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### **Emigration of the Kosovo Albanians into Turkey during the 1950s\***

**Abstract:** Based on relevant historiographic literature and unpublished archival documents the paper examines the scope of emigration of ethnic Albanians to Turkey during the 1950s and if the process was voluntary or not. Various factors contributing to desire to emigrate are also examined.

**Keywords:** Ethnic Albanians, Turks, Turkey, Muslims, Macedonia, emigration

The tense Serbian-Albanian relations have spawned popular and historiographical literature that aims at denigrating the other party, depicting one's own people as victimized and oppressed. As often as not, such views have nothing, or very little to do with reality. Worse still, real occurrences are spun into something quite the opposite to match the mythological nationalist narrative. One such episode is the large emigration of Muslims from Yugoslavia to Turkey after 1953. It is used to prove the alleged Yugoslav (or more often: Serbian) oppression of ethnic Albanians. In this paper we propose to explore

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as to the veracity of the version spread by some Albanian and other authors<sup>1</sup> about the process.<sup>2</sup>

When one examines the phenomenon of Muslim emigration from the Balkans, one perceives that it is the process that had been going on ever since late 17th century: as the Ottoman Empire lost its Balkan possessions, the increasingly larger part of Muslim population withdrew from the territories lost to the infidels. Some fled, some were expelled while others chose to emigrate. The Christian states that carved up the former Ottoman territories sometimes encouraged emigration, and sometimes just tolerated it. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia continued that tradition.<sup>3</sup> However, when the communists came to power after the Second World War, they radically changed the policy in all spheres, including emigration. The ethnic Germans were earmarked for eviction, so those who fled at the end of the war were not allowed to return, some were sent to Soviet Union, whereas the rest spent three and a half years waiting for their “resettlement” that never materialized.<sup>4</sup> However, during the

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- 1 Petrit Imami, *Srbi i Albanci kroz vekove*, (Beograd: Samizdat B92, 2000), 323; Hairedin Hoxha, „Proces afirmacije albanske narodnosti u Jugoslaviji (izabrana poglavlja)“, *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* 51–52/1982, 351; Robert Pichler, “Serben und Albaner im 20. Jahrhundert”, *Wegweiser zur Geschichte Kosovo*, (Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), 63. Claims that members of the Albanian national minority were persecuted and forced to emigrate to Turkey were also spread by Albanian diplomacy in 1950s. (Александар Животић, *Југославија, Албанија и велике силе (1945–1961)*, (Београд: Архипелаг, Институт за новију историју Србије, 2011), 649–657). Such slanders were spread as late as 1961, when emigration to Turkey from Yugoslavia was already on the wane. (*Исто*, 658.)
  - 2 For a list of Albanian authors who more or less depict emigration of ethnic Albanians as expulsion cf. Салим Кадри Керими, *Иселувањето на Турците и другото муслиманско население на Македонија во Турција по втората светска војна*, (Скопје: Академски печат, 2021), 136. Kerimi also adduces Bosniak authors propounding the same thesis concerning Slavic Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Sandžak.
  - 3 Zoran Janjetović, *Deca careva, pastorčad kraljeva. Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji 1918–1941*, (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2005), 67–72, 392–395; Edvin Pezo, *Zwangsmigration in Friedenszeit? Jugoslawische Minderheitenpolitik und die Auswanderung von Muslimen in die Türkei (1918 bis 1966)*, (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013), 56–61, 68–98, 168–220, 266–286; Vladan Jovanović, *Jugoslovenska država i Južna Srbija 1918–1929*, (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2002), 205; Idem, *Vardarska banovina 1929–1941*, (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2011), 106–117; Idem, „Iseljavanje muslimana iz Vardarske banovine: između stihije i državne akcije”, *Pisati istoriju Jugoslavije: videnje srpskog faktora*, (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2007), 80–92
  - 4 Zoran Janjetović, *Between Hitler and Tito. The Disappearance of the Vojvodina Germans*, (Belgrade: University of Mary, 2005) (2nd ed.), 191–286; Vladimir Geiger, *Nestanak folksdojčera*, (Zagreb: Nova stvarnost 1997).

1950s, as a sign of goodwill towards Western Germany (from which the Yugoslav government hoped to get economic assistance), almost all remaining *Volksdeutsche* were allowed to emigrate.<sup>5</sup>

From the point of view of communist powers-that-be, members of national minorities no longer had a reason to emigrate. After coming to power, the Yugoslav Communists strove to rectify the damage done by the minority-unfriendly policy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: national minorities became equal citizens, national discrimination was prohibited, schools began teaching in native languages, cultural associations were set up, poor members of the minorities received plots of land within the framework of the agrarian reform and revision of the interwar agrarian reform, they were encouraged to join the Communist Party, included into the new state apparatus and governing bodies.<sup>6</sup> Although not everything was rosy, a sharp turn in minority policy was obvious. Furthermore, the new political and economic system promised to eliminate social injustice and build a better society. However, the system – as everywhere it was introduced – was alien to popular traditions, mentality, culture and even human nature. The Communists designed a perfect system for perfect people. Unfortunately for them, neither the system could be made to function perfectly in midst of post-war poverty and centuries-old backwardness, nor could the populace be made perfect in just couple of years. This held true for the Communists themselves. Blinded by ideology, the Communist leaders were bent on creating the perfect world so it was no wonder that escaping from it was considered treason.

However, there were exceptions. As a rule, they were the fruit of foreign policy considerations. Already in late 1940s, couple of thousands of Czechs and Slovaks were allowed to emigrate to friendly Czechoslovakia<sup>7</sup> and Poles

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5 Janjetović, *Between Hitler and Tito*, 300–301; Michael Portmann, *Die kommunistische Revolution in der Vojvodina 1944–1952. Politik, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Kultur*, (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), 266–267; Branko Pavlica, *Nemačka manjina u Jugoslaviji. Sudbina folksdojčera posle Drugog svetskog rata*, (Beograd: Radojković, 2002), 81–82; Idem, *Jugoslavija i SR Nemačka 1952–1984*, (Smederevo: Naš glas, 1989), 43, 50–52.

6 Zoran Janjetović, *Konfrontacija i integracija. Nacionalne manjine u Srbiji 1944–1964*, (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2022), 306–314, 348–356, 545–585, 594/596, 607–610, 614–616, 629–634, 651–657; Ljubiša Stojković, Miloš Martić, *Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji*, (Beograd: Rad, 1952), 63–70.

7 Slobodan Selinić, *Jugoslovensko-čehoslovački odnosi (1945–1955)*, (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije 2010), 333–351.

to Poland.<sup>8</sup> Some 6.000 Jews left for Israel after the establishment of the state.<sup>9</sup> The newly acquired Italian minority in Istria and Rijeka melted away almost before Yugoslav rule over their homeland became permanent.<sup>10</sup> Some 80.000 Hungarians fled the country at the end of Second World War and those who wanted to return later met with obstruction.<sup>11</sup> Ethnic Turks (most of whom lived in Macedonia) made up a considerable part of the interwar emigration to their mother-country, but due to the distance and bad political relations between Yugoslavia and Turkey, their emigration during the first years after Second World War remained confined to individuals. Ethnic Albanians also did not fit into these emigration patterns after Second World War. After the war-induced emigration of some after 1912, and government attempts to organize their mass transfer to Turkey during the interwar period, under the auspices of German and Italian occupiers in WWII, their migration reverted to the centuries old pattern of migration from Albanian-inhabited to South Slavic territories: many Albanians moved to Yugoslavia, or returned from Albania between 1941 and 1944.<sup>12</sup> Thanks to the very friendly relations between the communist Yugoslavia and Albania after Second World War, the border was open allow-

8 Dušan Drljača, *Kolonizacija i život Poljaka u jugoslovenskim zemljama*, (Beograd: Etnografski institut SANU, 1985), 71–78.

9 Mladenka Ivanković, *Jevreji u Jugoslaviji (1944–1952). Kraj ili novi početak*, (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije, 2009), 299–355; Idem, *Brodovi nade. Alije jugoslovenskih Jevreja u Izrael*, (Beograd: HERAedu 2017), 63–118.

