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1.02 Pregledni naučni rad/Review scientific article

UDK/UDC: 94:37:37.07.373(497.115)"1945/1990" (093)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2024.7.12.228>

**FROM ILLITERACY TO THE UNIVERSITY:
THE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALBANIAN
EDUCATION IN KOSOVO 1945-1990**

Abstract: *The education in the Albanian language in Kosovo was early, and it was developed depending on the political circumstances. For five centuries Albanians lived under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Since the Empire was organized in theocratic bases the education system was implemented in Ottoman, Greek and Latin language, consequently in meyteps, * mosques, and churches. First schools in Albanian language were opened sometimes at the end of the nineteenth century. The Balkan Wars (1912-1913) created new circumstances in Balkans. A territory that comprises today's Kosovo felt under the Serbian occupation/rule. Since then and until the beginning of the World War II the education in Albanian language was prohibited. Only religious Islamic schools were provided to Albanians, who consisted the majority of the population. During the World War II, for the sake of maintaining peace in these regions the fascism allowed education in the Albanian language, a process that lasted about three years. A number of Albanian teachers were brought from Albania to Kosovo in addition to educational texts. Despite this, the educational level of the Albanian population in Kosovo was low and equivalent to illiteracy. Organised and institutional education in the Albanian language in Kosovo began only in 1945. The period 1945-1966 marks initial steps to build an educational legal structure and efforts to organize education besides lack of staff and school buildings.*

The internal political developments in Yugoslavia and emergence of Albanian factor in political balance provided a new era for Kosovo Albanians. Kosovo gained a large scale of autonomy and Albanian leadership used this opportunity to strengthen and advance the education in Albanian language in Kosovo. At the same time Kosovo went under an economic development and consequently the need for new trained staff required an educational system that

* Meytep – elementary Islamic religious school in the Ottoman Empire.

comprised all levels of education, which was built gradually. This was known as a period of consolidation of the educational system and lasted from 1966 to 1980. The death of Tito and Demonstrations (1981) of Kosovo Albanians to upgrade the political status of Kosovo were followed by aggressive policy of the Yugoslavian Communistic League towards Albanians. Indeed political leaders and academic elites in Serbia stood behind that attitude. Their aim was to ruin the autonomy and to attack the intellectual elite in Kosovo who was seen as nationalistic driven one. A harsh campaign was launched against the education in Kosovo, with a focus on the destruction of the independence of the education system in Kosovo. This period covers years 1981-1990 and was known as "Pressure on the Albanian School".

The methodology used in this paper is a thematic-comparative approach supported by statistical methods and in accordance with chronology. As a conclusion, it appears that the will of the Albanian population for development and emancipation was reflected in overcoming all difficulties, whether political, administrative, logistical, etc., and illiteracy, to reach the establishment of the highest scientific and cultural institutions. On the other hand, the raising of the educational level influenced the articulation of Kosovo Albanians claims for political equality and national rights.

Key words: Education, teaching, university, autonomy, Kosovo, Yugoslavia, etc.

OD NEPISMENOSTI DO UNIVERZITETA: INSTITUCIONALNI RAZVOJ ALBANSKOG OBRAZOVANJA NA KOSOVU 1945-1990.

Apstrakt: *Obrazovanje na albanskom jeziku na Kosovu počelo je rano i razvijalo se u zavisnosti od političkih okolnosti. Tokom pet vekova Albanci su živeli pod vlašću Otomanskog Carstva. Budući da je Carstvo bilo organizovano na teokratskim osnovama, obrazovni sistem je bio sproveden na osmanskom, grčkom i latinskom jeziku, u medresama, džamijama i crkvama. Prve škole na albanskom jeziku otvorene su tek krajem devetnaestog veka. Balkanski ratovi (1912-1913) stvorili su nove okolnosti na Balkanu. Teritorija koja obuhvata današnji Kosovo došla je pod srpsku okupaciju/vlast. Od tada pa do početka Drugog svjetskog rata obrazovanje na albanskom jeziku bilo je zabranjeno. Albancima, koji su činili većinu stanovništva, bile su dostupne samo religijske islamske škole. Tokom Drugog svjetskog rata, u cilju očuvanja mira u tim regionima, fašizam je dozvolio obrazovanje na albanskom jeziku, a taj proces je trajao oko tri godine. Brojni albanski nastavnici su došli iz Albanije na Kosovo, zajedno sa obrazovnim materijalima. I pored toga, obrazovni nivo albanskog stanovništva na Kosovu bio je nizak i sličan nepismenosti. Organizovano i institucionalno obrazovanje na albanskom jeziku na Kosovu počelo je tek 1945. godine. Period 1945-1966 označava početne korake u izgradnji obrazovne*

pravne strukture i napore u organizaciji obrazovanja, uz nedostatak osoblja i školskih zgrada.

Unutrašnji politički razvoj u Jugoslaviji i pojava albanskog faktora u političkoj ravnoteži obezbedili su novu eru za Albance na Kosovu. Kosovo je steklo široku autonomiju, a albansko rukovodstvo je iskoristilo ovu priliku da ojača i unapredi obrazovanje na albanskom jeziku na Kosovu. U isto vreme, Kosovo je prošlo kroz ekonomski razvoj, što je povećalo potrebu za novim obučanim kadrom, zahtevajući obrazovni sistem koji je obuhvatao sve nivoe obrazovanja, koji je postepeno izgrađen. Ovo je bilo poznato kao period konsolidacije obrazovnog sistema i trajalo je od 1966. do 1980. godine. Smrt Tita i demonstracije (1981) Albanaca na Kosovu za unapređenje političkog statusa Kosova bile su praćene agresivnom politikom Jugoslovenskog komunističkog saveza prema Albancima. Politički lideri i akademske elite u Srbiji stajali su iza tog stava. Njihov cilj bio je da unište autonomiju i napadnu intelektualnu elitu na Kosovu koja je viđena kao nacionalistički orijentisana. Pokrenuta je oštra kampanja protiv obrazovanja na Kosovu, sa fokusom na uništavanje nezavisnosti obrazovnog sistema na Kosovu. Ovaj period obuhvata godine 1981-1990 i bio je poznat kao "Pritisak na albansku školu".

Metodologija korišćena u ovom radu je tematsko-komparativni pristup podržan statističkim metodama i u skladu sa hronologijom. Kao zaključak, čini se da je volja albanskog stanovništva za razvojem i emancipacijom bila odraz prevazilaženja svih teškoća, bilo političkih, administrativnih, logističkih itd., i nepismenosti, kako bi se stiglo do uspostavljanja najviših naučnih i kulturnih institucija. S druge strane, povećanje obrazovnog nivoa uticalo je na artikulaciju zahteva Albanaca sa Kosova za političku jednakost i nacionalna prava.

