

**A CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH OF EMIGRATION FROM KOSOVO AND
METOHIJA BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS**

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Abstract

Our research of emigration from Kosovo and Metohija in the period between the two worlds was done on the basis of archival sources, professional literature and the press. The analysis of interstate relations and the number of emigrants are the topics of our paper, which we tried to look at. The issue of emigration of the Muslim population from Kosovo and Metohija was related to the political and economic situation in this area. The Yugoslav state tried to solve the national question in the south by emigrating the Muslim population, primarily to Turkey and Albania. Various privileges were given for these purposes. Turkey was interested in this settlement because it wanted to settle its deserted areas from which the Kurds were evicted. The Yugoslav-Turkish Convention on Emigration was signed in 1938, but negotiations were stopped because there was no financial agreement. The emigration process stopped due to the death of President Kemal Ataturk and the outbreak of World War II. Analyzing the statistics we were researching, we came to the conclusion that the number of emigrants was twenty thousand within one year, which showed that this phenomenon was not massive.

Key words: Emigration, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Kosovo and Metohija, Period between the two world wars, Turkey

Introduction

Our paper is based on previous research related to the topic of emigration from Kosovo and Metohija between the two world wars. This subject has interested authors since the 1970s, but it was difficult to single out the area of Kosovo and Metohija, which in the period after the First World War belonged to Southern Serbia within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and then the Vardar, Zeta and Moravian Banovina within Kingdom of Yugoslavia, so it did not exist as today's geographical concept. In addition, the issue of emigration should not be separated from political and economic context. Also, in our paper we made an effort in additional research in the archives and literature to analyze the interstate relations that influenced emigration, the legal regulation of this issue and to try to reach an approximate number of emigrants from this area. Massive migrations of Muslims to the southeast of the Balkans and to Turkey began with the Great Eastern Crisis (there were 60,000 emigrant families on the Thessaloniki-Mitrovica railway in October 1878), culminating in the collapse of the Turkish Empire. The Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1908, initiated the migration of Muslims to Sandžak and the Kosovo Vilayet, which, due to the arrival of „The Young Turks“ in Turkey were proceeding as planned. These emigrants came as very poor, thus worsening the situation in the Novi Pazar's sandžak and causing the Serb population to flee to Serbia.¹¹³ Muslims emigrated to Turkey during

¹¹³ Hodža, H. (1978) „Uzroci, problemi i posljedice migracija stanovništva Kosova i pripadnika albanske nacionalnosti u inostranstvo“. In: Iseljništvo naroda i narodnosti Jugoslavije i njegove uzajamne veze s domovinom: zbornik. Zagreb: Zavod za migracije i narodnosti, 258. Hajredin Hodža states that during the Turkish rule, until 1912, the largest migration movements were towards the east. Due to military service, hired as escorts of merchant caravans,

and after the Balkan Wars¹¹⁴, which in 1914 gained mass character.¹¹⁵ The population emigrated first because of religious fanaticism (according to religious law, Turks were prohibited from living under the rule of other nations). In addition, they migrated because of family ties, fear of repercussions for acts committed by individuals over Orthodox population during the Turkish rule, unpunished injustices inflicted by individual authorities, but also for hoping for a better life in Turkey.¹¹⁶ They emigrated to some countries in the Middle East (Syria, Egypt, etc.), and from Kosovo (Sirinička Župa) to the United States, Canada and Australia, which had an economic character.¹¹⁷ Ali Hadri states that in the period 1910-1920 the population of Kosovo and Metohija was reduced from 475,000 in 1910 to 439,000 in 1920.¹¹⁸ However, the cause was not only the emigration of Albanians, but also the wars of 1912–1918, when the expulsion of Serbs from Kosovo was particularly intense.

