South Eastern Europe in Maps

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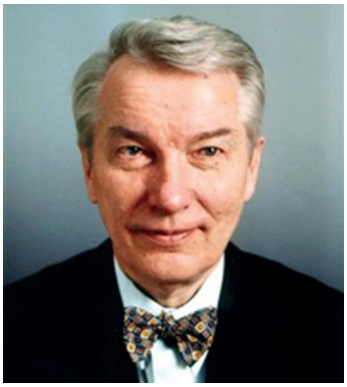
Foreword



The system of links between Hungary, the countries of South Eastern Europe and the interest the Hungarians have cherished towards this region reach back to the time the Magyars settled in the Carpathian Basin. During the Middle Ages, the aspirations of the Hungarian state and nation were initially motivated by purposes of expansion, and later by defence requirements. These endeavours were revived during the decades prior to World War I, represented by Austro–Hungarian imperial efforts and encouraged by Germany. The political and economic interests of Hungary post Trianon initially vanished, (although eventually succeeded in regaining some of the territories ceded to its neighbours in the Trianon Peace Treaty), but then turned into a desire for territorial revision and finding allies in order to accomplish it.

Following World War II, during the Socialist era, relations between Hungary and the Balkan states were repositioned again for political reasons; at that time even academic research receded considerably. After the change of regime in Hungary, with the advent of the 1990s it was the explosion of the "Balkan powder-barrel", i.e. the stoking of ethnic and religious tensions, suppressed for several decades, into regional conflicts and warfare that renewed the Hungarian public's traditional interest towards South Eastern Europe.

More recently, the role of Hungary (as located in the vicinity of the Balkans; a region notorious for its political instability for many centuries) has been upgraded with respect to South Eastern Europe, in regards of efforts to mitigate its political, economic and military conflicts, and seek solutions for them. This role was filled first as an associate and since May 2004 as a member state of the European Union. As a consequence, scientific studies on specific Balkan problems (a region relegated to oblivion for half a century or so) could not be facilitated by textbooks and periodicals exclusively. A necessity has emerged to publish an atlas in the form of a book, or perhaps a book combined with an atlas, in which a large number of attractive thematic maps and textual analyses (political, economic, ethnic, religious, settlement and population, transport and tourism), provide explanations for the up-to-date societal and economic issues of South Eastern Europe along with the most characteristic segments of the region's development in the 20th century.

The present publication produced by the Geographical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS) serves as a brief account for public and scientific readers and political decision makers. With regard to its contents and form, it is comparable to New Central Europe in Economical Maps compiled by A. Halász (1928) and Atlas of Central Europe edited by A. Rónai (1945).

E. Sylvester Vizi
President of the HAS

The Concept and Boundaries of South Eastern Europe and the Balkans

The terms "South Eastern Europe" and "the Balkans" are often used as synonyms in international political, historical and geographical works. However, the two concepts are only similar up to a certain point. The peninsula in South Eastern Europe was first named *the Balkans* in 1808 by A. Zeune, a German geographer. Until then it had been known as the European part of Turkey, or the Greek (Hellenic), Byzantian or Illyric Peninsula. Similarly to the Iberian (Pyrenean) and the Italian (Apennines) peninsula, the area was named after its most important mountain range, the Balkan Mountains in Bulgaria (Stara Planina in Bulgarian). The northern boundary of the Balkans has been heavily debated. It is usually considered to be the natural border marked by the Danube, Sava and Kupa rivers (*Figure 1).* It is highly problematic to draw the north western boundary of the Balkans in the region now part of Slovenia and Croatia. According to Ricchieri (1917) this boundary stretches along the line of the river Sava, the cities of Ljubljana and Gorizia (Dainelli 1922), while J. Cvijić (1922) held that the boundary was marked by the rivers Sava and Soča (Isonzo). Challenging the view that the northern boundary of the area was demarcated by the rivers, Th. Fischer, a German geographer, introduced the concept of South Eastern Europe (the South Eastern European peninsula) in 1893, later on claimed to encompass territories north of the rivers mentioned above, and often the whole Carpathian region (historical Hungary and the two Romanian principalities) (Maull 1937). Today, for political, geographical, historical and cultural reasons, South Eastern Europe is usu-

ally held to comprise of the successor states of former Yugoslavia – Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, FYR Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia – and Albania, Bulgaria and Romania. Greece, located at the southern part of the peninsula, is considered to be part of the Mediterranean region and Southern Europe, alongside being regarded as the cradle of European civilisation and stronghold of Western Europe in the Balkans in the second half of the 20th century, in addition to being a member of the EU and NATO. During its period of communist rule, Hungary was also considered to be part of this area, mainly for political reasons, as the country was separated from the "German" part of Central Europe by the Iron Curtain. Both concepts – the larger South Eastern Europe and the more narrowly defined Balkans region – refer to an area of Europe in which progress came to a standstill in the 15th century, becoming part of the Ottoman Empire for 400–500 years. Owing to its geographical features, the peninsula being open to the north, east and south east, was regarded as a typical transitory area; a bridge between the western and central parts of Europe and the Middle East. The term "the Balkans" was ascribed with a dubious meaning and negative connotations during the wars of liberation fought in the 19th century by the small nations of the area, being overwhelmingly of Orthodox Christian faith. It is since this period that the division of a region into numerous small states, and its destabilisation by ethnic rivalries has become known as "Balkanisation." Besides Hungary, Croatia and Slovenia object vehemently to being referred to as "Balkan" (or South East European), on account of their historical and cultural traditions, higher level of economic development and geographical (Central European) location. Likewise, it is also questionable whether to label Voivodina in northern Serbia and Transylvania in Romania as "Balkan", since historically, culturally and geographically, these territories may be regarded as the south eastern frontier region of Central Europe.

The Natural Environment

The system of mountain ranges of Dinarids, Albanid–Hellenids, Carpathians and Balkanids form the backbone of South East Europe, and enclose several large depressions: basins and lowlands (e.g. Thracian Basin, Pannonian or Hungarian, Lower Danubian or Romanian lowlands). The ancient core of the Balkans is the Thracian–Macedonian Massif, which includes Rhodope, Rila, Pirin, Šar Mts., is located in between. The highest peaks of the region: Musala (2,925 m) and Vihren (2914 m) are to be found in these mountains. *Figure 2* shows the physical map of the region and *Table 1* illustrates the altitude categories of the countries.

The Main Physical Regions

Dinaric Alps (Croatian, Serbian *Dinaridi, Dinarsko gorje,* Slovenian *Dinarsko gorstvo*): mountain system, extending ca 640 km along the east coast of the Adriatic Sea from the Soča (Ital. *Isonzo*) River, western Slovenia–northeastern Italy, through Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro, to the Drin River, north of Albania. The highest peak is Jezerce (2,694 m) in Albanian Alps (Prokletije, Albania). The system, linked to the main Alpine group by the Julian Alps, consists of the Slovenian, Croatian, Bosnian, Herzegovinian, Montenegrin Karst (e.g. Kras, Velebit, Dinara, Durmitor) and the Albanian Alps. The partially submerged west-

Fig. 2

Author: Zoltán Farkas
Cartography: Zoltán Keresztesi
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Budapest, 2006

Table 1. ***Topography of South East European Countries according to Altitude Zone Categories***

Country, *province*	Total area (km²)	Altitude zone category (m a.s.l.)				
		0–200	200–600	600–1,000	1,000–1,500	1,500 <
		%				
Albania	28,748	23	26	23	20	8
Bosnia and Herzegovina	51,129	13	33	29	22	3
Bulgaria	110,928	31	41	15	9	4
Croatia	56,538	53	29	14	4	0
Macedonia	25,713	3	31	35	22	9
Montenegro	13,812	10	11	22	39	18
Romania	238,391	38	35	17	6	4
Serbia	88,361	37	30	18	13	2
Voivodina	*21,506*	*98*	*2*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Central Serbia	*55,968*	*20*	*41*	*25*	*13*	*1*
Kosovo	*10,887*	*0*	*29*	*50*	*13*	*8*
Slovenia	20,253	9	52	27	9	3
South Eastern Europe	633,873	32	34	19	11	4

Source: Statistical Yearbooks of SEEC 2003–2005.

ern part of the system forms the numerous islands and bays (harbours) along the Croatian (Dalmatian) coast. The rugged mountains thrown up in parallel ranges, composed of limestone and dolomite, are a barrier to travel from the coast to the interior. Sinkholes and caverns dominate the landscape. The region is sparsely populated and forestry and mining are the chief economic activities. The Mesozoic limestone ranges and plateaus of the Dinarids make up the most extensive mountains of this kind in Europe. The eponym of these limestone territories also can be found here, the Karst (Slovenian *Kras*, Ital. *Carso*) limestone plateau (southwestern Slovenia) extending ca 80 km southeast of the lower Isonzo (Soča) valley between the Bay of Trieste and the Julian Alps. It is characterised by deep gullies, caves, sinkholes, and underground drainage — all the result of carbonation-solution. The best-known caves are at Postojna and Škocjan. The barren nature of the plateau deters human settlement. Rough pasture or forest covers much of the surface, and there is little arable land. The term karst is used to describe any area where similar geological formations are found.

The Carpathians (Slovak, Czech, Polish, Ukr. *Karpaty*, Rom. *Carpații*, Hung. *Kárpátok)* with an area of ca 190,000 km² is the second most extensive mountain system of Europe (after the Alps). The ring of the Carpathians which is separated from the Alps by the Danube near Bratislava (*Pozsony*, *Pressburg* in Slovakia) continue into Romania by the Eastern Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps (or Southern Carpathians): southern branch of the Carpathian Mts., extending ca 360 km eastward across central Romania from the Danube River at the Iron Gate. Moldoveanu (2,544 m) and Negoiu (2,535 m) are the highest peaks. The range is mostly composed of crystalline massifs, which is densely forested and covered partly by alpine meadows. The Carpathians are rich in minerals, coal and timber. The mountain range is a barrier to the southward movement of cold air masses, whereas numerous low passes facilitate overland travel between the densely populated areas that flank the system. Turnu Roşu is the most important of several passes linking Transylvania with Wallachia to the south.

An extension of the Carpathians, the Balkanids are the central mountain range system of South Eastern Europe and Bulgaria, extending ca 560 km from the Danube in east Serbia through central Bulgaria to the Black Sea. They consist of the East Serbian, Balkan, Fore-Balkan, Sredna Gora and Istranca Mts. Sometimes the East Serbian Mts. (between the Danube, Velika Morava and Timok rivers) is considered part of the Carpathians. The eponym of the Balkanids and the peninsula, the Balkan Mts. (Bulg. *Stara Planina*) rises to 2,376 m at Botev Peak. The forested range is sparsely populated and rich in a variety of minerals.

The ancient core area of the Balkans, the Thracian–Macedonian Massif is bordered by the Dinarids and the Balkanids. The area covered mostly by crystalline rocks is strongly broken up into mountain blocks of various extention: the Šar (Alb. *Sharr*) – Korab Massif, East Macedonian blocks, Rila, Pirin, Rhodopes. The latter rugged ranges have few passes and have long hindered communications between the upper Maritsa valley and the Greek coastal plain. Rila is the highest mountain of South Eastern Europe (Musala Peak 2,925 m) and famous for its national park and the Rila Monastery. Most of the Pirin Mts. in southwestern Bulgaria (rising to 2,914 m at Vihren) is also protected as a national park. The Rhodopes (Bulg. *Rodopi, Rodopa planina*) are spread over nearly 15,000 km² (83% of it in Bulgaria, the rest in Greece) Its length is ca 220 km, with an average altitude of nearly 800 m.

Dobruja (Rom. *Dobrogea*) a small and low crystalline block with an area of ca 23,300 km², in southeastern Romania and northeastern Bulgaria, between the lower Danube River and the Black Sea. It comprises a low coastal strip and a hilly and forested inland.

Overview by Countries

In spite of the small size of the country, a wide variety of landscapes can be found in **Slovenia** (20,253 km²) where the Alps, the Dinarids, the Pannonian (Carpathian) Basin and the Mediterranean meet. Metamorphic, sedimentary and magmatic rocks are represented and range in age from Precambrian to Cenozoic. The oldest rocks in Slovenia are found in the metamorphic complex of Pohorje Mts., Kobansko and Strojna Mt. (Eastern Alps) and are represented by gneisses, mica schists, amphibolites, eclogites, marbles, quartzites, greenschists and phyllites. The Mura Depression originated as a deep trough on the southwestern border of the Pannonian Basin. It subsided in the Neogene to be filled subsequently with sediments. The Dinarids and the Alps occupy the greatest part of the Slovenian territory. The most important tectonic units include the Pohorje Unit (Middle Austroalpine) in the Eastern Alps, the overthrust units of phyllitic rocks and the North Karawanken overthrust. The southern border of the geotectonic unit is the Periadriatic Lineament. The Dinarids extend southward of the Periadriatic Lineament. This territory includes the Julian Alps and may be considered as part of the Dinarids. The megaunits of this area include the Southern Alps, the Inner and Outer Dinarids. The overthrust build-up and strong disintegration by younger faulting are characteristic features of all the mentioned units.

Croatia (56,538 km²) forms part of South Eastern Europe between the Adriatic Sea and the Pannonian (Carpathian) Basin. According to geographic and geologic features, four main regions can be distinguished.

a) The coastal area of the Adriatic Area consists predominantly of Mesozoic and Palaeogene carbonate sediments partly covered by Eocene flysch deposits. It exhibits small karst features. The islands are without surface water courses, while the coastal part of the mainland is crossed by some rivers.

b) The Main Dinaric Ridge is characterised by predominant Mesozoic carbonate rocks accompanied by Palaeozoic clastics either as inliers or as overthrust units. Karst topography consists of karst poljes (interior valleys), smaller closed depressions, lost rivers, etc. Along the ridge, the watershed extends between the catchment areas of the Adriatic Sea and the Black Sea.

c) The Inner Hinterland exhibits a combination of hills and plains composed of Mesozoic carbonate rocks covered in places by Senonian–Paleocene flysch or Paleozoic clastic overthrusts. The topography is characterized by fluvio-karst features in which shallow karst areas are in exchange with non-karst terrains. Several rivers cross the structures toward the north–northeast.

d) The Pannonian Basin is composed of several single basins and graben filled up by Neogene deposits. Isolated hills consist predominantly of Paleozoic and Mesozoic crystalline rocks, clastics and carbonate rocks. There is a dense network of surface waters.

Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H, 51,129 km²), which belongs to the West Balkan region, consists of two natural and historical en-

tities: Bosnia, its northern and larger part, and Herzegovina, its southern and smaller part. In the north, west and south it is surrounded by Croatia through which it has a corridor to the Adriatic Sea. Its eastern neighbour is Serbia. B&H is a typical mountain area and the highest ranges, mostly about 2,000 m height a.s.l., stretching along the watershed between the Black Sea and Adriatic Sea. Geographically the area can be divided into three parts: (1) North (Pannonian) Bosnia: the northern mainly flat and water-rich area south of the River Sava; (2) Lower Herzegovina: the southern and southwestern, water-poor karst area and (3) Central–West Bosnia and Upper Herzegovina: the largest mountainous water-rich area with several hydroelectric power stations located between these two areas. The area of B&H covers the middle and largest parts of the Dinarids located on the northeastern flank of the Adriatic (or Apulia) microplate. The Dinarides are a complex fold, thrust and imbricate belt characterised by a regular pattern in the spatial distribution of the characteristic Mesozoic–Paleogene (Alpine) lithologies.

About 15% of the territory of **Serbia** (88,361 km²) has an altitude over 1,000 m, some 48% lies between 1,000 and 200 m, and 37% is flatlands, mostly in the Pannonian Plain. The Dinaridic mountain chain lies between the Sava River and Adriatic Sea, with mountain ranges striking essentially northwest–southeast. The northern part of the system is lower, and the highest mountains in Serbia are in the south (in Kosovo) the Prokletije (Djeravica 2,656 m) and the Šar-planina (Crni vrh 2,585 m). The backbone occupies the Serbian–Macedonian Massif, as an old Precambrian to Hercynian trunk. The Carpatho–Balkan mountain ranges strike mostly north–south, being convex toward the east. Toward the north they are cut by the Danube Gorge (Djerdap), up to 80 m deep. The highest mountains there are Stara Planina (2,169 m), Suva Planina (1,808 m), and Ruj (1,706 m). The block mountains are situated between the Dinarids and the Carpatho–Balkans. These are mostly horsts striking west–east, with medium height including Besna Kobila (1,923 m), Kukavica (1,442 m) and Jastrebac (1,491 m). The northern lowlands (mostly in the Voivodina province) as part of the Pannonian (Carpathian) Basin have altitudes between 70 and 90 m on the average, with the Fruška Gora (538 m) as the sole mountain range.

The surface area of Republic of **Montenegro** (Serb. *Crna Gora*) is 13,812 km². The highest peaks of the Dinaric Mountains in Montenegro are the Bobotov kuk (2,522 m, Durmitor Mts.) and the Kom kučki (2,487 m, Komovi Mts.). The territory of Montenegro consists of the following units: The Adriatic Coast Belt (Dinaridic affinity), which have some 1,700–1,800 m high peaks and the only one lowland of the country, Shkodra Basin. The purely Dinaridic zone is the Durmitor–Visitor range. It corresponds to the "Old Montenegro Overthrust". Towards the northeast it is thrust under the Sarajevo Sigmoid along the "Kuči Overthrust". The unit shows the flysch or limestones, a thin volcano-sedimentary formation followed by Upper Triassic carbonate platform and thick Jurassic carbonates, with some breaks in deposition. These pass into very thick Cretaceous shelf carbonates with diastems, topped by the Paleocene–Eocene limestone.

The territory of **Albania** (Alb. *Shqipëria*, 28,748 km²) is predominantly mountainous, with 51% of the country lying 600 m or more above sea level. The most elevated mountains are the Albanian Alps (Alb. *Alpet e Shqipërisë*, Serb. *Prokletije*, 2,694 m) to the north and the Korab Group (Alb. *Vargu Lindor I Korabit*, 2,751 m) to the east. Several transverse valleys run through the mountains towards the alluvial coasts which, together with the Internal Troughs, constitute the only plains of the country. Its low, indented coasts are bathed by the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. Albania represents an important part of the Alpine–Mediterranean orogen, with Albanids constituting the link between the Dinarids and Hellenids orogenic belts. A system of tectonic domains may be identified from east to west: the Korab, Mirdita, Krasta–Cukali, Albanian Alps, Kruja, Ionian and Sazan Zones.

The territory of Republic of **Macedonia** covers an area of 25,713 km². The area immediately along the Vardar river valley known as the Vardar Zone represents relatively the lowest relief and divides the territory of Macedonia into West and East Macedonia. The western part of Macedonia represents the most pronounced, highly uplifted mountainous relief, characterised by mountain massifs and ranges rising to over 2,000 m (Golem Korab, 2764 m) running in a meridional direction, while in the northern part, they turn to the northeast. The area referred to as the Vardar Zone is characterised

by a very differentiated relief; isolated mountain massifs uplifted to 1,500–2,000 m (Kožuf, 2,165 m) and plateaus, including Vitačevo, 800 m and Ovče Pole, 400–500 m, divided by valleys with an altitude varying between 100 and 300 m a.s.l. Orographically, eastern Macedonia represents a system of isolated block mountain massifs uplifted to about 2,000 m, divided by valleys with east–west orientation, including the Kriva, Bregalnica and Strumica valleys.

Bulgaria covers 110,928 km² and is situated on the western side of the Black Sea. The country includes within its borders a great variety of plutonic, volcanic and sedimentary rocks of various ages. Geologically, the region is particularly interesting, for the Balkan Mountains contain the eastern extremity of the Alpine–Carpathian chain, which is finally cut off by the Black Sea. Bulgaria is divided into seven main natural morphotectonic units. The Thracian Massif (eg. the Rhodopes) is comparable to the Variscan (Hercynian) massifs of Western Europe, which is composed mainly of Archean, Proterozoic and Cambrian metamorphic rocks and granites. The Moesian Platform in the north extends across the Danube into Romania and is part of the Eurasian Plate. It consists of a stable zone of dislocated early Paleozoic rocks, covered transgressively by Mesozoic and early Tertiary epicontinental sediments. The Kraištide Belt is a comparatively narrow belt of very complex Alpine structure; it parallels the border between Bulgaria and Serbia, along the western side of the Thracian Massif. The Balkan Mts. have complex structures, although not of Alpine complexity; there are overthrusts, large overturned folds and small nappes. In places, older rocks crop out through the Mesozoic cover. An example of this outcropping is seen west of Šipka Pass, near the centre of the range, where ancient granite from the Sredna Gora Zone was thrust from the south (about 12 km) over Mesozoic limestones.

The Republic of **Romania** is the largest of the South East European states with an area of 238,391 km². Natural resources include oil, natural gas, coal and iron ore. Romania's relief ranges from 2,544 m at the Moldoveanu Peak (Southern Carpathians, Făgăraş Mts.) to the level of the Black Sea; the topography is represented by the following zones of altitudes: 0–200 m, about 38% of the territory; 200–600 m, 35%; 600–1,500 m, 23%; and about 4% over 1,500 m.

The general relief has two basic characteristics.

a) There is a concentric arrangement of the main morphological belts (mountains, hills and plains), shown by elevation, corresponding to the principal structural-tectonic units, and a radial dissection of the mountains, as determined by faults and stream erosion. The Carpathians represent the primary element followed by other morphological units. They enclose in a ring the Transylvanian Depression, passing to the belts of hills and then plains to the east and west. An exception to this concentric structure is the Hercynian elevations of Dobruja (467 m) situated between the River Danube and the Black Sea.

b) There is a symmetry and zonality of the main geomorphological units in relation with the Carpathians. Against the background of this harmonious geomorphological architecture, there is a great variety of relief, from the point of view of both geomorphology and origin. The latter includes volcanic, structural–tectonic, karstic, glacial, periglacial, fluvial, and littoral types of relief. The topography also reflects age, some areas having retained landforms continuously since at least the end of the Mezozoic period.

Climate

Greater part of Europe is situated in the temperate zone; only the southernmost regions are in the subtropical zone. The atmospheric circulation is determined mainly from the Maximum of Azores and the Minimum of Iceland. A zonal transport from west to east is dominating almost during the whole year. The influence of the Atlantic Ocean is strongest in West Europe and decreases eastwards. These factors determine Europe's climate as relatively homogeneous – the one of the temperate latitudes.

The Balkan Peninsula is well connected to Europe and naturally is also part of the temperate latitudes. At the same time, there are a number of specific impacts. In South Eastern Europe the west–east transport is well pronounced, that leads to relatively frequent changes of weather. During the winter the polar front as set by the climate is situated to the south of the Balkan Peninsula and during the summer it passes trough it. During the winter the frontal processes are more pronounced and dominant, whereas during summer the weather is more often defined by convective processes. The great distance to the ocean is the reason for the atmospheric processes to manifest the specific features of continental climate. The severity of the continental climate is extenuated in the areas near to the Mediterranean, Adriatic and Black seas. During the year there are no climatic periods of similar type of weather with marked limits – the change of temperatures is gradual and the differences between the monthly precipitation sums are relatively small.

The most important changes of macroweather occur with the change of different types of atmospheric circulation. The polar front cyclones, especially Mediterranean cyclones, are those with the biggest influence on the weather. The Azores highs and these with arctic origin are also an essential impact.

The winter Mediterranean cyclonic centre is activated when cool air penetrates over the Mediterranean Sea. The cold advection is usually realized in the western regions. Forming big temperature contrasts between cold land and relatively warm waters of Mediterranean Sea is the main cause for pushing on the cycloning activity. Depending on the trajectory of the cyclones a different kind of weather is formed – from dry and relatively warm to cold with intensive snowfalls. In the summer in the Mediterranean Sea area the high forms prevail whereas in the north situated regions the frequency of the cyclonic forms increase. The Atlantic cyclones rather seldom reach the Balkan Peninsula and their influence is stronger in its northern regions. They mostly result in cloudiness and rainfalls in May and June. The intensity of the summer cyclones in Europe is usually smaller than that of winter cyclones, but the fre-

quency of cyclones in summer is much higher. Depending on the atmospheric circulation the Atlantic air reaches the Balkan Peninsula more or less transformed. During the cold seasons of the year the ocean air masses are getting cooler while during the warm period they are getting warmer and more humid because of the evaporation from the land surface.

Ocean air masses from arctic and moderate latitudes, moving from north and west on highs reach the Balkan Peninsula considerably transformed because of the remoteness from the formation place. These processes are typical mostly in late spring and early summer. The location of South Eastern Europe is favourable also for the ultra-polar invasion from north and northeast. On the other hand, the Balkan Peninsula is a compact area with complex orography.

The prevalence slight-gradient baric fields is favourable for forming local air masses. The area has five climatic regions, notably continental, transitional continental, Mediterranean, transitional Mediterranean and mountain climate (*Figure 3*).

The continental climatic region has longer, hot and dry summer period with the average of 20–24°C in July (*Table 2*, Belgrade). The winter is cold and relatively short. The average temperature of the coldest month is between -4 and +1°C. The annual precipitation cycle reaches its maximum at the beginning of summer, and its minimum during winter.

The characteristics of transitional continental climate are the hot, dry summer (24–25°C) and cool winter. The winter temperature in average is above 0°C. Typical area for this climate is the northern part of Macedonia (*Table 2*, Skopje). The annual precipitation cycle is similar to the continental climate's, but its driest period occurs at the end of summer.

The transitional Mediterranean climate appears in the southern areas of the Balkans and in the northern Adriatic region. Its summer is alike to the Mediterranean type and the winter is warmer than in the continental regions (*Table 2,* Rijeka and Burgas). Compared to the transitional continental climate, this area has its amount of maximum

Table 2. ***Some Climatic Data on South East European countries***

Country, *province*	City	Mean air temperatures (°C)			Precipitation (mm)	Number of rainy days
		Annual	January	July	Annual	Annual
Albania	Tiranë	15.2	6.8	25.1	1,219.1	98
	Vlorë	16.4	..	..	879.6	82
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Sarajevo	9.6	-0.9	18.9	932.4	114
Bulgaria	Sofia	10.0	-1.5	19.8	576.0	69
	Varna	12.0	1.9	22.0	464.0	90
	Sandanski	14.0	2.4	24.6	483.0	56
Croatia	Zagreb	11.3	0.2	21.2	882.8	99
	Split	15.8	7.4	25.4	824.6	85
Macedonia	Skopje	12.6	0.7	23.4	474.0	66
Montenegro	Podgorica	15.3	5.0	26.0	1,660.9	101
Serbia	Beograd	11.8	0.4	21.7	684.2	95
Voivodina	*Novi Sad*	*11.0*	*-1.5*	*22.3*	*620.0*	..
Central Serbia	*Niš*	*11.8*	*-0.5*	*22.7*	*555.0*	..
Kosovo	*Priština*	*10.2*	*-1.5*	*20.7*	*576.0*	..
Romania	Bucureşti	10.6	-2.4	22.0	595.0	76
	Cluj-Napoca	8.2	-3.4	18.2	548.0	91
	Omu Peak	-2.6	-10.5	5.1	1,053.0	141
	Constanţa	11.5	0.5	22.0	396.0	59
Slovenia	Ljubljana	9.8	-1.1	19.9	1,393.1	115

Remark: .. no data.
Source: WMO – NOAA National Climatic Data Center, 1961–1990 Global Climate Normals [CLINO]

precipitation during winter, and receives more precipitation at the beginning of summer.

The Mediterranean climatic region has the hottest and driest, 3–5 months long summer (26–28°C) with 8–11 °C average January temperature (*Table 2*, Tirana and Podgorica). The summer precipitation amount is about 10–20% of the total annual precipitation. Typical areas are the Southern Adriatic and the Aegean coastal regions.

The mountain climate typifies the region with high precipitation values (around 1000 mm) and much lower temperature values in summer and winter than all the other climatic regions (*Table 2*, Omu Peak). At higher altitudes the temperature decreases and the distribution of the precipitation gets more even as well. Owing to the frequent temperature inversions at winter, vertical temperature gradients are considerably higher during summer than in winter.

Waters

The Danube, Drava, Sava, Morava, Vardar and Maritsa are the largest *rivers*. The Morava and Vardar river valleys form the chief corridor across the peninsula. Rivers of the territory mostly belong to the Black Sea Basin, as tributaries of the Danube. These rivers are the Drava /Mura/, Sava /Kupa, Una, Vrbas, Drina/ (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia), Tisa, Timiş–Tamiš, Jiu, Olt, Siret, Prut (Serbia, Romania), Isker and Jantra (Bulgaria). A smaller part of the area drains (Cetina, Neretva, Drin, Shkumbin, Vjosa) into the Adriatic Sea, and some portion (Vardar, Struma, Mesta and Maritsa) belongs to the Aegean Sea basin.

The underground drainage system is very important in the region. These are mainly connected to karst phenomenon. Groundwater flow in karst aquifers is significantly different from that of other aquifers because of the solutionally enlarged conduits. In porous media aquifers, groundwater moves very slowly as laminar flow, (usually only a few feet per year), but in karst aquifers, turbulently flowing underground streams have velocities approaching those of surface streams. The nature of the groundwater flow system causes karst areas to be extremely vulnerable to groundwater contamination. Other serious hydrogeologic problems include sinkhole flooding and sinkhole collapse. Some rivers have karst springs for its source like the Sava in Slovenia. Other amazing phenomenon are rivers like the Reka (Slovenia) which disappears from the surface, flowing subterranean (40 km) in the Škocjan Cave system and appears as the Timavo River in Italy.

The most important *lakes* of the region are Shkodra (Shkodër) on the Albanian–Montenegrin border, Ohrid (Ohër) and Prespa on the Albanian–Macedonian–Greek border. The biggest lake is Shkodra Lake with the area of 356–370 km² and a depth of only 12 m. Its length is 50 km; the width 5–18 km. Ohrid Lake has the area of 350 km²; length is 35 km, width 10–12 km. Lake Prespa lies on 853 m a.s.l. Its area is 275 km², depth 54 m. The dimensions of the lake are: 30 km in length, 8–15 km width. The deepest lake is the Red Lake (Croatian *Crveno jezero*) of Imotsko polje in Dalmatia (Croatia), which is more than 500 m deep. The second is Ohrid Lake with its 286 m depth. There are many reservoirs all around the region which are backwaters bounded by a dam utilising the stream's power. Big oxbow lakes can be found on the Romanian Plain along the Danube. Lagoon lakes (e.g. Razim, Goloviţa, Zmeica, Sinoie) lie south from the Danube Delta and several smaller ones (e.g. Taşaul, Siutghiol, Techirghiol, Mangalia) are along the Black Sea coast.

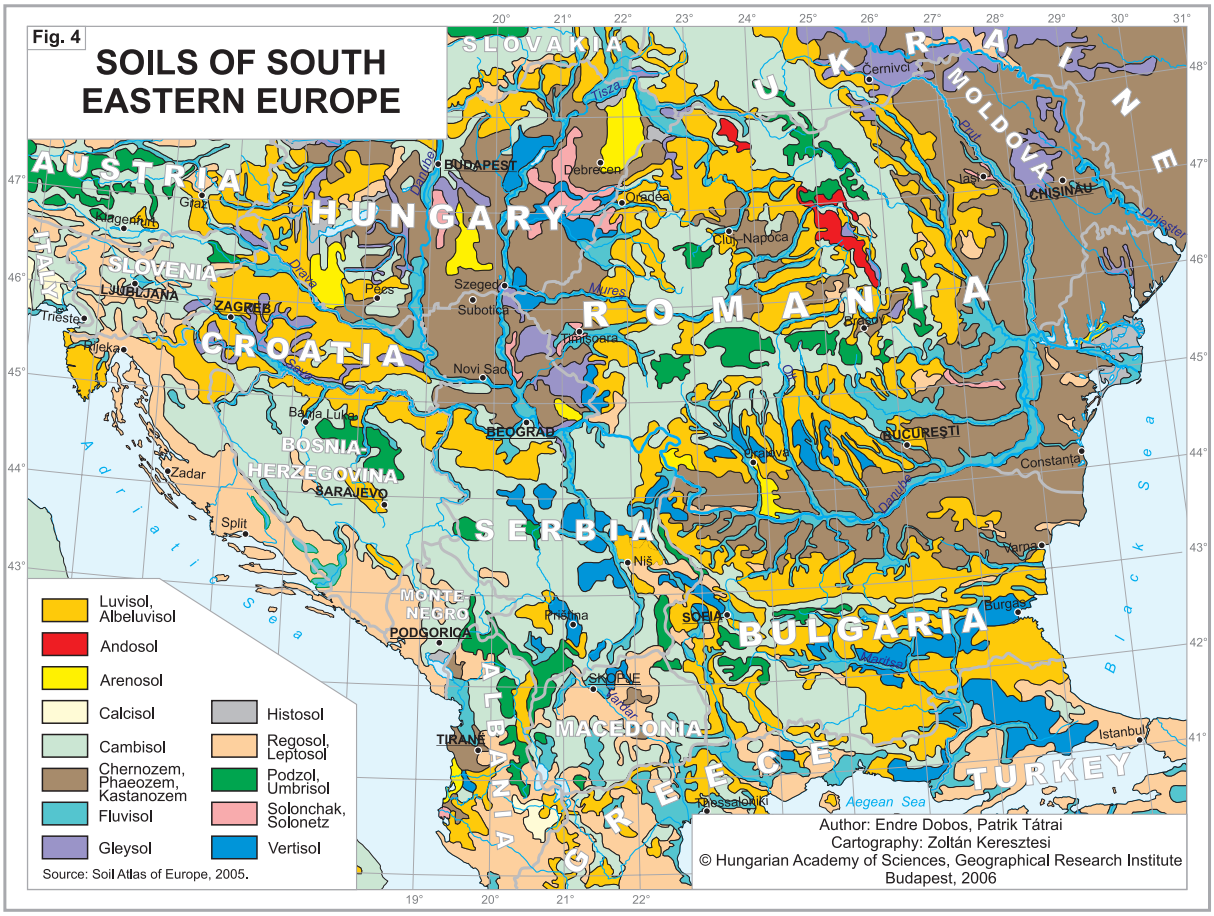
The most famous of all lakes are the Plitvice Lakes, which is a national park in Croatia. The Plitvice Lakes are situated on the karstic Plitvice plateau, between the mountains of Mala Kapela, Plješevica and Medvеđak. The 16 lakes are separated by travertine dams into an upper and lower cluster formed by runoff from the mountains, descending from an altitude of 636 m to 503 m over a distance of some 8 km, aligned in a south–north direction. The lakes collectively cover an area of about 2 km², with the water exiting from the lowest lake to form the Korana River.

Soils

Soils of the region show great diversity (*Figure 4*). The most important factors of the soil formation are the topography, the parent material and the climate, parallel with the anthropogenic factor, which has become the major one in the last 2–3 thousands years.

The area, especially the coastal region was one of the most favorable for the developing human civilization, due to its mild, pleasant Mediterranean climate and the natural resources supporting human life through agriculture, and timber based industry. However, the increasing need for timber and agricultural production induced a strong deforestration and the removal of the natural vegetation.

The changing land and soil use has accelerated erosion and caused a great loss of soil material. Despite of this loss, soil resources are still among the most important means for supporting human life of the area.



Explanation of soil types

Luvisol, Albeluvisol = Soils with clay illuviation horizon
Andosol = Volcanic soils
Arenosol = Sandy soils
Calcisol = Soils of the semi-arid regions, with high calcium-carbonate accumulation
Cambisol = Weakly developed, young soils
Chernozem, Phaeozem, Kastanozem = Soils conditioned by steppe climate
Fluvisol = Alluvial soils
Gleysol = Soils of areas with high ground water table
Histosol = Organic soils
Regosol, Leptosol = Shallow, weakly developed soils of high relief
Podzol, Umbrisol = Acid soils under cool, humid climates
Solonchak, Solonetz = Salt affected soils
Vertisol = Heavy clay soils

The coastal belt of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and partly Montenegro, and a significant part of Macedonia are characterized by Rendzic *Leptosols*, the so called Rendzina. This soil is strongly used for agriculture and forestry, despite of its shallowness and small water holding capacity. It often has quite a significant amount of stone pieces in varied sizes, which makes land cultivation difficult. The stones are often removed by the farmers and collected in stone walls separating the land parcels, and indicating that we step on Rendzina soils.

North and east of the Rendzina region, the inland of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Albania, where the major parent material are still limestone, shale and sandstone, different types of *Cambisols* (in other names Braunerde, Brunizems, Ramann-type brown forest soils) and *Regosols* are formed on the unconsolidated regolith over hardrock. The solum is deeper here, but only weakly expressed soil formation is evident due to the actively forming and rejuvenating surfaces (erosion and deposition) of the mountainous environment. Cambisols are young soils, only weathering, limited clay formation, and iron oxidation are shown by the developing reddish color. Neutral, high base-saturated Cambisols, like the Eutric Cambisols are fertile agricultural soils, especially under moderate climate. However, Dystric Cambisols, which can be quite acidic and cover an extensive area in South Eastern Europe, are much less productive and mainly used for forests. Leptosols and Regosols are the main associated soils to the Cambisols in the mountains. These soils are formed on eroded surfaces and are mainly forest soils. The removal of the forest accelerates erosion and completely destroys the potential to reuse the area. More stable and less sloping surfaces with wet climate have *Luvisols*, soils having clay illuviation into the deeper horizon. *Terra rossa*, the most typical Mediterranean soil, is one of the examples of this soil type.

The eastern part of the area, mainly Romania and Bulgaria, is more continental, and has a slightly different combination of soils. The undulating rangeland of the Transylvanian Basin and the foothills of the Carpathians, the Balkan Mts. and the Rhodopes are characterized with *Luvisols*. These soils are widely used for farming and forestry as well. When farmed, its eluvial horizon is often completely eroded and the reddish-brown colored horizon appears on the surface. *Cambisols* (mainly acid ones) cover the higher relief areas of the major mountain ranges, with inclusions of Podzol areas under coniferous vegetation of the higher ridges of the Carpathians and the Apuşeni (Bihor) Mts.

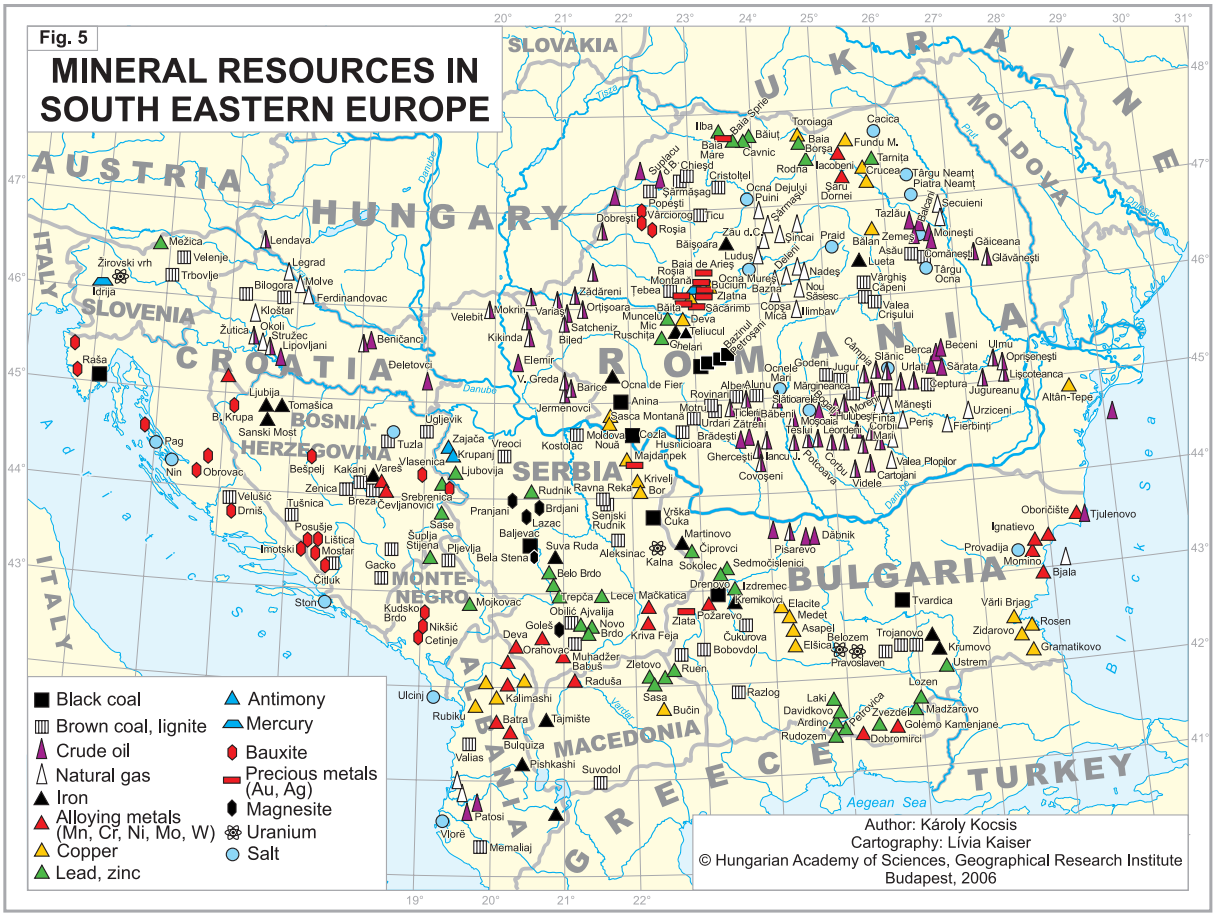
The Lower Danubian Basin between the two mountain ranges of the Carpathians and the Balkanids is the most fertile region of the entire area. *Chernozem*, a deep, dark-colored, nutrient rich soil, the most famous farm-soil covers the majority of the area, except the alluvial plains of the major rivers, where Fluvisols are most abundant types. The plain area between the Balkan Mts. and the Rhodopes, the Maritsa Basin East from Plovdiv up to the Burgas Basin, the lower lying areas of the Drina valley, and some part of the foothills of the Carpathians are the areas of *Vertisols*. These are heavy clay soils, with often good chemical characteristics for agricultural use. However, their physical characteristics, primarily water management problems make the life on these soil types quite difficult. Adopted cultivation is crucial for their successful use.

Natural Resources

Sources of energy are scarce in the region (*Figure 5*). Metal ores occur more frequently in the Balkans than other raw materials do.

Slovenia has some mercury and uranium near Idrija whilst lead and zinc can be found in Mežica. Energy resources like brown coal, lignite are mined in the hills between the Sava and Drava rivers (Hrastnik, Trbovlje, Velenje), the crude oil and natural gas are extracted in the Mura depression (near Lendava).

From the most important energy resources of **Croatia** the crude oil and natural gas are accumulated in the Neogene of the Pannonian area, mostly near the Drava and Sava rivers (e.g. Beničanci, Molve, Legrad, Žutica, Stružec, Lipovljani). The exploitable coal beds are in the



Paleocene of Istria and in the Bilogora. Other occurrences of coal and lignite have rather limited economic importance. Bauxites are the main metallic resource. They occur on carbonate platforms at several unconformity horizons ranging from the Triassic to the Neogene (mostly in Istria and Dalmatia). There are also many occurrences of endogenetic ore deposits (iron, lead, zinc, etc.), but not of economic importance.

Bosnia and Herzegovina a typical mining country in which numerous mineral deposits and countless occurrences of various metallic and non-metallic mineral raw materials are found. The country has a long mining tradition which started in the Illyric and Roman periods and continued in the Middle Ages. Hematite–magnetite (iron) deposits are mostly found in Paleozoic complexes (e.g. Ljubija, Tomašica, Vareš). In the Central Bosnian Paleozoic Complex are found the largest barite deposits associated with variable concentrations of mercury-bearing tetrahedrite (Banovići). In the same host rocks, antimony–zinc and gold-bearing pyrite deposits are found. The carbonate platform includes numerous and very significant bauxite deposits (Vlasenica and West Herzegovina). The workable reserves of brown coal and lignite are concentrated mostly in Central and Northeast Bosnia (e.g. Kakanj, Zenica, Tuzla, Ugljevik).

The most important metal to be found in **Serbia** is copper. The Majdanpek deposit in East Serbia was exploited in Roman times for limonite, in the 19th century as a deposit of pyrite, and from the middle of the 20th century for copper. The Bor deposits nearby, exploited from 1903, possess massive supplies of copper ore. Lead and zinc were, together with or mostly because of silver mined from the Middle Ages (the Novo Brdo mine was one of the most famous in the 14th and 15th centuries). The majority of the extraction is concentrated in Kosovo, the Trepča mine together with adjacent deposits, mined since 1930. Also important are Ljubovija and Lece outside of Kosovo. Before World War II, Yugoslavia produced some 40% of the world's antimony, but now substantially less. The main occurrences are situated in West Serbia (Zajača, Krupanj), accompanied by lead. In Serbia, coal is mostly of the lignite and soft brown type (e.g. Vreoci, Kostolac), and to a much lesser extent

black (Vrška Čuka). Crude oil and natural gas occur in the Pannonian Basin (mostly in the Banat), with over 60 fields, many of which are situated along the western flank of the Kikinda structural high.

Non-metallic minerals are represented mostly by bauxite (in the Nikšić region) in **Montenegro**. The lead and zinc mines are also remarkable (e.g. Šuplja Stijena, Mojkovac).

The wide variety of geological situations and lithological associations makes **Albania** one of the most interesting countries from the metallogenic point of view. In fact 35 economic minerals have been found, among these copper and alloying metals (Cr, Ni) in Central and North Albania (e.g. Batra, Bulquiza, Rubiku, Kalimashi). Coal, crude oil and natural gas can be found in the Mediterranean areas (e.g. Memaliaj, Patosi).

The ore resources in **Macedonia** are represented by deposits and occurrences of metals, non-metals and caustobioliths (organic rocks). Throughout the past years, numerous formations of all kinds of these mineral resources have been discovered and investigated. Some of them were exploited in the past (Cr, Fe, Sb, clays, diatomites, perlites, marbles), while some are being exploited at present Pb–Zn, Cu, Fe–Ni.

In **Bulgaria** the most valuable lead–zinc mineral deposits can be found in the Rhodopes, the copper mines are first of all in the Sredna Gora. From the metallogenic point of view the Balkan Mts. coincides more or less with the Balkan metallogenic province in which in the west there are early Paleozoic iron deposits (Martinovo, Kremikovci), accompanied by gold, and some polymetallic ores, exploited since Roman times. South of Vratsa, in the Triassic carbonate sediments lead and copper deposits crop up (Sokolec, Sedmočislenici). Brown coal fields occur in the Western and the Maritsa basins, the crude oil and gas can be found mostly in the northwest of the country and in South Dobruja. In central Stara Planina, quantities of black coal of a late Cretaceous age are exploited (Tvardica).

During the long geological history of **Romania**'s territory (from the Precambrian to the Neogene) different types of mineral deposits of very different sizes accumulated: iron ore deposits (in the South Carpathians); polymetallic ore deposits (Cu, Zn, Pb) of sedimentary origin (East Carpathians, Apuşeni Mts.); gold–silver ore deposits (volcanic arcs in the East Carpathians and Apuşeni Mountains); copper ore deposits (calcalkaline arcs of the South Carpathians and Apuşeni Mountains); non-metallic accumulations of kaolin and sulphur (East Carpathians volcanic arc). Crude oil and/or natural gas accumulated in a different geological framework (Moesian and Scythian platforms, Outer Moldavides in the East Carpathians, East and South Carpathians, Transylvanian and Pannonian depressions). Black coal mines are found mostly in the heart of the South Carpathians (Petroşani basin) and in South Banat, brown coal in the Comăneşti intramountain depression in Moldova. The largest lignite fields extend along the border line of the South Carpathians and the Getic Hills.

Environmental Protection and Nature Conservation

The South East European countries missed their chance in the seventies to start to intensively apply techniques for environmental protection, together with more developed European countries. At that time, they had a cleaner environment, essentially owing to lower levels of industry. The air, water and nature outside cities were relatively less polluted in comparison to countries where the industrial revolution was at a peak. Whilst South East European countries reached their current levels of pollution from the seventies onwards, the environment of developed European countries, at that time, was already greatly polluted. By conquering new and less aggressive technologies early and applying them in industry these developed countries are today far ahead of this region and technologies include water treatment as well as treatment and recycling of technological and urban waste.

Fortunately, in recent years, a growing attention has been being paid in South East European countries to the protection of the environment. New laws were adopted and applied in terms of protecting the environment when

exploiting or processing mineral resources, or in any other way when creating a new industrial facility. Rivers possess the characteristic to clean themselves by dissociation of harmful and dangerous substances and by mineralisation of organic substances if the pollution in the water is reduced.

To prevent leaks of wastewater and tailings from mineral processing plants it is necessary, most of all to build stable tailing ponds. This will prevent uncontrolled leakage of wastes from the latter to surface and underground waters as well as uncontrolled spills of solid waste onto nearby soil. Examples of poorly designed tailing ponds are found in the Copper Mine Majdanpek (Serbia) and that of the Gold Mine Baia Mare (Romania). The first large tailings spill occurred at Majdanpek in 1974 and resulted in all of the wildlife being destroyed in the river of Veliki Pek and the soil around the river becoming badly contaminated. It took two decades to partially restore the flora and fauna in the river. The tailing pond at Baia Mare containing cyanide from the gold treatment plant spilled over in 1999 and contaminated the international River Tisa, and through this river the cyanide reached the Danube as well. Large quantities of fish and other river organisms were destroyed.

Waste disposal is a serious problem that has a hugely negative impact on water resources, especially in karstic areas which have a low capacity for auto-purification. Organic, inorganic and hazardous waste is often disposed in karst pits and caves and locating the pollution source in cases where groundwater flow is not traced is virtually impossible. A clear strategy for groundwater tracing is needed in the near future, as well as education of the local community concerning the consequences of illegal waste disposal.

In South Eastern Europe, only Slovenia is an EU member (since May 2004), whilst Bulgaria and Romania are considered as pre-accession countries and will join the EU in 2007. For the rest of the region, the possible dates of accession is not defined and coverage of Protected Areas (PA) are considerably underrepresented.

There are currently two major effective transboundary programmes in the region – the Danube and the Mediterranean ones. However they emphasise the preservation of the alluvial and coastal/marine ecosystems and do not consider to the same extent the typical Balkan landscape as a unit consisting of a mix of mountains varying in their origin and altitude, karst phenomena, (glacial) lakes, rivers and coastal areas. Other related programmes focus only on the participating countries, which makes transboundary co-operation difficult.

The list of unique and well preserved natural areas is long, covering many types of habitat from coastal lagoons (Danube Delta) to the high altitudes of the Dinaric Alps and Rhodopes. During the last ice age, the Balkan Peninsula was a refuge for many species. They have survived there, due to the presence of suitable habitats in the great variety of landscapes. The Balkan Peninsula is particularly rich in wetlands, with 31 internationally designated Ramsar sites currently classified in the region (*Table 3*). The fact that most of them are situated

Table 3. ***Ramsar Sites in the South East European Countries***

Country	Number of Ramsar sites			Size of Ramsar sites (ha)
	Total	Of them		
		In the border areas	On the coast	
Albania	2	1	2	33,500
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1	1	1	7,411
Bulgaria	10	3	7	20,306
Croatia	4	3	1	80,455
Macedonia	1	1	0	18,920
Montenegro	1	1	0	20,000
Romania	5	1	3	683,628
Serbia	4	2	0	20,837
Slovenia	3	1	1	8,205
Total	31	14	15	893,262

along national borders, or along the coastal areas, demonstrates the need for the development of international cooperation. Of particular interest are sensitive wetlands, the "karst polje" areas which are situated in the chain of the Dinaric Alps. These are vast, flat plains, covered periodically with water coming from subterranean rivers and the surrounding mountains. The loss of wetlands has not been quantified for the region, except for the Danube floodplains, where 80% of them have been drained. This has led to a general loss of biodiversity, but also to a loss of highly productive forests, retention capacities in cases of floods, and as a consequence a reduction in the self-purification mechanism of the rivers.

