# 民族主义、国家结构与国际化

一一南斯拉夫民族问题研究

Studying on the National Question in Yugoslavia





余建华海

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## 内容提要

本书是对南斯拉夫民族问题进行的一项全面而系统的跨学科研究。文中提及的"南斯拉夫"(或"前南斯拉夫"),一般是指 1945—1991 年南斯拉夫联邦所涵盖的疆域范围。

作者从南斯拉夫所处的文明结合部这一地缘特征出发,围绕南斯拉夫民族问题的起伏消长,挖掘南斯拉夫民族危机的文化和制度根源,梳理和考察历史与现实、国内和国际因素的制约互动。本项研究所要解决的主要问题是:①民族主义为何成为威胁与破坏南斯拉夫多民族统一的顽症;②南共联盟处理民族问题失策的根源何在;③南斯拉夫民族问题与冷战后国际政治之间的联系。作者主要观点如下:

其一,到 16 世纪,在南斯拉夫各民族同中有异的基础上,整个南斯拉夫已分裂为西欧天主教文明、斯拉夫东正教文明和 土耳其伊斯兰文明三大板块,形成南斯拉夫各民族分野与交融 同时并存、交错重叠的状态。这种民族文化错综复杂的状态, 铸就了南斯拉夫根深蒂固、盘根错节的民族宗教冲突。文明断 层带构成南斯拉夫民族问题长期存在的内在文化根源。

其二,在对南斯拉夫具体国情,尤其是民族问题认识比较成熟的基础上,铁托为首的南共以联邦制再建南斯拉夫多民族的统一国家。南斯拉夫联邦时期民族问题从缓解到激化的消长历程,其缘由并非在于南共对联邦制这一国家结构的选择,而是南斯拉夫在自治社会主义制度的探索和改革中,其联邦制发

生了过度分权、强调民族绝对平等的"邦联化"畸变,这种制度变迁上的失误才是南斯拉夫民族问题重浮水面的主要原委。

其三,20世纪末南斯拉夫失去了冷战时期在东西方对抗中所享有的地缘政治利益,自身还在苏东剧变大潮的冲击中发生着深刻的体制变迁,与政治、经济危机相伴而来的民族危机最终导致国家分裂,并引起一系列愈益惨烈的武装冲突和战争,威胁着巴尔干半岛和欧洲的安全与稳定。同时,世界各大国和国际集团也从各自利益和战略意图出发,进行纵横捭阖的干预,甚至从调停者变成了参与者、主导者。由此,90年代南斯拉夫民族问题明显呈现出国际化的特征和趋势,成为错综复杂的冷战后国际关系和世界格局发展的多棱镜。

本书的基本结构和内容安排如下:

第一篇的两章是关于 20 世纪中叶以前南斯拉夫民族问题的历时性研究。

第一章,从文明结合部的视角阐述南斯拉夫民族问题形成的地缘、民族、宗教、文化、历史基础。指出:南斯拉夫民族问题不仅内涵复杂,而且由来已久,这与南斯拉夫地处巴尔干文明结合部关联密切。南斯拉夫地处欧洲文明断层带南段,西方天主教拉丁文明、斯拉夫东正教文明和土耳其伊斯兰文明在此三足鼎立,民族文化的交融碰撞造就了南斯拉夫民族问题长期存在的内在文化根源。

第二章,在16世纪到二战结束这四百多年的历史大**跨度**中,宏观考察南斯拉夫各族的民族认同与冲突。内容为:在东西方列强角逐巴尔干的历史背景下,近代南斯拉夫民族主义运动逐渐兴起。虽然一战促使南斯拉夫统一民族国家的**梦幻成**真,但王国大塞尔维亚主义霸权统治无视克族等非塞族的民族权益及其联邦主义要求,致使南斯拉夫民族问题更加突出。二