Legal and planning regulation of emigration issue

The emigration of the Muslim population from Yugoslavia was legalized on 21 September 1928, pursuant to Article 55 of the Law on Citizenship. On the basis of this article, Turkish citizenship was granted to the inhabitants of the former Turkish Empire, which after the wars of 1912–1913. affiliated to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, "if, within five years of the entry into force of this Law, they declared to the competent first-instance administration that they will to withdraw citizenship" and "were obliged to move out of the Kingdom within one year whereby they were free to bring all their movable property good".¹¹⁹ For a departure from Yugoslav citizenship, one "simple statement" was sufficient, even the formalities referred to in Article 55 were not required, and on behalf of the illiterate, a mission official could sign. At the request of the emigrant, the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs would forward the lists to the Tirana and Ankara missions, as well as the Consulate General in Constantinople, for approval.¹²⁰ However, because bilateral procedures were not regulated, emigrants were often returned from the Turkish

or for deportation following Albanian uprisings, many Albanians came to present-day Turkey (100-200,000 Albanians). According to Serbian sources, in the period 1912–1913, about 20,000 people emigrated to Albania who could be assumed to be Albanians. (Janjetović, Z. (2005) *Deca careva, pastorčad kraljeva. Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941*. Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 69).

¹¹⁴ During and after the Balkan wars, 413,992 Muslims emigrated to Turkey (out of 1,445 179 who no longer lived in the conquered area of Ottoman Europe) (Karčić, F. (ed.) (2001). *Muslimani Balkana: "Istočno pitanje" u XX vijeku*. Tuzla: Behram-begova medresa, 57).

¹¹⁵ From April to July 1914, 16,570 persons emigrated from the "new regions" of Montenegro (from Bar). By the end of April 1914, about 40,000 families had emigrated from the area annexed to Serbia. According to the Turkish Foreign Ministry, about 200,000 Muslim residents have emigrated from the lost Balkan provinces.

¹¹⁶ Smlatić, S. (1978) „Iseljavanje jugoslovenskih muslimana u Tursku i njihovo prilagođavanje novoj sredini“. In: *Iseljništvo naroda i narodnosti Jugoslavije i njegove uzajamne veze s domovinom : zbornik*. Zagreb: Zavod za migracije i narodnosti, 250-51.

¹¹⁷ Pajazit. N. (1978) „Karakter i osobnosti prilaza izučavanju iseljništva naroda i narodnosti pokrajine Kosova“. In: *Iseljništvo naroda i narodnosti Jugoslavije i njegove uzajamne veze s domovinom: zbornik..* Zagreb: Zavod za migracije i narodnosti, 585.

¹¹⁸ Hadri, A. (1967) „Kosovo i Metohija u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji“ in: *Istorijski glasnik*. Vol. 1-2, 74.

¹¹⁹ Archives of Yugoslavia (hereafter: AJ), Collection: Yugoslav Embassy in Turkey (370), unit 56, page 500, *Zakon o jugoslovenskom državljanstvu od 1. novembra 1928*; Avdić, A. (1991) „Jugoslovensko-turski pregovori o iseljavanju muslimanskog stanovništva između dva svetska rata“ in: *Novopazarski zbornik*. Vol. 15, 112.

¹²⁰ AJ, 370-56-142, 487, 489, 499, 8 May 1933; AJ, Collection: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (334), file 26, unit 64, 851–852.

border at the expense of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.¹²¹ That is why this state sought to reach an agreement with Turkey on the eviction of Muslims, so negotiations between the Yugoslav and Turkish governments began in 1930.¹²² The minister of the court, Bogoljub Jevtić, and the Turkish minister, Ruzdi Aras, agreed in principle in 1931 on the expulsion of Turkish and other Muslims from Yugoslavia.¹²³

In an effort to overcome bureaucratic obstacles, the Royal Banking Authority of the Vardar Banovina¹²⁴ set out to indicate the visa validity on passports issued for emigration to Turkey (1932). Specifically, the Turkish missions refused a visa to anyone whose passport indicated that he had been issued for eviction.¹²⁵ Emigrants from Yugoslavia who were granted Turkish citizenship and had a regular Turkish passport were to be issued visas, while those who had emigrated from Yugoslavia but had not yet obtained Turkish citizenship were to be refused.¹²⁶ The Minister of the Army and Navy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia ordered that all persons of non-Slovene origin, who wished to emigrate, should be released from recruitment, and those who were serving on the staff term should be dismissed. However, he emphasized that in the event of non-eviction in a year, this privilege would not apply.¹²⁷

