

Ildikó Szondi

**Nationality Demographic Conditions
in the South-Slavonic Countries, with Significant
Respect to the Data of the Hungarians**

Theses of the Doctoral Dissertation

Consultant: Dr. Tamás Katona, university teacher

I. Summary of the preceedings of the research theme

The outbreak of the South-Slavonic crisis inspired me to take a closer interest in the fate and the situation of the ethnic Hungarians living in Yugoslavia at that time. Because of my personal involvement in the topic, I have been keeping an eye on their lives day by day since then.

My dissertation strives to give an answer to that question what the situation of the Hungarians was during history in the South-Slavonic states like, and what it is today like. From an interdisciplinary approach, I intend to display the historical background and the relations between the South-Slavonic peoples in my work, mirrored by historical, statistical and demographic data in a wide range.

A great number of volumes, dissertations and studies, in different point of views, have been published on the existence of the South-Slavonic state, which depict the political, economic and foreign political situation of the federation. In my essay, I discuss that it was necessary to create a country, and now it is inevitable to prevent its break-up. Based on the consequences deriving from the data of statistical and demographic investigations, I explain that how the spirit of Serbian-Croatia „brotherhood-unity” transformed into hatred, and why it resulted in a war and in the exchange of population. I examine, after what has happened, that what kind of statistical and demographic conclusions can be drawn from the last censuses of the independent states containing mainly one nationality.

In the thesis, I compare the four phases of state history of the South-Slavonic nations tangentially. These are the following: the era before the creation of the South-Slavonic state, the period between 1918 and 1941, the era between 1945 and 1991, and the period of the independent Yugoslavian succession states, in the end. I analyse the concept of the Balkan and the division of culture and civilisation between East and West in this territory. I mention the importance of religion (the Catholic, the Orthodox Church and the Islam) in national identification and in the historical wish appearing in the strive of the small nations of the Balkan to establish their own national state. It could not be successful generally, as it met the interest of the great powers.

II. The aim of the dissertation and the methods used

I intend to clarify the social changes and the demographic processes of the certain nations and that of the whole South-Slavonic state (Serbian-Croatian-Slovanian Kingdom in 1918, from 1929 Yugoslavian Kingdom and from 1945 Yugoslavia) with available statistical data, especially in those areas and republics in which the ethnic Hungarians had a historical role (Bosnia-Herzegovina, partly Montenegro in connection with the seashore) and there where the Hungarian nation was a significant factor based on its number. This is the reason why, among the South-Slavonics, the territory inhabited by the Bulgarian and the Macedonian nationalities is not included in the analysed areas. I reveal the interests of the certain Yugoslavian nations, the effect of the activity produced by the bordering countries and the great powers to the different motions of the South-Slavonic question. I also display the inner political conditions split into certain historical moments. In the mirror of numbers, I approach the nationality conditions mainly from demographic aspect, and I also point out to the fate of some other ethnic groups.

Regarding to the methods of the dissertation, it could be said that I concentrated mainly on the process of statistical data besides the analyse of historical facts, especially starting with the data originating from the time of the Monarchy (processed by the Central Statistical Office) through the Serbian-Croatian-Slovanian censuses,

ending with the still absolutely fresh censuses conducted in the independent South-Slavonic states in the 21st century. Besides the revelation and the investigation of statistical and demographic data, I asked for the help of numerous historical and other books, and I often visited the countryside from Croatia to Montenegro, asking for and being given newer and newer personal accounts from the people living there, which created a clearer and a more real picture. I have studied the tangential laws, international contracts, pacts, the current legal regulations that regard to the minorities of the surrounding countries, such as the memoirs and different documents thought to be necessary.

In the dissertation, I strive to give an answer to the following questions:

- What were the reasons that induced the establishment of Yugoslavia (the Serbian-Croatian-Slovanian Kingdom) and the failure of its federal type of solution and attempts, and what were, what are, and what will be the consequences of the break-up of the South-Slavonic state and the developement of its succession states as a national state?

- How (how parallelly or differently) were the ethnical and national characteristics of the Yugoslavian succession states formed?

- In what measure were the regional characteristics mirrored or crossed in the constitution and other laws (mainly in the area of statelaw solutions ratified in international contracts)?

– What were the factors that strengthened nationalism, and what effect did the reinforcing/strengthening of national consciousness exert on the relations between the republics?

– What did the development of the „Yugoslavian” nation mean and cover (in the mirror of statistical and demographic data)?

– How were the ethnically „clear” national states formed from the interethnic republics of a multinational state?

