Retelling the History

Skopje, 2007
The material that you have in front of you is a result of the Project entitled Retelling the History. The Project represents a joint effort of AHRM (the Association of Historians of Republic of Macedonia) and EUROCLIO (Association of History Teachers of Europe). It is financially supported by USIP (United States Institute of Peace) and as consultants and external experts in the Project participate Dr. Dean Smart, University of West England, Prof. Dr. Keith Barton, University of Cincinnati and Joke van der Leeuw-Roord, Executive Director of EUROCLIO.

The Project team was comprised of 11 historians from Macedonia of different profiles, elementary and secondary school teachers and scientists. They had set for themselves the task to elaborate an alternative program in history, but also an example of treating of teaching contents in the schoolbooks based on the aforementioned program.

The goal of the Project is to point out the need of introducing innovations, but foremost in the approach towards history teaching. Having in mind all the factors of the modern and ideologically free teaching, it was started off from the very beginning i.e. with the creation of an alternative program. In this case, the team had decided to treat the period – Macedonia in the 20th century. With the alternative program is treated also the period of the recent history of Macedonia, especially the period between 1990 and 2000, having in mind that with the previous programs it was almost excluded.

Then it was approached towards treatment of several teaching contents that should serve as an example for a neutral and non-favoring approach towards the treatment of the historical events. Considering that the existent history programs are burdened with political and military history, in the alternative program bigger importance is dedicated to the social and the cultural dimension, and especially to the everyday life of common people.

In the same time the program indicates and encourages different aspects of teaching, as the development of historical skills, critical thinking, building of own attitudes, multi-perspective approach etc. In addition, special attention is dedicated to promoting work with historical sources.

The goal of the project is not to give a perfect solution for the promotion of history teaching, but to open up some new perspectives, which would assist the creators of teaching programs, but also the authors of schoolbooks in the adjustment towards the processes in history teaching that are for a long time part of reality in the biggest part of the European countries.

The working principle promoted with this approach towards teaching is based on several elements: multiple perspectives, working with sources, critical thinking, but also the treatment of controversial and sensitive issues. These should produce students that are researching and thinking independently and are bringing their own conclusions.

At the same time, it is expected that the Project would make its contribution in the overcoming of the ethnical separation, having in mind the multi-ethnical approach, the tolerance and awareness for unity promoted by it.
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<td><strong>NEW POLITICAL SCENE</strong></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Question</th>
<th>What kind of changes happened in Macedonia at political plan?</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| **Contents** | • From one-party to multiparty system  
• Process of independence  
• Development of democracy  
• International situation |
| **Key skill** | • Analysis  
• Critical thinking  
• Comparison  
• Defending of attitudes |
| **Concept** | • Changes and acquisitions  
• Expectations and disappointments |
| **Learning Intention** | • Pluralism, party separation  
• Process of independence  
• International situation of Macedonia |
| **Learning Outcome** | • Are able to explain and use the new terms  
• Understand the process of international recognition of Republic of Macedonia  
• Are able to put the events in chronological order  
• Make comparison between a one-party and multiparty system  
• Perceive the reason for creation of ethnical parties |

| Activity | A *(introductory)*  
• Crossword puzzle  
• Vocabulary of words  
B *(main)*  
• Analysis and synthesis of documents  
• Role-playing  
• Empathy  
• Creation of slogan, motto and program |

**Learning Intention**

what we want pupils to learn

**Learning Outcome**

how we know that learning has happened
INDEPENDENT MACEDONIA 1990-2000

INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS

Key Question
How were the inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia developing?

Contents
- Ethnic communities in Macedonia
- Legal acts and regulations
- The institutions of the system and the ethnic communities
- Cohabitation – reality or fiction

Key skill
- Building of an attitude
- Defending of attitudes
- Analysis
- Comparison
- Empathy

Concept
- Changes and continuity
- Causes and consequences
- Respecting differences

Learning Intention
what we want pupils to learn
- To understand the terms multicultural society, stereotype, prejudice, tolerance...
- To perceive the rights and the duties of the ethnic communities
- To become acquainted with the legal acts and regulations
- To know about the influence of politics on the inter-ethnic relations
- To know about the advantages of a multicultural society

Activity
A (introductory)
- Fill in the census chart (table)
- What people think about...

B (main)
- Dramatization with a debate: “Our neighborhood”
- Analysis and synthesis of documents
- Three-fold window (how it is now, how it will be, how I want it to be)

Learning Outcome
how we know that learning has happened
- They are able to indicate ethnic characteristics
- They are tolerant and develop respect towards the differences
- They are aware of the harmfulness of the impaired inter-ethnic relations
- They indicate events important for the inter-ethnic relations
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<td>In what way the changes in society influence the everyday life?</td>
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<td>Education</td>
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<td>Urban-rural</td>
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<tr>
<td>Key skill</td>
<td>Communication and expression</td>
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<td>Comparison and assessment</td>
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<td>Conceiving of facts and building of attitudes (points of view)</td>
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<td>Concept</td>
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<td>To conceive the changes in the family</td>
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<td>what we want pupils to learn</td>
<td>To conceive the changes in the educational system</td>
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<td>To discern the role of mass culture in everyday life</td>
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<td>To understand the values of tradition, the customs and religion</td>
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<td>Can compare and comment events and aspects</td>
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<td>Teaching contents</td>
<td>TRANSITION</td>
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<td>Key Question</td>
<td>Which are the consequences of the transition in society?</td>
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| Contents                 | • Privatization  
• Mass media  
• Non-governmental organizations  
• Denationalization  
• Financial scandals  |
| Key skill                | • Anomalies of the transition  |
| Concept                  | • Extracting information  
• Establishing causes and consequences  
• Building and defending of attitudes  |
| Learning Intention       | • Changes and acquisitions  
• Expectations and disappointments  
• Progress and regress  |
| what we want pupils to learn | • Transition as a term and a process  
• To discern the influence of the media  |
| Activity                 | • To understand the role of the NGO  
• To understand the process of privatization and denationalization  |
| Learning Outcome         | • They understand and properly use the newly learned notions and terms  
• They understand the processes of privatization and denationalization  
• They understand the cause-consequence relations that led to financial scandals  
• They discern the role of mass media and non-governmental organizations  
• They conceive the role of politics in transition  |
In November 1990 were held parliamentary elections at which the citizens of Republic of Macedonia for the first time had the opportunity to elect representatives out of many political parties and independent candidates. In January 1991 was constituted the first multiparty assembly, and on 25 January 1991 was adopted the Declaration for sovereignty of S.R. Macedonia. Towards the end of the month, with a secret vote, the members of parliament had chosen Mr. Kiro Gligorov to be the first President of Republic of Macedonia.

