

THE QUEST FOR ALBANIAN-LANGUAGE UNIVERSITY IN NORTH MACEDONIA DURING THE EARLY 1990s

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Abstract

In North Macedonia as multiethnic society the right for education in mother tongue it was closely linked with the minority education rights, especially in the first decade after the declaration of the state's independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Legal framework that existed in that period displayed inconsistency between the country's Constitution and the Law on Education. The question for an Albanian-language University became an issue of confrontation between the Government and the Albanians. Therefore, the Government perceiving it as unconstitutional and illegal while the Albanians referring to it as fundamental human right. Escalation of the situation in 1995 damaged also interethnic relations.

Fostering mutual cooperation within complex political, economic and societal landscape required strong political readiness for compromises towards sustainable solution. Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Convention against Discrimination in Education offered the framework for comprehensive understanding for promotion and protection of the right for education, especially for North Macedonia where foreign policy priority had been strengthening international recognition through the conclusion of multilateral treaties and membership in international organizations. Considering that UN and OSCE were actively engaged in most of the crucial processes of that time, in the country, the purpose of this paper it was studying the UN and OSCE attitude regarding the question for an Albanian-Language University in North Macedonia, for the period from 1993 to 1995. Through content analysis of the respective documents the following research questions are answered: How UN Special Rapporteur assessed North Macedonia's progress on minorities educational rights?; and Under what conditions OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities came out with the recommendation for the establishment of a private university in North Macedonia proposing Albanian among the main languages of instruction?

Keywords: educational policy, quota system, tertiary education, minority education rights, Albanian

1. Introduction

Steps towards consolidated democracy and market economy embody the issues of integration, especially in multiethnic societies. Equal access to quality education, including the right to education in mother tongue, it is one of the pillars upon which can be founded the interethnic dialogue and peace sustainability because it creates the possibility for individuals and ethnic groups to feel and perceive themselves as constituent element of the society which in essence has to do with the sense of belonging and loyalty to the ethnic community and the state. Certainly coexistence and interaction can be achieved only through the opportunities for complete political, economic, societal, cultural and educational participation.

In North Macedonia¹ after the declaration of the independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia a new political, economic and societal context existed. Country's

¹ In this paper, aiming to be avoided technical misunderstandings will be used solely the term North Macedonia, equally referring to the expressions Republic of Macedonia, Macedonia or FYROM found in the international documents from the period before the name change in 2019. As well, for the same reason OSCE and CSCE are used interchangeably.

transition to parliamentary democracy had to be accompanied with an attitude of expanding human rights even in the field of education, in terms of mother tongue education, equal access in education and participation in policy-making. In early 1990s, percentage of primary schools where Albanian pupils could learn in their mother language it was higher compared to the number of the high schools. It must be underlined that the right for education in mother tongue it was not provided all over the country where Albanians comprised significant number of the population. As well, during the primary education Albanian pupils continually attended Macedonian language courses defined as obligatory in the teaching curricula, aiming Albanian youth more easily to be integrated within the state and the society. Considering that state's economic conditions seriously deteriorated and as such had direct impact over citizens' wellbeing, Albanians in North Macedonia begun to feel the pressure of those political and economic changes. Initiative of the Albanians for Albanian-Language University in North Macedonia it was an act against the discrimination, particularly found in the tertiary education. Under those circumstances, attitude and active involvement of third party it was unavoidable. The Government and Albanians in North Macedonia hold on their expectations for the support of international community where both sides saw very reasonable their initial positions. Coming to mutually acceptable agreement meant overcoming the deadlock that had to do with whether the right for tertiary education in Albanian language to be guaranteed; and whether the agreement would include the solution for public or private university. United Nations (UN) and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) activity were present since the early 1990s, monitoring events on national and regional level in the field of political and economic changes, peace and stability, nationalism and interethnic relations. On those lines, the question for an Albanian-Language University became one of the issues they had to address. The purpose of this paper it is to study the UN and OSCE attitude regarding the question of an Albanian-Language University in North Macedonia, in the period from 1993 to 1995. Through a qualitative approach are analyzed content of the documents prepared and delivered by the UN Special Rapporteur and the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities. The paper it is divided in three parts: firstly exploring the right for education within the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention against Discrimination in Education; in the second and third part are included the evaluations and recommendations found in the reports, mainly consisting from the field studies of the UN Special Rapporteur and the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities.

