

POLITICS AND EDUCATION:
THE DEMOCRATISATION OF THE
GREEK EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the development of the Greek educational system, from the foundation of the modern Greek State in 1828 to 1981. In that period, Greece underwent a series of changes in political organisation. Greece was a monarchy, a republic, a democracy and a dictatorship, was occupied by foreign powers and suffered a civil war. These political changes were of great significance for the educational system of Greece, and the development of education in each period must be seen as closely related to the peculiar political situation in each period.

The thesis traces the increasing polarisation of educational politics in Greece which was linked to the violent shifts in political power in the country as a whole. It gives detail of the debates on education which centred on the question of which form of the Greek language to use as the medium of instruction in schools, and the structure and method of selection for the secondary cycle of education. However, the history of Greek education also illustrates the failure to implement important reforms.

While education has been an important issue in Greek politics, exercising both politicians and the general public, many areas, especially rural areas, have remained without adequate educational provision, insufficient resources have been provided for education, and illiteracy rates have remained disturbingly high.

This thesis also reveals an increasing convergence on the part of

politicians from different parts of the political spectrum with regard to educational policy. Despite the vigorous debates, the areas about which there now exists a consensus are considerable. The only conclusion which can be drawn from this is that if education were removed from some of the political pressures to which it has been subject in the past, and if adequate resources were to be made available, substantial improvements could be made in educational provision on the basis of broad agreement. Since education and political development are closely linked, this is also a possible way of securing the future of democratic Greece.

ABBREVIATIONS

DOE	'Didaskalike Omospondia Hellados' Primary School Teachers' Union
DOLME	'Deltion Omospondias Leitourgon Meses Ekpaedeuseos' Bulletin of the Secondary School Teachers' Union
EA	'Enomene Aristera' United Left
EAM	National Liberation Front
EDA	'Eniaia Demokratike Aristera' Left-wing Party
EDE	Workers' International Union
EDES	Greek Democratic National League
<u>EK</u>	'Ephemeris tes Kyverneseos tes Hellenikes Demokratias' Gazette of the Government of Greek Democracy
EK	'Enosis Kentrou' Liberal Centre Party
EKKE	Greek Communist Revolt Party
EK-ND	Centre Union Party
ELAS	National People's Liberation Army
ERE	'Ethnike Rizospastike Enosis' Conservative Party
KEDE	'Kentro Erevnon kai Demosieuseon' Research and Publicity Centre
KKE	Greek Communist Parties (Interior and Exterior)
LDE	Popular Democratic Union
ND	New Democracy (Centre Right Party) replaced ERE
OLME	'Omospondias Leitourgon Meses Ekpaedeuseos' Secondary School Teachers' Union
PASOK	'Panellenio Socialistiko Kinema' All Greek Socialist Movement

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CHAPTER I

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

J.S.Mill on one occasion remarked that, "the Greeks were the beginners of nearly everything".¹ This is certainly the case of democracy, which was first established in the city state of Athens. The Greeks were also the first in the Western world to undertake the task of education systematically, and no history of education would be complete without them. The Greeks also saw that there was a link between their aspirations for education, and their aspirations for democracy.² Both systems aim at the development of the citizens of the state.

In spite of the early recognition of the importance of education and democracy in Greek society, the history of Greece does not represent a uniform progress towards either an enlightened political system or a universal educational system. When the modern state of Greece was established in 1828, education was underdeveloped, and the majority of the population were illiterate.³ The first rulers of the new state were autocrats, although they were not always without a vision of society which incorporated a universal, free and compulsory system of education. However, in spite of many attempts to introduce legislation which would reform education in Greece, the actual level of provision remained disappointing.⁴

During the Second World War, and in the Civil War which followed, the division between those who wanted to see Greece move towards egalitarian socialism and those who wanted to preserve the traditional Christian culture of Greece hardened. Both sides in

this dispute saw education as forming an important part of their programme. But disagreements over what constituted an appropriate education meant that while there was considerable debate on issues connected with education, not enough was done to increase provision, or to make the educational system available to all, whether they came from the town or the country, or whether they came from the families of the wealthy or the the families of workers and peasants.⁵

This thesis traces the history of education in Greece, from the foundation of the modern state in 1828 to 1981, and demonstrates a mixture of high ideals and inactivity in practice. Having given the world the concepts of democracy and education, ideas which are now widely accepted and embodied in the constitutions of nations such as France or the USA, or in the charter of the United Nations, Greece has attempted to recover them and put them into practice in the last one hundred and sixty years.⁶ On the one hand, many Greeks have looked to the ideas of democracy and education to guide the radical transformation of their country into a modern state. On the other, many have retained the old ideas with a renewed conservatism in an attempt to preserve as much as possible of their ancient heritage.

This conflict in approaches to the ideas of democracy and education has led to many, often futile, debates over what should or should not be included in the curriculum. Political parties have spent more energy on the issue of what should be the language of instruction in the schools than on the basic task of reforming the provision of education. The situation is

complicated by the fact that the Ancient Greek traditions are not homogeneous, including both the hierarchical organisation of Sparta which inspired Plato, and the democratic Athens which inspired Pericles.⁷

In order to understand the history of Greek education, even modern Greek education, it is necessary first to review some of the traditions of Ancient Greece as these still inform many modern debates.

The Ancient Greeks had noted the close connection which exists between the educational system and the political system of the city state. Pericles' funeral oration contained praise of the democratic system of government of Athens:

"Our constitution is named a democracy, because it is in the hands of the many and not the few ... our laws secure equal justice for all in their private disputes, and our public opinion welcomes and honours talent in every branch of achievement ... we give free play to all in public life ... in our public acts we keep strictly within the control of law ... we are obedient to whomsoever is set in authority, and to the laws ... ours is no work-a-day city only. No other provides so many recreations for the spirit ... beauty in our building to cheer the heart and delight the eye ... We are lovers of beauty without extravagance, and lovers of wisdom without unmanliness ... our citizens attend both to public and private duties, and do not allow absorption in their own various affairs to interfere with their knowledge of the city's ... We are noted for being at once adventurous in action and most reflective before-hand ... In a word I claim that our city as a whole is an education to Greece, and that her members yield to none, man by man, for independence of spirit, many-sidedness of attainment, and complete self-reliance in limbs and brain."⁸

It is clear that he was suggesting that the purpose of the political system was to enable citizens to develop wisdom and artistic appreciation. In suggesting that the city of Athens was an education for the whole of Greece he was claiming that the way of life of a people could stimulate their personal development.

Plato noted, not only that the political system had a direct impact on the education of citizens, but also the converse relationship, that education enables individuals to take their place in the political system. When he described the ideal city state, in The Republic and The Laws, he was effectively describing the institutions which were to be found in Sparta at that time. He gave education a major place, for he believed that only by the proper training of carefully selected young men and women could good rulers be produced:

"If the state is to be preserved it must take care of the young, control their education in a state system independent of the whims of parents and the power of wealth, and place their training in the hands of teachers".⁹

Within the group of selected rulers, private wealth or position were not to be allowed to give advantages to some citizens over others.

Aristotle's views on education were similar to Plato's, in that he stressed that,

"Education was too important to leave to the whim of parents, or to the resources of private enterprise, and he closely associates training in citizenship with the moral qualities of the good individual".¹⁰

He therefore concluded that education should be a state function, and that it should be equally available for all.

Both Plato and Aristotle argue that the individual must be educated for the good of the state. Aristotle's argument is based on the idea that the state is essential to the individual, and therefore the individual's first duty is to the state.

"Man is a political animal because he is a rational animal, because reason requires development through character training, education and cooperation with other men, and

because society is thus indispensable to the accomplishment of human dignity".¹¹

Starting from considerations of what sort of being a man is and what sort of society he lives in, Aristotle reached conclusions about the way in which children should be educated. Because man is "born for citizenship"¹² and because the state came into existence "for the sake of life"¹³ and "exists for the sake of the good life"¹⁴, he concludes that citizens should be educated to suit the way of life of the state or 'polis' in which they live.¹⁵ From this argument he arrives at two conclusions, namely that children should be trained to be good persons as well as citizens, and that education should be "one and the same for all".¹⁶

Neither Plato nor Aristotle, nor even Pericles, upheld democracy in its modern form. Aristotle described democracy as "the rule of many".¹⁷ This is not exactly the same as the rule of all, as there were many who were excluded from citizenship in the city state of Athens, notably the slaves and women. Even Pericles, who claimed that all were capable of judging policy, excluded these groups from those who could judge. What the Ancient Greeks described as democracy must therefore be considered a rather limited form of democracy. Within the elite group of citizens there were to be no distinctions as to prestige and political power, but the rest of society were to be excluded from the political process. Thus, although there are differences in emphasis, Plato, Aristotle and Pericles all advocated a form of limited democracy.

The ideas which they put forward were gradually extended to

produce a notion of democracy which meant not the rule of many but the rule of all. The French and American Revolutions were particularly important in that through them the ideas of philosophers such as Condorcet found practical expression in political systems.¹⁸

The motto of the French Revolution encapsulated the components of democracy as they were understood in the eighteenth century: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, or rather, to translate more freely and more accurately, Liberty, Equality and Brotherhood. Liberty and equality become unreal abstractions unless they are linked with the idea of brotherhood. Democracy was not taken to mean that all men were equal in their capacities, physical, intellectual or moral, but that they were equally members of the brotherhood of mankind.

The Constitution of the United States of America enshrines the basic tenet of democracy as it is now understood, that "all men are created equal".¹⁹ It should be noted however, that even at that time "all men" included only that elite group of citizens, and excluded many, particularly the slaves.

By 1948, when the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights was signed by the member states of the UN, the principles of democracy, of free, compulsory and equal education for all provided as a state function, and of universal human rights for all men had found wide acceptance.

"The General Assembly proclaim this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education

to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction".²⁰

Again it should be noted that the concepts of democracy and education for democracy are intimately linked in this declaration.

These developments of the ideas of democracy took place outside of Greece. In 1828 when the modern state of Greece was established, the new country faced the difficulty of re-assimilating the ideas to which it had given birth. The political and educational institutions were practically non-existent. The majority of the population were illiterate and there was not a recent tradition of political democracy even in limited form. The Ancient Greeks had given the world the ideas of democracy and education, but those ideas had found fuller application elsewhere. Should the modern Greeks look for inspiration in the writings of the Ancients, where they had some special access on account of the similarities of modern Greek to Ancient Greek, or should they look to those countries where the ideas of the Ancients had found most perfect application? And in that case, should they look to Prussia, where the state educational system was much admired, or to the United States of America, where a model of modern democracy could be found? These issues were bound to raise considerable conflict in Greece. Different groups would emphasise different aspect of development, and in 1828 internal political differences could be helped or exacerbated by pressures from external states, particularly Russia, Britain and France.

This thesis is a history of attempts by the Greeks to take hold

once again of the various aspects of social order which had first been put forward by the Ancient Greeks. It is not a history of uniform progress towards an agreed goal, but of repeated shifts in the balance of power between various competing groups. These changes in the relationships between the groups have often been violent. Periods of liberal democracy have been interspersed with periods of autocracy and dictatorship. Each change in direction in the political process has made its own mark on the process of education. Thus the development of the education system, and of the debates which surrounded it, must be understood in connection with the particular political circumstances of the time.

The major theme of the history is one of increasing polarisation between the liberal democrats, who increasingly sided with the left-wing, and the conservatives. Although both sides came to profess a desire to advance the education of all children in Greece, and were critical of each others' provisions for the education of all children, they saw this development very differently, and became involved in increasingly violent disputes, especially over the language of instruction and the organisation of secondary education.

This concentration on issues which are, in many ways, secondary issues in Greek education has proved an obstacle to the solution of the real problems of Greek education, which include high levels of illiteracy among the adult population, shortages of school buildings, and a failure to train and employ enough teachers. Given the close link between democracy and education, this failure to provide all Greek children with the education

they deserve is not only a denial of their fundamental human rights, but a threat to the process of democratic development in Greece.

CHAPTER II

GREEK EDUCATION 1828-1949

1 Greek Education 1828-1832

The War of Independence lasted for eight years from 1821 to 1828.¹ The new state was founded under the aegis of three great powers: Britain, France and Russia, called the "Protecting Powers". The state was unbelievably small, consisting of the Peloponnese, Central Greece and a few of the islands. It had a total area of 47 square kilometres and a population of about three quarters of a million.²

The first ruler of the state was I.Kapodistrias, a Greek diplomat of considerable reputation throughout Europe, who abandoned his position at the Tsar's court to return to Greece after her rebirth.³ He had considerable power as an autocratic leader of the new state, but also a strong desire to see the rebuilding of the state of Greece through the establishment of an educational system.

When Kapodistrias came to power, education was in confusion. There was a lack of teachers, a lack of school buildings, a lack of educational services and accommodation. He started to remedy this situation by turning his attention to the supply of teachers. The majority of teachers was provided by the Central School in Aegina. This school trained primary school teachers, and included an orphanage so that able but under-privileged pupils could receive support and be able to become teachers. Kapodistrias introduced the monitorial system, where the best pupils could be made the teachers of other pupils. In this way

educational opportunity was extended to a wider range of young people in society, at the same time as the foundation was laid for the expansion of the educational system. By 1830 Kapodistrias had established 130 schools which had 12,000 pupils, a church school for the training of priests, an agricultural school, and a military school in Nauplion.⁴ In this way Kapodistrias worked for an educational system which met the needs of the young state, and which was not restricted only to producing an elite in society.

Unfortunately, Kapodistrias was assassinated by his political opponents, which led to a leadership vacuum in the country. The assassination of Kapodistrias was followed by a period of political conflicts and confusion, in which the majority of the schools he had established were dissolved.⁵

2 Greek Education 1833-1862

The Protecting Powers selected young Prince Otto of Bavaria as King of Greece. On 25th January 1833, King Otto arrived in Greece.⁶ He was not of age, and royal power was exercised by a three-member Committee of Regency made up of Bavarian politicians. These members were Armansberg, Mauer and Heyden. The policies which the committee followed in the name of King Otto produced considerable hostile reaction among the population, who resented the appointment of non-Greek rulers.

Mauer was the man responsible for educational policy in 1833 and 1834. He issued an Education Act in 1834, which made provision for primary education, and which borrowed from the educational system of France.⁷ The main provisions of the act were:

1. Townships were to be responsible for establishing their own primary schools.
2. These schools were to be known as 'Demotiko' (Town Schools).
3. Children between the ages of 5 and 12 were to be obliged to attend school, if there was a school in their town.
4. Girls' schools had to be separate from boys' schools where this was possible, and their principals were to be women teachers.
5. Free education was to be provided "only for entirely poor families".⁹

In this way the Committee of Regency attempted to impose the basis of a system of education for all on the Greek state. It should be noted however that there were to be no funds available from the central government to support the system.

Armansberg was responsible for education in the period from 1835 to 1837. He issued the Education Act of 1836, which made provision for secondary education, and the Education Act of 1837 which established the University of Athens. For these education acts he borrowed from the Bavarian education system.

The main points of the Education Act of 1836 were:

1. Two types of schools were to be established, (a) the 'Helleniko', or lower secondary school, and (b) the 'Gymnasium', or upper secondary school to last for four years.
2. Both types of secondary schools were to be state schools.
3. Free education was to be provided in these secondary schools.
4. A strict method of selection was to be applied to entrance

promotion to higher classes and transfer from the 'Helleniko', or private school, to the 'Gymnasium'. Selection was to depend on the result of examinations.

5. The Secretary of Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs was to be responsible for secondary education.¹⁰

The Education Act of 1837 established the University of Athens, which was called the "University of Otto". This university was to consist of four faculties: Theology, Law, Medicine and Philosophy.¹¹ The appointment of professors was made by King Otto on the advice of the Secretary of Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs. The professors were to receive their salary from the state and fees from the students.

Thus the three Education Acts of 1834, 1836 and 1837 set out the framework of a reformed educational system, covering primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

2.1 The Education System of 1837

2.1.1 General Aims

The general aims of education were not specifically mentioned in the reforms of 1834 to 1837, but it was clear that the model of education was the development of an ideal man, who was identified mainly in moral and religious terms. This can be deduced from such statements in the Education Acts as, "the teacher is responsible for forming a Christian, diligent and honest pupil",¹² and, "a person with doubts as to his character and religion is not to be appointed as a teacher by the Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs".¹³ This conclusion is corroborated by the

fact that the responsibility for education belonged to the Secretary of Ecclesiastical Affairs, this title being changed later to the "Secretary for Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs".

2.1.2 Administration

The system of administration was strictly centralised.¹⁴ The Secretary for Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs was responsible for educational policy, and exercised administration directly at all levels of education. A few responsibilities for primary education were granted to local authorities, but supervision and the control of education were exercised by the Secretary through a system of supervisors and inspectors. The headmaster of teacher training was the general supervisor of primary schools throughout the country. The school committee, which administered each individual school, and the inspectorial committee in a district or prefecture, together with the prefect or sub-prefect, exercised supervision in the schools.

2.1.3 Finance

Townships were made responsible for their own primary education. The State took upon itself the responsibility for secondary and higher education. Education at secondary and higher levels was to be free, but free primary education was to be provided "only for those who were definitely poor".¹⁵

2.1.4 Structure and Organisation

There were legal provisions for seven years of compulsory schooling for pupils aged five to twelve in primary education, followed by three years of "Helenika", and four years of

'Gymnasium'. The 'Helleniko' and 'Gymnasium' made up the secondary level of education. Higher education was provided by the University of Athens. Therefore the structure and organisation of the educational system was as follows:

Age	5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12	13 14 15 16 17 18 19	20 21 22 23
Level	I	II	III
Stage	1	2	3
	Compulsory	Post-Compulsory	
	Demotiko	Helleniko	Gymnasium
			University

Pupils moved up from stage to stage after success in the entrance examination at each stage. Within the secondary schools, promotion of pupils from class to class was made after successful internal examination.¹⁶ Graduates of the 'Gymnasium' were qualified to register in a faculty of the University of Athens.

2.2 King Otto's Rule

When Otto came of age he followed policies similar to those of the Committee of Regency. He was imbued with aristocratic ideas from the European political systems, which he sought to impose on Greece. As a result there were a number of revolts and uprisings against his royal power. The most serious uprising took place on 3rd September 1843, when a well coordinated revolt in the Army and among the people forced him to grant the country a constitution. However, Otto continued to employ autocratic and

high handed methods in governing the country until a new revolt deposed him for good in October 1862.¹⁷

In education he followed a policy similar to that of the Committee of Regency. In 1838 a decree was issued which suspended fees for students of higher education.¹⁸ At that time the Secretary of Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs stated that nothing had been done to improve primary schools in the townships, and sent a circular in which he wrote:

"Nothing was spent to establish primary schools from all the money which was spent on other goals".¹⁹

The Constitution of 1844 determined that,

"Expenditure on higher education was to be provided from the State Budget. The State Budget is to provide assistance to townships for the provision of primary education in proportion to the needs of the townships."²⁰

At the same time the secretary of Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs reiterated the assertion that no primary school had been established. He was obliged to issue a decree in 1844 to encourage and assist in the establishment of new primary schools, which again promised assistance to poor townships in the same words as the Constitution.²¹

In 1857 a regulation was issued concerning secondary schools. This was intended to supplement the Education Act of 1836, and was the last attempt to improve education under Otto.

2.3 A Critical Review of Education under King Otto

The policy making and adoption processes in the period 1834 to 1837 depended on Mauer and Armansberg, two members of the Committee of Regency. In that period, there existed no congress,

no national assembly, no parliament or group elected to represent the public interest. All agents of the State, administrators, and members of formal organisations at national and provincial levels were appointed by the Committee of Regency. Mauer and Armansberg "borrowed these reforms from foreign countries".²² The Education Act of 1834 was a direct copy of Guizot's Law from France.²³

Rangavis wrote his memoirs of the period, and his comments indicate both the autocratic style of administration, and the fact that the contents of the Education Acts were copies of foreign legislation:

"At that time (1836) the Education Acts were sent to the Ministry of Education, one for secondary education and another for the university. They were enclosed in another decree which determined that they should be translated and published very quickly."²⁴

He added,

"I recognised them as correct copies from Bavarian regulation, with a few changes making them appear to be new legislation".²⁵

The newspaper 'Elpis' (hope) posed the question,

"Is this ridiculous system of governing by translation not finished yet?"²⁶

In the implementation of these reforms the Committee of Regency, and later King Otto, had considerable influence through their power to appoint all the managerial and technical staff of institutions, and the agents of central and provincial administration. The Orthodox Church of Greece, the groups of teachers and parents, the University, and other agents also had some small influence. One group which may have influenced the implementation of the reforms was the 'Logiotatoi', or set of letters. At that time 'Logiotatoi' meant men who read and wrote.

of letters, and indicated little more than the ability to read. The newspaper 'Elpis' referred to the 'Logiotatoi' mockingly as "former and new professors, having much knowledge, but little prudence".²⁷ A few of them were appointed professors of the University of Athens, some of them teachers in secondary schools, while others composed the bureaucracy of the new State.

The general aim of the education system was the production of Christian, honest and diligent pupils. Specific aims at each level of education were designed to help in the achievement of the general aim. There was a strict discipline in school mechanisms.²⁸ The hierarchical structure of the schools constituted a graduated preparation for higher education:

"The primary school had to teach the pupil to serve the needs of the 'Helleniko' school", 29

"The main aim of the 'Helleniko' school was preparation for the 'Gymnasium'", 30 and

"the aims of the 'Gymnasium' were mainly preparation of those who wanted to study in higher education".³¹

Thus the educational system worked to produce an honest, Christian and obedient citizen.

The centralised system of administration was designed to control teachers at all educational levels, and to supervise the operation of schools.

The goal of free education really applied only to higher and secondary education, and the provision for assisting poor families in primary education was never implemented. The provision that "the State will assist primary education" was not enforced because "the government apparently only indicated

interest in primary education".³² One reason for the failure to establish primary schools was the lack of adequate finance. Another was the lack of teachers. Teachers were not encouraged by the lack of regularity in paying salaries.

"The substantial cause of the misfortune of primary education was the salary of teachers. The townships paid the teacher's salary to those it would, when it would, and whenever it would".³³

At that time there were 360 townships and 3,155 villages in rural areas.³⁴ Illiterates comprised 87.5% of the total population.³⁵

The structure of education which was formally set out in legislation and decrees in fact only operated at the secondary and higher levels. The provision for "seven years of compulsory education" was not implemented.³⁶ Even in townships where there were primary schools, they usually operated fewer than four classes.

The committee of Regency, King Otto and the 'Logiotatoi' composed the intellectual elite of the time. "The elite was reproduced through the educational mechanisms which were instituted by these reforms",³⁷ and has continued to manage the education affairs of the country right through to the present day.

3 Greek Education 1863-1909

Prince George of Denmark, of the House of Glücksburg, was chosen as King of Greece in March 1863.³⁸ He granted the country the Constitution of 1864, and the Parliament started to work. At that time (1864) Great Britain transferred the Ionian Islands to Greece, and the Greek people celebrated the return of the

islands.³⁹ There followed a period of internal political stability in the country.

In 1881 the Turks were forced to cede Thessaly by way of compensating the Greek Kingdom for the success the Bulgarians had achieved in winning a new state of their own at the Congress of Berlin.⁴⁰

In 1897 war broke out between Greece and Turkey, which had a disastrous outcome with a crushing defeat of the Greek forces.⁴¹ Greece passed through a period of turmoil and internal unrest. The eventual result of this unrest was a revolution in 1909, which was led and supported by nearly all the junior officers in the army, and which had the support of large masses of the population. This revolution, which left its mark on the course of the nation, was a complete success. It removed the government, swept aside the political parties, and handed over power to a new politician from Crete, E. Venizelos, in August 1910.⁴²

During the period 1863 to 1891 there was no change in Greek education. Only one minor attempt was made to reform the education system, with the passing of the Education Act of July 1885. This Act provided for free education for all pupils in primary education, but it was never implemented.⁴³

In 1892 a further attempt at reform was made. With the passing of the Education Act of 1892, "four year courses in primary schools were made a legal requirement".⁴⁴

Three years later the Education Act of 1895 abolished this provision, and legislated for three types of primary school:

- (a) the 'Plere Demotiko' (full primary) school with six year courses,
- (b) the 'Koeno Demotiko' (common primary) school with four year courses, and
- (c) the 'Grammatodidascaleio' for areas where it was impossible to build up a 'Demotiko' school, with less than four year courses.

In all of these schools attendance was compulsory.⁴⁵

In 1899 a draft law for education was presented to Parliament, but it was never passed. Popular education was in complete confusion.

At the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, the language problem arose in education, and has continued as a central issue in Greek education ever since. There were serious demonstrations when the 'Evangelika', the Gospels in 'Demotike', were published, and when the National Theatre staged the Oresteia of Aeschylus in its translation into 'Domotike', 'Oresteiaka'.⁴⁶ Since that time the "language problem" has been the turning point around which the attention of educational interest groups has hinged, even when language has not been the main point of difference between competing groups.

4 Greek Education 1910-1935

4.1 Political Conflicts 1910-1935

E.Venizelos established a new political party called 'Fileleutheron' (Liberal). The elections which followed in 1910 gave an overwhelming majority to Venizelos, who at once began to display his ability as Prime Minister. In a short time he had completely transformed the state mechanism, imposed equality before the law and equality of civil rights, strengthened Parliament, and enforced progressive policies in all areas of public life.

The political events that happened inside and outside the country were of exceptional significance for the State and the political life of Greeks.

The First Balkan War broke out in October 1912.⁴⁷ Greece had a strong fleet and army which enabled her to act victoriously in the general assault of the four Balkan States (Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece) against the Ottoman Empire. The Greek army liberated Thessalonike and large sections of central and western Macedonia, and then went on to take Ionnina and South Hepeirus. At the same time Crete was finally and definitely united with the Greek state. During the Second Balkan War of June 1913, Greece liberated more territory in Macedonia.⁴⁸

When the First World War broke out, Prime Minister Venizelos wanted to take part in the war on the side of the western allies. King Constantine, who had succeeded to the throne when his father, King George, was assassinated in 1913, preferred a policy of neutrality, or one that was on the side of the Kaiser. This basic

difference between the King and the Prime Minister ended in open conflict when the King dismissed Venizelos as Prime Minister, even though he retained a majority in Parliament. This conflict finally forced Venizelos into revolt and the formation of the so-called "State of Thessalonike", in September 1916.⁴⁹

In May 1917 France and Britain deposed King Constantine, who they regarded as a "tool of the Kaiser", and Venizelos became ruler of Greece. He led the country into the war on the side of the western allies, and the Greek army made a decisive contribution to military operations on the Macedonian Front. At the end of the war, under the terms of the Treaty of Sevres on 10th August 1920, Greece acquired East Thrace.⁵⁰

After a strong demand from the opposition party 'Laikon' (Conservative) for elections, the country was led to elections in 1920. The Conservative Party won the majority of the parliamentary seats. King Constantine returned to Greece, and Venizelos left the country and went to France.

The war of the Greeks against the Turks continued for two years. In August 1922 the Greek army was defeated. With the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) Greece lost East Thrace.

That defeat of the Greek army was the cause of an explosive revolt in the army, under the leadership of Colonels Plastiras and Gonatas, who seized power and again deposed King Constantine. After a bloody conflict, and a period of dictatorship under General Pangalos, Greece was proclaimed a republic on 29th March.

1924.⁵¹

Venizelos, who had withdrawn from active political life, returned to Greece. In the elections which were held in August 1928 the Liberal Party won the majority of parliamentary seats, and Venizelos once again became Prime Minister. He ruled Greece until 1932.

In the elections of 1932, Venizelos was defeated and his opponents won the majority of parliamentary seats. The election of the new Conservative government marked the starting point of a whole new series of trouble for the country. An assassination attempt on Venizelos created an explosive political atmosphere, and a large group of democratic pro-Venizelist officers took it as an opportunity for a show of revolutionary intentions. This revolt, to which Venizelos gave support, was put down in March 1935.

Between 1910 and 1935 there were violent conflicts between the 'Venizelikon' (Liberal) and 'Vasilikon' or 'Laikon' (Royalist or Popular) political parties. Power changed hands both violently and through elections.

4.2 The Groups Involved in Education Policy 1910-1935

At the beginning of these political conflicts (1910-11) two educational groups separated:

- (a) the 'Demotikistes' who were connected with the liberal political party and were represented the association of 'Ekpaedeutikos Homilos', and
- (b) the 'Katharevousanoi' who were connected with the

conservative political party and were represented by the association 'Peri Ennomou Amynes tes Ethnikes Glosses', but who were also represented by the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Athens.

Although the two broad groupings are identified in terms of their position on the use of Greek language and the form of Greek best suited to be the language of instruction in the schools, their differences covered the whole range of political attitudes which were evident in this turbulent period.

(a) 'Ekpaedeutikos Homilos' (Educational Club)

In 1910 a group of progressive educationists established the 'Ekpaedeutikos Homilos'. In the first article of its Constitution it stated, "'Ekpaedeutikos Homilos' is constituted with the aim of establishing a model primary school in Athens and of helping Greek education".⁵² This educational club worked to communicate its innovative ideas for educational reform with articles, proposals, reports and speeches.

The main points of its campaign were: (1) A new orientation on Greek education, (2) the reform of the structure of primary and secondary education, (3) the reform of the content of the curriculum, and (4) the use of the 'Demotike' language in primary and secondary schools.⁵³

The last of these points drew most of the attention of the members of the group, and attracted most of the hostility of the opponents. These innovative proposals for educational reform were

adopted by Venizelos and the Liberal Party, and any innovation in education was connected with that party.

(b) The Association 'Peri Ennomou Amynes tes Ethnikes Glosses'
(for the legal defence of the national language)

In 1911 a group of educationists established the association for the legal defence of the national language, which supported the 'Katharevousa' language and fought strongly against the supporters of the 'Demotike' language. This group had a leader who was a professor in the University of Athens Faculty of Philosophy. The members of this faculty supported 'Katharevousa' language and were the most important opponent of the educational policy of 'Ekpaedeutikos Homilos'.

(c) The University of Athens

The influence of the University of Athens on educational policy after 1837 was very strong. Educational policy makers frequently asked for the advice and the cooperation of the University of Athens. At all times some professors were called upon to assume policy making responsibilities. Other professors of the Faculty of Philosophy took part in the educational committees, and some of them even served as Minister of Education. The University of Athens represented stability in the educational system and was opposed to any innovative change.