– Do the federal states have a future (Serbia and Montenegro) and has the South-Slavonic crisis ended (what will happen to Kosovo, the Bosnian Serbian Republic and the territories of the Szandzsák and the Vajdaság)?

The aim of my dissertation is to show that what the circumstances were that resulted in the establishment of Yugoslavia, that the break-up was caused not only by a violent politician and policy, and that there are certain demographic, economic, historical and cultural processes behind the strive of nations for freedom and independence. However, at the same time, history is our witness that the „powder cag” can explode at any time in this area. Tendencies, revealed behind the statistical and demographic data, make the current struggle (represented by the Bosnian Serbian Republic, the Albanians in Kosovo and not leaving out the Hungarians in the Vajdaság) for greater freedom and in certain cases for independence also probable partly with respect to the future, and on the other hand make us understand it at the same time.

III. Summary, novelty in the thesis

In the dissertation, the nationality conditions of the South-Slavonic state and mainly the demographic data of the ethnic Hungarians are displayed.

Since the Serbian-Croatian-Slovanian Kingdom, the Yugoslavian Kingdom and the Yugoslavian Socialist Republic, as the state was named during its continuance between 1918 and 1991, do not prevail, the Hungarian nation could be shown within the range of the today existing states.

As a conclusion, the study also investigates the history of the Yugoslavian succession states before 1918 and the establishment of the South-Slavonic state, and I mention the history of the Yugoslavian succession states till nowadays in the end.

The South-Slavonic approach was doubtlessly the wish of the South-Slavonic nations, however, at the same time, it was the aim of certain great powers as well. As it turned out, the federal state did not satisfy the imagination of the single nations, so it broke up in a war in tragic circumstances. In this moment, only Serbia and Montenegro form a loose, federal state but a census on the independence of Montenegro can be expected in 2006. The period after the fall of the Wall in Berlin has presented that federal state forms will be replaced by national states. While the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia broke off in a peaceful way, the succession states of Yugoslavia won their independence after a war with severe consequences. Demographic

changes caused by the war can be traced already now (based on the censuses of the 21st century as well), but it is believed that the real consequences will be shown in the following censuses. More than two million people have left the former Yugoslavia, and/or they have settled down in the territory of the former republics or in Europe and in other countries of the world. A significant part of them has dual nationality as well, and it predicts that there will be some who will return to their earlier homes. Their number could not be estimated yet, for it is the development of the area that decides whether the ones leaving their former dwelling places intend to come back. At the same time, it should be added it is a pity that the ones who yearn for coming home, cannot return to some places until now. The region Balkan, called as the powder cag, does not seem calm today as well. Besides Montenegro struggling for independence, the Albanians in Kosovo also strive for political freedom. We are the witnesses that any change in the area can cause a crisis, so it can be imagined that the Serbian Bosnian Republic or the Szandzsák that is situated along the border of Serbia and Montenegro also faces a similar critical period. The Serbian and the Bosnian-Muslim nations want to establish an ethnic-based state in both areas. What is more, many of the West-Macedonian Albanians incite ethnical rebellions on the pretext that they want to approach the mother country.

Data displayed in the study regularly prove the consequences of the crucial turns. It is to be regretted that the national minorities are the suffering subjects at every change. The ones who have had

the greatest losses in the South –Slavonic state are the Germans, however, the Italians, the Jews and the Hungarians also got into a difficult situation.

In the dissertation, I present the national conditions of the different South-Slavonic states, the demographic changes regarding to them, with significant respect to the change of the ratio in the number of Hungarians. Besides the process of the published data, I devoted some new point of views attention during my research. Among these, we can especially emphasize, as novelty, that I have given space to the South-Slavonic authors to argue their case, by using their mother tongue publications. I also present their data, naturally comparing them with Hungarian authors' essays.

It is also novelty in the study that I have processed the population statistical data of the governments (bánság) created in 1931, such as the data of World War II. and that of the civil war that took place in the territory of Yugoslavia between 1941 and 1945. These are debated until now, for some of the authors (Bogoljub Kocovic and Vladimir Zerjovic), in opposition with the official state data, estimated the number of victims somewhat more than one million instead of the official 1.7 million during their demographic calculations. In my study, I compare the data of both parts, and I display what the reason was that induced the birth of these different results. It is a great sorrow that the victims of World War II have been counted until now, and we also do not know exactly the number of Hungarians fallen.

