

KOSOVO AND METOHIA: ETHNODEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES FROM THE END OF WORLD WAR II TO 1991

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Abstract. – The purpose of this paper is to determine the overall scale of the ethnodemographic changes that took place in Kosovo and Metohia (Kosmet) during the period of communist rule in Yugoslavia, as well as to spatially locate these changes and quantify them at the municipality and settlement level.

The dynamics and the structure of the changes in the national character of this province – its radical Albanization and de-Serbization – represent a drastic example of ethnic cleansing: just in the period between 1961 and 1981, 42.2% of all Kosmet Serbs and 63.3% of Serbs who declare themselves as Montenegrins emigrated from Kosovo and Metohia.

This ethnic cleansing of the Serbs was caused as much by ideological motives as it was by strong anti-Serbian national and state interests. Under the influence of the Comintern (its Resolution on the Yugoslav Question was brought in 1926), the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) moved from a critique of the *Serbian bourgeoisie* as „hegemonistic,“ to a critique of the *Serbian nation* as the ruling and oppressive one... The CPY held that the communists in „Serbia itself, where the base of the hegemonistic regime was located, while recognizing the open right to secession and the right to armed rebellion against national oppression, and while preaching and providing systematic help to the movements of the oppressed nations“ should also fight against the „imperialist“ policy of state and national unity.

The expulsion of the Serbs, the Shiptar demographic explosion (during the 1970s and 1980s, the Shiptars, i.e. ethnic or Kosovo Albanians accounted for about 85% of the overall population increase in the Republic of Serbia), and the immigration of Albanians from Albania (during and after WW II, with the latest wave coming after 1999) can be seen both as the causes and the results of Shiptar secessionism. The regime of the so-called Second Yugoslavia systematically supported this secessionism. At the same time, although they didn't support it directly, Serb members of the regime certainly tolerated it.

The Kosmet problem has taken on such a large scale because it was a taboo theme for decades, and it is now shaking the foundations of the Serbian state today, endangering its very existence.

Key words: Kosovo and Metohia, ethnic cleansing of the Serbs, 1945–1991, communist ideology.

INTRODUCTION

The basic aim of this paper is to determine the overall scale of the ethnodemographic changes that took place on the territory of Kosovo and Metohia (Kosmet) during the period of communist rule in Yugoslavia, as well as to spatially locate these changes and quantify them at the municipality and settlement level.

The dynamics and the structure of the changes in the national character of this province – its radical Albanization and de-Serbization – represent a drastic example (previously unparalleled - until the Croatian expulsion of the Serbs from the Republic of Croatia in the „Flash“ and „Storm“ military operations of 1995) of ethnic cleansing.¹ Just in the period between 1961 and 1981, 42.2% of all Kosmet Serbs and 63.3% of Serbs who declare themselves as Montenegrins emigrated from Kosovo and Metohia.

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¹ In literature, the term *ethnic homogenization* has been used until now (see: Ружа Петровић и Марина Благојевић, *Сеобе Срба и Црногораца са Косова и из Метохије. Резултати анкете спроведене 1985-1986. године*, САНУ, Демографски зборник, књига 11, Београд, 1989, in English: Ruža Petrović & Marina Blagojević, *The Migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Metohija. Results of the Survey Conducted in 1985-1986*, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Department of Social Sciences, Demographic Studies, Volume III, Beograd, 1992).

² Already in 1923, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia changed its aim, from a *struggle* against *all* „forced and hegemonistic centralism“ to a struggle against *Serbian* „chauvinism and hegemony:“ thus, in 1924, it is proclaimed that it is „the duty of the Party, along with the organizations of the working masses of the oppressed nations, to wage joint, open struggle for the right to secession, that is, to help the movements of the oppressed nations in the aim of forming the independent states of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Montenegro, as well as of liberating the Albanians.“

³ Dušan Bataković searches for deeper causes that could more precisely explain the nature (and context) of the situation in Kosovo and Metohia: „A deep driving force of all the tectonic disturbances in Kosovo and Metohia emerged from layers beneath the deceptive communist reality and the inheritance of a centuries long conflict of different nations: a clash of two civilizations, the Christian and the Islamic, which found cohabitations difficult even in other European countries where an Islamized population is actually a minority. ... the clash of civilizations as a powerful process of 'la longue duree', remains the framework which will, perhaps even permanently, determine the further flow of history in this entire region.“ (Dušan T. Bataković, *The Kosovo Chronicles*, Plato, Belgrade, 1992, p. 213). See also: Vojin Joksimovich, *Kosovo Crisis. A Study in Foreign Policy Mismatch*, Graphic Management Press, Los Angeles, 1999 and Vojin Joksimovich, *The Revenge of the Prophet. How Clinton and His Predecessors Empowered Radical Islam*, Regina Orthodox Press, Boston, 2006, pp. 193–240.

„Serbia itself, where the base of the hegemonistic regime was located, while recognizing the open right to secession and the right to armed rebellion against national oppression, and while preaching and providing systematic help to the movements of the oppressed nations“ should also fight against the „imperialist“ policy of state and national unity.

The expulsion of the Serbs,⁴ along with the Shiptar demographic explosion (during the 1970s and 1980s, the Shiptars, i.e. ethnic or Kosovo Albanians accounted for about 85% of the overall population increase in the Republic of Serbia), the immigration of Albanians from Albania (during and after WW II,⁵ with the latest wave coming after 1999⁶), and the assimilation of the non-Albanian population can be seen as both the causes and the results of Shiptar secessionism. The regime of the so-called Second Yugoslavia systematically supported this secessionism. At the same time, although they didn't support it directly, Serb members of the regime certainly tolerated it.

The Kosmet problem has taken on such a large scale because it was a taboo theme for decades, and it is now shaking the foundations of the Serbian state today,

⁴ The expulsion of the Serbs has been a constant process since 1941: its largest waves occurred in the periods of 1941–1944, 1966–1989, and from 1999 to the present. The estimates for the first wave range between 70,000 and 140,000 (not counting those who were killed), for the second wave approximately 200,000, while in the latest wave, the number of expelled Serbs (and other non-Albanians) from Kosovo and Metohia has reached a quarter of a million. For a more in-depth look regarding the situation during World War II, see: Ненад Антонијевић, *Албански злочини над Србима на Косову и Метохији за време Другог светског рата. Документа Државне комисије за утврђивање злочина окупатора и њихових помагача*, Музеј жртва геноцида; Крагујевац, 2004 (Nenad Antonijević, *Albanian crimes against the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohia during World War II. Documents of the State Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Helpers*, Museum of Genocide Victims, Крагујевац, 2004); Јован Пејин, *Затирање Срба у Метохији 1941–1944*, Дом културе "Свети Сава", Исток, 2004 (also in English: Jovan Pejin, *The Extermination of the Serbs in Metohia 1941–1944*, „Sveti Sava“ Cultural Center, Istok, 2004); Слободан Милошевић, *Избеглице и пресељеници на територији окупиране Југославије 1941–1945*, Институт за савремену историју & Народна књига, Београд, 1981. (Slobodan Milošević, *Refugees and Displaced Persons on the Territory of Occupied Yugoslavia 1941–1945*, Institute for Contemporary History & Narodna knjiga, Belgrade, 1981).