On 20 March 1991 was formed the first, so-called, expert Government, headed by academician Dr. Nikola Kljusev. Right after the forming, the new Government had undertaken activities for changes in the economical and political system, as well as for the monetary and international independence of Republic of Macedonia.

With the adoption of the amendments and the additions of the ruling law, the public organizations and civil associations, the political pluralism, which was already a reality in Republic of Macedonia, now becomes practical legislation. It allowed founding of associations with a minimum of 10 people above the age of 18, whose members have a permanent stay in SR Macedonia, and any other person who had completed a form and whose civil rights are not underprivileged or limited upon a court order can become a member.

Fortunate we are the voters, to reach the pre-elections period. We were marginalized and lied to, but now for the first time in 50 years we become participants in a political game, whose players are the ones that determine the result by themselves. Oh, beauty, oh, beauty of pluralism! (...) Actually, in my country these days, the air is burdened with the smell of democracy. There is no political party without the word democracy in its name or its program (...) The problem is that some of those who with all their heart declare that their party is helping the democracy in the political, cultural and public life make everything possible to suppress that same democracy in the days when democracy is needed more than anything else, especially in the time when the only smell of the red communist roses permeates everywhere from the communist garden.

The Assembly of Republic of Macedonia had decided on 6 August 1991 to hold a referendum and to determine the question that shall be posed at the referendum: Are you for an independent Macedonia with the possibility to enter into union with the other countries in Yugoslavia?

This Declaration expresses the sovereignty of Socialist Republic of Macedonia in accordance with the constitutive decisions for independence and territorial integrity of the Macedonian state, and the right of the Macedonian people for self-determination, including the right of separation.

The first Government of Republic of Macedonia

Leaders of political parties, 1990.
One of the more important activities of the Assembly was the decision to announce a referendum for the independence of Republic of Macedonia, which was held on the 8th of September 1991. The Albanian electorate had not supported it. After the holding of the referendum, the Assembly had adopted the Declaration for Independence and Sovereignty of Republic of Macedonia. The members of parliament on 17 November 1991 finalized the process of independence with the adoption of the Constitution, although the Albanian representatives in the legislative house had not supported it.

After the signing of the agreement between the President Kiro Gligorov and the representative of JNA (Jugoslovenska narodna armija - Yugoslav National Army) general Blagoy Adjikj, started the retreat of JNA from the territory of Republic of Macedonia. In the same time, the process of creation of ARM (Army of Republic of Macedonia) was unfolding.

In 1994 were held the second parliamentary and the first presidential elections. At these elections as President at direct elections, the citizens had elected

**INDEPENDENCE**

That night, as our statesmen and party leaders were drinking triumphant champagne at the stage at the city square, someone from the crowd, whether it was serious or it was a joke, said: “Be careful - you will get drunk from the champagne! And an empty stomach speaks lewder than it!”

*Magazine “Svet” nr. 63, 1996*

**How sovereign we are?**

We had declared ourselves for a sovereign Republic of Macedonia. We had declared that in front of the whole democratic and freedom-loving world that had the opportunity to see the video tape of how that Nazi-monster, mounted on that “military vehicle”, without anything human in him, had strangled the Macedonian soldier. But what kind of sovereignty is that, when our soldiers are dying at someone else’s battle fields? What kind of sovereignty is that, when we cannot recruit our soldiers ourselves? What kind of sovereignty is that, when our sons are awake from their beds and taken... who knows where (...)? What are the secrets of a war when a parent does not know where is his child taken? Someone would say “war situation, mobilization”... Why don’t they mobilize the sons of the ones that brought us to this “war among brothers”, and when “the death cry” will come in their homes, than they will be able to come to their right mind.

*Daily newspaper “Nova Makedonija”, 14.05.1991*

**Cavalcade of the Macedonian mothers**

We are not crying because our children are soldiers, we just do not want them to be killed for someone else’s nonsense – said the parents which had gathered first in the park “Zhena - borec”, and than entered in the Macedonian Parliament.

The organization board had submitted several requests: the Macedonian soldiers from the Fifth military district to return immediately for serving out of their military term in Macedonia; the government of Slovenia to stop all military actions and to guarantee the lives of their children, to provide living conditions for the soldiers until their return (food, water), to enable phone calls, the Red Cross of Macedonia to organize visits to the soldiers by their parents.

More than 400 parents of soldiers from Macedonia that are serving their military term in the Fifth military district, yesterday around 10 o’clock had gathered in the park “Zhena - borec” in order to express their revolt and concern about the destiny of their children. In organized manner arrived 60 parents from Strumica, which together with the ones from Skopje, Debar, Radovish and other places from the Republic had requested admission in the Macedonian Parliament. After two hours of waiting, they were received by the President of the Assembly, Stojan Andov. In the four hours long emotionally tensed, accompanied by tears and at times revolted conversation, partook also the Minister for National Defense of Republic of Macedonia, Risto Damjanovski.

*Daily newspaper “Večer”, 05.07.1991*
Mr. Kiro Gligorov, who later in 1995 would suffer an attempt of assassination by unknown perpetrators. The third parliamentary elections were held in 1998, and the following year the presidential elections. Among the six candidates that participated at the elections, Mr. Boris Trajkovski was elected President.

