

UNIVERSITY OF BEOGRAD  
INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY CENTER  
FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITE DE BELGRADE  
CENTRE UNIVERSITAIRE INTERNATIONAL  
DES SCIENCES SOCIALES

**SOCIALISM  
IN YUGOSLAV THEORY AND  
PRACTICE**

**LE SOCIALISME  
DANS LA THEORIE ET LA PRATIQUE  
YUGOSLAVES**

— COLLECTION OF CONFERENCES —

— RECUEIL DES CONFERENCES —

**8**

BEOGRAD  
1976

BELGRADE  
1976

Author

BEOGRAD UNIV.

Classification No.

A 88 BEO

Accession No.

**IŞÇININ SESİ KÜTÜPHANESİ  
IŞÇININ SESİ LIBRARY**

29 PARKFIELD ST., N.1

Tel: 01-226 3401

*Bu kitap aşağıda yazılı tarihte geri verilmelidir.*

*This book must be returned by the date stamped below*


*Kitapların üstüne not almamalı, çizmemeli, işaretlememelidir.*

*Library books may not be annotated,  
corrected, or marked in any way.*



UNIVERSITY OF BEOGRAD  
INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY CENTER  
FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITE DE BELGRADE  
CENTRE UNIVERSITAIRE INTERNATIONAL  
DES SCIENCES SOCIALES

**SOCIALISM  
IN YUGOSLAV THEORY AND  
PRACTICE**

**LE SOCIALISME  
DANS LA THEORIE ET LA PRATIQUE  
YUGOSLAVES**

— COLLECTION OF CONFERENCES —

— RECUEIL DES CONFERENCES —

EMAR - EASDALE  
EMEK ARASTIRMALARI  
VAKFI KITALPUGI  
2 0 1 5



BEOGRAD  
1976

BELGRADE  
1976

UNIVERZITET U BEOGRADU  
FIZIKOMATHEMATIČKI FAKULTET  
BEOGRAD

INSTITUT ZA FIZIKU  
BEOGRAD

POSREDOVANJE  
U PROMETU NEKRETNIM  
PRAVNIM  
POSREDOVANJE

POSREDOVANJE  
U PROMETU NEKRETNIM  
PRAVNIM  
POSREDOVANJE

POSREDOVANJE  
U PROMETU NEKRETNIM  
PRAVNIM  
POSREDOVANJE

Stampa: Servis Saveza udruženja pravnika Jugoslavije,  
Beograd, Proleterskih brigada 74

## SOMMAIRE — CONTENTS

*Dr Branislav Šoškić et Dr Pavle Nikolić: INTRODUCTION* — — — VII

### CONFERENCES

<i>Dr Jovan Djordjević: REVOLUTION SOCIALISTE ET FONDEMENT D'UN SYSTEME SOCIO-POLITIQUE AUTOGESTIONNAIRE</i>	3
<i>Dr Najdan Pašić: TRANSFORMATION OF SELF-MANAGEMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA INTO AN INTEGRAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM</i> — — — — —	11
<i>Dr Anton Vratuša: FACTORS OF UNITY IN THE YUGOSLAV SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGING COMMUNITY</i> — — — — —	21
<i>Dr Branislav Šoškić: THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN SELF-MANAGING YUGOSLAVIA</i> — — — — —	27
<i>Dr Balša Špadijer: FEDERALISM AND NATIONAL RELATIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA</i> — — — — —	39
<i>Dr Velimir Zeković: THE FUNCTION OF INCOME IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM RUN ALONG SELF-MANAGEMENT LINES</i>	55
<i>Dr Miodrag Trajković: LES ORGANISATIONS DE TRAVAIL ASSOCIE DANS LE SYSTEME YOUGOSLAVE DE L'AUTOGESTION</i> — —	63
<i>Dr Mirko Mirković: EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA</i> — — — — —	81
<i>Dr Jovan Gligorijević: L'UNIVERSITE — COMMUNAUTE AUTOGESTIONNAIRE DES FACULTES ET DES INSTITUTS SCIENTIFIQUES ET DE RECHERCHE</i> — — — — —	93
<i>Dr Anton Vratuša: THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT AS THE FOUNDATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BASED ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND FRIENDLY COOPERATION IN THE WORLD</i> — — — — —	101
<i>Dr Oskar Kovač: YUGOSLAVIA'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES</i> — — — — —	111
<i>Dr Ljubiša Adamović: WORLD ENERGY CRISIS AND ITS EFFECTS UPON YUGOSLAV ECONOMY</i> — — — — —	125
<i>Miloš Sindjić: LES PLANS DE DEVELOPPEMENT A COURT ET A MOYEN TERME</i> — — — — —	135

