



CROATIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY AND THE MULTIETHNIC COMPOSITION OF CROATIA AS A RESULT OF POPULATION MIGRATIONS

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Contemporary political events in the Republic of Croatia and its surroundings (especially in the East), are to a certain extent a reflection of historical incidents, caused by the geopolitical position of this part of Europe. These incidents led to great migrations within this area, but also into neighbouring parts of Europe, and even across the oceans to other continents. It was my wish to point out in this article some major courses of migration, i.e. those which changed an expanse into the form of the Croatian ethnic territory (the Croatian "horse-shoe"), those that brought about a strong emigration of the autochthonous Croatian population (the creation of the Croatian diaspora) and at the same time the immigration of other nationalities (our national minorities) to Croatian territory.

Migrations have always accompanied the development of mankind and are characterized by change of permanent residence either of an individual or social groups. Consequentially, they can be isolated or large-scale occurrences. Although the reasons for a more permanent change of residence may differ, migrations usually take place in periods of poverty, famine, natural disaster, political and religious intolerance and unrest, and, of course, in times of war. Migrations can therefore be voluntary or forced. It is obviously difficult for people to pull up their own roots from their native land and move to a strange country, but throughout history there have been innumerable migrations against the will of the people.

Amongst countless migrations, both known and unknown to us (those from the early history of mankind), the

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largest and most known migration took place from the 18th century to the Great Depression in the 1930s. In that period about 60 million people left their countries, mostly from Europe. The greatest number of these immigrants moved to the "newly discovered" continents overseas, primarily to North and South America and Australia. This migration was considered economic in character, but evidently the reasons that led people to leave their homes and move to a new land were various, some of which were forced.

Among the waves of emigrants leaving Europe there were many people from Croatian countries, mostly Croats. They left for different reasons most of which were the result of political and economic circumstances in Croatia which was at that time part of the Austrian Empire. These reasons are indicated in the fact that a survey of nationalities arriving in the USA from Europe in the period from 1880 to 1920 does not mention Croats at all (The World Book Encyclopedia). The Croats can be found among the 4 million Austrians, Czechs, Hungarians and Slovaks who have emigrated to the States in the period mentioned. The reason given for their settling there were poverty and overcrowdedness.

However, Croats "emigrated" even earlier, in the period from the late 15th to the late 17th century, during the Ottoman conquests and rule in the eastern parts of Croatian countries. This was in fact an exodus of the Croatian people, their forced withdrawal from Croatia mostly to certain parts of the Pannonian Plain, which, in turn, enabled other nationalities to settle in the abandoned and otherwise poorly inhabited areas of Croatian ethnic territory.

These (as well as others, although not as massive) politically and economically conditioned migrations of the Croatian population – in other words, the emigration of Croats, has considerably influenced the narrowing down of Croatian ethnic territory to the form of the "horseshoe-shaped" state territory of the Republic of Croatia. But the emigration of Croats has also influenced the development of its multiethnic composition. These changes are partly reflected even today in the contemporary social and political circumstances not only occurring in Croatia, but also in neighbouring countries, especially in the East.

Although the above-mentioned historical events and the population movements, or emigration, of the Croatian population caused by them are generally well-known facts, I would like to present them in this work within a concise geographical, i.e. geopolitical context with the intention of comparing them in a cause-effect relationship with the geopolitical position of Croatia.

It is my belief that I will be able to accomplish this task through a short presentation of contents of the following chapters.

INTRODUCTORY INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

The Republic of Croatia comprises 56 538 square kilometres of land, and has full state sovereignty over an additional 31 421 square kilometres of territorial sea, as part of the Adriatic Sea. It consists of three in natural features different, but economically complementary parts.

These are: 1. the Pannonian – Peripannonian area (about 50% of state territory); 2. the Adriatic coastal area (about 31%) and 3. Highland Croatia in the regions of Lika and Gorski Kotar (around 19%).

