

**NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE SOCIALIST
REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA**

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The question of the national minorities,* their life, rights and activity in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia cannot be thoroughly discussed unless the whole problem is considered from a broader, all-Yugoslav point of view, since the destiny of all the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities has been the same. They had the same fundamental aims in the struggle against the former, unpopular regimes in Yugoslavia, in the struggle against the invaders, in the people's revolution and in their efforts in the country's socialist development. It was in these struggles that they gradually

* Since this text was written before the adoption of the new Constitution of Yugoslavia, I have here used the term "national minorities". In the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the constitutions of the socialist republics, this term is replaced by the term "nationalities". However, it will be seen that the terminology does not affect the sense of the text. The Constitution of Yugoslavia gave up the conception of "national minorities", since it is no longer in keeping with the country's further socialist development and the new relations between different nationalities. The term "minorities", as we all know, was in the far past used to denote religious minorities and later, in the 19th century, the term began to be used also in discussion on the national question. It was the expression of the inequality and oppression of smaller nationalities by the ruling nation. As such, the term "national minorities" was used in various forms in old Yugoslavia. The Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not use the term, thus, emphasizing clearly and unambiguously, the full equality of all the peoples and nationalities in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

resolved the chief problems of their common and free life.

Throughout the existence of the old, capitalist Yugoslavia, which was the prison for various nationalities, the great-Serbian hegemonic clique, supported by the reactionary forces of all the other Yugoslav peoples and other nationalities, pursued a policy of national oppression and fanned mistrust and hatred between individual nationalities. This policy of national oppression was legalized by the Vidovdan Constitution, and, from that moment, the position of the various nationalities became ever more serious and the forms of confrontation between various nationalities ever more sharper. This was one of the fundamental principles of the home policy of the monarcho-fascist regimes which helped intensify the exploitation of the people and strengthen the great-Serbian hegemony, so that the state community weakened internally from day to day.

In such conditions, the position of the national minorities in Macedonia was very difficult, principally because the Macedonians themselves were not treated as a separate nationality, because they were subjected to denationalization, and also because the great-Serbian hegemonic policy did not have the same attitude towards all minorities in Yugoslavia, so that the more backward minorities, towards which the Yugoslav state had no international obligations, were in an extremely difficult situation. This applies to the Albanian and Turkish national minorities in Macedonia. Together with the Macedonian people, they were subjected to intolerable exploitation and police terror of every kind, and, owing to this, they had no chance of promoting their economic, political and cultural development. This policy created profound dissatisfaction among the Albanian and Turkish minorities and even hatred for the state which had become a tool of economic exploitation, humiliation of every kind, assimilation and even extermination. All this encouraged migration tenden-

cies (Albanians) and complete emigration (Turks to Turkey). These minorities had no feeling that they were living in their own country. Accordingly, their only hope was the Communist Party whose work was guided by the Marxist-Leninist and internationalist policy in the national question.

The Communist Party offered strong resistance to great-state and great-Serbian hegemonism. It ceaselessly appealed to the Macedonian people and the national minorities to join other peoples of Yugoslavia in the struggle for the democratization of the country, for the equality of all nationalities, for the destruction of the unpatriotic regimes and so on. The Party waged a day-to-day struggle for the improvement of their living conditions, against plundering and the constant pauperization of the working people. With this policy, the Communist Party enlisted support among both the Albanian and the Turkish minority, since this policy gave them hope and drew them into the struggle against capitalist Yugoslavia, for a new community of all Yugoslav peoples. In this struggle they rallied around the Party and tied their fate to the destiny of the working class.

After the capitulation of old Yugoslavia, the Fascist invaders and their assistants especially endeavoured to take advantage of the consequences of the Serbian great-state policy. Thus, they partitioned Yugoslavia with the aim of sharpening the confrontation of various nationalities. The Fascist allies decided to divide Macedonia between the Bulgarian and Italian Fascist invaders so as to make it seem that the frontiers in this area of Yugoslavia were then correctly determined after all.

In this criminal work, the invaders were greatly assisted by the traitors of the Macedonian people and by many politicians from the ranks of the national minorities who, together with the invaders, attempted to separate the minorities from the Macedonian people,

to ensure their opposition against the liberation anti-Fascist struggle and so satisfy their personal, narrow-minded ambitions.

Pursuing such a policy, the invaders and quislings made ample use of the experience of the Serbian great-state policy, trying, by partitioning the country and by fanning a fratricidal war, to disunite the Yugoslav peoples and so kill among them the idea of a state and brotherly community. This was the tactics they used in relations with the national minorities, especially in West Macedonia. The organizations of the Communist Party in Macedonia exerted especially great efforts to undermine these dangerous plans and aims of the enemy. The Party mobilized the working people in the armed struggle against the invaders and profascist forces, preventing a fratricidal war and pointing to the need of the joint struggle of the Macedonian people and the national minorities against the danger of their total extermination and for their better future. These efforts produced good results. The working people of the national minorities started to join, in ever greater numbers, the general struggle against the invaders and the socialist revolution which ultimately brought them liberation and independence, freedom and equality, and bright prospects for the development of the whole community — of every Yugoslav nation and every national minority.

After the victorious end of the People's Liberation War and the socialist revolution, the peoples of Yugoslavia faced the big tasks of developing new relations in society, of establishing new life; and this actually meant the consistent application of the principles proclaimed before and during the war, among which the principle of brotherhood and unity and national equality took a prominent place.

Summing up the activity and the struggle of the Macedonian people and the national minorities along these lines, it will be seen that the constitution of a

new community of the Yugoslav peoples and the national minorities on the basis of the correctly solved national questions was one of the fundamental and most important achievements of the Yugoslav socialist revolution, after which great progress was made in material and cultural development in the whole country and in Macedonia itself. Immediately after the war, the solving of the fundamental problems of the national minorities in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, was approached and the possibilities were expanded for public and cultural activities of the working people so that the road was paved for the consolidation of the brotherhood and unity between the Macedonian people and the Albanian and Turkish minorities. This policy is the prerequisite for the further development of socialist relations and for the stability of the socialist system in the country.

In this way, the national minorities in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia have become included in the big collective in which every working man has all the possibility for free and all-round development. The national minorities are not treated as a political object and have become a subject as other peoples of Yugoslavia who are developing their socialist community with their own efforts.

Since the national minorities enjoy equal rights as all peoples of Yugoslavia, they are in a position to make their contribution to the community. This contribution of the national minorities is all the more wealthier and important because the minorities combine the cultural and other influences of the nations from which they originated and the nations with which they are living on the territory of Yugoslavia. Thus, the national minorities are enriching their socialist community and thus also their specific cultural heritage.

Owing to these specific characteristics of the national minorities, it is held here that the minorities are a factor which helps approach and consolidates the bonds

between states. Combining in themselves the characteristics of nations from both sides of the frontier, the minorities make it possible to surmount misunderstandings and disagreements and to improve the friendship between nations. There are numerous examples which show that the minorities play a great role in improving relations between individual neighbouring countries. It is clear that every good result produced by this policy in one country has a positive influence in the neighbouring state as well. A democratic treatment of the minorities improves international relations in the direction of peaceful coexistence between states. As a result of this, efforts have been made in Yugoslavia ever since the war to develop contacts across the frontiers and to suppress the attempts to prevent such contacts and increase mistrust and chauvinistic feelings between nations.

