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THE ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF EX YUGOSLAVIA

Introduction

Yugoslavia as a state was marked by ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural diversity ever since the beginning of its existence. Owing to the specific geographic position, the region was namely at the same time the abuttal and the juncture of the most important religious, political, ideological, cultural and economic currents in Europe and the Balkans. Long before the establishment of the common state, all these factors influenced the nations and other ethnic groups, particularly the economy, lifestyle, cultural and behavioural patterns, and the processes of formation of the national identity. Some of these differences intensified and were preserved in the contact with ethnic diversity, manifesting themselves as ethnic in individual surroundings.

At the time, when the idea of the establishment of the common state emerged, the awareness of "ethnic kindred of the Southern Slavs", was one of the motives and the spiritus agens of the political activities aiming at the association. After the establishment of the common state, Yugoslavia was ethnically, religiously and linguistically very diverse; in the public law concept, however, it was ethnically or nationally homogenous.

The basic principle of the national policy in the period of the first Yugoslavia (1918-1943) was the proclamation of unity of the "three-tribe nation" (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), that are ethnically kin, use the same language but are different in the religions they profess. In this period, the state authorities attempted to carry out this concept by measures, which intervened oppressively in the ethnic structure (e.g. the changes of the administratively-territorial units and their names, deliberate deportations and colonizations, the negation of the possibility of declaring and expressing of one's national identity, and prohibition of the use of the Macedonian language, and some languages of national minorities were all aimed at this end). Despite all this, or precisely because of the spontaneous rebellion against such measures, the ethnic, religious and linguistic differences and characteristics were preserved, as the interventions of the state failed to suppress the process of formation and awakening of individual nations.

The period of the second, federative Yugoslavia (1943-1991) is marked by the considerate approach towards the national and linguistic diversity. The nations and national minorities were ensured equality and respect of diversity, at least at the constitutional and legal level. The administratively-political division of the state was based upon this principle. The republics as independent units, except for Bosnia and Herzegovina, were at the same time the states of individual nations, populating the respective regions. Both the autonomous provinces had a special status, owing to their national structure.

Within the framework of this concept, there was no "state language" or even "uniform nation"; however, some remains of the unitarian concept manifested themselves particularly in the dealing with individual notions such as "common

interests" (zajedništvo), and in the interpretation of the notions such as "the Yugoslav idea" (jugoslovanstvo) and "brotherhood and unity".

The common state was therefore faced with the fact of ethnic diversity throughout its existence. In accordance with the ideological orientations and wider interests (e.g. in its relation towards minorities within the context of relations with the neighbouring states), it tried to influence the inherited situation.

In the relatively short period (73 years), different state measures, intervening in the ethnic structure, were being carried out in the territory of Yugoslavia. There was practically no measure or approach, known from the theory dealing with the regulation of the national or minority issue, that had not been tested in Yugoslavia. The approach varied from utter non-recognition of certain nations (i.e. in the period between the two wars the Montenegrins, Moslems and Macedonians) and Albanians (after the WWII) as well as the negation of rights of individual national minorities, to the deliberate inciting of manifesting of national characteristics and identity. In this way, two new nations were officially promoted after the WWII, i.e. the Moslems and Macedonians.

Contrasting in contents, and mutually excluding measures prove:

- that throughout the existence of Yugoslavia as a state, the awareness of the diversity of the ethnic structure was present, and that measures referring to the regulation of interethnic relations were absolutely necessary;
- that the attitude of this policy towards all nations, national or ethnic communities was not equal, and that it was politics and state interests that prevailed over the actual situation in the implementation of concrete measures.

All the time, the most constant and continuous was the treatment of the three nations - the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Their mutual relations, particularly the relations between the Serbs and Croats with regard to the distribution of political influence, the degree of economic development as well as the attitude towards their own language and culture, indicate certain constancies throughout the entire existence of the common state.

In the time of the establishment of Yugoslavia, the only recognized and constitutive nations were the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which is also reflected in the name - the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. From all the minorities, only the Germans, Hungarians and Italians enjoyed particular international legal protection, while others were denied these rights, so in international as in internal law. In the period following the WWII, the recognized nations were the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Macedonians and Muslims (after 1968). The Yugoslav Albanians were denied the status of a nation also in the post-war period, which was formally and legally substantiated by the fact that their parent nation was the neighbouring state.

The degree and quality of mutual relations evades simple comparison, owing to the specificity of the situation of each of the ethnic groups (nations, minorities and ethnic communities). However, the impression one gets is that conflicts were mostly arising whenever the distribution of political power or struggle for territory was in question. Therefore, the mere presentation of diversity of ethnic structure cannot explain the causes of the past or still lasting violent ethnic conflicts. Approving of the thesis that the dominant component of conflicts is ethnic and therefore inborn and unsolvable, has in the up to now history of Yugoslavia led to drastic measures against individual ethnic groups: from deportations (e.g. of the Turks after 1953 to Turkey, the Germans after WWII, the inciting of emigration of the Italians from the territory of the former Zone B),

to deliberate settling of colonists, as a rule the most "patriotically minded citizens" to the emptied regions (e.g. the Serbians and Montenegrins to Kosovo, the Croats and Serbs to Vojvodina and Istria, etc.)

Particularly grave were the consequences of the WWII, when individual nations and national minorities found themselves in the midst of a bloody civil war, fighting one another also on the ethnic and national basis, respectively. Unfortunately, such atrocities repeated in the years 1991-1992, especially in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Ethnic Structure in the Population Censuses of Yugoslavia

What was the ethnic structure really like and how it changed, is indicated by the data of the population censuses, carried out in the territory of Yugoslavia (in the years 1921, 1931, 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991). Significant as indicators of ethnic structure are: mother tongue, nationality, and religion, which in Yugoslavia separates individual nations and ethnic groups of the same language.

Due to the differences in the methodology of the censuses, the changing of inner territorial and administrative units, and the differences in the territorial extent of Yugoslavia at the time of the censuses, simple comparison of data is not possible. The correlation of the tables can, on the basis of the acquired data, help us ascertain the generally valid indicators of ethnic structure and its changing:

- the territorial distribution of individual nations and ethnic groups
- the percentage of individual ethnic groups within the entire population of Yugoslavia
- the growth indexes of individual ethnic group

All the population censuses, so far carried out in Yugoslavia, recognized the significance of ethnicity. However, the approach to collecting of data was changing with every census. With regard to the specific features of interethnic relations in Yugoslavia, the indexes of the ethnic structure (which can unfortunately not be traced with continuity throughout all the censuses) are: language, nationality and religion.¹

The first population census in Yugoslavia was carried out in 1921. Mother tongue was considered as the statistic denotation in the ascertaining of nationality (the results were published in the publication *Prethodni rezultati popisa stanovništva u Kraljevini SHS, 31.1.1921, Sarajevo, 1924* / The Preliminary

1.

| Census/year | 1921 | 1931 | 1948 | 1953 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 |
|--------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| nationality | - | x | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| mother tong. | + | x | - | + | + | + | + | + |
| religion | + | x | - | + | - | - | - | + |

+ = the question is posed, processed, and the data available

- = the question is not posed

x = the question is posed, but not processed and the data are not available

The census from 1931 contained the column "nationality". However for the citizens of Yugoslav origin, the only possible entry was "Yugoslav". Besides these data were not published.