Ključne riječi: *Obrazovanje, nastava, univerzitet, autonomija, Kosovo, Jugoslavija, itd.*

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to provide a scientific narration on the continuous struggle of Albanians in Kosovo for education and cultural advancement and political obstacles they faced during this journey. Being structures in three components the papers elaborates phases under which the education of Albanians in Kosovo was developed: building of educational system (1945-1966), the consolidation of educational system (1966-1980) and the pressure on the Albanian school (1981-1990). The introduction part in this paper provides a narration on historical development of education in Albanian language.

The efforts of the Albanian population for education and national emancipation were early. The territories inhabited by Albanians for about five centuries had been under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, a state that was

organised on theocratic principles that did not recognise nationality but only religion.¹ Consequently, the Albanians, who were religiously grouped into three religions: Islam, Catholic Christians, and Orthodox Christians, were allowed to exercise their educational and cultural needs only in the Ottoman, Latin-Italian, and Greek languages.² Although these schools had a religious character, the Albanian language was taught more or less secretly, especially in Catholic schools in which Albanian clergy served as teachers, as was the case with a school in Janjeva (1671).³

During the period of the Albanian National Renaissance in Kosovo as well as in other Albanian territories in the Balkans, efforts to build schools and education were expanded. In March 1887, the first Albanian school was opened in Korca (Korça),⁴ which is considered the first Albanian national (secular) school. In Prizren in 1889, the “Albanian School for Boys” was opened, and three years later (1892), the “Albanian School for Girls”.⁵

The beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century marks a turning point in the history of Albanians. The Conference of Ambassadors in London, which took place between December 1912 and July 1913, recognised the territorial changes created in the Balkans as a result of the Balkan Wars. Albania was recognised as “an independent and sovereign principality” under the guarantee of the Great Powers,⁶ but its borders were determined arbitrarily. Disrespecting the ethnic principle a large portion of the territories inhabited by Albanians, specifically Kosovo in the north, were given to Serbia and Montenegro.⁷

The new government established in these territories did not allow education in Albanian and, furthermore, prohibited the use of the Albanian language in public life. A decree of December 1912, which the government of Serbia had adopted for the annexed territories,⁸ established full state control over educational and cultural institutions. Education was compulsory, but only in the Serbian language.⁹

The policy of pressure and assimilation followed by the Serbian government in Kosovo was interrupted at the end of 1915 with the departure of the Serbian army from Kosovo and the occupation of Kosovo by Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. Consequently Kosovo was divided into two zones of

¹ Stanford J. Shaw, *Historia e Perandorisë Osmane dhe e Turqisë Moderne*, Vëllimi I, Tiranë 2006, 188–190.

² Kristaq Prifti, et.al, *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, 2002, Vëllimi II, Tiranë 2002, 704.

³ *Ibidem*, 705.

⁴ Kristaq Prifti, et.al, *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, Vëllimi I, Tiranë 2002, 350.

⁵ *Ibidem*, 251–253.

⁶ L. S. Stavrianos, *Balkans since 1453*, London 2002, 511.

⁷ William Bland, Ian Price, *A Tangled Ueb: A History of Anglo-American Relations with Albania (1912-1955)*, London 1986, 1.

⁸ Limani Rushit, *Rrethanat politiko-shoqërore në Kosovë 1912-1918*, Prishtinë 1986, 18.

⁹ Jagos Djilas, *Razvoj školstva u Prištini i njenoj okolini izmedju Prvog i Drugog svetskog rata*, *Obeležje*, br. 3, Priština 1972, 123.

occupation,¹⁰ and each of these powers followed a separate policy in relation to the Albanian population. The Bulgarians followed a policy of pressure and denial of national rights, while the Austro-Hungarians allowed some rights for the Albanians, including the opening of some schools in the Albanian language.¹¹

The final breakthrough of the Salonika Front was marked by the move of the Entente troops towards the north. French troops entered Kosovo in October 1918 and were later replaced by Serbian troops, which restored their civilian administration.¹² After a while, the other territories inhabited by the Slavic population in the northwest of the Balkans joined Serbia, and thus the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes Kingdom was proclaimed on December 1, 1918, dominated by Serbs.¹³

All schools in Albanian language were closed when the Serbian troop re-established the civil administration in Kosovo. Serbian authorities initially tried to assimilate Albanian children and youth through participation in Serbian-language schools, using Bosnian Muslim teachers. But when it was proven that the Serbian schools, far from assimilating the Albanians, were actually equipping the Albanians with intellectual skills that could be used against the regime, Belgrade began to discourage the public education of the Albanians, allowing only their religious education. The Serbian authorities were convinced that the Muslim schools, meyteps, and madrasas would keep the Albanians ignorant.¹⁴ Several private Islamic high schools, whose purpose was to prepare and train future imams, operated in Prishtina, Prizren, Mitrovica, Peja, Vushtrri, etc., whose curriculum consisted of Islamic religious subjects and the Arabic language.¹⁵ Moreover, in 1924, the Madrasah of King Alexander was opened in Skopje.¹⁶ However, these religious schools in some regions of Kosovo were used by the clergy to teach the alphabet of the Albanian language, understandably in a hidden way. Didactic materials were provided in Albania.¹⁷

The Yugoslavian policy towards Albanians during the interwar period consisted of the denial of Albanians as a national minority and consequently denying their political and ethnic rights, even though in Kosovo during 1921 there were somewhere around 461,790 inhabitants, of which over 70% were

¹⁰ Beqir Meta, et.al, *Historia e shqiptarëve gjatë shekulli XX*, Vëllimi I, Tiranë 2022, 403–408.

¹¹ Kristaq Prifti, et.al, *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, Vëllimi III, 2007, 435–442.

¹² Mikel Ndreca, *87 vjet terror dhe gjenocid shtetëror (1912-1999)*, Prishtinë 2001, 42; Bogumil Hrabak, Reokupacija oblasti srpske i crnogorske države s arbanaškom većinom stanovništva u jesen 1918. godine i držanje arbanasa prema uspostavljenjnoj vlasti, *Gjurmime Albanologjike*, Nr. 1, Prishtinë 1969. 270.

¹³ Margaret Makmillan, *Paris 1919 gjashtë muaj që ndryshuan botën*, Tiranë 2006, 149.

¹⁴ Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia (Origin, History, Politics)*, Cornell 1984, 229.