Similarly, Socialist Yugoslavia assists the economic and cultural development of all regions, but special attention is being paid to the backward areas in order to develop their material possibilities and human resources, and so establish a more balanced advance of all provinces and districts. For, the equality of the Yugoslav nationalities and national minorities in Yugoslavia would remain a dead letter if the community failed to establish the economic equality of the Yugoslav nationalities and the minorities. Therefore, assistance to underdeveloped parts of the country is a component part of general economic policy. This policy, in all its forms, is applied to the national minorities in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, for it ensures the social-material basis of national equality. This policy comes to expression in all economic plans of the Republic and in the development plans of local territorial units. It is being especially persistently pursued in the regions which were extremely backward when the state of Yugoslavia was formed (districts of Tetovo, Kumanovo, Ohrid, and Skopje). This policy has been inspired

by the endeavour to ensure the complete eradication of the inherited backwardness and all differences in the degree of development of individual areas.

Within the framework of this socialist policy, an awareness is growing among all nationalities that the socialist community is indivisible, and new Yugoslav social patriotism is being developed. This explains the vitality of the Yugoslav socialist community which has withstood great difficulties and all kinds of pressure from outside.



The Struggle of the National Minorities for Their Rights in the Period Between the Two Wars

The position of the national minorities in Macedonia was very difficult, both in the political, economic, cultural and every other sense. Their position was similar to the position of the Macedonian people, and they had the same fate. The ruling Serbian great-state hegemonic clique, making compromises with the reactionary bourgeoisie of other nationalities in the country and various Balkan states, and other reactionary circles, including those which represented the remnants of feudalism, pursued a policy of national oppression towards all nationalities in Yugoslavia. It is understandable why the national minorities in Macedonia were most seriously hit. This did not and could not produce the desired results for the regime, and it created an unbearable situation for the Macedonian people and for the national minorities.

The general position of the national minorities in Yugoslavia in the inter-war period was further aggravated by the extreme exploitation and persecution of the working people by beys and reactionary section of the priests of the national minorities themselves. All these reactionary elements, as well as a small part of craftsmen and tradesmen, consciously served the ruling cir-

cles and endeavoured to gain the greatest possible benefits for themselves.

It must be emphasized that there were recognized national minorities in pre-war Yugoslavia. This was due to some obligations undertaken under some international agreements, although the ruling circles frequently failed to meet these obligations. The results of the efforts of the regime to restrict the rights of the minorities as much as possible and to reduce them to a mere formality largely depended on the might and international role of the states to whose nationality the minorities belonged. As a result of this, some minorities enjoyed special privileges. This was the case with the German national minority, especially in the years preceding the Second World War, when Fascist Germany began to threaten Europe. Contrary to this, the Albanians and Turks in Macedonia did not enjoy even the most fundamental liberties, and they had no schools in their languages. Through priests and beys, the regime forced the Albanian and Turkish children to go to so-called *sebian mektebi*, where they learned various religious dogmas, whereas the children of rich parents attended schools in which instruction was given in the Serbian language, but this was an exception too. The Albanian and Turkish minorities, just as the Macedonian people, had no books or any kind of organized cultural activity in their own languages.

The agrarian reform in old Yugoslavia was carried out in an inconsistent way and unjustly, especially among the national minorities. It was used as an instrument of the policy of exploitation, assimilation and hegemony. Therefore, this policy benefited only the wealthier sections of the national minorities, and not also the broad masses of poor peasants. For instance, the agrarian reform in the areas inhabited by the Albanian and Turkish minorities was carried out in a specific manner: it was reduced to agreements between the government, on the one hand and beys and other big

land-owners, on the other, to the detriment of working peasants. It is only in this way that it is possible to explain the fact that the agrarian reform did not affect the lands owned by beys who, on the contrary, were in the position to requisition the land of the poor Albanian and Turkish peasants for debts, leaving them thus at the mercy of landowners, merchants and "politicians".

This policy of the former rulers towards the national minorities provoked great dissatisfaction and hatred of the regime. Seeing that there was no way out of this situation, one section of these minorities emigrated from the country. Large scale migration of members of the Turkish minority to Turkey — which were later sanctioned by an agreement between the Royal Yugoslav Government and the Turkish Government — separated numerous families, some members of them going to Turkey and others remaining in Yugoslavia. By inertia, this wave of migration continued after the war. Enabling them to leave the country and extending them facilities to sell their property and to take with them the necessary goods, including implements and livestock, the Yugoslav Government strictly respected the principles of democracy and humanism.

The rulers of the former state of Yugoslavia and the former bourgeois parties made concessions to national minorities only during election campaigns, when, with various political combinations and promises, they fought for votes. In this, they relied on big landowners among the minorities. This policy was specially marked in Macedonia where individuals from these circles constantly amassed wealth, endeavouring — with the assistance of the rulers and taking advantage of the general cultural and political backwardness of the people and their religious feelings — to consolidate themselves politically, and all the time they demagogically stated that they were protecting the interests of the national minorities. At the same time, they maintained that

their arrangements with the Serbian great-state hegemomists was part of their efforts to improve the difficult conditions in which the minorities lived.

The German, Italian and Bulgarian Fascist regimes tried to benefit from the difficult positions of the national minorities in Macedonia. Owing to their plans to conquer and destroy Yugoslavia as a state, they fanned hatred between various nationalities. Spreading the fear of the communist danger and blackmailing people, they tried to rally reactionary elements among the minorities. As the danger of Fascist aggression increased, these reactionary elements intensified their efforts to spread defeatism among the minorities, saying that they could not expect anyone in Yugoslavia to improve their position, that they should turn their eyes towards other countries, that they should support the partitioning of Yugoslavia and their incorporation in the mother-countries. This anti-national policy of the rulers greatly helped Hitler and Mussolini and their servants to exert strong influence on one section of the national minorities, undermining thus the unity of the people and the defensive might of Yugoslavia.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was the only force in the country which offered strong resistance against this policy and which constantly emphasized the threat of Fascism, from within and from outside. After Tito became the leader of the Party, Party organizations began to achieve greater and greater successes among the minorities. The Party consolidated itself, developing political activities and it came before the people with clearly defined stands on all fundamental issues, primarily the national question. Great attention was paid to the problem of the national minorities, to the development of Party organizations among their ranks and to the struggle for the improvement of the position of the minorities. In this way, the Communist Party soon succeeded in penetrating into the ranks of the minorities and in drawing them into the struggle

against the monarchist and capitalist Yugoslavia and its unpopular regimes, into the struggle against the preparations for the betrayal of the country and its surrender to foreign aggressors.

The national minorities soon grasped the sources of all evil and also the correct road of the struggle for their liberation; they grasped that the situation was not hopeless and that there were many forces in Yugoslavia which, guided by the Communist Party, were establishing unity in the struggle against the existing situation and the danger of annihilation posed by the penetration of Fascism and the betrayal of the country from within. From 1937 to 1941, all major campaigns organized by the Communist Party were joined by members of the national minorities. Owing to this political trend among the minorities, which was the expression of the Communist Party's political influence and a sign that large section of the working masses disapproved the policy of the ruling circles, the royal-fascist regime resorted to brutal terror, especially against individual minorities.

