

УДК 323.1::28(497.1)“1918/1941“(093.2)
314.15-026.48(560)“1918/1941“(093.2)

IN SEARCH OF HOMELAND? MUSLIM MIGRATION FROM YUGOSLAVIA TO TURKEY 1918–1941

Mr Vladan JOVANOVIĆ
Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije

ABSTRACT: *A dozen of new documents we have found at the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade clarify the Yugoslav interwar migration policy. The primary idea about expulsion of disloyal Albanians by removing 200,000 Muslims to Turkey culminated with official Yugoslav-Turkish agreement in July 1938. This paper reveals circumstances in broader Balkan context, as well as government's motive and device.*

Key words: *Muslim Migration, Turkey, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Vardarska Banovina, Albanians*

The Ottoman Empire decay produced a huge demographic convulsion on the Balkans. Various views and perceptions of resolutions made by the Berlin Congress (1878) emphasize the legalization of ‘official barbarity’ that new established Balkan states used to practice towards their Muslim population. On the other side, the convention accepted in Berlin was a true experience of liberation for Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro. At the same time, Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia caused mass Muslim migration towards the homeland they had never seen before. Considering the smash of the Turkish Empire as a disaster their own, even non-ethnic Turks took part in migration, moved by strong religious sense.¹ After the Austro-Hungarian annexations of Bosnia (1878, 1908) more than 50,000 emigrants moved toward Constantinople via Montenegro, Sanjak of Novi Pazar and Macedonia.²

¹ Vladan Jovanović, „Iseljavanje muslimana iz Vardarske banovine: između stihije i državne akcije“, *Pisati istoriju Jugoslavije: viđenje srpskog faktora*, Beograd 2007, str. 79-80; Jovan F. Trifunovski, *Albansko stanovništvo u SR Makedoniji*, Beograd, 1988, str. 100.

² Avdija Avdić, „Opšti pogled na migraciona kretanja muslimanskog stanovništva na Balkanu od kraja XIX veka do zaključenja Jugoslovensko-turske konvencije (11. jula 1938)“, *NovopazarSKI zbornik*, vol. 9, Novi Pazar, 1985, str. 147–152.

Since 1912 Kosovo, Macedonia and Sanjak of Novi Pazar had adjoined the Kingdom of Serbia. After the creation of Yugoslavia (1918) these former Turkish areas were integrated as the province named *South Serbia*. In spite of promises that Balkan states gave to their Muslim population (regarding civil liberty, confessional rights and preservation of native speech), emigration process obtained. Up to spring of 1914 over 130,000 Muslims moved from Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece.³ Prevailing reasons for migration were fear of retaliation for the crimes against Christians committed during 1912-1918 period, rumors about welfare in Turkey, political repression inside the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, social extrusion, cultural neglecting, etc. Speaking in favour of Balkan Turks acceptance by their ‚queen-bee‘, some Turkish newspapers in 1937 emphasized the ‚cavalier tolerance‘ which was evinced to people under Ottoman rule (‚Turks cannot suffer slavery and contempt‘).⁴

Social and political status of the Muslims in the Yugoslav province of *South Serbia* (48% population) was in accordance to the international obligations proclaimed in Saint-Germain. Nevertheless, Yugoslav authorities began to disintegrate large ex-Turkish estates with an excuse that new government was not due to ‚conserve Mohammedanism‘. The fourth of estates provided for colonization purposes were properties which Muslims have abandoned after 1912.⁵ Almost 60% of Muslim ex-landowners had to become artisans and merchants, hence 32% of provincial shops were on their hands.⁶ The colonization process provided by the Yugoslav government was also sturdily aimed to speed their migration. It was a double-sided connection: Serbian indigent settlers needed free plots of ground that had to be abandoned, or purchased by the government. At the same time, Turks started to sell their properties moving towards Asia Minor.⁷

Political existence of Muslims in Macedonia and Kosovo was accomplished via *Cemivet* (The Company), the political organization operating in Turkish-Albanian regions from 1919 to 1925. Its leadership was connected with eminent Serbian executives from governing Radical party and therefore it betrayed hopes of Muslim population. Even 30% ministerial candidates were loyal Muslims on the Radicals‘ lists!⁸ Electoral success of that Muslim organization achieved in

³ Bogumil Hrabak, *Arbanaški upadi i pobune na Kosovu i u Makedoniji od kraja 1912. do kraja 1915. godine*, Vranje, 1988, str. 97.