Results of the Population Census in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Sarajevo, 1924). In the introduction to the publication, the significance of "understanding of the true ethnic proportions for science as well as administration" was emphasized, as this was the first population census following the uniting in the joint state. The purpose of the data collecting was also to ascertain the numerical state and geographic distribution of individual "other nations" (the cited publication mentions them as the "foreign element" on p. 5), that joined in the state community.

Considering the fact, that the entry "Serbo-Croatian" language comprised the mother tongues of several nations, the entry of religion, as one of the indexes of ethnic stratification, is particularly significant for the completion of the ethnic situation ensuing from the 1921 census data.²

In spite of the changes of the subsequent administratively-territorial distributions, the census from 1921, comprising the data per individual provinces, enables the comparison between individual units, reflecting the historic wholes (Serbia - Northern and Southern; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Medjimurje, Krk and Kastav; Slovenia with Prekmurje; Banat, Bačka and Baranja), as the names of these provinces were also preserved in later times.

The censuses from 1948, 1961, 1971, 1981 contained no data on religion. However, the 1953 census comprised the question on religion or "attitude towards religion", i.e. subjective attitude on the part of an individual.³

In 1991 the question on religion was posed again, but the results of the census are at the moment not completely processed and accessible yet.

Regarding the population censuses carried out in Yugoslavia, it is the approach to the interpretation of data that is more indicative for the attitude towards the national issue than the collected data and the manner in which they have been collected. Thus, in the processing of data from the 1921 census, the results concerning the mother tongue are listed under "mother tongue or nationality". The results (table 3) indicated that the Serbian-Croatian-Slovene mother tongue was in majority; it can therefore be stated that the Kingdom of

2. The data indicate that the relative majority among different religions belongs to the Orthodox religion (46,6%), the second is the Roman Catholic religion (39%) and the third the Moslem religion (11,1%). The Orthodox religion has absolute majority in Montenegro (84,3%) and in Serbia (81,3%) - in Northern Serbia 98,4%, in Southern Serbia only 50,4%. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, it has 43,9%, in Banat, Baška and Baranja 34,4%, in Croatia and Slavonia with Medjimurje and a part of Istria 24,1%, in Dalmatia 17%, and in Slovenia 0,6%.

The Roman Catholic religion has absolute majority in Slovenia (96,6%) and in Dalmatia (82,8%), in Croatia and Slavonia (72,7%) and in Banat, Bačka and Baranja (52,2%). There were no atheists.

The Moslem religion had neither absolute nor relative majority in any province. In Bosnia and Herzegovina it was represented with 31,1%, in Serbia with 17,5% (in Northern Serbia 0,6%, in Southern Serbia 47,9%), in Montenegro with 11,4%.

These data indicate that in all other provinces except for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Orthodox or Roman Catholic religion was in absolute majority. In Bosnia and Herzegovina no religion had absolute majority. Relative majority went to the Orthodox religion (43,9%), followed by the Moslem religion (31,1%) and the Roman Catholic religion (23,5%). (A more detailed presentation in table 1).*

3. According to the instructions for the realization of the census, a person of certain religious conviction fills the entry with the corresponding religion, while non-confessional persons declare themselves as such in the entry "non-confessionals". For children younger than 14, their parents' statement is relevant.

(A more detailed presentation in table 2)*.

the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is a nationally homogenous state⁴ (the cited publication, number XXI, item 4).

As mentioned before, the concept of the "second" Yugoslav state was, at least on the formal and legal level, based upon the national recognition of all nations and nationalities. This principle was also applied in the census methodology, ensuing from the standpoint that the manifesting of national adherence is the result of the freely expressed will on the part of inhabitants or the parents (guardians) of children, younger than 10 years (censuses 1948, 1953, 1961) or 15 years respectively (censuses 1971, 1981).

It has to be mentioned, that the answers to the question on national or ethnic adherence anticipated certain modalities with different censuses, especially as regards the options for one's declaring.⁵

In the 1953 census, persons declared as Moslems, as well as nationally non-declared persons were classified as "Yugoslavs - non-declared", while nationally non-declared persons of non-Yugoslav origin were classified as "nationally non-declared". Persons, stating regional appurtenance (e.g. Bokelj /inhabitants of Boka Kotorska; Istrians, etc.) were classified as "Yugoslav - non-declared".

In the 1961 census, there was a new modification concerning the name of the group of Moslems of Yugoslav origin; accordingly, the classification of national Moslems in the sense of ethnic and not religious appurtenance, declared themselves as "Moslems (regarding ethnic appurtenance)". In the same census, the Yugoslavs not wishing to clearly declare themselves nationally were classified as "Yugoslav - nationally non-declared", while the anticipated answer for nationally non-declared citizens was "nationally non-declared". If citizens of Yugoslavia declared themselves in the sense of regional appurtenance (as

4. In all provinces except for Banat, Bačka and Baranja, where they are only in relative majority (37,8%), the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes are in absolute majority (from 81,3% to 98,8%). The Slovenes are densely populated only in Slovenia with Prekmurje (93,2%).

The second in the number of speakers the German language (4,3%) - mostly in Banat, Bačka and Baranja (23,8%), followed by Hungarian (3,9%) - mostly in Banat, Bačka and Baranja (27,7%), and Albanian (3,7%) - mostly in Southern Serbia (28,4%) and Montenegro (8,4%). Among further possible answers, the census lists "Other Slav" languages and "Other" languages (the most numerous among them being the Turkish language with 150.139 speakers).

On the basis of these data, the percentage of the majority population was calculated. The results indicated that the population speaking the Serbo-Croatian and Slovene mother tongue was in absolute majority (50 - 100%), the exceptions being Banat, Bačka and Baranja and Serbia (owing to Southern Serbia). (A more detailed presentation in table 3)

5. In the census from 1948, which did not include a special entry on religion, the Moslems of Yugoslav ethnic origin were supposed to give one of the following answers: Serb-Moslem, Croat-Moslem etc., or non-declared - Moslem. In the processing of the statistic material, Serb-Moslems were annexed to the Serbs, Croat-Moslems to the Croats and Macedonian-Moslems to the Macedonians, while the "non-declared - Moslems" were treated as a special category under the same title. However, in the introductory explanations to the 9th book of results of the 1948 census, "Population according to nationality", the data on the number of Moslems of Yugoslav ethnic origin, having declared themselves as Serb-Moslem, Croat-Moslem, Macedonian-Moslem, or non-declared Moslem were also published. For persons, declaring themselves according to certain regional appurtenance, instructions concerning the revision of the census material anticipated individual treatment. Thus for example, the Dalmatians were annexed to the Croatians, the "Šumadinci" to the Serbs, etc.; as for Bosnians, the revision was carried out on the basis of the concerned person's name. The person was accordingly classified as Serb, Croat or non-declared Moslem. If classification could not be carried out on the basis of these instructions, persons were classified as "other and unknown nationality".

inhabitants of Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Šumadija, etc.), they were classified as "Yugoslav - nationally non-declared".