In this area, at the time of the last census in 1991, there lived 4 784 256 people, or 84.6 inhabitants per 1 square kilometre. In accordance with the differences in natural features, the degree of economic development and migrational balance, the density of population regionally varies. The most densely populated are the northwestern parts of the Pannonian-Peripannonian area (which provided shelter for the population fleeing from the occupied eastern parts of Croatia in times of Osmanli threats) in the regions of Croatian Zagorje and Međimurje (143 inhabitants per square kilometre), while the least populated is Highland Croatia (area of mountains and Karst, suffering from emigration) in the regions of Lika and Gorski Kotar (about 15 inhabitants per square kilometre).

The country is administratively and politically divided into 20 districts (Županije) and the territory of Zagreb City, the capital of the state. Županije are a historical form of territorial organization of the Croatian state, from its very beginnings in Medieval times. On a lower administrative level, the districts and the territory of Zagreb City are divided into municipalities (općine), a total of 418. The municipalities, excluding the cities, have, on average, 8 095 inhabitants, while from 6 694 settlements (these settlements excluding cities have an average of 425 inhabitants) only 70 have the status of cities. Out of this total, 59 cities have a population of up to 50 000 inhabitants, and only 2 have more than 200 000. Zagreb, the capital of the country, with 867 717 inhabitants, includes 30.8% of the urban and about 18.1 % of the overall population of Croatia. In Croatia's cities lives 58.8% of the population, which means that the country is moderately urbanized.

THE NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA AND THE CHANGE IN POPULATION NUMBERS

In the period of the last census during the former Yugoslav Federation, there were 4 784 256 inhabitants in Croatia. Among them 78.10% were Croats, and 15.89% were members of

TABLE 1 – Population of the Republic of Croatia according to ethnic composition

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991
Total	3779858 ⁽¹⁾	3936022	4159696	4426221	4601469	4784265
<u>Nationally Declared:</u>						
Croats	2975399	3128661	3339890	3513647	3454661	3736356
Serbs	543795	588756	624991	626789	531502	581663
Muslims	1077	... ⁽²⁾	3113	18457	23740	43469
Slovenes	38734	43482	39103	32497	25136	22376
Hungarians	51399	47725	42347	35488	25439	22355
Italians	76093	37565	21103	17433	11661	21303
Czechs	28991	26967	23391	19001	15061	13086
Albanians	635	1001	2126	4175	6006	12032
Montenegroids	2871	5175	7465	9706	9818	9724
Romany	405	1261	313	1257	3858	6695
Macedonians	1387	2414	4381	5625	5362	6280
Slovaks	10097	9570	8182	6482	6533	5606
Others ⁽³⁾	48975	24249	21013	17122	13108	15484
<u>Nationally Undeclared:</u>						
Acc. to art. 170 of the Constitution of former Yugoslavia...		826	1820	15798	17133	73376
Yugoslavs		16964	15560	84118	379057	106041
Regionally Decl.		-	-	-	8657	45493
Unknown...		2406	4898	18626	64737	62926

(1) In 1948 in the Buje municipality (Istria) the census was not taken (except for the consumers' census). As a result of that, and also later corrections of borders between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the Republic of Croatia and Republic of Slovenia, 23 051 inhabitants were included in "Others".

(2) In the results of earlier censuses they were presented under different names e.g.: in 1948 as "Undeclared Muslims", in 1953 as "Yugoslavs Undeclared", in 1961 as Muslims (ethnic belonging), and since 1971 as Muslims in terms of nationality.

(3) Among "Others" are included all nationalities that numbered fewer than 5000 inhabitants.

other national communities and minorities. The Republic of Croatia therefore belongs among nationally homogeneous European countries, but there is also a considerable number of national communities and minorities who live in it (Table 1).

The remainder (6.01%) of the Croatian population did not declare their national belonging (4.70%), or did not know what it was (1.31%). In the nationally undeclared part of the Croatian population, the most numerous were "Yugoslavs", as well as those who instead of expressing their national belonging, declared only their regional belonging.

However, in 1991, in Croatia, there were even more Croats than statistically presented (78.10%) because they were also the most numerous group in the nationally undeclared part of the Croatian population. This is confirmed by the distribution according to the mother tongue. In 1991, 81.99% of the Croatian population declared their mother tongue to be Croatian, which obviously indicates that in the same year almost 82% of the population were, in fact, Croats (Žuljić, 1993/94).