Parts of the interior waters which could sustain a rich biological diversity are polluted and the Danube brings from upstream countries a pollution level with a negative impact upon the river's biological diversity, as well as that of the Delta and Black Sea. The high nutrient load of the Danube River has caused eutrophication in the Danube Delta lakes where macrophyte, molluscs, benthic and fish species have consequently been reduced. This is particularly damaging to the fish population and also to marine mammals. But above all these problems, it is lucky the region has more than 50 national parks and many more natural parks and reserves besides (*Figure 6* and *Table 4*).

Table 4. ***National and Natural Parks of South East European Countries***

Country	**National park** (year of foundation)		**Natural park** (year of foundation)	
Albania	Mali I Dajtit (1960, 1966) Thethi (1966) Lura (1966) Pisha e Divjakes (1966) Llogara (1966) Bredhi I Drenoves (1966) Lugina e Valbones (1996)	Mali I Tomorrit (1996, 1940) Bredhi I Hotoves (1996) Qafe Shtama (1996) Zall Gjocaj (1996) Parku I Prespes (1999) Butrint (2000)		
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Sutjeska (1965)	Kozara (1967)	Hutovo Blato (1995)	Blidinje (1995)
Bulgaria	Central Balkan (1991) Pirin (1969)	Rila (1992)	Persina Rilski Manastir Rusenski Lom Sinite Kamani Šumensko Plato	Strandža (1995) Vitoša Vračanski Balkan Zlatni Pjasaci Bulgarka
Croatia	Plitvice Lakes (1949) Paklenica (1949) Risnjak (1953) Mljet (1960) Kornati (1964)	Brijuni (1983) Krka (1985) Sjeverni Velebit (1999) Lastovo (2006)	Kopački rit Papuk Lonjsko polje Medvednica Žumberak–Samoborsko gorje	Učka Velebit Vransko lake Telašćica Biokovo
Macedonia	Pelister (1948) Mavrovo (1949)	Mount Galičica (1958) Jasen forest (1958)		
Montenegro	Durmitor (1952) Lovćen (1952)	Biogradska Gora (1952) Lake Skadar (1983)		
Romania	Danube Delta (1991) Călimani (1990) Ceahlău (1971) Retezat (1935) Rodna (1980) Cheile Bicazului–Hăşmaş (2000)	Cheile Nerei–Beuşniţa (1990) Cozia (2000) Domogled–Valea Cernei (1990) Măcin Mts. (2000) Piatra Craiului (1938) Semenic–Cheile Caraşului (2003)	Apuşeni Mts. (2001) Balta Mică a Brăilei (1998) Bucegi (1990) Grădiştea Muncelului–Cioclovina	Porţile de Fier (1973) Vânători Neamţ (1938) Putna–Vrancea Lunca Mureşului
Serbia	Djerdap (1972) Kopaonik (1981) Tara (1981)	Šar Mts. (1986) Fruška Gora (1960)	Gornje Podunavlje Grmija Ivlje Ozrenske livade Palić Ponjavica	Prugovo Rajac Resava Stara Planina Subotica forest Vršac Mts.
Slovenia	Triglav (1924)		Kozjansko regional park	Škocjan Caves regional park (1986)

Territory and Boundaries of States

In order to understand the foreign policy of the states and nations of the region, and to identify the roots of ethnic and religious conflicts, it is essential to examine regional history, the maturity and stability of the state borders along with the duration for which individual nations have been independent.

Of the nations in today's South Eastern Europe, the Bulgarians attained statehood the earliest (680), followed by the Croats (870) and the Serbs (892). The era of state foundation and independence came much later for the Romanians (1324), the Albanians (1443) and the Montenegrins (1799). In various periods of their history, the small regional nations came directly or indirectly under the rule of neighbouring powers such as the Frankish Empire, the Kingdom of Hungary, the Byzantine Empire, the Ottoman (Turkish), Hapsburg (Austrian) and the Russian empires, and – except for a period of independence in the Middle Ages, varying in duration for different nations – the majority of nations gained or regained their independence either only in the second half, or at the end of the 19th century. Of the four largest peoples in the region, the Bulgarians boast a total of 675 years of independence, the Serbs 462 years and the Romanians 224 years. The Croats, with 251 years of independence only had the opportunity to re-establish an independent state in World War II, though a short-lived one. The Macedonians and the Muslims of Bosnia (the Boshniaks) proclaimed their independent republics in 1991 and 1992, respectively.

The majority of these peoples look back on a time – or a brief period – of prosperity in their history when their nation had a much greater territory than today. For the Serbs, these "grand periods" were between 1345 and 1355, 1918 and 1941, 1944 and 1990; for the Bulgarians, between 893 and 927, 1187 and 1256, and 1941–1944; for the Croats, between 870 and 1102, and 1941 and 1945; for the Romanians, between 1918 and 1944, and for the Albanians, between 1941 and 1944 (*Figure 7).*

As *Figure 7* demonstrates, the borders of states in the Balkans were highly variable. The size and the location of states, especially in the case of Bulgaria and Romania, changed substantially throughout their history. The most stable borders during the previous millennium were the western borders of Croatia (1100 years), the border of historical Hungary along the crest of the Carpathians (800–900 years) and the Romanian–Bulgarian border along the river Danube (some 800 years), primarily as a result of their geographical features.

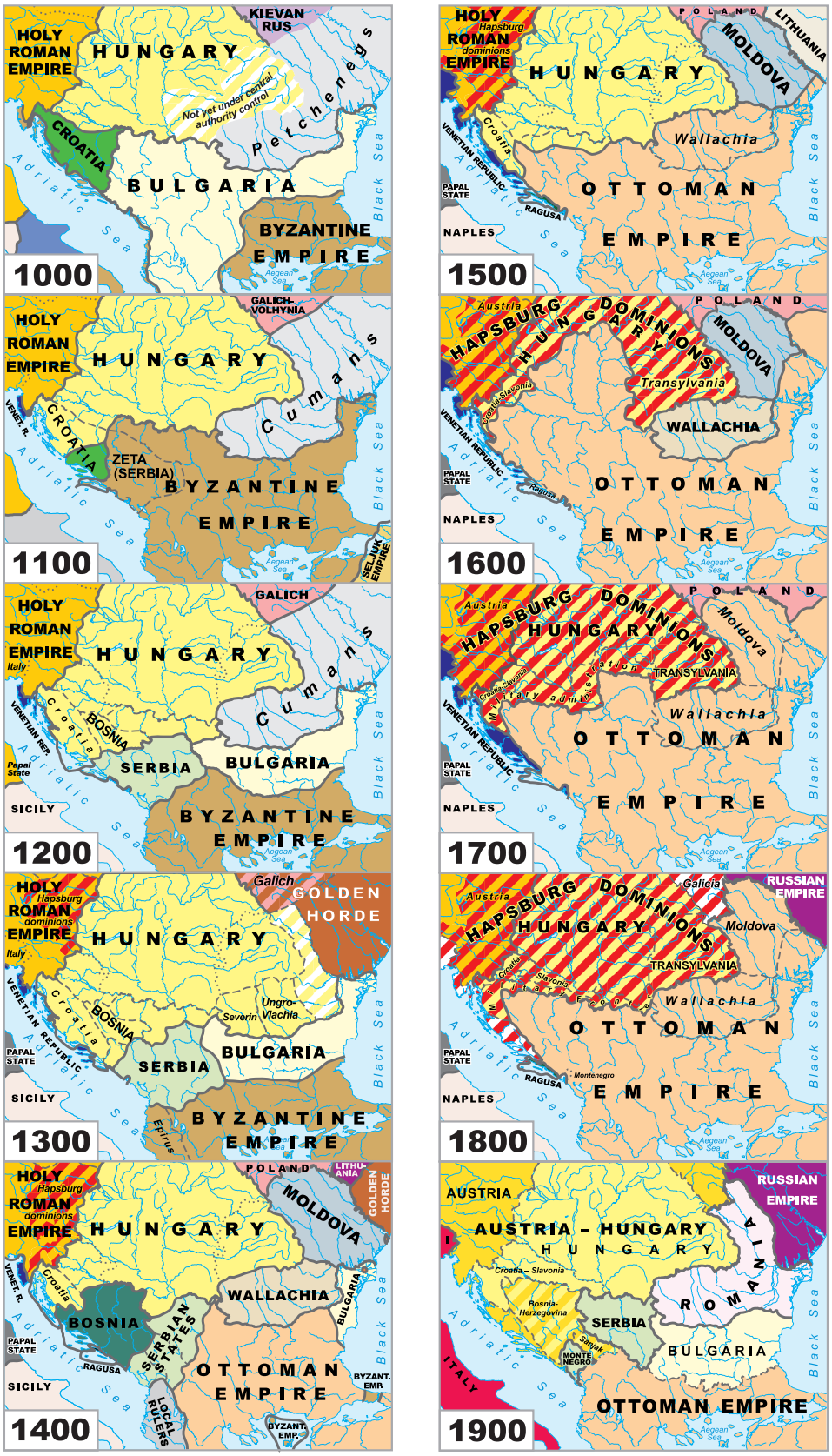
The gradual, yet unstoppable expansion of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire put an end to the sovereignty of the peoples of the Balkans in the Middle Ages. Between the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries and the middle of the 16th century, a period of more than 100–150 years, almost the whole of South Eastern Europe came under the Ottoman Empire.

The first people to shrug off Turkish rule and have their independence recognised were the Montenegrins in 1799, forming a tiny state with an area of 4,600 km^2, becoming the only independent Slavic state of the time (apart from Russia).

After the Russo–Turkish war of 1806 to 1812, through the annexation of the eastern part of Moldavia (Bessarabia), the Russian Empire became a decisive power in the region, as well as the primary supporter of the small Balkan peoples of the Orthodox Christian faith struggling for their freedom. With the help of Russia, Serbia and Romania (the latter created through the unification of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1861) gained their independence in 1878. However, the western powers did not approve of the creation of Greater Bulgaria, a pro-Russian state with 5 million inhabitants, covering an area of 164,000 km^2 extending from the Danube to the Aegean Sea and Lake Ohrid (as envisaged in the treaty of San Stefano – today Yeşilköy, Turkey – imposed by the Russians to close the war of 1877–1878). What is more, Bulgaria had to be content with autonomous status within the Turkish Empire (Behm 1878). Only the southern parts of the Balkans, where conversion to Islam had taken place to the greatest extent, remained under direct Turkish rule, such as Thrace, Macedonia and Kosovo, or were occupied by Austria–Hungary, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Sanjak

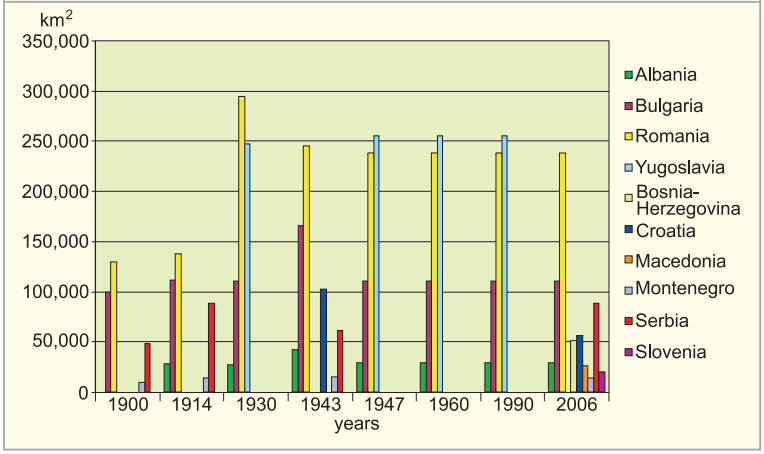
Fig. 7

STATES IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE (1000–1900)



Author: Károly Kocsis Cartography: Lívia Kaiser

Fig. 8



of Novi Pazar. As a result of the decisions taken at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the European territory of the Ottoman Empire was reduced to 272,400 km² (568,600 km² in 1815 and 365,700 km² in 1850). The 1885 Bulgarian uprising led to the annexing of Eastern Rumelia by the autonomous Bulgaria, whose independence was recognised in 1908, the same year when Bosnia and Herzegovina became annexed by Austria–Hungary. However, the St. Elijah's day uprising by the Macedonians in 1903, an attempt to create an independent Macedonia, was suppressed.

At the beginning of the 20th century, three independent states existed in the Balkans: Romania (130,178 km²), Serbia (48,589 km²) and Montenegro (9,668 km²), while Bulgaria (99,276 km²) was a semi-independent principality (*Table 5, Figures 8 and 9).* In the two Balkan wars (1912 and 1913), Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria partitioned almost all the remaining European territories of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the first three of these countries – with the help of Romania and Turkey – prevented Bulgaria from taking Macedonia and thus becoming too powerful. Through the treaty of Bucharest (1913), which formally ended the war, South Dobruja was ceded from Bulgaria to Romania, East Thrace remained under Turkish control, and Bulgaria obtained the land inhabited by the Pomaks, as well as West Thrace, which secured it a corridor to the Aegean Sea. Meanwhile, Serbia obtained Kosovo and Metohija was ceded to Montenegro. The ethnically Macedonian area of approximately 34,200 km² was shared between Serbia (38.6%, Vardar Macedonia), Greece (51.2%, Aegean Macedonia) and Bulgaria (10.2%, Pirin Macedonia), (*Figure 10*) (Pándi 1995). The Albanian National Congress, fearing the division of ethnically Albanian areas and expecting support from powerful European countries, notably from Austria–Hungary, Germany and Italy, proclaimed the independence of Albania in Vlorë on 28 November 1912. This was finally recognised by the conference of ambassadors in London eight months later, on 29 July 1913. Seeking a compromise between Albanians and their Serbian, Montenegrin and Greek neighbours, the London conference established the borders of Albania in a manner that left 45% of the region's Albanians outside of the new, independent Albania (Baldacci, A. 1913, Puto, A. 1978, Report… 1914). This division of the Balkans, fol-

Table 5. ***Change in the Territory of the South East European States (1900–2006, km²)***

Countries	1900	1914	1930	1943	1947	1960	1990	2006
Albania		28,500	27,539	42,462	28,748	28,748	28,748	28,748
Bosnia and Herzegovina								51,129
Bulgaria	99,276	111,837	110,755	165,852	110,928	110,928	110,928	110,928
Croatia				102,960				56,538
Macedonia								25,713
Montenegro	9,668	14,456		15,219				13,812
Romania	130,178	137,903	295,049	245,337	238,391	238,391	238,391	238,391
Serbia	48,589	88,605		60,876				88,361
Slovenia								20,253
Yugoslavia			247,542		255,282	255,810	255,810	
South Eastern Europe								633,873


Fig. 9
SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
IN 1900
AUSTRIA – HUNGARY
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
ROMANIA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
MONTE-NEGRO
ITALY
Galicia
Bukovina
Carinthia
Styria
Carniola
Coastland
Croatia – Slavonia
Bosnia-Herzegovina
Dalmatia
Budapest
Debrecen
Nagyvárad
Kolozsvár
Szabadka
Pécs
Szeged
Temesvár
Brassó
Újvidék
Banja Luka
BEOGRAD
Zara
Spalato
Sarajevo
Sanjak
Niš
Priština
CETINJE
Üsküb
Tiran
Selanik
Sofia
Craiova
BUCUREŞTI
Constanţa
Varna
Burgas
ISTANBUL
Graz
Klagenfurt
Laibach
Zagreb
Fiume
Triest
Iaşi
Kišinev
Czernowitz
Aegean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
Danube
Drava
Sava
Tisza
Maros
Morava
Vardar
Maritsa
Prut
Dniester
International boundary
Boundary of semi-independent kingdom or principality
Boundary of autonomous kingdom or province
BEOGRAD State capital
Budapest Capital of semi-independent kingdom or principality
Graz Seat of autonomous kingdom or province
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Cartography: Lívia Kaiser, Anikó Kovács
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Fig.10
SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
IN 1914
AUSTRIA – HUNGARY
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
ROMANIA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
MONTE-NEGRO
ALBANIA
GREECE
ITALY
Galicia
Bukovina
Carinthia
Styria
Carniola
Coastland
Croatia – Slavonia
Bosnia-Herzegovina
Dalmatia
Budapest
Debrecen
Nagyvárad
Kolozsvár
Szabadka
Pécs
Szeged
Temesvár
Brassó
Újvidék
Banja Luka
BEOGRAD
Zara
Spalato
Sarajevo
Niš
Pristina
CETINJE
Skoplje
TIRANË
Thessaloniki
SOFIA
Craiova
BUCUREŞTI
Constanţa
Varna
Burgas
ISTANBUL
Graz
Klagenfurt
Laibach
Zagreb
Fiume
Triest
Iaşi
Kišinev
Czernowitz
Aegean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
Danube
Drava
Sava
Tisza
Maros
Morava
Vardar
Maritsa
Prut
Dniester
International boundary
Boundary of semi-independent kingdom
Boundary of autonomous kingdom or province
SOFIA State capital
Budapest Capital of semi-independent kingdom
Graz Seat of autonomous kingdom or province
Author: Károly Kocsis
Cartography: Lívia Kaiser, Anikó Kovács
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lowing the collapse of Turkish rule, paved the way for numerous, century-long conflicts, particularly regarding the possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Thrace.

Liberated from Turkish rule, the states of the Balkans, small in size and ethnically diverse, along with the Croats and Serbs, claimed territories from each other as well as those under Austro–Hungarian rule and inhabited by Slavs and Romanians. They based their claims either on their presumed historical rights or on the principle of self determination on ethnic grounds. The irredentist claims of the Serbs and Romanians were more or less fully satisfied at the close of World War I. In 1918–1919, taking advantage of the favourable conditions and their momentary military superiority, Serbian and Romanian troops occupied the south eastern half of Austria–Hungary, partly with French help. This opened the way for the Serbian and Romanian states to absorb territories on a hitherto unprecedented scale.

The peace treaties around Paris, which formally ended World War I, resulted in an enormous gain in power for the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes created in 1918 (SHS Kingdom, Yugoslavia from 1931) and Romania (*Figure 11*). Under the treaty of Saint-Germain (10 September 1919), an area of 29,078 km^2 (Slovenia, Dalmatia) taken from Austria was annexed by the SHS Kingdom, while 10,442 km^2 (Bukovina) was annexed by Romania. Through the treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine (27 November 1919), Bulgaria had to surrender an area of 3,845 km^2 (Timok, Pirot, Bosilgrad region) to the SHS Kingdom, and 8,712 km^2 (Western Thrace) was granted to Greece. As a result of the Treaty of Trianon (4 June 1920), Hungary lost 63,011 km^2 (Croatia and Slavonia, the Bačka, Western Banat, South Baranya, Međimurje and Prekmurje) to the SHS Kingdom, and 103,093 km^2 (Transylvania) to Romania. Moreover, Romania was able to annex Bessarabia (44,442 km^2), the territory taken from the former ally, Russia, in 1918 (Rónai 1945). Due to this rearrangement, South Eastern Europe was divided overwhelmingly between two countries: Romania, with a territory of 295,000 km^2, and the SHS Kingdom (247,000 km^2).

The borders of these new "nation states", founded on the ruins of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire, which collapsed between 1912 and 1918, and of the Hapsburg Empire (Austria–Hungary) – often mainly in response to external pressure – were formed in accordance with the positions of power at the time and created to satisfy the interests of the victorious alliance. Accordingly, the new borders were not drawn along the boundaries between ethnic groups or contact zones, but on the basis of the strategic, economic and ethnic interests of the winners, and of their presumed historical rights. This rearrangement was humiliating for the Bulgarians, Albanians and Hungarians, and compelled them to demand restitution, thus giving rise to a source of irredentist threat in the region. The status quo that emerged between 1918 and 1920 started to collapse on the eve of World War II. Notwithstanding the defence pacts of Tirana concluded between Italy and Albania in 1926 and 1927, the Italian army invaded Albania between 7 and 11 April 1939, and Mussolini regarded the country as a recovered province of the Roman Empire, along with it being the most important foothold for Italian expansion in the Balkans. In 1940, Romania had to surrender territories with a total area of 100,500 km^2. As a result of the ultimatum issued by the Soviet Union (28 June 1940), the second Vienna Award (30 August 1940) and the treaty of Craiova (7 September 1940), Romania lost 49,700 km^2 (Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina) to the Soviet Union, 43,100 km^2 (Northern Transylvania) to Hungary and 7,726 km^2 (Southern Dobruja) to Bulgaria (Pándi 1995).

The Balkans campaign launched by Hitler's Germany on 6 April 1941, with the aim of occupying Yugoslavia and Greece, ended with the surrender of Yugoslavia (the Serbs) on 17 April and of Greece on 24 April. By applying the policy of "divide et impera" (divide and rule), the Axis powers, in order to achieve their own ends, were ingenious in exploiting the ethnic tensions and problems that had been left unresolved by the Paris peace settlement, along with the despair of the humiliated and subdued nations, e.g. the Albanians, Bulgarians and Croatians in the Balkans and the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin. The defeated Serbia was confined to her core territory of 64,900 km^2, in other words Belgrade, its environs and the Morava Valley, while the Slovene territories were partitioned between Germany and Italy. Greece had to cede Western Thrace and the eastern part of Aegean Macedonia to Bulgaria (Magocsi 1993). Croatia regained her "independence" after 850 years, and even an-

nexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. The independent Croatian state, proclaimed on 10 April 1941, had a territory of almost 103,000 km^2. However, 32% of its population of 5.6 million was Serbian and 13% Muslim Bosnian. Bulgaria regained the territories it had lost to Serbia in 1919, and even obtained Vardar Macedonia, thus forming Greater Bulgaria for the second time in the 20th century.

The territory of Albania, already in Italian hands, was increased by 14,900 km^2 with areas overwhelmingly inhabited by Albanians. Thus, the centuries-old dream of Albanians came true: a Great Albania encompassing nearly all ethnic Albanian areas (*Figure 12*). Of the Albanian-inhabited areas, Great Albania now included the region of Ulcinj, Metohija, the majority of Kosovo, present-day Western Macedonia, the region of the Lake Prespa and the Epiros coast formerly owned by Greece, up to the port of Parga. Similarly, Montenegro, which was also under Italian occupation, achieved the peak of its territorial extension (15,219 km^2) in this period due to the annexation of the Sanjak, which was mainly inhabited by Muslims. The same year, in August and September, in the course of the German offensive against the Soviet Union, Romania recaptured Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, thus increasing her territory to 245,337 km^2. In addition, the port of Odessa, and Transnistria (the area beyond the river Dniester, between the Dniester and Bug rivers) were seized. Following Italy's surrender in 1943, Albania came under German occupation, and the regions of Kosovska Mitrovica and Gnjilane were annexed to it. Consequently, the territory of Albania, now independent from Italy, grew to 42,462 km^2. It was also after the Italian surrender that Croatia was able to annex Dalmatian territories hitherto occupied by Italy.

After World War II, the Treaty of Paris (10 February 1947) effectively restored the status quo of 1937, with the following exceptions: Romania ceded Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union and Southern Dobruja to Bulgaria, but regained Northern Transylvania from Hungary, giving it today's territory of 238,391 km^2 (*Figure 13*). Bulgaria was able to retain Southern Dobruja, regained from Romania in 1940. On the whole, Bulgaria's


Fig. 12
SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
IN 1942
SLOVAKIA
GERMANY
Cernăuți
Transnistria
HUNGARY
BUDAPEST
Debrecen
Nagyvárad
Kolozsvár
Iași
Chișinău
Graz
Ljubljana
Trieste
Fiume
ZAGREB
Pécs
Szeged
Szabadka
Timișoara
Brașov
ROMANIA
Újvidék
Banat
CROATIA
Banja Luka
BEOGRAD
Craiova
BUCUREȘTI
Constanța
Zara
Sarajevo
Spalato
SERBIA
Niș
Varna
MONTE-
NEGRO
Cettigne
Priștinë
SOFIA
Burgas
BULGARIA
Skopje
Tirana
ALBANIA
GR.
Istanbul
TURKEY
GREECE
Thessaloniki
Aegean Sea
International boundary
Boundary of semi-independent state
ZAGREB State capital
Tirana Capital of semi-independent state
Author: Károly Kocsis
Cartography: Zoltán Keresztesi
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Fig. 13
SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
IN 1947
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
UKRAINIAN S.S.R.
SOVIET UNION
Černovcy
MOLDAVIAN S.S.R.
Kišinău
AUSTRIA
Graz
Carinthia
Klagenfurt
Styria
HUNGARY
BUDAPEST
Debrecen
Oradea
Cluj
Târgu Mureș
Iași
ITALY
SLOVENIA
Ljubljana
Zagreb
Trieste
FREE TERRITORY OF TRIESTE
Rijeka
Pécs
Szeged
Subotica
Voivodina
Timișoara
Brașov
ROMANIA
CROATIA
Novi Sad
SERBIA
BEOGRAD
Banja Luka
BOSNIA-
HERZEGOVINA
YUGOSLAVIA
Craiova
BUCUREȘTI
Constanța
Zadar
Sarajevo
Split
Niș
Varna
MONTENEGRO
Titograd
Priština
Kosmet
SOFIA
Burgas
BULGARIA
Skopje
MACEDONIA
TIRANË
ALBANIA
Istanbul
TURKEY
GREECE
Thessaloniki
Aegean Sea
International boundary
Boundary of semi-independent republic
Boundary of autonomous province
BUCUREȘTI State capital
Ljubljana Capital of semi-independent republic
Novi Sad Seat of autonomous province
Author: Károly Kocsis
Cartography: Lívia Kaiser, Anikó Kovács
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territorial losses were slight, with its territory reduced to 110,928 km^2. In return for the loss of territories with an Albanian ethnic majority, such as Kosovo and Western Macedonia, which it had retained between 1941 and 1944, Albania received only scarce compensation, namely, the region of Kllobocishtë (Počesti) in the Black Drim Valley, thus reducing it to its present-day territory of 28,748 km^2. Likewise, Yugoslavia was mainly restored to its pre-war state, and became a federation of 6 republics (Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina) in 1946. The only significant differences between its pre-war and post-war borders were that it now also included the areas that is today's Western Slovenia, the Istrian peninsula, the islands of Cres (Cherso) and Lošinj (Lussino) and the city of Zadar (Zara). The debate between Italy and Yugoslavia over Trieste, which used to be Austria's most important port, was resolved by the establishment of the Free Territory of Trieste in 1947, divided into two zones. Of these, zone "A" had an area of 222 km^2, 90% of its population was Italian, and it was under American and British control. Zone "B" covered a territory of 528 km^2, 45–88% of its population was Italian and it was under Yugoslavian control. This temporary situation was terminated by the London Memorandum of 5 October 1954, which awarded zone "A" to Italy, and zone "B" to Yugoslavia. The frontier debate between Italy and Yugoslavia was ended formally in Osimo, on 1 October 1975. Under the 1954 settlement, the territory of Yugoslavia increased to 255,810 km^2, and one of her member states, Slovenia, gained access to the sea at Koper (Capodistria) and Piran (Pirano).

In the period between 1954 and 1990, the external borders of the states in South Eastern Europe did not change, merely their internal administrative divisions were modified (*Figures 14 and 15*). Of these, it is particularly worth examining the autonomous territories that were formed on the basis of their ethnic relations and historical traditions. In Yugoslavia, such territories were established by the first constitution of the Federal Republic in 1946. One of the so-called autonomous provinces was Kosovo, or "Kosmet" (Kosovo–Metohija), as it was called at that time, which was inhabited mainly by Albanian Muslims. The other was Voivodina in the north, a territory of mixed population having belonged to Hungary until 1918. These autonomous provinces, both located within the territory of Serbia, were granted a high level of freedom in their internal affairs in 1974. However, this freedom was terminated by the Serbian constitution of 28 March 1989. A similar ethnically based autonomous province was created in Romania (for tactical reasons) on 27 September 1952. This province, known as the Hungarian Autonomous Province, in the eastern part of Transylvania had an area of 13,500 km^2, and 77.3 of its population was Hungarian. On 19 December 1960, its territory was reduced to 12,300 km^2, and the proportion of Hungarian inhabitants also decreased to 62.2%, as Romanian-inhabited territories were attached to it and other Hungarian-inhabited ones detached. Even its name was modified to Mureş (Maros)–Magyar Autonomous Province. During the final decade of its existence, the autonomy was only formal, and was officially terminated on 17 February 1968 with the introduction of the county system (Lipcsey 1987).

In South Eastern Europe, as a result of the political and socio-economic changes in 1990 and 1991, new state borders were drawn and it was only in the single remaining federal state of the region, Yugoslavia, that new "state-like entities" with ambiguous status came into existence. The changes of regime, which started first in the most developed of the member republics, Slovenia and Croatia; the nationalist–communist shift under the federal leadership of S. Milošević; the intensification of separatist movements and struggle for independence, and a variety of ethnic and religious conflicts soon led to the disintegration of Greater Yugoslavia. Within the member republics, which themselves became increasingly factious and began to consider separation, the various minorities formed a series of their own "republics," such as the Serbian Republic of Krayina (28 February 1991, Knin), the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (31 October 1992, Pale), the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosna (Mostar) and the Albanian Republic of Kosovo (26 September 1991). Relying on the outcome of preliminary referendums, Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence on 25 June 1991, which was recognised by the member states of the European Community on 15 January 1992 (Klemenčić 1997). However, in order to protect Serbian minorities and the unity of Yugoslavia, the predominantly Serbian leaders of the Yugoslavian state responded to the


Fig. 14
SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
IN 1960
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
U K R A I N I A N S.S.R.
S O V I E T U N I O N
Černovcy
MOLDAVIAN S.S.R.
Kišinău
Iaşi
Dniester
AUSTRIA
Carinthia
Graz
Styria
Klagenfurt
ITALY
HUNGARY
BUDAPEST
Debrecen
Oradea
Cluj
Tirgu Mureş
Hungarian Autonomous Region
SLOVENIA
Ljubljana
Zagreb
Trieste
Rijeka
Pécs
Szeged
Subotica
Voivodina
Timişoara
Orașul Stalin
R O M A N I A
C R O A T I A
Novi Sad
Banja Luka
BOSNIA–
HERZEGOVINA
Y U G O S L A V I A
BEOGRAD
S E R B I A
Zadar
Sarajevo
Split
Craiova
BUCUREŞTI
Constanța
Varna
Niš
MONTENEGRO
Titograd
Priština
Kosovo–Metohija
SOFIA
BULGARIA
Burgas
Maritsa
Skopje
MACEDONIA
ALBANIA
TIRANË
Istanbul
TURKEY
GREECE
Thessaloniki
Aegean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
Danube
Drava
Sava
Tisza
Prut
Mureş
Olt
Morava
Vardar
International boundary
Boundary of semi-independent republic
Boundary of autonomous province
BUDAPEST State capital
Titograd Capital of semi-independent republic
Tirgu Mureş Seat of autonomous province
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Fig. 15
SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
IN 1990
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
U K R A I N I A N S.S.R.
S O V I E T U N I O N
Černovcy
MOLDAVIAN S.S.R.
Kišinău
Iaşi
Dniester
AUSTRIA
Carinthia
Graz
Styria
Klagenfurt
ITALY
HUNGARY
BUDAPEST
Debrecen
Oradea
Cluj–Napoca
SLOVENIA
Ljubljana
Zagreb
Trieste
Rijeka
Pécs
Szeged
Subotica
Timişoara
Braşov
R O M A N I A
C R O A T I A
Novi Sad
Banja Luka
BOSNIA–
HERZEGOVINA
Y U G O S L A V I A
BEOGRAD
S E R B I A
Zadar
Sarajevo
Split
Craiova
BUCUREŞTI
Constanța
Varna
Niš
MONTENEGRO
Titograd
Priština
SOFIA
BULGARIA
Burgas
Maritsa
Skopje
MACEDONIA
ALBANIA
TIRANË
Istanbul
TURKEY
GREECE
Thessaloniki
Aegean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
Danube
Drava
Sava
Tisza
Prut
Mureş
Olt
Morava
Vardar
International boundary
Boundary of semi-independent republic
Boundary of autonomous province
TIRANË State capital
Sarajevo Capital of semi-independent republic
Graz Seat of federal province
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declaration of independence by waging a war against Slovenia (between 27 June 1991 and 7 July 1991) and Croatia (from 7 July 1991). During the war with Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina also separated from Yugoslavia, on 21 November 1991 and 1 March 1992 respectively. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, with an extremely heterogeneous population, both in terms of its religion and ethnicity, the declaration of independence gave rise to a particularly cruel war between the Orthodox Christian Serbs, Muslim Bosnians and Catholic Croats populating the area. Upon the remnants of the former Yugoslavia, a "new" Yugoslavian federation was established on 27 April 1992 by Serbia and Montenegro, the latter securing a corridor to the sea for the newly born country. After a series of unsuccessful peace-keeping attempts and settlement plans by international organisations, and a long period of passivity, Croatia started a counter-offensive in 1995, relying on considerable external help. They recaptured Western Slavonia on 2 May and Krajina between 4 and 7 August, then, in cooperation with the Bosnians, expelled the Serbian forces from 20% of Bosnian territory. The war of Bosnia and Croatia, which had a death toll of approximately 350,000, was ended by the peace agreement initiated in Dayton on 21 November 1995 and signed in Paris on 14 December 1995. As a result of the agreement, reached under international pressure and owing to the fatigue of the fighting parties, the territorial integrity of Croatia was restored, and Bosnia–Herzegovina was organised as a federal republic along ethnic lines. This state with an area of 51,129 km^2, held together by external forces, was divided into two entities along (near) the front lines and new ethnic borders fixed in 1995: a Serbian Republic (with a territory of 25,019 km^2) and a Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, dominated by Boshniaks and Croats (26,110 km^2) emerged (*Figure 16*) (Der Fischer… 2004).

During the war between the Serbs, Croats and Boshniaks, the Albanians of Kosovo, who were deprived of their autonomy in 1989 by the Belgrade government, created their own "shadow-state" in the territory of their former autonomous province by 1992, which existed alongside the Yugoslav state without serious

conflicts until the Dayton agreement on 21 November 1995 (Troebst 1998). However, the Dayton settlement and the previous events prompted both the Kosovar Albanians and the Serbs to become more active. The Albanians, disappointed and desperate, recognised that the "Western" decision-makers had once again neglected the Albanian question, and emphasised the importance of the integrity of international borders and the territory of the third Yugoslav state. As for the Serbs, they judged that – in the light of the ousting of several hundreds of thousands of Serbs from Krayina in 1995 – the issue of the Kosovar Albanians could be resolved by more drastic and bloody means than those used hitherto, and that acceptance of such a solution could be achieved, even at an international level. In an attempt to stop the ethnic cleansing, mass murders and the ousting of the Albanian population, NATO started bombing Yugoslavia on 24 March 1999. The intervention lasted until 9 June 1999, by which time nearly 50 per cent of the Kosovar Albanians (862,979 people) had been driven out to the neighbouring countries. From June 1999, the overwhelming majority of these people returned to Kosovo with the help of UNHCR and other international organisations. By that time Kosovo was being policed by KFOR troops, 50,000-strong (comprising mainly British, Russian, German, American, French and Italian forces), and the Yugoslavian armed forces had already been forced to leave. This was the third time in the 20th century that the Serbian army had to withdraw from the mainly Albanian-populated Kosovo (the first occasion was in 1915–1916, the second one in 1941). At the end of the 20th century, and in particular in 1998 and 1999, the Serbian (Yugoslav) state, which had already tried various means of settling the Albanian issue, resorted to large-scale and bloody ethnic cleansing in its quest to retain Kosovo, which it considered to be a cradle of Serbian statehood. As a result of NATO's intervention to protect the Albanian population, Serbia lost the province of Kosovo *de facto* and it has become a UN protectorate, populated mainly by Albanians, but still belonging to Serbia *de jure*, that is, under international administration.

Ethnic and Religious Patterns

In the course of the 14th –16th century Ottoman conquest, the ethnic structure of the region, having been hitherto relatively stable, collapsed as a consequence of mass migrations. Prompted by the advancement of Turkish troops, then under Ottoman rule, the population of the region started to migrate towards the frontier regions, whilst a lesser quantity of people fled to the protected mountain areas. It was the Serbs who migrated on the largest scale. They had moved towards the north and north west, to the southern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, and to the eastern and central parts of the medieval Croatian Kingdom, usually after major defeats in battle at the hands of the Turks. They occupied the settlements abandoned by Hungarians and Croatians who had fled northwards. In the vast, abandoned, unpopulated mountain areas in the eastern part of Hungary (Transylvania), the devastation wrought by the Turks and the Tartars gave fresh impetus to the settlement of Romanians who had been moving to this area in increasing numbers since the 13th century. Due to this immigration, the proportion of Romanians in Transylvania grew from 25% at the end of the 15th century to 55.8% by 1761. From the 16th and 17th centuries onwards, the settlement of Turks and, in general, Muslims, in areas of strategic importance, as well as the gradual conversion of local people to Islam in other areas, was taking place on an increasingly large scale. In Bosnia, conversion to Islam was more or less voluntary, but in some places it was enforced. This was the case with the Bulgarian-speaking Pomaks, living in the Rhodope mountains in Bulgaria, who were forcibly converted to Islam in three waves, around 1516, between 1666 and 1669, and in 1689. The settlement policy of the Ottoman Empire and conversion to Islam was most successful in Thrace, Bulgaria, Kosovo, Albania, in the Sanjak and Bosnia, where the population became extremely diverse, both ethnically and religiously. Turkish control on the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary eventually ended in 1718 (ruled by the Hapsburgs since 1526) by the reoccupation of the Banat. From 1718 for the next 160 years, the northern border of the Turkish Empire was formed by the Carpathians, the Danube and the Sava. Although, due to the mass immigration of the peoples of the Balkans into the Carpathian Basin – in particular that of Romanians and Serbs – this line, coinciding with the geographical boundary of South Eastern Europe, by no means represented a language boundary. During this 160-year period it became a boundary between cultures.

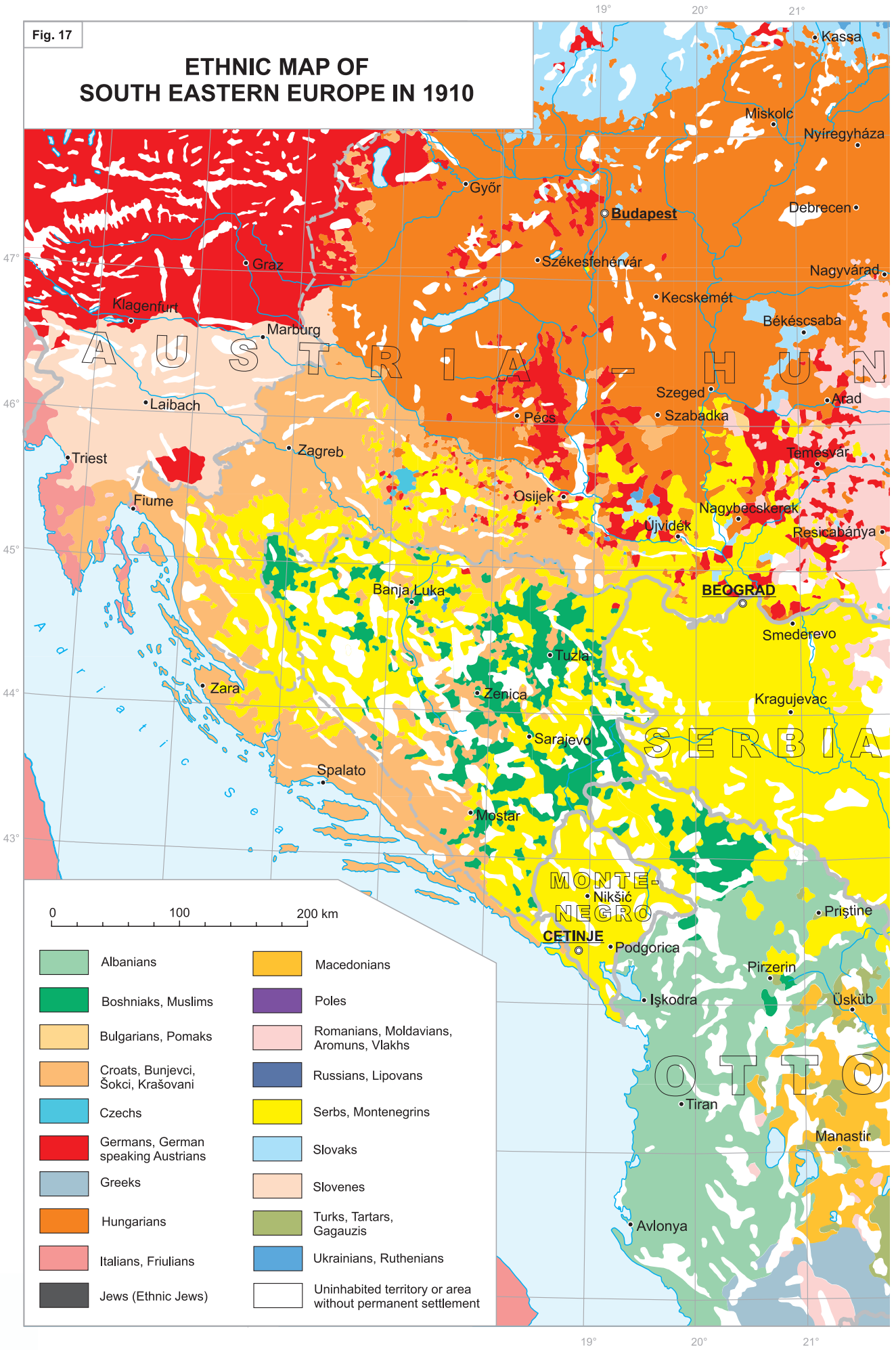
The central and southern parts of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, which had come under Hapsburg control after the end of Turkish rule, and had been abandoned by Hungarians, started to be re-populated in the 18th century mainly by Germans, Serbs, Slovaks, Romanians, and Ukrainians, through organised and spontaneous settlement. They arrived in their hundreds of thousands, primarily from Germany, Serbia and from the frontier areas of the Kingdom of Hungary. As a result of this large-scale colonisation, the southern part of present-day Hungary, Voivodina, the Banat (now part of Romania) and the eastern part of present-day Croatia (Slavonia) are nowadays among the most ethnically diverse areas of Europe, where almost all the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe can be found.

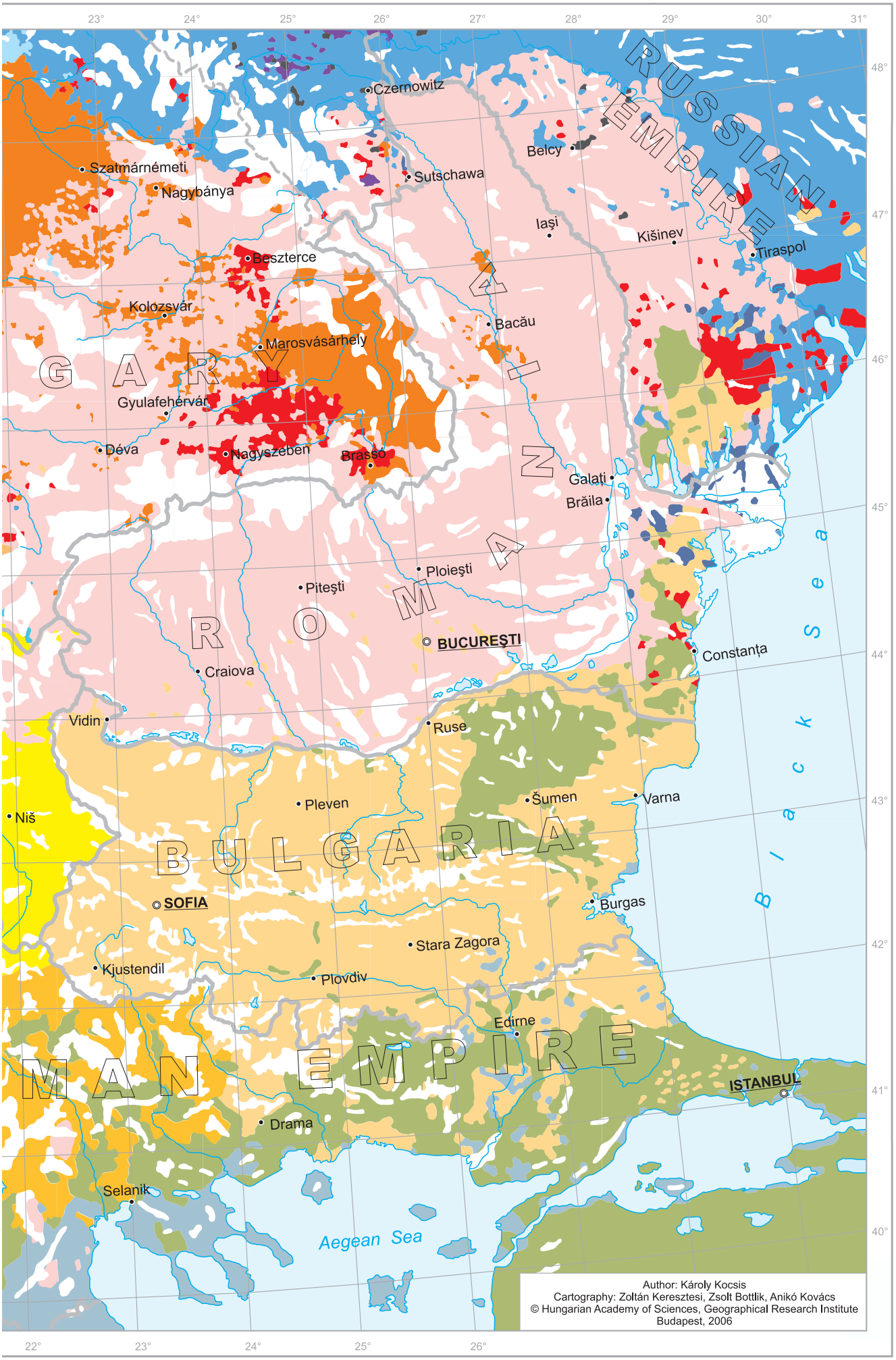
As a consequence of the 150-year Turkish occupation, devastation by wars (having chiefly affected the Croatians and the Hungarians, the two peoples divided by the frontline that consolidated between Muslims and Christians in the 16th and 17th centuries), as well as subsequent settlement and immigration, the proportion of Hungarians in the territory of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary was reduced from 65% at the end of the 15th century to 29% by 1787. Simultaneously, the Croatian and Bosnian Krajina, which had been the centre of the Croatian ethnic area between the river Drava and Adriatic Sea, came to be populated by Orthodox Christian Serbs and Muslim Bosnians.

