
THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF THE SERBIAN STATE TO THE ALBANIAN MINORITY IN SERBIA

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Abstract: The right to be educated in mother tongue is considered among the most important human rights in the contemporary world. Such a right is guaranteed to the all world communities in spite of the state and international rights, regardless of the location, extent, and size of the community. Every state is obliged to respect and make possible the realization of the rights to be educated in their language to every minority within it, because the right to education in mother tongue is now considered a crucial tool for preserving and strengthening the cultural and ethnic identity, and vice versa, the non-implementation of these rights to certain communities implies the state's tendency towards these communities. Also, minorities are predestined that the educations in their language attend similar to their mother country, based on textbooks and curricula of the respective states, as such a right is guaranteed by international norms and conventions. But such a thing, very often faces a strong resistance from the states where these minorities are, because in these textbooks is reflected the history, culture and tradition of the past, which in most cases is a clash between identities and produce numerous value controversies between the parties. This situation is particularly reflected in some Balkan countries where ethnic minorities are not "bridges" between communities but are "quarrelsome" among communities. In such a situation is the Albanian minority in Serbia, who because of the conflicting past between the two nationalities, the Albanian and the Serbs, are victimized by preventing the right to learn their history, culture, tradition and their mother tongue. Thus the Serbian state, because of the past between the two nations and issues still open with the state of Kosovo, denies Albanians in Serbia using textbooks from this country. This form of approach reflects state policies on curricula and textbooks currently being implemented by the Albanian minority. In this paper we will explain the problems faced by the Albanian minority in Serbia in the field of education, respectively the problems of the lack of textbooks in Albanian language. We will present the causes and obstacles of the lack of school textbooks in Albanian language in Presheva Valley schools, strategies developed by various factors to solve this problem, implicated parties, legal rights issues and the possible solution of this problem.

Keywords: Albanian minority in Serbia; education in Albanian language; lack of textbooks in Albanian, equal rights for national minorities; reciprocity.

GEOGRAFICAL CONTEXT OF ALBANIANS IN THE PRESHEVA VALLEY

Presheva, Bujanoc and Medvedja or the so-called Presheva Valley are located in the south of the Republic of Serbia, very close to the Kosovo administrative boundary of the Dukagjini Plain. It stretches in the triangle Serbia, Macedonia and Kosovo. Most of it lies in the hilly-mountainous region through which important axle and railway axes cross the southern and central parts of Serbia with Anamorava of Kosovo, Central Kosovo and Macedonia. Presheva represents the important regional knot connecting to the north with Bujanovac and Vranje from the southern side with Kumanovo and Skopje, while in the west with Gjilan and beyond with Kosovo. The city of Presheva is located on the 5th km on west of the E-75 road, but also on the M-25.2 road. Special importance is also given to this region with international significance (Zylfiu 2015:98). Also, the Municipality of Medvedja, in terms of geographical terminology, is not part of the notion "Presheva Valley" because it is not in the same geographic extent and does not constitute territorial continuity with Bujanovac and Presevo, but it is implied by that designation because of the political context and the ethnic composition of the Albanian population in this city. It includes the upper part of the basin of the Jablanica River valley. From the plain of Kosovo, it is divided through the Gollaku mountains, in the east touching the Southern Moravia Valley, while in the north it descends to the wide area of Leskovac. In the West and South, at a length of 40 km, it is bordered by the municipalities of Prishtina, Podujeva and Kamenica, while in the northwest with the municipality of Kurshumlija in Serbia (Ejupi, 2016: 33). Also, these three municipalities comprise a space of 1249 km², and are inhabited by the majority of Albanian population. In 2002, there were altogether 112,000 inhabitants, 81,978 (73%) Albanians, 24,134 (21.4%) Serbs, Roma 4306, (3,91%) and 1791 (1.73%) others. (Ejupi 2013: 39, 183),(2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia, Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade).

