

GEOSTRATEGIC ASPECT OF SANDŽAK DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS

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The paper studies the importance of demographic processes on the territory of Sandžak in the period of 1948-1991 in the context of demographic causes of Great-Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991 and Serbian military activities in Kosovo and south-east of Serbia (Preševo and Bujanovac districts).

It has been presumed that the religious and national structure of Sandžak with a further trend of the increase of absolute number and relative share of Moslems and decreasing number of Serbians and Montenegrins, as well as considering its geostrategic importance to Serbian and Montenegrin interests then those of international power centres, will continue to be the causal space of potential crises and war conflicts not only in the quoted country but in the larger region too. As it is a question of nearer Croatian security environment, the territory of Sandžak is important also from the viewpoint of national security of the Republic of Croatia.

Key words: demographic processes, geostrategy, Great-Serbian aggression, crises/war campaign, Sandžak, Croatia

U radu je razmatrano geostrategijsko značenje demografskih procesa na prostoru Sandžaka u razdoblju 1948.-1991. godine u kontekstu demografskih uzroka velikosrpske agresije na Hrvatsku i BiH 1991., te srpskih vojnih aktivnosti na Kosovu i jugoistoku Srbije (općine Preševo i Bujanovac).

Pretpostavka je kako će složena vjerska i nacionalna struktura Sandžaka s trendom dalnjeg povećanja apsolutnog broja i relativnog udjela Muslimana, a smanjenja Srba i Crnogoraca, kao i s obzirom na njegovo geostrateško značenje za nacionalne interese Srbije i Crne Gore te međunarodnih središta moći, i dalje činiti prostor uzroka mogućih kriza i ratnih sukoba ne samo u navedenoj državi već i široj regiji. Budući da je riječ o bližem hrvatskome sigurnosnom okružju, prostor Sandžaka značajan je i sa stajališta nacionalne sigurnosti Republike Hrvatske.

Ključne riječi: demografski procesi, geostrategija, velikosrpska agresija, kriza/ratni pohod, Sandžak, Hrvatska

Introduction

The end of the cold war of the nineties meant the beginning of the world power new redistribution processes. The World entered a new period of globalisation process through which the power forces from West, with the leading "hyperpower" – USA (TOAL,

2002) integrate the territories which were under control or within the Soviet Block. In the context of building new geostrategy and influenced by the West as a bearer of global security criteria, a new security area has been created on the European territory. It is a zone which links the Baltic with the Black, Aegean, Ionian and Adriatic Seas.

However, the process of overthrowing global (in)security founded on the constant nuclear threat, and creation of New Europe enclosed potential possibilities of new crises and war happenings. It was the period of a new historical occasion for many nations for creating national states, especially for those that lived in communist systems of multinational communities (USSR, SFRY...). On the other side the change of the political map of Europe meant a new historical occasion for imperialist policies such as it was Great-Serbian one.

A series of studies dealing with the causes of Great-Serbian aggression, especially against the Republic of Croatia have been published. They include relevant factors of aggression obtained by interdisciplinary approach. Just before the beginning of aggression the book "Izvori velikosrpske agresije" (*The Sources of Great-Serbian aggression*) was published, written by Croatian authors (BRANDT ET AL., 1990), where they tried to elaborate, on scientific basis, the continuity of Great-Serbian idea i.e. Serbian territorial aspiration to Croatian and Bosnian and Herzegovinian territories. At the beginning of the aggression a series of scientists published studies on the same subject and those studies which chronologically analyse causes and consequences of the war against Croatia must be particularly mentioned. The study of general frame of Serbian aggression against Croatia in 1991 (ŠAKIĆ, 1993), besides analytical character has a peculiar programmatical character. The causes have been analysed from various points of view: historical (PAVLIČEVIĆ, 1993), geopolitical (KLEMENČIĆ, 1993), demographical (PEPEONIK, 1992; CRKVENČIĆ, PEPEONIK, 1993; ŠTERC, POKOS, 1993) and others.

Of course there is a series of Serbian authors, who, from the point of view of (Great) Serbian interests, point to demographic dynamics of Serbians in ex-SFRY, B & H, Croatia and in Serbia itself (RADOVANOVIC, 1993; SPASOVSKI ET AL., 1993). There were specially represented analyses of geopolitically unfavourable trends of demographic expansiveness of Albanians in Kosovo (MACURA, 1982) and Moslems in Sandžak (VLAHOVIĆ, 1993; RUDIĆ ET AL., 1993).

It can be concluded, from the published studies, that the Great-Serbian aggression was rationally planned and oriented with the essential aim of territorial expansion of Serbia. Larger global crisis situations in European and World context were stimulating for aggression.

Measuring and evaluating some causes of propelling Greater-Serbian conquering mechanism, demographic causes could surely be counted in pivotal ones, and it is necessary to dedicate them special professional-scientific attentiveness. The trend of decrease of relative Serbian share in national population structure was less and less favourable to realising of Serbian domination in the ex state community and to fulfilment of Greater-Serbian imperial dream of creating "Great Serbia". Demographic causes of activating Serbian aggression do not find themselves so much outside of Serbia, but first and foremost in Serbia itself, which is relatively easy to notice and analyse through the series of data from their statistics.

Above data will be the cause of wars that the SR of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) waged outside its borders (Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina), but also a series of crises and war military operations inside its borders, such as war campaign

against Kosovo and southeast of Serbia (Preševo, Bujanovac). In the context of Great Serbian aggression as the main cause of the bloody overthrowing of ex SFRY, and ineffective activity of international community, war events on the territory of Macedonia can also, to a large extent, be considered.

