



THE POSAVINA BORDER REGION OF CROATIA AND BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA: DEVELOPMENT FROM 1918-1991 (With Special Reference to Changes in Ethnic Composition)

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This work is the continuation of the article published in this Journal no. 69-70 under the title "The Posavina Border Region of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina: Development up to 1918 (with special reference to changes in ethnic composition)". This mentioned article describes the natural features of the region, its importance in the past, the disappearance of the unified Croatian ethnic territory by the sixteenth century and subsequent development, particularly with a view to the region's importance as a border zone and the changes to its ethnic structure. This work presents the more recent development of the region by providing an overview of the political circumstances and changes to its ethnic structure under the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and under the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Particular attention is dedicated to political changes which were reflected in changes to the region's ethnic structure at the end of the twentieth century, primarily due to the ethnic cleansing of Croats and Muslims and the political changes which occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the signing of the Dayton Accords.



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THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA (1918-1945)

Upon the conclusion of the First World War and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a new country was created, a state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs which was proclaimed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia under the constitution of 1921. The Sava River was no longer a state border.

Already in the country's first constitution, the one promulgated in 1921, a unitarist and centralist organization for the country was instituted. In the desire to secure Serbian hegemony over the other peoples in the new union, the government attempted to erase the historical boundaries of their countries as soon as possible. Thus, already in 1922 the country was divided into provinces, counties, districts and municipalities. This administrative demarcation also divided Posavina, both the Croatian and Bosnian sections, into two provinces each. The Bosnian section was divided into the Banjaluka province and the Tuzla province. Both of the Bosnian provinces covered peri-Pannonian Bosnia with a mutual boundary on the Bosna River. This division of peri-Pannonian Bosnia was based on prior development so there was a certain logic to it. However, a law enacted in 1929 divided the state into large territorial units called banates (*banovina*), to which a portion of the central government's jurisdiction was transferred. This division was strictly political and not only did it not take into account prior historical developments, it also failed to respond to the contemporary needs of the people.

Most of Slavonian Posavina was incorporated into the Sava Banate, with its seat in Zagreb, while the largest, western section, peri-Pannonian Bosnia, was incorporated into the Vrbas Banate with its seat in Banjaluka. The eastern section of Slavonian Posavina, as well as Croatian Srijem and the eastern part of peri-Pannonian Bosnia came under the Drina Banate, which included a part of Serbia. The seat of the Drina Banate was in Sarajevo! Under such an administrative and territorial division, the region had no possibility for harmonized development. The political motivations and actual injustice of this territorial division into banates were most cogently reflected in the example of the Croatian portions of Posavina and Srijem being incorporated into the Drina Banate. The administrative seat of the settlements and populations of these two Croatian regions was in Sarajevo, several hundred kilometers distant, instead of in the Croatian city of Osijek, only several kilometers away!

The dissatisfaction of people with this political division was understandable. This dissatisfaction also reached certain political groups, so that a law enacted in 1931 altered this banate division to a certain extent. With reference to this study, the most important changes were in the Drina Banate, from which the aforementioned Croatian territories north of the Sava were removed and incorporated into the Sava Banate, while the eastern territories (in Srijem) were incorporated into the Danube Banate. The Vrbas Banate underwent almost no changes (Boban, 1992).

The unitarist policies of the Yugoslav authorities provoked great discontent among the country's political parties. The most important development for the interests of this study is that in 1939 an agreement was concluded between Croatian politicians and the Yugoslav government according to which the eastern section of Bosnian Posavina including the areas around the cities of Derвента, Gradačac and Brčko were ceded to the newly-formed Banate of Croatia on the basis of the predominant Croatian population in this part of Bosnian Posavina. However, this agreement was a short – lasting one, as this entire process was disrupted by the break-up of Yugoslavia in the war that began in 1941.

This period ended with a civil war in the territory of the former state. The war was waged within the framework of the international conflicts of the Second World War, but it was especially intense and bloody in the territory of the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia. This war involved all of Posavina, but the battles were most brutal in the Bosnian section of Posavina.

Since Bosnia-Herzegovina was then formally a part of the Independent State of Croatia, sponsored by Germans and Italians, the Bosnian part of Posavina was also in this state. However, actual authority on the ground often changed hands between rival political and military groups which encompassed all ethnic groups of the state at the time. Croats and Muslims (as Ustasha) fought against Serbs (as Chetniks), while Croats, Serbs and Muslims jointly (with members of other ethnic groups, as Partisans) fought against all of those who were not included in the Partisan movement. In these mutual struggles all ethnic groups suffered. Wartime victims were great, and the war had subsequent repercussions that had a negative impact on demographic trends throughout the country, including Posavina. However, authoritative data on the ethnic changes that emerged as a result of this war cannot be obtained.

Data on changes in the ethnic structure could only be obtained by comparing the results of the censuses conducted in 1931 (the last census prior to wartime events) and the census conducted in 1948 (the first postwar census). However, the data from these two censuses are not comparable, because they were conducted on the basis of different administrative/territorial units and the data from the 1931 census were not published at the settlement level. It should additionally be noted that under the Kingdom of Yugoslavia two censuses were conducted, the first in 1921 and the second in 1931. In accordance with the unitary politics of this state, no questions were posed during the census on the nationality, rather only religious affiliation was recorded.