(d) The Greek Orthodox Church

The Greek Orthodox Church was particularly important in education, and in the general cultural orientation of the people.

"Although not directly involved in the formulation of educational policies, the Church provided ideological and cultural support for the evolving institutions and policy

orientations".⁵⁴

The Church has always been a supporter of pure Greek, or 'Katharevousa', the language which is closest to that of the New Testament.

"The Church as a body, or through its leaders, has expressed views usually objecting to the formulation and adoption of a new language policy".⁵⁵

(e) The Teachers' Unions

The influence of the teachers' unions on educational policy was very limited. D.Glenos, one of the protagonists of 'Ekpaedeutikos Homilos', wrote that,

"The teacher did not hold any opinion; the teacher did not dare to have any opinion because he or she was under the intellectual guardianship of the few who controlled the educational system; and the teacher was afraid when going to meet the inspector of education".⁵⁶

(f) The University of Thessalonike

The University of Thessalonike was established in 1925.⁵⁷ Later, this university was involved in educational policy and in these conflicts. The Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Thessalonike supported the policy of 'Ekpaedeutikos Homilos' against the University of Athens.

4.3 Educational Reforms 1910-1929

The government of the Liberal Party introduced a new Constitution in 1911, which was adopted as the Constitution by the Parliament in the same year. The provision in the Constitution for education was:

"Education is under the higher supervision of the State, and is funded from the State Budget. Elementary education is compulsory and free".⁵⁸

In the same year an Education Act was passed by Parliament which

established a central supervisory council for primary education.⁵⁹

In 1913 the Minister of Education introduced a draft law for reform, but it was not passed by Parliament.⁶⁰

In 1914 a draft law was passed into law by Parliament as Law No. 240/1914, which established the posts of 12 general inspectors, 70 inspectors, and 70 supervisory councils for schools.⁶¹

In 1917 Law No. 826/1917 established two higher supervisors.⁶²

In 1921 Law No. 2558/1921 abolished the three types of primary school and maintained only the six year primary schools, on the grounds that "primary education really remained at courses of four years and fewer".⁶³

In 1927 the Constitution of 1927 made provisions for education which were similar to those of the Constitution of 1911, with a slight but important addition to the effect that local authorities might provide funding for education. The Constitution thus read,

"Education is under the higher supervision of the State, and is funded from the State Budget or local authorities. Elementary education is compulsory and free".⁶⁴

In 1929 two Education Acts were passed by Parliament, Law No. 4373/1929 on secondary education,⁶⁵ and No. 4379/1929 on primary education.⁶⁶

4.4 The Education System of 1929

After the reforms of 1911 to 1929 the education system had changed in some respects, and can be described as follows:

4.4.1 General Aims

No mention of general aims had been made in the Constitutions of 1911 and 1927. The 1929 law on primary education had, however, clearly established the aims of primary education as being,

"the elementary preparation of pupils for life and indispensable elements for the formation of honourable citizens".⁶⁷

The main aim of secondary education was,

"the scientific preparation of those who want to study in higher education, giving together the indispensable general education for social life and pursuing the formation of honourable citizens".⁶⁸

The central and common aim of education, "the formation of honourable citizens", was still primarily of a moral character.

4.4.2 Administration

The system of administration remained centralised under the new education acts. The law of 1911 established a central supervisory council for primary education. Law No. 240/1914 established 12 general inspectors, 70 inspectors and 70 supervisory councils of schools. Law No. 826/1917 established two higher supervisors. These laws were followed by a period of frequent changes of personnel in the central education council, higher supervisors, and inspectors,⁶⁹ but the system of administration continued to be a strictly centralised system and was unchanged in 1929.

4.4.3 Finance

The Constitution of 1927 determined that education would be funded from a combination of central government and local funds, but did not specify the balance or method of funding in detail. Law No. 4379/1929 determined that, "primary education would be free as was the schooling in lower vocational schools".⁷⁰ Thus the State Budget and local authorities defrayed the costs of providing education.

4.4.4 Structure and Organisation

The structure and organisation of the educational system provided for kindergarten, six years of primary school, night school, and lower vocational school. In secondary education there were six years 'Gymnasium', six years 'Practical Lyceum' and four year girls' schools.

Age	4 5	6 7 8 9 10 11 12	13 14 15 16 17 18	19 20 21 22
Level		I	II	III
Stage	Pre-School	1 Primary	2 Secondary	3 Higher
	Pre-Compul.	Compulsory	Post-Compulsory	
			Lower Vocat. School	
			Girls' School	
			Gymnasium	
			Practical Lyceum	
				University

The implementation of this educational system was never fully completed. Lower vocational schools (agriculture, commercial, maritime, handicraft, girls' housekeeping) never operated. Girls' schools and practical lyceums were established in a few places for a short time. Finally, the structure of six years primary school and six years Gymnasium prevailed.

The Government, with strong support of the 'Ekpaedeutikos Homilos' worked very hard to implement these reforms. But there were some serious problems such as: (1) the inadequate State Budget, (2) the lack of school buildings, (3) the lack of teachers, and (4) the lack of school equipment (tables, desks, chairs etc.).⁷¹ For these needs of the education system the government borrowed one million pounds from the Aktiebolaget Kreuger and Kell Company in 1930. Priority was given to the

building of classrooms. 7,376 classrooms were built in the period from 1928 to 1932.⁷²

The government gave permission to anyone who knew how to read and write to be a teacher after special examination by a three member committee. Later it organised a short course to train them. New textbooks were introduced into primary schools, written in 'Demotike' language.

The central administrative system remained under the Minister of Education. The selective examination system in to the Gymnasium continued to exist. The government gave most attention to popular education for all, because the pre-reform "education system had neglected the education of the mass of the people and it had been made education for a few".⁷³

The government, of course, had to face the damage created by the two Balkan Wars, the First World War, and the disastrous result of the war in Asia Minor. In addition, there were problems due to new territorial parts of Greece, because the territory of Greece nearly doubled in size, from 64,286 to 108,606 square kilometres,⁷⁴ and her population increased from 2,666,000 to 6,170,000 in 1928. This number included one and a half million Greeks from Asia Minor who were removed from their homes by force and fled to Greece.⁷⁵ But attempts fully to implement the reforms of 1929 were enthusiastically continued.

For more representative participation in the administration of schools, Law No. 5019/1931 was passed, which set up school

committees.⁷⁶ In each school there was to be a five member school committee comprising (1) the head teacher or head master of the school, (2) a member of the township council, (3) a member of the church council, and (4) two parents elected by the parents' assembly for two year terms. The duty of the committee was the administration of school affairs. These attempts at reform, and its implementation, were stopped, however, when the Conservative Party gained the majority of parliamentary seats in the elections of 1932, and formed the new government.

5 Greek Education 1936-1940

In March 1935 a group of Army officers put down the Venizelist uprising and overthrew the legitimate government of the anti-Venizelist P.Tsaldaris. They put the republic into abeyance on 10th October 1935, and reinstated the monarchy. King George II returned to Greece on 25th November 1935. "He imposed a dictatorship on August 4, 1936, with the monarchist general I.Metaxas as dictator".⁷⁷

Metaxas acted to enforce his power and to eliminate all opposition. One measure he undertook was to gather the communists and some of the Venizelists who might have revolted against the regime and send them into exile or to jail. He abolished any elected membership of legally constituted groups and representative councils, and appointed his own supporters to those councils. He concentrated all the power in his own hands and into the hands of three central agents, whom he appointed.⁷⁸

In education he appointed conservative educationists who were most hostile to the 1929 reform to the top administrative posts.

in the ministry. They strictly controlled the school teachers, especially members of 'Ekpaedeutikos Homilos' and liberal teachers. They amended the structure of education, adding the order that the course in the Gymnasium was to be eight years. Pupils who finished the fourth class in primary school could be registered in the first class of the Gymnasium, while those who finished the sixth class in primary school could register in the third class in the Gymnasium, in both cases subject to the result of an entrance examination.⁷⁹

The law on the school committees was also amended so that the committees would have only three members: (1) the head teacher or head master, and (2) two citizens appointed by the Prefect to serve for two years in the administration of school affairs.⁸⁰ New textbooks were introduced into the schools, written in 'Katharevousa', with an orientation to Helenochristian ideals and an authoritarian conception of the State. Universal education was neglected. Most attention was given to educating the few selected students well, in the eight year Gymnasium.

6 Greek Education 1941-1943

On 28th October 1940 Greece came into the Second World War after an unprovoked attack by Italy through Albania. The Greeks, united as one man, said the historic "No" to the invaders' ultimatum. The Greek army was able to repulse the invaders and then to push the Italian forces back onto Albanian soil. The Greeks continued to fight victoriously for five whole months as heroes.⁸¹

In April 1941, Hitler in his turn attacked a Greece exhausted by

the war effort, and strong Nazi forces occupied the country. Finally the three forces of Germany, Italy and Bulgaria occupied the territory of Greece. During this occupation the country was looted by the invaders, the population was subjected to severe persecution - imprisonment, shooting and mass execution - hunger caused hundreds of thousands of deaths, and the country in general was completely destroyed.⁸²

During this occupation some Greeks went to the mountains to fight against the occupying forces. A coalition of left parties, known as EAM (National Liberation Front) undertook to organise a guerilla army called ELAS (National People's Liberation Army).

"EAM-ELAS also recruited manpower in the cities, and on some political committees comparatively well-educated young men did achieve conspicuous leadership positions in the guerilla ranks".⁸³

Another resistance force was the EDES (Greek Democratic National League), which controlled only a small region in the remote north west of the country. Military preponderance in all the rest of the country rested with ELAS. The Resistance groups fought the German and Italian armies for three years, offering valuable service to the Allied struggle as a whole.

At that time, King George II and the Government, who had sought refuge in Egypt after the German invasion, formed strong army groups in the Middle East. These, together with what had been saved of the Greek fleet, carried on the war alongside the British.⁸⁴

When the war broke out between Italy and Greece, both were

mobilised as soldiers. At that time primary and secondary schools were operated with female and retired teachers. The occupying forces divided the Greek territory into three parts; German, Italian and Bulgarian. Greek schools were closed.

The area of East Macedonia and Thrace, from Serres to Alexandroupolis, was occupied by Bulgarian forces. They immediately proscribed the operation of Greek schools, and in the following school year established Bulgarian schools. They forced Greek children to go to the Bulgarian schools and learn lessons in the Bulgarian language. A few children went to these schools, but the majority stayed away from them.

In the rest of Greece some schools continued to operate. Most of them remained closed, particularly in the cities, where the lack of food and clothing, the daily deaths, the shortage of teachers and the destruction of school buildings were some of the causes that kept children away from schools.⁸⁵

In rural areas the occupying forces had not controlled education, and some schools operated. Later, when the Resistance forces controlled this area, an enthusiastic climate predominated with regards to education and many schools were operated.

"Two committees from EAM and ELAS made a Draft Law and submitted it to PEEA (Political Committee of National Emancipation)".⁸⁶

Some of the questions from the first circular of the Secretary for Education to school inspectors were:

How many school-buildings have been destroyed?

How many villages have never had a school?

How many schools were without teachers?

How many children did not attend school?

The answers to these questions indicated that many villages had never had a school, that many schools had no teacher and that eighty percent of school buildings had been destroyed.⁸⁷ The lack of teachers was a major problem.

The EAM/ELAS forces mobilised teachers to work in the schools, and they established two preparatory teacher training colleges, in Tyrna of Thessaly with 80 students, and in Karpenisi with 50 students.⁸⁸ Later similar colleges were established in Macedonia.⁸⁹

Most people understood the value of education and sent their children to school, but some children of poor families did not attend school because,

"the lack of food and clothing, some epidemic illnesses, were among the causes which kept some children away from schools, plus the wishes of some fathers to send them to work".⁹⁰

This educational situation lasted until the end of 1944, when the occupying forces withdrew from Greece.

7 Greek Education 1944-1949

The German forces of occupation retreated from Greece in October 1944. The Greek Government under G.Papandreu hurried back to Athens from Egypt. In Athens a strong force of EAM/ELAS guerillas had gathered intending to seize power by force. On December 1944 bloody fighting broke out in and around the capital. The government forces with the assistance of British troops were able to put down the EAM/ELAS rebellion.

The communists capitulated and signed the Varkiza Agreement, but the Communist Party abstained from the elections which were held in 1945.⁹¹ The Conservative Party of K.Tsaldaris won the majority of the parliamentary seats. Later, after a referendum in 1946, King George II returned to Greece. Some communists went to the mountains and started a most bloody and disastrous civil war. The government forces, with the assistance of the British at first and the United States later, managed to put down the communist rebellion in August 1949.

The results of World War II, the triple occupation and the Civil War were the worst destruction of Greece in Greek history. It has been estimated that about one million people lost their lives,⁹² and that damage to material amounted to many billions of drachmes.⁹³

"World War II alone annihilated almost completely the mining and industrial sectors, exhausted natural resources (e.g. 25% of timber was burnt or cut down), dismembered transportation (85% of pre-war vehicles were out of use; almost all locomotives and railway coaches disappeared; 90% of the bridges were blown up; the merchant fleet lost 64% of its ships etc.), dismantled telecommunications (70% of the telegraph and telephone installations were transported to Germany), and public services decimated and disorganised".⁹⁴

In public life the division between anti-communists and communists, which survived among the people from the civil war, was perpetuated in the conflicts in Greek life.

"These fights (of the Civil War) will have serious political consequences. They will create deep divisions in public life. A new division, loaded with animosities, is added to the traditional discrepancy in political conduct. The will to shatter the communist rebellion will lead the governments of the time to the adoption of a series of security measures which all constitute violations of individual human rights and which remain active long after the defeat of the

right".95

Later (1947-1949), when the Civil War between the State army and the guerilla forces spread over the whole country (anti-communist forces against communist), most people from the mountain villages migrated to the towns, and a new problem for children's education arose. Most village schools closed. Some school buildings in cities were used as housing for peasant/hostages from the villages, adding new complications to the lack of school buildings. The Queen of Greece, Frederica, established a few children's towns on islands and removed school age children into them from the villages for their education and security.

Despite this, the guerilla forces recruited about 70,000 children of school age from the villages, took them over the northern border of Greece, and dispersed them in various communist countries. The compulsory transportation of children from villages to cities had some advantages, including the mixing of, and communication between, children from different backgrounds and the forming of social bonds. In addition, some children from villages had an opportunity to go to secondary schools. At that time, a notable movement of the children to enter the Gymnasium or secondary school, can be noticed. To meet this educational need the State established a few Gymnasium in cities. After that, many children who finished secondary school competed to enter higher education.

Early in 1945 the government attempted to operate all the schools. But the lack of teachers, lack of school-buildings and school equipment, and the empty state treasury, were some of the

serious problems of education.

Despite these, an enthusiastic climate and a durable wish of the people for a universal education available to all spread through the whole country. So, many schools operated, and a few boarding houses were established in towns to provide hospitality for a poor pupils from the mountain villages.

During the Civil War, the admission of pupils to higher education depended on success in an examination in each school. But that was not enough. First of all, any child who wanted to enter these schools had to be 'Ethnikofron' (anti-communist). Each child who wanted to participate in entrance examinations had to submit an application to the Security Service of Police for the issue of a certificate of 'koononikon fronematon' (political convictions). This certificate determined political selection to higher education, and it divided the candidates into communists and anti-communists. The certificate was provided for by Law No.509/1947, as a measure of defence of State security and stability.⁹⁶

At that time, another institution was in operation, the 'frontisterio' (primary preparatory school). The continuous increase in the number of children who wanted entry to higher education, after a selective examination operating separately in each school, had made the competition too hard. This institution undertook to prepare the pupils through private lessons for a successful examination, giving access to higher education.

Thus, while the most serious problems in education, and in providing six years of compulsory education for all, were not resolved, two new problems were added to Greek education in the form of the certificate of 'koenonikon fronematon' and the 'frontisterio'.

8 Summary

The period from 1828 to 1949 was one of considerable conflict in Greek politics. These struggles for power had their influence on education. The central educational issues which were debated were the question of compulsory and universal primary education and the language policy in the schools. Neither of these issues were resolved satisfactorily, partly because of the upheavals in the political control of the country.

After an initial period of political stability between 1833 and 1911, there were brief periods of democratic government, a period when there were two governments in power within the territory of Greece, several periods of dictatorship, occupation by foreign forces and a Civil War. These sudden, often violent, changes in political direction did not provide a climate within which consensus could be reached on the important educational issues, even at the level of rhetoric.

Moreover, if it was difficult for the competing political factions to come to any agreement over general aims in education, at the level of implementation the situation was even worse. The educational system remained short of resources, and few children received even the minimal educational provision which was required by the various education laws passed in this period.

The restoration of political stability under democratic governments, in 1950, provided at least the minimum conditions for developing the education system of Greece. In the next chapter an analysis will be made of the political conditions which prevailed in the country following the Civil War, and of their influence on educational developments.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AND STABILITY (1950-1963)

1 The Liberal Parties in Power (1950-52)

The Greek Civil War ended in August 1949, but left horrible marks on all aspects of Greek society, especially on public life. For example the division between anti-communists and communists, which survived the war, was perpetuated in the conflict of political life, which was to have serious political consequences, creating deep divisions in public life. These divisions, loaded with animosity, were added to the traditional political conflicts. The desire to destroy the communist rebellion was to lead the governments of the time to adopt,

"a series of security measures all of which constituted violations of individual human rights and which were to remain after the defeat of the right-wing party at the end of 1963".¹

A series of parliamentary elections took place during the period 1950-63. In the first three years (1950-52) three elections took place, and six governments followed one another. During this period the coalitions of liberal political parties ruled Greece. At the time the results of parliamentary elections show the splitting of political forces in Greece and their inability to secure a stable government in the country.

In January 1950 Parliament was dissolved and elections were held on 5th March.² In these elections 44 political parties participated; 25 of them were in 9 coalitions, and 19 were isolated. In fact, only 10 parties won seats in Parliament. The right-wing parties won about 36 percent of the total seats in

Parliament, the left-wing party about 7.2 percent. Victory went to the Liberal Centre Parties with 55 percent of the total seats. But this Parliament lasted only 18 months, during which time five governments followed one another. These governments were coalitions of three Liberal Centre Parties: 'Komma fileleutheron', G.Papandreou, (The G.Papandreou Party which was led by G.Papandreou), and 'Ethnike Proodentike Enosis Kentrou' (National Progressive Centre Union), which was led by General N.Plasteras.

In these governments the most eminent figure was N.Plasteras who served as Prime Minister. But there were many disagreements in exercising of power in practice between the leaders of coalition parties.

There were a number of possible reasons for the weakness of the coalition, and various authors placed the emphasis on a single reason. One thought that,

"the most disputed issue was the amnesty for participants in the civil war, proposed by N.Plateras, which split this coalition".³

Another wrote that,

"the long-standing relationship between the leader of the liberal party S.Venizelos and the King created problems for the Government which led to a split in coalition".⁴

Yet another writer stated that the American ambassador in Athens "manipulated the cabinet" which had emerged after these elections.

"To be sure, the Americans unseated one cabinet and imposed another, but General N.Plasteras, whom the Americans put in as Prime Minister, proved unable (or unwilling) to carry out the sort of far-reaching, radical administrative changes, the American experts judged to be needed".⁵

When American official policy changed,

"... the U.S. Embassy, which had once backed the centre-left in the hope of forwarding social change in Greece, soon began to look kindly upon efforts to use Field-Marshal A.Papagos, Commander-in-chief in both the Albanian and guerilla wars, as a figure head around whom patriotic Greeks might gather".⁶

Papagos accepted this idea and, following his retirement from the army, entered politics by founding the "Hellenikos Synagermos" (Greek Rally).

In this period, while the applied electoral system of proportional representative pattern in these elections gave a chance to all political parties, except for the communist party, to express their views and gather their votes, it contributed to separate the political forces in Greece, and led the country to governmental instability and frequent elections.

Thus elections were held on 9th September, 1951. In these elections six political parties participated. These elections did not give the 'Hellenikos Synagermos' an absolute majority (44.19 percent) and Papagos refused to consider entering a coalition with anyone who had not submitted to his leadership by joining the Rally. The EDA, left-wing party, was a coalition of the communist and other left parties, and won 3.87 percent of the total seats in Parliament. Victory again went to the Liberal Centre parties with 50.79 percent of the total seats. Plasteras, accordingly, again became Prime Minister, but "without the formal backing of American officials".⁷

The Government of Plasteras was in power about one year, and

faced many difficulties. The small majority of seats in Parliament, the execution of N.Belogiannes (30th March, 1952), and strong pressure from the American ambassador, were some of the difficulties, which led the country to fresh elections on 16th November, 1952. In these election only two political parties participated, the 'Hellenikos Synagermos' and the 'Enosis Trion Kommaton tou Kentrou'.

At that time, under American pressure, the electoral system was changed from a complicated proportional representation pattern to the majority system long familiar in the United States. On this basis, the Greek Rally of Papagos won 49 percent of the vote and 82 percent of the seats in the new Parliament.

"A stable government sympathetic to the needs of the Greek army and NATO planning, had finally been achieved".⁸

The Centre Union party was a coalition of three parties, one of which was not represented in Parliament. Four other parties were not represented in Parliament, including the EDA, a left-wing party which polled 9.55 percent of the votes, but did not win any seats.

2 The Conservative Political Party in Power (1953-63)

Papagos exercised power from 17th November, 1952 until his death on 4th October, 1955. But the arrival in power of the Greek Party for a long period (1952-1963) secured,

"stability and a firm assertion of traditional, national values were the defence against the communist danger".⁹

Papagos introduced a Napoleonic style into political life with

his contempt for Parliament and political parties, his expectation of obedience of his leadership from the members of Parliament, and a very centralised Government.

"He proved to be a rather haughty prime minister, unwilling to engage in the wheeling and dealing that characterized Greek politics".¹⁰

When Papagos died in October 1955, King Paul chose a hitherto relatively obscure politician, C.Karamanlis, to form a new cabinet.

"This choice was a great surprise at the time, and remains puzzling in retrospect. Karamanlis had been minister of public works in Papagos's cabinet, and so had had an opportunity to drive ahead with road building. He undoubtedly made his mark in this capacity, and it was a highly personal mark, for Karamanlis differed from the usual Greek politicians in a number of fundamental ways".¹¹

Karamanlis established a new political party, the 'Ethnike Rizospastike Enosis' ERE - (Greek Radical Union) in preparation for elections that were held on 19th February, 1956. The new party inherited many MP's from Papagos' supporters when it was merged with Greek Rally, and many of that party's MP's transferred to the new party, although some who had clustered around Papagos refused to follow Karamanlis and joined the opposition.

In these elections two main political participated: The ERE and a coalition of seven political parties called 'Democratike Enosis' (Democratic Union). They aimed at winning by overthrowing the right-wing party. In this coalition there were the Centre parties, the right-wing party, 'Laiko', and the left-wing EDA. Four other small parties participated in these election.¹² Although the ERE obtained only 47.36 percent of the total votes,

because of the electoral system they won 165 seats in Parliament, about 55 percent of the total of 300 seats. In these elections the franchise was extended to women and ERE received 77 percent of the total votes of servicemen. The EDA was represented in this coalition together with other Centre parties and with the right-wing 'Laiko' for the first time.

In February 1958 an internal crisis of the ruling party ERE, led the country to elections on 11th May, 1958. In these election five parties participated. Changes in the electoral regions and other minor changes in the system of proportional representation immediately before this election favoured the ERE, because although its share of the vote fell from 47.38 to 41.47 percent it nevertheless obtained 171 seats compared with 165 in the elections of 1956.¹³ A weakened right wing confronted a resurgent left. The EDA became the largest opposition party, with 26 percent of the seats in Parliament.

"Modeled on the wartime EAM, EDA was an association of leftist political groups in which communists played a conspicuous role, despite the fact that the Communist Party remained illegal in Greece".¹⁴

The results of the elections reflected the division in Greece between anti-communists and communists. Men of the right concluded that the old danger of a communist takeover was still present. Some of them felt that the electoral process, even as managed and manipulated by Karamanlis' party, was not a dependable way of holding Communist subversion in check. Secret, politically motivated, societies of army officers seem to have taken on new life in reaction to this election. Veterans of the war against the guerillas firmly believed that another round of

the anti-communist struggle was close at hand. Centre politicians, including all those of the right who had refused to submit to Karamanlis' leadership, drew a rather different conclusion, that unless they could bury their differences and combine as a single voting bloc, they would never be able to unseat Karamanlis.

As a result of this Papandreou constructed a new Centre Union party which included almost every Greek politician who had quarrelled with Karamanlis and who was not ready to consort with communists in the EDA.

Unexpectedly Karamanlis led the country to elections on 29th October, 1961. Three political parties participated.¹⁵

Victory went to the ERE with 58.66 percent of the total seats in Parliament. This result might have confirmed Karamanlis' power had not the underhand means used to win the election been so blatant. As it was, Papandreou challenged the legitimacy of the official count and publicized so many irregular episodes that the election result was in effect discredited. To drive his attack home, Papandreou decided to use his formidable oratorical talents at a series of mass meetings to rouse the people's resentment.

Papandreou's campaign tapped hitherto hidden levels of personal frustration and social dislocation. Not the hill villages but the cities had become the arena where discontent with the status quo found its most critical expression. Papandreou was able to harness this frustration and create a new atmosphere in public

affairs; "a heady one for the silver-tongued Papandreou, who felt, naturally enough, that he was leading the people towards vindication of truth and justice, and extra legal violence".¹⁶

Karamanlis tried to conduct the government as though nothing had happened. Another problem which arose at this time was that Queen Frederica wanted an increased civil list; Karamanlis was unwilling to agree. Frederica felt outraged. Her demands rested upon a personal vision of the proper deference royalty should receive from commoner, and the role of lavish display in shaping public consciousness. The result was a direct clash of wills between two strong personalities, neither of whom was accustomed to yielding.

Two other important events occurred. One was, on 28th May 1963, the murder of G.Lambrakis, a prominent left-leaning politician.¹⁷ His murderers proved to have more or less close connections with officers of the gendarmerie and with some persons active in the prime minister's office in Athens, something that was enough to embarrass the government seriously. Soon thereafter, Karamanlis and Queen Frederica quarrelled openly about whether or not the Queen should visit London, where Greek Cypriots could be expected to make her visit the occasion for public demonstration against Karamanlis's government. Rather than face the double opposition of the Palace and the Centre Union, Karamanlis decided to resign. Not relishing the role of opposition leader, he decided to leave the country, and departed for France, on 11th June 1963.

King Paul chose as Prime Minister P.Pipinelis, a minister in Karamanlis' government and a man of the Palace, who ruled Greece until the elections were held on 3rd November 1963.¹⁸

Thus a measure of political stability was achieved in Greece from 1953 to 1963 by series of right-wing conservative governments based on the political party the Greek Rally and later the Greek Radical Union (ERE). In this the most important political figure was Karamanlis.

Political events during this time gave a new orientation to Greek policy: (i) Greece became a full member of NATO, and (ii) Greece became an associate of the European Economic Community, (Treaty of June 1961). Against this background of political stability in a democracy the following political events were significant:

- (i) there were limitations on political activity, particularly the activity of Communists;
- (ii) the electoral system was changed a few days before elections according to the whim of the ruling party;
- (iii) the strong influence of the American Embassy in Athens, which was able to "unseat one cabinet and impose another";
- (iv) the falsification of the results of the elections of 1961, when fearing defeat at the polls the government mobilized all available forces, including police officers and other public officials, who set out vigorously to urge voters to support Karamanlis. Simultaneously, "secret societies of the right, sometimes acting in collusion with local police officials and army officers, made various threats against those whom they regarded as traitors to the nation";¹⁹ and
- (v) the establishment of the Centre Union Party, which was a

coalition of all small parties of the Centre Union with G. Papandreou as leader, and his 'anendotos' (inflexible) fight against the results of the elections of 1961.

Other events that diminished political stability during this period were:

- (i) the treaty on the independence of Cyprus in 1962;
- (ii) the quarrel between the Queen Frederica and Karamanlis, and
- (iii) the murder of G.Lambrakis (May 1963).

Faced with the last two events Karamanlis resigned as Prime Minister in June 1963, and ended his first period in Greek public life.

3 The Ideology and Programme of the Political Parties

About 80 political parties participated in elections during the 1950's.²⁰ At the beginning of this period not one of them had a complete political programme, or constitution. Their ideology and political programme could be deduced only from the speeches of leaders in election campaign. The main directions of these campaigns could be distinguished as: slogans of the different groups: right, centre, and left. There was considerable similarity between the slogans of the right-wing political parties were: "the threat of the communist danger"²¹ "protection of the ideals of freedom and democracy",²² "raising the standard of living of workers and producers the reestablishment of the industrial activities and the electrification of the country",²³ and the promise that "all Greeks should be awarded equality of political rights".²⁴ The election slogans of the centre political

parties were: "Equality of political rights, just administration, political and social justice, and national progress",²⁵ "the establishment of political, economic and social democracy in Greece",²⁶ and "peace after an amnesty".²⁷ The election slogans of left-wing political parties were "Peace-Democracy-Amnesty",²⁸ However, although all the parties advocated similar ideas, they interpreted them rather differently.

