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The constitutional status and educational development of the non-Albanian and Albanian minoritie in Yugoslavia 1945-1974

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Abstract: *The paper carefully deals with the constitutional aspect and the development of education in Yugoslavia, which in the general background affects the general minorities in Yugoslavia such as Bulgarians, Italians, Germans, Hungarians and with special emphasis – Albanians. The author has followed the descriptive and analytical scientific methods for dealing with this important issue for general historiography. A serious Yugoslav and Albanian literature covering this socially and scientifically important study has been used.*

Key words: History, Ethnic Minority, Education, Yugoslavia, Albanians

Introduction

In the period when the operations for the final liberation of Yugoslavia were still conducted, active preparations were made for the realization of the basic legal-political postulates for the implementation of the decisions made at the Second Session of AVNOJ, i.e., for the constitution of Yugoslavia on the new socialist principles.

Immediately after the collapse of fascist Germany, namely, after the elections of November 11, 1945, which were won by the ‘Popular Front’ coalition, during the first meeting the newly constituted Constitutional Assembly ratified the Declaration that abrogated the Monarchy and proclaimed a republic on 29th of November 1945.¹ The declaration stated that Yugoslavia was a federal subject of equal people that have expressed their will to live together in Yugoslavia.² The first constitution was approved on 31st of January 1946 and stated that Yugoslavia consisted of six republics and autonomous circuits of PR Serbia. It should be noted that the first Constitution of Yugoslavia was designed on the Soviet Constitution from 1936. As this Constitution

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¹ Petranovic, 1988a: 473, 477.

² Fira, 1975: 382-3.

provided, the Government of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was the highest executive and administrative body and it comprised of President, Vice Presidents, Ministers, the Head of Federal Planning Committee, and the Head of Federal Control Committee. The Constitution provided the powers of republics, autonomous districts, administrative and territorial units: villages, zones, urban areas, cities, regions, and districts.³

The economic, political, and social changes that took place in Yugoslavia during the 1946-1953 were initially regulated by laws and later by the Constitutional Law of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia from 1953. This law abrogated and modified an important section of 1946 Constitution, and provided new rights to manufacturers and working people, facilitated drafting of a governance form and content to working people and regulated relations between the Federation and republics, etc. This law was also subject to some modifications: The Presidium as a collective body was replaced by the President of the Republic, who was at the same time a President of Federal Executive Council. The Government was renamed as the Federal Executive Council. State secretaries and administrations have been introduced instead ministries and committees.⁴

The approval of 1963 Constitution was an additional important step towards Yugoslavian constitutionalism. This Constitution was known as the 'card of self-government' since the model of self-governance was introduced to all aspects of a social life. The state was renamed as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or as "a federal state of equal and voluntary united people, a socialist democratic community based on power of working people and self-governance." The upgrade of constitutional position of Autonomous Province of Kosovo was undoubtedly an important issue. This province until the year 1963 was under the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Based on this Constitution, Kosovo was transformed into a Socialist Autonomous Province.⁵ But, on the pages of this Constitution we observed some changes: instead of two chambers now the Assembly contains of five chambers. Beside the Federal Executive Council there were now four additional self-governance committees: Economic, Educative-Cultural, Health-Social and Organizational-Politics.⁶

In February 1974 a new Constitution of Yugoslavia was approved. Based on the 1974 Constitution, the system of delegation was presented as a base that provides assemblies for all social-politic communities or communities of interests, including the bodies of social self-governance as well. The 1974 Constitution did not represent any major modification with regard to character and content of functions and relations

³ UFN RJ, 1946: 21, 25.

⁴ *Ustavni zakon...*, 1953: 1-3; Petranovic, 1988b: 300-1.

⁵ USFRJ, 1963: 2.

⁶ USFRJ, 1963: 3.

in the federal state. The main feature was that Josip Broz Tito was nominated as a ‘termless’ President.⁷ Apart from establishing the internal political order and the development of the economy, the state paid great attention to the development of social activities. Thus, Yugoslavia had invested a lot on the overall education of its citizens, as a base of further development of the country. The investments were made on the primary, secondary, and upper education; on the necessary infrastructure: buildings and schools; on the textbooks and on fading of illiteracy.