The war ended with the termination of the unitarist Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the creation of a federal Yugoslavia (SFRJ).

FEDERAL YUGOSLAVIA (1945-1991)

At the end of the Second World War, the federal state of Yugoslavia was formed. The state consisted of six federal units, called republics: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, and Serbia, which in turn consisted of two autonomous provinces Kosovo and Vojvodina. The republics were demarcated by newly-established borders. The Sava River once more became a border, while Posavina became a border region between two neighboring republics: Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The character of the border was determined by the fact that both neighboring republics were part of the same federal state. Although the Croatian section of Posavina was subject to the authorities of the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb, while the Bosnian section was under the authority of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo, life in both republics proceeded in accordance with valid laws, particularly those that determined the social and economic order, which was in turn governed at the federal level for the entire country. So it could be said that the border between them was "soft."

Ethnic and demographic trends were not dictated from above, and the changes and trends that did occur were a reflection of the economic potential of a given area and also the federal political and ethnic structure of the country. The latter was the cause for migrations which were also prompted by ethnic reasons. This process was particularly marked in the increasingly intense departure of people from the Bosnian section of Posavina, mostly Croats into Croatia and Serbs into Serbia. They were prompted to depart by the greater possibilities for employment, and thus the better living conditions in new surroundings. According to the population census conducted in 1981, 275,245 people in Croatia and 319,062 persons in Serbia were born in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The number of people in Croatia who were born in Bosnia-Herzegovina actually increased to 317,923 by 1991 (Markotić, 2000).

TABLE 1
Permanent Residents
of Croatia born in
Bosnian Posavina –
1991 Census Data

Municipalities	Total	Ethnic composition			
		Croats	Muslims	Serbs	Others
Bosanska Dubica	3,608	851	265	1,832	660
Bosanska Gradiška	7,458	2,856	906	2,410	1,285
Bosanski Brod	6,934	4,828	164	1,279	663
Bosanski Šamac	4,265	3,007	51	895	312
Brčko	10,611	8,235	979	730	667
Derventa	12,846	10,016	235	1,617	978
Doboj	8,399	4,396	814	2,170	1,019
Gradačac	6,091	2,925	1,046	1,633	487
Modriča	4,259	2,460	131	1,330	338
Odžak	3,516	2,426	65	772	253
Orašje	3,729	3,180	41	351	157
Srbac	2,016	365	87	997	568
<i>Bosnian Posavina</i>	73,732	45,545	4,784	16,016	7,387
	100%	61.8%	6.5%	21.7%	10%

Source: *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, narodnosni sastav po naseljima*. Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku, 1995.

Data on changes in the ethnic composition during this period, from the first census conducted in 1948 to the last census conducted in 1991, are not, unfortunately, completely comparable because the municipalities between these two censuses were not identical and because the census methodologies differed considerably. The greatest difficulties emerged because during the 1948 census the question of Muslims as an ethnicity was not posed, rather there was only an option for undeclared Muslims. Thus most Muslims were 'undeclared,' but not all. Some declared their ethnicity as Serbian, while others proclaimed Croat ethnicity. This certainly resulted in a smaller number of declared Muslims. After the 1971 census, and including the 1991 census, Muslims were recorded as a nationality, so their number is more realistic than in the 1948 census.

➔ FIGURE 1
 Bosnian Posavina
 with municipalities
 (1991) studied in
 this work



Although the data from Table 5 cannot be compared within municipalities, for the entire region they generally show that in Bosnian Posavina, in the narrower Sava zone of peri-Pannonian Bosnia (where the largest number of Croats are), the number of inhabitants greatly increased, but also that certain changes occurred in its ethnic composition, primarily caused by the amended census methodology to list Muslims as an ethnicity. Serbs accounted for the largest percentage of the population, followed by the Muslims and then the Croats, although the share of Croats and Serbs in 1991 in relation to 1948 is somewhat lower while that of the Muslims is somewhat larger.

For this study the data from the last Yugoslav federal census in 1991 are fundamental. According to this census, Serbs were 37.5%, Muslims 29.2% and Croats 25.3% of the total population of the Sava zone of Bosnian Posavina within the framework of 12 municipalities. As much as 5.4% of the population accepted the Yugoslav designation in 1991.