In the census of 1971, Moslems were presented as "Moslems in the sense of nationality"; persons declaring themselves according to the regional appurtenance, were, in the altered modality, classified as "declared in the sense of regional appurtenance", except in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, where they were classified as "non-declared persons".

In the 1948 census, Austrians, Greeks, Jews, Poles and persons of unknown nationality were classified as "Others".

Until the 1971 census, Ukrainians were treated as Ruthenians, while in the 1971 and 1981 censuses they were already recognized as an ethnic category of its own.

In the censuses of 1971 and 1981⁶, the grouping of population by ethnic parameters was first carried out in two groups: "nationally declared" and "nationally non-declared". Nationally non-declared persons were in 1971 divided into three sub-groups:

1. - nationally non-declared (according to Art. 41 of the Constitution of the SFRY)
2. - declared as Yugoslavs
3. - declared in the sense of regional appurtenance

In the 1981 census, there were again three sub-categories:

1. - non-declared (according to the Art. 170 of the Constitution of the SFRY)
2. - declared as Yugoslavs
3. - declared in the sense of regional appurtenance

Taking into consideration all the above stated explanations, the following population situation of the second Yugoslav state⁷ by individual republics and provinces can be presented: (tables 4 and 5)*

When these data are interpreted in the light of ethnic structure of Yugoslavia, or the data on national adherence, respectively, the following picture is obtained: (table no. 6 *, table no.7*)

It is the numerous ethnic and national minorities that contributed to the ethnic diversity of the Yugoslav territory. The results of the 1981 census reveal 18 minority ethnic groups; in case of comparing of the results of the national self-declaring to the category "mother tongue", as many as 23 ethnic, linguistic, and national minorities can be traced. Both the assertions are based upon the below presented tables: (table 8*, table 9*)

/6/ Source : The Statistic Bulletin no. 1278, Federal Institute for Statistics, Belgrade, March 1982

/7/ The later statistical calculations of the number of inhabitants in regions, that were in the time of the censuses 1948 and 1953 still disputable in the territorial sense (the region of the Free Territory of Trieste), were carried out in such a way that (in 1948) the results of the census of consumers in the former Zone B of the FTT were added to the total number, while the registered number of the inhabitants of the former districts of Koper (Capodistria) and Buje (Buie) from the year 1956 was added to the total number of the 1953 census.

With the territorial demarcations between the republics, lesser territorial changes having taken place between the 1953 and 1961 censuses, should be considered: between Serbia on one side, and Vojvodina and Kosovo on the other to the benefit of both the "autonomous" provinces, between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia as well as between Slovenia and Croatia.

In the presentation of the data of the censuses, it is necessary to verify from case to case, whether the data for Serbia include also the data for SAP Kosovo and Vojvodina, or they are presented separately.

The comparison between the data on national adherence and on mother tongue indicates certain digressions particularly with minority populations. These digressions reflect the processes of ethnic identification and specificity within individual minorities. Thus, for example with the Hungarians, the Roma and the Turks, the percentage of persons that have declared themselves as such, is higher than the percentage of those, who have declared these minority languages to be their mother tongues. As for the other minorities, a trend contrary to the above, is noticeable. (tables 8 and 9)*

II. General observations

The global ethnic structure of the "second" Yugoslavia resembles "leopard skin". The map of settlement of nations and national minorities in individual regions indicates that they are, as the majority population, mostly concentrated in territorially limited minor areas. This particularly applies to the nations with their own republics, with the exception of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it being the state of three nations. According to the data from the 1981 census, Slovenia has the highest share of the majority nation (90,5%), followed by Serbia (85,55%), Kosovo (77,4% of Albanians), and Croatia (75,6%).

The ratio between the nations of South-Slavic origin and minorities (see tables* 6 and 7) does not demonstrate major oscillations; the basic ratio being therefore preserved. However, the inner proportions in both the aforementioned categories have changed essentially. These proportions are changing to the advantage of groups with stronger population growth (Albanians, Moslems, Turks).

Among the nations, the most numerous are the Serbs, living in Serbia as the majority nation. Besides, they live in greater numbers as autochthonous population also in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. The Serbs are followed by the Croats, Moslems, Slovenes (as evident from the table 6, two of the nations changed their places in the scale in the period between the 1961 and 1971 censuses), Macedonians and Montenegrins.

Among the minorities, the most numerous are the Albanians, living above all in Kosovo and the neighbouring regions of Macedonia and Montenegro, followed by the Hungarians, settled in Vojvodina, Slavonia and Prekmurje, and the Turks, the majority of whom is settled in Macedonia.

The recorded statistic data reveal some significant trends of development:

- a gradual decrease of the number of the three constitutive nations in Yugoslavia (the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) along with a slight increase of the number of the Macedonians and Montenegrins,
- a rapid increase of the category of "Yugoslavs" in the period 1971 - 1981 (table 6)
- an increase within the category "minorities", particularly due to the growth of the Albanian population, which was, for different political reasons, still dealt with as a national minority. Other minorities (with the exception of Turks and Roma) were in permanent decline, so in absolute figures as in the percentage within individual regions (table 10).

The differences in economic development, appurtenance to different cultural and religious spheres of influence, and historic causes of settlement, affected the shaping of peculiarities within a certain ethnic structure. The long-term evolutionary changing of these proportions was influenced by biological factors

(rate of birth, mortality, fertility, population growth) as well as social factors (urbanization, internal and external migrations). Individual interventions on the part of the state policy (deportations, displacements, colonizations) and the planning of population policy, (from the global point of view) have not essentially changed the outlines and proportions within ethnic structure.

From the standpoint of demographic indicators for the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia, the most outstanding was the difference between the depopulation areas (Slovenia, Croatia and Vojvodina), which have already reached the stage of the ageing of population, and those with extremely high rate of births (Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, some regions of Macedonia and Montenegro), as well as the difference between the immigration (more developed republics) and the emigration regions.

It is precisely in this territory that two contrasting trends of the world demographic process have been confronted in a relatively small geographic area. The first trend is characteristic of the developed countries, and is marked by a planned population policy, process of a slow ageing of population, low rate of birth, decrease of mortality, and increase of the life expectancy. The second trend, typical of the demographic processes in underdeveloped states, is marked by high population growth, high rate of birth, parallel to simultaneous diminishing of children's mortality and increasing of life expectancy.

These demographic trends in the territory of the former Yugoslavia also have certain ethnically coloured characteristics. Moreover, in the present period, they acquired political and nationally reviving connotations, their starting point being an appeal to homogenization and creating of ethnically pure regions.

The differences in the degree of development between individual regions are evident from the appendices relating to social income, share of active population, and education structure. (table 11).