It should be stressed that, apart from Croatia, Croats also live in other areas of the former Yugoslav Federation, which means that in 1991 there was a total of 4 750 000 Croats living in it, 79.7% in Croatia, 16.1% in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2.1% in Vojvodina (Serbia), 1.2% in Slovenia and about 0.9% in other parts of former Yugoslavia.

Therefore, after excluding Croatia, the majority of the Croats lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina where they, togeth-

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er with the Muslims and Serbs, represented one of the three constitutive nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In spite of the outlined ethnic homogeneity, many other nationalities live in Croatia making it also a multiethnic country.

Out of 25 statistically specified national communities and minorities in the Republic of Croatia, only 11 are presented in Table 1, those that had more than 5 000 members registered in 1991. From the total number of members of national communities and minorities, the greatest in number (75%) were the Serbs. Apart from the Muslims, all other national communities and minorities in Croatia have less than 23 000 members, the majority of which even less than 20 000.

Drawing upon the data on the change in the number of population, it is evident that after the Second World War, in the period from 1948 -1991, the numbers of certain nationalities gradually decreased, while for others they slowly increased. Generally speaking, the number of nationality members whose mother-countries were constituent elements of the Yugoslav Federation increased (except for the Slovenians), while in nationalities whose mother countries were located out of the borders of ex-Yugoslavia, there was a gradual decline.

The given ethnic structure of Croatia is a result of historical events taking place in the region of Southeastern and Central Europe. These events have throughout a longer period of time helped transform Croatia's ethnic territory into a land of exodus and emigration of the autochthonous Croatian population, thus opening up the process of colonization of other nationalities in abandoned or otherwise scarcely populated Croatian countries.

GEOPOLITICAL POSITION OF CROATIA

The contemporary Croatian state, the Republic of Croatia, has grown from a thousand-year political subjectivity of Croatian ethnic territory. However, the existing expanse and territorial shape of Croatia as well as its multiethnic composition are the result of historical events imbuing Croatia and its surroundings in a broad timespan from the late 15th to the mid 20th century, and later, as a result of the geopolitical position of its territory.

Croatia is a Central European and Mediterranean country but also a region connecting Central and Southeastern Europe. Due to such a position it has been in contact with and under the influence of different geographical, economic but also religious and civilizational environments, sometimes mutually conflicting, sometimes permeating. Some of the major influences have been presented in Figure 1. The influences were different as were their consequences, and not all

FIGURE 1 – Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina 1991
(The Map from: Žuljić, 1993/1994)

- 1 – State borders
- 2 – Areas where Croats form over 50% of the total population
- 3 – Areas where other nationalities, mostly Muslims and Serbs form over 50% of the total population
- 4 – Eastern outline of the scattered Croatian ethnic areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- 5 – Critical area of disappearance of Croatian population



of them had a positive impact on the development of Croatia.

The influences on the territory of Croatia came from all sides and all left traces, but the most important for the development of Croatia as a state and Croats as a nation, and with the gravest of consequences, were those coming from the southeast, in earlier periods from the Ottoman Empire, and in recent times from Great-Serbian expansionism. The Ottoman Empire has narrowed down the original Croatian ethnic territory and caused significant changes in the ethnic composition of Croatian countries (Žuljić, 1993/94), while the Great-Serbian expansionism brought about an unsuccessful military aggression against Croatia, but also great casualties and material and cultural damage on the territory of Croatia. Demographic and ethnic changes caused by Serbian aggression are considerable but their true dimensions will not be known until the next census. It should be pointed out, however, that the negative influence of the Ottoman Empire lasted from the late 15th to the late 17th century, while the

FIGURE 2 – Croatian encirclement
(The Map from:
Topalović, D., 1996)

Serbian aggression occurred at the turn of the 21st century!