10 Darko Dukovski, „Egzodus talijanskog stanovništva iz Istre 1945.–1956.,” *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 3/ 2001, 633–667; Marica Karakaš Obradov, „Emigracija talijanskog stanovništva s hrvatskog područja tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata i poraća”, *Radovi za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 55/ 2013, 224.

11 Enikő A. Sajti, *Hungarians in the Vojvodina 1918–1947*, (Boulder, Col.: Columbia University Press, 2003), 440; Portmann, *Die kommunistische Revolution*, 272; Mihály Zoltán Nagy, “The Losses of Hungarian Minorities”, *Minority Hungarian Communities in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Nándor Bárdi, Csilla Fedinec, László Szarka, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 290.

12 The Serbian myth tends to exaggerate the scope of these migrations because the number of Albanian immigrants is uncertain. Various authors adduce figures that range from tens of thousands to 200.000, with some authors giving different data within the same work (Cf. Предраг Живанчевић, *Емигранти. Насељавање Косова и Метохије из Албаније*, (Београд: Експортпрес, 1989), 24, 47, 76; Branko Petranović, *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu 1939–1945*, (Beograd: Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, 1992), 253; Dušan T. Bataković, *The Kosovo Chronicles*, (Belgrade: Plato, 1992), 14; Веселин Ђуретић, „Косово и Метохија у Југославији”, *Косово и Метохија у српској историји*, (Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1988), 323–325; Коста Николић, „Комунистичка партија Југославије и албанско питање 1914–1944”, *Косово и Метохија у великоалбанаским плановима 1878–2000*, (Београд: Институт за савремену историју, 2001), 97).

ing Albanians to keep coming. However, after Yugoslavia's break with Stalin, Albania sided with the Soviet Union which led to the closing of the state border. Mass movement across the border was made impossible and only political emigrants, spies and terrorists crossed it on regular basis – as was the case with other East European neighbors.

Emigration of Kosovo Albanians to Turkey during 1950s was the consequence of emigration of ethnic Turks. The Turks saw an unexpected window of opportunity open a bit later than other minorities - only in 1953. Members of other Muslim nations also wanted to jump for it, which posed a political problem for the communist government.

Bulk of the Turkish national minority lived in the People's Republic of Macedonia.<sup>13</sup> Its existence was acknowledged right after the liberation and it was accorded the usual national rights like all other ethnic groups.<sup>14</sup> Unlike Macedonia, the much smaller Turkish minority in Kosovo<sup>15</sup> was recognized only in 1951. This curious exception from the Communist national policy was probably due to the wish of the new authorities not to irritate the Albanians. Resistance the Albanian nationalists offered to opening of Turkish-language schools seems to vindicate this view.<sup>16</sup> It is not quite clear if the beginning of Turkish

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13 The current name North Macedonia is a newfangled political concession to Greek nationalism. During the socialist period in Yugoslavia the republic was called Macedonia, even though it did not comprise the whole historic and geographic territory of Macedonia. We shall use that name Macedonia throughout the text, meaning only the Yugoslav republic.

14 Already in the 1944/45 school-year 37 Turkish schools were opened in Macedonia. Later on, their number increased, peaking shortly before the beginning of mass emigration in 1951/52. There were 144 schools with 13.237 pupils and 293 teachers in that school-year. There are no data about the number of schools for 1953/54, but the number of pupils was 14.155, whereas that of teachers was 326. (Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 290, 323.) Borče Ilievski mentions 144 four-grade primary schools in that year too, with the same number of pupils and teachers. There were also 14 eight-grade primary schools with 1.188 pupils and 54 teachers during the same year (Борче Илиевски, „Политички, економски и просветни аспекти на иселувањето на турско население од Македонија во педесетите години на XX век”, *Историја* 1–2/ 2007, 51). Due to emigration, the numbers of schools, pupils and teachers started declining in the following years.

15 At that time the official appellation was the Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija. For brevity's sake, we shall use the usual English form of Kosovo.

16 Arhiv Jugoslavije (AJ), fond 507, Savez komunista Jugoslavije, XVIII – k. 4/1-22, Nacionalne manjine u Jugoslaviji, [1960?]; AJ, 507, XVIII – k. 4/1-22, AKMO, 1956; Državni arhiv Srbije (DAS), Đ2, Komisija za nacionalne manjine CK KPS, k. 1, Šiptarska nacionalna manjina, 10. IX 1953; DAS, BIA, I/59, Izveštaj o zahtevima za iseljenje u Tursku, 1954; DAS, Đ2, Komisija za nacionalne manjine CK KPS, k. 1, [Bez naslova], [1953?]; DAS, Đ2, Organizaciono-instruktorsko odeljenje, k. 119, Zapisnik sa održanog sastanka Gradskog komiteta KPS za grad Kos. Mitrovici (sic), 23. III 1951; DAS, Đ2, Organizaciono-instruktorsko odeljenje,

emigration from Macedonia into Turkey spurred some people who have declared Albanian ethnic affiliation at the census in Kosovo in 1948 to declare themselves Turks at the census of 1953, as some researchers think.<sup>17</sup> According to them, bad relations with Turkey and good with Albania have encouraged some to declare themselves Albanians in 1948. Conversely, bad relations with Albania and better relations with Turkey in 1953, encouraged some to opt for Turkish ethnic identification. This is not proven, but it seems there really was a connection between foreign political situation and national identification.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the distance and administrative difficulties, small-scale emigration to Turkey went on during the second half of 1940s. However, the number of emigrants was small and they were mostly people who already had relatives in Turkey.<sup>19</sup> A slight increase in emigration was registered only in 1952, but even then, the total hardly surpassed 200 people.<sup>20</sup> However, within the framework of Yugoslavia's rapprochement with Turkey president Tito met Turkish foreign minister Fuat Köprülü in January 1953. On that occasion the two concluded a "gentlemen's agreement" on emigration of ethnic Turks to Turkey.<sup>21</sup>

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k. 214, Rade Rnović [?] Dušanu [Mugoši], Prizren, 7. VI 1951; DAS, Đ2, Organizaciono-instruktorsko odeljenje, k. 117, Zapisnik sa savetovanja sekretara SK i predsednika sreskih narodnih odbora održanog u OK u Prištini 3. XII 1951; DAS, BIA, VI/15, Spisak reakcionarnih eljemenata (sic) koji neprijateljski deluju protiv naše zemlje, a u korist IBE (sic) i zapada; AJ, fond 130, Savezno izvršno veće (SIV), 993/1503, Stenografske beleške sa sednice Odbora za unutrašnju politiku SIV-a, XII 1957. This was noticed both in Macedonia and in Kosovo. Opposition to declaring Turkish ethnic affiliation at population censuses was also evident (DAS, BIA, III/122, Nastavak saslušanja okrivljenog Taravari Abduraim[a], [s.l.], 17. I 1956; Виолета Ачкоска, *Братството и единството 1944–1974. ПOMEŽУ хармонија и дисхармонија*, (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 2002), 252)

17 Hivzi Islami claims the official "change" of ethnic affiliation was the only way the Albanians could be allowed to emigrate to Turkey (Hivzi Islami, "La population albanaise de Yougoslavie: accroissement numérique et répartition spatiale", *Population* 1/1983, 169). This only goes to show that emigration was voluntary. Islami speaks about "psychoses" of emigration that gripped the Albanian national minority (Ibid).

18 Cf. Керими, *Иселувањето*, 157–160.

19 Already by 1951 the Turkish government asked that all members of the Turkish national minority who had relatives in Turkey be allowed to emigrate. (Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 192).

20 During 1951 only 24 persons applied for emigration and 212 in 1952 (AJ, SIV, 992/1502, Tempo iseljavanja pripadnika turske nacionalne manjine iz NR Makedonije, [1956.]; Радмила Радић, „Иселавање становништва са југословенског простора средином педесетих година“, *Историјски записи* 1–2/1999, 158).

