-ordinate initiatives taken in the capitals of the constituent republics. It is often said that the individual school council, made up of representatives of teachers, pupils, trades unions and other local bodies, has more power than the Chamber for Education and Culture, certainly it is the school council which is responsible for finance, choice of textbooks,⁽²⁾ even admissions policy (in the last two cases advised by specialist panels). Even curricula are only agreed in broad outline at federal level.

However, some progress has been made since the end of the Second World War. Pre-school education, virtually non-existent in 1940, now enjoys an uncertain life; there are day nurseries for the factory population, and for some 10% of Slovenes and Croats there is a change of two or three years of kindergarten preparation for the compulsory cycle.

Before the war, only Slovenia made school attendance compulsory, so the

(1) 1961 Census figures published in Yugoslav Statistical Calendar, 1962.

(2) cf Grant, op cit. p.305.

fact that attendance from ages 7-15 at a basic school is now compulsory in all six republics marks a great leap forward. However, there is a great shortage of schools. Many work a two shift system, half the pupils attending from 8 am to 1 pm, half from 1 pm to 5 or 5.30 pm. Again, in Macedonia and Bosnia, many village schools offer only classes I to IV, and education often stops there, to be re-started years later at adult education institutes. At all schools, the curriculum is so organised that it stresses and reinforces local allegiances. In Slovene schools, teachers start with the history and geography of Slovenia. Serbo-Croat is taught, in Slovene. Music may well mean Slovene folk-songs. In classes VII and VIII something called 'Socialist Morals' is taught for three or four hours a week, but even this is often reduced to a discussion of local problems (of delinquency, truancy, lack of seriousness).

Yugoslavia was little affected by Soviet polytechnicisation of secondary education. The privileged few in Slovenia, Croatia, and to a less extent Serbia, still go to a rigorously academic gymnasium, from 15-19, and then on to the university in the state capital or to one of its faculties elsewhere in the republic. The only impact Communism has made on the gymnasium is in the slanting of economics and sociology towards Marxist-Leninist variants of these disciplines. There is also pre-military training, but as most gymnasium students will go on to be officers during their military service, this is rather like a public school Corps in England, and not noticeably democratic.

Most 'Yugoslavs' go to technical and other vocational schools, where they are available ⁽¹⁾ (i.e. in the cities and towns). Depending on the availability of resources, these schools may do quite advanced work in

(1) World Survey of Education, UNESCO, Paris 1963.

paramedicine and parascientific disciplines. Librarians, clerks, nurses, tractor mechanics and television repairers are all trained in these schools, and there is a special branch for training elementary school teachers. There is pre-military training, too, but mostly for non-commissioned officers to be in the technical and medical services. The tone is much lower than that in the gymnasia, and girls in Slovenia and Croatia draw a sharp distinction between boys from one and the other.

There is little in the way of schooling for handicapped children in most of the constituent republics. Surprisingly, for Western Europeans, there is sympathetic provision for the education of handicapped adults. Adult education in general is, relatively speaking, the most advanced sector in Yugoslav education as a whole. It is here that the influence of the Soviet Union is most felt, if unacknowledged. Perhaps it is important to stress that the Soviet experience most valued is that after the First World War, rather than the Second. The adult educational system is held together at the top by the Yugoslav version of Lenin's Rabfaks (Workers Faculties), which prepare men and women of mature age for higher educational institutions of a more formal kind, but the subordinate schools, day and evening, take students from the stage of illiteracy to that of the secondary school leaving certificate. Reliable statistics (especially for rural areas in Macedonia and Bosnia) are hard to come by. Returns are often inflated to provide a profile of thirst for knowledge. Even in Serbia, local pride tends to falsify returns. The author ⁽¹⁾ spent a rowdy evening in a restaurant in Pančevo with what was supposed to be a class on the Yugoslav Economy and Organisation of Production. However, in many places there is a genuine desire to make up for lost opportunities and at the last count, some 250.000 ⁽²⁾

(1) April 2nd 1975.

(2) Yugoslav Statistical Calendar from which all statistics here are taken, unless otherwise acknowledged.

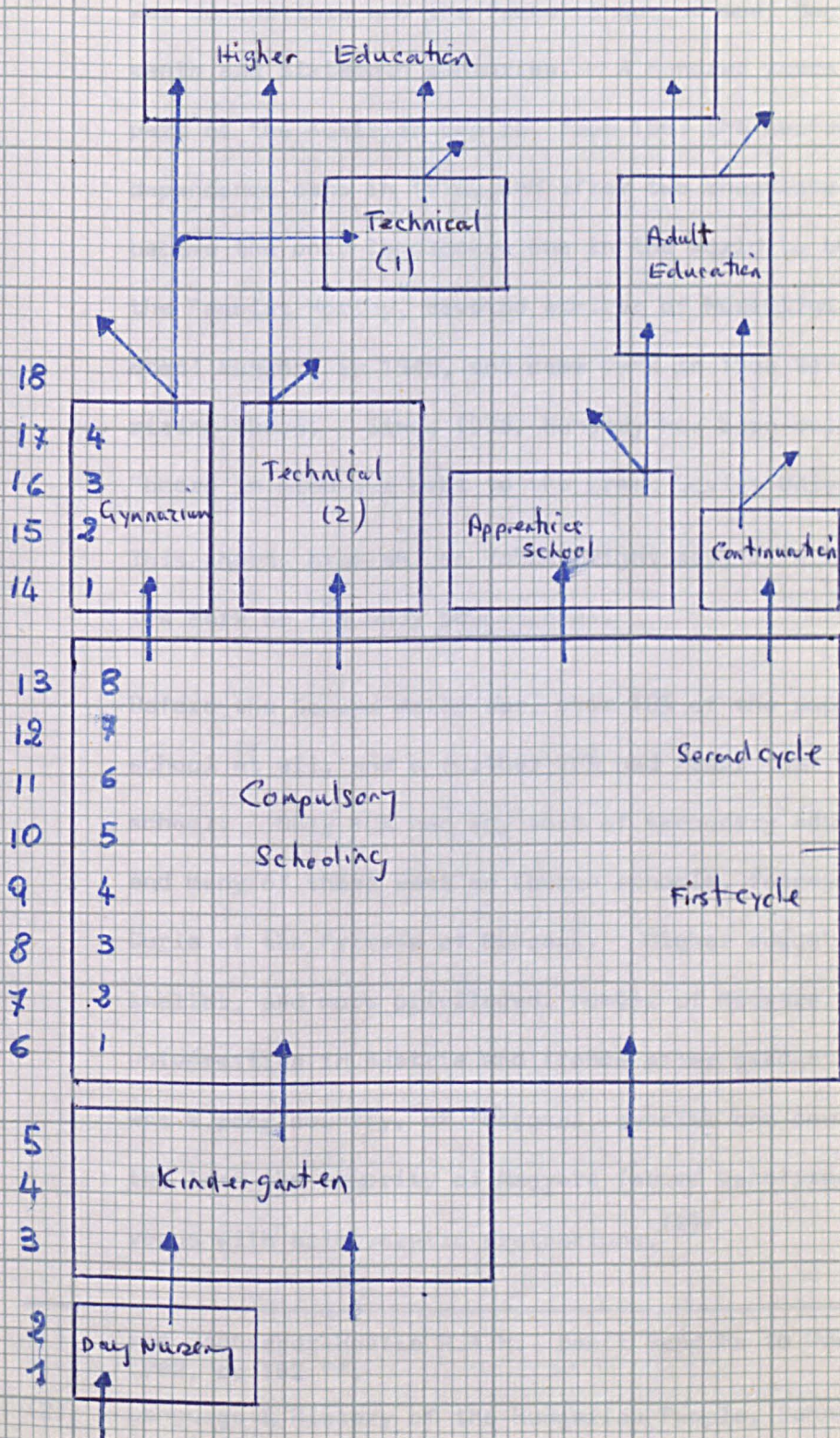
were registered as adult students in Rabfaks and their dependent schools. The Rabfaks are given added respectability because it is the faculty and not the university which is the basic unit of the highest education, both in the State (universities) and private (Roman Catholic and Orthodox seminaries) sector.

There is a great deal of religious freedom and freedom for religious education in Yugoslavia, partly for 'parochial' reasons. Any attempt to close down the faculties of theology (Roman Catholic) in Ljubljana and Zagreb would be thought of as an attack on Slovenia and Croatia rather than on the Roman Catholic Church. The Orthodox Church has always identified itself with Serb independence, so the Patriarch in Belgrade enjoys a 'warm and comradely' relationship with the Serb and Federal governments. Again, statistics tend to be unreliable, but the author was informed by the Venetian Curia that there are over 1000 Roman Catholic ⁽¹⁾ senior seminarians in Slovenia and Croatia.

The faculties of the humanities and the pure sciences of the six universities (one in each republic) tend to be in the republican capitals and to enjoy great prestige. They have successfully resisted attempts to make those undergraduates who intend to teach do any sort of concurrent or consecutive teacher training, so Yugoslavia is the only country in Eastern Europe where it is the rule that secondary school teachers are unqualified (professionally). Teacher training colleges (two-year 'higher schools' and 'pedagogical academies' in most republics, three-year colleges in Slovenia and Croatia) have little prestige and the general intention is to use them to train only teachers for the primary and middle school cycles (phasing out the training during the secondary school cycle), offering prospective secondary school teachers financial induce-

(1) April 1976.

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ment to take concurrent training at their university faculties.

8. Hungary

The Magyar population of Hungary was the last to arrive in Europe from the Asian heartlands, to settle on the Danube and Risa plains. Distant cousins swept in and out in the thirteenth century, burning most of what was combustible and the Turks conquered most Magyar lands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A hundred years later, Hungary became part of the Austrian Empire, from 1867 the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Independence came in 1918, and after two shortlived governments the country became the only landlocked one in the world to be ruled by an admiral, the Fascist Horthy, devoted admirer of Mussolini. The Red Army 'liberated' Hungary in 1945, and came back in 1956 to suppress a popular uprising there. Since 1956, Hungary has been ruled by a government which "bears in mind our debt to the Great Soviet Union" (Janos Kadar).⁽¹⁾

This short, brutish, as Hobbes might say, life for the nation has left its mark on the body educational.

Before the Second World War, over 10% of the population did not go to school at all, and a further 20% had fewer than four years of primary school. Only 10% had any sort of secondary education, middle or higher and many of these went to Church schools, fee-paying and controlled by the Curia of the Primate of Hungary. Higher education was for an even smaller, and more privileged, number of Magyars, who often went on to universities in Austria and France after graduating. Pre-war Hungary was a poor country, of 'beggars, gypsies and counts' and the fertility of the land the majority of Magyars farmed benefited only a handful of parvenus with aristocratic pretensions.⁽²⁾

(1) see MacGregor-Hastie R.A.N. Don't Send Me to Omsk, MacDonald, London 1962, pp.182 ff.

(2) Language & History of the Hungarian People, Pannonia, Budapest 1964, pp.11 ff.

In 1945, under Soviet tutelage, the 'liberated' Magyars took steps to change at least the letter of the education laws. In 1945, all private schools were suppressed and their premises taken over by the State. Teachers in the former private sector were pressed into service in the new 'fundamental school' which was supposed to be open to all from age 6 to 14. In fact, because the school buildings did not exist, it was not until 1948 that the State could claim that every six year old child was at school. An anti-illiteracy campaign undertaken that year suggested that there were still gypsy children not attending; they were recorded as attending literacy classes with their parents at various 'summer camps'.

The lack of school buildings and shortage of teachers was one reason for slow progress in pre-school education. Though substantial numbers of infants are now left in factory day nurseries (even here, only 10% of three year olds), the number of children in kindergartens is not much larger than it was before the Second World War.⁽¹⁾

It was not until 1966 that the Hungarian Ministry of Cultural Affairs could report that all children between the ages of 6 and 14 attended school, with a more or less standard curriculum which diminished discrimination in favour of children of the bourgeoisie in particular and town dwellers in general. The 'fundamental school' offers courses in Magyar, mathematics, history, geography, general science and cultural subjects (art, music, dancing), introducing Russian and other foreign languages in the upper part of the school. Russian is compulsory for all, so brighter pupils aiming higher tend to be trilingual by the time they leave school (English and French are the most popular third languages). At the age of 12, pupils have to do some manual work (gardening, street-

(1) XXIX Session of the International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, July, 1966.

cleaning, useful metal and woodwork, even making school furniture), as in the Soviet Union.

In principle, every Magyar schoolchild carries on with two years of education after 'fundamental school'. The brightest children go on to gymnasia, most of which are either rigidly Classical or Scientific. Attempts were made in 1958 to get pupils out into factories for a few hours each week, to show them something of the real world of work, but all this seems to have done is give members of the gymnasium elite a distaste for work. By 1966 these attempts were admitted failures, and now there are subjects like "Our View of the World", in which Classical and Scientific boys and girls are supposed to meet and discuss current affairs. However, as the State lays it down what is to be discussed, the discussion is somewhat less than free and thought of as rather a joke.

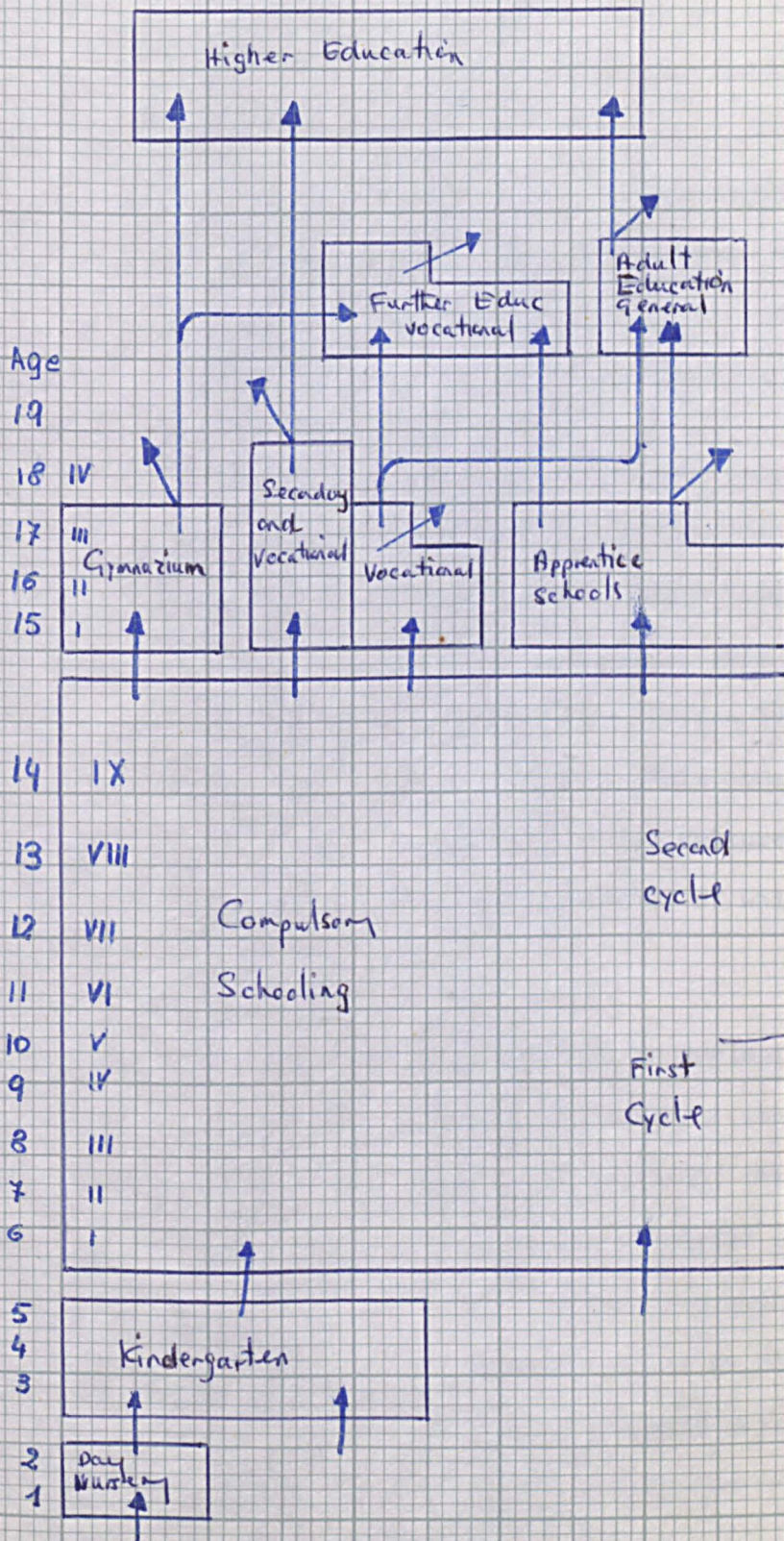
Most children in Hungary either go on to vocational or technical schools (unified since 1965), or to schools attached to the factories or farms where they work. A collective farm, for example, will train its own tractor drivers and mechanics and other machinery operatives, who will be phased gradually into full-time employment as they attain the minimum of required skill. There is also a 'school for dolts'⁽¹⁾, the so-called 'ongoing school', attended for two days a week by some 20.000 pupils who have not found places elsewhere.

Selection for life seems to take place at age 14. Admission to a gymnasium marks a categorisation as sheep (even if led by a Soviet appointed shepherd) rather than goats. All Magyars know this, hence the steady decline in enrolment for adult education and the lack of pressure for special and remedial education. There is a social reason for this

(1) a literal translation from the Magyar.

(2) ICPE Conference, op. cit. (Report by Hungarian Delegation).

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conviction that the good life begins or does not begin at 14 or 15, and that is that the overwhelming majority of higher educational institutions are in the capital, Budapest. Few gymnasium students fail to get into one or other of these institutions.

There are twenty-five higher technical schools and fourteen teacher training colleges (two or three-year courses for kindergarten and primary school teachers), five pedagogical institutes (four-year courses for middle school teachers), four agricultural colleges, a college of physical education, four Fine Arts academies and seventeen universities (of which five are recognisable as such in a Western European context, five are medical schools, and seven are polytechnics).

There is a saying in Romania that all a gymnasium student has to do in Hungary to become a university student is to throw away his peaked cap and grow a moustache. Again, Lucian Blaga used to say that Magyars had a passion for education, provided it were not too exhausting. The only subjects in which freshers have to pass are Russian and Marxist-Leninist theory, but for all that higher educational institutions in Hungary do tend to produce cultivated, if not cultured, persons. There is generous provision for unemployed graduates, of which there are many.

9. Czechoslovakia (1)

The Czech Kingdom of Bohemia is an ancient one, though it has enjoyed independence for fewer than 300 years of its millenium. It flourished in the Middle Ages, when it was certainly the cultural centre of Middle Europe, and Charles University attracted scholars from all over the Western world. Prague, the capital, has been known for centuries as The Golden City. The glass industry is as old as that of Murano, the table crystal famous and the glass and gold mosaic decoration of churches and

(1) cf Grant, op. cit. pp.232-234.

public buildings unique. During the Renaissance and Reformation, many Czechs followed Jan Hus into his version of Protestantism and this was their undoing. The Thirty Years War ended with Bohemia 'incorporated' into the Habsburg Empire, with the Habsburgs kings of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia in that order of precedence. After the First World War, Bohemia became independent again, joined to Slovakia, formerly part of Hungary, and the republic of Czechoslovakia came into being. The Czech and Slovak marriage has never been entirely successful. The Czechs, businesslike, technologically advanced, Protestant, free-thinking, have always tended to look down on the Roman Catholic, easy-going, agriculture orientated Slovaks, though both peoples are Slav, and were united in their detestation of the Germans who had infiltrated Bohemia and Slovakia. The presence of 3 million Germans (to the 4 million Slovaks and 10 million Czechs) gave Hitler an excuse to 'liberate' them in 1939, and Bohemia disappeared again.