After the independence, the Macedonian leadership undertook activities for international recognition. The Badinter Commission in January 1992 gave a positive opinion that Republic of Macedonia fulfils the conditions for international recognition, but the Council of Ministers of the EC (European Community) in Lisbon had announced that the recognition of Macedonia is being postponed until the solving of the name dispute. Besides the problems with the name, part of the Balkan states and wider had recognized Republic of Macedonia with its constitutional name. Among the first countries that had done so were Bulgaria, Turkey, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The international recognition of Republic of Macedonia was finalized with the admission in the OUN (Organization of the United Nations), under the reference FYROM (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia).
Macedonia), as a result of the pressure from Republic of Greece. After the admission in UN on the 8th of April 1993, Republic of Macedonia becomes also a member of numerous international institutions, associations, and communities.

Bulgaria was the first to recognize the Macedonian state in January 1992 under its constitutional name; nevertheless it had not recognized the Macedonian nation and the Macedonian language.

In the fall of 1992, Greece had introduced an economical blockade towards Macedonia, and the relations were normalized with the signing of the Interim Agreement in September 1995.

SR Yugoslavia had refused to normalize the relations and to establish any diplomatic relations, until September 1996, when it recognized the country with its constitutional name.

Albania had recognized Macedonia under its constitutional name in 1993.

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13 The mediator of USA, Richard Holbruck had arranged an agreement between the two countries on 13 September 1995. Macedonia had agreed to change its flag and to introduce provisions in its Constitution that prevents it to make any territorial pretensions towards the neighboring countries. Greece had agreed to remove the trade blockade and the ban for the people with Macedonian passports and to stop preventing the assistance from the European Union for Macedonia.


14 Part of the speech of President Kiro Gligorov on the occasion of the admission in the UN

... the admission of RM in the international family of peoples is an act with which the justice triumphs and is a bright example how one small and peaceful people had fulfilled its right for self-determination and statehood and its responsibility in the international community in a peaceful and legitimate way.... with this act are crowned all the centennial aspirations of the Macedonian people and its 130 years of struggle for independence and freedom...

Daily newspaper “Utrinski vesnik”, 29.03.2004

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15 Statement of Tadeush Mazowiecki (special reporter of the UN for former Yugoslavia)

The international public has a big debt to return to Macedonia. That country was subjected to great injustice by putting pressure on it in the moments when it gained its independence, to accept an absurd name - Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Daily newspaper “Utrinski vesnik”, 29.03.2004

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1. Which expectations and disappointments are indicated by the author? (doc. 2)
2. How would you pose the referendum question?
3. Why, in spite of the proclamation of sovereignty, the Macedonian soldiers were recruited in JNA? (doc. 4, 7, 8)
4. Which were the main obstacles for the international recognition of RM? (doc. 10, 11, 12)
5. Why had the Macedonian leadership accepted admission in UN under the reference FYROM?

Create a slogan and a short program of an imaginative political party for participation in the elections of 1990 in Macedonia!
With the Constitution of 1991 in Macedonia were confirmed: the sovereignty, the independence, the territorial integrity, the democratic establishment, and the unitarity of the state. With the Constitution was established that the sovereignty derives from the citizens and belongs to the citizens.

With it, the representatives of the nationalities were guaranteed development of their own identity and of their national specifics. Also, was guaranteed the protection of the ethnic, cultural, language and religious identities.

However, the parties of the nationalities and the ethnic groups were not satisfied with the Constitution and requested its change. Especially with own proposals for changes came out the parties of the Albanians in Macedonia. Not finding understanding for their requests in the institutions of the system, they assumed non-institutional solutions in order to draw the attention. In January 1992 the Albanians in Macedonia had organized a referendum at which they declared themselves for forming of “political and territorial autonomy of the Albanians in Macedonia”.

1. Census of the population in R. Macedonia

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>1994</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2 033 964</td>
<td>2 075 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonians</td>
<td>1 526 187</td>
<td>1 378 687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanians</td>
<td>441 987</td>
<td>478 867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks</td>
<td>77 080</td>
<td>81 615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roma</td>
<td>52 103</td>
<td>47 408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vlachs</td>
<td>7 763</td>
<td>8 574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbs</td>
<td>42 775</td>
<td>39 866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>84 068</td>
<td>46 079</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. CONSTITUTION OF REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA 1991

Article 7

The Macedonian language, written using its Cyrillic alphabet is the official language in Republic of Macedonia.

In the units of the local self-government in which as a majority live the members of the nationalities, in official use, besides the Macedonian language and its Cyrillic alphabet, are the language and the alphabet of the nationalities, in accordance with the law.

Article 48

Members of nationalities have the right freely to express, foster and develop their identity and national attributes. The Republic guarantees the protection of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of the nationalities. Members of the nationalities have the right to establish institutions for culture and art, as well as science and other associations for the expression, fostering, and development of their identity.

Members of the nationalities have the right to instruction in their language in primary and secondary education, as determined by law. In schools where education is carried out in the language of a nationality, the Macedonian language is also studied.

3. Petition of citizens

Yesterday in the Assembly of Republic of Macedonia was delivered a petition by citizens from Tetovo and the surrounding villages. Among other issues, in the petition is said that they oppose the Referendum for political autonomy of Western Macedonia, that is prepared by some Albanian chauvinists, enemies of the Macedonian state, which, abusing of democracy, wish to create “dark days for all of Macedonia”.

4. Referendum of the Albanians in Macedonia

The President of the illegitimate assembly for political and territorial autonomy of the Albanians in Macedonia, Gulljaz Fejzulai had pointed out that the announcing of the Referendum is because of the fact that after the first multiparty democratic elections, the Albanian people had not received their legitimate rights, because it was prevented by the Macedonian government. That is why on the 27th of last month was formed the assembly which enables the Albanians to freely express their will.

Daily newspaper “Nova Makedonija”, 15.01.1992
In addition, the Turks, the Vlachs, the Serbs, and Romas in Macedonia had formed their own political parties and strived for bigger affirmation of their national and cultural rights. In Macedonia was created a political climate for separation of the ethnical communities on political grounds. Besides, the voters always opted for the political option that comes from their own ethnical community.

How were the inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia developing?

Which are the requests of PDP, NDP and of the fraction Thachi- Xaferi?