Communists and other progressive people were arrested on the basis of mere suspicion, without any evidence of their illegal activities, and they were treated in a manner that was to instill fear into all prisoners. Cultural and art societies and all organizations, save those which favoured Fascism, were outlawed. Great efforts were made — mainly through police agents, beys, big landowners, the reactionary section of the Moslem priests, etc. — with the aim of intensifying the fight against communists and progressive men.

With the progressive social forces it represented, with the aims for which it fought, with its personnel, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was in Macedonia the only political party whose programme could have been approved as a platform for the struggle against the existing regime, for the struggle for the establi-

shment of a new, free, socialist community of equal peoples and nationalities. Unlike the bourgeois parties whose policies gave priority to narrow national-bourgeois interests and which actually participated in the preparations for the betrayal of the country, adjusting themselves to the partitioning of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party was indeed the only all-Yugoslav party which was able to represent and lead all the Yugoslav nationalities and the minorities. Owing to this, the national minorities followed the wartime path along which the Communist Party led the fighters against the invaders and home traitors.

National Minorities in the People's Liberation War

After the capitulation of old Yugoslavia, the Fascist invaders and their Yugoslav servants especially endeavoured to take full advantage of the consequence of earlier Serbian great-state policy. Yugoslavia was partitioned so as to satisfy the aspirations of various allies of the Fascist powers and to increase tension between the Yugoslav nationalities. The occupation of various Yugoslav regions with big national minorities was to give an impression that it was just then that "natural frontiers" were determined in this part of the Balkans, but, actually, the satisfaction of expansionistic aspiration created dangerous sources of hatred and conflict. Thus, the territory of Macedonia, where big national minorities live, was partitioned in a way which was to fan mutual conflicts and the steady extermination of the Macedonians and the Albanian minority. Western Macedonia, where the Albanian national minority lives, was included in the Italian occupation zone. The invader proclaimed the "unification" of the Albanians and the establishment of "Great Albania" which incorporated the regions from Ulcinj to Novi Pazar, then also the Kosovo—Metohija province and West Macedonia west of the Uroševac—

—Kičevo—Struga line. In this criminal work, the enemy was greatly assisted by the former bourgeois politicians from the ranks of the national minorities who, together with the invaders, tried to separate the national minorities from the other peoples of Yugoslavia and to rally them in the struggle against the people's liberation war.

But, one section of the Albanians, who took a reserved attitude at first, gradually joined the people's liberation movement and the revolutionary movement of the minorities, while others, blinded by nationalism or simply misled started cooperating with the invaders. This part of the Albanian minority became smaller and smaller and finally there remained with the invaders only a handful of traitors. The enemy's plan of fanning a fratricidal war was a very simple one: with the assistance of Albanian fascists, privileged big landowners, they wanted to subject the Macedonians to terror, and by imprisoning them, killing innocent people and depriving them of their lands wished to force one part of them to emigrate and to exterminate the others. The enemy tried to convince the broad sections of the national minorities that the Macedonian people, the communists, are a threat to their "freedom" and so recruit among the united sections of the minorities groups of "volunteers", gendarme units for the "struggle" against the Macedonians and communists. In this way, a large section of the national minorities would have become involved in war crimes and their destiny would have depended on the policy of their "new order". Indeed, various bands and *balisti* (quislings), recruited among the Albanian national minority, resorted to brutal plunderings and killings in areas inhabited by non-Albanians.

The Communist Party of Macedonia opposed all this with a policy of unity and brotherhood and advocated their common struggle against the invaders as the only way to safeguard themselves from complete

slavery and extermination. The armed insurrection soon spread throughout Macedonia, and the national minorities found their proper place in this struggle.

The principled and correct policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was specially manifested in the work of the young organs of the people's government, in the behaviour of the people's liberation army. And this made a great contribution to the strengthening of the unity between the national minorities and the Macedonian people.

There are numerous examples which show that the national minorities took an active part in the people's liberation struggle.

The branches of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Macedonia exerted great efforts to counteract the enemy's machinations and to develop armed resistance of the minorities against the enemy. A proclamation which the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia sent to the people under Italian occupation read:

Brother Albanians, Mussolini's Fascism wants to cheat you; it wants to use you in order to keep in slavery other peoples as well. The invaders are lying and do not wish you good. The Fascist invaders are your enemies. The assertion that you are free is one big lie.

...Albanians, you have so far lived as brothers with Macedonians; you have your fields along the fields of Macedonians, you have jointly tilled your lands, you have jointly suffered the difficulties of emigrant workers. Do not let them mislead you, do not raise your hand against your brothers in difficulties and toil. Rise with them, with Macedonians and other peoples, join the people's liberation struggle against Fascism...

The branches of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia rallied in the second half of 1941 and especially in 1942 a large number of members of the Albanian

national minority in all bigger towns in West Macedonia, particularly in Debar, Tetovo, Gostivar, Kičevo and Struga.

The year 1943 was of extreme importance for the development of the armed insurrection against the invaders in the whole of Macedonia. At that time, there was a significant number of Albanians among the Partisans, and a special unit, composed exclusively of Albanians, was formed within the First Operative Zone. This unit operated in the districts of Gostivar and of Tetovo, especially in the Gornja Reka area. It attacked enemy units, *balisti* (quislings) and strategic installations; in several villages, the unit eliminated the treacherous occupying government organs.

The operations by this unit were welcomed and supported by the Albanian minority. The enemy raged in West Macedonia and allowed the terrorist bands to terrorize the families of Albanian Partisans and Macedonian villages. The Albanian population protested against these crimes, and Albanians in Debar formed a committee which collected assistance for the persecuted Macedonians. This was a worthy answer of the Albanians who, led by the Party, fought for mutual confidence and assistance and for the common resistance against the invaders, condemning thus also the nationalist and Fascist activities of the *balisti*.

The number of Albanians joining Partisan units grew all the time, especially from the ranks of young men. Early in August 1943, the first Partisan detachment, *Drimkol* was formed, and it grew into a battalion in November of the same year. The battalion was, on the whole, composed of members of the Albanian national minority.

When the *Malesija* battalion was formed in 1943, most of its members were Albanians too. After the capitulation of Italy, a new battalion, composed exclusively of Albanians, was formed. Later, a youth Albanian battalion of the People's Liberation Army and Partisan

Detachments of Yugoslavia was formed. This battalion, together with other units, which also had many members of the Albanian national minority, took part in the battles for the liberation of Kičevo and it played a significant part in the difficult fighting for Debar and in operations against the *balisti* bands.

The fourth Albanian brigade (260 fighters) was formed on Mt Karaorman in October 1944. Early in December, 1944, this unit became the Seventh Shock Brigade, and, as part of the 42nd division, was sent to the Srem Front. The brigade, with about 1,000 men, then continued to fight, together with other units of the People's Liberation War, for the final liberation of the country.

Members of the Turkish national minority also participated in the People's Liberation War. Owing to specific conditions and in order to work more successfully among members of this minority, the Party formed a so-called "Moslem cell" in which members of the Turkish national minority were in a majority. This "cell" which worked in the whole eastern section of the town, rallied a large number of young communists and formed various underground groups numbering more than 200 young men. Many members of this Party branch were arrested, and two of them were executed and ten other sent to prison. Later, in 1944, members of the Turkish national minority began to join the People's Liberation Army in greater numbers, especially in East Macedonia.