⁵ Предраг Живанчевић, *Емигранти. Насељавање Косова и Метохије из Албаније*, Експортпрес, Београд, 1989 (Predrag Živančević, *Immigrants. Albanian Colonization of Kosovo and Metohia*, Eksportpres, Belgrade, 1989), pp. 1–204.

⁶ The data about the emigration of Albanians from Albania into Kosovo and Metohia from 1999 and after has been kept under embargo by UNMIK and KFOR. There is no doubt that the number of immigrants from Albania has been significant, which is reflected by a substantial rise in the population of the province during the last decade or so, despite the expulsion of Serbs from Kosovo and Metohia. At the same time, the total number of Albanians in the Balkans has relatively declined: „More than a million people have left Albania, for various reasons... the expected Macedonian census figures show a trend of depopulation not only among the Macedonian but the Albanian population as well.“ (Васил Којчиновски, *Косово на продају*, *НИН*, бр. 2745, 7. август 2003. / Vasil Kojčinovski, *Kosovo on Sale*, *NIN*, No. 2745, August 7, 2003, p. 21).

and endangering its security, especially along its strategic corridors. It should be analyzed thoroughly, especially having in mind the failure of its „international“ „solving.“ This situation requires a greater participation of the Serbian factor in the solution for Kosmet, while the prerequisite of a successful solution to the problem of Kosmet lies in a thorough research, not only of what is being presented here, but of the problem's other aspects: legal, economic, social, political, historical, cultural, geopolitical...

POPULATION AND SETTLEMENTS

Population numbers and structure

According to the population census of 1991, Kosmet had a population of 1,954,747, or almost one fifth of the total population of Serbia. In comparison to the census of 1948, the population of the province had grown by 1,221,713 (an index of 266.7). In the same period, the population of Serbia grew by 50%, of central Serbia by 40.2%, and of Vojvodina by only 22.7%, resulting in a change in the participation of each of these territorial units in the total population of Serbia.

Between 1880 and 1913, the population of Kosmet more than doubled. The reduction in numbers in the census of 1921 relative to that of 1913 can be explained by the emigration of ethnic Turks to Turkey after the breakup of the Ottoman Empire.

The rise in the population of Kosmet recorded in 1948 is a result of the usurpation of the estates belonging to expelled Serbs by Albanians from Albania⁷

⁷ „It would be important here to answer the question regarding how many Albanians were settled on the territory of Kosovo and Metohia up to the end of World War II. But there are no documents about this, which makes the answer impossible. The relevant documentation was deliberately destroyed or removed, both for this and the subsequent period. Another reason for not being able to get at the truth lies in the fact that the birth records in many of the municipalities were reconstructed and founded on inaccurate data after the war. It is a known fact that there are individuals born in Albania whose birth records show that they were born in Yugoslavia. There are also cases in which those born in Albania were presented as having emigrated to Albania before the war (only to come back after it ended). The regime accepted and tolerated such and similar claims. Such actions were a part of an organized process, whose ultimate goal was to change the national composition of the population in Kosovo and Metohia, as a phase in the process of forming an ethnically clean 'Greater Albania'. The process started with the occupation of 1941 and continued in the years following the liberation.“ (Бранислав Божовић & Милорад Вавић, *Сурова времена на Косову и Метохији. Квислинзи и колаборација у Другом светском рату*, Институт за савремену историју, Београд, 1991 / Branislav Božović and Milorad Vavić, *Harsh Times in Kosovo and Metohia. Quislings and Collaboration in World War II*, Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade, 1991, p. 578; see the entire section: Albanian Colonization of Kosovo and Metohia, p. 575–578).

during the time of the occupation (1941–1945).⁸ These Albanian usurpers weren't repatriated to Albania after 1945, while the expelled Serbs were barred from returning by a law passed in 1945.

The significant rise in the population of Kosmet after 1945 brought an increase in the population density by a factor of more than two, i.e. from 67.3 in 1948 to 183.7 people per 1 km² in 1991.

As the rate of population increase in Kosmet relative to the preceding period rose after 1961, it correspondingly decreased in the remaining parts of Serbia.

The biggest factor in such significant changes was the high birthrate, as well as a decrease in the overall mortality rate. The birthrate in Kosmet was more than three times the rate in central Serbia, and did not fall below 29.4 per 1,000 during the entire period from 1948 to 1980. Thus, the great natural population increase in Kosmet was caused by an exceptionally high birthrate among the Shiptar populace.

The net rate of reproduction in Kosmet stabilized at about 2 per 1,000, being greater in 1982 than in 1953. On the other hand, the birthrate in central Serbia and Vojvodina does not even ensure simple reproduction of generations. The effect of the high fertility characteristic of the Shiptar population also affected the age structure, meaning that Kosmet gained an exceptionally young populace. More than half of the total population of Kosmet is made up of young people 19 years of age or below. The percentage of ethnic Albanians in the young population of Kosmet (81.9%) is greater than their percentage in the total population of the province (77.4%), while, in the case of the Serbs, their percentage in the entire population of Kosmet (14.9%) is greater than their percentage in the young populace of Kosmet (10.5%). The young populace dominates in the age structure of the Kosmet Albanians (55.3%), while the elderly (60 or more years of age) make up only 5.9% of the populace. The age structure of the Serbs is dominated by people of middle age, with a significantly smaller participation of young people and a visibly greater participation of the elderly.