In 1945 Czechoslovakia reappeared. For three years, a Social Democratic government struggled with the problems of reconstruction, then a Communist coup placed the Republic firmly inside the Soviet bloc. Attempts to (1) minimise Soviet influence and 'liberalise' the Communist regime came to an end in 1968 with the Soviet invasion and a restoration of direct Soviet supervision of every aspect of life, including education.

Before the Second World War, education in Czechoslovakia was more advanced (2) than anywhere else in Eastern Europe. Illiteracy was only 4%, and most of that in Slovakia. Every child went to school at the age of six, for the free, compulsory five-year primary cycle, learning Czech (or Slovak), some arithmetic and a continuation of the 'constructive

(1) Vodinsky S. Czechoslovakia: Education, Orbis Prague, 1963, p 22.

(2) Rosen S. Education in Czechoslovakia, U.S. Office of Education, Washington DC, pp.3 et seq.

play' which most of them had enjoyed in State or Church run nursery schools and kindergartens. State and Church (mostly in Slovakia) worked easily together at this level, and there was even a sharing of resources. The influence of the Catholic Church was positive, softening the impact of the Czech and Sudeten German love for 'system'.

At the age of eleven, prospects for Slovak children became bleaker. The academic secondary schools were in the main fee-paying, and so inaccessible to the majority of poor Slovaks, and the non-academic or 'civic' schools were often non-existent. Only just over a third of Slovak children had any sort of post-primary education. In more prosperous Bohemia, there were scholarships for bright children, and for non-academic children the civic schools offered a four-year course, including some science, a foreign language and choices of commercial subjects and crafts. The brighter civic-schoolchildren went on to four-year trade schools to learn forestry, agriculture, engineering and technology including glass technology.

The academic secondary schools, Classical or Scientific, were intended as schools giving access to higher education, at best to Charles University. After the Communist coup in 1948, education was 'Sovietised'. There was a rapid expansion of the provision for pre-school education, under the Ministry of Health (to three years old) and Ministry of Education (to six years old). This was for the usual reason, to "release women for productive labour". At the age of six, all children go to a nine-year school. After the fourth year 'middle school subjects' are introduced - Russian, history (including Soviet history), geography, science, civic education and 'practical citizenship' (weeding and picking up litter in the public parks, entertaining old people, cleaning windows).
(1)
The language of instruction is still Czech in Bohemia, Slovak in Slovakia.

(1) Vodinsky, op.cit. p.22

When children leave the nine-year school, they are entitled to go to work work - indeed are often directed to go to work. Those who do are supposed to attend evening classes. 60% of all school leavers at 15 become apprentices, and serve for three years.

About a fifth of graduates from the nine-year school go on to secondary academic schools for three years, and then on to higher education, but, especially since 1968, the criteria for selection at 15 are unclear. There is an assessment of character as well as academic ability, and this would include a discussion by the admissions committee of the child's parents' ⁽¹⁾ political stability. Once admitted, the child follows a curriculum similar to that of the pre-war schools at this level, with the addition of Russian, Soviet history and 'fundamentals of production'. ⁽²⁾

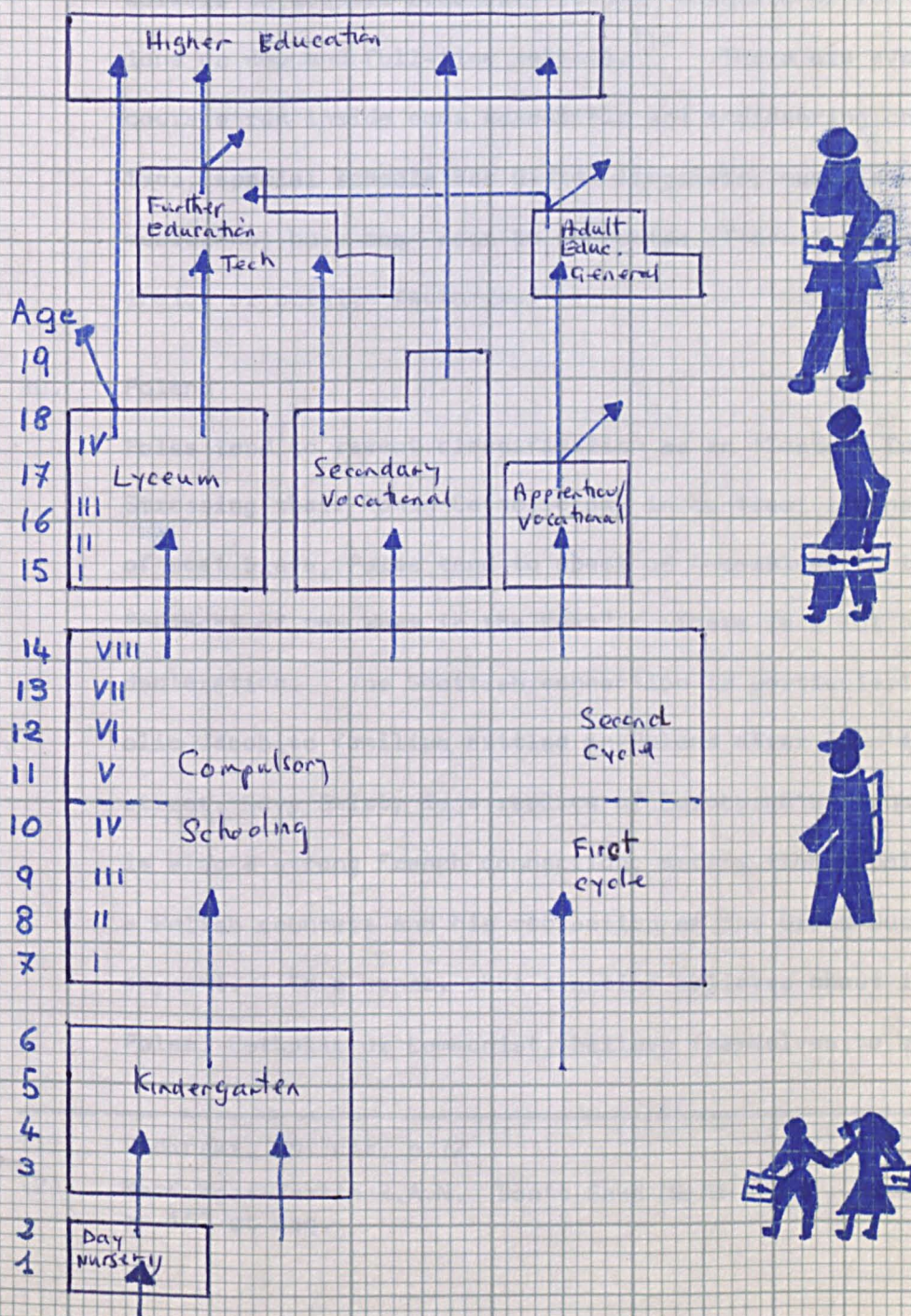
It is easier to gain admission to the secondary technical schools, specialising in engineering, agriculture, forestry, veterinary surgery and the technologies. After three years, a student may obtain the same leaving certificate (matura) as he would have done at the academic school, and so has the same access to universities and other institutes of higher education. In no school is there a right of access to Charles University.

There are now forty-three institutions in the higher education sector (nine before 1948), and the increase in numbers has made the quality of education suspect there. Charles University and the Czech Technical University (founded 1707) try hard to keep standards high, but the 17th November University in Prague is a political creation for the indoctrination of foreign students. Some colleges of technology have been

(1) Ibid, pp.42-43.

(2) Ibid, pp.46-47.

The Educational Hierarchy in Poland



promoted (e.g. Bratislava) and some schools are now autonomous institutions (e.g. the Institute of Adult Education). The Academies of Fine Arts seem to have survived intact. Teacher training is now part of higher education (primary and kindergarten teachers are no longer trained in post-nine-year school colleges), concurrent for the secondary schools and consecutive for technical schools and institutes.

Adult education was never popular in Czechoslovakia, least of all in Slovakia, but in recent years an attempt has been made to help trusted workers to acquire secondary school (academic or technical) qualifications on day and full-time release.⁽¹⁾ There are even degree level courses run inside some scientific and engineering complexes. Since 1963, special schools for gifted linguists, musicians (including pop musicians) have been open to graduates of adult education institutions, inside or outside factories.

10. Poland

Poles tend to resent classification as an 'Eastern European state'. Stressing their Roman Catholicism, in contrast to the Orthodox loyalties of most Slavs, Poles tend to speak of themselves in this context as an "outpost of the West in the East". There is a lot of truth in this declaration. The Scottish connection is particularly strong; many Catholic Jacobite families settled in Poland after the '45, and Warsaw's main street, Nowy Swiat, is a replica of Edinburgh's Princes Street. There is also a strong French connection, dating from Napoleon's seduction by a Polish countess and his recreation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in part payment. In a sense, what a nation believes about itself is true, and Poles, Catholic or Communist, believe themselves to be different.⁽²⁾ It

(1) Vodinski, op. cit. p.72.

(2) MacGregor-Hastie R.A.N. Don't Send Me to Omsk, MacDonald, London 1962, pp.153 et seq.

is more difficult to come to terms with the idea of 'Poland'. The political frontiers have moved to and fro for centuries. Between the world wars, Poland had a large Ukrainian population. Now, she has a large German population, though this is drifting away to the DDR or being allowed to emigrate to the West. There are still Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Slovak and Romanian minorities.

When Communism was imposed on Poland in 1945, it was not the first imposition by Russia on Poland. Periodically, Russians have occupied all or part of Poland. The Polish reaction over the centuries has been to wait for them to go away, and this was essentially the Polish reaction from 1945 to 1956 when Gomulka established a benevolent, Polish, Communist regime. The role of the Polish Primate was recognised. For a time religious education was allowed in all schools, and is still available in some. The Catholic University of Lublin flourishes, and there are church schools. Catholic literary and other publications are to be found on every bookstall and there are non-Communist youth movements.

Before the Second World War, there was a tradition of excellence in education, but it was education for the few. Over a quarter of the population was illiterate, and those peasants who did go to school were lucky to enjoy more than three years of it, though since 1932 seven years of education had been compulsory. Middle schools and lycées (ages 13-19) were available to a fee-paying minority, in the towns, and an even smaller minority went on to higher education. One in a hundred students in higher education were from working class or peasant families. As in Romania and Bulgaria, privileged university graduates tended to drift to Paris to be 'finished'.

Communist governments since the Second World War have made giant strides in offering education to all Poles.

Pre-school education, though nominally under the control of the Ministry of Health, is offered by Church and State in partnership.⁽¹⁾ Some orphanages are State run, some run by nuns. Some day nurseries are attached to factories and other enterprises (and the Church has a considerable entrepreneurial role),⁽²⁾ others are run in the parishes. Some kindergartens are staffed by the State, others by Catholic laymen and women. Recent figures show that a third of all pre-schooling is provided by the Church.

At the age of seven, however, the State takes over responsibility for staffing and curriculum, though there are still many one-teacher schools in country districts housed in Church property. The compulsory cycle of education lasts for seven years. There is the usual division in practice between the first four classes, 'the primary school', and the 'middle school' which follows. For the first four years, Polish, some mathematics and general subjects are taught; in the fifth year, Russian (and, later, another foreign language), physics, chemistry, biology, history (especially Polish history). There is a nationalistic flavour about most of the teaching, as in Romania, and there seems to be more genuine educational experiment in Poland than elsewhere in Europe at this level. The presence of the 'Communist Ideal' is visible and audible,⁽³⁾ but not strange to Poles. Codes of behaviour are made to sound similar to those propagated by Roman Catholic priests (courtesy, sobriety, respect for one's elders), and every effort is made to stress the continuity of the State in a Polish dimension. School attendance is enforced, but not so strictly after the fourth year in rural districts.

(1) The Development of Education in the Polish People's Republic, Ministry of Education, Warsaw, 1966.

(2) MacGregor-Hastie R.A.N. Don't Send Me to Omsk, op. cit. p.157.

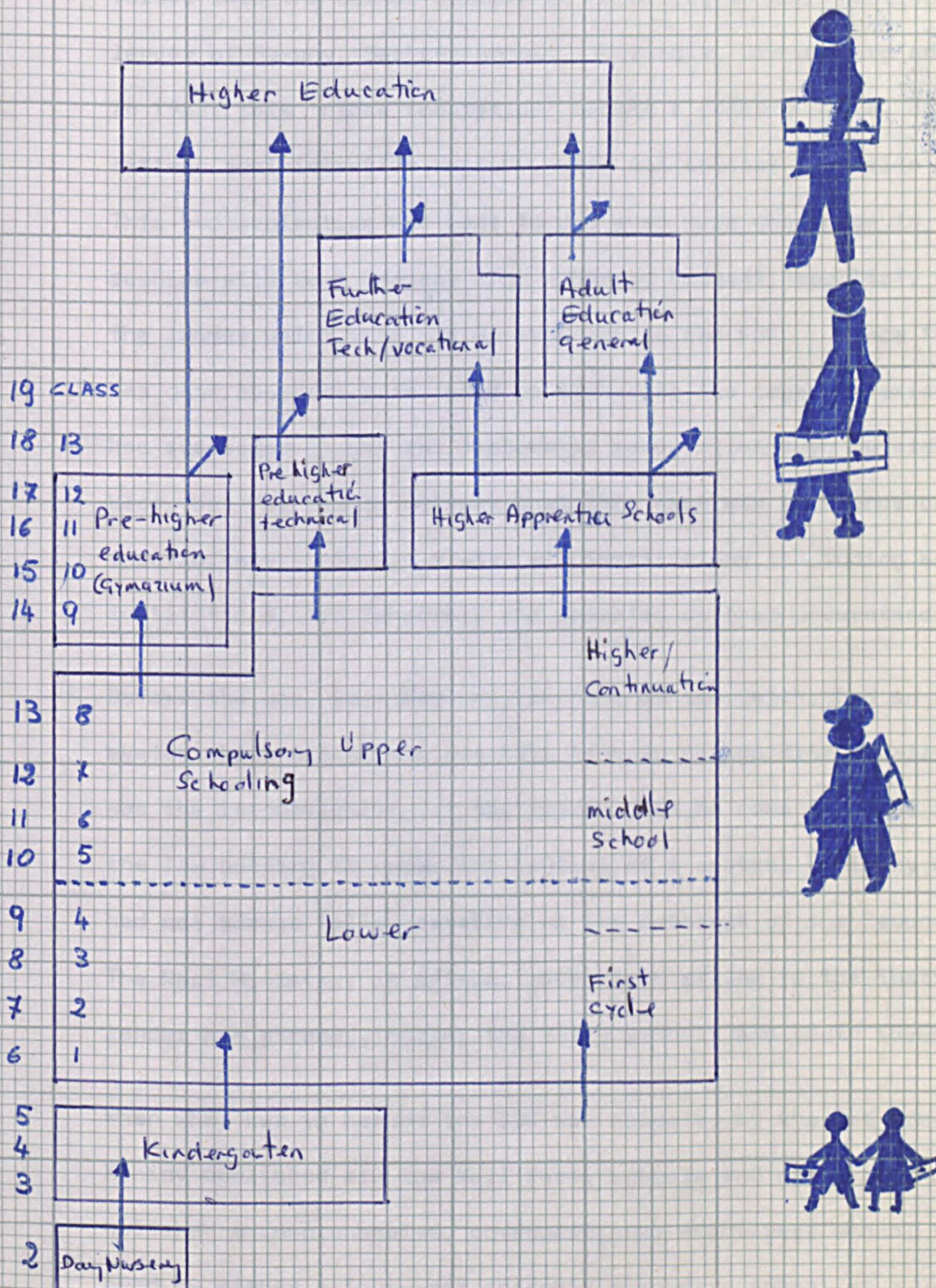
(3) Sabitto, 2(ed.) Program Nauczania

Selection starts at the end of the seven-year school. Artistically and mathematically gifted children are spirited away, many to boarding establishments (as in Romania, folksong and folk music are rated officially as highly as opera and ballet). The more gifted and academically apt children go to a lycée. There is no differentiation between Classical and Scientific lycées, but specialisation starts in the second of the four years; there is a common core curriculum including Russian, Polish, 'Poland and the Modern World' and some Polish patriotic activity (paramilitary training, social service). Since 1970, nearly all lycéens study a Western European language; French and English are the most popular of these, though in Western Poland German is studied as well as spoken at home. About a quarter of all lycéens go on to universities, a third to other higher educational institutions (teacher training colleges for the seven-year schools, mining, engineering and other institutes).

Children who do not succeed in getting a transfer to a lycée go to vocational secondary schools in the cities and towns, to work and some sort of part-time schooling in the country. After the Second World War the emphasis was on the training of drivers, mechanics, medical auxiliaries and agricultural tradesmen, but since 1963 the number of courses has increased to over a hundred and the majority of them are concerned with the service industries (shop assistants, waiters', barmen's, television repairmen's and other short courses).

There is an intense dislike for Russians as such in Poland, as in Romania, and the problem in both countries is how to learn from the impressive achievements of the Soviet Union and 'nationalise' Communism. This applies to education as to all else.

The Educational Hierarchy in East Germany (DDR)



11. East Germany (DDR - German Democratic Republic)

Until 1949, 'East Germany' was the Soviet Occupied Zone of Hitler's defeated Third Reich as stripped of its conquests. The deterioration of relationships at all levels between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union made any return to a pre-war, united Germany, under an autonomous government, impossible, so Stalin ordered that the Soviet Zone be transformed into the German Democratic Republic, an amalgamation of the l nder of Saxony, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thuringia, Brandenburg and Mecklenburg. In 1952, this 'close federation' became a unitary state, divided into fifteen administrative regions, with its capital in Berlin (Soviet Zone). This reorganisation was made to put even more obstacles in the way of a reunion with West Germany (DDR - German Federal Republic), by abolishing the l nder which form the Upper House in the FDR. Since 1952, the DDR has done everything it could to emphasise its separate existence, and has succeeded in gaining diplomatic recognition even outside the Soviet bloc, but few people believe that this separate existence can continue indefinitely. So, in a way, all institutions, including educational institutions, are temporary and operated on that understanding.

Before the war, East Germany, as part of the Reich, had an educational system which Hitler did not have time to change dramatically. Education was the responsibility of the l nder when he came to power in 1933 and the law putting it under the control of a central Ministry of Education had not become fully operative at the outbreak of the Second World War. The Nazi Ministry, in effect, gave its blessing to the institutions all l nder had already, adding the Party schools and youth movements to them.

When what was to become the DDR was occupied by the Red Army, Marshal Koniev abolished all the Nazi Party schools and private schools and established a comprehensive, co-educational eight-year school (6-14), followed by either a four-year academic secondary school or a variety of non-

academic, including technical and vocational, schools, any of which, in theory, could lead to higher education.⁽¹⁾ The Koniev decree was in substance incorporated into the DDR Constitution as Articles 34-40, changed in 1959 to extend the eight-year school to ten years (6-16) and make wider provision for adult education.

However, the tone in 1977 is not very different from that in 1937. The names of the Party schools and youth organisations have changed, and they eulogise Marx and Lenin instead of Hitler, but the atmosphere is similar and the paramilitary organisations still goosestep up and down the streets on public holidays.

Day nurseries are now supervised by the Ministry of Health, instead of a Lander Education Minister, but the local offices of the Ministry of Education take over the administration from kindergarten to the end of the secondary cycle.

The ten-year cycle of compulsory education is divided into a common primary course of three years, corresponding to the old *grundschule*, a three-year middle school and an 'advanced level' (*oberstufe*) as in Nazi days (except that the school leaving age is now 16 instead of 14). In a sense, the polytechnicisation⁽²⁾ of education in all Soviet-influenced countries has made fewer differences in East Germany, because both the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany stressed the importance of 'the work experience' and *Arbeit Macht Frei* was a motto seen not only over the entrances to lager. The Soviet influence is most strongly felt in country districts, which certainly have improved buildings and equipment, and start their technical education during the ten-year cycle. The Russian

(1) Bodenmann P.S. Education in the Soviet Zone of Germany, US Office of Education, Washington DC, 1959.