Members of National Minorities in Government and Administration Organs

After the victorious end of the People's Liberation War, the country faced new, big problems. It was first necessary to reconstruct the devastated country and concentrate all efforts on the further development of the productive forces. One of the major tasks at that time was to consolidate the fraternity and unity of all the peoples and national minorities in Yugoslavia. The development of the socialist economy and the social-political system had to be linked with the process of the gradual closing of the gap between developed and underdeveloped regions. It was necessary to stimulate the national affirmation of the Yugoslav nationalities and the national minorities in all spheres of activity, to emancipate their creative forces, ensuring the needed material basis of equality.

After the liberation of the country, the Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, which sanctioned the fundamental principles and achievements of the Revolution, especially emphasized the principle of equality of all nationalities and national minorities. It declared that the national minorities in Yugoslavia enjoyed all the rights to their cultural development and the right to use their languages. This

meant that the attitude towards the national minorities — upheld before the war — was rejected once for all. This equal treatment of the Yugoslav nationalities and the national minorities was also upheld by the People's Republic of Macedonia.

Care is always taken to ensure that members of the national minorities are adequately represented in the representative bodies and that the structure of government organs reflect the equality of all nationalities.

At all elections since the liberation, members of the Albanian and Turkish national minorities have been elected to the municipal and district people's committees, the Macedonian Republican Assembly and the Federal Assembly. Always, due care was taken to see that the number of national minority members in all elected bodies — from the lowest to the highest — should be in keeping with the national structure of the population, although this strict adherence to proportionate elections is being gradually replaced by another standard, i.e. the merits of individuals, irrespective of their nationality. This trend was especially manifested during the elections for the municipal assemblies and the Macedonian Republican Assembly in 1964 and 1965. In many cases, members of the national minorities are elected in constituencies in which the minorities do not make a majority of the population. This tendency is very important in view of the significance of the communal system in socialist Yugoslavia.

So as to ensure the equality of all nationalities, Article 72 of the Macedonian Constitution states:

"Members of the national minorities living in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia are equal to and have the same rights and duties as the Macedonians".

Just because they fought in the ranks of the national liberations movement before and during the war, and because they worked as enthusiastically and arduously as other people in the postwar reconstruction of the

country, many members of the national minorities have become highly qualified to perform the functions of councilors and deputies.

The social — political position of the national minorities can best be illustrated by figures showing the structure of the population and of the municipal and district assemblies, the Republican Assembly and the Federal Assembly, which were respectively elected on May 26 and June 16, 1963.

	Percentage			
	Macedonians	Albanians	Turks	Other
Population	71.2	13.0	9.4	6.4
Municipal councilors	81.6	10.7	3.1	4.6
District councilors	79.4	13.5	2.6	4.5
Republican Deputies	78.8	13.0	4.4	3.8

In the districts of Tetovo, Ohrid, Skopje and Kumanovo, where the Albanian minority makes a bigger part of the population, the ratio between councilors of different nationalities is as shown in the table below.

	Percentage		
	Macedonians	Albanians	Other
Population	75.1	22.8	11.8
Municipal councilors	68.5	21.0	10.5
District councilors	67.3	23.5	9.2

During the last municipal and district elections, 267 Albanians and 84 Turks were elected to the municipal chambers and 163 Albanians and 42 Turks to municipal chambers of working communities; in the districts, 65 Albanians and 18 Turks to the district chambers, and 48 Albanians and 4 Turks to the district chambers of working communities.

Members of the national minorities also hold seats in the Macedonian Republican Assembly, viz.: 13 Albanians and 5 Turks in the Republican Chamber, 6 Albanians and 2 Turks in the Economic Chamber, 8 Albanians and 2 Turks in the Chamber of Education and Culture, 10 Albanians and 1 Turk in the Social-Health Chamber, 7 Albanians and 5 Turks in the Organizational-Political Chamber. Also, 5 Albanians and 2 Turks living in Macedonia were elected to the Federal Assembly.

These figures clearly show — and this is of extreme importance in municipalities and districts — that the voters are inclined to elect persons who are publicly active, who have merits and experience.

In all areas with a mixed population efforts are being made to ensure a national composition of the administration machinery which will ensure the best possible communications between the government services and citizens. All citizens, irrespective of their nationality, have the same rights in regard to employment in all spheres of activity, including the state administration, provided that they possess the needed qualifications and working ability. As a large number of national minority members have graduated from various schools since the liberation, endeavours are now being made to fill vacant posts in the administration departments by engaging persons from the ranks of the minorities. Likewise, efforts are being made in areas with a mixed population to adjust the composition of the administration and public service machinery to the needs of the public services themselves, since their efficiency depends on the employees' knowledge of the conditions under which individual minorities live and on their ability to speak the minority and Macedonian languages.

But, in spite of all these efforts, the national minorities are not yet adequately represented in the administration machinery or in the representative bodies, bodies of social self-government and the executives of

social-political organizations. This is due to certain conditions. The administrative machinery, unlike the representative bodies, is developed in a relatively long period of time in order to have highly skilled and capable personnel and so as to adjust it to changing conditions of development in areas which were extremely backward in every respect after the war. The government had great difficulties in solving the problem of personnel in keeping with the principles of its national policy; this was also partially due to the problems created by socialist development. Owing to this, the question of recruiting personnel for administration departments and public services from among the ranks of the national minorities is still very acute.

The Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and, generally, various laws, guarantee the right of using the languages of the national minorities in contacts with the representative bodies, administration organs, in law courts, etc. Every citizen has the right to use his mother tongue in all government departments. The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia regulates this matter in Articles 73, 74 and 75. Article 73 reads:

“Every nationality — national minority — shall have the right to use its language freely, to develop its culture and found institutions and organizations which ensure the realization of this right”.

Further, Article 75 states:

“In municipalities and districts with large national minorities all decisions and other important acts of the municipal and district assemblies must be published also in the language of the national minorities”.

“All inhabitants in areas with a mixed population in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia have the right of using their language in administrative and court proceedings. Public signs in such areas shall be bilingual.

“The statutes of municipalities and districts shall — in keeping general legal provisions — determine

ways and means of realizing the rights of national minorities”.

In accordance with these constitutional provisions, the statutes of the municipalities will regulate this matter in greater detail and they will prescribe what acts should always be published in the Macedonian language and in the languages of the national minorities. There will be difficulties in this, principally because members of administration organs do not possess the needed knowledge of both languages and, frequently, also because of various technical reasons. Owing to this, priority in filling vacant posts in the administration organs in the municipalities with a mixed population will be given to persons who speak fluently both the Macedonian language and the language of the given national minority. In this way, greater efficiency will be ensured in the work of the administrative organs and public services and also further adjustments of their composition to the structure of the population.

Members of National Minorities on Bodies of Workers' and Social Self-Government

Socialist social relations, which are being comprehensively developed, are becoming the basis and social substance of the national entity and, consequently, also the basis for the development of national minorities. Accordingly, the national question in this multinational community is raised as a question of a transition to a road of allround social economic development of society and of overcoming the inherited differences between individual geographic regions and provinces.

It is therefore understandable why, ever since the beginning of the country's postwar development, the problem of accelerating the economic and social development of underdeveloped regions, especially regions where general backwardness retarded the national development of the population, has been receiving top priority. This came to special expression in Western Macedonia, where the national minorities are concentrated. One of very important political decisions made in the immediate postwar period was to carry out an agrarian reform consistently, which meant the liquidation of all the remnants of mediaeval feudal relations. This revolutionary measure radically changed the position of the Albanian and Turkish minorities. Land was distributed among land-

less and poor peasants, so that the last remnants of feudal relations were eradicated.