The only area that was not caught by extreme crisis and war events, and has got a very unfavourable trend of demographic dynamics for national interests of the SR of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) is Sandžak. Complexity of religious and national population structure, with the trend of increasing of Moslem population on the territory of exceptional geostrategic importance makes this area a potential crisis focus.

Researched Area and Methods

The main subject of this paper is the research of Sandžak territory which covers the area of south-western Serbia and northern and north-eastern space of Montenegro. The commune areas that belong to it are: Priboj, Nova Varoš, Prijepolje, Sjenica, Novi Pazar and Tutin in Serbia, and Bijelo Polje and Pljevlja in Montenegro. In the context of Sandžak, Serbian authors most often mention Raška district where, among mentioned districts, they count also the areas of Beran and Rožaj in Montenegro (RUDIĆ ET AL., 1993).

The territory of Sandžak, which stretches over 8201 km², has particularly significant geostrategic position as connection of Serbia with Montenegro and also that of central part of Bosnia and Herzegovina with Kosovo. Because of its complex religious and ethnic structure and specially because of trends of relative Moslems' share increase and decrease of Serbs, which is not compatible with Serbian national interests, this region presents potential area of crisis and possible war events in future. In consideration of the fact that demographic factor is one of fundamental causes of Great-Serbian aggression in 1991, Sandžak, as a possible crisis focus, should be considered not only in the context of to date crises/wars but also in the context of security instability of the Republic of Croatia environment.

The research includes the census period i.e. demographic dynamics from 1948 to 1991. In view of demographic processes' connection and, in this context causes of crises and wars, the research includes partly and in a small-scale demographic trends of other territories of the ex state community, which are essential for this study.

Basic work methods:

- exploitation of published theoretical and empiric works
- statistic and demographic methods and analyses
- graphic and cartographic illustrations
- quantitative and qualitative models and typifications.

General methodological basis is interactive relation of geographic, security and other determinations as well as demographic development.

Demographic Aspect of Great-Serbian Aggression

In consistence with the imperialistic goals of territorial expansion of Serbia, Great Serbian ideologists paid great attention to demographic situation and to processes on the areas which, for two centuries were planned to be encroached by Serbs, using in

the process a series of one-sided interpretations especially of population national structure, with intension to increase numerical and spatial presence of Serbs, which were to be used in front of international community as justification for operationalizing political interests of Serbia especially during the period of global military-political changes as they were in the eighties of the last century.

Analysing statistic data of population in the period from 1948 to 1991 it is easy to see that demographic processes were not consistent with the desires of Great-Serbian concept. Relative share of Serbs in total national structure was decreasing on the level of ex state and the level of Republics alike. It was recorded that the decrease of their relative share in national structure of ex community was from 41.5% (1948) to 36.2% (1991). Similar decrease of relative share of Serbs from 15% (1953 and 1961) to 12.2% (1991) was also noted in the total population of Croatia.

However, the basic problem of Great Serbian policy was the change of numerical relations in national structure as repercussion of Moslem demographic expansion, which will reflect on decrease of relative share of Serbs, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 44.3% (1948) to 31.4% (1991), but also considering Albanians, in Serbia itself.

In 1961 relative rate of Serbs in Serbia reached its maximum 74.1%. The period of constant decrease started then. It came to 65.6% (1991). At the same time relative rate of Albanians, on the level of Kosovo, increased from 68.46% (1948) to 82.2% (1991).

Brief review of statistical data points partly to the complexity of demographic processes' trends which are purportedly against nationalistic interests and especially in discordance with Great-Serbian plans. The only area of exceptionally complex religious and ethnic structure where more serious crisis was not noted, a crisis which would provoke war conflict, though demographic trends were against geostrategic interests of Great-Serbia, was the territory of Sandžak, or according to Serbian authors, the region of Raška district.

Namely on the level of Serbia, the tendency of continuous increase of Moslem relative rate, through with low value, from 1.2% to 2.4% which, to be sure, also influenced mentioned decrease of relative rate of Serbs in total national structure of Serbia. Prime worrying fact for strategic interests of Serbia is their territorial pattern because the biggest concentration of Moslems was in Sandžak – connection of Montenegro with Serbia.

Demographic Dynamics of Sandžak in the Context of Geostrategic Interests of Serbia and Montenegro

The territory of Sandžak, besides Kosovo, Vojvodina and south-eastern part of Serbia, presents essential area from the point of view of national interests of Serbia. As mentioned, its importance is all the more important, as it is the question of space with

complex national and religious structure, which makes it sensible as regards security and potentially unstable¹.

The heart of the matter is Sandžak's exceptional geostrategic importance, as the possibility of Serbia's approaching the sea is just across it (PAVIĆ, 1998). Besides important traffic corridors intersect there and also potential military operation directions², which makes it important not only for the national interests of Serbia and Montenegro, but also for the interests of world power centres. Such as it is, it offers potential possibility of producing crisis, operating and solving it according to the criteria of global security mechanisms in the process of integrating the territory of Serbia and Montenegro into Western integrations³.

Geostrategy of Sandžak

Considering only its surface, natural resources and number of inhabitants Sandžak does not have any specific geostrategically importance. However, its geographical position, location and demographic dynamics, that is trends of demographic structure development, give this space great importance from the military strategic aspects.