Kosmet is mainly populated by ethnic Albanians (Shiptars) and Serbs, while members of other nationalities form a significantly smaller percentage of the populace. Until 1961, no significant changes in national structure took place, and the relative population proportions between the nations and national minorities did not change significantly. In 1953, there was a slight decrease in the percentage of Muslims (from 1.4% to 0.8%), as well as of Shiptars (from 67.9% to 64.3%). At the

⁸ For a more in-depth look, see: Гавро Перазић, Недостаци политике послератне југословенске владе у заштити права прогнаних Срба и Црногораца са Косова и Метохије, *Косовско-метохијски зборник I*, ур. А. Исаковић, САНУ, Међуодељењски одбор за проучавање Косова и Метохије, Београд, 1990. (Gavro Perazić, The Shortcomings of the Yugoslav Government Policy in the Protection of the Rights of Serbs and Montenegrins banished from Kosovo and Metohia, ed. A. Isaković, Inter-departmental Committee for the Study of Kosovo and Metohia, SASA, Belgrade, 1990, pp. 391–405. Also see: Branislav Božović & Milorad Vavić, *Harsh Times...*, pp. 554–575).

same time, the percentage of Turks increased (from 0.2% to 4.2%). The reason for this certainly lies in differently reported nationality from census to census. In 1961, the percentage of Roma decreased from 1.5% to 0.3%, while those declaring themselves as Yugoslav appeared for the first time, numbering 5,206, or 0.5%.

The censuses of 1971, 1981 and 1991 show that large populations increase occurred in Kosmet after 1961 due to a high rate of natural population increase. At the same time, a significant change in the national structure of the populace took place, resulting in evident changes in the share of the affected peoples and national minorities in the total populace.⁹ The number of Serbs and Turks decreased in absolute terms, with an accompanying increase in the number of ethnic Albanians, Muslims and Roma. The percentage of Serbs decreased from 23.6% in 1961 to 18.3% in 1971, 13.2% in 1981 and 10% in 1991. The percentage of Montenegrins fell from 3.9% to 2.5%, to 1.7%, and, finally, to 1% in the corresponding census years. The percentage of Shiptars, increased from 67.1% in 1961 to 73.7% in 1971, 77.4% in 1981 and 82.2% in 1991. The percentage of Muslims rose from 0.8% (1961) to 2.1% (1971), to 3.7% (1981), but decreased to 2.9% in 1991; the percentage of Roma grew from 0.3% to 1.2%, 2.1% and 2.2%; the percentage of Turks steadily decreased, from 2.7% in 1961 to 1% in 1971, 0.8% in 1981, and 0.6% in 1991. The population of other ethnic group members stagnated at about 3,000 or, in percentages, at about 0.3% and 0.2%, all the way up to 1991, when it increased to about 9,000 or 0.5%. The number of people declaring themselves as Yugoslavs in 1961 equaled 5,206, or 0.5%, in 1981 it was 2,676 or 0.2%, and in 1991 3,070 or 0.2%.

During the observed 30-year period there was a significant absolute decrease in the percentage of Serbs in the total population of Kosmet. This phenomenon can primarily be explained by Serb emigration, which became highly intensive during this period, as a result of psychological and other pressures and violence, which especially gained in intensity after 1968, the year when Shiptar separatist tendencies came out into the open for the first time.

⁹ „...the cadres of the Provincial Bureau of Statistics, with the aid of Albanian political parties, doctored the 1981 census results to a significant degree, raising *ad bene placitum* the number of Albanians in the province by the method of classifying groups of ethnic Turks, Roma, Egyptians, Gorani, Ashkali, Circassians and others as Albanians; also included in the census were those who had emigrated from the province and deceased Albanians classified as still living, plus the number of newborn children was fictitiously raised.“ (Слађана Недельковић, Извори за истраживање кретања и структуре становништва – са посебним освртом на структуру становништва према брачном стању, *Зборник Матице српске за друштвене науке*, 118–119, Нови Сад, 2005 / Slađana Nedeljković, Sources for Investigating Population Movement and Its Structure – with a Closer Examination of the Population Structure According to Marital Status, *Matica Srpska, Proceedings for Social Sciences*, 118–119, Novi Sad, 2005, p. 322).

*Migrational saldo of the total populace,
ethnic Albanians and Serbs, 1961–1981*

During the twenty-year period between 1961 and 1981, 87,478 more people emigrated from Kosmet than immigrated into it. Nevertheless, the population of the province increased by 620,452, thanks to a high natural population increase, which equaled 707,830. During the same period, the number of Shiptars increased by 580,131, with the note that Shiptar immigrants outnumbered Shiptar emigrants by 43,947, while the total increase in the number of Shiptars by 536,184 is a result of their natural population increase, which amounted to 92.4% of the total population increase in the province. In the case of the Serbs, however, their negative migrational saldo equaling -112,631 is a result of their emigration from Kosmet. The greater negative average rate of the Serb immigrational saldo in the second half of the observed twenty-year period shows that the intensity of their emigration was stronger in the period between 1971 and 1981.

Changes in national structure and population numbers by municipality

In the period between 1961 and 1981, the only municipality in which the total population did not increase was Leposavić, which had a Serb majority (91.9% in 1961 and 88.6% in 1981, with Montenegrins making up 0.2 and 0.5%, respectively), and where the total population decreased by 10.9%. The population increase in the other municipalities ranged from 12.2% in Kosovska Kamenica to 104.9% in Priština.

Besides Priština, exceptional population increases (i.e. greater than the Kosmet average of 64.4%) took place in the municipalities of Prizren (92.1%), Glogovac (83.8%), Uroševac (78.4%), Djakovica (73.1%), Orahovac (72.5%), Suva Reka (71.1%), Dragaš (66.6%), Peć (66.7%) and Vučitrn (64.7%). This significant population rise in all municipalities (except Leposavić), despite a negative migrational saldo¹⁰ in 17 municipalities in the period between 1961 and 1971, and in 19

¹⁰ In the 1961–1971 period, the following municipalities had a positive migrational saldo: Priština (with a migrational rate saldo of 12.3%), Prizren (3.7%), Peć (2.8%), Uroševac (1.3%) and Kosovska Mitrovica (0.4%). In the next ten-year period, three municipalities – Priština with a rate of 5.3%, Prizren (3.8%) and Uroševac (1.7%) kept their immigrational character, while the remaining two became emigrational, with Peć having a rate of -3.2%, and Kosovska Mitrovica an even more pronounced rate of -9.2%. It is characteristic that the percentage of Serbs in the total population of these two municipalities in the period between 1961–1981 fell by a factor of about two (from 32.3% to 16% in Peć and from 45.2% to 26.5% in Kosovska Mitrovica). Keeping in mind the facts that the numbers and percentages of Shiptars grew in both the municipalities, and that both had a high rate of natural increase, it may be concluded that the reason for their change of status to emigrational municipalities lay in an increase in the number of Serbs that left them.

municipalities in the period between 1971 and 1981 is, in the first place, a result of the high birthrate among the Shiptar population.