战期间德意法西斯唆使南斯拉夫各族相互仇杀,进一步加剧了 南斯拉夫内部的民族隔阂和仇恨。

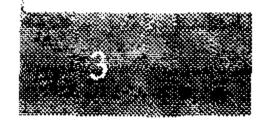
第二篇的四章集中分析联邦制与南斯拉夫民族问题的关系。

第三章,主要研究冷战时期南斯拉夫联邦民族问题的消长起伏。内容为:在"兄弟团结与统一"的民族政策指导下,铁托为首的南共在取得民族解放战争胜利后,以联邦制重新建立了南斯拉夫多民族统一的国家,历史遗留下来的民族矛盾和冲突也一度得到缓解。但随着自治社会主义改革实践的发展,从20世纪60年代中期到70年代初南斯拉夫民族关系再现危机;在80年代经济危机的背景下,科索沃地区阿族骚乱成为南斯拉夫民族问题被重新激化的标志。

第四章,主要从宪政改革的视角论述南斯拉夫联邦制的演变对民族问题的影响。指出:联邦制作为南斯拉夫国家结构形式,原本是南共为解决民族问题在国家的统一性与地方的多样性之间寻求的一种平衡,然而南斯拉夫联邦制的演变最终却陷入了"邦联化"的陷阱,从而在分权与集权的失衡中加速了南联邦的解体。

第五章,侧重考察南斯拉夫联邦经济体制对民族问题的消极影响。内容为:在国家经济职能消亡论的指导下,南斯拉夫经济体制的演变出现过度分权的弊端。这既使联邦中央失去了必要的政府干预能力,又导致联邦统一市场分割为各个相互封闭的地方经济体系,造就了各共和国经济民族主义和分离主义运动生成的经济基础。

第六章,专就南联邦政府在民族理论和政策上的失误进行分析。指出:在民族政策貌似公正的外表下,南共政府实际却犯下把民族平等和差异推向绝对的极端化错误;在错误的"弱



塞则南强"观念的指导下,铁托等南共领导人推行钳制塞尔维亚的路线;另外联邦政府在民族理论和政策上的失误还表现为民族概念的混乱,包括人为地制造波黑穆斯林民族。这一切均埋下了南斯拉夫民族危机的祸根。

第三篇的三章侧重对冷战后时代南斯拉夫民族问题国际化的研究。

第七章,阐述世界格局演变中的南斯拉夫联邦解体。内容为:在随苏东剧变而来的政治多元化大潮中,作为联邦统一领导核心的南共联盟首先解体,各共和国政权易帜,而后南斯拉夫联邦终于在民族分离主义浪潮中分崩离析,并触发了斯洛文尼亚、克罗地亚境内的两场战争;在南斯拉夫国家解体危机中,以欧共体为主的外部力量进行了国际干预,德国和奥地利的角色令人注目。

第八章,对冷战后欧洲第一场大规模热战——波黑战争进行个案剖析。指出:这场战争是由南联邦解体直接引起的民族冲突、宗教因素、领土争端"三合一"的准内战,除波黑三大民族、宗教集团的混战外,还出现了塞尔维亚和克罗地亚政治力量的延伸和美国、俄罗斯、欧共体和伊斯兰国家以及联合国、北约等国际力量的插手干预,其对战争进程和结局发挥了关键性的影响。

第九章,专门分析科索沃危机和科索沃战争。内容为:在 对塞阿民族矛盾系统回溯的基础上,阐述科索沃问题的来龙去 脉;而后着重对科索沃问题逐步由一国内政发展为国际危机这 一国际化进程的考察,揭示出科索沃这场"新干涉主义"战争 所反映的冷战后国际关系和世界格局演变的诸问题。

最后作者在结语部分对当前国际政治中民族问题的背景和特征以及若干理论主张阐述了自己的认识。

南斯拉夫民族问题的系统研究,不仅有助于我们在学术上对包括南斯拉夫在内的巴尔干问题的历史与现状、冷战后国际关系和世界民族问题研究的全面深入,而且对科学地探索多民族统一国家在社会主义现代化进程中民族团结、共同繁荣的道路,以及如何在经济全球化时代妥善处理民族问题,均具有重要的现实意义。

#### **Abstract**

It is a comprehensive and systemic study of the national question in Yugoslavia by the ways of several subjects. "Yugoslavia" that mentioned in the book means the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) from 1945 to 1991.