When ex SFRY broke down, new Yugoslav state retained partly geostrategic meaning of former state community – connection of Pannonian Plain ("fan of directions") with the spaces of Lombardy, the Adriatic, Aegean and Black Sea. The community of Serbia and Montenegro, according to the Serbian military strategists remains at the door

¹ Complex religious, national, social et al. structure on a specific territory can be of use to centers of world or state power for inducing and solving a crisis consistently with their security criteria. So this territory is shaped and integrated into aimed territory of interest.

Sandžak can be special continuation of crises/war conflicts which were already carried out and in which demographic factor was one of key factors – Kosovo, southeast of Serbia (districts Preševo, Bujanovac). Final aim of Serbian aimed intervention in these areas was to create conditions for final political solution through the process of ethnic cleansing. This solution would be the guarantee of national security interests of Serbia/Yugoslavia.

² Present day battle is being fought for information, telecommunications, traffic, transport and similar nodes in the area, because only in this way the space can be plausibly enlarged and integrated without regard to sovereignty and territorial integrity of a state. When the same strategic nodes, points and gravitational centres find themselves on the area of a country, then it comes under attack of crisis and only after that stabilization and integration follow, exclusive purpose being the control of these nodes (DOMAZET, 2000).

³ It is because of Sandžak geostrategic importance that demographic processes in it offer potential possibility of producing crisis, by world power centers, and its solution, according to global security mechanisms in the process of security shaping and integration of Serbia and Montenegro into western integrations. So the West (NATO) made use of the war of Serbia/SR Yugoslavia for the war campaign, in which Serbia, through strategic operation (military, political, diplomatic, information and economic action) was led to defeat. The final aim of the West strategic operation was to depose Slobodan Milošević through forming public opinion, by democratic way. Tolerance of the West to wars conducted by Serbia and Slobodan Milošević at the head ceased the moment when Serbia tried to become a partner of great powers on the territory of Southeastern Europe by ethnic cleansing of Albanians and in spite of suffering military defeats and culpability for wars in the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of course, it was not consistent with global interests of leading world powers with USA at the head on this very complex ethnic, religious and civilizational territory of Europe, geostrategically exceedingly important.

of Europe and important European traffic corridors, and potential strategic military directions: Pannonian-Moravian, Balkanic and Montenegrin-littoral (ŠUŠIĆ, 1995) (Fig. 1).

Traffic importance of Sandžak was specially important during the rule of Ottoman Empire. Traffic axis from Istanbul to Bosnia (so called *Bosnian Way*), which led across Povardarje, Kosovo, Novi Pazar and the mountains of Rogozna and Sjenica, played an important role in the process of Islamising this area. Numeric presence and spatial locating of Moslem population, whether it is a question of ethnic or religious structure on the territory of Sandžak and its environment (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia), even today presents the basis of security instability.

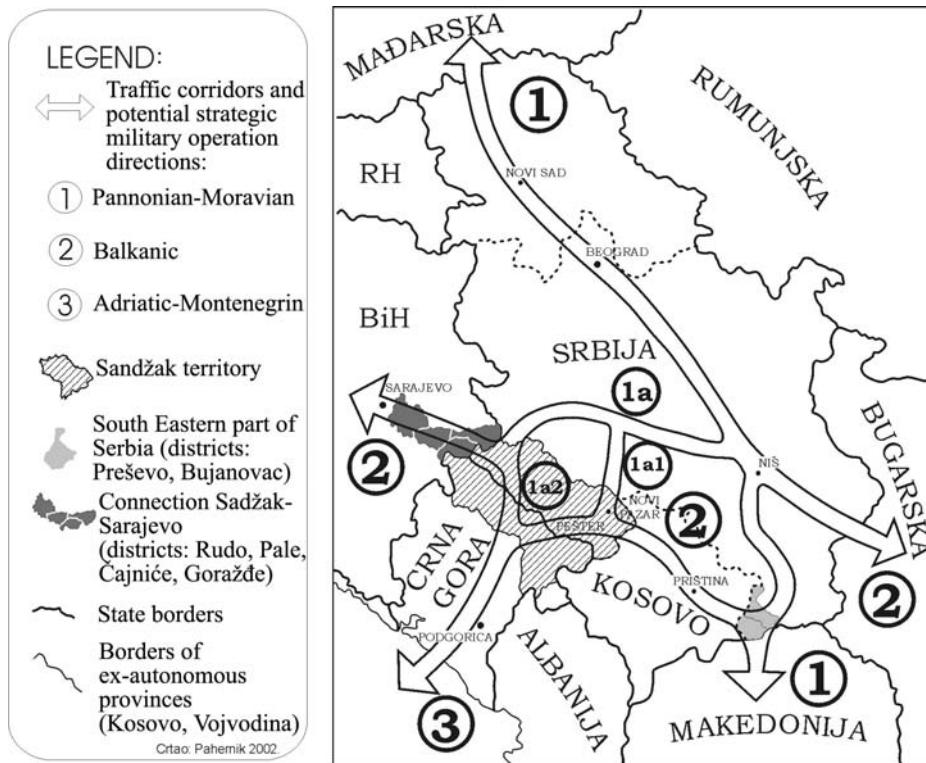


Fig. 1 Geostrategy of Sandžak
Sl. 1. Geostrategija Sandžaka

1. **Pannonian-Moravian** strategic direction connects Pannonian Plain ("fan of directions") with the Aegean Sea and joining the other two strategic directions i. e. the Adriatic Sea and the Black Sea. It stretches along Morava-Vardar valley, and over the connections of the Western Morava (1a₁); Ibar (Raška, Novi Pazar) – (1a₁); Užice – Prijeopolje (1a₂), on the territory of Sandžak the other two strategic directions join (2 and 3).