21 This was part of rapprochement between Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia that culminated in the Balkan Pact of the three countries in March 1953. Little is known of the "Gentlemen's Agreement". Its content is usually gleaned from the events that followed. What Hakif Bajrami published as the alleged minutes of the meeting seems to be a forgery. (Cf. Pezo,

Already during that year 2.240 people signed up for emigration, and following year the number increased tenfold. By late 1955, 63.961 persons applied, whereas 46.155 received immigration permits.<sup>22</sup> Borče Ilievski offers somewhat lower figures: according to him, 57.564 persons signed up until the end of 1955 and 143.800 until March 1959.<sup>23</sup> It seems these numbers surprised Yugoslav officials who initially reckoned with 30.000 possible emigrants. At first, they wanted to confine emigration to close relatives of previous emigrants, but then, likely on Turkish demand, they started stretching the terms. At the same time, because of Turkish complaints that too many Albanians and Macedonian Muslims were applying for emigration, Yugoslav authorities decided to confine emigration to “real Turks”.<sup>24</sup> Because of that and because of the increasing number of potential emigrants (on average 3.178 requests a month throughout 1954 and 1955) the authorities tried to limit the scale of emigration: partial emigration of ethnic Turks was acceptable, but an all-out flight of Muslims, especially of the Albanians, was deemed politically damaging.<sup>25</sup> In order to prevent that, Macedonian territory was divided into “blocks”, depending on the number of ethnic Turks. From those with larger number of Turks emigration was permitted, and from those with smaller number it was not.<sup>26</sup> It turned out that representatives of the Turkish national minority in that republic protested at this solution, since it allowed the Albanians from predominantly Turkish “blocks” to emigrate, and prevented the real Turks from pre-

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*Zwangsmigration*, 193–194, 201; Idem, “Emigration and Policy in Yugoslavia. Dynamics and Constraints within the Process of Muslim Emigration to Turkey during the 1950s”, *European History Quarterly* 2/2018, 292).

22 AJ, SIV, 992/1502, Tempo iseljavanja pripadnika turske nacionalne manjine iz NR Makedonije, [1956.]; Радић, „Иселавање“, 158. Edvin Pezo deems continued danger from East European countries in 1953, and the Trieste crisis that followed, influenced part of ethnic Turks to apply for emigration. (Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 200.) This may have been an additional motive for some, but the fact is that the substantial rise in number of applications ensued only after these threats had already passed.

23 Илиевски, „Политички, економски и просветни аспекти“, 51; Idem., “The Ethno-Demographic Changes in the 1950s in the People’s Republic of Macedonia: The Emigration Process of the Turkish and Muslim Population”, *Macedonian Historical Review* 1/2010, 175–176; Ачкоска, *Братството и единството*, 282. These are data of the Commission for National Minorities of the Macedonian Communist Party. Out of those who applied for discharge from citizenship, 125.795 actually emigrated by the end of December 1958 (Ilievski, “The Ethno-Demographic Changes”, 175).

24 Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 197; Idem, “Emigration and Policy”, 299.

25 Радић, „Иселавање“, 167; Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 302–307, 313–314.

26 Керими, *Иселавањето*, 155–156. It is not known until when the blocks existed (Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 309–310; Ачкоска, *Братството и единството*, 284), but apparently, they did not last long, since it became obvious that they failed to achieve the desired goal.

dominantly Albanian “blocks” to do so.<sup>27</sup> A migration of Muslims desirous of emigration from the “closed” blocks into the “open” ones ensued.<sup>28</sup> At the same time officials in ethnically mixed areas had difficulties in establishing the actual ethnic affiliation of would-be emigrants.<sup>29</sup> By the end of 1957 there was a wide-spread practice of changing one’s ethnic identification registered in personal documents in Macedonia. This practice was abolished only in 1958,<sup>30</sup> although already on March 16, 1955 it had been decided at the meeting with the vice-prime minister Aleksandar Ranković, that only real Turks would be allowed to emigrate and not Albanians or Macedonian Muslims. The criteria were laid down at the meeting for the police to establish the true ethnicity of would-be emigrants.<sup>31</sup> The Department of General Affairs, of the General Division of the Security Service (UDB) forwarded these criteria to police administrations of districts and towns.<sup>32</sup>

Between 1945 and the end of 1957 96.584 people emigrated from Macedonia to Turkey. Out of that number 86.380 were actually from Macedonia.<sup>33</sup> Between 1951 and 1956 some 18.000 people moved into that republic from other federal units with the intention of emigrating into Turkey: 11.526 from Kosovo, 4.540 from Sandžak, 1.184 from Montenegro, and 860 from Bosnia-Herzegovina. In late 1957 the government supposed 147.000 more persons would ask to emigrate (49.000 from Serbia, 97.000 from Macedonia, and some 800 from other parts of the country.)<sup>34</sup> These expectations were not fulfilled since

27 Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 308; Керими, *Иселувањето*, 156; Радић, „Исељавање”, 160–161.

28 Радић, „Исељавање”, 162; Керими, *Иселувањето*, 156.

29 Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 308; Радић, „Исељавање”, 160–161.

30 Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 308–309; Idem, “Emigration and Policy”, 300.

31 The first condition was that the applicant, as well as his family spoke Turkish; the next was that the applicant had declared himself a Turk before the authorities since 1944 (on being entered into the citizens’ ledger, on occasion of applying for personal documents), constant opting for Turkish ethnic identification being especially important (DAS, BIA, V/59, Zabeleška o sastanku održanom u Kabinetu potpredsednika Saveznog izvršnog veća Aleksandra Rankovića dana 16. III 1955. godine o pitanjima u vezi sa iseljenjem u Tursku iz Narodne republike Makedonije).

32 DAS, BIA, V/59, Josif Đajić, Turci, otpust iz državljanstva, July 6, 1955; Радић, „Исељавање”, 161; Керими, *Иселувањето*, 161.

33 6.140 were from Serbia, 40 from Bosnia-Herzegovina and 4 from Montenegro (AJ, SIV, 993/1503, Stenografske beleške sa sednice Odbora za unutrašnju politiku SIV-a, December 1957).

34 AJ, SIV, 993/1503, Informacija, December 12, 1957; Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 311; Радић, „Исељавање”, 164; Керими, *Иселувањето*, 154. For the 1951–1956 period Ačkoska, without quoting her source, adduces 17.257 immigrants into Macedonia, 10.959 of them



there was a drop in the number of applicants in 1957, because the Turkish government started limiting immigration.<sup>35</sup> Also, that year, in order to reduce the number of applications, the Yugoslav authorities introduced the obligation of five-year long permanent residence in one district, so as to prevent people from quickly acquiring Macedonian citizenship, shedding of which enabled emigration to Turkey.<sup>36</sup> The emigration reached its peak between 1954 and 1958.<sup>37</sup> According to Turkish data, 173.000 people immigrated from Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1966.<sup>38</sup> For the period between 1951 and 1971, a total of 181.391 immigrants is cited.<sup>39</sup> Thus, different time spans make comparisons more difficult. According to the sources from the Macedonian Communist Party, until mid-1958, 127.048 people left that republic, and by March next year the total reached 143.800.<sup>40</sup> Some Albanian and pro-Albanian authors, even when they do not imply that all emigrants had been Albanians, groundlessly inflate the numbers of emigrants: from 195.000, to 250.000, all the way to a fantastic 414.500<sup>41</sup> or even 500.000!<sup>42</sup> All these figures - both those stemming from Party documents and from nationalist hotheads concern emigration from *Macedonia*. It is much more difficult to determine that what concerns our actual

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having been Albanians from Kosovo (Ачкоска, *Братството и единството*, 265). Unfortunately, she does not quote her source.