The earliest reliable data on the numbers and proportions of ethnic and religious groups within the population in South Eastern Europe were provided by the censuses carried out by the Austrian and Hungarian authorities. As regards the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, occupied by Austria–Hungary in 1878, the census of 1879 showed that Orthodox Serbs constituted a relative majority (42.9%), with their ratio on the increase since the 18th century, while the percentage of Muslims, which was 66% in

Fig. 17

ETHNIC MAP OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 1910

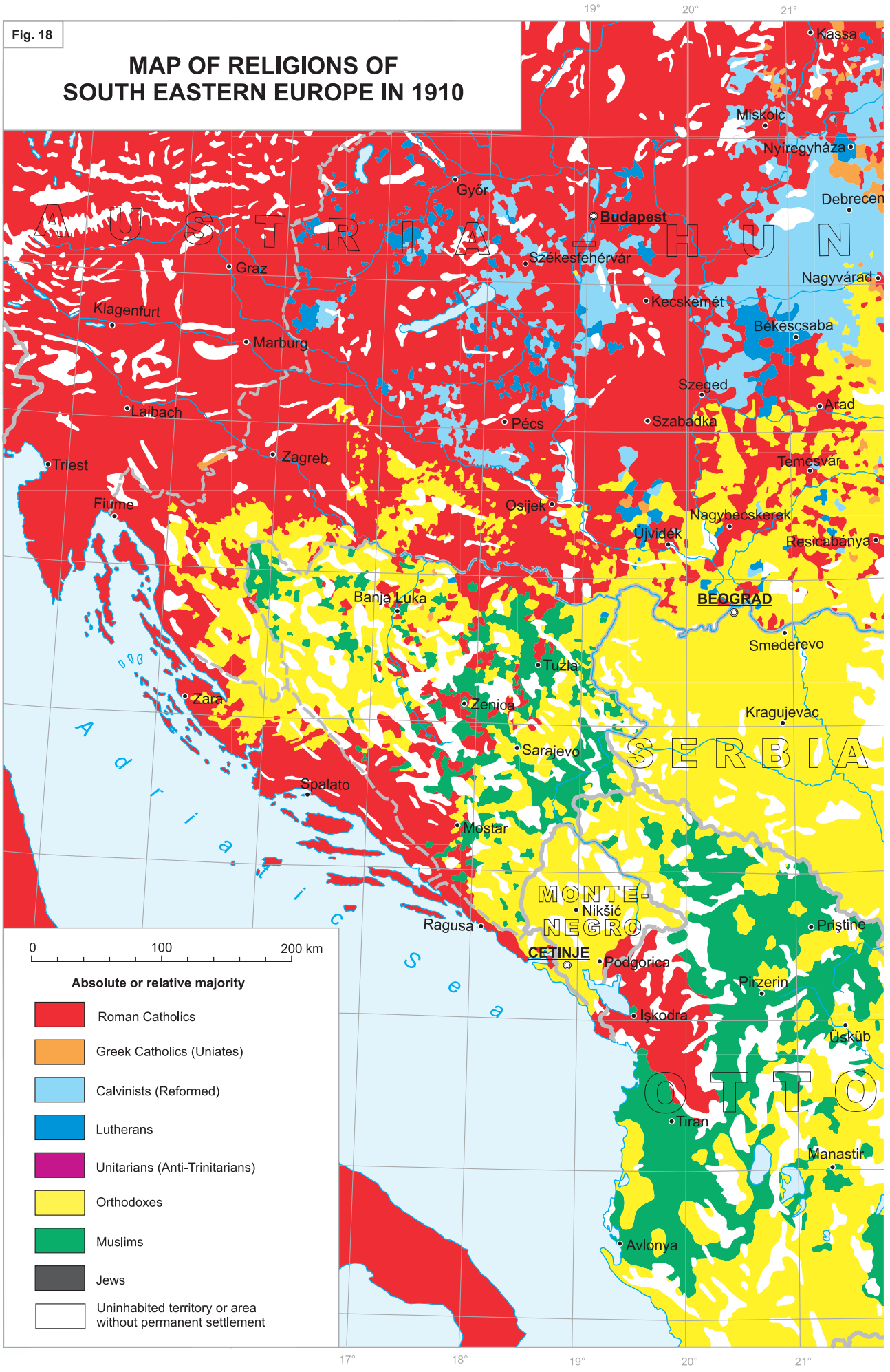


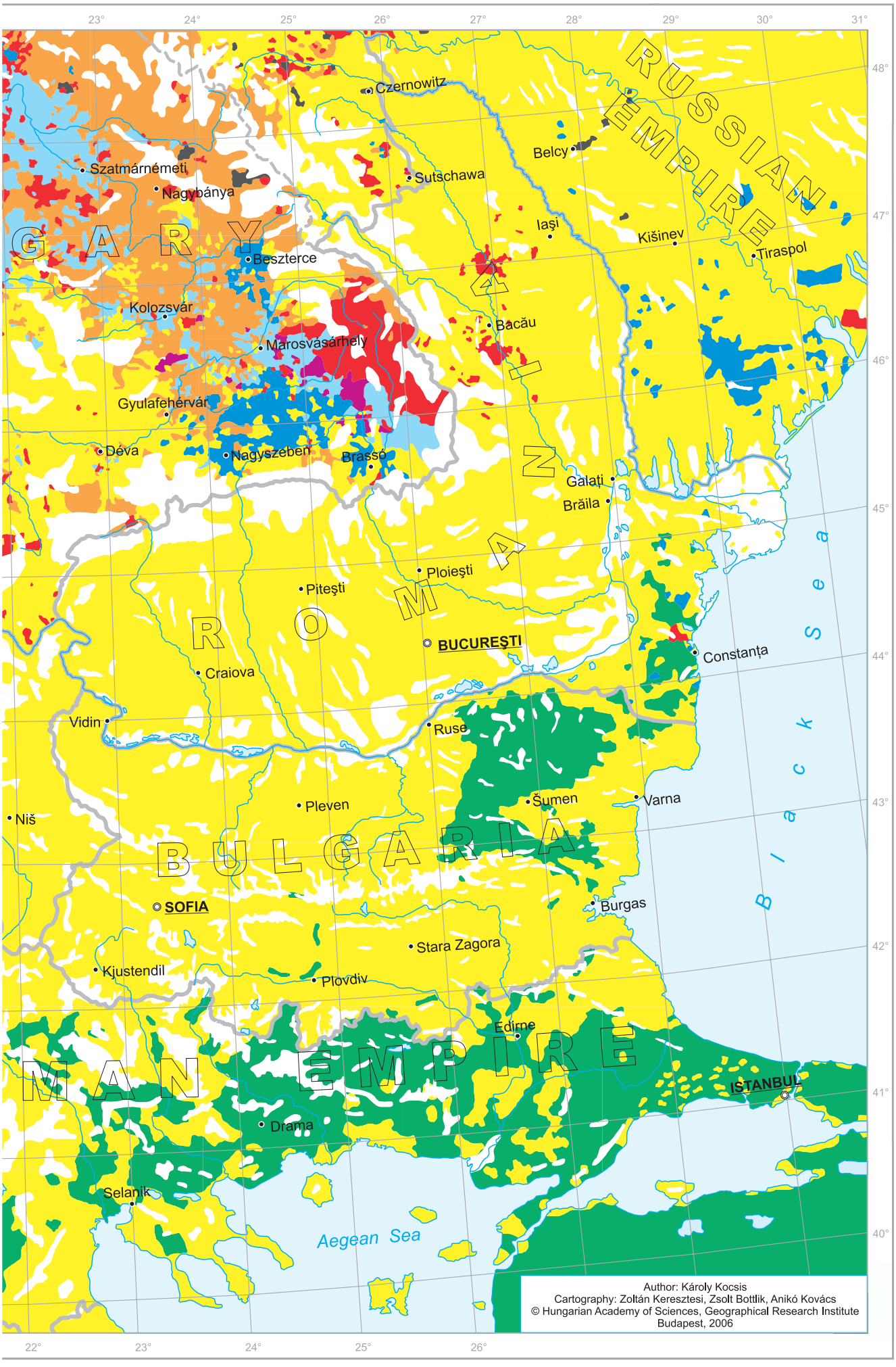


Author: Károly Kocsis
Cartography: Zoltán Keresztesi, Zsolt Bottlik, Anikó Kovács

Fig. 18

MAP OF RELIGIONS OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 1910




23°
24°
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28°
29°
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31°
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42°
41°
40°
22°
23°
24°
25°
26°
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Czernowitz
Belcy
Sutschawa
Iaşi
Kišinev
Tiraspol
Szatmárnémeti
Nagybánya
Beszterce
Kolozsvár
Bacău
Marosvásárhely
Gyulafehérvár
Déva
Nagyszeben
Brassó
Galaţi
Brăila
Ploieşti
Piteşti
BUCUREŞTI
Craiova
Constanţa
Vidin
Ruse
Pleven
Šumen
Varna
Niš
SOFIA
Burgas
Stara Zagora
Kjustendil
Plovdiv
Edirne
ISTANBUL
Drama
Selanik
Aegean Sea
Black Sea
GARY
MAGYAR
ROMAN
BULGARIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Author: Károly Kocsis
Cartography: Zoltán Keresztesi, Zsolt Bottlik, Anikó Kovács
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1710, had dropped to 38.7%. Following the occupation of Bosnia in 1878, Catholics (Croats, Germans, Hungarians etc.) settled the area in increasing numbers. These changes in the ratio of ethnic and religious groups, unfavourable for the Muslims and leading to an increase in the number of Orthodox Christians (Serbs) and Catholics (Croats) continued until the end of World War I.

With regard to changes in the ratio and geographical structure of ethnic and religious groups in the period between 1880 and 1910 the following trends could be observed. In Voivodina and Croatia, owing to a great influx of immigrants, the high rate of natural increase and intense assimilation promoted by social tendencies, it was the Hungarians who experienced the fastest rise in both number and proportion, in particular through the assimilation of Hungarianised Germans and non-Hungarian town dwellers. In this period, the number of Hungarians in the territory of what later became Yugoslavia grew from 336,000 to 580,000. In the, at that time, Austrian territory of Slovenia, particularly in Lower Styria, the process of slow Germanisation continued, the most conspicuous examples of which were the cities of Maribor (Marburg), Ptuj (Pettau) and Celje (Cilli); these settlements were still overwhelmingly populated by Germans in 1910. As for the rural areas in

Table 6a. ***Ethnic Structure of the Population of South East European Countries (around 1921, 2001)***

Countries, *provinces*	Year	Total population	Albanians	Boshniaks, Muslims	Bulgarians	Croats	Germans	Greeks	Hungarians	Italians	Jews
Albania	1923	814,385	736,000	..	..	..	..	40,000	..	..	100
	1998	**3,339,000**	**3,251,000**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**62,000**	**..**	**..**	**..**
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1921	1,890,440	626	584,800	..	407,700	16,471	..	2,577	..	..
	1995	2,898,000	..	1,275,000	..	468,000	..	..	**..**	**..**	**..**
Bulgaria	1920	5,096,530	..	..	4,164,172	..	..	42,074	..	..	43,509
	2001	7,928,901	..	..	**6,655,210**	**..**	**..**	**3,408**	**..**	**..**	**1,363**
Croatia	1921	3,447,594	751	1,700	..	2,374,752	99,808	..	81,835	210,336	..
	2001	**4,437,460**	**15,082**	**20,755**	**331**	**3,977,171**	**2,902**	**..**	**16,595**	**19,636**	**576**
Macedonia	1921	798,291	110,651	41,500	..	700	106	..	74	..	..
	2002	**2,022,547**	**509,083**	**17,018**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**
Montenegro	1921	311,341	17,231	38,300	..	18,200	172	..	49	..	..
	2003	**620,145**	**31,163**	**72,809**	**..**	**6,811**	**118**	**..**	**362**	**127**	**..**
Romania	1920	13,270,105	..	..	71,103	..	702,717	..	1,420,290	..	267,379
	2002	21,681,181	..	..	8,092	6,786	60,088	6,513	**1,434,377**	**..**	**5,870**
Serbia	1921	4,808,077	309,516	101,129	51,009	126,788	332,761	..	373,120	..	196
	2002	9,062,201	1,455,847	160,171	**20,497**	**90,614**	**3,901**	**..**	**293,299**	**..**	**..**
Central-Serbia	1921	2,855,059	20,609	72,709	48,609	8,924	14,976	..	3,136	..	..
	2002	**5,466,009**	**59,952**	**155,514**	**18,839**	**14,302**	**747**	**..**	**3,092**	**..**	**..**
Kosovo	1921	439,010	288,907	27,680	..	525	30	..	12	..	..
	1999	**1,564,200**	**1,394,200**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**
Voivodina	1921	1,514,008	..	740	2,400	117,339	317,755	..	369,972	..	196
	2002	**2,031,992**	**1,695**	**4,657**	**1,658**	**76,312**	**3,154**	**..**	**290,207**	**..**	**..**
Slovenia	1921	1,314,524	..	..	..	7,251	41,832	..	14,429	37,302	..
	2002	1,964,036	6,186	32,009	138	35,642	680	54	**6,243**	**2,258**	**28**
South Eastern Europe	1921	31,751,287	1,174,775	767,429	4,286,284	2,935,391	1,193,867	82,074	1,892,374	247,638	311,184
	2001	**53,953,471**	**5,268,361**	**6,684,268**	**15,77,762**	**4,585,024**	**67,689**	**71,975**	**1,750,876**	**22,021**	**7,837**

Remark: .. no data.

Austro–Hungarian ruled territories later ceded to Yugoslavia, ethnic boundaries more or less consolidated in the 18th century did not change considerably until World War I.

The ethnic and religious geographical patterns of South Eastern Europe in the early 20th century can be established on the basis of the data on language and religious relations, provided by the 1910 Austrian–Hungarian census carried out for each urban and rural settlement, and also by the maps prepared by highly skilled experts living in other areas of the Balkans (e.g. Cvijić 1913, Ischirkoff 1915, Kettler 1916), (*Figures 17 and 18*). The followers of Western Christianity (Catholics, Protestants) – in other words Slovenes, Croats, Italians, Hungarians, Germans, Northern Transylvanian Romanians, and Ruthenians – dominated the regions of the Carpathian Basin and the Adriatic seacoast (e.g. the Istrian peninsula, Dalmatia and Northern Albania), with the exception of the areas of the Southern Carpathians, the southern part of the Banat and Syrmia. Outside of these territories, Catholics constituted sizeable minorities only in Bukovina (Poles, Germans, Hungarians) and Moldova (the Hungarian "Csángós"). Within the territory dominated by the followers of Western Christianity, there were large Calvinist

*Table 6a. (**continuation)***

Countries, *provinces*	Year	Macedonians	Roma (Gypsies)	Romanians, Vlakhs, Aromuns	Russians, Ukrainians Ruthenians	Serbs, Montenegrins	Slovaks, Czechs	Slovenes	Turks, Tartars, Gagauzis	Others
Albania	1923	7,489	10,000	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	10,796
	1998	**5,000**	**1,000**	**10,000**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**10,000**
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1921	..	..	1,334	10,782	822,000	6,377	..	231	37,542
	1995	**..**	**..**			**987,000**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**168,000**
Bulgaria	1920	..	105,477	64,220	10,600	..	..	..	663,466	3,012
	2001	**5,071**	**370,908**	**11,654**	**18,084**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**746,664**	**116,539**
Croatia	1921	..	..	896	9,521	584,058	42,444	..	260	41,233
	2001	**4,270**	**9,463**	**487**	**5,220**	**206,557**	**15,222**	**13,173**	**300**	**129,720**
Macedonia	1921	498,000	..	8,209	177	18,300	132	..	101,460	18,982
	2002	**1,297,981**	**53,879**	**9,695**	**..**	**35,939**	**..**	**..**	**77,959**	**20,993**
Montenegro	1921	..	..	19	209	236,000	136	..	172	853
	2003	**819**	**2,601**	**..**	**240**	**466,083**	**..**	**415**	**..**	**38,597**
Romania	1920		104,896	10,399,265	97,648	52,696	31,966	..	41,625	80,520
	2002	**..**	**535,250**	**19,409,400**	**97,750**	**22,518**	**21,137**	**..**	**56,733**	**16,667**
Serbia	1921	..	..	219,701	23,824	3,100,893	63,491		31,160	74,489
	2002	**25,847**	**108,193**	**74,630**	**7,942**	**6,378,987**	**61,232**	**5,104**	**..**	**375,937**
Central-Serbia	1921	..		151,632	4,527	2,483,560	4,345		2,484	39,548
	2002	**14,062**	**79,136**	**44,110**	**2,646**	**4,924,567**	**2,947**	**3,099**	**..**	**143,275**
Kosovo	1921	..	..	402	31	90,000	18	..	27,915	3,490
	1999	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**97,100**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**72,900**
Voivodina	1921	..	..	67,667	19,266	527,333	59,128	..	761	31,451
	2002	**11,785**	**29,057**	**30,520**	**21,201**	**1,357,320**	**58,285**	**2,005**	**..**	**159,762**
Slovenia	1921	..	..	..	1,630	4,981	2,941	1,201,726	..	2,432
	2002	**3,972**	**3,246**	**135**	**961**	**41,631**	**489**	**1,631,363**	**259**	**198,742**
South Eastern Europe	1921	505,489	220,373	10,703,644	154,391	4,818,928	147,487	1,201,726	838,374	269,859
	2001	**1,342,960**	**1,084,540**	**19,516,001**	**146,102**	**8,138,715**	**98,080**	**1,650,055**	**881,915**	**1,054,912**

Table 6b. ***Ethnic Structure of the Population of South East European Countries (around 1921, 2001, %)***

Countries, *provinces*	Year	Total population	Albanians	Boshniaks, Muslims	Bulgarians	Croats	Germans	Greeks	Hungarians	Italians	Jews	Macedonians	Roma (Gypsies)	Romanians, Vlakhs, Aromums	Russians, Ukrainians, Ruthenians	Serbs, Montenegrins	Slovaks, Czechs	Slovenes	Turks, Tartars, Gagauzis	Others
Albania	1923	100.0	90.4	..	..	..	..	4.9	..	..	0.0	0.9	1.2	1.2	..	..	..	..	..	1.3
	1998	**100.0**	**97.4**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**1.9**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**0.2**	**0.0**	**0.3**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**0.3**
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1921	100.0	0.0	30.9	..	21.6	0.9	..	0.1	..	..	..	..	0.1	0.6	43.5	0.3	..	0.0	2.0
	1995	**100.0**	**..**	**44.0**	**..**	**16.2**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**0.0**	**34.1**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**5.8**
Bulgaria	1920	100.0		..	81.7	..		0.8		..	0.8		2.1	1.3	0.2	..		..	13.0	0.1
	2001	**100.0**	**..**	**..**	**83.9**	**..**	**..**	**0.0**	**..**	**..**	**0.0**	**0.1**	**4.7**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**9.4**	**1.5**
Croatia	1921	100.0	0.0	0.1	..	68.9	2.9	..	2.4	6.1	..	..	..	0.0	0.3	16.9	1.2	..	0.0	1.2
	2001	**100.0**	**0.3**	**0.5**	**0.0**	**89.6**	**0.1**	**..**	**0.4**	**0.4**	**0.0**	**0.1**	**0.2**	**0.0**	**0.1**	**4.7**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.0**	**2.9**
Macedonia	1921	100.0	13.9	5.2	..	0.1	0.0	..	0.0	..	..	62.4	..	1.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	..	12.7	2.4
	2002	**100.0**	**25.2**	**0.8**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**64.2**	**2.7**	**0.5**	**..**	**1.8**	**..**	**..**	**3.9**	**1.0**
Montenegro	1921	100.0	5.5	12.3	..	5.9	0.1	..	0.0	..	..	..	..	0.0	0.1	75.8	0.0	..	0.1	0.3
	2003	**100.0**	**5.0**	**11.7**	**..**	**1.1**	**0.0**	**..**	**0.0**	**..**	**..**	**0.1**	**0.4**	**..**	**0.0**	**75.2**	**..**	**0.1**	**..**	**6.5**
Romania	1920	100.0	..	..	0.5	..	5.3	..	10.7	..	2.0	..	0.8	78.4	0.7	0.4	0.2	..	0.3	0.6
	2002	**100.0**	**..**	**..**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.3**	**0.0**	**6.6**	**..**	**0.0**	**..**	**2.5**	**89.5**	**0.5**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**..**	**0.3**	**0.1**
Serbia	1921	100.0	6.4	2.1	1.1	2.6	6.9	..	7.8	..	0.0	..	..	4.6	0.5	64.5	1.3	..	0.7	1.6
	2002	**100.0**	**16.1**	**1.8**	**0.2**	**1.0**	**0.0**	**..**	**3.2**	**..**	**..**	**0.3**	**1.2**	**0.8**	**0.1**	**70.4**	**0.7**	**0.1**	**..**	**4.2**
Central-Serbia	1921	100.0	0.7	2.6	1.7	0.3	0.5	..	0.1	..	..	..	..	5.3	0.2	87.0	0.2	..	0.1	1.4
	2002	**100.0**	**1.1**	**2.9**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.0**	**..**	**0.1**	**..**	**..**	**0.3**	**1.5**	**0.8**	**0.0**	**90.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**..**	**2.6**
Kosovo	1921	100.0	65.8	6.3	..	0.1	0.0	..	0.0	..	..	..	..	0.1	0.0	20.5	0.0	..	6.4	0.8
	1999	**100.0**	**89.1**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**..**	**..**	**6.2**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**4.7**
Voivodina	1921	100.0	..	0.1	0.2	7.8	21.0	..	24.4	..	0.0	..	..	4.5	1.3	34.8	3.9	..	0.1	2.1
	2002	**100.0**	**0.1**	**0.2**	**0.1**	**3.8**	**0.2**	**..**	**14.3**	**..**	**..**	**0.6**	**1.4**	**1.5**	**0.3**	**66.8**	**2.9**	**0.1**	**..**	**7.9**
Slovenia	1921	100.0	..	..	..	0.6	3.2	..	1.1	2.8	..	..	..	..	0.1	0.4	0.2	91.4	..	0.2
	2002	**100.0**	**0.3**	**1.6**	**0.0**	**1.8**	**0.0**	**..**	**0.3**	**0.1**	**..**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.0**	**0.1**	**2.1**	**0.0**	**83.1**	**0.0**	**10.1**
South Eastern Europe	1921	100.0	3.7	2.4	13.5	9.2	3.8	0.3	6.0	0.8	1.0	1.6	0.7	33.7	0.5	15.2	0.5	3.8	2.6	0.7
	2001	**100.0**	**9.8**	**2.9**	**12.4**	**8.5**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**3.2**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**2.5**	**2.0**	**36.2**	**0.3**	**15.1**	**0.2**	**3.1**	**1.6**	**1.7**

Remark: .. no data.

communities – almost all of them inhabited by Hungarians – in Transylvania, Trans-Tisza Region and in certain parts of Transdanubia. Lutherans were mainly Germans (most of them living in Transylvania and Bessarabia) and Slovaks (in the central and southern parts of the Hungarian Great Plain). Muslims (Turks, Tartars, the majority of Albanians, the Bulgarian Pomaks, Boshniaks and Gorans) lived primarily in the areas lying between Istanbul, capital of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire; and Bosnia, i.e. in Thrace, Eastern Macedonia, Kosovo, Central Albania, the Sanjak, Eastern Bosnia and the district of Bihać; and in the area near the Black Sea (e.g. North Eastern Bulgaria, Dobruja). The Muslim district of Bihać in the western part of Bosnia, wedged into the territory of present-day Croatia, has been the westernmost stronghold of Islam since the 16th and 17th centuries. In the other areas of South Eastern Europe, the population was predominantly Orthodox Christian, e.g. Romanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Greeks and Southern Albanians. National Orthodox Christian churches, the ar-

Table 7. ***Ethnic Structure of the Population on the Present-day Territory of Kosovo (1903–1999)***

Year	Total population	Albanians	Serbs	Montenegrins	Turks	Muslims, Gorans	Roma (Gypsies)	Croats	Others
Population number									
1903	444,400	230,000	111,350	..	9,650	69,250	14,180	6,600	3,070
1921	439,010	288,910	92,490	..	27,920	13,630	11,000	2,700	2,360
1931	552,064	331,549	133,809	15,000	23,698	24,760	14,014	5,555	3,679
1939	645,017	350,946	192,194	21,552	24,946	26,215	15,221	7,998	5,945
1948	727,820	498,242	171,911	28,050	1,315	9,679	11,230	5,290	2,103
1953	808,141	524,559	189,869	31,343	34,583	6,241	11,904	6,201	3,441
1961	963,988	646,605	227,016	37,588	25,764	8,026	3,202	7,251	8,536
1971	1,243,693	916,168	228,264	31,555	12,244	26,357	14,593	8,264	6,248
1981	1,584,441	1,226,736	209,498	27,028	12,513	58,562	34,126	8,718	7,260
1991	1,954,747	1,607,690	195,301	20,045	10,838	57,408	42,806	8,161	12,498
1998*	2,189,734	1,829,119	190,669	..	..	..	..	..	169,946
1999**	1,564,200	1,394,200	97,100	..	..	..	..	..	72,900
%									
Year	Total population	Albanians	Serbs	Montenegrins	Turks	Muslims, Gorans	Roma (Gypsies)	Croats	Others
1903	100.0	51.8	25.0	..	2.2	15.6	3.2	1.5	0.7
1921	100.0	65.8	21.1	..	6.4	3.1	2.5	0.6	0.5
1931	100.0	60.0	24.2	2.7	4.3	4.5	2.5	1.0	0.8
1939	100.0	54.4	29.8	3.3	3.9	4.1	2.4	1.2	0.9
1948	100.0	68.5	23.6	3.9	0.2	1.3	1.5	0.7	0.3
1953	100.0	64.9	23.5	3.9	4.3	0.8	1.5	0.8	0.3
1961	100.0	67.1	23.5	3.9	2.7	0.8	0.3	0.8	0.9
1971	100.0	73.7	18.4	2.5	1.0	2.1	1.2	0.7	0.4
1981	100.0	77.4	13.2	1.7	0.8	3.7	2.2	0.6	0.4
1991	100.0	82.2	10.0	1.0	0.6	2.9	2.2	0.4	0.7
1998*	100.0	83.5	8.7	..	..	..	..	..	7.8
1999**	100.0	89.1	6.2	..	..	..	..	..	4.7

Remarks: .. no data; * UNHCR estimation; ** 1999, August. UNHCR Rapid Village Assessment (RVA). OSCE/UNHCR Ethnic minorities report. KFOR brigade assessments.
Sources: 1903, 1921–1939: after Vučković, M.–Nikolić, G. (1996), 1948–1991: Statistički Bilten 1295. SZS. Beograd. 1982.

dent supporters of the ethnic awareness of these peoples, were recognised by the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople (Istanbul) as autocephalous (self-governing) – first the Serbian in 1879, then the Romanian in 1885, the Bulgarian in 1945 and the Macedonian in 1958.

The peace treaties that followed World War I, although aimed at creating nation states, replaced the multi-ethnic empires with small multi-ethnic states. The proportion of the subordinated peoples in the region of the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans decreased only slightly, from 35.4% (in 1914) to 31.7% in 1920. The Romanians annexed Eastern Hungary (Transylvania) and Bessarabia, the Serbs annexed the regions of Bačka, Banat and South Baranya in Southern Hungary. Romania and Serbia obtained territories with a high share of ethnic minorities. In Transylvania, for example, 42.7% of the population was not Romanian, mainly comprised of Hungarians and Germans. In Bessarabia this ratio was 44%, including Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians, Jews and Gagauzis. In Bačka, Banat and Baranya, the proportion of ethnic groups other than Serbs, i.e. Hungarians, Germans, Croats and Slovaks made up 71% (1921).

The Kingdom of Hungary (the Carpathian Basin), which had functioned as a

Table 8. ***Ethnic Structure of the Population on the Present-day Territory of Transylvania (1900–2002)***

Year	Total population	Romanians	Hungarians	Germans	Jews	Roma (Gypsies)	Ukrainians, Ruthenians	Croats	Slovaks	Bulgarians	Czechs	Russians	Poles	Others
Population number														
1900	4,848,451	2,670,131	1,433,252	579,593	..	30,000	17,989	3,185	29,884	..	..	..	..	84,417
1910	5,228,180	2,811,719	1,653,943	562,079	..	60,800	22,597	1,916	31,034	..	..	..	..	84,092
1920	5,107,400	2,916,800	1,305,800	548,200	181,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	155,600
1930	5,520,086	3,189,537	1,349,563	542,073	178,284	108,143	29,610	..	45,540	11,373	..	7,217	3,357	55,389
1941	5,882,600	3,288,400	1,735,700	533,600	82,500	81,381	25,130	..	35,600	11,000	12,000	7,000	3,000	67,289
1948	5,761,127	3,752,269	1,481,903	332,066	30,039	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	164,850
1956	6,218,427	4,041,156	1,558,254	367,857	43,749	78,278	31,532	..	23,093	9,749	9,645	2,146	2,379	50,589
1966	6,719,555	4,559,432	1,597,438	371,881	13,530	49,105	36,888	..	21,839	9,707	8,446	2,260	1,883	47,146
1977	7,500,229	5,203,846	1,691,048	347,896	7,830	123,028	42,760	7,433	21,133	9,067	6,305	1,850	1,263	36,770
1992	7,723,313	5,684,142	1,603,923	109,014	2,687	202,665	50,372	4,030	19,446	7,885	4,569	987	749	32,844
2002	7,224,259	5,395,925	1,415,720	53,073	1,803	244,620	49,229	6,691	17,070	6,605	3,041	831	469	29,182
%														
Year	Total population	Romanians	Hungarians	Germans	Jews	Roma (Gypsies)	Ukrainians, Ruthenians	Croats	Slovaks	Bulgarians	Czechs	Russians	Poles	Others
1900	100.0	55.1	29.5	12.0	..	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.6	..	..	..	..	1.7
1910	100.0	53.8	31.6	10.8	..	1.2	0.4	0.0	0.6	..	..	..	..	1.6
1920	100.0	57.1	25.6	10.7	3.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3.1
1930	100.0	57.8	24.5	9.8	3.2	2.0	0.5	..	0.8	0.2	..	0.1	0.1	1.0
1941	100.0	55.9	29.5	9.1	1.4	1.4	0.4	..	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	1.1
1948	100.0	65.1	25.7	5.8	0.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2.9
1956	100.0	65.0	25.1	5.9	0.7	1.3	0.5	..	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.8
1966	100.0	67.9	23.8	5.5	0.2	0.7	0.6	..	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.7
1977	100.0	69.4	22.6	4.6	0.1	1.6	0.6	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.5
1992	100.0	73.6	20.8	1.4	0.0	2.6	0.7	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.4
2002	100.0	74.7	19.6	0.7	0.0	3.4	0.7	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.4

Remarks: .. no data; in this case 'Transylvania' means the territory of the present-day Romanian statistical regions: Centru, Vest, Nord-Vest (ca. the area annexed from Hungary to Romania in 1920).
Sources: 1900, 1910, 1941 Hungarian, 1920–2002 Romanian census data partly after Varga, E.Á. (1998).

natural, economic, historical and cultural unit until 1918, along with the ethnically Hungarian area, were shared out between 5 states, with the result that the newly created Hungarian state covered only 28.6% of the territory of historical Hungary, where 67% of the Hungarian native speakers lived. At the same time, the territory of the Romanian state increased by a factor of 2.3, and that of the Serbian state by 2.7. The new borders almost totally destroyed the centuries-long relationship between the peoples and regions of the Carpathian Basin, and the Balkan Orthodox states took possession of Central European territories which maintained relations with areas substantially different in their religion and culture. For example, Serbia took present-day Voivodina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia, while Romania took the areas that are today called Transylvania. By annexing territories with ethnic minorities numbering several hundred thousands whose cultural and economic orientations were different, Romania and Serbia (the latter officially named the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) – both of them extremely enlarged – took upon themselves burdens and created tensions (particularly along their borders) that remain unresolved up to now, owing to the fact that their attempts to achieve national homogeneity started late.

Censuses were held after World War I between 1920–1923, in all of the present-day Balkan states. These censuses reveal that the population of the region was almost 32 million (*Table 6a*). The nations with the largest populations were the

Table 9. ***Ethnic Structure of the Population on the Present-day Territory of Voivodina (1900–2002)***

Year	Total population	Serbs	Hungarians	Croats	Slovaks	Monte-negrins	Roman-ians	Roma (Gypsies)	Ruthen-ians	Germans	'Yugoslavs'	Others	Non declared	Regional affiliation	Unknown
Population number															
1900	1,433,387	483,451	378,646	81,198	53,849	..	74,718	..	12,674	336,415	..	12,436	..	..	..
1910	1,515,983	512,869	425,952	91,366	56,726	..	75,383	..	13,519	324,044	..	16,124	..	..	..
1921	1,535,794	533,466	371,006	129,788	59,540	..	67,675	..	13,644	335902	..	24,773	..	..	..
1931	1,624,158	613,910	376,176	132,517	63,808	..	63,167	8,539	15,026	328,631	..	22,384	..	..	..
1941	1,662,862	602,195	473,241	101,035	63,763	..	58,712	4,272	16,903	317,906	..	24,835	..	..	..
1948	1,663,212	841,246	428,932	134,232	72,032	30,589	59,263	7,585	22,083	31,821	..	35,429	..	..	..
1953	1,712,619	874,346	435,345	128,054	73,460	30,561	57,236	11,525	23,043	35,290	..	43,100	..	..	659
1961	1,854,965	1,017,717	442,561	145,341	73,830	34,782	57,259	3,312	24,548	11,432	3,174	38,599	..	..	2,410
1971	1,952,533	1,089,132	423,866	138,561	72,795	36,416	52,987	7,760	25,115	7,243	46,928	39,109	1,025	5,255	6,341
1981	2,034,772	1,107,375	385,356	109,203	69,549	43,304	47,289	19,693	24,306	3,808	167,215	49,483	3,361	1,643	3,187
1991	2,013,889	1,143,723	339,491	98,025	63,545	44838	38,809	24,366	22,217	3,873	174,295	37,284	5,427	2,503	15,493
2002	2,031,992	1,321,807	290,207	76,312	56,637	35,513	30,419	29,057	20,261	3,154	49,881	29,800	55,016	10,154	23,774
%															
Year	Total population	Serbs	Hungarians	Croats	Slovaks	Monte-negrins	Roman-ians	Roma (Gypsies)	Ruthen-ians	Germans	'Yugoslavs'	Others	Non declared	Regional affiliation	Unknown
1900	100.0	33.7	26.4	5.7	3.8	..	5.2	..	0.9	23.5	..	0.8	..	..	..
1910	100.0	33.8	28.1	6.0	3.7	..	5.0	..	0.9	21.4	..	1.1	..	..	..
1921	100.0	34.7	24.2	8.5	3.9	..	4.4	..	0.9	21.9	..	1.5	..	..	..
1931	100.0	37.8	23.2	8.2	3.9	..	3.9	0.5	0.9	20.2	..	1.4	..	..	..
1941	100.0	36.2	28.5	6.1	3.8	..	3.5	0.3	1.0	19.1	..	1.5	..	..	..
1948	100.0	50.6	25.8	8.1	4.3	1.8	3.6	0.5	1.3	1.9	..	2.1	..	..	..
1953	100.0	51.1	25.4	7.5	4.3	1.8	3.3	0.7	1.3	2.1	..	2.5	..	..	0.0
1961	100.0	54.9	23.9	7.8	4.0	1.9	3.1	0.2	1.3	0.6	0.2	2.0	..	..	0.1
1971	100.0	55.8	21.7	7.1	3.7	1.9	2.7	0.4	1.3	0.4	2.4	1.9	0.1	0.3	0.3
1981	100.0	54.4	18.9	5.4	3.4	2.1	2.3	1.0	1.2	0.2	8.2	2.4	0.2	0.1	0.2
1991	100.0	56.8	16.9	4.9	3.2	2.2	1.9	1.2	1.1	0.2	8.7	1.7	0.3	0.1	0.8
2002	100.0	65.0	14.3	3.8	2.8	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.0	0.2	2.5	1.4	2.7	0.5	1.2

Remarks: .. no data; Croats together with Bunjevatses and Shokatses, Slovaks in 1921 and 1931 together with Czechs, Ruthenians (Russyns) together with Ukrainians. 'Yugoslavs': persons who declared the non-existing 'Yugoslav' ethnic affiliation. 'Regional affiliation' means e.g. Voivodinian, Bachki, Banatian. – Before 1948 lingual, mother (native) tongue, 1948–2002 ethnic data.
Sources: 1900–1910, 1941 Hungarian, 1921, 1931, 1948–2002 Yugoslav census data.

Romanians (10.7 million, 33.7%), the Serbs (4.8 million, 15.2%) and the Bulgarians (4.3 million, 13.5%), (*Table 6b*). These were followed by the Croats (2.9 million), Hungarians (1.9 million), Slovenes (1.2 million) and Albanians (1.2 million). The proportion of majority peoples was 83.4%, and that of ruling peoples only 73.1%. These two figures appear contradictory; in certain regions the majority people and the ruling people were not the same. For example, in Macedonia the former were the Macedonians and the latter the Serbs, while in Croatia the Croats were in the majority, while the Serbs were the ruling people. Around 1921, the share of the Albanian and Macedonian ethnic minorities were exceedingly high, 37.4 and 22% respectively, while the proportions of Bulgarian and Romanian ethnic groups outside Bulgaria and Romania were very low, at 4.3 and 2.7%. The most ethnically homogeneous territories were Old Romania, Albania and Old Serbia. In Transylvania, Macedonia, Kosovo and Croatia, the proportion of the majority population was relatively low (57–68%, see *Tables 7* and *8*). In Voivodina and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the ratio of the three ethnic groups (Serbs, Hungarians and Germans in Voivodina and Serbs, Boshniaks and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina) was balanced (*Tables 9* and *10*).

Table 10. ***Ethnic Structure of the Population on the Present-day Territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1895–1995)***

Year	Total	Boshniaks (Muslims)	Serbs	Croats	Montenegrins	Slovenes	Albanians	Ukrainians, Ruthenians	Roma (Gypsies)	'Yugoslavs'	Others
Population number											
1895	1,568,092	548,632	673,246	334,142	..	..	..	..	..	..	12,072
1910	1,898,044	612,137	825,418	434,061	..	..	..	..	..	..	26,428
1921	1,890,440	588,247	829,162	443,914	..	..	..	..	..	..	29,117
1931	2,323,555	717,599	1,030,498	549,579	..	..	..	..	..	..	25,879
1948	2,565,277	788,403	1,136,116	614,123	3,094	4,338	755	7,883	442	..	10,123
1953	2,847,459	891,800	1,264,372	654,229	7,336	6,300	1,578	7,473	2,297	..	12,074
1961	3,277,948	842,248	1,406,057	711,665	12,828	5,939	3,642	6,136	588	275,883	12,962
1971	3,746,111	1,482,430	1,393,148	772,491	13,021	4,053	3,764	5,474	1,456	43,796	26,478
1981	4,124,256	1,629,924	1,320,644	758,136	14,114	2,755	4,396	4,613	7,251	326,316	56,107
1991	4,377,033	1,902,956	1,366,104	760,852	10,071	2,190	4,925	4,062	8,864	242,682	74,327
1995	2,898,000	1,275,000	987,000	468,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	168,000
%											
Year	Total	Boshniaks (Muslims)	Serbs	Croats	Montenegrins	Slovenes	Albanians	Ukrainians, Ruthenians	Roma (Gypsies)	'Yugoslavs'	Others
1895	100.0	35.0	42.9	21.3	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.8
1910	100.0	32.2	43.5	22.9	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.4
1921	100.0	31.1	43.9	23.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.5
1931	100.0	30.9	44.3	23.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	1.1
1948	100.0	30.7	44.3	30.0	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	..	0.4
1953	100.0	31.3	44.4	23.0	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1	..	0.4
1961	100.0	25.7	42.9	21.7	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	8.4	0.4
1971	100.0	39.6	37.2	20.6	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	1.2	0.7
1981	100.0	39.5	32.0	18.4	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	7.9	1.4
1991	100.0	43.6	31.3	17.3	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	5.5	1.7
1995	100.0	44.0	34.1	16.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5.8

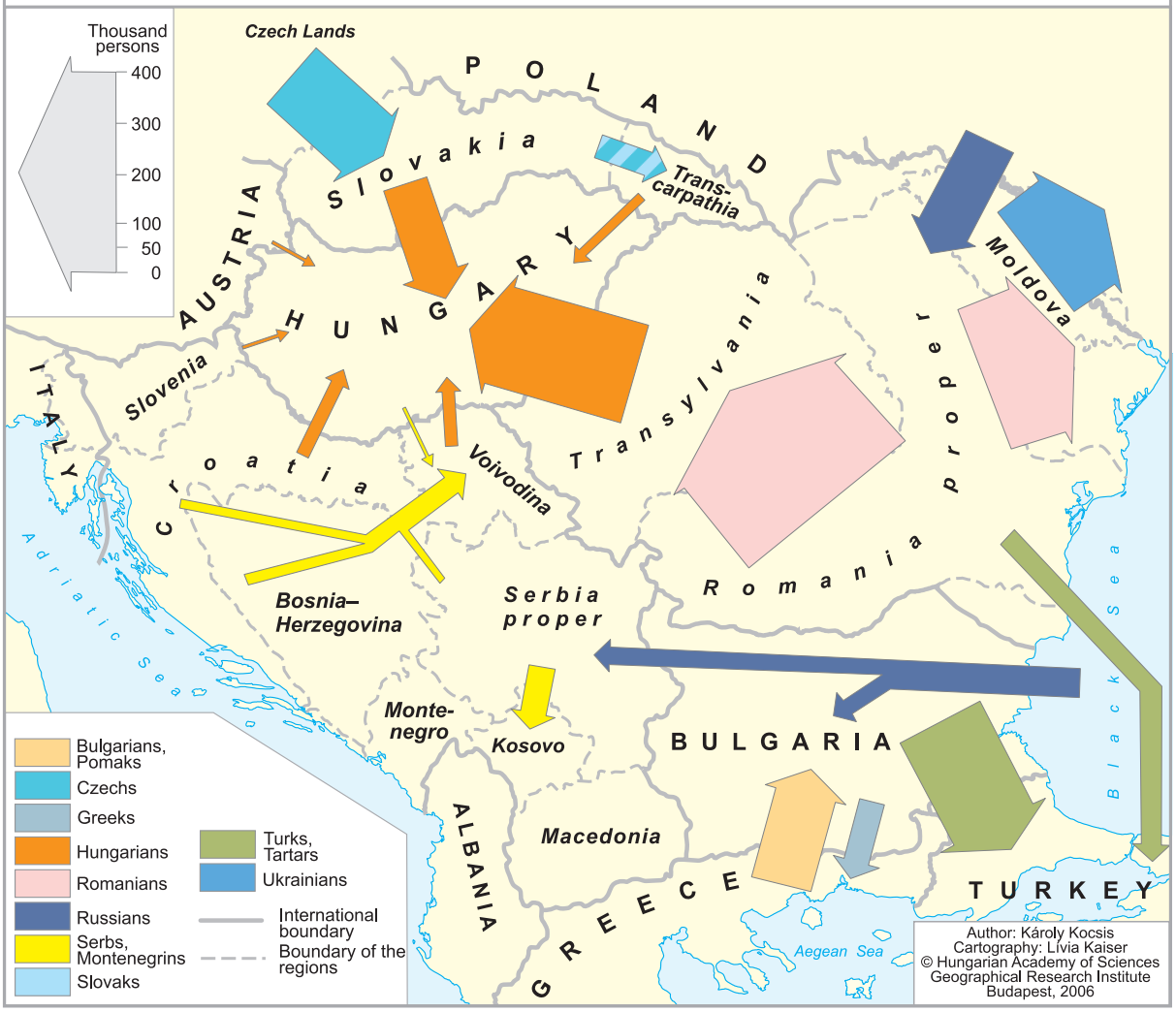
Remark: .. no data.
Sources: 1895. 1910: Austro-Hungarian, 1921–1991: Yugoslav census data. 1995: after Praso, M. (1996).

According to statistics concerning religious affiliation, around 1920 some 61.3% of the population was Orthodox Christian (Serbs, Romanians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Greeks, Ukrainians) and 28.5% was Catholic or Protestant (Hungarians, Slovaks, Czechs, Ruthenians, Croats, Germans, and North Transylvanian Romanians).

The censuses held between 1921 and 1991 show that the ethnic and religious geographical structure of South Eastern Europe underwent significant, and in certain areas fundamental changes, mainly as a result of the two world wars, the ensuing migrations affecting several million people and changes in the social system. Following World War I, between 1918 and 1938, 1.4 million people left their homes in the studied region. More than 240,000 Hungarians fled from the territories of historical Hungary that had been occupied in 1918 (Transylvania, Voivodina and Croatia), and 217,000 Turks left Bulgaria to settle in Turkey (*Figure 19*). Russian immigrants arrived in the region in great numbers (ca 172,000), fleeing from the aftermath of the

Fig. 19

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERREGIONAL MIGRATIONS IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1918–1938

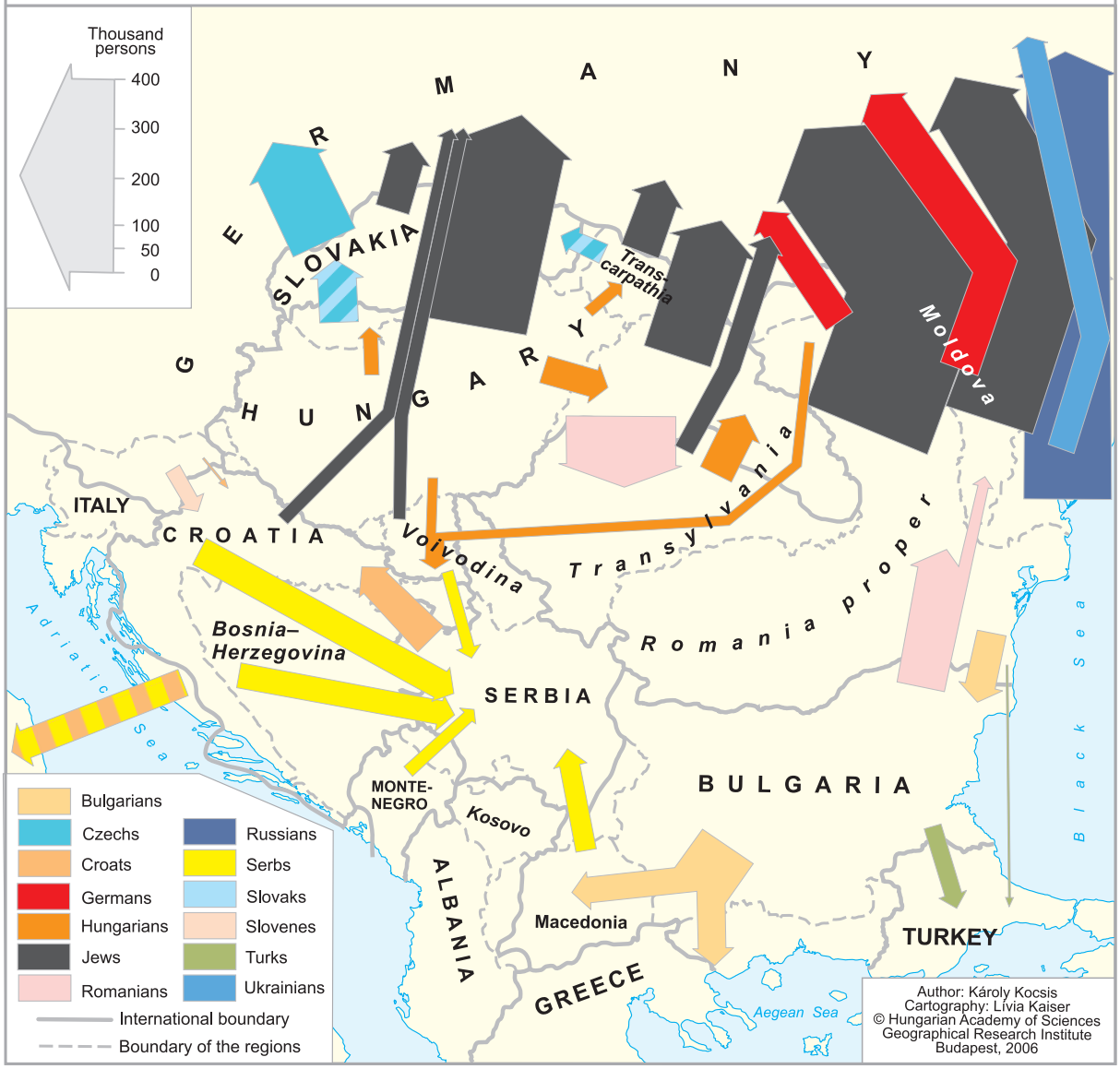


1917 revolution. Most of them settled in Serbia and Bulgaria. Between 1918 and 1926, some 123,000 Bulgarian refugees arrived in Bulgaria from Western Thrace, annexed by Greece, while 46,000 Greeks left Bulgaria for Greece. In Transylvania and Voivodina, the areas abandoned by Hungarian emigrants and refugees were taken by thousands of Romanian and Serb settlers, mainly in Hungarian-populated towns of strategic importance, and in Hungarian-populated areas alongside the border.

The conflicts between ethnic minorities and ruling peoples (e.g. between Hungarians and Romanians, Hungarians and Czechs, Hungarians and Serbs, and Albanians and Serbs), and between subdued and ruling peoples (Slovaks and Czechs, Croats and Serbs, Macedonians and Serbs), played an important role in the historical events of the region, the events of World War II and temporary border revisions. The Axis powers successfully exploited the grievances of the nations humiliated or neglected by the 1918 and 1919 peace settlement, that is, the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Croats, Slovaks and Albanians, and re-drew the map of the region. Due to these large-scale territorial changes and political events, 1.8 million people had to leave their homes in South Eastern Europe between 1939 and 1944 (*Figure 20*). From the areas under German control, 540,000 Jews – most of them (471,000) from Romania – were deported to concentration camps in Germany and Poland. Either as refugees or participants in population exchange, 319,000 ethnic Romanians left

Fig. 20

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERREGIONAL MIGRATIONS IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1938–1944



Northern Transylvania and Southern Dobruja, whilst 273,000 Serbs left the surrounding states to settle in Serbia, whose territory had considerably shrunk from 1941 and included mainly Serb-populated areas. The re-settlement of the small, isolated German communities (194,000) of South Eastern Europe to areas that are today part of Poland was started in 1940 and was carried out on a fairly large scale as part of the German settlement policy. A significant number of Hungarians (142,000) returned to, or were settled in the territories that had been returned to Hungary, and a similarly large number of Bulgarians (122,000) were settled in Macedonia and Western Thrace.