2. The Right for Education and the Equality of Educational Opportunities

Universality of the right for education expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the Convention against Discrimination in Education (CDE) represent the normative concept upon which all signatory states are legally binding, including North Macedonia. The equality of educational opportunities it is preserved as one of the essential parts about the right for education, aiming to eliminate all forms of discrimination in the field. The two international instruments address several issues, including the tertiary education.

In the Article 26 of the UDHR it is underlined that the “*higher education shall be equally accessibility to all*” while Article 4 of the CDE contains the obligation of the signatory states to “*promote equality of opportunity and of treatment in the matter of education*”. Considering that further elaborations regarding the rights for education are enshrined in the CDE, in the paper will be looked over the definitions on education and discrimination in education, the right and access of the national minorities for education in their own language, the conditions for

establishing public and private universities, and the importance shown for recognition of the different education systems of the signatory states.

The purpose of the Convention against Discrimination in Education it is marked out in the definitions of the terms “*education*” and “*discrimination in education*”, too. From the paragraphs contained in the Article 1 can be derived the meaning of the formulation discrimination in education whereas “*discrimination*” it is defined as “*any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference whichhas the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education...*”. Language it is listed among the possible causes of discrimination in education. In these lines, education it is interpreted by encompassing “*all types and levels of education, and includes access to education, the standard and quality of education, and the conditions under which it is given*”.

For a comprehensive understanding of the above terms must be taken into consideration also the Article 2 of the Convention. In it is specified that the foundation of separate educational institutions it is seen as practicable in cases of “*linguistic reasons*”. Additionally, in the following paragraphs of the Article 2 are emphasized the conditions under which can be undertaken such policy, including providing similar quality and access to qualified teaching staff, study conditions, equipment, material and courses.

Responsibilities of the Signatory States lay in guaranteeing the right for education for national minorities:

“to carry on their own educational activities, including the maintenance of schools and, depending on the educational policy of each State, the use or the teaching of their own language, provided” (Article 5, CDE).

Moreover, in the Article 5 it is pointed out that the protection and promotion of educational rights for the national minorities not to lead to segregation or their withdrawn from the whole community. Referring to the previous sentences, the Convention it is adopted aiming to foster inclusiveness where integration within the society and the state must be the final outcome. In multicultural societies coexistence can be a challenging issue therefore all relevant stakeholders need to be engaged in building and preserving the trust between the citizens and towards the state institutions. In education, direct and indirect forms of discriminations, shall not to be part of public policies or of the political agendas. Practices of positive discrimination are justified in the sense of improving specific situation of disadvantaged national minority groups but not of creating parallel societies. Following this logic, the role of the Signatory States in combating discrimination remains crucial, especially associated to the commitments from the paragraph 1 of the Article 5 that “*education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms*”.

The right for education for all persons worldwide it is recognized with the Convention but significant attention it is demonstrated to the right of the Signatory States to design educational systems and policies conform their national characteristics. Besides, remain the responsibility of the states to provide at least primary education free of charge and to be obligatory (Article 4, CDE). Private educational institutions are allowed. Nevertheless, their foundation and functionality must be complied with the legal conditions and the educational policies of the Signatory State (Article 2, *ibid*).

3. UN Special Rapporteur Assessments Regarding Minority Educational Rights in North Macedonia

Since 1993 by the UN institutions it was paid attention to the question of human rights in North Macedonia, particularly to the progress made by the country regarding guarantees for the protection of the minority rights. Among the issues it was acknowledged the right for education in parallel with the right for employment in the public sector and the right for use of the languages. Furthermore, it was recognized that Albanians in North Macedonia were among the most discriminated ethnic group, practice which was encountered in various forms. In these lines, it was addressed also the right to receiving education in mother tongue. Referring to the Macedonian context positively it was seen that in primary schools Albanian pupils had the opportunity to learn in their mother tongue but concerns were expressed about the teaching and learning in the high schools and the tertiary education.