Table 1. Number of schools

National Minorities	1938/1939	1972/1973
Primary schools	271	553
Primary school teachers.	24303	123810
Secondary schools	115	2031
Faculties	23	132
Students	16978	210241

After: Nedeljkovic, 1975: 83-7

The 1960’s – 1970’s were of a specific importance for Yugoslavia because the requirements were met to establish in Yugoslav republics higher scientific institutions, as the academies of sciences. Thus, after establishing of these institutions in the republics, the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Yugoslavia was established on 22 February 1967 with 14 members and Blaze Koneski as a head academic.⁸

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According to the scientific theories that address the issue of the complexity of the content of the term minority, it should be studied in several directions: historical background, as a political issue, as an issue in international relations and as a legal issue. In the historical background the term minority means a community of individuals who are subject to changes over the different time periods. As a result, the community creates its own history which is linked with the history of the state where the community lives, as well as with the history of the mother state. As an issue in political sciences minority represents a group that differs from the majority due to some ethnic or national features, or issues related to the nation and national identity. As a legal issue minority includes a group of individuals who have their rights as a citizens in a certain state while as an issue in international relations minorities may be considered as a bridge in relations between two neighboring states, or contrary, they may be a cause of disagreements or conflicts between the mother country and

⁷ USFRJ, 1974: 1-3; Petranovic, 1988a: 412-3.

⁸ Bajec, Dolničar & Petković, 1981: 240-1.

the country they live in.⁹ As multinational state, the Yugoslavian leadership have implemented the position and the rights of the national minorities in the established model of the treatment of the national issue. Namely, Tito has paid a crucial attention to the national issue as a very important aspect of the internal policy that should have been pillar of the stability of the multinational state. Yugoslavia perceived itself as a multinational state consisted of six constituent peoples and several national minorities, which were to be firmly united in the new socio-political reality. Their rights were guaranteed by separate articles that were part of all constitutions of the country. Thus, two autonomous provinces were created beside the six republics but within Serbia: Vojvodina and Kosovo, and Yugoslavia also found the formula of ‘Brotherhood and Union’ – which supposed to be ground for equal rights to all nations and nationalities living in Yugoslavia.¹⁰

Thus, the first Constitution from 1946, through a summarized manner provided the position of nationalities, establishing and guaranteeing the specific rights deriving from their special position. We may observe here that the position of minorities was described by Article 13 of 1946 Constitution. This article declares that national minorities in the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia enjoy the right of their cultural development and of use of their mother tongue.¹¹ The Article 21 guarantees the rights, freedoms and responsibilities of national minorities as citizens: first of all, it is the principle of equality – all citizens were equal in front of the Constitution and all citizens were equal regardless their nation or religion.¹²

The Yugoslavian Constitutional Law of 1953 didn’t affect the minorities, but the Article 4 guaranteed the freedom and rights for any citizen. The Federal Constitution of 1963, the republican constitutions, and the statutes of autonomous provinces of that year, marked an important turning point over the legal and constitutional position of nationalities in Yugoslavia. The enforcement of an accelerated economic development policy over the undeveloped zones inhabited by nationalities, particularly in Kosovo, improved social-economic conditions to achieve the status of a nationality. The Constitution of 1963 also presented an important novelty about the determination of the term nationality. The term ‘nationality’ was used instead the term ‘national minority’, initially as a provisional term, that means a gradual achievement of an equal position. The modification of federal and provincial laws, as well as other regulations, stemmed from the need to adjust these regulations with the new constitutions, which also contains broader and more specific provisions about the position of nationalities; they marked also an increasingly and more obvious

⁹ Boçi, 2012: 23.

¹⁰ Boeckh, 2011.

¹¹ Baltic, 2007: 30-1.

¹² Joncic, 1975: 404-5.

transition over the establishment of specific rights of nationalities on regulation of their equal position toward other nations in Yugoslavia.¹³

As stated above we may conclude that nationalities were treated differently throughout years in Yugoslavia. From 1963, the Hungarian and Albanian nationalities begun to gain more rights which were guaranteed with constitutional law. Yet, Yugoslavia increased the rights of nationalities especially in the field of education, science, and other cultural activities with the Constitution from 1974, enabling them to achieve the peak of their overall development in the years after the 1974.