(2) Polytechnische Bildung und Eiziehung in der DDR, Volk und Wissen, Berlin 1962, pp.52 et seq.

language, introduced during this cycle is a novelty, but the Marxism-Leninism must sound the same to a Young Pioneer as its equivalent did to a member of the Hitler Youth. The decadence of Britain, the United States and France are stressed in all 'The DDR View of the World' lessons, as they were by Hitler's teachers. There are uniforms, badges, ranks, as before.

In principle, all education after the ten-year cycle is comprehensive. This is a change from the academic bias of the old Oberschulen, open to a minority, and makes selection for entry to higher education easier. Here, political considerations are important as they were in Nazy Germany. Anti-semitism has been replaced by a discrimination against children of the former bourgeoisie. However, there is a certain amount of selection of those gifted technically and they are prepared for sub-degree qualifications in engineering and allied subjects, with the possibility of following part-time conversion courses in adult education institutes and gaining a degree. The academically gifted and socially acceptable go on to one of the forty-four higher educational institutions (universities, technical colleges, agricultural colleges, economics and business studies colleges, autonomous medical schools, art colleges, teacher training colleges and specialist colleges of one sort or another).

12. Albania (1)
Albania is the most backward country in Eastern Europe, and its political isolation, hostility both to Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, has made its progress slow. Before the war, eight out of ten Albanians were illiterate and there was little opportunity to do much during the Italian wartime occupation. (2)

(1) cf Grant, op.cit. pp.345 et seq.

(2) World Survey of Education III, UNESCO, Paris 1966, p.169.

Since the Second World War, the Albanian Communist leadership has tried to set up educational institutions on the Soviet model (the Soviet Union of Stalin's day, to which they are attached). There are a few kindergarten places and a compulsory seven-year school (7-14). Admission to the seven-year school is either from an extended kindergarten, or a four year primary school, or schools which survived (including Catholic and Muslim schools) from pre-war.⁽¹⁾ But not many Albanian children attend more than the first three classes of the seven-year school, and only half of those who do complete this cycle go on to secondary schools (preparing for higher education, or offering vocational courses including courses for teachers in the elementary schools). There is a chronic shortage of teachers, and a crash programme to train them for work in secondary schools and other institutions has meant that a third of all students in higher education are teacher trainees. There was no higher education at all until 1950 - the most important institution in this sector now is the only university, at Tirana.

13. General Conclusions

The extension of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe has been variously described as Soviet Imperialism, Great Slav Chauvinism and (in the USA) as a Reign of Terror. In a sense, it is all these things. Fear of Soviet intervention keeps every East European Communist State on its ideological toes. Even Yugoslavia, which has never belonged to the Soviet military bloc, is too close to Hungary and Bulgaria to move far from the ideal of the Workers' State. In educational institutions, this has meant active discrimination against Catholics and other Christians, Muslims and Orthodox Jews. Only in Poland, does the Church play a significant role in education, and then only within limits laid down by the

(1) Information given to the author in 1977 by the Chairman of the Co-operative Women's Guild.

State. Soviet armed intervention in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 is an ever-present reminder of 'proletarian internationalism'.

There are some paradoxes here. In Eastern Europe, a larger percentage of the nation's resources are devoted to art, literature, ballet, music and 'culture' in general than in non-Communist countries. There are more special schools for gifted children, more opportunities in town and country for employment. Yet 'culture' is closely supervised and scrutinised for ideological impurity. This is not necessarily negative in itself - art and literature have always flourished under dictatorship, and there were few democratic governments in Europe at the time of the Renaissance. The negative consequence of supervision of artists by Party officials, most of them of peasant, worker or other uncultured origin, tends to coarsen even the artists themselves.

Similarly in schools at all levels. As the intrusion of Marxism-Leninism into the curriculum becomes greater as children progress through the schools, so teaching becomes less imaginative and fear stalks the school corridors. The happiest and most successful establishments are, in the author's experience, always day nurseries and kindergartens. It is here, with the exception of Albania, that Eastern Europe has something to teach the West.

It is sad to think that the only emotional force to oppose Party ideology and its dull proponents is nationalism, which is potentially as dangerous.

No country has stated and restated the claim to national identity as forcefully as Romania, but Poland is not far behind, and it is certainly 'National Communism' which is weakening Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. It is perhaps unfortunate for anyone alive during the Second World War that 'National Communism' sounds so similar to 'National Socialism'.

(1) See p. 100.
(2) Gellens, R. University of Bucharest, in conversation with the author, 1974, 1975.

STATUS AND CONDITIONS OF TEACHERS SINCE THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1968.

1. General considerations

The scope and nature of the 1968 Education Act made all sorts of supplementary and complementary legislation necessary. Some of these have already been noted and perhaps the most important was the Law Pertaining to Status of Teaching Personnel within the Socialist Republic of Romania.⁽¹⁾ This Law - the 'Teachers Statute' or 'Teachers Charter' - was essential if the Minister was to have the co-operation of the teaching profession in carrying out his far reaching reforms. It is perhaps necessary to stress again that many of these reforms were of the spirit as well as of bureaucratic machinery and school structure. Even twenty years after the definitive assumption of power by the Romanian Communist Party and its allies, old habits of thinking made any sort of sweeping reform difficult.⁽²⁾ Among the local difficulties, Rodică Culianu lists:

- (a) The conviction on the part of lycée and, especially, university teachers that they belonged to a privileged class, on a par with the other professions. University teachers had often, before the war, moved freely between their posts and posts in the Diplomatic Service, the Civil Service, even the Government.
- (b) The conviction on the part of lycée and university teachers that they were essentially different from and superior to teachers at other levels in the educational hierarchy.
- (c) In rural areas, the conviction on the part of the village (elementary) teacher that he deserved special privileges.
- (d) The conviction on the part of Transylvanian teachers at all levels that they were superior to Wallachian and Moldavian teachers.

(1) see p.

(2) Culianu, R. University of Bucharest, in conversations with the author, 1974, 1975.

- (e) A conviction on the part of female teachers at all levels, elementary school teachers in the towns, and all teachers in remote areas, that they were underprivileged.

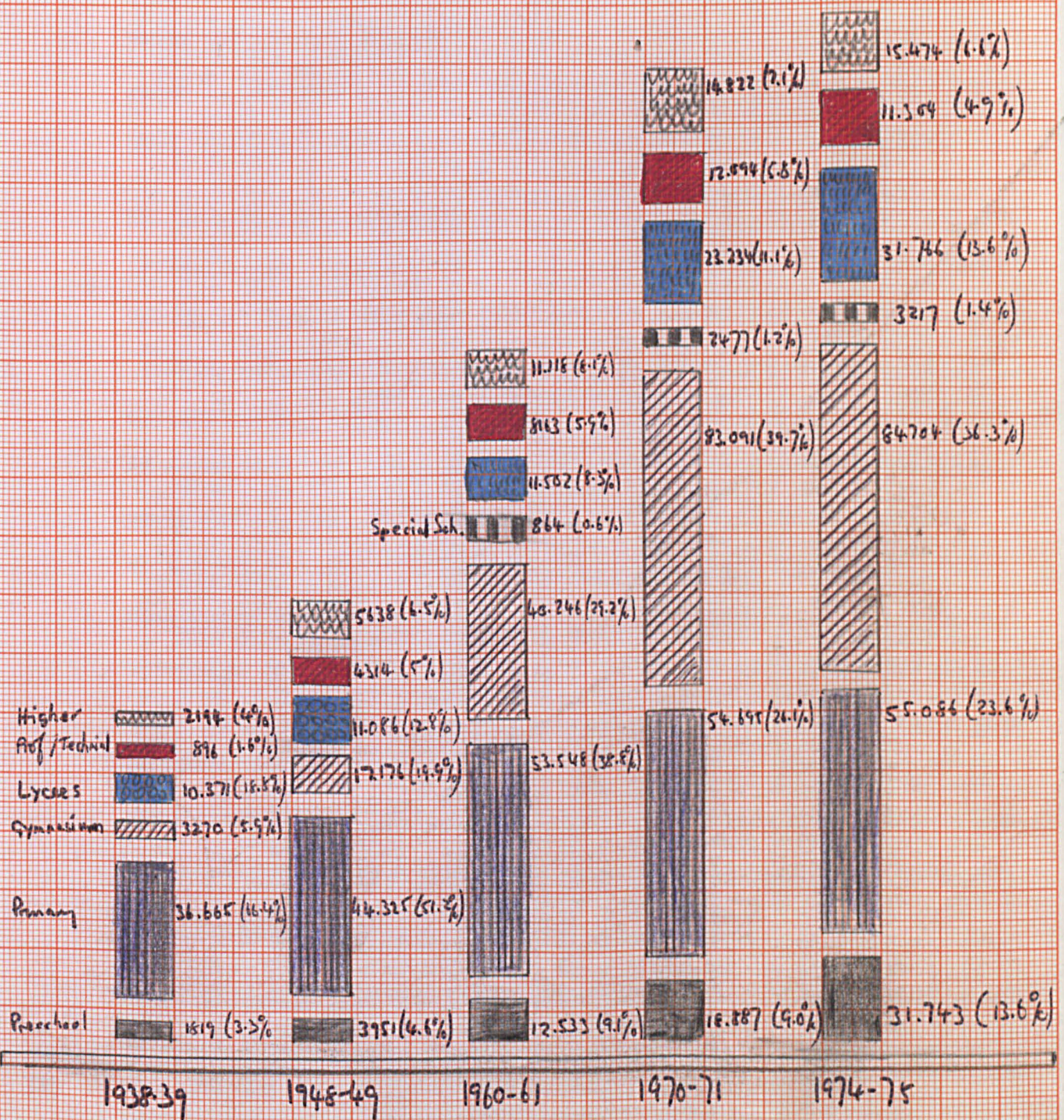
The Teachers' Statute, therefore, had to be harsh and comprehensive and remove all feelings of under-privilege in the areas of lower echelon teachers, while not forfeiting the loyalty and expertise of the teachers at higher levels. There was no wish to repeat the mistake of 1948, when thousands of teachers with 'socially unhealthy' backgrounds had been forced out of the profession, creating a national crisis in the process. The Teachers' Statute is, in fact, comprehensive and according to the Romanian Ministry of Education the most comprehensive statement of rights and duties anywhere in the world; as such it deserves extensive treatment.

The Statute is divided into eight 'Titles', each of which is subdivided into Chapters and Sections: there are 253 Articles in all.

2. Definition of Teaching Profession, function and status.

The First Title (Articles 1-3) is subtitled General Provisions, and consists of a general statement of the importance of the teaching profession, noting that "teachers are called upon to prove a high civic and professional consciousness" and summarising the scope of the Law as "defining teachers' functions at all levels, regulating appointments, transfers, temporary transfers and dismissals, the rights and duties of teachers, training, the salary system, awards of honours and prizes, personal responsibility and liability, pensions and extending to all classroom teaching staff, auxiliary teaching staff, administrative staff, guidance and control staff in pre-school education, compulsory general education, vocational education and technical education, and to the teaching and administrative personnel in institutions of higher education."

Allocation of Teaching Staff 1938 - 1975



The importance of this Title is that it establishes that there is only one teaching profession, all members of which are equal in status and so confirmed by the highest organs of the State.

It would, of course, be naive to assume that atmospheres and attitudes change merely because the legislative assembly in any country says they must and it is characteristic of bureaucrats that they enjoy a certain innocent optimism unshared by those for whom they work. At the Ministry of Education in Bucharest in 1975 the official attitude was that seven years after the Act, all was well. However, though they could point to concrete progress under other chapter headings discussed below, they could offer no proof that non-material attitudes had changed.

In the author's experience, attitudes have changed most at the lowest levels in the hierarchy. There is still a long way to go before the spirit of the Act is transmitted to all its interpreters, and the phrase 'lowest levels' is still used to describe the pre-school and general culture school sectors. However, whereas in Transylvania before 1948 it would have been a scandalous thing for the daughter of a university professor to marry an elementary school teacher, today this sort of social discrimination does not exist; though this is not to say that some of the school pages in Liviu Rebreanu's novel *Ion* ⁽¹⁾ show scenes unfamiliar to many Transylvanians. In Moldavia and Wallachia, where there was always less snobbery, the levelling out of salaries has helped to create cadres of 'intellectuals' which include (especially) village schoolteachers and in Iași, the cultural capital of Moldavia, the siege mentality which exists thanks to the proximity of the Soviet Union has made virtually all class distinctions seem absurd.

There is still a certain amount of status dissension between the universities of Bucharest and Cluj-Napoca. University teachers in Bucharest

(1) MacGregor-Hastie, RAN, International PEN Anthology of Romanian Literature, Mouton, Paris and The Hague, for International PEN, August 1978.

like to think that they have 'arrived' in some special way, but as the country's two most important critical quarterlies are published in Cluj, which is also the centre for medical research in several sub-disciplines, and much else, the distinctions tend to be blurred. In any event, Transylvanians tend to stay in Transylvania, of which Cluj-Napoca is the cultural capital,⁽¹⁾ and think of Bucharest as Byzantine and full of ambitious gypsies (this is a generic term of abuse throughout the Balkans). Moldavians and Wallachians tend to migrate to Bucharest and speak disparagingly of Transylvania as the home of bogus Hungarian counts and, of course, gypsies.

3. The Educational hierarchy in schools

The Second Title of the Law (Articles 4-8) breaks down the educational hierarchy into its component parts. This Title excludes Higher Education, which is dealt with later, and this exclusion caused a certain amount of ill feeling at first. If the pretensions of the university sector were to be stifled once and for all, why not treat it in exactly the same way as the pre-school, general school, secondary academic technical and vocational schools? This protest was answered in the magazine Problems of Pedagogy:⁽²⁾ "It is true to say that many more mistakes were made in the past, during the period of bourgeois education, in the higher education sector, and this fact necessitates special changes of structure and attitude."⁽³⁾ Lower echelon teachers interviewed have accepted this explanation as plausible if inadequate.

Chapter One of the Second Title lists personnel as follows:

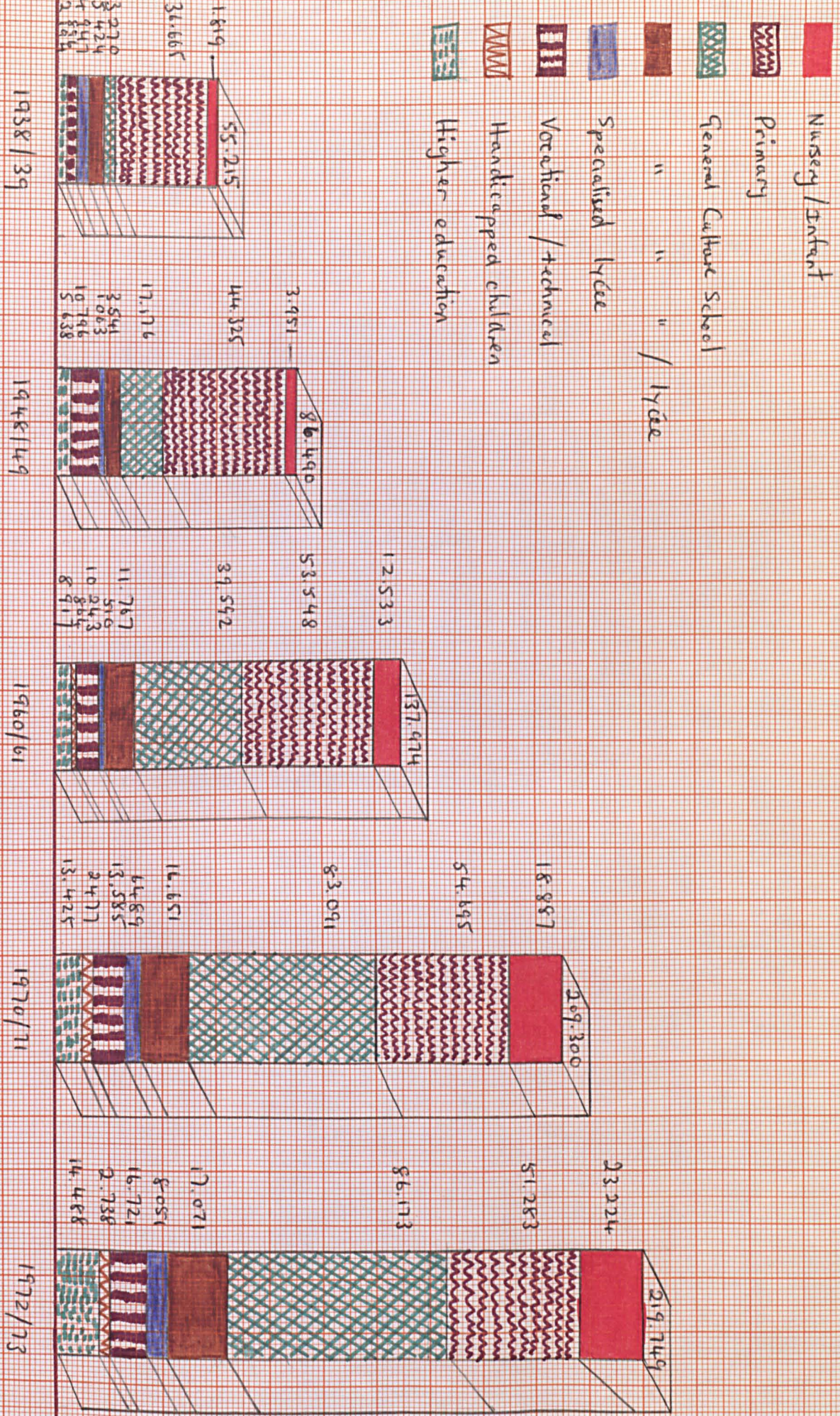
1. kindergarten assistant teachers carrying out educational and instructional activities in kindergartens and in day nurseries attached

(1) MacGregor-Hastie, RAN., Dont Send Me to Omsk, MacDonald, London, 1962.

(2) Problems of Pedagogy, Vol. No.1, 1968.

(3) Interviews conducted by the author in Romania, April-September, 1975.

Teaching Staff by grade 1938 - 1973



- to kindergartens;
2. class teachers, and specialist teachers working in Forms 1 to 4 in the primary cycle of general, compulsory education;
 3. class teachers, specialist teachers and master-instructors working in Forms 5 to 10 in the second cycle of general, compulsory education;
 4. teaching auxiliaries who help with the instruction and education of pupils resident in hostels;
 5. school librarians;
 6. laboratory assistants;
 7. laboratory and workshop technicians including those with quasi-medical skills in schools for handicapped children;
 8. headmasters and deputy headmasters;
 9. Inspectors General, Chief Inspectors of Schools and Inspectors of Schools.

Master-instructors are generally men on loan from industry or agricultural co-operatives.

4. Conditions of appointment, transfer, dismissals.

Chapter Two of the Second Title (Articles 9-11) lays down the minimum qualifications for teachers and auxiliaries, and deals with the modality of appointment, transfer, temporary transfer and dismissal (Articles 12-39). A kindergarten teacher has to have spent five years at a Teacher Training Lycée specialising in work at that level, or have specialised at a post-lycée Teacher Training College (now all Three Year colleges).

A teacher of Forms 1 to 4 in the general culture schools needs to have spent five years at a Teacher Training lycée specialising in work at that level, or have graduated from a Teacher Training College; for work in the higher forms, a Teacher Training College education, or university degree is necessary. Specialist teachers in the general culture schools must have been to a Teacher Training College or university.

Teachers in secondary vocational and technical schools must have a diploma from some higher educational institute, though teachers in Teacher Training Lycées may have graduated only from that Lycée and have five years experience as teachers.

Master instructors must have a diploma from a school for instructors, or from a specialised post-secondary school or lycée, and have worked for three years as a master craftsman; technicians must have worked for at least five years before or after qualification as instructor/technician.

School auxiliaries including hostel wardens must, in general, have been to a five-year Teacher Training Lycée, though exceptional graduates from other lycées may be accepted, as may graduates from post-secondary institutes of any sort. Laboratory assistants must have been to a lycée of their speciality, or to another lycée plus a special school for laboratory assistants in schools. Librarians may be appointed if they have graduated from any higher educational institute, even with a good lycée certificate.