EXODUS AND EMIGRATION OF CROATS AND THE COLONIZATION OF OTHER NATIONALITIES ON CROATIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY

The exodus of Croats and the colonization of Orthodox Vlachs and Serbs

The war-raids of the Osmanli Army, in their attempt to conquer Central Europe, lasted on the territory of Croatian countries from the late 15th to the late 17th century, and they were longest and strongest in the eastern parts. From Croatian lands, which the Osmanli Empire had conquered and ruled over for more than 150 years, a great deal of the autochthonous Croatian population was banished or exiled. The exiled population settled in coastal and western parts of Croatia or emigrated abroad. Although not known, the number of emigrants must have been considerable. Proof for that can be found in the vastness of Croatian countries conquered and ruled by the Osmanli Empire, or simply devastated by them, as well as in the fact that the exiled Croatian population settled in many places out of Croatia. Some emigrated to Italy (Abruzzi), others to the borderlands of Austria and Hungary

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(Gradišće), Hungary (mostly Baranja and the region between the Danube and the Tisa), but also to Slovakia, Moravska and even Romania (Banat and Transilvania). In all the areas mentioned the Croatian population has survived to this very day, in spite of the process of denationalization.

As a result of these pressures from the east and southeast of Europe and the displacement of the Croatian population from eastern parts of Croatia, the originally rectangular shape of the Croatian ethnic territory was gradually narrowed down to the form of a horseshoe with the open end facing east (Figure 2). The open end of the "horseshoe" was formed in the exodus of the autochthonous Croatian population. The horseshoe then began to be colonized by new settlers.

The abandoned and sparsely populated Croatian countries were colonized by a new population of other nationalities, coming mostly from the interior of southeastern Europe, mostly the Vlachs, i.e. the remaining Romanic cattle-raising population of Orthodox faith, and Serbs. This process of immigration took place from the 16th to the 18th century. Later the Vlachs, as an Orthodox population, accepted Serbian nationality and hence strengthened the Serbian nationality itself. The majority of the Vlach and Serb population immigrated into areas occupied by the Osmanlis and settled on the land between occupied territories and free Croatian zones, mostly along the main routes penetrated by the Ottomans moving towards the northwest of Southeastern and Central Europe. These last border lands were greatly devastated due to frequent and longlasting clashes, and the majority of their original Croatian population emigrated or was exiled. These areas include parts of Bosnia, especially the western region (known as Turkish Croatia even in the 18th and 19th centuries), the continental interior of northern Dalmatia, the eastern parts of Lika, Banovina, Kordun and West Slavonia.

Part of the Croatian population remained, however, in the area conquered and ruled by the Osmanlis, and some of them accepted Islam. When, in the late 17th century, the Osmanlis withdrew from Croatian countries, the Islamic population left with them as did part of the Islamized Croats. This process of emigration was the strongest in eastern Croatian countries, especially in Slavonia and Srijem.

Economic colonization of Croatian countries by nationalities from the Austrian Empire and neighbouring German countries

With the withdrawal of the Osmanlis from Croatian countries, large areas of freed land were left scarcely populated. Therefore, in the early 18th century a strong economic colonization of these areas began, settling Croats there from more

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densely populated western parts of Croatia, but also different nationalities from the Austrian Empire and neighbouring German provinces. Among the arriving immigrants the majority were Germans, Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks. Some members of these nationalities were moved to Croatian lands as late as the 19th century (Crkvenčić, Pepeonik:1996). The nationalities mentioned, immigrating during the economic colonization, mostly settled in less populated parts of Slavonia and Srijem.

It should be pointed out that the nationalities immigrating to Croatia during war-raids and the Osmanli rule (Vlachs and Serbs) and later during economic colonization until the end of the 19th century (nationalities from the Austrian Empire of that period and some German provinces) settled mostly in agricultural areas in which they mixed more or less with other nationalities. In this way ethnically complex regions of Croatia were created.

Immigration of members of nations from the former Yugoslav Federation

A new wave of immigration to Croatia occurred during former Yugoslavia, i.e. commencing in 1918, as a consequence of internal population movements. Among the immigrants, the most numerous were Serbs, Muslims, Albanians, Montenegrins and Macedonians. There was a decrease only in the number of Slovenians in Croatia, but not until 1970. In these migrations a great number of Serbs moved to Croatia, strengthening the already existing Serb community in Croatia. However, the intensity of Serbian immigration to Croatia within these internal migrations is indicated by the fact that in 1991 out of the total number of Serbs living in Croatia, 100 000 were not born there (Žuljić, 1993/94).