CLARIFICATION OF CURRENT POLICY ON THE ISSUE OF TEXTBOOKS IN ALBANIAN LANGUAGE

The issue of the lack of textbooks in Albanian language in the Presheva Valley schools is addressed to the educational policies. The lack of equal opportunities and the level of stereotypes and prejudices against Albanians is extremely high in Serbia. This form of treatment is reflected in all areas of social life of the Albanian citizen. Similarly, the educational policies of the Albanian minority are treated, where students throughout the educational process develop the lack of the main element, that of the Albanian book, without which there can be no normal educational process. The genesis and existence of this problem and others are longstanding and systematic, but the conflict where most Albanians live in Serbia has been directly related to the violent abolition of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989 in the former Yugoslavia, where various differentiations such as political, cultural and educational ones affect the Albanians of the Presheva Valley. In these areas, the Albanian schools were also targeted by Serbian policies, and were accused of being a nursery of Albanian nationalism, and as a consequence of this policy, a large number of teachers were discharged by the Albanian schools in these municipalities. Thus, some primary and secondary schools the educational activities conducted in private facilities because at that time the education in Albanian was denied (Emini, 2016: 189, 191). Also, after the declaration of independence of the Republic of Kosovo in 2008, the issue of the Albanian minority in Serbia has been aggravated even further, because the Serbian wherever encounters the seal of the Republic of Kosovo, sees impossible to accept. This is because the Serbian state still sees Kosovo as its' integral part. In this context, it is worth mentioning the breach of the agreement between the Kosovo and Serbian Ministries of Education on the exchange of textbooks for respective minorities (See more: Kosovo-Serbia agreement on school textbooks is cut off), but also the non-applicability of the agreement on mutual recognition of university degrees (See more: Kosovo-Serbia Dialogue: Challenge and Pathway, IDK, 2018, 18).

The Albanian students of Preseva Valley for decades face the lack of textbooks in Albanian language. In these schools teachers and professors develop the learning process by dictating teaching units to students who keep notes. Primary and secondary school students are not supplied with textbooks or instruction manuals for most of the subjects. The lack of textbooks and the denial of the use of textbooks from Kosovo or Albania poses a serious problem for students of all three Albanian municipalities in Serbia. Currently, those few books that are in use are translated from Serbian language, with many problems in adaptation and mostly of old publications, many of which are published in the 1990s. The biggest lack is in the field of social sciences, namely in the subject of Albanian language and literature, history, geography, art and music culture, where it directly implies the sensitive political problems between the two nationalities. The whole process is the result of several years of dispute between the Serbian government and the Albanian national minority in Serbia on the content of the texts in question. Also, a better condition is not even in the fields of the exact sciences where subjects such as biology, chemistry, physics and others, despite the universal content they carry, are still lacking.

The drastic lack of textbooks creates a major handicap in the teaching process to a large number of pupils in the Presevo Valley. This is also confirmed by the Director of the High School "Skënderbeu", Mr. Nadër Sadiku that "among the problems that most affect the gymnasium are the lack of textbooks. The lack of texts already known by the institutions dealing with this problem, puts the teacher in a difficult position and negatively affects the student in the preparation of the teaching units, and I can say that this affects not little in building a student's knowledge." (Interview: Nader Sadikun). Also, Ilir Zylfiu, a History Professor at "Skënderbeu" High School, speaks of the unexpected difficulties that arise in the absence of textbooks, "Regarding the subject of History, there is a large gap because the History books are mostly published in 1995, approved by the Ministry of Education in 1992, on the other hand, except for being old for use they are overstepping books in methodological formation as well. Some books do not only have major shortcomings in facts and historical reality that has happened, but the problem is also the translation and adaptation of books, and we also encounter ideological problems of books that do not convey objectivity" (Interview: Ilir Zylfiu). The same concern lies in almost all subjects, excluding some of the exact sciences that have made some choice with the use of any translated text or any local author. Difficulties in the teaching process were also recently noted by the visit of a Parliamentary Commission from the Republic of Kosovo to the Presevo Valley (2019), where one of the participants in this visit, also MPs in the Parliament of Kosovo, Arbërie Nagavaci stated that Albanians "are denied the right to basic quality education". There are no textbooks in Albanian language. They are obliged to learn according to Serbia's curriculum with historical and factual falsehoods (Nagavaci: Albanians in the Valley live in extraordinary conditions, they are denied of the right for basic quality education). There are 15 primary schools in the Republic of Serbia where Albanian language is taught, of which seven in Presevo, six in Bujanovac and two in Medvedja. The secondary schools that organize the teaching in Albanian are four, of which two are in Presevo, one in Bujanovac and one in Medvedja. The total number of pupils