These indices, which indirectly point out the processes and characteristics of interethnic relations, caused distinctly political consequences in individual surroundings in the newly formed states in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Owing to the growing number of immigrants from other republics and provinces, the decrease of the share of Slovenes within the entire population occurred in Slovenia. The latter incited a sense of menace with a part of Slovene population. This process could be compared with phenomena of xenophobia in some states of Western Europe. In the time of the forming of the state of the Croatian nation, the question of the Serbs, settling certain regions of Croatia as autochthonous population, turned out to be most urgent. Their legally and constitutionally unregulated status in the new state, historic causes, and the mutual sense of menace led to armed struggles in 1991-1992. At the same time, the status of Istria as an autonomous region became questionable in Croatia. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the state of three nations and three main religions, ethnic diversity was a generally recognized and considered fact. The socio-political life was based upon the principle of parity representation of individual nations. In the period between 1971 - 1981, it was Bosnia and Herzegovina that saw the most impressive increase in the number of persons declaring themselves as "Yugoslavs". Today it is a place of sanguinary war between the nations living there. In Macedonia, where the population growth is relatively high the regions settled mostly by Albanians are particularly outstanding. Due to this fact, demands appeared to restrict the birth rate of Albanians by measures of population policy. Members of Albanian minority, on the other hand, demanded

introduction of autonomy in the regions they settle as the majority population. As to Serbia, (without provinces), the fact is that the central Serbia has always been an immigration region for the Serbs from other republics and provinces. In history, the main motive for this was the fact that Serbia, although economically underdeveloped, was nevertheless a politically independent state. However, the political motive of these migrations in the recent decades, has above all been the presumable Serbian sense of being menaced in Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. In Vojvodina, the distinctly heterogenous ethnic structure results from historic events, deportations of Germans after WWII, and deliberate colonizations from other parts of former Yugoslavia (especially from Bosnia and Herzegovina). In Kosovo, the distinctly underdeveloped region, the differences between individual ethnic groups were gradually increasing over the last few decades. The population growth of the Albanians of Kosovo exceeds the one in their parent state. The growing number of Albanians, and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this region altered the ratio in the ethnic structure of the territory, and launched one of the most serious ethnic conflicts in the second Yugoslavia in the years 1980 - 1981. In Montenegro, the most obvious differences between the majority nation and other ethnic groups are in the degree of population growth. The communities settled by Moslems and Albanians, have a distinctly high population growth.

The commenced process of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and formation of new states is based upon the up to now boundaries of the republics as state wholes, also acceptable for international recognition. The question of parts of nations outside of their parent republics remains open for the future and mutual agreements. The hitherto course of events proved that the demand of the Serbs to exercise their right of self-determination and keep on living in the same state as an ethnic whole and one and the same nation together with the Serbs from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, was one of the causes of bloody clashes.

III. EX-YUGOSLAVIA AND THE "YUGOSLAVS"

Also in the period of the "second Yugoslavia", the question of the "Yugoslav idea" remained open. The growing number of persons, nationally non-declared in a certain period, and declaring themselves as "Yugoslavs" opened up a number of political if not only discussed dilemmas. One of the problems is the representation of political interests of this group of population, which should, in the opinion of some experts, be represented in the federal bodies.⁹

Different interpretations of the definition of the notion "Yugoslav idea", or declaring oneself as "Yugoslav" in the sense of national appurtenance, were particularly frequent in cases when elements or contents of this notion were dealt with in the meaning which surpasses the denotation of adherence to a

/8/ Up to the present, the results of the 1991 census were only published for Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the given is all but complete and does not enable an all-embracing comparison, the available data indicate certain trends referring to the proportions within the ethnic structure of the former Yugoslavia.

/9/ According to dr. Miodrag Jovičić in his paper "Legal aspects of the Yugoslav idea" (at the scientific conference "The Yugoslav Idea Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow", Belgrade, 1989), p.6: "Citizens of the federation have no representatives in the Federal Assembly" - referring to "Yugoslavs" as citizens of the federation.

state. As to the contents, the most important question was whether the declaration "Yugoslav" meant national¹⁰ or, as according to some interpretations, "class declaration".

The questions relating to the contents and definition of the notion "Yugoslav idea" were particularly actual after the publishing of the outcome of the 1981 census, since the number of persons, declaring themselves as "Yugoslavs" highly increased and amounted to 1.219.021 persons. Some interpretations of this phenomenon treated the declaration "Yugoslav" as a positive process, proving the attitude of distance and outgrowing of narrow nationalist interests.¹¹ However, the fear that "the Yugoslav idea" might be used for the realization of the unitarist and statist tendencies, which was the aim of the state policy in the period between the two wars, although with different ideological connotation, was also present.

In the interpretation of the objective facts that had led to the increase of the number of persons declaring themselves as "Yugoslavs", the increased number of nationally mixed marriages was particularly often stated; it reflects the positive atmosphere between national groups and the overcoming of ethnic differences. However, less acceptable were the evaluations, which estimated one's declaring as Yugoslav as distinctly patriotic and encouraging.¹² Thereby it is

10. According to Matvejević, the possible groups of population declaring themselves as "Yugoslavs" are:

- those who consider themselves above all Croats, Macedonians, Slovenes, Serbs and so on, and at the same time Yugoslavs (the most frequent situation)
- those considering themselves above all Yugoslavs, and then Serbs, Slovenes, Macedonians or Croats (the emphasizing of the preference of the national or Yugoslav declaring can depend upon circumstances, or the matter related to the self-declaring in a given situation)
- those considering themselves only Yugoslavs (this part of the population greatly increased in the census of 1981; some of these belong to the above mentioned category)
- everyday life (as well as history) has proved that the number of those who are merely Serbs (Serbs-Serbs) or only Croats (Croats-Croats), only Slovenes, Albanians etc. is not small.

Source: Predrag Matvejević: *The Yugoslav Idea Today*, Belgrade, 1984, p.18

11. Within the context of the Yugoslav idea and national self-declaring, Ibrahim Bakić mentions among the reasons for the growing number of persons, declaring themselves as Yugoslavs:

- the increased number of mixed marriages and the number of persons (young) originating from such families;
 - in the last decade, a considerable number of young people grew up, to whom the criterion of the national is less and less important in everyday life, therefore they declare themselves as Yugoslavs;
 - the emphasized expressing of the patriotic awareness on the unity of Yugoslavia after Tito's death;
- According to Bakić, these factors objectively influenced a certain number of people, who "from social, patriotic and emotionally psychological motives express their adherence to the Yugoslav idea". The author also adds the possibility that individuals, in thus declaring themselves, "expressed their disagreement with particularism and nationalism". There undoubtedly exist other motives, but they cannot be ascertained without more extensive empiric research.

Source: dr. Ibrahim Bakić: *The Yugoslav Idea from its Concept to Realization*, Belgrade, 1985, p. 185

12. Dr. Ivan Perić (at the scientific conference "The Yugoslav Idea Today") maintains that the notion "contains, even in these circumstances, patriotism, values of common life of ethnically kin nations, the implementation of their wish to live together...".