These migrations taking place from the late 15th to the late 19th century (and in part until the beginning of the 20th), helped create the multiethnic structure of Croatia, expressed in the 1991 census, which consists of an autochthonous population of Croats, and immigrant national communities and minorities. It should also be stated that part of the Italian population in Istria as well as the Hungarians in Baranja and Eastern Slavonia around Osijek ought to be included among the autochthonous population.

Emigration from Croatia, mostly of Croats

As has been apparent from this presentation so far, emigration from Croatia started as early as the late 15th century and although varying in intensity, has lasted ever since. However, while the first wave of emigration, in fact the exodus of

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Croats, continuing into the late 17th century, was triggered by circumstances of war, the second wave, beginning in the mid 19th century, was influenced by economic reasons, and was partly also the result of political circumstances in Croatia, which was at that time part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It should be pointed out that this second wave of Croatian emigration occurred in a period of intensive colonization of Croatia by nationalities from other parts of the Austrian Empire. This obvious paradox was the result of Croatia's political position within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

It is difficult to determine the exact number of emigrants, especially those who fled from the Osmanli threat and occupation of Croatian lands in the period from the late 15th to the late 17th century. Unfortunately, there is no specific information about the number of later emigrants either, not even from the second half of the 19th century when the first statistical censuses began to be taken. The lack of data is due to the fact that Croats mostly immigrated to countries where they were registered under regional names (mostly as Dalmatians), or as Austrians, citizens of the then existant Austrian Empire.

However, it is possible to approximate the number of emigrants from the second part of the 19th century by using various archival and statistical sources, but also by applying demographic methods of research. Thus, mostly used are estimates obtained by comparing the population number established in certain census periods with demographic trends (usually natural growth and migrational balance) from previous periods. Based on that, in addition to the use of data from an abundance of literature on Croatian emigrants, the approximations of emigrants obtained are presented in Table 2:

TABLE 2 – Emigration approximations from the territory of the Republic of Croatia (According to data: I. Nejašmić, 1991, 1995)

Periods	1880-1914	1914-1921	1921-1940	1940-1948	1948-1991	1880-1991
Approximate number of emigrants	330 000	150 000	110 000	250 000	370 000	1 210 000

In the 111-year period of emigration some 1 210 000 people moved from Croatia, which amounts up to about one third of the natural population growth in that period. About 250 000 people are considered to have immigrated to Croatia in the same period, meaning that Croatia lost 960 000 inhabitants to emigration, 775 000 of which were Croats (I. Nejašmić, 1995).

The approximate numbers of emigrants from the year 1880 are presented in the Table. However, emigration from Croatia started even earlier, according to records found in the archives of the United Kingdom (Public Records Office in London) and Austria (Vienna), but also the receiving countries. Therefore, the loss of population from Croatia is even

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greater than presented in the Table. The first figures on emigration from Croatia date back to the beginning of the 19th century (prospectors for gold in America and Australia and kaury resin in New Zealand). See: Crkvenčić, 1959 and Čizmić, 1981).

The intensity of emigration oscillated in time due to various reasons (economic, political, war) and was directed at different destinations. Immigrants of Croatian descent live today on all populated continents, and their number, including descendents, amounts up to about 2.5 million people (Antić, 1996), which in comparison to the 4 750 000 Croats living in Croatia in 1991 within the former Yugoslav Federation is 52%. Therefore, over half the number of Croats live out of Croatia. In consequence, it is rightfully said that there are not only 4.7 million Croats, but including the third generation of emigrants, about 7 million of them scattered all over the world (Nejašmić, 1991). The Croats are probably, next to the Irish, the second largest European emigrant nation (Friganović, Vojnović, 1994). Thus the term Diaspora or "Dispersed Croatia".