However, truly large-scale migrations and fundamental changes in the ethnic structure only occurred after 1944 (*Figure 21*). Some of the migratory events took place in relation to the territorial changes detailed above. More than 600,000 ethnic Germans, who were also held responsible for the war in this region, fled with the retreating German troops or were deported to labour camps in the Soviet Union, and to Germany. From the territories that Hungary lost in 1944 and 1945 (Northern Transylvania,

Fig. 21

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERREGIONAL MIGRATIONS IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1944–1951

the Subcarpathia, Southern Slovakia and Bačka), some 200,000 Hungarians escaped with the retreating Hungarian soldiers to the territory of present-day Hungary, while of those Hungarians that remained in their homeland, tens of thousands were deported to the inner regions of the Soviet Union, Czech territories in Czechoslovakia and to Hungary. In Voivodina and Eastern Croatia, the removal of some 350,000 Germans caused a particularly large demographic vacuum. The re-population of these territories – possessing the most fertile agricultural land in Yugoslavia – started as early as 1945, by hundreds of thousands of Serbs and Montenegrins from the Balkan areas, especially Bosnia and Croatia; 235,000 people settled in Voivodina. Owing to the events described above, the proportion of Serbs in Voivodina grew from 36.2% to 50.6% between 1941 and 1948. After the removal of more than 100,000 Serbs, 100,000 Germans and 140,000 Italians from Croatia, the proportion of the majority people, the Croats, grew significantly, from 68.1% in 1921 to 79.2% in 1949. The ethnic map of Bulgaria did not

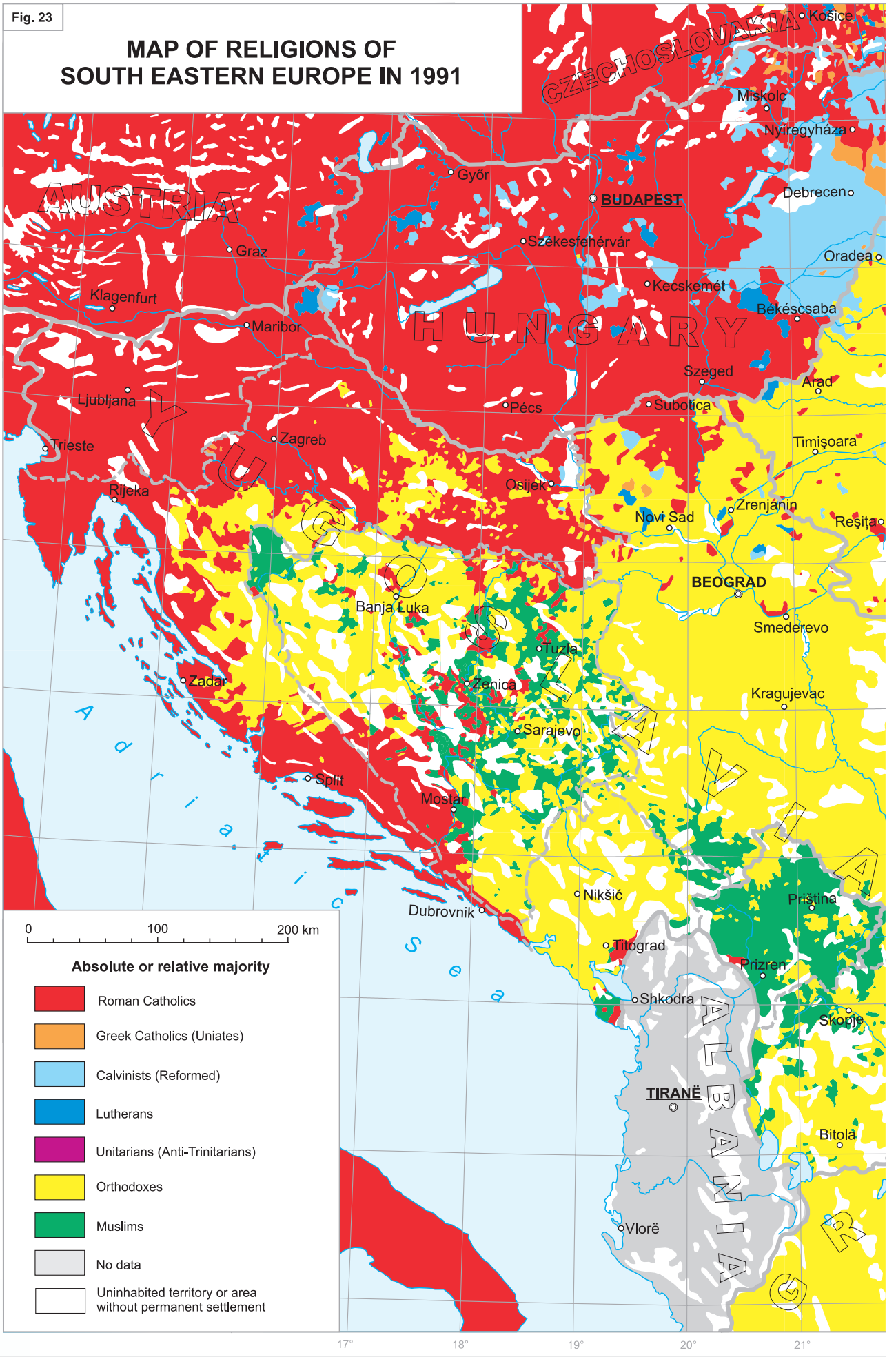
Fig. 22

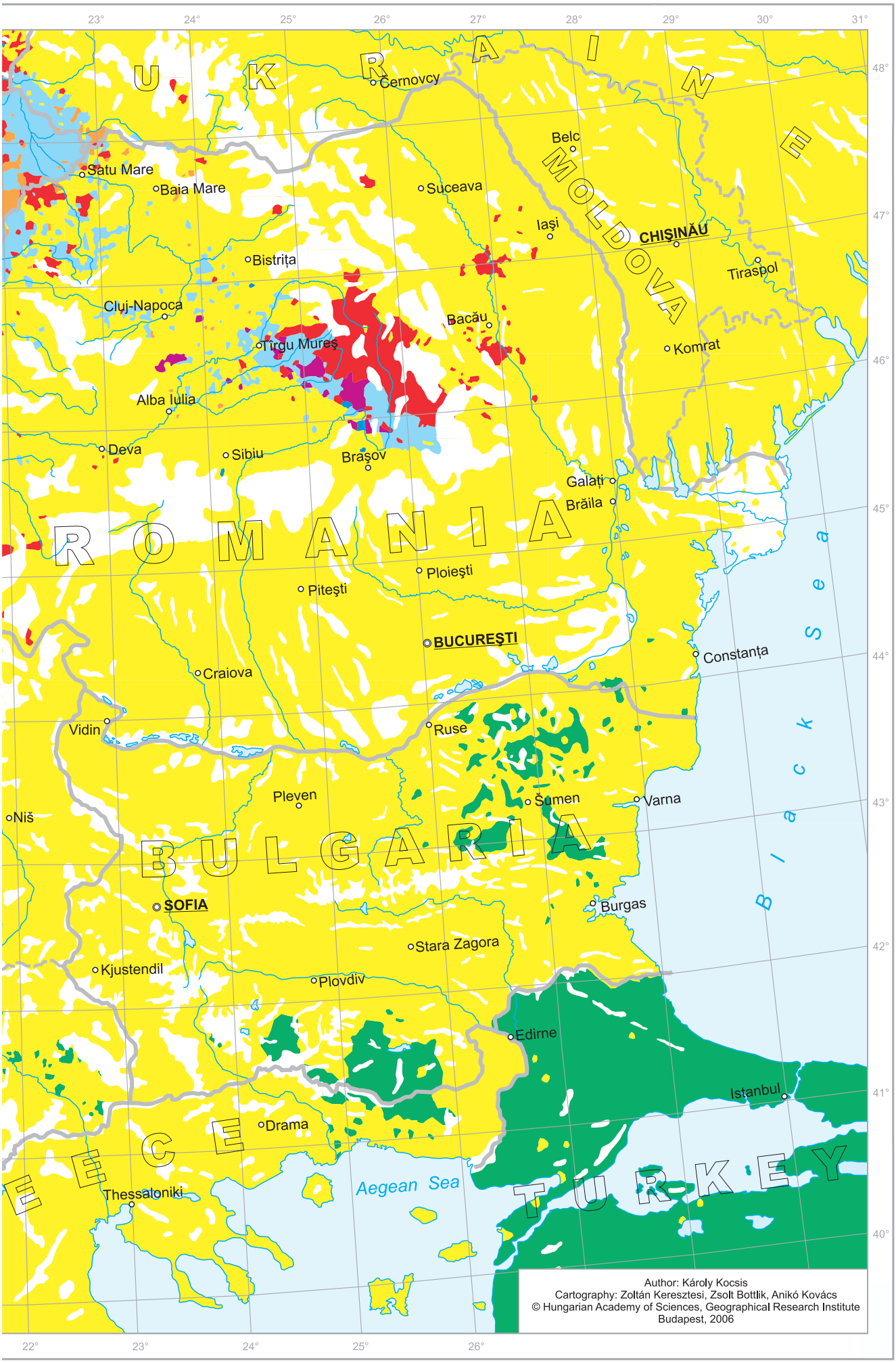
ETHNIC MAP OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 1991

Author: Károly Kocsis
Cartography: Zoltán Keresztesi, Zsolt Bottlik, Anikó Kovács

Fig. 23

MAP OF RELIGIONS OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 1991

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Baia Mare
Suceava
Iaşi
MOLDOVA
CHIŞINĂU
Tiraspol
Bistriţa
Cluj-Napoca
Bacău
Komrat
Târgu Mureş
Alba Iulia
Deva
Sibiu
Braşov
Galaţi
Brăila
R O M A N I A
Ploieşti
Piteşti
BUCUREŞTI
Constanţa
Craiova
Vidin
Ruse
Black Sea
Pleven
Šumen
Varna
Niš
B U L G A R I A
SOFIA
Burgas
Stara Zagora
Kjustendil
Plovdiv
Edirne
Istanbul
Drama
Aegean Sea
T U R K E Y
Thessaloniki
E G E
Author: Károly Kocsis
Cartography: Zoltán Keresztesi, Zsolt Bottlik, Anikó Kovács
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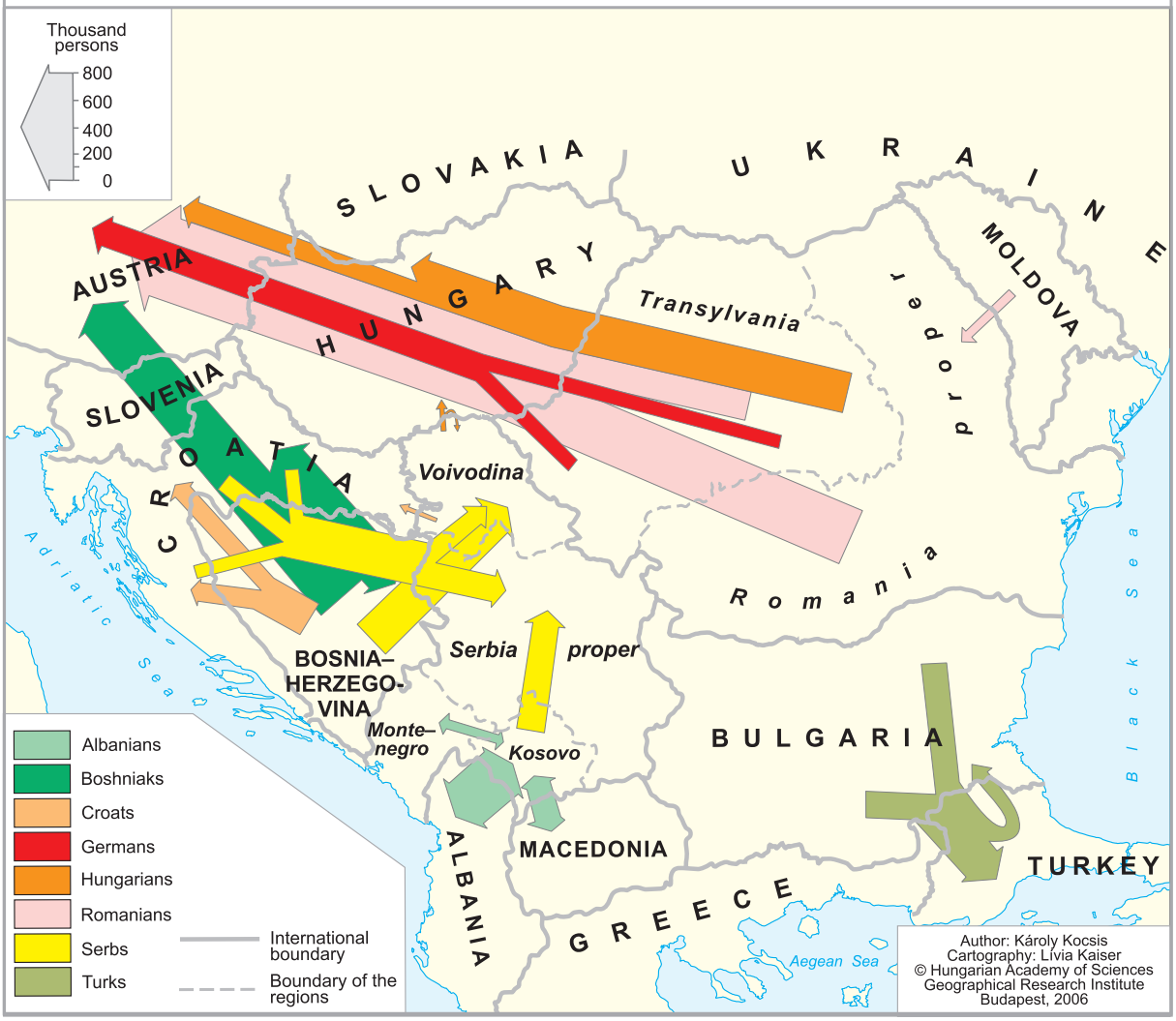
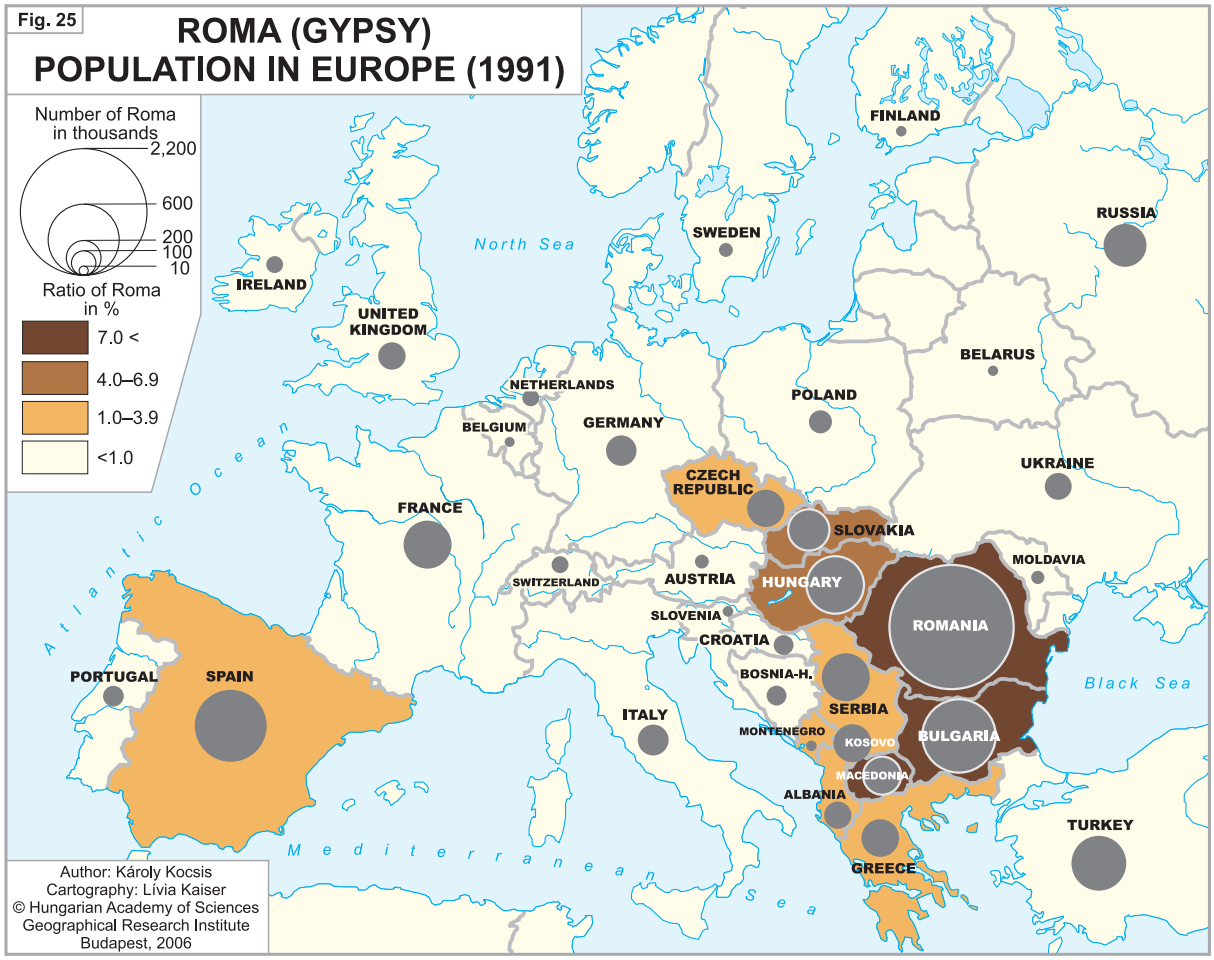
Fig. 24

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERREGIONAL MIGRATIONS IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1989–2002



change considerably, although 182,000 Turks left the country between 1945 and 1951.

As a result of the well-known political events that followed World War II, the whole region came under communist control. The forcible rearrangement of the economy and society was commenced in Romania and Bulgaria pursuing the Soviet model, while in Yugoslavia and Albania the methods used differed to a certain extent. In the course of urbanisation, the process of which contrasted sharply with that in Western Europe, millions of villagers were compelled to move to industrial, highly urbanised centres; usually from underdeveloped regions with high rates of natural increase, to regions where this rate was low, and which offered a diversity of non-agrarian workplaces. In Romania and Yugoslavia, these interregional migrations were directed from the Balkan or Eastern European territories towards the Central European regions (the Carpathian Basin), namely, from Old Romania to Transylvania; from Old Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia to Voivodina, Croatia and Slovenia. These migrations, whilst usually having economic reasons, also served political purposes: the promotion of ethnic homogeneity, i.e. the gradual increase in the proportion of the "state-forming" nations (Serbs, Croats) in regions of key strategic importance, annexed mostly in 1918 and usually having been more developed than the other regions of the coun-



try. Typical examples of this are urban centres in Transylvania whose populations were forcibly increased, to a greater extent than in other parts of the country, by the inflow of hundreds of thousands of Romanian villagers. The proportion of Romanians in the aggregate population of these towns grew from 50.2% to 70.7% between 1948 and 1977.

The waves of migration (occurring for various reasons) did not abate throughout the four decades preceding 1989, the most significant ones taking place in the second half of the Communist era; the exodus of Yugoslavian guest workers to Western Europe, and that of the Germans of Romania into Germany.

The change of political regime in the Eastern bloc countries after 1989, the economic collapse, the end of Soviet control over the region, and the disintegration of Communist federal states led to the eruption of ethnic conflicts inherited from the past in almost all of these countries, as well as the declaration of territorial demands by nations that had become free.

These conflicts led to the flight of 370,000 Turks from Bulgaria into Turkey in 1989, pogroms against Hungarians in Transylvania, e.g. in Tîrgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) in 1990, and in the case of Croats, Serbs and Bosnians, to wars that broke out in 1991 and 1992, and lasted until 1995.

Before examining in detail the mass migrations related to historic events and the rearrangement of the ethnic and religious spatial pattern between 1991 and 2002, the ethnic and religious geographical structure of the region will be examined as shown by censuses around 1991 and 1992 (*Figures 22 and 23*). Compared to the 1910 map of ethnic and religious geographical structure, the most conspicuous changes had been the Hellenisation of Northern Greece, the Bulgarisation of North Eastern Bulgaria, the Romanianisation and Serbianisation of German and Hungarian populated areas in Transylvania and Serbian Voivodina, as a consequence of Greek–Turkish, Greek–Bulgarian, Bulgarian–Turkish population exchanges and

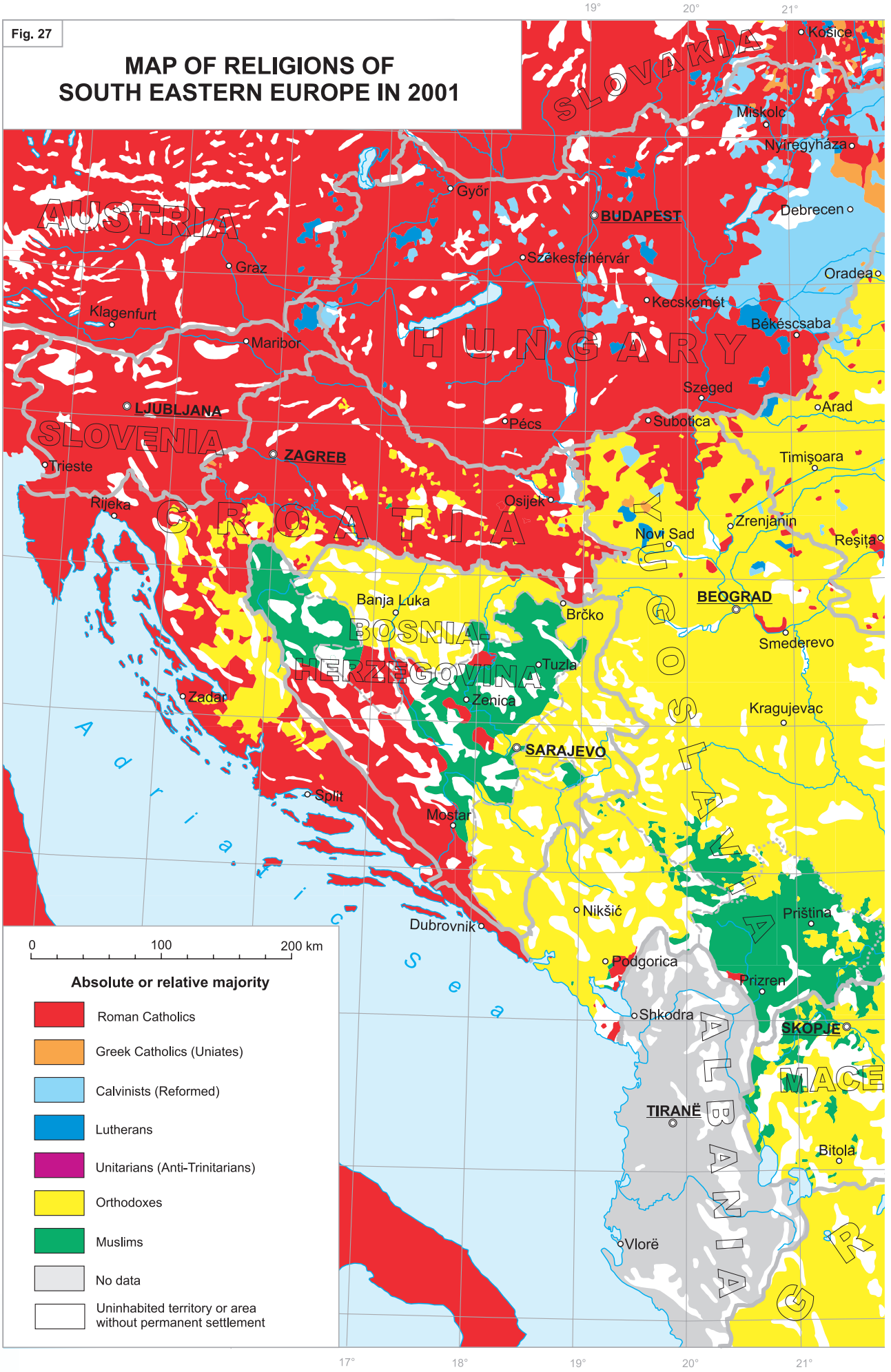
Fig. 26

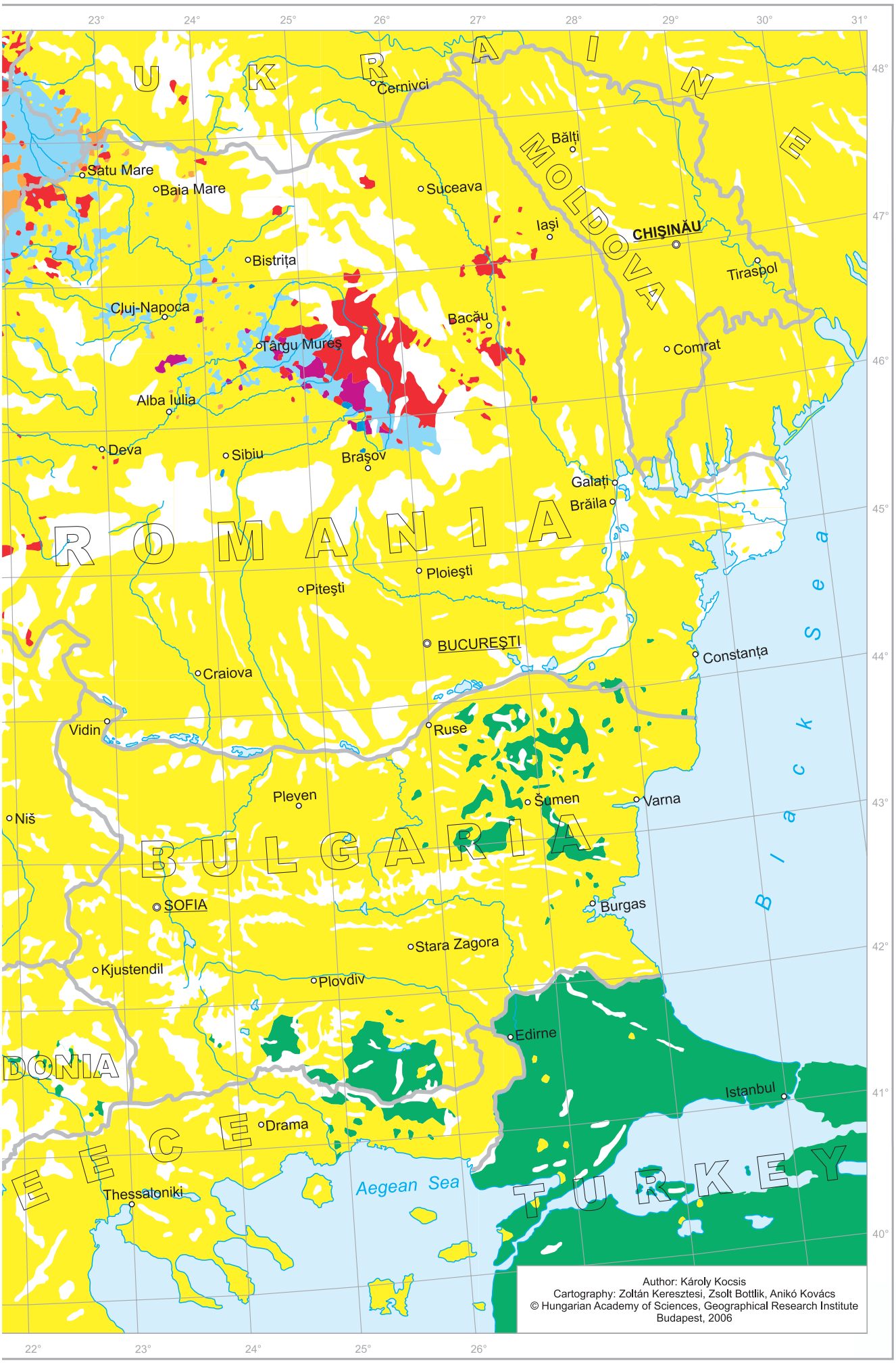
ETHNIC MAP OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 2001

Author: Károly Kocsis
Cartography: Zoltán Keresztesi, Zsolt Bottlik, Anikó Kovács

Fig. 27

MAP OF RELIGIONS OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE IN 2001

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Cluj-Napoca
Bacău
Târgu Mureș
Comrat
Alba Iulia
Deva
Sibiu
Brașov
Galați
Brăila
ROMANIA
Ploiești
Pitești
BUCUREȘTI
Constanța
Craiova
Black Sea
Vidin
Ruse
Pleven
Šumen
Varna
Niš
BULGARIA
SOFIA
Burgas
Stara Zagora
Kjustendil
Plovdiv
Edirne
Istanbul
DONIA
Drama
Aegean Sea
TURKEY
Thessaloniki
Author: Károly Kocsis
Cartography: Zoltán Keresztesi, Zsolt Bottlik, Anikó Kovács
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Budapest, 2006
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a massive emigration of Turks, Germans and Hungarians. Since the time of the second breach between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, in 1958, the Macedonian minority has been regarded as non-existent in Bulgaria, and therefore Macedonians have disappeared from the ethnic map of Pirin Macedonia (South Western Bulgaria). On account of their high rate of natural population growth, the proportion and ethnic area of Muslim Bosnians and Albanians grew in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. The proportion of Boshniaks in Bosnia was 31.1% in 1921 and 43.6% in 1991, while the proportion of Albanians grew from 65.8% to 82.2% between 1921 and 1991. As regards religious structure, besides Islam, the Orthodox Church also gained ground at the expense of Western Christianity in Transylvania and Voivodina, due to the emigration of Catholic and Protestant Germans and Hungarians and the dissolution of the Greek Catholic Church in 1948, which included mostly Northern Transylvanian Romanians. In spite of the trend towards ethnic and religious homogenisation throughout South Eastern Europe in the 20th century, the highly diverse ethnic and religious patterns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, having existed since the 15th and 16th centuries, remained almost intact up to the eve of the 1991–1992 war.

In 1991–1992, the international recognition of the internal borders of the Yugoslav federal republic as state borders (which scarcely followed ethnic boundaries) along with the resistance of Croats and Boshniaks to Serbian territorial demands, inflamed extensive areas of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and large portions of these countries inhabited predominantly by Serbs came under Serbian control (26% in Croatia and 66% of Bosnia and Herzegovina). As a consequence of the military events, 3,932,000 people had to leave their homes in the territory of former Yugoslavia by the end of 1993 (*Figure 24*).

In Croatia, the number of refugees and those driven away from their homeland (663,000) peaked at the end of 1992 while in Bosnia and Herzegovina the apex was reached at the end of 1993 (2.7 million). After the launch of the joint Croatian–Boshniak offensive at the end of the war, and the collapse of the Serbian Republic of Krayina, an increasing number of Croatian and Bosnian Serbs fled to Serbia, where 646,000 refugees and exiles were registered by June 1996. By 1995, the year of the Dayton agreement, the toll taken by the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been ethnically cleansed up to the front lines, was the following: 329,000 persons dead or missing (218,000 Boshniaks, 83,000 Serbs, 21,000 Croats), 1.8 million refugees having fled abroad (460,000 Boshniaks, 330,000 Serbs, 290,000 Croats). The total population had fallen to 2.3 million, of which 925,000 were Boshniaks, 837,000 Serbs and 368,000 Croats compared to the respective figures of 1.9 million, 1.4 million and 761,000 in 1991. As a result of massive ethnic cleansing, the proportion of Serbs in areas under Serbian control increased to 89% (from 47% in 1991), while that of Boshniaks in the areas controlled by the latter grew to 74% (from 57% in 1991), and the proportion of Croats in areas under Croatian control rose to 96% (from 49% in 1991). It appears that, as a result, the mosaic-like ethnic and religious diversity that characterised Bosnia and Herzegovina for nearly 500 years has disappeared forever *(Figure 26, 27).*

After the wars in Croatia and Bosnia came to a close, both the Albanians and Serbs of Kosovo, the region which had been "forgotten" at Dayton, set off to enforce their claims. The war by the Serbs against the Kosovo Liberation Army (UÇK) of the Albanians and the Albanian population culminated in massive ethnic cleansing and an expulsion of Albanians. By 9 June 1999, 863,000 persons or almost half of the Kosovar Albanians fled from the Serbian armed forces. Of them 444,000 left for Albania, 247,000 for Macedonia, 70,000 for Montenegro, and 22,000 for Bulgaria (NATO… 2000).The inflow of Albanian refugees caused great anxiety and domestic-policy tensions, particularly in Macedonia, a country which favoured the Serbs rather than the Albanians, and where the number of Albanians, both refugees and members of the local Albanian minority totalled 700,000 in the summer of 1999, making up one-third of the country's population of 2 million. In order to curb the ethnic cleansing, mass murders and the expulsion of the Albanian population, NATO forced the Serbian armed forces to leave Kosovo by bombing Serbia between 24 March and 9 June 1999. This was the third time in the 20th century that the Serbian armed forces had to withdraw from the mostly Albanian-populated Kosovo, the first two occasions being in 1915–1916 and 1941.

After June 1999, with the help of the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and other international organisations, the majority of Albanian refugees returned to Kosovo, which was by now protected by KFOR (Kosovo Peacekeeping Force), a 50,000-strong armed force comprising mostly British, Russian, German, American, French and Italian troops. According to a quick survey made by the UNHCR when refugees began to return, at the end of August 1999 Kosovo had 1.6 million inhabitants, 89.1% of which were Albanian, while only 97,100 Serbs remained in the province, the lowest proportion (6.2%) ever since Slavic tribes settled in the Balkans and Kosovo in the 6th and 7th centuries. The mass flight of Kosovar Serbs, who had virtually no protection after the Serbian forces left, was triggered by the cruel revenge of the UÇK and the Albanian population. As a result of the NATO intervention launched to defend the Albanian population, Serbia lost the province *de facto*, and Kosovo has become a UN protectorate populated overwhelmingly by Albanians, but still belonging to Serbia and Montenegro under international law. It has been almost impossible to stop ethnic homogenisation and the expulsion of Serbs from Kosovo, as demonstrated by the riots in March 2004 ending with the evacuation of 3,200 Serbs.

According to the data of the latest censuses carried out around 2001 and 2002 in South Eastern Europe, Romanians (19.5 million), Serbs (8.1 million), Bulgarians (6.7 million) and Albanians (5.3 million) constituted almost three quarters of the 54-million population of the region. The proportion of ethnic groups dominating a particular country grew to 87% (from 73.1% in 1921) within the total population, while the proportion of ethnic minorities decreased to 13%. This trend is attributable to the events described above, i.e. ethnic cleansing during the war, mass migration, the concentration of an ethnic group in a certain area and assimilation, and suggests a trend of ethnic homogenisation to the detriment of minorities. Nonetheless, there are still territories where ethnic minorities live in great numbers and occupy large areas, for example the Turks in the region of Šumen and Kărdžali in Bulgaria (747,000, or 9.4% of the whole population); Hungarians in Szeklerland (Eastern Transylvania) and along the Hungarian–Romanian border in Romania (1.5 million, or 6.6%); Hungarians in Voivodina in Serbia (293,000, or 3.2%); Boshniaks and Muslims in the Sanjak along the Bosnian border in Montenegro (160,000, or 1.8%); Serbs who remained in Krayina in Croatia (207,000, or 4.7%), and Albanians in Macedonia, mainly along the borders with Albania and Kosovo (0.5 million, constituting 25.2% of the population). These are the territories of the greatest concern for the dominant, "state-forming" nations, since they see ethnic and territorial autonomy – often requested by ethnic minorities and mostly for areas along the borders – as an irredentist threat. It was partly due to such reservations that the territorial autonomy of the Mureş (Maros)–Magyar Autonomous Province in Romania was terminated in 1968, and that of Voivodina and Kosovo in Yugoslavia was eliminated between 1989 and 1992.

No study on minorities would be complete without mentioning the Roma (Gypsies), one of the best-known ethnic minorities of the world living in diaspora. Most of the Roma are located in South Eastern Europe (*Figure 25*). According to censuses, between 1921 and 2001 their number grew from 220,000 to 1.1 million, and their share within the population had risen from 0.7% to 2%. Taking into account the fact that the majority of Roma are linguistically, ethnically and religiously assimilated into the nations amongst whom they live, their total number is estimated to be 3.7 million, a figure significantly exceeding that provided by censuses on the basis of those who declared themselves to be Roma. Of the countries of South Eastern Europe, the Roma are the most numerous in Romania (officially 535,000 and estimated at 2.2 million in 2002) and in Bulgaria (370,000 and estimated at 635,000). A great number (200,000–300,000) of Roma also live in Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia. In the 1990s, after the changes of political regime and during the economic transition period into market economies, tension between the Roma minority and the non-Roma majority mounted, the former still having a high rate of natural increase, being predominantly unemployed and uneducated, and the latter suffering from severe economic problems, thus becoming increasingly hostile towards the Roma. In many cases such tension resulted in overt local conflicts and anti-Roma pogroms, which gained international notoriety.

Data on religious affiliation showed that 65.9% of the 54 million-strong popula-

Table 11. ***Religious structure of the population of South East European countries (around 2001)***

Countries	Year	Total population	Orthodoxes	Roman Catholics	Greek Catholics	Calvinists	Lutherans	Unitarians	Muslims	Jews	Other religious	Non-religious, unknown affiliation
Albania	1998	3,339,000	728,000	324,000	..	..	..	..	228,7000	..	..	..
	1998	**100.0**	**21.8**	**9.7**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**68.5**	**..**	**..**	**..**
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1995	2,898,000	987,000	468,000	..	..	..	..	1,275,000	..	..	168,000
	1995	**100.0**	**34.1**	**16.1**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**44.0**	**..**	**..**	**5.8**
Bulgaria	2001	7,928,901	6,552,751	43,811	..	..	42,308	..	966,978	..	14,937	308,116
	2001	**100.0**	**82.6**	**0.6**	**..**	**..**	**0.5**	**..**	**12.2**	**..**	**0.2**	**3.9**
Croatia	2001	4,437,460	195,969	3,897,332	6,219	4,053	3,339	..	56,777	495	16,494	256,782
	2001	**100.0**	**4.4**	**87.8**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**..**	**1.3**	**0.0**	**0.4**	**5.8**
Macedonia	2002	2,022,547	1,310,184	7,008	..	..	520	..	674,015	..	..	30,820
	2002	**100.0**	**64.8**	**0.3**	**..**	**..**	**0.0**	**..**	**33.3**	**..**	**..**	**1.6**
Montenegro	2003	620,145	460,383	21,972	..	..	383	..	110,034	12	2,482	24,879
	2003	**100.0**	**74.2**	**3.5**	**..**	**..**	**0.1**	**..**	**17.7**	**0.0**	**0.4**	**4.1**
Romania	2002	21,681,181	18,806,428	1,028,401	195,481	698,550	56,155	66,846	67,566	6,179	713,978	41,597
	2002	**100.0**	**86.7**	**4.7**	**0.9**	**3.2**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.0**	**3.7**	**0.2**
Serbia	2002	9,062,401	6,468,781	411,976	..	..	80,837	..	1,689,755	785	19,771	410,261
	2002	**100.0**	**71.4**	**4.5**	**..**	**..**	**0.9**	**..**	**18.6**	**0.0**	**0.3**	**4.3**
Central-Serbia	2002	5,466,009	4,970,109	22,663	..	..	8,678	..	231,585	456	14,731	217,787
	2002	**100.0**	**90.9**	**0.4**	**..**	**..**	**0.2**	**..**	**4.2**	**0.0**	**0.3**	**4.0**
Kosovo	1999	1,564,200	971,000	10,000	..	..	..	..	1,450,000	..	..	161,000
	1999	**100.0**	**6.2**	**0.1**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**..**	**92.7**	**..**	**..**	**1.0**
Voivodina	2002	2,031,992	1,401,475	388,313	..	..	72,159	..	8,073	329	5,040	156,603
	2002	**100.0**	**69.0**	**19.1**	**..**	**..**	**3.6**	**..**	**0.4**	**0.0**	**0.2**	**7.7**
Slovenia	2002	1,964,036	45,908	1,135,626	..	3,908	43,580	..	16,135	..	72,545	646,334
	2002	**100.0**	**2.3**	**57.8**	**..**	**0.2**	**2.2**	**..**	**0.8**	**..**	**3.8**	**32.9**
South Eastern Europe	2001	53,953,671	35,555,404	7,338,126	201,700	706,511	227,122	66,846	7,143,260	7,471	840,207	1,867,024
	2001	**100.0**	**65.9**	**13,6**	**0.4**	**1.3**	**0,4**	**0.1**	**13.2**	**0.0**	**1.6**	**3.5**

Remarks: .. no data; absolute numbers are indicated by regular letters and percentages by bold letters

tion of South Eastern Europe belonged to the Orthodox Church, 13.6% to the Roman Catholic Church, and the proportion of followers of Islam exceeded 13% (8.7% in 1921) (*Table 11*). Changes in the religious structure of the region between 1991 and 2001 followed the pattern of changes in the ethnic structure. In Croatia the ratio of the Catholic Croats and the Orthodox Serbs changed in favour of the former, after most of the latter left the country. In Bosnia, ethnic and religious homogenisation took place along the lines of the internal borders demarked by the Dayton agreement, thus dividing the country into Muslim Boshniak, Orthodox Serbian and Catholic Croatian zones. In Kosovo and Macedonia the ratio of Muslim Albanians had grown at the expense of Orthodox Serbs and Macedonians. Secularisation has not progressed far in South Eastern Europe, a region still feverish from its ethnic and religious renaissance. The average proportion of those who do not declare their religious affiliation, do not belong to any denominations, or declare themselves to be atheists is only 3.5% in the region, with the highest proportion in Slovenia (33%) and the lowest, negligible share in Romania (0.2%).

Urbanisation and the Urban Network in South Eastern Europe

The level of urbanisation in South Eastern Europe, particularly in the Balkan states is well below the level of urbanisation of Western Europe, and it does not even reach the standard of the Central Eastern European countries that joined the European Union on May 1, 2004. (By urbanisation we not only mean here the number of towns or proportion town dwellers, but also the general spread of urban infrastructure and an urban lifestyle). While in other parts of Europe the rate of urbanisation is 70–80%, in the countries of South Eastern Europe the proportion of urban dwellers amounts to a mere 40–50% of the population, showing the lowest figures throughout the continent. The low level of urbanisation is primarily due to historical reasons, and it is an important measure of the poorly developed nature of the region. From the middle of the 15th century to the end of the 19th century, the Balkans were under the control of the feudal Ottoman Empire, and therefore its industrial development and modern urbanisation had been delayed, these processes only starting after the nations concerned became sovereign, in effect, after World War I. Even then the pace of urban development lagged far behind that in Western Europe.

The period between the two world wars was the time of spectacular modernisation for the Balkan states, now free after five centuries of Turkish oppression. This was an era when Romania, Serbia and Bulgaria embarked upon creating their domestic industry, which gave a boost to the development of urban areas, albeit one that was confined to a few cities, mainly the capitals. However, the greater part of the Balkans – Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Dobruja – remained stuck in the pre-industrial phase of economic development. In these regions, industrial development and urbanisation in the modern sense of the word did not start until the Communist era. An indication of the low level of urban development is that, by the end of World War II, none of the Balkan cities had a population exceeding 1 million.

Urbanisation in the Communist Era

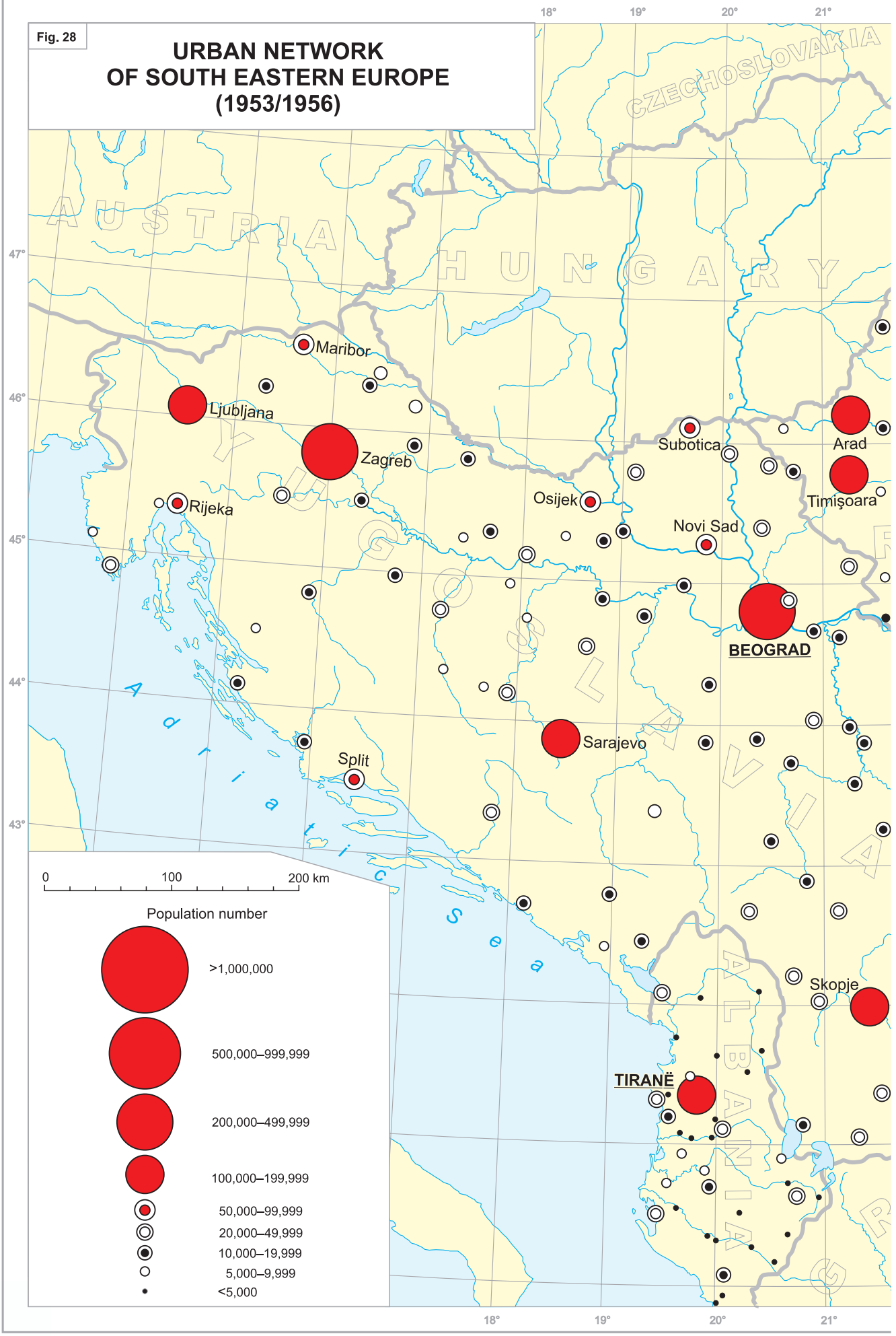
The devastation of World War II, and the subsequent population exchanges and deportations, which affected a great number of people, also hindered balanced urbanisation. At the end of World War II, the Balkan countries were still characterised by a clear predominance of rural areas and agriculture. More than 80% per cent of the population of Yugoslavia lived in villages, and this ratio was very similar in Albania (75%), Romania (77%) and Bulgaria 75%. In the mid-1940s there were only 358 towns in the 4 states of the Balkans, the majority of which owed urban status to being traditional administrative centres and to their population exceeding that of the surrounding villages. The typical Balkan town of the era had a population of 10–20 thousand, its central functions were limited, and it was rather village-like in appearance.

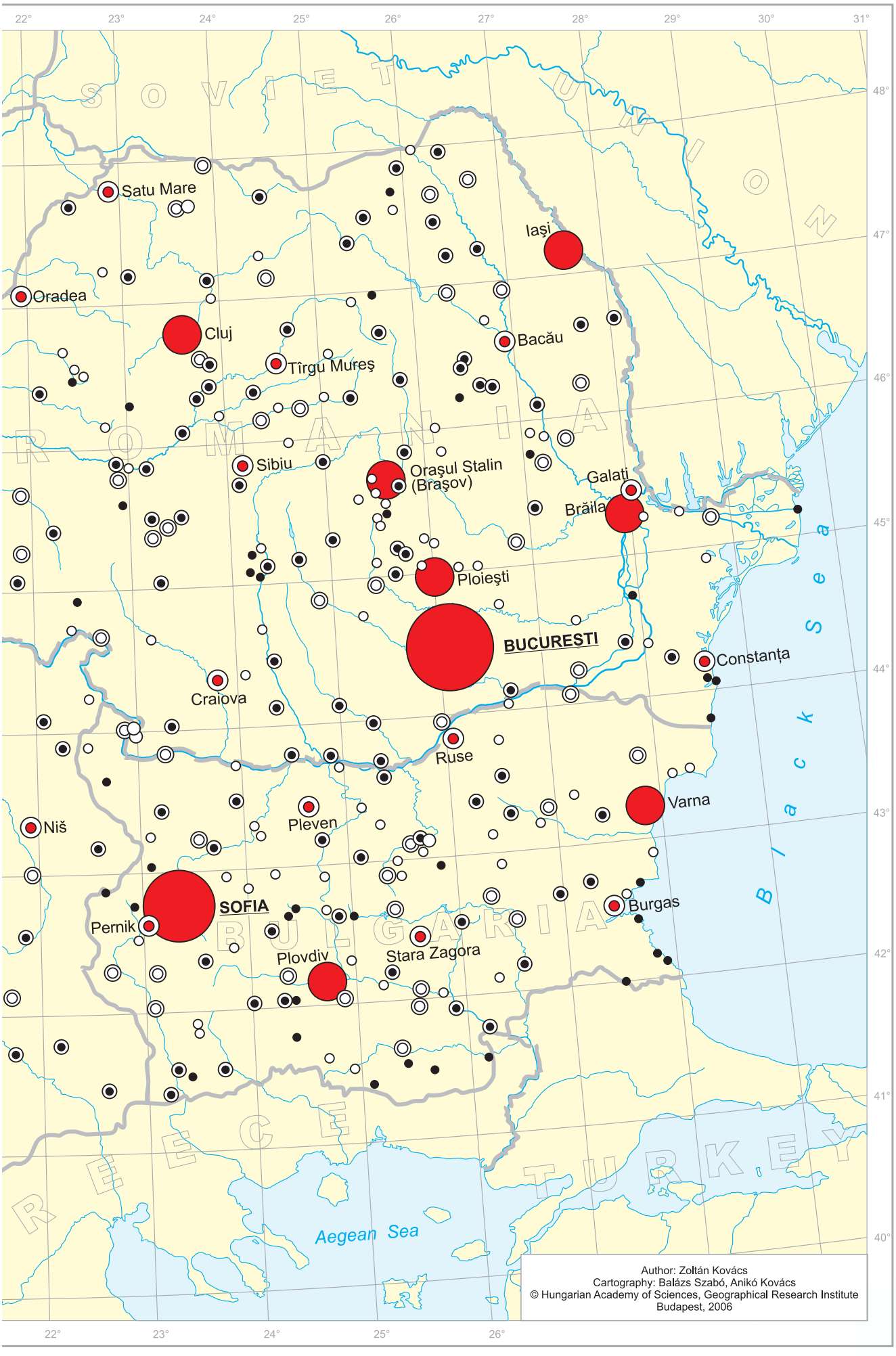
For the period after World War II, reliable data on the composition of the urban network were provided by the first "Communist" censuses. Although held in different years (the 1953 census in Yugoslavia, the 1955 census in Albania and the 1956 censuses in Romania and Bulgaria), they gave a comprehensive and sufficiently detailed overview to the network of towns in these countries (*Figure 28*). These censuses revealed that, of the 402 towns in South Eastern Europe, Bucharest was the only one which had a population of more than 1 million, and a further 16 had a population exceeding 100,000 (*Table 12*).

Some 39.5% of the urban population lived in cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants. Only a small part (26.8%) of town dwellers lived in urban centres with a population less

Fig. 28

URBAN NETWORK OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE (1953/1956)

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Iaşi
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Cluj
Bacău
Tîrgu Mureş
Sibiu
Oraşul Stalin
(Braşov)
Galati
Brăila
Ploieşti
BUCURESTI
Constanţa
Craiova
Ruse
Varna
Niš
Pleven
SOFIA
Pernik
Burgas
Plovdiv
Stara Zagora
Author: Zoltán Kovács
Cartography: Balázs Szabó, Anikó Kovács
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Table 12. ***Urban Network of the South East European States (1953–1956, 2001–2002)***

Size categories	Number of towns		Population number		Ratio within urban population, %	
	1953–1956	2001–2002	1953–1956	2001–2002	1953–1956	2001–2002
1,000,000 <	1	3	1,177,661	4,300,734	11.23	14.16
500,000–1,000,000	1	1	644,727	779,145	6.14	2.57
200,000–500,000	2	17	737,219	5,131,212	7.02	16.89
100,000–200,000	13	27	1,589,679	3,793,547	15.14	12.49
50,000–100,000	20	72	1,450,010	5,046,814	13.81	16.62
20,000–50,000	71	158	2,083,072	4,850,601	19.85	15.97
10,000–20,000	127	258	1,852,199	3,523,874	17.65	11.60
5,000–10,000	105	295	780,351	2,136,675	7.43	7.03
< 5,000	62	267	181,727	812,007	1.73	2.67
Total	402	1,098	10,496,645	30,374,609	100.00	100.00

Source: National censuses.

than 20,000, and small towns below 5,000 inhabitants were practically absent in the Balkans.

Urbanisation in the Balkan states accelerated considerably after the Communist takeover, and throughout the Communist era this rate remained much higher than in the pre-war period. The main reason for this is that towns had been the centres of Communist modernisation, and out of ideological considerations they were given preference over villages in terms of allocating funds for development and in particular infrastructure development. Most of this financial support was distributed to towns, villages or regions through the channels of the central state distribution system.

The two major factors that promoted urbanisation after 1945 were migration processes and legal and administrative changes. The new industrial plants set up in the towns appeared highly attractive to the young and educated members of the rural population. At the same time, the re-organisation of agriculture along Communist lines, the shortage of jobs in rural areas and the increasing gap between living standards in towns and villages caused rural people to leave their birthplace. This led to massive internal migration, which was the primary drive for urban growth in the 1950s and 1960s.

The other main reason for the increase in the proportion of urban dwellers was that a number of villages obtained town status. The legal and statistical definition of the urban settlement was introduced gradually in the Balkan countries, and the leaders of these states started to use such definitions with increasing awareness. (The situation is further complicated, and the poor development of urban areas reflected by the introduction of the notion of 'urbanised settlements' – a category between towns and villages – in which context the hierarchy of settlements has usually been examined. In this study, settlements having officially obtained urban status are dealt with.) Due to the more or less deliberate increase in the number of towns, the number of settlements with town status had grown from 144 to 260 in Romania, from 104 to 237 in Bulgaria, and from 24 to 67 in Albania during the Communist era of more than four decades. Central governments were eager to develop settlements into towns, fulfilling central functions in areas void of towns. Urban status meant not only higher prestige, but also more substantial funds for development.

As a result of the migration into towns and the use of administrative methods to increase the number of settlements with urban status, between 1950 and 1990 the proportion of town dwellers grew from 25% to 68% in Bulgaria, from 24% to 54% in Romania, from 20% to 53% in Yugoslavia, and from 20% to 36% in Albania. Over this period, by global standards the Balkan states belonged to the group of countries with moderate urbanisation (*Figure 29*). By the end of the period, the level of urbanisation in all of the Balkan states (with the exception of Albania) exceeded the world average (43% in 1990).