Municipalities		Total		Croats		Muslims		Serbs		"Yugoslavs"		Other & unknown	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bosanska Dubica	1948	28,461	100	1,169	4.1	2,512	8.8	24,732	86.9			48	0.2
	1991	31,606	100	488	1.5	6,440	20.4	21,728	68.7	1,851	5.9	1,099	3.5
Bosanska Gradiška	1948	46,013	100	4,935	10.7	7,284	15.8	32,821	71.3			973	2.2
	1991	59,974	100	3,417	5.7	15,851	26.4	35,753	59.6	3,311	5.5	1,642	2.7
Bosanski Brod	1948	25,439	100	14,163	55.5	1,558	6.1	9,582	37.7			136	0.7
	1991	34,138	100	13,993	41	4,088	12	11,389	33.4	3,664	10.7	1,004	2.9
Bosanski Šamac	1948	37,512	100	22,398	54.7	2,548	6.8	12,493	33.3			73	0.2
	1991	32,960	100	14,731	44.7	2,233	6.8	13,628	41.3	1,755	5.3	613	1.9
Brčko	1948	59,218	100	29,152	35.7	18,338	31	19,377	32.7			351	0.6
	1991	87,627	100	22,252	25.4	38,617	44.1	18,128	20.7	5,731	6.5	2,899	3.3
Derventa	1948	52,885	100	25,761	48.7	4,447	8.4	20,992	39.7			1,685	3.2
	1991	56,489	100	21,952	38.9	7,086	12.5	22,938	40.6	3,348	5.9	1,165	2.1
Doboj	1948	40,433	100	7,925	19.6	13,150	32.5	19,146	47.3			212	0.6
	1991	102,549	100	13,264	12.9	41,164	40.1	39,820	38.8	5,765	5.6	2,536	2.5
Gradačac	1948	42,184	100	8,585	20.3	22,440	53.2	11,145	26.4			14	0.1
	1991	56,581	100	8,613	15.2	33,856	59.8	11,221	19.8	1,436	2.5	1,455	2.6
Modriča	1948	19,746	100	5,427	27.5	2,853	14.4	11,408	57.8			58	0.3
	1991	35,613	100	9,805	27.5	10,375	29.1	12,534	35.2	1,851	5.2	1,048	2.9
Odžak	1948	25,566	100	13,298	52	4,276	16.7	7,954	31.1			38	0.2
	1991	30,056	100	16,338	54.4	6,220	20.7	5,667	18.9	1,147	3.8	684	2.3
Orašje	1948	Part of the Bosanski Šamac district											
	1991	28,367	100	21,308	75.1	1,893	6.7	4,235	14.9	626	2.2	305	1.1
Srbac	1948	25,933	100	609	2.3	592	2.3	23,946	92.3			786	3.1
	1991	21,840	100	140	0.6	940	4.3	19,382	88.7	811	3.7	567	2.6
Total	1948	403,390	100	125,422	31.1	79,998	19.8	193,566	48			4,404	1.1
	1991	577,800	100	146,301	25.3	168,703	29.2	216,423	37.5	31,296	5.4	15,017	2.6

Sources: *Konačni rezultati popisa stanovništva 1948. Vol. IX: Stanovništvo po narodnosti*. Belgrade, 1954; *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, narodnosni sastav po naseljima*. Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku, 1995.

TABLE 2
Permanent Residents
based on Nationality,
by Municipalities in
Bosnian Posavina in
1948 and 1991

Croats were mostly present as a share in the total population in the eastern section (municipalities of Orašje, Odžak, Bosanski Šamac, Bosanski Brod, Derventa, Modriča and Brčko), and less so in the western section of Bosnian Posavina (municipalities of Srbac, Bosanska Dubica, Bosanska Gradiška, Doboj and Gradačac). From this it can be seen that in 1991 Croats were more present in the eastern section of Bosnian Posavina and that there were few or almost no Croats in the western section, which until the end of the Middle Ages was a very marked Croatian ethnic territory. In 1991 the share of Muslims was greatest in the municipalities of Gradačac, Brčko and Doboj, and lower in the municipalities of Srbac, Orašje, Bosanski Šamac, Bosanski Brod and Derventa, while their numbers were middling in other municipalities. Serbs were spatially the most evenly distributed, or a relative majority, in the municipalities of the western half of Bosnian Posavina, in an area that was largely a Croatian ethnic territory in the Middle Ages.

It is apparent that in 1991 the Serbs accounted for less than two fifths of the entire population in Bosnian Posavina, while the Muslims and Croats together accounted for over half the region's total population. Despite this fact, the Serbs engaged in ethnic cleansing against the other two peoples and made this territory almost purely Serbian.

The aforementioned share and spatial distribution of all three ethnic groups is completely different today due to the Serbian aggression against the newly-established states in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, i.e. against the Republic of Croatia and then the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A campaign of ethnic cleansing was waged against the Croats and Muslims in most of the above-mentioned municipalities. A Republika Srpska was created as one of the two entities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Republika Srpska was created by the Dayton Accords, meaning that despite its formation on the basis of ethnic cleansing it received the recognition of the international powers!

The number of Croats and Muslims in this area present day remains unknown, because to this date a population census has not yet been conducted. What is certain is that very few are left. However, before dealing with this topic in greater detail, it is important to indicate certain forms of settlement in Bosnian Posavina, i.e. the distribution of settlements and populations.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN BOSNIAN POSAVINA ON THE EVE OF THE ETHNIC CLEANSING OF CROATS AND MUSLIMS

In 1991 approximately one third of the population lived in 12 municipal centers (of which 11 had the administrative status of towns), while a little less than two thirds lived in so-called majority settlements, actually rural settlements in which one of the three ethnic groups accounted for an absolute majority of the total population. Less than 10% of the region's total population lived in the "other" rural settlements.