in primary and secondary schools is over 10,000 (ten thousand), (Report of the National Council of the Albanian National Minorities on the implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 3).

THE RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY LAW

Like any other country, in Serbia also the issue of minorities is regulated by various legal acts guaranteeing their rights. The legal framework is formed by the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, international agreements, various national laws and municipal provisions. After the Milosevic era, the Serbian government began taking the necessary steps to join the United Nations, the Council of Europe and other international organizations on the issue of national minorities, and in this context Serbia accepted its obligations with respect to standards international community for the protection of national minorities. The most important documents that Serbia has signed for the protection of national minorities are the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, which set a minimum protection for national minority groups (Organization for Security and Cooperation - Operation in Europe: Ethnic Minorities in Serbia Overview: February 2008: 5). In this context, it is worth mentioning Article 6 of the Council of Europe's Convention on the Protection of Minorities and Human Rights, where Serbia is also a ratifier when saying that "the parties will encourage a spirit of tolerance and intercultural dialogue and will take effective actions to promote mutual respect, understanding and cooperation between all persons living in their territory regardless of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity of those people, particularly in the field of education, culture and the press." (For more, see: Article 6, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and Explanatory Report). Also, in the Explanatory Report of Article 6, it explains that this article seeks to foster the recognition of culture, history, language and religious beliefs of both national minorities and the majority population in an intercultural perspective. The aim is to create a climate of tolerance and dialogue, as referred to in the Preamble of the Framework Convention and in Annex II of the Vienna Declaration of Heads of State and Government. The list in the second paragraph is not exhaustive, and the words "contact with textbooks" are understood to include publishing textbooks and purchasing them in other countries to fulfill the rights for education in mother tongue and culture.

There is an excuse that textbooks should originate from the curricula of the respective state, in this case by the Republic of Serbia, so the texts brought by Kosovo or Albania do not coincide with the curricula of the Republic of Serbia. That should be so in normal conditions, because the curricula are appropriate for the majority of the community and for minority communities, there should be exceptions. There should be additional programs for national minorities living in Serbia. The same case is in the Republic of Kosovo in relation to the construction of curricula, whereby the Serbian minority uses curricula and texts from the Republic of Serbia. Also, according to a Report of the National Council of the Albanian National Minorities on the implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, it is said that the Serbian state is violating the rights of the Albanian minority, because the Ministry of Education does not respect the law regarding the inclusion of culture, identity and Albanian history (up to 30%) in the curriculum for subjects: history, geography, art and music culture (Report of the National Council of the Albanian National Minorities on the implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 2). This is also confirmed by the Director of "Skënderbeu" Gymnasium in Presevo, that there are no additional programs for national minorities living in Serbia, the programs are the same for all students. However, in the subject of Albanian language and history with constitution changes, based on the data I have, it is foreseen that 30% for the history of the Albanians and 70% for the world and state history of the country where it exists, but this report is not being implemented due to the lack of textbooks and students cannot get the knowledge that is foreseen by law (Interview: Nader Sadiku). And this implies that even in the curriculum made by the state itself, when it comes to the Albanian minority it is not applied. The Serbian state is flagrantly violating all the international human rights conventions toward the Albanian minority in Serbia. It continues to define the rights of Albanians in individual rights by denying their national-collective rights. The lack of textbooks is a violation of Albanian human rights and national rights of Albanians in Serbia.