2. **Balkanic** strategic direction – along the river Marica, connects the Black Sea basin with the Morava-Vardar valley and across Kosovo leads to the territory of Sandžak (Novi Pazar) and along the Lim valley (1a₂) and Prača (districts: Rudo, Čajniče, Goražde and Pale) towards Sarajevo (B &

H). Pešter plateau has essential military importance on this direction with regard to possibility of development and activity of military forces towards Montenegro, Kosovo and the Western Morava. Besides the possibility of decreasing depth of potential Yugoslav battlefield, controlling of this place by a possible adversary and cutting communication Serbia-Montenegro, the national interests of Serbia/SR of Yugoslavia are endangered.

3. **Adriatic-Montenegro** direction – by the valley of the Lim, the Tara and the Morača, just across the territory of Sandžak – enables Yugoslavia to reach the Adriatic Sea. This direction has extraordinary traffic importance but it is exceptionally important from the viewpoint of national security and safeguarding of the integrity of the Serbia and Montenegro and in terms of military strategy.

Complexity of religious and ethnic structure can be in the first place a mean and less a source of crisis production in the interest of mother state and of interest groups from the rank of World power centres. It refers specially to the exponents of Great Serbian idea and plans whose strategic goal is not only territorial expansion but also "ethnic cleansing" in function of national and religious homogenisation of the state territory under the guise of national security and stability. According to Serbian sources (ČIĆAK, 1992) security of this and larger area is threatened also by advocates of so called "green transversal", which would extend through the Balkans in the direction SE-NW, namely through the territories of the biggest ethnic/religious concentration of Moslem population; from Turkey across Bulgaria, Macedonia, Kosovo and further to Bosnia⁴. In nowadays geopolitical circumstances in Europe, afore-said would mean spreading of Turkish influence and interest on the territories of formal Ottoman Empire.

Demographic dynamics and its trends in the context of quoted, are more and more contrary to the interests of Serbia and Montenegro. The idea of autonomy of Sandžak threatens with their spatial separation, i.e. with the break up of the common state's territorial integrity. Besides controlling of strategic traffic corridors and potential military-operational direction by autonomous Sandžak would reduce geostrategic significance of Serbia in the Balkans. That is why Sandžak has geostrategic importance for entire strategy and defence doctrine of Serbian-Montenegrin state "...and obtains significance of epicentral area of SRY, which must be highly appreciated in terms of criteria of geostrategic analyses and studies of battlefields." (RADINOVIC, 1992).

Globalisation and process of integration, namely spatial spreading of the West influence in this part of Europe, because of its geostrategic importance, demographic dissimilarity and connected with it possible crises and conflicts, puts this area in the focus of interest of world power centres, too.

Demographic Dynamics of Sandžak

Presence of a large number of Moslems on the territory of Sandžak in respect of continuity of their distribution (ethnic and religious structure) in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Sandžak – Kosovo endangers vitally Great Serbian imperial interests outside of Serbia, and also national security in Serbia itself.

⁴ Allegedly, there is somewhat shorter Albanian-Moslem transversal which starts from Western Macedonia, with Albanian majority, then crosses Kosovo and Metohia in order to extend to Sandžak and, via Sandžak to reach geostrategic positions of Moslem military-political factor in Bosnia and Herzegovina (ČIĆAK 1992).

In spite of attempts to represent Moslems as Islamized Serbs, and on their subject Kosanić says (1953): "...recently Islamized Serbs were getting married to members of Eastern Orthodox families, keeping for others memory on their family patron-saint's day and kept on their surnames as, in the villages of the same name, their relatives, who remained in Orthodoxy, are called", 1961 census, by which Moslems got status of a nation, substantially complicated national structure on the territory of Sandžak as well as that of other areas of Great Serbian grabbing, especially of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As in 1948 it was impossible for Moslems to declare themselves nationally, they mostly classed as Serbs and Montenegrins, and in 1953 a part of them "Yugoslav – uncommitted". So, according to the 1948 census Serbs and Montenegrins made 98.1% of the population on this territory, and in 1953 their relative share decreased to 75.2%, whereas in the same census year the relative share of "Yugoslav – uncommitted" was 18.7%.



Source: Documentation of 1991 census

Fig. 2 Relative share of Moslems (in %) in the national structure of Sandžak districts (1991)
Sl. 2. Relativni udio Muslimana (%) u nacionalnoj strukturi općina na Sandžaku 1991.

By introducing the category of Moslems as a nation in the census year 1961, their percentage in relative share of 29.2% essentially reduced absolute number and relative share of Serbs and Montenegrins to 64.8%. The trend of their demographic increase is determined by high rate of natural increase and stopping emigrating to Turkey⁵, and will continue in further period from 1961 to 1991. So in the census year of

⁵ According to MUŠEVIĆ (1985) 13.074 Moslems emigrated from the area of Novi Pazar, Tutin and Sjenica in the period from 1950 to 1970.

1991 Moslems will make absolute majority on the territory of Sandžak, with the trend of relative increase rate in national structure in almost all districts specially in Tutin, Rožaje, Sjenica, Novi Pazar, Prijepolje and Bijelo Polje (Fig. 2).