If the share of the population with permanent domicile in municipal centers which generally had the status of cities is accepted as the criteria for the degree of urbanization in Bosnian Posavina, then the region was relatively sparsely urbanized. The urban population was also ethnically quite complex, which gave a specific flavor to life in these urban settlements. As much as 46% of the inhabitants of the urban settlements in these 12 municipalities were Muslim, while 25.4% were Serbs, approximately 13% was "Yugoslavs" and only 11.3% were Croats.

In 1991, Muslims were the majority of the urban population, but they only formed an absolute majority in Gradačac, Odžak, Brčko and Modriča, and a plurality in all remaining cities except in Bosanski Brod, where they had the smallest share of any of the three ethnic groups. It is interesting to note that "Yugoslavs" were more numerous than Croats in several towns.

Here a widely-held but mistaken notion should be corrected, i. e. the view that the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina were an urban population living in the cities of Bosnian Po-

savina, while the Serbs and Croats were a rural population. In 1991, only 47.5% of the total Muslim population in Bosnian Posavina lived in the region's towns. The somewhat larger remainder lived in rural settlements.

POPULATION OF URBAN SETTLEMENTS

Peoples	Total population		By domicile settlement					
			Municipal center		Majority settlements ¹		Other settlements	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Croats	146,301	25.3	19,771	13.5	118,520	81	8,010	5.5
Muslims	168,763	29.2	80,207	47.5	84,173	49.9	4,383	2.6
Serbs	216,423	37.5	46,836	21.6	154,036	71.2	15,551	7.2
"Yugoslavs"	31,296	5.4	23,139	73.9	-	-	8,157	26.1
Others	15,017	2.6	7,215	48	-	-	7,802	52
<i>Total</i>	<i>577,800</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>177,168</i>	<i>30.7</i>	<i>356,793</i>	<i>61.7</i>	<i>43,839</i>	<i>7.6</i>

1) Majority settlement of one ethnic group

Source: *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, narodnosni sastav po naseljima*. Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku, 1995.

TABLE 3
Population of Bosnian
Posavina based on
Settlement of Domicile
in 1991

However, the ethnic composition of the urban population in Bosnian Posavina changed considerably with time. The shares of each of the three main ethnic groups also changed, usually to the detriment of the Croats.

The share of the Croatian population in the cities of Bosnian Posavina during the period of Austrian rule increased quite quickly and substantially, from 7.3% in 1879 to 21.2% in 1910. After this it fell again, down to 11.3% in 1991. This decline in the share of the Croatian population in 11 towns in Bosnian Posavina corresponds to a general decreasing trend in the number of Croats in cities (in 30 selected cities) of Bosnia-Herzegovina, from 29.7% in 1910 to 11.3% in 1991. At the same time, the share of Serbs in 30 cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina grew from 20.1% to 28.9%, while the share of Muslims generally stagnated (43.7% in 1910 and 42.7% in 1991).

In 1910, the Croats formed a simple majority in Bosanski Brod (up until the census of 1948), Bugojno (until 1948), Fojnica (until 1948), Jajce (until 1921), Kotar Varoš (until 1921), Livno (until 1961), Travnik (until 1948), Vareš (until 1991), and Zavidovići (until 1948), and they were the second largest ethnic group in Sarajevo (until 1921), Banjaluka, Bihać (until 1948), Derventa (until 1981), Doboj (until 1921), Drvar (until 1948), Tuzla (until 1948) and Zenica (until 1948). In most of these cases the decline in the share of Croats was accompanied by growth in the share of Serbs, while in a lesser number of cases it signified growth in the share of Muslims.

From the aforementioned it follows that a drastic fall in the share of Croats in the cities of Bosnia-Herzegovina occurred after the 1948 census, during the period of federal Yugo-

TABLE 4
Changes in the
Population and Ethnic
Composition of Urban
Settlements in Bosnian
Posavina

slavia. The reasons may be due to both economic and political reasons. The answer to this question can only be provided by more detailed scholarly research.

In any case, one can say that some form of withdrawal of Croats from the cities of Bosnia-Herzegovina was conducted throughout the entire period of federal Yugoslavia.

