

Education of Albanian Teachers in Socialist Montenegro (1945-1955)

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Abstract

The paper analyses the process of education of Albanian teachers during the first decade of socialist rule in Montenegro (1945–1955). The issue of education among the Albanian population in Montenegro was a complex task of the socialist government, where teachers educated and engaged in Albanian-language schools, seeking to bring the Albanian ethnic community closer to their own political worldviews, but because of the specific historical, social and cultural context, encountered great limitations. In research, we predominantly used first-class historical sources stored in the State Archives of Montenegro, press and literature, which deal with the issue of education of Albanian teachers. The aim of the paper is to present the main processes of educating Albanian teachers and to point out that out of a modest number of unskilled population, the socialist government created a solid base of educated Albanian teachers after 1945.

Keywords: *socialist government; socialist ideology; Socialist Montenegro teachers education of Albanians; the totalitarian regime in Montenegro.*

Introduction

At the Berlin Congress in 1878, in addition to international recognition, Montenegro received a significant territorial expansion. About 10% of the non-Orthodox population lived in the area that became part of Montenegro after 1878. After 1878, Albanians made up about 5% of the population and lived in the Ulcinj, Bar and Podgorica regions. The representation of the Albanian national community in the total population of Montenegro increased slightly during the first decade of the 20th century. Montenegro existed as an independent state until 1918, after which it became an integral part of the state of Yugoslavia (Šćekić, 2021, pp. 347-357).

After the Second World War, the Albanian population in Montenegro was predominantly settled in the border areas of Montenegro with Albania and Kosovo. Excommunicated from social processes, with a small number of schools, without cultural institutions, domestic intelligence and an illiteracy rate of more than 90%, Albanians in Montenegro lived under the strong influence of patriarchal and tribal culture until 1945 (Andrijašević, 2018, pp. 263). After 1945, about 380,000 people lived in Montenegro, of whom Albanians comprised about 5% of the population. The majority of the Albanian population were Muslims, about 65%, while Catholics populated about 35%. They predominantly lived in rural areas, poorly connected with the nearest city centres in terms of traffic and communication. The only urban area inhabited by Albanians in Montenegro was the town of Ulcinj, where Albanians made up 50% of the total population until 1947 (Jančić, 1947, July 10). With a patriarchal way of life characterised by an absolute commitment to tradition and an authoritarian family dominated by men, closed to the values of modern civilization and isolated from the most important social processes, Albanians in Montenegro, who were mainly engaged in livestock and agriculture until 1945, welcomed the establishment of a totalitarian system. With the coming power of the communists, the position of the Albanian national community in Montenegrin society began to change drastically, thanks to the firm commitment of the socialist government to impose its ideology on Albanians, gradually integrating them into society and making them equal members of society. Until now, this topic has not been the subject of research preoccupations. On the contrary, this is the first research of that kind.

The objective and hypotheses

The aim of the research is to point out that after the Second World War, the Communist Party wanted to take over the educational process in Albanian-language schools, which is why they completely adapted their curricula to their ideological and political views. The employment of ideologically suitable and unqualified teachers, who after the war were rapidly improving their skill

in teacher training schools in Kosovo, has been especially relevant since Yugoslavia's conflict with Informbiro countries, which is when Albanians in Montenegro became politically suspicious. In 1948, Albania agreed with the condemnation of the countries of the Socialist camp against the Yugoslav leadership and tried to transfer the dissatisfaction with the policy which was pursued by the Yugoslav government to their compatriots in Montenegro. Furthermore, the goal of this study is to point out that the totalitarian government in Montenegro, by investing in education after 1945, created a respectable number of Albanian-educated staff trained for teaching from a small number of unqualified teachers.

According to the research goals, it has been defined the following hypotheses:

First hypothesis: The Communist Party wanted an absolute monopoly over the education system over the Albanian population.

Second hypothesis: Since the conflict of Yugoslavia with the countries of the Informbiro in 1948, the Albanian national community has been under the special attention of the Communist Party, which is especially noticeable in education.

Third hypothesis: For the Communist Party, it was essential to have a close ideological staff in the educational process towards Albanians, which would initially meet the ideological expectations of the Party, and only then the obligations from the teaching process.

Methodology

Research process

The research process was conducted in 2021 in the State Archives of Montenegro in Cetinje, the Archives Department for the History of the Workers' Movement in Podgorica, and the Library of the Historical Institute of Montenegro (Podgorica). After we completed the research process, the collected archives and the press were subjected to a process of analysis and comparison with data on position of the Albanian national community in Montenegro provided by relevant literature.

Data processing

In an effort to obtain answers to the initial goals and assumptions, we used the method of analysis. At the same time, this is the main method we used to present the results we came up with during the research. Using the method of analysis of content and comparing it with archival structure, literature and press, we are pointing out that the Communist party has held the education system under absolute power because the educational system used it as an important tool for ideological indoctrination of the population. In addition to the method of analysis, when processing the data, we used a comparative method in order to compare a number of data that we came across during the research. We used inductive and deductive methods to explain the policy pursued by the socialist authorities towards the Albanians. At the same time, we looked at the relationship between the totalitarian regime and the Albanian national community through the critical method. In addition to the analysis and presentation of data obtained from archives and literature, we tried to determine repeatable and valid conclusions from the analysed texts and placed them in a defined historical and political context based on when we tried to affirm the research hypotheses.

Results

The Communist Party considered the importance of the education system for exerting ideological and political influence on young generations to be a perfect "mechanism of indoctrination". With its monopoly over the educational process, the Communist Party sought to "convince young people that the Socialist system was the most ideal social framework for them," after the war. At the same time, curricula, textbooks, and teaching staff were the most appropriate means of "promoting political ideas of Socialism". In

an effort to realise its political goals, the Socialist government immediately began to renovate the existing and build a network of new educational institutions after the liberation (Prekić, 2020, pp. 181–182; Zorić, 2015, pp. 101–103). The opening of schools for national minorities in Yugoslavia after the liberation of the country, which was one of the fundamental principles of socialist government policy guaranteeing equality of all peoples and nationalities, was quite difficult in Albanian communities, as there was only one educated teacher of Albanian nationality in Montenegro in 1945. (Luketić, 1969, pp. 13). In the period between the two world wars, a small number of Albanians educated children, primarily men. The education of female children was unacceptable for Albanians because of a patriarchal and traditional nature of the problem. Only a few Albanians attended high school. Educational policies towards Albanians in the past have resulted in almost absolute illiteracy of the Albanian population. Because of the large number of the illiterate population, the majority of the working population (up to 50 years of age) became literate by the beginning of the 1950s. A big number of Albanians were among them (Starovlah, 2007, pp. 259). For a national community where illiteracy was almost absolute until 1945, it was a major cultural transformation in just a few years. Particularly devastating was the fact that in twenty years in the Yugoslav state, only six Albanians from Montenegro completed four grades of high school (*Pobjeda*, September 16, 1950, pp. 2).

The complex historical heritage and the lack of adequate educators did not discourage the Socialist government from emancipating the Albanian population. On the contrary, immediately after release of Montenegro, it started opening schools in the Albanian language. Until it had created educated academic staff, the Socialist government in Montenegro entrusted the service in Albanian schools to unqualified teachers, who recommended the knowledge of the Albanian language to the school. Bearing in mind that the unqualified teaching staff consisted mainly of young people, with very modest school qualifications (mostly with completed primary school), the Socialist government organised the attendance of educational courses after the liberation, where Albanian teachers were trained to work in lower primary schools. One of the first educational courses, in which Albanian teachers also participated, was held in Bar from 1–29 March 1945 (Đurović, 1945, April 18).

Attendance of educational courses was practiced in the years after the war, although the educational authorities were initially dissatisfied with their quality and number of students, particularly because there were no teaching staff to manage the work on these courses, and to have “the necessary qualifications to work in schools” (Marović, 1945, August 18). Therefore, the republic authorities were forced to ask for help outside the borders of Montenegro (Rašović, 1945, August 1). Thus, in October of 1945, the Prime Minister of Montenegro, Blažo Jovanović, asked the Yugoslav Ambassador in Tirana to mediate resolving this problem with the Albanian government. Specifically, they were asked to send fifteen teachers to Montenegro. However, since the teaching staff in the neighbouring country was very deficient, the Albanian government could

not satisfy this request. Having no other choice, the Republic Ministry of Education turned to the Regional People's Liberation Committee of Kosovo and Metohija, seeking help, this time with a somewhat more moderate request – that ten teachers be sent to Montenegro to work in Albanian schools (Jovanović, 1945, October 19). However, as the answer was negative in this case as well, the Montenegrin government was forced to create an Albanian teaching staff on its own.

Thus, due to problems with educated staff in the Ulcinj region, four Albanian schools did not operate in the autumn of 1945, while in the Albanian-populated hinterland of Bar, teachers were not even Albanian. Since Albanian was not the mother tongue of these teachers, their work was greatly facilitated by the commitment of part of the Albanian population to have their children attend classes in Serbian (Dragović, 1945, November 1). Although the language barrier between teachers and students was a serious problem that undoubtedly maintained the quality of the teaching process, given the fact that teachers avoided rural service (Ulcinj region), and did little work in upbringing of children, they were following the spirit of “Until they find adequate replacements, the most important thing for the totalitarian government was that classes take place regularly” (Saveljić, 1946, November 11).

After 1945, the Socialist School in Montenegro highlighted the ideological commitment of the teaching staff. For the Socialist government, this criterion is more important than the expertise of the educational staff, because it was expected to educate young generations in the Socialist spirit. The optimal solution was for educators to be both ideologically committed and professional. However, as there were few such cadres, the government preferred ideology to expertise. Insufficient commitment to work and ideological and political inadequacy of a large number of educators in Montenegro was, to some extent, expressed by the temporary Albanian teachers. However, given the deficit of Albanian staff, due to the political incompetence or lack of interest of Albanian teachers, the government could not choose much in the first years after the war. Thus, in addition to poor schooling, poor knowledge, and insufficient commitment to work, it entrusted the teaching service to politically disinterested people, but also to teachers imbued with religious fanaticism, hostile to the People's Liberation Movement and the Socialist government (Kažić, 1945, May 26). The Albanian teaching staff was not an exception in the Montenegrin school system, because there were a lot of unqualified, politically unsuitable teachers and educators in other areas as well. Nevertheless, if it was easier to find alternatives for non-Albanian teaching staff, this was not the case with Albanian ones. On the contrary, after the war, the government was forced to create it, invest in their education, and educate it in the Socialist spirit.