Turkish Minister Ali Hajdar Bey drew the attention (1932) to the Yugoslav Foreign Minister of writing a domestic press (*Novosti* and *Narodna odbrana*) on the subject of compensation for Turkish properties in the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia; those texts claimed that the properties had been forcibly taken away by the Turks several hundred years ago and, accordingly, they were not entitled to any compensation.¹²⁸ The value of the abandoned property was to be paid to the settlers and made available to the Turkish State by the proceeds of the valuation of the emigrant property, either in cash or in a loan for goods it would buy in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.¹²⁹ Djordje Nastasijević, national deputy, reported to the Yugoslav Prime Minister, Milan Stojadinović, that the Athenian newspapers wrote that a few thousand Muslims could be emigrated from southern Serbia via Thessaloniki and Piraeus to Constantinople. However, the Turkish government had forbidden its diplomatic and consular agents in Yugoslavia from issuing them visas for settlement on Turkish territory.¹³⁰

Since 1935, negotiations have begun to resolve the issue of expelling Muslims from Kosovo, Macedonia and Sandžak to Turkey. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia wanted to address the issue

¹²¹ AJ, 370-9-42, 506, 630, 3 June 1932.

¹²² Avramovski, Ž. (1964) „Prilog pitanju italijansko-albanske iredentističke propagande na Kosovu i Metohiji u vreme minhenške krize i okupacije Albanije“ in: Istorijski glasnik. Vol. 2–3, 125.

¹²³ Hadri, Kosovo i Metohija u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, 75.

¹²⁴ For more information on Kosovo and Metohija in the period between the two world wars, see: Slavković Mirić, B. (2018) *Političke, ekonomske i kulturne prilike na Kosovu i Metohiji 1929-1941*. Beograd: IP Prosveta, IP Princip; Jovanović, V. (2011) *Vardarska banovina 1929-1941*. Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije. According to the Law on the Name and Division of the Kingdom into Administrative Areas (1929), as well as the Constitution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1931), Kosovo and Metohija were divided into three banovinas - within Zetska were Djakovica, Istok, Mitrovica, Peć and Podrima districts, within Moravian banovina were Lab, Vučitrn and Drenica sections, within Vardar banovina were Nerodimlje, Gnjilane, Gračanica, Podgora, Šar planina and Gora county (*Zakon o nazivu i podeli kraljevine na upravna područja*, *Zbirka Službenog glasnika*, XXXVI, Split 1929, 4–5; *Politika*, 4 Oktober 1929, 3; *Politika*, 3 September 1931, 3).

¹²⁵ AJ, 370-9-578, Ministarstvo inostranih dela Kraljevskom poslanstvu u Carigradu, 13 May 1932.

¹²⁶ AJ, 370-8-216, Ministarstvo inostranih dela Kraljevskom poslanstvu u Ankari, 12 June 1939.

¹²⁷ AJ, 370-9-708, 13 July 1936.

¹²⁸ AJ, 370-7-27, Ministarstvo inostranih dela kraljevskom poslanstvu u Ankari, 29 November 1932.

¹²⁹ AJ, 370-9-631, 30 Oktober 1935.

¹³⁰ AJ, 370-9-657, 15 November 1935.