### RAPPORTS INTRODUCTIFS AUX PANEL DISCUSSIONS

* <i>Dr Radoslav Ratković: POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING IN THE SYSTEM OF SELF-MANAGEMENT</i> — — — — —	159
<i>Dr Radomir Lukić: ASPECTS SOCIOLOGIQUES DE L'AUTOGESTION</i>	163
<i>Dr Aleš Bebler: ECOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND HOW TO SOLVE THEM</i> — — — — —	169
CONSEIL DU CENTRE UNIVERSITAIRE INTERNATIONAL DES SCIENCES SOCIALES — — — — —	173
LISTE DES PARTICIPANTS — — — — —	175

Naslov na srpskohrvatskom jeziku:  
**SOCIJALIZAM U JUGOSLOVENSKOJ TEORIJI I PRAKSI**

Za izdavača: DRAGIŠA STIJOVIĆ  
Redakcija: Dr Đurica Krstić  
Korektura: Nadežda Verešan-Krstić

IZDANJE UNIVERZITETA U BEOGRADU  
MEĐUNARODNI UNIVERZITETSKI CENTAR ZA DRUŠTVENE NAUKE  
Beograd, Studentski trg 1

Prema mišljenju Republičkog sekretarijata za kulturu broj 413-694/73-02  
od 10. X 1973. godine, ne plaća se osnovni porez na promet.



## INTRODUCTION

*C'est le huitième livre que le Centre universitaire international des sciences sociales de l'Université de Belgrade fait paraître à l'intention de l'opinion scientifique et autre de l'étranger. Tout comme les précédents, ce livre constitue un recueil des conférences et des communications d'introduction pour les discussions de la table ronde, présentées dans le cadre de la XVIIe Session du centre, à Belgrade en 1975. Ainsi, le Centre universitaire international poursuit sa bonne tradition de présenter tous les documents d'une session sous forme de livre, afin qu'ils soient portés à la connaissance d'un cercle plus vaste, et non seulement aux participants à la session donnée. Ceci est justifié du fait que les thèmes concrets des conférences (ainsi que les conférenciers et les participants aux tables rondes) changent dans le cadre du thème global: Le Socialisme dans la théorie et la pratique yougoslaves, à chaque session du Centre. Aussi s'efforce-t-on, de cette manière, de traiter toujours des problèmes d'actualité dans le système social yougoslave ainsi que dans la théorie et la pratique d'édification de la société socialiste, et de le faire dans le cadre de diverses approches à la présentation et à l'analyse de toutes ces questions. Il ne fait pas de doute que cela rend le présent livre beaucoup plus utile à tous ceux qui souhaitent s'informer et se documenter d'une façon plus détaillée et compétente sur les problèmes de la théorie et de la pratique yougoslaves dans l'édification et le développement du socialisme.*

*Le Colloque: «Le Socialisme dans la théorie et la pratique yougoslaves» est organisé tous les ans par le Centre universitaire international des sciences sociales, à Belgrade du 8 au 19 septembre. Ce colloque est destiné aux universitaires et autres travailleurs scientifiques, aux étudiants du troisième cycle, aux publicistes, ainsi qu'à tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux problèmes du socialisme dans la théorie et la pratique yougoslaves. Le programme du colloque est conçu de manière à informer les participants du système socio-économique et politique en Yougoslavie, de la pensée scientifique yougoslave dans le domaine des sciences sociales, ainsi que de la pratique du développement de la société socialiste autogestionnaire yougoslave. Les travaux de ce Colloque rassemblent d'éminents professeurs de l'Université de Belgrade et autres universités, ainsi que d'éminents travailleurs scientifiques, sociaux*



*et autres. Le programme du Colloque comprend des conférences et débats, des discussions de la table ronde et des visites à des organisations économiques, organes d'Etat, facultés et autres institutions et organisations. Ces visites donnent lieu à des conversations entre les participants au Colloque et les représentants de l'auto-gestion et des travailleurs de ces organisations et institutions.*