Although, after the war, the number of teachers with professional qualifications was constantly increasing, in practice, it turned out that their work sometimes did not differ much from teachers who did not have professional qualifications. Thus, during a visit to Albanian schools in the Titograd area, the education supervisor noted that “not all qualified teachers were equally engaged in their work”, but also that unqualified

(temporary) teachers have “good examples of commitment and good success in work”. Moreover, one of the best educators (teachers) in the Titograd region was an unqualified teacher of Albanian nationality. In any case, the fact that Albanian teachers in this area could not point out at any teacher “who did not invest enough effort” and achieve satisfactory results in accordance with their abilities, encouraged the government to continue the policy of education of Albanian teachers was obviously solid. This is how their work on professional development, ideological upliftment, and raising the level of general culture can be characterised, which was greatly facilitated by concluding agreements between the Ministry of Education and the editorial boards of numerous Yugoslav magazines and newspapers, including Priština’s *Novi život* (*New Life*). Thus, 20 minority teachers from the Bar region subscribed to the “Serbian-Croatian-Albanian Dictionary” that was expected to be published in Zagreb by mid-April 1951, which was approximately one third of the Albanian teaching staff in Montenegro (Ministry of Education, 1951, report, Albanian schools).

Despite the fact that education among Albanians was quite unpopular, and the network of Albanian schools in the first postwar years was small and underdeveloped, the fact that only a year after the war about twenty temporary teachers attended a course in Ulcinj, shows that the government organised the work of Albanian schools in Montenegro. Compared to the pre-war period, it was a great emancipatory step forward of the Albanian population, which is inconceivable without educated people and the involvement of the masses in social processes. However, since there were no higher education institutions for teachers in the Albanian language in Montenegro, after several educational courses, the government sent unqualified Albanian teachers to Kosovo, where they acquired teacher qualifications (*Pobjeda*, September 16, 1950, pp. 2). Although they were not the only ones, the temporary Albanian teachers were undoubtedly the most numerous representatives of the Albanian intellectual elite, formed in Montenegro after 1945.

As the number of schools increased, so did the number of Albanian teachers. Thus, at the beginning of 1947, 29 teachers worked in 19 Albanian schools and 39 regional departments in Montenegro, most of whom had only completed primary school and attended a single one-month teaching course (Radičević, 1947, April 4). Two years later, in the Montenegrin educational system, there was an enviable number of Albanian teachers in the Montenegrin educational system, which enabled the education system to run smoothly. Usually only one teacher worked in a single school, but in larger areas, there were several of them. However, as the Albanian teaching staff consisted mainly of younger men, because of conscription, the schools would often suspend work due to the absence of teachers. Therefore, during the selection of persons to attend Albanian teacher training courses, local authorities were suggested to take into account that in addition to the general conditions (that the teacher is a citizen of the FPRY, proposed by the local government and the Youth Organization as suitable for teaching service in primary schools), candidates had also served military service. Also,

due to the quality of the teaching process, it was desirable that the candidates have at least “some classes from high school”. However, considering the personnel problems, candidates with “at least four grades of primary school” were mostly accepted as temporary teachers. Although these were poor professional qualifications, the fact that the number of temporary teachers was constantly increasing from year to year indicated the growing interest of Albanians in educational work. That was a positive signal when it comes to the emancipation of Albanians. Thus, 40 candidates (44, according to some sources) applied for the teacher training course in Ulcinj from July 1 to September 15, 1947, most of whom were from the Bar region (34), and only a small number of teachers met the conditions to be professionally trained in various courses, in teaching schools in Cetinje, Herceg Novi. (Veljović, 1951, June 17 and 24). These were mostly teachers with better professional qualifications. With the exception of a few women, all participants in the Ulcinj course were men. This unequivocally confirms the subordinate role of women in the Albanian patriarchal family, which strongly opposed the social engagement and public life of the female population. This was especially pronounced among Muslims, while Albanians of the Catholic faith were somehow more liberal. This is supported by the gender structure of teachers who attended the course in Ulcinj in 1947, in which only four out of forty participants were women. Among these, three temporary teachers were of the Catholic faith. Most of the candidates showed good discipline and solid commitment to work, while five stood out for their behaviour and commitment to work (including one woman). In addition, the course was mostly attended by temporary teachers who had completed less than four grades of high school. At the end of completed exams held from 11–13 of September 1947, the candidates passed the pedagogical group of subjects and mathematics, following oral examinations in Albanian language, the pedagogical group of subjects, the Serbian language, history, geography, and knowledge of society. Out of 36 candidates who attended the exam, 29 candidates passed the course, which was a very good pass (Ministry of Education, 1947, September 15).

In addition to courses for temporary teachers in Montenegro, Albanian teachers were educated in Kosovo at the Albanian Teachers’ School in Djakovica, a high school-ranked language course type of school. The first generation of students at this school included three cadets of Albanian nationality from Montenegro, who were expected to finish school in mid-March 1948. These were probably the first teachers of Albanian nationality from Montenegro, who acquired professional qualifications at the Teachers’ School in Djakovica. Since there were no teachers’ faculties in the Albanian language at that time, after the war, Albanian teachers from Montenegro were predominantly educated in this school. Thus, at the beginning of July 1947, ten students of Albanian nationality were given the opportunity to study, and were required to have completed four grades of high school due to the conditions for admission (Milatović, 1947, June 18).

Out of 30 teachers who worked in Albanian schools in Montenegro, only eight temporary teachers met the conditions to study at the Teachers’ School in Djakovica

(three of them had completed four grades of high school, and five of them had completed six to eight grades of high school). With the exception of two teachers with professional qualifications, the other teachers had less than four years of high school classes. Of these, 11 teachers had only completed four years of primary school, which was the minimum necessary to perform the teaching profession. To compensate for the shortcomings in education, the authorities trained Albanian teachers with a four-year primary school in courses for national minorities in Ulcinj. At the same time, in the summer of 1947, they instructed high school teachers to attend more advanced teacher training courses (Nikolaidis, 1945, April 1).

The fact that the number of unqualified Albanian teachers was constantly increasing has created good preconditions for the opening of new schools and, thus, a more numerous and high-quality group of Albanian teachers. The reasons for the growing commitment of young Albanians to engage in the educational vocation should be sought in the material security guaranteed by the educational vocation. Although most Albanian teachers had temporary status in the civil service, the fact that the number of students and Albanian schools increased every school year encouraged young people to become more and more involved in the teaching profession. Despite this, the Montenegrin education system needed Albanian educators. At the same time, it was certain that unqualified staff would be professionally trained along with their work engagement, which guaranteed that they would regulate their status in education over time. Thus, from the right to education in the mother tongue, given to the Albanians by the Socialist government, state needs, and reasons of a material nature, an increasing number of Albanian intellectual elites began to emerge in Montenegro. Only in one part of Montenegro, where only a small part of the Albanian population lived (Plav-Gusinje region), seven temporary teachers applied for a two-months course for vocational educational in Ulcinj in the summer of 1948.

For example, only one teacher from this area participated in this course the previous year. It was similar in other areas inhabited by Albanians (Pejović, 1948, June 1). Thus, the accelerated schooling process created an increasing number of Albanian teachers, who played a significant role “in the transformation and formation of the image of the new socialist man.” Although the educational staff in Montenegro could not fully and quantitatively meet the tasks entrusted to them, there is no doubt that since the country’s liberation, the government has done a lot to create and educate teaching staff. This was particularly the case in the Albanian regions, where in the school year 1948/49, with more than three thousand students, 53 teachers were working (*Pobjeda*, October 28, 1948, pp. 4). Considering the archaic cultural nature of the Albanian population, the government trained a large Albanian teaching staff in a short time, not only to educate the young Albanian generation in the Socialist spirit but also to change the life and habits of Albanians. All teaching schools in Yugoslavia of the time had a critical mission regarding this – educating the educators, whose task was to transform the village in the cultural field, combating illiteracy, semi-literacy, “superstition and

backwardness of all kinds” (*Pobjeda*, 28 October 1948, pp. 4). However, given the poor professional qualifications and the accelerated process of educating Albanian teachers, the authorities’ expectations were quite unrealistic, all the more so because, due to the lack of educated people, the care of the entire cultural and educational life, administrative affairs, and social life in Albanian communities was led by teachers who could not physically or intellectually meet the complex tasks entrusted to them by the government. At the same time, the supply of teachers with professional magazines and books was not organised, so the entire work on training was mainly reduced to holding one to two courses a year and providing scholarships for schooling in Kosovo and Metohija, which were insufficient investments for cultural transformation of life in Albanian regions. This required significantly greater involvement of the authorities and mass party organisations, which, according to these tasks, were indifferent. However, despite numerous omissions, in general, the government had many reasons to be satisfied with the work on the professional development of teachers since in 1949, it sent as many as 32 temporary teachers to attend courses in Kosovo and Metohija, after which they had to become qualified teachers (Marković, 1949, October 7). A few years earlier, having so many qualified Albanian teachers was unrealistic.