Left-wing parties contested the elections of 1950 as a coalition called the 'Democratike Parataxe', and those of 1951 as the EDA. It was essentially a complex of political parties and personalities. "The EDA was more than a coalition, but it was not yet a uniform Party".²⁹

The EDA became a party between 15th and 17th July, 1956, when the first Panhellenic Conference adopted a new constitution, which was then ratified by the first Party Congress (28th November - 2nd December, 1959).³⁰ The EDA was the only Greek political party at that time which put its constitution into practice. The essential programme of the EDA was expressed in the title of the first Panhellenic Conference which was: "For a National Democratic Change", 'gia mia Ethnike Democratike Allage'.³¹ "This text had a marxist inspiration which ended in a moderate political programme with an elastic strategy".³² The main lines of this programme were: (i) to distance Greece from the influence of the foreign policies of the United States, (ii) the restoration and preservation of national independence, (iii) peace and friendship with all nations, (iv) the reform of government administration, (v) the restoration of democracy and the abolition of the emergency measures which limited individual

rights, (vi) the liberation of all political prisoners, and (vii) the repeal of Law 509/1947 which made the Communist Party illegal. Later I.Passalides, the leader of EDA, said in his speech,

"The EDA puts a proposition before the Greek people, not for a social transformation, but for a change of orientation which has a national, anti-imperialistic and democratic inspiration".³³

The political party ERE was established by C.Karamanlis in January 1956. The constitution of this party was never put into effect; in practice it remained a dead letter. The party was ruled by its leader C.Karamanlis, without any sharing of power during the period 1956-63, when the party was the Government.³⁴ The main lines of its election campaigns were really the programme of the Government. The ERE declared its belief in the NATO alliance. In economic policy it supported monetary stability, reorganisation of agriculture, modernisation and development of industry, and the stability of wages. The programme of the ERE aimed at increasing employment, and the correct management of credit in the public sector. The ERE declared that it believed in a free economy, private enterprise, and free competition. "The programme of the ERE sometimes gave the impression that they were measures which were decided off the cuff".³⁵

Its leader, C.Karamanlis, represented, at that time, the best guarantor of the ruling class and the privileged classes in the population. He maintained the alliance with the Americans and relied on their support to secure stability in the social structure of the country. He succeeded in winning the trust of

foreign banks, so that they invested capital in the country.³⁶

The political party the EK was established in 1961. It was a coalition of small parties and personalities with a political orientation from right to left, from traditional conservatism to left-wing positions.³⁷ Its aim was to remove the right-wing party from power. The party's constitution was approved by its members of Parliament (27th September, 1962), but it was never put into practice. Its leader G. Papandreou administered the party with the help of the parliamentary group.

The programme and ideology of the EK were briefly: "the restoration of political democracy in the country, and the application of political, social and economic democracy".³⁸ The restoration of political democracy meant the removal of Karamanlis from power, because he had violated the Constitution in regard to administration and public service and had hindered free elections with "illegitimacy and violence".³⁹ The abolition of the emergency measures was demanded. On the application of political, social, and economic democracy the main points were: increasing investment in agriculture; the establishment of agricultural industry; a fair distribution of national income between the social classes; reduced taxation; alliance with the West European countries and friendship with the East European countries; and on the Cyprus problem the application of freedom and justice.⁴⁰

4 Politics in Education

4.1 Reforms 1950-1952

Early in 1950 two educationists expressed their views on education as follows: E. Papanoutsos, a well-known educationist, introduced a programme for radical reform and wrote:

"The benefits of education at all levels ought not to be given only to a limited social class - the elite - and are not to be thought of as exclusively for the priveleged. For all children, without exception of rich or poor children, secondary schools must be open and must be attainable by all, with the provision that those children have the capacity and the desire for higher education".⁴¹

N. Exarchopoulos, another educationist and professor emeritus of the University of Athens, stated:

"It is necessary to reform our educational system from its foundations. Because unfortunately the structure and organisation of Greek education has not followed at this time the progression of science or practice elsewhere and has sustained an ill treatment, which I do not want to refer to, they lag behind in territory abandoned elsewhere. Educational ideas that have been the product of science and applied in other countries have not been achieved yet in our education. Thus our schools do not correspond to scientific and social demands and do not serve the needs of the individual and Greek society".⁴²

Thus the need for fundamental reform in Greek education was noted as a great national problem at that time. The Liberal governments which ruled Greece from 1950 to 1952 gave priority to the appointment of teachers in schools, and to the rebuilding of school buildings. Some further attempts at educational reform were made. A draft law was passed in 1951, as Law 1823/1951, but was never implemented. A subsequent draft law was prepared by the Minister of Education, but was never passed by Parliament.⁴³

The Greek Constitution of 1952 was adopted by the Liberal government. In Article 16 the provisions for education were set

out.

"The teaching at all schools of primary and secondary education aims at moral and intellectual training and the development of the national conscience of the young according to the ideology of Helleno-Christian civilisation".⁴⁴

The Law 1823/1951 on the organisation of secondary education also made a similar statement of general aims:

"Secondary education aims at training honourable citizens according to the ideals of Helleno-Christian civilisation".⁴⁵

Thus the ideological orientation of the Greeks had remained firmly attached to the ideals of Helleno-Christian civilisation.

According to the Law 1823/1951 the schools of secondary education were: (a) the 'Gymnasium', (b) the philological 'Lyceum', (c) the physics and mathematics 'Lyceum', and (d) the lower and middle commercial schools. The 'Gymnasium' comprised a three-year course made up of classes A,B,C. In Class A were registered the pupils who had finished primary school and had passed the entrance examination. The philological 'Lyceum' and physico-mathematics 'Lyceum' comprised three-year courses. In their first classes were registered pupils who had finished attendance at the 'Gymnasium' and successfully competed in an entrance examination.

Thus this government adopted and legislated for the structure of education as 6-3-3, but this was never applied in the Greek educational system. The structure of education remained unchanged as 6-6.

"Secondary education necessarily had an urban character, because it educated only an elite, those privileged to have higher education, those who could pay the fees".⁴⁶

The administration system continued to be highly centralised.

Education was entitled to financial assistance from the State or local authorities, but the real situation at that time was extremely acute: the lack of teachers, the lack of school buildings, the lack of school equipment, and the shortage of money for education were serious problems which needed more money.

E. Papanoutsos described this situation as follows:

"The State has to provide for the re-building of a destroyed country after a hard and lengthy war. Today it cannot appoint many teachers for the needs of schools (primary and secondary). Some communities where there are no teachers appointed by the State will find teachers and pay them themselves or have them paid privately by parents. Such events grow more frequent every day. In this way under the pressure of reality, where are we going? It is necessary to study this problem with more attention. The time and the place impose on us a certain aversion from a definitive solution and a preference for convenient compromises, which have not resolved the problem..."⁴⁷

Another acute problem was the large number of illiterate and semi-literate people. The census of 1951 showed that the illiterates were 2,455,801 and the semi-literates were 2,885,670 out of a total population of 6,500,000 aged 10 and over, so the percentage of illiterates was 37.6% and semi-literates was 42.9%.

4.2 Reforms 1953-56

The right-wing government in this period had to respond to the same acute problems in education. It gave priority to primary education and to the problem of illiteracy, and issued Law 3094/1954 according to which:

- "(1) Children, both male and female, of school-age are obliged to attend daily at a primary school of the State, either a public or a private school, until they receive a school-leaving certificate.

- (2) Pupils age 14-20 years old who have not received a school-leaving certificate may continue attendance at daily schools. Otherwise they are obliged to register at a night-school of primary education until receiving a school-leaving certificate".⁴⁸

After intense efforts by the State, townships and school committees, many night-schools were established and operated in villages and towns.

Papanoutsos commented on the scale of the problem which Law 3094/1954 was intended to overcome:

"We have to legislate most severe (draconian) measures, so that there is not any child who has not finished primary school".⁴⁹

Although these measures had some effect, the problem of illiteracy remained in regard to a large number of people, as the census of 1961 showed, there were 1,200,000 illiterates and 2,031,000 semi-literates out of the total population of 6,887,100 aged 10 and over, so the percentage of illiterates was 17.4% and semi-literates was 29.5%.

In the middle of 1950's all primary schools operated in the country, and all children of school age registered in these schools. But a considerable percentage of the total number of pupils did not finish the school year, as the census indicated:

"In the 1955-56 school-year there were 9,673 primary schools in the country with 19,713 teachers in them. In those schools there were registered 947,631 pupils, virtually all children that had reached school-age. but at the end of this year there were attending only 848,283 pupils; about 75,633 pupils had stopped school attendance".⁵⁰

In the same school-year 209,802 pupils registered in 'Gymnasium', about 22% of the total population of school age. Although the

number of pupils in 'Gymnasiums' doubled from the pre-war period to the middle 1950's, the idea of "secondary education for all" had not yet been adopted in Greece. But the desire of parents for more and better education for their children continuously spread through the majority of the population.

The rapid increase of pupils in 'Gymnasiums' with their monolithic character of classical studies and a strict selective examination system on the one hand, a limited number of places in higher education on the other hand, and the desire of most parents to see their children in higher education increased the number of private preparatory school 'frontisterio' in Greek society.

Thus the expansion of secondary education in the middle 1950's began to create social problems, because of the grievous and socially very dangerous phenomenon that myriads of pupils, in the absence of any respectable type of vocational education, were channelled to the so-called classical 'Gymnasium', to graduate from it with a certificate which had no value in terms of livelihood.

After rapid financial development in the country and the modernisation of Greek society, the need for reform in the educational system at that time was imperative, particularly in the areas of technical and vocational education. Because of "the one way of the classical Gymnasium, stereotyped and monolithic, which impresses on the young the old knowledge of an obsolete and shallow encyclopaedism",⁵¹ young people were flung out on life

without any skills or capacity to work. Many of them remained unemployed.

This situation led to the recognition in many sectors of society that technical and vocational education should be expanded. Commenting on this need for reform the director of the Bank of Greece wrote:

"The obvious difficulties of Greek economic development during recent years and rapid international technological progress have made it clear that the most serious obstacle to the economic development of Greece is the lack of a modern and specialised training of the population".⁵²

The level of technical and vocational knowledge of workers and businessmen in industry, cottage industries and commerce, as well as of the rural population and of the civil service was, and still remains, low.⁵³ Consequently, "if the necessary effort to retrain and train the population is not made in time and to the necessary extent, the acceleration of the rate of economic development will hardly be achieved".⁵⁴ The whole effort ought to be that "in every planned list of investments, technical education should have the top priority".⁵⁵ The Minister of Industry estimated that the 2,020 semi-skilled workmen graduating each year from school were far too few in number to fill the 10,200 vacancies created during the same time due to "natural causes, retirement and death" in industry. (These figures were for the year 1955-56).⁵⁶

Other institutions estimated that the educational system as a whole produced approximately 8,000 graduates with some kind of vocational training - higher education graduates excluded - every year, "...a number which is disproportionate to the actual

technical and vocational needs of the country".⁵⁷ At the same time the 'Gymnasiums' continued to produce "...thousands of graduates every year" who were "...inadequately equipped with the theoretical and practical knowledge required in productive work".

This lack of balance was referred to in May 1957 by King Paul who said in a speech:

"What has happened during the last decades in education is characteristic of the lack of practical outlook. We turn our attention fully to the seeming significance of the matters of the moment and we thus tend to forget the need to provide for the future".

In the same speech he indirectly criticised the lack of national leadership in education:

"The present situation creates grave responsibilities and the greatest obligations for the leadership of the Greek people",

and he added:

"Our era constitutes a crucial period in the development of man, both in the material and the intellectual sectors... Therefore, we not only need simply better education, we need a new spirit in it".⁵⁸

4.3 The Karamanlis Committee

Perhaps as a consequence of these criticisms, in June 1957 the Prime Minister C.Karamanlis appointed a committee to undertake the task of making a comprehensive study of the educational system and of proposing guidelines for reform by making recommendations on the following matters:

"Having in mind the need to identify and study the problems... of Education at all levels..., we appoint a committee under the chairmanship of the Minister of Education... The task of this committee will be the study, formulation and presentation of proposals on:

(a) The selection of methods for the most effective way to

complete the real and modern education of Greek children up to the age of 12 years according to the provision of the Constitution (concerning primary education).

- (b) The most effective way in which secondary education should be structured and organised into the branches of classical, scientific, and vocational training so that it could serve the vital needs of the country as they appear today...
- (c) Finally, regarding the method of selection of the best pupils and students so that those distinguished by their character and school-work should continue unhindered in their studies, independently of their economic situation".⁵⁹

The committee comprised one Member of Parliament, seven university professors (one from University of Thessalonike, five from the University of Athens, and one from the EMP Higher Polytechnical School of Athens), and three educationists (an honorary member of the Education Council, the Director-general of the Marasleios Pedagogical Academy and an ex-secretary-general of the Ministry of Education).⁶⁰

The Government entrusted to this committee of experts the study of educational problems at all levels but it proposed to submit their findings to another committee from all political parties, so that the final decision should be "the manifestation of the unanimous thought of all political parties in the country".⁶¹ Although "the committee allegedly was non-partisan and representative of various segments of educational opinion"⁶² only one of the members came from the critics of the institutionalised curriculum, "...all others represented a rather conservative wing".⁶³

The managerial and technical groups of the State educational

organisation were not represented in the committee and their role was limited only to the provision of "...useful information and clarifications that were asked by the committee".⁶⁴ The Teacher's Unions, DOE and OLME, the universities, political parties, and professional associations were formally excluded from policy formulation.

The contribution of these groups to the formulation of educational policy was limited to the submission of a memorandum to the committee. This was mentioned in the report of the Committee, but in a way which indicates that no great weight was attached to it. "A great number of memoranda on several matters related to education have been submitted to the committee by foundations, agencies, associations and even by laymen",⁶⁵ and that "the same attention was given to the views of the presiding council of the federation of primary and secondary school teachers...".⁶⁶

The reaction against the constitution of the committee was immediate and very strong. As soon as the appointment of the committee was announced the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens called a meeting of its members who,

"...decided unanimously, that a three-member delegation... should express to the Minister of Education the protest of the School..."⁶⁷

because in appointing the Committee,

"the schools of both universities concerned with producing teachers have been ignored, although they are officially and essentially responsible on educational matters."⁶⁸

In addition, the school issued a statement to the press:

"The educational problem is primarily scientific, and at the

same time it is most fundamentally national. It is not resolved through political and sectional mobilization, no matter what high support the politicians and sections enjoy. The University School, which is the pre-eminent in the education of the nation, proclaims with a strong voice imminent danger, since in its (the School's) absence... solutions are considered that clash not only with the traditions but also with the real interests of the nation."⁶⁹

The School of Philosophy consistently ignored the Committee and submitted its memorandum to the government. This was strange in view of the fact that the University of Athens was represented on the Committee by five of its members, who had been appointed, it is true, without consultation with the university. The university had been promised that "the Prime Minister will keep the Senate informed on the conclusions of the current discussion on education",⁷⁰ and that "there was no specific indication on what the recommendations of the Committee would be, understandably at this early stage."⁷¹

The reaction of the Federation of Teachers in Secondary Education (OLME) was a single statement issued by its governing body to the press.

"The OLME is taken by unpleasant surprise, because active teachers and their elected representatives were not invited to participate, as they should have been and as they had been promised, in the work of the Committee. Solving, however, the most fundamental problems of education, especially those of secondary education, without the participation of the teachers' organisation, which legitimately represents the group and which is better aware than any one else of the prevailing conditions in education today, is inconceivable and we hope that the Government will quickly rectify this omission".⁷²

The reaction of the other relevant educational groups varied. The Association of Greek Philologists issued a strong protest against the appointment of the Committee.⁷³

The opposition the political parties expressed their reservations about the suitability of the Committee to formulate policies for the reform so badly needed in education.

In its investigation the Committee worked by assigning one or more members to prepare a preamble to each chapter (i.e. educational aspect), who then submitted a brief written sketch summarizing the main points of the issue, including the proposed measures for reforming the existing system. After discussion, the final decision on what the committee would propose was taken by vote of all the members of the Committee.⁷⁴

"The educational policy was formulated on the basis of exchanging and debating among the members of the committee their personal views on what ought to be done; no empirical research, nor any evaluation projects were set up to supplement and support the recommendations of the committee. Its proposals were theoretical in outlook and broad in scope."⁷⁵

4.4 The Committee's Report

The Committee submitted its report to the Prime Minister in January 1958, declaring that "... the findings of the Committee, with the relevant reports... will be of benefit to the Nation."⁷⁶

The Committee unanimously accepted the following principles for the solution of educational problems:

- 1) the State must give absolute priority to the educational problems of today;
- 2) the State must express explicitly and immediately its interest in providing the necessary finance;
- 3) the structure and the curriculum of all levels of

- schools needs modernisation;
- 4) the humanism of Greek and Christian civilisation must be the basis of education;
 - 5) the Greek school in particular must teach the young about the unbroken unity of the nation and to achieve this the Greek school must teach the 'Demotike' and 'Katharevousa' languages to the pupils.
 - 6) the needs of life and economic resources demand more technical education: in this sector Greece was behind other countries, and it needed to eliminate the gap quickly by more intense work;
 - 7) the great benefit of education must not be the privilege of a few, so that the State must give grants to poor pupils who were distinguished in their studies; and
 - 8) a cause of the country's educational misfortune lay in hurried and frequent reforms and the problem of education must cease to be the object of party and personal rivalry.⁷⁷

The Committee made detailed proposals based on these general principles. It studied educational structure, curriculum, administration, and financing, and also teacher-training and then made the following proposals.

4.4.1 The Organisation and Structure of Education

The Committee ascertained the need for the establishment of about 8,500 kindergartens for pre-school education but it proposed to establish only a few kindergartens, because of budgetary

constraints.⁷⁸

The six-year primary school was characterized as a significant victory for the people and the Committee proposed that it should remain as it stood.⁷⁹

Secondary education was taken to comprise general and also technical and vocational education. The Committee proposed that general secondary education "should be divided" into two self-sufficient levels,⁸⁰ but it was not unanimous about the structure of these schools. The pattern 6-3-3 was proposed by six members, the pattern 6-3-4 by three members, the pattern 6-3-3 (+1) by one member, the pattern 5-3-4 by one, and the pattern 4-3-4 by one member.

It was proposed that the first stage of general secondary education should comprise only a uniform-type school, the 'Progymnasium'.⁸¹

The second stage should comprise three school types:

- (a) the classical 'Gymnasium' with an emphasis on the teaching of literary and historical subjects;
- (b) the classical 'Gymnasium' with an emphasis on the teaching of mathematics and science; and
- (c) the 'Lyceum' of general education with an emphasis on the teaching of foreign languages.⁸²

The committee recognised "the great importance of vocational education for the development of the country's economy and for

individual success in life," it praised private vocational schools, and proposed to establish three types of vocational schools:

- (a) the lower vocational school was to be for pupils who had a leaving certificate from the primary school, and should train workers, craftsmen and businessmen;
- (b) the middle vocational school was to be for pupils who had a leaving certificate from the 'Progymnasium' or lower vocational school and should train for professions where more technical education was necessary; and
- (c) the higher vocational school was to be for pupils who had a leaving certificate from the 'Gymnasium' or 'Lyceum', or middle school.⁸³

Although the Committee recognised that there is "a general impetus towards the extension of compulsory education in the modern progress of civilisation and technology", it thought that "today it is impossible to speak about the extension of compulsory education", because first of all the six-years compulsory education has not yet been achieved, when thousands of children leave school from the fourth and fifth classes, and secondly the extension of compulsory education "would mean a new, unbearable burden on the State Budget".⁸⁴

4.4.2 Curriculum

The Committee proposed a new curriculum for primary schools based on the following principles:

- (1) National and religious education should be according to Greek and Christian tradition;
- (2) Acquisition of knowledge should have a solid and practical

- character deriving from participation and critical scrutiny;
- (3) The intellectual spirit of the curriculum should be based in the roots of the natural and social environment of the child;
 - (4) The needs of modern Greek society should be met; and
 - (5) The language of text-books and teaching should be the 'Demotike'.

Again, the Committee was not unanimous in their recommendation on the language of instruction. One member proposed the use of 'Demotike' in the first four classes and 'Demotike' and 'Katharevousa' jointly in the following two classes. A second member proposed that the language of instruction should be 'Katharevousa' from the fourth class. Another member proposed that only 'Katharevousa' should be used in the primary school.⁸⁵

It was suggested that the curriculum of the 'Progymnasium' with its "practical character" should give, "special attention to subjects such as 'handiwork', which both educate and train a young man in practical life".⁸⁶

The Committee proposed a special curriculum in each type of secondary school.⁸⁷ The curriculum of vocational schools, except those for specialist training, should provide religious, humane knowledge so that the pupils could become "honourable Greek citizens". In addition, it proposed that lessons in Greek, mathematics and political awareness be included alongside the special vocational lessons.⁸⁸

4.4.3 Administration

The Committee accepted the central administrative system of education as it stood and proposed some modifications about pre-schooling and vocational education.

- (1) The committee proposed the establishment of a new office in the Ministry of Education for administration of pre-school education, and also the appointment of Special Inspectors of Kindergartens.⁸⁹
- (2) It proposed the separation of the administration from the supervision of general-education schools, as carried out by inspectors, and the appointment of special officers, the 'epoptes' (supervisors). One member proposed that the inspectorate should remain unchanged.⁹⁰
- (3) The Committee proposed that the vocational-education schools should belong to the Ministry of Education and that there should be established a special office of vocational education in it, which would control and supervise all vocational schools. It was also felt necessary to establish a permanent council to give advice on the problems of vocational education.⁹¹

4.4.4 Finance

The Ministry of Education was to provide free education in primary and secondary general-education schools. The Committee proposed the establishment of kindergartens of an agricultural type, and suggested that the "Church, rich communities, cooperatives and benevolent institutions"⁹² should be asked to bear the expenses kindergartens. Vocational education in the

state schools was to be free,⁹³ and some scholarships were to be granted to really capable pupils for further education in general and vocational schools.⁹⁴

4.5 Debates on the Educational Reforms (1957-59)

4.5.1 Debates Outside Parliament

After the publication of the Committee's findings, many debates were conducted by interested groups, educationists, and political parties.

The School of Philosophy of the University of Athens played a leading role. In a series of announcements and memoranda it declared its opposition to the Committee's findings as follows:

"Spasmodic and partial solutions, instead of improving the existing situation, can only bring harm, as has already happened in the past when the various hasty and usually superficial, unelaborated plans for reforming education in Greece, which having been prepared by unsuitable persons without the participation of the official and essentially responsible agents, have either been abandoned from the start or failed wholly in practice".⁹⁵

The School introduced some proposals for reform in the structural pattern 6(5)-3-4, because it argued that dividing the 6-years 'Gymnasium' into two three-year cycles "would curtail the humanistic education of pupils as it would make it impossible to construct a curriculum for the upper cycle".⁹⁶ In selecting the content of the curriculum the practical utility of the selected subjects should not be employed as a criterion.⁹⁷ The teaching of Ancient Greek texts should be carried out at both cycles "exclusively from the original".⁹⁸ "The language of Education should be 'Katharevousa'".⁹⁹

The School of Philosophy in supporting its views referred to its own "historical and scientific responsibility to the Nation".¹⁰⁰ It appealed to the public in terms of nationalistic and religious feelings, and to political leaders in terms of the communist threat; "The dark force which attempts, hidden behind the curtains, to undermine classical education. This dark force is very obvious, it is communism".¹⁰¹

The Federation of Teachers in Secondary Education reacted against the Committee's findings and presented views similar to those of the School of Philosophy. They claimed that, "the three-years lower and the four years upper"¹⁰² cycle in secondary education should be clearly diversified into humanistic and vocational types, "and a mixture of the two forms of education is not allowable".¹⁰³ Further, "the study of ancient texts at the lower cycle should of course be made from the original."¹⁰⁴

In addition OLME posed the question of the learning environment. "No reform and no change should be attempted before the problem of manning schools, the acute problem of school buildings, the problem of instructional aids, and that of the elevation of the status of the teaching staff are resolved in a satisfactory way."¹⁰⁵ Thus, both the school of Philosophy and OLME worked hard against the Committee's findings, holding common ground in the traditional interpretations of humanism, and their opposition to 'Demotikism'.

The Federation of Teachers in Primary Education (DOE) did not believe that the government really wanted to reform education.

"Everything clearly shows that we are at the stage of talking and planning, which involves the spirit of postponement in a protracted way, a clearly soporific way, which has been widely and systematically applied in Greece for a long time by political forces",¹⁰⁶

and added:

"the sacred and holy affair of the Nation, Education, consisted and consists of a firm and sure point of departure for demagogy",¹⁰⁷ and

"although seven months have passed we can nowhere see any intention of solving of the problem of education."¹⁰⁸

The leader of the Liberal Party, G.Papandreou, expressed his views and suggested that a 6-3-3 structural pattern should include "the teaching of ancient classics from translations" at the first stage of secondary education; he discussed the "quality of status between 'Katharevousa' and 'Demotike'".¹⁰⁹

The leader of the EDA, the left-wing party, expressed his views as follows;

"Polytechnical education should be provided in a 'Gymnasium' irrespective of diversification and specialisation. Polytechnical education is not vocational education. It is civilising education, a method of spiritual and intellectual shaping of youth".¹¹⁰

The Prime Minister, the leader of ERE, which was in power, attempted to deal neutrally with the problem of education.¹¹¹

Later, in 20th June 1959, he gave an answer to commentators on the Committee's report, and he declared:

"The Government has decided to reform education radically. The national tradition and humanistic basis of education are no cause of offence. The great problem lies in the combination of respect for tradition with radical reform according to the economic and technological needs of the country".¹¹²

On the same day the Minister of Education introduced eight Draft

Laws in Parliament about the reform of education. The five most significant Draft Laws were:¹¹³ (1) on the technical and vocational education, organisation of secondary education and administration of education;¹¹⁴ (2) on the unification and coordination of vocational education;¹¹⁵ (3) on the increase of the number of teachers and inspectors of primary, secondary and vocational education;¹¹⁶ (4) on the amendment of some details of teachers' training; (5) on the training of kindergarten teachers. Another three projected laws dealt with higher education.

4.5.2 Debates in Parliament

There were vigorous debates throughout the summer session of Parliament concerning technical and vocational education, the organisation of secondary education, and the administration of education, because this projected laws on these subjects constituted the most essential of the series of draft laws.

The spokesman of the ERE expressed his views on the need for reform in education in its orientation as follows: "It is commonly accepted that our education as a whole shows many and dangerous symptoms of disease,"¹¹⁷ and "...the request for a reform of education is universal, imperative and justified".¹¹⁸ He added: "the question is, in which direction should the reform of Greek education be made?"¹¹⁹ "The humanistic tradition, as it is laid down in the Constitution, Article 16, has determined for a long time the higher and final aims of Greek education, the Helleno-Christian ideals, so that it should not deviate from them. Humanistic education constitutes the roots and the trunk, as it were, of Greek education".¹²⁰

Two members of the EDA expressed their views about really democratic and humanistic education. One of them, K.Soteriou, said:

"First, for our education to be really democratic and humanistic it should reorganise the right of the youth to education... Education is the right of Greek children... Although 130 years have passed since the establishment of the Greek State, the State has not yet recognised this right of children... Today education is a privilege of a few, rich citizens. Secondly, education, from the kindergarten to the University, is uniform, it has uniform aims and the obligation to serve all Greek children independently, whether they are rich or poor. Thus, the barriers to education for the children of working people must be removed".¹²¹

He added:

"I think that it is time to abolish private education. The State should be responsible for the education of Greek children".¹²²

Another member of the EDA, M.Sbolou, held similar views.

"Education must be attainable and open to all citizens at all levels. This means democratic education, not oligarchic. This means more money from the State Budget so that it shall be free...".¹²³

She added:

"The ideal of education, individual humanism, had to give place to social humanism...".¹²⁴

"I think that it is time for the disappearance of another unacceptable measure, the certificate of 'koononikon fronematom' (political convictions) to which candidates for the University are obliged to submit...".¹²⁵

"This measure negates the meaning of individual freedom and shames the State."¹²⁶

The spokesman of the EDA discussed polytechnical education and its ideals:

"Technical and vocational education is a sector of great significance in the national educational problem, from the lower to the higher level of education, in regard to fixing

of its aims, targets and ideals".¹²⁷

"Polytechnical education must be in all the 'Gymnasiums', because polytechnical education gives a solid basis in theory, rehabilitates the bond between theory and practice, the union of teaching and productive work, and it creates a technical conscience".¹²⁸

The spokesman of the EK expressed general approval of the proposals, adding some detail as to how they should be interpreted.

"We do not disagree with the principles of this draft law".¹²⁹

But, "it must reorganise classical education in such a way that it gives good results and attains its targets".¹³⁰

The views of the political parties on the structure of secondary education were also formulated and expressed. The spokesman of the ERE said:

"Attendance at a 'Gymnasium' should remain at six years divided into two cycles, a lower cycle with a common curriculum based on humanistic education, and a higher cycle with a diversified curriculum".¹³¹

At this point the Minister of Education, intervening, explained:

"The draft law does not prescribe two cycles. Attendance is for a continuous six years".¹³²

The spokesman added:

"The distinction between two cycles lies in the curriculum and the leaving certificate, when the pupils complete the third class".¹³³

"In the higher level of the 'Gymnasium' it is possible to diversify into the streams of classical, scientific, technical, economic, agricultural, native language and foreign languages".¹³⁴

The leader of the EK objected:

"First, you have retained the same name of 'Gymnasium' for six classes and, secondly, and examination between the third

and fourth classes is a barrier against the improvement of the intellectual 'population'".¹³⁵

The Vice-president of the government added:

"We thought that the conception of two cycles must be abandoned and we are against the entrance examination into the fourth class".¹³⁶

The spokesman of the EDA said:

"I agree with the division of the 'Gymnasium' into two cycles, and I agree too that there must not be an entrance examination from the first to the second cycle".¹³⁷

On the structure of technical and vocational education the spokesman of the ERE mentioned that,

"The principles of the organisation of technical and vocational schools are set out" by the this Bill, and "two higher technical schools, six middle technical schools, and some lower technical and vocational schools are establishment".¹³⁸

The spokesman of the EDA found those schools "indispensable, pertinent, and useful",¹³⁹ and suggested the establishment of more technical schools.