*Belgrade, décembre 1975*

*Le Président du Conseil du Centre  
Prof. Dr. Branislav ŠOŠKIĆ*

*Le Directeur du Centre  
Prof. Dr. Pavle NIKOLIĆ*

## PREFACE

*This is the eighth volume which the International University Center for Social Sciences of the University in Beograd is presenting the international public with. As was the case with previous editions, this one too is an anthology of the lectures and introductory remarks for the panel discussions made at the Seventeenth Session held in Beograd in September, 1975. In this way, the International University Center is continuing its practice of issuing the materials of each session in a special edition thus making them accessible to a broader section of the public and not only to that Session's participants. We consider this to be necessary as the topics of individual lecturers (as well as the lecturers and participants in the panel discussions) change from year to year though the general theme of the Seminar remains the same, i.e. SOCIALISM IN YUGOSLAV THEORY AND PRACTICE. As a result, the most topical problems in the theory and practice of the Yugoslav system of building of a socialist society are dealt with at each session while the approaches to these issues and their analyses may vary. Consequently, each of these editions can be useful to all those wishing to acquaint themselves in detail and from competent sources with the problems of Yugoslav theory and practice in the construction and development of socialism.*

*The Seminar Socialism in Yugoslav Theory and Practice is organized annually by the International University Centre for Social Sciences of the University in Beograd, from September 8th to 19th. It is primarily intended for university staff and other scholars, doctoral and post-graduate students, publicists and others interested in the problems of socialism in Yugoslav theory and practice. The programme of the Seminar is so compiled as to inform the participants on the socio-economic and political system in Yugoslavia, Yugoslav scientific thought in the social sciences and the practice of the development of the Yugoslav self-managing socialist society. Eminent professors of Beograd and other universities and other scholars and leading social figures take part in the work of the Seminar. The programme includes lectures, panel discussions and visits to economic organizations, State agencies, faculties and other establishments and organizations. On that*

*occasion, Seminar participants are given the opportunity to talk to representatives of self-management bodies and the staff of these organizations and institutions.*

*December, 1975*

**PRESIDENT OF COUNCIL OF THE CENTER**  
*Professor dr. Branislav ŠOŠKIĆ*

**DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER**  
*Professor dr. Pavle NIKOLIĆ*

# CONFERENCES



Dr. Jovan DJORDJEVIC  
Professeur à la Faculté de droit de  
l'Université de Belgrade et Académicien

REVOLUTION SOCIALISTE ET FONDEMENT D'UN SYSTEME  
SOCIO-POLITIQUE AUTOGESTIONNAIRE

— Un quart de siècle d'autogestion en Yougoslavie —

I.

1. Toutes les grandes révolutions au cours de l'histoire, illustrent ce qu'on avait dit Marx et Lénine, lorsqu'ils décrivaient les caractéristiques fondamentales de la révolution, en définissant celle-ci comme un *processus* dont ils soulignaient la *permanence*, c'est-à-dire en insistant sur sa durée et jusqu'à l'entier accomplissement de l'être révolutionnaire. Il en va de même de la révolution yougoslave, dont le trait distinctif est de s'être déroulée à un moment donné de l'histoire, en un endroit et à une époque déterminés, sous l'effet de certains facteurs historiques et d'autres circonstances propres à la Yougoslavie, aux peuples et aux classes de ce pays.

Toutes les révolutions et leurs effets sociaux et politiques n'ont pas fait montre d'une telle continuité, alors que c'est le caractère continu de la révolution, avec ses éléments d'évolution, de changement radical, mais aussi de stabilisation, voire même de crise, qui en font la grandeur et la force. S'agissant des processus révolutionnaires passés, mais aussi de certaines révolutions dont le siècle présent offre l'exemple, la *continuité* s'est souvent muée, dans certains cas déterminés, en une très nette *discontinuité*. Cela a amorcé le retour des rapports et des formes de l'ancienne société, ou bien cela a pu conduire à figer un certain «*négalisme*», que l'on peut aussi considérer comme le produit de toute transformation aussi positive et progressiste soit-elle, et de tout changement que la réalité et les hommes sont susceptibles de connaître.