Moreover, in just four years since the end of the war, in the process of creating an Albanian teaching staff in Montenegro, it has been a grand success. After the conflict between Yugoslavia and the countries of the socialist camp in 1948, due to better living conditions, a large number of political emigrants from Albania came to Yugoslavia, including a number of educators. Unlike their compatriots and colleagues from Montenegro, most of whom had modest degrees, some of the teachers who fled to Yugoslavia (Montenegro) from Albania in early 1949 completed several grades of high school. One even had a high school diploma, which was a good education at that time (Gagović, 1949, March 15). Better professional qualifications of Albanian teachers in Albania than their compatriots in Montenegro indicate that the mother tongue education in Albania has a longer tradition than in Yugoslavia (Montenegro). The Albanian population in Yugoslavia received this right only in 1945. In any case, due to disagreements with the Yugoslav authorities’ policies in the Titograd area in the spring of 1949, two teachers fled to Albania and one was imprisoned. Albanian educators welcomed the outcome of the situation and replaced their compatriots and Montenegrin colleagues. (Milonjić, 1949, April 2). For some of them, coming to Yugoslavia was a chance to continue their professional development. Thus, in July 1950, a teacher at a seven-year school expressed a desire to study mathematics at a Faculty of Natural Sciences in Yugoslavia, which was unthinkable for the local Albanian education staff at the time (Repišti, 1950, July 19).

Scholarships for education in Kosovo and Metohija and many years of work on the creation of teaching staff resulted in a significant increase and raising the standard of knowledge of Albanian educational staff, which, at the beginning of the school year 1950/51. year in primary schools, counted 58 teachers. Although this did not solve

the problem of the shortage of Albanian teaching staff, it was worrying that despite the subscription of all Albanian schools to professional and pedagogical magazines, the work of some teachers on professional and ideological training was weak, which was negatively reflected in teaching, characterised by inactivity, book work, verbalism, stereotyping, and misinterpretation of material (*Pobjeda*, March 5, 1950, pp .4). This was a consequence of the accelerated training of Albanian teachers, during which quality was undoubtedly lost in the race for professional qualifications and quantitative parameters. However, having in mind the current situation, available, staff and objective needs, concerning the solving of the deficit of Albanian educational staff, the quality was in the background in the years after the war. Thus, thanks to the policy of mass education, during the summer of 1949, 10 unqualified teachers acquired professional qualifications in pedagogical courses in Kosovo and Metohija, while 26 first-generation students who regularly graduated from Albanian primary schools in Montenegro received scholarships and were sent to the 1950/51 school year, to attend the Teachers' School in Djakovica. Out of that, nine scholarship holders were from Ulcinj, 12 were from Tuzi, three were from Vladimir (Ulcinj region), and two were from Gusinje. In addition to the evident interest of young people to continue their education in Kosovo and Metohija, these data show that the attitude of Albanians towards schooling has begun to change positively. This was a consequence of the progressive educational policy of the Socialist government, which sought to integrate Albanians into social processes through rapid emancipation.

Due to the traditional worldviews of the Albanian patriarchal family, the inclusion of women in social flows did not proceed at the desired pace. This is supported by the fact that out of 26 Albanian scholarship holders sent to study in Djakovica, in Kosovo and Metohija, in 1950, only one was a woman. However, given Albanians' strong resistance to women's emancipation, it was encouraging that in the first generation of students instructed in education at the state's expense, there was one Albanian woman of the Muslim faith (Petranović, 1950, May 15).

The fact that the investment in professional development and education created better staff in Montenegro has been shown by the fact that in 1950 the educational authorities instructed Albanian teachers and teachers "who understand the life of minorities" to collect materials and make a textbook in Albanian, which would serve both as a reading and folk textbook. A large number of Albanian teachers from all over Montenegro took part in its preparation and were supposed to make a selection of important moments and events from the life and history of Albanians, with special reference to their participation in the National Liberation War, the fight against illiteracy and alike. (Ministry of education, 1950, March 27). Thus, a number of Albanian teachers who improved their skills after the war, attending professional and pedagogical courses in Montenegro and Kosovo and Metohija, together with several non-Albanian colleagues, created the first "Reading Primer" in Albanian, which was adapted to life and customs, as well as the history of Albanians in Montenegro. Among the other indicators, it was

a confirmation of the correctness of the educational policy of the Socialist authorities to educate the Albanian teaching staff. Thus, thanks to the government's investment in education, from a population that had practically no literate people, the awareness of Albanians about the need for education has changed a lot, although, for most, it was still not at the required level. However, as the number of teachers completing lower and higher pedagogical courses at the Teachers' School in Djakovica, as well as high school pedagogical courses in Peć, Prizren, Kosovska Mitrovica, and other places in Kosovo and Metohija, increased every year, the number of Albanian teachers with professional qualifications increased as well. Only in the Bar district during the first half of 1951, seven teachers passed the teacher's graduation test, five of them were supposed to take it, and 15 to complete the higher pedagogical course and graduation test in Kosovo and Metohija. Among all these, a few teachers with fairly good qualifications were Albanian political emigrants (Pejović, 1951, January 8).

Increased Albanian interest in educational careers has led to stricter criteria of the Ministry of Education for attending courses for national minorities. Thus, only temporary teachers who had achieved satisfactory success in previous years, had passed remedial exams in one or two subjects in the previous year, as well as those who had completed a semi-graduation and have never attended these courses were eligible to attend courses in Kosovo and Metohija during the summer of 1951. Due to an unscrupulous attitude towards their obligations, temporary teachers who refused to take remedial exams were not allowed to do so, which could have jeopardised their status in education in the future. Certainly, this was, to some extent, influenced by the frequent practice of dropping out of school, which the authorities tried to avoid with a better selection of students (Pejović, 1951, June 1). Judging by the successes at the end of the school year 1951/52, the Albanian Teachers' School students in Djakovica achieved great success that year. Namely, out of 30 scholarship holders of Albanian nationality to whom the Government of Montenegro awarded scholarships that school year, 23 students completed this school's first, second, and third grades. Out of those, four students achieved excellent results, 14 achieved a very good mark, and five achieved good results. Three students were sent to the remedial exam, while four repeated the 2nd and 3rd grades (Kastrati, 1952, August 12). The success achieved by Albanian students in this school clearly confirmed the correctness of the new government's policy of allowing Albanians to be educated in their mother tongue. At the same time, it unequivocally pointed out not only that the education of Albanians pays off but also that their attitude towards education and emancipation began to change over time. True, it was a slow process. Most Albanians continued to see schooling as a form of state coercion, threatening the family's livelihood. Interestingly, such an understanding was also present among parents whose children were educated in Kosovo and Metohija. Nevertheless, when their children finished school, and the prospect of employment in the civil service began to open up to them, their opinion on the importance of schooling began to change drastically. According to the press,

an Albanian from the Bar district, after being informed that his son was finishing teacher's school, said he would tell everyone to start educating their children. Thus, after the war in Montenegro, the time has finally come for Albanians to have "officials and educated people". Although the number of such people was still small, the fact that in the school year of 1951/52, in just one part of the Bar area where Albanians lived, eight students completed a quarter at the Teachers' School in Djakovica with excellent and very good results, encouraged the authorities to persevere in the policy of education of national minorities. Having in mind that, according to some data, only three qualified teachers worked in the Albanian schools of the Bar district after the war, and that at the beginning of 1952/53 in this area, there were 14 young people with a certificate of having passed the teacher's exam, says that only in this area the number of qualified teachers has increased several times over the years. The government proudly pointed out that "it was the only result of cultural and educational work in this district, it would not be underestimated." However, since these were individual successes, it was a small consolation, so after many years of investing in the education of Albanians, the government questioned "did the Shqiptar teachers deserve so much care and did they justify the hopes placed in them?" Although they did not dispute that the work of educators in Albanian communities was very "difficult and delicate", local authorities abandoned the "practice of focusing all activity on the most backward areas", thus neglecting areas that could culturally and educationally make a greater contribution. This, of course, did not stop the practice of investing in the education and professional development of Albanian teachers, but it was no longer of a previous character (*Pobjeda*, April 10, 1952, pp. 7).

Namely, with the decentralisation of jobs under the jurisdiction of the Council for Education and Culture (Ministry of Education), the issue of scholarships for pupils and students from March 1953 came under the jurisdiction of local authorities, which awarded scholarships depending on the needs of certain staff. Due to that, a small number of students, despite meeting the conditions, were left without a scholarship in 1953. Opposing this practice, the Republic Council for Education and Culture, at its session on July 21, 1953, decided that when awarding scholarships, local authorities must keep in mind the 'republic's need for certain staff, and therefore, scholarships must be granted to pupils and students, which "are not directly needed by them if they are needed by other districts (cities)" (Jovičević, 1954, January 14).

Due to the shortage of Albanian teachers, the authorities had no reason to deny Albanians the right to scholarships since it was only in the Bar district on the eve of the 1953/54 school year. Eight teachers were missing in Albanian primary schools (Popović, 1953, July 5). This was a consequence of the specific attitude of the majority of the Albanian population towards schooling, which did not view emancipation with sympathy. Moreover, if they could have chosen for themselves, most of them would never have opted for any kind of emancipation, especially not for women, who were a real rarity among Albanian scholarship holders. In support of this is the fact that in

1952 in the Bar district among Albanian scholars, there was only one student of the Teachers' School in Djakovica, while among the teachers who attended the course of women's work and housekeeping in the north of Montenegro (Ivangrad– Berane) there was not a single Albanian woman. There were practically no Albanian scholarship holders from Montenegro in other secondary and higher education institutions. At the beginning of the fifties, two students from the Faculty of Philosophy and Agriculture in Zagreb were an exception, as well as one student from the Mining School in Varaždin (Ministry of Education, 1951, students, scholarships).

Although this was a modest achievement in ten years of active cultural and educational work among Albanians, the authorities became increasingly focused on organising courses in Montenegro over time. However, they did not prevent Albanian teachers from pursuing professional courses in Kosovo and Metohija. Thus, the practice of scholarships for students who wanted to study in Kosovo and Metohija has not been stopped. However, since the issue of qualified teachers in the mid-1950s was not as problematic as ten years ago, and the funds invested in the education of Albanian teachers were often not justified by scholarship holders, the government significantly revised the attitude towards scholarships for unqualified teachers, not paying attention to the fact that more than 100 children were being educated by only one teacher (Popović, 1954, May 27).