- Status of people for the Albanians in Macedonia and their nation-building position; constituting of Macedonia as a multinational country.
- Federalization of Macedonia; Assembly with two houses; decentralization.
- Discontent with the position in all degrees of education.
- Forming of an integrated education system in Albanian language.
- Albanian university in Tetovo; for this academic year with instruction at six faculties.
- Discontent with the participation in the state administration, in the superiors' compound in ARM, MVR (Ministry of Internal Affairs) and in diplomacy.
- Insufficient cultural, scientific, intellectual, information space.
- Non-representation of the Albanians in the cultural manifestations and festivals.
- Request for autonomy and abandoning of the institutions of the system.
- Historical political agreement between the Macedonians and the Albanians.

What does the Democratic Party of the Serbs request?

- It is requested from the Assembly, the Government, and the President a change of the Constitution of Macedonia in order to resolve the legal status of the Serbs in Macedonia and their equality with the other nationalities
- Change of the election laws in order to enable the Serbs to have their representative in the Assembly.
- Forming of church municipalities in seven regions in Macedonia and religious service in Serbian language and forming of a diocese of a metropolitan in Skopje by the Serbian Orthodox Church.
- Forming of a theater, cultural and educational society in Serbian language.
- Forming of secondary schools for the children of the Serbs.
- Governmental help for printing of a weekly newspaper.
- TV and radio programs in Serbian language.
- Serbian reading-room and libraries in Kumanovo and Skopje.
- Forming of a fond for protection of the monuments of culture and the historical events of the Serbian people in these areas and especially protection of the monument Zebrenjak.

What will the Democratic Party of the Turks initiate?

- Change of the election laws in order to enable the Turkish nationality to have its representative in the Assembly.
- Solving of the present problems in the education of the children of Turkish nationality - elementary, secondary (increasing of the number of grades, improvement of the teaching conditions in the schools).
- Expanding of the cultural, scientific and informative conditions for materialization of the national identity of the Turks in Macedonia (expanding of the radio and TV programs, transformation of “Birlik” into a daily newspaper...).
- Representation of Turkish personnel in the state institutions and at managerial positions in the public enterprises.

Macedonians and Albanians in front of the village shop

Are the parties choosing our friends?

5

Magazine “Puls”, 04.11.1994
The Government of Republic of Macedonia rejected the requests of the Albanian parties for forming of a university. As a result of that, in December 1994 was opened, in secret, the University in the village in Mala Rechica near Tetovo.

In 1997 because of the usage of the Albanian national flag (which in the same time is the flag of Republic of Albania) in front of the premises of the municipal assemblies in Gostivar and Tetovo the police of Republic of Macedonia had intervened. During this, there were human victims and arrests of the participants in the events.

FELLOW-VILLAGERS

... Ramadani says that in this area everyone is migrant worker, everyone was somewhere in the world and had gained habits for cultural behaviour, and so, primitivism and provocations are not characteristic for these people. On the contrary, when we watch the rude disputes in the Assembly, we are simply embarrassed by the level of some of the discussions and the culture of some of the members of parliament. The separations and the index-pointing should stop, the separation of they and us. They and us. They and us. They and us. That leads nowhere; it just makes tensions in the relations and torments the common people that have a bunch of everyday problems. Now, for instance, for us in Kamenjane (Tetovo area) a big problem is the oil for the agricultural machinery.

... Stojanovski says that the democracy and the parties had made the inter-ethnic relations very tensed, however, until now at least in Dolno Sedlarci (Tetovo region) and the surrounding villages there never were inter-ethnic conflicts. The villages live separately, and the lives of the Macedonians and the Albanians unfold separately too.

... Arifi and Zilali say that we should continue attending each other’s weddings, celebrations, as we did before, we must keep the friendly relations. I believe, Arifi says, that the political parties do not choose friends, we choose our own friends and we are the ones to decide with whom and how we are going to live.

... As the Macedonians in Chelopek say, the inhabitants of the Albanian minority must first understand that they live in the state Macedonia and that official language is the Macedonian language, and than that this state is also theirs, although they didn’t vote at the Referendum, had not voted for the Constitution and did not participate in the census of the population. That, as they told us, in biggest measure estranged the relations and had brought to the present very tensed situation in Western Macedonia.

Gostivar events

Zoran Verushevski, spokesperson of MOI (Ministry of Internal Affairs):

Mol of Republic of Macedonia yesterday, in the morning hours, had undertaken activities for removal of the illegally placed flags in front of the Councils of the municipalities Gostivar and Tetovo. The sole act of bringing down of the flags had passed without bigger incidents. In the morning, around 8 o’clock, a bigger group of citizens in front of the Council of the municipality Gostivar had acted aggressively against the members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, during which three police officers were heavily injured.

PDP condemns the acting and the entrance of the police forces in the seats of the municipalities Tetovo and Gostivar as being inconsiderate and provocative and condemns the vandal behavior manifested by them when they brought down the flags in these two municipalities.


The Embassy of USA on the Gostivar events

The Embassy of USA expresses deep regret for the victims and the injured that resulted from the Gostivar events. We use this opportunity to repeat the statement of the spokesperson of the State Department of 9th of March 1997, in which it is said that USA strongly maintains the territorial integrity and democratic development of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which represents the basic elements for the stability in the region. We are calling upon all the citizens and political parties to work within the existent legal and political structures and to solve the issues of interest through peaceful and democratic means.

Magazine “Puls”, 11th of June 1997

FELLOW-VILLAGERS

... As the Macedonians in Chelopek say, the inhabitants of the Albanian minority must first understand that they live in the state Macedonia and that official language is the Macedonian language, and than that this state is also theirs, although they didn’t vote at the Referendum, had not voted for the Constitution and did not participate in the census of the population. That, as they told us, in biggest measure estranged the relations and had brought to the present very tensed situation in Western Macedonia.

Daily newspaper “Nova Makedonija”, 03.05.1992
One Isamid and one Vasko

Fifteen questions for one, and the same one for the other. The answers are different, but full with life and simplicity. This text represents a short course in cohabitation relieved from the big politics and the great politicians. The main word is given to one Isamid and one Vasko. They are completely anonymous people, they do not know each other, and the interviews are made in different space and time.

