

UDK 911:312(4 "KARPATI, BALKAN")

CHANGES IN THE ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF THE CARPATHO - BALKAN REGIONS (A geographic approach)

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Introduction

The Carpatho-Balkan region became known as an ethnically and religiously highly diverse area, which incorporates an image of instability due to its geographic position and the particular political events that took place in the region. The unique status of this region became even more pronounced following World War II when the regions to the north (such as Czech Lands, Poland and the West Ukraine, etc.) lost their former, ethnic-religious diversity due to extensive forced migration and border changes. This social diversity and the highly varied cultures that exist side by side in a compact area contributed to regional wars and to conflicts extended almost world-wide. In the Carpatho-Balkan region inevitable conflicts broke out following the collapse of the empire that exercised control over the region. Often concealed as wars and struggles of liberation, they were, in fact, wars with the intent to occupy areas or to extend control over small- and medium-size nations over the past centuries. These events were, for example, the collapse of the Turkish/Ottoman Empire in Europe (1878-1913), the dissolution of the

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Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1918), the retreat of the Soviet army from the region and the dissolution of the USSR (1990-1991). Up to this point in time, none of the ideologies or social systems imposed were able to release or reduce tensions in the region or to balance the ethnic, cultural and traditional mix of the region in an environment of new, artificial and rigid borders of these countries. No change in this respect was brought about by the ideology of 'proletarian internationalism' in the period of 1945-1989/90. The contrary seems to be true, since after the cessation of the Soviet influence in the region the ethnic-religious tensions seem to have strengthened rather than abate -- tensions that were suppressed for in excess of four decades. These events were well predicted by some (e.g. King, R.R. 1973, p.326: 'If Soviet power in Eastern Europe should decline as a result of... a serious internal crises, nationalism would undergo a renaissance in the communist states of Eastern Europe').

The aim of this paper is to depict the current ethnic distribution of the population of the region, to show the changing ethnic and migratory trends in the period of 1920-1980.

The areas studied are the regions of the Carpathians, the Balkans (Slovakia, Hungary, Transcarpathia, Transylvania, Rumania Proper, Voivodina, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia Proper, Montenegro, Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria) and Moldavia considering present administrative borders. The total area of the 15 regions combined is 797,000 km², comparable with the area of Turkey, and its population (78.5 million in 1990) is comparable with the population of Germany.

For investigation of population structures seven censuses of different dates (containing data with respect to nationalities and languages), were compared. Consequently, the earliest population census considered took place in 1920 (base time) and the latest census considered in 1980.

Changes in the ethnic structure (1920-1980)

The peace treaties after World War I created small, poly-ethnic states in the place of the former poly-ethnic empires. As a result, however, the ratio of the subordinated nations and national minorities living in the Carpatho-Balkan region had decreased from 35.4 per cent in 1914 to a mere 31.7 per cent in 1920.

The Czechs managed to annex the former Upper-Hungary (today Slovakia and Transcarpathia), the Rumanians E-Hungary (Transylvania) and Bessarabia from Russia, the Serbs S-Hungary (today Voivodina), Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. The ambitiousness of these nations/countries is evidenced by the fact that in some of the areas annexed, large national minorities remained. For instance, the ratio of the non-Czech-Slovak population in Slovakia-Transcarpathia was as high as 42.9 per cent; the non-Rumanians in Transylvania 42.7 per cent, in Bessarabia 44 per cent; while the non-Serb population in Bachka-Banat-Baranya made up not less than 71 per cent(!) of the total (1921). The Kingdom of Hungary (the Carpathian Basin), that up to 1918 represented a natural, economic, historical and cultural unit, was divided among five different states. Out of the territory of Hungary remained merely 28.6 per cent, out of the ethnic Hungarians 67 per cent in the new territory. At the same time the territory of the Rumanian state increased 2.3-fold, that of Serbian 2.7-fold and the Czech state 1.8-fold. The new borders almost totally cut the relations developed between landscapes during the last thousand years and between the nations of the Carpathian Basin. However, large Central European areas with different religious and cultural traditions and with higher levels of economic development came under the authority of Balkan Orthodox states (e.g. to Serbia: Voivodina, Croatia and Slovenia, and to Rumania: Transylvania). As a net result of the above mentioned facts, the border and other regions (with hundreds of thousands and even up to several millions of national minorities living in these annexed areas) in Rumania, Serbia (officially designated as the Kingdom Serbs-Croats-Slovenes) and in Chechoslovakia experienced almost unresolvable tensions, which are not eased to this

Table 1. Ethnic structure of the population living in the regions of South-Eastern Europe (1920, 1980)