Discussion and conclusion

Considering the role of the education system in imposing political ideas and educating young people in the spirit of socialist values, the government in Montenegro attached great importance to education after the war, all the more so because it carried out the systemic indoctrination of the young population through the education system. Given the complex historical, cultural and social development of the Albanian population, which after the liberation had more than 90% illiterate population, elementary literate people were a rarity, as well as educated teachers. Therefore, the need for the authorities to educate Albanian teachers after the war was of great importance. However, as the Albanian teaching staff was significantly deficient, the Socialist government was forced to entrust the educational service in the Albanian regions to people with scarce professional qualifications. The most important thing for the government was that it was ideologically appropriate. The government compensated for the lack of expertise with accelerated education (attending courses) and distributed scholarships to unqualified teachers and students to be educated in Albanian-language teacher training schools in Kosovo and Metohija. Thus, by investing in the education of Albanian teachers, the Socialist government in postwar Montenegro contributed to a significant increase in the number of Albanian teachers with professional qualifications. The need for training Albanian teachers increased after the conflict between Yugoslavia and the countries of the Socialist camp in 1948, when due to fear of falling under the influence of Albanian propaganda, the Socialist government in Montenegro began to open a

large number of Albanian-language schools and invest significant funds, educating Albanian teaching staff. Thus, by continuously investing in education, the Socialist government in Montenegro has created a solid base of educated teachers in ten years. However, having in mind that the professional qualifications of the Albanian teaching staff educated in Kosovo and Metohija were at the level of high school, a decade after the liberation of the country, only one Albanian teacher still had a university degree (passed the professional state exam) (Council for Education and Culture, 1954, Albanian schools). Given the circumstances in which Montenegro has found itself, this was a significant success, which enabled the teaching process in Albanian-language schools in Montenegro to proceed smoothly.

Archival research, as well as the analysis of archival documents, confirmed the research hypotheses:

First hypothesis: The Communist Party wanted an absolute monopoly on the educational system of the Albanian population, which served as a means for systematic indoctrination of the young Albanian generation in Montenegro, which the government tried to impose socialist ideas and educate in a socialist spirit.

Second hypothesis: Since the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Informburo countries in 1948, the Albanian national community has been under the special attention of the Communist Party, which is particularly visible in the field of education. All the more, after the conceptual conflict between Yugoslavia and the countries of the socialist camp in 1948, there was a justified fear that the Albanians, as the most numerous minority national community in Yugoslavia, could fall under the propaganda of the Albanian leadership, which tried to transfer dissatisfaction with the regime in Yugoslavia to their compatriots. That is why the government in Montenegro, after 1948, was intensively opening educational institutions with classes in the Albanian language and investing large resources in the education of Albanian teaching staff.

Third hypothesis: for the Communist Party, it was important to have politically suitable personnel in the educational process who would be friendly to Albanians, which would initially be in line with the ideological expectations of the party, and only then with the obligations arising from the learning process. As a result of this attitude towards the Albanian teaching staff and their education process, the socialist government in the first ten years created a solid base of Albanian teaching staff trained to work in education.

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Obrazovanje albanskih učitelja u socijalističkoj Crnoj Gori (1945. – 1955.)

Sažetak

U članak se analizira proces obrazovanja albanskih učitelja tijekom prvoga desetljeća socijalističke vladavine u Crnoj Gori (1945. – 1955.). Jedan od složenijih zadataka socijalističke vlade bio je problem obrazovanja albanskoga stanovništva Crne Gore, gdje su učitelji poučavali i djelovali u školama na albanskom jeziku, nastojeći albansku etničku zajednicu približiti vlastitim političkim svjetonazorima, ali su naišli na velike prepreke zbog specifičnoga povijesnog, društvenog i kulturnog konteksta. U istraživanju uglavnom su korišteni primarni povijesne izvori koji se čuvaju u Državnom arhivu Crne Gore, odnosno, tisak i literatura koji se odnose na pitanje obrazovanja albanskih učitelja. Cilj je ovoga rad predstaviti glavne procese obrazovanja albanskih učitelja i istaknuti da je od maloga broja nekvalificiranoga stanovništva socijalistička vlada nakon 1945. uspostavila čvrstu bazu obrazovanih albanskih učitelja.

Ključne riječi: obrazovanje učitelja Albanaca; socijalistička Crna Gora; socijalistička ideologija; socijalistička vlada; totalitarni režim u Crnoj Gori.

Uvod

Na Berlinskom kongresu 1878. godine, osim međunarodnoga priznanja, Crna Gora se značajno teritorijalno proširila. Oko 10 % nepravoslavnoga stanovništva živjelo je na području koje je postalo dijelom Crne Gore nakon 1878. godine. Nakon 1878., Albanci su činili oko 5 % stanovništva i živjeli su u područjima oko Ulcinja, Bara i Podgorice. Zastupljenost albanske nacionalne zajednice u ukupnom stanovništvu Crne Gore neznatno se povećala tijekom prvoga desetljeća 20. stoljeća. Crna Gora je postojala kao neovisna država do 1918. godine, nakon čega je postala sastavni dio države Jugoslavije (Šćekić, 2021, 347–357).

Nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata, albansko stanovništvo Crne Gore bilo je pretežno naseljeno u pograničnim područjima Crne Gore – uz granice s Albanijom i Kosovom. Izopćeni iz društvenih procesa, s malo škola, bez kulturnih institucija, domaće inteligencije i stopom nepismenosti većom od 90 %, Albanci u Crnoj Gori živjeli su pod snažnim utjecajem patrijarhalne i plemenske kulture do 1945. godine (Andrijašević, 2018, 263).

Nakon 1945. u Crnoj Gori je živjelo oko 380 000 ljudi, od kojih su Albanci činili oko 5 % stanovništva. Većina albanskoga stanovništva bili su muslimani, oko 65 %, dok su katolici činili oko 35 %. Pretežno su živjeli u ruralnim područjima, slabo povezanim s obližnjim urbanim središtima u smislu prometa i komunikacija. Jedino urbano područje naseljeno Albancima u Crnoj Gori bio je grad Ulcinj, gdje su Albanci činili 50 % ukupnoga stanovništva do 1947. (DACG, 10. srpnja 1947.). Sa svojim patrijarhalnim načinom života, koji karakterizira apsolutno obvezivanje tradiciji i autoritarna obitelj kojom dominiraju muškarci, zatvorena za vrijednosti moderne civilizacije i izolirana od najvažnijih društvenih procesa, Albanci u Crnoj Gori, koji su se prije 1945. uglavnom bavili stočarstvom i poljoprivredom, pozdravili su uspostavljanje totalitarnoga sustava. Dolaskom komunista na vlast, položaj albanske nacionalne zajednice u crnogorskom društvu počeo se dramatično mijenjati zahvaljujući čvrstoj želji socijalističke vlade da Albancima nametne svoju ideologiju, postupno ih integrirajući u društvo i čineći ih ravnopravnim članovima društva. Do sada ova tema nije bila predmet znanstvenih istraživanja. Ovo je, zapravo, prva studija ove vrste.

Cilj i hipoteze

Cilj istraživanja jest istaknuti da je nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata Komunistička partija željela preuzeti kontrolu nad obrazovnim procesom u školama na albanskom jeziku te su zato svoje nastavne planove i programe u potpunosti prilagodili svojim ideološkim i političkim stavovima. Zapošljavanje ideološki prikladnih i nekvalificiranih učitelja, koji su se nakon rata brzo usavršavali u školama za osposobljavanje učitelja na Kosovu, postalo je posebno relevantno nakon sukoba Jugoslavije sa zemljama Informbiroa, kada su Albanci u Crnoj Gori postali politički sumnjivi. Albanija je 1948. pristala na osudu država socijalističkoga tabora prema jugoslavenskom vodstvu i pokušala prenijeti svoje nezadovoljstvo politikom koju je vodila jugoslavenska vlada prema svojim sugrađanima u Crnoj Gori. Osim toga, cilj ove studije je istaknuti da je da je totalitarna vlada Crne Gore, ulaganjem u obrazovanje nakon 1945. godine, stvorila zamjetan broj obrazovanoga albanskog nastavničkog kadra od malog broja nekvalificiranih učitelja.

U skladu s ciljevima studije, definirane su sljedeće hipoteze:

Prva hipoteza: Komunistička partija željela je apsolutni monopol na obrazovni sustav albanskoga stanovništva.

Druga hipoteza: Od sukoba Jugoslavije sa zemljama Informbiroa 1948. godine, albanska je nacionalna zajednica bila pod posebnom pažnjom Komunističke partije, što je posebno vidljivo u području obrazovanja.

Treća hipoteza: Komunističkoj partiji bilo je važno imati politički podobno osoblje u obrazovnom procesu koje će biti naklonjeno Albancima, što bi u početku bilo u skladu s ideološkim očekivanjima stranke, a tek onda s obvezama koje proizlaze iz procesa učenja.

Metodologija

Proces istraživanja

Istraživački proces proveden je 2021. godine u Državnom arhivu Crne Gore u Cetinju, arhivskom Odjelu za povijest radničkoga pokreta u Podgorici i knjižnici Povijesnog instituta Crne Gore (Podgorica). Nakon što smo završili istraživački proces, prikupljeni arhivi i tisak podvrgnuti su procesu analize i usporedbe s podacima o stanju albanske nacionalne zajednice u Crnoj Gori dobivenih iz relevantne literature.