⁴ Archives of Yugoslavia (hereafter: AJ), Collection: Yugoslav Embassy in Turkey (370), file 9, unit 42, page 749.

⁵ Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ASANU), No. 10081/7; AJ, 96-14-51; 96-13-49.

⁶ Rastko S. Purić, „Analiza sastava radništva i radnog tržišta Južne Srbije“, *Socijalni arhiv*, vol. 5–6, Beograd, 1939, str. 141. Their participation in public service was negligible, indeed.

⁷ Vladan Jovanović, „Tokovi i ishod međuratne kolonizacije Makedonija, Kosova i Metohije“, *Tokovi istorije*, br. 3/2006, Beograd, 2006, 36–37.

⁸ Gordana Krivokapić-Jović, „Socijalna struktura Narodne radikalne stranke (1918–1929). Skica“, *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima XX veka*, Beograd, 1994, str. 328.

1923 made authorities anxious about their self-contained strength and resulted in widespread repression (threats by expatriation, low redemption prices, etc.).⁹ Turks financed their own journal ‚Hak‘ (The Justice) which was soon forbidden in 1924, and *Cemivet* perished after the next year elections. Controversial arrest, trial and release of the party leader were synchronous with the *Cemivet*’s outlawry, too.¹⁰ It was ‚the most painful year‘ for Yugoslav Muslims because the authorities were pushing on migration, lasting day and night. Yet, it is hard to mark out figures, because so-called ‚continental statistics‘ did not include Muslim migration toward Turkey since it was not allegedly inspired by economical reasons, but by political and religious motives!¹¹

In so-called South Serbia there were ninety elementary schools and ten private kindergartens, with 117 Turkish teachers lecturing Turkish language. These schools were bound even for Albanians. It is necessary to mention that almost 80% of Turks and 97% of Albanians in the Province were illiterate. It might be one of the reasons why Muslim pupils couldn’t have exceeded 12% of the entire school population, and why Muslim teachers barely reached 6.4% of whole educational staff. Until 1927 there were 73 religious schools for Muslims (*medresas*) in the Province, but after the reform the number reduced to five. However, only the public medresa in Skopje could give the further improvement and specialization to its scholars.¹²

Confessional conditions in five Muslim districts of Macedonia and Kosovo were seemingly fair. Their religious infrastructure (1,131 mosques) was kept according to the law, i. e. half of expenses were provided by the state, and the other half by the Islamic religious community.¹³ Nevertheless, in practice the Yugoslav administration had demonstrated lack of tolerance through political misuse of Muslim priests and schools, and especially in terms of relation towards Muslim property. Namely, numbered mosques and graveyards were turned into army warehouses, gardens and homesteads. Yugoslav Department of Religions interdicted such usurpation, but their colleagues from the Ministry of agriculture usually evinced dissent.¹⁴

* * *

Two-year war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, which was concluded in San Stefano in 1878, caused mass Muslim migration from Bulgaria.

⁹ AJ, 398-1, Položaj Turaka u Jugoslaviji, str. 7–8.

¹⁰ AJ, 14-76-257; ASANU, No. 13316/103, Ferad beg Ali Draga, str. 1–3.

¹¹ *Ministarstvo socijalne politike. Iseljenička služba, Izveštaj Narodnoj skupštini za 1926/27. god.*, Beograd, 1928, str. 39–40.

¹² Vladan Jovanović, *Jugoslovenska država i Južna Srbija 1918–1929. Makedonija, Sandžak, Kosovo i Metohija u Kraljevini SHS*, Beograd, 2002, str. 370.