Yugoslavia is the convergent territory of different civilizations, so the national question is very important and complex. This book focus on analyzing the cultural and institutional origins of the national crises in Yugoslavia, considering the interaction relationship between the history and reality, the domestic and international factors, trying to answer these questions: 1) Why did the nationalism become the persistent factor menacing and destroying the unity of nations in Yugoslavia?

2) What are the ultimate reasons of the misstep of League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) dealing with the national question? 3) The relationship between the national question in Yugoslavia and the international politics after the Cold War.

The author's main views are listed following:

The first, the whole Yugoslavia had divided into three parts: the Catholic Civilization in West Europe, the Orthodox Civilization of the Slav and the Islamic Civilization of the Turk from the 16th century. The differentiation and the amalgamation among the nations made the national culture more complex, inducing the national and religious conflicts which were of long history and hard to be resolved. It's the cultural fault zone, the intrinsic cultural origin of the national question

**Abstract** 



why it existed for so long time in Yugoslavia.

The second, B. J. Tito lead the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) reconstructing Yugoslavia into a united federalism state, with understanding the situation of Yugoslavia well, especially the national question. The national question in Yugoslavia became acute during the period of SFRY, the reason was that on the way of the reform of Yugoslavia autonomic socialism, Federalism decentralized excessively, emphasized absolute equality of the nations, and this "confederalization" misplay of institutional leaded the national question in Yugoslavia to coming out again.

The third, later in the 20th century, Yugoslavia had lost the especial strategic advantage during the Cold War. Moreover, with the impact from the upheaval of Soviet Union and East Europe, her system occurred profound transformation, together with politics and economy conjuncture, leading to the state abruption, which caused a series of conflict and threatened the safety and stabilization of the Balkans and Europe. In the same time, the great powers and international groups with their respective interests, intervened the situation in Yugoslavia, even became mediator to participator and leader. Thus, the national question in Yugoslavia in 1990s took on internationalization's character and trend, became the prism refracted the complex international relation and the world system after the Cold War.

The basic structure and contents of the book is as followed:

Part 1 (two chapters): the national question in Yugoslavia before the middle of the 20th century.

In chapter 1, the book describe the geostrategic, national, religious, cultural and historical bases on which the national question in

Yugoslavia is formed with regarding Yugoslavia as the convergent territory of the civilizations. It shows that the national question in Yugoslavia is complicated and exists long enough is greatly related to the fact that Yugoslavia lies in the convergent territory of the Balkan civilizations. Yugoslavia lies in the southern part of European civilization fault zone in which the Catholic civilization in West Europe, the Orthodox civilization of the Slav and the Islamic civilization of the Turk exist together. Several nation civilizations mingled and collided, which is the internal cultural root of the long existence of the national question in Yugoslavia.

In chapter 2, the book concerns about the nation – identity and nation – collision of several nations in Yugoslavia from the 16th century to the end of World War II. With the development of the West powers' intervention in the Balkans, the modern nationalist movement of Yugoslavia developed gradually. Though World War I made Yugoslavia build a united nation state, the great Serbian nationalist in the kingdom disregard neither those interests of the ethnic groups except the Serbs nor their requests of federalism which made the national question in Yugoslavia more acute. During World War II, the Fascists suborned the ethnic groups to kill each other which greatly strengthened their gulf and enmity.

Part 2 (four chapters): the relationship between federalism and the national question in Yugoslavia.

In chapter 3, the book concerns about the development of the national question in Yugoslavia before the end of the Cold War. With the guidance of the national policy "brotherhood and unity" and after Tito led CPY to obtain the success of the national liberation war, a multina-

Abstract



al contradiction and confliction was also once alleviated. But with the development of the reform of autonomic socialism, national relationship in Yugoslavia was in a crisis from the middle of 1960s to the early of the 1970s. Under the background of the economic crisis in 1980s, the Albanians tempest in Kosovo remarked that the national question in Yugoslavia had sharpened again.