The views of the political parties on the administration of education were also formulated and expressed. The spokesman of the ERE thought the establishment of two centres of general management in the Ministry of Education,

"not only an unnecessary luxury but also harmful to the spirit of uniformity, that there should be in our national education the 'Areios Pagos' Higher Education Council of Education".¹⁴⁰

The spokesman of the EDA also objected to the increase in administrative offices;

"We see a superfluity in the administration and a superfluity of councils, this situation will bring confusion".¹⁴¹

M.Sbolou, member of Parliament of the EDA, proposed the participation of members from trades unions in the higher education council.¹⁴²

The spokesman of the EK agreed that "the technical and vocational schools should belong to the Ministry of Education",¹⁴³ and also agreed with "the establishment of two centres of general management in the Ministry of Education."¹⁴⁴

A second spokesman of the ERE raised the issue of the finance of education:

"In the last three to four years the grants to education from the Budget have been significantly multiplied",¹⁴⁵ and added;

"The expenditure on these reforms will be about 140 million drachmes," but "we believe that the government will not spare money to complete this great national work".¹⁴⁶

The spokesman of the EDA said that,

"Lower technical and vocational education should be free".¹⁴⁷

Another member of Parliament of EDA said,

"If the Government wanted to find the required money for education it could be done".¹⁴⁸

The spokesman of the EK asked the Minister of Education,

"How much expenditure will be needed for solution of all the education problems?"¹⁴⁹ and he added,

"Let us hope that the work of the Minister of Education will succeed in attracting more attention from the Minister of Finance".¹⁵⁰

Apart from debates on upper secondary curricula debates on the details of curricula were held in the Parliament on only a few subjects, because the Bill provided that,

"... the curricula will be determined by decrees that are made by the Minister of Education".¹⁵¹

4.6 The Main Points of the Legislation of 1959

After a short period of debate in the summer committee of Parliament concerning technical and vocational education, the organisation of secondary education, and the administration of education, Law 3971/1959 was passed by Parliament and published on 7th September, 1959.¹⁵²

The main points of these provisions were:

- (1) the establishment of State technical schools for assistant engineers in Athens and Thessalonike;
- (2) the establishment of six State technical schools for other technical assistants and foremen;
- (3) permissive authority to establish agricultural, technical and vocational lower schools in the country, requiring attendance from one to four years;
- (4) the establishment of a training college for teachers in technical and vocational education.

Articles 27-32 referred to secondary education:¹⁵³

- (1) The curriculum of the first three classes of the 'Gymnasium', which comprise the first level of the 'Gymnasium', should be common to all schools, and based on a general humanistic education. The second level of the

'Gymnasium' might be organised from the fourth class into streams: classical, scientific, technical, agricultural, marine, foreign languages, and economic studies.

- (2) The pupils in the third class of the 'Gymnasium' would receive a leaving certificate after an examination on all the lessons of this class. This leaving certificate was to give the right to pupils to register in the fourth class of the 'Gymnasium' or in technical and vocational schools.

Articles 33 to 46 determined the administration of education. The main provisions were:

- (1) A general management centre for vocational education in the Ministry of Education was to be established.
- (2) The establishment of a general management centre for general education was to be made in the Ministry of Education.
- (3) The establishment of a National Council of Education which would be headed by the Minister of Education and would consist of representatives of the ministries, of the higher educational institutes, of the chamber of technical professions of Greece, of the general workers' association of Greece, of the Eugenides Institute for research, of the federation of agriculturists, of the association of productive classes, of private schools, and of teachers and parents.
- (4) A higher educational council would be established in the Ministry of Education.
- (5) A higher council on the curricula was to be formed.
- (6) The formation of a higher council on administration was agreed.

Two other Bills were passed by Parliament "on increasing the number of posts for teachers and inspectors in primary, secondary and vocational education".¹⁵⁴ These were published as Law 3970/1959 on 7th September, 1959. The number of posts for teachers in primary education was increased by about 1600, and in secondary education by about 560. The number of post for inspectors in primary education was increased by 28, plus two for general inspectors, and five additional general inspectors for secondary education were appointed. After that the number of the inspectors of schools were: inspectors of primary schools, 151 plus 11 general inspectors, a total of 162; and general inspectors of secondary schools, 24 plus 16 special inspectors, a total of 40.

The Bill "on the unification and coordination of vocational education" was passed by Parliament, and published on 7th September, 1959 as Law 3973/1959 .¹⁵⁵ Vocational schools at all levels, and of all specialities, which had operated as State or private schools and had been supervised by the Industrial and Commercial Ministries, were transferred to the Ministry of Education, as soon as this Law was promulgated.

Therefore, the educational system after 1959 could be characterised as follows:

General Aims: The Constitution of 1952 determined the aims of education. The teaching of all schools, primary and secondary, aims at moral and intellectual training, and the development of the national conscience of the young on the principles of

ideology of Helleno-Christian civilisation.

Administration: The administration system continued to be highly centralised. Education operated under the higher supervision of the State. The Minister of Education was responsible for educational policy at all levels of education, and exercised administration through the Higher Council of Administration, general inspectors, and inspectors of primary and secondary schools.

Finance: Education was entitled to financial assistance from the State or local authorities. Primary education was compulsory and free.

Structure and Organisation: The structure and organisation of the educational system remained as laid down in the legislation of 1929, with the addition of some technical and vocational schools.

4.7 Critical Review of Developments

After the reform attempts made by the Liberal governments in 1951 and 1952, the speech of King Paul, the declaration of the Prime Minister in 1957 on the educational problems in Greek education, the findings of the special Committee, and the debates inside and outside the Greek Parliament, a few education laws were passed, which attempted to solve some problems of Greek education. But the reforms were not as radical as their proponents declared, and most importantly the character of secondary education did not change and some inegalitarian measures remained in education as they had been before.

Compulsory education remained at six years' attendance in primary schools. Although the Committee had recognised that an extension of compulsory education had been made in most European countries after the Second World War, it proposed that compulsory education should be limited to the six years of primary schooling, because the State Budget had no more money for education. The Conservative and Liberal political parties expressed their assent to this view, but the EDA unreservedly proposed the extension of compulsory education into the first level of secondary education. In this way the EDA proposed that a universal, more varied and better education for all could be achieved.

The character of the Greek educational system, at all levels, as a selective system for the ruling class had not changed, especially at the first level of secondary education.

Entrance examinations from level to level were maintained. The child who completed primary school could be registered in the first class of secondary education after a successful entrance examination. The child who completed the 'Gymnasium' had to be successful in an entrance examination, and obtain more marks in this examination than other participating pupils, to register in school of higher education.

The internal examination system from the fifth class of the primary school to the top class of the schools of higher education, as it operated in Greece at that time, had as its main purpose the erection of a barrier to further education in the path of most people. Thus, the character of education remained as

it was for a few, for an elite, for those who had a talent, the best pupils in character and in school work. In fact, to attain this goal an institute of state scholarship was established in 1951.¹⁵⁶ The Committee set up by Karamanlis also proposed the award of "more scholarships to the best pupils at all levels".¹⁵⁷ The best pupils meant pupils who had obtained most marks in examinations.

The education system of Greece did not give an equal opportunity to all pupils, and the selection of the best could rarely be carried out fairly. There was an unequal distinction of education in Greece, with no 'Gymnasiums' in rural localities and most of the 'Gymnasiums' that existed were deficient in staff and equipment. The few 'Gymnasiums' that were well equipped and efficiently operated, were mostly concentrated in Athens and Thessalonike. This meant that the best pupils were the best of a few.

The 'frontisterio' (private preparatory school) had become another unpopular institution in Greek education. Some teachers in primary and secondary education undertook to prepare a few pupils to become 'the best' by private lessons regardless of their capacities. They exploited the strong wish of Greek parents to see their sons or daughters graduate from the University or from a higher education school, and their interest in spending money for this purpose helped to establish the 'frontisterio' as a 'parapedaeia'.

The great wish of people for more and better education for their

children substantially increased the number of pupils in secondary schools and the number of candidates for higher education.

In this situation, many private preparatory schools were established, especially in Athens and Thessalonike, and a few in other towns of the country. These schools played an important but dubious role in Greek education, because they worked to help a few pupils with lower capacities to register in the Universities or in other schools of higher education.

Most of the members of the Committee noted the illegal operation of these private cramming schools in Greek education and a few of them proposed the fourth class in the second level of secondary schools as the preparatory class for higher education. The members of the Committee and the members of the Conservative and Liberal political parties inside and outside Parliament did not propose the abolition of private preparatory schools. Two members of the EDA however proposed the "abolition of private education" because "the State is responsible for the education of Greek children".¹⁵⁸

The most unpopular measure in Greek education was the certificate of political convictions, provision for which had been included in Law No.509/1947, and remained in force until after 1959.¹⁵⁹ This Law was passed during the Civil War, when the fighting between the State forces and the communist guerillas was at a critical point, and the division between anti-communists and communists in Greek society was very sharp. At that time the government wanted to control admissions to higher education. It

excluded any communist or communist-sympathiser from higher education by promulgating this law which provided that every candidate for admission to a school of higher education shall be obliged to submit an application to the Security Service of the Police, which was to be forwarded by the school of higher education. A special committee of the Security Service made a selection of the candidates who could participate in the entrance examination, and others were excluded for reasons of political conviction.

At that time (1947) the measure might have been justified as a defence of the State forces. Actually in 1951 the Prime Minister N.Plasteras of the Liberal Centre parties attempted to abolish all anti-constitutional laws which had been promulgated during the civil war and to give an amnesty to all, but he did not succeed in this.

As late on 1957-59 no discussion outside or inside Parliament had taken place about the abolition of this measure, except that a member of the EDA at a Parliamentary conference proposed "it is time for this measure to disappear... because it abolishes the meaning of individual freedom and shames the State."¹⁶⁰ But this unpopular measure was retained.

Most of the members of the Committee had made reference to the insufficiency of the State Budget, and therefore they were restrained in proposing more radical measures in education. But in the debates outside Parliament the most interested groups demanded more money for education. The spokesmen of the EDA and

the Liberal Party also proposed that more money should be set aside for education. Two members of the EDA supported free education at all levels in the State schools and the abolition of private education. In the end, only primary education remained free.

In 1960, after this reform, the State Budget increased the credit grants for education by about 0.5%, to 6.7% of the total Budget.¹⁶¹ Thus, the greatest attempt to reform the educational system as a whole proposed and discussed in the post-war period ended up as a failure, because it was limited to adjusting some unimportant details of the Greek educational system, and this attempt at reform of the educational system unfortunately met the same fate that had befallen all attempts at educational reform from the establishment of the new Greek State. The reason for this failure to achieve radical reform could be said to lie in fact that "the distribution of power between those who supported it and those who opposed it was essentially unbalanced."¹⁶²

5 Summary

During the period 1950 to 1963 the need for reform in education was accepted by a few eminent educationists; it was supported by the manager of the National Bank of Greece, by King Paul and Prime Ministers. Interested groups recognised the need to reform education to meet the requirements of Greek society, as did the political parties, but all of them wanted to reform the system in accordance with their own interests.

During the formulation of policy for reform in education many debates were held outside and inside Parliament, which divided

the speakers into two groups: the supporters of reform and the opponents of it. The supporters were apparently the more numerous, but the number who could agree to the detail of a particular reform was always very small, and therefore these attempts at radical reform in education ended in failure, because behind the Philosophy School of the University of Athens, which reacted vigorously against reform, was the ruling class of Greek society, which included the Greek Orthodox Church, the intellectual elite of the country, the graduates of the University of Athens, and the majority of members of the ruling political party the ERE. The Federation of Teachers in Primary Education very pertinently questioned whether the ruling political party really wanted "a radical reform in education".

But these debates about reform outside and inside Parliament undoubtedly gave an opportunity to a large number of people and groups to learn something about educational problems and gave them the courage to speak openly about them. This forceful presentation of demands in regard to education by the federations of teachers in primary and secondary education with support from parents, as well as extremely strong presentation of these demands by the Students' Union, and the political events that followed these presentations, contributed to creating a climate in which educational reform could take place later.

Thus, during this period, while educational reform was debated, very few lasting and practical innovations were successfully introduced. In the next chapter the attempts made by the liberal party to improve educational provision will be examined.

CHAPTER IV

THE LIGHT OF EDUCATIONAL RENAISSANCE: THE REFORM OF 1964

1 Introduction

After a long period of little change in education a hope of educational revival re-emerged when the 'Enosis Kentrou' (Liberal Centre) Party ruled Greece. Continual attempts to increase the annual income of Greeks had been made and some changes in Greek society had been effected during the late fifties and early sixties, which prepared a climate of political change in Greece, especially after the powerful struggle of the 'Anendotos' (inflexible) fight against the repressive policy of the right-wing Party in power.

An attempt will be made to investigate the socio-economic situation in Greek society early in the 1960's, the political conflicts, the discussions about educational problems, and the Education Act of 1964, with an emphasis on the extension of compulsory education, free education, and the method of admission into upper secondary schools and higher education. Then its implementation in practice will be examined and some conclusions drawn.

2 The Socio-economic Situation in Greek Society

Despite many attempts which had been made to change the structure of the Greek economy in the 1950's, and early 1960's, it remained mainly agricultural. The average annual income was 12,926 drachmes in 1962. Money income increased a little more than 2.7 times in eleven years, from 1951. But the increase in living standards was not uniform. Rural incomes rose only from a

calculated average of 3,036 drachmes in 1951 (63 percent of the national average) to 7,800 drachmes in 1962 (56 percent of the national average).¹ This expansion of incomes was primarily a result of the fact that innumerable small-scale, individual enterprises seized upon some new possibility and made the most of it.

The sector that expanded most rapidly was manufacturing; but the average number of employees per manufacturing establishment remained no more than four persons. In other words, family-scale enterprise predominated in manufacturing as well as in service occupations and agricultural work.²

Nevertheless, it remained true that the enhanced scope for family enterprise depended on large-scale fundamental investments, all of which were made with the active participation of the State. The basic tactic of successive Greek governments was to try to create on Greek soil the necessary infrastructure for modern commerce and industry.

Another important aspect of governmental policy was the encouragement of migration. The government welcomed the fact that as job opportunities began to open in Greek cities and abroad, migrants started to flood down from the hill-villages. The scale of movement became truly enormous. Athens grew from 1.37 million in 1951, to 1.85 million in 1961: in 1960 statistical sampling showed that no fewer than 56 percent of the persons living in Athens were immigrants.³

Emigration also grew during the years after 1957, when an agreement for sending Greeks to work in Belgian coal-mines was concluded; and still more, after 1960, when another agreement was signed with the Federal Republic of Germany to facilitate the emigration of Greeks to work in German factories.

At the same time the development of communications, and through them, the encouragement of a consumer-mentality created needs and raised expectations far beyond the rise in the standard of living.

The sharply uneven development of the forces and relations of production was directly connected with the rising social unrest and political mobilisation. The inequalities generated by the Greek model of industrialisation - whether seen in terms of income and wealth differentials, of geographical imbalance, or of the way in which different modes of production were articulated in the Greek social formation - unavoidably created severe disruptions and social unrest.⁴

The closed traditional society of villages opened up. A rapid movement of population created several problems in society. A million and a half, out of the total population of eight and a half million, had to leave the countryside.⁵

Given the low labour absorption of Greek industry, the majority of these migrants had to vegetate in parasitic jobs in the tertiary or artisan sectors, or emigrate to the industrial centres of Western Europe. To a certain extent, massive foreign migration operated as a political safety valve. It reduced

unemployment in the towns and, through the migrants remittances, improved the Greek balance of payments, and supplemented the meagre incomes of village households. On the other hand, this migration, by dislocating thousands of families, created resentment and discontent, not only among those who had to leave their country, but also among those who were left behind.

In 1961, Greece signed the treaty of association with the European Community. This treaty provided for a twelve-year preparatory period during which "... the country will be able to pass beyond the stage of underdevelopment".⁶

The increased geographical mobility of the population, partially a result of both internal and external migration which was encouraged by the signing of the treaty of association with the Common Market, weakened the social isolation of villages and made increasing social inequalities both more visible and less acceptable.

These rapid changes took place in a country in which a large-scale civil war had already made the rural population politically aware. As result, the system of patronage which the right-wing party used to maintained political control over the whole country was steadily and threateningly eroded.⁷

3 Political Conflicts: The Liberal Party in Power

In a climate of conflict between two political parties, the 'Enosis Kentrou' and the 'Ethnike Rizospastike Enosis', the country was led to the elections on 3rd November 1963. In these

elections four political parties participated.

The ERE right-wing political party, won about 44 percent of the total seats in Parliament. The EDA, the left-wing political party won nine percent of the seats in Parliament.

The EK, liberal political party, won 46 percent of the seats in Parliament, and its leader G.Papandreou could not hope to form a government without depending on support from the Communists EDA. This he was unwilling to do.⁸ Instead he demanded new elections which were held on 16th February, 1964. In these elections the same political parties participated, but the ERE and the 'Kommation Proodeutikon' were in a coalition.

The Centre Union won the majority of the seats in Parliament with 57 percent of the total seats, the ERE about 36 percent, and EDA about 7 percent of the total seats in Parliament.⁹ In the new government the Prime Minister was G.Papandreou and his son A.Papandreou headed the Ministry of Finance. In the domestic sphere promises of a new and better deal for the poor and those dispossessed of their land were difficult to honour. Policies for a radical redistribution of income, which A.Papandreou had declared necessary for a healthy development of the Greek economy, ran headlong into the tangled interplay of special interests and personal ties that bound Greek politicians to the existing economic order.¹⁰

A.Papandreou was eager to push ahead, even if it meant offending powerful individuals and some contributors to the party's finances. When Greeks refused to behave as American economists

thought they should, it was seen as a sign of movement backwards or as a demonstration of personal or institutional corruption that would have to be swept away. The affectation of American-trained Greek technocrats deeply antagonized other leaders of the Centre Union party; G.Papandreou, the party leader, found himself torn between pride in his gifted son, and the need for maintaining party unity.

The conservative social classes could assume, quite correctly, that the Greek officer-corps constituted an effective brake on any really radical efforts to remodel Greek society. A second pillar of the establishment was constituted by the Palace.

King Paul's death in March 1964 brought a young, athletic, and inexperienced prince to the throne as King Constantine.¹¹ His relations with the leading generals and admirals remained cordial and close; and high-place courtiers in the Palace taught the King that he had the duty to override any transitory popular mood that might threaten the long-range interests of the nation.

When, early in July 1965, A.Papandreou was accused of trying to tamper with the army by encouraging the formation of a secret society of junior officers sympathetic to his aims, the situation at once became more acute. Before the case could come to public trial G.Papandreou dismissed his Minister of National Defence. He claimed the right to take over personal direction of the War Ministry. This King Constantine refused to agree to, and, in an angry scene, Papandreou either resigned or was dismissed by the King. In the following weeks the King and a coterie of

politicians round him used all available means to split the Centre Union.

Eventually, by promising ministries and other favours, enough deputies were seduced from the ranks of the Centre Union to form a new majority in Parliament. The 'apostates' (rebels) from Papandreou's party, plus the voting block constituted by Karamanlis' former party, now headed by Kanellopoulos, had a bare majority of one.

Papandreou's resignation was followed by a series of large-scale strikes and demonstrations which attested to the fervour with which the poorer urban classes responded to Papandreou's agitation. Nearly everyone believed that an election scheduled for May 1967, would result in a new victory for the Centre Union party. Rightists reacted by preparing counter-measures, though what exactly lay behind the many rumours that circulated in Athens about an impending coup d'etat, to be organised by the King, by a group of generals, by the CIA or by a combination of all three, has never become public.¹²

On April 21, 1967, a clique of hitherto obscure and relatively junior army officers (mostly colonels) seized power by a coup d'etat, inaugurating a revolutionary government of the right.¹³

4 Debates Outside Parliament on the Educational Reform of 1964

The need for an educational reform in Greece became more and more perceptible to persons and groups who were concerned with educational problems. The proclamation of the 'Anedotos' (inflexible) fight against the repressive policies of the

Government by Papandreou encouraged these groups to pursue an energetic programme of demands and claims in education.

Early in 1963, the Teachers' Union of Primary and Secondary Schools went on strike demanding increased salaries, equal to those of other state employees.¹⁴ The Government condemned this strike as unjustifiable and unconstitutional.¹⁵ The strike lasted from 8th January to 7th February 1963, when the Minister of Education decided that he would legally compel the striking teachers to go to the schools.¹⁶ The Government, by threats and by using compulsion on the teachers, refused to discuss the teachers' problems or to look for any solution. During the teachers' strike many persons and groups displayed a special interest in educational problems and most of them supported the teachers' demands.

The parents of primary and secondary pupils in Athens expressed their undivided support for the teachers' strike, and thought their demands were justified and moderate. They expressed the wish of all Greek parents that the Government should make a radical and modern reform of education.¹⁷

All the newspapers in Athens from the left to the most conservative supported the teachers' strike.¹⁸ The strike of the Teachers' Union failed to solve their problems, but it did arouse in the general public a strong interest in the problems of education.

The Students' Union, in the Spring of 1963, held a congress to

study educational problems. The title of this congress related to the regeneration of education and that was its purpose. At last, the need had been expressed for a reform in education which would solve the problem of education, together with a demand for an increase of 15 percent of the total Budget to be applied to education.¹⁹

After the elections of 1963, the first declaration to the Greek people by the Prime Minister Papandreou stated:

"We gave a promise to the Greek people, that we should carry out a courageous educational reform. I declare today (16th November, 1963) the principal aspects and the first measures, through which the reform will be pursued at all levels of education.

The problems of education are economic and intellectual. Economic factors include: the number and the salary of teachers, the school-building, school-equipment, the place of physical education in the work of the school, the health of pupils. On the intellectual side there are: the aims of education, which according to the Constitution are the ideal of Helleno-Christian civilisation, the training of teachers and pupils, the text-books, the curriculum, the organisation and structure of education.

The reform movement in education has constantly pressed for the following reforms:

- (a) free education at all levels;
- (b) the extension of compulsory education;
- (c) the division of secondary education;
- (d) the abolition of entrance examinations for the 'Gymnasium';
- (e) the use of 'Demotike' as the language at all levels;
- (f) the use of translations of ancient Greek texts in the 'Gymnasium';
- (g) the 'Academaiko Apolyterio', a special certificate for admission to schools of higher education;
- (h) the extension of courses of teacher-training from two to three years;
- (i) the establishment of a Pedagogical Institute...

... I make this declaration, that the Government will not spare the money require to give our people an educational system which is needed and fitting".²⁰

After that, G.Kasimatis, Under-minister of Education in the right-wing conservative government, gave a reply to the Prime Minister's declaration:

"At first impression it was disappointing. Free education at all levels was not only the programme of ERE but was also one of their acts. The best structure of schools is: Primary school for six years, 'Hellenikon' school for three years, 'Gymnasium' for three or four years, divided into classical, practical, economic studies, etc., with a selective examination system, and a new curriculum; extension of compulsory education to the age of 15. I was the first to support an increase in the credit granted to 15 percent of the total Budget. We must find this money. And on this, the Prime Minister was silent".²¹

After that, a number of groups expressed their opinions on the educational measures. The governmental declaration on educational policy and the measures which it wanted to legislate on education were found by the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens to be completely contrary to the interests of national education. The strong opposition of this School concentrated on: (a) the division of the 'Gymnasium' into two self-contained and independent units; (b) the abolition of the entrance examination to the first cycle of the 'Gymnasium'; (c) the use of translations of ancient Greek texts in the 'Gymnasium'; and (d) the establishment of a Pedagogical Institute.

The School of Philosophy in its memorandum expressed its strong opposition as follows;

"The School thinks that many of these measures are utterly contrary to the interests of national education, and therefore, is obliged to speak. The 'Gymnasium' determines the level of intellectual development of the Nation. The Philosophical School is absolutely opposed to the division of

the 'Gymnasium' into two cycles, because it thinks that the 'Gymnasium' is selective only in the upper three classes, which are absolutely inadequate for this aim. The lower three classes will constitute an upper primary school, i.e. a school of daily life, from which the classical character will be absent if the ancient Greek texts are learnt in translation, and the entrance examination is abolished. Thus, this measure will prove to be a retrogression in education, and the School especially calls the attention of responsible persons to this fact. Selection for secondary education is selection of the intellectual horizon of the Greeks... The School thinks that the establishment of a Pedagogical Institute is a measure against the interests of higher education, especially against those of the School of Philosophy. Thus, it believes that this Institute is an attempt to strengthen primary education against secondary education".²²

The School of Philosophy of the University of Athens stayed loyal to its tradition of keeping the intellectual elite in a closed society and the mass of the people far away from educational benefits. Therefore, it reacted strongly against this educational reform.

Another group, who reacted similarly to the School of Philosophy was the 'Hetaeria Hellenon Philologon' (The Association of Greek Philologists). The majority of its members were graduates of this Philosophical School. In its memorandum to the 'Vole ton Hellenon kae tou Hellenikou Laou' (Greek Parliament and the Greek people) it stated:

"The educational measures which the Government intends to apply will bring a dangerous retrogression in national education and an undesirable lowering of national ideology. The upper three classes to which secondary education will be essentially confined, will be inadequate to fulfil their aims. The lower three classes will be schools of the lowest educational level, will operate with reduced impetus, and it will be impossible to give a national outlook and orientation to the ideal of Helleno-Christian civilisation. The use of translation of the ancient Greek texts represents a strange proposal unworthy of any attention. The establishment of a Pedagogical Institute is an unadapted importation of foreign educational institutions, which has as its purpose the satisfaction of several ambitious persons".²³

Thus the association of Greek Philologists repeated all the arguments of the School of Philosophy more bellicosely.

The Union of Teachers in Secondary Education in its memorandum said:

"The upper cycle of secondary education limited to three years will find it impossible to fulfil its aims, and the teaching of ancient Greek texts will be made from the original in parallel with a good translation".²⁴

The Union of Inspectors of Secondary Schools at their congress urged similar arguments to those of the School of Philosophy.²⁵

The School of Theology, the Theologists' Union and the 'Hiera Synodos' (Holy Synod) of the Greek Orthodox Church submitted their memoranda to the Greek Parliament with similar arguments to those of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens.

The School of Philosophy of the University of Thessalonike in its memorandum to the Greek Parliament agreed with the educational measures of the Government and expressed its satisfaction, because it hoped for a renewal of life and vigour in education.²⁶

The Association of Greek Mathematics at its congress expressed its opinions, as follows:

"The Association agrees that education has to be first of all humanist, based on Helleno-Christian civilisation. The educational structure will be primary education for six years, secondary education divided into two cycles of three years each, and we propose a preparatory class in the upper cycle for pupils who want to go on to higher education".²⁷

For the better understanding by the public of this educational

policy some conferences and lectures were promoted, together with a few round-table discussions, which were reported by the mass media. Many articles and comments were written in the newspapers and magazines. This campaign was managed by E.Papanoutsos and some eminent 'Demotikists'.

In a reply to the memorandum of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens Professor N.Andriotes wrote: "'Gymnasia', as they want them" - i.e. the professors of the Athenian School of Philosophy - "have existed for about two centuries, but no intellectual development of the Nation has occurred, because these 'Gymnasia' have been instruments of a permanent linguistic and intellectual parting of the educated few from the Nation, from the masses, who were condemned by their intellectuals to become an illiterate population without language".²⁸ Professor I.Kakrides added: "The new system ... constitutes... the most successful attempt to adhere to our long Greek tradition, and the same time to respond to the concrete needs of our times".²⁹ M.Sakellariou wrote: "This reform restores education to the people by the correct and just measures it takes".³⁰

The School of Philosophy of the University of Thessalonike enthusiastically accepted the reform. The Union of Teachers in Secondary Schools accepted these measures of educational policy with special satisfaction, except the upper level of the 'Lyceum' which it proposed should be extended to four years, and otherwise supported the reform. The Union of Teachers in Primary Education also enthusiastically accepted these measures and worked to support the policy. Therefore, from the announcement of the new measures on education by the Prime Minister up to the time the

Bill was enacted by Parliament many discussions took place outside Parliament, which divided those speaking into two alliances: supporters of this reform and its opponents, the "anti-reformers".

After these controversial debates on government educational policy, the Government introduced a Bill for the organisation and administration of General Education (primary and secondary).³¹

5 Debates Inside Parliament on the Education Reform of 1964

The figures who mainly prepared this policy and edited the Bill were G.Papandreou as Prime Minister and Minister of Education, L.Akritas as Deputy Minister of Education, and E.Papanoustsos as general secretary of the Ministry of Education.³²

G.Papandreou, a politician gifted with a talent for oratory, with a great experience in educational problems and an endless zeal for education, was the main agent of policy-making. He worked hard to communicate this spirit of zeal for education to the hearts of the members of his party, and used his talent of oratorical speech in parliamentary discussion to defend his policy and support the Bill.

L.Akritas, the Deputy Minister of Education, represented the Government in the debates regarding this educational Bill in parliamentary discussions and with a special love and feeling for education defended this educational reform.

E.Papanoustsos, "the architect of the Papandreou reforms of 1964-

65",³³ as he was regarded by some educationists, was the main theoretician of governmental policy, who worked at editing this Bill.

Technical and managerial groups from the State service were not formally involved in the process of educational policy-making. These especially worked on the curriculum aspect and on the technological tasks. Most of the members of these groups were professors from the University of Thessalonike; all of them were 'Demotikistes'.

This reform was mainly based upon the principles of educational 'Demotikism'. Therefore, the language-problem had been made the main pivot of the contrary arguments on the reform inside Parliament and outside.

The debates on the educational Bill started with reading of its preamble. Amongst many clarifications of the Bill it was stated:

"Two measures of great significance for the Nation and society are legislated with this Bill: (a) Free Education in all levels of schools, and (b) the extension of compulsory education from six to nine years".³⁴

The ERE right-wing conservative party reacted strongly against this reform in its activities, especially in relation to the language problem, which was connected with the ideology of Helleno-Christian civilisation and the curriculum.

The speakers in parliamentary discussions used similar arguments to the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens against this reform, against the way in which it was prepared, and

against the architects of the plan. Some of them criticised the Government in the following terms: "the present government has not studied the educational problem in depth"³⁵ and "it leaves education as it has always been".³⁶

All of them recognised "the need of education for more money, more school-buildings, more teachers",³⁷ but the measures of free education at all levels, and the extension of compulsory education, were characterised as demagogic measures, which the Government used to distract public attention from the language-problem and obtain supporters in various quarters; "enticement is its political method".³⁸ The party of ERE was "afraid that confusion will be great and that Greek education and consequently Greek society in general will be involved in extensive turmoil...".³⁹

On the other hand, the EDA, a left-wing party, critically accepted that "... this Bill undoubtedly takes many steps in the correct direction",⁴⁰ but, "It does not bridge the gap that exists in our education today. It is necessary to move faster and more decisively".⁴¹

Replies to both sides in the parliamentary discussions were given by the Deputy Minister of Education, who added: "This reform has been the product of a broad national and social need".⁴²

After prolonged Parliamentary discussions during which there were presented many opposing arguments on each side, the Government having the majority of seats in Parliament enacted this Bill, which became Educational Act No.4379 on 20th October, 1964.