The UN Special Rapporteur monitoring situation in the country and being in close communication with the Albanians and their political representatives shared the impression that in 1993 percentage of the Albanian pupils in higher schools remained below 20 percent due to lack of Albanian language high schools while noticing that *“the long-held grievance that there is no Albanian-language university had been intensified in the light of the closing of the Albanian university in Pristina”* (UN Document E/CN.4/1993/50, 10 February 1993). Additionally, in the report were mentioned the Government’s efforts for *“broadening Albanian-language educational opportunities”*, including the quota system for national minorities in the higher education (ibid). This signified that in North Macedonia existed latent factors that in case of Government’s mismanagement it can lead to ethnic aggravations.

Apparent indicator to an ethnic conflict aggravation became in 1994. From one side, the Albanians in North Macedonia insisted that there were no serious commitments from the Government in improving the conditions for greater enrollment of Albanian pupils and students in secondary and tertiary education in Albanian language. From the other side, the Government stayed in its position that due to the economic crisis faced in the country their efforts remained limited.

Looking over the initial outcomes of the quota system a step forward it was seen even in the small increase of the students’ enrollment in the St. Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje while perceiving as problematic the insufficient knowledge of the Macedonian language by most of the Albanian students whose previous education had been mainly in Albanian language schools (UN Document E/CN.4/1994/110, 21 February 1994). Additionally, the initiative and interest of the Albanian local population in the direction of enhancing the enrollment of the Albanian women in higher education undoubtedly didn’t pass without noticing by the UN Special Rapporteur (ibid).

Mobilization of the Albanians in North Macedonia for an Albanian-language university in 1995 already it was reflection of the determination to resist the overall discrimination they faced in the country. Albanian intellectuals supported by the majority of the Albanian population became the voice of the peaceful resistance. The idea for higher education in Albanian-language it was seen not only as a universally right guaranteed by international documents but also as a mechanism that in long terms should give its effects over the employment of the Albanians in the public sector. The number of students’ enrollment based on the quota system definitively it hadn’t been sufficient compared with the disparity in the employment that had been present in the public administration.

In those circumstances raised two completely divergent perspectives. From one side, the Government of North Macedonia that defined the initiative of for an Albanian-language university as unconstitutional and from the other side the Albanian community that strongly advocated for international support convinced in the legitimacy of their request for higher

education in their own language. In the report of the UN Special Rapporteur it was marked as well the segment that the Government had undertaken “*informative talks although no formal charges have been made so far*” (UN Document E/CN.4/1994/110, 16 January 1995). The conditions of peace aggravated seriously after the use of force and grow of ethnic tensions. References made by the Government regarding the constitutional provisional concealed the political unwillingness. Further in the report of the UN Special Rapporteur it was underlined that:

“Although the aim of the request was the establishment of a public university, it should nevertheless be noted that, according to article 45 of the Constitution of the Republic, “citizens have the right to establish private institutes at all levels of education (...) under conditions determined by law. ”. There would appear to exist an inconsistency between the Constitution and the Law on Streamed Education of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, which is still in force and determines, inter alia, the conditions for the opening of a university; it does not provide for the creation of a higher education institute by private initiative” (ibid).

Moreover, in spring 1996, the UN Special Rapporteur came with the conclusion that “*the educational situation of national minorities, and in particular the Albanian community, remains one of the most pressing concerns in the country*” (UN Document E/CN.4/1996/63, 14 March 1996). Expectations about further improvements were associated with responsibilities that derived from the membership of the North Macedonia in OSCE and Council of Europe. Concrete recommendations were made, too. Among those it was stated that:

“The Special Rapporteur encourages the Government to continue its efforts to ensure equal access by the national minorities to education and employment at all levels, and in particular to explore alternative ways of enabling these groups to enjoy higher education in their own language. The special needs of the minorities should also be taken into account in the preparation of the new law on higher education. She calls on all parties concerned to maintain an open dialogue and to approach the remaining problems and issues within the framework of the Constitution” (ibid).