Toute appréciation sur le développement socio-politique qu'a connu la société yougoslave issue de la révolution, doit prendre en considération cette durée, qu'assortit la lutte contre la discon-



tinuité et en vue de préserver la continuité révolutionnaire. C'est cet élément temporel, cette durée, qui sont la marque distinctive de la révolution socialiste en Yougoslavie. Voilà ce qui doit guider et orienter toute étude et toute réflexion relatives à sa genèse, à son évolution, mais aussi à la structure sur laquelle elle déboche dans les circonstances présentes.

Sur le plan de l'évolution constitutionnelle tout cela se confirme si l'on songe que tous les changements constitutionnels survenus postérieurement aux décisions de l'AVNOJ,<sup>1</sup> reprennent, prolongent, élargissent et approfondissent au plus haut niveau qui se puisse concevoir, les principes et les aspirations AVNOJ-iens, en fonction des possibilités et des conditions objectives et subjectives existant au moment précis où ces changements ont été conçus, et où ils sont revenus la loi fondamentale de la société en gestation.

2. Deux changements révolutionnaires essentiels ont contribué à l'application effective de ce projet révolutionnaire de tendance socialiste. La première modification intéresse le détenteur de la conscience politique et tout ce qui la caractérise, et la seconde a tendu à établir des rapports nouveaux entre les peuples et les nationalités en Yougoslavie, et c'est ce qu'exprime parfaitement le mot d'ordre célèbre de Tito relatif à «la fraternité et l'unité». Le titulaire du pouvoir est le peuple, dont le substratum est formé par la classe ouvrière, les groupes de travailleurs et tous les autres groupes attirés par le socialisme. Les modalités selon lesquelles se déroulaient les rapports interethniques dans la sphère de l'Etat, ont préfiguré pour la première fois dans l'histoire de ce pays, un système politique fondé sur l'égalité en droit des peuples, des relations de caractère fédératif s'instituant entre leurs formations étatiques respectives (les républiques). Ces modifications sont posées et décrites dans les textes de toutes les constitutions (1946, 1953, 1963) et il ressort encore de la nouvelle constitution (1974), que c'est en relation avec le principe de l'autodétermination que ce fédéralisme s'est mué en une communauté pluraliste appropriée.

Dès le début de la nouvelle organisation politique, on peut relever que le système de pouvoir tel qu'il était incarné dans une structure en forme de Conseils, offrait un fondement politique propice aux idées nouvelles, c'est-à-dire un fondement de classe.

Au cours de la période d'application des premiers textes constitutionnels, on a vu se dessiner certains phénomènes et certaines tendances, qui une fois dégagés et théorisés ont permis de franchir un nouveau pas et de parcourir une nouvelle étape dans la voie de l'évolution socio-politique, économique et constitutionnelle du pays. Le premier de ces phénomènes a été décelé dans toutes les révolutions et a marqué également la première révolution socialiste. Les révolutionnaires les plus lucides de l'époque moderne (et surtout Lénine), ont vu en lui un danger pour le

---

<sup>1</sup> Le Conseil Antifasciste de Libération Nationale de Yougoslavie est le premier corps révolutionnaire représentatif du peuple armé, qui s'est constitué en novembre 1943 et dont les décisions ont jeté les bases de la nouvelle structure fédérale.

socialisme. C'est le risque représenté non seulement par l'apparition d'une nouvelle couche socio-politique de dirigeants, que Lénine devait après Marx désigner sous le nom de bureaucrates, mais aussi par la bureaucratisation de l'organisation même du nouveau pouvoir, ainsi que des rapports politique et sociaux en général. La rigueur scientifique impose d'apprécier correctement ce phénomène et le rôle joué par la bureaucratie durant cette période, en les envisageant comme une nécessité historique, sans que l'on puisse en récuser les effets bénéfiques au niveau du processus de la nationalisation et de la consolidation du système de pouvoir populaire fondé sur la propriété des moyens de production, qui a d'abord pris la forme d'une propriété étatisée ou d'une propriété d'Etat.

## II.

1. Les changements socio-politiques tels que les ont définis la loi constitutionnelle de 1953 et la constitution de 1963, ne doivent pas être considérés uniquement comme la conséquence d'une appréciation toute théorique et de la perception du danger représenté par la bureaucratisation et la bureaucratie. Il faut y voir des suites inévitables de la continuité de la révolution socialiste, et de la concrétisation historique du projet socialiste, tel que l'a imaginé la pensée marxiste. Il a été démontré simultanément, tant sur le plan théorique qu'au niveau expérimental, que le socialisme ne se confond pas avec l'étatisation des moyens de production, avec «l'économie planifiée» autoritaire, ni en général avec l'attitude autoritaire de l'appareil politique et étatique vis-à-vis de la société, quand bien même cet appareil serait issu de la révolution et demeurerait attaché à ses acquis et fidèle à ses objectifs.