6 The Education Act of 1964

The Education Act of 1964 concerning the organisation and administration of general education (primary and secondary) made some new provisions for the Greek educational system, as follows:⁴³

- (a) Free education at all levels of State Schools.
- (b) The extension of compulsory education from six to nine years, from age $5 \frac{1}{2}$ to 15. Compulsory education was to comprise attendance at a primary school and then at the 'Gymnasium' with either a classical or a vocational orientation. Compulsory attendance for the upper six years was to be introduced step-by-step by decree, as soon as the necessary prerequisites for its implementation were available (school-buildings, school-equipment, teachers, transport for pupils).
- (c) The division of secondary education into two self-contained and independent units, viz, a 3-year non-selective 'Gymnasium' and a 3-year selective 'Lyceum'.
- (d) The abolition of entrance examinations for the 'Gymnasium', but strict entrance examinations for the 'Lyceum'.
- (e) The use of 'Demotike' (the popular form of the modern Greek language) at all levels of education. 'Demotike' was especially to be the language of primary-school teaching and text-books.
- (f) The 'Academaiko Apolyterio', a special certificate for the admission of pupils to higher education. Pupils studying in the 'Lyceum' who wanted to go on to higher education had to

take a special examination in September to obtain a certificate of 'Academaiko Apolyterio', type A or B. To be awarded the certificate, the candidates had to pass all the specified subjects at one time. A pupil who obtained a type A certificate could go to a Philosophy, Theology, or Law School, while with type B, he or she could go to a Natural Science, Medical, Agricultural, or Technical School.

- (g) The extension of teacher-training studies from two-years to three-years' attendance.
- (h) The establishment of a Pedagogical Institute. This Institute was a State Service under the control of the Minister of Education. Its work would be: (i) Scientific research into educational problems, both of theory and practice, (ii) The further training of teachers in service at all levels of schools, and (iii) Guidance to inspectors of schools in the correct exercise of their duties.

7 Description of the Educational System after the Reforms of 1964

7.1 General Aims

As the Act made no special provision for new aims in education, the aims remained those specified in the Constitution of 1952: "The teaching of all schools, secondary and primary, aims at moral and intellectual training and the development of the national consciousness of the young on the principles of ideology of Helleno-Christian civilisation".⁴⁴

7.2 Administration

The system of administration continued to be a centralised system. The Minister of National Education and Religious Faiths was responsible for educational policy he exercised supervision:

and control over schools through the Institute of Education, three higher Educational Councils, and general inspectors and ordinary inspectors.

7.3 Finance

Free education at all levels was the most radical measure in this reform, including free text-books.

7.4 Structure and Organisation

The structure and organisation of general education was as follows:

Age	4 5	6 7 8 9 10 11 12	13 14 15 16 17 18	19 20 21 22
Level		I	II	III
Stage	Pre-School	1 Primary	2 Secondary	3 Higher
	Pre-Compul.	Compulsory		Post-Compulsory
			Gymnasium	
				Lyceum
				Teacher Training
				University

There were two years of Kindergarten, which were voluntary, followed by six years of primary education. Pupils moved up automatically through the system, with the exception that an examination had to be passed for promotion into the final year.

An examination was also taken before a pupil might graduate from the primary school and transfer to a 'Gymnasium'. There were three years of education in a 'Gymnasium', at the end of which a student took a graduation examination. An entrance examination was required for the 'Lyceum', where three-year courses were offered. Pupils who passed the graduation examination at the end of the 'Lyceum' might sit for a competitive examination taking a certificate, of the baccalaureate type, for entry to an institution of higher education. Higher-education courses lasted four to six years depending on the institution and the course of study being followed. The teacher-training courses lasted three years.

8 Responses to the Implementation of the Reform

An educational reform should properly be examined for the success or failure of its implementation a long time after it was passed into law. In Greek political life change of Government is a frequent phenomenon. Such political change usually carries with it change in any reform of education. The courageous reform in education, which G.Papandreou as Prime Minister had promised the Greek people, even though he only had 53 percent of the vote in the General Election, met a similar fate.

In the report introducing his Bill, which described the organisation and administration of general education, he wrote:

"The Government, faithful to its promise to the Greek people, intends to bring before Parliament three educational bills: the first for general education in primary and secondary schools, the second for technical and vocational education, and the third for higher education".⁴⁵

The Government intended to provide a comprehensive solution to all educational problems. But, indeed, only the first of the proposed Bills was passed into Law, because the other two were never discussed in Parliament. In July 1965 G.Papandreou resigned as Prime Minister, and the progress of educational reform was immediately halted. The educational reform which had been legislated for was put in dispute.

A few of the changes the mass of people accepted with great satisfaction, other they accepted with some question, and a few they received with anxious reserve. The changes which provoked the strongest reaction were: the use of 'Demotike' (the popular form of the modern Greek language) as the language at all levels of education, and the use of translations of ancient Greek texts in the 'Gymnasium'.

Both were linguistic questions which aroused the polemical sharpness of two groups: the conservatives supported the 'Katharevousa' and the progressives supported the 'Demotike'. During the preceding 70 years they had fought hard over which one of them should be the language of the schools. The conservatives claimed that 'Katharevousa' was the connecting link between the nation and its glorious past, and that its abandonment would cut contemporary 'Hellenism' off from its great cultural tradition, because Greeks would no longer be able to read the ancient classics or the ecclesiastical texts. For this reason, they argued that 'Katharevousa' should be the language of the schools, except in the first two or four classes of the primary school where the "popular" language of the home would be tolerated.

In contrast, the progressives considered 'Katharevousa' to be an artificial form which removed the pupils from their natural language, corrupted their linguistic sensitivities, and destroyed their ability to express themselves. 'Demotike' was advocated, not as the popular idiom, but because it was the living form of the Greek language, as it had been cultivated and structured by the established national writers. They demanded that 'Demotike', should become the means of expression at all educational levels so that it would finally be established as the sole language of society and the state.⁴⁶

The language problem had been the centre of national concern and has constituted the major issue around which the educational policy of the nation pivoted. Thus, it usually came to the point that the solution of the language-problem was thought to be the immediate solution of all the problems in education. History was repeated at that time.⁴⁷

The language problem had been raised by philologists, most of them graduates of the Philosophy School of the University of Athens. Both the Association of Greek Philologists, and the School of Philosophy, worked, visibly or invisibly, to keep the mass of people far away from educational matters and to be themselves the makers of educational policy, remote from the actual and serious problems in education that afflicted the State.

In 1961, there were 1,200,000 illiterates and 2,031,600 the semi-literates, who had not finished primary school, in a total

population of 6,887,100 aged ten and over.⁴⁸ For these people there was no provision in the Education Act of 1964.

The post-war reforms in education in Western European countries regarding the extension of compulsory education influenced the thinking of educationists and reformers in Greece very little. When the liberal party EK was in power, its most progressive measure in education was the extension of compulsory education from six to nine years. But although it enacted the relevant Article 4 of the 1964 Act the Government postponed its implementation. The extension of compulsory education by three years was to be imposed step-by-step, as the provision of school-buildings, school equipment, teachers, and the arrangements for the movement of pupils permitted.

The political parties and the groups who had the power to influence educational policy, agreed with this proposal. The Union of Inspectors of Secondary Education wrote:

"The extension of compulsory education from six to nine years is enthusiastically welcomed. But this measure must be implemented step-by-step, especially in the rural areas".⁴⁹

The Union of Teachers in Secondary Education agreed with such a pattern of implementation. The pioneer of this reform, E.Papanoutsos, a well-known educationist and the general secretary of the Ministry of Education, wrote, "The implementation of this reform must be step-by-step".⁵⁰

In the preamble to this article he gave more details:

"We think, that the time has come to make a step towards nine years' compulsory education. Of course not immediately, but progressively, starting from the urban centres and going

step-by-step to small towns and rural villages. We should start, as is self-evident, from the urban centres of the country, where the need for better education, universal education and more methodical vocational education become day-by-day more apparent".⁵¹

This policy may have been correct, but this should not necessarily be assumed without scrutiny. One has to ask how long it was expected to be before buildings and teachers could be made available, and also how long the Government could expect to stay in power. In such circumstances, such a measure for universal education and better education, applied in stages, was no more realistic than reforms legislated for since 1834, which had never been applied.⁵² Also the measure extending attendance from two or three years at teacher training colleges in the 1937 Act had never been implemented.⁵³ Therefore, this order gave to all children the hope of enjoying an education, but immediately this hope was converted to an unrealised dream.

The ruling class accepted the need for the extension of compulsory education, after the large scale educational reforms in other European countries, but complicated its implementation so that the children from hill villages lacked the opportunity to enjoy educational facilities.

Even so, in the first year of operation of the reformed school system, there was a rapid increase in the registration of pupils in class A of the 'Gymnasium', from 76,791 pupils in the school year 1963/64 to 104,481 pupils in 1964/65. But as about 125,000 pupils who finished primary school, about 20 percent of the total of qualified pupils did not go to the 'Gymnasium'.

The abolition of the entrance examination to the 'Gymnasium' encouraged pupils to register in the first class of the 'Gymnasium', but the strict examination system from class to class limited the effectiveness of removing the entrance examination. Out of 104,481 pupils who registered in class A, only 80,359 pupils were promoted into class B. After that, the next school year 1965/66 was marked by a decrease to 97,154 pupils entering class A.⁵⁴

The abolition of entrance examinations had been seen as an essential popular measure so that all children should enjoy the facilities of universal education. Through the strict internal examination-system, the classical character of secondary education was preserved as the preparation of an intellectual elite, which had been a ¹unpopular measure in educational policy.

The School of Philosophy of the University of Athens thought of the abolition of entrance examinations as the measure that had changed the character of secondary education and brought a retrogression in national education. In its memorandum it said:

"The abolition of entrance examinations into the 'Gymnasium', with a transposition of the entrance examination to entry to the 'Lyceum', limits secondary education to the upper three classes. This means a retrogression in education. Schools particularly demand the attention of responsible persons".⁵⁵

The Association of Greek Philologists in its memorandum stated:

"This educational measure will bring a retrogression in the education of the Nation and an undesirable lowering of national ideology. The 'Lyceum', to which secondary education is essentially limited cannot fulfil its aims".⁵⁶

The Union of Inspector of Secondary of Education thought that this measure "will reduce the level of secondary education and will bring damage to education".⁵⁷

Some teachers of primary and secondary schools, especially those working in Athens and Thessalonike, were strong opponents of the removal of entrance examinations to the 'Gymnasium', because all of them gave private lessons in pupils' homes to prepare them for the examination. Thus, this popular measure in education had a number of repercussions as legislated by the Government and attracted many opponents, so that its implementation was circumscribed from the first year.

However, the strict entrance examination to the 'Lyceum' had many supporters, and the 'Lyceum' continued to produce an intellectual elite. Most of the opponents thought that the extension of compulsory education, with the abolition of the entrance examination to the 'Gymnasium' would remove from the 'Gymnasium' its selective character and that it would become a popular school, despite the existence of the 'Lyceum', where the application of a strictly selective system would preserve the classical character of the upper secondary school.

In contrast with the disagreements over entrance examinations, most groups and persons agreed with the division of secondary education into two units. The preamble to the 1964 education Act gave the social reason for advocating the division as follows:

"About this division of the six-year 'Gymnasium', there is no need to speak extensively. Such a monolithic type of school is socially and educationally disadvantageous".⁵⁸

There followed statistical documents which showed the movement of

pupils from class to class and concluded:

"Two-third of all pupils in the 'Gymnasium' attend the three first classes (A,B,C) and only one third of them the top three classes (D,E,F,). The D class has half the number of pupils that registered in class A".⁵⁹

These documents noted that half of all pupils left the 'Gymnasium' after the third year, and the report gave an explanation:

"Greek families of the middle class have not enough income to give more and better education to their children".⁶⁰

The division was strongly supported by the Union of Teachers in Secondary Schools, because with it the number of posts of Headmaster doubled. This union made a major proclamation to influence educational policy, and thought the division an opportunity for the promotion of its members to the official grade of Headmaster. Even so, this division caused many problems to the normal operation of schools.

9 Evaluation of the 1964 Reform

It is strange that this reform of 1964, with the division of the six-year secondary school, introduced the 6-3-3 structure of schools, which was established in the period immediately before and after World War II in several countries, whereas in the 1960's the most fruitful, socially desirable and democratic school appeared in some countries to be the comprehensive school. There was not any discussion of such schools by Greek reformers, educationists and politicians. This division of the years in the 'Gymnasium' was accepted by all persons and groups who were able to influence educational policy. Therefore this structure of schools came into effect in the Greek educational system.

A new selective method for admission to schools of higher education which introduced a special certificate, the 'Academaiko Apolyterio', was generally accepted as satisfactory. The old selective system according to which each pupil had to be examined in a special examination at each school had many disadvantages. Thus, a special examination for obtaining a certificate of 'Academaiko Apolyterio' attempted to give equal opportunity to all pupils to enter into schools of higher education.⁶¹ This measure was satisfactorily applied.

All groups accepted the extension of attendance at Training Colleges for primary school teachers. But opponents had some doubts as to whether the teachers, after three years' attendance in college, would accept their appointment to schools in hill villages.

The measures for free education at all levels were enthusiastically welcomed by the political parties, educationists, reformers, groups and persons. The Government in the preamble to the Bill, stated:

"A free education originates from the conviction that the foundations and the guarantee of Democracy are equal opportunity in education for all citizens".⁶²

The Prime Minister Papandreou in his speech said:

"I declare that the Government will not spare money to give a worthy education to the Greek people".⁶³

G.Kasimatis, who had been the Minister of Education of the right-wing conservative party, gave a rejoinder to this declaration, as follows:

"Free education at all levels was not only in the programme of the ERE, but was also one of their acts... I was the first to support an increase in the credit granted of 15 percent of the total budget. But, where do you find the money?"⁶⁴

The speakers of the ERE in parliamentary debates recognised "the need for more money for education"; but , "the measure of 'dorean paedeia' was characterised as a demagogic governmental measure".⁶⁵

The Government kept its promise to the Greek people and significantly increased the salary of teachers and the grants to schools at all levels in the first year of implementation of this reform. In 1965 the credit granted to the Ministry of Education was 3,819 million drachmes, which was 12.2 percent of the total budget of 33,923 million drachmes.⁶⁶ Therefore, a free education at all levels in Greek education had become a reality, an important acquisition of the people, which was retained. Expenditure at all levels of the educational services, from the Kindergarten to the University, was covered.

Special priority was given by the Ministry of Education to the immediate writing of new text-books in 'Demotike', in accordance with the education law of 1964 and decree No.651/17th October, 1964. A feverish activity took place in the Ministry of Education, with the help of the Pedagogical Institute, at the beginning of the new school year, when some new text-books were published and sent to the schools. In a few days the new text-books, especially the grammar and history text-books for the first class of the 'Gymnasium', became the pivot on which opposition turned. The opposition condemned the new text-books,

because they introduced into the Greek language solecisms, vulgar idioms, and the hidden intentions of the reform.

The fight against the implementation of this reform to solve the language problem continued. After the resignation of G.Papandreou as Prime Minister, in 1966, a new minority Government was formed by the 'Apostates' - defectors from the late governing party who were supported by the ERE.⁶⁷

After the Papandreou's resignation, the Ministry of Education E.Sabbopoulos gave orders to the Committee to investigate whether the text-books published in 1964 by the "Organismo Ekdoseon Scholikon Biblion" (Organisation of Publishing School-books), were useful or should be destroyed.⁶⁸

So the hopeful, courageous reform in education, which began in 1964, and was intended to give a global solution of the problems of Greek education, was halted immediately on the resignation of G.Papandreou as Prime Minister, and was altogether nullified when a Military Junta seized power in Greece.

In the next chapter an analysis will be made of how the Military Junta were able to pass legislation which nullified the trends of development established by the 1964 Reform.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION ON A BACKWARD COURSE: THE PERIOD OF DICTATORSHIP 1967-74

1 Greece Under the Military Junta

On 21st April, 1967 the Military Junta seized power in a coup d'etat, and with the proclamation of martial law stopped all political activity. The political parties, Parliament, and the Government were abolished. Several articles of the Constitution were suspended. Many people were arrested, and a feeling of dread spread to all Greeks.

Education was rigorously controlled, the reform of 1964 was abolished, and new reforms were legislated. An attempt will be made to investigate politics during the dictatorship, and educational policy in this period especially the reforms of 1967 and 1970, the educational plan of 1971-73 emphasising the restriction of compulsory education, of the method of admission into secondary and higher education and of free education. Finally the students' movement against the Regime will be examined; it was the beginning of the collapse of the Regime with a strong influence on the political sector of Greece.

On 21st April 1967, a military junta consisting of a few junior army officers, mostly colonels, determined to enact a NATO plan for countering Communist revolution, seized power in a coup d'etat, overthrowing the legitimate Government, and imposed a dictatorship.¹

The Colonels' coup came as a surprise to everyone who had not been privy to the small secret society of like-thinking army officers:

who had contrived it (IDEA).²

Their success depended on the acquiescence of General Spandidakis, Chief of the General Staff, whose confirmation of an order to activate a NATO plan for countering Communist revolution was what ^agave the conspirators their initial hold on power.

The young King Constantine subsequently also decided to accept a Government which possessed a window-dressing of civilian ministers. General Spandidakis, no doubt, shared in the distrust of the electoral process which had been scheduled for May, 1967, and inspired the colonels to stage their coup d'etat. The King, if forced to choose between revolutionaries of the right and revolutionaries of the left, probably preferred the former. Having fallen into the hands of armed, determined men who cut them off from all communication with others, "the most responsible figures in the army, the King, and the generals found themselves stripped of their rank".³

Early on the night of 21st April 1967, the army, with its machines and modern armoury, which had been paid for by the Greek people and the NATO alliance, chained up the Greek people and imposed a dictatorship.

Some of the first measures of the military Junta were, the prohibition on leaving home, which applied to everyone, and the stopping of any communication amongst people, on the grounds that "during the night an immediate national danger had appeared and King Constantine and the government of P.Kanellopoulos had asked

for the intervention of the army".⁴ These measures were announced at the same time as the news of the coup was on the radio. They introduced martial law in the whole country; they suspended some of the articles of the Constitution,⁵ and therefore the constitutional and legislative authority that had been exercised by the Government.⁶ They abolished the legal Government and the Greek Parliament.⁷ A new Government comprising some judges of the Supreme Court and some precursors of the Military Junta was sworn in by the King.

On the day of the coup, the anonymous new rulers proclaimed:

"Who are we? We belong to no political party and are not disposed to favour one political group over another. We belong to the working class and we remain on the side of our brother Greeks who are least well-off. We are activated solely by patriotic aims and we hope to abolish deprivation, to cleanse public life... and to create a healthy basis so that the country may quickly return to a normal parliamentary life... Our essential object is social justice, equitable distribution of income, the moral and material resurrection of all society and particularly of the peasants, the workers, and the poorest classes".⁸

The man who eventually emerged as dominant among the conspirators was Colonel G.Papadopoulos with his two close collaborators Brigadier-General S.Patakos and Colonel N.Makarezos.

The military Junta abolished the political parties, prohibited any political activity, muzzled the press and the media of communication. Any political evolution was seemingly stopped. The numerous arrests of political figures, the severe penalties of the Courts Martial, and the strict controls on the public and private life of Greeks spread a feeling of fear and dread in each citizen. A few people were satisfied, because the coup "had saved the country from the Communist revolution". Some people

apathetically accepted it, while most people accepted it with great reservations. Thus, the Greeks endured the colonels' coup without any evident reaction.

Many questions have been asked about how the Colonels' Coup came to be so successful. It would appear that many factors, positive and negative, visible and invisible, contributed to the success of this coup d'etat. The most positive factors were (a) the King's deviation from the Constitution on 15th July, 1965, (b) the placing of Spandidakis, a member of the IDEA, as the Chief of the General Staff, (c) the foreign factor (CIA), (d) the anniversary-commemoration of the army officers, (e) the propaganda of the right-wing newspapers, and (f) the delicate balance of power between the two large political parties, the ERE conservative party and the EK liberal party.⁹

This military Junta, independently of the factors which contributed to the success of the coup, ruled Greece until 20th July 1974, when it fell, owing to national unrest caused by the Junta which had an immediate influence on all sectors of Greek life.

This Junta not only lacked any popular base in 1967; it was not even able to win one after its seizure of power. The Colonels failed to build the totalitarian structures for mobilising the masses which would have given a fascist character to their rule. Because of this failure, the Junta had to operate more or less in a social vacuum. Having no mass base and no strong roots either in the towns or the countryside, in an atmosphere of increasing

social discontent, its position became more and more precarious.

Despite the absence of serious armed resistance, when pressures from below increased, the Junta had no means of dealing with them. It could not resort to more repression, since it lacked the means, a mass organisation, for embarking on a process of wholesale totalitarian mobilisation. Neither was it able to deal with social discontent through a genuine opening up of the system.¹⁰

Passive rejection by the masses was the main reason for the failure of Papadopoulos' attempt at liberalisation in 1973. On top of this failure and the growing economic crisis came the Athens Polytechnic massacre on 17th November 1973. Intra-Junta fighting then resulted in the fall of Papadopoulos and the rise of Ioannides to the rickety pinnacle of power.

All these developments accentuated the structural instability of the Regime, by cutting it off even further from any popular support. Its isolation meant that, increasingly, there was no correspondence whatsoever between developments in civilian society and the growing in-fighting between army cliques within the State; the base of the Regime, already narrow, kept shrinking.

From the point of view of this internal dynamic,

"The Cyprus adventure can be seen as a desperate last-ditch attempt by the Ioannides Junta to consolidate its precarious position by gaining popular support through a nationalistic triumph".¹¹

When the foolishness and miscalculation of this move brought the Greek army to the brink of a disastrous war with Turkey, a war which, both materially and politically, it was not prepared to fight, the immediate response of the General Staff was to dissociate itself from the Junta. For even if an eventual war had resulted in stalemate, the mass conscription of an already disenchanted populace might have led to a situation where not only army dominance, but even bourgeois rule itself might have been threatened.

"The leaders of the armed forces, therefore, swallowed their pride and turned to Karamanlis for exactly the same reason that both the 'big' and the 'little' Junta had decided to put an end to the growing power of parliament in 1967: namely, in order to preserve the powerful position of the Army intact".¹²

Thus, the dictatorship of the military Junta ruled Greece for about seven years, strictly controlling Greek society in all sectors of public and private life, abolishing the political parties, and prohibiting any political activity. This Junta seized power with the two 'big lies': first, that "Greece was in national danger and the Government had asked for the intervention of the Army", and secondly, "the salvation of the country from anyone who was plotting against the social and political stability of Greece".¹³ It was sustained by the tolerance and acquiescence of the Chief of the General Staff and the King, and the support of some personalities of one extreme right-wing party. It fell after its national fiasco in Cyprus.

2 Educational Policy of the Regime

The effects of the military Junta on education were direct and vigorous. They included (i) the control of teachers at all

educational levels from Kindergarten to University, (ii) the abolition of the educational reforms of 1964, (iii) the educational reform of 1967, which returned education to the pre-1964 situation and (iv) the reform of 1970.

The primary measures comprised severe control of teachers. Teachers at all levels in the Greek educational system were State employees, who occupied permanent positions protected by the Greek Constitution,¹⁴ except for about 8% of them who worked in private schools.

So, the military Junta immediately passed a series of legislative measures which abolished the constitutional protection of State employees and then dismissed some teachers at all levels from their posts. A few of them were transferred from a permanent post in one school to another school, with the threat of more severe action. A teacher (a State employee), "who... continued with political activity against the Regime, or did not display proper acceptance of it, could be removed from his duties for six months. If any teacher repeated this so that he was awarded another six months 'retirement', then he could be dismissed".¹⁵

The Junta issued a Constitutional Act which prohibited any appeal by State employees to the High Administrative Court for an administrative decision after 21st April 1967.¹⁶

Soon after it amended the Emergency Law No 516/1948, which was issued during the Civil War, and defined the control of State employees, putting limits on their activity and immediately dismissing any disloyal employee.¹⁷ In addition, by another

Constitutional Act,¹⁸ it suspended for four months the life-tenure of appointments enjoyed by judges of the Administrative Court and the permanent tenure of appointments enjoyed by all State employees and University professors. At this time a Minister could remove or demote any person on his permanent staff.

Special measures were introduced to control university professors,¹⁹ especially the election of new professors.²⁰ About sixty university professors were dismissed from service, apparently for lack of patriotism or lack of professional ability.²¹ For more vigorous control and supervision in the universities a Governmental Guardian, usually a retired Army General, was appointed to each university.²²

The elected councils of all associations were abolished by the Emergency Law,²³ and persons having the absolute confidence of the Regime were appointed to such positions. Later, when allowed, the election of the associations was under the strict control of the appointed corps. Associations affected by these controls the Federation of Teachers in Primary Schools (DOE), the Federation of Teachers in Secondary Schools, (OLME), and the University Students' Union (EFEE), each of which were represented by persons who were appointed or proposed for election by the Regime.

After that, most teachers in the universities, secondary schools and primary schools who were accepted for work expressed no opposition to the Regime. A few teachers were distinguished as advocates of the Regime. These persons held the top positions in

each level of education, such as members of the Athens Academy, or Head of the University, or General Supervisor of Inspectors of Schools. Within their talent for rhetoric and their knowledge they zealously praised the "revolution of 21st April", with such phrases as, "... The wisdom of our ancestors is incorporated in the spirit of 21st April... the whole of the world must bless the date 21st April", (from the speech of S.Marinatos, member of the Athens Academy at the first celebration of the military revolution in the academy),²⁴

"...We supported with the greatest sympathy and understanding the change of 21 April 1967, and we felt the greatest satisfaction",²⁵ (from the speech of G.Rammos, head of Athens University),

"...We have the duty to help the National Government, because it is a matter of the progress of our Nation"... (from the speech of K.Gkanatsou, head of the Thessalonike University),²⁶

"...The revolution of 21 April is dogma and faith, idea and action, vision and reality, and institution of the Helleniko-Christian ideal.." (from the speech of D.Koutalos, lecturer at the Teacher Training College, and later the general supervisor of the Ministry of Education).²⁷

Such expressions were obligatory for teachers aspiring to high office under the Regime, and indicate the control which was exercised over senior teachers at all levels. After this strict control of the teachers, the military Junta started its "national-saviour work" in education.²⁸ It abolished the Pedagogical Institute, an Institute under the control of the

Minister of Education, which was established by the reform of 1964, and it enacted a new reform in education.²⁹

3 The Reform of 1967

Emergency Law 129/1967 was the legislative basis for the educational reforms the Junta introduced in 1967. The reform concerning the organisation and administration of general education (primary and secondary) established a few new institutes, but mainly was a reaction against the reform of 1964 and a retrogression to the pre-reform situation.

- (1) Free education was kept at all levels of State schools.
- (2) For pre-school education the Kindergarten was established for all children of age $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ years old.
- (3) The primary school remained with six classes.
- (4) The 'Gymnasium' consisted of six classes divided into two cycles, lower and higher, with three classes at each cycle.
- (5) Compulsory education was reduced to the six years from 6 to 12 years old, including attendance at the primary school.
- (6) Entrance to the first class of the 'Gymnasium' was determined by the entrance examination of pupils who had finished the primary school.
- (7) The use of the 'Demotike' language was restricted to the three first classes of the primary school. 'Katharevousa' was restored in the fourth and upper classes of primary and secondary schools.
- (8) Attendance at the Teacher Training College was reduced to two years.
- (9) The Pedagogical Institute was abolished, and a new council

of education, the Higher Educational Council, was established.

(10) For teachers post-graduate studies two institutions were established: (a) the Post-Graduate Institute of Primary Teachers, and (b) the Post-Graduate Institute of Secondary Teachers.

(11) For the selection of school inspectors, it was legislated that a teacher, whether having post-graduate qualifications or not, could be promoted to school inspector.

Thus, with the legislation of this educational reform, education returned to the situation that it had been in before the reform of 1964, except for the establishment of the Kindergarten for all children at the first level of education.

4 Supporters of the Reform

The Minister of Education K.Kalampokias stated in his announcement of the Education Act that,

"It is true, education suffered a serious shock in recent times mainly in its orientation to the values of Helleno-Christian civilisation, the polite tradition of the Nation and of language teaching... Thus the aim of this educational law is that education should return to the correct way... It is explained that the aims of general education are to provide education in accordance with the ideals of Helleno-Christian civilisation and to educate pupils to be able to fulfil their obligations as human beings and citizens of the Greek national society".³⁰

Later the new Minister of Education and theoretician of the Regime, T.Papakonstantinos said,

"We cannot believe that the educational reform (1964) went astray for reasons of conservatism or lack of the sense of reality. The National Government does not go back. It aims at the future with a full consciousness of the reality and the claims of life. But the bond of tradition with the present is indispensable to the attempted creation of a

better future".³¹

The Prime Minister, the dictator G.Papadopoulos, in his speech at the University of Thessalonike said,

"I appeal to you, the teachers of our Nation... The teachers will have to be the guides of the Nation, the guides of the attempt at reforming and changing human mentality... We have to guide the young into the right way... Let the Greek intellectual be the guide of Greek society... so that Greece will be again the cradle of Helleno-Christian civilisation".³²

Later in aⁿ assembly of primary and secondary teachers in Athens he said,

"...I have to explain the serious obligation which you have to our Nation and the inheritance which you have from it... I think that each teacher has full consciousness of his obligation and duty to history... You have witnessed a deviation of the young from the correct way... We are responsible, we have been carried away from our function... It is time to obtain a correct consciousness of our function... You are obliged to give yourselves for the salvation of the country".³³

The appointed or elected members of Unions of Teachers in Primary and Secondary Schools expressed only paeans of praise for the Regime and its educational reforms.