Tab. 1 National population structure of Sandžak (territory of Serbia). Census documents from 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991

Tab. 1. Nacionalna struktura stanovništva Sandžaka (područje Srbije) prema popisima stanovništva za razdoblje 1961-1991.

District/Year	1961		1971		1981		1991	
	Aps.	(%)	Aps.	(%)	Aps.	(%)	Aps.	(%)
NOVA VAROŠ	24770	100.00	22740	100.00	22525	100.00	21812	100.00
Moslems	453	1.82	1774	7.80	1874	8.31	1857	8.51
Serbs	23802	96.09	20662	90.86	19867	88.19	19284	88.41
Montenegrins	106	0.42	86	0.37	148	0.65	173	0.79
Others	409	1.67	218	0.97	636	2.85	498	2.29
NOVI PAZAR	58777	100.00	64326	100.00	74000	100.00	85050	100.00
Moslems	23250	39.55	37140	57.73	49769	67.25	62963	74.03
Serbs	27933	47.52	25076	38.98	21834	29.50	18841	22.15
Montenegrins	543	0.92	359	0.55	295	0.39	315	0.37
Others	7051	12.01	1751	2.74	2102	2.86	2931	3.45
PRIBOJ	26147	100.00	32548	100.00	35200	100.00	35951	100.00
Moslems	6799	26.00	9811	30.14	10308	29.28	10926	30.39
Serbs	18380	70.29	21306	65.46	22319	63.40	23399	65.08
Montenegrins	245	0.93	705	2.16	896	2.54	757	2.10
Others	723	2.78	726	2.24	1677	4.78	868	2.43
PRIJEPOLJE	38925	100.00	44022	100.00	46902	100.00	46525	100.00
Moslems	9810	25.20	16081	36.52	1906	40.07	20038	43.06
Serbs	25716	66.06	25264	57.38	25038	53.38	24620	52.92
Montenegrins	568	1.45	1157	2.62	1217	2.59	708	1.52
Others	2831	7.29	1520	3.48	1571	3.36	1152	2.49
SJENICA	36950	100.00	36622	100.00	35570	100.00	33681	100.00
Moslems	17352	46.96	19538	53.35	24203	68.04	25508	75.73
Serbs	17474	47.29	13772	37.60	10297	28.94	7519	22.32
Montenegrins	129	0.34	152	0.41	156	0.43	93	0.27
Others	1995	5.41	3160	8.64	914	2.59	561	1.68
TUTIN	29959	100.00	29444	100.00	32779	100.00	34631	100.00
Moslems	20535	68.54	24440	83.00	30130	91.91	32204	93.00
Serbs	4485	14.97	3635	12.34	2309	7.03	1423	4.10
Montenegrins	77	0.25	57	0.19	48	0.14	77	0.22
Others	4862	16.24	912	4.47	292	0.92	927	2.68
TOTAL	215528	100.00	229302	100.00	246976	100.00	257642	100.00
Moslems	78199	36.28	108784	47.44	135360	54.81	153496	59.58
Serbs	117790	54.65	109715	47.85	101664	41.16	95086	36.91
Montenegrins	1668	0.77	2516	1.10	2760	1.11	2123	0.82
Others	17871	8.29	8287	3.61	7192	2.91	6937	2.69

The trend of Moslems' relative rate was specially expressed on the Serbian part of Sandžak, which is confirmed by the census results in the period from 1961 to 1991 for all six districts (Tab. 1). Certain oscillations, i.e. discontinuity, were recorded only in the district of Priboj in the census of 1981. The decrease of Moslems' relative share in this district from 30.14% in 1971 to 29.28% in 1981 is connected with the number increase of the rest of the population in the same census years from 2.24% to 4.78% – mostly Yugoslavs.

So, since 1971 Moslems made absolute majority in three districts: Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Tutin (since 1961). If the same trend of increase goes on, in the near future Moslems will make absolute majority in the district of Priboj (43.06% in 1991).

Tab. 2 Index of increase in national structure of Sandžak from 1961 to 1991 (1961=100)
*Tab. 2. Indeks porasta u nacionalnoj strukturi Sandžaka u razdoblju od 1961. do 1991. g.
(1961.=100)*

District	NOVA VAROŠ	NOVI PAZAR	PRIBOJ	PRIJEVOLJE	SIENICA	TUTIN	BIJELO POLJE	BERANE	PLJEVLJA	ROŽAJE
Moslems										
1971/61	391.6	159.7	144.3	163.9	112.6	119.0	188.2	280.6	125.6	155.0
1981/71	105.6	134.0	105.1	118.6	123.9	123.3	112.3	100.2	81.8	136.0
1991/81	99.1	126.5	105.9	105.0	105.4	106.9	110.2	95.2	100.4	118.1
1991/61	409.9	270.1	160.7	204.3	147.0	147.1	233.0	267.6	103.0	250.3
Serbs										
1971/61	86.8	89.8	115.9	98.3	78.8	81.0	831.6	1187.9	1030.0	248.7
1981/71	96.2	87.1	109.4	99.1	74.8	63.5	27.2	21.6	29.0	84.1
1991/81	97.1	86.3	100.3	98.3	73.0	61.6	439.8	441.7	420.2	0
1991/61	81.0	67.5	127.3	95.7	43.0	31.7	993.8	1133.7	1254.5	209.2
Montenegrins										
1971/61	81.1	66.1	287.7	203.7	117.8	74.0	85.9	80.8	76.7	38.4
1981/71	172.1	82.2	127.1	105.2	102.6	84.2	107.7	111.5	109.1	91.3
1991/81	116.9	106.8	84.5	58.2	59.6	160.4	84.4	82.4	67.7	75.2
1991/61	163.2	58.0	309.0	124.6	72.1	0	78.1	74.2	56.7	26.3
TOTAL SANDŽAK										
	1971/61		1981/71		1991/81		1991/61			
Total increase	72.0		105.5		101.2		114.5			
Moslems	149.8		119.8		111.8		200.7			
Serbs	104.9		84.6		106.5		94.5			
Montenegrins	80.0		109.1		78.2		68.2			