Regions	in numbers															
	year	total population	Hungarians	Germans	Rumanians	Slovaks, Czechs	Russians, Ukrainians, Rutenians	Serbs, Montenegrins	Croats	Muslims	Bulgarians	Macedonians	Albanians	Turks, Tartars, Gypsies	Jews	Gypsies
SLOVAKIA 49.025 km ²	1921	2.958.357	650.597	145.844	—	2.025.003	88.970	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	73.621	7.967
	1980	4.987.853	559.801	5.121	—	4.378.336	42.168	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
HUNGARY 93.033 km ²	1920	7.986.875	7.155.979	550.062	23.695	148.450	5.507	17.132	58.951	—	1.277	—	—	333	—	6.989
	1980	10.709.463	10.579.898	31.231	10.141	16.054	—	3.626	20.484	—	—	—	—	—	—	27.915
TRANS-CARPATHIA 12.800 km ²	1921	619.304	111.052	10.326	10.810	19.284	372.523	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	80.132	—
	1979	1.155.759	158.446	3.746	27.155	8.914	940.319	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.848	5.586
TRANSYLVANIA 103.093 km ²	1920	5.112.205	1.305.753	539.427	2.930.120	30.879	19.123	48.000	—	—	16.000	—	—	—	181.340	39.000
	1977	7.500.229	1.651.307	323.477	5.320.526	24.723	41.324	36.427	—	—	8.459	—	—	171	7.830	43.464
RUMANIA (PROPER) 134.407 km ²	1920	8.157.900	114.537	163.290	7.469.145	1.087	78.525	4.696	—	—	55.103	—	—	41.625	86.039	65.896
	1977	14.059.681	19.261	8.728	13.886.965	297	27.659	1.825	—	—	808	—	—	41.087	16.837	32.232
MOLDAVIA 33.700 km ²	1926/50	2.352.706	684	31.887	1.609.477	540	363.502	340	—	—	51.688	—	—	73.391	191.618	11.451
	1979	3.949.756	—	11.374	2.525.687	—	1.066.409	—	—	—	80.665	—	—	141.000	80.127	10.666
CROATIA 56.538 km ²	1921	3.447.594	81.835	99.808	896	42.444	9.521	584.058	2.374.752	1.700	—	—	751	260	—	—
	1981	4.601.469	25.439	2.175	625	21.594	6.594	541.320	3.454.661	23.740	441	5.362	6.006	279	316	3.858
BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA 51.564 km ²	1921	1.890.440	2.577	16.471	1.334	6.377	10.782	822.000	407.700	584.800	—	—	626	231	—	—
	1981	4.124.008	945	460	351	1.039	4.908	1.334.758	758.136	1.629.924	180	1.892	4.394	277	343	7.251
VOIVODINA 21.506 km ²	1921	1.514.008	369.972	317.755	67.667	59.128	19.266	527.333	117.339	740	2.400	—	—	761	196	—
	1981	2.034.772	385.356	3.808	47.346	71.561	25.352	1.150.682	109.203	4.930	2.525	18.897	3.812	195.279	19.693	—
SERBIA (PROPER) 50.968 km ²	1921	2.835.059	3.136	14.976	151.632	4.345	4.527	2.483.560	8.924	72.709	48.609	—	20.609	2.484	—	—
	1981	5.694.464	4.965	1.402	31.922	4.791	2.562	4.942.417	31.447	151.674	30.769	29.033	72.484	1.182	395	57.140
KOSOVO 10.887 km ²	1921	439.010	12	30	402	18	31	90.000	525	27.680	—	—	288.907	27.915	—	—
	1981	1.584.441	147	92	21	80	124	236.526	8.718	58.562	161	1.056	1.226.736	12.513	9	34.126
MONTENEGRO 13.812 km ²	1921	311.341	49	172	19	136	209	236.000	18.200	38.300	—	—	17.231	172	—	—
	1981	584.310	238	107	160	85	131	419.895	6.904	78.080	24.875	37.735	67	5	1.471	—
MACEDONIA 25.713 km ²	1921	798.291	74	106	8.209	132	177	18.300	700	41.300	—	498.000	110.651	104.640	—	—
	1981	1.912.257	281	288	6.490	231	455	48.553	3.349	39.555	1.984	1.281.195	377.726	86.691	28	43.223
BULGARIA 110.912 km ²	1920	5.096.530	1.000	4.000	64.220	1.000	10.600	—	—	—	4.044.172	120.000	1.000	763.596	28.459	84.996
	1980	8.876.600	700	700	4.000	1.200	12.000	500	—	—	7.590.000	220.000	1.200	750.000	3.000	230.000
ALBANIA 28.748 km ²	1923	814.385	—	—	10.000	—	—	—	—	—	—	7.489	736.000	—	100	10.000
	1980	2.670.500	—	—	10.000	—	—	—	—	—	—	10.000	2.590.000	—	—	10.000
CARPATHO-BALKAN-REGION (total) 796.706 km ²	1920	44.334.205	9.797.257	1.809.969	12.347.626	2.338.823	985.263	4.831.419	2.986.571	767.429	4.224.357	625.489	1.176.536	1.012.286	577.360	245.903
	1980	74.445.562	13.386.784	392.709	21.871.389	4.528.905	2.470.005	8.716.339	4.392.902	1.986.465	7.716.016	1.568.310	4.320.093	1.033.462	113.017	526.625

very day, and led to extended efforts by these ethnic minorities to reserve their latent national homogeneity.