The 1974 Constitution regulated more specifically the legal-politic position of nationalities. The Article 245 declared that nations and nationalities are equal; the equal position of nationalities was also expressed in other provisions of the Constitution. Thus, Article 1 described Yugoslavia as a federal state with equal nations and nationalities. The Article 244 declared that nationalities and other people of Yugoslavia, all being equal should pay efforts to guarantee following joint elements in Yugoslavia: sovereignty, equality and national freedom.¹⁴ The Article 246 provided that the language and literacy of all nations and nationalities are equal in Yugoslavia; the languages of nations are in official use, whereas the languages of nationalities are regulated in accordance with the Constitution and the federal law.¹⁵ Article 170 guaranties the right of liberty and free expression of national being or nationality; the citizen holds the right not to declare his/her national being or may choose any other nationality. This article expresses the right of nationalities on free use of their language that consists of individual rights for education, cultures, governmental activities, decision making and self-governance.¹⁶ Article 214 provided the right of citizen of a nationality to express his or her culture. This article specifically guaranties the right for education of teaching in their mother tongue.¹⁷

The demographic statistics of participation of the separate nationalities in overall number of the population in Yugoslavia can be presented by following data extracted from the censuses of 1948 and 1971.¹⁸

¹³ Joncic, 1975: 404.

¹⁴ USFRJ, 1974: 87.

¹⁵ USFRJ, 1974: 88.

¹⁶ USFRJ, 1974: 69.

¹⁷ USFRJ, 1974: 80.

¹⁸ Bilandzic, 1985: 513.

Table 2. The minorities in Yugoslavia

the minorities	1948	1953	1971
Muslims	808921	998698	1729932
Albanians	750431	754245	1389523
Bulgarians	61140	61708	58627
Czechs	39015	34517	24820
Italians	79575	35874	21791
Germans	55337	70536	12785
Romanians	64095	60364	58570
Hungarians	496492	502175	477374
Russians	37140	37353	24640
Slovaks	83626	84999	83656
Turks	97954	259535	127920

After Savezni zavod za statistiku Jugoslavije 1945-1985, 56

Table 3. Number of schools, teachers and pupils

the national minorities	1949/1950			1971/1972		
	schools	pupils	teachers	schools	pupils	teachers
Albanians	727	168996	1095	1071	252855	9861
Bulgarians	95	5467	122	82	4491	264
Italians	30	4102	105	30	1489	219
Romanians	37	3806	81			
Hungarians	204	36221	617	211	37515	2236
Russians and Ukrainians	13	1503	28	4	1038	55
Slovaks	55	6961	117	29	6389	350
Turks	60	12053	211	64	7720	339

After: Joncic, 1975: 407

Table 4. Number of the secondary schools, pupils and teachers on minorities language

the national minorities	1961/1962			1971/1972		
	schools	pupils	teachers	schools	pupils	teachers
Albanians	27	4073	270	121	18513	1711
Bulgarians	1	234	14			
Italians	1	12	12	4	187	42
Romanians	2	83	12	2	71	36
Hungarians	31	3808	364			
Slovaks	1	75	14	3	101	19
Russian				1	25	2
Turks	1	112	6	5	332	32

After: Joncic, 1975: 408

The more evident progress on the growth of number of schools, pupils and teachers was observed among Albanians as a result of increasing of the number of this population in the country. From the statistic presented in the table 3, the data

about the implementation of the national policy of equality in the segment of state educational policy i.e. increasing of the number of schools, pupils and teachers of the minorities in Yugoslavia could be seen.

This statistic also speaks about a great progress on growth of number of students and teachers of the nationalities.¹⁹ The higher degrees of education marks important achievement for the Hungarians and Albanians. The University of Novi Sad has been established in 1960 and it marked a qualitative increase in educational values in Yugoslavia.²⁰ The Higher Pedagogical School in Kosovo has been established in 1958; it was a predecessor of University of Prishtina, whereas in 1967 was opened the High School in Gjakova. However, the greater achievement was marked in 1970 when the University of Prishtina has been established and reached the highest level of educational-cultural and scientific emancipation of Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia.²¹

The press was a very important tool of overall political, cultural, and social development of the country. Thus, the nationalities published several newspapers and journals in their own language.