From the UN Special Rapporteur’s reports it can be noticeable that the approach of the UN begun to change towards the Governments of the North Macedonia regarding the question of the education rights for the minorities, especially about the foundation of the Albanian-language University. In some form, greater understanding for the Government it was shown in 1993 while during the 1995 and 1996 reservations started to prevail about the national policies and mechanisms. All of these had been reflection of the indicators that signaled that in the country if the issue of higher education will not be addressed appropriately that would trigger higher escalation of the interethnic crisis. It must be paid attention also to the recommendation for alternative solutions. Firstly, dialogue in such tensed environment where each side competes for their goals it is very difficult to be maintained. Secondly, in the search for compromise the competing sides at some degree will be obliged to withdraw from the initial positions. Thus, giving priority to the dialogue and compromise within the context of the North Macedonia began to come up the idea for a private Albanian-language University.

4. OSCE Solution on the Question for Albanian-Language University in North Macedonia

The active role of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in North Macedonia it is found since the early 1990s. Main contribution it was based on supporting state and society in addressing challenges faced during first years of the state building. Preserving national and regional peace and security remained main priority. In those lines, focus on democracy and interethnic relations endorsed the efforts for promoting constructive dialogue due to the fact that ethnic background represented the main factor of discrimination in the country and the potential trigger for an inter-ethnic conflict. Interethnic coexistence had to be strengthening through policies, laws and practices associated with equitable representation and anti-discrimination.

OSCE reaffirmed its support for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and peace in North Macedonia and its approach to work closely with relevant international and regional organizations, including the United Nations, in preventing spread of the Yugoslav crisis. Therefore, on the 16th Meeting of the CSCE Committee of Senior Officials, in Prague, on September 1992, it was taken the decision to be established the CSCE Monitor Mission to Skopje. Among the primary objectives within the mandate of the Mission were defined also the permanent communication with the Government and all relevant stakeholders in the country, including the representatives of the political parties and ordinary citizens, and its role as fact-finding mission in North Macedonia (OSCE Document 16-CSO/Journal No.3, Annex 1, 16-18 September 1992).

In the Helsinki Decisions of July 1992 it was underlined that “*fact-finding and rapporteur missions can be used as an instrument of conflict prevention and crisis management*” and defining the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) as the key actor in addressing the questions concerning national minorities. The role of the HCNM it was seen as fundamental in the process of information gathering, analyzing the context of the dispute, maintaining communication with the relevant parties and offering recommendations about the possible solutions. Further in the above mentioned document it was directed the attention to the competences of the HCNM to “*assess at the earliest possible stage the role of the parties directly concerned, the nature of the tensions and recent developments therein and, where possible, the potential consequences for peace and stability within the CSCE area*”. Recognizing the engagement of the OSCE and of the HCNM in the initial phase of the potential conflicts followed the purposes of the initiative “*The Challenges of Change*” that in essence were reflection of the political, economic and societal transitions after the end of Cold War, both nationally and internationally. Moreover, this determination initially it was seen with the signing of the Paris Charter, in 1990².

The first OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM), Max van der Stoep, soon after he took his duty visited North Macedonia where were expressed concerns about interethnic relations, including the secondary and tertiary education in Albanian language and placing it among “*the most urgent questions*”. Recommendations consisted in asking the Government to address the difficulties related to the Pedagogical Academy in Albanian Language within the St. Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje, to “*promote greater access of Albanians to secondary schools*” and as well to be provided “*proper training at the required level*” for the Albanian teachers (OSCE Document 1299/93/L, 1 November 1993). During the meetings in Skopje, Macedonia’s President and Government had have manifested concerns regarding country’s economic situation and perceiving it as potential destabilizing factor (ibid).

² In which the expression “*A new Era of Democracy, Peace and Unity*” represented the attitude of vigilant responds to the “*profound change and historic expectations*” after the Cold War.

North Macedonia's Minister of Foreign Relations responding to the letter addressed by OSCE HCNM conveying gratitude for the HCNM engagement in finding suitable and long term solutions on the interethnic issues in the country. About the first recommendations it was received the confirmation that "*Government basically accepts them*" (ibid). It didn't pass unnoticed in the addressed letter also the country's economic situation and the call for its membership in OSCE. On the question of the secondary and tertiary education, were given assurances that the Government was completely dedicated and worked closely with the political representatives of Albanians in North Macedonia, Ministry of Education and St. Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje and that in near future expected to be improved access and enrollment of Albanian students in higher education and training conditions for the Albanian teachers. More concretely it was stressed the Government's decision "*on establishing courses in the languages of nationalities, including Albanian, at the Pedagogical Academy of Skopje*" (ibid). Besides the active participation of the OSCE Mission in Skopje dominated the attitude that the issue of interethnic relations and the question on tertiary education in North Macedonia "*prove to be mainly a local dispute with a local solution*" (UN Document E/CN.4/1993/50, 10 February 1993). In essence demonstrates that in practice during the process of conflict prevention especially in its early phases great attention must be given to the specific components that are characteristic for the context of each conflict.