Table 2. Nations of the Carpatho-Balkan Region

Nations	number		ratio		change in number (in per cent)
	1920	in thousands 1980	1920	in per cent 1980	1920-1980
Rumanians	12,347	21,871	27,9	29,4	77,1
Hungarians	9,797	13,387	22,1	18,0	36,6
Serbs, Monteneg.	4,831	8,716	10,9	11,7	80,4
Bulgarians	4,224	7,716	9,5	10,4	82,7
Croats	2,986	4,393	6,7	5,9	47,1
Slovaks, Czechs.	2,339	4,529	5,3	6,1	93,6
Germans	1,810	393	4,1	0,5	-78,3
Albanians	1,176	4,320	2,7	5,8	267,2
Turks, Gagauz.	1,012	1,033	2,3	1,4	2,1
Ukrainians, Ruth., Russ.	985	2,170	2,2	2,9	120,2
Muslims	767	1,986	1,7	2,7	158,8
Macedonians	625	1,568	1,4	2,1	150,7
Jews*	577	113	1,3	0,2	-80,4
Others	868	2,251	2,0	2,9	159,3
Total	44,354	74,446	100,0	100,0	68,1

Remark: *Jews: Ethnic Jews (not in sense of religious affiliation)

After World War I in almost all the states of SE-Europe censuses were held (in the 1920-1923 period). According to the census figures the total population of the area exceeded 44 million (Tables 1 and 2). At that time the largest nation was the Rumanians with 12.3 million, or 27.9 per cent of the total population living in the region, followed by the Hungarians with 9.8 millions (22.1 per cent of the total population of the region). These two nations were followed in numbers by Serbs-Montenegrins (4.8 million), Bulgarians (4.2 million), Croats (2.9 million) and Slovaks-Czechs (2.3 million). The majority ethnic groups in the investigated region represented 77.9 per cent, while the political dominant ethnic groups represented 64.6 per cent of the total population (Table 3). The contradictions that seems to exists between the two sets of figures given are due to the fact that in some regions the majority and political dominant groups were not the same (e.g. Macedonia: Macedonians/Serbs,

Table 3. Distribution of the nations in SE-Europe by numerical and power (in per cent) dominancy (1920, 1980)

Year	Majority nations	National minorities
1920	77,9	22,1
1980	86,0	14,0
	Dominant nations	Subordinated nations, national minorities
1914	64,6	35,4
1920	68,3	31,7
1980	87,6	12,4

Croatia: Croats/Serbs, Slovakia: Slovaks/Czechs, Transcarpathia: Ruthenians/Czechs). The national minorities were particularly important in the cases of the Albanians (37.4 per cent of the total), Hungarians (27 per cent) and Macedonians (22 per cent). The ratio of the Slovaks living outside Slovakia (at 13.4 per cent of the total), the ratio of the Serbs living outside areas with Serbian majority (at 14.2 per cent) and the ratio

Table 4. Ratio of national minorities (1920,1980) (in per cent)

Nations	1920	1980
Albanians	37,4	40,0
Hungarians	27,0	21,0
Macedonians	22,0	18,3
Serbs	14,2	7,3
Slovaks	13,4	3,3
Croats	7,0	4,1
Bulgarians	4,3	1,6
Rumanians	2,7	0,6

Remark: Data refers to the population living in the region studied

of Croats living outside Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina (at 7 per cent) were also substantial. At the same time the Bulgarian and Rumanian minorities living outside their country were found to be extremely small (at 4.3 per cent and 2.7 per cent respectively) (Table 4). Ethnically, the most homogeneous countries were Rumania Proper, Albania, Hungary and Serbia Proper (Table 5). Contrary to the above, in seven regions (Transylvania, Macedonia, Kosovo, Croatia, Moldavia, Transcarpathia

Table 5. Ratio of the majority nations in the SE-European region (1920, 1980) (in per cent)