Table 5. Number of newspapers/journals

the national minorities	1953	1973
Albanians	4	18
Bulgarians	1	
Czechs and Slovaks	4	7
Italians	4	2
Hungarians	10	21
Romanians	2	3
Russians and Ukrainians	1	5
Turks	2	3

After: Joncic, 1975: 409

Table 6. Number of publications

Language	1952	1973
Albanian	39	305
Czechs and Slovak	20	24
Italian	17	33
Hungarian	83	150
Romanian	34	19
Russian and Ukraine	8	16
Turk	6	16
Bulgarian		10

After: Joncic, 1975: 409

The first school was the Higher Pedagogical School in Prishtina that started working on October 1, 1958, and in June the first students graduated. The second high school that opened in Prishtina and started working in 1959/1960 was the Higher Administrative School which later served as support for the opening of the Faculty of Law. The first students graduated in 1961. The Faculty of Law was the first faculty to open in Kosovo. In the first year 1960/1961 97 full-time students were enrolled. We should also mention the other high schools in Kosovo that operated during the 1960s. The Higher School of Economics and Commerce in Peja started working in October

¹⁹ Hoxha, 1984: 219-20.

²⁰ Kmezcic, 1975: 169.

²¹ Hoxha, 1984: 220.

1960 and enrolled 103 full-time students. The Agricultural High School started working in the 1960/1961 school year with 60 full-time students and based on this school, the Faculty of Agriculture was established in Prishtina. The Higher Technical School in Prishtina began work in 1961/1962. The Technical High School in Mitrovica started working in the school year 1961/1962, financed by the Trepça Plant in Mitrovica. The Higher Pedagogical School 'Xhevdet Doda' in Prizren was initially opened as a branch of Prishtina but was founded in 1962. The Higher Pedagogical School 'Bajram Curri' in Gjakova started working on October 1, 1967. The teaching was conducted only in Albanian with three learning groups.²² After many preparations, on February 13, 1970, the Constituent Assembly of the University of Prishtina was held, and on February 15, 1970, a solemn meeting of the Constituent Assembly of the University of Prishtina was held. The establishment and start of work of the University of Prishtina was a great achievement because for the first time in Kosovo it was possible to pursue higher-education studies.²³ In the first beginnings of the University of Pristina, this institution had 12,500 students, of whom 55% were Albanian, 28% Serbian, 7.3% Montenegrin, 1.2%, 7.6% Turkish; lectures were held in two languages in order to maintain coexistence between peoples. From this time, the University of Pristina started its cooperation with the University of Tirana.²⁴

The Albanian nationality in the SR of Macedonia enjoyed its status with the constitution of 1974. Until 1974, the journey of the Albanian population in this republic, went through a national minority which did not enjoy equal rights with the Macedonian population. Below we provide a brief overview of the institutional educational development of Albanians in SR of Macedonia. Within the framework of the cultural, educational and minority policy of the state, the Albanian population in the People's Republic of Macedonia, as well as in other areas in Yugoslavia where they lived in large numbers, had the right to be educated and develop their culture in their mother tongue. Thus, starting from 1945, in addition to literacy courses for the literacy of the illiterate population, the opening of primary schools in Albanian languages, the production of teaching staff and teaching materials, the inclusion of youth in higher education,²⁵ the press was also a significant segment of the efforts for cultural and educational emancipation of the population as a basis for the further progress of the country.

Although in extremely difficult socio-political conditions, by the end of the 1945-1946 school year, in Macedonia we find a network of schools in the Albanian language. In 14 districts inhabited by Albanians, 152 primary schools had been opened, with 259 classes and 12,812 students. In the school year 1946/1947 there were 174

²² Qosja, 1999: 179-81.

²³ Halimi, 2005: 16.

²⁴ Misovic, 1987: 323, 335.

²⁵ Jurukova, 2003: 32-3.

schools with 313 classes with 20.202 students and 250 teachers. The development of education among the Albanian population in Macedonia marked a more significant increase during the school years 1958-1968. Starting from 1968 the establishment of vocational high schools for the Albanian population in Macedonia begins for the first time ever. Four vocational high schools with 21 classes were opened, with different profiles, involving 367 students and 60 teachers.²⁶ The education of Albanian students at the University of Skopje has been a challenge over the years.