Obrada podataka

U nastojanju da dobijemo odgovore na početne ciljeve i pretpostavke, koristili smo metodu analize. Istodobno, to je glavna metoda kojom smo se koristili za predstavljanje rezultata do kojih smo došli tijekom studije. Koristeći metodu analize sadržaja i uspoređujući je s arhivskom strukturom, literaturom i tiskom, ističemo da je Komunistička partija držala obrazovni sustav pod apsolutnom vlašću jer se obrazovni sustav koristio kao važan alat za indoktrinaciju stanovništva. Osim metodom analize, u obradi podataka koristili smo se usporednom metodom kako bismo usporedili niz podataka s kojima smo se susreli tijekom studije. Koristili smo induktivne i deduktivne metode kako bismo objasnili politiku koju je socijalistička vlast provodila prema Albancima. Istodobno smo kritičkom metodom promatrali odnos između totalitarnoga režima i albanske nacionalne zajednice. Osim analize i predstavljanja podataka dobivenih iz arhiva i literature, pokušali smo identificirati ponovljive i valjane zaključke iz analiziranih tekstova i staviti ih u određeni povijesni i politički kontekst istraženoga vremenoskog perioda u kojemu smo pokušali potvrditi istraživačke hipoteze.

Rezultati

Komunistička partija smatrala je važnost obrazovnoga sustava za vršenje ideološkoga i političkoga utjecaja na mlađe generacije idealnim „mehanizmom indoktrinacije”. S monopolom na obrazovni proces, Komunistička partija je nakon rata nastojala „uvjeriti mlade da je socijalistički sustav za njih najidealnija društvena struktura”. Istodobno, kurikuli, udžbenici i nastavno osoblje bili su najprikladnije sredstvo za „promicanje političkih ideja socijalizma”. Nastojeći ostvariti svoje političke ciljeve, socijalistička je vlada odmah nakon oslobođenja započela rekonstrukciju postojećih i stvaranje mreže novih obrazovnih ustanova (Prekić, 2020, 181 – 182; Zorić, 2015, 101 – 103). Otvaranje škola za nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji nakon oslobođenja zemlje, što je bilo jedno od temeljnih načela politike socijalističke vlade koja je jamčila jednakost svih naroda i nacionalnosti, bilo je prilično teško u albanskim zajednicama, jer je 1945. u Crnoj Gori bio samo jedan obrazovani učitelj albanske nacionalnosti. (Prosvjeta i obrazovanje, 1969, 13). U razdoblju između dva svjetska rata, vrlo je malo Albanaca obrazovalo djecu, prije svega muškarce. Obrazovanje ženske djece bilo je neprihvatljivo za Albance zbog patrijarhalne i tradicionalne prirode problema. Samo je nekoliko Albanaca pohađalo srednju školu. Obrazovna politika prema Albancima u prošlosti

je dovela do gotovo apsolutne nepismenosti albanskoga stanovništva. Zbog velikoga broja nepismenoga stanovništva, većina radno sposobnoga stanovništva (mlađega od 50 godina) postala je pismena početkom pedesetih godina dvadesetoga stoljeća. Među njima je bio velik broj Albanaca (Starovlah, 2007, 259). Za nacionalnu zajednicu u kojoj je nepismenost bila gotovo apsolutna do 1945. godine, ovo je bila velika kulturna transformacija u samo nekoliko godina. Posebno je poražavajuća bila činjenica da je u dvadeset godina postojanja jugoslavenske države samo šest Albanaca iz Crne Gore završilo četiri razreda srednje škole (Pobjeda, 16. rujna 1950., 2).

Složena povijesna baština i nedostatak odgovarajućih nastavnika nisu spriječili socijalističku vladu da emancipira albansko stanovništvo. Naprotiv, odmah nakon oslobođenja Crne Gore, vlada je počela otvarati škole na albanskom jeziku. Sve dok nije stvoreno obrazovano nastavno osoblje, socijalistička vlada Crne Gore povjerala je rad u albanskim školama nekvalificiranim učiteljima koji su preporučili znanje albanskoga jezika u školama. Uzimajući u obzir da su nekvalificirano nastavno osoblje uglavnom činili mladi s vrlo skromnim školskim kvalifikacijama (uglavnom sa završenom osnovnom školom), socijalistička je vlada organizirala pohađanje obrazovnih tečajeva nakon oslobođenja, u kojima su albanski učitelji obučavani za rad u nižim razredima osnovne škole. Jedan od prvih obrazovnih tečajeva, u kojem su sudjelovali i albanski učitelji, održan je u Baru od 1. do 29. ožujka 1945. godine (DACG, 18. travnja 1945.).

Pohađanje obrazovnih tečajeva prakticiralo se i u poslijeratnim godinama, iako su obrazovne vlasti u početku bile nezadovoljne njihovom kvalitetom i upisom, posebno zato što nije bilo nastavnoga osoblja koje bi moglo upravljati tim tečajevima i imati „potrebne kvalifikacije za rad u školama” (DACG, 18. kolovoza, 1945.). Stoga su republičke vlasti bile prisiljene zatražiti pomoć izvan Crne Gore (DACG, 1. kolovoza 1945.). Tako je u listopadu 1945. premijer Crne Gore Blažo Jovanović zamolio jugoslavenskoga veleposlanika u Tirani da posreduje u rješavanju ovoga problema s albanskom vladom. Konkretno, zamoljeni su da pošalju petnaest učitelja u Crnu Goru. Međutim, budući da je u susjednoj zemlji bilo vrlo malo nastavnoga osoblja, albanska vlada nije mogla udovoljiti ovom zahtjevu. Bez drugoga izbora, republičko Ministarstvo obrazovanja zatražilo je pomoć od Regionalnoga narodnooslobodilačkog odbora Kosova i Metohije, ovaj put s nešto umjerenijim zahtjevom – da se deset učitelja pošalje u Crnu Goru na rad u albanske škole (DACG, 19. listopada 1945.). Međutim, budući da je i u ovom slučaju odgovor bio negativan, Vlada Crne Gore bila je prisiljena samostalno stvoriti nastavno osoblje na albanskom jeziku.

Tako zbog problema s obrazovanim kadrovima u Ulcinjskoj regiji ujesen 1945. godine nisu radile četiri albanske škole, dok u albanskom naseljenom području Bara učitelji nisu bili ni Albanci. Budući da albanski jezik nije bio materinski jezik ovih učitelja, njihov je rad uvelike olakšan obvezom dijela albanskoga stanovništva da prisili svoju djecu da pohađaju nastavu na srpskom jeziku (DACG, 1. studenoga 1945.). Iako je jezična barijera između učitelja i učenika bila glavno pitanje koje se nesumnjivo odražavalo na kvalitetu obrazovnoga procesa, s obzirom na činjenicu da su učitelji

izbjegavali ruralnu službu (Ulcinjaska regija) i malo se bavili odgojem djece, slijedili su načelo „dok ne pronađu odgovarajuću zamjenu, najvažnije za totalitarnu vladu je da se nastava redovito održava” (DACG, 11. studenoga 1946.).

Nakon 1945. godine, socijalistička škola u Crnoj Gori naglašavala je važnost ideološke predanosti nastavnoga osoblja. Za socijalističku vladu ovaj je kriterij važniji od kompetencije nastavnoga osoblja jer se očekivalo da će se mlade generacije odgajati u socijalističkom duhu. Optimalno rješenje bilo je da obrazovni kadar bude i ideološki predan i stručan. Međutim, budući da je takvih kadrova bilo malo, vlada je preferirala ideologiju nad stručnim znanjem. Nedovoljnu predanost radu i ideološku i političku neadekvatnost velikoga broja nastavnika u Crnoj Gori donekle su izrazili privremeni albanski učitelji. Međutim, s obzirom na nedostatak albanskih kadrova, zbog političke nesposobnosti ili nezainteresiranosti albanskih učitelja, vlada nije imala puno izbora u prvim godinama nakon rata. Dakle, osim lošega školovanja, lošega znanja i nedovoljne predanosti poslu, povjerila je nastavne aktivnosti politički nezainteresiranim ljudima, ali i učiteljima prožetim vjerskim fanatizmom, što je bilo protivno idejama Narodnooslobodilačkog pokreta i socijalističke vlade (DACG, 26. svibnja 1945.). Albansko nastavno osoblje nije bilo iznimka u školskom sustavu Crne Gore jer su i druga područja imala mnogo nekvalificiranih, politički neprikladnih učitelja i odgajatelja. Ipak, ako je bilo lakše pronaći alternative za nealbansko nastavno osoblje, to nije bio slučaj s albanskim nastavnicima. Naprotiv, nakon rata vlada je bila prisiljena stvoriti ih, ulagati u njihovo obrazovanje i odgajati ih u socijalističkom duhu.

Iako je nakon rata broj učitelja s profesionalnim kvalifikacijama neprestano rastao, u praksi se pokazalo da se njihov rad ponekad nije puno razlikovao od rada učitelja koji nisu imali profesionalne kvalifikacije. Tijekom posjeta obrazovnih vlasti albanskim školama na području Titograda, napomenuto je da „nisu svi kvalificirani učitelji bili jednako uključeni u svoj rad”, ali i da nekvalificirani (privremeni) učitelji imaju „dobre primjere predanosti i dobrog uspjeha u radu”. Osim toga, jedan od najboljih odgojitelja (učitelja) u titogradskoj regiji bio je nekvalificirani učitelj albanske nacionalnosti. U svakom slučaju, činjenica da albanski učitelji na ovom području nisu uspjeli ukazati ni na jednog učitelja „koji nije uložio dovoljno truda” i postigao zadovoljavajuće rezultate u skladu sa svojim sposobnostima, navela je vladu da nastavi s politikom obrazovanja albanskih učitelja, koja je očito bila solidna. Tako se može okarakterizirati i njihov rad na stručnom usavršavanju, ideološkom odgoju i podizanju razine opće kulture, čemu je uvelike pomoglo sklapanje sporazuma između Ministarstva obrazovanja i uredništva brojnih jugoslavenskih časopisa i novina, uključujući i prištinski *Novi život*. Tako se 20 manjinskih učitelja iz okolice Bara, što je bila, otprilike, trećina albanskoga nastavnog osoblja u Crnoj Gori, pretplatilo na „srpsko-hrvatsko-albanski rječnik”, za koji se očekivalo da će biti objavljen u Zagrebu do sredine travnja 1951. (DACG, izvještaj, albanske škole).