With regard to emigration from Croatia, until the Second World War the most numerous nationalities in Croatia, after the Serbs, were Italians and Germans. They left for political reasons during or immediately after World War II. Some 220 000 Italians and Croats (who did not want to live in the communist system) are thought to have left, mostly from Istria (Nejašmić, 1991), and about 85 000 Germans from the eastern parts of Slavonia, Baranja and West Slavonia (Crkvenčić, Pepeonik, 1996).

CROATIA'S DEMOGRAPHIC LOSSES DURING THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS

In this long period of emigration and depopulation, Croatia suffered especially great losses during periods of war. This is indicated by demographic losses (including depopulation due to migrations) in Croatia in the periods of the First and Second World Wars. The losses were calculated (see: Šterc, Crkvenčić, 1996) by comparing demographic trends of the First World War census period of 1910-1921 with the previous census period (1900-1910), the Second World War census period of 1931-1948 with the prewar census period (1921-1931) and the first postwar census period (1948-1993). Table 3.

Demographic losses 1910-1921

In the 1910-1921 census period the number of inhabitants in Croatia had fallen by 17 209 persons, or 0.5%. If, on the other hand, the demographic trend of the previous census period (1900-1910) had continued, the number of Croatian inhabitants would have increased by 327 430 people. However, this

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calculation is based only upon the general 1900-1910 demographic trend, although it could be presumed that the growth of population in 1910-1921 should have been even higher than the one calculated, which was the case in all other southeastern European countries. The data presented indicate that the direct (wartime) and indirect (including population loss in migrations) losses of Croatian population equaled around 310 000 people (!), which is 8.96% of the total population of Croatia in 1910 (Šterc, Crkvenčić, 1996).

TABLE 3 – Croatia's population trends between census periods (According to Šterc, Crkvenčić: 1996)

Year of census	Population number	Base indexes	Chain indexes
1857	2 181 499	100.00	-
1869	2 398 292	109.94	109.94
1880	2 506 228	114.89	104.50
1890	2 854 558	130.85	113.90
1900	3 161 456	144.92	110.75
1910	3 460 584	158.63	109.46
1921	3 443 375	157.84	99.50
1931	3 785 455	173.53	109.93
1948	3 779 858	173.27	99.85
1953	3 936 022	180.43	104.13
1961	4 159 696	190.68	105.68
1971	4 426 221	202.90	106.41
1981	4 601 469	210.93	103.96
1991	4 784 263	219.30	104.00

Demographic losses 1931-1948

In this Second World War census period, the number of inhabitants decreased by 5 597 persons or 0.15%. In the former Yugoslav Federation in that period only Croatia registered a fall in the number of inhabitants, while the population in other Republics of former Yugoslavia rose. However, if the Croatian population had grown in the period 1931-1948 at the annual rate of 0.91% (the rate obtained by comparing the 0.99 growth rate in the period 1921-1931 with the 0.82 growth rate in the period 1948-1953) the population of Croatia would have increased by 585 000 people. (Šterc, Crkvenčić, 1996).

It is thus evident that both the direct and indirect loss of population (due to war casualties, reduced natural growth and emigration) in the period of the First and Second World Wars amounted to 900 000 people (!), which is quite a number with reference to the total Croatian population of 3.5 million, or 26.1% (Šterc, Crkvenčić, 1996).

CHANGES IN POPULATION NUMBERS FROM 1857 TO 1991

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It is evident from the previous report that emigration from Croatia occurred at a time when its economic colonization

was the most intense, and when the immigration of nationalities from various parts of the Austrian Empire and neighbouring German provinces was under way. Such a process, with extensive emigration of the mostly autochthonous Croatian population on the one hand, and the immigration of other nationalities on the other, was clearly not a normal phenomenon. This can only be explained by the fact that Croatia was then a constitutive part of another state not caring about its economic and general development as an ethnic entity.

Excessive migration undoubtedly had a very bad influence on demographic trends in Croatia, affecting mostly population growth and aging.

Croatia's population in the period from 1857 to 1991 has barely managed to double. It increased by only 119.3%, which is considerably less than the growth of the European and World population in the same period. If the number of inhabitants of the World, Europe and Croatia in 1850 were marked with the index 100, then the values for these regions in 1991 would be 445, 239 and 213% (Friganović, Vojnović, 1994).