¹³ ASANU, No. 14458/I-8, Moslems in Yugoslavia, str. 2–6.

¹⁴ V. Jovanovic, „Iseljavanje muslimana iz Vardarske banovine...“, str. 84.

Almost 600,000 Turks moved towards Turkish borderland.¹⁵ After the First World War the English, French, Greek and Italian forces occupied Turkish territory, starting the new demographic intricacy. Turkish war for independence also erupted and ended very soon in 1922 when colonel Mustapha Kemal dethroned the last sultan and proclaimed Republic of Turkey in 1923. The Lausanne Peace Treaty reduced Turkish territories to Asia Minor and East Thrace and acknowledged the Turkish-Greek convention on population exchange due to the fact that 1,230,000 Christians and 360,000 Muslims were dispersed.¹⁶ Westermann's *Der grosse Atlas zur Weltgeschichte* (Braunschweig 1990, p. 153) presents figures of 1,082,000 Greeks, 635,000 Turks, 250,000 Bulgarians and 125,000 Armenians subject to the post-War migration.

Yugoslav experts in international affairs were also paying their attention to the Romanian case. Actually, negotiations between Turkey and Romania regarding the five-year displacement of 400,000 Romanian Turks were in their competence. Encouraged by successful 'exchange' with Greece, Turkish government enacted the Colonization Law, in 1934, and signed up the contract with Romanian authorities. Such settlement was motivated by requirements of desolated Kurdish territories in eastern Turkey, after the colonization attempt with native Turks (who were in a vengeance fright) had been broken-down. Turkish government negotiated even with Bulgaria about displacement of 789,000 Bulgarian Muslims into Turkey.¹⁷

Images of reformed Turkey were quite opposite to permanently established notions about the Orient. After the Turkish Republic proclamation (1923) Mustapha Kemal rootedly transformed the country, resolutely disconnecting any link with the church.¹⁸ Unexpected scope of his reforms (1924–1935) contributed to rumours spread among Yugoslav Muslims that Turkey was going to accept Protestantism as a national religion!¹⁹ In 1927 mosques in Skopje were overwhelmed with communists and republicans who adored Kemal. They used to call for reaching down their women's veils, but generally, prevailed power of Islamic tradition was still too obvious.²⁰ During 1930s the Turkish Parliament

¹⁵ Avdić, „Opšti pogled...“, str. 149.

¹⁶ Čedomir Popov, *Od Versaja do Danciga*, Beograd, 1995, str. 174–176; Todor Simovski, „Migracionite dviženja od 1912 do 1971 godina i reperкусиite vrz etničkot sostav na naselenieto vo Egejska Makedonija“, *Iseljenišvo naroda i narodnosti Jugoslavije i njegove uzajamne veze s domovinom* (hereafter: *INNJ*), Zagreb, 1978, str. 227–230.

¹⁷ AJ, 370-9-42, pp. 622, 623, 629, 681, 682, 718, 853.

¹⁸ Mirjana Teodosijević, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk u jugoslovenskoj javnosti*, Beograd, 1998, str. 157–158. Among the rest, he proscribed and abrogated religious schools and appointments from the Constitution, harem, polygamy, Arabic fonts, aristocracy, etc. Instead, M. Kemal adopted and introduced international calendar, Middle European legislation, Latin alphabet, suffrage for women, obligatory surname, civil dressing for priests, etc.

¹⁹ AJ, 370-56-142, p. 487.

²⁰ AJ, 63-136, doc. from March 26th 1927.

was managing settlement on Balkan emigrants. For that purpose, government carried out confiscation of the ex-aristocratic properties and then assigned it to colonists. At the same time, it was ruled out that newcomers to Turkish cities should not exceed 10%.²¹