Iako je obrazovanje među Albancima bilo prilično nepopularno, a mreža albanskih škola u prvim poslijeratnim godinama mala i nerazvijena, činjenica da je samo godinu

dana nakon rata dvadesetak privremenih učitelja pohađalo tečajeve u Ulcinju pokazuje da je vlada organizirala rad albanskih škola u Crnoj Gori. U usporedbi s predratnim razdobljem, to je bio veliki emancipacijski korak naprijed albanskoga stanovništva, što je nezamislivo bez obrazovanih ljudi i uključivanja masa u društvene procese. Međutim, budući da Crna Gora nije imala visokoškolske ustanove za nastavnike albanskoga jezika, nakon nekoliko tečajeva, vlada je poslala nekvalificirane albanske učitelje na Kosovo, gdje su se kvalificirali za učitelje (Pobjeda, 16. rujna 1950., 2). Iako nisu bili jedini, privremeni albanski učitelji nesumnjivo su bili najbrojniji predstavnici albanske intelektualne elite koja se formirala u Crnoj Gori nakon 1945. godine.

Kako se broj škola povećavao, tako se povećavao i broj albanskih učitelja. Tako je početkom 1947. godine u 19 albanskih škola i 39 regionalnih odjela Crne Gore bilo zaposleno 29 učitelja, od kojih je većina završila samo osnovnu školu i pohađala jednomjesečni učiteljski tečaj (DACG, 4. travnja 1947.). Dvije godine kasnije u crnogorskom obrazovnom sustavu pojavio se zavidan broj albanskih učitelja, što je obrazovnom sustavu omogućilo nesmetan rad. Obično je u jednoj školi radio samo jedan učitelj, ali u većim područjima bilo ih je nekoliko. Međutim, budući da su albansko nastavno osoblje uglavnom činili mladići, škole su zbog vojnog roka često bile obustavljene zbog nedostatka učitelja. Stoga su, prilikom odabira pojedinaca za osposobljavanje nastavnika u Albaniji, lokalne vlasti zamoljene da uzmu u obzir da je, osim općih uvjeta (da je učitelj državljanin FNRJ i da je od lokalne uprave i omladinske organizacije predložen za nastavni rad u osnovnim školama), kandidat također odslužio vojni rok. Također, zbog kvalitete obrazovnoga procesa, bilo je poželjno da kandidati imaju barem „nekoliko razreda srednje škole”. Međutim, s obzirom na kadrovske probleme, kandidati koji su „završili najmanje četiri razreda osnovne škole” uglavnom su prihvaćeni kao privremeni učitelji. Unatoč niskim stručnim kvalifikacijama, činjenica da se broj privremenih učitelja neprestano povećavao iz godine u godinu ukazivala je na sve veći interes Albanaca za obrazovni rad. To je bio pozitivan signal kada je u pitanju emancipacija Albanaca. Tako se 40 kandidata (44, prema nekim izvorima) prijavilo za tečajeve usavršavanja učitelja u Ulcinju od 1. srpnja do 15. rujna 1947., od kojih je većina bila iz Bara i okolice (34), a samo je mali broj učitelja ispunjavao uvjete za stručno usavršavanje na raznim tečajevima, u učiteljskim školama u Cetinju i Herceg Novom. (DACG, 17. lipnja 1951.). To su uglavnom bili učitelji s višim stručnim kvalifikacijama. Osim nekoliko žena, svi sudionici tečaja u Ulcinju bili su muškarci. To nedvosmisleno potvrđuje podređenu ulogu žena u albanskoj patrijarhalnoj obitelji, koja se snažno protivila društvenom aktivizmu i društvenom životu ženskoga stanovništva. To je bilo posebno vidljivo među muslimanima, dok su Albanci katoličke vjere nekako bili liberalniji. To potvrđuje rodna struktura učitelja koji su pohađali tečajeve u Ulcinju 1947. godine, u kojima su samo četiri od četrdeset sudionika bile žene. Među njima su tri privremene učiteljice bile katolkinje. Većina kandidata pokazala je dobru disciplinu i snažnu predanost poslu, dok su se petorica istaknula svojim ponašanjem i predanošću poslu (uključujući jednu ženu). Uz to, tečaj

su uglavnom pohađali privremeni učitelji koji su završili manje od četiri razreda srednje škole. Na kraju završenih ispita održanih od 11. do 13. rujna 1947. kandidati su položili pedagošku skupinu predmeta i matematiku, nakon usmenih ispita iz albanskoga jezika, pedagoške skupine predmeta, srpskoga jezika, povijesti, zemljopisa i društva. Od 36 kandidata koji su pristupili ispitima, 29 kandidata položilo je tečaj, što je bio vrlo dobar rezultat (DACG, 15. rujna 1947.).

Uz tečajeve za privremene učitelje u Crnoj Gori, albanski učitelji školovali su se na Kosovu u Albanskoj učiteljskoj školi u Jakovici, jezične škole na razini srednje škole. Prva generacija učenika ove škole uključivala je tri kadeta albanske nacionalnosti iz Crne Gore, za koje se očekivalo da će diplomirati sredinom ožujka 1948. godine. To su vjerojatno bili prvi učitelji albanske nacionalnosti iz Crne Gore koji su stekli profesionalnu kvalifikaciju u učiteljskoj školi u Jakovici. Budući da u to vrijeme nije bilo učiteljskih fakulteta na albanskom jeziku, nakon rata u ovoj su školi studirali uglavnom albanski učitelji iz Crne Gore. Tako je početkom srpnja 1947. godine deset učenika albanske nacionalnosti dobilo priliku studirati i od njih se tražilo da završe četiri razreda srednje škole prema uvjetima upisa (DACG, 18. lipnja 1947.).

Od 30 učitelja koji su radili u albanskim školama u Crnoj Gori, samo je osam privremenih učitelja ispunilo uvjete za učenje u učiteljskoj školi u Jakovici (tri od njih su završila četiri razreda srednje škole, a petero ih je završilo šest do osam razreda srednje škole). S izuzetkom dvojice učitelja s profesionalnim kvalifikacijama, ostali su učitelji završili manje od četiri razreda srednje škole. Od toga 11 učitelja završilo je samo četiri razreda osnovne škole, što je bio minimum potreban za bavljenje učiteljskom profesijom. Kako bi nadoknadile nedostatke u obrazovanju, vlasti su obučile albanske učitelje za četverogodišnju osnovnu školu na tečajevima za nacionalne manjine u Ulcinju. U isto vrijeme, u ljeto 1947., uputili su srednjoškolske učitelje da pohađaju tečajeve za usavršavanje učitelja (DACG, 1. travnja 1951.).

Činjenica da se broj nekvalificiranih albanskih učitelja neprestano povećavao, stvorila je dobre preduvjete za otvaranje novih škola, a time i veću i kvalitetniju skupinu albanskih učitelja. Razloge sve veće predanosti mladih Albanaca učiteljskoj profesiji treba tražiti u materijalnoj sigurnosti zajamčenoj učiteljskom profesijom. Iako je većina albanskih učitelja imala privremeni status u državnoj službi, činjenica da se broj učenika i albanskih škola povećavao sa svakom školskom godinom, potaknula je mlade ljude da se sve više uključuju u učiteljsku profesiju. Unatoč tome, crnogorski obrazovni sustav trebao je albanske učitelje. Istodobno, bilo je očito da će nekvalificirano osoblje proći stručno usavršavanje uz zapošljavanje, što je osiguralo da će s vremenom regulirati svoj obrazovni status. Stoga se, zahvaljujući pravu na obrazovanje na materinskom jeziku koje je Albancima dodijelila socijalistička vlada, državnim potrebama i materijalnim uzrocima, u Crnoj Gori počeo formirati sve veći broj albanske intelektualne elite. Samo u jednom dijelu Crne Gore, gdje je živio samo mali dio albanskoga stanovništva (područje Plav-Gusinje), u ljeto 1948., sedmero privremenih učitelja prijavilo se za dvomjesečne tečajeve strukovnog obrazovanja u Ulcinju.

Samo je jedan učitelj iz ovoga područja sudjelovao na ovom tečaju prethodne godine. Slična je situacija viđena i u drugim područjima naseljenim Albancima (DACG, 1. lipnja 1948.). Tako je ubrzani proces školovanja doveo do pojave sve većega broja albanskih učitelja koji su odigrali značajnu ulogu „u transformaciji i oblikovanju slike novog socijalističkog čovjeka”. Iako pedagoško osoblje Crne Gore nije u potpunosti i kvantitativno ispunilo zadatke koji su mu dodijeljeni, nema sumnje da je od oslobođenja zemlje vlada učinila mnogo na stvaranju i obrazovanju nastavnoga osoblja. To je posebno bio slučaj u albanskim regijama, gdje je u školskoj godini 1948./49., uz preko tri tisuće učenika, radilo 53 učitelja (Pobjeda, 28. listopada 1948., 4). S obzirom na arhaičnu kulturnu prirodu albanskoga stanovništva, vlada je u kratkom vremenu pripremila velik nastavnički kadar među Albancima, ne samo za obrazovanje mlađe generacije Albanaca u socijalističkom duhu, već i za promjenu života i navika Albanaca. Sve tadašnje obrazovne institucije u Jugoslaviji imale su najvažniju misiju u tom pogledu – obrazovanje učitelja čiji je zadatak bio kulturno transformirati selo, boreći se protiv nepismenosti, polupismenosti, „praznovjerja i zaostalosti svih vrsta” (Pobjeda, 28. listopada 1948., 4). Međutim, s obzirom na nisku profesionalnu kvalifikaciju i ubrzani proces obrazovanja albanskih učitelja, očekivanja vlasti bila su potpuno nerealna, pogotovo jer su zbog nedostatka obrazovanih ljudi brigu o cjelokupnom kulturnom i obrazovnom životu, administrativnim poslovima i društvenom životu u albanskim zajednicama obavljali učitelji koji se, fizički ili intelektualno, nisu mogli nositi sa složenim zadacima koje im je dodijelila vlada. Istodobno, nije bilo organizirano opskrbljivanje učitelja stručnim časopisima i knjigama, pa se sav nastavni rad uglavnom svodio na provođenje jednoga ili dva tečaja godišnje i pružanje stipendija za studiranje u školama na Kosovu i Metohiji, što su bila nedovoljna ulaganja za kulturnu transformaciju života u albanskim regijama. Ovo je zahtijevalo znatno veće sudjelovanje vlasti i masovnih partijskih organizacija, koje su prema tim zadacima bile ravnodušne. Međutim, unatoč brojnim propustima, vlada je u cjelini imala mnogo razloga biti zadovoljna poslom za usavršavanje učitelja, jer je 1949. poslala čak 32 privremena učitelja na tečajeve na Kosovu i Metohiji, nakon čega su trebali postati kvalificirani učitelji (DACG, 7. listopada, 1949.). Nekoliko godina ranije, imati toliko kvalificiranih albanskih učitelja bilo je nerealno.