The only exceptions to these rules for appointments apply in cases determined as special by the Ministry of Education; schools for tourist guides may employ teachers whose only qualification is a knowledge of the major European languages, for example.

In schools where languages other than Romanian are used as vehicular

languages, all members of staff must speak both Romanian and the vehicular language.

Special rules also apply to teachers of physically and mentally handicapped children. These teachers may have a medical or nursing background, or be teacher trained, or both, though preference is given to those who have been to special training schools or who have a relevant university degree (psychology, for example).

5. Article 11 - "unhealthy backgrounds"

There is also an article (11) in this section which says, textually:

"No teaching functions may be filled by persons deprived of this right for a period of time established by a final penal sentence, by those suffering from contagious diseases, nor by those who on account of some mental illness or infirmity are inept for carrying out teaching and educational activities, nor by those who through their conduct in school, in the family and in society prove unsuitable."

This seems to be a fairly straightforward and uncontroversial article, but its wording conceals a desire on the part of the Party to exclude persons with 'an unhealthy family background'. 'Unhealthy' in this context means those with parents, uncles, aunts, or cousins to the second degree who were associated with Right Wing political parties before the Second World War, or who were members of the Iron Guard, or who held titles of nobility, or land over 100 hectares, or employed more than ten people in agriculture or industry, or who were priests.

In a country in which education was until recently a privilege enjoyed largely only (at the higher levels) by those specifically excluded from the teaching profession under Article 11, it is not surprising that the Article should be the subject of some Byzantine debate, and a whole

series of 'provisional exemptions' have been given in order to bring back qualified teachers who would otherwise be ineligible for appointment, but for whom the need is very great at a time of expansion and the general extension of the 'privilege' of education. The 'provisional exemptions', and they extend to students from 'unhealthy family backgrounds' planning to take up teaching as a career, are given for a variety of reasons, but the most common is association with some favoured activity, such as voluntary work directed by the Party, or the possession of a son or daughter in the Party. Persons well known abroad who bring Romania into good repute may also be exempted from the provisions of Article 11. Professor Alexandru Varna, an orthopaedic surgeon in Cluj-Napoca, with an 'unhealthy family background', is allowed to travel abroad because his daughter is an activist in the Students' Union at Cluj University and she was allowed to enrol as a student because his reputation as a surgeon (he invented a bone marrow substitute) is sufficiently great and international.

6. Application for appointment - teachers

Section Two of Chapter Two lays down the procedure for appointment, transfer and dismissal.

The procedure begins at the Ministry of Education, to which vacancies are notified by local authorities, school inspectorates, other ministries or other administrative bodies (e.g. co-operatives); these vacancies must be notified by February 1st of each year, and on that date the Ministry of Education publishes a list of vacancies nationwide.

By March 1st, applications must be received from established teachers who have been on loan to other ministries (working as diplomatic attachés, teachers in industry, and so on), and established teachers (i.e. who have taught for at least three years after first appointment and have been

given a certificate of establishment) who want a transfer from one post to another.

Teachers who have been on loan to other ministries are normally allowed to choose where (within the limits set by their qualifications and experience) they would like to go, provided they have a good record while on loan. The regulations governing transfers tend to be obscure. Some posts are filled by open competition, some at the discretion of local authorities or the Ministry of Education, though there are only guidelines published for these authorities and much of the decision-making process seems to go in in much the same mysterious way as Popes are elected. The guidelines are as follows:

1. No teacher may apply for a transfer unless he or she has been in the present post for at least three years; the exceptions to this are cases in which the health of the teacher is suffering, where husband and wife are separated or where a teacher's parents live in a distant rural area.
2. Consideration will be given to a teacher's desire to rejoin his parents living in a town, though, in general, posts in towns, and in particular in the major cities, are normally allocated according to the results of open competition.
3. Applications for transfer must be received by the school inspectorate by March 1st, after which commissions are set up to consider the transfer and should consist of a chief inspector, three inspectors, and a Trade Union representative.
4. In general, the order of preference given when several persons seem to have the same right to transfer is to be: the degree status, assessment of length of time in service and the quality of work

done, the family situation and health, all taken into account to give a number of points.

5. There is a right of appeal against refusal to transfer, and the appeal shall be heard by a commission consisting of an Inspector General as chairman, a trade unionist ⁽¹⁾ and a school inspector, and the decision of this commission is final.
6. Where temporary transfers are granted (to fill places left vacant by sick teachers, or teachers on special leave or Government service), these confer no 'right of succession'.

When all the re-allocations and transfers have taken place, then by June 1st the Ministry of Education makes a new list of the remaining vacancies and this is circulated to graduands at universities, Teacher Training Colleges and Teacher Training Lycees.

No figures were available of the number of applications for transfer, the number of refusals, the number of appeals or the number of appeals refused. Some graduands ⁽²⁾ commented, however, that they did not resent being left until the last, because the number of posts available on February 1st, and on June 1st, did not differ greatly. There was a certain amount of resentment of a lack of mobility; once an established teacher found a post in an urban area, he or she tended to stay there indefinitely. Many graduands were resigned to the fact that their first five or six years as teachers would be spent in remote, probably rural areas, but consoled themselves with the thought that newly graduated doctors would almost certainly be 'exiled' for the same length of time. There was a great incentive to acquire extra qualifications, especially

(1) does not have to be a teaching union.

(2) Conversations with graduands, universities of Bucharest, Cluj and Timișoara, June 1975.

a knowledge of foreign languages, so that eventual transfer to urban areas would be made that much easier. Dismissal procedures did not seem to cause any resentment on the part of teachers or intending teachers. Article 37 states that all dismissals or "transfer to another field of activity" are made by the Ministry of Education on the recommendation of the bodies which originally appointed the person in question. No figures were available for the number of dismissals.

Headmasters and headmistresses interviewed tended to resent the fact that they had no formal role to play in either appointment or dismissal of teaching staff though they both appoint and dismiss auxiliary staff. It was suggested that a conflict of personality between a teacher and a head might well induce the head to report the teacher for 'unhealthy attitudes' even where they did not exist, or even so overload the teacher with work that the teacher applied for a transfer in self defence but it was also suggested that these cases were rare.

7. Applications for appointment - schools administration

Chapter Three of Title Two deals with promotion to posts of "administration, guidance and control" (Articles 40 to 49).

School administrative staff (heads and deputy heads) are, in principle, appointed after they have distinguished themselves in their professional activity; special considerations apply in the case of schools where 'cohabiting languages' are spoken, and here the heads and deputy heads must not only speak the 'cohabiting languages' but must preserve the numerical balance between the 'cohabiting nationalities' (e.g. eight per cent of members of staff, and of administrative staff overall, must be Magyar in origin in areas where Magyar is the cohabiting language and nationality). Appointments must be approved by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry may recommend the appointment of "specialists

with higher qualifications who are not established teachers but who have at least five years experience in education or industry".

Dismissal of school administrative staff is the province of the bodies which appoint them.

Neither teaching staff nor administrative staff interviewed suggested that there was anything wrong with this procedure in practice, and appreciated the clear statement of minimum qualifications for appointment. Before 1968, it was suggested, some appointments had been "for obscure reasons", personal and political. In general, it was felt, merit was the determining factor now.

8. Appointment to the schools inspectorate

Section Two of Chapter Three deals with guidance and control staff, in particular the inspectorate.

Inspectors General are appointed by the judete councils, with the approval of the Ministry of Education, from among established teachers who have already carried out duties of guidance and control (but not necessarily in the schools inspectorate), and who have a higher degree in education. Inspectors General appoint inspectors from among the teaching staff of schools to which they will be attached (inspectors of kindergartens are chosen from among teachers, in general, head teachers, in kindergartens and so on), and they have a say in the appointment of chief inspectors from among members of the inspectorate, always subject to the approval of the Ministry of Education.

There seemed to be a good relationship between the inspectorate and the schools, perhaps partly because the vast majority of the members of the inspectorate were young. This was true, too, of administrative staff interviewed, and the salary scale for the teaching profession as a whole

is such that a move to work in administration, guidance and control does not necessarily produce a higher salary, so teachers who prefer to teach are not penalised for lacking either enthusiasm for administration, or administrative talent.

Dismissal, again, is the responsibility of the appointing body. It is perhaps important here to note the role of the trades unions in the case of the dismissal or projected dismissal of one of their members, and the 'labour code', or body of administrative law concerned with labour relations, applies in exactly the same way to workers in factories as it does to members of the Writers' Union. An employer would always consult the trades union concerned, discreetly, before notice of dismissal was served, as it is a statutory duty placed upon the trades unions to 'protect the labour code' as well as the interests of its members. This does not mean that a trades union leader would never object to a projected dismissal, nor be more sympathetic to the member than to the bureaucrat in charge of a case; in the case of a teacher, the trades union official would be almost certainly either a former teacher or a teacher on loan to the trades union, and the normal human feelings of 'solidarity' or identity apply in Communist led countries as elsewhere.

9. Rights of teachers

Article 50, at the beginning of Chapter Four of the Second Title states, in fact, that teachers derive rights from all labour legislation as such, and that the present Statute does no more than clear up points of detail which apply only to teachers and educational administrators.

Articles 50 to 75 deal with the specific rights and duties of teachers.

Article 51 is held by teachers to be especially important. It says:

"With a view to carrying out the tasks incumbent upon them, teachers enjoy the following principal rights -

- to carry out a specialised activity in the field of education, according to their professional training;
- to use the materials, equipment and libraries of educational institutions for carrying out their teaching and research;
- to publish school textbooks, treatises and other works;
- to benefit by organised forms of professional training as well as by the advantages conferred by law on successful completion of this training;
- to be members of professional organisations and national or international cultural associations concerned with the development of education, and to carry out activities in keeping with the statutes of such organisations;
- to use documentation and other materials at district teachers' centres, to exchange experiences and carry out scientific research.

The importance of this Article is that it confers, formally, on Romanian teachers a number of rights denied to Soviet teachers, and denied to Romanians during the 'Soviet period'. The right to work as a teacher, and not wake up one morning to find oneself running a factory newspaper a thousand kilometres away; the right to publish without going through a complicated process of censorship and public criticism; the right to join overseas organisations and correspond with them - all these may seem to be unexceptional in Britain, but well-known examples like that of Malenkov in the Soviet Union (head of the Government one day, manager of a power station the next) may serve to remind readers that elsewhere certain freedoms are by no means basic.

This Chapter also deals with contractual rights; the right to 62 days holiday a year, normally to be taken between July 1st and August 31st (31 days for administrative personnel); the right to sabbatical leave for research; the right to return to an equivalent post after secondment to the foreign service, UNESCO, or any other national or international body; and the recognition, as far as promotion and extra salary increments are concerned, of the importance of publication, participation in public life, memberships of professional bodies and so on.

10. Duties and obligations of teachers

Article 63 describes the "teaching and educational activity" of teachers:-

- teaching classes, preparing lessons, preparing visual aids and apparatus and the appropriate documentation;
- the preparation of practical work (experiments, demonstrations, work in laboratories or on experimental sites);
- the making of materials for use in teaching;
- marking homework and other work done by pupils, and the control and guidance of practical work in an industrial setting;
- supplementary lessons, coaching and consultation;
- careers advice;
- the organisation of meetings with parents, including visits to parents at home;
- the organisation of educational activities within the framework of the Young Pioneers, Union of Communist Youth and other bodies, including voluntary unpaid work for the community,

educational visits and artistic activity;

- the general supervision of pupils during the school holidays and during breaks between lessons.

The total work load for a teacher, at any level, must not exceed eight hours a day (including all the activities above); teaching hours are fixed as follows:-

- for kindergarten teachers, six hours a day of contact with the children;
- for teachers in the general culture schools, four hours a day (six hours in schools for handicapped children);
- for teachers in the secondary schools, 18-20 hours a week (except for teachers of physical education, for whom the norm is 20 hours a week);
- for teachers with supervisory duties (careers, administration, school auxiliaries) 18-20 hours a week, including the time necessary for collating information and documentation;
- for master instructors and workshop assistants, 24-30 hours a week of pupil contact.

11. Teachers records of service
- Article 74 lays it down that reports on the way teachers carry out their duties shall be prepared by headmasters and headmistresses, then discussed with the members of the school council (from which parents shall be excluded, except in cases of moral turpitude). These reports must be made available to the teachers themselves, and a teacher who receives an unfavourable report has the right to lodge an appeal with the schools inspectorate; administrative staff have an ultimate appeal to the Ministry of Education in Bucharest.

Teachers interviewed had little to complain of in the working of the regulations applied under Chapter Four. They said the normal maximum of eight hours a day including preparation, marking and out of school activity really was a maximum, and few other than the politically ambitious ever did as much. Teachers had had only one report under the new regulations, and commented that the accessibility of the reports and possibility of appeal had eliminated most of the previously hidden spite and malice.

12. In-service training

Chapter Five of the Second Title (Articles 76-100) deals with In-service Training of Teachers, and with the upgrading consequent on the successful outcome of such training.

The most important innovation, it was often said, was the establishment of the Central Institute for the In-service Training of Teachers and its association with the Centre for Pedagogical Research. School Inspectorates and teachers' societies are invited to co-operate, where previously they proposed schemes to the Ministry which might or might not be approved. One comment made was that in some parts of Romania, where the inspectorate was either idle or incompetent, no schemes at all were mooted previously, and whereas some teachers (of modern foreign languages, for example) were well organised with research and in-service training in mind, others (e.g. teachers of physical education) were not. Then again, during the early Sixties, before Ceauşescu became Secretary General of the Party, contacts with the West had been meagre, and teachers had been discouraged from doing research for fear that it was being duplicated elsewhere with greater resources.

In-service training begins on qualification and before establishment, and can go on until the end of a teacher's professional life. Various

sorts of activities are accepted as 'training' (Article 77):

1. individual study, research and publication;
2. periodical method courses held within the school or group of schools;
3. national and international symposia on specific problems of pedagogy;
4. periodical courses of an informative nature (especially for science teachers and those teaching factory and workshop practice);
5. lectures and symposia for teachers with pastoral responsibilities: this may mean form masters or headmasters;
6. short courses on administration;
7. courses preparing probationary teachers for the establishment examination and other teachers for higher degrees.

Some sort of in-service training is compulsory for the first twenty-five years of a teacher's professional life; this compulsion was not resented by teachers interviewed - young teachers commented that it would weed out those teachers known as 'sentries' in Romania (who held on to a teaching post for forty years without doing anything once the final school bell went).

The establishment examination (for teachers with three years service after qualification) has a set syllabus:

1. for kindergarten teachers: Romanian Language and Literature (and, if any, the mother tongue) (a written examination of 4 hours), and oral examinations in Problems of Pre-school Child Psychology, Pedagogy, Arithmetic and Scientific Socialism;
2. for secondary school teachers: the special subject taught (oral and written), and oral examinations in Child Psychology,

Pedagogy and Scientific Socialism.

13. Didactic degrees

A lower degree ('the second didactic degree') may be obtained by teachers who have taught for five years since establishment; the degree is granted after a special inspection and a colloquium on topics and a bibliography provided by the Ministry of Education; the usual topics are:

1. for kindergarten teachers, children's literature and kindergarten teaching method;
2. for primary school teachers, Romanian Language and Literature, Arithmetic and the pedagogy of these subjects;
3. for secondary school teachers, the special subject taught and the pedagogy of that subject.

A higher degree ('the first didactic degree' - conferred automatically on teachers who are given a doctorate by a university) may be obtained after a further five years of teaching and in-service training (four years in the case of those given a mark of 10+ in the 'second didactic degree'), again by special inspection and in addition the evidence of original research shown by publication. There is a special provision that examiners must have at least the degree already achieved by the candidate concerned, and ideally a higher degree than the one for which the teacher is being examined.

The same process of in-service training followed by examination applies to people coming from industry and commerce, or elsewhere, to be teachers or 'master instructors' (mostly in technical and vocational schools).

Teachers interviewed commented that on paper, little seemed to have changed with the 1968 Act, other than the formal centralisation of the

control of In-service Training. The difference lay in the atmosphere, and the extent to which they were now encouraged to carry on with their professional training and general cultural formation - candidates for higher degrees could expect up to two years paid leave, at home or abroad to complete an approved project, and one teacher interviewed had, in fact, spent two years at the University of Indiana, Bloomington. Books, visual aids, microfilm and other library services were also said to be now generally available at teachers centres in the major urban areas, though rare in remote and rural districts. But even here, teachers said that proof of interest in original research nearly always facilitated transfer to urban areas with better research facilities, and the 'sentries' were slowly being transferred to the countryside.

14. Higher education - qualifications and appointment

Title Three of the Teachers' Statute is concerned with what are called Teaching Personnel in Higher Education, and covers the same ground as is covered in Title Two for teachers in other sectors. Articles 101 to 171 deal with the recognised categories of teachers in higher education (professor, reader, lecturer, assistant and probationary assistant), qualifications, rights and duties, holiday entitlement (62 days a year plus sabbaticals) and in-service training.

There are a few important differences between both the Romanian higher educational system and the British, and between this system and the pre-school, primary and secondary systems.

Romanian university and polytechnic teachers must be trained teachers. In future, with very few exceptions (politicians teaching politics, international prizewinners given professorships) all university teachers will have taught in some other sector of education, will have waited for three years for establishment and will have the 'first didactic degree'.

Romanian experience has shown (as indeed it has been shown elsewhere) that not all university teachers in the past could teach, and few were occupied with such important original research that they could be carried by the rest. Since 1968 the vast majority of probationary assistants have been appointed from among specialist teachers in secondary schools - with the exception of university education departments which went on recruiting from all sectors and from among the inspectorate at all levels. The Official Bulletin of the Socialist Republic of Romania publishes, at regular intervals, lists of posts vacant in higher education, but there the Government's responsibility ends. Rectors of universities and other higher educational institutions make appointments as a result of their appraisal of a candidate's worth, from among holders of the appropriate doctorate (for lecturers and above), after hearing a specimen lecture and examining a candidate's published works.

15. Article 11 and higher education

Article 11 still applies, of course, and Government and Party organs may hear complaints of 'political unhealthiness', but no university teacher interviewed had heard of any case of direct interference with an appointment. There is some evidence of intrigue with a political flavour among members of staff of higher educational institutions - a rise in the fortunes of a university lecturer, Trifu, at Cluj-Napoca which corresponded closely to the rise in his status in the local Party, and a dictionary prepared by one professor at the same university which appeared over the name of another in Bucharest, whose political star was in the ascendant - but this it was said, was difficult to prevent and no worse than what happened in 'the West'.

Most complaints heard were of the number of dismissals of probationary assistants, assistants and lecturers who did not satisfy their departmental heads. Here it was felt that too much was expected too soon

from younger members of staff, and the pressures to publish abroad in the interests of national pride too great. However, the Pro-Rector of the University of Timisoara observed that there was no room for 'sentinels' in higher educational institutions in a country which was expanding industrial and economic activity at a greater rate than any nation in the West, and which had an ambitious educational programme which relied on stimulus from the higher educational sector. A university teacher in Bucharest commented that the posts of probationary assistant, assistant and lecturer in some departments were traditionally filled by young women looking for husbands among senior staff, prepared to work hard only until they got a ring on their finger.

16. Extra curricular obligations

There was more general resentment of the obligation to 'munca patriotica', 'munca practica' and 'serviciul militar'. Many young assistants still had to do military service one day a week, and all staff had to do 'patriotic work' (public gardening, even roadmending, holding evening classes for unenthusiastic peasants in remote villages - this was said to encourage excessive drinking) and 'practical work' (relieve university librarians on holiday, work in relevant departments in factories, as tourist guides and so on).

However, most staff were pleased to be working in the higher educational sector, and conscious of the prestige they enjoyed in society at large, not to speak of their low teaching load (six hours a week) and facilities for specific research and self improvement.

