

*The Ethno-Demographic Changes in the 1950s
in the People's Republic of Macedonia:
The Emigration Process of the Turkish and Muslim Population*

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1. The losses suffered during the war, as well as the loss of power that the Ottoman Empire had once exerted over the Balkans in the XIX and the beginning of the XX century caused significant ethnic and demographic changes on the peninsula.¹ Its defeat in the Balkan Wars and the collapse of the Empire led to considerable changes, one being the massive migration of Turks and of other Muslims to Turkey.²

The fighting that lasted from 1912 to 1918 only confirmed the maxim that on the Balkans, significant policy changes resulted in ethnic changes and movements. Part of the Turkish population in Macedonia, in most cases, the well-off from both the urban and rural regions, continued to migrate to Turkey, especially in the mid-1920s. The persistence of the Yugoslav government to reach an agreement with Turkey on relocating a part of the Muslim population out of the country bore fruition in 1938. A press conference was held in Istanbul in June 1938, with the aim of looking for ways to get the Turkish population out of Romania and Yugoslavia. One month later, in July 1938, a Convention was signed concerning the Yugoslav Muslim population “who speaks Turkish and has Turkish culture.”³ However, Ke-

¹ KARPAT, 1985: 134-149.

² DJORDJEVIC, 1989: 115; JOVANOVIĆ, 2007: 80.

³ Архив на Македонската Академија на Науките и Уметностите, Архив на МАНУ: ф. Лазар Колишевски, к. 43, папка-2. DSIP d-r Aleks Babler drugu Lazaru Koliševskom. Zabeleška o sporazumu sklopljenom između bivše Jugoslavije i Turske.

mal Atatürk passed away soon after it was signed, and the Convention was not ratified by Turkey.

2. After WWII, in completely different economic and political circumstances, like the first half of the 1950s, the Turkish population, as well as other peoples, continued to emigrate from Macedonia. This wave of emigration represented a sequel to the so-called “de-Ottomanisation” of the Balkans.⁴

Despite the regular requests for emigration, the authorities turned a number of them down, and as a result, the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s were marked by an increase in illegal border crossings by the Turkish minority. In this period, before the war ended and a different set of authority had been established, the reasons for emigration tended to be of a religious and national nature.

In the period after WWII, the emigration process of the Turkish population from the Balkan countries to Turkey initially set off in Bulgaria and Greece. These countries used the cold Bulgarian-Turkish and Greek-Turkish relations that existed as an incentive to encourage the Turkish population to emigrate. In the first half of the 1950s, Bulgaria asked the Turkish government to accept 250,000 Turks, all of them Bulgarian citizens.⁵

The Communist Party’s analyses and reports concerning the Turkish emigration issue stated that this process could be divided in two periods: the period up to 1952, when, even though a number of applications for emigration were submitted, all were rejected, and the period after 1952, when the emigration process began.⁶

In the period from 1945 to 1947, no applications for immigration to Turkey were submitted. In 1948, ten families filed for citizenship removal. Applications were also filed in the following years, but all of them were negative.⁷ At the beginning of 1952, for the first time, seven applications

⁴ BANDZOVIC, 2003: 214.

⁵ TODOROVSKI, 1997: 64.

⁶ *Државен Архив на Република Македонија, ДАРМ: ф. ЦК КПМ/СКМ. Комисија за национални малцинства, к-49, а.е. 3. Анализа за иселувањето на турското население [An Analysis of the Emigration of the Turks].*

⁷ In the Party’s reports from 1954, the following explanation is given as a reason for the emigration of the Turkish population: “Turkish citizens who visit our country inform Turks that there is a free private initiative, free trade, de-

which had been submitted previously, received a positive reply, which was to serve as an incentive in encouraging more people to file for citizenship removal. In 1952, there were positive replies for 35 families, affecting a total of 162 members⁸, with only three families from Kičevo being denied. At the beginning, applicants received approval for citizenship removal after a lengthy wait, i.e. no case was resolved in less than six months. The reason why things moved so slowly was that the applicants had to wait for the final word from the Department of State Security (UDBA).⁹ Over time this improved and the resolution of these cases moved more quickly, in comparison with previous years. Usually, two to three months were necessary for one case to be processed, from the day the application was submitted, to the day the decision was made. The procedure was speeded up as a result of the improved relations between Yugoslavia and Turkey, as well as due to the help provided by the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Executive Committee of the People's Republic of Macedonia. In accordance with the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs, citizenship removal would be granted to any applicant whose family spoke Turkish and if, after 1944, they had been declared as Turks.