Ø Are there Macedonians in your company?
Isamid: No, at the moment I am in Tetovo and I feel separation. The Albanians are separated from the Macedonians and there is no exchange of opinions.

Ø Are there Albanians in your company?
Vasko: In my company, we have one Albanian. Actually, he is my childhood friend, his name is Iso and we don’t have taboo topics.

Ø How would you react if tomorrow your daughter would marry a Macedonian?
Isamid: My children would have unlimited rights, but they will be raised in such manner not to mix the nation. I would like my grandchildren to remain to be Albanians, but always to respect the others and to love their neighbors. Still, we can not interfere with love, because I have been also in love with a Macedonian woman, and my father was powerless to do anything against our love.

Ø How would you react if tomorrow your daughter would marry an Albanian?
Vasko: How would I react? I would not have anything against it, but my children will be raised to think as they should. Through this upbringing, they will be able to assess by themselves if something should or should not happen. The changing of religions brings to complicating of the relations in the family...

Ø Do you go for a visit at your neighbors Macedonians during Easter?
Isamid: No. I congratulate all the Macedonians that I know when I meet them at the street, in the neighborhood. Even once, I congratulated some Macedonians in a train, while we were traveling...

Ø Do you go for a visit at tour neighbors Albanians during Ramadan or Bayram?
Vasko: Yes, I go to visit my friend Iso during these holidays. I go out of respect, as he comes at my place during Easter.

Ø What do you think about Christianity?
Isamid: Religion has universal values. Amongst any people there are good and bad people. The bad people do not respect the system of religious laws and that is not good. Otherwise, Islam and Christianity have many things in common.

Ø What do you think about Islam?
Vasko: Every faith has its good and bad sides. I do not know and I do not want to answer to this question more than this.

Ø What innerves you about Macedonians?
Isamid: As a nation nothing, but as government that does not know how and does not manage to solve the problems... well, they innerv me. I am innerved also by certain Macedonian media, which through some Bolsheviks create national nervousness for me.

Ø What innerves you about Albanians?
Vasko: There are some things in which they exaggerate. Most of all political. You know, if there is supposed to remain some kind of cohabitation, there must be some limits of good behavior, until where to go and why. I am innerved also that whenever you meet some Albanian, it looks as political. He regards you like that and vice versa.

Ø How would you define cohabitation?
Isamid: You want in Montenegrin (language)? Until I watch out for you from me, I would watch myself from you.

Vasko: All the people in one country have the same rights. At this moment, all the nationalities in Macedonia have the necessary rights as in all the democratic countries of the world.

Isamid and Vasko will meet through the pages of this newspaper. They will be able to see how distant and how close they are. I wonder, will they ever wish to see each other, to talk, to become friends, to help each other in trouble? If they do that, this “short course in cohabitation” will have an effect. On the contrary, everything will remain the same! What do you think, which option will they choose?

Make an interview with your parents on the topic: The inter-ethnic relations before and after 1990. Indicate the similarities and the differences.
Privatisation

Since becoming independent, in Republic of Macedonia the process of privatization was developing according to the so-called “Law for State Capital” adopted in 1989 and revised in 1990. In accordance with this law was adopted also the “Law for sale of the state apartments” of 1990. With the new Constitution of 1991, the state guarantees freedom of the market and equal legal position of all the subjects at the market.

The property of the state was transformed based on the provisions of the Law for Privatization and the procedure for transforming of the state property in other forms of property, which was adopted at the beginning of 1991 and revised in three turns. Especially important is the law adopted in 1996.

Still, the privatization had not fulfilled the expectations and had not brought to increase of the income in the budget based on the sale of the capital. Of all the changes that occurred with the privatization in Republic of Macedonia was caused a wave of firing (downsizing) of the employees of the up-to-than state-owned enterprises.

You are a bit late! There are just 2-3 companies that we haven’t given to the Greeks!!

The privatization had brought little money

Until the end of 1999, in the privatization process were included 1488 enterprises with total capital of 4.1 billion DEM, with about 215,000 workers. The privatization procedure had ended in almost a half of the enterprises, while for the remaining 700 enterprises the privatization procedure should end by the end of this year.

Out of 1700 enterprises, only 10 still had not determined the owners. 384 enterprises were bought by the workers themselves, while the foreign investors had invested in 156 enterprises.

So far, the state made profit of 444 million DEM, out of which just 65 million were paid in cash. In the course of the first three months, the privatization had ended in 51 enterprises, while 12 other enterprises had sold just a part of the stocks. In the course of 1999, the privatization had brought to the country 72 million DEM and by the end of 2000 it is expected that the state would receive 125 million DEM more, our of which 10 percent in cash.

Law on Transformation of the Enterprises in State Property (1993)

1. Article 1
   The transformation of the enterprises with state capital... is being done with organizing of the enterprise in joint-stock company or Limited Liability Company with capital in private ownership, i.e. with a determined owner... The transformation is done by selling of the state capital or of all the assets of the enterprise...

2. Article 3
   The individuals and legal entities... cannot acquire owners' rights on the natural treasures of Republic of Macedonia, the flora and fauna, the goods of common use, as well as the objects of especial cultural and historical significance...

Sale of the state apartments

...the goal of the changed law is relieving of the state of a big part of the debt towards the depositors in foreign currencies...

According to the estimates that are made regarding the value of the apartments that will be for sale, for an apartment of 55 square meters, 20 years old and with amortization of 30%, should be paid 23,587 DEM (German marks), or a new apartment with the same surface in zone 2 will cost 67,000 DEM.

... until the end of August of this year, were sold a total of 12,500 state apartments, which means that for sale remain about 48,000 apartments or about 80%. If we take the average surface of 50 to 60 square meters for an apartment it comes out that the value of the state housing fund in Macedonia is worth about 2 billion German marks.

Daily newspaper “Vecher”, 7 October 1992

The privatization had brought little money

Besides the first estimates that the privatization will end by the end of 2000, that had not happened. The most problematic and most difficult cases and companies are still not privatized. The Agency for Privatization is optimistic that the procedure will end successfully. There was no comment made about those privatizations that were regarded as scandalous.