¹⁵ Haki Kasumi, Shkollat fetare islame në Kosovë ndërmjet dy luftërave botërore, *Gjurmime Albanologjike*, Nr. 12, Prishtinë 1982, 164.

¹⁶ Sulltane Ukaj Kojçini, *Zhvillimi i arsimit në Kosovë 1945-1952*, Prishtinë 2006, 17–18.

¹⁷ Hamdi V. Thaçi, *Drenica epiqendra e Lëvizjes Nacional Demokratike shqiptare*, Prishtinë 2016, 109.

Albanians,¹⁸ or when during 1931 at the Yugoslavia level Albanians marked the second largest minority in terms of inhabitants.¹⁹

During the World War II period, after the destruction of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the state of Albanian education and schools in Kosovo was conditioned by the division of Kosovo into three zones of occupation: the Italian zone, which joined Albania and included most of Kosovo; the German zone, which included the northern regions; and the Bulgarian zone, which included the eastern regions of Kosovo.²⁰

The educational and cultural circumstances in these zones were different, depending on the perceptions of the occupiers. The fascist invaders, without a doubt, by approving some national rights and opening schools in Albanian, managed to limit the participation of Kosovo Albanians in the anti-fascist movement. In the Italian and German zones of occupation, Albanian schools were opened during the years 1941–1944. These schools worked with the curricula of the Ministry of Education of Albania, which also financed the teaching staff, who mainly came from Albania.²¹ Unlike the German and Italian zones, in the Bulgarian zone, schools were allowed only in Bulgarian. It was completely normal that Albanians did not attend these schools; their interest was very small.²² During the period 1941–1944, about 180 primary schools operated in Kosovo.²³

In addition to primary schools, secondary schools were also opened at the same time. The decree published in the Official Journal of November 25, 1941, ordered the opening of fourteen schools: the Secondary School in Prishtina, the Lyceum in Prizren, the Agricultural Technical Institute in Peja, the Technical Trade Institute in Gjakova, the Women Professional School in Prizren, etc.²⁴

At the end of World War II and the departure of the fascist invaders, Kosovo violently re-joined the socialist Yugoslavia. The Albanian population was not given the opportunity to express its will for self-determination, whether it wanted to live in socialist Yugoslavia or realize the right to separation and union with Albania.²⁵

¹⁸ Ali Hadri, Pozita dhe gjendja e Kosovës në Mbretërinë e Jugosllavisë 1918-1941, *Gjurmime Albanologjike* Nr. 2, Prishtinë 1968, 164.

¹⁹ Joseph Rothchild, *Evropa Qendrore dhe Lindore midis dy luftërave botërore*, Tiranë 2004, 201.

²⁰ Fatmira Rama, *Dukuri arsimore gjatë Luftës së Dytë Botërore në Shqipëri*, Tiranë 2005, 49–50.

²¹ Hysni Myzyri, *Historia e Shqipërisë dhe e shqiptarëve*, Prizren 2001, 293–294.

²² Jashar Rexhepagiq, *Shkollat në Mitrovicë dhe rrethinë gjatë viteve të okupacionit 1941-1944*, Mitrovicë 1979, 439.

²³ H. Myzyri, *Historia e Shqipërisë dhe e shqiptarëve*, 293–294.

²⁴ *Agjencia Shtetërore e Arkivave të Kosovës* [Kosovo State Archives Agency] (herinafter: *ASHAK*), Fondi [Fund]: “*Fletorja Zyrtare*”, Tiranë 1941, 177.

²⁵ Noel Malcolm, *Kosova – një histori e shkurtër*, Prishtinë 2011, 320.

Building up the educational structure from 1945 to 1966

At the end of World War II, Kosovo faced numerous social-economic problems. Undoubtedly, there were also problems in the field of education. The Ottoman period, that of World War I and the interwar period, when teaching in Albanian was not held at all, or during World War II when some schools in Albanian worked but did not fulfil the educational needs of the Albanian people, had transformed the Kosovo Albanians into an illiteracy community. About 90% of the Albanian population in Kosovo was illiterate.²⁶

Yugoslavia was perceived as a state where all people were equal; therefore, in theory, the Albanian language enjoyed equal status with Serbo-Croatian in official and legal matters, but since most of the employees in the administration and the courts were Slavs, in reality, little was achieved in the emancipation of the Albanian language. However, on these principles, the schools in the Albanian language were also opened, which worked on the basis of the Regulation entitled “Directions for the work of minority schools,” approved on August 10, 1945, by the Ministry of Education of the Federal Democratic Yugoslavia, with the condition that the classes in the language of the minorities must have at least 20 pupils; this Regulation was completed with the “Law on compulsory seven-year primary education,” dated October 30, 1945.²⁷

In 1945, the Executive Council of Kosovo was formed. The Executive Council had nine units, including the Directorate for Education, as a central body responsible for education issues. This Directorate supervised the Pedagogical Committee, which dealt with the drafting of teaching texts. Besides the Directorate of Education, within the Executive Council of Kosovo, another unit, the Provincial Body for Education, was also competent for educational issues, which a few years later will be transformed into the “Provincial Secretariat for Education and Culture.” This body issued laws for all levels of education that functioned during this period and coordinated work with municipal bodies.²⁸

Although teaching had started in December 1944, during 1945 there were 278 mandatory four-year primary schools in Kosovo, of which 135 taught in the Albanian language.²⁹ Out of a total of 27,400 pupils, 11,573 students, or 42.24%, attended lessons in the Albanian language.³⁰

In addition to the primary level, secondary and professional schools were also opened in the immediate post-war period. Gymnasiums with lessons in the

²⁶ S. Ukaj Kojçini, *Zhvillimi i arsimit në Kosovë 1945-1952*, 49.

²⁷ Bajram Shatri, *Arsimi fillor në Kosovë në shek. XX: sfida, dëshmi, fakte*, Prishtinë 2006, 6; *ASHAK*, Fondi: “Fletorja Zyrtare e Jugosllavisë Federale Demokratike”, Nr. 84/45, Beograd 1945, 886.

²⁸ B. Shatri, *Arsimi shqip në Kosovë 1990-1999*, Prishtinë 2010, 105.

²⁹ Pajazit Nushi, *Zhvillimi i arsimit dhe shkollave shqipe në Krahinën Socialiste Autonome të Kosovës (1945-1975)*, referat në *Seminarin mbi Kulturës shqiptare për të huaj*, Prishtinë 1978, 100.

³⁰ B. Shatri, *Arsimi fillor në Kosovë në shek. XX: sfida, dëshmi, fakte*, 64.