modeled on Greece, Romania and Bulgaria.¹³¹ An inter-ministerial conference was held in Yugoslavia on 20 September 1935, at which representatives of five ministries and the General Staff met to discuss the eviction of Muslims. Head of the Political Department Section Ilija Milikić, Advisor Milivoje Milčić, Advisor Petar Čabrić and Secretary Radovan Mitrović from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Inspector Vojislav Magovčević and Chief Financial Officer Djura Tatalović from the Ministry of Agriculture, Inspector Dušan Tadić from the Ministry of the Interior, advisor Dušan Trajković of the Ministry of Finance, senior officer of the Commercial Department Miloš Popović of the Ministry of Transport and Colonel Jovan Sokolović of the General Staff participated in this conference. The chairman, Ilija Milikić, emphasized that the conference was necessary because a large number of Turks and Albanians beside the border was a problem, while the number of Orthodox population was low (165,000). The poor results of previous evictions were outlined and the need to sign an agreement with Turkey was emphasized. The Albanian government has refused to accept Albanians from Kosovo and Metohija, citing lack of finances as the reason, although conference participants thought it was due to future territorial claims. The liquidation of the settler's estate was to be settled with a loan of 21.8 million dinars which was taken by the Ministry of Agriculture at the State Mortgage Bank. Expatriates were to be provided with free transport to the border or a discount of up to 75%, but the Ministry of Transport did not give up tariffs. Article 55 of the Law on Citizenship expired in 1933, and at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs it was extended until 1938. 20,000 persons were evicted to Turkey, while about 2,000 statements were registered for Albania, but none were granted immigration permits. Milivoje Milčić stated that "the Turks were a peaceful element that was not subject to nationalist propaganda unlike Arbanas, and thus, in friendly relations with Turkey, the issue of emigrating Turks and thus of Arbanas could be resolved." Milčić also stated that, „given that there were a large number of families applying for settlement, in the southern regions the only way would be to evict the Turkish and Arnaut elements and colonize them by the border“. Magovčević stressed that a loan made with the State Mortgage Bank should buy Albanian and Turkish properties, but the action of the Albanian Committee¹³² in border areas deterred potential expatriates. Measures to evict the non-Slovenian population should be facilitated through, for example, issuing free passports, exemption from duties, giving free transportation to the state border, replacement of surrendered properties, exemption from military service, etc. The process of obtaining numerous documents also needed to be simplified. Colonel Sokolović emphasized that expedition should be accelerated. He believed that potential expatriates should be separated

¹³¹ Turkey concluded a convention with Greece, 30 January 1923, on the expulsion of 1,300 000 Greeks from Turkey to Greece and about half a million Turks from Greece to Turkey (348,000 and 475,000), with Romania on 4 September 1936 (ratified 27 January 1937) on the emigration of 400,000 Turks, mainly from Dobruža to Turkey. An agreement was reached with Bulgaria in 1938. (Avdić, *Jugoslovensko-turski pregovori o iseljavanju muslimanskog stanovništva između dva svetska rata*, 113; Bandžović, S. (2003) „Ratovi i demografska deosmanizacija Balkana (1912-1941)“. in: *Prilozi*. Vol. 32, 214).

¹³² The Kosovo Committee was formed, with the assistance of Italy, in January 1919, with its headquarters in Skadar. The Committee was chaired by Hodza Kadriu, headed by Hasan Pristina, Bajram Curi, Sali Maljica and Sotir Peci. This Committee was very important in all political matters, as well as in relations between Albania, Yugoslavia and Italy. (Maliković, D. (2005) *Kačaćki pokret na Kosovu i Metohiji 1918–1924*. Priština- Leposavić : Institut za srpsku kulturu ; Kosovska Mitrovica: Filozofski fakultet; Dimić, Lj. Borozan. Đ. (1999) „Političke i bezbednosne prilike na Kosovu i Metohiji u prvoj polovini 1920“ in: *Istorija 20. veka*. Vol. 1–2, 89-104; Dželetović, P. (1990) *Kačaci Kosova i Metohije*. Beograd: Inter-ju-pres; Antonić, G. (2006) „Kosovski komitet i Kraljevina SHS u svetlu jugoslovenskih izvora 1918–1920“ in: *Istorija 20. veka*. Vol. 1, 30; Borozan, Đ. (1995) *Velika Albanija: porijeklo-ideje-praksa*. Beograd: Vojnoistorijski institut Vojske Jugoslavije, 75).

from those who carried out anti-emigration propaganda. In his view, Turkish children should have attended state-run national schools. Also, Colonel Sokolović emphasized that those who would not want to move out should not be admitted to either state or self-governing service. He also suggested creating a Serb-populated zone along the Albanian border.¹³³