You are a bit late! There are just 2-3 companies that we haven’t given to the Greeks!!

“Forum”, 02.06.2000
Which are the consequences of the transition in the society?

Characteristic for this period is also the sale of important economical objects with direct agreements between the Government of Republic of Macedonia and foreign companies.

The procedure of transition had brought many financial scandals among which the collapse of banks, savings banks and enterprises, with far-reaching consequences for the population of Macedonia. The biggest of them was the scandal with the savings bank TAT of 1997 when 23,000 people had lost their deposits in the amount of 60,000,000 euros.

**DENATIONALIZATION**

Among the last important laws from the economical sphere was the Law for Denationalization adopted in 1998. With it was foreseen the return of the nationalized properties of after 1944. Object of denationalization was the state property, i.e. its return to the previous owners. This procedure is still not over.

**Discrete sales**

The Government trained from the negative example with the sale of Skopje refinery OKTA of two years ago (that transaction was done in absolute discretion and the most important elements of the deal are still unknown) that was treated as top secret, had decided on transparency in the case of Macedonian Telecom.

The media had literally bombarded with any type of information and amounts of money that were given in foreign currencies, and without exaggeration, they made the Macedonian’s head spin... The message to the public was clear and unambiguous: All of us will work with Telecom in an exceptionally transparent way, i.e. in the cleanest possible way.

*Magazine “Makedonsko vreme”, January 2001*

**Law on Denationalization**

*Article 1*

With this law is set the manner, the conditions, and the procedure for return in ownership of property, i.e. giving refund to individuals, citizens of Republic of Macedonia for property seized in benefit of the state.

*Article 4*

The provisions of this law are applied also when the property is seized by confiscation sentenced for criminal acts until the entrance into force of the Criminal Code (“Official Gazette of FNRJ” nr.13/51), except for acts of war crimes.

The provision of paragraph 1 of this article is not applied for conviction of criminal acts that had as a consequence the following:
- death, heavy body injury of one or more people or other heavy forms of violence on people;
- demolishing or damaging of someone else's property of bigger size, explosion or other act of terrorism;
- theft, burglary, robbery, or robbery theft.

*“Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia” nr. 20/98 of 29.04.1998*

**7** The Law on Transformation of the State Capital of 1993 had indicated the denationalization. But, besides this determination of the state, there was strong resistance among some political actors and individuals. That is why the citizens had formed the Association for protection of the interests of the owners of the expropriated properties through which they requested faster adoption of a law on denationalization. The Law was adopted in 1998, but it was not acceptable for the former owners. With the law of 1999, the citizens had regained a big part of the expropriated property and compensation with bonds and stocks. The first decisions for returning of the property were handed in to the owners on 05.09.2000...

*Interview with Vasiliki Vikentijevich, President of the Association for protection of the interests of the expropriated properties*

**8** A part of my property (land) was expropriated from me in 1949. On my property was build an object of the cooperative of the village. After the adoption of the Law I had submitted a request to the Government of Republic of Macedonia and in 1996 (za Mire: kako ako prvite odluki za vrakajnje na imot se od 2000, a zakonot e donesen vo 1998/9?) my property had been returned on the basis of the adopted Law on Denationalization.

*Jusuf Murati from the village Odri, Tetovo*
Unemployment

- 1990 - 156,000 unemployed
- 2000 - 361,300 unemployed

The number of employed is reduced in:

- Industry - 44.5%
- Agriculture - 48.0%
- Constructions - 47.0%
- Transportation - 20.0%
- Trade - 77.0%
- Tourism and catering - 48.0%


Time of poverty

... There were strikes. Nine hundred workers from LTD Refrigerators for households from the Bitola based holding FRINKO had entered in general strike. The requests they presented are not unusual: resignation of the director and of the management team, as well as payment of 20 accrued salaries, of all the contributions and benefits that the enterprise is skiving since 1994... Sometimes here were produced 250,000 coolers per year, and now only 2000. The markets in Italy, France, Germany, Austria, America, etc. are lost.

Weekly “Denes”, nr. 30, 7 May 1998

Problems with housing

I am 36 years old. Me and my wife got married 10 years ago in 1997. At that time she was still a student, and I worked in the Ministry of Internal Affairs as a technician for maintenance of equipment, where I also work today. After the wedding we lived with my parents, because we didn’t have conditions to live in a rented apartment or in an own place, of which we were not even thinking back then, but we wished for it so much. We thought that in time the living conditions will improve, that my wife will be employed, that we would get a housing credit and buy an apartment. My wife had graduated at the faculty, but she was not able to find a job for several years. In the meantime we got two beautiful children, Bojana (7 years old) and Aleksandar (3 years old). We still live in a 55 square meters apartment together with my parents, my sister and my children. My wife got a job, but still with our salaries we are not creditworthy to be able to get a housing credit and to solve this life problem.

Memory of Daskalovski Dime

Immigrants

Faced with the lack of perspectives, unemployment, poverty, and on top of that with war, living in a country that does not guarantee security, many young people are looking for salvation in some of the promised lands. The advertisements in the media offer fast and easy way to escape. Most often, the most wanted are the immigrant visas for Canada and New Zealand. The interest for the USA, Italy, Australia, Germany, Switzerland and other countries is also not small. The possibilities are bigger especially for those that had studied some trade or are engineers, mechanical engineers, software experts, technicians, medical personnel or similar. The list is longer, but the listed professions have bigger advantage, and of course the knowledge of foreign languages.

Cradle of immigrants of R.M.
In the transition years many people got rich in a fast, and for many, unknown way. These people were feeling the need to justify their illegally gained money as legally earned. That is how were invented words like "money laundering" i.e. money earned in a dirty way to pass through some legal business deal in order to change their previous origin.