Ce sont de telles prises de conscience qui ont guidé la révolution en Yougoslavie et qui ont conduit à s'interroger sur les rapports entre l'organisation du pouvoir d'une part et les masses d'autre part, et notamment en ce qui concerne la structure des rapports de *production*. C'est dans ce laps de temps qu'ont été posés de façon plus ou moins claire et élaborée les problèmes touchant le «déperissement de l'Etat» ou relatifs encore à la valeur que peuvent représenter la liberté nationale, la liberté de l'homme, l'égalité et la dignité humaines. La solution qui a été progressivement apportée à tous ces problèmes, tient dans le passage de la propriété d'Etat sur les moyens de production, à la propriété sociale et se ramène à l'autogestion des producteurs, introduite d'abord dans l'économie et ensuite au sein de toutes les autres organisations sociales: des communes jusqu'aux établissements scolaires.

La Constitution actuellement en vigueur va encore un pas au-delà et élargit ce concept autogestionnaire, qui n'a jamais été uniquement économique.

2. En dégagant la République yougoslave des formes retrogrades et dépassées du centralisme et de l'unitarisme, la constitution établit non pas seulement un Etat fédéral, mais encore une communauté fédérative de peuples et de nationalités, une communauté autogestionnaire dont la classe ouvrière en association avec les autres groupes de travailleurs agissants, assume l'intégration de même qu'elle y joue un rôle déterminant au niveau de la décision politique. Dans cette constitution, le fédéralisme ne se présente pas comme un mécanisme étatique qui serait prépondérant dans les rapports mutuels entre la fédération et les entités fédérées, mais il apparaît plutôt comme une structure socio-politique où ceux qui décident fondamentalement à tous les niveaux sont les peuples, les nationalités, les travailleurs et les citoyens, solidaires et égaux. Sans le fédéralisme l'autogestion n'a qu'une signification fonctionnelle, et sans l'autogestion le fédéralisme devient quelque chose de purement mécanique et figé. Cette forme de *fédéralisme* à la fois *participatif et coopératif*, constitue une nouvelle contribution à la théorie et à la pratique de la société et de l'Etat contemporains, dans la voie de la recherche de nouvelles structures.

La contribution incontestablement la plus récente à cette théorie et à cette pratique, touche aux postulats de la nouvelle constitution et qui établissent — à la place et en partie à côté de l'Etat politique qui demeure cependant, sous peine de verser dans l'utopie — le système socio-politique autogestionnaire unique. A cet égard et dans la mesure où elle fixe la nouvelle structure des institutions politiques essentielles et notamment des Assemblées, la Constitution s'efforce de dépasser la notion et le processus de la simple «représentation» en ce qui concerne les rapports entre les organisations, la classe ouvrière et les masses en général, en s'attachant à un principe rarement appliqué, mais qui est un impératif majeur du démocratisme révolutionnaire — à savoir, le principe de la délégation, complété par un vaste éventail de libertés et de droits humains.

3. La nouvelle constitution ouvre aussi une nouvelle phase historique dans la façon d'appréhender et de poursuivre l'accomplissement de la société socialiste, conçue comme une société de peuples, de nationalités, de travailleurs et de citoyens égaux en droits. Cette société correspond au fond à l'idée formulée par Marx à propos du socialisme déjà développé et qu'il identifiait avec une communauté «où les producteurs émancipés» disposent de la force et des moyens de «contrôler directement les conditions et les résultats de leur travail et de leur vie en commun». Le projet de socialisme autogestionnaire et humain est aujourd'hui institutionnalisé et il se réalise graduellement. Les masses sont invitées à faire de ce système un organisme vivant et ouvert, dans lequel les peuples et les hommes seront enfin en mesure non seulement d'accomplir leurs idéaux historiques et spécifiquement humains, mais aussi de satisfaire leurs désirs et leurs besoins communs.