Regions	1920	1980	1980*
Slovakia (Slovaks)	68,4	87,8	83,0
Hungary (Hungarians)	89,6	98,8	96,6
Transcarpathia (Ruthenians, Ukrainians)	60,2	81,4	77,1
Transylvania (Rumanians)	57,3	70,9	67,0
Rumania Proper (Rumanians)	91,6	98,8	96,7
Moldavia (Rumanians)	68,4	63,9	64,0
Croatia (Croats)	68,1	75,1	83,6
Bosnia-Hercegovina**	43,5	39,5	43,5
Voivodina (Serbs)	34,8	56,6	61,0
Serbia Proper (Serbs)	87,0	86,8	87,3
Kosovo (Albanians)	65,8	77,4	78,0
Montenegro (Montenegrins)	75,8	71,9	76,8
Macedonia (Macedonians)	61,6	67,0	67,7
Bulgaria (Bulgarians)	79,3	85,5	85,5
Albania (Albanians)	90,4	97,0	97,0

Remarks: * 1980: estimation by K.Kocsis

** Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1920: Serbs, in 1980: Muslims

and Slovakia) the majority nation made up a relatively small percentage of the population (between 57 and 68), while in Voivodina and Bosnia-Hercegovina three ethnic groups balanced each other (Serbian-Hungarian-German and Serbian-Muslim-Croatian, respectively) (Table 1).

According to the censuses conducted in 1980, substantial, and in some instances essential changes took place when these figures are compared with the 1920 censuses with respect to the ethnic and religious compositions of the region. These changes were mainly due to extensive migration, so much so that more than eight million people had migrated, and due to extensive changes in the social system.

Following World War I (in the 1918-1938 period) 1,157,000 people sought refuge abroad or were moved by force, while their places were taken by 967,000 settlers in the same areas (Kulischer, E.M. 1948). The greatest share in the refugees were Hungarians (348,800, from the former Hungarian territories annexed in 1918), Ukrainians (250,000, from Bessarabia), Turks (217,000, from Bulgaria).

A substantial population shift occurred following the 1917 Russian Revolution. The number of Russians who escaped from Russia and settled elsewhere amounted to 172,000, the majority of these were settled in Serbia and Bulgaria. Similarly, from the area of Thrace annexed by Greece, 123,000 Bulgarians escaped to settle in Bulgaria in the period of 1918-1926, while, at the same time some 46,000 Greek left Bulgaria to settle in Greece.

The places of Hungarian refugees from Slovakia, Transcarpathia, Transylvania, Voivodina and Croatia were occupied by thousands of Czech, Rumanian and Serbian settlers. This shift of population particularly affected strategic Hungarian townships and Hungarian rural areas in border regions (Kocsis, K. 1989,1990,1991).

In the break-out of World War II and in the temporary territorial revisions the conflicts between national minorities and dominant nations (between Hungarians and Rumanians, Czechs, Serbs; between Albanians and Serbs), and between the subordinated and dominant nations (between Slovaks and Czechs, Croats and Serbs, Macedonians and Serbs etc.) played an important role. The Fascist axis powers were apt to take advantage of the injuries of the humiliated, subordinated nations (Hungarians, Bulgarians, Croats, Slovaks, Albanians) and redrew the political map of the SE-European region. Hungary received back territories with Hungarian ethnic majority (S-Slovakia, N-Transylvania, Bachka and Baranya) as well as Transcarpathia and the Mura Region, while the present territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, just as in the Middle Ages, was given to Croatia. Albania acquired Kosovo and W-Macedonia, while part of Serbia, with majority Bulgarian population, was returned to

Bulgaria, together with Macedonia, W-Thrace and S-Dobruja. Rumania was forced to give over the northern part of Transylvania occupied in 1918, but as a compensation Rumania was allowed to annex Ukrainian territories between the Dnestr and the South Bug Rivers (called Transnistria). These large-scale territorial changes and the political processes resulted in the forced mass migration of in excess of 2.9 million of the local population (Schechtman, J.B. 1946, Kulischer, E.M. 1948, Frumkin, G. 1951). From the SE-European region, under direct and indirect control by Nazi Germany, more than one million Jews were deported and sent to concentration camps in Germany and Poland. The majority of Jews deported were from Rumania (numbering 520,000) and from Hungary (431,000).

More than 319,000 Rumanians escaped from N-Transylvania and S-Dobruja or were shifted in the framework of a population shift agreement, while 273,000 Serbs settled in Serbia Proper from the neighbouring countries. Approximately 200,000 Russians and some 60,000 Ukrainians escaped from Bessarabia, taken by the Soviet army for a brief period in 1940 and reoccupied by Rumania in 1941. In 1939, after Slovakia was declared independent for the first time in her history, 140,000 Czechs were banished from Slovakia. From 1940 onwards, in the framework of the settlement policy of Nazi Germany, a large German minority living in SE-Europe (194,000) were settled in what is now Poland.

A large number of Hungarians (142,000) settled back in the territories recovered by Hungary. A similar number of Bulgarians (122,000) were settled in Macedonia and West-Thrace, annexed by Bulgaria.