Turkish press used to write about torrents of emigrants that moved on owing to pressure of ‚Yugoslav jingoism‘. Yugoslav authorities at their official denial were asserting that in 1922/3 they issued only five passports! Some of the most influential newspapers have instigated Turkish government to give immigrants the richest soil in order to wheedle the others. Indeed, some journals resisted the open-armed wellcome, because among the Balkan immigrants there were not Turks ‚in blood‘ enough. Forsooth, in 1924 Turkish Department of Interior forbade entrance to Albanians coming from Yugoslavia. Yugoslav intention to shake off disloyal Albanian citizens through eviction of ‚Turkish culture people‘ was discovered. Therefore, the Turkish Consulate in Skopje started to require fluency in Turkish language from any potential Albanian emigrant! Already in 1925 there were rumours about permissions which Turkish government gave to 30,000 Serbian Muslims looking for the Turkish citizenship. Since it passed off without official denial, publicity was left to conclude that Kemal’s government awaits them to sell their properties in Yugoslavia, and just then move towards Turkey ‚with pocketful‘.²²

In the early 1930’s the Yugoslav Embassy in Istanbul started to send reports to Belgrade about troubles experienced by foreign workers in Turkey. Even hard-hats working on construction of new Turkish capital Ankara had to take Bulgarian citizenship in order to stay in Turkey. Namely, Turkish parliament enacted a law known as *No. 2007* regarding professions prohibited for foreign workers (June 1932). The Yugoslav Embassy qualified that step as the ‚forced Turkization‘ and involuntarily began to prepare itself for the certain repatriation. But, there was the ‚plan two‘ as well: to avert workers out of business to the grounds of Persian railways!²³ Avoiding obligations on repatriates was obviously guided from above. In October 1934 the Yugoslav Foreign Affairs sent a message to the Embassy in Ankara wherewith it was suggested not to license entry of emigrants into Yugoslavia (‚unwelcome return‘).²⁴

²¹ *Vardar* (Skoplje), vol. 263, August 1934, str. 1.

²² AJ, 370-9-42, pp. 496/9, 511/3, 518, 524/5, 532, 534, 544, 549, 551, 559, 564, 575, 578, 590, 748.

²³ AJ, 370-10-43, pp. 109, 133, 135, 174/5, 178/9, 203, 244, 251, 262, 356.

²⁴ AJ, 370-9-42, p. 583.

Return of emigrants into Vardarska Banovina (1931–1933)

YEAR	Turkey	Romania	Albania	Greece	Bulgaria
1931	83	140	17	70	52
1932	175	45	48	116	122
1933	59	140	17	28	27

Statistički godisnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1930–1940, vol. II–X (Beograd, 1931–1933).

Fear of ingoing returnees was variously evinced. During 1928 Turkish passports were layed under restricted visa-system, while outgoings were encouraged by countless bureaucratic benefits. Since January 1930 only head of a Muslim family could get the Yugoslav six-months visa in order to dispose off his property in Macedonia and Kosovo (,controversial subjects’). Dashed Muslims who wanted to go back were resolutely debarred by Yugoslav consulate.²⁵ Thereupon, Yugoslav Muslims in Turkey were exposed to denationalization and soon in 1935 they had to take new surnames, according to the Turkish law.²⁶

* * *

Interstate correlation between Yugoslavia and Turkey had been improving since 1925 to arose by creation of the Balkan League in 1934 (Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, and Romania). Moreover, the most intensive economic rapprochement was apparent after the subscription of the *Common Opium Export Convention* in 1931.²⁷

Judicial control on Muslim migration from Yugoslavia was restored in 1928 through the Citizenship Statute referred to non-Slavic inhabitants. They could leave Yugoslavia in next five years, and in return, government would give them guarantees in conscription and other allowance. However, there was no bilateral procedure; so many emigrants had to return from Turkish boundary. Daily correspondence between the Yugoslav Foreign Affairs and the General Consulate in Istanbul was aimed at updating migration process.²⁸ ,We facilitate Muslim migration from South Serbia’, said Yugoslav consul in Istanbul emphasizing that Yugoslav authorities joined tacit agreement intended to make emigrants’ trip a no-return one. The compliant enforcement of the law in affect became operative in May 1933, i. e. withdrawal from Yugoslav citizenship became possible on the

²⁵ Vladan Jovanović, „Iseljavanje muslimana iz Vardarske banovine...“, str. 88.