Members of the Turkish national minority could be only those who fulfilled both conditions, whereas, concerning the second condition, the person's declaration of Turkish nationality should be ongoing.¹⁰ The proce-

mocracy, that each emigrant shall receive payment. This encourages them to emigrate... (*Архив на Македонската Академија на Науките и Уметностите, Архив на МАНУ*: ф. Лазар Колишевски, к. 43, папка-2. Елаборат во врска со иселувањето на Турците и Шиптарите, 21.03.1954).” [A Report on the Emigration of the Turks and Albanians].

⁸ ДАРМ: ф. ЦК. КПМ/СКМ, к-125, а.е.5. Информација за иселувањето на припадниците на турското национално малцинство од територијата на Народна Република Македонија [On the Emigration of the Turkish National Minority from the Territory of the People's Republic of Macedonia].

⁹ ДАРМ: ф. ЦК. КПМ/СКМ. Комисија за национални малцинства, к-49, а.е.34. Отпуст од државјанство на ФНРЈ на лица по народност Турци [Citizenship Removal from the FPRY for Turks].

¹⁰ ДАРМ: ф. ЦК. КПМ. Комисија за национални малцинства, к-128, а.е.5. Информација за иселување на припадниците на турското национално малцинство од територијата на Народна Република Македонија [Information on the Emigration of the Turkish Minority from the Territory of the Republic of Macedonia].

dure of receiving the final word on the matter from the authorities from the Department of State Security (UDBA) was shortened.

At the end of 1952 and the beginning of 1953, most emigrants were those who had had land confiscated, and who had relatives residing in Turkey. At the end of 1953, 922 families' applications for Yugoslavian citizenship removal were approved, affecting 2,404 people. Most of the people who applied for citizenship removal were from Skopje and the surrounding areas¹¹, among them farmers, craftsmen, and a small number of workers.¹²

The Party's analyses talk about various propaganda strategies put forth by the Turkish authorities, as well as some anti-communist propaganda, based on the premise that in the case of the coming to power of a new set of authorities, some religious customs would be prohibited. In favour of this was the law passed in January 1951,¹³ which banned the wearing of burkas and balaclavas, then, saw the incorporation of local rural unions, and brought about the termination of sebijan mektebi (elementary religious schools). At the same time, some emigrants in Turkey appealed to the Turkish government to do something concerning the emigration of their relatives from Yugoslavia.

The official Turkish representatives in Yugoslavia did not always hold a positive attitude towards the migration of the local Turkish population to Turkey. The Turkish consul in Skopje, Iskender Ors, was negatively disposed to this. From the beginning of the 1950s, there was a steady stream of letters of guarantee for emigration arriving to the Skopje Consulate from Turkey. Even though the letters arrived in the Skopje Consulate via the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, most of them were rejected by consul Ors. This went on until the end of 1952, when he was issued an order by the Turkish ambassador in Belgrade, Qiprili, to have each person to receive

¹¹ From Skopje, where the Turkish population was relatively high at the beginning of the XX century (see: КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 205), the migration wave to Turkey began even while the Balkan Wars were going on and lasted throughout the period between the wars.

¹² Half the applicants for citizenship removal were from the Skopje area (1,156), 259 were from Veles, 177 from Kumanovo, 123 from Prilep, while the number of requests from other towns was less than 100 (Архив на Македонската Академија на Науките и Уметностите, Архив на МАНУ: ф. Лазар Колишевски, к. 43, папка-2).

¹³ "Ban on Wearing Burkas and Balaclavas", *Narodna zadruga* VI/184, 12.01.1951.

a letter of guarantee called to the Consulate and informed that their application for immigration to Turkey had been approved. Consul Iskender Ors advised those who had received a letter of guarantee not to emigrate. As a result of this, Iskender Ors was replaced by Salih Diler. The new consul had a different approach towards emigration. There was greater control concerning who was emigrating, special attention being paid not to allow a situation where large numbers of Party members would emigrate.¹⁴

If we analyse the social structure of the people who emigrated at the beginning of 1952 - 1953, we can conclude that they were mostly small-time flea-market traders, people who believed that they would be able to carry on with their activities in Turkey.¹⁵ After the liberation, various steps were taken by the authorities to implement a so-called social economy of trade, and free trade was no longer allowed. Most kept a share of their capital, with which they believed they could continue their business activities in Turkey. The emigration movement gained in momentum in 1954, especially after Lazar Koliševski's interview for the "Nova Makedonija" on 28 March, 1954, on emigration opportunity.¹⁶ The Party's analyses on emigration trends covered the period before and after these statements.¹⁷ In his interview, Koliševski stressed that he disagreed with the term emigration, since there was no force imposed on the population who wanted to leave Yugoslavia.