A really large scale migration took place just prior to the conclusion of World War II, in 1944, that rearranged the ethnic structure of the region. This upsurge of migration was associated with previous territorial changes: 1938 borders were restored with the exception that the Soviet Union was given Transcarpathia (which meant that the Soviet Union set foot in the Carpathian Basin, on the edge of the great Hungarian Plain,

for the first time in her history). Similarly, the Soviet Union took over Bessarabia that was occupied twice by Rumania, in 1918 and 1941. Yugoslavia was allowed to annex Zadar, Istria and their surrounding areas. During and after the World War II some one million Germans had escaped from the Carpatho-Balkan region, some helped by German troops, others deported to labour camps in the USSR. They returned to Germany immediately following World War II. From the territories Hungary lost again, some 220,000 Hungarians escaped to the present territory of Hungary. Several tens of thousands of Hungarians who stayed were forcibly deported to the internal areas of the Soviet Union (e.g. 45,000 from Transcarpathia); to Bohemia (44,000 from Slovakia); and to Hungary Proper (74,000 from Slovakia), while several thousands were slaughtered (for example, 40,000 in Voivodina by the Serbs).

From Bessarabia, now belonging the Soviet Union, some 200,000 Rumanians escaped to Rumania Proper. Their places were taken by Russian and Ukrainian settlers. Naturally these Rumanians were the majority, settled in N-Transylvania annexed once again.

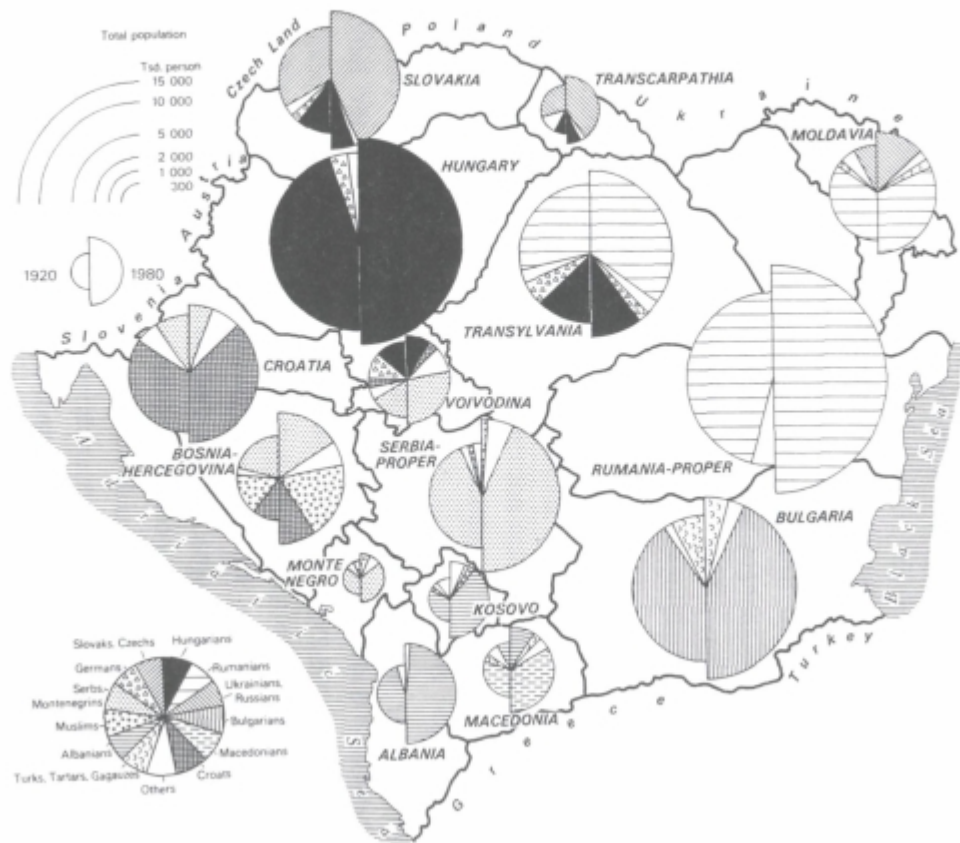
A great number of Slovaks settled back in Slovakia from Hungary, Transylvania and Transcarpathia. At the same time, 250,000 Slovaks settled down in the peripheral territories of Bohemia (Sudethenland), previously vacated by Germans.