²⁶ Ejup Mušović, „Posleratne migracije i imigracije stanovništva novopazarskog kraja“, *Novopazarski zbornik*, vol. 13, Novi Pazar, 1989, str. 144/5; E. Mušović, „Jugoslovensko iseljeničtvo u Turskoj“, *Zbornik radova Etnografskog instituta*, vol. 12, Beograd, 1981, str. 72.

²⁷ *Stenografske beleške Narodne skupštine Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, session X, November 18th 1932, pp. 121/2. Yugoslavia along with Turkey covered almost 80% of annual world market in raw poppy!

²⁸ AJ, 370-9-42, pp. 506, 591, 630.

basis of a simple statement which could be signed by any clerk of the Yugoslav Embassy instead by illiterate emigrants.²⁹

Muslim migration was oft-repeated theme of publicity which used to lead the latter decisions of the Yugoslav government. A lawyer from Skopje announced to the Prime Minister in August 1936 that he was doing dilution of Albanian masses in Yugoslavia. The Director of the Agrarian Cooperative Society of South Serbia was more specific in his letter to the government in March 1936. According to him, removal of Albanians should be prospective continuation of 'liberating action'. He criticized agrarian reform and government's oversight wherefore a half of million Albanians grew up in a bomb with a quick-match in Italians' hands. He also concluded that Albanians should not be removed into Albania, but Turkey, owing to their religious fanaticism and so he proposed discreet arrangement with Turkish authorities.³⁰ Exactly the same conclusions we have found in the records of the so-called Inteministerial Conference dealing with emigration problems in September 1935. Actually, there were in session deputies of five Yugoslav ministries. They decided to encourage bilateral arrangements with Albania and Turkey, and defined measures to be taken in order to speed the non-Slavic migration towards Turkey and Albania (shortcuts in red tape regarding emigrant passports, frequently call for Muslim conscripts, economical pressure in tobacco production, depose of potential emigrants from public service, etc.).³¹ These measures at a quick rate came true in terms of 'effort on repressuring Albanian irredentism'. In fact, it was a propagandistic mission aimed to attract Albanians into Turkey putting about good life in Asia Minor. Beyond that, measures implied forced labour on Macedonian swamps drainage, prohibition of tobacco planting, nationalization of family names, geographical denomination, etc.³²

Yugoslav endeavor to covenant with Turkey succeeded on July 1938 when the Convention was paraphed in Istanbul. In fact, it was the result of an initiative put forward by Rushdi Aras, the Turkish foreign minister. The Yugoslav-Turkish Emigration Committee was in eight sessions in Istanbul, starting from June 9th, chaired by Hasan Saka, the Turkish delegate.³³ Actual convention joined with Romania was acceptable pattern for new deal between Yugoslavia and Turkey, but question to be solved was furnishment of removal of 200,000 Yugoslav Muslims into Turkey. Hasan Saka exposed official attitude which provided for 20

²⁹ AJ, 370-56-142, pp. 487, 489, 499. Withdrawal-lists were authorized at the Yugoslav consulates in Tirana, Ankara and Istanbul.

³⁰ V. Jovanović, „Iseljavanje muslimana iz Vardarske banovine“, str. 89–90.

³¹ Vladan Jovanović, „Interministerijalna konferencija Kraljevine Jugoslavije o iseljenu neslovenskog elementa u Tursku (1935)“, *Prilozi*, vol. 35, Sarajevo, 2006, str. 105–124.

³² AJ, 37-51-315, p. 41.