Cities	Total population			Nationalities									
				Croats			Muslims			Serbs		Others ¹	
	1879	1910	1991	1879	1910	1991	1879	1910	1991	1879	1910	1991	1991
Bosanska Dubica	2,588	3,477	13,680	-	8.1	2.1	80.2	72.9	44.5	19.8	18.4	40.1	12.9
Bosanska Gradiška	4,226	4,098	16,841	10.4	13.6	4.6	60.4	57	42.7	29.1	28.1	38.7	14
Bosanski Brod	710	3,378	14,098	439	559	781	2,552	2,337	7,188	1,232	1,153	6,502	2,370
Bosanski Šamac	985	2,069	6,239	16.9	57.3	29	56.6	19.9	15.9	19.1	15	31	24.1
Brčko	2,901	6,517	41,406	120	1,936	4,086	402	672	2,246	136	506	4,373	3,393
Derвента	3,225	5,363	17,748	3.2	22.3	13.2	84	56.4	34.9	12.8	19.2	28.1	23.8
Doboj	1,351	3,380	27,498	31	462	827	802	1,167	2,178	122	395	1,755	1,479
Gradačac	2,626	3,755	12,868	3.2	21	7	63.5	48.2	55.5	31.7	27	19.9	17.5
Modriča	1,985	2,462	10,454	93	1,372	2,894	1,843	3,144	22,994	919	1,761	8,253	7,265
Odžak	1,242	2,558	9,386	19.6	24.7	24.3	70	57	31.3	9.5	13.5	25.7	18.7
Orašje	903	1,074	3,907	632	1,322	4,317	2,257	3,055	5,558	306	726	4,555	3,318
Total	22,742	38,131	174,125	2.4	33.3	9.9	87.6	52.3	40.6	9.1	10.6	29.1	20.4
				32	1,126	2,714	1,183	1,767	11,154	123	358	8,011	5,619
				4.8	9.6	5.3	81.6	79.2	73.5	12.9	7.2	10.5	10.7
				126	361	681	2,143	2,976	9,454	338	346	1,348	1,385
				4	7.7	10.8	72.2	72.5	50.2	23.6	19.4	23.1	15.8
				79	190	1,134	1,433	1,786	5,252	468	477	2,420	1,648
				7.2	13.6	14.9	92.7	80.1	66.1	-	3.3	6.4	12.5
				90	348	1,404	1,152	2,069	6,205	-	84	599	1,178
				2.3	10.7	15.1	92.7	82.4	47.2	0.2	5.1	22.4	15
				21	115	591	837	885	1,843	2	55	875	598
				7.3	21.2	11.3	73.3	58.7	46	18.3	17	25.4	17.2
				1,663	8,074	19,717	16,680	22,392	80,156	4,158	6,502	44,231	30,021

Sources:

Konačni rezultati popisa stanovništva 1948.; Stanovništvo po narodnostima, Beograd, 1954.; Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, narodnosni sastav po naseljima. Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku, 1995.

Notes:

All municipal centers had the status of towns at the time of the census; the exception is the more recent settlement of Srbac, which was not included in this table.

1) Among "others," 70% are "Yugoslavs."

POPULATION OF RURAL SETTLEMENTS

Out of the 491 settlements cited in the 12 municipalities of Bosnian Posavina in the Sava zone, 478 are so-called majority settlements, which is 97.3% of all settlements in the region. This certainly confirms that even after a relatively long period of colonization this region did not become multiethnic, or rather, no really intense intermingling nor interchange of lifestyles occurred. Individual ethnic groups gathered in their majority settlements: Croats with a share of 86.9%, Muslims 90% and Serbs 90.2% of the total population of majority settlements.

It is important to emphasize that people of like ethnicity did not just gather in majority settlements, but also that majority settlements of a single ethnic group were concentrated in groups of several settlements. Groups of settlements of all

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TABLE 5
Population of Bosnian
Posavina in Rural
Settlements with a
Majority of One of the
Three Ethnic Groups
in 1991

Municipalities	Population of all rural settlements	Nationalities in settlements with majority population											
		Croats				Muslims				Serbs			
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Bosanska Dubica	17,926	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60	17,926	16,189	90.3
Bosanska Gradiška	43,133	5	2,043	1,697	83.1	6	9,239	7,586	82.1	55	31,851	28,150	88.4
Bosanski Brod	20,040	10	10,174	8,676	82.4	2	2,958	1,739	58.8	10	6,548	5,450	83.4
Bosanski Šamac	26,721	11	16,063	13,520	86.4	-	-	-	-	10	10,658	10,195	95.6
Brčko	46,221	22	21,859	18,951	86.7	14	16,183	15,364	95	22	8,179	7,548	92.3
Derventa	38,741	31	19,538	16,062	82.2	4	1,449	988	68.2	21	17,754	15,951	89.8
Doboj	75,051	10	9,549	8,703	91.1	21	32,687	29,358	89.8	41	32,815	30,223	92.1
Gradačac	43,713	8	9,308	7,768	83.4	18	25,103	24,113	96.1	11	9,302	8,612	92.6
Modriča	25,159	9	8,562	7,785	91	4	5,901	5,025	85.1	7	10,696	9,663	90.3
Odžak	20,670	10	17,593	14,483	82.3	-	-	-	-	3	3,078	2,588	84.1
Orašje	24,460	10	21,314	20,575	96.5	-	-	-	-	5	3,146	2,938	93.4
Srbac	18,797	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	18,797	16,529	87.9
Total	400,632	126	136,002	118,520	86.9	69	93,520	84,173	90	283	170,750	154,036	90.2

Source: *Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, narodnosni sastav po naseljima*. Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku, 1995.