The conference ended with „a project on the eviction of a non-Slovenian element from southern Serbia“, which in the first place implied that the issue of eviction should be resolved by a special convention of Yugoslavia and Turkey, as well as Yugoslavia and Albania. Also, if Albania did not agree to the agreement or if the Albanians did not agree to emigrate to Turkey, it was foreseen to move them from the border zone to the interior of the country, and to settle this zone with the population of Yugoslav nationality. Then, everyone who gave a declaration of resignation from Yugoslav citizenship should be given free expatriate passports. Also, if they declare that they were leaving all immovable property to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, they should be released from all duties and military service, given a free pass to Thessaloniki and Svilengrad, and all debts should be paid from the estimated value of their movable property. Railways were supposed to give a 75% discount, also. In order to make eviction more successful and faster, any anti-emigration propaganda had to be suppressed and the non-Slovenian population had to be required to comply with all laws and regulations, especially for the payment of fiscal obligations. Also, in the territory of South Serbia, and especially from the border crossings, it was necessary to invite non-Slovenian conscripts as often as possible to military exercises and in principle not to admit potential emigrants to the state and self-governing service, and to deploy those who were already in the civil service in the places where lived "National population". The principle of compulsory schooling of children in public elementary schools should be strictly applied, regulations on settling of the southern regions should be applied with regard to the restriction of the necessary complexes for settlement, first of all at border crossings, access to nationalization of geographical objects and personal surnames, as well as public companies, signs, advertisements etc; all this had to be applied from the border line to the interior of the country.¹³⁴

Negotiations with the Turkish government extended until 1938, when the text of the convention was initialed. At the Ankara meeting in 25-27 February 1938, Turkish Foreign Minister Ruzdi Aras proposed setting up a commission composed of two Romanian, two Yugoslav and two Turkish representatives and one Greek observer who needed to study more closely the issue of Muslim emigration to Turkey.¹³⁵ The Emigration Commission met on 9 June 1938 in Constantinople, and held eight sessions until 11 July.¹³⁶ The chairman was Hasan Saka, chairman of the Turkish section of the Balkan Economic Council. The Yugoslav delegates were Milan Ristić, head of the Balkan section of the Foreign Ministry, and Vojislav Magovčević, inspector of the Ministry of Agriculture. Milan Ristić emphasized that there were a large number of Muslims of Turkish descent in southern Serbia who would like to move to Turkey, and who, after selling all their goods and inability to move out, „fell to the government's expense“. In addition, it was pointed out that the issue of emigration to Yugoslavia was of both economic and social nature, as there was a large number of rural populations of landless people who were waiting for land to be cultivated. Hasan Saka pointed out that, for the settlement of about 200,000 people, the financial

¹³³ AJ, 370-9-42, 638–640, Interministrijalna konferencija.

¹³⁴ AJ, 370-9-42, 642,643.

¹³⁵ Avdić, Jugoslovensko-turski pregovori o iseljavanju muslimanskog stanovništva između dva svetska rata, 113.

¹³⁶ *Politika*, 14 July 1938, 2.

cost will be high, primarily because they would settle in Anatolia, where land for emigrants had yet to be bought. In that case, Turkey insisted that Yugoslavia give half of the amount needed to settle, or 20,000 000 lire (payment per emigrant), as well as financial assistance that the Yugoslav government would have to pay for part of the costs Turkey would bear. The question was whether so many emigrants from Yugoslavia could be settled because Romanian expatriates had to arrive at the same time and whether the period of 5 years should be extended to 6 or 7 years. Turkish representatives suggested that compensation be paid per family. Also, if more than 200,000 people were settled (40,000 families, it was estimated that each family had at least five members), 40,000 000 lira would have to be set aside.¹³⁷

Following the completion of the negotiations, the text of the Convention on the Regulation of Expatriation of the Muslim Population from the Territory of Southern Serbia (21 members) was drafted. First, the convention referred to a Yugoslav Muslim population who spoke Turkish and had a Turkish culture. The second article highlighted from which municipal sections the Muslim population was to be evicted (In Kosovo and Metohija, these were Šar planina (Prizren), Gora (Dragaš), Podgora (Suva Reka), Nerodimlje (Uroševac), Gračanica (Priština), Kačanik, Gnjilane, Peć, Istok, Kosovska Mitrovica, Djakovica, Podrima (Orahovac), Lab (Podujevo), Vučitrn and Drenica (Srbica). In the third article, the Turkish government pledged to accept 40,000 families, and it was foreseen that emigration would take place in the next 6 years (1939 4,000, 1940 6,000, 1941 7,000, 1942 7,000, 1943 8,000, 1944 8,000). Article 5 stated that the convention only applied to rural families, which could transport four pieces of large cattle and ten small livestock. In addition to the rural, the urban population could also be emigrated. All the immovable property of the emigrants became the property of the Yugoslav state when they left their residence. Article 7 provided that the Yugoslav government would pay Turkey 500 Turkish lira per family, or 20,000 000 for all 40,000 families. The Yugoslav government was supposed to pay from April 1 to October 1 a half-yearly amount in respect of the number of displaced families, 30% in foreign currency and 70% in dinars deposited into the account of the Republic of Turkey with the National Bank of Yugoslavia. These funds were to be spent on transactions and purchases of Yugoslav goods, free of tax, except those paid in foreign currencies (copper, wool, leather, walnut, oilseeds, olives and grain). The emigrants should have given a written statement that they were renouncing their Yugoslav citizenship¹³⁸, after which they would be granted emigrant status, and would be granted Turkish citizenship upon the signing of an annual list of emigrants by Turkish delegates. They could bring with them all movable property; the Yugoslav government was required to pay all the cost up to the embarkation port of Thessaloniki, and for surplus goods they had to pay fees at the lowest customs tariff. The departure of the emigrants was to be done on the basis of collective Turkish passports.¹³⁹