In chapter 4, the book concerns about the evolvement of federalism in Yugoslavia and its effect of the national question with the view of constitutional reform. Federalism as the form of the state structure in Yugoslavia was at first used by CPY to balance between the state unity and the region diversity. But federalism in Yugoslavia evolved and at last got into the trap of "confederalization". So the collapse of SFRY was quickened with the imbalance between power – division and power – centralization.

In chapter 5, the book concerns about the negative influence in the national question by the evolvement of SFRY's economy system. With the guidance of the theory of elimination of the state economic function, the economy system showed the abuse of excess power – division which not only made the central government lose necessary power to intervene, but also divided the united market into several isolated regional economy systems that the economic base on which movements of economic nationalism and splittism developed was formed.

In chapter 6, the book analyses the error of national theory and policy. Though it seemed that the national policy was fair, in fact CPY made absolute national equality and difference. With the guidance of the wrong idea "Yugoslavia become strong with a weakling Serbia",

the leaders of CPY such as Tito carried out the routine of suppressing Serbia. That error was also indicated by the confusion of concepts of nation. For example the national group of the Bosnian Muslims were made artificially. All of these are roots of the national crisis in Yugoslavia.

Part 3 (three chapters): the internationalization of the national question in Yugoslavia after the Cold War.

In chapter 7, the book concerns about the collapse of SFRY. The tremendous change of the Soviet Union and East Europe led to political pluralism. As the central leading part of the united federal state, LCY was the first to disorganize, then every republic state was replaced and at last SFRY was disorganized with the movement of national splittism. Two wars in Slovenia and Croatia broke out. External powers intervened in the crisis in which the main part was the European community, especially Germany and Austria.

In chapter 8, the book concerns about the Bosnian War, the first European large – scale war after the Cold War. The collapse of SFRY directly resulted in national, religious and territorial conflictions that together led to the war. Besides wars among three religious and ethnic groups, the Serbs, the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims, political powers of Serbia and Croatia extended and U.S, Russia, EC, the Islamic countries and UN intervened. All of these elements made key affects on the war and its result.

In chapter 9, the book concerns about the Kosovo Crisis and the Kosovo War. In retrospecting to the contradiction between the Serbs and the Albanians, the book describes the history of the Kosovo issue. The Kosovo issue gradually developed into an international crisis from

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domestic national conflict. The Kosovo War, a case of new interventionism war, reflected some information about the international relation and world system after the Cold War.

In the epilogue, the author explains backgrounds and characters of the recent national question in the world politics and indicates his own comprehension about some theories concerned.

The systemic study of the national question in Yugoslavia not only do help us study the history of the Balkans (include Yugoslavia) and their situation, the international relations after the Cold War and the world national questions, but also has an important role in probing into the road of national solidarity and prosperity during the process of modernization in a unitary multi – national country. It is also important in how to solve the national problems validly in the globlization era.

### 一、研究对象与研究意义

位于欧洲东南部的巴尔干半岛,虽然整个面积只有约50万平方公里,从古至今却始终是一个充满血与火的多难之地,尤其是近代以来,这里间歇不断的历次战争震撼着欧洲,甚至影响全球"大棋局",以至于每当提起巴尔干,人们马上会联想到欧洲的"火药桶"这个耳熟能详的代名词。如果我们再深入一步探究巴尔干"火药桶",那么无疑会发现,南斯拉夫则是这个"火药桶"的核心部分。回首人类告别不久的20世纪,世纪之初的第一次世界规模的大战在这里拉开帷幕,二战期间残酷的战争和民族仇杀又在这里发生,冷战后欧洲首次大规模热战——波黑战争的硝烟尚未散尽,世纪之末的科索沃战争又成为举世关注的焦点。而这一切与南斯拉夫错综复杂的民族问题有着不解之缘。本书即是对南斯拉夫民族问题进行一次比较全面而系统的跨学科研究。

为便于理解本书的研究对象,有必要先对"南斯拉夫"、 "民族主义"和"民族问题"等一些重要概念进行诠释。

作为考察的对象,南斯拉夫(Yugoslavia)原指南部斯拉夫人的地区。南部斯拉夫人(或南斯拉夫人)是欧洲的一个民族集团,在人种上属于欧罗巴人种东欧类型,按语言谱系划分,属于印欧语系斯拉夫语族南斯拉夫语支,包括塞尔维亚人、克