1 – number of majority settlements of one of the three nationalities

2 – total population of majority settlements in a municipality

3 – number of members of majority ethnic group in a municipality

4 – share of majority ethnic group in total population of majority settlements in municipality

ETHNIC CLEANSING OF CROATS AND MUSLIMS

The battles began in March 1992 and they were generally fought in the ethnically mixed parts of Bosnian Posavina. The first to fall was the tract between Komarica and Modriča, and then at the beginning of July Derventa and quickly thereafter the entire area of Odžak and Bosanski Brod. Many people lost their lives, while most were forced to flee and the entire area was destroyed. The Croatian and Muslim populations were killed or expelled, and Croatian and Muslim settlements were destroyed. Serbs conducted ethnic cleansing against Croats and Muslims. The exact number of Croats and Muslims who were killed or expelled from Bosnian Posavina is not known, only certain data from individual parts of the region were secured.

In order to show the approximate number of destroyed settlements and their populations in the entire region, here I am providing an overview of 126 Croatian majority settlements, their total populations and the number of Croats in them in 1991 for all 12 municipalities. In 1991, 136,002 people lived in the Croat majority settlements, of which 118,520 were Croats. Where are these people today, how many of them were killed, how many were exiled and how many returned to their homes? There is also no information on the fate of the Croats (27,727) who lived in the other settlements in the 12 municipalities. The number of Croats in question is larger than the number cited in the 12 municipalities, because on the territory of today's Republika Srpska there was a total population of approximately 149,000, or about 136,000 in the country (Markotić, 2000). The answer to these questions is rendered difficult by the current state structure and political situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to the 1995 Dayton Accords, Bosnia-Herzegovina was instituted as a state with two entities, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (with several cantons or counties) and the Republika Srpska. Most of the area and municipalities of Bosnian Posavina were encompassed in the Republika Srpska, in which most Croats from Bosnian Posavina had lived in 1991. There is almost no information from this entity on the number of inhabitants who were killed or expelled, nor on the number of inhabitants who eventually returned to their homes. A smaller portion of the area and municipalities of Bosnian Posavina (parts of the municipalities of Bosanski Brod, Bosanski Šamac, Odžak and Orašje) that were neither subjugated nor occupied during the aggression were encompassed by the Posavina Canton, with an area of 334 km² and a population of 50,711, of which 81.1% is the domicile population. In relation to 1991, the population of the Posavina Canton declined 7,712 by 1997 (Pobrić, 2003). Not even the data on the population of the Posavina Canton provides a response to the question of the fate of the Croats in the territory of the Republika Srpska, because the domicile population of the Posavina Canton includes all three ethnic groups, not just the Croats.

The question emerges of why a census has still not been conducted in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was subject to large forced population movements, particularly since in most developed countries throughout the world censuses were conducted in 2001 or 2002. Such a situation is even more puzzling because Bosnia-Herzegovina is a protectorate of international forces, and one of the primary missions of these troops is to see that people of all three nationalities return to their homes. A new census would certainly uncover the proportions and horrors of the ethnic cleansing of the Croatian and Muslim populations.

Municipality	Settlement	Population		Settlement	Population	
		Total	Croatian		Total	Croatian
Bosanska Dubica	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bosanska Gradiška	Donja Dolina	468	387	Mičije	389	358
	Gornja Dolina	400	382	Novo Selo	310	305
	Mačkovac	476	265			
Bosanski Brod	Brusnica Velika	1,021	696	Grk	559	334
	Donja Močila	659	290	Koraće	2,022	1,975
	Donja Vrela	656	366	Kričanovo	998	893
	Donje Kolibe	837	788	Kruščik	112	93
	Gornja Močila	717	470	Novo Selo	2,593	2,771
Bosanski Šamac	Bazik	539	526	Novo Selo	1,095	907
	Domaljevac	4,152	4,072	Prud	1,293	1,144
	Donji Hasić	1,029	978	Srednja Slatina	1,277	918
	Gornji Hasić	1,048	967	Tišina	2,032	1,049
	Grebnice	2,210	1,933	Zasavica	558	524
	Kornice	830	802			
Brčko	Bijela	2,539	1,729	Laništa	656	648
	Boče	1,253	1,242	Marković Polje	470	362
	Boderište	965	952	Skakava Donja	2,272	2,175
	Čadjavac	74	60	Skakava Gornja	1,737	1,581
	Donji Rahić	647	552	Štrepci	861	804
	Donji Zovik	481	465	Ulice	1,266	1,108
	Dubrave	1,338	1,310	Ulović	912	606
	Dubravice Donje	396	368	Vitanovići Donji	419	324
	Gorice	1,097	894	Vitanovići Gornji	286	158
	Gornji Zovik	1,569	1,454	Vukšić Donji	644	633
	Krepšić	1,156	721	Vukšić Gornji	821	805
Derventa	Begluci	921	410	Kulina	808	742
	Bijelo Brdo	1,311	1,286	Kuljenovići	575	504
	Brezici	621	604	Lužani Novi	561	313
	Bukovac	123	115	Mišinci	1,442	953
	Bukovica Velika	544	537	Modran	1,152	1,125
	Bunar	457	446	Pjevalovac	338	208
	Dažnica	255	244	Poljari	368	363
	Donja Bišnja	320	157	Polje	1,124	750
	Donji Višnjik	704	617	Stanići	370	359
	Gornja Bišnja	352	321	Šušnjari	626	621
	Gornja Lupljanica	946	479	Tetima	1,164	916
	Gornji Božinci	469	456	Tunjestala	163	163
	Gradac	257	239	Vrhovi	359	354
	Gradina	418	416	Zelenike	436	411
Kovačevci	259	247	Žeravac	802	634	
			Živinice	1,290	1,074	
Doboj	Alibegovci	1,440	1,251	Komarica	1,020	964
	Bukovac	664	607	Prisade	414	394
	Dragalovci	1,031	858	Prnjavor Veliki	690	558
	Foča	1,457	1,437	Ularice	1,147	1,100
	Johovac	1,487	1,339	Vranduk	199	195
Gradačac	Blaževac	1,166	613	Hrgovi Donji	671	642
	Donja Tramošnica	1,753	1,703	Njivak	388	379
	Donje Ledence	1,638	1,011	Orlovo Polje	619	597
	Gornja Tramošnica	1,463	1,350	Turić	1,610	1,473
Modriča	Babešnica	147	117	Kladari Gornji	448	426
	Čardak	1,006	976	Kužnjača	272	240
	Dobrinja	437	395	Pečnik	1,487	1,430
	Garevac	2,795	2,304	Riječani Donji	835	806
	Kladari Donji	1,046	1,006			