THE ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Almost the beginning of every new school year in the schools of the Presheva Valley begins with protests, thus expressing dissatisfaction towards the inability of the normal development of the educational process in the absence of textbooks. Despite changing the approach and the way to solve this problem, it still remains unresolved. Local authorities have made a series of efforts to resolve disputes over the issue of textbooks, but with partial efficiency, compromising on some of the subjects and not a total solution of the problem. It is worth mentioning the attempt at the initiative of the local authorities of the Presevo municipality on August 8, 2016 "Memorandum of cooperation

on the issue of texts in Albanian language and alphabet" by representatives of the Ministry of Education, the National Council of Albanians and the Institute for school textbooks. Within the list of texts to be translated are 35 school books, among which 4 books for the subject of history. Also, the agreement foresees the spending budget by the Ministry of Education of Serbia, as foreseen by the Law on Funding Textbooks for National Minorities (See also: Contesting Memorandum for Translation of Books / Document). Although initiated by the Mayor of Presevo, Mr. Albania Arifi and signed by the then National Council Chairman, Mr. Jonuz Musliu, withdrew from the agreement reached after negative reactions by the elementary and elementary school teachers, the civil society, opinion leaders, and other political factors of the country. Teachers and intellectuals beliefs about the reached agreement are that the translations of books are pedagogically inadequate, especially the books in the field of social sciences, and even more when it is known that the textbooks of history in Serbia are xenophobic. The students in Presheva, along with generations have learned through notes and teachers or professors have never forced them to buy translated books. Because the school text is difficult to translate adequately in the absence of professional translators, and all this negatively affects the learning process, and the regular development of the learning process (See: Mustafa, A Text for the Scandal of Texts). Thus, they prefer the book to be brought from Kosovo or Albania because it coincides fully with the needs of students and teachers.

The National Council of the Albanian Minority in Serbia, dealing with the Albanian texts' proposal and prioritizing the issue of education, has made a series of efforts to provide Albanian-language books for preschool, primary and secondary students. In this institution's report on the implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, claims that despite the very efforts, the Council has managed to secure only 63 textbooks for primary schools which are allowed for publication, of which 45 are textbooks and 18 workbooks. From these, 18 textbooks and workbooks are from Albania, 10 textbooks and workbooks by local authors and 35 textbooks and workbooks translated by the Council. Also, the Council has a large number of requests towards the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Serbia to allow using these textbooks from Albania: biology, chemistry, history, figurative art, music culture and geography (Report of the National Council of the Albanian National Minorities on the implementation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 2). Despite symbolic equipment with some of the textbooks for the primary cycle where we encounter a number of problems with editing textbooks policies, there are still drastic shortages in both cycles. There are still about 100 titles needed for primary school and about 400 for high school (Kamberi: Serbia vs. Valley Albanians has changed the method but not the content). It is a worrying fact that for nearly 140 subjects taught in high schools, Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja, almost no textbooks have a relevant permission for use by the Ministry of Education by the Republic of Serbia. Moreover, more than 41,000 textbooks are needed for students in general for high schools (See more: Presevo, Albanian schools at risk).

The extreme discrimination that is being made to Albanians in the Valley, especially in the field of public education has made systematic reflections on local and non-local political representatives; here the former deputy in the Serbian Parliament, Riza Halimi, responsible for the unwillingness to solve the problem of the texts finds the Serbian government and the Coordination Body for Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac (Coordination Body for Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja). It is very clear that the direct responsibility for the continuation of this discriminating situation in the Albanian language schools falls on the Serbian government, namely on its Ministry of Education, but also on the Coordination Body for Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja, who had taken over as obligation to realize the 2001 government program to resolve the crisis in the Presheva Valley, said Riza Halimi (Interview, Riza Halimi, Continues discrimination of the Albanian school in the Valley).