A further step in new social trends in the Republic which, naturally, affected the national minorities, was the industrialization of the land. As Macedonia, an underdeveloped region of Yugoslavia, was being industrialized, efforts were being made to develop the productive forces in the areas with national minorities, i.e. in Western Macedonia as we have already said. Understandably, the development of industry could not have progressed at the same pace in all districts of the Republic, since it was first necessary to build up the very base of industrialization that absorbed most of the available financial resources. But, later, when the community had greater resources at its disposal, bigger programmes were adopted for the acceleration of the development of less advanced districts. The results already attained in this are very significant. Industrial projects which have already been set in operation or which will start working soon have engaged thousands of workers from among the members of the national minorities. Members of the minorities who, before the war, roamed throughout Yugoslavia and all over the world in order to ensure their existence, have been relieved from the great pressure of unemployment. Now, they are becoming stabilized industrial workers. These changes encourage the national development of the national minorities and raise their cultural standard and material possibilities, make people engage in public activities and improve the education of the youth.

In the districts of Kumanovo, Ohrid, Skopje and Tetovo, where most of the minorities live (about 96 percent of the total minority population), investments in the period from 1957 to 1961 came to 120,000 million dinars, which accounted for 56.3 percent of all investments made in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in these years. Of this sum, 92,000 million dinars were in-

vested in the economy, which is about 76.6 percent of all investments in the four districts. In the same period, about 20,000 million dinars were used to strengthen the material basis of agriculture, which represents 21.5 percent of all the resources invested in the economy in the areas in which the minorities live. Most of the economic investments were made in industry, viz.: about 33.3 percent in industry and 37.8 percent in agriculture in the district of Kumanovo; about 52.02 percent in industry and 23.8 percent in agriculture in the district of Ohrid; 42.3 percent in industry and 20.9 percent in agriculture in the district in Skopje; 80.3 percent in industry and 7.9 percent in agriculture in the district of Tetovo. Most intensive development has been recorded in the district of Tetovo. From 1947 to 1961, a sum of about 48,400 million dinars were invested in that area which represents 13.7 percent of the total economic investments in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in that period.

In 1961, the value of the basic assets in these regions came to about 170,000 million dinars or to 65 percent of the total funds spent in the Republic. The per capita value of the basic assets in this year amounted to 1,834,511 dinars or to 114.2 percent in relation to the republican average.

The biggest increase in the basic assets was recorded in the district of Tetovo, and this was mostly due to the building of the Mavrovo hydro-electric plants.

The rapid development of the economy results in the rapid increase of the labour force in the socialist sector; from 1952 to 1962, the number of employed persons in this sector doubled.

	1962	1960	1960/62
Republic, total	68,075	143,800	211
District of Kumanovo	4,438	10,744	242
District of Ohrid	6,951	14,058	202
District of Skopje	21,959	38,157	175
District of Tetovo	5,155	12,628	246

The number of people employed in industry accounted for the following percentages in 1952 and 1960:

	1952	1960
Republic total	7.0	12.9
District of Kumanovo	3.0	9.3
District of Ohrid	3.9	10.1
District of Skopje	9.9	19.5
District of Tetovo	3.3	9.2

Assistance in the Development of Underdeveloped Regions from 1961 to 1965

The figures given above show that there are districts which are exceptionally underdeveloped. Therefore, the current plans provide for additional assistance to these regions which are, as we have already said, predominantly inhabited by the Albanian and Turkish population.

In the period from 1961 to 1965, the principle of granting assistance to districts as single units was given up, and assistance began to be given for individual smaller areas which represented separate entities or centres of gravitation.

The selection of areas and the scope of assistance depended in each individual year on the resources at the disposal of the Republic. In the period under review, these resources were small, since most of the investment funds were used for the construction of steel and chemical mills in Skopje (the Acetilen and the Biljana) which will serve as a basis for the further industrialization of Macedonia. The building of these projects and the reconstruction of some other plants in the region of Skopje alone absorbed about 105,000 million dinars, so that the social product there increased by nearly one and a half times in relation to 1960.

Assistance in this period was also given to Debar, Kičevo, Struga and Ohrid, which are also regions with large national minorities.

Special financial resources were set aside for these and some other regions in the Republic, primarily for the purpose of developing industries. In town municipalities, main efforts were made to promote industry, while the development of agriculture was the main objective in the rural areas. This is logical, since the places which can develop into big towns were already economic centres of their respective districts with the needed educational, medical and other communal services.

For the sake of illustration, we will outline the development of the productive forces in the regions with national minorities. Before the war, the district of Tetovo, for instance, was a purely agricultural region where peasant farmers made more than 75 percent of the total population and where there were almost no industrial undertakings (with the exception of a tobacco processing plant and some smaller enterprises) so that the population was forced to emigrate in search of work. According to some estimates, more than 10,000 inhabitants of the district went abroad in the period between the two world wars. From 1947 to 1961, economic investments in the district of Tetovo amounted to 48,400 million dinars; of this sum, 23,000 million dinars or 47.5 percent of all were invested in the Mavrovo hydro-electric plants. In the same period, several modern industrial projects were built, including the Merdžan chrome plant, a textile factory, the Jagoda canning factory, and a number of smaller enterprises.

The same can be said for the municipality of Lipkovo in the district of Kumanovo, which is predominantly inhabited by members of the Albanian national minority and which is a very fertile area. A drainage and irrigation system, called the Lipkovo, was built, so

that the local farmers began to reap two harvests a year and increased their income appreciably. Apart from investments in this drainage and irrigation system, considerable resources were also invested in industry in the district of Kumanovo. There are now in this area very successful factories, including the 11 Oktomvri pipe factory, the Čik shoe factory, the Kiro Fetak hosiery mill, the Dimče Erebrica furniture works, etc. Apart from this, the Lojane mine was reconstructed and enlarged.

The district of Ohrid, too, received special subsidies in order to enable it to develop its natural resources. The new gypsum factory in Debar, which had cost 10.5 million dinars and which makes 12,000 tons of raw and 5,000 tons of baked gypsum, increased the district's social product by about two and a half times. A big contribution to the overcoming of economic backwardness in the region of Debar was the expansion of a small carpet weaving shop into a large industrial establishment which manufactures about 130,000 square metres of carpets annually.

In the municipality of Struga, where several industrial plants were built, such as the Stružanka hosiery mill and some smaller enterprises, more than 1,200 million dinars were invested in agriculture from 1957 to 1961, principally in the drainage of the Struga field. This investment ensured an additional area of about 1,000 hectares of arable land, so that a sound basis was established for the development of agricultural production. Another big object in this area is the Globočica hydro-electric plant which is now under construction.

Considerable sums were also spent in the municipality of Kičevo, principally on the preparation for the exploitation of iron ore, manganese, coal, marble, etc., all of which increases prospects for the faster economic development of the area. In the municipalities of Debar, Struga and Kičevo, where a majority of the

Macedonian population of the district of Ohrid live, large sums were invested in long-distance high tension transmission lines and transformer stations through which electricity is supplied to towns and other settlements, industry and agriculture.