Albanian language were opened in Prishtina, Prizren, Peja, Gjakova, etc.³¹ In the school year 1946/47, there were 6 vocational secondary schools in Kosovo, in which 556 students were registered, of whom 81, or 14.57 percent, learned in the Albanian language. In the school year 1949/50, the number of vocational schools reached 12, with a total of 63 classes, of which 1,975 pupils followed the learning process, of which 300 were Albanians, or only 15.19 percent of the total number.³²

The causes for the low participation of Albanians in the educational process, particularly girls, may include cultural backwardness, fear of converting into a Serb, the need or priority for agricultural work to ensure existence, etc.

In this period, education in Kosovo was accompanied by a lack of conditions, buildings, teachers, and a large number of pupils. In these difficult circumstances, the effort to educate the masses and for national emancipation continued.³³ A special priority was given to eradicating illiteracy. Some statistical data indicates the number of illiteracy amongst Albanians: up to the age of 9 years – 73%; age 10-14 – 42%; age 15-19 – 42.8%; age 20-24 – 28.7%; age 25-29 – 32.7%; age 30-34 – 71.3%; age 40-44 – 82.7%; age 50-54 – 91.5%; over 65 – 97.7%.³⁴ During the years 1947–48, intensive literacy courses were organised, which lasted several years, and special attention was paid to the attendance of these courses by women.³⁵ In 1947, in Kosovo, according to press data, there were 2,488 courses (of which 1,838 were in the Albanian language), which included 52,413 participants.³⁶

It should be emphasised that progress in the emancipation of the Albanian language was achieved through the arrival of teachers from Albania, due to the good relations between Albania and Yugoslavia.³⁷ About 200 teachers who came from Albania brought to Kosovo a good teaching experience; they brought a new national spirit in education, which was passed on from one generation to another. Their contribution was not only great in subjects of first-hand importance for the national formation of generations, such as the Albanian language and literature, national history, etc, but also in cultural subjects such as music, figurative art, even physical culture, etc.³⁸

But, in the period when schools in Albania were making some progress, Yugoslavia was found in a serious situation. The events that followed the

³¹ Lleshi Qazim, *Normalja e Gjakovës, themelimi dhe brezi i saj i parë (1946-1948)*, Gjakovë 1987, 32.

³² Stjepan Pataki, et.al, *Opca Pedagogija*, Zageb 1953, 84.

³³ *Arkivi i Ministrisë për Evropë dhe Punë të Jashtme të Shqipërisë* [The Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Europe of Albania (hereinafter: *AMEPJ*), Viti [Year]: 1956, Dosja [File]: 378, Relacion nga legata shqiptare ne Beograd, 15. maj 1956, 1-10.

³⁴ *AMEPJ*, Viti: 1955, Dosja: 387, Relacion i Legatës shqiptare ne Beograd.

³⁵ S. Ukaj Kojçini, *Zhvillimi i arsimit në Kosovë 1945-1952*, 57.

³⁶ *ASHAK*, Fondi: Gazeta “Rilindja”, Prishtinë, 14 shkurt 1947, 3.

³⁷ Sabit Syla & Qerim Lita, *Marrëdhëniet shqiptaro-jugosllave 1944-1948*, Vëllimi I, Prishtinë 2020, 242.

³⁸ Xhelal Gjeçovi, et.al, *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, Vëllimi IV, Tiranë 2007, 392.

breakdown of Albanian-Yugoslav relations in 1948,³⁹ as a result of the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and Albania's alignment with the latter, brought the persecution of Kosovo Albanians as supporters of the Cominform.⁴⁰ The Security Service of Yugoslavia (UDB) was tasked to make a campaign of pressure over Albanians in Yugoslavia, considering them as “non-loyal” element.⁴¹ This campaign affected the Albanian education as well. The UDB interfered in curricula, on cultural activity and monitored the content of journals and daily press in Albanian.⁴² Many people were killed, detained or suffered long-term sentences.⁴³ The teachers from Albania were expelled, and due to the lack of teachers, about 260 schools ceased teaching in Albanian. On the other hand, the Serbian government started the purges in the schools, replacing the Albanian teachers with Serbian ones.⁴⁴

Another attack towards the education in Albanian was opening of 14 schools in Turkish language during the year 1951-1952.⁴⁵ The opening of schools in the Turkish language and the creation of a Turkish minority was the next step that the Yugoslav government took to create the preconditions for the migration of the Albanian population to Turkey. The years 1950-1953. marks intensive diplomatic talks between Yugoslavia and Turkey for unsolved issues between two countries, and their approach resulted even with a Balkan Pact in 1953.⁴⁶ The opening of these schools was not limited only to those regions where there was a population declared as Turkish, but in all places where the government considered it necessary. In this year, Turkish cultural-artistic societies were also organized.⁴⁷ Followed by a harsh violence against Albanians this policy aimed to facilitate a massive migration of Albanians to Turkey. Many Albanian in Kosovo and Macedonia were registered as Turkish.

³⁹ Ivo Goldstain, *Tito-Stalin Split of 1948 as a Personal Conflict, The Tito-Stalin Split 70 Years After*, Ljubljana-Zagreb 2020, 27.

⁴⁰ Stephen Schwartz, *Kosova: prejardhja e një lufte*, Prishtinë 2006, 101; *AMEPJ*, Viti: 1950, Dosja: B/VII-2.

⁴¹ *ASHAK*, Fondi: Komiteti Krahinor i Lidhjes Komuniste te Kosoves, shtator 1966; Noel Malcolm, *Kosova një histori e shkurtër*, Prishtinë 2011, 405.

⁴² *ASHAK*, Fondi: Komiteti Krahinor i Lidhjes Komuniste te Kosoves, shtator 1966.

⁴³ *Historia e shqiptareve gjate shekullit XX*, Vellimi V, eds. Beqir Meta and et. al, Tirane 2023, 269-270; Zamir Shtylla, “The Deportation of Albanians in Yugoslavia after the Second World War (1950-1956)”, *The Truth on Kosova*, Tirana 1993, 234.

⁴⁴ Xh. Gjeçovi, et.al, *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, 393.

⁴⁵ *AMEPJ*, Viti: 1963, Dosja: 908, 45.

⁴⁶ The Balkan Pact or Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation was a treaty signed by Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia in February 1953... read more: Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918-1988*, Treća knjiga, Socijalistička Jugoslavija 1944-1988, Beograd 1988, 252-253.

⁴⁷ S. Ukaj Kojçini, *Zhvillimi i arsimit në Kosovë 1945-1952*, 51.