³³ Avdija Avdić, „Jugoslovensko-turski pregovori o iseljavanju muslimanskog stanovništva u periodu između dva svetska rata“, *NovopazarSKI zbornik*, vol. 15, Novi Pazar, 1991, str. 112–114.

millions Turkish liras of removal expenses to be paid by Yugoslavia (transport via Salonica, purchasing land in Anatolia, etc.).³⁴

Contention was provoked by technical details. Yugoslav delegates considered paying indemnity per capita reasonable, but Turkish side insisted on payment for each emigrated family. As Yugoslav delegates have relented the Convention was signed on July 11th 1938.³⁵ It covered Yugoslav rural Muslims population speaking Turkish and belonging to Turkish culture only, but not Gypsies and 'nomadic people'. Both sides' delegates have confined emigration area comprising Macedonia, Kosovo, Metohija and the eastern parts of Montenegro. Bosnia and Sanjak of Novi Pazar were left out of this area, so Muslims living there had to pass through the districts mentioned above. Turkey undertook to receive 40,000 Muslim families within next six years. Final amount on behalf of 'indemnity' was 500 Turkish liras per family, i. e. twenty million Turkish liras for all of 40,000 emigrated families that Yugoslavia had to pay in twelve installments. The money could be spent for purchasing of Yugoslav merchandise tax-free. Yugoslav authorities committed to remove all Islamic recruits from military records in prescribed areas. Convention provided shipment of emigrants and their chattel in Salonica (Greece). They were free to carry four heads of cattle at most, one necklace apiece and only 2,000 Dinars in cash!³⁶

* * *

Feeble echoes of the Convention in Yugoslav press were strong confirmations that it was a top-secret operation. In a few official papers we have found recalls for 'guaranteed discretion', although Italian newspapers published all items of the Yugoslav-Turkish Draft on May 1938. Besides, Turkey started to blackmail their Yugoslav partners requiring new time-limits (three years instead of six). In spite of unfavourable terms the Yugoslav side accepted those imposed rules because it was obviously oriented to speeding-up of the migration. In August 1939 the Belgrade authorities ordered the Yugoslav consul to stay resigned and accede with all Turkish conditions. Subsequent rendering of the Convention reveals its back-door sense: removal of Albanians without any compensation for their properties.³⁷

Albanian authorities in Tirana were aware of the plan, so they took up campaign against the Yugoslav-Turkish Convention.³⁸ Many religious magistrates were joined with campaign from inside in order to prevent Muslims to abandon their patrimony.³⁹ Numbered official visitors from Tirana tried to urge the Turkish

³⁴ AJ, 370-9-42, p. 771.

³⁵ Avdić, „Jugoslovensko-turski pregovori...“, 114–117.

³⁶ AJ, 370-9-42, pp. 803–11.

³⁷ V. Jovanović, „Iseljavanje muslimana iz Vardarske banovine...“, str. 92.

³⁸ Đorđe Borozan, *Velika Albanija: porijeklo-ideje-praksa*, Beograd, 1995, str. 133–139.

³⁹ AJ, 37-25-196, pp. 247/8.

government to exclude Yugoslav ethnic Albanians from the Convention, but Rushdi Aras was ready to carry out the newly adjusted arrangement. According to the official data (Yugoslav Foreign Affairs) there were 21,500 Muslims emigrated to Turkey and 1,350 to Albania until 1935.⁴⁰ Another public source offers cumulative figures of about 19,278 persons who had left Yugoslavia and emigrated to Turkey from 1927 to 1939.⁴¹ Statistics periodicals indicate that Muslim migration from Yugoslavia towards Turkey comprised 13,678 persons during 1930s. Moreover, emigrants from Macedonia and Kosovo made a fifth of all Yugoslavs who emigrated in European countries, which was the consequence of fluid migration towards Turkey.⁴² A half of all Yugoslav Euro-emigrants emigrated from Macedonia and Kosovo, mostly to Turkey, in 1934 only.⁴³

Emigration from Vardarska Banovina and Yugoslavia, 1930–1939

Year	FROM VARDARSKA BANOVINA		FROM YUGOSLAVIA	
	To Europe	To out of Europe	To Europe	To out of Europe
1930	4.121	878	25.409	13.560
1931	2.347	489	10.560	4.808
1932	2.527	155	6.642	2.454
1933	3.420	122	7.508	2.221
1934	5.001	170	11.004	2.907
1935	4.750	218	10.120	3.345
1936	2.493	266	8.625	3.860
1937	2.886	520	14.287	5.378
1938	?	?	14.376	5.686
1939	374	261	23.613	3.789
1930–1939	27.919	3.079	132.144	48.008

Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1930–1940, vol. II–X (Beograd, 1933–1941)

⁴⁰ AJ, 370-9-42, pp. 657, 812, 831, 889, 630.