"The Greek teachers feel a sacred obligation to express their thanks to the National Government for its great interest in education and declare that they will continue to work for the success of its pursuit by the Nation".³⁴

"Let the National Government be assured that the teachers stand by its side and will be the best representatives of its restorative work in the territory of the State".³⁵

"United and obedient to the voice of Greece we face our highest duty".³⁶

"The sun of 21st April illuminates our way".³⁷

"In primary schools especially a large task has been fulfilled: the faith of teachers in the ideals of Helleno-Christian civilisation, in education and their own function, is restored".³⁸

In order to keep their salary the majority of teachers in secondary schools were compelled not only to suffer all humiliations in silence, but also to "utter hymns of praise".³⁹ The appointed or elected administrators of their Teachers' Union always expressed thanks in paeans of praise such as the following;

"In recent years some teachers forgot their function and they did not attempt to cultivate the soul of their pupils... They presented to the pupils the failure of ideals, as modern... Today this danger is avoided, since the breeze of national saviours sterilizes the infectious atmosphere".⁴⁰

"After the shock the young sustained before 21st April 1967, we have the sacred and great duty of conveying to them love for their country".⁴¹

"The National Government attempted to find the real reason for our whole misfortune... Let all of us contribute to the great national attempt at renaissance".⁴²

"The 48th General Assembly of the Union of Teachers in Secondary Schools express their deep gratitude to the Prime Minister G. Papadopoulos".⁴³

After this strict control of the teachers, the prohibition of any independent expression of thought through the mass media of communication, and the frequent propaganda of the military Junta with its supporters, the reform of 1967 had full implementation. Any reaction against the reform was impossible.

Later, when the Regime decided to give some liberty to the people, it presented a new reform in 1970.

5 The Reform of 1970

The reform of 1970, which was passed as Education Act No.651/28-8-1970, introduced changes in the administration of education and

the situation of teachers service.⁴⁴ The organisation, administration and control of education were to be exercised by the Ministry of National Education and Religious Faiths. A Higher Educational Council, (AES), to aid the Minister in exercising the administration and supervision of Education, also to fulfil an advisory function on educational problems was established. For primary and secondary education, the country was divided into ten regions, each headed by an educational counsellor, who was a member of the Higher Educational Council. Under him there were a supervisor of primary schools and a supervisor of secondary schools with their substitutes. These regions were subdivided into 61 prefecture-districts of secondary schools and 56 prefecture-districts of primary schools under prefecture-inspectors. These prefecture-districts of primary schools were divided into 120 districts under inspectors who performed administrative, supervisory and advisory functions and made sure that the official school-curriculum, drawn up and approved by the Ministry of Education, was being applied. Inspectors were also responsible for supervising private schools in their regions. Also, the reform established 65 special inspectors of lessons under the supervisor of secondary schools. Thus, control of the school teachers was exercised by many persons. Head-teachers, inspectors, prefecture-inspectors, supervisors, educational counsellors, and the Minister of Education were all involved in the control of primary schools. Headmasters, prefecture-inspectors, special inspectors, supervisors, educational counsellors, and the Minister of Education controlled secondary schools.

6 A Reversion to the Situation Prior to the Reform of 1964

In Greek educational history it is a usual phenomenon, when a reform is legislated, for it to be followed by a counter-reform like a repeated pattern, action and reaction. "When a political group succeeds in a reform, then another political group tries to upset it when it comes to power".⁴⁵

The reforms of the military Junta were a reaction (counter-reform) against the progressive reform of 1964. This reaction was most radical, because the reform of 1964 had been most popular. The reform of 1967 aimed at the absolute abolition of the reform of 1964 despite the usefulness of those measures and their results in education.⁴⁶

(1) Compulsory attendance was reduced to six years. The extension of compulsory attendance legislated by the liberal party of EK in the reform of 1964 was abolished. That had been a conquest of the people for better and more education according to the social, political, and economic needs of society.

(2) The entrance examination into the first class of the Gymnasium was reinstated.

(3) The division of secondary education into two was restored in the six years 'Gymnasium'. Thus, education of the mass of people was reduced to six years, and the 'Gymnasium' was restored to its pre-reform position as the school which prepared pupils for higher education.

(4) The use of 'Henetika' was limited to the first three classes

of the primary school and 'Katharevousa' was restored at all levels of education. The language problem continued its alternating role 'Demotike/Katharevousa' in this counter-reform.

(5) The text-books which were written in 'Demotike' were withdrawn and the old-text books in 'Katharevousa' returned to the schools.

(6) The use of translations of ancient Greek texts at the 'Gymnasium' was abolished and the reading of ancient Greek texts was resumed.

(7) The 'Academaiko Apolyterio', certificate for entrance into higher education, was abolished and a new examination system was legislated. But the certificate of 'Koenonikon Fronematon' as an indispensable qualification for entry into higher education reappeared.

(8) The attendance at a Teacher-Training College was reduced to two years from the three years that was legislated by the reform of 1964.

(9) The Pedagogical Institute was abolished, and Higher Educational Council was established.

(10) Free common meals for pupils at primary schools were abolished.

(11) Free education at all levels remained, including free text-

books at all levels.

7 A Critical Assessment on the Reform of 1967 and 1970

These reforms reinstated a system of education that was contrary to the social, economic and technological needs of Greek society. But the supporters and theorists of the military Junta tried to justify the retrogression in education in the most peculiar way, e.g. that "the reform was a linkage of tradition with the present".⁴⁷ In this way maybe the reduction of compulsory education from nine to six years represented the tradition of poor people remaining illiterate or semi-literate!

The School of Philosophy of the University of Athens, the School of Theology, the Greek Orthodox Church and some associations of teachers who fought hard against the reform of 1964, accepted this reform with the greatest satisfaction, as "the salvation of Greek society".

The persons who had worked for the reform of 1964 were consistently presented by the Regime as communists and individuals dangerously destructive to Greek society. Although the military Junta declared that "... we belong to the working-class and we remain on the side of our brother Greeks who are least well-off",⁴⁸ the education of the poorer children was limited to six years. No provision was made for poor pupils who had finished the primary school. For these children it was "tradition" to go to work on a farm or as shepherds in their fathers' work.

But the wish of the people for better and more education for

their children had grown and the number of pupils registering in the first class of the 'Gymnasium' had increased despite the new measures of education and the reintroduction of entrance examinations.⁴⁹ There was, however, a truly large number of pupils who stopped their studies with the end of primary school. These children did not enjoy complete education at this time. Some other pupils stopped attendance at the primary school before finishing the whole course there.

The entrance examination into the first class of the 'Gymnasium' and the selective internal examination-system restored to the 'Gymnasium' its old reputation as a preparatory school for higher education. This education was only for the elite.

The entrance examination to higher education was a combination of old and new methods: These examinations were conducted in certain cities simultaneously for all pupils under the supervision of professors of the university and teachers from secondary schools. The lessons were defined for each school or group of similar schools. From the general marks in these lessons which each pupil received, and his individual preference, he could be registered in a particular school.⁵⁰ In this way it was common to all children and accepted by all people. The most unpopular measure was the certificate of 'koenonikon fronematon' as an indispensable qualification for entrance into higher education. This measure had first been legislated during the Civil War and divided pupils into two groups, communist and anti-communist. The military Junta brought back this measure to control political ideology and secure obedience to the Regime.

Free education, as a popular measure which covered expenditure on education at all levels, remained under this Regime and was extended to cover expenditure on text-books. But the credit granted to the Ministry of Education diminished from 12.2 percent of the total Budget in 1965, to 8.4 percent in 1969 and 8.1 percent in 1971.⁵¹ The KEPE (National Centre of Programme and Research) at that time wrote:

"The credit granted to the Ministry of Education increased about 2 percent of the total annual domestic product in the last five years; against 6 percent in the EEC countries, it was exceptionally low... the attainment of technical progress, economic growth, social equilibrium and the development of the national culture through improvement in the quality of the human factor all presuppose increased capital for expenditure on education".⁵²

The supporters and theorists of the military Regime especially approved the ideology of this reform as correctly based on the ideals of Helleno-Christian civilisation, in order to achieve "the Greece of Greek-Christians". A fundamental component in this pursuit of the Helleno-Christian civilisation was a pathological persistence in the Greek historical inheritance. The original texts of the ancient Greek authors were the only correct way to teach pupils about the human civilisation of ancient Greece. Therefore the study of ancient Greek texts started from the first class of the 'Gymnasium'. The learning of 'Katharevousa' started from the fourth class of the primary school. The text-books which were written in 'Demotike' were withdrawn, and the old curriculum, with text-books of the period before the reform of 1964, was brought back into use in schools.

For full implementation of this ideology in practice, public and

teachers were obliged to start the school day by singing the common prayer and national hymn and raising the national flag. Every Sunday pupils, accompanied by teachers, went to Church services to get used to pray to God from this early age, as "Greek-Christians". The strict control over the teachers and their work in schools by a number of inspectors and "secret agents of the Regime", together with an austere discipline of pupils in schools, attempted to "educate the pupils to be able to fulfil their obligation as human beings and citizens of the society of the Greek Nation".⁵³

8 Educational Plan for Reform of 1973

In 1971 the military Junta wanted to give some liberties to the people and democratise the Regime. At that time a few former politicians began some discussions with Papadopoulos, the Prime Minister, on political evolution into a democratic State.

In the educational reforms of 1967 and 1970, the policy maker was essentially the Minister of Education with a few anonymous officials of the Ministry of Education. In June 1971, the Prime Minister appointed a Committee of Education, which comprised six university professors (three from the University of Thessalonike, one from the EMP, one from the University of Athens, one from the ASOEE), five educationists (among them two members of the AES), and one industrialist,⁵⁴ to "...study the general guidelines of educational policy..." and "to offer proposals on the various specific educational issues... in order to formulate a healthy National Educational policy for the coming fifteen years".⁵⁵

These specific issues covered all levels of education, from pre-

compulsory education to post-graduate studies, and included; "(a) The structure of general, vocational and higher education, (b) the aims of education, (c) the curriculum, (d) compulsory education, (e) the relation between each level of education, and the most appropriate method of selection for each further level of education, (f) the needs of education for school buildings, equipment, and free education, (g) the language of education, (h) the method of selecting teachers and their training, (i) the text-books, and (j) everything else that the committee will find necessary for the formulation of a comprehensive National Educational policy".⁵⁶

In the study of the problems of each educational level the committee was to be helped by three special sub-committees: (1) for higher education, (2) for general education, and (3) for vocational education. All three sub-committees were appointed by the Minister of Education.⁵⁷

The sub-committee for general education comprised only educationists, mainly teachers and school-inspectors: two of kindergarten, two of primary, six of secondary, and one of private education.⁵⁸ The committee submitted its detailed and elaborate findings to the Prime Minister in October 1973.⁵⁹

The committee set out proposals which envisaged an educational system as described here.

8.1 General Aims

The aims of Greek education must be the all round development of

the personality of the young people of Greece, the creation of responsible citizens, honourable men, capable producers of a higher level of material and intellectual life in the principles of Christianity and according to the values of classical studies, humanity, freedom, justice, health, moderation, good, and human dignity.⁶⁰

Structure and Organisation

Pre-school education should be available, mainly at the kindergarten, from age three years and six months. Attendance should be voluntary. Primary school should be compulsory for six or eight years from age five years and six months. The 'Gymnasium' should be for six years, divided into two cycles. The lower cycle should consist of the two first classes, A and B. Continuous attendance at this cycle should be compulsory. Pupils who had finished six years primary school should register at the lower secondary school without any entrance examination. In the places where it was impossible to establish a 'Gymnasium', the two classes should be added to the eight year primary school. The higher cycles should comprise four classes, C, D, E and F. The pupils who had finished the lower cycle should register in class C after a special entrance examination. Class C should be uniform for all pupils who had registered. From class D studies should be divided into four categories, general 'Gymnasium' with a uniform programme of studies, and three special schools, 'Classikon', 'Thetikon', and 'Synchronon Gymnasium'.⁶¹ For vocational education there should be introduced three types of school, lower, middle, and higher vocational schools.⁶²

Age	3 4 5	6 7 8 9 10 11	12 13	14 15 16 17 18	19 20 21 22 23
Level		I		II	III
Stage	Pre-School	1 Primary	2	3 Secondary	4 Higher
	Pre-Compul.	Compulsory		Post-Compulsory	
		Demotiko		Gymnasium	
				Technical Vocational School	
					Higher Education

A strict examination system at the higher level of the 'Gymnasium' was proposed. Pupils who had finished the lower level should pass a special entrance examination for registration in the higher level, and there should be internal examinations for promotion from class to class. A strict examination-system for the school-leaving certificate was also introduced.⁶³

8.3 Finance

The committee proposed an increase in the annual percentage from the Budget for education as a fundamental requirement for successful reform at all levels, because "the percentage from the Budget which was granted for education put us in the last place in comparison with the other European countries".⁶⁴

9 Commentary on the Reform Plan

When the committee was in session the Minister of Education said at his press conference,

"The extension of compulsory education is truly necessary in the primary school. For children who stop their education after six years of primary school, there is insufficient preparation for a developing society, because economic and intellectual development must go together... Probably the extension of attendance by 2 to 3 years in primary school would have an excellent effect".⁶⁵

The president of the DOE at his press conference supported as "a national need" the establishment of the eight-year primary school, adding,

"The eight years' attendance at primary school could elevate the culture of all children of the country, giving a special education in the agricultural or another area, and preparing them for secondary education (general and vocational), and will raise our country's position in the intellectual development of countries".⁶⁶

In contrast the Federation of Parents in its memorandum to the Minister of Education characterised the eight years' compulsory attendance at primary school as 'harmful'.⁶⁷

The OLME proposed a structure of education as follows: A five year lower primary school which would lead to two branches; (a) a three year higher primary school, and (b) a three year lower 'Gymnasium'. Registration in the 'Gymnasium' would be after a strict entrance examination. Compulsory attendance at school would be for eight years. The children who finished higher primary school and lower 'Gymnasium' could enter into vocational schools, or into four year upper 'Gymnasium', after strict examinations.⁶⁸

The committee submitted its proposal in October 1973. But the political events which took place between the beginning of the work of this committee and a date one month after the submission of its findings precluded legislation of these reforms.

Early in 1971, a few politicians who belonged to the right-wing party ERE, four members of the liberal party EK, and members of other parties began some discussions with the Prime Minister Papadopoulos, about a political evolution aiming at the restoration of democracy. These politicians came to recognise the military Regime as the only wielder of political power, especially after the visit of S. Agnew, vice-president of the USA and of Greek origin, and after the dissolution of the last delusive hopes for the overthrow of the military Junta by the Americans and NATO. Moreover the two communist parties, the KKE, decided to give their recognition if Papadopoulos allowed legal political activity.⁶⁹

In August of that year, when the dictator Papadopoulos formed a new government, he refused to include as a minister any politician from this group of politicians, the 'interlocutors', or the 'bridge builders', as they were called. These discussions were encouraged by the USA in order to represent to the foreign public the view that the military Regime was moving progressively to democracy.⁷⁰ In this way the Secretary of the Ministry of Press and Information declared that "the wish of the President is that there should be elections in the Students' Union very soon".⁷¹

10 The Students' Movement

After the coup d'etat of 21st April 1967, most of the Students' Unions were abolished. The few of them which remained were controlled by the Police Security Service. The appointed members of these councils cooperated with the Police, the KYP (the CIA of the Greek Army) and the Secretary of Press and Information.⁷² The Education Act No.93/1969 about the rights and duties of students in higher education strongly limited the liberty of the students. The third measure against the students was the amendment of the Unions' regulations.

Not until December 1971 did the President-dictator Papadopoulos declare: "There will be elections for the Students' Unions very soon". The Regime wanted to control these elections and it seemed that there was a democratic atmosphere in the universities.

In January 1972 the appointed members of the Unions of the Polytechnical School and the School of Law in Athens convened a meeting of students about the curricula of their schools. At this meeting the students elected a committee whose work was the preparation of the Union elections. The appointed members were isolated at this meeting.

A wave of students' movements commenced to press for their main goal, free elections in the Unions. The association EKIN, "Greek-European Movement of the Young", attracted the majority of the political students and intellectuals who were not controlled by the Junta, and its demand was for free Union elections. It argued that campaigns for elections should be legal; for example the collection of student signatures, appeals to a judge,

denunciations in the newspapers and in students' meetings. The military Regime reacted against the students' movement with the most rigorous measures and postponed the election.⁷³

The first mass-demonstration of students was at the 'propylaea' of Athens University on 21st April, followed by another at a concert of the Students' Union of Crete.⁷⁴ In the summer of 1972 some illegal associations were established such as the A-EFEE, the National Students' Union of Greece Against the Dictatorship, Panspoudastike (All-students), Regas Ferraios, and the illegal committee in each school. By the autumn this students' movement was a political power.

The military Regime decided that the elections for the Students' Unions were to be on 20th November 1972, but they were not to be free. A few of the illegal associations abstained from these elections. Some candidates of the School of Law withdrew from the contest. About 1500 students at the Polytechnical School of Athens refused to participate in this parody of an election, as did some students at the University of Thessalonike.⁷⁵ After the voting was over, the head of Athens University, Tountas, said, "The elections have been carried out normally except for a group of students at the School of Law", and the Minister of Press and Information added, "The students' elections have been carried out normally except for one circumstance... The interference of a group consisting of (a) communists who distributed a manifesto, and (b) a few students who were excited by old politicians".⁷⁶ The appointed President of the EFEE (National Students Union of Greece), Feberetos, wrote in a secret letter to the Minister of

Press and Information: "...The real results of the election demonstrated the organised work (of the democratic students). Thus the opposition have 92, 90, 91 percent of votes... What did we represent against them? Nothing. There was not any other solution but falsification".⁷⁷

After the elections the students sent a series of accusations to the newspapers denouncing the falsification of the elections and the threat of guns. The military Regime carried out most rigorous measures against students. Thus it issued Law No.1347/1972, according to which the Minister of Defence could mobilise into military service any student who acted against the normal operation of the university or who postponed his studies for political reasons.

The students reacted against this law with a series of demonstrations. This reaction extended step by step to the mass of students. On 16th February 1972, about 2,500 students of the School of Law of Athens occupied the building of their school and demonstrated against this law and the military Regime. Immediately this building was surrounded by a large number of police. Later in the evening the students left the building. The following day the military Regime mobilised into army service 51 students and brought 11 students before a court.⁷⁸

On 21st February 1972, a large concentration of students in the School of Law of the University of Athens turned into a mass demonstration. A powerful force of police surrounded the building and blocked any communication between the students and the people outside the building. The occupation lasted two days. The

dominant slogans were, "Down with the Junta", and "Out with the Americans". About 30,000 people, concentrated round the closed ring of police, gave help to the students' demonstrations. The students left the building after making an agreement with the head of the university that there would be no reprisals against them. This was a powerful demonstration of the students against the military Regime.

The second strong demonstration of students, which was in the Polytechnical School of Athens on 14th to 17th November, the students of the School of Law gathered in a meeting to discuss the problem of education. After the meeting about 1000 to 1,500 students decided to go to the Polytechnical School. During this demonstration the police attacked the students. Only half of them managed to arrive at the school. (The distance between the School of Law and the Polytechnical School is about two miles in the city centre of Athens). At that time the students of the Polytechnical School had a meeting about the union election.

After that, all the students together decided to occupy the building and demonstrate against the educational policy of the military Regime and the oppressive police measures. This occupation lasted three days. Thousands of students concentrated inside the school and enthusiastically proclaimed the slogans: "Bread-Education-Freedom", "Down with the Junta", and "Out with the Americans". A large number of police and army surrounded the building and cut off any communication between the students inside and the people outside. Hundreds of thousands of people concentrated round this closed ring of police and army so that

they might help the students' demonstration.

On Saturday morning the military Regime decided to make the students leave the building by using the tanks and guns of the army and the police.⁷⁹ During the attack some students were killed, many of them were wounded and all were harried by the police and army forces.⁸⁰ The events of the Polytechnical School were the pinnacle reached by the students' movement with a great influence on the political life of Greece. The development of this movement gave a powerful shock to the regular process of democratising the Regime, a plan which had been promoted by the military Junta and some old politicians, the 'interlocutors', and stimulated the hope of the people that the military Junta might fall.

In 1972 the dictator-President Papadopoulos had devised a plan to concentrate the whole power in his own hands.⁸¹ But after the revolt of the students at the School of Law, he postponed action on this plan.

In May 1973 a mutiny in the Navy was about the break out, but it was betrayed and was suppressed.⁸² Suddenly G.Papadopoulos abolished the Kingdom of Greece and proclaimed himself as President of the Democracy. A referendum on 29th July 1973 gave apparent popular support for this. S.Markezines, the leader of a small political party the 'Proodeutikon' (Progressive), became Prime Minister and worked on the preparation for a general election in March 1974.

On 25th November 1973, a week after the events of Polytechnical

School, a new dictator D.Ioannides came to power.⁸³ The new military Junta organised a coup d'etat in Cyprus against President Makarios on 15th July 1974. Immediately a Turkish invasion of Cyprus occurred and the north part of the island, about 40 percent of its land, was occupied. This "silly act" of the military Regime against the President of Cyprus brought about the Turkish invasion of Cyprus and brought Greece near to national destruction.⁸⁴

At that point the military Junta fell and the army officers called on C.Karamanlis and some politicians of the old political parties to take power. On 24th July, 1974, C.Karamanlis was sworn in as Prime Minister of the "Government of National Unity".

The reform introduced by the Military Junta in 1967 returned education to where it had been before 1964. In 1973 the Junta went some way towards introducing some policies which had been introduced under the 1964 Act, as far as the structure of the school system and language of instruction were concerned. These policies, however, were not exactly the same as those proposed in 1964. Just as the Military Junta were obliged to moderate their policies between 1964 and 1973, liberal reformers have also been forced by circumstances to reconsider their position. In the next chapter the reforms made by the democratic governments after 1974 will be analysed. This will permit general comparisons between policies put forward in recent years to be made.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION IN A HOPEFUL WAY: THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY 1974-1981

1 The Restoration of Democracy

The results of the military Junta in Greece were calamitous in national affairs: 40 percent of the land in Cyprus was under Turkish occupation, Greece was on the brink of hostilities with Turkey, unprepared for this as she was, with strong public feeling against the military officers, isolation in diplomacy, and an exhausted economy. The duty of the Government of National Unity was the avoidance of war, and the restoration of democracy and social order.

Education, which was under strong pressure to return to the situation before the reform of 1964 during the military Regime, was a great problem for the new government. But it introduced a reform which was, in effect, the reform of 1964 with a few differences.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to investigate the restoration of democracy, general politics, politics in education, the reform of 1976 with an emphasis on the extension of compulsory attendance from six to nine years, the abolition of the entrance examination into the first class of the 'Gymnasium', the methods of admission into upper secondary schools and higher education.

The military Regime, after its 'stupid action' against Makarios on 15th July 1974, the Turkish invasion of Cyprus on 20th July, the refusal of the general in command of the Greek army to obey

orders from Athens to attack the Turks by crossing the Evros river in Thrace, came to an end by its own act.

At that time the leaders of the military Regime summoned Karamanlis to return from his self-imposed exile in France and surrendered their power. Consequently, on 24th July 1974, Karamanlis returned from Paris and became Prime Minister. He was received as a saviour, and announced his intention of restoring a legal, democratic government in the country as swiftly as possible.¹ With the unanimous support of the political world and the armed forces, he formed a Government of National Unity and undertook the solution of the enormous problems, at home and abroad, which the Junta had left behind it.²

The Government comprised politicians of the old parties, the ERE right-wing conservative, the EK Centre Union liberal, a few persons who had markedly distanced themselves from the military Junta, and a few of the interlocutors and collaborators with the military Regime.³

The new Government worked diplomatically with international agents to stop the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, and make the Turks abandon the 40 percent of the island which they had occupied by this invasion. The Turks partitioned Cyprus against the wishes of the Greek majority, and did so in a way that favoured their fellow-Muslims disproportionately. Constituting about 18 percent of the island's population, the Turks of Cyprus controlled nearly half - the richer and better developed half - of the whole island. Makarios returned to office, but now governed only a part

of his former domain.⁴

Greeks believed that the Turkish invasion had been made with the support of the USA and the tolerance of NATO. After that, Greece withdrew her army from the military wing of NATO, because her allies in NATO had not stopped the Turkish invasion of Cyprus and had not averted an imminent war between two allies, Greece and Turkey.

Only the most prominent leaders of the military Junta still in army service were immediately sent into retirement, because Karamanlis could not conduct a purge of collaborators without endangering his own supporters, who, in varying degrees, had made deals with the military Regime in order to retain their wealth and power.⁵

The Government of National Unity produced legislation on a series of measures for the restoration of democracy. The Constitutional Act of 1st August 1974, abolished the Constitution of the military Regime dating from 1968, and restored the Constitution of 1952 except for the article which determined the form of the Regime, pending the drafting of a new Constitution.⁶

The Constitutional Act of 3rd September, 1974 restored legitimacy in higher education. "Professors and teachers of higher education who had been dismissed between 21st April 1967, and 23rd July 1974, returned 'de jure' to their positions".⁷

Another Constitutional Act of 4th September, 1974, restored legitimacy in justice, and the "judges who were dismissed...

returned to their positions".⁸

By Law No.76 of 27th September, 1974, "all State employees who had been dismissed between 21st April, 1967, and 23rd July, 1974 were restored and returned to their positions".⁹

After these measures, which restored the democratic working of the State and rehabilitated the men who had been persecuted by the military Regime, the Government of National Unity issued Law No.59 of 23rd September 1974, which allowed the free formation of political parties.¹⁰

The general elections were arranged for 17th November 1974, and eight political parties which participated in the elections.¹¹

ND (New Democracy) was the old ERE, which had been established by Karamanlis, and took its place on the centre-right, leaving the extreme right to the National Democratic Unity.

EK-ND, (Centre Union) was the old party which was established by G.Papandreou with "new forces", i.e. persons who had reacted strongly against the military Junta.

PASOK, a new party which was established by A.Papandreou, to the left with a socialist programme. In the party statutes it was specified that PASOK was, "a mass political movement of workers and unprivileged Greeks with the aim of achieving national independence, popular rule, and socialist reform by a democratic procedure".¹²

In PASOK's declaration of 3rd September 1974, the most important points in summary were national independent, and popular rule. ~~In~~ Its programme for popular rule was explained as, "all power originates from the people, expresses the people and serves the people".¹³ The dominant slogans in the pre-election period were: "Deliver the Junta to the people", and "No bases" (United States military bases). The organisation of this party was the best, with local organisation, branch organisation, prefecture committees, periodic congresses, speeches and festivals.

EA (The United Left) was a coalition of three parties: EDA, the left wing party, under the leadership of I. Iliou, KKE interior and KKE exterior. The Communist Party was the oldest party, but it had been illegal from 1947,¹⁴ to 23rd September 1974.¹⁵

At the 12th Total Membership Assembly of the KKE in February 1968, held in Rumania, the Communist Party split into two parties: the KKE interior which was completely independent of the KKE exterior, cooperated with the communist and socialist parties of foreign countries, accepted the Parliamentary multiple-party system and rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was a movement of Euro-communism. The KKE exterior was loyal to the doctrine of Moscow. After this, a few small splinter groups were formed, such as EKKE (Revolt Communist Movement of Greece), LDE (Popular Democratic Unity), and EDE (Workers' International Union).

After the elections a government was formed by Karamanlis as Prime Minister, his party New Democracy having 220 seats in

Parliament out of a total of 300 seats. The Centre Union had sixty seats, while the remainder were divided between PASOK and the United Left.

According to the Constitutional Act of 3rd/4th October 1974, which the Government of National Unity issued, the new Government announced a referendum on the form of the Regime. The choice offered in the plebiscite was, "Kingdom or not", and the referendum was to be held on 8th December 1974.¹⁶ In this referendum 70 percent of voters were in favour of Democracy without a King.¹⁷ M.Stasinopoulos, honorary president of the higher administrative Court, was sworn in as Provisional President of the Democracy.

Karamanlis followed a moderate and mild policy. He withdrew the Greek army from the military wing of NATO, recognised the Communist Party as a legal party, showed tolerance in relation to the powerful demonstration of students against the Junta, and brought the prominent members of the Junta into court, where they were sentenced to death. He immediately commuted this to a sentence of life-imprisonment. In foreign policy he declared that "anekomen eis ten Dysin" (we belong to the West), but he developed friendly relations with the socialist countries of the East as well.

To join Greece to the EEC countries was the great target and vision of Karamanlis. For this purpose a treaty was successfully signed by the Prime Ministers of the EEC countries in Athens in May 1979. Thus the restoration of democracy was normally and

peacefully achieved.

Unexpectedly the Prime Minister proclaimed general elections on 20th November 1977, which was a shock for all the political parties.¹⁸ Later Karamanlis justified his decision as a renewal of popular power which would help him to solve great national problems.

In this election the New Democracy lost about 12.5 percent of the total votes as compared with the results of the election of 1977.¹⁹ There were various reasons for this, including the appearance of loss of time in making the reforms, the turning of a few of their former supporters to the left, and the establishment of an extreme right-wing party, the National Parade.

The Union of the Democratic Centre lost about 8.4 percent of the poll. Some of their former voters turned to the left, others to the right. The Communist Party maintained its political strength. The surprise of this election was the increase of PASOK, by about 11.7 percent. Some of the reasons for this were the need of people for change, the merits of the leader, the concrete programme, and the good organisation of the Party.²⁰ "But the important and hopeful change in political life was the collapse of the myth of the power of the Right".²¹ The New York Times wrote: "Victory without triumph", and "Karamanlis win, but Papandreou strengthens".²²

Karamanlis, with 42 percent of the total votes, took the majority of 173 seats out of the total Parliament of 306, on account of

electoral measures, which he had promulgated against the interests of the other political parties. He formed a new Government, ruling Greece as Prime Minister until May 1980, when he was elected President of the Democracy by Parliament.

G.Rallis became the leader of the New Democracy Party and ruled Greece as Prime Minister until 18th October 1981. In the election of 18th October 1981, PASOK got the majority of the parliamentary seats and A.Papandreou became the Prime Minister in the new Government.

2 The Reforms of 1975 - 1977

The first measures of the Government of National Unity concerning Education, after the restoration of Democracy in Greece, the restoration of legality in higher education,²³ the reinstatement of teachers who had been dismissed during the dictatorship to their former posts,²⁴ and the abolition of Law No.93/1969 "on the rights and duties of students of Higher education".²⁵

After the elections of 17th November 1974, the new Government of the New Democracy party had to carry out a reform in education in a situation of new political realities, that is, "the emergence of Greece from a 7-year period of ruthless dictatorship and the prospects of her joining the European Economic Community".²⁶

The demands of people and students were, "Bread, Education, Freedom", and those of the teachers in primary and secondary schools: "the purging" (katharsis) and reform of education.