Looking on the chronology of the letters exchanged after the succeeding meetings must be analyzed the content of the letters from 1994 to 1995. In addition to deterioration of the interethnic relations and economic conditions in North Macedonia, from these communications can be distinguished two elements: HCNM's request towards the Government for greater efforts in maintaining peace and stability in the country and the idea for a private university conform to the state's constitutional order. After the visit on November 1994, in Skopje, the HCNM gave positive remarks on Government's commitment to increase the enrollment rate of Albanian pupils in high schools for around 10 percent but stayed firm in his previous recommendations that those numbers were far below the enrollment rate of the Macedonian pupils (OSCE Document 3016/94/L, 16 November 1994). Concerns were noted about delays on carrying with responsibilities associated with the question on the teachers training, too (ibid). In the answer of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs regarding those issues once more it was highlighted that:

"The Macedonian Government being aware of the great significance of the education and its promotion for every state in general makes great efforts in order to provide continuance of education for a great number of persons, even after finishing primary school, by way of preparing educational programmes. It especially takes care of persons belonging to the Albanian minority, by allowing so called quotas in a number of secondary schools, what enable them to continue their education under favorable conditions compared to other students"(ibid).

Considering that for the Government the issue of education it was closely linked with its readiness and capabilities to accomplish the obligations that derived from international treaties, that in essence conditioned country's membership in regional and international organizations, including in OSCE, therefore for the Macedonian political leadership it had been of key importance convincing international community that they remained dedicated to the ongoing processes. As well, all that had to be achieved within a period and context that were very sensitive in political, economic and diplomatic dimensions.

The communication from 1995 contains the question of higher education in Albanian language as the main theme of discussion, mainly the tertiary education. Albanians and the Government stayed decisive on their positions. In North Macedonia what was seen by the Albanians as legitimate request, by the Government continued to be perceived as illegal. On those circumstances, intensification of tensions threatened national stability and peace. For that reason, the HCNM entirely had been focused on the sources of de-escalation which led to the

idea for a private university. According to him dialogue and willingness for compromises had to pave the way for a long-term solution. Therefore, his proposal maintained concrete recommendations: the university foundation to be in conformity with the North Macedonia's constitutional order and the OSCE principles, to advance inter-ethnic relations, to address educational deficiencies, and to be accessible to all communities in the country (OSCE Document 448/95/L, 28 April 1995).

Exploring in greater details the arguments for each of the components of the proposed solution it can be seen that references to the constitutional order were made because of the fact that at that time in the North Macedonia's constitution, Article 45, it had been guaranteed the right of citizens to establish private university. As well, that such an initiative met the OSCE principles related to the right for national minorities for their own educational institutions derived from the 1990 Copenhagen Document (ibid). Additionally, it was emphasized that the quota system even though it was an adequate mechanism it wasn't proportional to the percentage of the Albanian population based on the census from 1994 and as such didn't satisfy the need for higher enrollment of Albanian students in the tertiary education. This was one of the points which demonstrated that the number of the Albanian high school pupils interested in pursuing undergraduate studies it had been greater. In those lines, it was unfolded the proposal for two study programs, Public Administration and Business Administration, and curriculum to be defined by the Government. The justification for those study programs stayed in the premises for integration within a multicultural society and strengthening state's economy.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the name of the North Macedonia's Government, acknowledged HCNM continues strives for interethnic coexistence and conflict prevention. Referring to the HCNM's latest proposal the respond it was that in general Government's attitude for a private university it was positive but that were profound differences about certain details, including the use of the Albanian language in the tertiary education and about the compatibility between the country's constitution and laws with the 1990 Copenhagen Document. In the letter it was underlined that:

"The Government holds that your suggestion for the establishment of a private higher education establishment is not only in harmony with the Constitution, but is a follow-up to the intensive activity of the Government aimed at the privatization of all spheres of life including education. In this regard, the Government accepts your idea and considers that in our further discussion it could be elaborated and adapted to the existing legislation in force and to the laws to be passed" (OSCE Document 448/95/L, 28 April 1995).