In the study, again as novelty, I have dealt with that effect of World War II. it produced on the change in the number of the nationalities. With the exception of the Albanians (whose number has significantly increased) the number of all the minorities has descended. The only advantage of the Hungarians compared to the others was the fact that they enjoyed autonomy in the Vajdaság, so they could preserve their national identity, and that they locally belonged together, until now. Studying numerous data, I display the inner migration experienced in the 1980s, which led to the consequence that the nationalities of the republics have become homogeneous. I have processed the censuses of 1991, split them into the republics and into the later states.

In the period after 1991, I have marked the Hungarians as the citizens of the now independent states. In this part of the dissertation, I also make some observations about the legal conditions of the ethnic Hungarians ratified in the constitution and in other laws, and about the changes experienced in their demographic data, where I build in the data of the censuses conducted in the succession states regarding to the topic. Bosnia-Herzegovina is an exception because there was no census here and, as a consequence, I display the presented data based on the estimations of the Statistical Office of the Bosnian Federation; this is also a curiosity in the Hungarian representation.

The data of the census in Montenegro in 2003 have also been processed, which have been published in a written form recently. As

novelty, we present the number of Hungarians living in Montenegro, for the first time.

However, the greatest part of the studies focus on the Hungarians dwelling in the Vajdaság and Croatia, giving details about the Serbian data and that of the Vajdaság in 2002. I especially conduct an investigation in the representation of the ethnic changes registered during the censuses of 1991, 2001 and 2002. I publish, again for the first time in the Hungarian literature, the numbers of the Hungarian inhabitants of the Croatian settlements.

Slovenia, the only South-Slavonic state that is the member of the EU, serves as an example in the solution of the minority problem. However, it can be declared, based on the data deriving from the census in 2002, that although the autochthon minorities (among them the Italians and the Hungarians as well) enjoy all their nationality rights, the assimilation is an inevitable process.

Regarding to the situation of the Hungarians, I display the changes between 1880 and 1941 such as between 1948 and 1991, based on the data of censuses, split into certain territories: we present the number of Hungarians in the Vajdaság, the Drávaszög, the Muraköz and in the Muravidék, actually in those areas that are counted as Hungarians in a historical aspect.

It is to be regretted that the Hungarians made a great sacrifice in the South-Slavonic war. The reason is partly that the war took place in Croatian areas inhabited by Hungarians and partly the fact that those who fled in fear of mobilization, contained a significant

number of Hungarians. During the many years of occupation, a great number of Hungarians left their homes and fled mainly to Hungary. While the elder ones moved back as the war ended, many others adapted to their parents' home country, and mainly the younger age groups stayed here. At the same time, we have to count with the negative effect of this process exerted on the situation of the Hungarians staying at their birth place, for several intellectuals can be found among the ones who migrated to Hungary. As the constant intellectual layer has always been a missing factor among the Hungarians of the South, this could be conceived as a following loss for them.

The „census” of Baranya in 1992, which is also unknown in Hungary, is processed in the dissertation. It was made by the Serbian authorities after they had occupied the area. The census mirrors faithfully what a measure of demographic and nationality changes was produced by the war.

Besides the flight, the South-Slavonic war has caused serious human losses, and numerous people have become physically disabled. Although the number of the mentally injured is not presented in the statistics, their existence is obvious: we can witness almost day by day that the ones having fought in the war commit suicides and get involved in family tragics as a result of the events that they have lived through.

As the mentioned nations cannot agree on the number of the victims of the world war, it cannot be expected in the case of the

victims of the recently ended war. The Serbians and the Croatians present different data. This is the first time that the data of the Serbian and the Croatian governments regarding to the victims of the war have been published in the study. It is a pity that a new mass grave is being excavated time by time in the area of Croatia or Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is gradually modifying the number of the dead.

In the dissertation, the aspect of history, demography and legal regulation have come into limelight, not ignoring those possibilities that are offered in some other places, which could be given by other sciences (anthropology, political science, sociology) and the different aspects of language and culture to explore the theme. In Hungary and in the surrounding countries, numerous excellent scientists of Hungarian nationality deal with these questions. A great bunch of outstanding works have been born, analysing the changes in the demographic conditions of the minorities. I would mention the regular publications of the Central Statistical Office, the projects led by Károly Kocsis in the Geographical Department of the MTA, the activity of the Teleki László Institution (László Gyurgyik, László Sebők) and the achievements of the Science of the Hungarian Nation Society in the Vajdaság (Irén Gábrityné Molnár, Károly Mirnics) or the Hungarian Nationality Institution in Lendva. In the field of jurisprudence, the Department of Jurisprudence of the MTA has created its own profile of minority research in Hungary in close

cooperation with the Minority Research Institution and the Teleki László Institution.