In all of the SE-European areas a substantial demographic vacuum had occurred in the wake of migration (with Voivodina in Yugoslavia and E-Croatia the most effected), due to the fact that some 350,000 Germans escaped from these areas. In these areas, which represent some of the most valuable agricultural areas of Yugoslavia, hundreds of thousands of Serbs and Montenegrins were settled, from as early as the end of 1944, from barren and agriculturally poor, Balkanic areas (mostly from Bosnia, Croatia and Montenegro (e.g. 235,000 in Voivodina) (Žuljić, S. 1989) (Fig. 5). Due to the events described above, the ratio of Serbs in Voivodina increased from 30 per cent to 50.6 per cent, while the ratio of Rumanians in Transylvania has increased from 56.6 per cent to 65.1 per cent in the

1941-1948 period. Similar 'successes' were achieved in Slovakia in terms of ethnic homogeneity (the Slovakian population in 1941 was 67.4 per cent, this increased to 85 per cent by 1947). As 100,000 Germans, 100,000 Serbs and 140,000 Italians left Croatia, the ratio of Croats living in Croatia increased substantially (68.1 per cent in 1921 and 79.2 per cent in 1948).

Following World War II, due to the well known political events, the entire Carpatho-Balkan region came under Communist rule. After the War, in Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia forced social and economic changes took place to follow the Soviet model, while similar processes affected Yugoslavia and Albania, but with a somewhat different methodology and approach. In this region the urbanization processes were substantially different from those in the western world, since in these countries millions of villagers were indirectly forced to move to the cities and to work in industry. These processes applied particularly to the village population living in backward areas (with high natural growth of population) to the developed, industrial areas (with low natural growth of population). These interregional migrations were particularly intense in Rumania and Yugoslavia with the characteristic feature that the population shifted, by and large, from the Balkan and East European regions to the more developed Central European regions (Carpathian Basin): characteristically from Rumania Proper to Transylvania, from Serbia Proper, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia to Voivodina, Croatia and Slovenia. The main reasons behind these migrations was economic considerations which served political aims. The main political goals were to help states become ethnically more homogeneous (these concepts apply particularly to Rumania and Serbia), particularly in regions of key importance that were annexed, mostly in 1918, and that were, at the same time, the most developed regions in these two countries. As one of the living examples of these processes it would suffice to mention the high population increases that took place in the towns of Transylvania, where the average ratio of Rumanians has increased from 50.2 per in 1948 cent to 70.7 per cent in the period from 1948 to 1977 (Kocsis, K. 1990).

Fig. 1: ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION LIVING IN THE REGIONS OF THE CARPATHO-BALKAN AREA (1920, 1980)
 Slika 1: NARODNOSTNA STRUKTURA PREBIVALSTVA KARPATO - BALKANSKEGA OBMOČJA (1920, 1980)



Waves of migrations kept reoccurring over the past four decades unabated for different reasons. The most striking ones, involving the highest number leaving the SE-European region, would be that Yugoslavian citizens found employment in W-Europe in the 1950-1991 period; the emigration of Germans from Rumania to Germany that gained substantial momentum in 1990; migration of Turks from Bulgaria to Turkey in 1989; and the large number of Hungarians leaving their country after the aborted 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

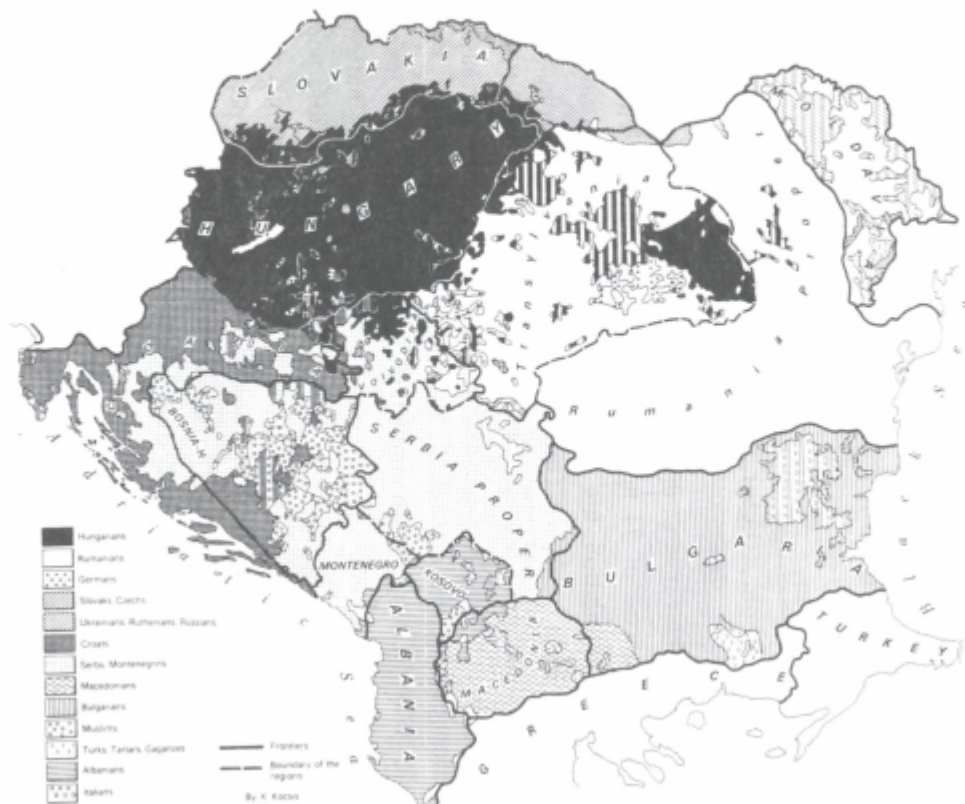
The present ethnic structure of the Carpatho-Balkan region