The Communist era was also an era of town foundation. From the 1950s onwards, new industrial towns emerged in these states (*Figure 30*), albeit on a smaller scale than in the Central

and Eastern European countries or in the Soviet Union. Such industrial towns in the Balkans number around 50. Several generations of new industrial towns can be distinguished according to the time of their foundation and their industrial functions. In the 1950s, towns were created for the extraction of minerals, energy production and metallurgy. The towns of Motru and Vulcan in Romania, and Memaliaj in Albania were typical coal mining towns of the era. However, it was metallurgy-based towns that developed particularly fast, for example Elbasan in Albania, Slatina in Romania, Kremikovci in Bulgaria, Jesenice in Slovenia and Nikšić in Montenegro. From the 1960s, owing to the development of hydrocarbon production and processing, a number of new towns were founded, for example Dărmăneşti, Oneşti and Victoria in Romania, Devnya in Bulgaria, and Qyteti Stalin in Albania. Finally, during the 1970s, when nuclear energy production prospered, a few new "nuclear towns" also appeared, including Kozloduj in Bulgaria and Cernavodă in Romania. As Communist industrialisation lost momentum in the 1970s, the development of new towns stopped, and the serious economic crisis

Fig. 29

PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN THE STATES OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1950–1990

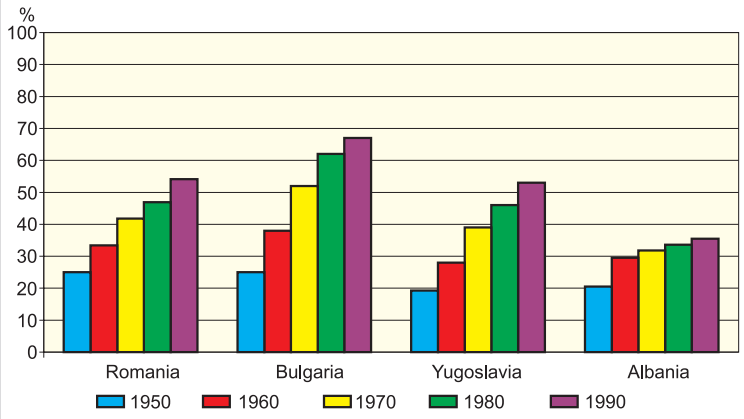
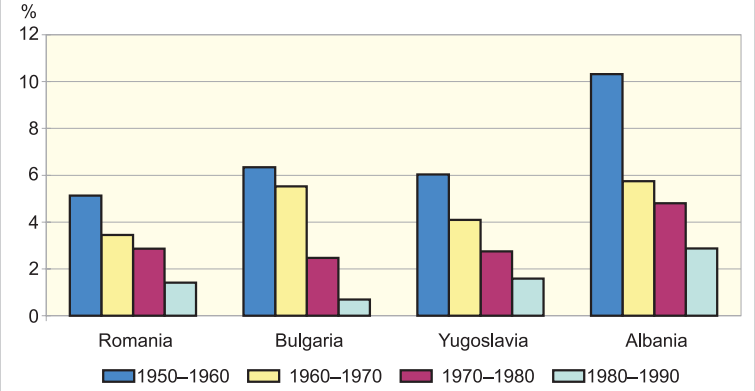


Fig. 30

SOCIALIST NEW TOWNS IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE

Fig. 31 ANNUAL GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION IN THE STATES OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1950–1990



starting from the early 1980s afflicted these towns first of all, due to the highly outdated industrial structure of local economies.

The rate of urban development was relatively uneven in the Balkan states during the Communist period. Urban population growth was most dynamic in the 1950s, with a rate of almost 6% on average in the region (*Figure 31*). Urban development was losing its momentum steadily, with each passing decade. The slowdown of urbanisation can be attributed to the exhaustion of the resources needed for extensive industrialisation, and the increased degree of the urbanisation itself.

Trends of Urbanisation after 1990

The collapse of Communism effectively curbed the development of towns in the region. After 1990 the growth of towns came to a halt, and the proportion of town dwellers no longer increased, or increased only very slightly. This was due to several reasons. On the one hand, a great number of towns were destroyed or depopulated in the territories devastated by the Yugoslav wars (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo), on the other hand, the direction and dynamics of internal migration had significantly changed.

Following the fall of Communism, migration from villages to towns dwindled, while the flow of people from towns to villages increased, and once the borders were opened, emigration began, which mainly affected cities. The main reason for this was that the reduction in the number of industrial jobs made towns and cities far less attractive. Moreover, the higher costs of living, the resulting uncertainty, and the environmental decay motivated an increasing number of people to leave cities. This led to an "enforced" migration of people back to their original dwelling place or homeland. The rediscovery of the village as one's birthplace was an important element of family strategies, partly because the rural environment enabled survival even without having a secure job, for example by the opportunity of subsistence farming, the lower living costs (heating, transport etc.) and possible help from relatives. It should be noted that urban development in South Eastern Europe has not resembled the suburbanisation process of the Western European type, even though some traces of this can be observed around cities in the more developed western part of the region (e.g. Ljubljana, Zagreb) and Transylvanian towns such as Cluj (Kolozsvár) and Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely).

Another important factor in the development of post-communist urbanisation was the cessation of state administrative intervention after 1990. The policy of awarding town status appears to have stopped for good, indicated by the fact that only 3 villages in Bulgaria, 5 in Romania and 7 in Albania have been upgraded to towns since 1990. (No reliable data is available concerning the successor states of Yugoslavia.)

Consequently, the proportion of urban population in Romania is 2% lower now than it was in 1990, whilst in Bulgaria the level of urbanisa-

tion is approximately the same. A modest increase of 4% can be observed only in Albania, which is mainly due to the extremely fast growth of Tirana. However, the population in the majority of Albanian towns is stagnating or decreasing.

Among the countries of the region, the following order can be established as regards the proportion of town dwellers and the level of urbanisation (*Figure 32*). The most urbanised countries of the region are Bulgaria and Croatia; in both of them the proportion of town dwellers reached 69%. Since there is no precise official definition of a town in Macedonia, in the present study settlements with a population exceeding 5,000 were considered to be towns, which results in a 63% proportion of urban dwellers. In Romania, Serbia and Montenegro and Slovenia, this ratio is about 50%, and therefore these countries can be considered to have an average level of urbanisation for the Balkans. Albania was the next, where 42% of the population live in towns. As regards Bosnia and Herzegovina, the only available data is from the 1991 census, but even this is sufficient to show that Bosnia is the least urbanised country in the region, with only 34.5% of the population living in towns.

Fig. 32 **PROPORTION OF URBAN POPULATION IN THE STATES OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE (2002)**

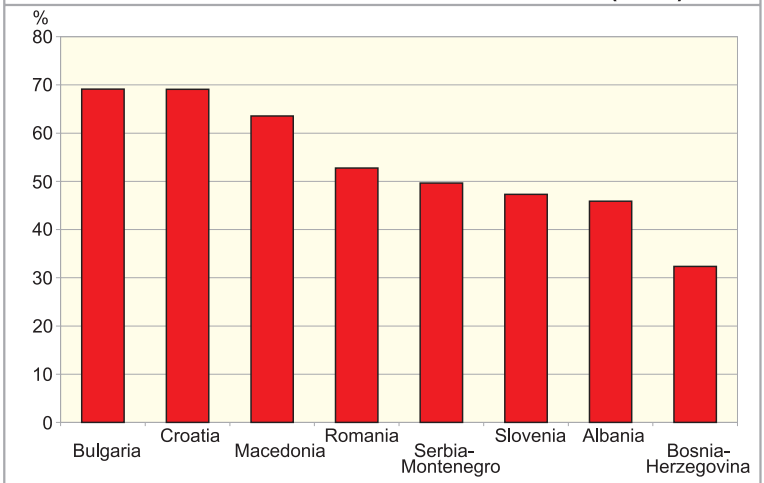


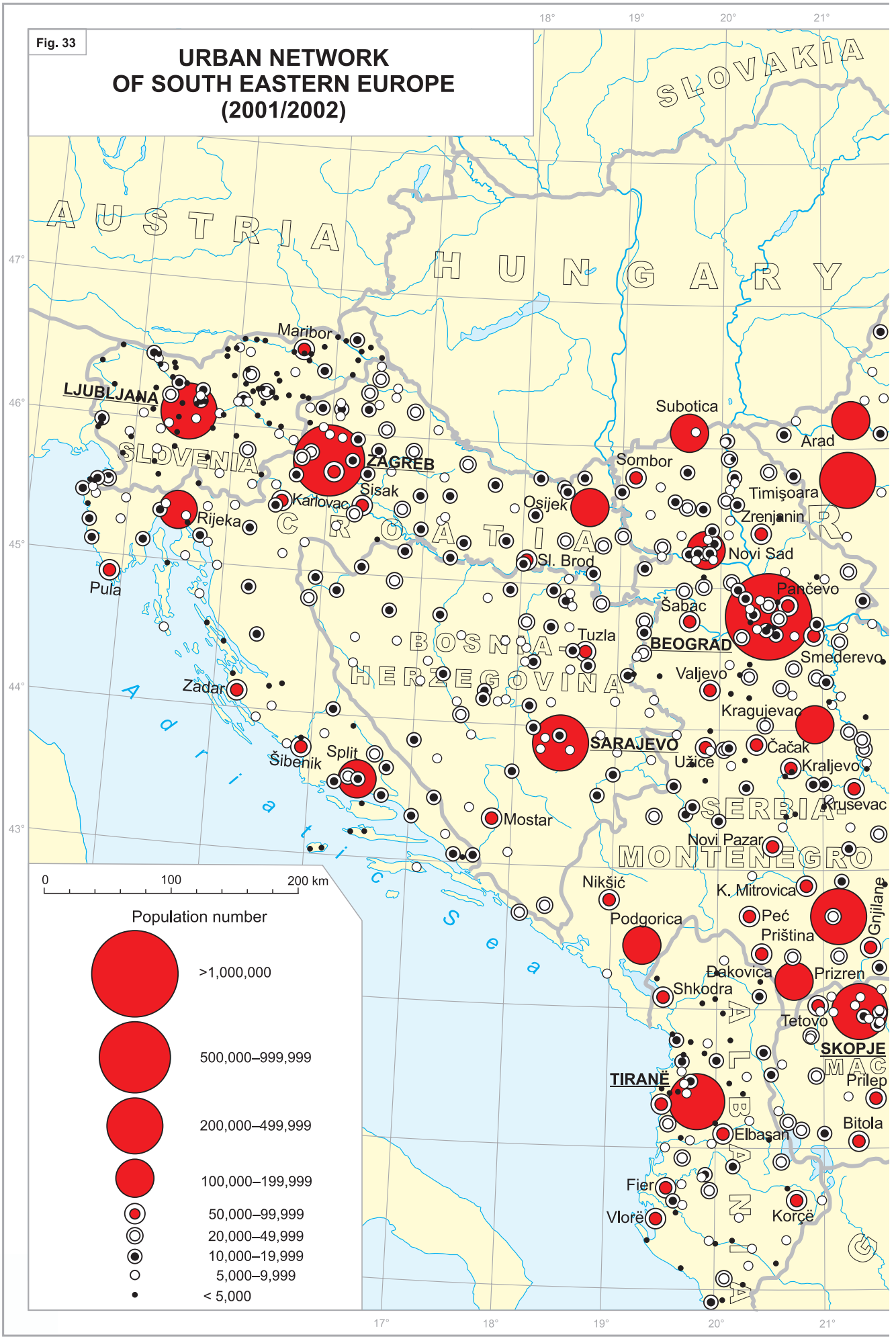
Table 13. ***Largest Urban Centres of South Eastern Europe***

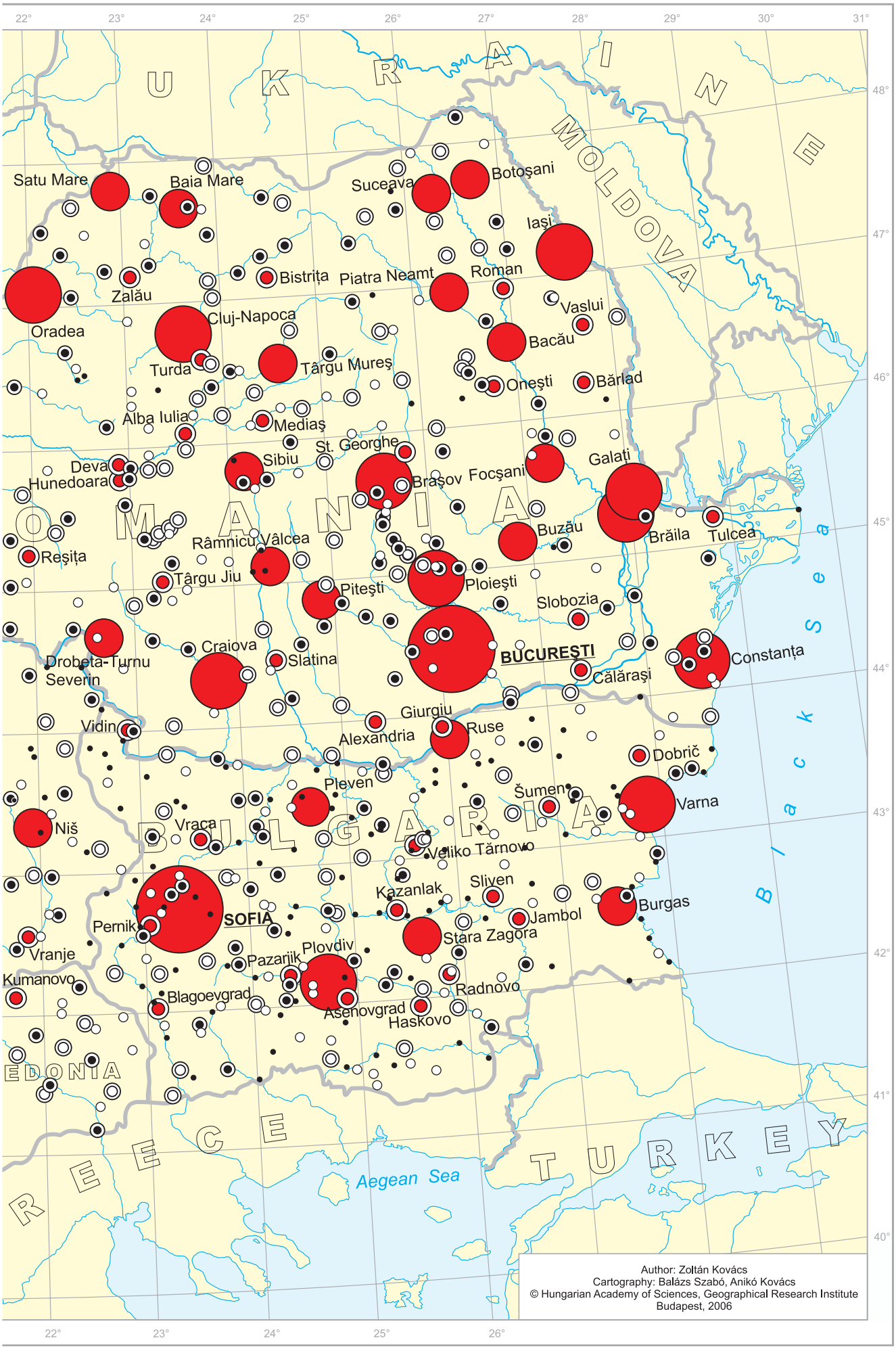
Cities 1953–1956	Thousand inhabitants	Cities 2001–2002	Thousand inhabitants
Bucureşti	1,177.6	Bucureşti	1,926.3
Sofia	644.7	Beograd	1,289.7
Beograd	386.3	Sofia	1,084.7
Zagreb	350.8	Zagreb	779.1
Plovdiv	161.8	Skopje	456.4
Cluj	154.7	Sarajevo	416.4
Timişoara	142.2	Tirana	343.1
Oraşul Stalin (Braşov)	123.8	Plovdiv	337.0
Varna	120.3	Iaşi	320.8
Skopje	119.0	Cluj–Napoca	317.9
Ploieşti	114.5	Timişoara	317.6
Iaşi	112.9	Varna	311.2
Sarajevo	111.7	Constanţa	310.4
Ljubljana	111.2	Craiova	302.6
Tirana	108.1	Galaţi	298.8
Arad	106.4	Braşov	284.5
Brăila	102.5	Ljubljana	249.4
Constanţa	99.6	Ploieşti	232.5
Oradea	98.9	Brăila	216.2
Craiova	96.8	Priština	209.1

Source: National censuses.

Fig. 33

URBAN NETWORK OF SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE (2001/2002)




22°
23°
24°
25°
26°
27°
28°
29°
30°
31°
48°
47°
46°
45°
44°
43°
42°
41°
40°
UKRAINE
MOLDOVA
ROMANIA
BULGARIA
SERBIA
MACEDONIA
GREECE
TURKEY
Black Sea
Aegean Sea
Satu Mare
Baia Mare
Suceava
Botoşani
Iaşi
Bistriţa
Piatra Neamt
Roman
Zalău
Vaslui
Oradea
Cluj-Napoca
Bacău
Turda
Târgu Mureş
Oneşti
Bărlad
Alba Iulia
Mediaş
St. Georghe
Deva
Sibiu
Braşov
Focşani
Galaţi
Hunedoara
Buzău
Brăila
Tulcea
Râmnicu Vâlcea
Reşiţa
Târgu Jiu
Piteşti
Ploieşti
Slobozia
BUCUREŞTI
Drobeta-Turnu Severin
Craiova
Slatina
Călăraşi
Constanţa
Giurgiu
Vidin
Alexandria
Ruse
Dobrič
Pleven
Šumen
Varna
Niš
Vraca
Veliko Tărnovo
Kazanlak
Sliven
Burgas
SOFIA
Pernik
Jambol
Stara Zagora
Vranje
Plovdiv
Pazarjik
Kumanovo
Radnovo
Blagoevgrad
Asenovgrad
Haskovo
Author: Zoltán Kovács
Cartography: Balázs Szabó, Anikó Kovács
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As far as the composition of the town network is concerned, the weight of large cities has grown over the past decades. Today 48 of the 1098 towns and cities of the Balkans have a population over 100,000, and almost half, i.e. 46.11% of urban population live in these cities. In addition to the three cities with a population of over 1 million (Bucharest, Belgrade, Sofia), Zagreb, Skopje and Tirana also have a population of more than 500,000 or close to it. The exact number of population in large cities is often uncertain, due to the informal development of cities and because new addresses are often not declared. Many estimates put the real size of the population of Tirana at around 1 million, owing to illegal home construction.

As a consequence of the fragmented state structure, the "swollen head" phenomenon, i.e. where the spatial pattern of a country is dominated by a big city, usually the capital, has become more evident. Accordingly, 35.2% of the urban population of Macedonia live in Skopje, and a similarly high proportion of the urban populations of Bosnia, Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia and Albania live in Sarajevo (29.4%), Ljubljana (26.8%), Belgrade (26.8%), Zagreb (25.4%) and Tirana (24.8%). Exceptions to this are Romania and Bulgaria, where the capital is counterbalanced by a sufficient number of countryside cities (*Table 13*).

A study of the present-day pattern of the urban network of towns shows areas void of towns due to their unfavourable geographical features, as well as the occurrence of large urban agglomerations and densely urbanised areas of industrial regions (*Figure 33*). It can also be stated that the density of towns is greater in the northern parts of the region, which used to belong to Austria–Hungary, i.e. in Slovenia, Croatia and Transylvania.

The Level of Economic Development and Regional Disparities in South Eastern Europe

When assessing the level of economic development in this large region, we must take into account the historical processes that have hampered its development for centuries. Of these the following two aspects require closer examination:

– After the great discoveries the roles of centre and periphery changed in the world economy, and South Eastern Europe had become part of the periphery, which was a great disadvantage in itself;

– South Eastern Europe had been under the rule of the parasitic Ottoman Empire, a military and feudal state for centuries, and was thus isolated from European development and the impact of the world economy.

From the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries to World War I, the overwhelming majority of the Balkan peoples gradually achieved independence, and it was only after the formation of sovereign states that the independent economies emerged. However, since the region was far too underdeveloped both economically and socially, and the transformation was rather incomplete, South Eastern Europe remained part of the periphery during the period of "take-off". An obvious sign of this is that, in spite of the improvement in terms of economic output during the second half of the 19th century, the gap between the region and the European average became increasingly wide: GNP (Gross National Product) in the region was 70% of the European average in 1860, while by the beginning of World War I this figure had decreased to 60%. This was attributable to the fact that while the average annual growth rate of GNP in Europe was 1% between 1860 and 1910, it was only 0.50–0.86% in South Eastern Europe. As regards economic develop-

ment, South Eastern Europe lagged not only far behind Western Europe, but even behind the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy: in 1913, per capita GNP was nearly USD 500 in Austria–Hungary (calculated at the 1960 exchange rate), while in South Eastern Europe even the highest GNP (in Romania) was only 336 USD (*Figure 34*).

The main reason for the sluggish economic development was the failure of industrialisation. In South Eastern Europe, industrial take-off occurred only at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and owing to this late start the relative backwardness of the region deepened rapidly. This can be shown in terms of per capita industrial production, which was only one third of the European average. The result was that South Eastern Europe could not move on from its pre-industrial phase, and even at the beginning of the 20th century it experienced only the initial stage of industrialisation. This state of affairs was reflected by the meagre 15–20% contribution of industry to national incomes throughout the region. South Eastern Europe was still dominated by agriculture, and had a traditional pre-industrial economic structure at the beginning of World War I.

This backwardness did not change substantially in the interwar period either. The south eastern part of the continent remained far below the European average in terms of economic development. The peace treaties ending World War I also thoroughly redrew the borders of states in the region, which caused serious local tension in some cases, and these circumstances in turn affected economic relations. Per capita GNP, an adequate parameter of economic development, hardly exceeded 50% of the European average in 1938, which meant that the gap between South Eastern Europe and the more developed parts of the continent had not shrunk at all. However, there were important differences between various parts of South Eastern Europe concerning the way in which certain territories developed. Between 1913 and 1918, the rate of economic growth was fastest in Bulgaria, twice exceeding the average European rate of growth in terms of per capita GNP, while it was considerably slower in Yugoslavia, and particularly in Romania (*Figure 35*). Although the industrial revolution, having started with a considerable delay, was still under way, it failed to restructure the economy of the region. At the end of the 1930s, agriculture continued to generate a larger share of national incomes than industry, and 70–80% of the population worked in agriculture.

The real breakthrough in the economic development of South Eastern Europe only occurred after World War II, when the Communist social and political model became the foundation for a profound transformation of the economy. This was the most dynamic period in the history of the region, when structural transformation of the economy began and became mostly completed. This transformation was based on a manifold increase in the rate of investment, which had been low prior to the war. Alternating periods of extremely fast development and subsequent stabilisation resulted in very high growth rates. In the 1950s and 1960s the countries of the region belonged to the most dynamically growing economies of the world. Per capita national income grew at an annual rate of 9% in Bulgaria and Romania between 1950 and 1966, and even in Yugoslavia at a rate exceeding 6%. In comparison to the European per capita GNP growth (at an annual rate of 4.5 on average between 1950 and 1970), this rate was 5.6% in Yugoslavia and 6.5% in Bulgaria and Romania. Owing to these above average growth rates, the gap in the levels of economic development between South Eastern Europe and the rest of the continent had closed perceptibly. This is reflected by the figures for 1973, when Bulgaria's per capita GNP was more than four fifths, Romania's nearly two thirds and Yugoslavia's more than half, of the European average (*Figure 36*).

However, the improvements were still relative, and in terms of economic development South Eastern Europe lagged not only behind Western Europe, but the other countries of the Eastern bloc as well. The gap between South Eastern Europe and the rest of the continent was its narrowest at the beginning of the 1970s. However, the global recession triggered by spiralling oil prices in 1973 brought an end to this favourable trend. South Eastern Europe was unable to adapt to the new challenges in the world economy; its economic output lost its value in the world market. Having depleted the resources necessary for the extensive phase of economic development, it could not embark on its intensive stage. In other words, the industrial phase characteristic of the Communist era was not followed by a post-industrial one. As a consequence, in the last years of the socialist period, South East European countries were struggling


Fig. 35
VOLUME OF GNP PER CAPITA BY COUNTRIES IN 1938
(in USD and prices of 1960)
POLAND
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
SOVIET UNION
UKRAINIAN S.S.R.
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
BUDAPEST
ROMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
BEOGRAD
BUCUREŞTI
BULGARIA
SOFIA
GREECE
TURKEY
ALBANIA
TIRANE
ITALY
Black Sea
Aegean Sea
GNP per capita
600–699
500–599
400–499
300–399
no data
European average: 671
Source of data: Bairoch, 1976
Author: Zoltán Dövényi
Cartography: Lívia Kaiser, Anikó Kovács
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Budapest, 2006


Fig. 36
VOLUME OF GNP PER CAPITA BY COUNTRIES IN 1973
(in USD and prices of 1960)
UKRAINIAN S. S. R.
SOVIET UNION
MOLDAVIAN S.S.R.
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
BUDAPEST
ROMANIA
SLOVENIA
CROATIA
Voivodina
SERBIA
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
YUGOSLAVIA
BEOGRAD
BUCUREŞTI
MONTENEGRO
Titograd
Kosovo-Metohija
MACEDONIA
BULGARIA
SOFIA
GREECE
TURKEY
ALBANIA
TIRANE
ITALY
Black Sea
Aegean Sea
GNP per capita
>2,000
1,800–2,000
1,600–1,799
<1,600
no data
European average: 2,077
Source of data: Bairoch, 1976
Author: Zoltán Dövényi
Cartography: Lívia Kaiser, Anikó Kovács
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with serious economic problems and the level of their development came to be dramatically lagging behind that of the developed countries.

Contrasts between the level of economic development in different regions of South Eastern Europe have increased since 1989, being even more striking now than they appeared at the beginning of the 20th century. The disparities are clearly reflected by per capita GDP, which is the most frequently used index to measure differences in levels of development (*Table 14)*. Per capita GDP (Gross Domestic Product), at current prices, increased slowly in the Balkan countries between 1997 and 2004. In 1997, these values varied between USD 760 and 9,840. In other words, the difference between per capita GDP of the least developed regional country (Albania) and the most highly developed one (Slovenia) was nearly 13-fold. By 2004, this difference had only slightly decreased to a multiple of 7.

Table 14. ***GDP Per Capita at Current Prices in the Countries of South Eastern Europe (1997–2004, USD)***

Countries	1997	2002	2004
Albania	760	1,450	2,120
Bosnia and Herzegovina	786	1,310	2,040
Bulgaria	1,170	1,770	2,750
Croatia	4,060	4,540	6,820
Macedonia	1,100	1,710	2,420
Romania	1,410	1,870	2,960
Serbia and Montenegro	3,126	1,400	2,900
Slovenia	9,840	10,370	14,770

Source: Der Fischer Weltalmanach 2000, 2005, www.weltalmanach.de

Regional differences within specific countries are not significant, as the low level of development applies across the countries as a whole. Capital cities and their surrounding regions, big cities, and towns with important and functioning industrial facilities are usually more developed, and per capita GDP as a rule is above the national average in these areas. However, per capita GDP is considerably lower in the territories that lie along state borders, or which are less industrialised in addition to those that have encountered a crisis due to the collapse of traditional industry, or have been directly or indirectly affected by war.

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, Balkan countries still faced considerable backwardness and widening disparities between areas with different levels of development. The countries of the region can be divided into two main groups. One group comprises those countries that either have joined or are eligible to join the European Union within the foreseeable future (the former being Slovenia, and the latter being Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia), and which are therefore assured to converge towards the rest of Europe. The other group consists of those countries whose future is highly dubious, for various reasons. It is not yet sure whether they will be able to catch up with other European countries or, owing to their unfavourable political, social and economic situation, will end up isolated and segregated from the European community.

Industry

The countries of South Eastern Europe (SEEC) have belonged to various empires for centuries and their boundaries and spatial extension have changed frequently. This situation, along with a peripheral setting in relation to the core areas of Europe had an adverse impact on the process of industrialisation. The decisive sector of economy was farming even at the turn of the last century, which left its fingerprint on the structure of emerging industry.

The industrial revolution made a delayed start; as late as the early 20th century, and its emergence took specific forms. Manufacturing began with food processing and the textile industry, followed by the extraction of minerals. Abundant deposits of raw materials and energy sources highly promoted their processing. Foreign investment had played an important role in the exploration of hydrocarbon fields in Romania, in the foundation of mining companies and chemical plants in Bulgaria, in addition to setting-up coal and non-ferrous (copper, chromium, lead, zinc) ore mining, timber and chemical industries in Serbia. Foreign investment, however, had not encouraged the development of manufacturing and this in turn accentuated the unbalanced industrial structure. The slow pace of advancement in manufacturing was illustrated by the fact that the overwhelming share of industrial production was the output of craftsmanship even in 1910 and the majority of industrial jobs were also concentrated in this segment of industry. The employment ratio remained virtually unchanged between 1860 and 1910 and stabilised around 7–10%. The backwardness of the region was also indicated by the per capita value of industrial production, reaching a mere 33–39% of the European average in 1900. Consequently, in the early 20th century the Balkans experienced the initial phase of industrialisation, taking its first steps on the path of modernisation.

Devastation caused by World War I and the subsequent redrawing of the Balkan political map had led to serious problems in the national economies aggravated by the elimination of previous connections. After the wartime damage was repaired, the industrial revolution gained new momentum during the inter-war period. Preparations in advance of, and the subsequent boom experienced during World War II contributed to the acceleration of development from the mid-1930s onwards, particularly in Romania. Support for the war machinery of Germany chiefly stimulated food production and mineral extraction (Romanian oil, Yugoslav non-ferrous ores). No major changes occurred in the structure of national economies. A modest demand from abroad failed to encourage the progress of manufacturing. There had been a fluctuation of interest in raw materials and the sector heavily depended on the requirements of developed countries. Industrialisation enhanced spatial disparities owing to industrial plants being built primarily near to places of extraction and/or in the big cities (Belgrade, Sarajevo, Sofia, Bucharest). Industrial centres emerged as islets in the sea of backward agricultural regions extending over the major part from the Balkans. The overwhelming majority of the population made their living from farming, and before World War II it was the only region in Europe where the contribution of farming to national incomes was higher than that of industry.

Development of Socialist Industry

Besides causing tremendous damage, World War II had also broken an earlier model of economic progress. After 1945, all the regional countries stepped onto the path of socialist development showing similar general trends, albeit at a different pace. The whole region belonged to the Soviet sphere of influence but there were considerable differences between the countries with respect to the scale of this interference. Of the SEEC economies, Bulgaria's was the most closely

linked to the Soviet economy, and the collapse of the Soviet Union consequently affected the Bulgarian economy most acutely.

The reconstruction after World War II was followed by an extraordinarily rapid, multiphased industrialisation in the 1950s, which had been hitherto unprecedented in the history of the Balkan states. The development of the economy essentially meant the development of industry, with the bulk of investment being carried out in this sector. In the first step the extraction industries, energy production and metallurgy were developed, and later the emphasis shifted to the development of machine engineering and the chemical industry, which relied on the relatively rich domestic natural resources (hydrocarbons, various kind of coals and non-ferrous minerals). Agricultural output was processed by the different branches of the food industry (e.g. sugar, dairy, meat and tobacco industries) and light industry (mainly textiles, wood processing and leather). The structure of the rapidly developing socialist industry was similar in each of the Balkan countries as autarchy prevailed throughout.

The grand scale of industrial development in the 1950s and 1960s was reflected by the increase in the value of industrial output and also by the growing share of industry within GDP (*Table 15*). However, from the second half of the 1970s, the widespread growth started to lose momentum. Except for Yugoslavia, none of the SEEC really succeeded in switching to intensive industrial development. During the communist period, industrial employment had also increased rapidly, and by the 1980s it was three to fourfold higher than in the 1950s (*Table 16*).

The spatial pattern of industry has always highly depended on the location of natural resources and the layout of the transportation routes. Nonetheless, industrial site selection was often influenced by political factors. Furthermore, in different phases of industrialisation different areas were targeted. Socialist industrialisation mainly focused on traditional industrial centres, although less industrialised rural areas were also involved.

For such a large-scale industrialisation, SEEC initially mobilised internal resources, but with their depletion they had to resort to external resources, which led to negative trade balances and increasing foreign indebtedness. In addition, more and more difficulties emerged within the sector (traditional and distorted structure of industry, unmarketable products, outdated manufacturing technologies and excessive raw material and energy consumption), which started to be resolved only after 1990.

Table 15. ***Structure of GDP in the Countries of South Eastern Europe (1960–1990, %)***

Countries	Year	Agri-culture	Indus-try	Service
Albania	1960	38	19	43
	1983	34	43	23
	1990	40	37	23
Bulgaria	1967	30	46	24
	1975	22	52	26
	1990	18	43	39
Romania	1967	29	52	19
	1975	17	61	22
	1990	22	41	37
Yugoslavia	1976	17	38	45
	1982	15	40	45
	1990	11	42	47

Sources: International Statistical Yearbooks, 1970, 1986, 40 years of Socialist Albania, Tirana, 1984. Statistical Yearbooks of SEECs 1991.

Table 16. ***Number of Industrial Employees in the Countries of South Eastern Europe (1960–1990)***

Countries	Year	Industrial employees
Albania	1960	58,500
	1970	128,200
	1983	252,700
	1990	116,405
Bulgaria	1961	1,142,500
	1975	1,297,000
	1983	1,378,000
	1990	1,810,878
Romania	1960	1,440,200
	1975	2,800,000
	1980	3,679,000
	1990	4,015,100
Yugoslavia	1961	1,516,700
	1975	1,922,000
	1982	2,461,000
	1990	1,288,000

Sources: International Statistical Yearbooks, 1970, 1974, 1986, 1989. 40 years of Socialist Albania, Tirana, 1984. Statistical Yearbooks of SEECs, 1991.

Main Trends Following 1989

The way towards political, economic and social change was open for the countries of South Eastern Europe post-1989, as it was for other countries in the former Eastern bloc. However, economic reforms in the Balkan region began sluggishly, largely owing to the relatively slow and not always successful implementation of political transfer (in most cases unprepared), and also to the fact that in several of the present-day Balkan states the efforts to change the regime were accompanied by the struggle for an independent nation state, often leading to war. Owing to this, the restructuring of industry has also taken place very slowly and in a contradictory manner.

At the beginning of the 1990s SEEC faced serious economic difficulties caused by industrial crisis, the collapse of the CMEA and by the loss of markets. That is without even mentioning the impact of wars and the change in the global economy. The volume of GDP dropped by 15–40%, indebtedness increased, prices sky-rocketed and inflation was rampant. For example in Romania, the amount of debts grew from USD 1.1 billion to USD 8.3 billion between 1990 and 1997. The economic crisis was accompanied by financial crisis and spiralling inflation (*Table 17*).

Owing to the reasons mentioned above, the position of industry decreased very considerably in most Balkan countries, particularly at the beginning of the 1990s. This has been reflected, on the one hand in the share of the industrial sector within GDP, on the other in the share of industry in employment. In 2005 the contribution of industry to employment and the GDP was between 26–40% in each country, except for Albania where its share was much smaller at only about 20% (*Figure 37*).

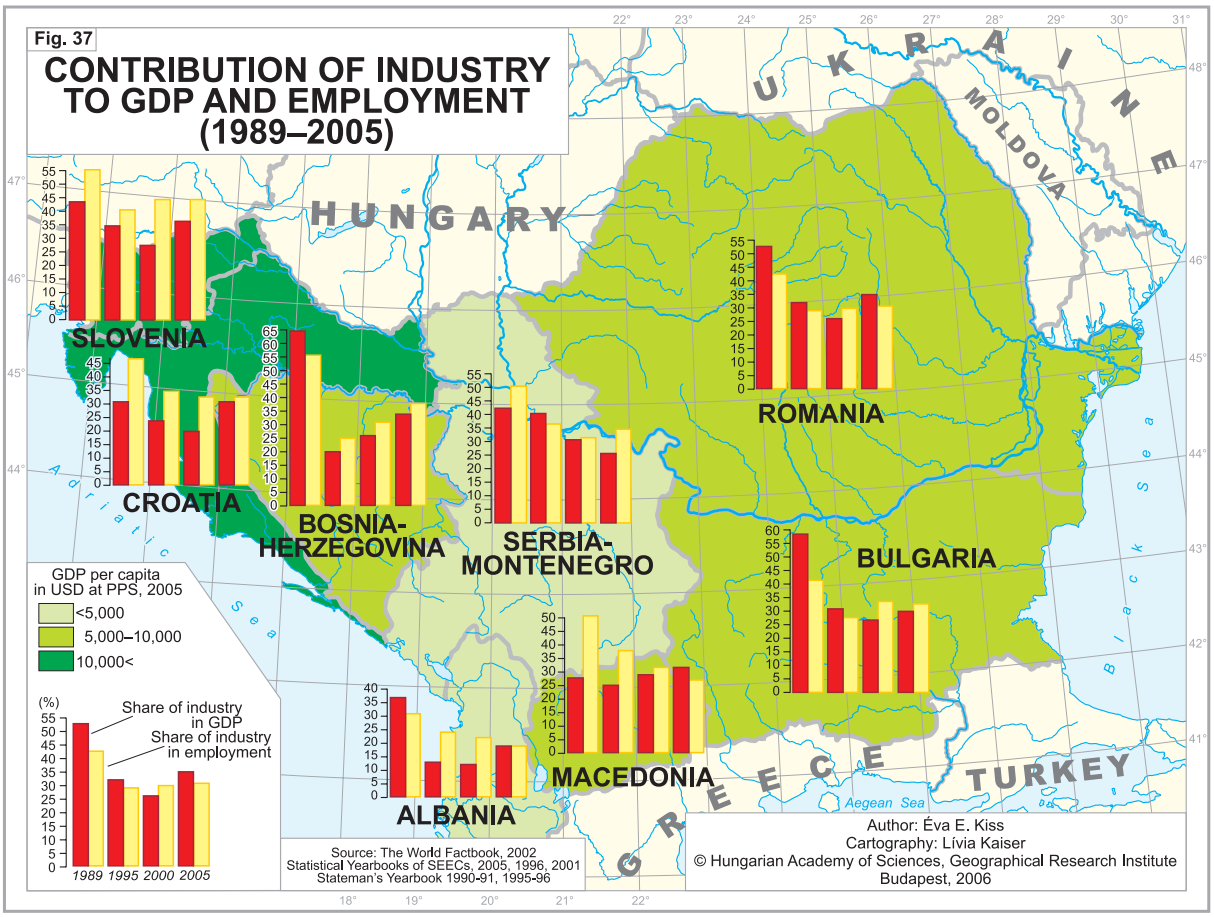
In the 1990s the volume of industrial production also decreased dramatically (for example by 60% in Albania) not only because it was a natural consequence of industrial development, but also because of the Balkan wars *(Figure 38).* Traditional industrial branches (mining, metallurgy, textile and leather industries) suffered the most serious declines. At the end of the 1990s, however, radical measures were taken in the Balkan countries aimed at industrial restructuring. The recovery of industry and its faster development are indicated by the industrial growth rates. In 2005 they were estimated to be 1.7% to 7.0%. The lowest value could be observed in the case of Serbia and Montenegro and the highest one in Bulgaria.

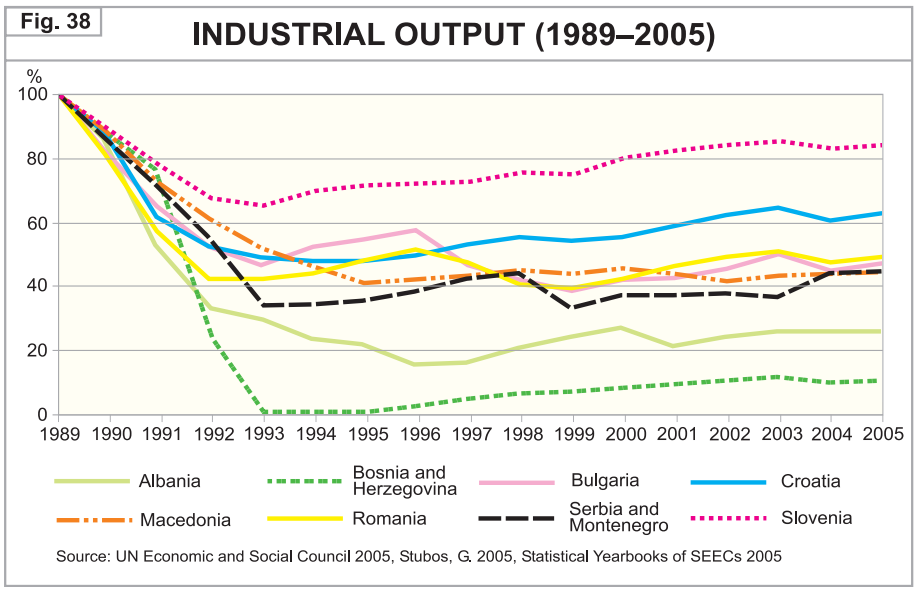
Production of almost all industrial products had considerably fallen back after 1989, because of the loss of markets, decreasing demand, wars and the closure or reorganisation of old industrial establishments. Compared to other SEEC the decrease in industrial production was even more dramatic in Serbia, where for example, the number of cars manufactured fell from 289,000 to 8,000 between 1990 and 1995, and the volume of ship manufacturing fell from 457,000 gtw to 7,000 gtw between 1990 and 1997 *(Table 18).*

Table 17. ***Some Basic Economic Indicators of South East European Countries (1990–2005)***

Countries	GDP per capita (USD at PPS)			Inflation (%)			Economic growth (%)			Gross foreign debt in % of GNP			Unemployment rate (%)		
	1992	1998	2005*	1992	1998	2005*	1992	1998	2005*	1990	1997	2005*	1990	1998	2005*
Albania	196	670	4,900	226.0	30.0	2.4	-10.0	2.0	5.5	..	..	20.0	35	13.5	14.3
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,310	707	6,800	..	3.0	4.4	..	25.0	5.3	57.1	101.3	35.0	19.8	30.0	45.5
Bulgaria	1,008	1,190	9,000	90.0	35.0	5.0	-9.1	4.0	5.5	14.0	35.2	64.0	1.0	14.0	11.5
Croatia	1,800	4,610	11,600	384.3	5.8	3.3	..	4.3	4.0	..	..	86.0	9.3	17.5	18.0
Macedonia	1,527	1,090	7,400	..	3.0	0.0	..	4.5	3.7	..	..	44.1	..	41.2	37.3
Romania	852	1,780	8,200	202.3	45.0	9.0	-7.6	-3.5	4.5	3.0	26.4	35.2	1.0	9.3	5.9
Serbia and Montenegro	1,630	1,138	4,400	19810.0	54.0	15.5	..	7.0	5.9	..	..	58.5	..	24.5	31.6
Slovenia	6,210	9,161	20,900	201.3	9.0	2.5	..	5.3	3.9	..	..	63.6	5.7	14.6	10.1

Remarks: .. no data; * estimation
Sources: CEE Report 2005, Stubos, G. 2005.





The crisis and decline of industry have also had a negative impact on employment, especially in the first half of the 1990s, as the number and proportion of industrial earners fell dramatically *(Figure 39)*. Parallel with this process not only has unemployment increased but so too has the number of agricultural employees in some countries. For example in Romania, the ratio of agricultural employees grew from 29% to 40% between 1989 and 1998. This was due to redundant industrial workers seeking jobs in farming.

From the end of the 1990s the number and ratio of industrial employees started to increase very slowly in most of the SEEC. The situa-

tion began to improve, albeit modestly, due to the normalisation of the economy, cessation of conflicts, and in particular to growing political stability. As a consequence, until recently the share of industrial employees reached almost one-third of active earners in each Balkan state, except for Albania where it was estimated at 19%.

During the last 16 years the structure of industry has not changed considerably. The leading branches of socialist industry (e.g. mining, metallurgy, textile industry) have declined. But neither the renewal of industry, the appearance of new and dynamically developing branches nor the modernisation of production have taken place, owing to a variety of reasons (e.g. peripheric geographical location, small interest to foreign investors, less skilled labour force, undeveloped infrastructure).

A decrease in industrial employment is considered one of the most important indicators of de-industrialisation. This process took place very intensively in the 1990s, when a great number of factories were closed down because they proved to be highly uncompetitive and obsolete in terms of raw materials and energy consumption. Even those remaining in operation are usually uncompetitive, since they were either demolished during warfare or have yet to be modernised. De-industrialisation was the highest in some countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia), primarily owing to the consequences of the war, and in particular in certain parts within the countries where heavy industries were once based.

The transformation and take-off of industry within the SEEC was also hindered by the slow advance of privatisation and the lack of interest displayed by foreign investors. Privatisation of industrial establishments has yet to be finished, owing to numerous unprofitable, out-of-date firms still waiting for strategic investors, in almost every country.

The SEEC were not amongst the popular target locations for foreign investors in the 1990s. This was due to various factors, such as unfavourable geographical location, economic embargo, isolation, political instability, underdeveloped infrastructure, considerable corruption, insufficient law enforcement, a relatively unskilled workforce, ethnic conflicts etc. The interest of foreign investors in the region was aroused only at the end of the 1990s, after the peaceful settlement in Croatia and Bosnia. The yearly amount of foreign direct investment (FDI) largely depended on what had been privatised in the given year. Between 1990 and 2005, the volume of FDI in the region increased almost a hundred-fold, by now exceeding USD 48 billion. 65% of the investment was made in Romania and Croatia (43% and 21% respectively), while the remaining 44% was shared among six countries. The cummulative amount of FDI per capita was the highest in Croatia (2,049 USD) and the lowest in Bosnia (437 USD) *(Figure 40).*

In most of the countries industry, finance and trade have proven to be the most popular sectors. However, there are considerable annual fluctuations among these sectors depending on the preferences of foreign investors (*Figure 41*).

Generally speaking, each Balkan state has a key EU-member state as the main investor country, with which it has maintained a long and close relationship. Historical ties, cultural links, traditional commercial partnerships and/or language relations also affect the composition of investors in SEEC. This is why Italy is an important investor for Albania, Germany and Austria for Croatia, and France for Romania. In some Balkan countries religious links (e.g. between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kuwait) also have a significant influence on the composition of investors by origin (*Figure 42*).

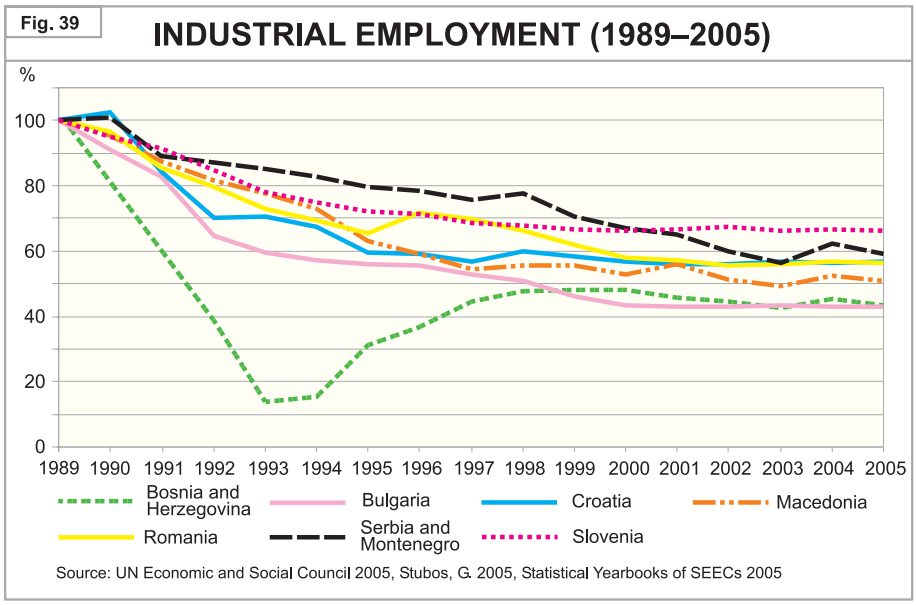
The spatial pattern of industry has remained basically unchanged. Only the significance of some settlements with a narrow industrial focus has decreased considerably because of the closure of mines or metallurgic factories. Thus, the spatial differences have increased. However, large cities have remained the major industrial centres, possessing different industrial branches and due to the fact that they were able to adjust to the new challenges much easier. In each Balkan state the majority of industrial production is concentrated in capital cities where it is the most multifarious in sector, and in larger towns or in some cases around major sites of mineral extraction, which are usually situated in remote and mountainous areas. In countries where de-industrialisation progressed the furthest, "blank spots" have appeared on the map, while in those countries where the process was less pronounced, and which escaped the devastation of war, the location structure of industries and its characteristics have not changed substantially, although the extension of their industrial areas has shrunk.

Table 18. ***Output of Some Industrial Products in the Countries of South Eastern Europe (1990–2004)***

Country, *industrial product*	1990	1995	2000	2004 *
Bulgaria				
brown coal, lignite (million tons)	31.5	27.4	25.9	27.8
artificial fertilizer (thousand tons)	961	919	498	312
tobacco (thousand tons)	72	19	38	58
wine (thousand litres)	248	262	183	144
vegetables, processed and preserved (thousand tons)	185	134	42	78
Croatia				
textile stuff (million m²)	30	22	34	43
sugar (thousand tons)	..	80	57	215
wine (thousand litres)	745	608	498	501
tobacco (thousand tons)	12	7	8	14
cargo ships (GT)	..	..	146,889	83,095
Romania				
brown coal, lignite (million tons)	33.7	40.0	29.0	30
textile stuff (million m²)	536	275	17.0	2
artificial fertilizer (thousand tons)	1,636	1,398	968	1,222
passenger car (thousand pieces)	84	70	64	99
sugar (thousand tons)	334	218	493	506
Serbia and Montenegro				
brown coal, lignite (million tons)	40.0	39.9	34.2	35.2
textile stuff (million m²)	46	20	20.0	21
artificial fertilizer (thousand tons)	191	84	129	218
sugar (thousand tons)	584	183	115	340
Slovenia				
textile stuff (million m²)	102	71	19	24
paper and paperboard (thousand ton)	413	441	582	687
footwear (thousand pairs)	9,124	6,951	4,686	3,568
cheese (thousand tons)	11	16	22	23
refrigerators (thousand units)	720	863	841	1,125

Remarks: .. no data; * data of Bulgaria from 2003.
Sources: Statistical Yearbooks of SEECs, 1991 1996, 2004, 2005, FAO Yearbook Production, 1992, 1996, Industrial Commodity Statistics Yearbook, 2000, International Statistical Yearbook, 2004.