As far as the district of Skopje is concerned, the position of the national minorities is specific in character, since they live in the vicinity of a developed centre where, owing to the growth of the economy, public amenities and general public life, the working people of all the nationalities are enjoying equal opportunities. Here, one special problem is the development of suburban municipalities, where the minorities make a large majority of the population. The economic situation of the town of Skopje is of great benefit for them, also, either because it offers them employment opportunities or because it is a big market for agricultural products of the nearby municipalities.

Otherwise, members of the national minorities are employed in all economic enterprises, and more and more of them are finding jobs in various building enterprises in Skopje, the Raduša mine, the leather processing industry, etc.

Thus, the idea of the brotherhood and unity of all nationalities acquires the real meaningfulness and a firm basis at working posts in production so that, with the system of workers' management, all workers are in the same position. In this way, members of the national minorities are in a position to benefit fully from the fundamental achievements of socialist democracy — the workers' management of the means of production through the workers' councils in the working organizations and through representative organs in the territorial-political communities (municipalities and districts). The national minorities have all the possibility of influencing — in the same and equal manner as all other people — the solving of all problems upon which the progress of the whole socialist community and their

own life depend. This process of the socialist development of Yugoslavia strengthens the awareness of all working people as direct participants in that development that workers' management represents the unification of the members of working organizations (enterprises, institutes, etc.) on the basis of the same material and social interests and aspirations. This process represents the most important basis for the general manifestations and strengthening of the confidence, sincerity and mutual assistance between the nationalities living on the same territory; shortly said, this process establishes a community in which national differences cease to be a problem as they no longer prevent the joint struggle for a better life but actually stimulate people to associate and make common efforts so as to attain their common aims.

Since the members of the Albanian national minority engaged in industry are mostly peasants, they take a long time to master various skills which are necessary to take higher paid jobs, but industrialization is gradually raising their general standard of culture.

The wide network of agricultural cooperatives, which are operating also in villages inhabited exclusively by members of the minorities, play a similar role as industrial enterprises in the general economic advances and social development of the minorities. The socialist agricultural organizations in the villages stimulate the eradication of various habits, relations and conceptions which draw backward and, together with socialist industrial enterprises and elected bodies of workers' management and social self-government, represent a powerful lever in the struggle against old relations in the rural areas and against conservative conceptions in agriculture, against nationalism and everything that retards further development. In this way, every nationality becomes a free creator which resolves — by conscious activity — all the essential questions of its life.

The management of cooperative organizations is exclusively in the hands of their own members.

The results achieved in the material development of socialist society in Macedonia, and especially in its western parts where most of the minority population lives, and the ever broader and freer development of socialist relations within the communal system, have lead to the growth of a democratic mechanism in these areas as well. The activity of the working people from the ranks of the national minorities is the basic factor of national development, since these people subject all fields of activity to their control. Promoting, with their activity, the general advance of the community, members of the national minorities break the old barriers of national isolation, separation and narrow-mindedness. In this way, the development of the national minorities, just as the development of the other peoples of Yugoslavia, acquires a new socialist substance.

There is still much to be done on this road of equalizing the level of development and further progress, since the inherited backwardness cannot be eradicated all at once. What is essential at this moment is that prospects are clear and that the road followed so far in this province has proved to be correct and justified.

National Minorities and Cultural and Educational Life

Great efforts to raise the cultural and educational standard of the national minorities have been made, both by the Republic and by the national minorities themselves. So far, very good results have been attained in this province, especially in education which is the essential and fundamental prerequisite for the further development of the national minorities in all spheres of activity. Before the war, these minorities and also the Macedonian people had no schools of their own, that is, schools in their languages, not even at the lowest level. The results achieved in this field since the war are therefore all the more important since we had to start from the scratch, so to say. Great problems had to be solved with restricted resources and personnel. It was necessary to build the essential network of schools, to establish their material basis, to draw up curricula embodying elements of national cultures, train new teaching personnel, publish textbooks and the other needed literature.

In the field of cultural-educational, and art activity, it was necessary to exert great efforts and to invest considerable resources, since backwardness was so great that, apart from folklore, there were almost no

traditions in cultural activity. The sphere of the struggle for the raising of the people's cultural standard was very wide, indeed: from teaching men and women to read and write — the number of illiterates among the minorities accounted even more than 90 percent of the population — to the opening of minority theatres, the development of the press, publishing, etc.

Extremely great efforts in this pioneering work were made by members of the national minorities who approached — with enthusiasm — the spreading of the cultural achievements of mankind which had not been accessible to the working people of the minorities previously.

Education and Schools

Even before the war ended, efforts began to be made in the liberated areas to open schools in the languages of national minorities. The national minorities, especially those which had no schools of their own earlier, were then in the position to benefit from the rights they had been denied in the past. After the end of the war, i.e. on August 9, 1945, the Ministry of Education, acting on behalf of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, issued the now well known Instructions for the Opening of Schools in the Languages of National Minorities as the first legal act in the solving of this problem. The Instructions, among other things, said:

1. Schools for national minorities will be opened in all settlements if there are at least 20 regular pupils and if there are no other schools. If an elementary school is already working in a settlement, then minority departments will be opened whenever there are 30 regular pupils...

2. In principle, the children of the national minorities attend schools in which instruction is given in their own language. Any deviation from this principle must be approved by the educational authorities of the people's republics.

3. Every people's republic takes care of the elementary, secondary and other schools for the national minorities on its territory. The cost of these schools is to be covered by every republic, which also pays the teachers.

4. Instruction in the minority schools and departments is given in the language of the minority concerned...

5. Teachers in the minority schools are Yugoslav citizens and are always members of the national minorities. Their professional qualifications cannot be lower than the qualifications of the teachers in other schools of the same rank in the country...

6. The administration in the minority schools is done in the language of the minority. In official correspondence... all official documents are issued in two languages.

This set of instructions was applied in all regions of Yugoslavia with national minorities. After the adoption of the Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Constitution of the People's Republic of Macedonia, which guarantee the right of the national minorities to use their mother languages freely, a series of separate laws, regulations and instructions were passed which worked out many questions concerning the cultural rights of the national minorities.

Various legislative acts in the Republic ensure full equality of the national minorities and the Yugoslav nationalities, and this promotes the national development of the minorities and the solving of their cultural and educational problems.

The new position of the national minority was conducive to the development of schools in the minority languages. So far, very great results have been attained in this field.

In the 1960/1961 school year, 31,216 pupils of the Albanian national minority attended 252 elementary schools and 18 special school departments in which instruction was given in Albanian; at the same time, 6,440 pupils of the Turkish national minorities attended

54 special schools in their own language. Instruction in these schools and departments was given by 791 teachers in Albanian and 153 teachers in Turkish. Apart from this, a teachers' training college in the Albanian language was attended by 456 pupils, 99 attended a special department of the teachers' college in Kumanovo and 40 a department of the secondary general education school in Tetovo. Similarly, 77 pupils of the Turkish minority were being trained in teachers' colleges. In special departments of secondary education schools instruction was given in Albanian for 236 pupils, whereas 1,092 Albanians and 194 Turks attended various other secondary schools and 513 Albanians and 60 Turks are studying at various schools of higher learning. This wide network of schools makes it possible to give instruction to all pupils in lower classes of the elementary school (I—IV) in their national languages and to a majority of pupils in senior forms (V—VIII).