In the 134-year period, until 1910 there was a continual increase in Croatia's population. Subsequent to the year 1910, the growth of Croatia's population has been slower and in certain periods it has oscillated.

The relatively low growth of Croatia's population has been caused by epidemics of various illnesses, casualties of war, especially the First and Second World Wars, but also by intense emigration. The intensity of emigration is indicated by the fact that Croatia lost through emigration one third (33%) of its natural population growth in the period from 1857 to 1981 (Nejašmić, 1991).

Since long-lasting emigration was more intense than immigration, Croatia had a negative migrational balance in all periods between censuses (except 1981-1991) following the Second World War: in the period 1948-1953: -61 937 inhabitants, 1953-1961: -110 407 inhabitants, 1961-1971: -2 955, 1971-1981: -33 076 inhabitants, but in 1981-1991: +92 252 inhabitants (Šterc, 1991).

It was quite obvious that this long-lasting emigration would gradually cause a fall in natural growth rates. In the period 1880-1890, the annual natural growth rate was 1.31%, between the two World Wars it was 0.95%, and in the period 1971-1991, only 0.39%. In the year 1990 Croatia entered a period of fall of natural population growth (Feletar, 1995).

Since the emigrant population mainly consists of people most capable of biological reproduction (young males), the process of emigration gradually caused the aging of Croatian population, proof of which can be found in the age index, i.e.

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the ratio between those older than 59 and younger than 20. Immediately after the Second World War, in 1953, the age index in Croatia was 0.28 (for each person over 59 there were 3.5 persons under 20), while in 1991 the index was 0.67 (for each older person there were 1.5 younger persons).

According to world standards, this is a high degree of aging (Friganović, Vojnović, 1994).

It is quite apparent that the development here presented, in continual emigration from the mid 19th century and great demographic population losses during and immediately after wars in which Croats participated, particularly the two World Wars, unfavourably affected the existing demographic structure and processes in Croatia, the latter being specially characterized by a natural decrease in population numbers and the aging of the population.

Unfortunately, we can expect a continuation of the negative demographic trends here expounded, in the form of very serious consequences instigated by the unfavourable influence of Great-Serbian aggression, especially in direct war casualties, in destroyed families (the death of the wife or husband), and in migrations in which people known as refugees or displaced persons were forcefully driven from their homes.

MIGRATIONS AND THE GREAT-SERBIAN AGGRESSION AGAINST CROATIA

Population changes, primarily expressed in migrations, have clearly had an important impact on social and political circumstances in this part of Europe, even in the most recent time.

Namely, population was one of the "reasons" for the Serbian aggression against the Republic of Croatia. The aggression was preceded by a rather long period in which the public of former Yugoslavia, as well as the public abroad, was being prepared for it. A huge and complex organization was established in Serbia with the purpose of portraying Croats as a genocidal nation with which cohabitation was impossible. As "proof" of the genocidal behaviour of Croats, it was often emphasized that Serbs were biologically endangered in Croatia, because their numbers were decreasing. Therefore, Serbia had to protect the Serbs in Croatia. The thesis on the biological endangerment of Serbs in Croatia created a nationalist hysteria in Serbia, followed by an array of Great-Serbian manifestations well observed and presented by the British historian M. Almond (1992). This hysteria flared up prior to the democratic elections (the first ever held in former Yugoslavia), due to realistic expectations that the Croats would

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vote at these elections for a high degree of independence or complete independence of their state. It was therefore demanded that if Croatia chose independence, the Serbs in Croatia could decide whether they wanted to live in Croatia or Serbia (or in Yugoslavia, as the Serbs imagined it). The Serbs, actually, wanted to gain part of Croatia's ethnic territory colonized by the Serbs in times of the Osmanli rule. Thus the foundation was laid for plans to conquer Croatia to the west as far as the line Virovitica-Karlobag. Serbia's aspiration to be the successor of the Osmanli Empire was put forward! Luckily, the War for the Homeland has finally stopped the centuries-old spiral of migrations at the expense of Croatian ethnic territory, and has hopefully created favourable conditions for a new more fruitful period of demographic development of the Republic of Croatia.