Local institutions, being aware of the sensitivity of the issue have also committed external factors to resolve the issue in question. In this feature we can refer to the request of two former MPs in the Serbian Parliament, Riza Halimi and the current Mayor of the Municipality of Bujanovac, Shaip Kamberi for the necessity of interfering with the international factor in solving this problem. According to them, Albanian students are not able to realize the constitutional principle of "equal opportunities" and this way they are in an unequal position with their peers in other environments and their mediation in this process is indispensable. While the former head of the European Union delegation in Serbia, Michael Davenport has responded by saying that the European Union attaches special importance to full respect for human and minority rights, which is an integral part of Chapter 23 in the negotiations of Serbia's accession to the EU. Also Davenport has suggested that the Albanian National Council should be encouraged to adopt a collaborative approach to this issue with the Serbian Ministry of Education (See also: Ambassador Davenport speaks of the lack of textbooks in the Valley and Kosovo diplomas)The international party does not hold a firm stance on the dispute in question, but it implies that the fulfillment of minority rights is one of the most important in the integration process and insists on a consensual statement between the parties.

Already convinced of the lack of political will of the Serbian government and their reliance on devotion to solving the problem, Albanians insist that the possible solution is the political conditionality from the countries of origin such as Kosovo and Albania, so the political positions of the mother countries can be factors determinant in solving problems in the field of education. Normally, an inseparable part of the problem is the international factor, which despite the declarative will to insist on resolving minority issues in line with European standards for minorities, should also be a condition for Serbia's Euro-Atlantic integration.

EFFORTS FROM PRISHTINA AND TIRANA

In 2015, the presence of representatives of the Parliamentary Committee for Education, Science, Technology, Culture, Youth and Sports from the Kosovo Parliament in the Presheva Valley made possible to be informed closely with the problems of the Albanian minority in Serbia, especially those in the field of education. This subsequently resulted in an agreement between the Minister of Education in Kosovo, Mr. Arsim Bajrami and his counterpart, Srdjan Verbic in Belgrade, to supply the Albanian community in Serbia with schoolbooks for students (Kosovo and Serbia agree to exchange textbooks).

Referring to the agreement reached in September 2015, Pristina had to supply with textbooks the Albanian communities in Serbia, while Belgrade should do the same for Serbs in Kosovo. Also under the agreement, the respective ministries were also supposed to pay the financial cost. This was considered extremely important because for the first time the parties had reached such an agreement since the end of the war in 1999. The Ministry of Education and Science of Kosovo sent a contingent carrying a total of 103,222 school textbooks, which were banned at the Serbian customs office in Presevo, where they were held for six consecutive months and turned back at the end. This was because the content of these textbooks was contested by Serbian authorities and was not allowed to benefit the Albanian students of the Valley. Meanwhile, in reflection with this, Albanians in Serbia organized a protest under the motto "We want textbooks in Albanian language", calling for the release of textbooks from Kosovo. Former Foreign Minister of that time and Serbia's current Prime Minister, Ivica Dacic said that texts are politically unacceptable. Among other things, he stated that "You want textbooks from Kosovo or Albania to be used in Serbia and you want students in Serbia to learn that Kosovo is independent, which will not be possible." Also, the former Prime Minister and current President of Serbia, Alexander Vucic, made a similar statement for the textbooks depicting that KLA fighter Adem Jashari as a national hero can not be used in Serbian schools (VV: 107 years from the Congress of Manastir - Valley without texts in Albanian). Thus, the Kosovo-Serbia agreements, as most of the times are implemented unilaterally, applicable only to Kosovo Serbs and not to Albanians in Serbia. Because Kosovo never disputes the content of those texts, even though it would have more right to do than the Serbian state, because they do not know the independence of Kosovo and in their textbooks it is learned that Kosovo is Serbia. The paradox of the issue is that both Albanians in Serbia and Serbs in Kosovo learn with the same textbooks, those texts where their content is xenophobic for Albanians.