In developing minority schools, one great problem was the question of teachers, both in regard to their number and in regard to their qualifications. Therefore, the question of teaching personnel is still one of the fundamental problems in this sphere of activity. There is a shortage of teachers in higher forms of the elementary schools. But, this problem will be completely solved in the near future, since a large number of minority students are attending higher teachers' colleges in the Republic. Great efforts are being made to improve the ability of teachers who are already employed but who have not fully completed their training. The situation prevailing in the first postwar years, when a considerable number of teachers were trained at short courses so as to enable the minority schools to continue working, has been considerably changed. The department of Albanian Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje and other schools of higher learning and scientific institutes play an

important role in improving the ability of teachers in the schools for national minorities.

In all this, special merit goes to the Zef Ljuš Marku teachers' college in Skopje. At present, this college is attended by 404 pupils, and instruction is given in 11 classrooms, a workshop and a gymnasium. A youth organization in the school is very active; various courses and seminars are held regularly; each individual pupil receives separate care from his teachers, and all pupils are engaged in various clubs and societies. Apart from this, the school has an orchestra which has won several prizes.

Scholarships, too, play an important role in training teachers for the minority schools. For this purpose, the representative bodies vote large sums every year. Of all the secondary pupils and students in the Republics, Albanians and Turks account for 17.8 percent. The number of Albanians and Turks who are studying at university faculties and other schools of higher learning is growing from year to year.

Instruction in the schools for national minorities is in keeping with time tables and curricula which are unified for the whole country, that is, which are based on the foundations determined by the Federation. Owing to the specific character of the instruction in these schools, special attention is being paid to the solving of pedagogic and teaching problems. Precious experience has already been gained and is now being used in the further development of the national minority schools.

Although a large number of schools at various levels have been opened in the languages of national minorities and although this network is being enlarged and enriched by new types of teaching establishments every year, it must be stated that it is impossible to organize all forms of schooling and training in the national minority languages and that, under these

conditions, the language difficulties should not be an obstacle to the development of the intelligentsia among the minorities.

Of course, the tendency of the minority pupils to profit from all existing secondary and higher schools, which is due to the need of the socialist development of the minorities themselves and of the whole community, has its root in the correctly grasped aims of the policy pursued by the League of Communists, the policy which rejects all forms of favourizing this or that language. The Serbo-Croatian, Slovene and Macedonian languages in the schools of national minorities and the teaching of the minority languages in non-minority schools is considered to be the need of both sides to know the language of other nationalities with which they work and live together in cooperatives, enterprises, social, cultural and art societies and organizations. Therefore, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, in Art. 74, states:

»In places where different nationalities live, members of the minorities shall be educated and trained in schools or special school departments in which instruction is given in the language of the minority concerned.

»The conditions governing the opening, organization and work of schools and school departments in which instruction is given in the languages of nationalities — national minorities — shall be regulated by law.«

The development of large-scale activities in culture and art among the national minorities is also due to the strivings of the working people to free themselves from backwardness, to enjoy the achievements of mankind that were not accessible to them earlier. Results attained in this province do not represent the

progress of the national minorities alone, but also the progress of the general Yugoslav culture.

Owing to the serious cultural backwardness of the national minorities, which was the consequence of general, especially economic backwardness, national oppression and the uncrupulous exploitation of the working people in the past, Yugoslavia faced complex problems after the liberation of the country. The cultural revolution in Macedonia had to unify the efforts to impart the elementary knowledge to a wide circle of people, young men and women in particular, and the efforts to establish the needed institutions and the basis for further cultural progress.

The most essential conditions for work in this province were established in a relatively short period, and cultural life in the municipalities in which national minorities live soon became very variable and rich. Starting with courses organized to uproot illiteracy, considerable progress has been made, and there are now various cultural and art societies, village cultural and educational organizations, professional theatres of the minorities, special broadcasts in the minority languages and fine literary achievements.

Numerous all-Yugoslav, republican and district festivals, reviews, etc., are always attended by drama, music and art societies of the national minorities, as well as by individual actors, musicians and artists who have so far many awards and prizes. The development of culture and art is also reflected in the quality of work, not only in bigger centres but also all over the Republic. Very important in this respect are independent societies and groups in the villages in which the Albanian women are beginning to take part in public activities. The Albanian village of Rečane near Mavrovo, in the district of Tetovo, for instance, has a drama and music society with a chorus in which women are very active. These groupes are true sources of cultural life of the backward rural population.

Owing to the large scale cultural activity, there have appeared on the scene new and talented journalists, writers and artists. The number of the educated minority members is growing from year to year. Minority cultural workers are contributing to all Yugoslav newspapers and journals.

In this way, members of the national minorities enjoy the cultural achievements of all the peoples of Yugoslavia and also of other countries, and are simultaneously making a contribution to the general Yugoslav culture.

The League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, youth organizations, trade union and other social organizations, as well as the educational authorities have been engaged in the past in broad campaigns against illiteracy as component parts of the struggle against cultural backwardness. As we have already said, more than 90 percent of the national minority population were illiterate in individual regions at the end of the war.

In addition to the results in the eradication of illiteracy, new forms of work on the cultural development of the minorities were devised. The importance of these new forms of work became very significant with the introduction of the system of workers' management in the working organizations. At that time, the need of improving the professional and economic education of the workers increased enormously. Accordingly, the forms of work in the sphere of adult education were adjusted to this need. At present, we have workers' and people's universities (popular adult education centres) various technical courses, seminars (organized to study scientific socialism, the international working class movement and political economy), schools for workers, for agricultural producers, for master craftsmen, schools of economics, evening workers' secondary general education schools, etc. In this way, the entire cultural and educational activity

among the minorities is adjusted to the real needs of the working people in the Republic.

The Albanians in the Republic have a well developed cultural life. There are six cultural and art societies in towns and 97 in villages. The Turkish minority in Macedonia has 4 art and cultural societies in towns and 24 in villages. In Skopje, there is a professional minority theatre which gives plays in the Albanian and Turkish languages.

The national minorities are developing publishing activity in their languages. They started this activity without any tradition or experience in 1945. At the beginning, efforts in this sphere were made to satisfy the needs of schools with instruction in Albanian and Turkish. Later, this activity was gradually expanded. The young publishing enterprises had to fight with numerous difficulties, mainly because of the shortage of personnel (writers, translators, editors, etc.), and also because of the insufficient knowledge of the literary mother language, the lack of technical means and so on. In a very short period of time, the essential conditions were established for normal work, and steps were simultaneously taken to arrange the systematic publication of school and other literature. Especially great attention was paid to the publication of books for children and youths, who soon formed a large body of readers.

Now, efforts are constantly being made to cultivate and encourage original literary creation among the minorities, and significant results have already been achieved in this.

As soon as the publishing enterprises were formed, endeavours were made to engage the greatest possible number of persons from the ranks of the national minorities. These enterprises have editorial boards, their bodies of management, and publishing advisory boards in which public personalities from the ranks of the national minorities are adequately represented.

The output of the publishing enterprises is most variable: it includes belles-lettres (Yugoslav and world writers and original works by members of the minorities), political publications (works by Yugoslav authors), Marxist literature, books for children and youth (Yugoslav and foreign writers and authors from the ranks of national minorities), school manuals etc.

Despite frequently insurmountable difficulties — especially the shortage of translators and editors, printing capacities, etc. — the minority publishing houses have translated and published numerous works by Yugoslav and foreign authors, which is the proof of the maturity and efforts of the cultural and social forces working in this sphere.