This can be proven by statistical data over Yugoslavian level presented in following table:⁴⁸

Ethnicity	1948		1953		1961		1971	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Albanian	750.431	4.3	754.245	4.5	914.733	4.9	1.309.523	6.4
Turkish	97.954	0.6	259.535	1.5	182.964	1.0	127.920	0.6

This was a period when the government exercised institutional violence against Albanians, developing an all-round campaign to discredit Albanian cultural-educational and social-political personalities, directly affecting the migration of the Albanian population to Turkey, etc, as foreseen in the elaboration of Vasa Cubrilovic for national minorities in Yugoslavia.⁴⁹

There are different figures for the number of Albanian emigrants from Yugoslavia to Turkey. According to researcher Zamir Shtylla, during the years 1953-1960, about 283,000 people had moved, while for a longer period (1953-1966), this figure reached 400,000.⁵⁰ An approximate figure, of 412,000 Albanians displaced until 1967, is given by the historian Hakif Bajrami.⁵¹ According to Noel Malcolm during the years 1945-1966, about 246,000 individuals migrated from Yugoslavia to Turkey.⁵² The researcher Vladan Jovanovic claims that in the period 1952-1965, about 390,000 Albanian and Turkish residents renounced their Yugoslav citizenship, as he says, while he also refers to the Turkish census data of 1966, according to which, as he pointed out, there were about 240,000 inhabitants living in Turkey with origin from Yugoslavia.⁵³

The Educational Reform in Kosovo marked a step further towards the Serbization of public schools; it was presented as a draft law by federal authorities in 1958. Although, for the purpose of advancement, some bodies were formed within the educational system of Kosovo, such as the Educational Pedagogical Service and the Provincial Entity, this reform was oriented against the Albanian ethnicity since it integrated the eight-year schools, gymnasiums, and vocational high schools into so-called “mixed” Albanian and Serbian

⁴⁸ Hivzi Islami, *Popullsia e Kosovës – studim demografik*, Prishtinë 1981, 198.

⁴⁹ Vasa Çubrilović, *Problemi i pakicave në Jugosllavinë e Re*, Prishtinë 1987, 27–29. This project includes a study on the measures that the Yugoslav state should take to create a pure ethnically Slavic Yugoslavia. Migration and colonization with the Slavic element were cited as the main measures for the realization of such a project. In the case of the Albanians, it is preferable that the migration be carried out in such a way as to break their ethnic compactness in order to achieve the change of the ethnic structure in Kosovo...

⁵⁰ Z. Shtylla, *The Deportation of Albanians in Yugoslavia*, 238-239.

⁵¹ Hakif Bajrami, *Marrëveshja xhentëlmenë Tito-Kyprili më 1953 në Split, Vjetar*, No, XV-XVI, Prishtinë 2001, 277.

⁵² N. Malcolm, *Kosova – një histori e shkurtër*, 407.

⁵³ Vladan Jovanović, *Iz FNRJ u Turskoj*, <https://pescanik.net/iz-fnrj-u-tursku/> access April 5, 2024.

schools.⁵⁴ In these schools, many subjects were taught in the Serbo-Croatian language. The Albanian language was denied equal status with the Serbo-Croatian language. The display of any kind of national symbol, including the flag and the commemoration of Albanian national days, was prohibited.⁵⁵ The reaction of the Albanians to this reform was harsh. The Albanians were determined to protect the Albanian school at all costs.⁵⁶ Anyway at this period there were 604 primary schools and 6 secondary schools teaching in Albanian language.⁵⁷ The number of Albanian pupils also increased. If in 1958-59. there were 15.589 pupils this number increased to 49.315 in 1964/65, and from 6 there were now 45 secondary schools educating 24.000 students in Albanian language.⁵⁸

Despite various obstacles by the end of the 1950s, the efforts for economic development in Kosovo conditioned the need for new cadres that would cover all spheres of social-economic life in Kosovo, especially in the fields of administration, teaching, agriculture, and industry. In order to form such cadres, higher education institutions had to be opened first. Under these circumstances, higher education began in Kosovo. In November 1957, the Provincial Assembly of Kosovo established the Higher Pedagogical School of Pristina.⁵⁹ The following branches were opened in the beginning: the Albanian Language and Literature Section, the Serbo-Croatian Language and Literature Section, the Chemistry and Biology Section, the Technical Education Basics and Physics Section, and Mathematics and Physics. In the first school year 1958–59, 96 regular and 53 correspondence students were enrolled. 11 teachers were engaged in this process.⁶⁰ Studies were conducted in Albanian and Serbo-Croatian. The curricula included two years of study; the school years 1958-1959 until 1962-1963. were considered the period of consolidation of the Pedagogical High School in Pristina.⁶¹

These data indicated clearly that the number of Albanian students has continuously increased; graduates from this school were employed as teachers in primary schools in Kosovo, but also in other regions inhabited by Albanians, such as Macedonia, Montenegro, Presevo, etc. But what stands out is the small number of graduates, especially in the first decade of this school's work. Only during the school years 1960/61-1968/69, a total of 356 students graduated from the Pedagogical High School of Pristina,⁶² which was a small number compared to the needs of the time, especially when it is taken into account that until 1970

⁵⁴ Abdullah Bytyçi, *Terrori shtetëror dhe gjenocidi serbo-malazez 1878-1991*, Prishtinë 2009, 111.

⁵⁵ Miranda Vickers, *Midis serbëve dhe shqiptarëve: një histori e shkurtër*, Tiranë 2004, 195.

⁵⁶ Xh. Gjeçovi, et.al, *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, 394.

⁵⁷ AMEPJ, Viti: 1956, Dosja: 378 (B/VII-2).

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁹ Destan Halimi, et.al, *Universiteti i Prishtinës, 1970/1990*, Prishtinë 1990, 61.

⁶⁰ ASHAK, Fondi: *Shkëndija*, Prishtinë, tetor 1997, 12.