According to the censuses taken around 1980 the total population of this region is in excess of 74 million and the two nations with the highest numbers of population are still the Rumanians (21.9 million) and the Hungarians (13.4 million). These two nations represent roughly half of the population of SE-Europe (Tables 1 and 2). In the 1920-1980 period the highest population growth, due to high natural increases, were experienced by the Albanians, Macedonians and Muslims. Following World War II, the Jewish and German population in the investigated area had decreased some 80 per cent since 1920. Of all the nations living in the Carpathian Basin the most spectacular and dynamic population increase was shown by the Slovaks (93.6 per cent), far exceeding the growth for the Hungarians in the 1920-1980 period (of 36.6 per cent).

Due to political events and due to the voluntary migration of the population within the region, the ratio of the national minorities has decreased to 14 per cent of the total. The national minorities have the highest share in the case of the Albanians (40 per cent), followed by the Hungarians (21 per cent) and the Macedonians (18.3 per cent) (Tables 3 and 4).

The ratio of Serbs living outside Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina is 7.3 per cent at present, while the ratio of Croats living outside of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina represent 4.1 per cent

Fig. 2: ETHNIC MAP OF THE CARPATHO-BALKAN REGION (1980)
 Slika 2: NARODNOSTNA KARTA KARPATO-BALKANSKE REGIJE (1980)



of the total nation, due to the natural assimilation and due to migration of the minority to the 'mother region'.

The ethnically most homogeneous regions are Albania, Rumania Proper and Hungary in the entire region, however, these processes towards ethnic homogeneity have accelerated considerably in Serbia Proper, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovakia and Kosovo (Table 5, Fig. 1).

The ethnic diversity of the Carpatho-Balkan region is illustrated by the ethnic map attached (Fig. 2). Of the nations of SE-Europe the ethnic mixture is the greatest for Hungarians, Rumanians and Germans in Transylvania; Hungarians, Serbs, Rumanians, Slovaks and Croats in Voivodina; Serbs and Croats in Slavonia (E-Croatia); Muslims, Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina; Bulgarians and Turks in NE-Bulgaria; and finally, the Rumanians, Ukrainians, Russians and Gagauzes in Moldavia. Apart from areas showing extreme ethnic diversity, in some areas the national minorities still tend to form single, homogeneous entities or regions. Examples of these are Croats in W-Hercegovina; Serbs in Kraina (Croatia), W-Bosnia and E-Hercegovina; the Hungarians in S-Slovakia, SW-Transcarpathia, W-Transylvania, E-Transylvania/Seklerland and N-Voivodina; the Albanians in Kosovo and in NW-Macedonia; and the Turks in the District of Kirjali of S-Bulgaria. The above mentioned, mostly border regions present the greatest troubles to the majority nations, since the authorities in these countries tend to regard these areas as potential sources of irredentist movements. To some extent these considerations lay behind the fact that the Mures-Hungarian Autonomous Province (in Rumania) was abolished in 1968 and the autonomy of both Voivodina and Kosovo (in Serbia) was abolished in the 1989-1991 period.

Recent events that occurred in the Carpatho-Balkan region, including political changes, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, brought the long inherited and harboured ethnic problems and tensions once again to the surface culminating in the war between Croats-Muslims and Serbs, between Rumanians and Russians (in Moldavia).

It is interesting to observe that in the two halves of Europe, the Eastern and the Western parts, opposing processes seem to take place: the integration processes of the west against the disintegration processes in the eastern parts of Europe. Perhaps, it is in substantial part due to the existing ethnic tensions that seem to have survived for centuries and exploded in the wake of the recent political and economic changes in the region.

The question still remains unresolved, how to handle these complex ethnic-religious-cultural conflicts which have emerged in SE-Europe, feelings that were substantially suppressed and kept under the surface during the last four decades. An alternative approach would be for the nations and states of this diverse region to accept the principles of self-organisation towards nations ethnic autonomy on the base of the historical-cultural-economic traditions. In the future particular attention should be paid to nations (countries) that had no previous experience of national sovereignty or enjoyed national sovereignty only for a short period of time during their existence (meaning first of all Slovakia and Macedonia).