Štoviše, u samo četiri godine nakon završetka rata postignut je ogroman uspjeh u procesu stvaranja albanskoga nastavnog osoblja u Crnoj Gori. Nakon sukoba između Jugoslavije i zemalja socijalističkoga tabora 1948. godine, zbog poboljšanja životnih uvjeta, u Jugoslaviju je došao veliki broj političkih emigranata iz Albanije, uključujući i niz obrazovnih radnika. Za razliku od svojih sunarodnjaka i kolega iz Crne Gore, od kojih je većina imala skromne diplome, neki učitelji koji su početkom 1949. iz Albanije pobjegli u Jugoslaviju (Crnu Goru) završili su nekoliko razreda srednje škole. Jedan je čak imao i srednjoškolsku diplomu, što je u to vrijeme bilo dobro obrazovanje (DACG, 15. ožujka 1949.). Viša profesionalna kvalifikacija albanskih učitelja u Albaniji od njihovih sunarodnjaka u Crnoj Gori ukazuje na to da obrazovanje na materinskom jeziku u

Albaniji ima dužu tradiciju nego u Jugoslaviji (Crnoj Gori). Albansko stanovništvo Jugoslavije dobilo je to pravo tek 1945. godine. U svakom slučaju, zbog neslaganja s politikom jugoslavenskih vlasti u području Titograda u proljeće 1949. godine, dva učitelja pobjegla su u Albaniju, a jedan je zatvoren. Albanski učitelji pozdravili su ishod situacije i zamijenili svoje sunarodnjake i crnogorske kolege. Za neke od njih dolazak u Jugoslaviju bio je prilika za nastavak profesionalnoga razvoja. Tako je u srpnju 1950. godine učitelj sedmogodišnje škole izrazio želju da studira matematiku na fakultetu prirodnih znanosti u Jugoslaviji, što je u to vrijeme bilo nezamislivo za lokalne albanske radnike u obrazovanju (DACG, 19. srpnja 1950. godine).

Stipendije za obrazovanje na Kosovu i Metohiji i dugogodišnji rad na stvaranju nastavnoga osoblja doveli su do značajnoga povećanja i povećanja razine znanja albanskoga pedagoškog osoblja, jer je početkom školske godine 1950./51. godine u osnovnim školama 58 učitelja. Iako to nije riješilo nedostatak albanskoga nastavnog osoblja, zabrinjavajuća činjenica bila je to što je, unatoč pretplati svih albanskih škola na stručne i pedagoške časopise, rad nekih učitelja na stručnoj i ideološkoj obuci bio slab, što se negativno odrazilo na nastavu koju je obilježila neaktivnost, rad na knjigama, verbalizam, stereotipizacija i pogrešno tumačenje gradiva (Pobjeda, 5. ožujka 1950.). To je bila posljedica ubrzane pripreme albanskih učitelja, tijekom koje je kvaliteta nesumnjivo izgubljena u utrci za profesionalnom kvalifikacijom i kvantitativnim parametrima. Međutim, uzimajući u obzir trenutačnu situaciju, dostupnost osoblja i objektivne potrebe povezane s rješavanjem problema nedostatka albanskih pedagoških kadrova, kvaliteta je u poslijeratnim godinama otišla u drugi plan. Tako je, zahvaljujući politici masovnoga obrazovanja, u ljeto 1949. godine deset nekvalificiranih učitelja steklo stručnu kvalifikaciju na pedagoškim tečajevima na Kosovu i Metohiji, dok je 26 učenika prve generacije koji su redovito završavali albanske osnovne škole u Crnoj Gori dobilo stipendije i poslani su na studij u Učiteljskoj školi u Jakovici školske godine 1950./51. Od toga je devet stipendista bilo iz Ulcinja, 12 iz Tuzija, tri iz Vladimira (Ulcinjaska oblast) i dva iz Gusinja. Osim očitoga interesa mladih za nastavkom obrazovanja na Kosovu i Metohiji, ovi podatci pokazuju da su se stavovi Albanaca prema školskom obrazovanju počeli pozitivno mijenjati. To je bila posljedica progresivne obrazovne politike socijalističke vlade koja je nastojala integrirati Albance u društvene procese brzom emancipacijom.

Zbog tradicionalnoga svjetonazora albanske patrijarhalne obitelji, uključivanje žena u društvene procese odvijalo se nepoželjnim tempom. To potvrđuje činjenica da je od 26 albanskih stipendista poslanih na studij u Jakovicu, na Kosovo i Metohiju, 1950. godine, samo jedna bila žena. Međutim, s obzirom na snažno protivljenje Albanaca emancipaciji žena, ohrabrujuće je da je prva generacija studentica koje su se školovale o državnom trošku imala jednu Albanku muslimanske vjere (DACG, 15. svibnja 1950.).

Činjenica da su ulaganja u profesionalni razvoj i obrazovanje dovela do stvaranja najboljih kadrova u Crnoj Gori svjedoči činjenica da su 1950. obrazovne vlasti naložile albanskim učiteljima i odgojiteljima „koji razumiju život manjina” da prikupe materijale

i sastave udžbenik na albanskom jeziku koji bi služio i kao čitanka i kao zbirka tekstova narodne tematike. Velik broj albanskih učitelja iz cijele Crne Gore sudjelovao je u njegovoj pripremi i morao je napraviti izbor važnih trenutaka i događaja iz života i povijesti Albanaca, posvećujući posebnu pozornost njihovom sudjelovanju u narodno-oslobodilačkom ratu, borbi protiv nepismenosti i slično. Tako su brojni albanski učitelji koji su se nakon rata usavršavali pohađajući strukovne i pedagoške tečajeve u Crnoj Gori i na Kosovu i Metohiji, zajedno s nekoliko kolega nealbanaca, stvorili prvu „čitanku» na albanskom jeziku, prilagođenu životu i običajima, kao i povijesti Albanaca u Crnoj Gori. Među ostalim pokazateljima, to je bila potvrda ispravnosti obrazovne politike socijalističkih vlasti u usavršavanju albanskoga nastavnog osoblja. Dakle, zahvaljujući vladinim ulaganjima u obrazovanje, od stanovništva u kojem praktički nije bilo pismenih ljudi, svijest Albanaca o potrebi obrazovanja uvelike se promijenila, iako za većinu još uvijek nije bila na potrebnoj razini. Međutim, kako se svake godine povećavao broj učitelja koji završavaju niže i više pedagoške tečajeve u učiteljskoj školi u Jakovici, kao i pedagoške tečajeve u srednjoj školi u Peći, Prizrenu, Kosovskoj Mitrovici i drugim mjestima na Kosovu i Metohiji, tako se povećavao i broj albanskih učitelja s profesionalnim kvalifikacijama. Samo u Barskoj regiji tijekom prve polovice 1951. godine sedam je učitelja položilo završni ispit za učitelja, pet ih je trebalo položiti, a 15 je završilo viši pedagoški tečaj i završni ispit u Kosovu i Metohiji. Među svim tim učiteljima, nekoliko ljudi s relativno dobrim kvalifikacijama bili su albanski politički emigranti (DACG, 8. siječnja 1951.).

Povećani interes Albanaca za obrazovnu karijeru doveo je do toga da je Ministarstvo obrazovanja pooštrilo kriterije za pohađanje tečajeva za nacionalne manjine. Stoga su samo privremeni učitelji koji su postigli zadovoljavajući uspjeh prethodnih godina položili dodatne ispite iz jednoga ili dva predmeta prethodne godine, a oni koji su polovično završili studij i nikada nisu pohađali tečajeve, imali su pravo pohađati tečajeve na Kosovu i Metohiji u ljeto 1951. godine. Zbog neodgovornoga stava prema svojim dužnostima, privremenim učiteljima koji su odbili polagati dodatne ispite to nije bilo dopušteno, što je moglo ugroziti njihov budući obrazovni status. Naravno, na to je u određenoj mjeri utjecala česta praksa napuštanja škole, koju su vlasti pokušale izbjeći boljim odabirom polaznika (DACG, 1. lipnja 1951.). Sudeći po uspjesima na kraju školske godine 1951./52., polaznici albanske učiteljske škole u Jakovici te su godine postigli velike uspjehe. Naime, od 30 stipendista albanske nacionalnosti kojima je Vlada Crne Gore dodijelila stipendije te akademske godine, 23 učenika završila su prvi, drugi i treći razred ove škole. Od toga su četiri učenika postigla izvrsne rezultate, 14 je dobilo vrlo dobru ocjenu, a pet je postiglo dobre rezultate. Troje je polaznika poslano na popravni ispit, dok su četvorica ponovila drugi i treći razred (DACG, 12. kolovoza 1952.). Uspjesi koje su albanski učenici postigli u ovoj školi jasno su potvrdili ispravnost politike nove vlade koja je Albancima omogućila obrazovanje na njihovom materinskom jeziku. Istodobno, to je nedvosmisleno ukazivalo ne samo da je obrazovanje Albanaca urodilo plodom, već i da su se njihovi stavovi prema obrazovanju i emancipaciji s