Dr. Ibrahim Bakić says in the above cited work: "In the class and social sense, the Yugoslav idea means imminent adherence to the Yugoslav socialist community, the basic characteristics of which are self-management, national equality, independence and non-alignment.". He quotes the thought of Veljko Vlahović that the Yugoslav idea is self-management, not deriving from the nationality aspect of self-management, but from the social essence of the Yugoslav idea. (Source: I. Bakić, *ibid.*, p.181)

uncertain, how, in an explicitly multinational society, the very declaring of oneself, which, in its essence, negates the adherence to individual nations or nationalities, could possibly be valued as positive? At this point this approach comes close to the thesis on the "non-national bearers of progress", which was the basis of the so called "Soviet nation" as an ideological construction. The theory that the self-declaration of the growing number of persons as "Yugoslavs" might pave the way to the creating of the new "Yugoslav nation", was never confirmed in expert literature.¹³ The rejecting of the idea on the existence of "a Yugoslav nation" is also reflected in the adopted methodology of the up to now censuses carried out in Yugoslavia, as such answers were listed under the heading "nationally non-declared".

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¹³/ Dr. Jovan Đorđević believes that "the Yugoslav idea as an expression for the existence of one uniform nation, or as a programme for its formation, is the wrong ideological standpoint, since it is based upon the nations...the Yugoslav idea therefore cannot represent the foundation nor national justification for any form of state or national unitarism."

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TABLE No. 1

R E L I G I O N

| PROVINCES | According to the 1921 census, per every 100 inhabitants | | | | | | | |
|--|---|----------------|----------------|-----------|--------|--------|-------|------------------|
| | Orthodox | Roman Catholic | Greek Catholic | Potestant | Moslem | Jewish | Other | Non-conessionals |
| SERBIA | 81.3 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 17.5 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Northern S. | 98.4 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.6 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Southern S. | 50.4 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 47.9 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Montenegro | 84.3 | 4.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 11.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | 43.9 | 23.5 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 31.1 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Dalmatia | 17.0 | 82.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Croatia, Slavonia, Medjumurje, Krk and Kastav | 24.1 | 72.7 | 0.6 | 1.7 | 0.1 | 0.7 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| Slovenia with Prekmurje | 0.6 | 96.6 | 0.0 | 2.6 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Banat, Bačka and Baranja | 34.4 | 52.2 | 1.0 | 9.7 | 0.1 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 0.1 |
| Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes | 46.6 | 39.4 | 0.4 | 1.8 | 11.1 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.0 |

Source: Preliminary Results of the Popular Census in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Sarajevo 1924, number XIX, Table 5

TABLE No. 2

POPULATION ACCORDING TO RELIGION AND ACTIVITY
(Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia)

| Nationality | Sex | Total | | | Without Religion | | |
|--------------------------|-----|------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | | Sum | Active | Supported | Sum | Active | Supported |
| Total | Sum | 16.936.573 | 8.390.638 | 8.543.935 | 2.127.875 | 1.179.294 | 948.531 |
| | m. | 8.204.595 | 5.413.838 | 2.790.757 | 1.311.247 | 932.126 | 379.121 |
| | f. | 8.731.978 | 2.976.800 | 5.735.178 | 816.628 | 247.168 | 569.460 |
| Serbians | m. | 3.445.302 | 2.337.336 | 1.117.966 | 695.286 | 491.369 | 200.917 |
| | f. | 3.610.621 | 1.379.543 | 2.231.078 | 424.146 | 130.317 | 293.829 |
| Croats | m. | 1.876.261 | 1.274.126 | 602.135 | 253.415 | 191.769 | 61.646 |
| | f. | 2.099.289 | 741.466 | 1.357.823 | 153.796 | 48.891 | 104.905 |
| Slovenes | m. | 697.603 | 477.389 | 220.214 | 90.049 | 67.116 | 22.933 |
| | f. | 789.497 | 337.002 | 452.493 | 68.157 | 23.537 | 39.620 |
| Macedonians | m. | 454.277 | 273.010 | 181.267 | 87.593 | 57.523 | 30.070 |
| | f. | 433.970 | 121.306 | 317.664 | 53.779 | 11.775 | 42.004 |
| Montenegrins | m. | 225.892 | 128.636 | 97.156 | 104.332 | 61.338 | 42.994 |
| | f. | 240.201 | 61.200 | 179.001 | 80.378 | 21.138 | 59.240 |
| Yugoslav non-declared | m. | 481.777 | 275.529 | 206.248 | 26.420 | 19.297 | 7.123 |
| | f. | 516.921 | 106.839 | 410.082 | 12.973 | 2.920 | 10.053 |
| Others Slavs | m. | 114.134 | 81.148 | 32.986 | 14.930 | 10.132 | 4.818 |
| | f. | 121.858 | 41.365 | 80.493 | 9.578 | 3.415 | 6.163 |
| Others non-Slavs | m. | 899.349 | 566.664 | 332.695 | 39.202 | 30.582 | 8.620 |
| | f. | 914.621 | 188.079 | 726.542 | 18.821 | 5.175 | 13.646 |

| Orthodox | | | Roman Catholic | | | Protestant | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|------------|-----------|------------|--------|-----------|
| Sum | Active | Supported | Sum | Active | Supported | Sum | Active | Supported |
| 6.984.686 | 3.551.584 | 3.433.138 | 5.370.760 | 2.715.124 | 2.655.636 | 157.702 | 83.369 | 74.333 |
| 3.241.900 | 2.130.803 | 1.111.079 | 2.437.929 | 16.402.279 | 797.650 | 72.709 | 52.224 | 20.485 |
| 3.742.786 | 1.420.745 | 2.332.041 | 2.932.831 | 1.074.845 | 1.857.986 | 84.993 | 31.145 | 53.848 |
| 2.707.615 | 1.809.458 | 898.157 | 3.174 | 1.805 | 1.369 | 2.928 | 1.900 | 1.028 |
| 3.132.709 | 1.235.082 | 1.897.627 | 5.639 | 1.758 | 3.881 | 4.243 | 1.461 | 2.782 |
| 833 | 1.997 | 8.361 | 1.581.327 | 2.052.663 | 528.664 | 3.197 | 2.139 | 1.058 |
| 6.382 | 2.374 | 4.008 | 1.906.446 | 679.140 | 1.227.306 | 4.707 | 1.531 | 3.176 |
| 836 | 623 | 263 | 559.059 | 376.804 | 182.255 | 9.660 | 7.199 | 2.461 |
| 2.124 | 757 | 1.367 | 677.754 | 291.820 | 385.934 | 10.834 | 6.577 | 4.157 |
| 355.100 | 208.263 | 146.837 | 1.282 | 712 | 570 | 703 | 403 | 298 |
| 375.135 | 107.467 | 267.668 | 1.372 | 390 | 982 | 741 | 283 | 488 |
| 91.000 | 50.443 | 40.557 | 2.131 | 1.387 | 744 | 42 | 23 | 19 |
| 127.938 | 36.036 | 91.902 | 2.578 | 634 | 1.944 | 53 | 11 | 42 |
| 1.113 | 778 | 335 | 8.909 | 6.297 | 2.612 | 115 | 75 | 40 |
| 1.437 | 516 | 921 | 10.379 | 3.010 | 7.369 | 138 | 44 | 94 |
| 27.335 | 19.672 | 7.663 | 22.576 | 16.664 | 5.912 | 32.689 | 23.269 | 9.420 |
| 30.688 | 12.192 | 18.496 | 26.513 | 8.642 | 17.871 | 35.953 | 11.427 | 24.526 |
| 56.018 | 39.569 | 16.449 | 259.471 | 183.947 | 75.524 | 23.375 | 17.214 | 6.161 |
| 66.373 | 26.321 | 40.052 | 302.150 | 89.451 | 212.699 | 28.324 | 9.811 | 18.513 |