- 35 Радић, „Исељавање”, 163. An economic crisis started in Turkey by mid-1950s, whereas the economic situation improved in Yugoslavia at the same time (Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 312). Increased investment in the less developed parts of the country since 1957 certainly reduced the number of those who wanted to emigrate for economic, and not religious or ethnic reasons.
- 36 AJ, SIV, 993/1503, Stenografske beleške sa sednice Odbora za unutrašnju politiku SIV-a, Beograd, December 19, 1957; Радић, „Исељавање”, 164. In Yugoslavia, as in most federations, people had federal citizenship through having citizenship of one of the constituent federal units (republics). Emigration to Turkey was allowed only for holders of citizenship of Macedonia who would renounce it when applying for emigration.
- 37 According to Turkish sources between 1954 and 1958 almost 120.000 people immigrated from Yugoslavia (Pezo, “Emigration and Policy”, 284).
- 38 Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 84. Obviously, there is a similar difficulty with both Yugoslav and Turkish statistics, since Turkish Foreign Ministry estimated that similar number of people (some 170.000) immigrated between 1953 and 1968 (Nikolina Rajković, *The Post-Second World War Immigration of the Yugoslav Muslims to Turkey (1953–1968)*, (Budapest: Central European University, MA paper, 2012) 3, 36). Also quoting Turkish sources, Kerimi adduces the figure of 240.000 until 1965. (Керими, *Иселувањето*, 163).
- 39 Pezo, “Emigration and Policy”, 295.
- 40 Ачкоска, *Братството и единството*, 270. Unfortunately, Ачкоска does not say what date was the starting point for counting emigrants. However, there is anyway discrepancy between her data and those Ilievski found in equally official sources. (Cf. supra)
- 41 Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 85.
- 42 Керими, *Иселувањето*, 162.

topic, i.e. the number of Muslims who emigrated from Serbia, and especially Albanians from Kosovo, who spent some time in Macedonia before emigrating to Turkey.<sup>43</sup>

The reasons for Muslim emigration were manifold and cannot be reduced only to political ones (as Turkish main-stream historiography tends to perceive them).<sup>44</sup> In that context, the trial of 17 members of the Yücel organization is cited as an alleged case of special intimidation of ethnic Turks.<sup>45</sup> They were tried in early 1948 for alleged ties to the West at a time when Yugoslavia was a faithful satellite of the Soviet Union.<sup>46</sup> According to Turkish historians the trial caused fear among ethnic Turkish population who could hardly wait for the borders to open so they could emigrate.<sup>47</sup> This explanation is far-fetched, to say the least. If that had been the main reason for emigration, why would the process culminate only ten years later and why would it go on (although not nearly with such intensity as between 1954 and 1958) well into the 1960s?<sup>48</sup> In fact the Yugoslav authorities, as well as some later researchers came

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43 Part of the Muslims from other parts of the country never reached Turkey, but stayed in Macedonia. For all these reasons, emigration of Muslim population impacted Macedonia in a number of ethnic, economic, social and political ways. The consequences concerned not only the change of ethnic make-up of the population in places the Turks abandoned, but caused also the loss of skilled tobacco farmers and artisans, transfer of land property to state ownership, dying out of Turkish cultural life, closure of Turkish schools, political passivization of Turkish political activists awaiting emigration etc. Cf. Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 317–328; Ачкоска, *Братството и единството*, 296; Ilievski, “The Ethno-Demographic Changes”, 176–179; Idem, „Политички, економски и просветни аспекти”, 54–61; Керими, *Иселувањето*, 166–171.

44 Rajković, *The Post-Second World War Immigration*, 85–87.

45 It was the organization founded in 1941 by Turkish intellectuals who sympathized with the Partisan movement and opposed Bulgarian rule. It had a nationalist and religious tinge, and according to some authors, it fought Albanization of the Turks. In 1947 the Communist Party of Yugoslavia condemned the Yücel as a secret organization in service of “Turkish imperialism” (Rajković, *The Post-Second World War Immigration*, 86–88).

46 Paul Shoup, *Communism and the Yugoslav National Question*, (London, New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 181; Rajković, *The Post-Second World War Immigration*, 45. According to Shoup that was the reasons many Turks declared themselves Albanians at the 1948 census.

47 Rajković, *The Post-Second World War Immigration*, 86–87.

48 Questioning emigrants from 1960s Nikolina Rajković learned that there had been no pressure on the Turks to emigrate and that some even gave bribe in order to be allowed to. One interviewee actually said there had been attempts at dissuading people from emigrating. Interviewees spoke about political pressure, but it was the same suffered by all other citizens. (Rajković, *The Post-Second World War Immigration*, 65–68, 88–91, 97–99). Bribe was mentioned already during the clean-up of “aberrations of the Security Service” after the plenary session at the Brioni Isles in 1966, when Ranković was toppled (Миомир

to a much more complex explanation. The reasons were manifold and often intertwined. It was rightly noticed that emigration was a long-lasting process that had started as far back as the 19th century. As such, it partly influenced the emigration in 1950s: once emigration became possible again, many people who already had relatives in Turkey were interested in joining them. These relatives often enticed their kin in old homeland by letters in which they described their allegedly high living standards and economic possibilities in Turkey. Visitors from Turkey had the same effect. Just during 1953/54, 376 of them visited Kosovo and Sandžak, whereas 368 people from Kosovo and 117 from Sandžak visited relatives in Turkey during the same period.<sup>49</sup> Such propaganda affected even those who had no relatives in Turkey but were economically dissatisfied. Such were to be found among all social strata: former merchants were unhappy with the abolition of private trade, craftsmen resented limitations to their work, peasants were grumbling over the mandatory sale of agricultural products to the government below market prices, over pressure to join cooperatives, limitations on size of land holdings, the ban on keeping goats, the pressure to move to towns and seek employment in industry (where as unskilled laborers they did manual work for lowest wages – which they perceived as discrimination) etc. The poor hoped for a new, better start in Turkey and the wealthy that they would be allowed to develop their entrepreneurial capabilities in a capitalist country.<sup>50</sup> Presumably there was also dissatisfaction at underrepresentation in government organs and public administration.<sup>51</sup> For that reason part of emi-

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Гагаловић, *Бурна времена. Косово и Метохија у државној политици Југославије 1966–1969*, (Београд: Институт за савремену историју, 2018), 56).

49 DAS, BIA, I/59, Izveštaj o zahtevima za iseljenje u Tursku, 1954; DAS, BIA, I/59, Iseljavanje u Tursku. Turska emigracija. Izveštaj o situaciji među turskom nacionalnom manjinom; AJ, SIV, 594/948, Odgovori druga Lazara Koliševskog na pitanja o molbama Turaka za otpuštanje iz državljanstva FNRJ, [1954.]. Some of these travelers obtained letters of guarantee from their relatives while in Turkey and prepared their emigration later on, after their return to Yugoslavia.

50 DAS, BIA, III/122, Nastavak saslušanja okrivljenog Taravari Abduraim[a], s.l., January 17, 1956. Islami sums it up as estrangement from the socialist society that was being built. (Islami, “La population”, 169–170.)

51 Janjetović, *Konfrontacija i integracija*, 496–505. In his interpellation for the Chairman of the Parliament parliamentary representative Hivzi Sulimani claimed that not the class-enemies, but workers and peasants were leaving, not for family, but for political reasons. He asked if people emigrated because of petty everyday discrimination in matters of taxation, hiring and firing, and if local authorities have committed even graver transgressions that estranged people from socialism and from Yugoslavia (AJ, SIV, 594/948, Hivzi Suljmani predsedniku Savezne narodne skupštine, Priština, March 30, 1954). Although Sulimani asked couple of legitimate questions, he soon withdrew them – presumably under pressure

grants decided to leave for national reasons, although we may assume that they were not very numerous since the Turks never evinced such lively nationalism as the Albanians, whereas after WWII they were granted the rights to schools, press and cultural associations. Furthermore, part of emigrants were not ethnic Turks, which combined with other elements, goes to show that national motivation was not among the most prominent. Far more important was the religious factor that many observers noticed with large part of the emigrants. Large number of Muslims were dissatisfied with restrictions the Communists imposed on religious practice and the way of life that went with it (religious ceremonies, festivals, wearing of veils, non-education of women and their absence from economic activities). On the other hand, large part of Muslims cherished faulty conceptions of the state of religion in modern Turkey that was still identified with the former Ottoman Empire in minds of uneducated Muslim masses.<sup>52</sup> Some hodjas fed such misconceptions and encouraged emigration.<sup>53</sup> Apart from these causes of longer duration, some ill-construed contemporary events in foreign policy increased the wish to emigrate: temporary rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the USSR in 1956 stirred fears of re-

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(AJ, SIV, 594/948, Predsednik Narodne skupštine, Moša Pijade, predsedniku Saveznog izvršnog veća, April 22, 1954). In their letter to the Secretariat of the Federal Government, the Macedonian authorities refuted Sulimani's claims. They denied any pressure had been applied on people to emigrate, although they did concede that local authorities still occasionally breached human rights. However, they pointed out that not only human rights of members of minorities were being breached and that such cases were not so numerous as to incite an emigration of several hundred thousand people – which was basically true (AJ, SIV, 594/948, Narodno sobranie, Izvršni sovjet, Veljku Zekoviću, sekretaru SIV-a, Skoplje, September 24, 1954). Kerimi also tries to elevate couple of individual cases of human rights violations to the cause for mass emigration. (Керими, *Иселувањето*, 147–148).