In connection with the reasons why these people asked for the removal of their Yugoslavian citizenship in order to move to Turkey, Koliševski said: "Regarding the reasons for citizenship removal, I can only say that they are reasonable. Above all, it has to do with familial relations, religious motives, and the sense to what extent the minority has accepted our com-

¹⁴ *Архив на Македонската Академија на Науките и Уметностите, Архив на МАНУ: ф. Лазар Колишевски, к. 43, папка-2. Елаборат во врска со исекувањето на Турците [A Report on the Emigration of the Turks].*

¹⁵ Concerning the social structure of the emigrants in Turkey up to 1953, there were: 232 workers, 215 craftsmen, 202 farmers, 84 officers, 24 students and pupils, 8 freelancers. This social structure was made in reference to the head of the family, since the number of emigrants in 1953 was larger. (ДАРМ: ф. ЦК. КПМ/СКМ. Комисија за национални малцинства, к-60, а.с.7).

¹⁶ *Нова Македонија* X.2.910, 28.03.1954; КЉАКИК, 1994: 250.

¹⁷ АЧКОСКА, 2003: 276.

munity as their own, since this minority is still Turkish, belonging to a specific nation, and if that sense of our socialist community is broader, then the tendencies for them leaving should decrease.”¹⁸

Emigration was a topic of discussion in the Federal Assembly as well. The Kosovo representative, Havzi Sulejmani, posed the question whether the federal government agreed with Koliševski’s opinions on emigration”,¹⁹ and the answer he received was that the opinions Koliševski had expressed were not contrary to the policy of the federal government (concerning the matter of joining families who had emigrated) and that emigration from these countries was not anything new.

Lazar Koliševski received a letter from the Turkish ambassador in Belgrade, Agah Aksel, who wrote that he had avidly read his interview concerning his opinions on approving the Turks’ citizenship removal requests, and had agreed with them.²⁰

Up to this time, the process of emigration was sometimes seen as a counterproductive, negative activity, but after this, opinions changed and the feeling grew that “there are no justified political or economic reasons for the intervention by the authorities against emigration in general, or for restrictions to be imposed on it.”²¹ Several months after Koliševski’s interview, the number of filed applications requesting citizenship removal increased.²²

¹⁸ *Нова Македонија* X.2.910, 28.03.1954.

¹⁹ *Архив на Македонската Академија на Науките и Уметностите, Архив на МАНУ*: ф. Лазар Колишевски, к. 43, папка-2. Писмо од Народниот посланик во Сојузното веќе Хавзи Сулејмани од Приштина, 30.03.1954 [Letter from the National Representative in the Federal Assembly, Havzi Sulejmani from Pristina].

²⁰ *Архив на Македонската Академија на Науките и Уметностите, Архив на МАНУ*: ф. Лазар Колишевски, к. 43, папка-2. Писмо од Агах Аксел до Л. Колишевски во врска со прашањето за Турците за отпуст од државјанство, 23.03.1954 [Letter from Agah Aksel to Lazar Koliševski concerning the issue of the Turks’ citizenship removal requests, 23.03.1954]; КЉАКИЌ, 1994: 251.

²¹ ДАРМ: ф. ЦК. КПМ/СКМ. Комисија за национални малцинства, к-72, а.е.1.