In the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the rights to education and culture were enjoyed in general for the Albanian minority in this country. Thus, well-known newspapers such as *Flaka e Vllaznimit*, *Jehona*, *Gezimi*, *Fatosi* etc. played an educational role.²⁷ In the academic year 1971/1972, the Department of Albanian Language and Literature was opened at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje.²⁸

The participation of Albanians in this institution from 1954/1955 was initially with 83 Albanian students, while in the Higher Pedagogical School of Skopje that year there were only 52 Albanians. In the register that we have extracted from the state statistical office of the Republic of Macedonia, it results that during the years 1955-1962 in all faculties and high schools of Skopje, 298 Albanians graduated. Progressive steps were taken in higher education by opening the Albanian Language Lectorate in 1951, and the Albanian Language and Literature Seminar in 1959.²⁹ In 1952/1953 the Albanian language group was opened within the Higher Pedagogical School in Skopje, while in 1965/1966 the Pedagogical Academy was opened in Skopje with the first groups being taught in the Albanian language.³⁰

The Albanian population in Montenegro had strong roots in this country from the year 1878, i.e., when the Congress of Berlin happened, to continue through the Balkan Wars up to the Second World War.³¹ The Albanian population until 1974 never enjoyed the status of nationality in the Republic of Montenegro. However, we considered it relevant to include the educational development of Albanians in this republic.

By mid-1945, with the decision of the Ministry of Education in Montenegro, the opening of new schools began in other places inhabited by Albanians. By 1955, eight-year schools were opened wherever possible in Albanian areas. In the school year 1955/1956, education in Albanian was replaced by that in Serbian language. This clearly shows that the orientation of Albanian schools in the Serbian language was not a wish of the Albanian parents but an imposition of the Montenegrin state.³²

²⁶ Idrizi, 2003a: 116-9.

²⁷ Stamova, 2021: 140.

²⁸ DARM.1.1585.254.15/389-415, Skopje, dekemvri, 1973.

²⁹ Starova, 1987: 19.

³⁰ Idrizi, 2003b: 132.

³¹ Draga, 1995: 9-10.

³² Hajdari, 1999: 300-6.

In the school year 1965/1966, the first gymnasium was opened in Ulcinj, i.e., the first high school in the Albanian language in Montenegro. This was a great historical event for Albanian education. The first class had 28 students and they were not only from Ulcinj but also from Kraja and Malwsia. In the school year 1971/1972, in Tuz 2 classes were opened in the Albanian language as separate physical classes of the Gymnasium ‘Slobodan Shkrerovic’ of Titograd. These two schools were the foci of the Albanian education in Montenegro.³³

It is necessary to provide an educational overview of Albanians in the Republic of Serbia. Albanians there were organized within the municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja. Although small in number compared to the total Serbian population in this Republic, they did not enjoy the right of nationality under the Yugoslav or Serbian constitution.

Primary schools in all Albanian areas, including the Presevo Valley in the period 1945-1948 functioned based on a document from the Ministry of Education of the Yugoslav Federation, issued on August 10, 1945, entitled *Directions for the work of schools of national minorities*. This document defined when a school with instruction in the minority language could be opened, how many students the class should have, as well as who could develop the teaching process, etc.³⁴ According to the document related to the list of schools in the districts of Presevo and Bujanovac, which belongs to September 18, 1945, we learn that the first schools with instruction in Albanian language were opened in the second part of the school year 1944/45, what is more, in Presevo, Miratoc, Rahovica and Rainca. During the school year 1945/ 46, in the municipality of Presevo, six four-year primary schools were opened with instruction in the Albanian language, in the villages of Korroticw, Zhunicw, Bushtran, and Geraj. In the municipality of Presevo in the school year 1951/52, the number of four-year primary schools with instruction in Albanian language reaches 21. In the municipality of Bujanovac, the first school with instruction in Albanian language opens on January 3, 1945, in the village of Ternoc. This school had opened separate classes in the settlements of Bujanovac, Konçul, Turij, and Dobrosin.³⁵ In the municipality of Medvedja, primary schools started to open in the school year 1945/46. In some schools until the 1960s, instruction was in Serbian. The primary school in Tupalla started working in the school year 1946/47. Until 1951, teaching was conducted in Serbian with textbooks in Serbian too. In the school year 1969/70, it became independent, since until then it was a separate parallel of the eight-year school ‘Bozidar Stojanovic’ in Medvedja. The Tupalla school also included the primary schools in Gjylekreshtw and Kapit. The four-year primary school in Gjylekreshtw was opened in the school year 1945/46. In 1945/46, the primary school ‘Zenel

³³ DACG, 1969: fas. 83.