- 52 In the meantime that passed since the end of Ottoman rule in the Balkans (1912), not only the caliphate, but sharia courts were abolished in 1924, wearing of veils, *fez* and turban was forbidden, religious schools were shut down, European calendar introduced in 1925, polygamy was banned and (at least formal) equality between men and women was introduced in 1926, the State was separated from the Islamic Religious Community and women were granted voting rights in 1928, religious service and the Q'uran were translated into Turkish in 1932, Saturday afternoon and Sunday were introduced as days of rest, etc. (Antonello Biagini, *Povijest moderne Turske*, (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012), 64–65, 73, 76, 78; Lord Kinross, *Atatürk. The Rebirth of a Nation*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson 1966), 385–386, 411–417, 421; X. Ц. Армстронг, *Кемал паша (Сиви вук)*, (Београд: Народна култура 1938. (2nd ed.), 335–341, 364–365, 446–447).
- 53 Rajković, *The Post-Second World War Immigration*, 94–99; Ачкаоска, *Братството и единството*, 270–273–278; Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 156–160; Idem., “Emigration and Policy”, 288; DAS, BIA, III/122, Nastavak saslušanja okrivljenog Taravari Abduraim[a], s.l., January 17, 1956.

turn to former restrictive economic and social measures, whereas worsening of relations between the partners within the Balkan Pact invoked fear that borders would be closed.<sup>54</sup>

Many of these reasons that influenced the wish to emigrate in Macedonia were at work in other parts of the country where Muslims lived. Depending on time and place, other special reasons associated with them.<sup>55</sup> Propaganda of earlier emigrants about better living in Turkey spread through letters and visits in Kosovo too.<sup>56</sup> Among the reasons that were the same as in Macedonia were religious ones that were the fruit of Communist modernizing measures. So, it came about that peasants in the districts of Gnjilane and Bujanovac demanded at mass rallies permission to emigrate to Turkey. At the rally in Šurlan, one Faik Sherif explained this, claiming that allegedly there was no place for the Albanians in Yugoslavia and urging people to move to Turkey to join fellow-Muslims. He complained that women were forced to put down their veils, that they were sent to various educational courses, that Muslim soldiers had to eat pork “together with the Serbs”, that religious schools for training of hodjas were closed so Muslims would remain without them one day and no-one would be able to bury them.<sup>57</sup> Similar religiously motivated complaints were voiced in other places.<sup>58</sup> Considerable part of hodjas called on the people to emigrate to Turkey, that was allegedly their (Muslim) country.<sup>59</sup>

Apart from religious motives, economic and social reasons played a role with those wishing to emigrate in Kosovo too. Due to uneven participation in socialist economy (caused by objective and subjective factors),<sup>60</sup> so-

54 DAS, BIA, III/121, Analiza u vezi nacionalnih manjina na terenu grada Prištine, Priština, March 22, 1956; Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 159.

55 So, for instance desire to emigrate was spreading in the Sandžak in 1952 due to fear of the secret political police, the UDB, since many people from the region fought in anti-communist collaborationist units during WWII. Other reasons were added, such as opposition to female emancipation (DAS, BIA, V/59, Izveštaj o muslimanima u deževskom i šavničkom srežu, April 28, 1952).

56 DAS, BIA, III/121, Ispostava SUP-a Uroševac, Analiza šiptarske nacionalne manjine, Uroševac, March 20, 1956.

57 DAS, BIA, I/59, Izveštaj o zahtevima za iseljenje u Tursku, 1954.

58 DAS, BIA, I/59, Odeljenje UDB za grad Prištinu, April 1954; DAS, BIA, III/121, Sanaja Misin, Izveštaj Podujevo, March 20, 1956; DAS, BIA, III/121, Ispostava SUP-a Uroševac, Analiza šiptarske nacionalne manjine, Uroševac, March 20, 1956.

59 DAS, BIA, IVZ, br. 62 (1948–1968), Analiza sveštenstva na teritoriji kosovsko-kameničkog sreža, July 27, 1954.

60 Somewhat better average education, much larger participation in the partisan movement during WWII, higher loyalty to the regime, as well as personal connections with the ruling circles were causes that more Serbs than Albanians were employed in civil service and in

cial and economic differences were ethnically construed. So, at a conference in Uroševac on April 12, 1954, attended by the member of the Provincial Government, Mehmed Hoxha, an ex-gendarme said: “The authorities have pressed us with various taxes, we Albanians don’t have the same rights as the Serbs. Is there a Serb without a job? No. Is there an Albanian who has a job? No, we are called ballists<sup>61</sup> and prevented from getting jobs.” Similar protests were voiced at almost all conferences of the Socialist Union of the Working People<sup>62</sup> in villages, where demands for emigration were particularly loud.<sup>63</sup> The authorities were aware of the unemployment problem, but blamed the Albanians for not wanting to leave their villages at a time when jobs in industry were available and not letting their women join economic activities, because Serbs would see them unveiled.<sup>64</sup>

Ethnic tensions between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo were still very widespread after 10 years of Communist power,<sup>65</sup> and for part of the Albanians fear – however unfounded – was motivation for emigration. So, it was bruited among them that Tito visited Turkey in order to arrange emigration of Albanians into Turkey (sic!). In 1957 Albanian intellectuals spread rumors the government wanted to resettle and disperse Albanians.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, the fact the authorities prohibited emigration of Albanians from both Macedonia and Kosovo until 1957<sup>67</sup> was explained by Serbian and Montenegrin hatred of the Albanians. According to that fantastic version, Albanians were prevented

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the few companies that existed in Kosovo. Furthermore, due to lack of professional skills, cultural differences and language barrier, the Albanians were much less prone to seek work in other parts of Yugoslavia: Cf. Јан Пеликан, *Новим путевима. Косово 1958–1969*, (Београд: Службени гласник 2022), 54, 67, 95, 100–104.

61 Yugoslav Partisans’ appellation for Albanian collaborators of Germans and Italians during WWII, erroneously derived from the name of the anti-Communist organization Balli Kombëtar from Albania. The BK was formally against the occupiers but also against the Communists. It hardly had adherents in Kosovo, but after the liberation of Albania by the local Communists, their remnants blended with Kosovo collaborators – hence the derogatory name.

62 The main “mass organization” through which the Communists spread their ideology and political influence among the broader populace.

63 DAS, BIA, I/59, Izveštaj o zahtevima za iseljenje u Tursku, 1954.

64 DAS, BIA, I/59, Izveštaj o zahtevima za iseljenje u Tursku, 1954; DAS, BIA, I/59, Odeljenje UDB za grad Prištinu, April 1954.

65 DAS, BIA, I/59, Odeljenje UDB za grad Prištinu, April 1954.

66 DAS, BIA, III/121, Aktivnosti unutrašnje reakcije iz redova šiptarske nacionalne manjine tokom 1955. [it should be: 1959.] godine.

