

Workers' Self-Management in Yugoslavia

Gerry Hunniss

The Social Context

The Yugoslav system of Socialism must be evaluated in terms of the region's history, which continues to have a powerful impact on the political situation.¹ The dominant features in the history of the Yugoslav people have been the conflict between nationalities and resistance to foreign domination. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), founded in 1919, was the first truly Yugoslav party in the history of that country, insofar as it united within its ranks the many nationalities and minority groups. The national liberation struggle during World War II acted as a strong unifying factor in the birth of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.²

Yugoslavia is a multinational state of over twenty million inhabitants. The Slav peoples, who constitute a great majority of the population, belong to five main ethnic groups: Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, and Montenegrins. Each of these groups has its territorial center in one of five autonomous

¹ A good if somewhat dated introduction to the Yugoslav system is Hoffman and Nial, *Yugoslavia and the New Communism*, New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1962.

² The most recent study of the nationalities question in Yugoslavia is Paul Shoup, *Communism and the Yugoslav National Question*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948.

republics. A sixth republic, Bosnia-Herzegovina, has a population consisting of Serbs, Croats, and Yugoslav Muslims. In addition to the six republics, two autonomous provinces have been created within Serbia. Kosovo-Metohija (Kosmet) has an Albanian majority, and Vojvodina in northern Serbia has a mixed population including a large number of Hungarians. Minorities in Yugoslavia make up about ten percent of the total population. Equality under the law is guaranteed to all citizens in Article XXXIII of the Constitution. Incitement to national, racial, or religious hatred is unconstitutional and as a rule this law is rigorously enforced.

When the nation of Yugoslavia was created at the end of World War II it was a country devastated by war. According to Yugoslav sources, over thirty-six percent of the country's industry was destroyed and some 1,700,000 people had lost their lives. Added to this was the extremely low technological and economic base of the country. Industrial development in most of Yugoslavia up to that period was concentrated in extractive industries which were largely in the hands of foreigners. Only in Slovenia and Croatia did a native industry exist. All these factors made the task of nation-building extremely difficult.

In addition, many social and economic factors must be kept in mind in any serious attempt to evaluate the Yugoslav experiment in self-management:

The low level of education and industrial experience of a great part of the working force, including sections of the managerial personnel. The steady stream of peasants deserting rural areas for the cities has vastly increased the number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. While the government has done much to combat illiteracy and provide vocational training, the problem is still a serious one with direct implications for the development of self-management.

The division between the more industrialized northern regions and the less developed southern parts of the country.³ While regional equalization is the official policy of government

³ The rich/poor division of the country is directly related to the nationalities question. Slovenes and Croats in the north and parts of Serbs have the highest standard of living. The rest of Yugoslavia is relatively underdeveloped.

and party, progress in this respect has not been up to expectations. The introduction of workers' self-management in 1950 and the economic reforms of 1953 have reduced the resources and the role of the federal government in aiding the development of poorer regions and have shifted part of the burden on enterprises and banks. The battle between the developed and underdeveloped republics is a part of every aspect of Yugoslav politics, and resentment is directed against the federal government by the rich as well as the poor republics.

The Political Framework

Yugoslavia has undergone a series of revolutionary political changes during the past thirty years. The rapidity of recent institutional changes can perhaps best be understood by viewing them as an attempt to move from a preindustrial into an industrial era while simultaneously fostering the values of postindustrial society. In addition to the cataclysmic changes involved in pursuing a policy of industrialization and decentralization, Yugoslavia is also experiencing a sociopolitical revolution in attempting to unite hitherto hostile nationalities and minority groups within a constantly changing political system.

The Yugoslav political system in the immediate postwar years was modeled on that of the Soviet Union. This first period came to an end in the late 1940s with the break with the Soviet Union. Since 1950, Yugoslavia has been moving toward increased decentralization of the economy, lately this has also begun to be extended to the political/administrative structures. The elevation of the Commune to the "basic sociopolitical community"⁴ was accompanied by a number of significant innovations. Election of deputies to the Federal Assembly (and the power to recall them) was granted to commune assemblies. In the early 1950s, a constitutional provision delegated responsibility over all activities not expressly reserved to the districts,⁵ the republics, and the Federation, to the local communes. A year later, a provision was passed stipulating that local ad-

⁴ The term sociopolitical community refers to communes, provinces, assemblies and the Federation. Sociopolitical communities include the

ministrative agencies were responsible only to their own local assemblies and councils and no longer to republican and federal governmental agencies.

The 1963 constitution and subsequent amendments initiated a number of far-reaching structural changes in the parliamentary system intended to give the self-managing organizations of associated labor more direct influence in representative bodies on the communal, republican, and federal levels. The federal assembly now has five councils (chambers), three of which represent the functional interests of self-managing working organizations from the basic areas of the economy, education and culture, welfare and public health. Every parliamentary act must be passed by two chambers, that is, the Chamber of Nationalities acting in conjunction with one of the other four. Recent changes in the election of these functional chambers of the federal and republican assemblies have retained the principle of indirect voting,⁶ but the composition of the electoral body now consists of members of the communal assemblies and delegates of work communities in the commune (enterprises and institutions), while formerly it was the communal assemblies alone which elected deputies to the functional chambers of republican assemblies and the federal assembly. This has increased the influence of local work communities in policy making on the republican and federal level. Of particular interest is the fact that university and high school students have obtained the right to be elected to the Chamber for Education and Culture.⁷

The fourth council (the sociopolitical council) is elected directly by citizens in the communes. Finally, the Council of Nationalities, elected by the assemblies of the republics and provinces on a basis of parity, insures the equal participation of the various nationalities and minorities in the policy making of the federal government.

The entire process is geared to replace the "professional politician" by delegates who, as a rule, retain their professional

⁶ The official designation of these functional chambers is "Chambers of Work Communities." In Croatia, direct voting by the citizens has been introduced in the election of the Educational Chamber.

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