²² An analysis carried out in November 1954 by the People’s Republic of Macedonia’s Ministry of Internal Affairs says: “Initially, it is the Turks from the cities and those who are wealthy that are emigrating. The wave of emigration took place 2-3 months after Koliševski’s interview. There are villages where

The emigration procedure went as follows. Citizens requesting citizenship removal from the FPRY with the aim of immigrating to Turkey had to first receive a letter of guarantee from their relatives, or other citizens of Turkey via the Turkish Consulate in Skopje. After that they were called to go to the Consulate, where they were given a certificate guaranteeing them admittance in Turkey, and Turkish citizenship. Having obtained the certificate, they could then begin the procedure of collecting all the other necessary documents.²³

The completed documents were submitted to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where after each case was processed, passports and visas were issued. Problems might arise only in the instances when the applicant had not completed the legal transactions of transferring the sold lands, and as such would not be issued a citizenship removal certificate. These problems were due to difficulties in finding interested buyers (despite the low asking prices in some regions)²⁴, as well as collecting the amount agreed upon. Buyers often delayed payment for the land, and the authorities would not complete the judicial transfer of the estate. However, these cases did nothing to slow down the emigration process.²⁵

the inhabitants are required to move. This is the case in Nerezi and Crvena Voda, Skopje, and Gorno Jabolčište, Veles” (*Архив на Македонската Академија на Науките и Уметностите, Архив на МАНУ: ф. Лазар Колишевски, к. 43, папка-2. Прашање на иселување на Турците, 6.XI 1954* [The Issue of the Emigration of the Turks], from the SMIA of the PRM). Part of the population of the above-mentioned villages immigrated to Turkey after 1955. Only 100 families from the villages of Gorno and Dolno Jabolčište, Veles, Albanian in nationality, moved. The emigration movement was still active in the 1960s; in 1966, six families from Gorno Jabolčište were undergoing preparations to emigrate (TRIFUNOSKI, 1977: 285-290).

²³ To collect all the necessary documents, a person would need to spend an amount of 20 000 dinars, which was not at all an insignificant sum (ДАРМ: ф. ЦК. КПМ/СКМ. Комисија за национални малцинства, к-72, а.е.1).

²⁴ The best examples illustrating how cheap the emigrants' estates were can be seen from the examples where a 2-acre Turkish house in the Skopje area was sold for 50,000 dinars, then, in Kanatlarci, a village near Prilep, a house with 3 acres of fertile land was sold for 150 000 dinars in 1955 (ТРИФУНОСКИ, 1961: 102).

²⁵ In 1948, the population of the People's Republic of Macedonia was 1,152,986. 97.9% of the Turks in the FPRY lived in Macedonia (SIMEUNOVIC, 1964: 31).

3. The first demographic census after the war was carried out in 1948. According to the data collected, 95,940 Turks lived in the People's Republic of Macedonia, representing 8.32% of the total population in Macedonia.²⁵ In connection with this information is the fact that a large part of the Muslim population in western Macedonia, above all in Tetovo and in Gostivar, who had previously (for example, in the census of 1921) declared themselves as Turks, now declared themselves as Albanians.²⁶

In the following census in 1953, there was a significant increase in the Turkish population in Macedonia. According to the official statistics of 1953, there were 203 938 Turks in Macedonia, i.e. 15.63% of the total population.²⁷

This significant increase in the Turkish population could be attributed to a number of factors. In 1953, during the second census in AVNOJ's (Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia) Yugoslavia, the political situation was different to that in 1948. After the resolution of the InformBureau, relations with Albania declined, and Turkey, having signed the Balkan Pact, became allies with the FPRY. At this time, the possibility that enabled immigration to Turkey arose, a process which played a significant role in influencing the Muslim population concerning their declarations of nationality. The public authorities were aware that along with the Turks, some Muslims who had previously declared themselves as Macedonian and Albanian, for the reasons mentioned above, would certainly express an interest in immigrating to Turkey. It was stated that, "some of them display an unambiguous tendency to secure this opportunity for emigration with a change of their national belonging".²⁸ The Party's analyses

²⁶ In 1948, the Turks represented 11.5% of the population in Bitola, 24.7% of the population in Ohrid, 17.7% in Radoviš, 27.8% in Resen, and so on. The largest percent of Turkish population was noted in the Gevgelija area (16.3%), then, in the Kočani area (14.7%), in the Resen area (10.5%), the Strumica area (17.8%), the Sveti Nikole area (19.5%), and the Veles area (14.8%), whilst in the other areas, the Turkish population was 10%. (*Konacni rezultati popisa stanovništva (od 15 marta 1948)*: Beograd, 1954, 437-450).

²⁷ In 1953, the population of Macedonia was 1,304,514 (*Naselenie po narodnost i naselbi vo SRM*, 1964: 17.).