This very sensitive issue for Albanians in the Presheva Valley did not leave without touching the Prime Minister of Albania, Mr. Edi Rama. In October 2016, an agreement was reached in the meeting between the two prime ministers in Nis. This agreement, though not written, but simply an "oral agreement" allowed the official Tirana to provide pupils in the municipalities of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedje with textbooks in Albanian language, mostly of the exact sciences but not with those of social sciences. The model proposed by Prime Minister Rama, which was acceptable to the Serbian authorities, was for our students to learn books from Oxford and Cambridge that possesses Tirana in Albanian, which will also be used by Albanian students of the Presevo Valley (Agreement reached, valley students with textbooks from Albania). What did not go from the beginning of this "agreement" is the fact that nothing written was reached between the parties, merely a declarative-oral achievement, and this did not oblige the parties to enforce this agreement. This agreement has not been realized so far and the reasons for not reaching this agreement have never been made public. This implies that the Serbian state does not have the readiness to resolve this issue for the Albanians of Serbia, regardless of the type of texts, the exact or the social ones.

In this context we can also mention a recent initiative (2019) by the Republic of Albania on the issue of textbooks. The Minister of Education, Sports and Youth of the Republic of Albania, Besa Shahini and the Minister of Education, Science and Technological Development Mladen Sharqeviq, agreed to create a joint working group at the expert level, which would analyze curricula for each subject in both countries. (See more: ANC: "The Beginning of the End of Discrimination with the Lack of School Books"). Thus, the parties have agreed only to start addressing this issue and have authorized a working group to analyze the plans of the respective countries and in accordance with the program plan to make the choice of texts to be used. Without prejudice to the results of this initiative, there is something that does not go into the approach of this issue. Creating a working group means reviewing and

selecting issues that can not be problematic and controversial in terms of value for the Serbian state. This could be another discriminatory approach of the Serbian state to the Albanian minority in Serbia.

BELGRADE'S ATTITUDES

So far, the treatment to solve the problem of school textbooks from Belgrade is extremely denigrating and discriminatory. Albanian students learn from the notes dictated by teachers, in some cases with outdated books, with photocopied texts, from improvising lectures by teachers. This form of approach to the problem proves that blocking the resolution of the issue can not at all be of the technical and procedural nature, but of the ethnic and political nature, this position strengthens President A.Vucic's statement that "texts with the inscription "Republic of Kosova" can not be allowed and where Adem Jashari appears to be an national Albanian hero". Also the position that the issue is treated as a political problem and not technically, is proved by the fact of intervention in the content of Abetare by the government of Serbia. In 2011, an agreement was reached on the use of Abetare, but this agreement results in changing the text of Abetare for students of Albanian schools in the Presevo Valley. This has happened with the insistence of the Government of Serbia and with the approval of the Government of Albania, respectively with the signatory of the agreement already the former Ambassador of Albania in Belgrade, Mr. Shpëtim Qaushit. The Government of Albania has donated a thousand other Abetare, worked with the standards required by the Government of Serbia, removing the flag and other national symbols from its interior. (Former Ambassador, Qaushi signed the "pro" removal of Albanian symbols from the Abetare). A complete approach is denigrating by the Serbian government, among other things, the Albanians of the Valley have been denied the right to represent the National Flag, even within the Abetare. But not only that, besides the flag, from Abetara, Shkodra has been replaced with Nis and many Albanian names and names have been replaced by Serbian ones, a completely xenophobic approach to the entire Albanian community. Also in November 2013, Serbian police confiscated 5,000 textbooks in Albanian language in Zenel Ajdini primary school in the village of Raince of Preševo, which came as a donation from the Republic of Kosovo, with the excuse that Serbia does not accept for the Albanian minority books in Albanian from Kosovo, while others should be evaluated on the basis of their content (With a protest is marked the first class in all of the Valley's schools). Also, here is worth mentioning the disruption of the agreement by the Serbian side in 2015 for supplying with textbooks the Albanian minority in Serbia. By not resolving the problem of textbooks for primary and secondary students, the Serbian state is continuing its policy of cultural assimilation to the Albanians of the Presevo Valley. Serbia, with the acts taken, confirms that because of its hegemonic claims to Kosovo and its dominant, often fascist approach, it does not hesitate to suppress the internationally guaranteed rights of its Albanian nationals to be educated in their national language and culture.