The rise in the population of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohia as a whole equals 89.7%, being especially drastic in Priština, where the Shiptar population increased by a factor of 2.4 within twenty years (the total population of this municipality having doubled) and in the Uroševac municipality, in which the population grew by a factor of 2.1. Leaving aside the Leposavić and Kosovska Mitrovica municipalities, the number of Shiptars increased by a factor of over 1.6, with above-average growth being achieved in nine municipalities. In addition to Priština and Uroševac, these were: Vučitrn, with a growth of 99.4%, Dragaš (99.3%), Gnjilane (96.6%), Prizren (93.3%), Peć (92.5%), Glogovac (90.2%) and Kosovska Mitrovica (90%).

The number of Serbs¹¹ declined in 1981 relative to 1961 by 10.6%. Their numbers increased only in Priština (by 29.3%), where, however, the population of Shiptars grew by 143.9%, and the total population by 104.9%, and in the Gnjilane municipality, in which the increase was symbolic (by only 210 people, or 1.3%).¹² In all other municipalities, the number of Serbs declined, by percentages ranging from 2% in the Prizren municipality, to 94.7% in the Glogovac municipality, where the Serb population fell from 599 in 1961 to only 32 in 1981.

The Serb population declined significantly (by more than 20%) in ten municipalities. Besides Glogovac, these were: Podujevo (by 70.4%), Kačanik (64.9%), Srbica (63.1%), Dečani (61.6%), Dragaš (41.2%), Vučitrn (33.5%), Istok (25.6%), Djakovica (22.7%) and Vitina (20.5%).

In 1961, these ten municipalities had a total population of 330,854, while the 1981 census recorded 525,302, for a total population increase of 194,448 or 58.8%. The Serb population in 1961 equaled 55,998, and only 34,149 in 1981, a decrease by 21,849, or 39%. At the same time, the Shiptar population in 1961 equaled 256,323, while in 1981 it stood at 462,267, amounting to an increase of 205,944, or 78.3%. The percentage of Serbs in the total population of these ten municipalities fell from 16.9% to only 6.5% in 1981, while the percentage of Shiptars increased from 77.5% to 88%.

In regard to their national structure, all the Kosmet municipalities, except for Leposavić, may be divided into three groups:

1. *First group* made up of 7 municipalities with a drastic decline in the percentage of Serbs in the observed 20-year period: Glogovac, where their percentage decreased by a factor of 27, Podujevo (4.92), Kačanik (4.50), Srbica (4.23), Dečani (4.11), Dragaš (3.0) and Vučitrn (2.48). In 1961, these 7 municipalities had a total population of 210,163, while, according to the census of 1981, their population

¹¹ Here (and in further text) „Serbs“ stands for „Serbs and Montenegrins.“

¹² Despite a slight increase in the Serb population in these two municipalities, their percentage against the total population decreased from 37.9% to 24.3% (a factor of 1.56) in the Priština municipality, and from 35.8% to 22.6% (factor of 1.58) in the Gnjilane municipality.

had grown to 335,156, for a total increase of 124,993, or 59.5%. The number of Serbs in 1961 equaled 27,377, but only 12,158 in 1981, for a total decrease of 15,210, or 55.6%. The number of Shiptars increased from 168,896 in 1961, to 303,602, i.e. by 134,706 or 79.8%. The percentage of Serbs in these 7 municipalities against the total population declined from 13% in 1961 to only 3.6% in 1981, while the percentage of Shiptars rose from 80.4% to 90.6%.

2. *Second group* consisting of municipalities in which the proportion of the Serb population declined to approximately one half of the percentage in 1961, or to between 45–56% of the previous proportion. These are the municipalities of: Djakovica, Orahovac, Peć, Istok, Suva Reka, Prizren, Klina, Uroševac, and Vitina. In 5 of these 9 municipalities, the Serbs made up a significant percentage of the total population in 1961: Istok, with a 38.2% Serb population in 1961, Peć (32.3%), Vitina (31.9%), Uroševac (31.1%) and Klina (27.7%).

3. *Third group* consisting of 5 Kosmet municipalities in which the Serb population in 1961 also formed a significant portion of the population (from 28.8% in the Lipljan municipality to 44.8% in Kosovska Mitrovica), but in which the percentage of Serbs in 1981 was smaller by a factor of 1.32–1.69, declining to between 60–70% of the 1961 total. This group is made up of Priština and Kosovska Mitrovica, which belong to the group of the most developed Kosmet municipalities, along with Kosovska Kamenica, Lipljan and Gnjilane.

The Leposavić municipality, in which the percentage of Serbs also partly declined, doesn't fall under any of the above groups, due to the fact that the Serbs made up the majority in both 1961 and 1981.

According to the 1961 census, the percentage of Shiptars exceeded 90% in only two municipalities (Glogovac 96.5% and Kačanik 94%). However, by 1981, Shiptars made up more than 90% of the population in 8 municipalities: Glogovac (99.8%), Kačanik (97.9%), Srbica (97%), Dečani (96.4%), Podujevo (95.6%), Djakovica (95%), Suva Reka (93.6%) and Orahovac (92.2%).

According to the 1981 census, the percentage of Serbs fell below 10% in 11 municipalities: Vučitrn, Glogovac, Dečani, Dragaš, Djakovica, Kačanik, Orahovac, Podujevo, Prizren, Srbica and Suva Reka. In these municipalities taken together, the percentage of Serbs declined from 13.4% in 1961 to 5.3% in 1981, while the percentage of Shiptars increased from 80.7% to 87.5%. In 7 of these 11 municipalities, the percentage of Serbs in 1961 equaled or exceeded 11%, only to decline by a factor between 1.96 (Prizren) and 4.92 (Podujevo) in 1981. Thus, in the Vučitrn municipality, the percentage of Serbs declined from 24.5% to 9.9%, in Podujevo from 18.7% to 3.8%, Prizren from 17.8% to 9.1%, Orahovac from 14.2% to 6.9%, Suva Reka from 12.2% to 6%, Dečani from 11.5% to only 2.8% and Srbica from 11% to only 2.6%.

Number and basic characteristics of settlements

The total area of Kosmet, which equals 10,887 km², contains 1,445 settlements. With a median settlement density of 13.3 per 100 km², an average settlement size of 7.5 km² and an average population of only 1,096 per settlement in 1981 (excluding municipal centers, the average population equaled 769), it is obvious that the settlements in Kosmet are characterized by great atomization.¹³

The tendency of forming ethnically clean areas – as a consequence of Serb emigration on the one hand, and the natural population increase among the Shiptars on the other – was a reflection of fundamental changes in the national structure of the population of Kosmet, and can be fully observed in the changes that took place in the national structure of settlements in the previous time period.