Municipality	Settlement	Population		Settlement	Population	
		Total	Croatian		Total	Croatian
Odžak	Ada	638	628	Novo Selo	2,669	2,626
	Donja Dubica	3,254	2,137	Posavska Mahala	1,199	1,165
	Donji Svilaj	1,576	1,408	Potočani	2,250	2,029
	Gornja Dubica	1,596	1,579	Srnava	880	703
	Gornji Svilaj	1,810	1,004	Vrbovac	1,721	1,404
Orašje	Bok	1,705	1,660	Matići	2,034	2,010
	Donja Mahala	4,273	4,207	Oštra Luka	3,041	2,995
	Jenjić	290	274	Tolisa	3,326	3,274
	Kopanice	1,317	1,024	Ugljara	1,400	1,288
	Kostrč	1,655	1,651	Vidovice	2,273	2,192
Srbac	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>				126	136,002	118,520

Source: *Stanoništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, narodnosni sastav po naseljima*. Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku, 1995.
 Note: this study is dedicated to all inhabitants of Croat majority settlements who, through absolutely no fault of their own, lost their lives or were forced to leave their homes.

TABLE 6
 Rural Settlements of
 Bosnian Posavina with
 Croat Majority
 Populations in 1991

FIGURE 2
 Bosnia-Herzegovina
 after the Dayton
 Accords



IS THE SAVA RIVER STILL A BORDER?

There is a large body of literature on borders and border zones in the world. This literature covers numerous and different types of borders. However, I am not familiar with another border that would correspond to the border on the Sava River, the border between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to the Dayton Accords, Bosnia-Herzegovina is an independent country that consists of two entities, the Fe-

deration of Bosnia-Herzegovina (divided into cantons or counties) and the Republika Srpska. So Bosnian Posavina is once more internally divided.

Authority is divided between the central government and the two entities, and among other things the entities have authority over defense. Governing practice in Bosnia-Herzegovina so far has shown that the entities have more power than the central government (Klemenčić, Schofield, 1998). Both entities have concluded agreements on special relations with neighboring countries, i.e. the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina has special relations with the Republic of Croatia, while the Republika Srpska has special relations with Serbia-Montenegro. Given the division of authority between the central government and the entities, in which defense is the responsibility of the entities and previous practices in their mutual relations and the chaotic situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the internal borders between the entities are firmer than the international borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Klemenčić, 2000-2001).

There is some question then of which country the Republic of Croatia shares a border with on the Sava River: Bosnia-Herzegovina, or the Republika Srpska, and by extension, Serbia-Montenegro? There is no need to prove that this type of border is a special type of border, i.e. a "potentially hazardous border." The potential danger can ensue from the treaty obligations concluded within the framework of special relations between the Republika Srpska and Serbia-Montenegro, but also based on other reasons.

A rather immediate potential danger exists because of the Brčko District, a strategic location in the zone where the territories of the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina come closest, only 2 to 3 miles. The population of the Brčko municipality immediately prior to the Serbian aggression, in 1991, consisted of Muslims, Croats and some other groups, mainly "Yugoslavs," who had a majority of 80.1%. During the Serbian aggression, the Croat and Muslim population of Brčko was ethnically cleansed, so the Serbs became the majority in this area. At the time of the Dayton peace conference they held Brčko.

At the Dayton conference, a decision was made to postpone the final status of Brčko in either the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina or the Republika Srpska until the end of 1996. After several deadlines the final decision was made in March 1999. The Brčko territory was proclaimed a separate district, independent from both entities, making a constitutive unit of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Power was allocated to the local government. Some of the previously expelled Croats and Muslims returned to the Brčko area in the meantime, but

even today the Serbs maintain their majority secured by ethnic cleansing, a majority with a markedly nationalistic stance which hinders any substantial return of the exiled population.