17. Salaries - teachers and administrators

Title Four (Articles 172 to 201) deals with the salary structure of the teaching profession, divided again as between pre-school, general culture and secondary (general, vocational and technical) teachers and those

in higher education. This division seems to be resented less than that of division for consideration of conditions of service, perhaps because of the salary differentials. The basic starting salary for a teacher at any level in the educational hierarchy in 1975 was twice that of a restaurant cashier, shop assistant or unskilled factory worker and roughly the same as the starting salary of a lawyer, doctor, dentist or executive civil servant.

Increments are added to the basic salary, paid and calculated monthly for:

1. every five years of satisfactory teaching up to 25 years, the word satisfactory meaning the receipt of good reports and steady progress in examinations for the 'didactic degrees'; or
2. every four years of teaching of exceptional merit, as determined by the schools inspectorate; or
3. every three years of teaching in remote rural localities defined as such by consultation between the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Labour, and the trades unions;
5. twenty-five years of meritorious service - two increments;
6. service in day nurseries, evening classes, special schools for handicapped children, experimental schools, as teaching practice supervisors - two increments;
7. for the possession of special qualifications, such as a degree in engineering for a teacher in a vocational school.

Special bonuses are awarded for service in unhealthy, dangerous or difficult conditions, for teachers who serve as commandants of Young

Pioneer units or guide units of the Union of Communist Youth. There is also a differential payment made in recognition of the differing lengths of time taken to complete the basic study programme required for each level of the educational hierarchy and it is this payment which creates the real differential between a university lecturer with a doctorate and a kindergarten teacher with five years of post middle school training.

There are no special salary scales for schools inspectors, headmasters, deans, rectors or those with other administrative duties. The salary is the basic salary with the same increments to which anybody else would be entitled, plus an extra monthly payment which lasts for as long as they carry out administrative duties, though during this period they may be relieved of teaching duties (but not always).

18. Special privileges for teachers

Written into the Teachers' Statute is a very important provision (Article 186) which guarantees the granting of loans to teachers at low rates of interest, in particular for housebuilding, and also guarantees the supply of building materials. This does not apply to speculative building, which does not exist, but to the building of houses for owner occupation. There is, too, a recognition of a teacher's right to royalties from publications, though these are subject to deductions by the publishing house concerned, and, possibly, the Writers' Union - deductions established by other laws.

19. Honours and prizes for teachers

There is a separate title, Title Five, which deals with medals, orders, titles and prizes, and these awards carry with them certain financial advantages, either in cash, increments or accelerated promotion.

The lowest title is that of 'outstanding' teachers (at the pre-school,

primary and secondary levels) and is awarded by the Ministry of Education to teachers with at least five years service who have obtained outstanding results in their professional activity.

The title 'distinguished' is awarded at all levels by the State Council to teachers who have a long period of success in their professional activity. These titles are used formally in presentations: "This is Distinguished University Professor So and So" or "That is Outstanding Kindergarten Teacher So and So".

During and (more frequently) at the end of the school year, teachers may be awarded prizes in cash or kind, and on June 30th each year there is a 'Teachers Day' in token of appreciation of the teaching profession. Pupils and students put on shows, take presents to their favourite teachers and make speeches praising them. This is a rather alarming experience for a teacher, but there are those who enjoy it.

Title Five (Articles 202-208) is taken very seriously by Romanian teachers, and the award of titles, orders and prizes is a source of great pride, as well as of possible advancement. There are all sorts of unofficial fringe benefits attached - preferential treatment in the award of rented housing, and the supply of building materials, preferential treatment in shops and offices and so on. Experience has shown that this is probably more the case in Transylvania and the Banat with their Austro-Hungarian experience (of occupation) than in Wallachia or Moldavia but is general throughout Romania.

20. Punishment and dismissal

Title Six (Articles 209-222) deals with "Personal Responsibility and Liability", and is in fact concerned with punishments and dismissal in general. It lists the sanctions to be applied for "infringement of the obligations incumbent on teachers" in order of severity:

1. reprimand,
2. warning,
3. withdrawal of the highest 'didactic degree' obtained or 5% reduction of salary for one to three months,
4. disciplinary transfer to another school,
5. dismissal from the teaching profession.

These sanctions must be applied within sixty days of the offence, and after one year may not be applied at all. There is a right of appeal to a tribunal consisting of a school inspector (or Ministry of Education official in the case of a teacher in higher education), a member of the teachers' council or trades' union and the teacher's principal. In the case of teachers who have had merely a reprimand or a warning, these may be cancelled from the record after one year of good behaviour.

This all seems fair and clear enough, but teachers interviewed felt a certain amount of dissatisfaction in that though the manner of applying the sanctions was clear enough, and the procedure for appeal and so on, there was no specific list of 'crimes'. There was a certain fear that Article 11 would be the inspiration for condemnation,⁽¹⁾ and in the hands of a dogmatic Party member headmaster or rector would be misused. The Pro-Rector of the University of Timișoara commented that he saw little difficulty in identifying the sort of behaviour which made a bad teacher.

21. Pensions for teachers and administrators

Title Seven of the Statute deals with the Pensioning of Teaching Personnel; Articles 223 and 227 confirm the right to a pension, which consists of the basic old-age pension, plus disability and other supplementary pensions at an age stipulated for all trades and professions by the Central Government. Articles 224-226 concern professors and readers in

(1) Article 11, see p. 211

higher education, who have the right to stay on the active list until the age of 70, and then may be appointed as consultants to their faculties or other faculties and receive special pay in addition to their basic pension.

There is a considerable amount of coming and going in Romania between the higher education sector and the Government, Ministry of Education and Foreign Service (diplomatic and cultural), and between all sectors and the Party apparatus, the Didactic and Pedagogic Publishing House, local government and youth organisations, so the pension structure for any one individual may be of startling complexity. Here is one case, of a university teacher now aged 65:

For teaching at a university	27 teaching units
for 27 years,	
For a dependent wife,	6 units
For a dependent aunt,	4 units
For 6 years as a Ministry of	6 Civil Service units
Education official,	
For 3 years at a publishing house,	3 publishing units
For 3 years 'wrongly' in a labour camp,	3 rehabilitation units
For 1 year as Mayor,	1 public service unit
For the loss of a forearm in 1944, as	4 disability units
a partisan.	

However, it must be said that teachers interviewed in Romania did not find the complexity unusual, and no complaints were heard of injustice in applying the labour and pension laws.

22. Miscellaneous provisions

Title Seven (Articles 228-253, at present) is the Miscellaneous Provisions Title and is added to from time to time as anomalies are drawn to

the attention of the Ministry.

Article 228 states that teachers' record cards will be kept at schools' inspectorates (for inspectors, headmasters and headmistresses and their deputies), in schools (for teachers in institutions other than those in higher education) and at higher educational institutions (in the case of their own staff), and teachers will have access to these records cards⁽¹⁾.

Articles 229 to 235 protect the interests of temporary teachers, especially those appointed because there are no qualified teachers available, and those holding posts in 1968 who do not fulfil the qualification and establishment requirements of the Statute; the general rule is that where a teacher is working well, he or she should be considered to have tenure, though not formally 'established'.

Article 236 gives equivalent service to teachers who work from one to three years in the Union of Communist Youth, even if their work is not strictly speaking educational.

Articles 237, 246 and 247 give the Ministry of Education the right to transfer temporarily or permanently, staff in higher education to secondary school or other institutions of higher education; in the case of transfer to schools, lecturers are granted the second didactic degree without inspection, and assistant lecturers become automatically established teachers.

Articles 238, 239 to 243 set out to protect the interests of those who were appointed to the staffs of schools or the Ministry itself before August 1st, 1959 (in the case of engineers, economists and physicians) and before 1948 (in the case of kindergarten teachers and primary school teachers and master instructors in vocational schools). In the case of lower echelon teachers, this refers in general to people who were brought

(1) Record cards were at first kept remote from teachers (until 1970)

in to run the anti-illiteracy and 'formation of cadres' campaigns of 1948, as well as professional people with an 'unhealthy family background' who were dismissed from government, hospitals and higher educational institutions in the days of Stalinism. Many of the latter are now too old to be rehabilitated as doctors, engineers or economists (a euphemism for business men), but have served well as teachers (especially in remote rural areas) and deserve status as established teachers and the formal award of the various didactic degrees.

Article 245 provides for the establishment of such people in the future, if they come voluntarily from other professions.

Article 244 abolishes the title "front rank teacher" and confers on all teachers who held it prior to 1968 the title of "outstanding teacher".

Articles 248-250 compel all professors and readers who do not hold doctorates, because there is no doctorate established in their discipline or speciality, to present themselves within three years before the Higher Diploma Commission to defend a dissertation.

Article 251 authorises the Ministry of Education to set up Teachers' Houses (Education Centres, libraries and emergency hostel accommodation) in each district.

Articles 252 and 253 deal with the problem of conflict of laws, and give the Teachers' Statute preference over all others.

23. General conclusions

Teachers were interviewed in all the major regions of Romania - kindergarten teachers, teachers in the primary and secondary cycles, teachers in vocational and technical schools, and teachers in universities. It was felt generally that the Law Pertaining to Status of Teaching Personnel Within the RSR was a good law, really a 'Teachers Statute', even

a 'Teachers Charter'. The scope of the Law, the amount of work which had gone into its preparation, the extensive debates in the Great National Assembly, showed that in a country in which the Government and Party decide all priorities, a very high priority had been given, and was still being given, to education. Teachers with contacts abroad, those who had been in 'the West' for any period of time, opined that Romania was better off in this respect than any country in Europe.

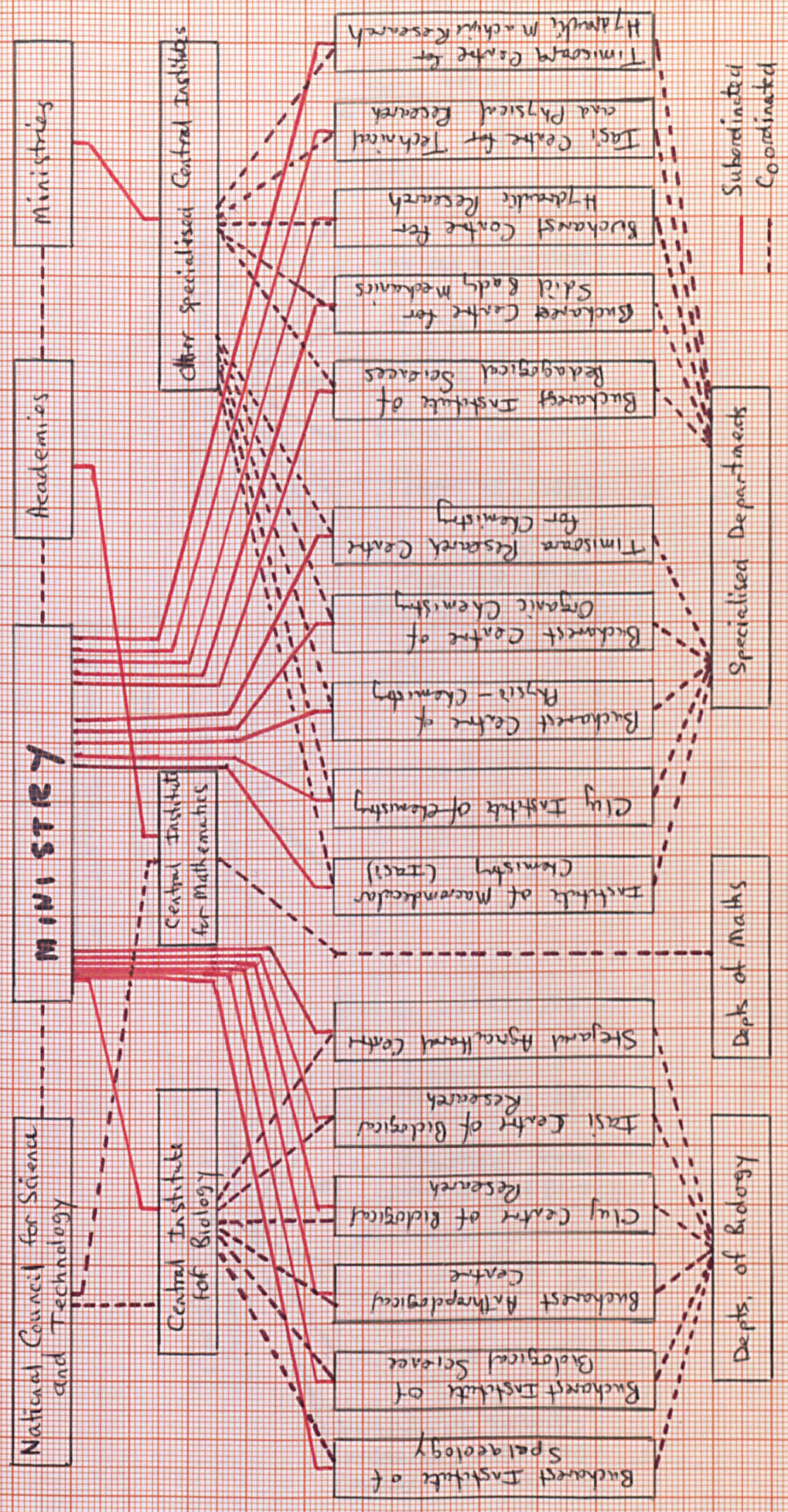
The status of teachers, it was said, has always been officially high, in reality very low. The teaching 'profession' had always been, and still was in many countries, a profession in name alone. The Romanian Teachers' Statute put teachers on a par with members of other professions - the Law, Government, Medicine and so on. Teachers' salaries and other material benefits were now at least as good as those of members of other professions. The raising of standards in general, the obligation put on teachers (for example, by Article 65) to take examinations as proof of continuous study and research for at least twenty-five years after qualification would give teachers higher standards, in time, than members of other professions. The argument, still valid in 'the West' that teachers fail to qualify for the title 'professional people' because they do not regulate admission and qualification does not apply in Romania, because no profession is 'autonomous' in that sense.

Certainly, the standard of equipment available for teachers' use, indeed facilities in general, are superior to those seen by the author in the United Kingdom and the United States and vastly superior to those seen in Italy and France.

The only real objection made was that which applies to codified law in general - detail makes for rigidity. But Romania has always had a written constitution and codified law, so this is perhaps an objection

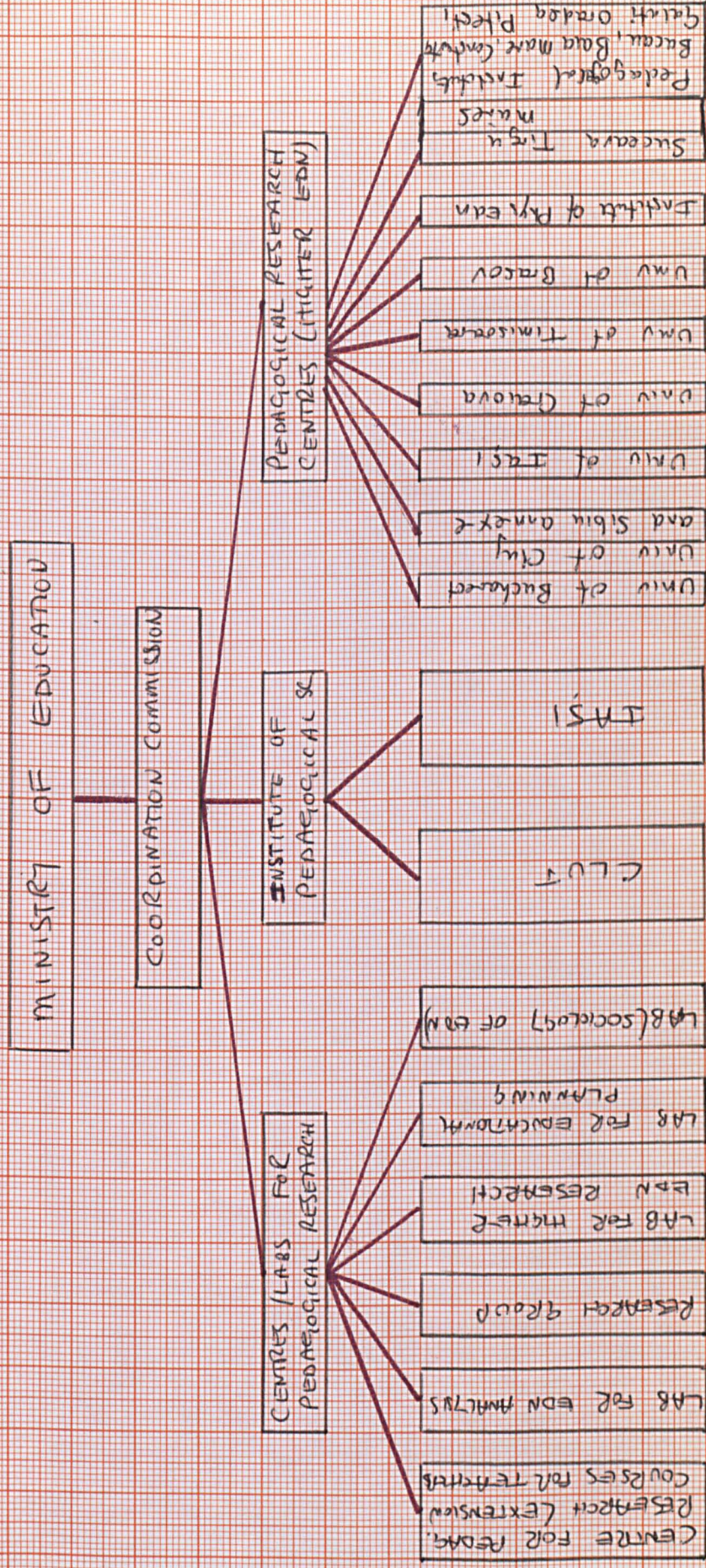
sustained only by anglophils who feel that the British system - that of having no system - is preferable if only because it mirrors the human personality, the development of which is the teacher's principal task.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PROGRAMME



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PROGRAMME

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION COMMISSION FOR PEDAGOGICAL RESEARCH



POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS AND MILITARY EDUCATION

1. Political education

No study of education in Romania would be complete without a note specifically on political education.

All schoolchildren and students in Romania receive some sort of political education, and it is impossible to graduate, or be given tenure (in higher education) without satisfying examiners in subjects variously described as Marxism-Leninism, Dialectical Materialism, Dialectics of History and Role of Socialism. The place of these subjects in the curriculum, examination and promotion and tenure scheme has already been described.

What is not clear, and what the Romanian Ministry of Education seemed reluctant to make clear, was who are the teachers of the subjects and the examiners of subjects and probationers. All the Ministry would commit itself to was a statement that they were "well qualified persons, members of directing organisations of the Communist Party of Romania". This would seem to mean that their own political education had taken the form of membership of the Young Pioneers (roughly speaking, primary and middle school children), the Young Communists (UTC) (students) and eventually the Communist Party of Romania (PCR) and the 'directing organisations' would be the executive committees of these organisations.

In line with Constantinescu's belief that only teachers should take an active part in the administration and control of education, it would also seem that political teachers and examiners are practising or retired teachers on secondment to one of the Party organisations (up to three years). It was suggested to the author that the "vast majority" of political educators and examiners had also been seconded at some time to the Higher Party School in Bucharest, an institution the author was not

allowed to visit (though the History of the Party Museum is open to the public). What happens at the Higher Party School is also not clear, but diligent inquiries revealed that senior officials of the UTC (for example, the President of the Students' Association in the University of Cluj-Napoca) are sent on short courses to the School during their term of office. It was impossible to get precise information about full-time staff and students there, and it may well be that most courses are short courses for urban and rural cadres of activists, full-time Party officials prior to promotion and so on.

What is clear is that the Librarian of the Higher Party School has responsibility for the archives of the Regional and Central Committees of the Communist Party, and for liaison with archivists of other Party schools and institutes abroad (e.g. the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union). Books are published by the Editură Politică which use material only available in these archives, and many of them seem inspired by the directorate of the Higher Party School. Among these books are the official histories of the Romanian and other Communist parties, and all translations from foreign political (non-Communist and Communist) documents (e.g. Churchill's *The Second World War*).