Source: Popular Census 1953, Book I., Beograd 1959

TABLE No. 3

M O T H E R T O N G U E

| PROVINCES | According to the 1921 census, per every 100 inhabitants | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---------|------------|----------|---------|--------|-----------|----------|-------|
| | Serbian | Slovene | Other Slav | Romanian | Italian | German | Hungarian | Albanian | Other |
| SERBIA | 81.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 3.7 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 10.2 | 4.4 |
| Northern S. | 93.3 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 5.4 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.6 |
| Southern S. | 59.7 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 28.4 | 11.2 |
| Montenegro | 91.4 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 8.4 | 0.1 |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | 96.6 | 0.3 | 1.5 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.9 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.4 |
| Dalmatia | 98.6 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.7 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Croatia, Slavonia, Medjumurje, Krk and Kastav | 89.3 | 0.8 | 2.4 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 4.5 | 2.6 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Slovenia with Prekmurje | 1.0 | 93.2 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 3.8 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Banat, Bačka and Baranja | 37.2 | 0.6 | 4.9 | 5.4 | 0.0 | 23.8 | 27.7 | 0.0 | 0.4 |
| Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes | 74.4 | 8.5 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 0.1 | 4.3 | 3.9 | 3.7 | 1.7 |

Source: Preliminary Results of the Popular Census in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Sarajevo 1924, number XXI, Table 7

Table No. 4 POPULATION AND HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO POPULAR CENSUSES:

| | SFRY | Bosnia and Herzeg. | Montenegro | Croatia donia | Mace- | Slovenia | Sum | S E R B I A | | |
|---------------------------------|----------|--------------------|------------|---------------|---------|----------|---------|-------------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| | | | | | | | | Serbia without the SAJ ¹ | Kosovo | Vojvodina |
| P R E S E N T T E R R I T O R Y | | | | | | | | | | |
| Territory | 255804 | 51129 | 13812 | 56538 | 25713 | 20251 | 88361 | 55968 | 10887 | 21506 |
| Population-Sum | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1948 | 15841566 | 2563767 | 377189 | 3779858 | 1152986 | 1439800 | 6527966 | 4154175 | 733034 | 1640757 |
| 1953 | 16991449 | 2847459 | 419873 | 3936022 | 1304514 | 1504427 | 6979154 | 4463701 | 815908 | 1699545 |
| 1961 | 18549291 | 3277948 | 471894 | 4159696 | 1406003 | 1591523 | 7642227 | 4823274 | 963988 | 1854965 |
| 1971 | 20522972 | 3746111 | 529604 | 4426221 | 1647308 | 1727137 | 8446591 | 5250365 | 1243693 | 1952533 |
| 1981 | 22424711 | 4124256 | 584310 | 4601469 | 1909136 | 1891864 | 9313676 | 5694464 | 1584440 | 2034772 |

Table No. 5 SHARES REPUBLICS OF AND AUT. REGIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA

| | B and H | MT. NE | CROAT | MACE | SLOV | SERBI | KOSO | VOJV |
|-------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| Territory | 20 | 5.4 | 22.1 | 10.1 | 7.9 | 34.5 | 4.2 | 8.4 |
| Inhabitants | 16.7 18.7 | 2.5 2.7 | 23.2 20 | 7.7 8.8 | 8.8 8.3 | 41.1 41.5 | 4.8 7.8 | 10 8.8 |
| Active population | 15.4 15.9 | 1.9 2.1 | 23.8 21.2 | 6.8 8 | 9 9.8 | 43.1 43.1 | 3.4 3.7 | 9.9 9.2 |
| Rural population | 17.2 16 | 2.5 1.8 | 21.4 15.6 | 7.9 9.2 | 5.9 4 | 45.1 53.4 | 5.7 8.9 | 10.4 9.2 |
| Employees | 14.8 15.6 | 2.2 2.4 | 27.2 23.7 | 6 7.8 | 15 12.7 | 34.8 37.7 | 2 3.3 | 9.8 9.4 |

Table No. 6 POPULATION OF YUGOSLAVIA
(According to nationality, after the censuses from 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971 and 1981)

| YEAR | 1948 | 1953 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1981/48 |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---------|
| Montenegrins | 426.703 | 466.093 | 513.538 | 508.813 | 579.023 | 136 |
| Croatians | 3.784.353 | 3.976.550 | 4.293.809 | 4.526.782 | 4.428.905 | 117 |
| Macedonians | 810.120 | 893.247 | 1.015.510 | 1.191.764 | 1.339.729 | 166 |
| Muslims | 808.921 | 998.098 | 972.960 | 1.729.932 | 1.999.957 | 247 |
| Slovenes | 1.410.432 | 1.487.100 | 1.580.211 | 1.678.032 | 1.753.554 | 124 |
| Serbs | 6.547.117 | 7.006.929 | 7.808.152 | 8.143.246 | 8.140.452 | 124 |
| Yugoslavs | 0 | 0 | 317.184 | 273.077 | 1.219.045 | 384 |
| Minorities | 1.984.452 | 2.108.556 | 2.047.927 | 2.471.326 | 2.964.946 | 149 |
| Sum: | 15.772.098 | 16.936.573 | 18.549.291 | 20.522.972 | 22.424.711 | 142 |

TABLE No. 7 SHARES OF MEMBERS OF NATIONS AND MINORITIES IN YUGOSLAV POPULATION (and %)

| YEAR | 1948 | 1953 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 |
|--------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Montenegrins | 2.71 | 2.75 | 2.77 | 2.48 | 2.58 |
| Croatians | 23.99 | 23.48 | 23.15 | 22.06 | 19.74 |
| Macedonians | 5.14 | 5.27 | 5.47 | 5.81 | 5.98 |
| Muslims | 5.13 | 5.89 | 5.25 | 8.43 | 8.92 |
| Slovenes | 8.94 | 8.78 | 8.25 | 8.18 | 7.82 |
| Serbs | 41.51 | 41.37 | 42.09 | 39.68 | 36.30 |
| Yugoslavs | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.71 | 1.33 | 5.44 |
| Minorities | 12.58 | 12.35 | 11.04 | 12.04 | 13.22 |
| Sum: | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