⁶¹ Avdyll Ramaj, et.al, *Shkolla e Lartë Pedagogjike, përmbledhje punimesh (1958-1998)*, Prishtinë 1998, 15–24.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

this school had 1.752 registered students. One of the reasons for the small number of graduates was the strict pedagogical criteria, driven by the conscience of Albanian pedagogues to build the most mature cadres in national and professional terms. After Pristina, the expansion of higher schools also began in other large urban centres of Kosovo. In 1962, the Higher Pedagogical School was opened in Prizren,⁶³ and then other institutions were opened, such as the Higher Administrative School in Pristina, the Economic School in Peja, the Higher Agricultural School in Pristina, etc.⁶⁴

In addition to higher schools, Kosovo also needed scientific research institutions. In 1960, the first faculty in Kosovo was opened—the Faculty of Philosophy—with the sections of Mathematics, Biology, Chemistry, Albanology, Serbo-Croatian Language, Physics, etc., with 26 students graduating during the 1963–64. school year.⁶⁵ After a short time, in 1961–1962, another section was also established: Russian Language Literature and English Language Literature. There were 7 professors (2 Albanians and 5 Serbians) and 7 associates (2 Albanians and 5 Serbians). Of them, four were doctors of science, and one had a master's degree. A year later, in 1961, the Faculty of Law and Economics was founded in Pristina, with two departments: law and economics. In the first year, 586 students were enrolled: 185 in the legal department (43 regular and 142 with correspondence) and 401 students in the Faculty of Economics (120 regular and 281 with correspondence). Of them, 323 were Serbs, 134 were Albanians, and 129 were of other nationalities. In four higher schools and two faculties opened until 1961, 3,320 students studied (1,046 regular and 2,274 with correspondence), of them 2,010 Serbs, 928 Albanians, and 382 others.⁶⁶

The establishment of scientific institutions was of special importance in the educational and national emancipation of Albanians. In 1967, the Institute of History was founded in Pristina, and the same year, the Albanological Institute, which had been closed in 1955, was reopened.⁶⁷ The Regional Library in Prizren, which had been open since 1944 after being transferred to Prishtina, was transformed into the Provincial People's Library during the years 1961–1970.⁶⁸

It is interesting to mention that the gender structure in higher education was not even close to other universities in Yugoslavia. In higher studies in 1960/61, there were only 97 registered students, of which only 16 were women, among whom only one was Albanian and 15 were Serbian. In 1970. at the University of Pristina, the number of women increased to 12%, in 1980 to 23%, and until 1986/87 at the University of Pristina, every third student was female.⁶⁹

⁶³ Sali Bashota, et.al, *Tempulli i dijes: monografi: 1970-2012*, Prishtinë 2012, 41–42.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, 42.

⁶⁵ ASHAK, Fondi: *Shkëndija*, 12.

⁶⁶ J. Rexhepagiq, et.al, *Universiteti i Prishtinës, 1970-2005*, 13–14.

⁶⁷ Fehmi Rexhepi, *30 vjet të Institutit të Historisë në Prishtinë (1967-1997)*, Prishtinë 1998, 12.

⁶⁸ J. Rexhepagiq, et.al, *Universiteti i Prishtinës, 1970-2005*, 13.

⁶⁹ Vujadin Milanović, *Universitet u Pristini u mrezi velikoalbanske strategije*, Pristina 1999, 44.

International developments facilitated the establishment of higher institutions. The breakdown of Albanian-Soviet relations in the early 1960s brought Albania closer to Yugoslavia; both countries felt the common need for protection from the Soviets. Such a rapprochement not only softened the tensions between the two countries but also influenced the improvement of the position of the Albanians in the former Yugoslavia.⁷⁰

The consolidation of the educational system 1966-1980

At the beginning of the 1960s, the confrontation between two concepts for the future social and political arrangement of Yugoslavia—centralization and decentralisation—began. In the Fourth Congress of the Yugoslav Communist League, which was held in Brione in July 1966,⁷¹ the concept of decentralisation prevailed.⁷² The decline of the concept of centralization or Serbian hegemony provided the liberalisation of Yugoslav society, which began with the reorganisation of the Communist League and social and economic life. The confrontation between these two concepts highlighted the importance of the Albanian factor in Yugoslavia in terms of political balances within the Yugoslav federation. The Albanians took advantage of the political moment and therefore resolutely presented their claims for the development of education, culture, and national rights. The constitutional changes of 1968–1972. significantly advanced the legislative and executive powers of the autonomous province of Kosovo.⁷³

These changes undoubtedly provided a great achievement for Albanians: the equality of the Albanian language with Serbo-Croatian. Albanians and other ethnic communities in Kosovo were guaranteed equal rights in the development and expression of national features, language, culture, history, flag, and other national symbols.⁷⁴ These changes were also reflected in the field of education. In 1968, the Kosovo Educational Board was formed, which had a high degree of competence. In 1970, the Assembly of Kosovo adopted the law “On equality of languages and scripts.” Based on this law, the Kosovo Educational Board approved curricula, and at the same time, the first textbooks for teaching were drawn up.⁷⁵

The University of Kosovo marks the greatest achievement in the history of education in Kosovo. It was established in 1970 and included 14 faculties and

⁷⁰ N. Malcolm, *Kosova – një histori e shkurtër*, 339.

⁷¹ *ASHAK*, Fondi: Gazeta “Rilindja”, Prishtinë, 2 korrik 1966, 1.

⁷² Dušan Bilandžić, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1979, 329.

⁷³ *ASHAK*, Fondi: “Fletorja Zyrtare e Krahinës Socialiste Autonome të Kosovës”, Nr. 6, Prishtinë 1969, 171.

⁷⁴ *AMEPJ*, Viti: 1968, Dosja: B/VII-2-D.

⁷⁵ Xh. Gjeçovi, et.al, *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, 396.

7 high schools:⁷⁶ philosophy, natural-mathematical sciences, law, economics, agriculture, mining-metallurgy, arts, agriculture, etc.

With the increase in the number of faculties and higher schools, the number of students also increased, particularly the number of Albanian students. In the school year 1969–1970, when the University of Pristina was founded, 7.712 students were enrolled, of which 5.303 were regular and 2.409 were correspondence students. Among them, there were 3.669 Albanians.⁷⁷

A significant educational and political achievement was unification of Albanian Language, approved by the Congress of Orthography, held on November 20, 1972 in Tirana/Albania. This Congress that was attended even by delegates from Kosovo aimed to determine the main principles and directions of orthographic design, in order to have a unified literary language. Now it became mandatory in Kosovo as well and undoubtedly influenced the rapprochement and mutual understanding amongst Albanians on both sides of border.⁷⁸

After the constitutional changes of 1974, a much more dynamic development of the education system in Kosovo began. Education began to take the form of an autonomous and independent system. After many years, the Entity of Texts and Teaching Tools of Kosovo became independent, whose competences extended to the publication of textbooks and teaching tools for all levels of education.⁷⁹

The year 1974 marked the peak of advancements in terms of constitutional theory. The Constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia of 1974 provided the autonomous socialist province of Kosovo with alignment with other federal units (republics). Kosovo now had its own constitution and equal representation at the federal level.