Fig. 39



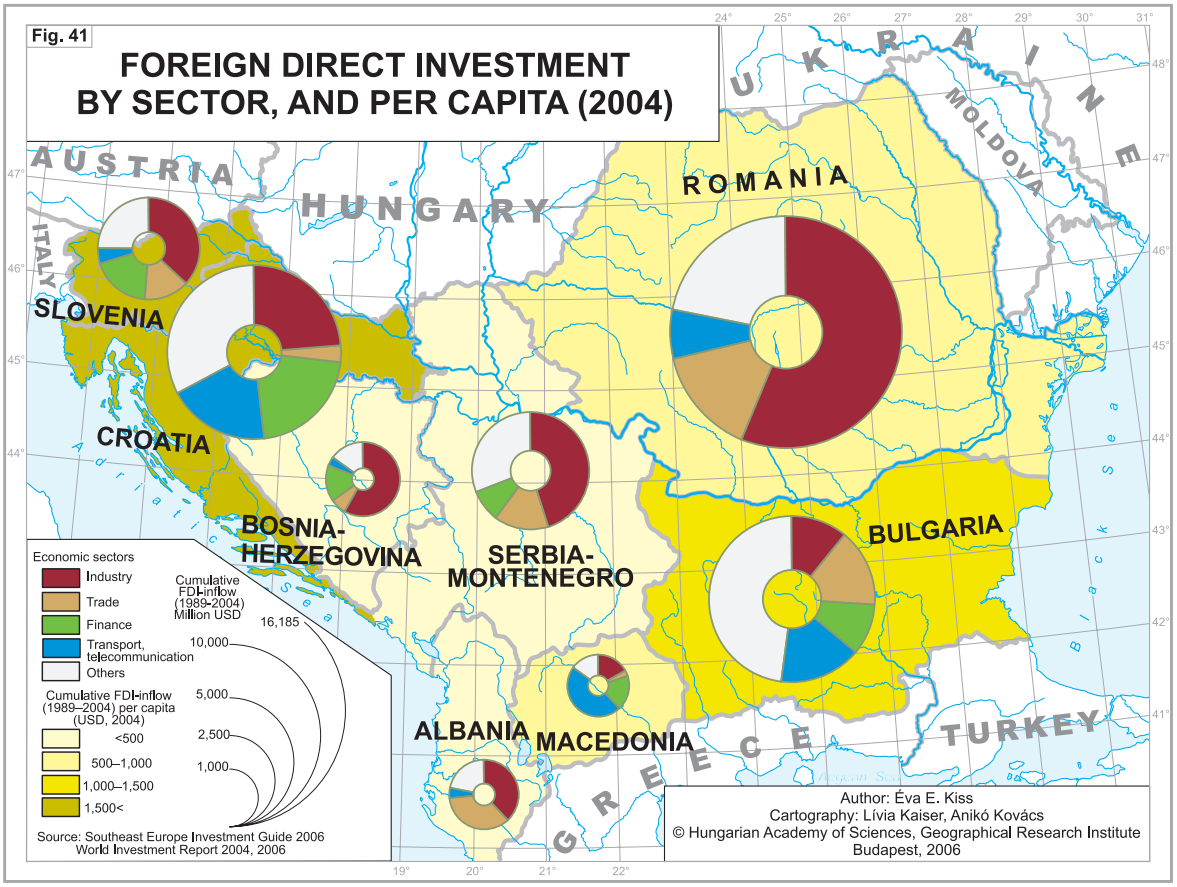


Fig. 41
FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT
BY SECTOR, AND PER CAPITA (2004)
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
UKRAINE
MOLDOVA
ITALY
SLOVENIA
CROATIA
BOSNIA-
HERZEGOVINA
SERBIA-
MONTENEGRO
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA
GREECE
TURKEY
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
Aegean Sea
Economic sectors
Industry
Trade
Finance
Transport, telecommunication
Others
Cumulative FDI-inflow (1989-2004) Million USD
16,185
10,000
5,000
2,500
1,000
Cumulative FDI-inflow (1989–2004) per capita (USD, 2004)
<500
500–1,000
1,000–1,500
1,500<
Source: Southeast Europe Investment Guide 2006
World Investment Report 2004, 2006
Author: Éva E. Kiss
Cartography: Lívia Kaiser, Anikó Kovács
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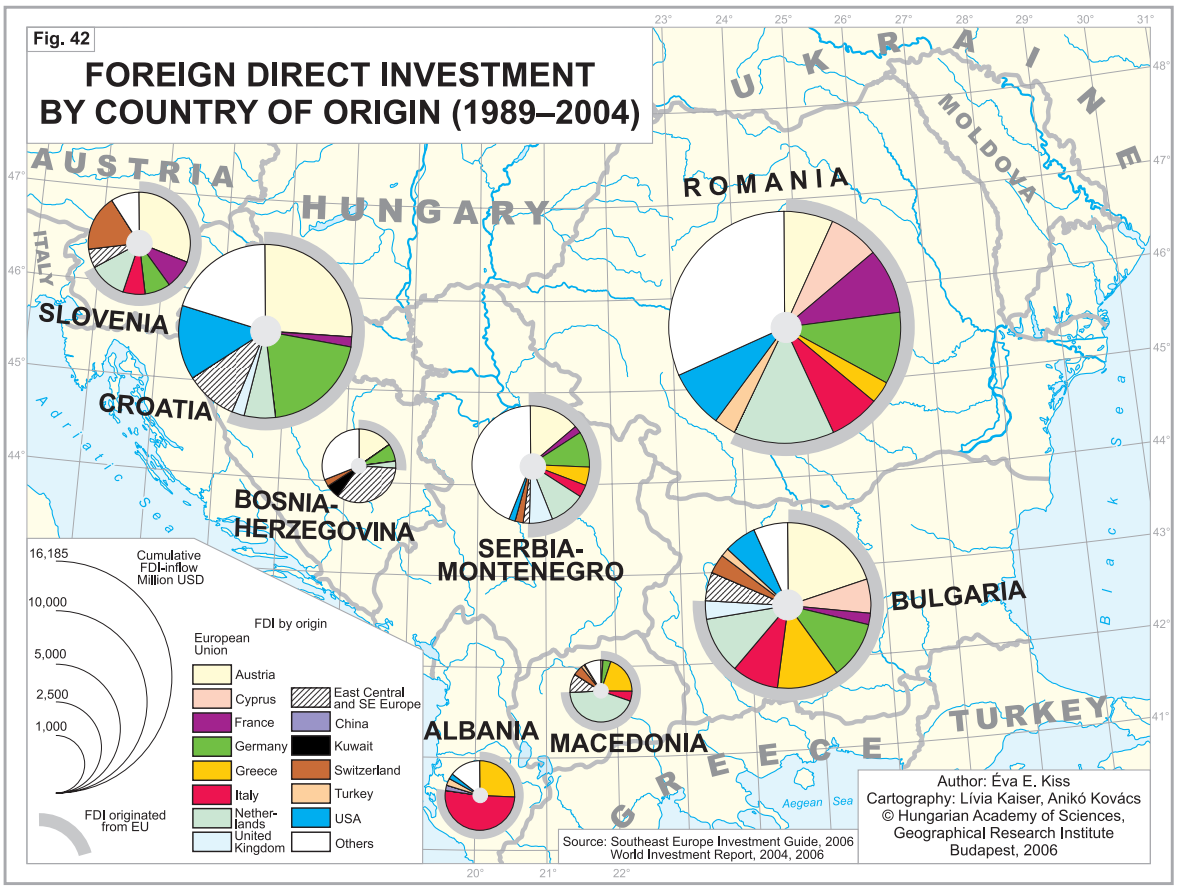
Fig. 42
FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT
BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN (1989–2004)
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
UKRAINE
MOLDOVA
ITALY
SLOVENIA
CROATIA
BOSNIA-
HERZEGOVINA
SERBIA-
MONTENEGRO
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA
GREECE
TURKEY
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
Aegean Sea
16,185
10,000
5,000
2,500
1,000
Cumulative FDI-inflow Million USD
FDI originated from EU
FDI by origin
European Union
Austria
Cyprus
France
Germany
Greece
Italy
Nether-lands
United Kingdom
East Central and SE Europe
China
Kuwait
Switzerland
Turkey
USA
Others
Source: Southeast Europe Investment Guide, 2006
World Investment Report, 2004, 2006
Author: Éva E. Kiss
Cartography: Lívia Kaiser, Anikó Kovács
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Major Characteristics by Country

Slovenia has been and still is the most developed country of the SEEC. Its industrial restructuring has taken place slowly, owing to industry already being in a relatively healthy state thanks to the bulk of its companies being efficient. This is reflected in the fact that nearly 50 per cent of its foreign trade was already being conducted with developed countries from the 1980s. De-industrialisation was not so considerable as in other SEEC. Metallurgy, machinery, textiles, chemicals and food industries still are the most important branches. Their major centres are Ljubljana and Maribor. Slovenia is also a country which is among the 15 leading world producers in selected divisions: machinery and equipment; electrical machinery and apparatus; medical, precision and optical instruments; and furniture manufacturing.

In the communist era, **Croatia**'s industrial output was primarily intended for the internal market, thus the collapse of this and the wider socialist market has affected it much more seriously than the case with Slovenian industry. In addition, because of the war in 1991 and 1992 about one quarter of industrial establishments were damaged and the production of industry has decreased by 43%. These days, industrial branches involved in the repair of war damage and renovation are developing at the most rapid pace. The wider vicinity of Zagreb is the most important industrial centre, where in the main knowledge intensive branches (electronics and pharmaceuticals) are developing. The other major industrial centres of the country (Rijeka, Split) are situated along the coast. Their shipbuilding and chemical industries are the most important to the local economy.

During the socialist era **Bosnia and Herzegovina** was the most important location of the arms industry. The overwhelming majority of industrial facilities, which were used for military production, were damaged or totally destroyed during the war and ethnic cleansing that took place between 1992 and 1995. According to some estimations, 45% of industrial sites were destroyed. This provides a part explanation for industry running at 13% of its pre-war capacity in 1997, as well as for the dramatic rise in unemployment (60 jobless persons per 100 adults). The existing industrial capacities are still far from fully utilised, and most of its industrial establishments are in bad shape. Sarajevo with its one-sided industry is the largest industrial centre of the country. Banja Luka is famous for its traditional carpet weaving.

Prior to 1991 **Serbia** had a relatively well-developed industry, but subsequently its industry collapsed, and since then it has been facing a continual crisis. As a consequence of the war between 1992 and 1995 and the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999, several industrial plants were destroyed or closed down. As a consequence de-industrialisation was not simply the result of natural development. The inherited regional differences still exist: the northern part of the country is more industrialised than its southern part. Belgrade, Novi Sad and Kragujevac are the most important industrial centres, where machinery, food, textile and chemical industries have traditions. The industry of **Montenegro** was not significant as its share was only 1.7% of the Yugoslavian industrial output. Its major branches (metallurgy, textile and wood industries) are concentrated in Podgorica.

Macedonia was the poorest republic of the former Yugoslavia, and contributed to Yugoslavian industrial production with only 6–7% of the total. Since the beginning of the 1990s Macedonian industry has been in crisis, owing to a variety of reasons (e.g. altered regional situation, challenges of the market economy, decreased demand for their products, especially textile, steel and iron). As a result, lots of old factories were closed down and the number of industrial employees fell in half between 1990 and 1998. However, the heaviest blow to the country, independent since 1992, were the UN sanctions in that year and the trade ban imposed by Greece in 1994 and 1995. The damage to the Macedonian economy caused by these two measures amounted to some 750 million USD, and still impedes the economic development of the country. After the turn of the millennium, the industrial growth rate increased and a larger emphasis was put on the development of traditional branches (food, textile and tobacco industries). The most important industrial centre of the country is Skopje.

Albania was the poorest and least developed European country for a variety of reasons (unfavourable geographical location, lack of a skilled labour force and modern machines etc.). At the beginning of the 1990s, mining production collapsed and numerous chemical plants and engineering factories were closed down, which led to the virtual disappearance of a manufacturing industry. The advancement of Albania's economy has been impeded by the serious shortage of energy resources after 1989, and by fear of the inflow of foreign capital. Albania is relatively rich in mineral resources, which together with agricultural raw materials provides a good basis for mining, food and textile industries. About one-fifth of industrial production is concentrated in Tirana, next to which the industries of Durrës (tobacco), Vlorë (chemicals) and Korçë (sugar and tobacco) are significant. The northern part of the country is the less industrialised.

In **Bulgaria**, such industry developed under socialism, which did not fit into either the historical traditions or natural resources of the country. Not only was the loss of the Soviet market a problem, but incidentally, the Yugoslavian crisis also had a negative impact on Bulgarian industry, in which currently the textile and food industries are developing most rapidly. Thus, in 2005 already more than 50% of the total industrial workforce was employed in these manufacturing branches. The metallurgy factories located in Kremikovci, Pirdop and Kârdžali are in decline. The future of different branches of the machinery industry is also uncertain, the products of which are uncompetitive on the world market. However, the chemical industries of Devnya and Burgas are developing relatively fast.

Romania is the largest country of the SEEC, both in terms of population and territory. It is also the richest in natural resources, which have always been an important basis of its industry. De-industrialisation was also relevant here, as the number of industrial employees had decreased from 4.7 millions to 2.3 millions by 2005. From the turn of the millennium industrial growth has been moderate, with mining, chemical, machinery and food industries developing chiefly. Major industrial centres are the large towns like Bucureşti, Braşov, Cluj-Napoca, Timişoara and Ploieşti, which are situated in different parts of the country. Industry declines have been witnessed mostly in the traditionally industrial centres where mining and metallurgy were the major branches during the socialist era.

Conclusions

The legacy of the past is still manifest in the history, economy and industry of SEEC. History repeats itself, albeit in a different form and under a new set of circumstances. Industrialisation dominated during the socialist era, but after 1991 de-industrialisation became typical. It is evident that from the end of the 20th century re-industrialisation has gained a fresh impetus. The latter statement is confirmed by the fact that foreign investors also tend to prefer this sector. These days, de-industrialisation and re-industrialisation take place concurrently.

On the whole, the recent recovery of industry in South Eastern Europe started much later than in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and the process has been much slower. Therefore the results are not – and cannot be – so spectacular. In the light of developments so far, the Balkan countries can be divided into two groups on the basis of the importance of their industry. One of the groups comprises those countries in which the situation of industry fails to show significant signs of improvement at the moment, and no positive changes are likely to occur in the foreseeable future. In these countries it is agriculture and the tertiary (service) sector that are expected to grow in importance, which represents, to a certain extent, a return to the past. The other group includes countries where the industrial sector has played an important part in the recent past, although it has been losing ground. It will require a lot of time and financial support to update regional industry in order to meet the demands of the

21st century, i.e. to take measures necessary for the modernisation of the sector. A priority is for the political and social circumstances to be made more attractive. Nonetheless, this division on the basis of the importance of industry does not necessarily mean that only the first or the second group mentioned above will be able to catch up with the more developed regions of Europe. No doubt, however, that the condition and characteristics of industry can be improved to a large extent, on the one hand, by catching up with the region, and on the other, through its integration into the European and – in a wider sense – into the global economy.

Energy

The Development of Energy Systems in the Balkans (1945–1990)

The reconstruction after World War II and later on, the enforced and hasty development of the industrial sector (particularly of heavy industry), characteristic for the Cold War era, made the qualitative and quantitative development of energy production essential. All the first (three-year or five-year) plans of the command economy in the region's countries included the improvement of the energy sector in some form or another. In the 50s and 60s the energy supply firstly tried to meet the demands of industry (even if not exclusively), and decisively favoured the use of domestic resources. Such were the Maritsa-iztok energy complex in South Bulgaria, established in 1957 on outcrop lignite, or a series of Albanian hydraulic power plants on the Drina from 1947 onwards. From 1951–1960 a 10 year electrification plan was carried out in Romania: thermal power plants (Doiceşti, Filipeşti, Borzeşti, Paroşeni) and hydro cascades (on the Ialomiţa and Sadu rivers or near Bicaz) were set up, increasing power production nearly sixfold between 1938 and 1960. A similar increase could be observed during the same period in Yugoslavia, where primarily coal fuelled and hydraulic power plants were set up.

In the following one and a half decades, the Balkan countries laid more emphasis on facilitating private consumption and on the establishment of integrated electricity networks within the individual countries, as well as on the construction of additional power plants. Village electrification programs were launched, district-heating plants were set up and the power networks began to aggregate. In the 60s electricity reached more than half of the Romanian villages, in contrast to the 10% before World War II. The domestic energy resources of the Balkan countries were unable to supply this profitably and to cope with the hasty development of power-consuming industries, the import of energy therefore gradually increased during the decade. This primarily meant hydrocarbon and coal from the USSR (in Bulgaria, Romania) and to a lesser extent petroleum from third world countries, e.g. the Middle East (in Romania, Yugoslavia).

As a result of the growing demand on energy, the oil crises and strategic considerations, several countries tried to reduce their dependence on Soviet hydrocarbons. Romania and Yugoslavia made serious efforts to exploit the potential in their resources for hydraulic power. Splendid examples of this are the combined hydro plants on the Danube, Iron Gate I. (Romanian *Porţile de Fier*, Serbian *Djerdap*) (2,100 MW) opened in 1972 and Iron Gate II in 1984 with a considerably lesser capacity (balancing plant). As an alternative to the use of water-power, the more extensive use of coal-fuelled power plants was a way to substitute the increasingly expensive hydrocarbons (once again Yugoslavia and Romania, with coal reserves). Bulgaria – with a low hydro-power potential and scarce resources of coal – saw nuclear energy as a solution to decrease their energy dependence. The power plant at Kozloduj was opened in 1974 and has been expanded several times since then. For a short period in the late 80s Bulgaria occupied third place in the world ranking in terms of per capita output of nuclear energy.

In the 80s the Chernobyl disaster resulted in a setback in the construction of nuclear plants, while the growing price of hydrocarbons and an environmentally more conscious society hindered the building of thermal plants. However, alternative sources of energy have not yet gained ground in South Eastern Europe. The economic transformation at the turn of the 90s led to the shutdown of the exceptionally inefficient plants, and power consumption of the economy declined dramatically. Besides that, growing prices of energy also meant a restraint on private consumption.

The Main Features of South East European Energy Networks

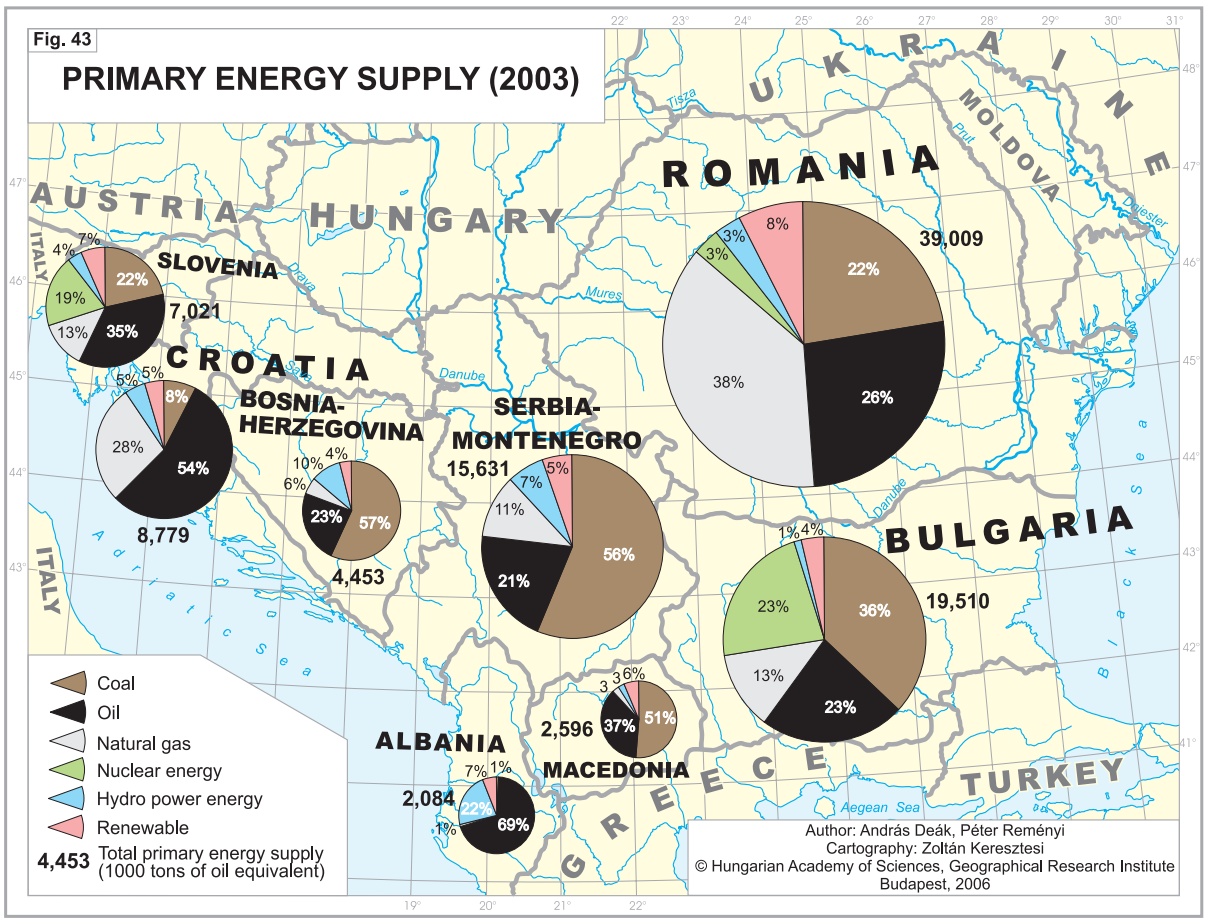
Except for the Romanian resources in hydrocarbons, the South East European countries are poor in terms of energy sources. Due to the expected economic growth, the weight of imports is bound to rise. At the same time, the region only constitutes a relatively narrow segment of the total European market. The aggregate power consumption of these countries only slightly exceeds that of Poland. The only viable role is in transit. Although South East Europe does not have substantial transit capacities, the future transportation routes from the Middle East or pipelines from the Caspian Sea area might well pass through its territory. These trans-European networks would connect the region into the European energy infrastructure.

The main indices of power consumption fall behind those of West and Central European rates. This effectively indicates a low efficiency of power consumption in material production, and the low rate of consumption per capita. The regional average of power consumption per GDP unit is triple the developed Western rate and it is also 50% higher than in the Central Eastern European countries. In the case of power consumption per capita the figures show a reversed picture. Most of the Balkan countries have reached only a relatively low rate, which is similar to industrial societies in the second half of the 20th century. Meanwhile, in the Visegrád countries the boom in power consumption is in full swing (as a result of the emergence of consumer societies) and these countries are catching up with the rate in the old OECD nations. Nevertheless, the countries of the region show a very heterogeneous picture in terms of the nature of power consumption. Slovenia boasts of the effectiveness and consumption parameters almost matching those of the developed industrial countries, whereas Bulgaria and Serbia and Montenegro report strikingly low indexes.

The energy systems of the region's countries have been traditionally based on two kinds of fuel: coal and oil. This one-sidedness of the primary energy balances was particularly salient in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavian energy system is based ab ovo on self-sufficiency, relying on domestic coal. However, this originally one-sided balance was further distorted by the break-up of Yugoslavia and the accompanying war. These events brought about not only a more dramatic fallback in consumption than the Central European rate – except for Slovenia and Croatia – but also subordinated national energy policy to considerations of security policy. Thus, by the turn of the millennium, in the former Yugoslav area a highly fragmented system of energy supply emerged with only partial restoration of the former infrastructural links. In Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina the share of coal exceeds half of the total power consumption (*Figure 43*). In contrast to this, Croatia – in spite of the decreasing domestic output – favored petroleum, which could be imported by sea and it became the dominant fuel, similarly to the situation in Albania.

The primary energy balances are more uniform in the other countries of the region. It can be explained by the very high rate of self-sufficiency in the case of Romania, as this country produces 74% of its total consumption. The Romanian power supply, relying on domestic hydrocarbon resources, stands on several pillars. The unique regional nuclear capacities facilitated the situation of Bulgaria and Slovenia. The reactor in Krško, Slovenia (623 MW) and the four blocks in Kozloduj, Bulgaria (altogether 2,722 MW) supplied one fifth of the total power consumption in these countries. The latter one produces electricity for export on a large-scale basis. Furthermore, both countries have access to gas and electricity pipeline networks, Slovenia via the western, Bulgaria via its eastern (Russian) relations. Hence diversification of energy supply has become viable by relying on import.

In the future, an increase in consumption exceeding the European average can be predicted for the whole region. Considering the region's economic recovery and the commencement of growth, capacities must be expanded in the foreseeable future. At the same time, the growth rate of consumption is expected to be tempered by the improvements in energy efficiency. Nevertheless, this will not reach a degree that would save the relatively deteriorated infrastructure from a need for modernisation. In this respect the countries of the region will have to



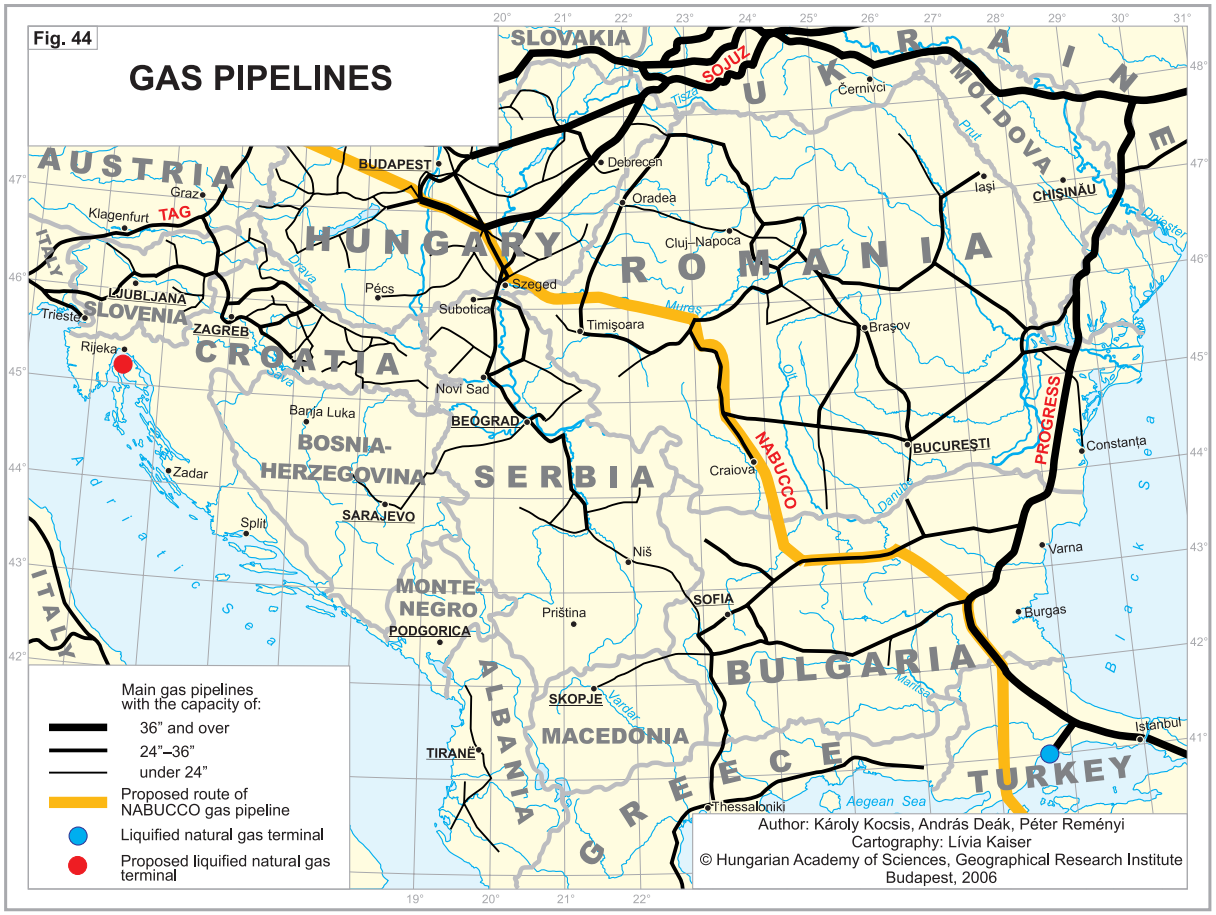
face significant investments. At the same time, the surplus should be covered almost exclusively through import, which will manifest itself (according to the European trend) mainly in an increase in natural gas consumption. Currently, the consumption of natural gas in the region is below the European average. This trend will lead to the spreading of new energy sources, mainly in the area of the former Yugoslavia and could eventually re-arrange the structure of power consumption in a matter of decades. At the same time, such an increase of proportion in the energy balances can be understood most of the times as a type of diversification policy.

The energy networks of South Eastern Europe do not form a unified system. Both Yugoslavia and Albania constituted almost completely closed infrastructural units until 1990; they did not have solid access either to the Soviet or to the West European networks. Social, as well as security considerations called for self-sufficiency, or limited dependency at worst. Contrary to this, Romania and Bulgaria both attached themselves (in the frame of the CMEA) to the networks of the former Soviet bloc. Both countries have been integrated closely with it in terms of gas as well as with regards to oil. This had led, in many aspects, to pronounced differences in the use of energy sources in the eastern and western parts of the Balkan. Except for the electricity networks, there is no real connection between the Bulgarian–Romanian and the Yugoslav systems, and its development can be at best expected from the establishment of more extensive trans-European systems.

The European Union influences the future of the region's energy networks in many ways. As pre-accession countries, Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia are obliged to adopt the regulations of the Union. The most cardinal components of these are the gas and electricity market directives adopted to liberalise the Union energy market. They are bound to come into effect in June 2007 and their adoption does not promise a smooth landing in these states. The situation is slightly different in the Western Balkan region. Here – besides liberalisation – the EU focuses on the reconstruction and moderni-

sation of the industry within the frame of the stability pacts. A further Balkan specificity is the lack of large, financially strong and autonomous companies, owing to the energy industry of the region having been bought up mostly by East Central European, West European and Russian corporations. This is true especially for the East Balkan countries, but privatisation of the sector has also started in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, and micro-level integration is already under way. These three factors: the liberalisation by the Union, the micro-level integration and the region's geographical setting with long coastlines and proximity to several potential energy exporters creates a fair chance for the establishment of a real, competitive market environment in the future.

Natural gas. At present three large north–south gas-pipelines (built in the 1970s) supply the region's countries. The most important of them is the network running through Moldavia, Romania and Bulgaria (Progress pipeline) (*Figure 44*). Exclusively Russian gas arrives through this pipeline and it covers roughly half of the Romanian and the entire Bulgarian consumption. Through the same system there is a limited amount of transit to Turkey, Greece and a negligible amount to Macedonia. The second pipeline runs via Hungary to Serbia and to a lesser extent to Bosnia. This network can hardly be regarded as of being of pan-European importance and it lags way behind the former in terms of capacity. The third pipeline runs off from the Austrian–Italian TAG (Trans Austria Gas Pipeline) and provides gas to Slovenia and Croatia. Among the capitals of the region, Ljubljana has made great efforts in order to improve its gas network. First of all, it consciously strives to diversify its supplies, so it has a binding operative contract on gas shipment with Algeria until 2007. The share of Russian and Algerian gas in the country's import is nearly equal. Beyond that, during the 90s Croatia converted to gas at a degree exceeding its own production. As a consequence it made serious efforts to improve its gas network and expanded the capacities crossing the Slovenian–Croatian border, making the increase of natural gas import possible.



Plans of the major trans-European pipelines running via Turkey to Europe are aimed at a significant increase in gas consumption. Among these projects, the most important one is the "Nabucco" pipeline, which is also among the priorities of the European Union. According to the plans, this network would deliver 20–30 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually to the European markets, an amount that equals the entire consumption of the region at present. Its supplies would be provided by producers in Azerbaijan, Iran, to a lesser extent perhaps in Russia and would reach the Austrian gas hub in Baumgarten via Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary. The plan has had great importance laid upon it owing to the gas war between Russia and Ukraine at the beginning of 2006, which proved Russian and Ukrainian transits to be insecure. The pipeline, which could be opened in the first half of 2011, would not only upgrade the area to a transit region, but would also make natural gas more widespread.

Furthermore, another possibility is to intensify the import of Russian natural gas, either by improving the existing systems or through the "Blue Stream" submarine pipeline under the Black Sea. The utilisation and interconnection of the latter one to the Balkan networks, increasing the capacities of the existing pipelines is supported predominantly by Gazprom. Thirdly, in line with the development of LNG (liquefied natural gas) technology, the setting up of such terminals seems to be increasingly realistic, most of all on the Adriatic Sea. Italy has already built several such liquefying terminals on the Italian shores, by means of which natural gas produced in any part of the world can be economically shipped to European consumers. One consequence of the Russian–Ukrainian gas war was that the plans for a similar project on the island of Krk, Croatia became known. At the same time, the capacity of such a terminal lags way behind that of "Nabucco" or those of all the existing pipeline networks.

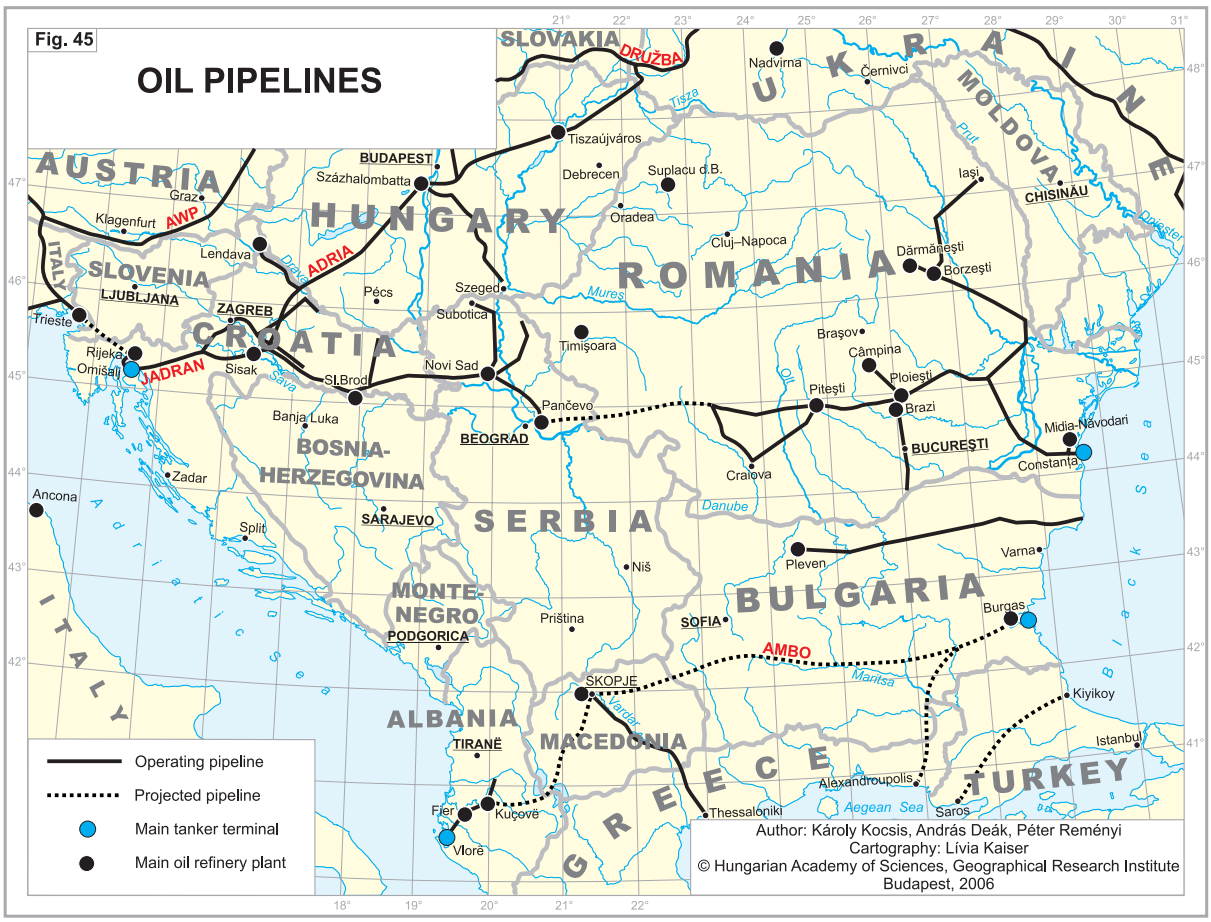
Crude oil. The infrastructure of the region's oil industry is characterised by significant (and most of the time idle) harbouring and refining capacity, segmented pipeline systems and intensive foreign capital inflow. In the 90s, domestic output dropped in nearly all the countries of the area. This means that at present about 80% of the consumption of the entire region has to be supplied from harbours on the Black Sea and Adriatic Sea or via Russian or Greek pipeline capacities. Romania owns the largest oil reserves in Central Eastern Europe (nearly 1 billion barrels), which makes it one of the top exploration zones beside Albania and Bulgaria.

At the same time the countries in the area, especially Romania, have significant surplus capacities in refining. Most of them are situated in a strategically attractive place, have good marine or fluvial connections or enjoy access to European markets.

The most important schemes connected with the improvement in infrastructure are related to the transit of Black Sea crude oil through the area. A significant percentage of the dynamically expanding Russian and Kazakh petroleum output arrives at the Black Sea, especially at the port of Novorossiysk, Russia. Transporting this amount to the markets via the Bosporus suffers serious stoppages. The limited throughput of the straits, as well as the disaster recovery and environmental considerations of the Turkish government make this route particularly slow and expensive. Several plans have been outlined to avoid the straits.

There are three alternative, Balkan-bound plans to build the detour route. The Burgas–Alexandroupolis pipeline is a plan mostly supported by Russia (*Figure 45*). The advantage of this project lays in its low construction cost, at the same time it would fully serve as a transit line and would not affect the markets of the Balkan countries. The Albania–Macedonia–Bulgaria line (AMBO) can be linked specifically to the U.S. administration. Both projects are nearly at the same stage and the parties accepted the letters of intent. The Constanţa–Omišalj–Trieste line would cost the most but by means of expanding the already existing infrastructure, this project would have the largest effect on the region's oil industry, by reaching many refineries. This project has two disadvantages: one of them being its high cost, the other one its lack of a world power as a patron. The reversal of the Adria pipeline is a project also worth mentioning. Its construction costs would be minimal, although it would be suitable for transporting only meagre amounts to the markets through the Družba–Adria network. The two latter versions have minor chances, most of all because of the difficulties with their acceptance in Croatia.

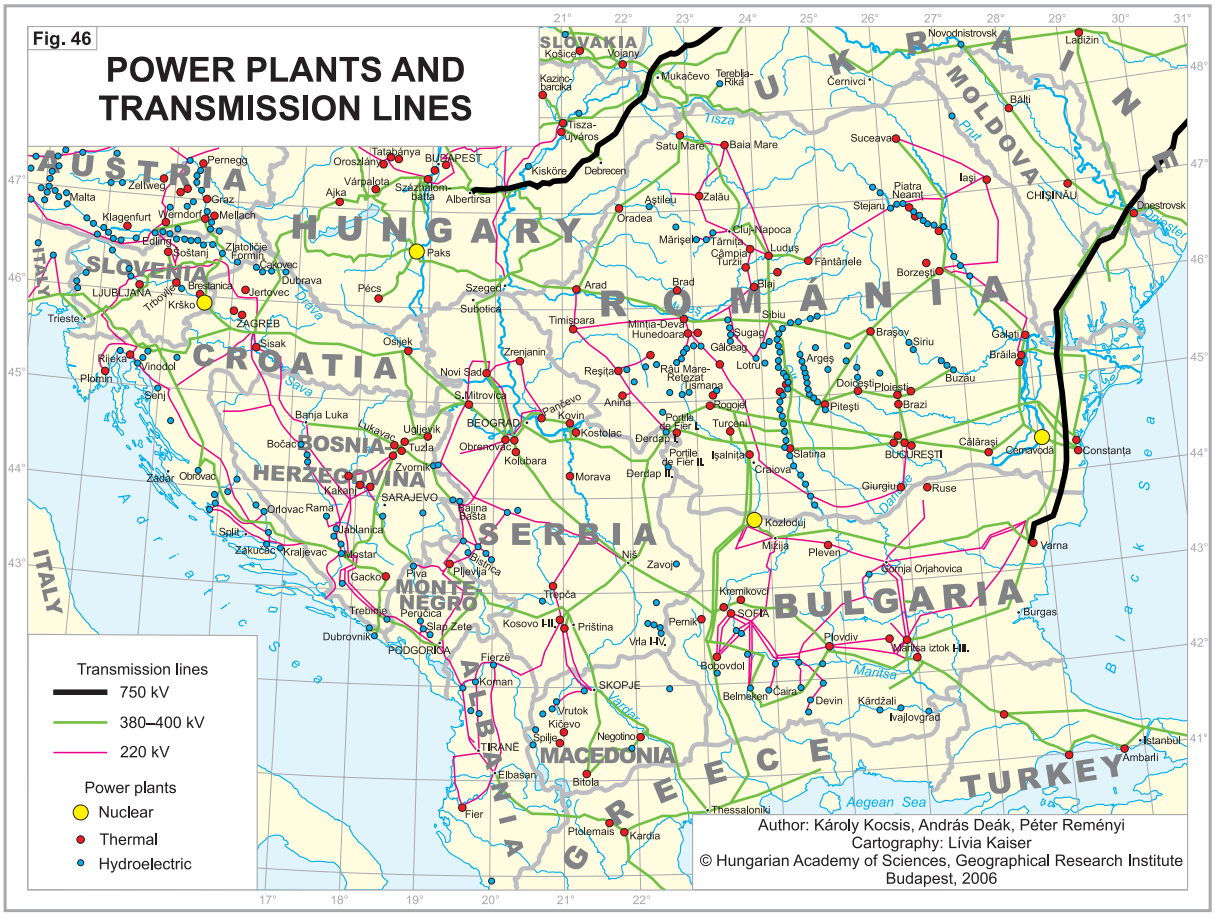
Electricity. The electricity systems present a rather mixed picture, with significant



variations between countries. The area has sizeable surplus capacities; the interstate electricity trade is negligible. In line with this, the infrastructure is obsolete and the low return rates of the industry do not afford the necessary improvements in most of the cases. One of the extreme cases is Albania, where the consumption drastically dropped after 1991 and now it is capable of covering nearly its entire power demand with its own hydroelectric plants. Bosnia and Herzegovina also covers nearly half of its power consumption from similar sources. The potential hydroelectric power yet to be tapped and a major part of the existing power plant capacities are still idle, therefore the further increase of the already high proportion of this energy source is among the objectives in most of the countries.

One of the largest power producers in the area is Bulgaria. The nuclear blocks at Kozloduj supply the country and almost all the surrounding states with very cheap electric power (*Figure 46*). However, considering the safety flaws of these pressurised water reactors, their operation was a serious item on the agenda in the relationship between the EU and Bulgaria. In return for the promise of accession, in 2002 Bulgaria shut down its first two reactors built in the early 70s, which had only limited safety systems. At the same time, the systems of the other four reactors (opened between 1981 and 1992) were modernised with the help of considerable EU subsidies. The future of blocks 3 and 4 is still a matter of debate, as Bulgaria wants to extend the deadline for shutting them down in 2006 to 2010. Moreover, the future of two additional uncompleted blocks in Belene is in the balance; the Bulgarian government wants to substitute the reduced capacities with them. There were no such qualms about the two other nuclear rectors of the area, the smaller one at Cernavodă, Romania and another one at Krško, Slovenia. The further improvement of the former is among the items on the agenda.

Apart from the Slovenian and Croatian electricity networks, which stand on many pillars, coal is the dominant fuel in the countries of former Yugoslavia. The power plant capacities of



the region are out of date, their efficiency is low and most of them are in need of reconstruction. The region has relatively modern coal mines and social considerations also call for preserving the existing capacities. Although this type of fuel is on the downgrade in the primary energy balances, its share in electricity generation seems to be secured. At the same time environmental principles point to the urgent need for modernisation of the coal industry. This is likely to lead to the privatisation of these facilities.

The European Union and the South East European Energy Systems

After the war in Kosovo in 1999, the EU started to deal with the area's energy networks in detail within the framework of the general EU policy concerning this region. The theories raised by the EU were mostly in accord with the objectives set up by Brussels for the Union's internal market. Despite that, the Union's energy policy concerning the Balkans shows few regionally specific features. Brussels intends to create a regional market with standard regulation where the new national borders bear no real significance. Furthermore it intends to modernise the outdated capacities by means of allocating development aids, continuation of liberalisation and involving foreign investors. Essentially, within the framework of the stability pacts the EU conveys its liberalisation policy and normative systems (operative for the gas and electric power markets) towards these countries as well.

This policy is evident in the case of the newly acceding countries, whereas in the post-Yugoslav area it is justified. With respect to the

formerly uniform energy networks, the heavy and unnecessary costs accompanying the creation of segmented national systems, as well as the security policy consequences of the issue, makes the restoration of the uniform energy system seem to be reasonable. With regard to the perspectives of accession outlined for the former Yugoslav countries, it would be unwise to handle these processes separately from the issues of the EU. Therefore, in the former Yugoslav countries and Albania, Brussels also harmonises these energy systems within the framework of restoration.

As regards the natural gas market, this process is still in its infancy. The natural gas networks in the former Yugoslavia area are underdeveloped – Montenegro and Kosovo, for instance, have no systems worth mentioning at all. Therefore Brussels focuses its objectives mainly to the electricity markets. The implementation is coordinated by the "Athens Process" set up in 2002. The Balkan countries concerned agreed to establish (in accordance with the EU regulations) an unbundled system administration until 2005 and begin to open their electricity markets. On the other hand, they strive to enhance interconnectivity among the countries by means of development aids, in order to turn electricity trade among the states into more than just a theoretical possibility. The efforts to increase the use of renewable resources can also be linked to the development aids. Apart from the significant number of hydroelectric plants (onetime favourites of socialist industrial policy), these energy sources bear no significance worth mentioning in the area.

Nevertheless, this process is not free of conflicts. In the majority of the countries energy policy is not merely a matter of economy; it has its consequences in social and security policy. The local governments and the objectives of the EU also seem to disagree to some extent in environmental aspects. This concerns, in particular, the capacities of coal-fuelled plants, for the modernisation of which the EU refuses to allocate resources much of the time, yet for the local owners the operation of these capacities would be less expensive and more preferable.

Agriculture

Despite land cultivation and farming activities in SE Europe being long-standing, its agricultural potentials and standards are lagging behind the European average. From the Middle East (the so-called Fertile Crescent) several agricultural achievements have spread westward to Europe via the Balkan Peninsula. Over time, however, this structural and chronological advantage vanished, turning into widespread environmental degradation, and considerably reduced the environmental potential of local natural resources. Environmental deterioration as a result of the impact of a human presence has been tangible in south eastern and south central Europe since the Greek and Roman times. In certain regions of the area, soil degradation and erosion, along with drought are permanent and acute problems. Due to intense clearance and logging on steep slopes (for firewood, construction works and shipbuilding) forests have become scarce, and in many places these activities resulted in their complete disappearance. On such barren slopes, secondary vegetation such as the impassable macchia has replaced the original one. The shrubby macchia is unsuitable for any logging or agricultural practices. Intermittent intense rainfall has lead to considerable pluvial erosion and widespread soil degradation. Due to impractical and environmentally insensitive activities and land use, considerable areas have been lost for farming over the past century, especially along the most fertile (and most vulnerable) coastal strip.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned problems, agriculture is an important sector of the economy. In the countries of the region, the proportion of agricultural employees exceeds 10 per cent with the exception of Slovenia, Croatia (as a result of economic development), and Montenegro (due to its topography). Agriculture also has a considerable share in the region's GNP (*Table 19*).

Despite its important role in employment and the GDP, agriculture in the region is inefficient compared to EU norms. This phenomenon results from the natural and socio–economic characteristics of the region (extensive mountain ranges, lack of fertile lowlands, small farms, lack of appropriate machinery and equipment, and obsolete production systems). The only exception is the EU-member Slovenia, which possesses a more highly developed national economy compared to the rest of SE Europe (*Table 20*).

The ratio of cultivated land within the total land area varies to a great extent amongst countries of the region (*Figure 47*). These differences are explained by the topography and other natural features. Topography strongly affects the proportion of arable land related to the total area of the country (*Table 1*). With woodland added, the countries of the region have a relatively uniform proportion of productive area, i.e. its ratio as a rule ranges from 80 to 90 per cent of the total land area.

The majority of the countries on the Balkan Peninsula have access to the sea, significant riv-

Table 19. ***The Role of Agriculture in the Countries of South Eastern Europe (2004, %)***

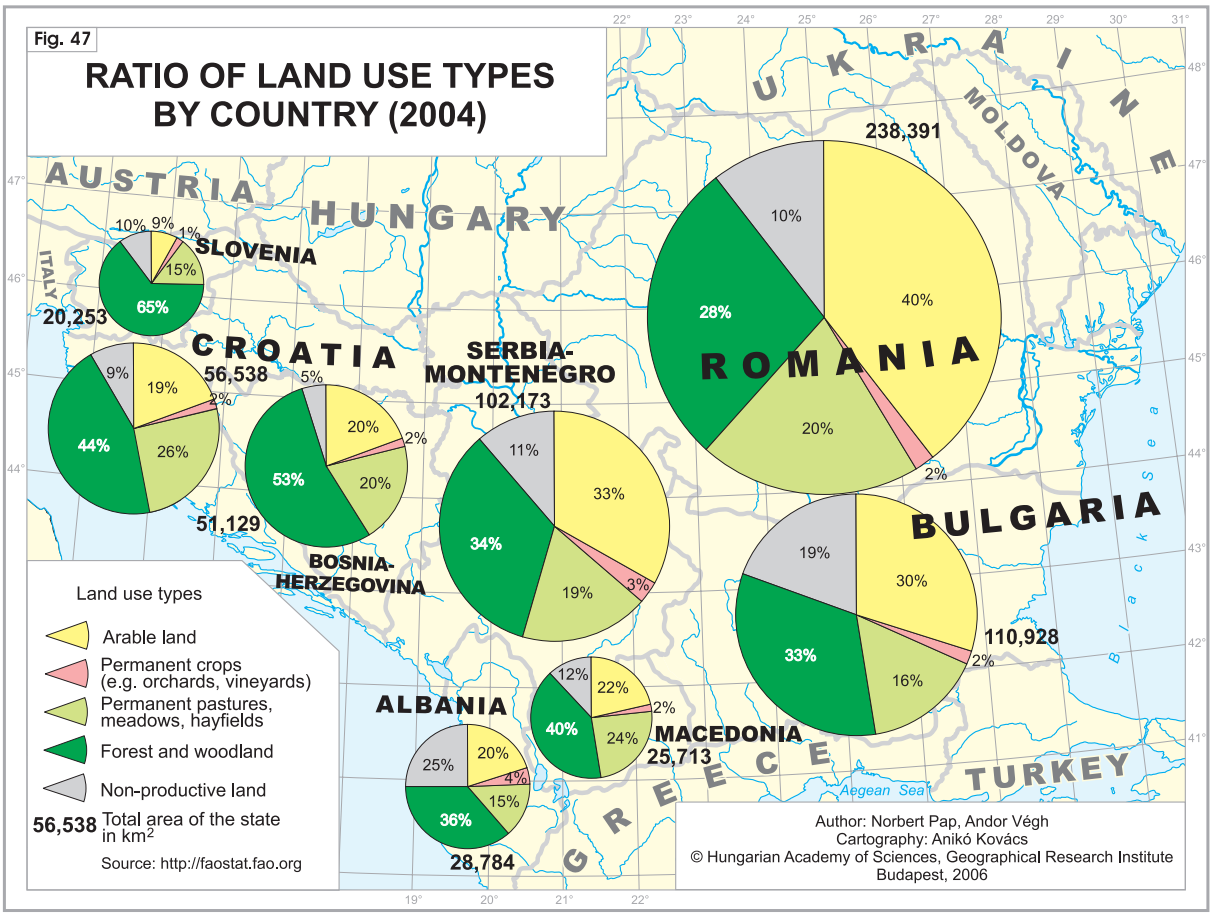
Country	Contribution to the GNP	Share in employment *	Share in the national export	Share of farming produce in import	Ratio of rural population
Albania	49	58	8	20	57
Bosnia and Herzegovina	13	..	6	27	57
Bulgaria	14	11	7	12	33
Croatia	9	3	10	9	42
Macedonia	11	..	11	27	41
Romania	15	32	3	7	45
Serbia and Montenegro	26	30 ** 2 ***	20	10	48
Slovenia	3	6	4	7	51

Remarks: .. no data; * CIA World Fact Book (2005); ** Serbia; *** Montenegro.
Sources: Based on FAO and national statistical data ed. by N. Pap

Table 20. ***Selected Characteristics of Agriculture in South Eastern Europe (2004)***

Country	Average income per capita, USD		Application of fertilizers, kg per ha	Tractors per 1000 ha	Ratio of farmland within the total land area, %
	Total income	Income from agriculture			
Albania	1,278	986	61	14	39.0
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,675	4,354	33	29	41.9
Bulgaria	1,720	4,591	47	10	48.0
Croatia	5,440	5,430	118	3	55.5
Macedonia	2,429	2,038	40	95	48.3
Romania	1,615	2,152	35	18	61.7
Serbia and Montenegro	1,830	1,317	90	120	54.8
Slovenia	12,513	23,767	404	644	25.2

Sources: FAO data, and related calculations, ed: by N. Pap



ers (Danube, Sava) and lakes (Lakes Ohrid and Shkodra), although fishing is only of minor importance in international comparisons. Two countries of the region are landlocked, Macedonia and Serbia (since May 2006). Bosnia and Herzegovina has a 23-km long strip along the Adriatic around Neum; however, this is of strategic significance rather than any functional one. Slovenia has a short, 41-km coastline with a bay whose control of which is debated. Croatia has a total coastline of 5,835 km (1,777 km without that of the archipelago), Montenegro's stretch is 293 km long, Albania has 649 km, Bulgaria includes 457 km, and Romania is bordered by a 696-km coastline on the east.