In addition, the answer contained the objection of the Government about Albanian as the language of instruction:

"Any solution regarding a private university in the Republic of Macedonia has to take into account that such an establishment can be found in the constitutional and legal framework, meaning in the Macedonian language or under specific conditions in one of world languages. Your initiative for assisting the Republic of Macedonia in this sphere should have this fact in view" (ibid).

From the components constituted in the above referred communication it is obvious that had been created the opportunity for the establishment of an additional higher education institution in North Macedonia, supported by international community. Nevertheless, the main challenge remained in convincing the Albanians and the Government that such proposal can satisfy the requests of both parts, also contributing at that time for the ongoing country's political and economic transition and interethnic cohesion. Considering the contextual factors of the early 1990s the quest of the Albanians for an additional university in North Macedonia where would have been guaranteed greater access and enrollment of Albanian students had to be accompanied by the decision of accepting a private and not public funding university. That

meant abandoning the initiative for legalizing the project known as “University of Tetova”. From the other side, the Government had to demonstrate readiness to accept the Albanian as language of instruction in parallel with the Macedonian.

Under those conditions, fully had to be well developed the willingness for compromises and the role of the HCNM and other international organizations remained crucial.

Conclusions

The initiative of the Albanians for Albanian-language University it was reflection of the political and economic context found in the early 1990s. The call for equality prevailed among the Albanians in North Macedonia. The demand for recognition and preservation of the ethnic identity embraced also the need for inclusion of the Albanian youth in the labour market. Improving political and economic position of the Albanians had to strengthen interethnic coexistence. On the other side, Government strongly stood behind the decision on the quota system in the tertiary education and teacher training programs. Therefore, perceiving activities for Albanian-language University as unconstitutional led to the ethnic tensions.

Promotion and protection of the minority rights it was one of the priorities in UN agenda, especially in 1990s. UN institutions and bodies having the mandate to observe the progress made by specific countries continuously reported on the progress and challenges. Minority language educational rights it was among the questions that UN Special Rapporteur evaluated the Government’s commitment and advancements. Studying the content of the reports it can be concluded that were positive remarks about primary education in terms of guaranteeing Albanian as language of instruction. Regarding secondary and tertiary education through the years the requests towards the North Macedonia’s Government intensified because of the threat for endangering the conditions of peace. As argument was given the low rate of Albanian pupils enrolled in secondary schools and university. As well, emphasizing that closing of the Prishtina University additionally pressed for an urgent solution. The attitude of the UN Special Rapporteur about the question of the Albanian-language University it was that the Albanians and the Government had to reach an agreement through the dialogue and asking the Government to speed up the efforts for adaptation of new Law on Education as a mechanism of overcoming the inconsistency between the existent law with the Article 45 of the country’s constitution.

From the beginning OSCE attitude it had been in supporting North Macedonia’s territorial integrity and sovereignty by monitoring state’s borders by the Spillover Monitoring Mission to Skopje. Later Mission’s mandate it was expanded in monitoring national developments, especially interethnic relations. HCNM participation in the role of the fact-finder and rapporteur it was defined as essential. Secondary and tertiary education in Albanian-language was placed within the priority issues, highlighting concerns about interethnic relations in the country. From the visits and the communication for the period from 1993 to 1995 it can be noted that HCNM became more determinant in asking North Macedonia’s Government to be more dedicated in fulfilling the obligations that derived from the recommendations that previously he got assurance for their implementation, especially after the ethnic tensions in 1995. Within his mandate and competences HCNM, in preventing potential conflict in its earliest phase, he came with the proposal for the establishment of a private university guaranteeing Albanian to be also the language of instruction and under the financial support of the international community. Therefore, it meant creating the possibility for establishing another higher education institution and not continuing with the institutionalization of the initiative for a public state university known as “University of Tetova”.

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