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SPREMEMBE ETNIČNE STRUKTURE PREBIVALSTVA V KARPATO-BALKANSKI REGIJI

POVZETEK

Znano je, da je Karpato-balkanska regija po etnični pripadnosti in verski sestavi prebivalstva med najbolj pestrimi v Evropi. Obenem spremlja to regijo "imidž" nestabilnosti, katere vir naj bi bil v povezavi z geografskim položajem te regije in političnimi dogodki, ki so pretresali to območje v preteklosti. Neslaven status je območje ohranilo tudi po II. svetovni vojni, ki je sprožila obsežne migracije in na novo potegnila meje, toda tako, da so severna območja (denimo območja Češke, Poljske in zahodne Ukrajine) izgubila značilnosti etnično-verske pestrosti, medtem, ko se to v obravnavani regiji ni zgodilo. Socialne razlike in izraziti razločki v kulturah narodov, ki so živeli drug ob drugem v relativno kompaktnem območju, so imeli za posledico številne regionalne vojne in konflikte, ki so se nemalokrat razširili po vsej Evropi.

Cilj te razprave je prikazati trenutno razporeditev prebivalstva glede na njihovo etnično strukturo in opozoriti na spremembe v narodnostni sestavi, ki so posledica migracij v času med leti 1920 in 1980.

Raziskava se nanaša na regije karpatskega loka in Balkana (Slovaška, Madžarska, Zakarpatje, Transilvanija, Osrednja Romunija, Vojvodina, Hrvaška, Bosna in Hercegovina, Osrednja Srbija, Črna gora, Kosovo, Albanija, Makedonija, Bolgarija) ter Moldavije, ob upoštevanju trenutnih administrativnih meja. Celotno območje je 15 regij obsega 797.000 km², kar je primerljivo z velikostjo Turčije oziroma z Nemčijo, če upoštevamo število prebivalcev (78.5 milijonov prebivalcev v letu 1990) te regije. V študiji smo uporabili podatke o sestavi prebivalstva sedmih popisov (podatki o narodnostni sestavi in jeziku). Prvi popis, ki je prišel v poštev je

bil tisti iz leta 1920, kot zadnjega pa smo uporabili tistega iz leta 1980.

Glede na podatke popisa okrog leta 1980 skupno število prebivalstvo omenjenega območja presega 74 milijonov, pri čemer sta najmočnejša narodna še vedno Romuni z 21.9 milijoni in Madžari s 13.4 milijoni pripadnikov. Oba naroda zajemata v grobem polovico prebivalstva Jugovzhodne Evrope (glej sl. 1 in sl. 2). V obdobju 1920 - 1980 so največji številčni porast zabeležili Albanci, Makedonci in Muslimani. Po II. svetovni vojni je število pripadnikov židovske in nemške narodnosti izrazito nazadovalo, v celoti za 80 odstotkov glede na leto 1920. Med pripadniki narodov Karpatskega prostora so se najbolj okrepili Slovaki, ki so najbolj dinamičen narod (porast za 93.6%), saj je njihova relativna rast v obdobju 1920 - 1980 preseгла rast Madžarov za celih 36.6%.

Zaradi političnih dogodkov in prostovoljnih migracij prebivalstva znotraj obravnavane regije se je delež narodnostnih manjšin zmanjšal za 14 %. V Kpatsko-balkanski regiji so najbolj številne naslednje narodnostne manjšine: Albanci 40%, Madžari 21%, Makedonci 18.3% (glej sl. 3 in sl.4).

Zanimiva je primerjava med dvema nasprotnima poloma Evrope, Vzhodnim in Zahodnim, kjer se udejanjajo, zdi se, nasprotujoči se procesi: integracijskim gibanjem na zahodu se zoperstavljajo dezintegracijska gibanja v vzhodnem delu Evrope. Ta proces je neizogiben del družbenega razvoja, obstoječe etnične nestrpnosti, ki so obstajale in se oživljale tod stoletja dolgo, so ponovno eksplodirale v časih svetovnih političnih in gospodarskih sprememb. Nerešeno ostaja vprašanje, kako usmerjati kompleks etnično-versko-kulturnih konfliktov, ki so nenadoma vzplamtel v JV Evropi, a so prikrito tleli preteklih 40 let. Alternativna rešitev za narode in države te diferencirane regije bi bilo sprejemanje principa samoorganiziranja na osnovi etnične avtonomije in temeljih zgodovinsko - kulturno - gospodarskih tradicij. V prihodnje bo potrebno posvetiti več pozornosti oziroma pomagati narodom (državam), ki še nimajo izkušenj z nacionalno suverenostjo, ali pa so udejanile nacionalno suverenost le v krajšem obdobju polpretekle zgodovine (pri tem mislimo na Slovaško in Makedonijo).