The new Government "appointed a committee to make proposals for the reorganisation of the structure and administration of the pre-university system of schools".²⁷

The wish of the government was to provide a comprehensive solution of the problem of education. After a long period of debates on education outside and inside Parliament, they legislated, on the one hand, Article 16 of the Constitution, and on the other hand, Laws No.186/1975 dealing with the establishment of a Centre for Education Studies and In-service Training (KEME), No.309/1976 on the organisation and administration of general education, No.576/1977 on the organisation and administration of technical and vocational education, No.682/1978 on private education and No.815/1978 on some problems of the organisation and operation of higher education.

Laws 186/1975 and 309/1976 were accepted nearly unanimously by the political parties in Parliament, and warmly welcomed by eminent intellectuals in the country. Law No.576/1977, which concerned the organisation of technical and vocational education (middle and higher) was not passed with the same unanimity. Law No.815/1978 for higher education was passed with some dispute.²⁸ However, all these laws were passed by the overwhelming majority of the ruling party of the New Democracy and the large opposition party of the Centre Union - New Forces.

3 Debates Outside Parliament on the Reforms 1975-77

The wish for a reform in education has been a constant motivation for some Greeks. Political change has usually been followed by a

reform in education quite independent of its usefulness or the needs of society. This unwritten law has ruled Greek society. The majority of the figures in this play have been a few persons and groups. Problems in education, after the failure of the dictatorship, were immediate and pressing.

The Federation of Teachers in Primary Schools demanded, "The immediate reinstatement in service of the teachers who were dismissed by the dictatorship",²⁹ the reorganisation of the structure of education in an 8-year primary school, a new curriculum, new text-books, and teachers' training at the University, because "Education was greatly disordered and needed immediate intervention".³⁰

The Federation of Teachers in Secondary Schools also demanded, "The amendment of Law 651, and the reinstatement in their posts of the teachers who were dismissed by the dictatorship".³¹

In answer to these demands of the teachers' unions the Minister of Education declared: "We have a complete understanding of the problems of your work, and please understand that it is impossible to tackle immediately these unsolved and complex problems. Please give us reasonable time".³² But the demands for reform continued.

In an open letter from the Federation of Teachers in Primary Schools to the leaders of the political parties it was stated:

"Since the Greek revolution (1821) no government or leader of a political party has put his hand on the gaping cavity", in other words, "on the bleeding wound, of primary education in order to understand the genesis and the destruction. All

of them magnificently and demagogically set out the problem of education, but the expenditure for education was always strictly limited... Bad advisers, mandarins, relentless friends of education continually influenced the purpose and programme of the Government: the results were in fact the deterioration of the education of the Greek people... the persistent problems in primary education have been teachers' training in the University, also in-service training in the University, the amendment of Law 651, and some problems of in-service teachers",³³ and "the primary school lasting 8-years".³⁴

The Federation of Teachers in Secondary Education in its bulletin wrote, "The amateurish, the offhand and the improvised have constituted the permanent and durable criterion for the solution of problems in education.... In fact a smaller percentage of the annual income has been allotted to education (two percent) than in other countries".³⁵

A reporter on the newspaper 'Hellenikos Borrás' wrote,

"The new government formed after the elections of November 17 is obliged to solve the problems in education".³⁶

An educationist, Dr. Xerotyres, stated,

"An educationist has to assert two matters concerning the problems in education. First, education is not modern. Secondly, all educational reforms made during the last decade in our country have been unsuccessful. The need for modernisation in education is obvious... The extension of compulsory education, the reorganisation of the structure of education, are some of the most important problems".³⁷

Very soon after the elections of 17th November the Minister of Education appointed a committee to make proposals for the reorganisation of the structure and administration of general education. This committee was under the general purview of the Undersecretary of Education himself and included three career educationists, the presidents of the two Teachers' Unions (of primary and secondary school personnel), one special adviser of the Minister of Education, one lawyer, and the heads of the two

departments of the Minister of Education (primary and secondary).³⁸ Three of them had at some time been school inspectors, and formerly in the administrative service of the Ministry of Education, concerned with secondary schools. These played a major role. Their political persuasion was of the liberal variety, since they had previously been associated with the Centre Union reforms of 1964. There are also indications that members of this committee consulted E.Papanoutsos, the architect of the Papandreou reform of 1964, a well-known and highly respected progressive-liberal educational thinker.³⁹

Both of the Teachers' Federation Unions held general assemblies on 4th January 1975, about the amendment of Law No.651/1970 on general education.

The proposal at the assembly of the Union of Teachers in Primary Schools were: (a) the establishment of a higher educational council (AES); (b) the establishment of 25 general inspectorial districts and 240 inspectors for primary schools; (c) the extension of primary schools to 8-years of compulsory attendance; (d) the use of the 'Demotike' tongue in the primary school; and (e) some in-service problems.⁴⁰

Finally, the proposals at the general assembly of the Federation of Teachers in Secondary Education were: (a) The increase of expenditure for education; (b) the restoration of the posts of the headmasters of the 'Lyceums'; (c) a purge of teachers who were unjust during the dictatorship; (d) the division of the 6-year 'Gymnasium' into two levels: 'Gymnasium' and 'Lyceum'; (e) the attachment of the School for Teachers of Physical

Training to the University of Attikon; and (f) some proposals for in-service teachers.⁴¹

At this time a memorandum from the Union of lectures in Teacher Training Colleges to the Minister of Education proposed: (a) The abolition of Law No.842/71 and Law No.1057/71 on a Teacher-training College for Primary Schools and Kindergartens; and (b) the establishment of Teacher-training Colleges with 4 years' attendance.⁴²

After that, the Minister of Education appointed another committee for the reorganisation of Teacher-training Colleges for Primary Schools and for Kindergartens, and the School of Domestic Science. This committee was under the general purview of the Undersecretary of Education himself and included headmasters, three lecturers from the Teacher-training Colleges for Primary Schools, one from that for the Kindergarten and one from the School of Domestic Science.⁴³

While the committee of educationists was deliberating on the matter, the Minister of Education appointed yet another committee to evaluate the educational system of the country and suggest proposals for the reorganisation of the structure of education and the modernisation of education. More academic than the first, this second body was chaired by I.Theodoracopoulos, a well-known professor of philosophy at the University of Athens and member of the Academy of Athens, who had taken part in previous policy-making education committees,⁴⁴ six philologists (specialists in Greek language, literature, and the classics) and one rector of

the National Technical University of Athens.⁴⁵

A.M.Kazamias very correctly observes that in these committees:

"It is of interest to note that there were no economists, no sociologists, no representatives from a wider spectrum of political opinion, no students, and no scholars of education on either committee. This again has not been uncommon in the structure of educational policy-making bodies in Greece".⁴⁶

And the Centre of Marxist Study and Research added that,

"For any educational reform up to the present Greek people have never asked been consulted. Every educational reform has been made in the absence of the Greek people".⁴⁷

Thus participation in policy-making was limited, in the first committee especially, to a competitive struggle between the two teachers' unions (primary and secondary). Supplementary proposals were submitted by the president of OLME, (Union of Teachers in Secondary Schools), of which the most important were: (a) The establishment of 15 posts for supervisors; (b) the establishment of 140 posts for inspectors; and (c) the doubling of posts for headmasters, after the divisions of the six-years 'Gymnasium' into two three-years cycles, these headmasters to be termed 'Gymnasiarchis' and 'Lyceiarchis'.⁴⁸

The Government heeded the recommendations of the first committee and instructed its special personnel in the Ministry of Education to draw up the appropriate draft law. On 29th March 1975, the first draft of the law, "on the organisation and administration of general education", appeared in the press.

The OLME in discussing this draft law noted that,

"The new draft law does not rehabilitate the previously obtained rights of teachers, the brand of the profession in secondary schools, as was asked by those teachers. It levels up the salary, the graduates in service posts and the development of the teachers of Kindergarten, primary and

secondary school, without restoring the pre-dictatorship starting scale that differentiated teachers in primary and secondary schools" (to the advantage of the secondary-school teacher).⁴⁹

It is of interest to note that according to this draft law the kindergarten teacher was to be appointed on salary scale 1, the primary school teacher on scale 2, and the secondary school teacher on scale 3.

The DOE, discussing this draft law, wrote that

"The work of teachers at the three levels (kindergarten, primary, secondary) has equal educational, social and national significance and value... It is necessary to confront the problems of each level with the same provision, esteem and valuation. Special use of one of them may satisfy the sectional interest of a branch, but undermines the whole work of education at the same time".⁵⁰

E.Papanoutsos, at a general assembly of the DOE Union of Primary Schools said,

"Your second demand is to eliminate the distinction between teachers at various educational levels... Today education has one uniform, and indivisible function which is to guide the child from the first step and take him up to higher education. Dear colleagues I am surprised not because it was proposed, but because it was not recognised".⁵¹

The demands of OLME were incorporated into this draft law, because most members of the committee were from secondary education, the majority of administrative posts in the Ministry of Education were occupied by teachers in secondary education, and as has been usual in all Greek reforms, there was strong influence from the graduates of the University of Athens, especially of the philosophical and theological schools. The DOE fought to hold its old positions.

The second committee, more academic, issued a report which passed

unnoticed. The Government ignored it. This provides some grounds for the speculation that, from the start, the Government had no intention of taking this committee seriously, but went ahead with its appointment perhaps in order to assuage fears and reduce the pressure of certain elements in the New Democracy.⁵²

On 12th May 1975, the draft law, with an introductory 'Explanatory Report', was submitted to Parliament. A newly elected administration of DOE on May 1975, submitted another memorandum to the Minister of Education and an open letter to the members of Parliament. The most interesting proposals were: (a) the purging of inspectorial members; (b) the abolition of distinctions between teachers at different educational levels; (c) 'Demotike' as the tongue of text-books and teaching; and (d) some proposals for the in-service situation of teachers.⁵³

The OLME addressed the Government and the members of Parliament as follows:

"We formally declare: If this draft law is passed by Parliament, without the moral and material restoration of the rights previously obtained by the secondary school teachers, the lifting of injustice and the purging of what occurred under the dictatorship, you will find all of us together in opposition to it".⁵⁴

This draft law was not approved by the pertinent parliamentary committee at that time. The plan was submitted for the second time in September, but again it was not discussed. Finally, on 19th November 1975, it was brought before the parliamentary committee and, after some revisions, was presented to the entire Parliament on 5th April of the following year. In the meantime the DOE went on strike on 21st November 1975, describing the

draft-law as unacceptable to teachers in primary schools.⁵⁵

The OLME also went on strike on 17th December 1975, an action which lasted until 7th January 1976, demanding: (a) The lifting of injustice as regards the measures of extra pay to the state officers; (b) the passing of the draft law by Parliament as soon as possible with the inclusion of the proposals of the Union.⁵⁶

Some disputes inside the ruling party concerning this reform and some conflicts between the two teachers' Unions delayed the draft law in reaching Parliament. There was a considerable coverage in the press, which reflected a feeling of frustration with the inactivity of the government.

"When our young went on demonstration against the dictatorship, they always and persistently cried: 'Bread-Education- Freedom'. It is true, that the Ministry of 70 days carried out what was possible. But the Ministry of 12 months did nothing... The strike by OLME gives evidence of the great indifference in Education and among teachers".⁵⁷

A change of the head of the Ministry brought G.Rallis in as the new Minister of Education.

After that an important conference chaired by the Prime Minister, Karamanlis, himself, took place in the Ministry of Education on 19th January 1976, attended by the Minister of Education and the Undersecretaries of Education, and also the Presidents of the three universities (Athens, Thessalonike, and the National Technical University), the presidents of the two Teachers' Unions (for primary and secondary school personnel), D.Zakythenos (the chairman of the parliamentary committee of the New Democracy

party, who was also a well-known university professor), E.Papanoutsos (member of parliament, chief educational and ideological spokesman for EDEK and the man behind the Papandreou reform of 1964), I.Theodoracopoulos (a well-known professor of philosophy at the University of Athens and member of the Academy of Athens), and A.Demaras.⁵⁸

According to the opening remarks of the Prime Minister Karamanlis, the purpose of this conference was to see whether a "correct, objective, just and national" solution could be found for the elusive educational problem, which for decades had been enmeshed in party politics. Such a solution could be achieved if education were "placed outside party and political antagonisms" and if there was a convergence between the views of the government and the "experienced and reliable opinions of the invited experts".⁵⁹

Although there was variation among these experts, the group could not be said to be representative of all shades of political opinion (for example, there were no members of PASOK or of EDA and the Communist Party KKE). Furthermore, there were no spokesmen for parents, students, workers, or business groups. It may not be surprising, therefore, that there was consensus on basic principles about Greek education and its reform as well as on several specific policy items.⁶⁰

This conference can be interpreted as an indication of the importance the Government attached to educational reform and a perceived need to throw the weight and the personal prestige of

the Prime Minister behind a reform at a time of considerable uncertainty, controversy, and teachers' strikes. Also, it can be seen as a strategy to marshal support from a wider political and educational spectrum. In this conference all the participants accepted the extension of compulsory education from 6 to 9 years to be provided in a 6-year primary school, and a 3-year 'Gymnasium'.⁶¹

Also, there was general agreement on the division of secondary education into an unselective 'Gymnasium' and a highly selective 'Lyceum', except for Theodorakopoulos who expressed the view of the second committee, which he had chaired, that a fourth year should be added to the 'Lyceum' for the preparation of pupils intending to go on to higher education, and he added: "I want to complete my presentation with the thought that the 9-year School could be an independent level".⁶² The structure of technical and vocational education was to comprise schools organised into a Lower Vocational School (age 11+ and after), a Middle Vocational School (age 14+ and after), and a Higher Technical School.

Although the educational policy under discussion here did not explicitly encompass technical and vocational education, several of the proposed changes clearly had a direct or indirect bearing upon the policy towards it. The raising of the school-leaving age (9-years compulsory attendance) implied the abolition of the Lower Vocational Schools. Therefore, as it was expressed at this conference, there would be a tripartite type of structure in postcompulsory education: (a) highly selective general academic 'Lyceums', plus a very few equally selective but more heavily classical ones, leading to higher education, (b) Technical

Secondary Schools of 3-years which would prepare students for higher technical education, and (c) more narrowly vocational schools of 1 or 2 years which would lead directly to employment.⁶³

Most discussions in this conference centred on the entrance examination into the 'Lyceum' and on higher education. The Minister of Education proposed, "A rigorous selective entrance examination into the 'Lyceum'", and "the establishment of Technical and Vocational Schools for most of the pupils who will fail in the entrance examination for the 'Lyceum'".⁶⁴

Papanoutsos also agreed:

"I think that if we make the examination into the 'Lyceum' rigorous and develop Technical and Vocational Schools, then we shall give more service to education and provide more opportunity for the young".⁶⁵

And he added, "We have to set barriers" for pupils seeking higher education, and improve the method of admission to each higher school.

Theodorakopoulos said:

"I do not believe that the State can hold back the crowd of pupils who enter the 'Lyceum' and higher education... We have to apply a rigorous examination system, to put a barrier not for capacity, but for ignorance".⁶⁶

Demaras proposed that there be,

"No compulsion, but a voluntary choice by pupils of the school they want to attend, after a campaign in the mass media".⁶⁷

Finally, the Prime Minister said,

"I am in favour of a rigorous examination system".⁶⁸

Thus the most basic principle was that education must remain rigorously selective, especially after the 9-year compulsory stage. All participants accepted the idea of stringent examinations as a mechanism for selection into the 'Lyceum' and the universities, and the 'Lyceum' itself as a highly selective schools for those who were assessed to be capable of entering the university and institutions of non-university level. Those who passed the examinations were considered capable of continuing their studies. Those who failed were eliminated; they could either go home or turn towards technical schools.⁶⁹

Another major item discussed was the language question; the place of ancient Greek in the curriculum of the schools.

Selection for post-secondary institutions of university and non-university level was a problem which had acquired particular salience in the preceding years, partly as a consequence of increase in the demand for post-secondary education and the limited supply of available places.

G.Rallis, the Minister of Education, suggested that in place of the existing system, namely, uniform entrance examinations after graduation from Secondary School, examinations on a national scale should be given at the end of the fifth and sixth classes of the 'Lyceum', and admission into higher education should be based on a composite index of the results of these examinations.⁷⁰

After this conference, debates of the Parliamentary committee on the draft law for the organisation and administration of general education were held in the Parliamentary Conference of 5th April 1976.

4 Debates Inside Parliament on the Reform 1976

Debates on the draft law covered all aspects of education.

4.1 Aims

This Bill was marked by two purposes: democratisation and modernisation of education according to the ideology of liberal democracy. The Bill had to provide real education, capable of corresponding to the uneasiness and desires of the young today, education which would make a man free, full of virtues (arete) and daring, a citizen with high convictions (phronema). It was the work of persons who really believed in democracy, inspired in every aspect by democratic and popular ideas.⁷¹

The spokesman of the EDEK, in his speech in Parliament, remarked;

"It must be known that today the rich educate their children, the poor do not. This is not democratisation of education. This is the worst form of social inequality, educational inequality... We are anxious about another enemy, the most dangerous one, absence of education (apaedeusia) which may corrode the foundations of the nation".⁷²

The spokesman of the PASOK expressed his views as follows;

"We are against any barrier to the learning of our young and especially against the spirit of this Bill which aims at turning the large mass of people towards skilled work and not towards higher education. The aim of this Bill is to create many skilled workers in blue overalls, with screwdrivers in hand, to serve multi-national and foreign industries where the higher staff will be foreigners or Greeks conscribed and trusted by them. All will be directed

by a closed and controlled class... Our ideal is permanent education which gives the possibility of a continuous educational ascent of man. Life will be: Work-Learning-Thought".73

The leader of the EDA advanced his views;

"The development of the intellectual personality of Greeks must rest on unquestionable foundations, the possibility for everyone of participating through his work in the creation of civilisation. Education must cultivate the spirit of national independence, far removed from national chauvinism. It must derive from the inheritance of the national civilisation, but must develop cooperation, emulation and solidarity amongst peoples. It must aim at creating loyal guardians and protectors of democratic freedom. Some of the aims commonly accepted might be: cultivation of the possibility of expression and formulation of thought; development of rational critical capacity; social and vocational education; and evolution of productive capacity... It is necessary to add to the formation of democratic convictions in the young in order for them to become responsible citizens and completed personalities".

In order to explain his goal he said;

"If we want to make a soldier of Marathon... then education must be founded on the dialectical materialistic philosophy. If we want to make 'medizontes' (traitors)... or ridiculous, misunderstood mediators, who, with the slongan 'Greece Greek-Christian', know how to sell the sacred and holy body of the country to the grocers of international monopoly, then we shall give to the young the abstract, fully mystical, and obscure contrivance of the vain idealistic philosophy".74

The spokesman of the KKE exterior said,

"The communist Party from its establishment has never stopped seeking, and fighting for, popular and democratic education. This means that education must be an acquisition of the whole population, and social distinction in schools must be ended. Each child, independently of his social and financial situation, should get more knowledge, higher general and technical education, proportionately to his intellectual and physical capacity. We hold the opinion that this Bill does not correspond to such goals. The aims of Secondary Schools remain substantially as they were in old legislation. Today it is well-known that high ideals are the ideals of democracy, national independence, social justice, peace and friendship of peoples, and freedom of ideas".75

The spokesman of the KKE interior expressed his views as follows;

"The formulation of the aims of education by the Parliamentary Committee marks an advance on the original draft law. But it presents much that is inadequate on the Kindergarten and on the primary school. We should like most obviously to determine the aims of the 'Gymnasium' and the 'Lyceum', not as simply "substantial knowledge of the principle of Democracy", but as the assimilation of democratic principles and reliance on the protection they afford. The mentors of national convictions have to analyse national independence and dominion, cooperation with all peoples and the protection of peace. We propose also, the evaluation of work, the cultivation of the initiative and spirit of collective effort, the elevation of the value of the whole, and the rejection of individual pride (personal egoism). We wish also, according to our principles, to support voluntary education which does not enter strictly into formation of the philosophical consciousness of the young".⁷⁶

More discussion took place on the principles of democracy. A PASOK deputy pointed out that educational practice must include awareness of the ideological contradictions of our society, the removal from the school of every illiberal ideology, and the respect of the teacher for the personality of the child.⁷⁷

A member of the EDEK stressed that education must not stand outside political, or social concerns. And he urged:

"Let us not be afraid... to allow teachers to open the students' eyes to the social and political dimensions of the subject they teach".⁷⁸

After long debates in Parliament the Bill received the warm support of the ruling party of the New Democracy, which had an overwhelming majority in the House. The EDEK, the major party of opposition, indicated that it was in favour of most of the essential provisions of the Bill. The smaller parliamentary parties (PASOK, EDA, KKE) merely presented their positions in the Parliamentary debates without any influence on amending the provisions of this Bill. Thus the Bill was approved by

Parliamentary on 15th April and entered the statutes as Law No.309/1976.⁷⁹

4.2 Administration of General Education

The second section of this Bill included provisions for the administration of general education, primary and secondary schools. These provisions were adopted by the Education Act 651/1970, with a few variations, and great emphasis was put on the provision for purging (katharsis) of the inspectors who had been appointed by the military Junta and obviously had worked to support that Regime, and on some problems about the conditions of work such as appointments, promotions, class size, working hours, and so on.

According to this Bill, the country was divided into fifteen regions for primary schools and fifteen regions for secondary schools. Each region was to be headed by a supervisor of primary or secondary schools respectively. The regions for primary schools were subdivided into 240 districts under inspectors, who were to perform administrative, supervisory and advisory functions. The regions for secondary schools were subdivided into 80 districts under general inspectors, who were to perform administrative, supervisory and advisory functions. There were to be 60 special inspectors exercising supervisory and advisory functions in relation to the teachers of special lessons.

The primary school was to be managed by a head-teacher, the 'Gymnasium' by a head-master called 'Gymnasiarchis', and the 'Lyceum' by a head-master called 'Lyceiarchis'.

The spokesman of the New Democracy characterised as remarkable the provisions which determined the number of pupils for each primary school teacher at 30, and the number for each secondary school teacher at 40, as well as the doubling of posts for the number of headmasters in secondary schools and the increase in posts for inspectors.⁸⁰

But the spokesman of the EDEK saw this increase as "a curious open-handed gesture" and said,

"The number of posts for inspectors was increased by the dictatorship, for the strict control of teachers. Now, what reason is there to have 400 inspectors of primary and secondary school? I am sorry I have to say, the purge has not yet been achieved in general education. I am afraid that, according to article 73 of this Bill, the purge will not take place".⁸¹

The spokesman of the PASOK said,

"There is a need for a radical purge of the inspectorial members of the education service, and I propose that the term "inspector" should be replaced by the term "school-adviser" (Scholikos Symvoulos)".⁸²

The spokesman of the EDA said,

"Our proposals are to dismiss from their posts the inspectors who cooperated with the dictatorship and carried out actions that were favourable to the dictators, as well as the "zoikous" (the theologians who belong to the union of Zoe), who participated in the Committee for the Curriculum".⁸³

And the spokesman of the KKE interior said about the selection of new inspectors,

"It is necessary to have an outstanding educational staff with high qualifications and well-known for their democratic ideology",

and added,

"Article 72 is not sufficiently bold for a purge. It does not expel the few who consciously cooperated with the Junta to capture education and make it fascist. It is timid, inadequate and ineffective".⁸⁴

And the speaker for the KKE exterior said,

"The purge, as the teachers have mentioned, is of a complicated mechanism which was established by the Junta to control the teachers strictly, and comprised educational councils, supervisors, general inspectors, special inspectors, and other inspectors; a few of them enthusiastically cooperated with the Junta".⁸⁵

4.3 Finance of General Education

Free education at all levels of education was first introduced by the reform of 1964. These provisions were adopted by the military Junta. The present reform applied free education to general education schools in the following words;

"Public general education is free; any financial burden on pupils and their parents is prohibited. Pupils who live some distance from school may be transported to school free of charge. Text-books are free. Schools receive grants from the State Budget".⁸⁶

The debates in Parliament concentrated on the 'parapaedeia', especially on the 'frontisterio', private schools, private lessons, and the students who were studying in foreign universities.

The spokesman for the New Democracy said,

"It is strange to speak about free education, when the 'parapaedeia' (private schools) cost about 6 billion drachmas in one year, not including private lessons, plus 60-70 million dollars withdrawn from the Bank for students at foreign universities".⁸⁷

The spokesman of the EDEK described the situation as follows:

"School buildings are inadequate and uncomfortable. Equipment, libraries and apparatus are very poor. The text-books are out-of-date and boring and in some schools there is a lack of classrooms, tables, text-books and teachers. Poor families go without bread to send their children to private schools. Thus the daily wage of the family goes to them. After that we speak about free education.... Money is needed. Certainly nothing is done without money. But, if the Government wanted to do so, the money could be found".⁸⁸

And the leader of EDEK added;

"Education is the most expensive affair. But it is the most rewarding social investment too. The Government must investigate the financial resources of education. Education has equal priority with the defence of the country".⁸⁹

All the spokesmen of the other political parties in Parliament agreed and added further considerations. The spokesman of PASOK proposed "a free luncheon, taken by pupils together, in the Kindergarten and the primary schools".⁹⁰

The leader of the EDA said,

"In the countries of the West and the East investment in education constantly increases, contrary to the situation in the underdeveloped countries where it remains at a lower level".⁹¹

And the leader of the KKE exterior noted;

"The worker who is obliged to send his child to the 'frontisterio' submits to a great sacrifice".⁹²

4.4 Structure and Organisation

The bill provided for a 2-year kindergarten, which was voluntary, a 6-year compulsory primary school followed by a compulsory non-selective 3-year lower secondary school called the 'Gymnasium', followed by a highly selective 3-year upper general secondary school called 'lyceum'.⁹³

In the explanatory preamble to this bill it was explained that this reorganisation, especially the division of the 6-year 'Gymnasium' into two 3-year cycles, was in response to socio-economic and demographic changes, as well as to the concomitant increased demand for secondary and higher education. The large increase of students in the existing 6-year 'Gymnasium', coupled with the very limited number of places available in higher education and the restrictions in the absorptive capacity of the public and private employment sectors, created serious bottlenecks, unemployment, under-employment, and psychological frustrations. The new selection procedures at the age of 15 (i.e., strict examinations for entrance into the 'Lyceum') and the new institutional arrangements (the general 'Lyceum' for a few), would channel the bulk of the student population, who were unable to continue towards higher studies, into the direction of the growing new technical and vocational schools, which ensured a comfortable and respectable life.

In this way, a barrier would be erected to prevent the uncontrolled production of graduates of the 6-year 'Gymnasium', thus alleviating the problem of unemployed graduates and decreasing the pressure for further education.⁹⁴

This structure had been adopted in the reform of 1964, whose architect was Papanoutsos, the chief educational spokesman of EDEK on this reform, and a key participant in the premier's conference. It was widely believed that the Government often sought him out for advice on educational matters.

In his speech in Parliament he said,

"The Bill restores the structure of our educational system, which was legislated by G.Papandreou in 1964. For a good understanding of the new ideology of this structure I should offer a few words of explanation: until today the young had two barriers in the route of our educational system. One barrier was at 11-12 years old when they finished the primary school, and another at 17-18 years old when they finished the 6-year 'Gymnasium'. Now they have three barriers: one barrier remains at 11-12 years old, the second at 14-15 years old when they finish the 3-year 'Gymnasium', and another at 17-18 years old. If anybody has any question about the division of secondary education into two self-sufficient cycles, the reasons are the following: after primary school a diminution of the pupil population is noticed, because many children after finishing this school go to work or to other lower schools... Secondly, after the age of 15 years old the economic advantage of a middle family, the tendency and wish of children, and some other circumstances of life do not let them continue their studies at school. Another reason is the constitutional order for nine years' compulsory education".⁹⁵

The spokesman of the New Democracy party proposed a lower technical school parallel with the 'Gymnasium', because such a system of reform aimed at ending the existence of one single route from primary school to the University, and was intended to provide another path for children who were incapable of attending the 'Gymnasium'. "I have to propose that the entrance-examination into the Lyceum must be strict, but just".⁹⁶

The spokesman of the PASOK said,

"This educational reform does not accord with the will of Parliament, the educationists and the students, and the Greek people generally... with the division of the 6-year Gymnasium into 3-year cycles they give a fatal blow to secondary education by the erection of a barrier, a 'Chinese Wall', of an entrance-examination into the Lyceum. The barrier at the age of 15-years old will stop further education and turn children towards ill-paid work for domestic and foreign employers, and unemployment...

The 'ratio legis' of this reform is to limit the learning of the majority of our young to lower education. These children will come from the countryside and the financially poorer families, who do not possess enough income for the

preparation of their children in the preparatory private schools.

They (the spokesmen) told us that the young would turn towards the technical school, so that we should not have an 'intellectual proletariat'. This is a myth only for the near-sighted. Today the world is one community, and the one who has the best 'know how', has more possibilities of finding a job. Our ideal is 'permanent education', which gives the possibility of the continuous educational raising of man".⁹⁷

The leader of the EDE proposed to add a fourth class to the 'Lyceum' for the preparation of pupils for the entrance examination into higher education and advocated the abolition of the 'frontisterio'. "We believe", he said, "that there is strong objection to the provision of the Bill, whereby compulsory attendance ends with registration in the 'Gymnasium', while allowing some parents to withdraw their children from school attendance".⁹⁸

The leader of the KKE interior said,

"We agree with the provision regarding the structure of the educational system, but we have some reservations and objections to it. It is correct to establish technical and vocational schools to serve economic and social development, and the defence of the country. However, they must not operate in the interests of monopoly or create social barriers to higher education... We are against any elitist education which destroys the unity of the population and introduces a moral, social and national separation between scientists and skilled workers, a 'Chinese Wall', for the preservation of the ruling class".⁹⁹

The leader of the KKE exterior added,

"The provisions for 9-years compulsory education do not assure us that it can be realised. First, the technico-material problems and the problems of the supply of teachers are not confronted. Secondly, they do not preserve a uniform character in the 9-years' education. There is a 6-years' attendance in the Primary School and 3-years' attendance in the 'Gymnasium', and they prescribe a leaving certificate from the Primary School. No explanation was been given for this. Maybe a reasonable explanation is, that it is

compulsory neither for the State nor for the Children. Strangely, it provides Night-schools. Why is education not compulsory? There is another problem concerning the entrance examination into the 'Lyceum'. It is true that examinations must be taken under the presumption that they provide an equal opportunity for all pupils. The fact that no provision is made for preparation for the examination favours rich children who go to the 'frontisterio'. In an explanatory report it is stated: "6 billion drachmas are spend annually on 'parapaediea' (private schools and lessons)". Thus, it [the Bill] aims at promoting technical schools and creating many skilled workers wearing blue overalls and operating with screwdrivers for the employers".¹⁰⁰

4.5 Curriculum and Language of Instruction

The other provision of this Bill which was extensively discussed was the language question. The institution of the 'Demotike', the popular form of modern Greek, as the language of instruction and text-books in the primary school, the 'Gymnasium' and the 'Lyceum', and the study of the ancient Greek authors in translation in the 'Gymnasium', were unquestioningly accepted by all political parties except a few members of the New Democracy party.