It seems, then, that the Higher Party School acts at one level as a training school for Party activists (teaching organisation, methods, political theory) and at another level under the direction of the Party Central Committee as the custodian and publisher of the Party's decisions including speeches by its leaders.

Some publications inspired by the Higher Party School are listed below:

Documente din Istoria Partidului Comunist din Romania (Documents from the History of the Communist Party of Romania), Editura

Politica, Bucharest 1953, 1957.

Ceașescu N. Raport ci privire la proiectul de Constituție a RSR
(Report on the Draft Constitution of the RSR) Editura Politica,
Bucharest 1965.

Ceașescu N. Partidul Comunist Roman - continuator al luptei revoluționare și democrat ce a poporului român, al tradițiilor mișcare muncitorească și socialiste din Romania (The Romanian Communist Party - continues the Romanian people's revolutionary and democratic struggle, and the traditions of the working class of the socialist movement of Romania). Editura Politica, Bucharest 1966.

Ceașescu N. A 25-a aniversare a eliberării patriei de sub jugul fascist (On the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland from under the fascist yoke), Editura Politica, Bucharest 1969.

Gheorghiu - Dej G. Articole și cuvintări (Articles and speeches), Editura Politica, Bucharest 1956.

Constantinescu M. Situația clasei muncitoare din Romania 1914-1944 (the situation of the Romanian working class 1914-1944). Editura Politica, Bucharest 1966.

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION - TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION



2. Religious education (1)

The Roman Catholic, Orthodox and post-Reformation churches have, as has been noted, played an important part in the development of an educational system as such - the claim is made by the Society of Jesus that the University of Cluj has grown out of the collegium-seminarium established there in 1583, and Lutherans, Calvinists and Unitarians all set up schools in Transylvania in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, the Jesuit schools and colleges were primarily for the social education of the sons of the nobility and the professional education of their seminarians, and the Protestant gymnasia have a discontinuous history. Schools run by the Orthodox clergy in the parishes were much more important, if only because until the nineteenth century they were the only schools of any sort open to the poor. The grandparents of President Ceaușescu went to such a school in Oltenia, and acquired a taste for learning there.

It is perhaps because of the historical continuity and popularity of Orthodox primary schools for the laity that the Orthodox Church as such has suffered little at the hands of the Communist Governments since the Second World War. Cases of destruction of Orthodox Church property by Marxist zealots have been rare, and though the Orthodox schools for the laity were closed in 1948, priests have been left in their parishes with land to help with their upkeep, and seminaries have been kept open. In 1975 there were seminaries (the equivalent of the English Hierarchy's Junior Seminaries, age of pupils 13-18) in Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Buzau, Curtea de Argeș, Munaștirea Neamț, Caranșebes and Mofleni. The number of priests in training was given officially as 360. There were no statistics available for members of religious communities (monasteries and convents), many of whom when trained become effectively priests with

(1). *Tribună României*, Bucharest, May, 1977. (unsigned article).

parish duties though on a visit to the Nicodemus house near Tirgu Jiu there seemed to be well over a hundred nuns and novices, and this is only one of a hundred houses in Romania. Priests and nuns are not admitted to State universities in Romania, and the higher education of the clergy takes place at Theological Institutes with university status in Bucharest and Sibiu. A request for information as to the number of students met with a flat refusal to give any. Teachers at these institutes seem to have been trained themselves there and have little contact with the academic world outside. They have their own printing presses and publish their own textbooks, and are allowed paper for this purpose on the understanding that they introduce into the curriculum 'approved' works on Romanian history, politics and so on. ⁽¹⁾

Protestants have many fewer facilities. Many Unitarians, Lutherans, Presbyterian and Evangelicals went to universities before 1948 (reading philosophy, history and modern languages) then went on to post-graduate theological institutes at which they received their professional training. Many Baptists were trained abroad, some in the United States of America, some at American-run institutes in Constantinople and for this reason during the Stalinist period of Romanian post-war political history they were described as "in league with imperialism". There is considerable evidence of active persecution of Baptists until 1965, when Ceausescu's more liberal views diminished this somewhat. Certainly, there are no Baptists at the one Protestant Theological Institute in existence in 1975 (at Cluj-Napoca) and other Protestant sects tend to regard them with disfavour as bringing all the Reformed Churches into disrepute. The Institute is of university status, and has an annexe in Sibiu for Evangelicals of the Augustan Confession. No figures were available of the number of students at either Sibiu or Cluj-Napoca,

(1) Conversations with Pop Victor, *sopra cit.*

though during a visit, the writer estimated the number at 200; however, some of these students were on 'refresher courses', many were middle aged, so it was difficult even to estimate how many were full-time students for the ministry.

The position of the Roman Catholic Church in Romania in 1975 was certainly more comfortable than between 1948 and 1965. There is a Theological Institute with university status at Alba Iulia, with an annexe at Iași, but there are no Junior Seminaries and it is difficult to establish where priests get their early training. The writer's impression was that all the training, including that at high school level, takes place at Alba Iulia, which has some 500 students enrolled. If these students are at all levels in their training, sending out some seventy priests a year into the parishes, this would seem to be about adequate for a Roman Catholic population of well over a million. Some priests may well be trained in Hungary for the Magyar population of Transylvania which is nearly all Roman Catholic. However, training abroad is discouraged, as is the appointment of foreign priests - hence the Archbishopric of Bucharest has no Archbishop, and for a time no Bishop, as there was no native Romanian of adequate stature. The Italian Church in Boulevard Magheru, an Italian territorial enclave, has been closed since 1948. There is no persecution of Catholics, if only because there are so many Magyar Catholics and the Magyars represent a political problem in other spheres, but religious education for small children takes place in groups of families visited by travelling priests and the permit to travel outside the area of residence is not always granted.

Small minorities (of Seventh Day Adventists, etc.) have a legal right to organise religious teaching, but in practice they have to do this in Bucharest, where, too, Baptists could learn and practise.

3. Military education

Some sort of military service is compulsory for all Romanians. As has been noted, all students in higher education do one day a week of un-informed training (since 1973), and then spend one month each year for the duration of their course at a training camp. All other young men and women do eighteen months full-time service in the army, navy or air force, though most (67%) seem to serve in the army. Students in higher education tend to have commissioned rank, as do students who have completed a lycee and volunteer for three years full-time service. In general, service is done in the region of origin (i.e. Transylvanians in Transylvania), with the exception of the cohabiting nationalities who tend to find themselves removed from the proximity of their fellow nationals in other countries.

Compulsory military service is badly paid, but in Romania's political position, is felt to be necessary and the grumbling seldom becomes protest. There is a possibility of promotion to the lower non-commissioned ranks (except as above), and this carries forward into a future civilian career as a merit mark. Many non-commissioned conscripts seem to join the police and this is a way of getting a transfer of residence from a remote or rural area to a town or city.

Professional service in army, navy and air force is well paid and privileged, especially at commissioned rank. Officers are trained at the Constanza Naval Academy, and the Army and Air Force Academies in Bucharest. The author was not allowed to visit these establishments but talks with military attaches suggested that they are run on much the same lines as the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst (at which the author was a cadet), i.e. a combination of military and general subjects taught over a period of eighteen months, and interspersed with schemes and practical exercises. Cadets hoping to become officers in the specialist arms (engineers,

communications) tend to be university graduates who have a shortened period of professional training (six months to a year) and medical and dental officers tend to have their student training recognised as sufficient.

Textbooks for the army, naval and air force academies are published by the Editura Militara. Some in use are:

Anescu, Col. A. Efortul economic al poporului roman in razboiul antiHitlerist (the economic effort of the Romanian people in the anti-Hitler war). Editura Militara, Bucharest 1964.

Anescu, Col. A. (with Cols. Bantea E. and Cupsa I.). Participation of the Romanian Army in the anti-Hitler war, Editura Militara, Bucharest 1964.

Zaharia, Gen. Gheorghe, August 1944 - mai 1945. Scurtaprezentare a contribuției României la razboiul antiHitlerist (August 1944 - May 1945. Brief survey of the Romanian contribution to the anti-Hitler War), Editura Militara, Bucharest 1969.

Petrescu, Maj-gen. A. Detașamentul Paulis (the Paulis Detachment) Editura Militară, Bucharest 1965.

(1) If it were not for the slight of the English people, who have long been, as should have been, the most civilized and most enlightened people in the world, for those people, being very much more than a hundred years ago, have proved a kind of standard of language, especially for the people of the world, to the last of the world.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Romania's achievements in the field of education seem to the author to be considerable, extensive in time and space notwithstanding the country's remoteness, in physical terms, from many of the great centres of educational ideas and experiment; a cursory glance at conditions in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, even Turkey, suggests that these achievements are remarkable in a relative as well as an absolute sense.

Several reasons for this suggest themselves. Before the Roman conquest, a stable civilisation with a vigorous peasant culture already existed. No doubt the physical geography, the concentric rings of mountains with interleaving plains about the Transylvanian heartland, concentrated effort wonderfully, and the great highway of the Danube facilitated the import and export of ideas. After the conquest, the best of what Roman and Dacian had to offer were easily fused and survived the assaults of barbarian and other invaders. Daco-Romania found its identity long before many countries in Western Europe and, more important, was aware of this fact.

The Daco-Romania of the heirs to Decebal re-emerged as a nation state before the Renaissance, and was re-established as a political fact of European life for a brief period at the end of the sixteenth century. This boost to the morale of the Daco-Romanians reinforced their awareness of their distinct cultural identity and made it possible to establish the first 'grammar schools' at Iasi, and for Dosoftei to publish religious and secular texts in Romanian which had much the same function as the Book of Common Prayer and the Authorised Version of the Bible in England.⁽¹⁾

Notwithstanding Turkish suzerainty over Moldavia and Wallachia, and Austro-

(1) If it were not for the Bible and the Common Prayer book in the Vulgar Tongue, we should hardly be able to understand anything that was written a hundred years ago, for these books, being perpetually read in churches, have proved a kind of standard of language, especially to the common people (Swift, Letter to the Earl of Oxford).

Hungarian occupation of Transylvania, the preservation and development of cultural identity waxed with the movements for political independence at home and abroad. The country's eldest surviving institute for higher education, Bucharest Polytechnic, was founded in 1815, taking advantage of a general reassertation of identity in post-Napoleonic Europe. De facto independence came in 1859 with the German and French lycées, a familiar model to Romanian educationists.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the universities in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania (Iași, Bucharest and Cluj) expanded, and though Transylvania was still under Austro-Hungarian government, there was a cross fertilisation of ideas between it and the two independent provinces. At the other end of the educational scale, Spiru Haret laid the foundations for an impressive structure of free, compulsory primary education, welding together existing schools created by Church, State and political parties as the scaffolding for the new structure.

Though there was an hiatus, in the sense of no further new development in education, due to wars and rumours of wars, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the reunion of Transylvania with Moldavia and Wallachia after the First World War gave a new impetus to cultural life in general; the Transylvanian independence movement had been led by writers and artists, like the poet and future Prime Minister, Octavian Goga, who became politicians by necessity.

The Twenties and Thirties saw the reform and expansion of secondary and commercial education, in spite of a gradual disillusionment with the political and social structure of the country. This disillusionment moved nearly the whole of the intelligentsia to the political Left. The disaster of alliance with Nazi Germany doomed the Right, and after the 'Liberation' of Romania in 1944 by the Soviet Red Army, the whole country moved farther and farther Left. For eleven years it was the Left of Soviet Orthodoxy, and this affected education which was

'sovietised' as elsewhere in Eastern Europe. After the election, in 1965, of Nicolae Ceausescu to be Secretary-General of the Romanian Communist Party, Romania resumed its own cultural identity, emphasising the 'new beginning' with the Education Act of 1968 and a restructuring of the whole educational system. This was accompanied by local government reform and the important Law Pertaining to the Status of Teaching Personnel, both enacted in 1968.

Since 1968 there has been steady progress. The author's impression is that the greatest success has been achieved in the field of nursery education and pre-school care and preparation, where the first affirmation of the Romanity of Romania takes place. Here no expense has been spared in the health care and development of the children's pedagogic personalities, though the author has some reservations about the excess of patriotism manifest in some school songs and slogans.

Progress has been considerable, too, in the generalisation of compulsory ten-year education, at the primary and middle school (gymnasium) levels. Vocational and technical education as such has been deferred until post middle school, and this has helped to raise general cultural standards.

The author is less happy about the post-middle-school level of education. The old Classical and Scientific lycées, on the French model, provided a privileged few with an intellectually rigorous education. The attempt to integrate vocational and technical education at this level, by 'generalising the lycée', seems to have upset many traditional lycée teachers, and there are signs that the 'forestry lycées' and such are being again hived off from the academic minority.

There has been considerable expansion at university levels. Three new universities - Craiova, Braşov and the elevated schools at Timişoara - have been established and annexes opened elsewhere. However, an insistence by the Government that students do 'practical work', 'military service' and 'patriotic work' in addition to their studies, and that most graduates be directed into industry, has

made higher education less attractive, and there has been a decrease in the number of students at this level.

Generally, however, the people engaged in education seem pleased with recent developments. Schoolteachers at all levels, and especially at the pre-school, nursery level, say they have never been so well off. The old lycée teachers seem to have won their fight to retain an academic stream. University teachers in general are pleased with their status, salary and facilities for teaching and research. The author, brought up among the rump of exiled Jacobite society in Middle Europe, has always been suspicious of any cultural motivation with its roots in the past, especially when the past is romanticised and historical personalities become cult figures. However, Romania seems to have avoided most of the dangers inherent in an everyday-of-the-week awareness of its 'difference', 'identity', 'Daco-Romanity'. The grafting of the new onto the old, physical, spiritual, intellectual, has created something outward looking, self-conscious without being selfish, and nowhere is this 'firm liberalism' more obvious than in the still evolving, educational system.

EXTENDED GLOSSARY

As few people in the United Kingdom speak Romanian, or even read it, a more complete glossary than usual is included here. With its help, non-Romanian speakers should be able to translate the titles of most Romanian publications in the field of education, and so identify those of interest. There is no equivalent in the UK of the Romanian Library in New York, but titles identified as of interest may then be obtained, possibly with summaries in English, from the Romanian sources listed in the bibliographical note.

GLOSSARY

Abatere disciplinara	infraction of discipline
Abecedar	primer, spelling book
Abilitate	skill, ingenuity
Abona	to subscribe to
Absolvent	graduate, school leaver
Abține	abstain (a se abține de la vot - to abstain from voting)
Abuz	abuse, deceit, fraud
Academic	academic (sfert academic - quarter of an hour assembly time before a lecture; a primi un titlu academic - to receive a degree)
Academie	academy (Academie RSR - the Academy of the Romanian Socialist Republic; Academie de Arte Frumoase - Academy of Fine Arts)
Accesoriu	incidental, accessory (pl. annexe, n., used for temporary classrooms)
Acord	contract
Act	action, deed, document, legal instrument
Activist (de partid)	Party worker
Acțiune	action (lucrînd din plin acțiune - working fulltime)
Adaos	supplementary clause, codocil
Adept	follower
Adevăr	truth
Adîncit (in studiu)	deep in study
Administrație	administration
Admitere (examen de)	entrance examination
Adunare	assembly (Marea Adunarea Națională - Great National Assembly, the Romanian Parliament)

Afurisenie	excommunication
Ager	shrewd, clever
Agramat	illiterate
Ajutor	grant (ajutor familiar de Stat - family allowance)
Albinar	beekeeper
Alegere	election
Alene (cititor)	slow reader
Alfabetiza	to teach to read and write
Alocație	allocation, grant in aid
Alodial	freehold
Altoi	to vaccinate
Amatorism	dilettantism
Ambuscat	shirker
Amploiat	employee
Anul (academic)	the academic year
Anchetare	inquiry
Angara	corvee
Aniversar	anniversary
Anticariat	second hand bookshop
Antum	published during the author's lifetime
Anunț	advertisement
Apariție	publication
Apartenență (de clasă)	class affiliation
Apel	roll call
Aprod	usher
Ardelean	Transylvanian
Asistent	assistant lecturer (higher education)
Aspirant	post graduate student
Asezamînt	establishment
Atelier	workshop

Ateneu	Atheneum
Atlant	atlas
Audient	student not registered for examinations
Audiere	oral examination
Aulă	lecture room
Autocritică	self criticism (in public)
Bacalaureat	(high) school leaving certificate (examination), also a person who has passed the examination
Balcanic	Balkan
Balot	ballot
Balotaj	second ballot
Banca	desk (school)
Barem	ready reckoner
Barosani	the well-off
Başbuzuc	Turk
Bază (sportivă)	sports ground
Bazin	swimming pool
Băjenar	refugee
Barbat de Stat	statesman
Baţ	cane
Bibliotecar	librarian
Biblioteca	library (biblioteca de imprumut - lending library)
Bici	to flog
Bilet de examen	admission ticket to examination
Binecrescut	well educated
Birou	writing desk, office (pol. executive)
Biserică	church
Bisericesc	ecclesiastical
Bizantism	Byzantism, duplicity

Boboc (a fi prost)	to be backward
Boier	landowner
Bonjurism	manners of Frenchified Romanians
Brat	arm, (fig.) workers (brațe de muncă - workforce)
Breaslă	guild, corporation
Brevet	certificate, warrant (brevet de capacitate - certificate of potential for teaching)
Brigadă	brigade (work unit)
Brodit	chance (absolvent pe brodite - passed his exams by a fluke)
Bucher	swot
Buget	Budget (a prezenta bugetul - to bring in the Budget) (an bugetar - fiscal year)
Buletin	official report (buletin oficial - official gazette)
Bunăstare	welfare
Burghez	bourgeois
Bursă	scholarship
Bursier	scholarship holder
Butadă	flash of wit, academic joke
Butucanos	boorish
Buzunar	pocket (dictionar de buzunar - pocket dictionary)
Cabinet	study, office (sef de cabinet - a Minister's principal secretary)
Cabotin	a meddler in politics, esp. educational politics
Cadru	staff, personnel (cadre cu studiu superioare - university trained specialists)

Caiet	exercise book
Calc	translation loan word
Calchia	to translate
Calcul	calculus
Calcula	to calculate (a calculagresit - to miscalculate)
Cale	road, way (a pune pe cineva la calea - to instruct)
Calemgiu	clerk (esp. provincial bureaucracy)
Calificare	qualification (calificare la locul de muncă - on the job training; a-și ridica calificarea - to improve one's qualifications)
Calificat	skilled (e.g. workers)
Camarad	comrade (camarad de școală - school fellow) but not in the Communist Party (where tovarăș - comrade)
Camera	room (Camera Deputaților - Chamber of Deputies)
Cancelarie	office (cancelarie școlii - staffroom)
Carnet	notebook
Carta	charter
Carte	book, learning, schooling
Cartoteca	card-index
Casă	house (casa de lectura - village reading room)
Catalog	class register
Catedra	chair, esp. professor's or lecturer's; chair, professorship; university department (e.g. catedră de istorie - history dept.)
Gazanie	homily
Calator	traveller (profesor călător - peripatetic teacher)

Călauza	guide book, survey
Călimară	inkpot
Cămin	heart, home (cămin de studenți - students' hostel; cămin de zi, de copii - day-nursery)
Capătii	pillow, bolster (carte de capatii - fundamental text)
Căpațina	(student slang) head (knowledge box)
Carbune	charcoal (a schita în carbune - to make charcoal sketches)
Cartică	booklet
Carturar	scholar
Carturăresc	scholarly (also, bookish)
Cenaclu	literary club
Cens	census (cens de instructiune odin. - educational qualification)
Cenzor	censor
Cerc	circle (cerc științific - debating society)
Cerneală	ink
Certificat (scolar)	school certificate
Cheltuială	expenses
Chemare	call (chemare la intrecere socialistă - to call to a socialist meeting)
Ciclu	cycle (ciclu de prelegeri - course of lectures)
Cifra	number (cifre arabe - arabic numerals)
Cincinal	five-year (plan cincinal - Five Year Plan)
Cioc	crammer
Circa	militia (police) station
Circulară	circular (memorandum)
Citi	to read, to read up, to spell