²⁸ ДАРМ: ф. ЦК. КПМ/СКМ. Комисија за национални малцинства, к-72, а.е.1.

from the 1950s noted this situation, pointing out that the identification of this population is primarily formed based on their religion, not their origin.²⁹

After 1953 there was a significant increase in the number of applications filed requesting Yugoslav citizenship removal. In 1954 alone, 17,396 applications were filed, ten times more than in the period from 1951 to 1953. The following official data best illustrate the massive wave of emigration:

| 1951 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | Total |
|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| 31 | 153 | 1939 | 17396 | 38045 | 28816 | 27432 | 23626 | 137438 |

*Applications filed for citizenship removal from the FPRY for immigration to Turkey from 1951 to 31 December, 1958.*³⁰

| 1951-1954 | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | Total |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| 1596 | 34705 | 31291 | 35148 | 23055 | 125795 |

Total number of people who moved to Turkey from 1951 to 31 December, 1958.

²⁹ The mentioned analyses say much about the national instability and the yet unformed national feelings of this population due to their specific development previously (ДАРМ: ф. 427. к-72, а.е.1/1-67. Иселување на припадниците на турското национално малцинство од подрачјето на НРМ, декември 1956 [The Emigration of the Turkish National Minority from the Territory of the People's Republic of Macedonia, December 1956]). That is why in 1953 there was a significant increase in the number of Turks in Macedonia, namely, from 95,940 or 8.32% in 1948, to 203,938 or 15.63% in 1953. This demographic and statistic illogicality was pointed out by the analysts of the census data from 1953. In terms of the methodological explanations concerning the above-mentioned census, it is stated that there are differences that exist between the data of the censuses carried out in 1948 and 1953 concerning the declarations of ethnicity due to the different declarations of ethnicity that might have been made in the later one, due to various reasons. For example, in 1953 the number of Turks increased to such an extent that it becomes noticeable that in 1948 some Turks were declared Albanian, or Macedonian, and vice versa, some Albanians and Macedonians were declared to be Turkish. (*Popis stanovništva*, 1954).

³⁰ *Архив на Македонската Академија на Науките и Уметностите, Архив на МАНУ: ф. Лазар Колишевски, к. 43, папка-2. Бројчани податоци за отпуст од државјанство на ФНРЈ и иселени во Турција од 1931 до 31.XII.1958 година [Numerical Data on Citizenship Removal from the FPRY and Migration to Turkey from 1931 to 31.12.1958].*

By the end of 1958, of those who had been granted citizenship removal, 11,634 had not emigrated, while 3,954 applications had still to be processed. By the end of 1958, 143,800 people had been granted removal of their Yugoslavian citizenship for their emigration purposes, and yet another 6,362 by mid-March, 1959.³¹

From the data presented, we can see that the wave of migration to Turkey was especially intense in the mid-1950s, when the emigration of the population from the villages, initially in eastern Macedonia and the Povardarie region, gained momentum. The reason for this was the fact that many people feared that if they did not follow suit, they would be left on their own, since the Turks from Štip, Veles,³² Radoviš and other cities were massively moving out.³³

Whole regions populated by Turks, as registered in 1953, were abandoned. We shall present several examples typical of the Turks' emigration process. There was an obvious decrease in the Turkish population in Ovče Pole. In 1953, 6 569 Turks lived in the Sveti Nikole area, whilst in 1961 there were only 817, the emigration movement continuing in the 1960s as well.³⁴ By the end of the 1950s, the whole Turkish population inhabiting Adjibegovo, Kjoselari, and Djumalija, villages in the Ovče Pole region, had moved out, while Gorobinci, Milino, Karatmanovo, Dorfulija, and Adjimatovo met a similar fate, with most, though not all of their inhabitants leaving. Most of the emigrants settled in Izmir and Istanbul. In 1953, there we-

³¹ ДАРМ: ф. ЦК. КПМ/СКМ. Комисија за национални малцинства, к-128, а.е.5. Информација за иселувањето на припадниците на турското национално малцинство од територијата на Народна Република Македонија, 24 август 1959 [On the Emigration of the Turkish National Minority from the Territory of the People's Republic of Macedonia, 24 August 1959].

³² From the Veles area, half of the Turkish population had filed applications for citizenship removal by the end of 1955.