The statistical censuses taken in former Yugoslavia for the period 1948-1991 confirm that the biological endangerment of Serbs in Croatia was invented to satisfy Serbia's war-mongering and conquering intentions. We limited the analysis to this period because it was the only period in which Croatia had some opportunity to influence the population trends on its own territory. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Kingdom of Serbia could have done that earlier.

According to censuses of that period, the number of Serbs in Croatia rose from 543 795 to 581 663 persons, or for 7.0%. In the same period the number of Croats in Serbia fell from 169 864 to 109 214 persons (not including Bunjevci and Šokci whom the Serbs do not consider as Croats), or for 55.5%, that is, to 132 798 (if all Croats are counted in, including Bunjevci and Šokci), or 27.9% (Crkvenčić, I., 1991, 1993; Federal Bureau for Statistics, 1992).

The data presented obviously indicate that in former Yugoslavia the biologically endangered were not the Serbs in Croatia, but the Croats in Serbia.

This conclusion inevitably confirms the simultaneous change in the number of Croats and Serbs in 11 Croatian municipalities with a simple majority of Serbs (for the period after 1971, when the decline of the number of Serbs in Croatia started) and the change in the number of Serbs and Croats in Serbia (after 1961, when the decline in the number of Croats in Serbia began to be registered).

Comparing the mentioned changes in the number of Serbs in Croatia and Croats in Serbia the following conclusions could be drawn:

– In Croatian municipalities the number of Serbs fell in accordance with the number of Croats, whose numbers were

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relatively even lower, which resulted in the decrease of the proportion of Croats in the overall population number of these 11 municipalities.

– In Serbian regions where the number of Croats was declining, the number of Serbs was growing, and by a large percentage.

It is clear from the above-mentioned that the decline in the number of Serbs in Croatia was caused by the same reasons (economic) as was the decline in the number of Croats, while the falling numbers of Croats in Serbia were caused by some other, not economical, reasons (Crkvenčić, 1991, 1993).

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Hrvatski etnički teritorij i multietnički sastav Republike Hrvatske kao posljedica migracija stanovništva

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Suvremena politička zbivanja u Republici Hrvatskoj i u njezinu okruženju (naročito istočnom) u određenoj su mjeri odraz povijesnih zbivanja, izazvanih geopolitičkim položajem ovoga dijela Europe. Ta su se zbivanja odrazila i u velikim migracijama stanovništva, i to unutar tog prostora, ali i emigracijama u susjedne dijelove Europe, pa i na prekomorske kontinente. Želja mi je da ovim člankom ukažem samo na neke glavne tijekove migracija, odnosno one koje su izmijenile prostranstvo u oblik hrvatskog etničkog teritorija (hrvatska "potkova"), uvjetovale jaku emigraciju autohtonog hrvatskog stanovništva (stvaranje hrvatske dijaspe) i istodobno doseljavanje drugih narodnosti (naše nacionalne manjine) na prostor Hrvatske.

Das kroatische ethnische Territorium und die multiethnische Bevölkerungszusammensetzung der Republik Kroatien als Folge von Migrationen

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Die politischen Ereignisse der Gegenwart in der Republik Kroatien und ihren (vornehmlich östlichen) Anrainerstaaten sind in einem bestimmten Maße Ausdruck des historischen Geschehens als Folge der geopolitischen Lage dieses Teils des europäischen Kontinents. Aus geschichtlichen Gründen kam es auch zu großen Migrationsbewegungen der Bevölkerung sowohl innerhalb dieses geographischen Raums als auch in die europäischen Nachbarländer, ebenso aber auch nach Übersee. Ziel dieses Artikels ist, auf einige Hauptrichtungen dieser Migrationsbewegungen aufmerksam zu machen, die die Form des kroatischen ethnischen Territoriums (das kroatische "Hufeisen") bestimmten, eine massive Emigration der autochthonen kroatischen Bevölkerung (Entstehung der kroatischen Diaspora) hervorriefen und zugleich die Einwanderung anderer ethnischer Gruppen (die nationalen Minderheiten in Kroatien) in den kroatischen Raum zur Folge hatten.