RECIPROCITY WITH NORTHERN SERBS

The Serbian state refuses to make similar treatment to the Albanian minority in Serbia, as opposed to the Serbian minority in Kosovo, which is over-legalized. The Serbian minority in Kosovo enjoys far more rights than the Albanian community in Serbia in all areas of social life, especially in the field of education. If we make a parallel about the functioning of Albanian education in Serbia and the four Serbian municipalities in the north, they are considerably more advanced. In a research by the GAP organization, "The curriculum is based on the Serbian model, textbooks are provided free of charge by the Ministry of Education of the Government of Serbia, while certificates and diplomas are issued according to the ordinal number of that ministry" (Governance in four northern Kosovo municipalities, Gap Institute). This clearly indicates the imposition of Serbia in Kosovo, but also the determination of Kosovo Serbs that they are always persistent in their orientation. Then, if the contents of Kosovo's textbooks are a problem for Serbia, then why should not the content of Serbia's textbooks be a problem for Kosovo? If we can answer this question in a logical coherence with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Serbia, can it be possible that in official textbooks of history of the Serbian community in Kosovo not to talk about the genocide of Milosevic's state machine toward Albanians, Bosnians and Croats , or genocide in Srebrenica not to be considered genocide, or NATO intervention in Kosovo not to be classified as aggression or other? Therefore, we can say that in the absence of reciprocity and equality in relation to the treatment of these communities we are completely in inferiority relations and are not in the service of peace and coexistence. What is the meaning of the normalization of Kosovo-Serbia relations if Albanians of the Valley are banned from Serbia any cooperation with the Republic of Kosovo? The issue of not allowing the textbooks of the Republic of Kosovo for the Albanian students of the Presheva Valley proves that we are not about normalizing the relations between the communities in question. So, if Kosovo allows Serbian students to learn, not only with books, but also with Serbia's programs, then the least that may be required is to allow the use of books from Kosovo in Valley schools.

CONCLUSION

The Serbian state is not showing readiness to solve the problem of textbooks and school curricula in Albanian for the Albanian minority in Serbia. The actions so far show that the Serbian side insists on the translation of texts as a single solution and acceptable to them. Thus, it shows that it is for the identity of the Albanians of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja as far as possible differentiated from national culture, tradition and historiography. The Albanian party insists on importing texts from the Republic of Kosovo or the Republic of Albania because such a right is guaranteed by the Serbian legislation in force. Being aware of the sensitivity of the issue, the conflicting past and the value conflicts between the parties, we can say that the most sustainable solution is the mutual approach to the respective minorities. If such a right does not deprive the Serbs of Kosovo, then Albanians in Serbia should also not be deprived of this right because the rights of minorities are universal and not exclusive. So this must be achieved through political conditioning if "you" then "us" and vice versa. The Government of Kosovo should use political and democratic means to convince or condition the Serbian side of the principle of reciprocity, which implies that textbooks for the Albanian minority in Serbia should be provided by the Republic of Kosovo as is currently provided for the Serb minority in Kosovo by Republic of Serbia. Thus, in order that the Albanians of the Presheva Valley have the opportunity to use textbooks compiled by Albanian academics and not be deprived of the history, culture and tradition of their predecessors, as it stands in reality. This should be initiated by the state of Kosovo and supported by the Republic of Albania and the international factor. Because such an approach does not necessarily mean a one-sided solution to the problem and distorts the "other" historiography and culture, but an equal solution for the parties. So, with reciprocity, to change the traditional dominant political worldview towards the Albanians, so that Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja stop being the most underdeveloped and most ghettoed area of the Serbian state. The implicated parties should encourage an intercultural dialogue with mutual respect between all persons living in their territories without any ethnic, cultural, educational, linguistic or religious differences.

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