According to statistics at our disposal, 120 books in 322.627 copies were published in the languages of the national minorities in Macedonia in the last five years alone.

With the assistance of republican organs, considerable funds from federal resources have been invested in this activity. The amount of subsidies from the Federation depends on the cultural, educational, school and political needs of the minorities. And these needs are growing rapidly from year to year. Bearing this in mind, together with the fact that these needs cannot fully be satisfied by our own forces, books in the languages of the minorities are being imported as well.

The greatest efforts have been made and most of the available funds have been used for the advancement of the publication of text-books in the minority languages. To achieve this, assistance was received from professional workers, educational establishments, political and public personalities, principally from the ranks of the minorities, for it was necessary to solve numerous programme and methodological problems, especially in regard to such subjects as history, literature etc. The problem of textbooks for the minority could not have been solved merely by translating

text books used in other Yugoslav schools. It was necessary to take into account all the specific traits of the culture and position of the national minorities and the very pedagogic procedure of work. Therefore, readers and other textbooks in the languages of national minorities were given priority. Parallel with this, all other relevant questions were tackled so as to ensure the normal development of the national minorities and their natural inclusion in the Yugoslav socialist community. This at the same time discredited the attempts of reactionary forces to separate, in any way, the national minorities from the Yugoslav socialist community as a whole, to weaken their mutual links and socialist development in Yugoslavia.

Under very difficult conditions, a very large number of textbooks have been published since the liberation. Until the end of 1961, 88 textbooks were issued in Turkish (376,250 copies) and 55 in Albanian (443,600 copies). Here we must add that the schools used more than 300 textbooks published in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo Metohija (Serbia), so that the publication of these textbooks is much larger in the regions with the Albanian minority.

The publication of textbooks in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia is, on the whole, in the hands of the Prosvetno Delo publishing house, which has a special service which prepares textbooks for the national minorities. In the Republican Secretariat for Education, there is a separate commission whose task is to facilitate and promote the publication of textbooks in the languages of the minorities. The commission has greatly helped improve this activity. Members of the commission are, on the whole, Macedonian Albanians and Turks.

The press in the languages of the minorities represents a significant achievement in the sphere of political and cultural development. The national minorities in Macedonia publish their papers and periodi-

als. The Albanian minority has a paper »Flaka e Vlaznimit« (Brotherhood and Unity) issued in about 6,000 copies, »Brezimi«, a children paper issued in 2000 to 3,000 copies, and »Fotosi« with a circulation of about 3,500. The Turks publish a weekly paper »Birlik« (Unity) in about 3,000 copies, a periodical for children »Senvinch« (Joy) issued in 4,000 to 5,000 copies, and a children paper »Tomurpuk« which comes out in 1,000 to 2,000 copies.

The development of the minority press has had a great effect on the solving of major material and organizational problems. The community assists (by subsidies) the development of this press so as to enable it to maintain the same standard as other federal and republican papers and publications, since, owing to restricted circulation, the cost of these papers is quite high. This is particularly true for weekly papers and periodicals.

The achieved results in the development of the minority press represents a great success since all editors, correspondents, and other personnel have been trained since the war. These men and women, receiving assistance from political leaders, tackle all difficulties connected with journalism, that is, they are engaged in a pioneering job, laying foundations for the further expansion of the minority press. Learning mostly on their errors, they always succeed in keeping their publications at a high standard so that they perform a successful mission as a socialist educator and mobilizer of the broad sections of the national minorities in Yugoslavia.

A large number of journalist from the ranks of the national minorities are frequently engaged by Radio Skopje which broadcasts special programmes in the Turkish and Albanian languages.

With these activities, the national minorities in Macedonia are developing their national culture, con-

tributing thus to the development and the general cultural wealth of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and Yugoslavia as a whole. Owing to this activity of the minorities, all Yugoslav peoples have acquired opportunities of making themselves acquainted with the culture of these nationalities so that they can exert influence on each other and promote their separate and joint development.

Shortly said, the national minorities in Macedonia have been experiencing their true cultural renaissance since the liberation of Yugoslavia.

Social-Political Organizations Among the National Minorities

Of all the social-political organizations, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia plays the most important role among the minorities. As a vanguard in the socialist transformation of society, the League has always fought for the implementation of a policy which would activate the working people of all nationalities in the struggle against the capitalist yoke and capitalist relations, in the struggle against the Fascist invaders and, after the liberation of the country, in the struggle for the development of our socialist community.

Representing the material and moral interests and aspirations of the working class and all working people of Yugoslavia, the League of Communists, with its revolutionary policy, has established close ties with the working people of the national minorities, became their party, their only political representative, raising among their ranks experienced revolutionary personnel greatly faithful to their people.

Ever since the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was formed, the number of its members from the ranks of the national minorities has been constantly growing. After the liberation of the country, the number of Party members from the ranks of the minorities grew very

rapidly indeed. The new conditions did not necessitate the precautions that had been needed when the Party was outlawed and acted underground, and the Party abolished all such precautions and restrictions. The reconstruction of the country, the further development of the productive forces and the material basis of socialism, as well as the equality of nationalities, the decentralization of government, the introduction of workers' and social self-government, the defence of the achievements of socialist development from various kinds of pressure, the efforts of the community to accelerate the development of the well developed and backward regions, etc. — all this represented the basis for a clear political orientation of the working people of the national minorities and for their attitude towards the development of socialism in Yugoslavia.

The admission to the League of Communists and, generally, the approach to the problems of recruiting and training Party workers from the ranks of the minorities were guided by the principle that politically and publicly active people, irrespective of their nationality, should be admitted to the League. This, however does not mean that the organizations of the League of Communists do not try to train the greatest possible number of national minority members as Party workers, so that they too can contribute to the strengthening of social-political life and to the initiatives of the masses.

Of the 183,168 Albanians, as many as there were in Macedonia on December 31, 1963, 4,389 were members of the League of Communists. The Turkish national minority, whose population in Macedonia was 131,481, had 1,123 League members.

It is noteworthy that the participation of Albanian members in the various bodies of the League is very great in places where the Albanians make a majority. This is the proof that party-political personnel have been trained from the ranks of the Albanian minority

who are capable of performing successfully all tasks in the development of socialism.

Altogether, 237 Albanians are secretaries of the basic organizations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; 103 have been elected to the municipal committees of the League, 29 to the district committees and 6 to the Central Committee of the League for Macedonia. There are 2 Turks in the district committees, 22 in the municipal committees, and 62 are secretaries of the basic organizations. The membership of the League of Communists in Macedonia includes a wide circle of people from the ranks of the national minorities. The organizations of the League pay great attention to the expansion of the League's membership by recruiting members from national minorities, and they wage a decisive struggle against all kinds of sectarian relations.

In conditions of developed socialist social relations and social self-government, the significance of the social-political organizations has increased enormously. At present, we cannot even imagine the development of socialist democracy and the activity of the working people without the correct functioning of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People as an all-national parliament, without the trade unions, the youth organizations and other numerous social organizations and associations.

In these organizations, members of the national minorities are very active — beginning from the basic units to the highest bodies, as relations in these organizations are the same as in the League of Communists. But, in these organizations, members of the national minorities make a higher percentage of the executives than in the League of Communists, and this is quite natural in view of the character of the League as a specific political organization.