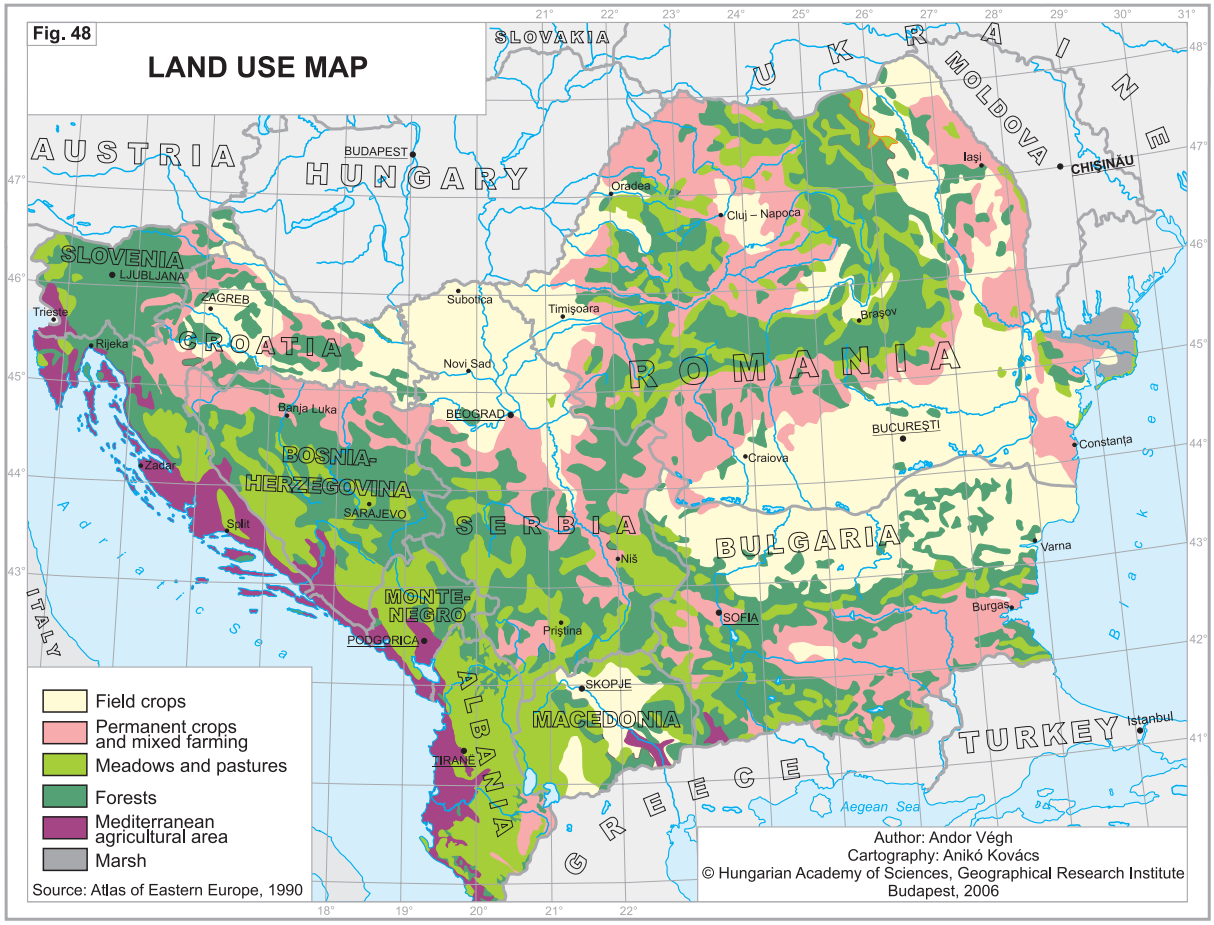
Major Categories of Agriculture

Due to the topography of SE Europe, the climatic and soil conditions within the studied area are extremely varied. As a result of the highly dissected surface, a pronounced horizontal and vertical variability of agricultural land use can be traced within small spatial units (*Figure 48*). Agriculture in South Eastern Europe can be classified into five major categories: typical Mediterranean; that of mountainous areas; hilly regions; karst basins and alluvial lowlands.

Mediterranean-type agriculture characterises the narrow coastal strip of Croatia, Montenegro and Albania due to the local climatic conditions. The major products of the area are olives, figs, grapes, early-season vegetables and citruses. This type of agriculture penetrates to the interior of the peninsula along the valleys of Neretva, Vardar, and Struma Rivers. In these areas, and especially around drained, formerly swampy areas and estuaries, agricultural activities are considerably supported by irrigation (e.g. Neretva Estuary, Albanian coasts).

Due to the coastlines of these countries, fishing is an integral part of the food industry and is carried out extensively in the Adriatic, Ionian and Black seas, as well as in the Danube Delta, where it has local importance. Fishing is not only conducted in the seas, but also on inland freshwater lakes, rivers and in many fishponds. Compared to the world market, the economic importance of local fishing is moderate, although its social role overweighs the economic one.

In 2004, the catch amounted to 32 thousand tons, of which 17 thousand tons pertained to Croatia and 12 thousand tons to Bulgaria. Among the South East European countries, Croatia is the only one that has a considerable fishing fleet, which includes approximately 300 fishing boats, more than 10,000 motorboats and

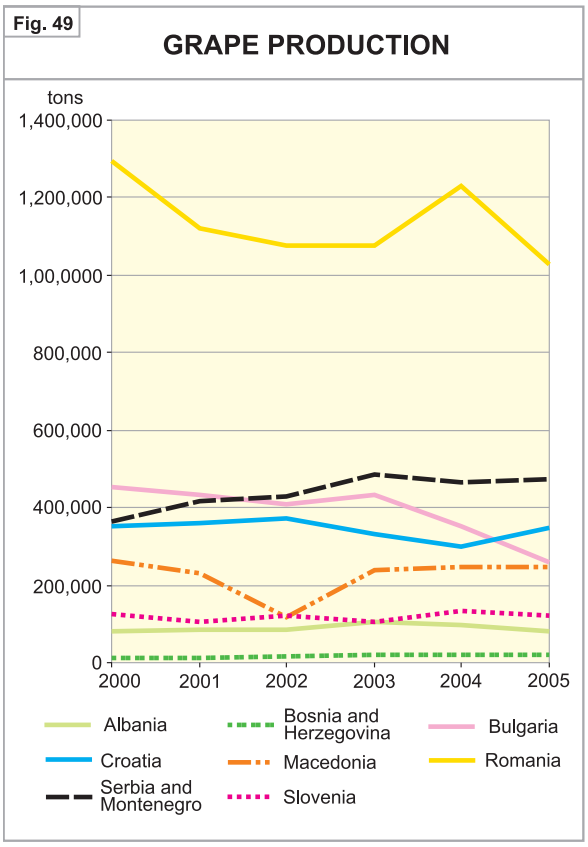


800 to 1,000 of other varieties. However, the size of the annual catch dropped by 33% over the past two decades. The annually produced spawn had dropped from 4,800 tons in 1989 below 2,000 tons by the year 2000. The magnitude of this decrease is typical in the SE European region and can be explained by extensive overfishing and the decline of the large-scale fishing industry.

The area of farmland is limited in this climatic region of the Peninsula. Suitable farmland is located only along the marine coastlines, on the broader, but still narrow floodplains of the rivers and in small intramountain basins. These topographic circumstances have led to the deterioration of farming since the termination of self-sustained agriculture, these days essentially serving local demand. With the exception of vine terraces, erosion-retardant systems have been predominantly abolished from the area, primarily as a consequence of coastal mass tourism.

Forest fires of natural origin and those triggered by humans, as well as other human activities restricted the area of woodland, thus, in most cases, the most valuable significant forests are found in the national parks of the region.

Fig. 49



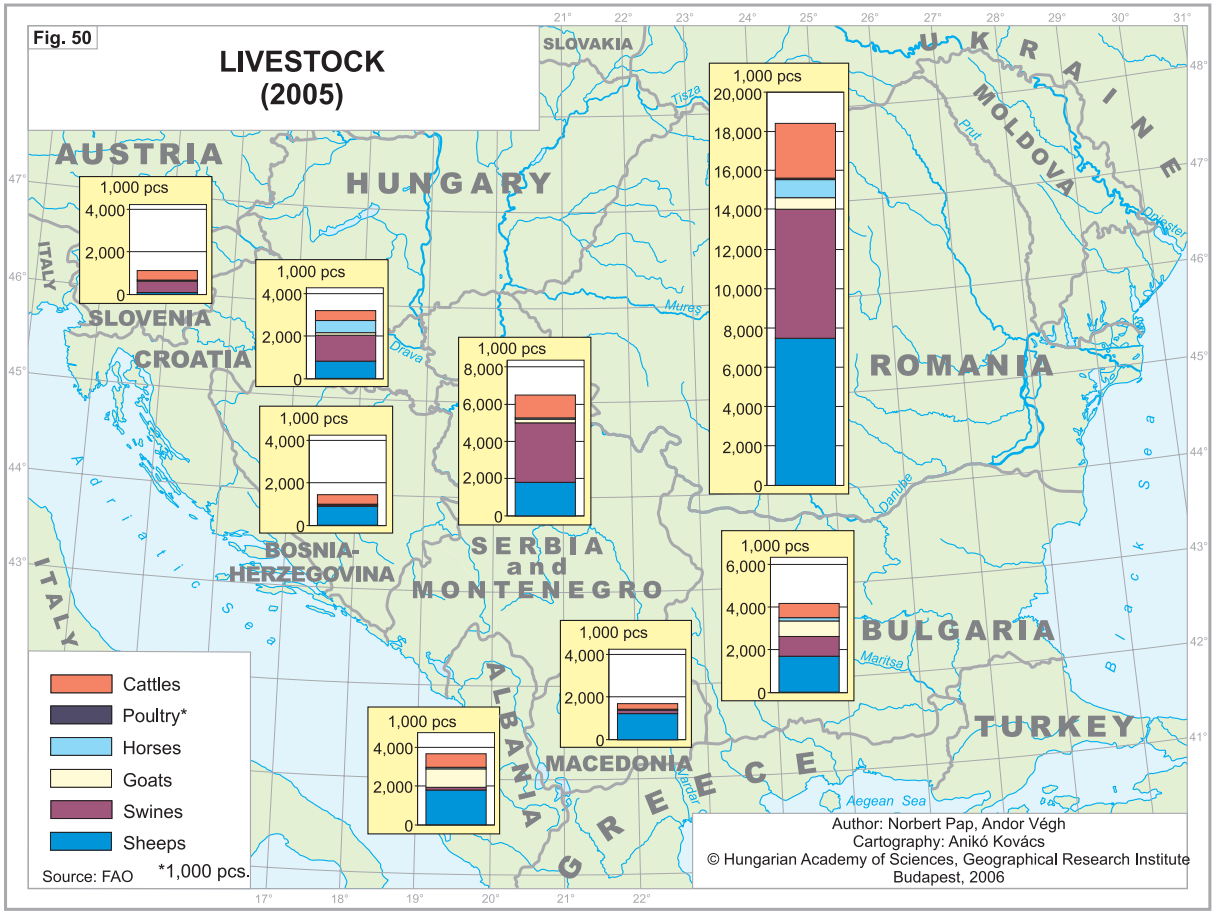
The most common crops are fruits and vegetables. Due to their early ripening and harvesting they appear on the inland markets early in the season. The most common fruits are berries, cherry, and plum; however these products cannot compete with similar fruits of SW Europe.

Due to local climatic and pedological conditions, the Balkan Peninsula is a prominent region for viticulture and wine production. There are two distinct major regions in South Eastern Europe: the Mediterranean and the inland wine-growing regions (*Figure 49*). According to the demand of the world market and the amount of wine produced the Mediterranean regions are more important, where raisin and dessert wine grapes are also cultivated. Wine-growing districts of this kind include Albania, southern Bulgaria, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia, Herzegovina, the coastal areas of Croatia and a narrow southwestern strip of Slovenia.

Despite the generally favourable wine-producing potential of the region, modern wine production exists solely in Slovenia and Croatia. However, climatic and soil conditions of the remaining countries would favour state-of-the art viticulture technology. Their drawback is the lack of adequate economic *terroir*, i.e. infrastructure and marketing policies. However, some countries, such as Macedonia and Bulgaria represent positive exceptions as they have shown a significant development in infrastructure. Viticulture is still in an underdeveloped and inefficient state in Romania and Serbia and Montenegro, although it shows promising potential for production and quality in the future of these national economies.

Besides the worldwide varieties, traditionally grown regional winegrapes, such as Vranac, Kavadarka and Mavrud are also produced in the local wine-producing regions.

Pasturing is typical in the **mountains**, although due to the rainshadow effect and poor accessibility, in the main sheep and goats are kept on the semi-arid and meagre pastures of these regions (e.g. Dinarids, Balkan Mountains, Carpathians) (*Figure 50*). Originally, animal husbandry followed the so-called transhumance type of pasturing. However, the significance of the latter had decreased dramatically following the fall of the Ottoman Empire and almost completely disappeared during the communist regime. Today, only certain elements of transhumance pasturing are present.



The mountainous regions include some of the most extensive and valuable forests of South Eastern Europe. Each South East European country has a high proportion of woodland; Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, and Slovenia have higher-than-average forest coverage, while Albania and Macedonia are wooded to a similar extent as the 15 most developed EU countries (35%). In the 1990s the restitution of agricultural holdings was also extended to the woodlands and due to a short-termist, extremely profit-oriented approach along with gaps in legal regulation, privatisation in the 1990s considerably, and negatively affected agriculture and forestry in the region. This process was more dominant in the war affected states of the former Yugoslavia; illegal and uncontrolled logging in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Croatian Krayina caused serious environmental damage. Logging and export of timber is most important in Romania, although on a unit area basis, forestry and wood processing is also significant in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Indeed, the most important export item of the latter is sawn timber.

In South Eastern Europe, agriculture is most intense in areas with a continental climate. **Hilly areas** in the mountain foreland, intramountain basins and lowland areas are dominated by intense animal husbandry, grazing and cultivation of various crops, supplying fodder and providing human foodstuffs. Cropping is supplemented with fruit and grape production, and various wines and fruit-based distilled beverages are produced (e.g. plum brandy: slivowitz). Several orchards spot the hilly regions and low mountain areas, typically in the so-called "Old Serbia"; certain areas between the Kapelas and River Drava in western Croatia; Central Transylvania; Moldavia; and the hills of Wallachia (Oltenia and Muntenia) in Romania, and southern Dobruja and Ludogorie in northeastern Bulgaria.

On low-mountain and hilly surfaces, forests of considerable extension but of rather sparse stock are found. Due to the vertical climatic zonation, pine, fir, larch and spruce are less abundant here; these altitudes are dominated by oak and beech forests. The issues con-

cerning forest management are similar to those of the high mountains.

In the **karst basins**, on the so-called "poljes", i.e. the flat and very fertile ground of the karst valleys, the animal husbandry of the neighbouring mountains is mixed with local crop cultivation. The flora and fauna of these microregions is similar to those in the hilly regions, but their general character is considerably determined by climate, type of land use and dominant agricultural activities (orchards, croplands, pastures). The karst basins' particular value is in light of the surrounding barren areas along with the karst springs providing irrigation water.

Most intense farming areas are those on **lowlands** and river valleys. Areas of low relief include the interfluve between the Drava and Sava rivers, Bosnian Posavina, Voivodina in northern Serbia, Wallachia in southern Romania, the Bulgarian tableland and the upper Thracian Plain. Additionally, intramontane basins and narrow valleys of water courses provide ideal soil and climatic conditions for crop production. In summary, for tillage and crop production the most favourable climatic and soil conditions are in the eastern Balkan Peninsula.

Traditional and primary crops of the area are wheat and maize, both playing an important role in the supply of fodder and foodstuffs in the region. Other staple cereals are barley, oats, and rye, as is rice in the influx of rivers. Potato is also an important crop on sandy soils.

Sunflower, rape, soybean, canola, sugar beet, hop, flax, hemp, and cotton are the primary industrial crops. However, their cultivation only dates back to the period of the socialist modernisation.

Animal husbandry of the region is primarily determined by the local endowments and traditions. Cattle raising is principally conducted in feed-lots, and to a lesser extent like in Slovenia, on mountain pastures. Hog-raising is partly based on local tradition (e.g. in Serbia), while in maize-growing regions, feed-lots have been established.

Traditionally, horses are kept as draught animals. Despite modernised farming techniques, they still play an important role in everyday rural life, especially in Romania. Due to land privatisation in the region and the re-emergence of small-holdings, the stock of horses has increased since 1990. In the mountainous regions of Albania and Bulgaria, donkeys and mules are kept as working animals.

Large-scale poultry farming supported by forage production is typical in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, primarily in Romania and Bulgaria, where it has resulted in large stocks (*Figure 50*).

The aridity index (the ratio of evapotranspiration to annual precipitation, both measured in mm) on the lowland areas range between 0.5 and 0.8 (sub-humid dry and semi-humid), indicating the semiarid character of the area and its tendency for the frequent occurrence of droughts. To avoid damage caused by droughts, extensive irrigation systems have been constructed in the region. The proportion of irrigated area within the arable land is relatively high (Albania: 49%, Bulgaria: 17%, Romania: 31%, Macedonia: 9%). During the tourist season breakdowns occur in the local water supply, predominantly in places popular with tourists. Such places are, for instance, the karstic Dalmatian Islands, where water shortages often occur during the summer season, and the quality of the water is deteriorated by microorganisms, primarily by bacteria.

The annual freshwater fish catch exceeds that of sea fish, reaching 34,000 tons in 2004. There are a large number of fishing lakes in the region, the most important ones located in the Danube Delta, Lakes Shkodra, Ohrid, Prespa, and several fishponds, created by the damming of streams. Romania is the leader in the region with 14,000 tons of fish annually. Bosnia and Herzegovina is also significant, likewise producing a 14,000 ton catch, with the majority being trout; there is widespread fish farming in upstream rivers in the mountains of the country.

Certain regions in the studied area have specialised agriculture. The term "Bulgarian (market) gardener" is associated with vegetable and flower farming practices. Bulgarians are widely renowned as expert gardeners in Central Europe. In the Struma river valley (Bulgaria), as well as in the lowlands of Southern Albania and Macedonia tobacco farming plays an important economic role. In the Tundja Valley, and around Kazanlak and Karlovo, the cultivation of certain varieties of roses that produce rose oil is important, and has triggered the processing of these roses as a main local activity. On the southern Macedonian Uplands (Pelagony) the growth of poppy-seed used to play an important role but its farming has lately become centrally controlled, thus its importance is vanishing. In

the Mediterranean strip of the peninsula, and also in the ecologically poor highland zone certain herbs and plants producing volatile oils are cultivated, although the potential for growing these plants is far from being fully explored. Even Croatia, the leader in the production of vegetable oils (e.g. lavender), does not fully exploit this potential. Silkworm breeding is typical in the Banat region (Romania), as is bee-keeping on the Romanian Plain.

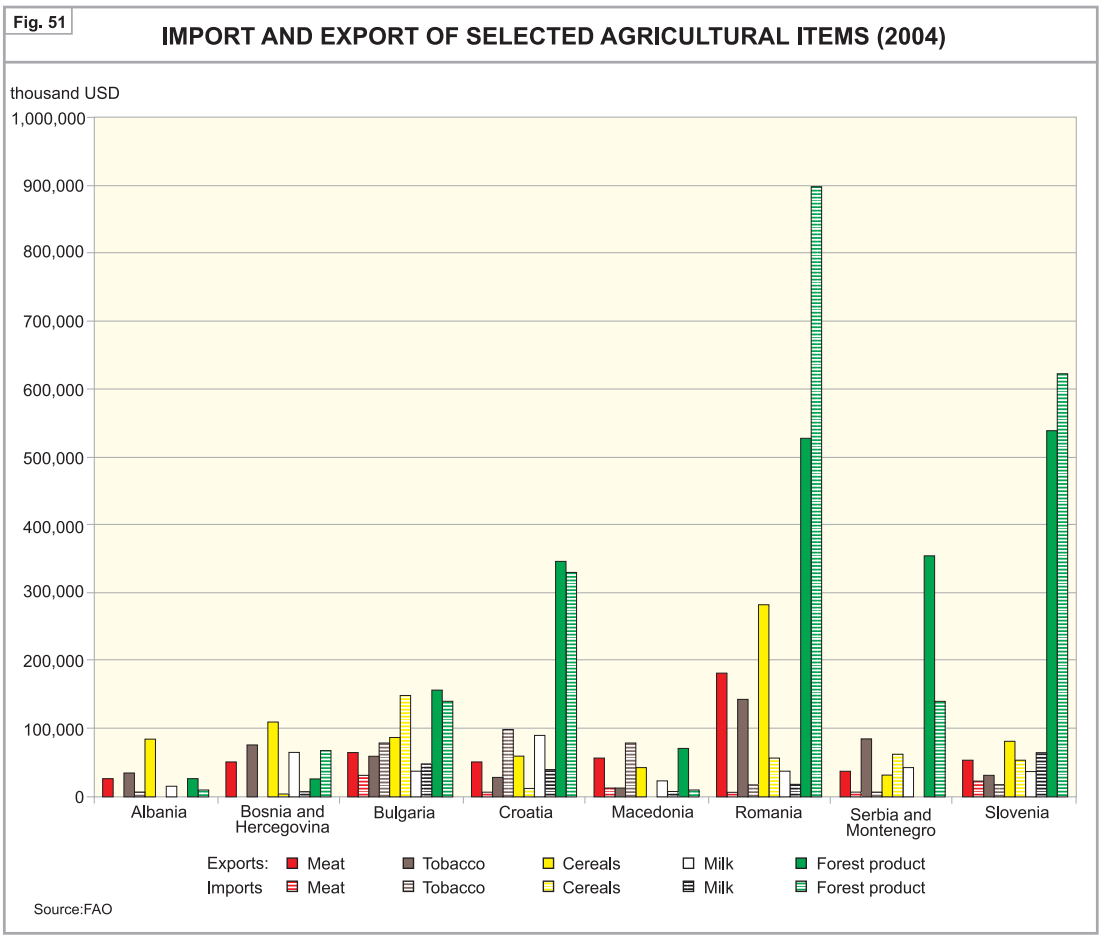
Agriculture and Foreign Trade

Despite the high ratio of agricultural employment and a considerable part of the national income originating from farming, the agricultural–industrial countries of the region have not been able to meet the demand from their population for foodstuffs and have turned into net importers of agricultural goods. Due to the shrinkage of international markets, namely, the declining import capacities of the successor states of the Soviet Union, and increasing food production in the EU which has become a food exporter, agriculture in the region has faced serious challenges lately.

Since the collapse of the Soviet market, foreign trade has become orientated towards the EU. However, the choice of internationally competitive and profitable farming produce is limited so the existing trade relations are based on historical and political traditions, and on the former division of labour (*Figure 51*).

The traditional trading partners of Albania are the more developed Greece and Italy and are the leading export and import partners of the country. Turkey, as Albania's old and new political supporter also plays an important role

Fig. 51



in Albanian foreign trade whilst Albanian exports target Germany, and Serbia and Montenegro, too. The most important Albanian export articles are tobacco, cigarettes, wool products and various foodstuffs, such as wheat and wheat-flour.

The EU is the major foreign trade partner of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with Italy, Austria, and Germany being the foremost leaders. Of countries outside the EU, Switzerland plays a prominent role. One-third of export–import trade occurs with the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Trading is odd in this respect; the Serbian entity of the country ("Republika Srpska") established trade relations with Serbia, while the cantons inhabited predominantly by Croats (e.g. West Herzegovina) signed trading agreements with Croatia. Since most of the industrial capacity of the country suffered heavily from warfare, agricultural goods form the majority of export items. The most salient import articles include cigarettes, food, and non-alcoholic beverages. The major export items are wood products, fruit and variety of foodstuffs.

Bulgaria's primary trading partners are its neighbouring countries; imports include processed and preprocessed food, raw sugar, and tobacco. The leading export articles are wheat, wine, and tobacco.

Croatia's major international trading partner is the EU. Food is primarily imported from Italy, Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The target markets for exports also include these countries, as well as countries of the former Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro). Refined sugar and food products are mainly exported.

Macedonia's major trading partners include Germany, and the southern countries of South Eastern Europe, either in the close vicinity or in remoter areas.

Greek investment plays an important role in the modernisation of Macedonian trading and industry. The most important imported articles include beef, wheat, and chicken. The major export goods are tobacco, wine, and non-alcoholic beverages.

Most food-products imported by Romania come from Hungary, Germany, the United States, and the Netherlands. Exports primarily targets Italy, Greece, Hungary, Germany, and Turkey. The majority of imports includes beef, sugar and cigarettes, while export is dominated by livestock (sheep and cattle) and cereals.

The major international trading partners of Serbia and Montenegro are the neighbouring countries and the EU, from which primarily cigarettes and food-products are imported. Exports include processed sugar, as well as fruit and wheat.

Slovenia's major trading partners are the former republics of Yugoslavia and the EU countries in the vicinity, such as Hungary, Germany, Austria, and Italy. Import items include food-products and soy-bean as fodder. The most important export articles are non-alcoholic beverages, beer, barley, and other foodstuffs.

Privatisation in the Farming Sector

Privatisation took place in the 1990s as part of economic restructuring. However, there have been significant differences in the privatisation policies of the various countries, which significantly affected certain social and ethnic group (e.g. Turkish minorities, Roma), and in some cases negatively.

The principle of privatisation has basically been restitution, i.e. the restoration of original land ownership. The primary, but not the exclusive targets of restitution in the republics of the former Yugoslavia were state farms, with the exception of Slovenia, where the latter were the only enterprises designated for land privatisation.

All land used to be in national ownership in Albania. The legacy of the north–south division of the country was also reflected in privatisation practices. Land was originally redistributed here evenly among the residents, according to the number of family members. In this way settlers from the socialist period have also become entitled to land for farming. This plan was realised in the southern regions, inhabited by the Tosk-Albanians. On the other hand, the Geg-Albanians of the north demanded the restoration of original ownership, which was eventually achieved.

Restitution was achieved in a complicated way in Romania. Members of cooperative farms

were compensated up to a certain land acreage, while the remaining land was restituted among non-members. Following bitter debates, former co-operative farm employees also became entitled to compensation, which took place in 1999 and 2000.

The process of restitution in Bulgaria was even slower and more complicated than in Romania. Due to the absence of an appropriate land registry, the original ownership pattern prior to land nationalisation was barely traceable. Local conflicts of interest, and abrupt changes in the political system emerged as an additional hindrance. The Turkish minorities in Bulgaria and the majority of Roma in the broader South East European region were completely excluded from the process of restitution.

Size of Holdings and Forms of Management in Farming

South Eastern Europe is dominated by small, private land holdings (*Table 21*). State farms have survived only locally, mostly in Romania and Albania. The resulting, post-communist average farm acreage has had a detrimental impact upon productivity, but it has been beneficial for employment. The numbers of staff in the remaining large farms have been reduced dramatically for economic reasons, although part of this group of dismissed employees found jobs in the newly formed, small farms.

In many cases, agriculture became the tool of mitigation, or even a solution for social conflicts. De-urbanisation was observed in numerous cases as city-dwellers moved to the countryside for the purposes of self-sustenance. This de-urbanisation process was even stimulated by central governments in certain instances (e.g. in Romania). As a consequence, with the exception of Croatia, where residents left the countryside during the war (1991–1995), the proportion of rural dwellers has increased almost everywhere in the region since the early 1990s, and today represents a high figure. In these countries, agricultural families are supported from social aid or unemployment welfare, single salaries or by transfers from money earned abroad. The rest of the family produces food almost entirely on a subsistence basis, with a small surplus sold at the local marketplaces. Food production is limited by the generally low profitability of agriculture. Due to strong competition in the food market, and the very low incomes of the population, food prices have not changed considerably of late. Meanwhile, production costs (fertilisers, herbicides, fungicides, insecticides and machinery) have increased significantly, and state subsidies have dropped heavily being limited by central budgets deficits and a hostile international environment. As a result of low efficiency and the traditional reluctance of farmers, bank financing and credits do not play an important role in the recovery of underdeveloped farming, and, as a consequence, intensification of agricultural investment is not envisaged.

Table 21. ***Ownership Forms in Agriculture prior to 1990 and 1998 in South Eastern Europe (%)***

Country	Cooperative farms		State farms	Farming enterprises of new type	Private farms	
	Prior to 1990	1998	Prior to1990	1998	Prior to 1990	1998
Albania	74	..	22	20	4	80
Bulgaria	58	42	29	6	13	52
Romania	59	12	29	21	12	67
Slovenia	..	..	8	4	92	96
Croatia	22	18	..	..	78	82

Remark: .. no data.
Source: after Illés I. (2002) by N. Pap

Other Impacts on Rural Regions

Despite the priority of agriculture in rural areas, industrial activities also affect the general economic character of a region. A high number of construction workers and miners live in rural areas. Many of them commute to urban centres, or to certain remote regions of the country. The industrial employees of the countryside became the first victims of the market-oriented economy; however, in Romania and Bulgaria, many of these newly unemployed people found jobs in farming.

In the 1970s and 1980s during the off-season, the employees of agricultural cooperatives found non-agricultural jobs (in the industrial and service sectors) in increasing numbers, primarily as construction workers. However, during the economic crisis of the 1990s, many of these small, subcontractor-type enterprises closed down. Thus, many of the former agricultural workers became unemployed as they lost their auxiliary, non-agricultural jobs.

Differences among the national social security systems, and retirement and pension policies had a strong impact on agriculture. In some cases, a decent, compensatory pension was offered for the former members of cooperatives and state-farm workers, who as a rule accepted the offer to retire prior to the close of their term of service. In countries of South Eastern Europe where such offers were not made, or where the proposed retirement pay-off was minimal, the average age of agricultural employees remains high with a significant proportion of people aged over 50. In the absence of decent pensions, the average age of employees accelerates, and, in fact this age group also includes a large number of unemployed people. In South Eastern Europe large families provide some kind of social security for the elderly.

Impact of the Yugoslav Wars on Agriculture

In the war-ridden regions of the studied area (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo) the presence of active landmines poses an additional problem. An estimated 1.46 to 1.90 million landmines are still to be found in the combined area of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, considerable land area has remained uninhabited and still hinders the repopulation of such regions. The vast land areas taken out of general and agricultural use primarily adversely impact the Bosnian economy. Most refugees came from rural areas and as a consequence, indirectly, agriculture is also negatively affected by this process. Farming is further hindered by the issue of unclarified ownership, in many cases chiefly caused by the use of oral agreements on land use.

EU Support of Regional Agriculture

The extent of support for the development of agriculture strongly depends on the political and economic relationships between EU countries and those of South Eastern Europe. Slovenia, as an EU member is supported from financial sources for the common agricultural policy. Romania, Croatia, and Bulgaria, as associated countries but not EU members are supported through the SAPARD program which is specifically aimed at the development of rural areas. Similar assistance is expected for Macedonia from 2007 onwards, based on the new IPA system. The agricultural sectors of Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina are supported by the CARDS program. CARDS does not specifically address agriculture but provides financial aid to certain projects that are indirectly associated with agriculture.

Transport

Railway Transport

Transport plays an important part in the trade relations between countries of the region. As far as the external and internal transport connections of the Balkans are concerned, the international and domestic railway networks of each country are still significant, although in all countries of the region, road transport is gaining ground in goods and passenger transport at the expense of the railways.

In the countries of South Eastern Europe, a region which lags behind the rest of Europe, the railway network has a weaker penetration – and therefore far lower density figures – than in Central European countries (*Figure 52*). This is why railways were under construction in the region even in the 1970s (for example, the Belgrade–Bar railway line was completed in 1976) and the network is still being expanded in Albania. Nonetheless, Balkan countries do not plan to further expand their rail networks. Instead of constructing new low-capacity feeder lines, they are directing goods and passenger traffic to the roads.

Construction of the railway network in South Eastern Europe began when the same process had already been completed in Central Europe, with the exception of Slovenian territories which belonged to Austria and where the railway line connecting Ljubljana with Vienna was already opened to the public as early as 1849. In 1920, when the Yugoslavian state was born, it hardly had any railways, except in the northern territories that had previously belonged to Austria–Hungary. The first railway line in Bulgaria was built by an English company in 1866, during the period of Turkish rule, and connected Varna with Ruse. The major motivation for railway construction in Bulgaria in

Fig. 52

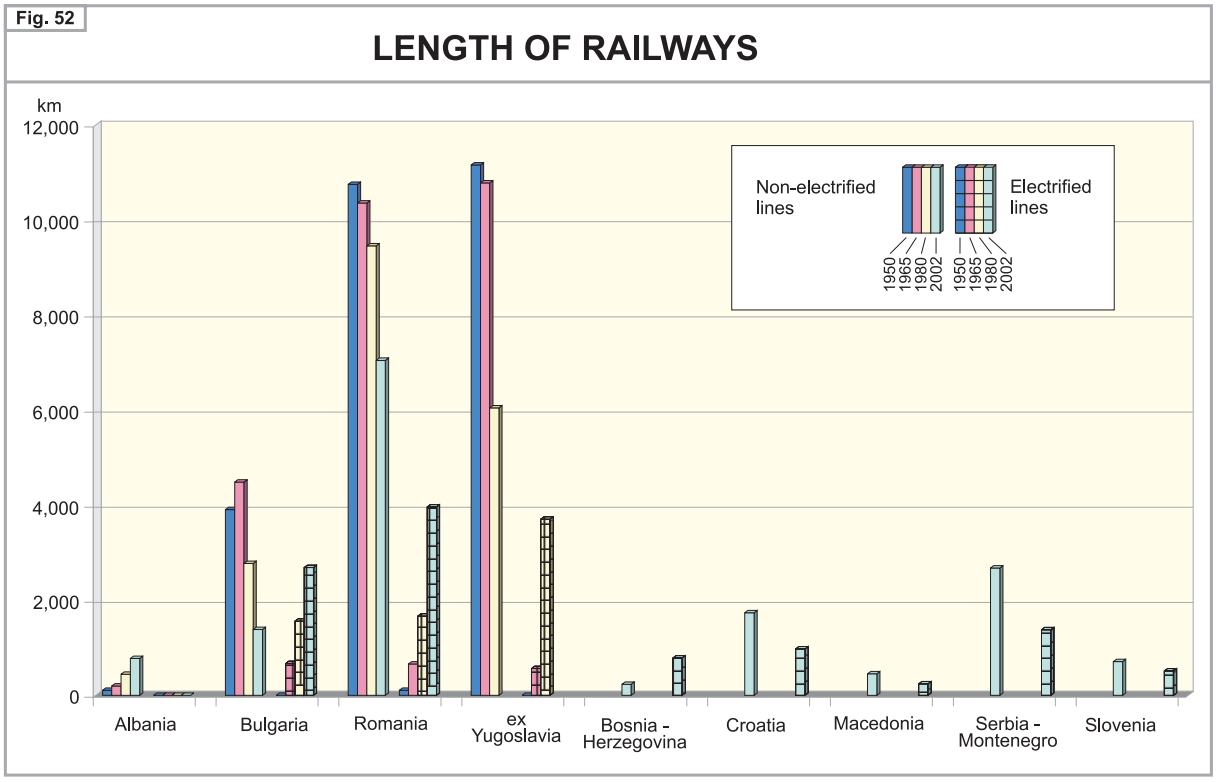
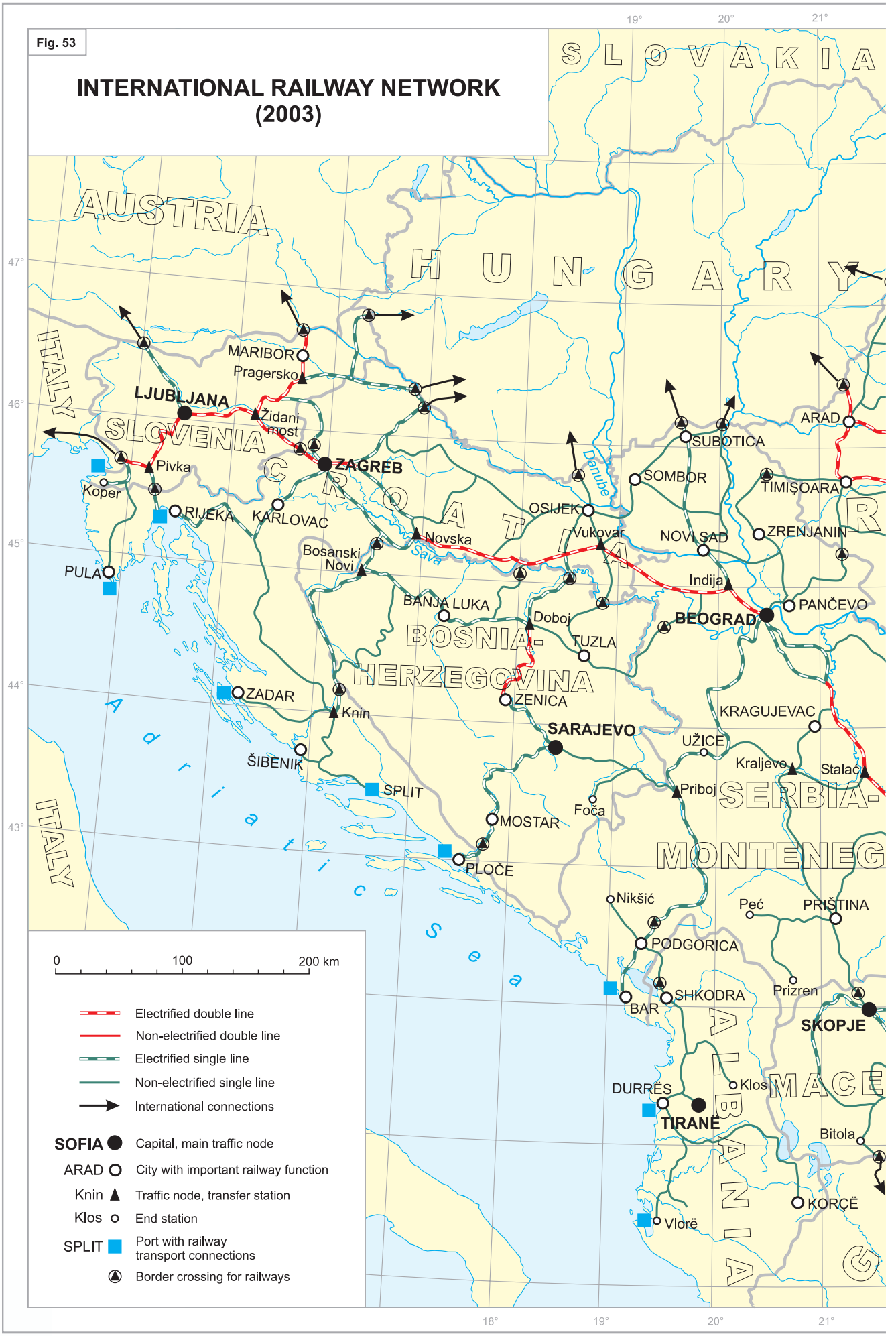


Fig. 53

INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY NETWORK (2003)



Author: Tibor Tiner
Cartography: Margit Molnár, Anikó Kovács

Fig. 54

INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY TRAFFIC (2002)


UKRAINE
MOLDOVA
ROMANIA
BULGARIA
SERBIA
GREECE
TURKEY
Black Sea
Aegean Sea
Danube
SATU MARE
BAIA MARE
ORADEA
Jibou
Dej
Beclean
Deda
CLUJ-NAPOCA
Holod
Vaşcău
Războieni
TÂRGU MUREŞ
Teiuş
ALBA IULIA
Ilia
DEVA
Simeria
SIBIU
LUGOJ
Caransebeş
Reşiţa
Podu Olt
Râmnicu Vâlcea
TÂRGU JIU
Motru
DROBETA-TURNU-SEVERIN
Filiaşi
Prahova
CRAIOVA
Piatra Olt
Caracal
VIDIN
Zaječar
Boljevac
Lom
Orjahovo
Cerkovica
Svištov
NIŠ
MONTANA
Červen brjag
PLEVEN
Levski
Berkonica
Mezdra
Trojan
PERNIK
SOFIA
Kjustendil
Kočani
Septemvri
PAZARDŽIK
Asenovgrad
Bansko
Veles
BOTOŞANI
SUCEAVA
Paşcani
IAŞI
PIATRA NEAMŢ
BACĂU
Miercurea-Ciuc
Adjud
Bârlad
Tecuci
FOCŞANI
BRAŞOV
Faurei
BUZĂU
TÂRGOVIŞTE
PLOIEŞTI
PITEŞTI
Urziceni
BUCUREŞTI
Ciulniţa
Feteşti
Medgidia
Călăraşi
GIURGIU
RUSE
GALAŢI
BRĂILA
TULCEA
CONSTANŢA
Mangalia
DOBRIČ
VARNA
ŠUMEN
TÂRGOVIŠTE
Gorna Orjahovica
GABROVO
KAZANLAK
SLIVEN
Zimnica
JAMBOL
Komunan
Staro Orjahovo
BURGAS
STARA ZAGORA
PLOVDIV
DIMITROVGRAD
Elhovo
Marica
HASKOVO
KARDŽALI
Podkova
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the 1860s and 1870s was of a political nature. European powers invested in the construction of the lines in order to create railway connections with Istanbul as soon as possible. The culmination of this effort, the famous Orient Express which commenced operation in 1883 on the Paris–Strasbourg–Munich–Vienna–Budapest–Belgrade–Sofia–Istanbul line, was spectacular.

The first railway line on the territory of present-day Romania was opened in 1856, between Oraviţa and Baziaş in the Banat area, while in the 19th century territory of the country, still under Turkish rule, the first line started operation in 1860, between Cernavodă and Constanţa. The railway line connecting Bucharest with the Danubian port of Giurgiu began operating in 1869. The first railway line of European standard gauge in Albania, between Tirana and Durres, was only opened in 1947. In these countries, the terrain also impeded railway construction. In Yugoslavia it was the Dinaric Alps that prevented the region around the Adriatic coast from joining the railway network in the northern parts of the country. The Balkans and the Rhodope Mountains in Bulgaria, the Carpathians in Romania and the Albanian Alps constituted a similar obstacle. However, the expansion of the railway network could hardly have been justified, on the basis of the slow economic development of these countries between the two world wars. Overall, the density of railway networks of South Eastern European countries is far below that of other railways in Europe, but the underdeveloped economies of these nations could not exploit even this amount of capacity. For this reason, the volume of transport carried on these lines has always been logging behind the European average.

After World War II, communist regimes came to power in each country of the region. Extensive industrial development, based on the communist model, brought a sharp increase in railway transport and a need to develop the rail network had arisen, in terms of both quality and extension. With the implementation of this policy, the railway network was expanded in all the Balkan countries in the 1950s. In Romania, only minor feeder lines were constructed, while in Bulgaria several new lines emerged that linked the mining regions with other parts of the country.

As a result of railway construction carried out in the 1950s and 1960s, Bosnia and Herzegovina joined the Yugoslavian network. The railway construction in Southern Serbia highly contributed to the industrialisation of Macedonia. Fleets of engines and freight wagons also grew spectacularly in each member republic. However, in spite of the efforts to expand them, the railway networks of Slovenia, Croatia and Voivodina remain far better connected to their northern neighbours, Austria and Hungary, than to the southern, mountain areas. In the 1960s, electrification of the main lines began in all the countries except for Albania (*Figure 53*). There was a modest groth in the length of double track lines, whilst the capacities of maritime ports, and the number of lines connecting industrial regions with large volumes of freight turnover increased. However, these developments essentially contributed to the barter trade with the Soviet Union and other communist countries. Besides the continuous growth in rail freight traffic, commuting became widespread in the regions around capital cities and big industrial cities, which gave a boost to railway passenger transport.

The exhaustion of reserves required for extensive economic growth, the need for cost-effective and energy-efficient intensive development, the expansion of trade relations with Northern and Western Europe and the slow but steady improvements in living standards led to a fall in the demand for rail transport, and to a shift in its focus. The reductions in transportation capacity prompted the Balkan countries to undertake haulage to higher quality standards and with greater efficiency. To this end, transport of the bulk of international and domestic goods was gradually shifted to high-capacity, electrified main lines in the 1980s (*Figure 54*), while an increasing number of lines with low traffic had been closed down. This trend has intensified in all the countries of the region, except for Albania.

The political and economic takeover of the 1990s led to fundamental changes in the rail transport of Balkan countries. The switch to a market economy sparked off serious economic crises in Bulgaria and Romania, which obstructed the development of railways and led to a serious drop in the transport performance of vehicles (*Table 22*). The civil war that followed the disintegration of communist Yugoslavia had a disastrous effect on the rail network in the core area of the Balkan region. In Bosnia and Herzegovina nearly 80% of the rail network was destroyed, but a great number of railways

Table 22. ***Development of Rail and Sea Transport in Romania (1998–2003)***

Indicator	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2003/1998
Waggons, 1000	137.0	130.6	107.7	93.2	88.7	69.4	0.51
Freight ships, nr	231.0	203.0	192.0	163.0	157.0	140.0	0.61
Capacity, 1000 dwt	3,925.0	2,973.0	1,809.0	1,445.0	1,416.0	1,310.0	0.33
– general cargo carriers, 1000 dwt	1,232.0	1,153.0	1,091.0	896.0	872.0	804.0	0.65
– ore carriers, 1000 dwt	1,631.0	845.0	283.0	283.0	277.0	252.0	0.15
– oil tankers, 1000 dwt	1,045.0	959.0	426.0	257.0	257.0	244.0	0.23

Source: Anuarul Statistic al României, 2005. Bucureşti.

were damaged in Croatia and Serbia as well. The situation was the most favourable in Slovenia which, as early as the 1990s, already had quite busy railway transit traffic with neighbouring EU countries.

As the political scene slowly returned to normal and the economy was put on a path of recovery, a new phase of development began in the Balkan states; after the turn of the millennium, the issue of developing railway networks came to the fore once again. However, the fact that the economic advancement of these countries is centred around capital cities is clearly reflected in the development of traffic: while railway goods transport is losing ground in all the Balkan countries, those sections of the main railway lines that are close to capital cities, for example around Bucharest, Sofia or Zagreb, remain busy, which causes considerable delays in passenger and goods transport around certain railway junctions, for example on the ring railway around Bucharest.

In their long-term transport development projects, as a matter of priority all countries are planning the modernisation of vehicles and railway lines making up the South Eastern European corridors of the Pan-European Transport Network (Helsinki corridors VIII, IX and X) and increasing the capacity of such lines, with considerable financial support from the EU. The implementation of railway development plans would greatly promote the advancement of transport links between the Balkan countries, and could help them acquire a key position in the high-level management of international railway transit traffic between Western Europe or Central Europe and Turkey or the Middle East.

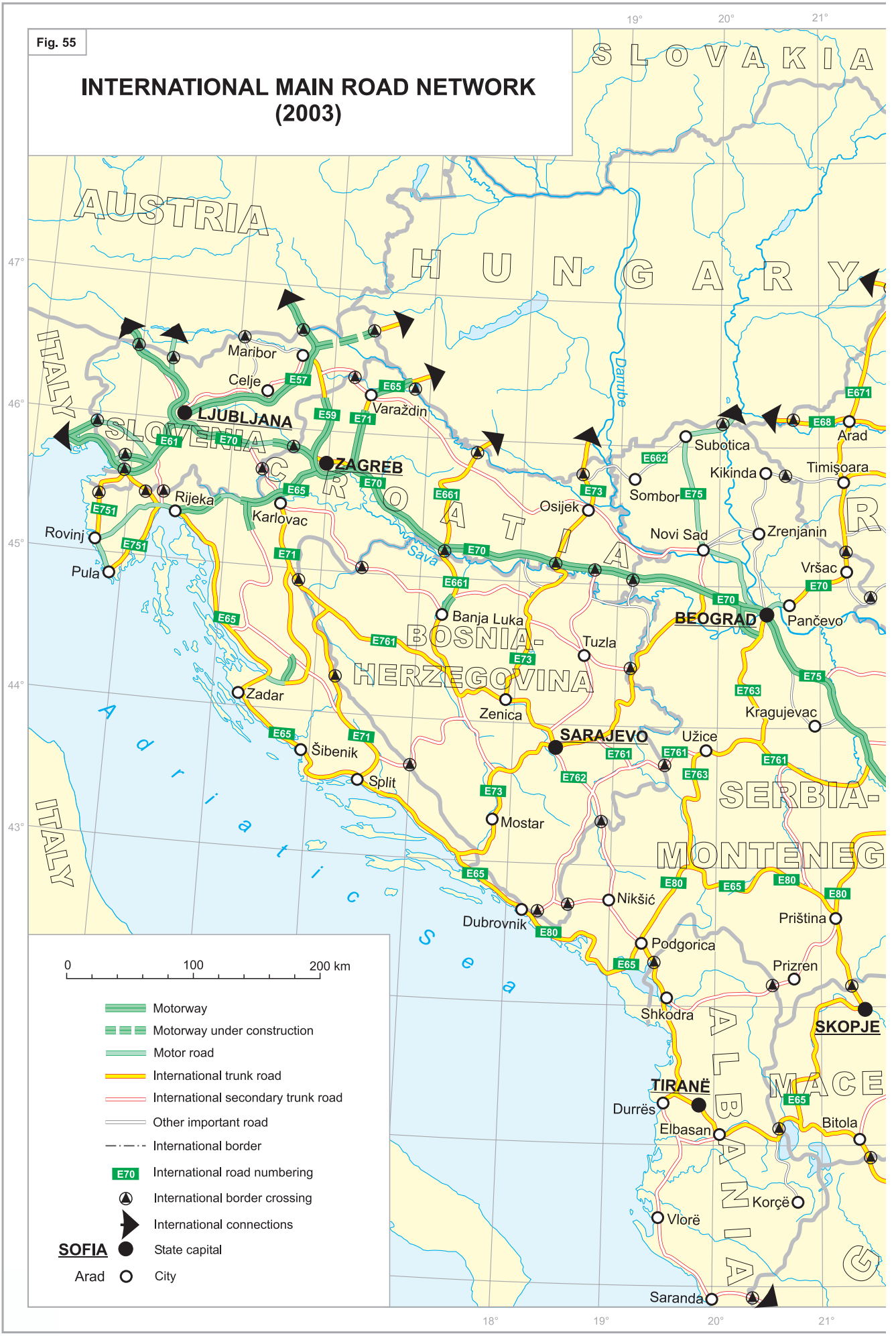
Road Transport

The bulk of road transport in South Eastern Europe is carried out along the trunk road networks of the individual countries. Compared with railway transport, road transport only played a minor role in long-distance passenger and goods transport in the first half of the 20th century. Before 1945, only the major highways were suitable for cars. However, their technical parameters and the state of their surface made them inappropriate for large-scale vehicle transport. The Balkan countries joined international road transport very late, in the second half of the century, because they lacked properly paved main roads of adequate extension, a sizeable road vehicle fleet and a continuous fuel supply – in other words, a certain level of motorisation.