The convention had a weak echo in the Yugoslav press, primarily because of the secrecy of the negotiations. The big problem was that the Turkish government asked Yugoslavia to pay out 20 million lire in three years, which created the condition to move half of the estimated number of families within the same period.¹⁴⁰ In addition, the problem was that the agreement had to be

¹³⁷ Avdić, Jugoslovensko-turski pregovori o iseljavanju muslimanskog stanovništva između dva svetska rata, 113-119.

¹³⁸ AJ, 334-26-64, 381-543, 637-674, 734-740; AJ, 334-26-64, 742.

¹³⁹ AJ, 370-9-921, 922; Avdić, Jugoslovensko-turski pregovori o iseljavanju muslimanskog stanovništva između dva svetska rata, 119-122.

¹⁴⁰ AJ, 370-9-42, 773,777,927,931.

applied to the complex ethno-religious structure of the population of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.¹⁴¹ The provisions of the convention applied to the Turkish population, but also to Albanians and Muslims who declared themselves Turks, not to "Roma and nomadic populations". There was a vague „border“ between Muslims and Turks in this agreement.¹⁴² Hajdar bey, the Turkish foreign minister, pointed out in 1938, in a conversation with his Albanian counterpart, that Turkey was not a Muslim republic nor wanted to become one by accepting Muslims of other "races", which meant that it would not accept Albanian expatriates. Hajdar Bey believed that there were about 250,000 Turks in Yugoslavia.¹⁴³ Therefore, Yugoslavia's intention, through the emigration of the people of Turkish culture, to resolve the issue of the disloyal Albanian population, was not welcome in Ankara.¹⁴⁴

The Turks proved to be loyal citizens of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and were alarmed at the possible forced eviction. Spira Hadzi Ristic, national deputy for Skoplje, believed that the Turks feared that settling in Turkey would not be carried out properly, but abruptly and without order, so they should have the right to choose freely to stay or go to Turkey.¹⁴⁵ Unlike the Turks, the Albanians were a "restless element" in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Through Muslim emigration Yugoslavia tried to solve a problem with disloyal Albanians.¹⁴⁶ In addition, their numbers increased steadily. According to a report to the Royal Assembly in Ankara (18 October 1935), there were 505,000 Albanians in the southern regions of Serbia until 1931, and from 1931 to 1935 that number increased by about 65,000.¹⁴⁷

Number of emigrants

There are different figures in the historiography about the number of emigrants to Turkey and Albania, so we cannot specify the exact number of emigrants.¹⁴⁸ Miroslav Jovičić states that about 45,000 Albanians, Turks and Roma emigrated to Turkey between the two world wars.¹⁴⁹ Statistics 1929–1939. show that 16,885 Yugoslavs emigrated to Turkey and 4,322 to Albania.¹⁵⁰ According to these data, the ethnicity of the emigrants is not indicated. The population emigrated not only from Kosovo and Metohija and from Macedonia, but also from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Vojvodina. This shows that it was not possible to talk only about the emigration of the Albanian population. On the contrary, the biggest decrease in the Turkish population in Yugoslavia is in the years between the two wars, and on the other hand, maintaining a high natural increase of Albanians, leads more to the conclusion that, above all, it is about the emigration of the Turks. The total number of emigrants to all countries of the world was 20-30,000 over one year. Therefore,

¹⁴¹ Bandžović, Ratovi i demografska deosmanizacija Balkana (1912–1941), 220, 227.