Cititor	reader
^ Cimp	field (cimp sportiv - playing field)
^ Cînta	to sing
^ Cîntar	scales (balance)
^ Cîrmuitor	ruler, leader
Clasic	classic, recognised, standard (works)
Clopot	bell
Cod	code (cod civil - civil code)
Colectiv	community (colectiv de munca - body of workers)
Coleg	colleague (coleg de clasa - classmate; coleg de facultate - fellow student)
Colegiu	college (inc school) (colegiul avoca- tilor - Bar Association)
Comisie	commission
Comite	to commit
Comitet	committee
Complementar	complementary (scoală complementară - continuation school)
Comun	common
Comună	commune (lowest rung of local govern- ment ladder)
Comunicare	dissertation
Concediu	leave of absence
Concept	rough copy (hîrtie de concept - scribbling paper)
Concepție	outlook, ideal
Concurs	competitive examination
Condei	penholder
Condică	class register
Conducător	leader (i.e. Ceausescu)
Conferința școlară	staff meeting (sală de conferințe - lecture hall)

Congres	conference
Conlocuitor	cohabiting (naționalități conlocuitoare - cohabiting nationalities, i.e. Magyars, Germans etc. in Romania)
Consiliu	council (Consiliu de Stat - Council of State)
Conspect	summary, survey
Contabilitate	accounting
Contopi	to merge (institutions)
Control	control, audit, censorship
Copil	child (carte de copii - children's book; creșterea copilor - bringing up children; grădiniță de copii - kindergarten)
Coraportor	co-lecturer
Corecție	correction, corporal punishment (casă de corecție - reformatory)
Corepetitor	assistant music master
Corigent	student for re-examination (after failure)
Corigența	re-examination
Cota	mark
Credința	faith, opinion
Creir	brain
Creion	pencil
Cult	denomination (relig.), also (adj.) cultivated.
Culturalizare	enlightenment (muncă de culturalizare - cultural educational work)
Cultură	culture (cultură fizică - physical culture; om de cultură - a cultivated man)
Cuminte	clever, gifted

Cumul	holding more than one office or appointment
Cunoaștere/conostință	knowledge
Curs	lecture, textbook (a ține un curs de istorie - to lecture on history)
Cuvînt	word, speech, teaching
Dac	Dacian
Dactilografia	to type
Dare	tax, assessment, report
Datorie	debt, duty
Dădaca	nanny
Dascăli	to teach, to instruct
Dascalime	teaching staff, professorate
Dascălița	woman teacher
Declarație	official statement
Defect	defect (defect de vorbire - speech defect)
Definitiv	definitive (profesor definitiv - professor in ordinary)
Degreva	to give tax relief (on schools etc.)
Delapida	to embezzle public funds
Delegat	person sent on an official mission
Demisionar	a person who is resigning
Demnitate	post of honour
Demodat	out of date
Depline putere	plenipotentiary
Depozit de cărți	stacks (library)
Descoperitor	discoverer
Deservire	facilities (deservire medico-sanitară - medical facilities, as in kindergartens)

Desființare	abolition, suppression
Deșteptaciune	intelligence
Dețasă	to second (somebody)
Devalmasie	joint ownership
Deznodămînt	final outcome
Dezvolta	to develop
Dibacie	skill (dexterity)
Didactic	Didactic (corp didactic - teaching staff; Editură Didactică - Publishing House for Teachers)
Difuzare	diffusion, broadcast (radio)
Diletantism	amateurishness, esp. pretending to be an amateur
Diploma	diploma (lucrare de diploma - dissertation)
Directoara	headmistress
Director	headmaster, principal
Direcțiune	headmaster's study
Diriginte	form master
Dirijor	conductor
Disciplina	discipline
Discotecă	gramophone library (records)
Dispensa	exemption (from examination, etc.)
Diurnist	somebody (esp. student) getting a daily allowance
Dizertație (disertatie)	dissertation
Doctor	doctor (doctor in drept - Doctor of Laws)
Doctoral	doctoral, also pedantic
Doctorat	examination for (title) of doctor
Domn	Mr.
Dor	longing for

Dovadă	proof
Drac	devil (dracul - the devil)
Drum	way
Duce	to lead
Echipă	team, shift
Economie	economy, economics (luptă pentru economii - economy drive)
Ecuatie	equation
Edil	town councillor
Editura	publishing house
Educare	education
Educație	education (educație profesională - vocational education)
Educatoară	lowest rank of teacher (kindergarten)
Efor	guardian
Elabora	to work out (a plan, etc.)
Elementar	elementary (clasele elementare - lower forms)
Elev	pupil, student (private schools)
Eliminare	elimination
Episcop	bishop
Epocă	epoch, age (epoca de fer - the Iron Age)
Era	era (in anul 754 al erei noastre - 754 AD)
Erudit	scholar, scholarly, erudite
Eseu	essay
Estetism	art for art's sake
Etajeră	bookcase
Evidență	evidence (evidență contabilă - book keeping)

Examen	examination (a da un examen - to take an exam; a cădea la examen - to fail an exam.)
Exemplar	exemplary
Expropria	to expropriate
Externat	day school, non resident medical studentship
Fabrică	factory (fabşcol - factory school)
Facultate	faculty (facultate de pedagogia - Faculty of Teacher Training)
Faliment	failure
Familie	family
Fapt	action, event, reality
Far	lighthouse (Fariot, Fanariot - Phanariot, Greek servant of Porte)
Fată	virgin, young girl
Faţa	face
Fazanerie	pheasant reserve, disrespectful name for Ministry of Education
Făuritor	founder
Festival	festival (Festivatul Mondial al Tinereţului - World Festival of Youth)
Filmotecă	film library
Financiar	financial (anul financiar - the financial year)
Fişă	record card
Fişic	roll of money
Fişneţ	unruly, undisciplined
Foclor	folklore
Folosire	employment
Fond	content, substance (articol de fond - leading article)

For	Forum, tribunal
Forestier	to do with forests (adj) (școală forestieră - forestry school)
Forma	to form, train
Formație	formation (formație artistică - art group)
Formular	printed form
Funcție	post, position
Fundație	foundation
Furier	clerk (in army)
Gaidă	bagpipe
Gaj	deposit, security, mortgage
Galerie	gallery
Garnitură	trimmings, furniture & fittings
Gazdă	landlady (esp. student landlady)
Gazetă	newspaper
Găgăuță	ineducable fool
Gerundiv	gerund
Geți	Getae
Ghici	to guess, for foresee
Ghid	guide
Ghiftui	to cram
Gimnaziu	gymnasium (middle school)
Gînd	thought, idea (un gînd bun - a bright idea)
Gînguri	to prattle (small children)
Gîngăv	stutter
Glas	voice (glasul poporului - the voice of the people, public opinion)
Glosar	glossary

Gospodărire	goodhousekeeping (esp Moldavia)
Grad	degree
Grafic	timetable
Grafică	graphic arts
Gramatică	grammar (gramatica comparata - comparative grammar)
Gramatic	clerk
Greși	to make a mistake
Greva	strike
Grija	care (fara grija - careless)
Grijuliu	careful
Grup	group (studiu in grup - group study)
Haihui	brainless
Harnic	industrious
Hatîr	concession
Hatman	Minister of War (Moldavia), inspector of police (Wallachia)
Hebdomadar	weekly
Herb	coat of arms
Hîrtie	paper
Hora	Romanian dance
Hotar	frontier
Hotărîre	decision (as of a Minister, with legal effect)
Hulă	curse
Icoana	icon
Iconar	icon painter
Idee	idea (idee genială - brilliant idea)
Identitate	identity (buletin de identitate - identity card)

Idiom	language
Idiş	Yiddish
Ierah	metropolitan (Orthodox Church)
Ierahic	through the usual channels
Ierta	to pardon
Iesi	to go out, to come out (a iesit bine la examen - he did well in the examination)
Iesire	solution
Iezuit	Jesuit
Igienist	sanitary worker
Ilumina	to shed light on
Ilustra	to illustrate
Imagina	to imagine
Imagine	image
Imberb	youth
Imn	hymn (imn național - national anthem)
Impiegat	minor civil servant
Impieta	to cast aspersions on
Impozit	tax (imposit fiscal - stamp duty)
Imprima	to print, to register
Impune	to impose
Inadvertență	mistake (Civil Service euphemism)
Inamovibil	holding a post for life
Incident	point of law
Incintă	hall, audience
Inculpa	to charge, indict
Indemnizație	indemnity (indemnizație de concediu - holiday pay)
Independență	independence
Indispensabili	underpants

Industrializare	industrialisation
Inferior	subordinate
Infirmiera	nurse
Informa	to inform
Inginer	engineer
Inimă	heart
Inimos	brave
Inspector	inspector
Inspecție	inspection (inspectie la fața locului - on the spot inspections for didactic degrees)
Instituție	institution (institutie de binefacere - philanthropic institution)
Instrucție	instruction
Instruit	learned
Intelectual	intellectual (n and adj)
Interdicție	ban
Intern	boarder (school), resident medical student (med.)
Internat	boarding school
Internaționala	the Internationale
Interpret	interpreter
Interurban	long distance phone call
Interzis	forbidden
Intrare	entrance (intrare in vacanța școlară - going down/breaking up from school)
Inventar	inventory
Invocare	invocation
Ipoteca	to mortgage
Irod	buffoon
Iscodi	to spy

Iscusit	learned
Ispiti	to tax
Isprava	success
Istorie	story, history
^Îmbiba	to imbue with
^Îmbina	to unite
^Îmbicsi	to cram
^Îmbogațire	enrichment
^Îmbrățisa	to take up (a profession)
^Îmbucătați	to divide
^Îmbunătăți	to improve
^Împărți	to share out (a împărți dreptate - to administer justice)
^Împlini	to reach the age of
^Împrăstia	to disseminate
^Împricinat	litigant
^Împroprietărire	land reform
^Împuternici	to empower
^Înaintare	promotion
^Înapoiere	backwardness
^Încadra	to make part of (incadra într-un post to take on the staff)
^Încăpea	to find room
^Început	beginning
^Înceta	to cease
^Închide	to close
^Încorpora	to draft, to call up (mil)
^Încredere	confidence, trust
^Încrezut	self important

Încuiat	stick in the mud
Încurca	to confuse (incurca la examen - to flounder in an exam)
Îndeplini	to carry out (orders)
Îndrepta	to reform
Îndreptar	guidebook
Înființa	to organise
Îngăduință	leave
Înlocui	to replace by
Înmatricula	enrol, matriculate (secondary and higher education)
Înnegura	to obscure
Înrobi	to enslave
Înscrie	to register
Însemnat	important
Însura	to get married
Înștiințare	information
Întocmire	system, organisation
Întrecere	competition (întrecere socialistă - socialist emulation)
Întreprindere	enterprise
Întelegere	understanding
Înțeles	meaning
Învățare	teaching
Învățământ	education (Ministerul Învățământului - Ministry of Education; învățământ elementar - primary education, etc.)
Învățător	teacher (second rung of teaching ladder)
Învrednici	to honour

Jalba	petition
Jargon	slang
Jerfi	sacrifice (a-și jerfi viața pentru patrie - to lay down one's life for one's country)
Joacă	play, sport
Juca	to play (a juca rolul lui Hamlet - to play Hamlet)
Judeca	to try (a case)
Județ	district (local government)
Jura	to swear
Jurământ	oath
Jurnal	newspaper
Justiție	justice (Ministerul Justiției - Ministry of Justice)
Laborant	laboratory assistant
Laic	secular
Lansa	to launch (a plan, etc.)
Laudă	commendation
Lămuri	to explain
Leafă	salary
Lector	lecturer
Lectura	reading
Lecție	lesson
Legătură	binding, connection
Lege	law
Legislație	legislation
Legitimatie	identity card

Liber	free
Librărie	bookshop
Licean	pupil at a lycee
Licență	lowest university degree
Licenția	to dismiss
Licențiat (in drept)	Bachelor (of Law)
Liceu	lycée, senior high school
Lichida	to liquidate
Limba	language
Lipsă	absence (lipsă de răspundere - lack of responsibility)
Literat	man of letters
Loc	place, job
Locțiitor	locum
Logofăt	chancellor
Lovitură	blow (Lovitură de stat - coup d'etat)
Lua	to take
Lucra	to work
Lucru	work
Lume	world (lumea mare - high society)
Lumina	to educate
Lună	month
Maculator	rough notebook
Maghiar	Magyar, Hungarian
Magnetofon	tape recorder
Mahala	suburb
Maistru	foreman
Manej	riding school
Manifest	manifesto, proclamation

Manual	textbook
Mare	big, great (Ștefan cel Mare - Stephen the Great)
Mare	sea (Marea Neagră - Black Sea)
Martor	witness
Masă	mass, table (masele largi populare - the broad mass of the people)
Material	material (situație materială - economic conditions)
Materie	subject matter
Mănăstire	monastery, convent
Măsură	measure
Meditator	tutor
Mediu	average (școală medie - middle school)
Membru	member, fellow (scientific societies)
Mențiune	mention, certificate of good conduct (school)
Meserie	trade (școală de meserii - trade school)
Meșter	skilled worker
Mic	small (copii mici - little children)
Minister	Ministry
Ministru	Minister
Minte	mind, brains
Minune	prodigy, gifted child
Miscare	movement (miscare de tineret - youth movement)
Mixt	mixed (școală mixtă - coeducational school)
Mîtuială	slipshod
Mizgăli	to blot
Mobilă	furniture

Molitvelnic	prayer book
Monitor ^u Oficial	Official Gazette
Mort	dead
Munca	work (munca patriotica - voluntary work; munca sociala: concrete - physical work for students)
Muzeu	museum
Nastere	birth
Național	national (problemă națională - problem of national minorities)
Naval	naval (școală navală - Naval Training School)
Narav	bad habit
Neam	people, nation
Neamt	German
Neascultare	disobediance
Neatirnat	autonomous
Nechemat	ignorant
Necopt	immature
Negustoresc	commercial
Neimpozabil	tax free
Nelucrător	work free (zi nelucrătoare - free day)
Nepublicat	unpublished
Neumblat	inexperienced
Nivel	level (nivel de trai - living standard)
Norma	norm, rule (norme de producție - work quotas)
Noțiune	ABC
Novice	novice, apprentice, fresher (stud.)

Oaste	army (a lua la oaste - to conscript)
Obadă	stocks (a pune in obezi - to punish)
Obicei	habit, local custom
Obidit	the down-trodden
Obiectiv	objective, realistic
Obirșie	starting point
Oblăduire	governing body
Obligativu	binding (hotărîre obligatorie - executive decisions of Ministry, etc.)
Obol	contribution (used to describe voluntary work)
Obraz	face (a-și scoate obrazul în lume - to come out in Society)
Observator	research student
Obște	commune, commune council
Obștesc	public, communal (munca obștească - social work)
Ocol	ward (local government)
Ocrotire	protection (ocrotirea mamei și a copilului - maternity and child welfare)
Ocupație	job, occupation
Oficiu	office, bureau (oficiu de stare civilă - registry of births, deaths and marriages)
Ofițer	officer, public official
Olac	messenger
Om	man (om de știință - scientist)
Operă	work (literary, musical or plastic arts)
Opinie	view (opinia publică - public opinion)
Opis	register, inventory

Ordin	command, decoration
Ordine	(good) order and discipline
Organ	organ (music, medic., agency)
Organizație	organisation (organizație de bază - lower echelon organisation, esp. Party)
Original	original (adj), top copy
Ortodox	orthodox, member of Eastern Church
Ortografie	orthography, spelling
Otoman	Turk, Ottoman, Osmanli
Pace	peace, calm (mișcarea pentru pace - Peace Movement)
Pajură	royal (golden) eagle (heraldic)
Palmares	prize list, honours list
Pamfletar	pamphleteer
Până	quill (pen)
Papetărie	papershop
Papistăș	Catholic (abusive)
Paradă	parade, show (parade sportiva - sports parade)
Parc	park (Parc de Odihnă și Cultură - Park of Rest and Culture or recreation area)
Parcurge	to travel through, scrutinise (audits, school inspections)
Parte	part, portion (parte de vorbire - part of speech; Înaltele Părți Contractante - High Contracting Parties)
Particular	special (a da examen in particular - to take an examination without attending classes)
Partid	Party (Rețeaua învățămîntului de Partid - the Party Educational System)
Partida	game, match

Pastorală	pastoral poem, bishops letter
Paști	Easter
Patalama	diploma, certificate
Patentă	licence
Patrie	fatherland (apătrarea - defence of one's country)
Patriotard	chauvinist
Patron	head, master, proprietor
Pavilion	summer house, shooting lodge
Păcat	mistake
Pădureanca	forest dweller
Palmaș	poor peasant (with no draught animals)
Pământ	earth (pământ negru - black earth, Moldavia)
Păpușă	doll (teatru de păpuși - Punch and Judy show)
Părăsit	abandoned, depopulated
Părinte	parents, ancestors
Pasăresc	gibberish (lit. bird talk, used disrespectfully to describe official circulars)
Păstor	shepherd
Patrar	quarter
Pătrat	square
Păzitor	guardian (Constantinescu sometimes known as Păzitor Profesorilor - the teachers' guardian angel)
Pedagog	teacher
Pedagogic	pedagogic (as in Institut Pedagogic - pedagogical institute)
Pedagogie	pedagogy (as in Revista de Pedagogie - the Pedagogical Review)

Pedeapsă	punishment
Peluză	sports ground (field sports, tennis)
Peniță	pen nib
Pensie	pension (a scoate la pensie - to be retired)
Pension	private boarding school
Pensiune	boarding house
Perdea	curtain, veil, screen, cover-up
Periferie	outskirts
Perinda	to succeed (to a post)
Periodic	periodical
Peripatetic	peripatetic
Permanent	pass
Permanentă	permanent service, tenure (univ.)
Permis	authorisation
Personalitate	personality (cultul personalitatii - personality cult)
Pertracta	to discuss
Petiție	petition
Petiționa	to petition
Pianină	piano
Piatră	stone, memorial
Pică	enmity, acrimony, spades (cards)
Piesă	play (theatre)
Pionier	pioneer (and Pioneer, member of Communist Youth Movement)
Pix	ball point pen
Pîrcălab	chief magistrate (Moldavia)
Plan	plan (Plan Cincinal - Five Year Plan)
Plasament	job
Plată	pay, wages

Plaies	mountaineer (Wallachia)
Plîngere	protest
Poarta	gate (Portile de Fer - Iron Gates on Danube)
Polemic	controversial
Politeb ^h nic	polytechnic (invatamint politehnic - polytechnic education)
Politic	political
Politica	policy
Pomanagiu	scrounger, persistent petitioner (to ministries, etc.)
Pomani	to mention (nu se pomenea școală pe atunci - there were no schools at that time)
Pomina	memory
Popă	priest (Orthodox)
Popor	people
Popular	of the common people (cintec popular - folk song)
Portofoliu	portfolio (Ministru fără Portofoliu - Minister without Portfolio)
Postelnic	Minister for Foreign Affairs (18th, 19th centuries)
Poștă	post, post office
Potrivire	agreement
Povată	advice
Poziție	position, standpoint
Practică	practical work for students, esp. during vacations
Precădere	priority
Precupeț	petty trader
Predicator	preacher
Preface	to transform

Pregăti	to get ready (se pregătește la geografie - he is swotting up his geography)
Prelungitor	pencil holder
Premier	Prime Minister
Premiu	prize
Preparator	laboratory assistant
Presă	press, newspapers
Preșcolar	pre-school, a child under school age
Preșidente	President, Chairman (Preșidentele Marii Adunări Nationale - Chairman of the Great National Assembly, Speaker)
Pretentie	lowbrow
Prezența	to come forward as a candidate
Prezenta	participation (as in prezențe românești - Romanian participation)
Pricepe	to be skilled in something
Primărie	town hall, mayors office
Print	prince
Privitor	onlooker (also auditor, univ.)
Proba	end of term examination
Proces	action at law
Prodecan	prodean (univ.)
Profesional (as in școală profesională)	vocational (school)
Profesionist	professional
Professor	teacher after eighth year of education, in principle high school and higher education (profesor docent - holder of chair, univ. only)
Progres	progress
Promotie	list of graduates
Propoziție	sentence