Besides relative increase rate Moslems were registering constant increase of absolute number in all districts in the mentioned period with high increase index in intercensus periods. So, the index of increase for the period 1991-61 ranged from 147 (Sjenica, Tutin) to even 409.9 in the district of Nova Varoš, in which Serbs made absolute majority (88.41% in 1991) (Tab. 2). Simultaneously besides the increase of absolute number and relative share of Moslems on this territory, constant decrease of Serbs' relative share is registered in almost all districts. The only exception was the district of Priboj where Serbs noted the increase of absolute number in all intercensus periods with the increase index of 127.4 (1991-61), but at the same constant decrease of relative share was noted.

Quoted demographic trends, on the whole part of Serbian Sandžak resulted in constant increase of Moslem relative share, so that already in 1981 they made absolute majority of 54.81% and in 1991 even 59.58%.

Tab. 3 National structure of the population of Sandžak (territory of Montenegro) according to the censuses from 1961 to 1991.

Tab. 3. Nacionalna struktura stanovništva Sandžaka (područje Crne Gore) prema popisima stanovništva za razdoblje 1961.-1991.

District/Year	1961		1971		1981		1991	
	Aps.	(%)	Aps.	(%)	Aps.	(%)	Aps.	(%)
BERANE	44072	100.00	49351	100.00	49772	100.00	45662	100.00
Moslems	4406	10.00	12362	25.04	12383	24.87	11789	25.80
Montenegrins	38559	87.51	31150	63.11	34748	69.81	28630	62.70
Serbs	330	0.75	3920	7.94	847	1.70	3741	8.19
Others	777	1.75	1919	3.91	1794	3.62	1502	3.31
BIJELO POLJE	46651	100.00	52598	100.00	55634	100.00	55145	100.00
Moslems	9857	21.12	18553	35.27	20840	37.45	22970	41.65
Montenegrins	34750	74.48	29862	56.77	32172	57.82	27146	49.23
Serbs	420	0.90	3493	6.64	949	1.70	4174	7.57
Others	1924	3.50	690	1.32	1673	3.03	855	1.55
PLJEVLJA	46677	100.00	46843	100.00	43316	100.00	39628	100.00
Moslems	6794	14.55	8530	18.20	6967	16.08	6999	17.66
Montenegrins	38614	82.72	29630	63.25	32323	74.62	21887	55.29
Serbs	769	1.64	7922	16.91	2296	5.30	9647	24.34
Others	500	1.75	761	1.64	1730	4.00	1095	2.77
ROŽAJE	14700	100.00	16018	100.00	20227	100.00	22877	100.00
Moslems	8009	54.48	12482	77.93	16975	83.96	20044	87.64
Montenegrins	5428	36.92	2082	13.00	1900	9.39	1429	6.25
Serbs	76	0.51	189	1.17	159	0.78	159	0.70
Others	1187	8.09	1264	7.90	1193	5.87	1245	5.43
TOTAL	152100	100.00	164810	100.00	168949	100.00	163312	100.00
Moslems	29066	19.11	51928	31.51	57165	33.84	61802	37.84
Montenegrins	117351	77.15	92724	56.26	101143	59.87	79092	48.43
Serbs	1595	1.05	15524	9.42	4251	2.52	17721	10.85
Others	4088	2.69	4634	2.81	6390	3.76	4697	2.88

Source: Census documents from 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991

At the same time similar process, i.e. trend of demographic dynamics was going on in the Montenegrin part of Sandžak. Constant increase of relative share was also registered and, with some oscillations, that of Moslems' absolute number too, in all districts (Tabs. 2 and 3). So, Moslems were making absolute majority in Rožaj (87.62%) one of four remaining districts of Yugoslav Sandžak, and they came closer to relative/absolute majority in the district of Bijelo Polje.

Montenegrins are the second nation on this territory according to numerosity. They registered decrease of relative share as well as that of absolute number by census of 1991 compared with the census of 1961. Oscillations are the result of their fall in 1971, growth in 1981 then fall again in 1991. They were happening simultaneously with converse dynamics of Serbs' fall/growth. Evidently, political situation in 1971 and especially in 1991 influenced essentially Montenegrins to declare themselves Serbs, which, with regard to considerably smaller absolute number of Serbs, would greatly influence sudden and high growth of their increase index in mentioned intercensus periods. So, in the intercensus period of 1991-1961 the index of Serbs' increase was recorded as 1254.5 and in Berane district that of 1133.7. The change of absolute number and relative share of Serbs and Montenegrins shows how much influence Great Serbian euphoria of 1991 had. Namely, absolute number of Montenegrins decreased from 101.143 in 1981 to 79.092 in 1991 and relative share from 59.88% to 48.43%. At the same time, the number of Serbs increased from 4.251 (2.52%) to 17721 (10.85%).