We can analyse the situation, the history, the problems and the sometimes miserable fate of the Hungarians but as we can see modernisation and urbanisation result in „absorption” and assimilation. Demographic data researched and displayed here also witness about that although there exists legal regulation, life leads the minorities towards assimilation. The original way of life, the traditions, the culture and the „cultivation” of language will be preserved for a time, however, the local communities should be dissolved in the majority of the nation by and by.

We could see in the case of Yugoslavia that thousands of Hungarians had fled to Hungary, and they faced again with their past here. Their national consciousness has become stonger, and if they were not sure in their national identity up to that point, as they settled down, they considered themselves for Hungarians once and for all, not just in the aspect of citizenship but in their heart and in their soul as well. At the same time, they did not separate from their birth place, and they keep the relationship with those one who stayed in their native country.

IV. A témához kapcsolódó publikációk **Publications in connection with the theme**

Könyvek / Books:

Katona Tamás – Gyémánt Richárd – Szondi Ildikó: Bevezetés a demográfiába, tankönyv joghallgatók számára, Szeged, 2005., Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, 248.p.

Gyémánt Richárd – Szondi Ildikó: A határon túli magyarság demográfiai és társadalomstatistikai sajátosságai. Szeged, 2005. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány tansegédletei, 262. p.

Szondi Ildikó – Kovács Péter – Petres Tibor: Általános statisztika, tankönyv joghallgatók számára, Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, Szeged, 2005. 225.p.

Szondi Ildikó - Gyémánt Richárd: Bevezetés a demográfiába, jegyzet, munkaügyi, társadalombiztosítási főiskolai képzés hallgatói számára. Szeged, 2004. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, 218. p.

Szondi Ildikó: Statisztikai alapismeretek. Példatár, KSH, Bp., 1997. p. 1-130.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Magyarok a Drávaszögben. Adalékok Horvátország alkotmánytörténetéhez, könyv, Szeged, 2001 p. 264-274.

Szondi Ildikó – Petres Tibor – Kovács Péter: Általános statisztika, jegyzet, munkaügyi, társadalombiztosítási főiskolai képzés hallgatói számára. Szeged, 2004. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, 230. p.

Tanulmányok / Papers:

Szondi Ildikó – Heka László: Jugoszlávia. Ország, mely nem létezik. A Szegedi Akadémiai Bizottság 1992. évi pályázati felhívására beadott pályamű. II. helyezés. Kézirat. 120 p.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Jugoszlávia. Ország, mely nem létezik = Juss. Társadalomismereti és Kulturális Szemle, Szolnok, 5. évf. 4. (1992). p. 124-147.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Magyarok a Drávaszögben. Die Ungarn in Drauwinkel. Acta Juridica et Politica. Tom. 44. Fasc. 5. (1993) p. 1-24.

Heka László – Szondi Ildikó: A félelem szemei. Balkáni háborús psziché a XX. század végéről. A Szegedi Akadémiai Bizottság 1993. évi pályázati felhívására beadott pályamű. III. helyezés. Kézirat. 140 p.

Heka László – Szondi Ildikó: A félelem szemei. Balkáni háborús psziché a XX. század végéről – részletek. Harmadik Évezred Alapítvány Stratégiakutató Intézet, Budapest, 1993. 3-4. szám, 24-33p.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Magyarok a Drávaszögben. Statisztikai Szemle, a KSH folyóirata. 72. évf. 4/5. (1994.) 298-306. p.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: A szegedi dalmaták 1. rész. Szeged, 11. (1994) p. 33-37.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: A szegedi dalmaták. 2. rész. Szeged, 12. (1994) p. 17-21.

Szondi Ildikó-Gyémánt Richárd-Petres Tibor: A szerbiai Vajdaság az ezredfordulón, a népszámlálási adatok tükrében. Területi Statisztika, 2003. 6. évfolyam 4. szám. A KSH folyóirata, p. 361-376.

Szondi Ildikó-Gyémánt Richárd-Petres Tibor: Magyar települések a Muravidéken. *Területi Statisztika*, 2003. 6. évfolyam 2. szám. A KSH folyóirata, p. 150-168.

Szondi Ildikó-Gyémánt Richárd: Az erdélyi szászok a népszámlálási adatok tükrében. Szeged, 2003. *Acta Univ. Szegediensis, Acta Juridica et Politica*, Tomus LXIII. Fasc. 19. 50 p.