³⁴ Zylfiu, 2019: 135.

³⁵ Mustafa, 1998: 79-80.

Hajdini' of Banja e Siarines continued its work and, in this year, some Albanian students from Siarina and Sfirca also attended classes there. In this school, teaching in Albanian language began to take place in the school year 1967/68. Sfirca Primary School started working in the school year 1946/47. Secondary education in the municipality of Presevo was not developed in parallel with primary education. The process of developing secondary education was not only slow, but it also started late, compared to other municipalities in Kosovo and other Albanian areas in the former Yugoslavia. The lack of educational staff was one of the causes, followed by the teaching aids and what matters most is that an inefficient policy was in place in this regard. This situation was also influenced by the educational policy of the previous Yugoslav regimes, which had hindered the educational development of the Albanian people.³⁶ The gymnasium in Presevo was opened in the school year 1961/62, as a separate parallel of the Vranje gymnasium 'Boro Stankovic'. The Presevo Gymnasium has been an independent institution since the 1963/64 school year. The Municipal Assembly provided assistance in opening the classes of the Vranje Gymnasium in Presevo. However, it should be noted that a great contribution in the opening of these classes was given by the first professor of this gymnasium, Mehmet Jusufi.³⁷ For example, in the 1971/1972 school year in Montenegro, eleven eighth-grade primary schools in the Albanian language operated with 14 regional departments, where 167 teachers of Albanian nationality were engaged in educational activities. On these bases, the brotherhood and unity of Montenegrins and members of other nations and of the Albanian nationality in Montenegro was strengthened.³⁸

The Presevo Gymnasium made a great contribution to the education of the new generations, and especially filled a gap that existed in the school hierarchy, as young people were allowed to attend high schools. The lessons in the gymnasium of Presevo were attended by Albanian students from the districts of Bujanovac, Kumanovo, Gjilan, etc. The Presevo Gymnasium contributed to the development of secondary education in the municipality of Bujanovac. Following the request of the Municipal Assembly of Bujanovac for the opening of separate classes of the Presevo Gymnasium in the village of Ternoc i Madh, the Presevo Gymnasium, in its meeting held on September 1, 1968, approves the above-mentioned request. The educational staff was engaged by this school. These classes functioned until the school year 1973/74. In the school year 1974/75, the gymnasium was integrated in the School Centre and thus the 'Educational Centre' was established. This educational centre remained unnamed for two years and was later renamed into 'Skwnderbeu'. Pursuant to Article 148 of the Statute of the Assembly of Presevo, the Municipal Assembly of Presevo, in its meeting held on January 19, 1974, brought the decision to merge the gymnasium

³⁶ Zylfiu, 2019: 137.

³⁷ Zylfiu, 2019: 139.

³⁸ Zylfiu, 2019: 139-40.

‘Skënderbeu’ and the School Centre in Presevo into a single educational organization, which was the Educational Centre.³⁹

The Literary Association ‘Përpkjka’ (The Effort) of Albanian students at the University of Belgrade was founded on November 22, 1957.⁴⁰ The Literary Association ‘Përpkjka’ was the first association of Albanian students that was founded in the former Yugoslavia. The Literary Association ‘Përpkjka’ was founded in the ‘Student City’ in the 2nd block of student dormitories in New Belgrade. This association was initially called the Literary Association ‘Përpkjka’ and throughout its existence it developed and undertook numerous activities in Belgrade, not only literary ones, but also Albanian national musical and cultural activities, until September 4, 1984, when the Serbian nationalist and chauvinist authorities in Belgrade shut down this Albanian student association. The first leadership of the Literary Association ‘Përpkjka’ consisted of Latif Berisha, chairman, Zekeria Cana secretary, Muhamed Kwrveshi chairman of the Artistic Council and Nahire Kabashi treasurer. Members of the presidency included Idriz Ajeti, Anton Çeta, Sytki Imami, Kadri Kusari, Avni Lama, Yll Zaimi, Ali Aliu, Zekije Budima, Agim Gjakova, Skender Skenderi, Nehat Bellqishta, Adem Demaçi, Ejup Haliti, and Hysni Hoxha. Ekrem Kryeziu, Mustafa Cakaj, Nusrete Vula, Ramadan Sinani, Faik Mustafa, Xhemal Bytyqi, Zaudin Gazidede, Sefedin Fetiu and Rexhep Torte participated in the literary group of the Literary-Musical Association ‘Përpkjka’ at that time.⁴¹ The beginnings of the above-mentioned magazine can be traced back to the activity of the literary society of the Albanian students in Belgrade ‘Përpkjka’ which was founded in 1957.