TABLE No. 8 POPULATION ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY (after the 1981 census)

| | | | | | | | S E R B I A | | | |
|--|----------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|-------------|------------------------|---------|---------|
| | SFRY | B and H | MT, NE | CROAT | MACE | SI OV | Sum | SERBIA without the SAP | KOSO | VOJV |
| Sum Nationally declared | 22424711 | 4124256 | 584310 | 4601469 | 1909136 | 1891864 | 9313676 | 5694464 | 1584440 | 2034772 |
| Montenegrins | 579023 | 14114 | 400488 | 9818 | 3920 | 3217 | 147466 | 77134 | 27028 | 43304 |
| Croats | 4428005 | 758140 | 6904 | 3454661 | 3307 | 55625 | 149368 | 31447 | 8718 | 109203 |
| Macedonians | 1339229 | 1892 | 875 | 5362 | 1279323 | 3288 | 48989 | 29033 | 1626 | 18900 |
| Muslims | 1999957 | 1640033 | 78080 | 23740 | 39513 | 13425 | 215166 | 131674 | 58562 | 4970 |
| Slovenes | 1753554 | 2755 | 561 | 25136 | 648 | 1712445 | 12706 | 8207 | 343 | 3476 |
| Serbs | 5140152 | 1320738 | 19407 | 531502 | 44468 | 42182 | 6182155 | 4865283 | 209497 | 1107375 |
| Albanians | 1730364 | 4396 | 37735 | 6006 | 377208 | 1925 | 1303044 | 72484 | 1226736 | 3814 |
| Austrians | 1402 | 52 | 6 | 267 | 30 | 180 | 867 | 757 | 22 | 88 |
| Bulgarians | 36185 | 180 | 24 | 441 | 1980 | 305 | 33455 | 39769 | 161 | 2575 |
| Czechs | 19625 | 690 | 52 | 15061 | 164 | 433 | 3225 | 1170 | 43 | 2012 |
| Greeks | 1639 | 36 | 21 | 100 | 707 | 18 | 57 | 392 | 25 | 340 |
| Italians | 15132 | 616 | 45 | 11661 | 96 | 2187 | 527 | 311 | 23 | 176 |
| Jews | 1383 | 342 | 5 | 316 | 27 | 9 | 683 | 395 | 2 | 79 |
| Hungarians | 426866 | 945 | 238 | 23439 | 280 | 2496 | 390468 | 1365 | 147 | 385356 |
| Germans | 8712 | 460 | 107 | 2175 | 288 | 380 | 5302 | 1402 | 92 | 7708 |
| Poles | 3043 | 669 | 45 | 758 | 224 | 204 | 1204 | 581 | 27 | 566 |
| Romanians | 168099 | 7251 | 1471 | 3858 | 43125 | 1435 | 110959 | 57140 | 34126 | 19693 |
| Rumanians | 54954 | 302 | 159 | 677 | 97 | 94 | 53077 | 6387 | 17 | 47289 |
| Russians | 4463 | 295 | 96 | 758 | 359 | 194 | 2761 | 1103 | 112 | 1075 |
| Ruthenians | 23285 | 111 | 19 | 3321 | 23 | 54 | 19757 | 447 | 5 | 19335 |
| Slovaks | 80334 | 350 | 33 | 6543 | 67 | 144 | 73207 | 3621 | 37 | 69549 |
| Turks | 101191 | 277 | 67 | 229 | 86591 | 87 | 13890 | 1182 | 12213 | 195 |
| Ukrainians | 12813 | 4502 | 16 | 2515 | 68 | 192 | 5520 | 512 | 7 | 5007 |
| Vlachs | 32063 | 49 | 1 | 16 | 6387 | 17 | 25596 | 25535 | 4 | 27 |
| Others | 17645 | 629 | 368 | 1553 | 739 | 577 | 13779 | 1992 | 684 | 11102 |
| Nationally non-declared | | | | | | | | | | |
| Non-declared according to Art. 170 of the Constitution of the SFRY | 46698 | 17950 | 301 | 17133 | 505 | 2975 | 7634 | 4340 | 133 | 3361 |
| Declared as Yugoslavs | 1219045 | 326316 | 31243 | 379057 | 14225 | 26263 | 441941 | 272050 | 2776 | 167215 |
| Declared in the sense of regional apurtenance | 25717 | 3649 | 1602 | 8657 | 943 | 4018 | 6848 | 4941 | 264 | 1643 |
| Unknown | 153333 | 26576 | 4338 | 64737 | 1828 | 10635 | 43219 | 38662 | 1373 | 318 |

TABLE No 9 POPULATION ACCORDING TO MOTHER TONGUE, AFTER THE 1981 CENSUS

| | | | | | | | | SERBIA | | |
|--|----------|---------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|------------------------------|---------|---------|
| | SLFRY | B and H | MT NE | CROAT | MACE | SLOV | Sum | SERBIA without the SAP | KOSO | VOJV |
| Sum | 22424711 | 4124286 | 584310 | 4601369 | 1969136 | 1891863 | 9313676 | 5694654 | 1584440 | 2034772 |
| Serbo- Croatian Croatio- Serbian Croatian and Serbian Mace- donian | 16412885 | 4089421 | 531738 | 4439054 | 63356 | 131274 | 7108143 | 5803472 | 308658 | 1504018 |
| Slovene | 1373956 | 1387 | 642 | 4845 | 1334524 | 3137 | 29421 | 22519 | 927 | 597 |
| Albanian | 1761393 | 1903 | 363 | 23658 | 469 | 1726604 | 8396 | 6838 | 266 | 129 |
| Bulgarian | 1756663 | 3836 | 42697 | 6991 | 391829 | 2113 | 1309197 | 73563 | 1232512 | 312 |
| Czech | 37268 | 126 | 30 | 330 | 1479 | 94 | 35269 | 34087 | 94 | 108 |
| Greek | 16197 | 539 | 47 | 12953 | 178 | 557 | 1923 | 939 | 19 | 96 |
| Italian | 1832 | 21 | 141 | 197 | 647 | 28 | 789 | 523 | 9 | 26 |
| Jewish | 19409 | 554 | 46 | 15459 | 59 | 2901 | 390 | 320 | 15 | 5 |
| Hungarian | 58 | 3 | 1 | 13 | 2 | - | 39 | 20 | 1 | 1 |
| German | 409079 | 828 | 225 | 20931 | 242 | 10114 | 374639 | 4556 | 118 | 36996 |
| Polish | 9221 | 851 | 166 | 2923 | 375 | 1189 | 3717 | 1691 | 148 | 187 |
| Romanian | 2301 | 400 | 45 | 547 | 224 | 272 | 813 | 859 | 29 | 22 |
| Russian | 130618 | 5103 | 1682 | 3382 | 9780 | 1428 | 91443 | 48132 | 29294 | 1401 |
| Rutheman | 59869 | 853 | 166 | 1770 | 102 | 240 | 56393 | 11414 | 19 | 4497 |
| Slovak | 3500 | 308 | 60 | 773 | 266 | 242 | 1851 | 1399 | 50 | 30 |
| Turkish | 19413 | 69 | 16 | 4047 | 15 | 51 | 16215 | 447 | 66 | 1570 |
| Ukrainian | 74033 | 209 | 58 | 5991 | 61 | 151 | 67563 | 4695 | 26 | 6404 |
| Vlach | 82090 | 278 | 42 | 498 | 64007 | 114 | 16351 | 1014 | 15296 | 13 |
| Danish | 7058 | 398 | 4 | 1443 | 34 | 160 | 2019 | 326 | 2 | 169 |
| English | 135589 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 5941 | 34 | 129613 | 129547 | 4 | 6 |
| French | 971 | 47 | 53 | 15 | 16 | 4 | 846 | 814 | 20 | 1 |
| Dutch | 1463 | 129 | 63 | 467 | 228 | 70 | 506 | 366 | 43 | 9 |
| Norwegian | 2566 | 227 | 129 | 481 | 129 | 79 | 1621 | 1478 | 58 | 8 |
| Swedish | 325 | 25 | 16 | 114 | 35 | 28 | 107 | 86 | 17 | - |
| Other languages | 321 | 8 | 19 | 9 | 10 | 21 | 254 | 233 | 16 | - |
| Unknown | 653 | 58 | 21 | 49 | 108 | 22 | 395 | 358 | 10 | 2 |
| Other languages | 4970 | 304 | 113 | 1477 | 409 | 395 | 2342 | 988 | 1085 | 26 |
| Unknown | 161010 | 13472 | 5756 | 71946 | 5887 | 10542 | 53407 | 45180 | 3727 | 450 |