Besides the data that are a convincing indicator for the adverse economic situation in the country, constantly are been publicized the same data for the average salary, and sometimes even with the same percentage of growth. What is paradox in this regard is that the average in the economical activities is the same, while the salary notes a growth in the non-economical activities. Taken as a whole, according to the data for average salaries, the standard is good. The main thing about the statistical data is to show that still there is a standard. But, reality is different than the numbers, because according to the logics of this statistics, it comes out that if someone eats meat, and someone cabbage, in average everyone eats ‘sarma’ (note transl. “sarma” is a specialty made out of minced meat and stuffed cabbage)! In our case, among other, it comes out that even the ones which had not received salaries for months are eating ‘sarma’. According to this it can be concluded that the more the number of unemployed grows, the bigger the average salary is.

In the time when the crossing over to multiparty system happened and when the citizens were free to choose for whom they would vote, many disorders happened at the voting polls. The improper legal regulations regarding voting and its non-application were the reasons to use non-democratic measures and methods for obtaining votes or to prevent the normal course of the voting, as well as illegal annulation of valid results.

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**13** When we speak of juvenile delinquency, than we are thinking of a broad range of behaviors among the young people between the age of 14 and 18, starting with indecent, insolent, ill-mannered behavior to perpetrating of the most severe criminal acts. One part of the delinquent behaviors (fleeing from home, fleeing from school, rude and indecent behavior etc.) can not be precisely qualified, although for sure we could discern that they are enhanced. Juvenile delinquency in our country shows characteristics of ever more severe crime with bigger participation in severe criminal acts, with bigger degree of organization, bigger participation of recidivists and of younger people. The number of criminal acts per years is as follows: 1986-1738, 1987,1988-1763, 1989-1762, 1990-1809, 1999-2211, 1992-2668, 1993-2616, 1994-2289 i 1995-2314. From this it can be seen evidently that in this period, that we are calling transition, the criminal acts note an increase.

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**EPITAPH OF THE TRANSITION** *(Wh en the time comes)*

- When someone knows and he knows that he knows – learn from him;
- When someone knows and he doesn’t know that he knows – make him aware;
- When someone doesn’t know and he knows that he doesn’t know – teach him;
- When someone doesn’t know and he doesn’t know that he doesn’t know – get away from him.

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Make an interview with a person that had lost his/her job in the period of transition. Find out about the causes and the consequences from that, and also for the expectations and the disappointments of that person.
EVERYDAY LIFE

FAMILY LIFE

The political changes that occurred after 1990 were reflected in the society, and especially in the everyday life of the people in Macedonia.

With the new Constitution of 1991 were adopted new laws for marriage and family in Republic of Macedonia. In the same time the Constitution enabled a freer practicing of religion. In that regard and in direct relation with family life were made important scientific statistical researches that had shown a general deterioration of the living conditions in Macedonia. The aforementioned period is characterized with the closing of a big number of production capacities that had caused increased unemployment and existential problems. This condition had directly influenced the contracting of marriages, and also the decisions to start a life together. On the other side the negative tendency of living in Macedonia at the beginning of the '90s of the 20th century was the reason for increasing of the number of divorces.

Urged by the deteriorated economical and social situation a big number of citizens decided to immigrate. This emergence did not lead to a significant improvement of the socio-economic situation in the country.

Family law

Article 2

The family is a living community of parents and children and other relatives if they live in a joint household. The family is formed with the giving birth to children or with their adoption.

Article 3

The relations in the family are based on equality, mutual respect, mutual helping and supporting and protection of the interests of the minor children.

Article 6

Marriage is a community established by law, between a man and a woman in which are realization the interests of the spouses, the family, and society. The relations between the spouses are based on the free decision of the man and the woman to contract a marriage, based on their equality, mutual respect and helping.

"Official Gazette of Republic of Macedonia" 22.12.1992

1. Marriages and divorces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Marriages contracted</th>
<th>Marriages divorced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>15736</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>16623</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>14088</td>
<td>705</td>
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<td>1997</td>
<td>14072</td>
<td>1021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>13993</td>
<td>1027</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statistical Annual for 1998, Skopje

2. Poll on poverty

In one poll on poverty is stated: 60% are the ones that say that they are struggling with poverty, 23% have existence under the minimum. Because of that:

- 23,1% do not have money to buy food;
- 38,4% can not afford (to buy) clothes;
- 31,7% can not afford (to buy) expensive things;
- 5,8% can buy expensive things;
- 1% can buy everything

D. Veljkovich, “Rushenje na tranzicijata” (“Demolishing of the Transition”), Skopje 2001

3. Household equipment and cars in 1996

- Macedonians
- Albanians
- Turks
- Serbians
- Roma

In what way the changes in the society influence the everyday life?

**MASS CULTURE**

The mass culture in base is comprised of many elements which have significant influence on the cultural development of any country. In this period is noted an increased stagnation of the production of films and shown cinema projections. In the same period, the cultural institutions, like the galleries, museums, cinemas, theatres, libraries, and also the traditional cultural events, were left at the margins of existence due to the reduced finances. Significant is the number of closed institutions.

The way of living in Macedonia in this regard is changed also by the usage of the mass media, printed and electronic, as well as the ever more current computer technology, mobile telephony, household appliances etc.

The reduced economical power of the family influences the entertainment and the night life among the young population. In that regard appears a paradox situation of big unemployment rate, but full coffee bars.

**Cinemas and films**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Short films</th>
<th>Feature films</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>/</td>
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<tr>
<td>1993</td>
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<td>1996</td>
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<td>1997</td>
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<td>/</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Statistical Annual for 1998, Skopje**

In the '90s were popular several coffee-bars where we, the young people gathered. After the hours spent at school we regularly went to "Tropikana" (across nowadays "King Burger") for a drink. There, we always made plans where to go out that evening. Usually that was "Central" in SC "Bunjakovec", "Boni" (opposite the Greek Embassy) or the discotheque MNT. The prices were accessible for us, so we could afford to go out every night or every second night. With the music of UB40, Duran Duran, Simply Red, Lisa Stansfield and others, those years remained deep in my memory...