This association published the newspaper *Përpkjka* and in 1979 and 1980 published two issues under the editorial of Fetah Mehmeti, a student of directing and film at the Faculty of Drama in Belgrade. Later there was a change of the editorial staff comprised of the following: Behlul Beqaj editor-in-chief, Seladin Xhezairi editor, members of the editing board: Jashar Ramadani, Aziz Hyseni, Adnan Limani, design, and technical arrangements: Gëzim Bejtullahu, editing secretary, Lirije Nikçi. Its editorial office and administration were located in Studentski grad block II in Belgrade. The magazine was banned from functioning in 1984 by the decision of the Student Union of the University of Belgrade on the grounds that it is a single-nation association that promoted division among students. The members of the magazine were ousted from their premises in the student city of Belgrade immediately.⁴² In 1968 we see

³⁹ Zylfiu, 2019: 140.

⁴⁰ The idea of the initiative for the establishment of the Literary Association ‘Përpkjka’ of Albanian students in Belgrade was for it to be established on November 28, the Albanian Flag Day, but in order not to provoke any unnecessary repressive reactions from the Titoist clique of Belgrade, it was agreed that this association should be established on 22 November, which was however established within the framework of the November Holidays.

⁴¹ Torte, 2021.

⁴² Imami, 2017: 67-8.

another great effort for the organization the Albanians in Ljubljana. On the 500th anniversary of the birth of the Albanian hero Gjerg Kastrioti Skënderbeu, in Drama of Ljubljana, the Albanian Students' Association 'Shkwndija' (Iskra) was founded, which published the above-mentioned Albanian student newspaper, Besa. This first Albanian newspaper *Besa* in Ljubljana (Slovenia), was a reflection of the student movement that overtook all of Europe at that time; in addition, the national load of Albanian students, which was related to the then establishment of the University of Prishtina, stands out in the texts. Unfortunately, the author could not follow in the footsteps of this body which would reflect deeply objectively the book we are presenting but would also cover an important topic for the issues we are presenting. The process of socialization of Albanians in Slovenia should be seen through the prism of political events in the former Yugoslavia.⁴³

Conclusion

The overall developments in Yugoslavia after the Second War were initially unfavorable for minorities in general. However, the situation began to change after 1946, when the first Yugoslav constitution was issued. The first effects of the legislation providing for a right to education for minorities were tangible. From 1946 onwards, minorities became part of the regular educational system across Yugoslavia. The non-Albanian minorities took advantage of this right and thus many schools were opened throughout the country for Hungarians, Russians, Bulgarians, Germans, etc. The same thing happened with the Albanian minority, which took advantage of this opportunity by opening Albanian schools throughout the country. However, the reality changed even further from 1963. Education rights remained the same for other minorities and with the Yugoslav constitution of 1963, the population that was favored the most was the Albanian one. The main element that advanced the status of the Albanian population was that the term minority was replaced by that of a nationality. From 1963 to 1974, the non-Albanian minority population shrank or remained the same with small nuances. In this aspect, the Albanian population doubled or tripled. The rights of the Albanian population increased when higher schools began to open in Kosovo and Macedonia. The culmination of these events was the establishment of the University of Prishtina (1970), scientific institutes such as the Albanological Institute (1967), the Institute of History (1967) in Macedonia, the establishment of the Albanian Language Department (1972) within the University of Skopje, the Higher Pedagogical School in Skopje, etc. Yugoslavia and its leader Tito gave rights to minorities by making possible the freedom of action and the right to education for a single fact – the education of the masses and the attenuation of illiteracy. The main po-

⁴³ Berishaj, 2004: 8.

pulation that benefited from these legislative and educational reforms was the Albanian population, which during the Yugoslav period 1946-1974, recorded concrete results by undertaking historic steps in the field of education.

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