67 AJ, SIV, 993/1503, Stenografske beleške sa sednice Odbora za unutrašnju politiku SIV-a, Beograd, December 19, 1957; Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 311.

from emigrating so Serbs and Montenegrins could take revenge on them and kill them off one by one.<sup>68</sup> According to another version spread by Albanian nationalists in the district of Nerodimlje in 1954, the government wanted to exile Albanians and settle Serbs and Montenegrins. To that end, allegedly, lists of future settlers were being made in Montenegro. This influenced some Albanians who started signing up for emigration, thinking it was better to volunteer than be expelled later, or stay and be slaughtered by Montenegrins.<sup>69</sup> Fear of presumed slaughter that would ensue after Tito's death and return of king Peter to power spread as far as Lebane in the South of Serbia proper, as well as the rumor that all Kosovo Albanians had already applied for emigration. Mixed with fear were religious motives: opposition to female education, alleged forcing of children at schools to eat lard, or the ban on keeping goats that was allegedly introduced in order to force the Muslims to keep pigs.<sup>70</sup> Normalization of Yugoslavia's relations with the Eastern bloc awoke fears with some that the regime would revert to old ways abandoned after 1948 (mandatory sale of agricultural products to government, peasant cooperatives, following the Soviet diktat).<sup>71</sup> Serbian nationalist also stoked fears by saying one should sign up for emigration in time, for those who remained behind would perish. Around Priština fear of war was spreading in 1954 fomenting the desire to emigrate. It was also rumored that so many applications had been submitted in the area between Skoplje and Vranje, that they had to be sent to Turkey in sacks.<sup>72</sup>

Although the ill-reputed action of disarmament that was conducted with considerable degree of violence in Kosovo in late 1955 and during the first months of 1956 is sometimes mentioned as an alleged government pressure on Albanians in order to force them to emigrate, nothing is more detached from the truth than such claims. First of all, similar actions had been organized in various parts of Yugoslavia at various times since WWII. This particular action started much later than the mass Muslim emigration from Macedonia,

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68 DAS, BIA, I/59, Odeljenje UDB za grad Prištinu, April 1954; DAS, BIA, I/59, Iseljavanje u Tursku. Turska emigracija. Izveštaji opunomoćstava UDB-e 1954–1955.

69 DAS, BIA, I/59, Izveštaj o zahtevima za iseljenje u Tursku, 1954.

70 DAS, BIA, I/53, Milivoje Vučković, Želja za odseljavanje u Tursku, Lebane, September 7, 1954; DAS, BIA, I/53, Balisti i unutrašnja reakcija Šiptara. Izveštaj o šiptarskoj nacionalnoj manjini, May 1959. There was also unfavorable comparison with the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia when religion was respected, female children did not have to attend school and keeping of goats was legal.

71 DAS, BIA, III/121, Sanaja Misin, Izveštaj Podujevo, March 20, 1956; DAS, BIA, III/121, Aktivnosti unutrašnje reakcije iz redova šiptarske nacionalne manjine tokom 1955 [it should be: 1959.] godine.

72 DAS, BIA, I/59, Odeljenje UDB za grad Prištinu, April 1954.

and at the time when emigration from Kosovo was prohibited. The action was not aimed against any ethnic group, i.e. Serbs and Montenegrins were also put under pressure to hand in their weapons. Furthermore, the general disarmament action in Kosovo 1955/56 was eventually extended to neighboring districts of Serbia proper.<sup>73</sup> To top it all, at the time local Albanians saw it as punishment for expressing the wish to emigrate!<sup>74</sup>

According to Yugoslav authorities, the mix of various factors in several districts in Kosovo and in adjacent areas (Priština, Nerodimlje, Gnjilane, Kamenica, Bujanovac) led almost half of the Muslim population to express the wish to emigrate. The situation was similar in the Sandžak and Jablanica.<sup>75</sup> According to the estimate of the UDB as many as 95% of the Turks in Priština wanted to emigrate in 1956, as well as almost half of the local Albanians.<sup>76</sup> The UDB ascribed the beginning of the movement to actions of the “enemies” and its spread to lack of control.<sup>77</sup> Connected with this was the propaganda spread by hodjas before the population census in 1953 that all Muslims should declare Turkish ethnic affiliation. Barring that, they would allegedly all be baptized and Serbianized and prevented from emigrating to Turkey – the cradle of Islam (sic) where all Muslims should live. Under this influence whole villages declared themselves Turks. However, when demands for emigration became too numerous, part of hodjas and the “reaction”<sup>78</sup> started spreading propaganda against emigration to Turkey.<sup>79</sup> Main opponents of emigration were Albanian nationalists who claimed Albanians had nothing to do in Turkey since Kosovo would eventually become part of Greater Albania anyway. Some thought the emigration campaign was welcome, for even though the government would not allow emigration, the campaign would force it to make concessions to Muslims

73 Cf. Zoran Janjetović, “Sticking to Guns: The Disarmament Action in Kosovo 1955/56”, *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* 1/2021, 73–90.

74 DAS, BIA, III/140, Akcija prikupljanja oružja na području Prištine, Đakovice i Kosovske Mitrovice, izveštaji u vezi oduzimanja oružja po srezovima za 1956. Pressure some police officers put to bear on certain Albanians to emigrate represented misconduct and expression of personal malice or chauvinism rather than the government policy. (Isabel Ströhle, *Aus den Ruinen der alten erschaffen wir die neue Welt! Herrschaftspraxis und Loyalitäten in Kosovo (1944–1974)*, (München: De Gruyter Olednbourg, 2016), 213.)

75 AJ, SIV, 992/1502, Propaganda za iseljavanje, April 1956; DAS, BIA, I/53, Balisti i unutrašnja reakcija Šiptara. Izveštaj o šiptarskoj nacionalnoj manjini, May 1959.

76 DAS, BIA, III/121, Analiza u vezi nacionalnih manjina na terenu grada Prištine, Priština, March 22, 1956.

77 DAS, BIA, I/59, Odeljenje UDB za grad Prištinu.

78 The general term used by Communists to brand their conservative opponents.

79 DAS, BIA, I/59, Izveštaj o zahtevima za iseljenje u Tursku, 1954; DAS, BIA, III/121, Ispostava SUP-a Uroševac, Analiza šiptarske nacionalne manjine, Uroševac, March 20, 1956.



– to reintroduce religious schools, provide separate menus for Muslim soldier etc.<sup>80</sup> There were also cases where Serbs and Montenegrins tried to dissuade Albanians from emigration, convincing them that they had nothing to do with Turks. However, Albanian jingoists construed even these benevolent persuasions as attempts on part of the Montenegrins to hold back the Albanians, so as to be able to command and exploit them as servants.<sup>81</sup>

For their part until April 1954 many members of the Union of Communists<sup>82</sup> did not realize how dangerous the propaganda for emigration was: some remained passive, and some even took part in making the lists of would-be emigrants. Serbian and Montenegrin members pretended that the whole thing was not their concern, leaving it to Albanian comrades to deal with the situation as they thought fit. For that reason, it was possible for 179 Party members, 89 members of communal councils, 79 deputies of the Socialist Union in the Gnjilane district alone to sign up for emigration.<sup>83</sup> Members were puzzled that the highest Albanian officials, Fadil Hoxha and Ali Shukriu, State Secretary for Public Health and Social Policy, remained silent on the issue.<sup>84</sup>

Since emigration from other parts of the country remained forbidden for a long time, the way to Turkey led through Macedonia – from where emigration was permitted.<sup>85</sup> Because of that Muslims from Serbia also moved to that republic to await discharge from Yugoslav citizenship and Turkey's permission to immigrate. However, this caused social, economic and political problems for the southernmost Yugoslav republic. According to the Macedonian authorities, people flocked to Macedonia, and especially Skopje, its capital, having sold all their property, and lived on the verge of starvation under unhygienic conditions in overcrowded houses and apartments, contributing to increasing unemployment and crime rates. Albanian nationalists were pressurizing those who had declared themselves Turks, claiming Macedonian authorities wanted to cleanse Macedonia of Albanians. They put pressure on Albanians to remain in Skopje in order to make it part of a future Greater Albania.<sup>86</sup>

80 DAS, BIA, I/59, Izveštaj o zahtevima za iseljenje u Tursku, 1954; DAS, BIA, III/121, Ispostava SUP-a Uroševac, Analiza šiptarske nacionalne manjine, Uroševac, March 20, 1956.