Undoubtedly, these changes were also reflected in the educational sector. The Autonomous Province of Kosovo received many competences in educational policy (especially in the sphere of Albanology, history, music, etc), in other words, the Kosovo educational system gained proper judicial autonomy. The Law on Primary Education, the Law on Secondary Education, and the Law on Higher Education of Kosovo have regulated the issue of education at all levels.⁸⁰

The highest achievement during this period was the establishment of the Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1978. However, despite this progress, education in Kosovo did not meet the standards of other federal units. First of all, there was a lack of means for opening libraries, reading rooms, theatres, houses of culture, and other educational institutions, especially in higher education. By the end of 1974, there were 150 public libraries in Kosovo (including school

⁷⁶ ASHAK, Fondi: *Shkëndija*, 12.

⁷⁷ J. Rexhepagiq, et.al, *Universiteti i Prishtinës, 1970-2005*, 17.

⁷⁸ Serge Metais, *Histori e shqiptarëve nga Ilirët deri te Pavarësia e Kosovës*, Tiranë 2006, 339.

⁷⁹ Xh. Gjeçovi, et.al, *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, 396.

⁸⁰ *Shkëndija*, Prishtinë, 12.

libraries of all levels) with a collection of about one million books. About a third of these books were written in the Albanian language.⁸¹

The pressure on the Albanian school 1981-1990

Educational and cultural emancipation raised the national consciousness of Albanians. The University of Pristina served as a centre of political awareness and movement for democracy.⁸² As a result, demands were articulated for the advancement of the legal status of Kosovo, as expressed by student demonstrations of Albanians in 1981. Demands such as “Equality,” “Republic,” “Union of all Albanian territories in one republic,” “There is no equality without a republic,” etc., expressed on April 1, 1981, in the demonstrations held in Pristina, where, according to Serbian information sources, 15,000 demonstrators participated,⁸³ alerted the Serbian government.

Political leaders and academic elites in Serbia made the most of the events of 1981. in Kosovo. The Constitution of 1974. was “found” to be the main culprit for the events in Kosovo, which, according to them, gave many rights to Albanians. In addition to the repressive measures against the participants, a harsh campaign was launched against the education system in Kosovo, with a focus on the destruction of the independence of the education system in Kosovo and the attack on the academic elite of Kosovo. The Presidency of Yugoslavia and communist leadership of Kosovo described the student demonstrations as acts of counter-revolution,⁸⁴ while they considered the University of Pristina, the Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Institute of Albanology, the Institute of Texts and Teaching Tools, etc. as their instigators and as the core of Albanian separatism. Policy differentiation was one of the actions of the Yugoslav government in Kosovo.⁸⁵ The differentiation was conducted in all areas of life and work, including workers, students, teachers, and in particular prominent educational, cultural, scientific, and political figures. Undoubtedly, the target of the differentiation was the University of Pristina, which, according to government assessments, was the fortress of Albanian nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo. The aim consisted of the overall destruction of this university and the removal of its staff from political and educational life in general. Therefore, this was the main reason why political differentiation started

⁸¹ Jens Reuter, Konrad Clewing, *Der Kosovo Konflikt Ursachen - Verlauf - Perspektiven*, Klagenfurt 2000, 83.

⁸² Albina Drançolli Ramadani, Kujtime Boshtrakaj, Parallel University in Prishtina, 1991-1999: Functioning, Challenges and Peaceful Resistance, *Historijski Pogledi*, Vol. VI, No. 10, Tuzla 2023, 440.

⁸³ Qerim Lita, *Çështja shqiptare në RSFJ 1981-1990: (Përmbledhje punimesh dhe dokumente)*, Shkup 2014, 57–58.

⁸⁴ *ASHAK*: Fondi: Gazeta “Rilindja”, Prishtinë, 8 prill 1981, 3-7.

⁸⁵ Xh. Gjeçovi, et.al, *Historia e Popullit Shqiptar*, 397.

first at the University of Pristina. This process was accompanied by the dismissal of prominent university staff such as Ali Hadri, Gazmend Zajmi, and Fehmi Agani. Other forms of destruction included the differentiation of teaching staff, their removal from leading positions in faculties and rectors, exclusion from their jobs, or changing jobs on the grounds that they had an influence on the indoctrination of student youth, etc.⁸⁶

The concern of Yugoslav politics was the rapid emancipation of the Kosovo Albanians, especially when Kosovo had a new population. About 40% of the population of Kosovo was under the age of 25. In relation to the population, Kosovo had the largest number of students compared to other regions in Yugoslavia. According to the following table, in Kosovo, there was one student out of 42 inhabitants; in Serbia, 1 out of 52 inhabitants; in Slovenia 1 out of 68; in Croatia 1 out 81, etc.

Comparison of the number of inhabitants with the number of students in Yugoslavia⁸⁷

Republics-Provinces	Koso-vo	Slove-nia	Bosnia Herze-govina	Croa-tia	Serbia	Vojvod-ina	Maced-onia	Monte-negro
No. of inhabitants	1.584.000	1.892.000	4.124.000	4.602.000	5.695.000	2.035.000	1.909.000	584.000
No. of students	37.857	27.694	47.364	57.040	109.911	32.462	39.500	7.349
Proportion inhabitant-student	42	68	87	81	52	63	48	80

The political differentiation and exclusion of educational workers that began in 1981 continued for several years. Until 1988, 1,004 teachers of various levels, 1,873 Albanian primary and secondary school pupils, and 179 students were convicted on various political grounds in Kosovo.⁸⁸

In the wake of the attack on the Albanian school, the other components of the education system of Kosovo did not go unpunished: a) educational plans and programmes in the Albanian language; b) textbooks and school literature; c) the pedagogical organisation of the school; and d) the cooperation of Albanian schools with the institutions and schools of Albania* While the first point had to

⁸⁶ B. Shatri, *Arsimi shqip Në Kosovë 1990-1999*, 567.

⁸⁷ V. Milanović, *Universitet u Pristini u mrezi velikoalbanske strategije*, 39.

⁸⁸ *Aktuelnosti u vaspitanju i obrazovanju*, Br. 1, Beograd 1989, 33.