Source: Statistical Yearbook 1985, Beograd

TABLE No. 10. MINORITIES IN YUGOSLAVIA AND INDEX OF GROWTH

| YEAR | 1948 | 1953 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1981/1948 |
|------------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Albanians | 760,431 | 754,245 | 914,733 | 1,309,523 | 1,730,878 | 227 |
| Russians | 20,069 | 12,426 | 12,305 | 7,477 | 4,467 | 22 |
| Ruthenians | 37,140 | 37,353 | 38,619 | 24,640 | 23,286 | 62 |
| Hungarians | 496,492 | 502,175 | 504,389 | 477,374 | 426,867 | 85 |
| Bulgarians | 61,140 | 61,708 | 62,624 | 58,627 | 36,189 | 59 |
| Czechs | 39,015 | 34,517 | 30,331 | 24,620 | 19,624 | 50 |
| Italians | 79,570 | 35,874 | 25,015 | 21,701 | 15,132 | 19 |
| Germans | 55,337 | 60,536 | 20,015 | 17,785 | 8,712 | 15 |
| Gypsies | 72,730 | 84,713 | 81,674 | 78,485 | 168,197 | 231 |
| Romanians | 64,095 | 60,364 | 60,802 | 58,570 | 54,955 | 85 |
| Slovaks | 83,626 | 84,999 | 86,433 | 83,658 | 80,334 | 96 |
| Vlachs | 102,953 | 80,726 | 9,463 | 21,590 | 32,071 | 31 |
| Turks | 97,914 | 259,535 | 182,964 | 127,820 | 101,291 | 103 |
| Others | 13,908 | 39,385 | 18,560 | 150,106 | 163,906 | 1898 |

TABLE No. 11 SOME INDICATORS OF DEVELOPMENT

| | B and H | MtNE | CROAT | MACF | SLOV | SERBI | KOSO | VOJV |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| GNP 1955 (share in YU) | 13.7 | 1.5 | 26.4 | 5.4 | 16.5 | 36.5 | 2.6 | 9.7 |
| 1988 | 12.8 | 2.2 | 25 | 5.8 | 16.8 | 37.4 | 2.2 | 10.4 |
| Empl./1000 work capable | 188 346 | 201 414 | 231 522 | 177 403 | 345 687 | 169 405 | 98 228 | 191 460 |
| GNP per capita (YU = 100) | 83 69 | 77 78 | 122 125 | 68 66 | 175 203 | 86 90 | 43 28 | 94 118 |
| Percent of rural population | 71.8 17.3 | 71.6 13.5 | 62.4 15.2 | 70.6 21.7 | 44.1 9.4 | 72.3 9.4 | 80.9 24.6 | 68.1 19.9 |
| Percent of active population | 42.9 38.7 | 36.9 34.3 | 51.6 45.6 | 43.4 41.8 | 52.9 50.3 | 50.9 45.4 | 35.3 23.8 | 49.4 44.3 |
| Newborn mortality (promile) | 142.6 18.1 | 81.2 25.5 | 93.4 14.6 | 144.3 47.5 | 56.7 13.2 | 107.6 34 | 161 57.1 | 99.3 12.3 |
| Population growth (promile) | 23.7 9.4 | 22.1 10.1 | 11.6 1.8 | 23 11.8 | 11.1 3.5 | 13.4 6.2 | 25.4 24.6 | 10.2 0.1 |
| Illiteracy (over 10 years of age) | | | | | | | | |
| - male | 5.5 | 3.4 | 2.5 | 5.8 | 0.7 | 4.7 | 9.4 | 3.1 |
| - female | 23.3 | 15.2 | 8.4 | 16.2 | 0.9 | 16.9 | 16.4 | 8.3 |
| - both | 14.5 | 9.4 | 5.6 | 10.9 | 0.8 | 10.9 | 17.6 | 5.8 |

Povzetek

ETNIČNA STRUKTURA BIVŠE JUGOSLAVIJE

Od vsega začetka njenega obstoja, je Jugoslavijo kot državo označevala etnična, verska, jezikovna in kulturna pestrost. To območje je bilo namreč zaradi specifičnega geografskega položaja obenem mejnik in stičišče najpomembnejših verskih, političnih, ideoloških, kulturnih in gospodarskih tokov v Evropi in na Balkanu. Vsi ti dejavniki so že v času pred nastankom skupne države vplivali na narode in druge etnične skupine, zlasti na gospodarsko raven, način življenja ter kulturne in vedenjske vzorce in na procese oblikovanja narodne identitete. Ob stiku z etnično različnostjo so se določene razlike stopnjevale in ohranjale ter se v posameznih okoljih manifestirale kot etnične.

Ko se je oblikovala ideja o ustanovitvi skupne države, je bila zavest o etnični sorodnosti Južnih Slovanov eden od motivov in gibalno političnega delovanja za združitve. Po ustanovitvi skupne države je bila Jugoslavija de facto etnično, versko in jezikovno zelo raznolika, v državno pravnem konceptu pa etnično oz. narodnostno homogena.

Skupna država je bila torej ves čas soočena z dejstvom etnične raznolikosti. V skladu z ideološko usmerjenostjo in širšimi interesi (na primer v odnosu do manjšin - odnosi s sosednjimi državami) je poskušala vplivati na zatečeno stanje.

V relativno kratkem času (73 let) so se na območju Jugoslavije izvajali različni državni ukrepi, ki so posegali v etnično strukturo. Skoraj bi lahko rekli, da v teoriji, ki obravnava urejanje nacionalnega in manjšinskega vprašanja, ne bi mogli najti ukrepa oziroma pristopa, ki v Jugoslaviji ni bil preizkušen. Pristop je nihal v razponu od popolnega nepriznavanja nekaterih narodov (npr. v obdobju med obema vojnama Črnogorcev, Muslimanov in Makedoncev) ter v času po drugi svetovni vojni tudi Albancev, ter zanikanja parvic posameznih narodnih manjšin do načrtnega spodbujanja izražanja narodnih posebnosti in identitete.