81 DAS, BIA, I/59, Odeljenje UDB za grad Prištinu, April 1954.

82 As the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was renamed in 1952.

83 DAS, BIA, I/59, Izveštaj o zahtevima za iseljenje u Tursku, 1954. Such occurrences were recorded in other parts of Kosovo too. (DAS, BIA, III/121, Živko Mitrović, Referat o šiptarskoj nacionalnoj manjini, [after 1951, before the end of 1953.]).

84 DAS, BIA, I/53, Opunomoćenik Vlada Ristić UDB za NRS, II odeljenje, April 30, 1954.

85 It was estimated that some 12.000 people moved from Serbia into Macedonia between 1951 and 1954 (AJ, SIV, 992/1502, ([No title]).

86 AJ, SIV, 992/1502, [Iseljavanje u Makedoniju], April 1956.

In late 1957 Macedonian authorities were dissatisfied with the fact that since that year emigration from Kosovo was allowed, parts of families emigrated directly to Turkey, whereas other family members who had come earlier to Macedonia intending to emigrate, remained “stuck” there.<sup>87</sup>

Yugoslav and Serbian authorities were opposed to emigration of non-Turks from the very beginning, and that policy – especially for Muslims outside of Macedonia – remained in place for a long time. Claims of some Western authors, that “Serbian” authorities<sup>88</sup> allegedly wanted to expel Albanians<sup>89</sup> are groundless. On the contrary, until 1957 the authorities in Serbia were opposed to emigration from Kosovo, whereas the Federal Government also wanted to limit emigration only to Macedonian Turks.<sup>90</sup> Soon interest in emigrating started to wane due to restrictions Turkey imposed on immigration, as well as due to Yugoslav policy on emigration,<sup>91</sup> beginning of more massive investments in economies of Macedonia and Kosovo and the appeal of the Chairman of the Albanian Labor Party, Enver Hoxha, to stop Albanian emigration from Yugoslavia that was issued with obvious irredentist aims.<sup>92</sup>

87 AJ, SIV, 993/1503, Stenografske beleške sa sednice Odbora za unutrašnju politiku SIV-a, Beograd, December 19, 1957; Радић, „Исељавање”, 167; Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 315.

88 Even though each republic had its own government, all major decisions were made on federal levels, even those concerning particular republics.

89 Miranda Vickers, *Between Serb and Albanian. A History of Kosovo*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 149, 157.

90 Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 195–197; AJ, SIV, 993/1503, Stenografske beleške sa sednice Odbora za unutrašnju politiku SIV-a, Beograd, December 19, 1957. A police report from 1959 mentions 1.200 Albanians who emigrated to Turkey in 1958 (DAS, BIA, III/121, Aktivnosti unutrašnje reakcije iz redova šiptarske nacionalne manjine tokom 1955 [it should be: 1959.] godine). However, it is not clear from the report if these people emigrated from Kosovo straight to Turkey, or via Macedonia.

91 The Board for Domestic Policy of the Federal Government reaffirmed on December 19, 1957 the decision that only the Turks who fulfilled the above quoted criteria can be allowed to emigrate. It was suggested to governments of Serbia and Macedonia to use the 1948 census to establish who was a Turk and who was not (According to censuses there were 96.952 Turks in Macedonia in 1948, and 239.538 in 1953; in Kosovo respective numbers were 1.914 and 34.526). These two republics were to agree when the emigration would be considered finished (Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 313).

92 At the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labor Party on February 13, 1957 Hoxha mentioned Kosovo as an alleged example of Yugoslav chauvinist treatment of the Albanian people. He claimed the situation in Kosovo was miserable, that Yugoslav policy was aimed at assimilation of the Albanians and that propaganda wanted to separate them from Albania. Therefore, he called on ethnic Albanians to disobey the authorities. In contacts with foreign ambassadors, he spoke of the need to end emigration and alleged assimilation. Some other Albanian officials and the press took this up. Lower officials went a step farther and threatened the use of weapons (AJ, fond 837, Kabinet predsednika

In some works that purport to be scholarly, Vice-Chairman of the federal Government, Aleksandar Ranković, who had been Minister of the Interior until 1953, is accused as the alleged initiator of terror and organizer of the “expulsion” of Albanians.<sup>93</sup> Nothing, however, is more remote from truth. Ranković was not only no Serbian nationalist (although part of the Serbian public still wrongly perceives him as such),<sup>94</sup> but acted as a responsible federal official who thought of all possible domestic and foreign policy repercussions of Muslim emigration. At the meeting on March 16, 1955 he asked that only Turks from Macedonia be allowed to emigrate, not Albanians or Macedonian Muslims (Torbeši).<sup>95</sup> A year later he deemed it politically embarrassing for the government to allow emigration of Kosovo Albanians.<sup>96</sup> He stuck to this position even in late 1957 when he said at the meeting of the Board for Domestic Policy of the Federal Government that some 100.000 people had already left Yugoslavia and that if the nationality criteria were kept, the next census would show 200–300.000 Turks. He felt it would be politically very “awkward” for Yugoslavia if Albanians emigrated. Slobodan Penezić Krcun, Vice-Premier of Serbia, said it was not possible to prevent people from moving to Macedonia where emigrants applied for emigration to Turkey. For that reason, Macedonian officials demanded a five-year term of residence in a district to be imposed as a precondition for discharge from citizenship. This was duly imposed in late 1957.<sup>97</sup> In practice, Macedonian authorities were lenient when issuing emigra-

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republike (KPR), II-5-b/1-3, Nota poslanstva NR Albanije Državnom sekretarijatu za inostrane poslove, Beograd March 15, 1957; AJ, KPR, II-5-b/1-3, Odnosi FNRJ – NR Albanija, [posle IV 1957]; Животић, *Југославија*, 647–651).

93 Nikolina Rajković took this claim uncritically from Rozita Dimova (Rajković, *The Post-Second World War Immigration*, 42).

94 Since 1953 Ranković was no longer Minister of the Interior (Бојан Димитријевић, *Ранковић. Други човек*, (Београд: Vukotić Media, 2020), 161, 168). However, from 1953 till 1963 he supervised the UDB activities as the Chairman of the Board for Domestic Policy and Security (*Ibid*, 169) to make things more paradoxical and morally despicable, the myth of Ranković, the Serbian chauvinist, was spread first by Serbian politicians who changed sides in time after his fall in 1966 (Димитријевић, *Ранковић*, 307). On the other hand, “ordinary people” in Serbia perceived toppling of Ranković as a strike against the Serbs, so they tended to misunderstand Ranković as defender of Serbian interests (Cf. *Тајни досије Ранковић. Из архиве УДБЕ и КОС-а*, ed. Светко Ковач, Бојан Димитријевић, Ирена Поповић Григоров, (Београд: Блиц, 2020), 84, 167).

95 DAS, VIA, V/59, Zabeleška o sastanku održanom u Kabinetu potpredsednika Saveznog izvršnog veća Aleksandra Rankovića dana 16. marta 1955. godine o pitanju u vezi sa iseljavanjem u Tursku iz Narodnih republika Makedonije i Srbije (AKMO).

96 Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 313.