The total number of settlements in Kosmet increased by a total of 7 in the period between 1961 and 1981, i.e. from 1,438 to 1,445. At the same time, the number of settlements without Serbs grew from 338 to 606, i.e. by 268 settlements, or by 79.3%, or a factor of 1.8. According to the 1961 census, these settlements made up 23.5% of the total number of settlements, while in 1981, their percentage reached 41.9%. An especially high number of settlements without Serbs was located in the municipalities of Djakovica and Kosovska Kamenica, in which the number of such settlements increased by a factor of almost 3.6 by 1981. In 5 municipalities (Vučitrn, Podujevo, Priština, Peć and Klina), the number of settlements without Serbs more than doubled, increasing by a factor between 2.1 to 2.3. In 1961, the Istok municipality did not have a single settlement without Serbs, only to have 4 such settlements by 1981. Only in the Leposavić municipality did the number of such settlements decrease, from 3 in 1961 to 2 in 1981.

According to the 1981 census, there were 13 Kosmet municipalities in which 50% or fewer of the settlements were without Serbs (Vitina, Vučitrn, Dečani, Istok, Kosovska Kamenica, Klina, Leposavić, Peć, Podujevo, Prizren, Priština, Kosovska Mitrovica and Uroševac). There were 4 municipalities where between one half and two-thirds of the settlements had no Serbs in 1981 (Gnjilane, Dragaš, Djakovica and Lipljan), while there were 5 municipalities with over two-thirds of settlements without Serbs (Glogovac, Kačanik, Orahovac, Srbica and Suva Reka).

The process of forming ethnically pure Shiptar areas becomes obvious not only in the absolute and relative increase in the number of settlements without Serbs, or in the decrease in the number of settlements in which Serbs could be found, but also through visible changes in the ethnic structure of settlements in which Serbs still lived. The figures reveal an intensive Serb emigration from these settlements.

¹³ In comparison, Vojvodina, with almost double the surface area of Kosmet, has 3 times fewer settlements (464), a median settlement density of 2.2 per 100 km² average settlement size of 46.3 km² and a population of 4,385 per settlement.

It is noticeable that, in the 1961–1981 period, the Serbs were more rapidly being pushed out of settlements in the municipalities bordering Albania (Dečani, Djakovica, Prizren, Dragaš), from central Kosmet (Orahovac, Suva Reka, Glogovac, Srbica, Vučitrn, Lipljan) and settlements bordering south-central Serbia (especially the Podujevo municipality, and parts of the Priština and Kosovska Kamenica municipalities bordering the municipalities of Medvedja, Bujanovac, Vranje and Preševo).

In terms of settlement areas, the Serbs essentially concentrated themselves in *two groups*.

First group consisting of settlements in the municipalities of Peć, Istok, Klina, the western portion of Kosovska Mitrovica and Leposavić. This group contained a total of 320 settlements in 1981, or 38% of all settlements in which Serbs lived, with a population of 78,171 or 33% of the total Serb population of Kosmet.

Second group consisting of settlements in the municipalities of Uroševac, Prizren, Suva Reka, Vitina, Gnjilane, Lipljan, Priština and Kosovska Kamenica. In 1981, this group contained 307 settlements, or 36.6% of all Serb-populated settlements, with a population of 138,111, or 58% of the total number of Serbs in Kosmet.

The above-mentioned groups made up three quarters (74.6%) of all Serb-populated settlements, in which nine-tenths (91%) of the total population of Serbs in Kosmet resided.

The remaining Serb-populated settlements were mostly isolated, being to a much lesser extent tied to larger compact wholes.

SERB-POPULATED SETTLEMENTS

General overview

According to the 1981 census, Serbs lived in 839 out of the total 1,445 settlements in Kosmet.

This number includes settlements with very small numbers of Serbs, even if that number was one.

According to the 1981 census, there were 366 settlements with 1–50 Serbs, or 43.6% of the total number of settlements populated by Serbs in that year. In 1981, a total of only 6,016 Serbs were counted in these 366 settlements, for an average of 16 per settlement. At the same time, the number of Shiptars in this same group of settlements equaled 268,815, or 734 per settlement. This means that, on average, the number of Shiptars per settlement was about 45 times greater than the number of Serbs.

The remaining 437 settlements at the time of the 1981 census had 50 or more Serbs. The total number of Serbs in these settlements equaled 230,509, while the number of Shiptars was about 2.3 times greater (538,718). When settlements with 50

or more Serbs from the Leposavić municipality¹⁴ and the remaining 20 municipal centers¹⁵ are excluded, we are left with a group of 401 settlements with 50 or more Serbs. The 1981 census recorded 135,281 Serbs in these settlements, and 196,729 Shiptars, or about 1.5 times more. The average number of Serbs per settlement equaled 337, while the average number of Shiptars equaled 491.

Settlements with over 90% Serbs and settlements with over 90% Shiptars

The figures from the 1981 census show that the Serb populace was almost entirely expelled from more than one third of the Kosmet municipalities, or 36.4% (Glogovac, Dečani, Djakovica, Kačanik, Orahovac, Podujevo, Srbica and Suva Reka), and that the process of ethnically cleansing the Serbs from these municipalities was almost completed by 1981.

Out of the total of 1,445 settlements in Kosmet in 1981, there were 232 settlements in which Serbs made up 90% or more of the total population, and 899 settlements in which Shiptars made up 90% or more of the population. This means that 78% of all the Kosmet settlements were those with a very high degree of ethnic homogenization, with Serb settlements making up 16.1% and Shiptar settlements 62.2% of the total number of such settlements. In 1981, 232 Serb-populated settlements had a total of 69,184 Serbs (an average of 299 per settlement), which made up 29.3% of the total number of Serbs in Kosmet. In the same year, the 899 Shiptar settlements had a total of 785,951 Shiptars (an average of 874 per settlement), or 64.1% of their total number. Serbs lived in 312 of the above-mentioned 899 settlements. The population of Shiptars in these settlements equaled 381,884 or an average of 1,224 per settlement. It is obvious that the Serb settlements were much less populous than the Shiptar settlements (for example, in 1981 there were 47 settlements with an exclusively Serb population, but their population ranged between 5 and 50, and there were 30 exclusively Serb-populated settlements with a population between 50 and 100 people).

Among settlements with a population of 500 or below, 29.6% were settlements with an above-90% Serb population and 55.2% with an above-90% Shiptar population. Only 6% of the settlements with a population between 501 and 2000 were above-90% Serb, while 69% of these had an above-90% Shiptar population. Only one settlement with a population between 2001 and 5000 had an above-90% Serb population – Leposavić, with a total of 2,281 residents. On the other hand, in

¹⁴ The Leposavić municipality had 69 (out of a total of 71) settlements populated by Serbs, who made up 89.1% of the total population of this municipality in 1981 (with Shiptars accounting for 5.1% and others for 5.8%). Not counting the municipal center, there were 52 settlements with more than 50 Serbs, while 16 fell belonged to the group of 366 total settlements with 1–50 Serbs.