³³ In Skopje and the surrounding area, 14,216 applications for citizenship removal were filed in 1954 and 1955, 11,881 of which came from the city itself (*Архив на Македонската Академија на Науките и Уметностите, Архив на МАНУ*: ф. Лазар Колишевски, к. 43, папка-2. О иселувању припадника турске националне маџине из НР. Македоније у Турску, 12.01.1956 [On the Emigration of the Turkish Population from the People's Republic of Macedonia to Turkey, 12.01.1956].

³⁴ *Popis stanovništva*, 1954.

re 200 Turkish families, around 1 200 people, living in Milino, one of the largest villages in the Ovče Pole region. In the period from 1954 to 1958, 177 Turkish families had emigrated from the village.³⁵ There are identical or similar examples of this phenomenon in the villages in the Povardarie region, in Štip, and in Kočani. In Ivankovci, a village near Veles, where the Turks and the Macedonians lived side by side, the whole Turkish population left during the period mentioned above, and in 1961, there were no Turks left to be registered.³⁶ In the Vinica area, in 1953 there were around 5,200 Turks,³⁷ whilst less than two decades later, in 1971, there were around 450

³⁵ Albanians from Preshevo and Kosovo, as well as Muslims from Sandjak, settled in Milino, the village that the Turks had previously emigrated from. Other villages in the area were also inhabited by settlers from the above-mentioned regions, however, the Turks' estates were, for the most part, bought by Macedonians or Vlachs from eastern Macedonia, and especially from Osogovo (TRIFUNOSKI, 1964: 643, 672).

³⁶ In 1953 there were 1 830 people living in the village, 525 of whom were Macedonian, and 1 298 Turkish, who emigrated several years later. At the beginning of the XX century, there were around 1 200 Turks living in Ivankovci. The same was true in the villages of Dolno and Gorno Kalaslari, Mamutchevo, Kumarino, Krušje, as well as Gorno Orizari and Crkvino, which, following the Turks' emigration, were settled by inhabitants from Sandjak. Some of the Bosnjaks from Sandjak left for Turkey several years later, while others settled permanently in the above-mentioned villages. In the 1950s, the Muslim Macedonians from Veles massively moved out from the villages of Gorno Vranovci and Melnica. There was an especially massive wave of emigration from Gorno Vranovci, which had a population of 3,847 in 1953. Out of the 800 families who lived in the village in 1954, in the mid-1960s there were only ten families left, and they too were making preparations to move out. The village was peopled by Albanians from Kosovo, from the surrounding areas of Uroševac and Gnjilane, as well as from the neighbouring village of Gorno Jabolčište. The first families from the village of Melnica to immigrate to Turkey did so in the period from 1912 to 1914. The second wave of emigration lasted from 1924 to 1938, when 80 families moved out. The most massive emigration movement occurred in the mid-1950s, when 130 families moved to Turkey. The emigrants from Gorno Vranovci settled in Izmir, while those from Melnica settled in Izmir, Akhisar and Bursa. At the beginning, they worked as construction workers, and grew tobacco on land they rented (TRIFUNOSKI, 1977: 193-194, 253, 277-281).

³⁷ *Naselenie po narodnost i nasebni vo SRM*, 1964: 45, 66.

Turks. In Blatec alone over 350 families moved out in the period from 1955 to 1989.³⁸ By the end of 1954, 1,320 people, from 187 families from the Gevgelija and Valandovo regions, had submitted applications for emigration.³⁹ Before the wave of emigration started in 1953, the Valandovo region had 4,474 Turks living there, while eight years later their number had decreased to 1,374.⁴⁰ The Turkish population was moving out of Strumica, the Tikveš region, as well as from the villages in Pelagonia. During this time, the Turks – the Yörük, for the most part settled in the Radoviš and Štip regions. Their number decreased by 70% in Radoviš and the surrounding area. Prior to the Balkan Wars, the Turks held absolute majority in Radoviš, comprising 57.2% of the population, whilst in Štip they made up 55.5%.⁴¹ At the end of the century, there were 2 057 Turks in Štip, in comparison to the 27 300 who had lived there in 1912. All this was due to the many decades of emigration of the Turkish population.