vremenom počeli mijenjati. Doduše, to je bio spor proces. Većina Albanaca i dalje je školovanje doživljavala kao oblik državne prisile koja prijeti egzistenciji obitelji. Zanimljivo je da je takvo razumijevanje bilo prisutno i među roditeljima čija su se djeca školovala na Kosovu i Metohiji. Ipak, kad su njihova djeca završila školu i kad im se počela otvarati mogućnost zaposlenja u državnoj službi, njihova su se mišljenja o važnosti školovanja počela dramatično mijenjati. Prema izvješćima tiska, jedan je Albanac iz okruga Bar, nakon što je saznao da njegov sin završava učiteljsku školu, rekao da će svima reći da počnu obrazovati svoju djecu. Tako je nakon rata u Crnoj Gori konačno došlo vrijeme da Albanci imaju „dužnosnike i obrazovane ljude”. Iako je broj takvih ljudi još uvijek bio malen, činjenica da je u školskoj godini 1951./52. u samo jednom dijelu albanske četvrti bar osam učenika završilo semestar u učiteljskoj školi u Jakovici s izvrsnim i vrlo dobrim rezultatima potaknula je vlasti da nastave politiku obrazovanja nacionalnih manjina. Uzimajući u obzir da su prema nekim izvještajima samo tri kvalificirana učitelja radila u albanskim školama u okrugu Bar nakon rata i da je početkom 1952./53. na tom području bilo 14 mladića s potvrdom o položenom ispitu za učitelja, može se reći da se samo na tom području tijekom godina broj kvalificiranih učitelja nekoliko puta povećao. Vlada je s ponosom primijetila da je „to bio jedini rezultat kulturnog i obrazovnog rada na tom području, neće ga se podcijeniti”. Međutim, budući da su to bili individualni uspjesi, to je bila mala utjeha, pa se nakon godina ulaganja u obrazovanje Albanaca vlada zapitala: „Jesu li učitelji Šiptari zaslužili takvu brigu i jesu li ispunili nade položene u njih?” Iako nisu osporili da je rad pedagoga u albanskim zajednicama bio vrlo „težak i osjetljiv”, lokalne su vlasti napustile „praksu fokusiranja svih aktivnosti na najzaostalija područja”, zanemarujući tako područja koja bi mogla dati veći kulturni i obrazovni doprinos. To, naravno, nije zaustavilo praksu ulaganja u obrazovanje i usavršavanje albanskih učitelja, ali više nije imala isti karakter (Pobjeda, 10. travnja 1952., 7).

Naime, decentralizacijom poslova kojima upravlja Odbor za obrazovanje i kulturu (Ministarstvo obrazovanja), dodjela stipendija studentima od ožujka 1953. prešla je u nadležnost lokalnih vlasti koje su dodjeljivale stipendije na temelju potreba za određenim kadrom. Zbog toga je mali broj studenata, unatoč ispunjavanju uvjeta, 1953. godine ostao bez stipendije. Suprotstavljajući se toj praksi, Republičko vijeće za obrazovanje i kulturu na svojem je sastanku 21. srpnja 1953. godine odlučilo da pri dodjeli stipendija lokalne vlasti moraju uzeti u obzir „potrebu Republike za određenim kadrom”, pa stoga stipendije moraju biti dodijeljene učenicima i studentima za kojima „nema izravne potrebe ako ih trebaju drugi okruzi (gradovi)” (DACG, 14. siječnja 1954.).

Zbog nedostatka albanskih učitelja, vlasti nisu imale razloga uskratiti Albancima pravo na stipendije, jer je to bilo samo u okrugu Bar uoči školske godine 1953./54. Osam je učitelja nedostajalo u albanskim osnovnim školama (DACG, 5. srpnja 1953.). To je bila posljedica posebnoga odnosa većine albanskoga stanovništva prema školskom obrazovanju, koje nije bilo blagonaklono ideji emancipacije. Štoviše, kad bi mogli sami birati, većina nikada ne bi odabrala neku vrstu emancipacije, posebno za žene koje su

bile prava rijetkost među albanskim stipendistima. U prilog tome govori činjenica da je 1952. godine u okrugu Bar među albanskim studentima bila samo jedna učenica Učiteljske škole u Jakovici, dok među učiteljima koji su pohađali tečajeve ženskoga rada i domaćinstva na sjeveru Crne Gore (Ivangrad–Berane) nije bilo nijedne Albanke. U drugim srednjim i visokim obrazovnim ustanovama praktički nije bilo albanskih stipendista iz Crne Gore. Početkom pedesetih godina dvadesetoga stoljeća izuzetak su bila dva studenta Filozofskog i Agronomskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, kao i jedan student Rudarskog fakulteta u Varaždinu (DACG, studenti, stipendije).

Iako je to bilo skromno postignuće u deset godina aktivnoga kulturnog i obrazovnog rada među Albancima, s vremenom su vlasti počele sve više pažnje posvećivati organizaciji tečajeva u Crnoj Gori. Međutim, nisu spriječili albanske učitelje da pohađaju strukovne tečajeve na Kosovu i Metohiji. Stoga praksa davanja stipendija studentima koji su željeli studirati na Kosovu i Metohiji nije prekinuta. Međutim, budući da problem kvalificiranih učitelja sredinom pedesetih godina 20. stoljeća nije bio toliko problematičan kao prije deset godina, a sredstva uložena u njihovo obrazovanje albanski učitelji često nisu opravdali, vlada je značajno preispitala stavove prema stipendijama za nekvalificirane učitelje, zanemarujući činjenicu da je više od 100 djece poučavao samo jedan učitelj (DACG, 27. svibnja 1954.).

Diskusija i zaključci

S obzirom na ulogu obrazovnoga sustava u nametanju političkih ideja i odgoju mladih u duhu socijalističkih vrijednosti, crnogorska vlada nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata pridavala je veliku važnost obrazovanju, pogotovo jer je kroz obrazovni sustav provodila sustavnu indoktrinaciju mladoga stanovništva. S obzirom na složeni povijesni, kulturni i društveni razvoj albanskoga stanovništva, u kojem je nakon oslobođenja više od 90 % stanovništva bilo nepismeno, ljudi s osnovnom pismenošću bili su rijetki, kao i obrazovani učitelji. Stoga je potreba da vlasti nakon rata obučavaju albanske učitelje bila od velike važnosti. Međutim, budući da je albansko nastavno osoblje bilo u značajnom deficitu, socijalistička vlada bila je prisiljena povjeriti obrazovnu službu u albanskim regijama osobama s nedovoljnim profesionalnim kvalifikacijama. Najvažnije za vladu bilo je da osoba bude ideološki prihvatljiva. Vlada je nedostatak iskustva nadoknadila ubrzanim učenjem (pohađanjem tečajeva) i dodijelila stipendije nekvalificiranim učiteljima i učenicima za obrazovanje u školama za pripremu učitelja na albanskom jeziku na Kosovu i Metohiji. Ulaganjem u obrazovanje albanskih učitelja, socijalistička vlada poslijeratne Crne Gore pridonijela je tako značajnom povećanju broja albanskih učitelja s profesionalnim kvalifikacijama. Potreba za obukom albanskih učitelja povećala se nakon sukoba između Jugoslavije i zemalja socijalističkoga tabora 1948. godine, kada je, zbog straha da će biti pod utjecajem albanske propagande, socijalistička vlada Crne Gore počela otvarati velik broj škola na albanskom jeziku i ulagati velika sredstva poučavajući albansko nastavno osoblje. Stalnim ulaganjem u obrazovanje, socijalistička vlada Crne Gore stvorila je solidnu bazu obrazovanih učitelja

u deset godina. Međutim, s obzirom na to da je profesionalna kvalifikacija albanskoga nastavnog osoblja školovanoga na Kosovu i Metohiji bila na razini srednje škole, deset godina nakon oslobođenja zemlje, samo je jedan albanski učitelj još uvijek imao visoko obrazovanje (položio je stručni državni ispit) (DACG, albanske škole). S obzirom na okolnosti u kojima se Crna Gora našla, ovo je bio značajan uspjeh koji je omogućio nesmetan tijek procesa učenja u albanskim školama u Crnoj Gori.

Arhivsko istraživanje, kao i analiza arhivskih dokumenta, potvrdili su istraživačke hipoteze:

Prva hipoteza: Komunistička partija željela je apsolutni monopolom na obrazovni sistem albanskoga stanovništva, koji joj je služio kao sredstvo za sustavnu indoktrinaciju mladih albanskih naraštaja u Crnoj Gori, koje vlast nastojala da namtene socijalističke ideje i obrazuje u socijalističkom duhu.

Druga hipoteza: Od sukoba Jugoslavije sa zemljama Informbiroa 1948. godine, albanska je nacionalna zajednica bila pod posebnom pažnjom Komunističke partije, što je posebno vidljivo u području obrazovanja. Tim prije je je nakon koncepcijskog sukoba između Jugoslavije i zemalja socijalističkog lagersa 1948. godine, postajala opravdana bojazan da Albanci kao najbrojnija manjinska nacionalna zajednica u Jugoslaviji mogu potpasti pod propagandu albanskog rukovodstva, koje je nezadovoljstvo režimom u Jugoslaviji nastojalo da prenese na svoje sunarodnike. Zato je vlast u Crnoj Gori nakon 1948. intenzivno otvarala prosvjetne institucije sa nastavom na albanskom jeziku i ulagala velika sredstva u obrazovanje albanskog nastavnog kadra.

Treća hipoteza: za Komunističkoj partiji bilo je važno imati politički podobno osoblje u obrazovnom procesu koje će biti naklonjeno Albancima, što bi u početku bilo u skladu s ideološkim očekivanjima stranke, a tek onda s obvezama koje proizlaze iz procesa učenja. Kao posljedica takvog odnosa prema albanskom nastavnom kadru i njihovom procesu obrazovanja, socijalistička vlast za prvih deset godina stvorila je solidnu bazu albanskog nastavnog kadra osposobljenog za za rad u školstvu.