¹⁵ The municipal centers of Glogovac, with 19 Serbs, and Kačanik, with 27 Serbs, are already included in the group of settlements with 1–50 Serbs.

the same group, there were 52 settlements with an above-90% Shiptar population. Actually, Leposavić is the only settlement with a population above 2,000 with an above 90% Serb population.

*Changes in numbers and national structure
of the population in municipal centers*

The basic characteristics of population changes in Kosmet in the period between 1961 and 1981 were: population growth in all municipalities (except for Leposavić), an exceptionally rapid rise of the Shiptar population in all municipalities without exception, a noticeable decline in the number of Serbs in all municipalities (except for Priština and Gnjilane). Such population changes resulted in a significant increase in the percentage of Shiptars and a decline in the percentage of Serbs in the total population of Kosmet, as well as in all the respective municipalities. At the same time, there was a marked increase in the number of settlements (by 268) entirely empty of Serbs.

The intensity of Serb emigration was conspicuously stronger in areas outside of the municipal centers. This is understandable due to the fact that the Serbs in rural areas were, as a rule, more directly and to a greater extent exposed to various kinds of pressure, threats to their property and personal safety, trespassing, etc., which, along with an accompanying Shiptar interest in purchasing their property, contributed to their decisions to emigrate from Kosmet.

Another of Kosmet's demographic characteristics was a rapid rise in the populations of municipal centers, which was a partial consequence of a process of migration from rural to urban areas.

The number of Shiptars rose both relatively and absolutely in all municipal centers, at a rate much greater than those in other settlements. The basic reason for the increase in the Shiptar population was their extremely high birthrate, both in urban and in rural areas.

The 1981 Serb population increased in comparison to the 1961 population in 14 municipal centers (Priština, Vitina, Gnjilane, Djakovica, Istok, Klina, Kosovska Kamenica, Leposavić, Lipljan, Orahovac, Peć, Prizren, Kosovska Mitrovica and Uroševac), while decreasing in the remaining 8 municipal centers (Vučitrn, Glogovac, Dečani, Dragaš, Kačanik, Podujevo, Srbica and Suva Reka).

The increase in the Serb population in these 14 municipal centers is primarily a result of migration from other settlements, due, among other things, to the greater security of the former. However, even in these settlements, the increase in the Shiptar population is much greater: the index of population increase among the Shiptars equals 288.5, while the Serb population increase index equals 129.9, meaning that the rate of Shiptar population increase was 6.5 times greater.

In 1961, Serbs were more numerous than Shiptars in 8 municipal centers (Vitina, Dragaš, Istok, Klina, Kosovska Kamenica, Leposavić, Lipljan and Srbica), while in 1981 this number fell to just 3 (Vitina, Leposavić and Lipljan).

Almost a third (30.9%) of the Serb population of Kosmet lived in municipal centers in 1981. These centers can be classified into five groups according to the percentage of Serb population in the total population of each of the 22 Kosmet municipal centers:

First group – municipal centers in which Serbs make up *less than 1%* of the population. Kačanik and Glogovac fall into this group.

Second group – municipal centers in which Serbs make up between *1% and 10%* of the population. Six municipal centers fall into this group: Vučitrn, Dragaš, Podujevo, Srbica, Djakovica and Suva Reka.

Third group – municipal centers in which Serbs make up between *one tenth and one fifth* of the population. There are 8 municipal centers in this group: Prizren, Dečani, Uroševac, Gnjilane, Orahovac, Priština, Kosovska Mitrovica and Peć.

Fourth group – municipal centers in which Serbs make up between *one fifth and one third* of the population. This group includes three municipal centers: Klina, Kosovska Kamenica and Istok.

Fifth group – municipal centers in which Serbs make up *over one half* of the population. This group includes three municipal centers: Lipljan, Vitina and Leposavić.

The magnitude of both the absolute and the relative fall in the number of Serbs in Kosmet cannot be explained solely by the difference in natural population increase, even though it had the dimensions of a demographic explosion among the Shiptars. The rate of the relative decrease in the Serb population undoubtedly points to the conclusion that its main cause lies in the emigration of Serbs from Kosmet.

Changes in the numbers and national structure of the populations in border municipalities and settlements

Changes in the national structure of border municipalities and settlements are especially important from a standpoint of the security of the state.

Border municipalities. Dečani, Dragaš, Djakovica and Prizren are the Kosmet municipalities that border Albania. In 1961, on the territory of these municipalities lived 17.6% and, in 1981, 19.1% of the population of Kosmet. In 1981, the vast majority of the population in these municipalities was made up of Shiptars. In the Dečani municipality they made up 96%, in Djakovica 95%, in Prizren 69.9%, and in Dragaš 53.1% of the total population. In the Dragaš municipality, 45.5% of the population was made up of Gorans, while in the Prizren municipality Muslims and Turks made up 18.5% of the population.

All the border municipalities underwent a significant population increase between 1961 and 1981, which, except for the Prizren municipality, was exclusively the result of natural increase, since all the said municipalities, again with the exception of Prizren, were emigrational. Thus, natural population increase made up for 93.9% of the absolute population rise in Prizren, and in all the other municipalities the natural increase was greater than the total population increase.

Since almost four-fifths of the population of border municipalities was made up of Shiptars, these Kosmet municipalities were also characterized by a large percentage of young people (52.3%). According to the census figures from 1981, over 54% of the Shiptar population was below 19 years of age, while among the Serbs this percentage comes to slightly below 35%. In the young population of the border municipalities the Shiptars made up 81.8% and the Serbs 3.8%. Working-age population made up 58.1% of the total of these municipalities, with almost three-fourths of the Serbs and over one half of the Shiptars (56.2%) belonging to this group.

In the observed twenty year period, the Shiptar population on the territory of the border municipalities increased by 110,888 or 86.5%, and their percentage in the total population increased from 75.4 to 79%. As a consequence of emigration, as well as their smaller natural rate of increase relative to the Shiptars, the number of Serbs decreased by 2,280 or 11.7%, and the percentage of Serbs in the total population of these municipalities decreased from 11.5% in 1961 to 5.7% in 1981. Thus, the percentage of the Serb population in border municipalities halved in the space of twenty years.

In comparison to the other Kosmet municipalities, the number of Serbs in border municipalities fell more rapidly both in absolute and in relative terms. The Serb population in Kosmet municipalities excluding the border ones fell by 10.5% during the observed period, while its percentage against the whole fell from 30.9% to 17.1%, or 1.8 times.