The situation was identical in the other regions in Macedonia. In the same period, the whole Turkish population emigrated from one of the largest villages in Pelagonia, Kremenica.⁴²

At Župa County in the Debar region, the emigration of the Turkish and Muslim population continued after the Balkan Wars. We shall make mention of Kodjadjik, a village which was the seat of nahiyah until 1912,

³⁸ 150 families moved out of Gradec in the time span of several years, and around 50 families from Lipec. The emigrants from these villages settled mainly in Ak Hisar and the surrounding villages, where they planted grains, and grew grapes and tobacco (ТРИФУНОСКИ, 1970: 112-117).

³⁹ ДАРМ: ф. ЦК. КПМ, к-60, а.е.3.

⁴⁰ *Naselenie po narodnost i naselbi vo SRM*, 1964: 46-52.

⁴¹ ИВАНОВ, 1917: 104.

⁴² Kremenica was a large village inhabited by Turks. In 1913 the Serbian authorities registered 2,403 inhabitants (*Речник места у ослобођеној области старе Србије*, 1914: 21). In 1953, before the wave of emigration, there were 20,230 Turks (*Попис на населението во Р. Македонија, од 1994 година* [Census of the Population in the Republic of Macedonia in accordance with the national declaration, Skopje, 1996: 41]). In the following census, carried out in 1961, 113 Turks were registered as living in the village. The Turkish population also emigrated from other villages in Pelagonia – Musilci, Trnovci, Kanatlarci, and so on. Those from the northern part of Pelagonia, inhabited by Albanians and Muslim Macedonians, emigrated as well.

and which had a population of 1,250 at the end of the XIX century.⁴³ As a result of the ongoing emigration (by the mid-1950s of the XX century, 100 families had moved to Turkey), in 1954 the population of the village had dropped to 674,⁴⁴ and when the new wave of emigration began, as when it ceased in 1961, only 110 people remained in the village,⁴⁵ thus permanently removing it from the spotlight.

All these statistics provide a clear image of the sheer volume of the emigration wave to Turkey in the 1950s of the XX century. No region in Macedonia that was inhabited by Turks or other Muslims remained immune to this process.

By the 1950s, those who were wealthy and could adapt to a new environment and set up their own private business moved to Turkey. Furthermore, high taxes also played a role in changing people's minds. In all probability, the law concerning the nationalization of rented buildings and land suitable for construction work, passed on 25 November, 1959, caused a decrease in the emigration wave, since the owners of land that fell under the provisions of the said law could no longer sell it.⁴⁶

In terms of the origins of the emigrants, most of them came from places that had boasted a high Turkish population up to 1953, such as Skopje, Bitola, Valandovo, Vinica, Delčevo, Kičevo, Kumanovo, Negotino, Prilep, Radoviš, Sveti Nikole, Strumica, Veles, and Štip.⁴⁷ Though this process of emigration had not ceased by the end of the 1950s, it had reduced in intensity. During the 1960s there were still applications being submitted for citizenship removal, and people were still moving to Turkey. According to the data available at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as the Statistics Office, in the period from 1961 to 1969, 44,757 people had moved out of Macedonia, 10,299 of whom were Macedonian.

According to some estimates, the total number of emigrants from 1961 to 1971 was believed to have been 47,000, out of which number, over 34,700 or three-quarters were believed to have been emigrants to Turkey.⁴⁸

⁴³ КЪНЧОВ, 1996: 261.

⁴⁴ РУСИЋ, 1957: 75.

⁴⁵ *Попис на населението во Р. Македонија* (од 1994), 1996: 283.

⁴⁶ АЧКОСКА, 2001: 100.

⁴⁷ ЈАНЕСКА, 2001: 167.

⁴⁸ ДИМИТРИЕВА & ЈАНЕСКА, 1985: 337-353.

1968 and 1969 were years typical of this, with, according to the official data, 6,640 people having requested citizenship removal and having migrated to Turkey.⁴⁹

In later years, requests for immigration to Turkey were made on an individual basis, above all, for family reasons, when members of the family who had remained in Macedonia decided to leave in order to join the rest of their family. After 1970, the number of people immigrating to Turkey decreased and the statistics showed a number of 2,144 people.⁵⁰ With this, the intense process of the emigration of Turks and other Muslims from the territory of the Republic of Macedonia ceased, leaving a mark on the later demographic image and structure of the Macedonian population.

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⁴⁹ ТОДОРОВСКИ, 2001: 390-391.

⁵⁰ ДИМИТРИЕВА & ЈАНЕСКА, 1985: 340.

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