A proposal for further simplification of the system to institute the 'monotoniko' (single accent), which was proposed by the leader of the EDEK, was adopted by all the opposition parties, but not by the ruling party. The Minister of Education said: "I do not believe that the time is ripe for abo~~y~~lition of the 'tonon' (accent)".¹⁰¹

5 The Proposals for the Reform of Vocational Education: 1977

5.1 Debates

The draft law on technical and vocational education was intended to complete the education reform which had been devised by the

government for the solution of the problems in pre-university schooling.¹⁰² This draft law aroused much controversy and disagreement outside and inside Parliament, so that it became the object of universal discussion.¹⁰³ Finally the Minister of Education remarked, "I could say that no draft law has ever confronted such an unjust, illogical, and slanderous reaction as this faultless draft law".¹⁰⁴ Criticism was directed mainly towards the following points: (a) The draft law did not provide sufficient incentives to attract students, (b) it favoured the interests of great industrial enterprises, and (c) the entrance-examination after the 'Gymnasium' into both the general and the technical 'Lyceum' was an undemocratic measure.¹⁰⁵

After protracted controversy outside Parliament this Bill came before Parliament on 23th February 1977.

At the beginning of the discussion in Parliament the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Education introduced the Bill and said,

"This bill and the Law No.309/1976 are interdependent and express the philosophy of the government in education. According to it, education is an investment of funds and creates the necessary personnel for the economic, social and intellectual development of the country, especially after it joins the EEC countries. It gives the young the capacity to meet the needs of modern life".¹⁰⁶

During the drafting of the Bill, all the relevant interest groups, educators, students, employers and employees, were invited to present their views, which were taken into consideration.¹⁰⁷ However, the left opposition parties said that,

"This bill was derived from old, well-known reformers without any study and programme, in a mysterious way, far away from the interested group and productive classes and

there was no consultation of scientific and professional authorities".¹⁰⁸

"This draft law incorporated many changes, so that the opponents should be more moderate in their attack against the latest plan", Papanoutsos said.¹⁰⁹ The most controversial aspect of the Bill lay in its aims and goals.

The spokesman of the PASOK said,

"The PASOK is absolutely against this Bill, its shady aims and purposes, because it completes the barrier to learning by putting up a wall of entrance examinations, so that most of the pupils will be excluded from the 'Lyceum', and will remain in the half-learning of the 'Gymnasium'".¹¹⁰

And he added:

"The graduates of these schools will be an easily captured prey for exploitation, especially by foreign and multi-national employers, who will not be able to absorb all the workers offered to them".¹¹¹

The view of the KKE was expressed by its spokesman as follows,

"The children of workers and peasants are to receive technical education, but technical schools may go because there are obstacles in their way. The children of the rich do not go to these schools. Therefore technical schools are set aside and only slowly come into action to provide knowledge".¹¹²

And he went on,

"Industrial and large enterprises demand low-paid workers in order to meet the competition of European and other foreign monopolies who are continuously increasing their large profits".¹¹³

"[This Bill] aims at pushing the mass of our young downwards, with an orientation towards factories and various branches of production. The young of capitalist countries, such as Greece, are subjects of special exploitation as low paid workers".¹¹⁴

Another member of the KKE added,

"This Bill has only one aim... to apply the law of the market

and foreign enterprises with workers virtually unpaid during their studies, and workers with dubious skill after their graduation from these schools".¹¹⁵

The spokesman of the EDEK, expressing his views, stated,

"The EDEK votes for the Bill, although there are some gaps and omissions, for the following reasons: First it is necessary to provide relief from the changeable legislation of the dictatorship. Secondly, Law No.309/1976 must be complemented by another law for vocational education. Thirdly the draft law went through many changes and comes to Parliament unrecognizable from the original".¹¹⁶

Finally, discussing the negative aspects of the Bill, he said,

"(a) The government does not establish a uniform authority for vocational education... Several services of various ministries exercise control over these schools...; (b) the main aspects of the Bill are regulated by a decree; (c) there is no legislation for private vocational schools; and (d) there is not any participation of industrial and commercial persons in the policy-making and operation of the vocational schools".¹¹⁷

The Minister of Education replied,

"My view is that a uniform authority could not work effectively. The unification of all authorities under the Ministry of Education is impossible now".¹¹⁸

After protracted controversy and disputes in Parliament, the Bill was passed, thanks to the majority held by the ruling party, the New Democracy, and with the support of the major opposition party the EDEK, as Law 576/1977.¹¹⁹

5.2 Law No.576/1977 on Technical and Vocational Education

The structure of technical and vocational education was set out as follows:

(a) The Secondary Technical and Vocational Schools to consist of

two categories: (i) The Technical and Vocational Schools, where the course lasts 1 or 2 years, and entrance into these schools is possible after a school-leaving certificate from the 'Gymnasium'. (ii) the Technical and Vocational 'Lyceum', where three year courses are offered. Registration in the first class is possible for graduates of the 'Gymnasium' after successful completion of the entrance examination.

(b) The Higher Technical and Vocational schools where courses last 2 or 3 years. Registration in those schools is possible for graduates of the general 'Lyceum' or technical education, with equal opportunity for each group, after successful completion of the entrance examination.

For the administration of technical and vocational education the country was divided into four regions, each headed by a supervisor. These were subdivided into eighteen districts, each headed by a general inspector. There were 22 general inspectors, one in each district and one associated with a supervisor. Each Technical or Vocational School was managed by a headmaster. The Higher Technical and Vocational Schools were to have a measure of independence; each one was to be a self-governing corporate body under public law, administered by a chancellor and a council (senatus) elected by the faculty.

Technical and vocational education was to be provided free; the text-books were also free. State-scholarships were awarded to a few students. The State covered students' accident insurance, if they had no other insurance.

Finally, an article was added for the provision of 'Polycladica Kentra Meses Ekpaeduseos'. These were to be multi-lateral schools, incorporating a 'Gymnasium', a 'Lyceum' of general education, Technical and Vocational Schools and a Technical and Vocational 'Lyceum'. The aim of this school-unit was the improvement of the schooling structure for all pupils undergoing general and technical education by providing schooling in a common place with common teaching staff. The Law provided for the establishment of ten such units in the country.¹²⁰

6 The Education System of 1977

6.1 Aims

The aims of the Kindergarten are to complete and strengthen family upbringing by teaching ways of expression and behaviour, and also by the cultivation of habits through which infants will develop physically and intellectually and will adapt themselves to their natural and social environment (Article 4 par.1).

The aims of Primary Schools are to lay the basis of the first level of education, namely to give pupils more experience, stimulate develop physical and intellectual capacity, introduce them to knowledge of the natural and historical world, cultivate observation, thought and sensitivity, awaken their moral consciuousness, and instil the basis of religious, national and human education in them (Article 11 par.1).

The aims of the 'Gymnasium' are to complete and strengthen the uniform education of the young, especially to exercise the right and correct expression of their thought and feelings, to show

them how to observe and analyse natural and social phenomena, to teach them briefly the history and the most important intellectual conquests of Greek, European and human civilisation, to help the young to realise their own nature and capacity, to sharpen their moral judgments, to develop their religious and national consciousness, and to inspire them with the principles of the democratic system of government of the country (Article 20 par. 1).

The aims of the 'Lyceum' are to provide a richer and wider education than does the 'Gymnasium' for those young who are destined for higher education or more demanding vocations. This education includes a more systematic cultivation of oral and written language, a deeper study of national literature and history, and of world history as the monuments of civilisation, especially of European history and civilisation, the development of critical thought and imagination, more research into the social and natural world, the strengthening of religious and national convictions, more substantial knowledge of the principles of the democratic system of government of the country, and, as its final aim, the illumination of the spirit and the formation of a free and responsible character.

6.2 Administration

The country was divided into fifteen regions of primary schools, which were headed by a Supervisor of Primary Education. These regions were subdivided into 240 districts under inspectors who performed administrative, supervisory and advisory functions at public and private schools, and 20 special inspectors of *Kindergarten*, who were to see that the national school curricula,

drawn up by the KEME and approved by the Minister of Education, was being applied. Each school was managed by a head-teacher. For secondary education the country was divided into fifteen regions, which were headed by a Supervisor of Secondary Education. These regions were subdivided into 80 districts under general inspectors, who performed administrative, supervisory and advisory functions. There were 60 special inspectors having supervisory and advisory functions regarding the teachers of special lessons. The 'Gymnasium' was managed by a headmaster ('Gymnasiarchis'). The 'Lyceum' was also managed by a headmaster ('Lycearchis').

6.3 Finance

Public general education was free; any financial burden on the pupils and their parents was prohibited. The textbooks were free. The schools received grants from the State Budget. Pupils who lived some distance from school may be transported to school free of charge.

6.4 Structure and Organisation

General education, public and private, consisted of the Kindergarten, the primary school, the 'Gymnasium' and the 'Lyceum'. The Kindergarten was to involve 2-years of voluntary attendance of children aged 3 years and 6 months on 1st October. The primary school was to require 6-years of compulsory attendance of children aged 5 years and 6 months on 1st October. Secondary education, given in the 'Gymnasium', was a 3-years of compulsory attendance, until the age of 15 years; in class A pupils who finished the primary school could be registered

without entrance examination. The 'Lyceum' was 3-years of voluntary attendance by day, or 4-years by night; pupils were to be registered in class A after the entrance examination. Both the 'Gymnasium' and the 'Lyceum' were self-sufficient schools.

Age	3 4 5	6 7 8 9 10 11	12 13 14	15 16 17	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26	
Level		I	II	III	IV	
Stage	Pre-School	1 Primary	2	3	4 5 6 7 8	
	Pre-Compul.	Compulsory		Post-Compulsory		
		Demotiko	Gymnasium	General Tech. Vocat. or Business Lyceum		
				Technical Vocational School		
					Higher Education	Post Grad.
					Teacher Training	

6.5 Language

The language of instruction and of text-books at all level of general education has been the 'neohellenike' or modern Greek since the school year 1976-1977.

7 Other Legal Measures on Education

Another draft law was passed by Parliament in respect of private and boarding schools, amid great controversy and disputes, as Law No.682/1977.¹²¹ According to this law the organisation and structure of general education are similar to that which obtains in public schools. The curriculum is uniform for all schools, private and public, except for the teaching of foreign languages in private schools, which may take place after permission has been given by the Minister of Education. The fees for these schools were to be paid by the parents. Control over private schools was exercised by the Minister of Education and school-inspectors.

Law No.186/1975 was passed nearly unanimously in Parliament, with the assent of all political parties. This was the first of the Education Laws, which established the KEME, Centre of Educational Studies and In-service Training, and abolished the AES, Higher Council of Education.¹²²

The Centre had wide ranging responsibilities for giving advice to the Minister on curriculum development, staff development and inspection of schools.¹²³

8 A Critical Assessment of the Reforms

The selection of the staff of KEME was completed in 1975 and KEME commenced work early in 1976. This institute assembled three categories of advisers: (a) The selected advisers of KEME, who were responsible for the work of KEME and supported the government of the New Democracy, (b) as special advisers, the persons who had supported the military Regime, the members of AR

Higher Educational Council of Law No.651/1970, and (c) other special advisers, the members of the Pedagogical Institute of Law No.4379/1964, who had supported EK.

The cooperation of these members was exceptionally difficult, since there was much animosity amongst them. Therefore the KEME did not contribute much to the attempt to change education, and finally it became the instrument of the government to apply government policy.

The majority of KEME work on the research into educational problems was not reflected in the theory and practice of schools. The effective work of the KEME was limited to giving an opinion about a problem in education according to the will of the Minister of Education. This institute, like other such institutes in Greece, had not responded to the demands of education.

The Law No.309/1976 on the organisation and administration of general education was immediately applied in the 1976-77 school year, except for the provision on the extension of compulsory education. The division of the 6-year 'Gymnasium' into the 3-year 'Gymnasium' and the 3-year 'Lyceum', similar to the measures taken under the reform of 1964, was made by decree without causing any serious difficulties. Entrance examinations into the 'Gymnasium' were immediately abolished, so that each child who finished primary school could be registered in the first class of the 'Gymnasium'. In the first year of operation of this system about 123,146 pupils were registered in the first class, 6,000 pupils more than in the 1975-76 school-year.¹²⁴ Entrance

examinations into the 'Lyceum', called 'Panellenies exetaseis', began for all pupils in the 1977-78 school-year, one for the general education 'Lyceum', and others for the technical and vocational 'Lyceum'.

Unfortunately, these examinations, which were established to turn the mass of pupils towards technical education, did not achieve satisfactory results. The traditional orientation towards classical education was very strong in both pupils and their parents.

The extension of compulsory education from 6 to 9 years was applied in the 1980-81 school year by Decree No.739/1980.¹²⁵ The increase in the number of pupils who were registered in the first class of the 'Gymnasium' was not sufficient to make that number equal to the total of pupils who had finished primary school. About 10 to 15 percent of the total of pupils who finished primary school received no further education. Thus, compulsory education has not been achieved yet in respect of all children for various reasons, but mainly because the government does not wish to give equal opportunity to all children.

The provisions for the administration of education were immediately applied. The number of posts for headmasters was doubled, corresponding to the number of new institutions which had been established from the division of the 6-year 'Gymnasium'. The selection of supervisors and inspectors of primary and secondary schools was made in the 1976-77 school-year, but there are continuing debates about the purging, or 'katharsis', of former inspectors.

Free education at all levels of education has been adopted as policy in Greece since 1964, but the grants to education from the Budget remain at about 10 to 11 percent, or 2 percent of the Gross National Product. Expenditure on schools is financed by the State Budget, and text-books are free for all children, but pupils who live in villages far away from schools are obliged to pay their fares to go to school. Free transport of these pupils has not been achieved yet. This inequality in education causes much uneasiness and many disputes in the social and political sectors of Greek life.

A new method of admission into higher educational institutions was legislated to complete the reform in secondary education. According to the new method, criteria of selection were: (a) the pupil's expressed preference for an institution in his application, and (2) the pupil's marks in the second and third class of the Lyceum plus his marks in the two special examinations.¹²⁶

For this reasons in the 1978-79 school-year a new institution began to operate. The lessons at the Lyceum were divided into two categories: core lessons and elective lessons. The lessons were studied in parallel.¹²⁷ In 1980 this new method of admission was applied to the entrance of pupils into higher educational institutions.

There were many candidates seeking a place in higher education. But the number of places is limited, and only 25 percent of the

total of candidates were successful in obtaining a place in the universities or in higher educational institutions. The majority of the candidates were kept out of higher education. They immediately began to doubt the value of the results of this examination system. Thus the entrance examination system will remain an unsolved problem in education, so long as a limited number of candidates for higher education must be selected.

Law No.576/1977 on the organisation of technical and vocational education (middle and higher) came into force with many difficulties. The establishment of some technical and vocational institutions was realised in the 1977-78 school-year. Lack of school buildings, lack of school equipment and technical material, and also the shortage of teachers, were some of the most serious difficulties concerning the operation of the technical and vocational schools.

Although G.Rallis, the Minister of Education and later, the Prime Minister, has written that, "14 billions drachmes will be spent on technical and vocation education in the next 5-years",¹²⁸ the problems remain most serious in this sector of education. The stamp of the impromptu was put on these institutions, so that technical and vocation education now requires another reorganisation in order to modernise it.

In general, the reforms introduced in the period 1974 to 1981 were very similar to those made in 1964. One significant difference was the increased emphasis placed on technical and vocational education as opposed to general education. In this the liberal reforms of the period were moving closer to the

proposals of the conservatives, as set out in the proposed reforms of 1973. In the final chapter this emerging consensus will be examined in more detail.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This thesis has traced the development of the educational system of Greece from the foundation of the modern Greek State to the present day. A very close link has been noted between political changes in Greece and the educational reforms which have been proposed. Liberal democratic governments have introduced reforms to introduce 'Demotike' to the schools, especially the primary schools, to make access to secondary education easier by removing selective examinations at the lower secondary level, and to introduce technical and vocational education. Right wing and dictatorial governments have introduced reforms diametrically opposed to these, the use of 'Katharevousa', strict examinations and an emphasis on classical Greek scholarship.

The bitterness and increasing polarisation in political life in Greece has been reflected in educational debates. This has so dominated the framework within which education is discussed in Greece that scholars have presumed that the language problem or the examination problem were the principal problems of Greek education. There are, however, a number of paradoxes in the development of Greek education which indicate that this is not really the case.

The reforms of education which have been introduced by all parties have been seriously handicapped by the shortages of teachers, school buildings and equipment, and by a failure to provide adequate funding. As a result, a large number of Greek children have been denied access to proper schooling, and

illiteracy rates have remained high.¹ On these issues, both sides in the educational debates have criticised their opponents, with the possibly ironic result that right-wing educationists have criticised the liberals for a failure to provide adequate funding, and, in 1964, they claimed that the liberal reforms were no more than the policies of the conservatives.²

There was certainly some justice in this claim, as, in spite of a failure to implement reforms, all political parties had legislated reforms which involved the extension of free and compulsory primary education to all children, and later free education at all levels.

Moreover, by 1973, when the Military Junta, the most recent conservative government in Greece, came to prepare a plan for the reform of education, it was obliged to recognise both the aspirations of the majority of parents and the need for a modern society to have adequate technical education.³ In this final reform of the Junta one can see a further narrowing of the gap between the policies of liberals and conservatives.

In these circumstances it would be wise to compare the policies of conservatives and liberals within Greek education, with the intention of seeing just how much they have now come to agree upon, rather than stressing the issues which divide them. This would take attention away from the problems which have dominated discussion of education, and particularly the so-called "language problem", and permit more attention to be paid to the real problems of providing more and better education for all children,

no matter from what class, region, city or village of Greece they come from. That the 'Demotike/Katharevousa' debate is more of a focus for rhetoric than a serious problem can be seen by the very large measure of agreement which the proponents of each language have been able to arrive at. In spite of periods of destroying the books of the other party, there now seems to be considerable consensus that 'Demotike' should be the language of the primary school, and that 'Katharevousa' is desirable for the study of the Greek classics.⁴ The tempestuous debates on the language problem therefore come down to little more than the exact stage at which 'Katharevousa' should be introduced into the schools, and this should hardly be permitted to become a major obstacle to the further development of the educational system.

Throughout the development of the Greek education system, the conservatives pressed to retain the classical tradition of Greece, and to strengthen the Helleno-Christian tradition. When they were in power they had at their disposal a centralised bureaucracy, which enabled them to appoint their own supporters to key positions, and the statements from educationists in leading positions under the Junta illustrates the effectiveness with which such power could be exercised.⁵ However, the proposed reforms of 1973 were drawn up with the recognition that the conservative pattern of education could not be imposed upon the people of Greece entirely against their will. In this respect, the proposed reforms of 1973 represent a pragmatic conservative package; the most conservative package which would be accepted by the majority of Greek people, bearing in mind the long history of the aspiration for an education system for all citizens, and the modern aspirations for an education system which would make

Greece a fully participating member of the European community.

In spite of the fact that these reforms were never enacted, one is struck by the fact that the reforms of 1975 to 1977 introduced by the liberal democratic government did not differ markedly from the proposed reforms of 1973. Certainly, there were differences, but the emphasis on the purging of personnel rather than the changing of policies indicates that in large measure the reforms represented the over-spill of political antagonisms into the field of education. Like the proposed reforms of 1973, the reforms of 1975-7 retained a secondary education system divided into two cycles, with strict entrance examinations into the 'Lyceums'.⁶

The major debate focused, as it had on so many previous occasions, on the language issue, the reforms of 1975-7 establishing 'Demotike' as the language of instruction at all levels of general education. However, since the 'Lyceum' was to retain its elite character and its role in preparing pupils for higher education, there was no suggestion that the 'Lyceum' could not also promote the study of the classical Greek traditions.

Paradoxically, the proposal to expand technical and vocational education at the upper secondary level, which was vigorously pursued by the liberals, is also the measure which is most likely to relieve pressure for access to the 'Lyceum', and help to preserve it as an elite school for university preparation, which was the goal of the conservatives.

The system of administration proposed by the two political groupings are broadly similar, differing largely on how many administrative districts the country should be divided into, and on how people should be appointed to office. This last point is clearly closely related to who is appointed, and again reflects more of concern of political control than it does of educational purpose.

A further major difference between the two political groupings is the period of teacher training, the conservatives pressing for shorter training, and the liberals for longer. Even here, in the reforms of 1976 the conservatives conceded that a minimum of two years of training was desirable, while the liberals have pressed for three. If this is a major difference, and turns out to be intractable, it can only be observed that in the majority of industrialised and industrialising countries the tendency has been, and the expectations of parents and teachers alike have been to support, the extension of teacher education, and the increase of a general education as part of the preparation of teachers.⁷ In the long run, it would seem that the conservatives are only likely to delay development in this area somewhat, rather than bring about a major change in policy direction.

The picture which emerges in education is thus one of increasing convergence between the opposing groups in Greece, in terms of the policies proposed. In such circumstances one would expect the debates to become less heated. This has not been the case, and even where the differences in policy are small, the debates have been extremely heated, as educational policies have been

permitted to become symbols of broader political positions. This has been exacerbated by the disposition of academics to take such debates at face value, and assume that the "language problem" is the key problem in Greek education because it is the problem which has most exercised Greek politicians. In fact, of course, it is the question on which the politicians have agreed, ~~and~~ ^{but} which they have ignored, the improved funding of education and better provision of material and personnel, which is the key problem in Greek education.

This spilling over of political debates into an educational arena is fully understandable in terms of the history of the country. It serves to underline also the strong connection between the political system of a country and the educational system, which since the time of Aristotle, at least, Greeks have believed in and acted upon. It is, however, high time that education ceased to be a weapon with which first one side and then the other cudgel their opponents in political debates. Education is too important for that.

What is now required is the will to separate educational reform from the violent swings of politics, and to consolidate upon the areas of broad agreement which do exist within the education system. In that way a better level of educational provision could be extended to all children in Greece, as is their right under the Unesco charter. Given the opportunity, an education for national unity might do as much, if not more, for the development and modernisation of Greece than a government of national unity.

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CHAPTER VII

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The Constitution of Greece of 1952

Article 16

Education operates under the higher supervision of the State and is entitled to financial assistance by the State or local authorities.

The teaching at all schools of primary and secondary education aims at moral and intellectual training and the development of the national conscience of the young according to the ideology of the Hellenico Christian civilisation.

Primary education is compulsory and free. The number of years of compulsory education shall not be less than six.

Higher institutions are self-governed under the supervision of the State. Professors are public officers. The establishment of private educational institutions is allowed with the State's permission, according to the Constitution and the Law.

In EK, No.1, 1st January, 1952

The Constitution of Greece of 1968

Article 17

1. Education operates under the higher supervision of the State, it is free, and aims at ethical and intellectual training and the development of the national conscience of the young according to the ideology of the Hellenico Christian civilisation.

2. The principles of national policy in education are exercised according to the Law in accordance with the opinion of the National Council of Education.

3. Primary education is compulsory. The number of years of compulsory education shall not be less than six.

4. Higher institutions are self-governed public law corporate bodies, and operate under the supervision of the State, and are entitled to financial assistance thereof. Professors are public officers. The authority of these institutions is elected by professors. The Minister of Education, as governmental guardian, exercises the supervision of the higher educational institutions.

5. The establishment of private educational institutions is allowed with the State's permission. Persons who establish such institutions and teach in them have to have similar qualifications to those of public officers.

In EK, No.267, 15th November, 1968

The Constitution of Greece of 1975

Article 16

1. Art and science, research and teaching, shall be free and their development and promotion shall be an obligation of the State. Academic freedom and freedom of teaching shall not exempt anyone from his duty of allegiance to the Constitution.

2. Education is a basic mission of the State, and shall aim at ethical, intellectual, professional and physical training of Greeks, the development of national and religious conscience and at the formation of the young as free and responsible citizens.

3. The number of years of compulsory education shall not be less than nine.

4. All Greeks are entitled to free education at all levels at State educational institutions. The State shall provide financial assistance to those who distinguish themselves, as well as to students in need of assistance or special protection, in accordance with their abilities.

5. Education at university level shall be provided exclusively by institutions which are fully self-governed public law corporate bodies. These institutions shall operate under the supervision of the State, and are entitled to financial assistance thereof; they shall operate on the basis of their statutory laws. Merging or splitting of university level institutions may take place, notwithstanding any contrary provision, as a law shall provide. A special law shall define all matters pertaining to student

associations and the participation of students therein.

6. Professors of university level institutions shall be public officers. The remaining teaching staff likewise perform a public function, under the conditions specified by law. The statutes of respective institutions shall define matters relating to the status of all the above.

Professors of university level institutions shall not be dismissed prior to the lawful termination of their terms of service, except in the case of substantial provisions under Article 88, paragraph 4, and following a decision by a council whose majority is constituted by the highest judicial functionaries, as specified by law.

The retiring age of professors of university level institutions shall be defined by law; until such law is issued professors on active service shall retire ipso jure and the end of the academic year in which they have reached the age of sixty seven.

7. Professional and any other form of special education shall be provided by the State, through schools of a higher level and for a time period not exceeding three years, as specifically provided by law which also defines the professional rights of graduates of such schools.

8. The conditions and terms for granting a licence for the establishment and operation of schools not owned by the State, the supervision of such and the professional status of teaching personnel therein shall be specified by law.

The establishment of university institutions by private persons is prohibited.

9. Sports shall be under the protection and the ultimate supervision of the State.

The State shall make grants to and shall control all types of sporting associations, as specified by law. The use of grants, in accordance with the purpose of the associations receiving them shall also be specified by law.

In EK, No.111, 9th June, 1975

TABLE 1

The Total Population of Greece from 1951 to 1981

YEAR	INHABITANTS
1951	7,632,801
1961	8,388,553
1971	8,768,641
1981	9,740,417

Source: The census of population in 1951, 1961, 1971 and 1981 of Ethnike Statistike Hyperesia tes Hellades (National Statistical Service of Greece), published in Athens by the National Printing Office.

TABLE 2

Illiterates and Semi-literates in Greece

YEAR	ILLITERATES	SEMI-LITERATES
1951	2,455,676	2,885,670
1961	1,200,000	2,031,600
1971	1,040,000	2,431,160
1981	758,258	1,281,839

Source: National Statistical Service of Greece

TABLE 3

Credit Granted to Education from the Total National Budget
in Millions of Drachmes

YEAR	EDUCATION	TOTAL BUDGET	PERCENTAGE
1950-51	320	5,246	6.1
1960	1,403	20,847	6.7
1965	3,819	33,923	12.2
1970	5,397	65,126	8.2

Source: National Budget of Greece

TABLE 4

Pupils in the First Three Classes of Six-year 'Gymnasiums'

School Year	1958/59	1959/60	1960/61	1961/62	1962/63	1963/64
Class A	57,168	63,514	64,789	59,547	62,948	76,791
Class B	37,060	47,501	48,798	47,531	46,063	59,271
Class C	28,571	38,182	42,451	43,995	43,216	51,936

Source: National Statistical Service of Greece, and the introductory report of Education Law No.4379/1964

TABLE 5
Pupils of Three-year 'Gymnasiums'

School Year	1964/65	1965/66	1966/67	1967/68
Class A	104,481	97,154	102,509	100,199
Class B	66,257	80,359	76,995	82,414
Class C	56,731	60,669	67,164	65,318
Total	227,469	238,182	246,668	247,931

Source: National Statistical Service of Greece

TABLE 6
Pupils in the First Three Classes of Six-year 'Gymnasiums'

School Year	1968/69	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73	1973/74
Class A	92,094	94,576	110,166	108,942	112,955	110,814
Class B	81,411	83,574	84,191	102,253	97,909	100,186
Class C	71,054	74,526	76,159	80,621	91,980	89,382
Total	244,559	252,676	270,516	291,816	302,844	300,382

Source: National Statistical Service of Greece

TABLE 7

Population aged 10 years and over, by Educational level, Sex and Area

	Total	Higher Education Graduate	Completed Secondary Education	Completed Primary Education	Incomplete Primary Education	Unknown	Illiterate
Male	7,269,200	210,104	800,920	3,594,648	2,382,884	280,644	1,015,180
Females	3,515,740	149,884	429,316	1,943,808	928,392	64,340	216,940
Totals	3,753,460	60,220	371,604	1,650,840	1,454,492	216,304	798,240

URBAN AREAS

Male	3,925,664	172,828	700,404	1,986,128	970,292	96,012	351,648
Females	1,899,460	124,672	364,528	1,027,568	358,456	24,236	79,020
Totals	2,026,204	48,156	335,876	958,560	611,836	71,776	272,628

SEMI-URBAN AREAS

Male	835,776	15,664	47,400	427,692	308,556	36,464	129,508
Females	413,552	10,608	28,464	238,248	126,508	9,724	31,084
Totals	422,224	5,056	18,936	189,444	182,048	26,740	98,424

RURAL AREAS

Male	2,507,760	21,612	53,116	1,180,828	1,104,036	148,168	534,024
Females	1,202,728	14,604	36,324	677,992	443,428	30,380	106,836
Totals	1,305,032	7,008	16,792	502,836	660,608	117,788	427,188

The category of illiterate population has resulted from a questionnaire and is independent of the measurement for educational level: illiterates will also be included under some educational level, probably incomplete primary education or unknown.

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