* The improvement of Albanian-Yugoslav relations in the early 1970s led to the possibility of direct cooperation between Kosovo and Albania in the economic, commercial, social, cultural, and

do with the censorship of texts and changing their content, the last point had to do with stopping the further rise of national consciousness in Kosovo. In the meeting held on April 21, 1981, a federal council that was evaluating the events in Kosovo requested that the following measures be taken: the complete ban on the further engagement of lecturers from Albania at the University of Pristina, as well as in other schools, or to decrease their number; prohibition or reduction to the maximum of the use of literature from Albania, in addition to the implementation of the overview of its content; and to limit the scale of cooperation in the sectors of education, culture, sports, and tourism, and other sectors as well, between the Province of Kosovo and Albania.⁸⁹

The last years of 1980 marked the emergence of Serbian nationalism and its hegemonic pretensions. The Serbian political leadership followed a policy of “unification of Serbia”, which meant abolishment of autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. As a result the attacks against Kosovo Albanian education will take on a more powerful and direct character after the violent suppression of Kosovo's autonomy in March 1989,⁹⁰ and particularly after the dissolution of Kosovo's governing institutions and the usurpation of executive and legislative powers by the relevant bodies of Republic of Serbia in July 1990.⁹¹

Among the most specific measures issued by the Serbian authorities in Kosovo was the imposition of Serbian curricula for secondary and primary schools, which were discriminatory and eliminated the Albanian language and national history from the curriculum. The refusal to accept such curricula resulted in the exclusion of 6,000 Albanian teachers from the educational process during 1990.⁹²

Unlike the secondary schools, the pressure on the university could not be used under the pretext of the Serbian curricula; therefore, a series of violent measures were used through which the Serbian government established complete control over the university. These measures were followed by staff changes in all higher education institutions, the change of faculty deans and their replacement with Serbian deans, as well as the change of the rector of the University of Pristina,⁹³ even including the measures to reduce the number of Albanian students who had begun to be expelled from their dormitories.

educational fields. Starting from 1970 until 1981, the University of Pristina and the University of Tirana collaborated in various academic programmes such as staff exchange, literature and experience exchange, training of Kosovar personnel in specialised fields in Albania, cooperation in the field of publications, cooperation in the field of literature and history, etc, see further: Sabit Syla, Marrëdhëniet Kosovë-Shqipëri në vitet 1970, *Studime Historike*, Nr. 3-4, Tiranë 2018, 263–68.

⁸⁹ Q. Lita, *Çështja shqiptare në RSFJ 1981-1990: (Përmbledhje punimesh dhe dokumente)*, 167.

⁹⁰ *ASHAK*, Fondi: Gazeta “Rilindja”, Prishtinë, 24 mars 1989, Prishtinë, 1-3.

⁹¹ *ASHAK*: Fondi: “Службени Гласник Социјалистичке Републике Србије”, Број 33, Београд 1990, 1225.

⁹² N. Malcolm, *Kosova – një histori e shkurtër*, 364.

⁹³ Hajrullah Koliqi, *Mbijetesa e Universitetit të Prishtinës 1991-1994*, 1995, 28–30.

These were the circumstances that led to the expulsion of Albanian students and lecturers from the University of Pristina, while the rejection of Serbian curricula resulted in the expulsion of Albanian pupils and teachers from Kosovo secondary schools.

Summary

The development of education in Kosovo can be divided into three phases, and in all phases, it was inseparable from political developments, just as it was related to the rise and strengthening of national consciousness. The first phase (1945–1966), which included the first years after the war, was characterized by the eradication of illiteracy, the establishment of the foundations of the Albanian school, and the construction of the educational system. Great efforts were made to ensure working conditions and a teaching framework. However, the breakdown of Albanian-Yugoslav relations not only made the educational efforts of the Albanian people difficult but also affected the anti-Albanian state repression. The confrontation of the concepts for the internal regulation of Yugoslavia highlighted the Albanian factor in the internal political balances. The Albanian political class took advantage of this moment and not only managed to secure political and national rights for the population of Kosovo, but also consolidated the educational system and legislation and, moreover, established advanced educational institutions, i.e., the University, through which cadres were formed for all sectors of social and economic life in Kosovo. All these were included in the second phase of education development in Kosovo (1966–1988). The claims of the Albanian population for the advancement of the legal and political status of Kosovo, which were the result of the rise of national consciousness, alarmed Serbian political circles. In order to prevent the Albanian claims, the Yugoslav/Serbian policy committed to the destruction of the educational system in Kosovo. This also marks the third stage of the historical development of education in Kosovo. In this phase, the intellectual elite of Kosovo was affected; teachers, students, pupils, etc. were affected, so it came to a point when the Serbian state also closed Albanian schools, depriving Albanians of the elementary right to education and social development in their mother tongue. However, these measures did not extinguish the desire of Kosovo Albanians for education in the national language and spirit, as well as their efforts for freedom and democracy.

Zaključak

Razvoj obrazovanja na Kosovu može se podijeliti u tri faze, pri čemu je u svim fazama bilo nerazdvojno od političkih dešavanja, baš kao što je bilo povezano s usponom i jačanjem nacionalne svijesti.

Prva faza (1945–1966), koja obuhvata prve godine nakon rata, bila je karakterisana iskorjenjivanjem nepismenosti, uspostavljanjem temelja albanske škole i izgradnjom obrazovnog sistema. Uloženi su veliki napori da se obezbijede radni uslovi i nastavni okvir. Međutim, slom odnosa između Albanaca i Jugoslavije ne samo da je otežao obrazovne napore albanskog naroda, već je i pojačao antialbansku državnu represiju. Sukob koncepata za unutrašnje uređenje Jugoslavije istakao je albanski faktor u unutrašnjim političkim balansima. Albanska politička klasa iskoristila je ovaj trenutak i ne samo da je osigurala politička i nacionalna prava za stanovništvo Kosova, već je i konsolidovala obrazovni sistem i zakonodavstvo, te uspostavila napredne obrazovne institucije, uključujući Univerzitet, kroz koje su se formirali kadrovi za sve sektore društvenog i ekonomskog života na Kosovu. Sve to pripadalo je drugoj fazi razvoja obrazovanja na Kosovu (1966–1988).

Zahtjevi albanskog stanovništva za unapređenje pravnog i političkog statusa Kosova, koji su bili rezultat uspona nacionalne svijesti, alarmirali su srpske političke krugove. Kako bi spriječila albanske zahtjeve, politika Jugoslavije/Srbije posvetila se uništavanju obrazovnog sistema na Kosovu. Ovo označava treću fazu istorijskog razvoja obrazovanja na Kosovu. U ovoj fazi, intelektualna elita Kosova je bila pogođena; nastavnici, studenti, učenici itd, su bili pogođeni, što je dovelo do toga da je srpska država zatvorila albanske škole, oduzimajući Albancima osnovno pravo na obrazovanje i socijalni razvoj na njihovom maternjem jeziku. Ipak, ove mjere nisu ugasile želju Albanaca na Kosovu za obrazovanjem na nacionalnom jeziku i u duhu, kao ni njihove napore za slobodu i demokratiju.

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