Szondi Ildikó -Gyémánt Richárd: Demográfiai vizsgálódások a burgenlandi magyarság körében *Demográfia folyóirat*, Budapest 2004. 79-121. p.

Szondi Ildikó: A lakáspolitikai aktualitása nemzetközi és történeti szempontok alapján. A horvát példa. 2004. *Acta Juridica et Politica*, Tomus LXVI. Fasc. 22. 21 p.

Szondi Ildikó: A Délvidék nemzetiségi adatai, különös tekintettel a magyarság adataira. *Acta Juridica et Politica*, 2005. Megjelenés alatt. 35 p.

Kisebb tanulmányok, cikkek / Articles:

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Eszék az Európai Örökség városa avagy harácsolás a szépségben Szeged, 5. (1992). p. 23.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: A félelem szemei. Anton Dugonjity pszichológus írása nyomán. Szeged, 6. (1992). P. 2.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Bosznia-Hercegovina múltja és jövője. *Heti Magyarország*. 30. évf. 12. (1993). p. 18.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Értelmiség 93. A határon túli képviselők. *Magyar Kultúra* 2. évf. 10. (1993). p. 4-6.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Mindennapi sirám. Kapu. 6. évf. 5. (1993). p. 34-37.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Új országok – új pénzek. Heti Magyarország, 30., évf. 31. (1993) p. 23.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: „Bosnyákok”. Történelem és jelenkor. Heti Magyarország, 30. évf. 17. (1993. ápr. 23.) p. 18.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Népvándorlás az ezred végén. Szeparatista mozgalmak Európában – Szétesett országok. Heti Magyarország, 30. évf. 17. (1993. Pr. 23.) p. 22.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Elképzelések Koszovó sorsáról. Milosevics első és utolsó állomása? Heti Magyarország, 30. évf. 15. (1993. ápr. 9.) p. 18.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Hágai ítélet. Heti Magyarország, 30. évf. 15. (1993. ápr. 9.) p. 24.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Albánia a Balkán kapuja. Kiegyensúlyozás a válságövezetben. – A hadsereg . Heti Magyarország, 30. évf. 50. (1993. dec. 10.) p. 22.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Kijavítandó hiba? A macedón kérdés...Köztársaság. 2. évf. (1993. jan. 8.) p. 90.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Boszniai erőviszonyok. Heti Magyarország, 30. évf. 31. (1993. júl. 30.) p. 19.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Aggályok az új nürnbergi per előtt. Új Magyarország 3. évf. 135. (1993. jún. 12.) p. 9.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Horvátok és muzulmánok. A történelem vad sodrában. Menekültek sora. Heti Magyarország, 30. évf. 20. (1993. máj. 24.) p. 18.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Lőporos hordók. *Heti Magyarország*. 30. évf. 47. (1993. nov. 19.) p. 19.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Ki felel a balkáni bűnökért? Háborús Bűnök Bírósága – Hága. *Heti Magyarország*. 30. évf. 43. (1993. okt. 22.) p. 19.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Kraina önálló állam? Kétszázzezernyi kitelepített kálváriája. *Heti Magyarország*. 30. évf. 38. (1993. szept. 17.) p. 18.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Dalmaták. *Magyarország*, 32. évf. 33. (1995) p. 20.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Etnikai változások: Magyarok, szlávok, németek – száműzöttek sorsa. *Magyarország*. 32. évf. 43. (1995). p. 20.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Horvát hangok. *Magyarország*. 32. évf. 43. (1995). p. 20.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Horvátország demográfiai képe. *Magyarország*. 32. évf. 33. (1995) p. 20.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Kit véd a magyar-horvát egyezmény Drávaszögben? *Magyarország*, 32. Évf. 16. (1995) p. 24.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Példa a kisebbségi kérdés megoldására? Mit véd a keretegyezmény? Horvátország és a szerbek. *Magyarország*. 32. évf. 13. (1995) p. 22.

Heka László-Szondi Ildikó: Isztriai út. *HVG*, XXIII. évfolyam 17. szám. 2001. április 28. p. 8.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Milosevics útja Hágáig. *Magyar Nemzet*, 2001. június 26. kedd, 6000 karakter.

Szondi Ildikó-Heka László: Hazánk és a „balkáni unió”. Az EU-csatlakozásnak nem alternatívái a szaporodó regionális lehetőségek. Magyar Nemzet, 2001. július 10. kedd, p. 7.