97 Радић, „Исељавање”, 167; Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 314.

tion permits to Macedonian Muslims and Albanians, whereas authorities in Kosovo refused permissions to non-Turks.<sup>98</sup> Approximately a year later the emigration wave started to wane – probably due to the worsening economic situation in Turkey, or because most of those interested in emigrating had already done so, or because of government measures.<sup>99</sup> In light of the facts presented here, the claim by Miranda Vickers that after Yugoslavia's split with Stalin Albanians were pressurized to declare themselves Turks and were then speedily shipped to Turkey, can be called a myth, if not sheer nonsense.<sup>100</sup> The same goes for her claim that 195.000 Albanians had emigrated from Kosovo to Turkey between 1954 and 1957.<sup>101</sup> Noel Malcolm presumes there might have been some 100.000 Albanian emigrants from Kosovo,<sup>102</sup> but in light of the available documents, that number seems five times exaggerated.<sup>103</sup> That pressure was absent from the emigration process of the Muslim population is evident from the data on how widespread the wish to emigrate was in mid-fifties. If they

98 Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 310–311.

99 Pezo, *Zwangsmigration*, 312. Further decrease in interest was due to the law on nationalization of rented buildings and building lots passed on November 25, 1959 (Ilievski, “The Ethno-Demographic Changes”, 179; Ачкоска, *Братството и единството*, 286; Керими, *Иселувањето*, 161).

100 Vickers, *Between Serb and Albanian*, 149.

101 *Ibid*, 157.

102 Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo. A Short History*, (London, Macmillan, 1998), 323. Malcolm starts from the wrong supposition that between 1945 and 1966 some 246.000 people emigrated from Yugoslavia to Turkey. This, as we have shown, is not confirmed by Turkish documents, however contradictory they may be. Unfortunately, although the works by Vickers and Malcolm are obsolete and teeming with false data, they are still quoted like the Bible. This goes especially for Malcolm's book (Cf. Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Kosovo. Kurze Geschichte einer zentralbalkanischen Landschaft*, (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau Verlag 2008); Ströhle, *Aus den Ruinen*). For that reason, it is in order to warn against their shortcomings (Cf. also footnote 101). This, however, was the number of people with *Yugoslav origin*, (Керими, *Иселувањето*, 163), i. e. not the number of people who actually came from Yugoslavia (many of whom had anyway come decades before 1953).

103 As we have seen emigrants from Kosovo made up just 11,9% of all emigrants between 1945 and 1957. (Cf. *supra* and also: AJ, SIV, 993/1503, *Stenografske beleške sa sednice Odbora za unutrašnju politiku SIV-a*, December 1957). If, according to Turkish data, some 173.000 people immigrated between 1945 and 1966, the portion of those coming from Kosovo would be some 20.500. The number of just 11.526 immigrants from Kosovo into Macedonia between 1951 and 1956, even if one supposes that not all such immigrants were registered, also indicates that the total number of immigrants from Kosovo was much closer to the number we have computed than to astronomic figures of Albanian propagandists and their epigones. The number of immigrants from Kosovo who by any objective criteria (mother-tongue, long term identification) would fall into the category of *real Albanians*, was thus certainly under 20.500.

are compared with fairly small number of emigrants from Kosovo to Turkey, or at least to Macedonia, it is clear that no pressure was put on minorities, especially Albanians, to emigrate. Quite the contrary - pressure was put to prevent them from emigrating!<sup>104</sup> In that way the Communist authorities, led by their need to prove credibility of their affirmative minority policy and of general policy of developing socialist society, unwittingly lent a hand to Albanian nationalists who opposed emigration of their fellow-Albanians. The pressure felt by (would-be) emigrants concerned all citizens, or at least all Muslims, and was not aimed at provoking anyone's emigration, but at imposing modernizing Communist measures on all inhabitants. Due to secularization, they had missed earlier, and that was forced upon them after WWII, lower educational level, higher degree of religiosity and deeper poverty, these modernizing measures hit the Muslim population harder. Once a way out seemingly opened in the form of emigration, many scrambled to reach it. In order to stay on good terms with the new ally, Turkey, the Yugoslav authorities were willing to tolerate limited emigration of ethnic Turks, but in order to safeguard the credibility of their own policy, they were unwilling to allow general emigration of all people dissatisfied with the socialist system.<sup>105</sup>

104 Malcolm launched the theory about allegedly old plan for expulsion of Albanians that was set in motion after the Balkan Pact was signed. In order to prove that, he mentions the memo by Vaso Čubrilović from 1944 (sic!) in which he advocated expulsion not only of Albanians, but also of Germans and Hungarians (Vaso Čubrilović, „Manjinski problem u novoj Jugoslaviji”, *Hereticus. Časopis za preispitivanje prošlosti* 1/2007, 380–391). However, he does not show the connection with the events from 1950s – except for implying that Čubrilović had been ideological *spiritus movens* of the alleged expulsion to Turkey (Cf. Malcolm, *Kosovo*, 322–323). Since some Albanians and Turks bribed the UDB agents to be enabled to emigrate (Гаталовић, *Бурна времена*, 56), that would probably be the only example in history that someone gave bribe in order to be allowed to become the victim of “ethnic cleansing”.

105 One should not forget that dissatisfaction that found its outlet in emigration was not confined to Muslims alone. Only during 1956 there were 15.684 attempts at fleeing the country, out of which 9.684 succeeded. Most attempts were undertaken from the geographically best situated federal republics, i.e., those closest to the West – Slovenia and Croatia (14.002 attempts, 8.842 of them successful.) During that year wish to emigrate was widespread in the Vojvodina too (DAS, Đ2, Organizaciono-instruktorsko odeljenje, k. 162, Zapisnik sa proširene sednice Sekretarijata PK SKS za Vojvodinu, September 8, 1956). Some 300 poor Slovak peasants and workers applied from emigration to the West (DAS, BIA, I/258, Slovaci, March 26, 1956). The wish to emigrate did not decline during next years: until August 1958 from the Zrenjanin district alone 28 Hungarians, 37 Germans, 3 Romanians, 3 Serbs and 1 Slovak applied for emigration (DAS, Đ2, Organizaciono-instruktorsko odeljenje, k. 165, [Informacija o delatnosti inostrane propagande na teritoriji sreza Zrenjanin, Zrenjanin, August 29, 1958]).

## Summary

Emigration of Muslims from the Balkans was a phenomenon of long duration. After WWII it was first other minorities who emigrated. The Muslims started emigrating to Turkey after a “gentlemen’s agreement” of 1953 between Tito and Turkish Foreign Minister Fuat Köprülü. The agreement fore-saw emigration of ethnic Turks from Macedonia, but other Muslims tended to join them. Because of that the Yugoslav authorities strove to limit emigration only to Turkish-inhabited parts of Macedonia. This failed because Muslims came to Macedonia from other parts of the country in order to emigrate. Among these emigrants there was a certain number of Kosovo Albanians. Like the Turks, they emigrated for religious, economic and social reasons. However, until late 1957 emigration from Kosovo was prohibited and very soon the emigration waned due to internal Turkish reasons. The article shows that the Yugoslav authorities in no way supported Albanian emigration, but rather that they tried to stop it.

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## Резиме

Зоран Јањетовић

### ИСЕЉАВАЊЕ КОСОВСКИХ АЛБАНАЦА У ТУРСКУ ПЕДЕСЕТИХ ГОДИНА XX ВЕКА

Апстракт: Рад на основу југословенске архивске грађе добија тврдње о наводно насилном исељавању косовскометохијских Албанаца педесетих година 20. века, стављајући догађаје у контекст југословенско-турских односа и мањинске политике Југославије.

Кључне речи: Косово и Метохија, Албанци, Турци, Турска, исељавање

Исељавање муслимана с подручја Балкана је појава која сеже у даљу прошлост. У периоду после Другог светског рата прво су почели да се исељавају припадници других мањина, а муслимани су кренули после „дентлменског споразума“ између Тита и турског министра иностраних послова Фуата Киприлија. Споразум је подразумевао исељавање Турака из Македоније, али су се и други муслимани придружили, па су југословенске власти настојале да ограниче исељавање само на крајеве Македоније насељене Турцима. Ово није успело, јер у Македонију почињу да пристижу муслимани из других делова земље, у намери да се иселе. Међу њима је било и косовских Албанаца. Као и Турци, и они су се исељавали због верских, економских и социјалних разлога. Чланак показује не само да југословенске власти нису подстицале исељавање Албанаца већ да су покушавале да га онемогуће.