⁴¹ Sulejman Smlatić, „Iseljavanje jugoslavenskih muslimana u Tursku i njihovo prilagodavanje novoj sredini“, *INNJ*, str. 251–256.

⁴² *Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1930–1940*, vol. II–X, Beograd, 1933–1941.

⁴³ *Vardar* (Skoplje), No. 536, 21 July 1935, p. 2.

Emigration from Vardarska Banovina toward several European countries

YEAR	Turkey	Romania	Čzechoslov.	Albania	Greece	Bulgaria
1930	1.581	935	76	329	842	63
1931	725	628	67	138	562	109
1932	1.206	688	41	94	307	132
1933	1.678	605	63	187	303	539
1934	3.639	509	62	75	266	397
1935	2.710	737	272	261	186	509
1936	886	466	223	430	185	250
1937	1.056	607	275	258	151	343
1938	?	?	?	?	?	?
1939	189	31	7	31	39	58
1930-1939	13.678*	5.206*	1.086*	1.803*	2.841*	2.400*

Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1930–1940, vol. II–X (Beograd, 1933–1941)

* No figures for 1938

Muslim migration from Yugoslavia was the lasting and complex process, confirmed by their frequent moving after the World War Two: from 1953 to 1961 164,400 of Muslims emigrated, and during 1960s even 74% of Macedonian emigrants were Turks. Such migration slacked in 1970s when barely 180 Muslims were leaving Macedonia annually.⁴⁴ Therefore, Turkish newspapers from April 1978 seem to be right in their estimations about 190,000 Yugoslav Muslims emigrated in Turkey after 1945.⁴⁵ S. Smlatić presents the approximate numbers claiming that 350,000 Muslims of Yugoslav origin lived in Turkey in the late 1970s.⁴⁶ The most extreme is controversial H. Hoxha who claims that about a million originally Albanians lived in Turkey at the time!⁴⁷

* * *

Muslim migration to the Balkans was in conformity with the decay and perdition of the Ottoman Empire. Somehow, it was an evacuation of lost territories. On the other hand, emigrant's motives were religious, political, and economic as well. Confessedly, it was an extensive Balkan process whereby

⁴⁴ Elka Dimitrieva, V. Janeska, „Osobnosti na migracionite dviženja od SR Makedonija vo stranstvo“, *Problemi na demografskiot razvoj vo SR Makedonija*, Skopje, 1985, str. 339/40.

⁴⁵ E. Mušović, „Posleratne migracije...“, str. 144.

⁴⁶ S. Smlatić, „Iseljavanje jugoslavenskih muslimana...“, 251–256; M. Spasovski, „Osnovne odlike demografskog razvitka BiH od 1918–1991“, *Bosna i Hercegovina od Srednjeg veka do novijeg vremena*, Beograd, 1995, str. 228–231.

⁴⁷ Hajredin Hodža, „Uzroci, problemi i posledice migracija stanovništva Kosova i pripadnika albanske nacionalnosti u inostranstvo“, *INNJ*, str. 258–261.

Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Turkey found a common ground. Through such Muslim migration Yugoslavia tried to shake off disloyal Albanians, while Turkey acquired applicable settlement for its deserted eastern borderland areas. Yugoslav Muslims rushed to the 'New Turkey' under vigorous influence of propaganda and lavish prospects, but their adaptation became unbearable very soon. On juridical level, uncontrolled migration was legalized after signing of the Yugoslav-Turkish Convention (1938) which passed off in Yugoslavia without any suitable publicity. New migration tides from 1950 to 1970 were not the same, but they pointed out longevity of Muslims' devotion to their native land which abates just whole century after the Berlin Congress.

Резиме

У потрази за домовином? Миграције муслимана из Југославије у Турску 1918–1941.