A solution was blocked until 1999 by the aspirations of both entities to have the Brčko District incorporated into their territories. The Republika Srpska wants Brčko for strategic reasons, to secure a link between its two largely ethnically cleansed components. The Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is seeking the return of Brčko as a part of its ethnic territory in which the majority population was different prior to ethnic cleansing.

The Federation has strategic reasons for concern, due largely to its Posavina Canton, located adjacent to Brčko. The Posavina Canton is the smallest canton and territorially it is divided from the rest of the Federation. Besides this, it is territorially divided into two sections, which separates the area of the former municipality of Bosanski Šamac, now a part of the Republika Srpska. During the last census conducted in 1991, most of the residents of this municipality were Croats. But this municipality, after ethnic cleansing and the Dayton Accords, was conferred to the Republika Srpska! The strategic position of the Posavina Canton is thus very sensitive, so the Federation has cause for concern.

It is a cause for concern that this type of border was, in practice, introduced by the Dayton Accords, meaning at the will of international forces. Neighboring countries will have to pay for the shortcomings. There are numerous reasons for adapting the Dayton Accords to actual needs – the needs of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its neighbors – and in the interests of international relations.

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Posavsko prigranično područje Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine: razvoj od 1918. do 1991. godine (s posebnim osvrtom na promjene etničkog sastava)

Ivan CRKVENČIĆ
Zagreb

Ovaj rad je nastavak rada koji je pod naslovom "Posavsko prigranično područje Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine: razvoj do 1918. godine (s posebnim osvrtom na promjene etničkog sastava)" objavljen u ovom časopisu br. 69-70. U tom radu prikazana su prirodna obilježja i društveno značenje Posavine u prošlosti, njezino značenje jedinstvenoga hrvatskog etničkog teritorija do 16. st. te društveni razvoj i etničke promjene nastale od pojave Osmanlija do 1918. g. U ovom radu prikazane su promjene u etničkom sastavu Bosanske Posavine u vrijeme Kraljevine Jugoslavije i Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije. Posebna je pozornost posvećena promjenama etničkoga sastava krajem 20. stoljeća, izraženima etničkim čišćenjem Hrvata i Muslimana u 12 općina Bosanske Posavine. Poimenično je navedeno 126 naselja s većinskim hrvatskim stanovništvom koja su tijekom srpske agresije stradala, a njihovo je stanovništvo protjerano. Na kraju su dana neka opažanja u vezi sa značenjem granice na Savi, koja je, uređenjem Bosne i Hercegovine prema Sporazumu u Daytonu, postala potencijalno opasnom granicom. Nije nam poznato da u svijetu postoji granica sa značajkama kakve ima ova granica uz Savu.

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CRKVENČIĆ, I.:
THE POSAVINA...

Der Grenzbereich zwischen Kroatien und Bosnien und Herzegowina: Entwicklung von 1918 bis 1991 (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Veränderungen in der ethnischen Zusammensetzung)

Ivan CRKVENČIĆ
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Dieser Aufsatz ist die Fortsetzung des in Heft 69-70 erschienenen Artikels "Der Grenzbereich zwischen Kroatien und Bosnien und Herzegowina: Entwicklung bis 1918 (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der veränderten ethnischen Zusammensetzung)". Im ersten Teil seiner Untersuchung (DI 69-70) präsentiert der Verfasser die landschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Merkmale der Posavina (Saveniederung) im Laufe der Geschichte, ferner die Bedeutung dieser Region, die als kroatisches Stammesgebiet im Mittelalter einen einmaligen Status hatte, sowie schließlich die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung und ethnischen Wandel, die sich von der Erscheinung der Osmanen bis zum Jahr 1918 vollzogen. In diesem Aufsatz werden die Veränderungen in der ethnischen Zusammensetzung von Bosanska Posavina (Bosnische Saveniederung) in der Zeit des Königreichs Jugoslawien sowie in der Zeit der Sozialistischen föderativen Republik Jugoslawien dargestellt. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit gilt den Vorgängen am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts, als aus 12 Gemeinden der Bosnischen Saveniederung die kroatische und moslemische Bevölkerung vertrieben wurde. Der Autor führt namentlich 126 Ortschaften an, in denen vor der serbischen Militärangriff überwiegend Kroaten lebten, deren Häuser jedoch zerstört und die selbst vertrieben wurden. Der Artikel schließt mit einigen Überlegungen darüber ab, welche Bedeutung die längs der Save verlaufende Grenze zwischen Kroatien und Bosnien und Herzegowina hat, die durch das sog. Abkommen von Dayton, das den Grund zur Neugestaltung Bosniens und Herzegowinas legte, zu einer potenziell gefährlichen Grenze geworden ist. Der Verfasser folgert, ihm sei nicht bekannt, ob es in der Welt weitere Länder gebe, deren Grenze auf diese Weise eingerichtet ist, wie es in der Saveniederung zwischen Kroatien und Bosnien und Herzegowina der Fall ist.