While the number of Serbs and Montenegrins was oscillating, Moslems were registering constant growth of absolute number and relative share of all examined census years on the Montenegrin territory, too. So, their absolute number and relative share of 29066 (19.11%) in 1961 increased to 61802 (37.84%) in 1991, with increase index of 212.6.

Entirely considered, on the whole territory of Sandžak, i.e. Serbian and Montenegrin parts, Moslems were noting constant growth of absolute number and relative share in national structure during all quoted years. So, absolute number of 107.265 recorded in 1961, increased to 215.298 in census year of 1991, i.e. relative share increased from 29.18% to even 51.15%, which for that matter meant that Moslems became majority nation on the whole territory of Sandžak (Tab. 4).

Tab. 4 National structure of the population of Sandžak according to the censuses for the period from 1961 to 1991

Tab. 4. Nacionalna struktura stanovništva Sandžaka prema popisima stanovništva za razdoblje 1961.-1991.

Nationality/Year	1961		1971		1981		1991	
	Aps.	(%)	Aps.	(%)	Aps.	(%)	Aps.	(%)
Moslems	107265	29.18	160712	40.78	192525	46.29	215298	51.15
Montenegrins	119385	32.47	125239	31.78	105915	25.46	112807	26.80
Serbs	119019	32.37	95240	24.17	103903	24.98	81215	19.29
Others	21959	5.97	12921	3.28	13582	3.27	11634	2.76
Total	367628	100.00	394112	100.00	415925	100.00	420954	100.00

Source: Census documents from 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991

Quoted trend of Moslems' constant increase realistically presents also continuous index of growth in intercensus periods from 1961 to 1991, which was 200.7 for the entire quoted intercensus period (Tab. 2)

At the same time the process of continuous decrease of Serb and Montenegrin relative share was going on with certain oscillation in 1981 and 1991, when a certain part of Serbian-Montenegrin population declared consistently with political situation, which was the cause of relative share decrease of ones and simultaneous increase of the others and vice versa. So, in 1981 the increase of Montenegrins' relative share to 24.98% was noted, in respect to 1971, when it was 24.17%, so as to fall even to 19.29% which was expected in the circumstances of Great Serbian influence. Quoted confirms the break of continuous Serbs' relative share decrease in 1991, when the increase was registered for the first time in observed period from 25.46% (1981) to 26.80% (1991). The process of their common decrease is also visible from increase index in accordance with which Serbs and Montenegrins noted decrease in intercensus period 1961-91: Serbs 94.5, Montenegrins 68.2. Intercensus oscillations of simultaneous decrease/increase index of the Serbs or Montenegrins, as already mentioned, are the reflection of political pragmatism inside Serbian-Montenegrin part of population when political circumstances conditioned redistribution in declaring themselves Serbs or Montenegrins.

Linked to geostrategic characteristics of quoted territory and its security importance and historical experience, when religious and ethnic differences were used for inducing crisis situations and war conflicts for the purpose of territorial expansions and spreading spheres of interest and spatial military-political control by the regional states or world power centers, it is essential, especially in terms of Great Serbian and Moslem interests, to analyze demographic processes on the connection Sandžak and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo) (Tab. 5).

Tab. 5 Demographic dynamics on the area of connection Sandžak-Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina)⁶

Tab. 5. Demogeografska dinamika na prostoru spojnice Sandžak-Sarajevo (BiH)⁶

District/Nationality	Total		Serbs		Moslems		
	Aps	(%)	Aps.	(%)	Aps.	(%)	
RUDO	1981	13601	100	8699	63.96	4382	32.22
	1991	11572	100	8191	70.08	3142	27.20
ČAJNIČE	1981	10280	100	4892	47.59	4880	47.47
	1991	8919	100	4714	52.90	4007	44.00
GORAŽDE	1981	36924	100	9107	24.66	25142	68.09
	1991	37505	100	9844	26.20	26316	70.20
PALE	1981	15465	100	10521	68.03	3937	25.46
	1991	16310	100	11269	69.09	4356	26.71
UKUPNO	1981	76270	100	33219	46.55	38341	50.27
	1991	74306	100	34018	45.78	37821	50.90

According to censuses of 1981 and 1991 Serbs controlled demographically and formed absolute majority in three out of four districts: Rudo, Čajniče and Pale. Moslems were absolute majority of 70.2% only in the District of Goražde (1991) in complete

⁶ Districts of Rudo and Čajniče make part of Sandžak (Novopazarski Sandžak) on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

national structure. But, considering that in 1991 50.47% of the population of this area lived in the District of Goražde, the share of Moslems in national structure was 50.90%.⁷

Conclusion

The breakdown of ex SFRY in circumstances of the end of cold-war Europe and creating of New Europe was the war marked by Great-Serbian aggression against the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and by the number of crisis and war conflicts in Serbia itself (Kosovo, southeast of Serbia) and on the territory of Macedonia. Besides quoted global geostrategic and geopolitical changes which were favourable and offered new occasion for Great-Serbian territorial grabbing, demographic factor was one of essential causes of war. Namely, decreasing of Serb relative share in national structure of ex SFRY and especially on the territories of Great-Serbian territorial grabbings (Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina), was not consistent with program ideas of Great-Serbian ideologists, who were planning the territorial expanding of Serbia just on reinterpretations of some old one-sides concepts, i.e. of Garašanin, 1844., of Karadžić, 1849. etc.