Memory of Danijela Vesich, 17.05.2007

When I was young, at 18, in 1995 I wished to stay out in town until late in the night, but that wasn’t possible because there was no transportation to return home to the village late at night. It was impossible to organize parties in the village, because the girls were not going out, because it was embarrassing to do so. In the restaurants in the village only men went out. The ones that had cars, and which were not that many, could have fun until late, but even they didn’t have big companies. Our pocket money was not big, so we couldn’t visit the more elite coffee bars. The prices over there were even four times higher than the others. However, money was not always needed in order to feel as a part of the night life. Sometimes just a walk at the promenade was enough.

Memory of Besnik Emini, 2007, Skopje

Starting today the mobile phones are 100 DEM (German marks)

The act of releasing for use of the new telephone switchboard was performed by the Prime Minister Ljubcho Georgievski, who at this occasion said that with the release for use of 100,000 new phone numbers, the territory of the country will be covered almost with 90 percent... starting tomorrow the Telecom of Macedonia will reduce the price of the subscription for the mobile phones from 250 German marks to 100 German marks, and I think that such decision will enable every citizen of Macedonia to become potential subscriber of a mobile phone, concluded the Prime Minister.

Also yesterday, was signed the agreement for implementation of the new optimized Internet Protocol of the Telecom of Macedonia, based on the equipment of the global leader in this type Cisco Systems.

The newly-adopted laws had enabled forming of private secondary schools. In the same time were made changes in the educational programs and the programs for elementary and secondary education.

With the Law on Higher Education of 1995, the University "Sts. Cyril and Methodius" had introduced a quota for the nationalities. With it, it was foreseen enrolment of percentile the same number of students with the percentage of the corresponding population in Macedonia. These changes had contributed for bigger representation of the pupils and the students of all nationalities.

In 1994 in Tetovo was founded a university, which legally was not a part of the educational system. In spite of that, at this university were educated a big number of Albanian students at several faculties.

Yesterday and today

In the communist era, the educational system was created to serve the official policy and to prepare the young people for a life in mono-party system. The young people were taught that the only options for good and safe life are: "Tito" or "the Party". There were slogans for Tito everywhere in the schools, like: "Tito is ours, we are Tito's", "After Tito-Tito" and other.

Now everything is different. Politics was removed from the schools. The schools are now full with different types of slogans dedicated to famous scientists and cultural workers, and the children are not forced to love some political party or political opinion. They are free to be children.

### Representation according to grades according to the instruction languages in elementary education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Macedonians</th>
<th>Albanians</th>
<th>Turks</th>
<th>Serbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995/96</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996/97</td>
<td>59.0%</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997/98</td>
<td>68.5%</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998/99</td>
<td>66.8%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999/00</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Religion as a separate teaching subject: yes or no

Opinion of pupils for introduction of religion in instruction. Religion should be studied as a:

1. Mandatory subject in all schools 6.14%
2. Facultative-on volunteer bases 57.02%
3. Through the other teaching subjects 36.84%

Opinion of pupils about the spreading of religion and its reflection on the inter-ethnic relations. With the spreading of religion, the inter-ethnic relations among the minorities will:

1. Improve 5.26%
2. Worsen 61.40%
3. Neither improve neither worsen 13.16%
4. I don’t know 20.17%

Dr. Krste Angelovski, Obrazovanie i religija (Education and Religion), Skopje, 1995
In 1997 were caused massive protests of students of the Pedagogical Academy in Skopje, which were joined by the high-school pupils from the Macedonian schools. The participants at the protests reacted at the decision of the Government of Republic of Macedonia, in relation with the developing of the Pedagogical Academy into Faculty of Pedagogy and the introduction of the Albanian language there.

In 2000 was adopted a Law for founding of private universities. That opened up possibility for the students to choose between the state and private education. Based on this Law were opened several private faculties and universities.

**Founding of the Albanian university**

- Late last night at the seat of the party PDP in Tetovo, in presence of the presidents of several Albanian political parties, the members of the Council for founding of a university in Tetovo in Albanian language, several Albanian MPs, the Albanian ministers, the mayors of Tetovo, Gostivar and Debar, the Association of Albanian women, the Humanitarian Association “El Hilal”, PAD - Islamic road, the journalists of TV ART and the correspondent of “Fljaka”, due to the tense situation and avoiding possible excesses, Dr. Fadil Suljemani, President of the Council, read the edict for founding of an university in Albanian language that contains 12 articles in which are enclosed all the legal points for functioning of one higher education institution for learning and studying in Albanian language. This decree was greeted with applause and compliments that gave a solemn character to this gathering. The decree was signed by all present.

**Statement of the Government of Republic of Macedonia**

The University in Albanian is not in accordance with the Constitution

The Government took a standing that in the framework of the rights of the Albanians defined with the Constitution should be found forms that would enable as well the teachers to have education in the mother tongue of the minorities. The Albanian ministers and deputy-ministers are dissociating themselves from the opinion of the Council of the Government.

*Daily newspaper “Flaka e vellazerimit”, 13.12.1994*

**With a bulldozer against the University**

In Rechica are being demolished the “illegal” parts of the University. Apprehended are Dr. Fadil Suljemani, Mijaim Fejziu and other activists. The political subjects and the Albanian associations are condemning the repressive measures against the Albanian University in Tetovo. The meeting between the Albanian political representatives with President Gligorov - without concrete results.

*Daily newspaper “Flaka e Vëllazërimit”, 15.12.1994*

1. Make a comparison between the number of contracted and divorced marriages. Indicate the reasons for that situation.

2. Make a comparison between the entertainment of young people in the ‘90s in the village and in the city, as well as between the entertainment of young people of different nationalities.

3. Which are the similarities and the differences in the educational system before and after 1991? Make a T-chart.

4. According to the documents, indicate the polarities. Which institution is authorized to found a higher education institution? Where and in the presence of whom was founded the Albanian University? Why were the mentioned people and associations being present?

5. Why did the students and high-school pupils went out on mass protests in 1997?

**Menduh Tachi had called the Albanians to leave, 17.12.1994**

**The demolished Tetovo University, 14.12.1996**

**Protests of high-school students and students against the introducing of education in Albanian language at the Faculty of Pedagogy**
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This project is financially supported by the United States Institute for Peace