The more rapid emigration of Serbs from border municipalities is also reflected in the increase in the number of settlements in which no Serbs remained. In the border municipalities, the number of settlements without Serbs increased by 54 between 1961 and 1981, or 1.9 times, while in other settlements it increased 1.8 times. Settlements without any Serbs made up one fourth and in 1981 almost one half (47.9%) of the total number of settlements in the border municipalities. The process of the ethnic cleansing of the Serbs and the formation of exclusively Shiptar settlements was especially conspicuous in the Djakovica municipality.

Border settlements. There are a total of 23 border settlements – those whose cadastre units directly border Albania.

The total number of 138 Serbs in these settlements was symbolic even in 1961, while in 1981 it was reduced even further, to a mere 55 residents. In 1961, there were no Serbs in 4 border settlements (2 in the Djakovica municipality and one

in the Prizren municipality), while, according to the 1981 census, there were no Serbs in 15 border settlements, of which 8 belonged to the Djakovica municipality. The population of Serbs in the 8 border settlements in which they could still be found in 1981 was quite negligible, ranging between 1 and 17.

THE NATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION IN 1981 AND 1991

Since the Shiptars boycotted the 1991 census, the following analysis of the national structure of the population of Kosmet is based on an estimate of the Provincial Statistical Bureau of Kosovo and Metohia.

Due to the significant changes made in Kosmet's municipal political-territorial division in the period between 1981 and 1991, the census figures from 1981 have been adjusted in order to be comparable with the data for the municipalities covered by the census of 1991. Territorial changes took place in the following municipalities: Glogovac,¹⁶ Klina,¹⁷ Kosovska Mitrovica,¹⁸ Lipljan,¹⁹ Orahovac,²⁰ Priština,²¹ Suva Reka²² and Uroševac.²³ The Dragaš municipality was terminated, and two new ones formed in its place: Gora and Opolje.²⁴ Also in this period, the following new municipalities were formed: Zvečan, Zubin Potok, Kosovo Polje, Mališevo,²⁵ Novo Brdo, Obilić, Štimlje and Štrpce.

The trends observed between the 1961 and the 1981 censuses continued in the following decade. In 1991, relative to 1981, the number of Serbs decreased by 21,170 (from 236,526 in 1981 to 215,356 in 1991), while the number of Shiptars increased by 380,854 (from 1,226,736 in 1981 to 1,607,690 in 1991). In other words, just the increase in the number of Shiptars in a span of ten years is greater

¹⁶ The municipality was reduced by the removal of the settlements of Beriša and Trpeza to the Mališevo municipality.

¹⁷ The municipality was reduced by the removal of the settlements that were attached to the new Mališevo municipality.

¹⁸ Municipality reduced by the removal of settlements to the new municipalities of Zubin Potok and Zvečan.

¹⁹ Municipality reduced by the removal of settlements to the new municipality of Štimlje.

²⁰ Municipality reduced by the removal of settlements to the new municipality of Mališevo.

²¹ Municipality reduced by the removal of settlements to the new municipalities of Kosovo Polje, Novo Brdo and Obilić.

²² Municipality reduced by the removal of settlements to the new municipality of Mališevo

²³ Municipality reduced by the removal of settlements to the new municipalities of Štimlje and Štrpce.

²⁴ This municipality was in the meantime attached to the Prizren municipality

²⁵ This municipality was disbanded in November of 1991, and all its settlements returned to the municipalities from which they were removed during the formation of the Mališevo municipality in 1985.

than the total number of Serbs in Kosmet in 1991. This resulted in a further decrease in the percentage of Serbs against the total population of Kosmet by 3.9 percentage points, i.e. from 14.9% to 11% in 1991. The percentage of Shiptars in the total population of Kosmet in this period increased by 4.8%, i.e. from 77.4% in 1981 to 82.2% in 1991.

The national structure of the population by municipality

During this period, each of the 31 municipalities saw a decrease in the percentage of the Serb population relative to the population as a whole. The biggest decline in the percentage of Serbs relative to the total population happened in the newly formed municipalities of Novo Brdo (the percentage of Serbs was reduced by over two-fifths, i.e. from 74.1% in 1981 to 31.4% in 1991) and Zubin Potok (a reduction of more than one third, i.e. from 88.9% in 1981 to 53.2% in 1991). In 6 Kosmet municipalities, the percentage of Serbs decreased by more than 5%: Istok (-6.5), Kosovska Kamenica (-5.5), Gnjilane (-5.4), Priština (-5.3), Klina (-5.2) and Zvečan (-5.0). In the remaining Kosmet municipalities, this reduction ranged from 4.7% in the Peć municipality to 0.2% in the Štimlje municipality. In addition, the reduction was greater in those municipalities in which the Serb population formed a large percentage, which indicates that the process of Serbs emigration from Kosmet did not abate.

In only 3 Kosmet municipalities (Djakovica, Kosovo Polje and Štimlje) did the percentage of Shiptars decline slightly, primarily because of a greater number of residents declaring themselves as Roma, i.e. those who had, due to Shiptar pressure, during previous censuses declared themselves as Shiptar. For example, in Kosovo Polje, 10.4% of the population declared themselves as Roma in the 1991 census. In all the other Kosmet municipalities, there was an increase in the percentage of Shiptars relative to the total population. The most rapid rise in the percentage of Shiptar population occurred in the municipalities of Zubin Potok, where their percentage increased almost five-fold (factor of 4.78), Novo Brdo, in which their percentage more than doubled (factor of 2.45), and Zvečan, in which the percentage of Shiptars in 1991 increased relative to 1981 by 1.34 times. Since all 4 of the above-mentioned municipalities had a Serb majority in 1981 (Novo Brdo in 1991 no longer had a Serb majority), this change in the national structure also testified to a continued emigration of Serbs from Kosmet.

Municipalities with a Serb or Shiptar majority

In 1981, there were 5 Kosmet municipalities with a Serb population of over 50%: Lepsavić (89.1% Serbs), Zubin Potok (88.9%), Zvečan (86.8%), Novo Brdo (74.1%) and Štrpce (68%). By 1991, however, their number was down to 4, with the

Serbs losing their majority in the Novo Brdo municipality, their percentage falling to below one third of the total population.

Between 1981 and 1991, the number of municipalities with a Shiptar majority increased from 25 to 26. Thus, in 1981 there were only 6, and in 1991 only 5 municipalities in which Shiptars didn't make up over 50% of the population. Additionally, in one of these municipalities (Gora) – Gorans were the majority population, making up 94.1% of the population in 1981 and 94% in 1991.