序言

罗地亚人、斯洛文尼亚人、马其顿人、黑山人和保加利亚人。 在 20 世纪,南斯拉夫作为国名的简称先后指三个国家。"第一 南斯拉夫"是指 1918—1941 年的南斯拉夫王国,在 1918 年 12 月1日成立时正式国名为塞尔维亚一克罗地亚一斯洛文尼亚王 国,1929年1月6日改称南斯拉夫王国,1941年4月6日德意 法西斯大举入侵后,"第一南斯拉夫"土崩瓦解。"第二南斯拉 夫"是指二战后形成的南斯拉夫联邦(简称南联邦),由波斯 尼亚和黑塞哥维那、塞尔维亚、克罗地亚、斯洛文尼亚、黑 山、马其顿六个共和国以及属于塞尔维亚的两个自治单位伏伊 伏丁那自治省和科索沃—梅托希亚自治区① 组成. 1945 年 11 月29日南斯拉夫联邦人民共和国宣告成立,1963年改国名为 南斯拉夫社会主义联邦共和国, 1991年6月起, 斯洛文尼亚 共和国、克罗地亚共和国、波斯尼亚和黑塞哥维那共和国、马 其顿共和国先后宣布独立,"第二南斯拉夫"解体。1992年4 月27日,塞尔维亚共和国和黑山共和国联合组成南斯拉大联 盟共和国(简称南联盟),此即"第三南斯拉夫"。

近几年来,黑山共和国内部主张独立的势力日渐增长。 2001年10月以来,塞尔维亚和黑山领导人多次就两个共和国的未来关系举行谈判,在欧盟大力斡旋下,双方终于达成协议。2002年3月14日由欧盟代表、南联盟以及塞尔维亚和黑山两个共和国领导人共同签署了关于两个共和国未来关系的历史性协议。根据协议,未来共同国家的名称将改为"塞尔维亚和黑山",共同国家的组成成员在三年后有权退出。4月9日南联盟塞尔维亚和黑山两个共和国议会相继投票表决批准该协议。12月6日南联盟宪章起草委员会通过《塞尔维亚和黑山 宪章),作为指导南联盟塞尔维亚和黑山两个共和国未来关系的纲领性文件。2003年2月4日南斯拉夫联盟议会两院通过《塞尔维亚和黑山宪章》以及《塞尔维亚和黑山宪章》执行法。①这标志着南斯拉夫联盟共和国从此不复存在,"南斯拉夫"作为国度的名称终于成为历史名词,一个新国家"塞尔维亚和黑山"宣告诞生。

因此,本书大多数地方提及的"南斯拉夫"(或"前南斯拉夫"),一般是指"第二南斯拉夫",即 1945—1991 年南(斯拉夫)联邦所涵盖的疆域范围。

在"民族主义"和"民族问题"的概念中,"民族"是一个关键词,它构成这两个概念的基础和主要成分。关于"民族主义"和"民族问题"的界定,至今学术界还是众说纷纭,这在很大程度上与学者们关于"民族"概念诠释的莫衷一是相关。

"民族"一词英文为 Nation,渊源于拉丁语 Natio,意为"诞生物",原是指诞生于同一地方的一群人,由实际的或想像的具有同一血统和共同语言的人所组成的社会集团,以后出现了该词基本的和派生的涵义。17世纪后,西方用"民族"(Nation) 指称主权国家的人民,而不问其种族和语言是否一致。实际上它是对一国之民的统称,与19世纪出现的"国民"(Nationality) 意义相似。对于法国大革命中那些激进派作家来说,"民族"就是不分等级并经常与君主统治对抗的一定国家的人民。② 而后从法国大革命到一次大战时期,欧洲大陆的政治家和外交家们也常使用"民族"这一概念指享有主权的民族

① (人民日报) 2003年2月6日。

② 丹克沃特·A. 拉斯特: (民族》, 载 (民族译丛), 1990 (3)。