Publicistica	journalism
Puericultura	rearing of children
Radia	to strike off, disbar (from teaching, the medical profession, etc.)
Rafina	to acquire refinement
Raion	district (local government)
Ramazan	Ramadan
Raport	report
Rar	slowly
Ratat	ineffectual
rata	instalment
Rațiune	reason
Raboij	tally
Răscula	to rebel
Răspunde	to reply (raspunde a la toate întrebările - to answer all the questions in an exam, to floor the paper)
Răspundere	responsibility
Răspuns	examination script
Rau	bad
Război	war
Răzeș	free peasant
Reabilitare	recovery of civil rights
Recenza	to take a census of, to review
Rechizite	supplies (rechiziție școlare - school supplies)
Recomandare	testimonial
Recomandată	registered letter
Rector	rector, chancellor (univ.)
Redactor	editor
Redus	narrow minded

Referat	paper, essay
Reforma	reform, discharge from the army
Regatean	Wallachian, Moldavian
Regie	administration
Registru	register
Regiune	region (local government)
Reglementar	statutory
Reintegra	to reinstate somebody into his office
Relație	relationship
Renastere	the Renaissance
Repartiție	distribution
Repetent	pupil repeating a year
Repetitor	coach
Republica	to republish
Republică	republic
Responsabil	executive
Restantier	a student who has not passed all his exams
Retrage	to take away from school
Retribuire	payment
Revanșă	revenge
Revista	magazine
Rezolva	to solve
Rînd	row, rank
Robă	gown
Rom	gypsy
Roman	Roman
Roman	Romanian
Roșu	red (Armata Roșie - Red Army)
Rusalii	Whitsuntide

Rusă	Russian
Ruşine	disgrace
Sacoşă	satchel
Sadea	genuine, true born Romanian (pop.)
Salahor	day labourer
Salariat	Weekly or monthly wage earner
Sală	hall, reception room (sală de gîmnastică - gym)
Salon	drawing room, hospital ward, school assembly hall
Salt	jump (Salt Înainte - Great Leap Forward)
Salvare	salvation (Armata Salvării - Salvation Army)
Samavolnic	despotically
Sanatoriu	sanatorium
Sancţiune	penalty (sancţiune de partid - punishment by Party)
Sarcină	task, burden (sarcină de partid - task imposed by Party)
Satisfacţie	satisfaction, reparation
Savant	wise man, scholar
Salăş	shelter, temporary classroom
Sănătos	healthy, sound (familia sănătoasă - working class background)
Săptămîină	week (leafa pe o săptămîină - week's salary)
Sărac	destitute
Sărbătoare	rest day
Săsesc	Saxon (Transylvania)
Scara	ladder (scara socială - social scale)

Scena	stage
Schimb	exchange (schimb de experienta - pooling of experience; schimb culturel - cultural exchange)
Schit	small secluded convent, remote school (pop.)
Scit	Scythian
Scînteia	to sparkle, The Spark (Party newspaper)
Scîrța-scîrța	scribbler
Scolast	scholastic
Scrie	to write
Scriptic	on the staff
Scutit	tax exempt
Seara	evening (școala de seara - evening school)
Sechestrare	sequestration
Secol	century
Secretar	secretary (Secretar General al Partidului - Secretary General of the Party, the principal office of power in the RSR)
Sector	sector, field, area (sectorul socialist - socialist sector, etc.)
Secție	department, unit
Secundar	secondary (scoala secundara - secondary school)
Securitate	security, State Security Service
Semestru	term
Seminar	seminar, seminary
Semn	sign, badge, symbol
Separatism	separatism
Seral	evening (adj.) (școală serală - evening school)

Serios	earnest, serious minded, genuine
Serviciu	service, duty (a avea 25 ani de serviciu - to have 25 years service)
Sesizare	notice, information
Sfat	piece of advice
Sfântui	to bribe
Sigiliu	seal
Siguranța	political police
Silința	effort
Silvic	forest (adj.) (scoala silvica - forest school)
Sinagoga	synagogue
Sistem	system, order (Sistemul Mondial Socialist - World Socialist Order)
Situație	status, position (situație socială - social status)
Sirb	Serb
Slovac	Slovak
Sloven	Slovene
Slujbaş	civil servant
Societate	society
Sol	messenger
Solie	embassy
Sora	sister, nun
Sparge	to break, crush (a sparge norma - to exceed the target figure)
Spațiu	space (spatiu locativi - permitted living space)
Spirit	spirit, soul, intellect
Spirt	spirit (wine, alcohol)
Spovedi	to confess

Stabili	to establish, prove, fix (a stabili un termen - to fix a term)
Stagiar	probationer
Stareta	headmistress of a convent school
Stat	State (Scoală de Stat - State school)
Stăpîn	master, esp. apprentice master (instructor)
Sticlă	glass (a picta pe sticlă - to paint on glass, as in Transylvania)
Stingism	Leftism (as in Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder, by Lenin)
Strat	stratum, layer (din toate stratufele sociale - from all walks of life)
Strain	foreign, unknown
Stravechi	from time immemorial
Striga	to call (a striga catalogul - to call the roll)
Student	student (cămin studentesc - students hostel; șapcă studentască - students cap at lycee)
Studia	to study
Studiu	study, education, learning (but studiat - affected)
Subiect	subject matter
Subsecretar	under secretary (of State)
Substituent	substitute
Substitut	deputy prosecutor
Subzistență	special allowance
Succes	success, favourable result
Suflet	soul, spirit, feeling
Sul	scroll
Supleant	substitute, deputy, candidate (membru supleant - candidate member)

Suplimentar	additional (munca suplimentară - overtime)
Surdomut	deaf and dumb
Sus-pus	highly placed
Șablon	stencil
Șah	chess
Șapirograf	mimeograph
Șatra	gypsy camp, tribe
Școală	school (școală de corecție - reform school; a absolvi o școală - to finish, graduate, from school; școală de cultură generală - compulsory cycle of schooling; școală de perfecționare - finishing school; școală confesională - religious school)
Școlar	schoolboy
Școlăriță	schoolgirl
Ședință	meeting
Șef	chief (șef de catedră - head of department)
Șezătoara	evening get together (villages)
Șistav	feeble (mind, body), handicapped
Șoma	to be out of work
Șosea	main road
Ști	to know
Știință	science
Știre	knowledge
Strengar	naughty child
Șvab	Swabian, Schwabian

Tabăra	camp (tabăra de Pionieri - Communist youth camp)
Tabla	plate, panel (tablă de logaritmi - logarithm tables)
Tablou	picture
Tagma	class, category
Taină	secret, mystery
Talant	talent
Talpa	sole (of foot) (talpa țării - peasants)
Taraf	folk band
Tare	string, solid
Taxă	charge (taxă școlare - school fees)
Țăgirtă	school satchel
Țalmaci	translator, interpreter, explicator
Tatar	Tartar
Teatru	theatre, drama
Tehnic	technical (școală tehnică - technical school)
Televiziune	television
Tema	subject, theme, composition (school)
Teme	to be afraid of
Tendință	tendency
Teorie	theory
Teren	ground (teren de joc - playground)
Teterist	recruit with special qualifications who does shorter period of conscript military service
Teză	thesis, dissertation (univ.)
Tihnă	leisure
Tichet	ticket (tichet de pâine - voucher for free bread)

Tineret	youth, young people (Uniunea Tineretului Comunist - Union of Communist Youth)
Tipar	printing press
Titlu	diploma, certificate
Titrat	having a degree, diploma or certificate
Titular	titular (professor titular - full professor)
^Tirg anual	lit. annual fair (used to describe annual redistribution of teaching posts)
Toceala	swotting up
Tocilar	crammer
Tont	dull, backward
Tovaras	comrade
Traduce	to translate
Transfera	to be transferred from one place of work to another
Transilvanean	Transylvanian
Tratat	treaty
Trata	bill of exchange
Treapta	grade, rank
Trecut	past (trecutul de lupta al poporului - the past struggles of the people)
Tribunal	tribunal, court
Trimis	envoy
Trisfetite	the Three Hierarchs (Gabriel, Michael, Raphael)
^Trindav	lazy
Trudi	to toil, to labour
Turci	to become a Turk (Mohammedan)

Tară	country
Taran	peasant (țaran mijlocăș - middle peasant)
Țigan	gypsy
Ținut	region (local government)
Ucenicie	apprenticeship
Umanioara	humanities
Umanist	classical scholar
Ungar	Hungarian
Unitate	unity
Universitate	university
Urbanist	town planner
Urma	to follow (a urma la școală - to go to school)
Vacanță	vacation
Valah	Wallachian
Vară	summer (școală de vară - summer school)
Vătaf	district administrative chief
Verbal	oral examination, viva voce
Vicecancelar	vice-chancellor
Vina	misdemeanour
Vîrstă	epoch
Vornic	Minister for Internal Affairs
Vremelnic	provisional, temporary
Zbir	oppressor
Zilier	day labourer

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Miss Rodica Culianu, poet, Str. Brezoianu 26-32, apt 85, Bucharest.

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the Librarian, Pädagogische Zentralbibliothek, Berlin

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OF ROMANIA
INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

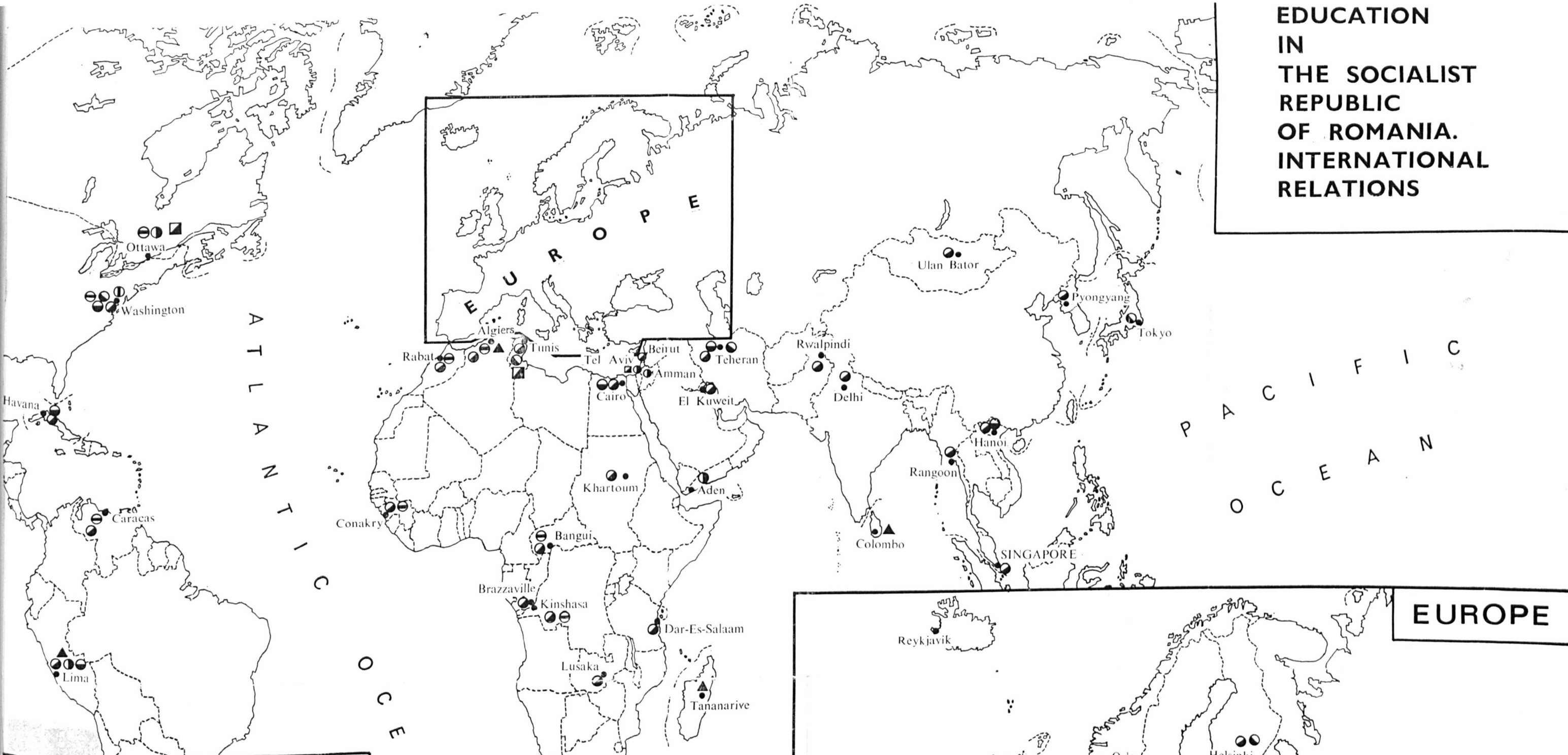
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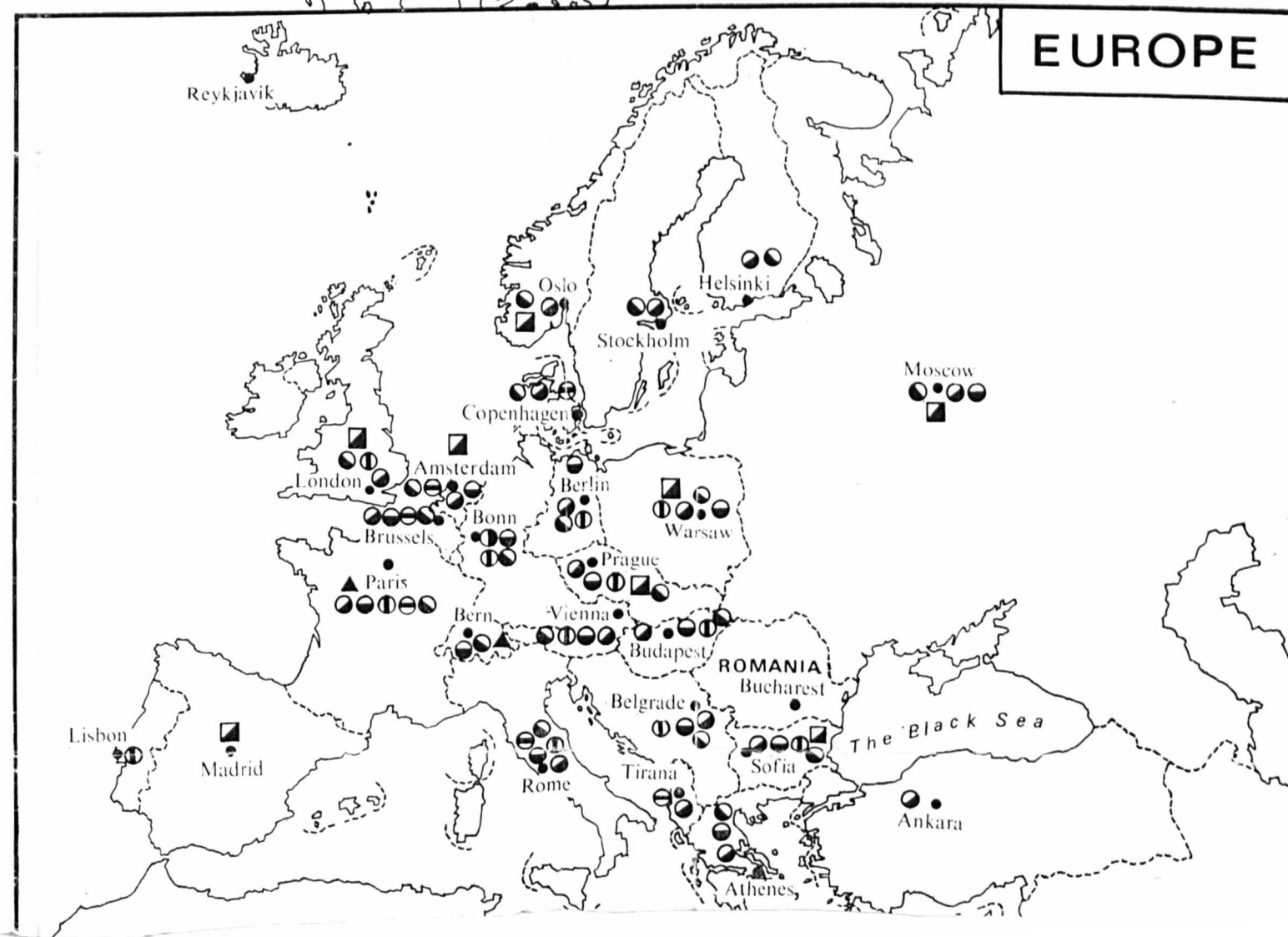
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EDUCATION IN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



LEGEND

- Plans and programmes for implementing the cultural and scientific collaboration agreement.
- ⊖ Drafts of collaboration plans and programmes.
- ⊕ Other collaboration documents (inter-ministerial and inter-university conventions).
- ⊗ ROMANIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD
- ⊙ Lectorates of Romanian language, literature and civilization
- ⊖ Specialization grants.
- ▲ International experts and officials.
- ⊖ Visiting professors.
- ⊗ Participations in the international scientific events



POSTSCRIPTA:

1. THE UNIVERSITY OF GALAȚI

During the academic year 1976-1977, the amalgamation of the Institute for Naval Construction and the Teachers' Training College was dignified by the style and title, University of Galați, though for mysterious reasons the change of name has been officially backdated to 1974. The new university, with some 3000 students, serves Galați, the largest city on the Danube, and the surrounding area, with its Faculty of Pedagogy, and the country as a whole with its Faculty of Marine Engineering and Mechanical Construction and Faculty of Food Technology. 1500 students live on the campus (1977) in new halls of residence, and the others at home or in hostels for civil and military marine technicians.

The Faculty of Marine Engineering and Mechanical Construction functions as a working partner with the shipyards, capable of designing and building vessels of up to 55.000 tons dead weight, underwater exploration platforms and smaller craft, including fishing vessels. Much of the activity of this faculty is restricted and the author was discouraged from visiting the new university.

2. 1977 CENSUS ⁽¹⁾

In July 1977, the results of the 1977 Census, taken on January 5th, were published and indicate a population of 21.559.416, an increase of 2.5 million since the (incompletely published) ⁽²⁾ census of 1966. This increase of 12.9% is attributed to a falling death rate and a birth rate of 20.8 per 1000 inhabitants. Ethnic divisions are given as Romanians 19.001.721 (88.127%), Magyars 1.705.810 (7.192%), Germans 348.444 (1.616%) with 2.335% declaring themselves as belonging to other national

(1) See Pan Șolcan in *Tribună României*, 1st July 1977 at p.10.

(2) See footnote p.5 of this work.

groups. The greatest concentration of population is in the county of Prahova (817.108) followed by Ilfov, Dolj, Iași and Cluj (more than 700.000 each). The population of Bucharest "less suburbs" is given as 1.807.044, and there are seven other municipalities with more than 200.000 inhabitants (Timișoara, Iași, Cluj-Napoca, Brașov, Constanța, Galați and Craiova); in 1966 only the capital had more than 200.000 people. There are five other municipalities with populations of between 100.000 and 150.000 and the Census claims that "47.5% of the total population lives at present in municipalities, towns and suburban communes (with district councils)". However, it must be admitted (and is) by the Romanian authorities that the growth of towns has been achieved largely by extending their territorial limits, incorporating villages which are by no means limitrophe. In the author's estimate, two thirds of the population of Romania still live in essentially rural surroundings

DOCUMENTS AND OTHER MATERIALS

At the suggestion of the Higher Degrees Office of the University of Hull, a collection of books and periodicals relating to Education in Romania, accumulated by the author during the preparation of this work, has been deposited in the library of the Hull University Institute of Education, and this collection will be added to by the author on his regular visits to Romania. Visual aids and other materials used in schools have also been deposited in the Institute of Education Library.