The Serb municipalities are not only smaller in number but also smaller in size than the Shiptar-majority municipalities. Thus, in 1981, the Serb-majority municipalities had only 3.3% of the entire population of Kosmet, while those with a Shiptar majority contained 95.6%. In 1991, these percentages were 5.2% and 92.4%, respectively, with the population in the Serb municipalities increasing as a consequence of both an absolute and a relative growth of the Shiptar population in them.

In 1981, the Serbs who lived in Serb-majority municipalities made up 19.7% of the total Serb population in Kosmet, while in 1991 their percentage fell to only 15%. On the other hand, the Shiptars who lived in Shiptar majority municipalities made up 99.2% of the entire Shiptar population of Kosmet in 1981, and 94% in 1991. These figures indicate a dispersiveness and lack of concentration of the Serb population in Kosmet, as opposed to the exceptional concentration of Shiptars in „their“ municipalities.

The average population of Serb-majority municipalities in 1981 equaled 8,520, while by 1991 it had fallen to 8,086. The average population of Shiptar majority municipalities in 1981 equaled 48,680, climbing to 60,941 by 1991.

Ethnically pure municipalities

A territory, in this case a municipality, is considered „ethnically pure“ if the members of one nationality make up over 90% of its population. Both in 1981 and 1991, there were 12 ethnically pure municipalities in Kosmet: 11 with an above-90% Shiptar majority and one with an above-90% Muslim majority. There was not a single municipality in the observed period in which the Serbs made up more than 90% of the population.

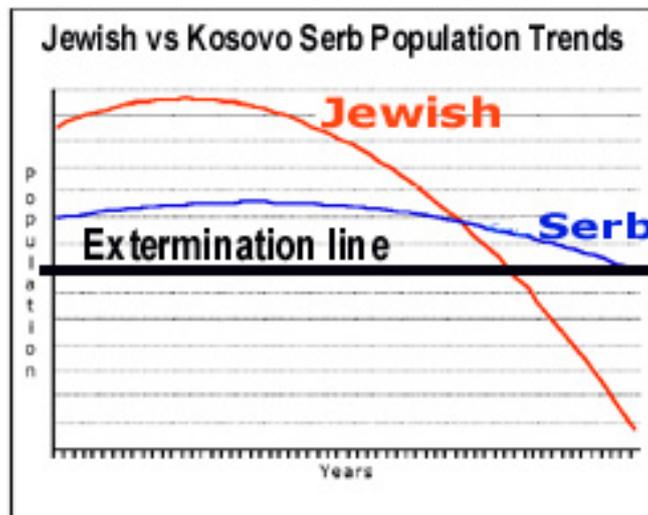
Gora is a municipality in which the Gorans made up 94% of the population in both 1981 and 1991.

Shiptars made up more than 90% of the population in the same 11 municipalities in both 1981 and 1991: Glogovac (99.8% in 1981, and 100% in 1991), Dečani (96.4% and 97.6%), Djakovica (95% and 93.4%), Kačanik (97.9% and 98.5%), Mališevo (95.2% and 98.9%), Opolje (96.8% and 100%), Orahovac (91.9% and 92.1%), Podujevo (95.6% and 98.9%), Srbica (97% and 98.3%), Suva Reka (92.5% and 94.9%) and Štimlje (97.3% and 92.5%).

The average population of these municipalities climbed from 43,128 in 1981 to 65,760 in 1991. The Shiptars who lived in these municipalities made up 38.7% of the total Shiptar population of Kosmet in 1981, and 45% in 1991. Thus, in 1981, over one third and, in 1991, almost one half of the Shiptars lived in „their“ ethnically pure municipalities, with two of these municipalities (Glogovac and Opolje) being exclusively populated by Shiptars in 1991.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

The numbers speak for themselves. A more refined method of analysis would probably only stylize the facts. Nevertheless, there remains a need to examine the phenomenon of the ethnic cleansing of the Serbs from Kosovo and Metohia from a comparative (historical) perspective. This was done by M. Bozinovich in his work, *Kosovo Population and the Evolution of the Serbian Minority*.²⁶ His findings are summarized in the following diagram:



²⁶ *Kosovo Population and the Evolution of the Serbian Minority* by M. Bozinovich, SERBIANNA (USA), July 20, 2005 (<http://www.serbianna.com/columns/mb/004.shtml>)

Часлав Оџић

КОСОВО И МЕТОХИЈА: ЕТНОДЕМОГРАФСКЕ ПРОМЕНЕ
ОД КРАЈА ДРУГОГ СВЕТскоГ РАТА ДО 1991. ГОДИНЕ

Резиме

Основни циљ овог рада јесте да се утврде укупне размере етнодемографских промена на подручју Косова и Метохије у време комунистичке владавине у Југославији, као и да се те промене просторно лоцирају и квантификује на нивоу општина и насеља.

Аутор на основу статистичких података показује да динамика и структура промена националног карактера ове покрајине - њена радикална албанизација и десрбизација – представљају пример драстичног етничког чишћења: само од 1961. до 1981. године с Косова и из Метохије иселило се 42,2% свих косметских Срба и 63,3% свих Срба који су се изјаснили као Црногорци, у односу на њихов број средином посматраног периода (1971).

То етничко чишћење Срба било је условљено како идеолошким мотивима, тако и снажним антисрпским националним и државним интересима: Под утицајем Коминтерне (Резолуција о југословенском питању донета 1926) од критике *српске буржоазије* као „хегемонистичке“, КПЈ прелази на критику *српске нације* као владајуће, угњетачке... КПЈ је била на становишту да комунисти у „самој Србији, где је база хегемонистичког режима, признајући отворено право на отцепљење и право на оружани устанак против националног угњетавања, и проповедајући и сами указујући систематску помоћ покретима угњетених нација“ треба да се боре против „империјалистичке“ политике државног и народног јединства.

Изгон Срба, уз шиптарску демографску експлозију (седамдесетих и осамдесетих година 20. века око 85% природног годишњег прираштаја становништва Републике Србије отпадало је на Шиптаре, тј. етничке, односно косовске Албанце) и насељавање Албанаца из Албаније (у време и после другог светског рата, најновији талас после 1999) и узрок је и последица арбанашког сецесионизма. Владајући врх тзв. друге Југославије систематски је подржавао тај сецесионизам. Истовремено, иако га нису директно подстицали, њега су свакако толерисали и српски властодршци.

Косметски проблем попримио је такве размере, јер је деценијама био табу тема, да данас не само потреса српску државу угрожавајући њену безбедност, него доводи у питање и сам њен опстанак.

Кључне речи: Косово и Метохија, етничко чишћење Срба, 1945–1990, комунистичка идеологија.