¹⁴² Dogo, M. (1997) „Muslimani kao etničke i verske manjine u jugoistočnoj Evropi između dva svetska rata“. In: Islam, Balkan i velike sile. Beograd: Istorijski institut SANU, 459.

¹⁴³ Dogo, Muslimani kao etničke i verske manjine u jugoistočnoj Evropi između dva svetska rata, 462.

¹⁴⁴ Jovanović, V. (2006) „Interministrijalna konferencija Kraljevine Jugoslavije o iseljenju „neslovenskog elemenata u Tursku“ (1935)“ in: Prilozi. Vol. 35, 110.

¹⁴⁵ AJ, Collection: Milan Stojadinovic (37), unit 54, p. 630, 1936.

¹⁴⁶ Jovanović, V. (2008) „In search of homeland? Muslim migration for Yugoslavia to Turkey 1918-1941“ in: Tokovi istorije. Vol. 1-2, 64.

¹⁴⁷ Avdić, A. (1985) „Opšti pogled na migraciona kretanja muslimanskog stanovništva na Balkanu od kraja 19. veka do zaključenja jugoslovensko-turske konvencije“ in: Novopazarski zbornik. Vol. 9, 147–66.

¹⁴⁸ Janjetović, Deca careva, pastorčad kraljeva. Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941, 69.

¹⁴⁹ Jovičić, M. (1990) „Ustavno-pravni položaj pripadnika albanske nacionalnosti u Jugoslaviji“. In: Srbi i Albanci u 20. veku. Beograd: SANU, 143.

¹⁵⁰ Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije(vol.X).1940. Beograd: Opšta državna statistika, 137.

the number of 20,000 emigrants to Turkey and Albania for thirteen years (between the two world wars) cannot be considered a mass phenomenon.¹⁵¹ In addition, anthropogeographic surveys of Atanasije Urošević showed that the evictions were not of a mass character.¹⁵² Officially, 1918-1932, 19,278 people emigrated to Turkey.¹⁵³ According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the number of persons who emigrated to Turkey by 1935 (according to the statement on resignation) was 21,500, or 4,940 families, while 1,350 persons (338 families) moved to Albania.¹⁵⁴ According to official Yugoslav data, 19,379 persons were emigrated from Yugoslavia to Turkey (from 1927 to 1939) and 4,322 Yugoslavs emigrated to Albania.¹⁵⁵ Some Albanian historians have cited twice as many emigrants as their Serb counterparts. They also equated the terms Muslim and Albanian.¹⁵⁶ Among the emigrants were those from higher social classes - former feudal lords and clerks who could not cope with the loss of economic positions and privileged position during the Turkish rule.¹⁵⁷ However, life in the new conditions was not easy and it was necessary to adapt to the way of life there, which caused many difficulties for the emigrants.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵¹ Gligorijević, B. (1990) „Političke, privredne i socijalne prilike na mešanim područjima“. In: Srbi i Albanci u 20. veku. Beograd: SANU, 218–19.

¹⁵² According to his research, they primarily went to Turkey and to a small extent to Albania. By 1935, 844 houses (about 4,220 people) had been evicted from Kosovo and Metohija (7,638 houses) - 804 Albanian houses and 40 Serb houses. To Albania were evicted 68 houses (about 340 people) and 2 Albanian houses (about a dozen people) to Syria. (Urošević, A. (2001) O Kosovu: antropogeografske studije i drugi spisi. Priština : Narodna i univerzitetska biblioteka "Ivo Andrić" : Institut za srpsku kulturu ; Gnjilane : Knjižara "Sveti Sava", 95). From Novobrdaska Kriva Reka (out of 2,944 Albanian houses in the whole area), 95 homes (about 475 people) moved out, 81 to Turkey and 14 to Albania. The eviction rate was 3.13% (Urošević, A. (1996) Novobrdaska Kriva Reka. Priština : "Grigorije Božović" ; Gnjilane : "Sveti Sava", 42-45).