However, the most complex demographic processes as the fundamental cause of war and crisis with the aim of ethnic cleansing developed in Serbia itself. Albanian demographic "boom" in Kosovo and that of Moslems in Sandžak provoked decrease of Serbs' relative share in national structure not only on these territories but also on the level of Serbia, even on its restricted part.

The only space of complex religious and national structure, where Moslems register the trend of constant increase in census period of 1961-1991, and Serbs and Montenegrins that of decrease in absolute number and relative share alike, and which was never exposed to the war campaign of Serbia, was the territory of Sandžak.

Besides quoted unfavourable demographic processes for national interests of Serbia and Montenegro, which culminated in 1991 when, by relative share of 51.15% Moslems became majority nation, the complexity of Sandžak security question is further burdened by its geostrategic importance. Besides the fact that it represents spatial connections of Serbia and Montenegro on one hand, which is essential from the viewpoint of political-territorial unity of common state and, on the other, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo which were exposed to aggression just because of unfavorable demographic trends for Great-Serbian interests, Sandžak is the node of essential traffic directions and potential strategic military-operational corridors.

Owing to mentioned complex demographic processes and geostrategic significance, Sandžak is not only in the focus of Montenegro and Serbia interests but also in that of world power centers, and as such it represents potential crisis/war with possibility of stretching to larger territory of southeastern part of Europe. Being constituent part of contiguous state, i.e. nearer Croatian security environment, potential

⁷ This demographic fact points also to the fundamental causes of ethnic cleansing of Moslems in Goražde during Great-Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Goražde was representing the biggest Moslem concentration of this area (69.58% in 1991) and spatial demographic discontinuity of Serbian populated majority between the districts of Rudo and Čajniče and Pale District.

further processes and events on Sandžak have essential significance also from the viewpoint of national security of the Republic of Croatia.

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SAŽETAK

Marinko Lozančić: Geostrategijski aspekt demografske dinamike Sandžaka

Globalne promjene koje su zahvatile evropski prostor 1980-ih godina i označile početak izgradnje nove geostrategije svijeta, odnosno, nove preraspodjele svjetske moći, omogućile su uvjete za stvaranje novih država na ruševinama dotadašnjih komunističkih višenacionalnih državnih tvorevina.

Bila je to i nova povijesna mogućnost za stvaranje hrvatske države, ali i prigoda za ostvarenje velikosrpskoga imperijalnog sna za teritorijalnim posezanjima, posebice prema prostorima BiH i Republike Hrvatske. Ratni srpski pohod, posebice mehanizmima vojne moći, osim teritorijalnog proširenja imao je za cilj nasilno (etničko čišćenje) i mijenjanje demogeografskih trendova koji nisu bili sukladni velikosrpskim težnjama i planovima. Prostorni razmještaj i zastupljenost Srba bili su sve slabija demografska podloga za mogućnost stvaranja "Velike Srbije" i političku manipulaciju, kojom je teritorijalno posezanje kao stvarni cilj, Srbija prikrivala pred međunarodnom zajednicom, prikazujući svoje ratne pohode/agresiju kao krizna stanja ("građanski rat") uzrokovana "ugroženošću" Srba.

S obzirom na to da je trend opadanja relativnog udjela Srba u narodnosnoj strukturi zabilježen i u samoj Srbiji, posebice na Kosovu, te u njezinu užem dijelu, demografski čimbenik bio je jedan od temeljnih uzroka kriza/vojnih akcija/ratnih pohoda i na teritoriju same Srbije (Kosovo; jugoistok Srbije: Preševo, Bujanovac). Kriza i ratna događanja, značajno uzrokovana upravo demografskim trendovima i stanjima u nacionalnoj strukturi (Albanci, Makedonci), obilježje su i prostornog nastavka sigurnosne nestabilnosti na prostoru Makedonije.

Jedini prostor složene nacionalne i vjerske strukture na kome Muslimani čine absolutnu većinu, te bilježe trend stalnog apsolutnog rasta i povećanja relativnog udjela u narodnosnoj strukturi Srbije i Crne Gore, a koji nije zahvaćen krizom/ratom nakon raspada SFRJ, bio je prostor Sandžaka.

Budući da je riječ o području koje je prostorna spojnica spomenutih ratom zahvaćenih prostora, složene etničke i vjerske strukture, na kome Muslimani po prostornom razmještajnom kontinuitetu i zastupljenosti čine bitan demografski čimbenik (BiH – Sandžak – Kosovo – Makedonija) suprotan nacionalnim/velikosrpskim interesima Srbije i Crne Gore, Sandžak je sa sigurnosnog stajališta, s obzirom na svoje iznimno geostrategijsko značenje, potencijalno novo žarište ne samo lokalne već i šire krize na jugoistoku Europe.

Prostor Sandžaka, kao sastavni dio zajednice Srbije i Crne Gore, dio je bližega sigurnosnog okružja Republike Hrvatske, te ima bitno značenje sa stajališta njezine nacionalne sigurnosti zbog sljedećih razloga:

- Demogeografski čimbenik jedan je od bitnih uzročnika velikosrpske agresije na Republiku Hrvatsku i BiH te kriza i sukoba u bližem hrvatskom međunarodnom okružju (Srbija: Kosovo, jugoistok Srbije; Makedonija);
- Interakcijski raspored globalnih interesa svjetskih središta moći u širem i bližem hrvatskom nestabilnom sigurnosnom okružju bit će i dalje od bitnog značenja za sigurnost Republike Hrvatske.