

**Nationalism
and Federalism
in Yugoslavia,
1962–1991**
SECOND EDITION

Sabrina P. Ramet

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

BLOOMINGTON AND INDIANAPOLIS

Copyright © 1984, 1992 by Sabrina P. Ramet

All rights reserved

No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher. The Association of American University Presses' Resolution on Permissions constitutes the only exception to this prohibition.

Manufactured in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ramet, Sabrina P., date.

Nationalism and federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962-1991 / Sabrina P.

Ramet. — 2nd ed.

p. cm.

Rev. ed. of: Nationalism and federalism in Yugoslavia,
1963-1983. 1984.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-253-34794-7 (cloth). — ISBN 0-253-20703-7 (paper)

I. Ramet, Sabrina P., date. Nationalism and federalism in
Yugoslavia, 1963-1983. II. Title.

DR1302.R36 1992

320.5'09497—dc20

91-23623

1 2 3 4 5 96 95 94 93 92

Contents

| | |
|---------------|------|
| PREFACE | xi |
| ABBREVIATIONS | xiii |
| INTRODUCTION | xv |

Part I: Interethnic Relations in an Interrepublican Context

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1. The Multinational State as an International System | 3 |
| 2. Nationalism, Regionalism, and the Internal Balance of Power | 19 |
| 3. Yugoslav Nationalities Policy | 40 |

Part II: The Institutional Context in Yugoslavia

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 4. Institutional Mechanisms of Interrepublican Cooperation and Policy Making | 61 |
| 5. Limited Sovereignty: The Autonomy of the Federal Units | 70 |

Part III: Yugoslavia as a Balance-of-Power System

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 6. The Reform Crisis, 1962–71 | 81 |
| 7. The Croatian Crisis, 1967–72 | 98 |
| 8. Controversies in the Economic Sector, 1965–90 | 136 |
| 9. Nationalist Tensions, 1968–90: Muslims, Albanians, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins | 176 |
| 10. Political Debates, 1980–89 | 214 |
| 11. A New Napoleon: The Rise of Slobodan Milošević | 225 |
| 12. The Transformation of Yugoslav Politics | 239 |

13. Civil War
 14. Conclusion

Contents
 252
 270

APPENDIXES

NOTES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INDEX

281
 288
 331
 338

Contents
 Contents
 Contents

Part I: International Relations in an
 International Context

1 The International State as an International System
 2 Yugoslav Foreign Policy and the International Balance
 of Power
 3 Yugoslav Foreign Policy

Part II: The International Context in Yugoslavia

4 International Mechanisms of International
 Cooperation and Policy Making
 5 Limited Sovereignty: The Autonomy of the Federal Units

Part III: Yugoslavia as a Balance-of-Power System

6 The Eastern Crisis, 1962-73
 7 The Croatian Crisis, 1967-73
 8 Yugoslavia in the European System, 1962-69
 9 Yugoslav Foreign Policy, 1962-69: Mission, Methods,
 Goals, Structure, Motivations
 10 Federal Reform, 1969-80
 11 A New System: The Rise of Serbian Nationalism
 12 The Transformation of Yugoslav Foreign Policy

TABLES

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. Predicted Alignment of Yugoslav Federal Units on Reform Issue, 1963 | 17 |
| 2. Actual Alignment of Yugoslav Federal Units in Reform Crisis, 1963-65 | 18 |
| 3. Population of Yugoslavia by Ethnic Group, 1981 | 20 |
| 4. Population of Yugoslavia by Republic, 1981 | 21 |
| 5. Regional Economic Disparities in Yugoslavia, 1990 | 28 |
| 6. Net Personal Income by Republic | 30 |
| 7. Relative Importance of Heavy and Light Industry, 1977 | 31 |
| 8. Structure of Industry as Percent of Social Product, 1977 | 32 |
| 9. National Composition of Office-Holders | 37 |
| 10. Membership of the LC of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Nationality | 125 |
| 11. Economic Growth Rates in Yugoslavia | 139 |
| 12. Share of Republics and Autonomous Provinces in Total Investment in Fixed Assets | 140 |
| 13. Population Growth by Republic | 141 |
| 14. Labor Efficiency by Republic | 142 |
| 15. Per Capita Social Product of the Republics | 143 |
| 16. Structure of Investments in Industry in Kosovo | 146 |
| 17. Disbursement Schedules Considered by FADURK during 1966-70 | 151 |
| 18. Disbursement of FADURK Funds, 1966-75 | 153 |
| 19. Three Criteria for FADURK Eligibility | 156 |
| 20. Disbursement of FADURK Funds, 1976-85 | 157 |
| 21. Disbursement of Federal Funds for Construction of the Belgrade-Bar Railroad | 171 |
| 22. Major Nationality Groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina | 180 |
| 23. Distribution of Ethnic Muslims in Yugoslavia, 1981 | 181 |
| 24. Total Residents and Serbs Living in Croatia, 1948-81 | 206 |
| 25. War Casualties by Republic, 1941-45 | 255 |
| 26. Trends in Alliance Behavior among Yugoslav Republics | 275 |

APPENDIX TABLES

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. Alliance Behavior among the Yugoslav Republics, 1961-90 | 281 |
| 2. Share of Yugoslav Social Product by Republic | 286 |
| 3. Structure of Investments in Industry Financed by FADURK, by Recipient Unit | 287 |

NATIONALISM AND FEDERALISM IN YUGOSLAVIA, 1962-1991

SECOND EDITION

Sabrina P. Ramet

The fragile equilibrium that united Yugoslavia's six republics in a loose federation of disparate nationalities disintegrated as civil war erupted in the summer of 1991. Yet, the national question has dominated Yugoslavia's political agenda throughout its history. This book examines efforts by Yugoslav policy makers for nearly thirty years to find a way to contain ethnic animosities in a federal system. Beginning in the early 1960s Yugoslav communists thought they had found a solution to the national question in the decentralization of power to regional communist parties. But the resulting system foundered on economic stress, problems of interrepublican coordination, pressure for political pluralization, and, after the rise of Slobodan Milošević to power in 1987, the increasing threat of Serbian domination. Milošević's ambitions to recentralize power and erode the autonomy of the republics provoked a reaction that destroyed the Communist Party, led Slovenia and Croatia to declare independence, and catapulted Yugoslavia into civil war.

Relying on extensive interviews in Yugoslavia over a ten-year period and on comprehensive research in Yugoslav and Western sources, Sabrina P. Ramet narrates the history of this crisis-ridden country's efforts to deal with its national problems through a balance-of-power system. Her analysis is up-to-date and far-reaching. Politics, religion, culture, and regional economic conflict are considered as powerful factors in the break up of the Yugoslav federal system at the hands of ascendant nationalism.

SABRINA P. RAMET is Associate Professor of International Studies at the University of Washington. Her most recent publications include *Social Currents in Eastern Europe: The Sources and Meaning of the Great Transformation* and *Balkan Babel: Politics, Culture, and Religion in Yugoslavia*.

Also available in a clothbound edition

ISBN 0-253-34794-7

**INDIANA
UNIVERSITY
PRESS**

Bloomington and
Indianapolis

ISBN 0-253-20703-7



9 00000

9 780253 207036