Кључне речи: миграције муслимана, Турска, Краљевина Југославија, Македонија, Косово, Вардарска бановина, Албанци

Распадање Отоманског царства довело је до великих демографских померања на Балкану, при чему је својим обимом предњачило кретање балканских муслимана ка Малој Азији. Главно транзитно подручје југословенских исељеника био је простор Вардарске бановине, због чега је било нужно указати на локалне прилике и могуће мотиве за исељавање, те расветлити државне механизме и политичке околности под којима се оно одвијало. Друштвени и политички статус муслимана на простору Македоније, Косова и Санџака био је неповољан из више разлога. Ликвидацијом феудалних односа велики број тамошњих муслимана је остао без извора прихода због чега је већина морала да се преоријентише на занате и трговину. Њихова политичка егзистенција је озбиљно уздрмана средином двадесетих година када им је партија стављена ван закона, док је највећи број средњих верских школа био укинут. Политизацијом верских службеника и отвореним мешањем државе у послове Исламске верске заједнице додатно је сужен осећај слободе, што је такође могло посредно утицати на сазревање одлуке о миграцији.

Да је исељавање муслимана у Турску било процес ширих размера у коме се може препознати заједнички интерес балканских држава и Турске потврђују грчки, румунски и бугарски пример. Југословенска краљевина је тиме покушала да се реши нелојалног албанског становништва (које је сматрано дезинтегративним фактором) и добије земљиште за колонизацију,

док је Турска „подесним елементом“ насељавала опустеле крајеве земље из којих су претходно протерани Курди, Јермени и Грци. Низом директних и посредних мера вршено је подстрекивање неодлучних муслимана на миграцију, а за ту сврху су коришћене државне институције Краљевине СХС/Југославије. Муслимани су хрлили у Турску и под утицајем пригодне пропаганде и превеликих очекивања, али је њихова адаптација у реформисаној Турској била готово немогућа. Југословенска државна статистика је регистровала само случајеве у којима је поштована процедура и самим тим губила из вида таласе илегалних исељеника, потцењујући њихов стварни број. Са друге стране, политичка инструментализација других извора података тај број доводи до невероватних вредности. Поред тога што је о коначном броју исељеника тешко говорити на основу непотпуних државних статистика и политички ангажованих анализа, може се закључити да је у питању био процес старији од саме југословенске државе, која је у једном тренутку проценила да га „по балканском моделу“ може убрзати и привести крају.

Припремајући се за склапање тајног аранжмана са Турском југословенске власти су 1935. одржале састанак представника пет министарстава и Генералштаба на коме је састављен пројекат „о исељењу несловенског елемента из Јужне Србије“. Међу његовим закључцима доминира потреба хитног доношења билатералних конвенција са Турском и Албанијом, док је у случају проблема са исељавањем Албанаца било предвиђено њихово пресељење у унутрашњост Југославије. Ослобађање од свих пореза и војне обавезе је било предвиђено за оне који би се добровољно одрекли југословенског држављанства, док су на бесплатан превоз могли рачунати они који би своју непокретну имовину оставили држави. Предлози представника Генералштаба су једногласно прихваћени и усвојени као мере које пројекат предлаже за „успешније и брже исељавање несловенског живља“ у Турску и Албанију. Мере су подразумевале сузбијање пропаганде против исељавања која се водила из Тиране, што чешће позивање несловенских регрута из граничних срезова на војне вежбе и маневре, забрану примања у државну службу „лица која долазе у обзир за исељење“, премештај актуелних несловенских чиновника у друге крајеве земље, „национализовање географских објеката и особних презимена“ итд. Државне активности на исељавању муслимана су кулминирале потписивањем југословенско-турске конвенције у Цариграду јула 1938. године којом је било предвиђено исељавање 40.000 муслиманских породица у Турску (у року од шест година), за које је Југославија требало да плати одштету од двеста милиона турских лира. Њену ратификацију и реализацију омели су финансијски неспоразуми, албанска кампања против исељавања и избијање Другог светског рата.