In the 1960s, the conditions for funding the development of main roads were highly unfavourable in South East European states, which lacked a distinct policy to support such development. In development plans priority was given to accessing internal economic areas, and therefore road development programmes focused on constructing minor roads and approach roads suitable for motor vehicle traffic, thus consolidating the role of road traffic as a tributary to railway traffic in goods and passenger transport. As a consequence, international and domestic

Fig. 55

INTERNATIONAL MAIN ROAD NETWORK (2003)



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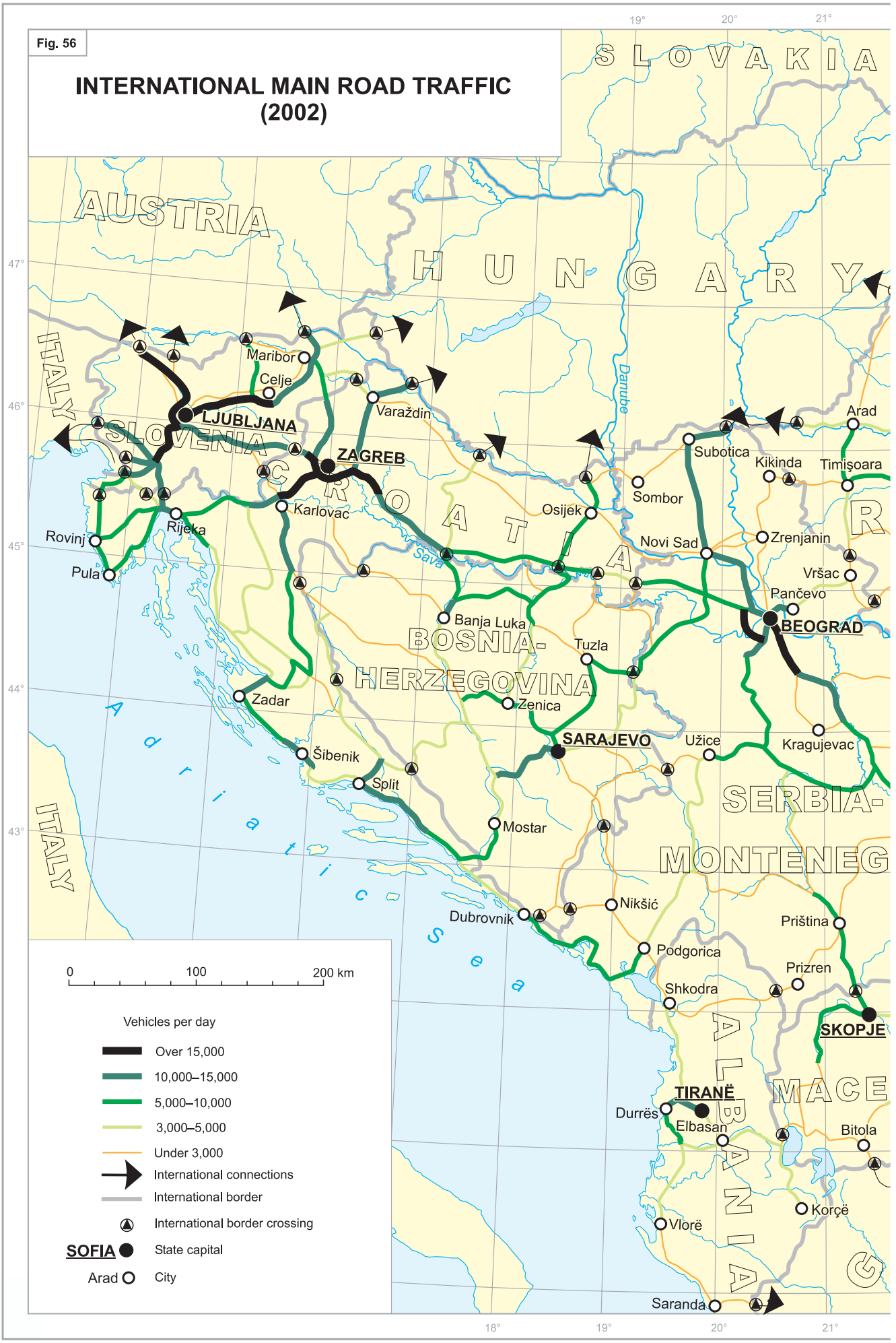
Budapest, 2006

Fig. 56

INTERNATIONAL MAIN ROAD TRAFFIC (2002)

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DEJ
ORADEA
PIATRA NEAMȚ
CLUJ-NAPOCA
BACĂU
TÂRGU MUREŞ
CÂMPIA TURZII
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SOFIA
JAMBOL
PERNIK
STARA ZAGORA
BULGARIA
PLOVDIV
DIMITROVGRAD
BLAGOEVGRAD
HASKOVO
Black Sea
DONIA
GREECE
TURKEY
Aegean Sea
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trunk roads in the Balkan states were far below par even in the 1970s. Although several countries had European standard, high-capacity roads (for example, the Ljubljana–Zagreb–Belgrade–Skopje route was opened to traffic as early as the 1960s), even at the beginning of the 1980s there were only 9 motorways (or more precisely, sections of motorway) in South Eastern Europe, with a combined length of less than 590 km. From this aspect, the Balkan states – except for Slovenia, Croatia and the northern part of Serbia – were even less developed than Central Europe.

The motorway sections constructed until 1985 all radiated from capital cities (Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, Bucharest, Sofia), except in Macedonia. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania were left out of this process completely, and no motorways have been constructed in either of these countries to this day. The motorways in Yugoslavia served to link the capitals of the member republics (Belgrade–Zagreb motorway), create high quality connections between the capitals and the Adriatic coast (Zagreb–Rijeka, Ljubljana–Koper motorways), and improving the conditions of northwest–southeast transit traffic (the Belgrade–Niš and Kumanovo–Veles motorway sections).

In Slovenia, the key objective was to connect the capital city with the Italian and Austrian motorway network, towards Trieste and Klagenfurt respectively.

In Romania and Bulgaria the main purpose of the first motorway sections was to improve the connection between the capital cities and major industrial centres (Bucharest–Piteşti, Sofia–Plovdiv). The Sofia–Plovdiv section also brought some improvement in the flow of the traffic along the South Eastern European transit corridor towards Istanbul and the Middle East. In Romania and Bulgaria the construction of further motorway sections and highways connecting major maritime ports like Constanţa, Varna and Burgas with the capital cities and major international transit roads was only given priority in the 1980s.

Of the further main international roads (E-roads) of the region, the Croatian highways leading to the holiday resorts of the Adriatic coast and road E65 between Rijeka and Budva along the Adriatic coast started to play an important role in transit traffic and tourism from the 1980s. The main highways of Romania and Bulgaria are of radial configuration, centred on the capital cities (*Figure 55*).

The main international roads of Albania join the core road network of the region via Montenegro and Macedonia. The number of private cars in the Balkan countries grew rapidly from the 1970s onwards (except for Albania), while international road traffic also increased, causing considerable growth in goods transport traffic on motorways and highways as well as on numerous E-roads.

This process led to traffic congestion around the capital cities, which later became permanent, and even the construction of ring-roads (round Bucharest and Sofia) has not improved the situation palpably. Another problem is that the share of unpaved roads within the road network is relatively high, especially in Romania (*Table 23*).

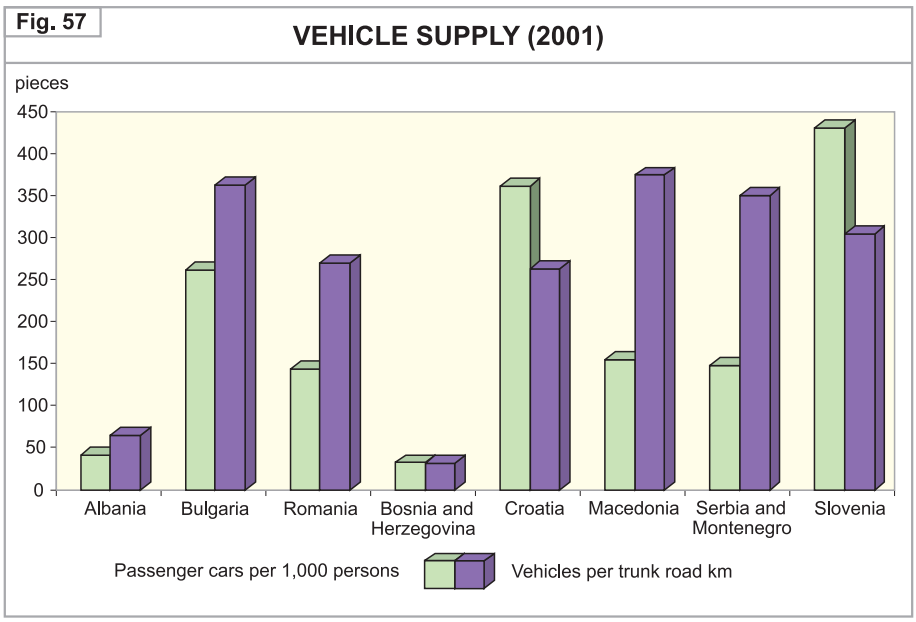
The dramatic political and economic changes at the beginning of the 1990s also had a highly negative impact on road transport. The

Table 23. ***Condition of Public Roads by Regions in Romania, 2003***

Region	Total length of public roads, km	Of which		
		Modernised, %	Paved with light asphalt, %	Unpaved, %
Northeast	13,398	23.3	19.2	57.5
Southeast	10,626	19.1	36.6	44.3
South	11,889	28.1	27.7	44.2
Southwest	10,251	33.5	22.1	44.4
West	10,282	25.7	21.7	52.6
Northwest	11,475	27.6	22.9	49.5
Centre	10,168	22.8	29.1	48.1
Bucharest	912	51.1	26.6	22.3
Total	79,001	25.9	25.5	48.6

Source: see Table 22

Fig. 57



economic crisis following the change of regime led to a decline in transport of goods by road (*Figure 56*), as a consequence of the shift from rail travel to the car in passenger transport (for example, in Bulgaria). This process was hindered by the policy of using state funds to maintain the operation of a number of large industrial facilities, whose high transport demands ensured contracts for the state-owned transport companies. At the outbreak of the civil war in the former Yugoslavia, the international transit routes of the core area of the region had to be diverted towards Romania and Bulgaria. Motor vehicle traffic ceased on the motorway between Zagreb and Belgrade; domestic and foreign car-based tourism likewise stopped.

The military actions of the Krayina Serbs, for example the demolition of the Maslenica bridge, cut off the land transport connection between Dalmatia and the northwestern part of Croatia for years. Slovenia was only involved in the fighting for some days, and thanks to this its road transport system was not seriously damaged (unlike that of Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The 2004 round of EU expansion, and the prospect of further eastward enlargement has increased the importance of the Balkan states in the road network. Among the successor states of the former Yugoslavia, it is Slovenia and Croatia that consider the completion of their motorways to be a priority following their political and economic consolidation. Romania and Bulgaria have also formulated long-term motorway development plans. In Albania, the volume of motor vehicle traffic does not promise the implementation of large-scale road construction projects.

Serbia's long-term political and economic isolation, along with serious economic issues have slowed down the development of its road network. Bosnia and Herzegovina is struggling with similar problems, its economy being paralysed by the prolonged political tension, which adversely effects traffic performance, modernisation plans and growth in the motor vehicle fleet (*Figure 57*).

In the long run, however, as in the case of the railways, it is of fundamental interest to the Balkan states to develop a road network that will make up the pan-European corridors running through the region (starting with corridors X and IV), to create a road network of motorways, eventually of uniform quality. In the long term this could result in a network of motorways linking the eight capital cities of the region, creating linkage between the trunk road system of the Balkan states with that of the neighbouring countries located to the north and the west, and granting access to the less developed areas within South Eastern Europe, thus ending their economic isolation. For the implementation of international programmes aimed at such road development, South Eastern European countries can rely on support from adequate EU funds.

Waterway Transport

The importance of river and maritime navigation varies from country to country in South Eastern Europe. However, the significance of this branch as a rule is far below railway and road transport in terms of both passenger and goods turnover. Only four countries in the region, namely, Slovenia, Croatia, Romania and Bulgaria have sizeable maritime navigation, with sea ports on the Adriatic and Black Sea. The maritime transport performance of Albania, having only a modest port capacity and merchant fleet, as well as that of Serbia and Montenegro, which only have a few cargo and passenger ships, are insignificant compared to those of the above countries. Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose coastline is only a few kilometres long, has no significant ports, and Macedonia is completely landlocked.

It is unfavourable for the maritime navigation of the region that their ports are located along the coastlines of marginal seas, on the periphery of the European maritime navigation area and, except for Croatia, their coastlines are relatively short. A further negative factor is that the coastal areas of South Eastern Europe are by no means countries with advanced maritime navigation, and sea ports have a hinterland of economically backward rural and farming regions.

In the first half of the 20th century, sea navigation was barely developed in the countries of South Eastern Europe. Its progress only started in the 1960s, with regard to the physical planning of coastlines, modernisation of ports and the seagoing fleets of the individual countries, especially that of Bulgaria.

Most of the ports on the Adriatic Sea have a long history and tradition. Rijeka, the most prominent until the end of the 1980s, was the largest port of Yugoslavia with an annual volume of 7–8 million tons of cargo shipment, including the maritime import and export trade of the landlocked Central European countries, such as Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary. The volume of cargo at other Croatian ports along the Adriatic, e.g. Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik, remained fairly low, although the volume of tourism-related passenger transport in the summer between these ports and the holiday resorts of the Dalmatian islands increased gradually from the 1970s. Low-capacity Albanian ports have been instrumental in establishing relations of this country with the world economy.

The major ports of the Black Sea, e.g. Constanţa, Varna and Burgas, also look back on long shipping traditions. However, their traffic was scant before 1945. Development programmes commenced in the 1960s resulted in the spectacular growth of the volume of cargo traffic, nearly reaching 8–9 million tons per year by the 1980s. Varna and Burgas were significant in import trade; during the communist era they were the main arrival ports for raw material shipments from the Soviet Union. In the 1960s, a fuel wharf was built in Burgas, while Varna had a shipyard that manufactured vessels for the Eastern bloc.

The military actions of the 1990s caused a serious decrease in the volume of traffic passing through Yugoslavian ports. The successor states have made considerable efforts through national development programmes to develop their ports in order to attract traffic. This was extremely successful in Slovenia, where the volume of goods transport in Koper almost reached the record amount of 9 million tons in 2002. Due to the re-emergence of tourism along the Adriatic coast in Croatia, a slow increase has started in the volume of passenger transport, too. The economic crisis following the change of regime had led to a dramatic shrinkage of cargo shipments in the sea ports of Romania and Bulgaria. The volume of goods in Burgas, which has become the most important port in Bulgaria, fell by 25% between 1990 and 2000. In Constanţa this value had shrunk by 80%, which led to a decrease in the number of maritime cargo ships. Bulgaria has been increasing efforts to boost tourism along its seashore, which may contribute to the growth in the volume of its maritime passenger transport.

The main line of river navigation in four of the eight countries of South Eastern Europe is the Danube, and the inland waterway transport of Bosnia is directed to the Danube via the river Sava. The Danube is an important international waterway, flowing across Central and Eastern Europe and connects the North Sea and

the Black Sea through the Rhine–Main–Danube Canal, along with being Helsinki Corridor VII within the pan-European transport network of the region. In the first half of the 20th century the transport carrying capacity of the Danube was utilised much more than in the decades after 1945. This was partly due to relatively low tariffs on rail transport in the Communist countries. Bulk shipment of goods was diverted from water to rail, and river navigation was only involved in the raw material supply of heavy industrial plants with a suitable Danube port, and in the transportation of building materials and solid energy sources like coal and coke. Another circumstance that unfavourably affected the river transport of goods was that a great number of the industrial plants built in the 1950s and the 1960s were located around cities that were far from rivers, and their raw material supply was reliant on transport by rail and road rather than by inland waterways. A further problem is that the Danube flows across only a few economically important areas in South Eastern Europe. The majority of the areas along the banks of the river – except for Belgrade and its surroundings – are still backward farming areas. Consequently, no investment has been made in these areas during recent decades that could have justified the development of Danube ports.

The bulk of river navigation within the region is carried out by Romania, with an annual volume of goods transport of 4–5 million tons along the Romanian section of the Danube. The ports of Belgrade, Pančevo and Novi Sad in the Serbian section of the Danube, and the Bulgarian ports of Ruse, Lom and Vidin along the Lower Danube, a section shared by Bulgaria and Romania, are also connected to this traffic. The largest Romanian ports along the Lower Danube are Giurgiu, Brăila and Galaţi (the latter with the country's largest shipyard). The conditions for navigation were considerably improved by the hydroelectric dam at the Iron Gate gorge, completed in 1972, which elevated the water level along a section of the river hitherto having been hard to navigate. The 64 kilometre-long Danube–Black Sea Canal was opened to navigation in 1984, ten years behind schedule. This canal shortened the transport route by 300 km, and made Constanţa accessible by river. However, it was unable to achieve its main purpose, namely to divert the bulk of river navigation to the Danube section in the southwestern part of the country. Zagreb on the Sava is the main river port of Croatia. Its annual volume of transport is below 200,000 tons, similar in figure to the Bosnian ports on the Sava.

As a result of the civil war that broke out at the beginning of the 1990s, and NATO's air raids against Serbia in 1999, the bridges over the Danube (e.g. at Novi Sad) were destroyed, paralysing navigation on the river for years. Overall, the conditions for river navigation are still unstable in the Balkan countries and the share of this sub-sector within the goods transport of the region remains very low.

Civil Aviation

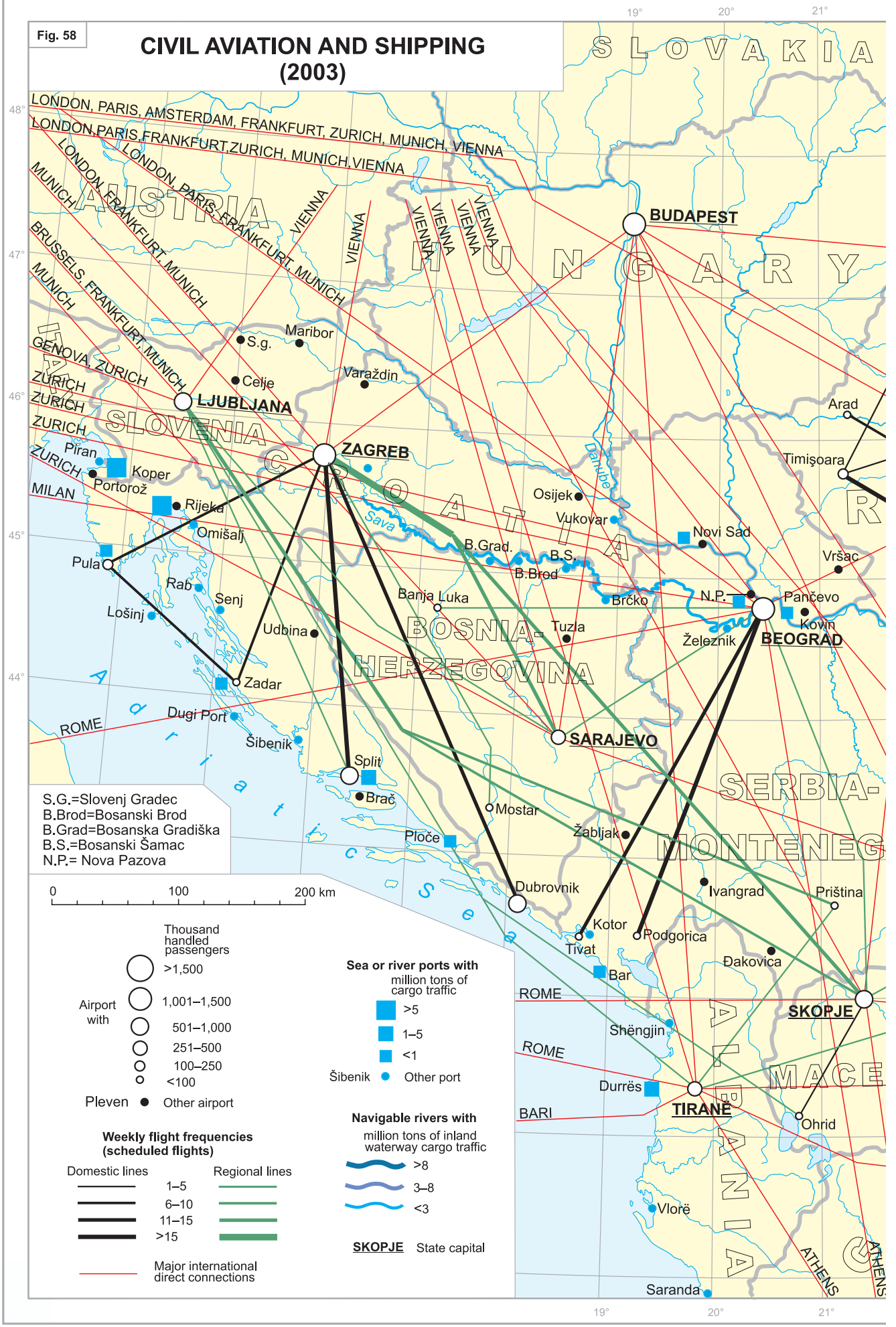
Aviation in the Balkans is centred around international and domestic passenger transport, while the volume of air freight is insignificant. Air transport companies were established in the Balkan countries as early as the 1920s. Aeroputnik in Yugoslavia, established in 1927, provided scheduled flights from Belgrade to Graz and Vienna via Zagreb, and to Thessaloniki via Skopje. By the 1930s, direct air links had already been established between Belgrade and a number of cities, including Sofia, Tirana, Istanbul, Budapest and Prague, and a few years later with Bucharest and Milan.

In Romania, French companies began to operate regular flights in 1926. By 1929, there were international flights between Bucharest and Istanbul, and domestic flights between Bucharest and Galaţi, Iaşi and Chişinău. The Italian company Societa Transadriatica started to run scheduled flights from 1923, from Venice via Trieste to Portorose, which was then part of Italy (today Portorož, Slovenia), the island of Lussin Piccolo in Dalmatia (Mali Lošinj, Croatia) and to Zara (Zadar, Croatia).

In Albania, the Italian company Adria Aero Lloyd operated scheduled flights on the

Fig. 58

CIVIL AVIATION AND SHIPPING (2003)

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Obzor
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Author: Tibor Tiner
Cartography: Margit Molnár, Anikó Kovács
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Brindisi–Valona (Vlorë)–Tirana route, and from Tirana to Scutari (Shkodra) and Korcia (Korçë). The First Bulgarian Aviation Company was closed down soon after its establishment in 1927. Subsequently, the international airport in Sofia was used by French, German and Polish flights.

Air transport networks of considerable size only came into existence in the countries of South Eastern Europe after World War II, through the establishment of national air companies such as TAROM, BALKAN, JAT and Albanian Airlines. In Bulgaria, international and domestic flights were operated until 1954 by TABSO, a Bulgarian–Soviet joint venture, predecessor of BALKAN Airlines. After 1945, the Italian company operating the airline withdrew from communist Albania, and air transport, now state-owned, was limited to providing international flights to Tirana.

In the 1960s and 1970s the international and domestic air traffic network of the Balkan states was expanded gradually. In Yugoslavia, the airports in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana saw the largest volumes of traffic. Scheduled flights were operated between them and the capitals of the other three member republics (Sarajevo, Skopje, Titograd). As tourism had been expanding, summer traffic at the airports along the Adriatic coast (Split, Dubrovnik, Pula and Zadar) increased year by year. In the 1960s a domestic airway network (encompassing twelve towns) was created in Bulgaria, which transported fresh fruits and vegetables as well as passengers. This network started to shrink gradually from the 1970s, owing to the improvement of road transport, and from the 1980s domestic flights only operated between Sofia and Varna; Sofia and Burgas.

Romania has had her own domestic air transport for decades, since the Carpathian mountain range bisecting the country constitutes a serious obstacle for land transport, making travelling between Transylvanian cities and Bucharest extremely long and tiring. In the 1960s direct flights connected eight cities, including Timişoara, Oradea, Satu Mare and Cluj, with Băneasa, Bucharest's domestic airport, and a further three cities were included by the 1980s.

The communist political system had influenced the orientation of air traffic in the Balkan states substantially. Accordingly, most of the international flights, operated by national and foreign airlines, primarily connected the Balkan airports with Moscow, and secondly with the capitals of Central Eastern European countries (Budapest, Prague, East Berlin, Warsaw). Important destinations were the capitals and big cities of neighbouring countries (Kishinev, Kiev, Athens, Istanbul, Thessaloniki, Odessa) and remoter cities of Southern Europe and the Mediterranean (Rome, Algiers, Tunis, Cairo, Beirut, Damascus etc.). In the years of the political détente, air traffic was opened towards Western Europe, and direct flights were operated between the Balkan airports and Vienna, Zurich and Frankfurt, which were later followed by Munich, Paris, London and Amsterdam.

In the 1990s the air transport links of South Eastern European countries underwent profound transformation. Following the civil war in Yugoslavia, having paralysed air transport, some of the former links were reinstated, while others ceased to operate. In Croatia, the direct flights that already operated earlier between Zagreb and the Dalmatian towns (Split, Zadar, Dubrovnik) were restarted. However, direct flights between Belgrade and Zagreb were cancelled. To the capitals of the Yugoslavian successor states, Belgrade only has direct flights to Sarajevo, Skopje and Podgorica.

In Romania, the political takeover did not affect the majority of international air transport links, but the weekly number of scheduled flights to Western European cities grew, while the number of flights to Central and Eastern European cities decreased (*Figure 58*). At the same time, the long-lasting economic crises had reduced passenger flow. At the turn of the millennium, direct flights were launched between Bucharest and Chişinău, the capital of Moldova, and traffic on this route became very intense. The traditionally close air connections between Sofia and Kiev; Sofia and Moscow survived, but the number of passengers in Bulgaria as a whole dropped. Air transport relations developed between Albania and Italy: the number of flights from Tirana to Rome and Bari increased, while the number of passengers also grew between Tirana and Priština, capital of Albanian-populated Kosovo.

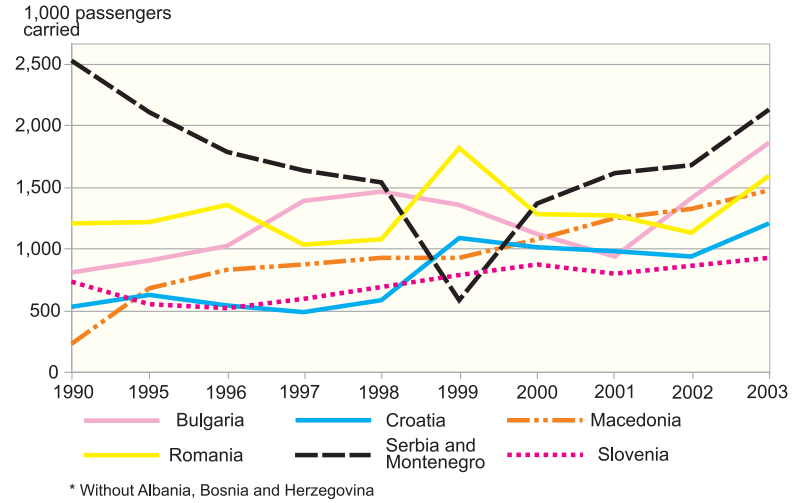
Within the region, the majority of capitals are directly connected to each other by air, while indirect connections also exist via Budapest, in the case of Zagreb for example. An exception to this is Belgrade, which maintains air connections with only the three neighbouring capitals mentioned above. This isolation of the Serbian

capital is the result of the UN sanctions.

Following the turn of the millennium, an increasing number of private airlines started to operate international and domestic flights, alongside the flag carrier airlines. That process led to a considerable increase in air passenger transport in the region (*Figure 59*) .These private airlines offer cheaper services than rival companies. Relatively small airports with paved runways, especially abundant in Bulgaria, contribute to this trend.

Fig. 59

AIR PASSENGER TRANSPORT* (1990–2003)



* Without Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Tourism

One of the most popular areas for global tourism has long been the Mediterranean basin, suggesting that South Eastern Europe could be a potential target area for tourism in the future, based on its rich traditions in this sector of the economy, and due to the present appeal of the area. As the region consists of countries with similar natural qualities, and urban and cultural environments, the picture is rather mosaic-like with regard to investment and tourist turnover.

Croatia and Slovenia are the countries currently providing sophisticated services, even by European standards and attract a high number of foreign visitors. Romania and Bulgaria are catching up steadily, whilst Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Albania are handicapped in terms of attractiveness. Once considered to be a paradise for tourism, the former Yugoslavia and Bulgaria have recently suffered from political turmoil and economic crisis and have lost their previous privileged positions, restoration of which now requires considerable financial efforts.

Due to its specific features, the tourist industry may be prosperous source in the long-term perspective in regions where the willingness to receive foreign tourists and ability to provide the required services are coupled with meeting security requirements. However, South Eastern Europe cannot be regarded as a uniform region in this respect as their countries differ significantly with regards to safety, sanitary conditions and living standards.

The warfare between the successor states of the former Yugoslavia (1991–1995) and its ensuing repercussions, the air raids of NATO against Serbia (1999) and the proximity of the Balkans to the conflict zone in the Middle East by no means encouraged a massive wave of tourism from overseas. Another problem is that news of events reporting rising anxieties and suggesting at the instability of the region often discourage potential visitors from EU member states holidaying in the region. Beside these issues, conditions of hygiene do not always meet expected standards and may be responsible for the low performance of the tourism sector in some of the countries. Moreover, striking contrasts between the living standards of foreign guests and the local population can hinder the holiday experience, thus turning recreational areas into tourist ghettos and curbing spatial differentiation.

Owing to the political division of the Balkans, the crossing of borders by foreign citizens is regulated by the legislation of the individual countries and in some cases by arbitrary measures from local authorities which often hampers adequate mobility. (Alarming rumours about the experiences tourists sometimes have may be enough to discourage foreign visitors from notorious border sections.)

An examination of the economic environment in South Eastern Europe from the aspect of tourism revealed that as a result of the recovery of the national economies since the late 1990s, the barriers hitherto inhibiting the inflow of a necessary amount of foreign capital has been gradually cleared away. In spite of the fact that catching up with the EU countries in terms of GDP might take a number of decades, the growth rate in foreign investment and the decrease in the rate of inflation is promising for the future (*Table 24*).

The economic performance of the South East European countries can be decisive from the viewpoint of tourism, because only infrastructure created by the contribution from governmental funds along with a balanced state budget are able to attract an adequate amount of foreign investment. The average spend per tourist is a primary indicator of the extent to which individual countries provide an environment encouraging private expenditure. The average spending is nearly 1,500 EUR in Croatia (according to the internationally accepted definition, a tourist is a foreign citizen who spends at least one night abroad after entering the country), whereas it is much less in Romania or Macedonia.

In spite of the differentiated general and local conditions, the basic types of tourist region can be found in almost every country of South Eastern Europe. Accordingly, sea-coast, mountain, rural and urban areas attract similar tourist activities across the region. The Adriatic, Ionian and Black seas attract people preferring beach holidays, the Dinarids, Carpathians, Balkan Mountains and Thracian–Macedonian Massif are favourite places for lovers of winter and its as-

Table 24. ***Selected Indices of Economy Relevant for Tourism in South Eastern Europe (2003)***

Country	GDP per capita 2003, €	Change of GDP in real terms 2002–2003, %	Inflation 2003, %	International tourism receipts per tourist arrival 2003, €	International tourism receipts per capita 2003, €
Albania	1,859	6.0	3.3	13,465	157
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,911	2.7	1.8	1,502	62
Bulgaria	2,697	4.3	5.6	433	231
Croatia	6,771	4.3	1.7	910	1,499
Macedonia	2,384	3.1	1.2	382	30
Romania	2,700	4.9	14.1	127	21
Slovenia	14,686	2.3	4.6	1,034	706
Serbia and Montenegro	2,635	3.0	11.7	..	..

Remark: .. no data
Sources: Tourism Market Trends: Europe 2004; Emerging Europe Monitor 2004.

sociated sports, health tourism and hiking. Cities are visited by foreigners interested in city-breaks, whilst rural settlements and their environs attract people seeking tranquillity and ecotourism. South Eastern Europe is the venue for both mass-market and niche tourism where visitors are concentrated along the sea-coast and in urban areas which offer equally attractive experiences.

Concerning the objective conditions of tourism across the region it could be stated that establishments and institutions relating to both the basic and superstructure of tourism are already at hand in most of the countries, whereas in some of them they will have to be developed in the future.

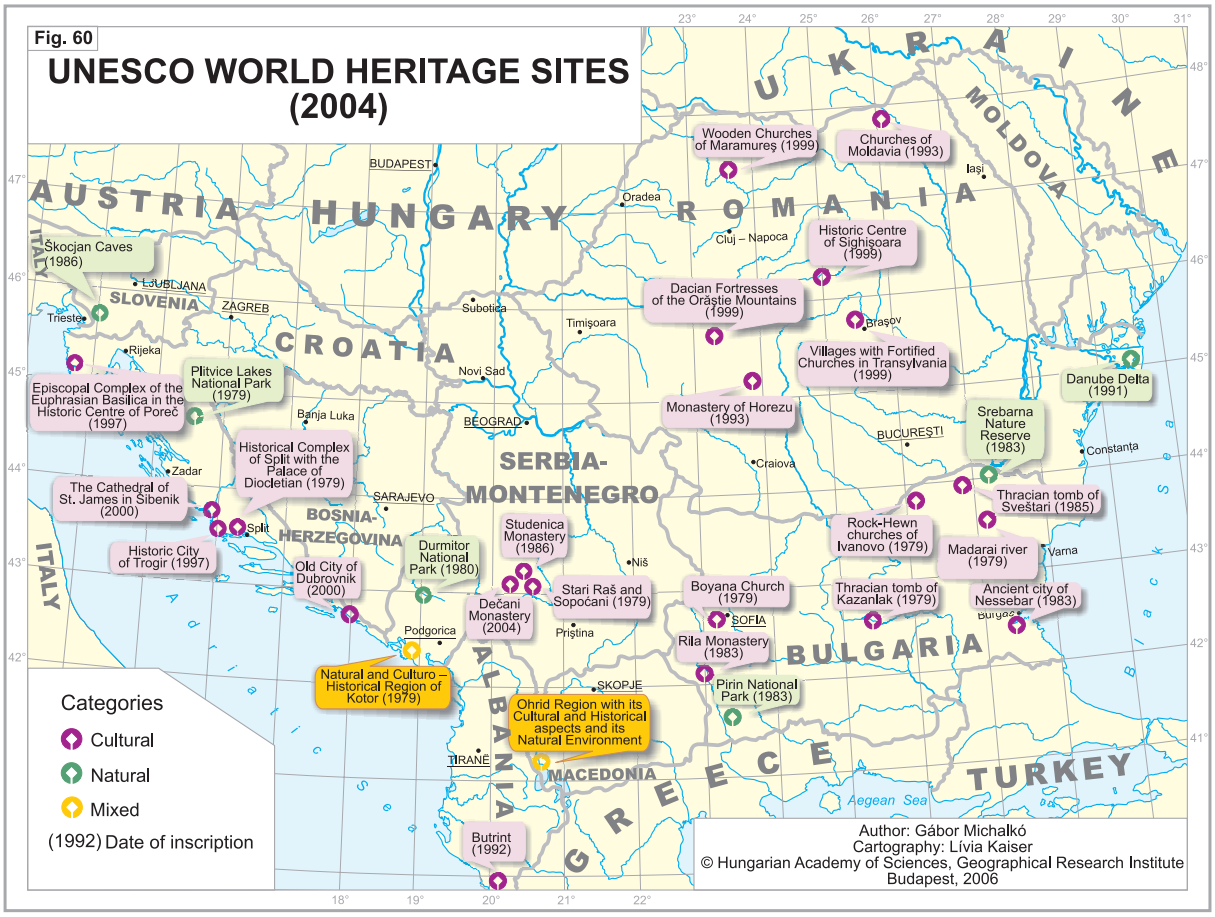
With regards to the basic infrastructure, the continuing construction of motorways as the backbone of the transport network (see previous chapter), linked with each other and to the pan-European network, along with opening regional airports meeting international air traffic norms, are indispensable conditions of the easy accessibility of tourist areas. The airports of Varna, Burgas, Constanţa, Pula, Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik and Tivat already provide relief for those of the capital cities and receive charter flights day by day during the summer season.

Accommodation services as part of the superstructure of tourism are dominated by units in the ownership of local entrepreneurs rather than by those belonging to the international hotel chains. Private accommodation adds to the available choice. Nevertheless, representatives of the leading hotel chains are present in the big cities, with the exception of Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina: Hilton (Bucharest, Sofia), Hyatt (Belgrade), Intercontinental (Bucharest), Marriott (Bucharest), Golden Tulip (Zagreb), Accor (Bucharest, Plovdiv) and Carlton Radisson (Sofia) are all to found. Best Western on its own has a dozen units in the region.

As far as tourist attractions are concerned, of primary note are the internationally renowned natural and cultural attractions, which benefit from specific marketing and protection (*Figure 60)*. These locations, listed under UNESCO World Heritage are to be considered the major attractions in the South East European countries. Out of the total of 745 locations under protection worldwide, 31 are found in the studied area; nine of them in Bulgaria, seven in Romania and one in Slovenia.

Most of the attractions forming part of the world heritage sites are visited as places of cultural appeal. Many are holy places from historical periods, access of which is provided for tourists thanks to archaeological excavations. Amongst the most popular attractions are the national parks of the individual countries, e.g. the Danube delta in Romania and the Plitvice lakes in Croatia. Special tourist attractions are places combining natural and cultural heritage, such as the Ohrid region in Macedonia.

The important part played by tourism in the national economies of South Eastern Europe is evident in the political sphere as well. Tourism policy is focal in almost all the countries of the region. Institutional manifestations of this are the authorities on different levels of state administration represented by related ministries on their own, or together with other spheres (e.g. regional development or cultural branches), or as part of economic management but located im-



mediately at a ministerial level. Countries of the region put a special emphasis on the marketing of tourism in the form of participation at professional exhibitions, informative internet websites and of high quality promotional publications (*Table 25*).

The tourist industry plays a pivotal role in the national economies of the region, especially in the maintenance of their foreign trade balance. With a lack of efficient industrial and farming sectors (or as an accessory to them), the sector produces hard currency revenues similar to export activities. (Income from tourism is considered an exchange of their home currency to the national currency by arriving foreigners, whereas payments originate from the purchase of foreign currencies by local citizens going abroad.) In an optimum case there is a positive balance, i.e. the income exceed payments to a considerable extent. According to WTO data,

Table 25. ***Tourism in State Administration and Marketing of South East European Countries***

Country	Supreme authority of tourism management	Internet websites of tourism marketing
Albania	Ministry of Tourism, Culture, Youth and Sport	www.albaniantourism.com
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Ministry of Tourism and Trade	www.bhtourism.ba
Bulgaria	Ministry of Economy	www.bulgariatravel.org
Croatia	Ministry of the Sea, Tourism, Transport and Development	www.croatia.hr
Macedonia	Ministry of Economy	www.exploringmacedonia.com
Montenegro	Ministry of Tourism	www.visit-montenegro.com
Romania	The Ministry of Transport, Constructions and Tourism	www.romaniatourism.com
Serbia	Ministry of Trade, Tourism and Services	www.serbia-tourism.org
Slovenia	Ministry of Economy	www.slovenia-tourism.si

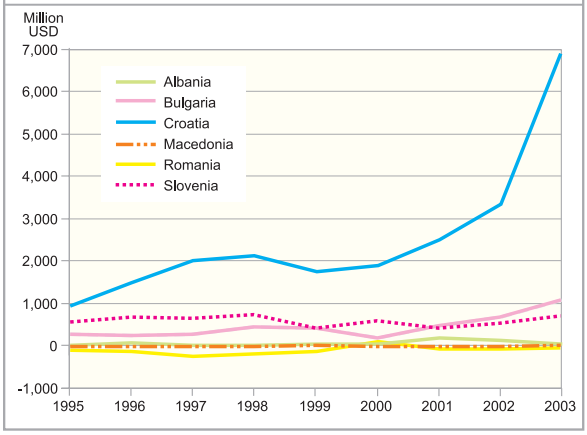
Source: Tourism Market Trends: Europe – 2004.

Croatia had a significantly positive financial tourism balance between 1995 and 2003 as far as the officially recorded income and payments are concerned (*Figure 61*). In the region only two countries produced a negative balance: Romania and Macedonia.

Monitoring international tourist turnover in South Eastern Europe by the use of means of transport, shows a close correlation with geographical promotion of the individual countries and their infrastructural development. Roads are particularly frequently used throughout, even in Albania with the lowest value of share (63%) within the total traffic. Lately air transport has tended to increase due to modernisation of the airports and the appearance and growing share of low-cost flights. In this respect Bulgaria is the leader: 23% of tourists had chosen this means of arrival, owing to the considerable distance from potential origin countries. In the region with an extensive sea-coast, maritime transport is popular: e.g. for arrival in Albania (21.5%) it is preferred to aviation links. Railways are not an important carrier of international tourists in any country of the region.

Fig. 61

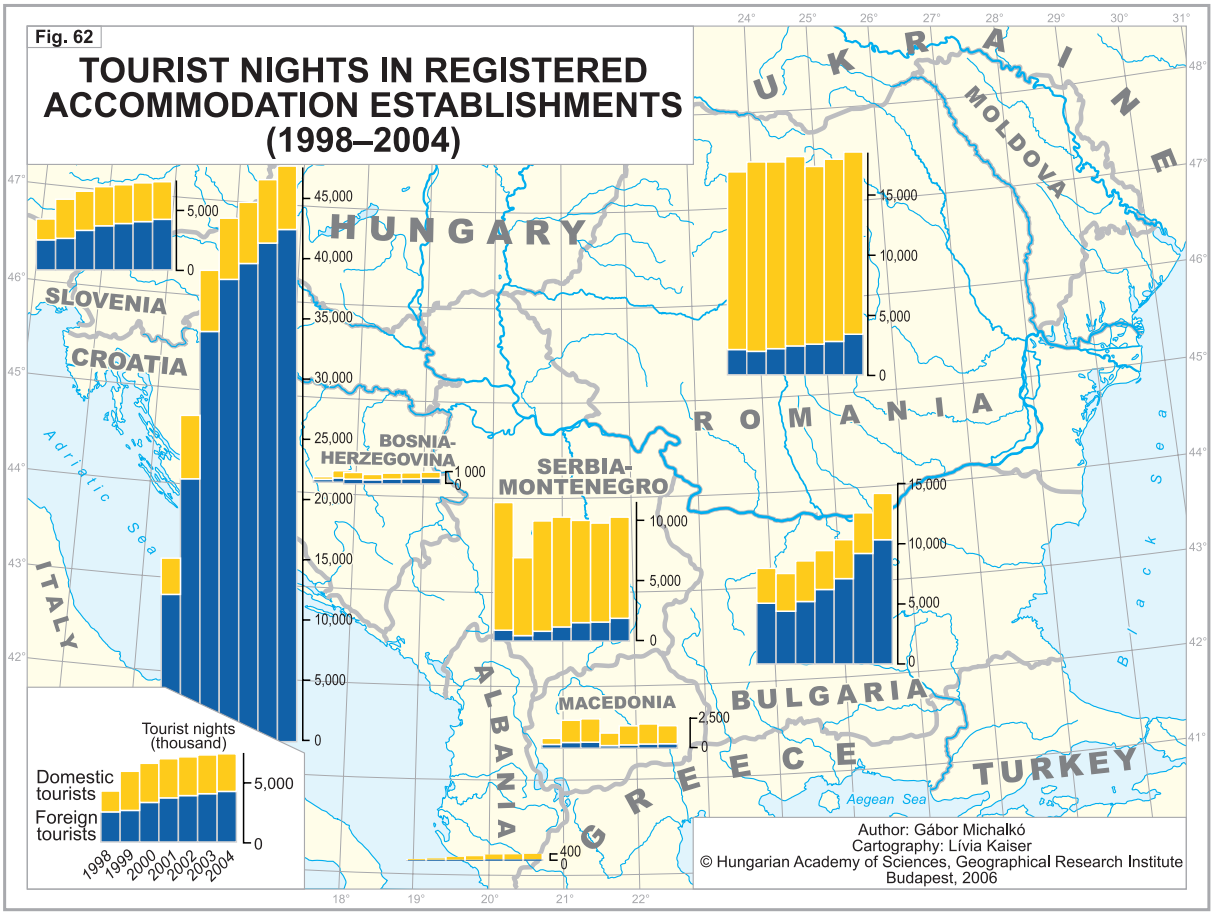
BALANCE OF TOURISM BUDGET (1995–2003)

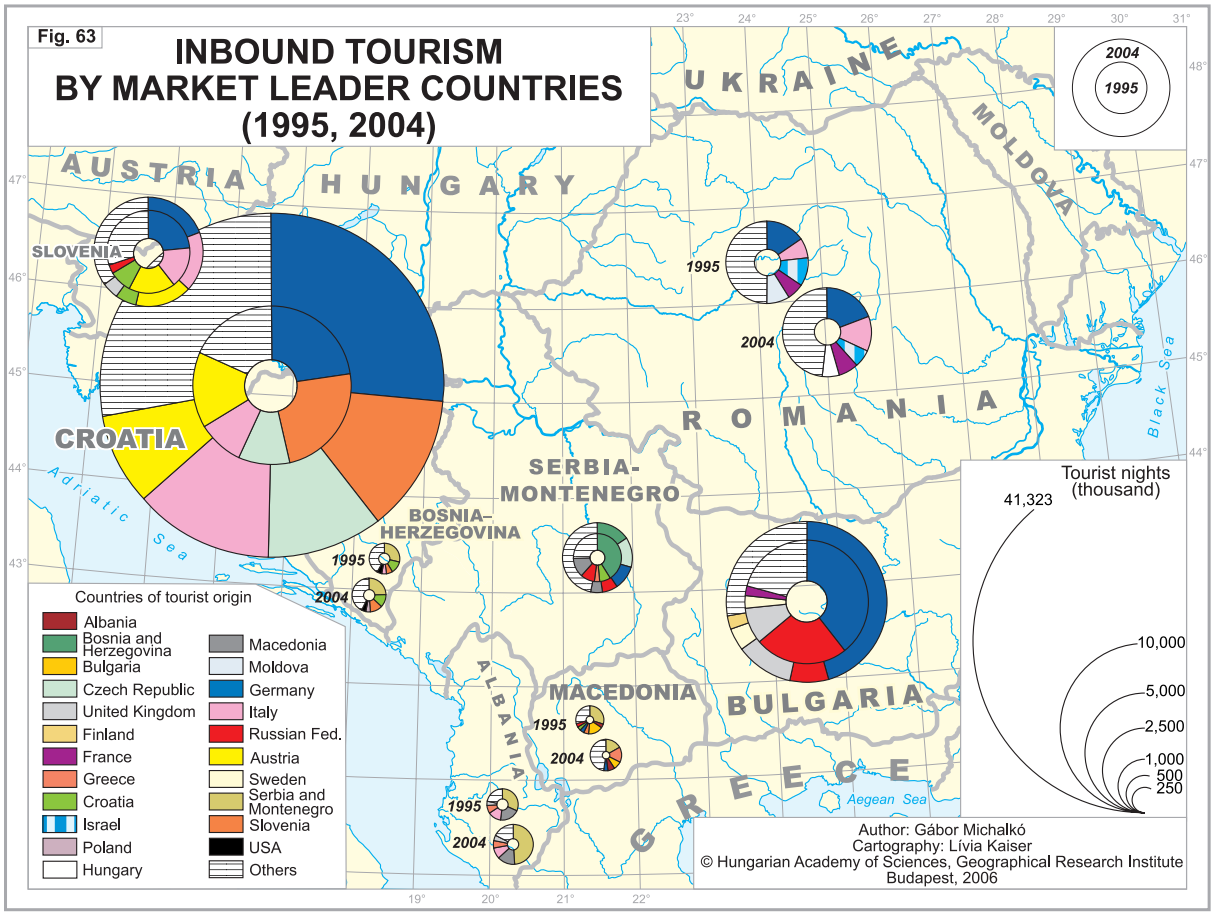


The most important index of tourism is the nights spent at registered accommodation establishments, owing to it being closely related to the incomes of countries from tourist turnover (*Figure 62*). Based on the number of tourist nights Croatia is the foremost leader. Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania and Slovenia represent a group with medium turnover. These countries will be able to intensify turnover with adequate product

Fig. 62

TOURIST NIGHTS IN REGISTERED ACCOMMODATION ESTABLISHMENTS (1998–2004)





development and marketing activities. Whereas the intensity of tourism is low in Macedonia, it is negligible in Albania, and Bosnia and Herzegovina (below 1 million).

When analysing the performance of the sector, domestic tourism should be taken into account as well. It is one of the indices of the willingness and opportunities for the tourist mobility of the local population and its share may be somewhat indicative of the presence of international tourism. In 2003 Serbia and Montenegro (their overwhelming majority are Serbs holidaying on the nearby Montenegrin sea-coast) (84%), Romania (84%) and Macedonia (83%) were the leaders in internal turnover and more than half of the total amount of tourists was represented by local citizens in Albania (75%). In this respect Croatia had the lowest index value (11%).

As far as the composition of international tourist turnover is concerned, the picture was rather mixed (*Figure 63*). In most countries of the region German citizens are the most frequent guests. Their ratio within the total number of foreign tourists was 45% in Bulgaria, 25% in Croatia, 23% in Slovenia, and 19% in Romania in 2003. In Serbia and Montenegro citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina were the most numerous (26%), in Albania the Italians (16%), whilst in Macedonia the Serbia–Montenegrin citizens (15%) prevailed.

Massive tourism from overseas was recorded in Romania (those arriving from Israel amounted to 10%), visitors from other continents could not be found in the top five in other countries of the region. Tourists from the USA and Italy turned up in almost every country.

With regard to the dynamics in turnover within a given market segment between 1995–2003, the maximum increase (27-fold) was seen in tourists arriving in Serbia–Montenegro from the Czech Republic. During the same period an 8-fold increase of the number of tourists from Belgium was recorded in Bulgaria.

There is a notable tourist turnover between the countries of the South East European region. In each case, at least one of the neighbouring nations figures amongst the top five origin countries for tourists, with the exception of Romania and Bulgaria.

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Over the past fifteen years the explosion of the "Balkan powder-barrel" shocking the European continent deeply i.e. the fanning of ethnic-religious tensions (suppressed for several decades) into regional conflicts and warfare renewed traditional interests of the European public towards the countries of South Eastern Europe (the former member republics of Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria and Romania).

There has emerged a necessity to publish an atlas in the form of a book or a book combined with an atlas in which a large number of attractive thematic (physical, political, ethnic, religious, economic) maps, charts, tables completed by concise textual analyses provide explanation for the up-to-date societal and economic issues of South Eastern Europe and the most characteristic segments of the region's development in the 20th century. The present publication produced in the Geographical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest) serves as a brief account for public and scientific audiences and political decision makers on the region which largely belongs to the Balkans, with some countries as the primary targets of the enlargement of the European Union. The chapters are entitled by the main topics figuring in the book: the concept of South Eastern Europe and the Balkans; natural environment; territorial distribution by states; ethnic and religious patterns; urbanisation and town network; the standard of economic development; spatial disparities; industry; energy; agriculture; transport; and tourism.

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