¹⁵³ Janjetović, Deca careva, pastorčad kraljeva. Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941, 70. According to the 1927 census, Turkey had a population of 13,648 270, of whom 86% were Turkish speakers, while according to the 1935 census, it had 16,188 767 inhabitants. (Bandžović, Ratovi i demografska deosmanizacija Balkana (1912–1941), 215).

¹⁵⁴ AJ, 370-9- 42, 630, Ministarstvo inostranih dela, 18 Oktober 1935. Minister Sukri Kaja pointed out that "by 1935, about 600,000 people had immigrated to Turkey, of which over 400,000 came through the population exchange and the rest came voluntarily." AJ, 370-9-629, Ministarstvu inostranih poslova Beograd, 19 November 1935). According to Albanian statistics, between 1 January and 31 October 1935, more than 1,500 Kosovo migrants settled between Fieria and Lusnja (AJ, 370-9-665, Ministarstvu inostranih poslova, 5 December 1935).

¹⁵⁵ Gligorijević, B. (1997) „Između pravoslavlja i katoličanstva – Islam u Jugoslaviji 1918–1941“. In: Islam, Balkan i velike sile. Beograd: Istorijski institut SANU, 444; Mušović, E. (1981) „Jugoslovensko iseljništvo u Turskoj“. In: Zbornik radova Etnografskog instituta. Vol. 12. Beograd: Naučna knjiga. 68.

¹⁵⁶ H. Bajrami states that 1919-1940. 260,000 Albanians displaced (Janjetović, Deca careva, pastorčad kraljeva. Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941, 70). According to other Yugoslav sources cited by H. Bajrami 1928–1935. 31,000 people were displaced from Turkey from Kosovo and Sandzak, noting that Turkey was ready to accept 15,000 more emigrants that year. According to Albanian demographers, about 50,000 Albanians were evicted from Albania and about 25,000 to Turkey between the two world wars, stating that about 40% of Albanians were displaced by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. According to some Turkish sources, in the period 1934-1949. 2,340 families with 8,969 members moved from Yugoslavia to Turkey (Bandžović, Ratovi i demografska deosmanizacija Balkana (1912–1941), 220, 223). Hajredin Hodža stated that around 100,000 Albanians had emigrated to Turkey by 1936, and several thousand Albanians had emigrated to Albania (Hodža, Uzroci, problemi i posljedice migracija stanovništva Kosova i pripadnika albanske nacionalnosti u inostranstvo, 260).

¹⁵⁷ Gligorijević, Političke, privredne i socijalne prilike na mešanim područjima, 218–19.

¹⁵⁸ Jovanovic, V. (2007) „Iseljavanje muslimana iz Vardarske banovine: između stihije i državne akcije“. In: Pisati istoriju Jugoslavije: viđenje srpskog faktora. Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 85.

Conclusion

Mass migrations of Muslims to the southeastern Balkans and to Turkey began with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. The population emigrated for political, economic and religious reasons, as well as for the hope of a better life in Turkey. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia tried to use emigration to solve the problem of the disloyal Albanian population and to get land for colonization. Turkey was interested in this issue in order to inhabit the desolate parts of its country from which the Kurds were expelled. The authorities of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia tried various direct and indirect measures and privileges to encourage Muslims to emigrate. The final number of emigrants cannot be determined with precision, as the national statistics were incomplete and the data different. However, the estimated number of 20-30,000 emigrants to Turkey and Albania in the period between the two world wars cannot be considered a mass phenomenon.

Yugoslavia wanted to resolve the issue of emigration in a planned way. Negotiations between Turkey and Yugoslavia began in 1930. Representatives of the Yugoslav authorities held an inter-administrative conference in September 1935, at which a project for the emigration of the Muslim population from Yugoslavia was drawn up. It was concluded that it was necessary to sign a bilateral convention with Turkey and Albania. The Yugoslav-Turkish convention was signed in Constantinople in July 1938. It was planned that 40,000 Muslim families would emigrate to Turkey within 6 years. Yugoslavia had to pay compensation of 20,000 000 Turkish liras. However, the ratification of the agreement and its implementation were hampered by financial misunderstandings, Albanian propaganda against emigration and the outbreak of World War II.

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