Le moteur de cette continuité socio-politique dans la voie de la concrétisation et de la socialisation accrues du concept auto-



gestionnaire a été et reste la classe ouvrière, combattive et internationaliste, dont la garante et la force dirigeante est son avant-garde, basée sur l'enseignement marxiste et forte de son sens de l'action et de l'autocritique.

### III

1. Ce qui passe souvent pour être un «expériment spécifiquement yougoslave» apparaît aujourd'hui comme une notion et une application particulières du système socio-politique autogéré, dans lequel il faut voir quelque chose qui ne se ramène pas à une simple technique de gestion. Voici quels sont les fondaments essentiels de cette pratique autogestionnaire:

a) Le système politique autogestionnaire est la forme politique de la société socialiste; il est indissociable d'une telle structure sociale, fondée sur la propriété sociale des moyens de production, facilitant le dépérissement des rapports hiérarchiques au sein des entreprises, ainsi que de l'aliénation du travail et des résultats du labour.

b) Au sein du système autogestionnaire, on assiste à une mutation ou en tout cas à une limitation des rapports de domination, celle-ci étant entendue comme le gouvernement des hommes par d'autres hommes. La domination n'est plus désormais le rapport socio-politique fondamental, ainsi que cela a été le cas à travers toute l'histoire, de sorte que l'organisation politique autogestionnaire de la société se présente comme un système politique à part entière.

Tout système de domination est fondé sur la situation inégale des hommes au sein des rapports de production, en raison des rapports non seulement hiérarchiques, mais encore d'aliénation et d'exploitation; ou plutôt, la base de cette domination se reflète dans le caractère aliéné du pouvoir exercé par l'homme sur lui-même, notamment du fait de l'expropriation des produits de son travail. Dans ce sens, l'autogestion se présente comme un nouveau rapport de production, comme le premier acte du dépassement de la domination, puisqu'elle consiste par essence à passer de la domination, conçue comme un système de rapports hiérarchiques et inégaux, à un système de travail associé et d'égalité en droits entre les hommes, au sein du processus de gestion des conditions, des moyens et des produits de travail.

Entre la structure sociale socialiste en puissance et le système politique, il n'existe pas de déterminisme à sens unique; le rapport de production «autogestionnaire» ne produit pas automatiquement et de lui-même des rapports politiques caractérisés par la liberté et l'égalité des droits. Le rapport de production autogestionnaire est à la fois un rapport socio-économique et un rapport de nature politique. Entre ces deux niveaux — économique et politique — d'un ensemble complexe, le rapport est de type dialectique, c'est-à-dire qu'il existe aussi entre eux une certaine complémen-

tarité, un rapport de suppléance, d'influence et de détermination réciproques. La dialectique n'est pas uniquement «l'opposition des contradictions».

2. La pratique autogestionnaire suppose, en définitive, une activité consciente et scientifiquement orientée de la part des masses; une révolution culturelle et morale; une maîtrise des hommes sur leur environnement et sur eux-mêmes et une pensée autogestionnaire, c'est-à-dire dégagée des déterminismes simplistes, du volontarisme élitiste et du dogmatisme idéologique.

L'autogestion n'est pas un dogme ou un «*Deus ex Machina*»; elle est sujette à la critique de la pratique et de la pensée critique. Elle se critique elle-même en se réalisant à travers des contradictions dont n'est libérée aucune structure sociale et partant celle de la société socialiste yougoslave. Mais il n'est pas justifié de dire que le débat sur l'autogestion soit «purement» théorique, car il exprime la réalité sociale en transformation et donc préfigure notre avenir de tous. C'est pourquoi l'expérience yougoslave n'est ni un cas isolé et particulier ni un modèle à imiter. Elle se connaît mieux par la pensée et l'œuvre des autres; de ceux qui luttent pour une société meilleure et l'autre. Dans le sens autogestionnaire l'autre n'est pas néant: il est ami et participant dans un effort de reconstruction, de la liberté et de l'unité de l'homme et du monde.

#### Dr JOVAN DJORDJEVIC

Dr Jovan Djordjević, professeur à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Belgrade et juge à la Cour Constitutionnelle de Yougoslavie, et né le 10 mars 1908 à Belgrade. Promu au grade de docteur ès sciences à Paris en 1933, il fut nommé chargé de cours à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Beograd en 1936. Pendant la guerre, il quitta son service pour prendre part à la lutte de libération. Depuis 1945, il est professeur titulaire à la chaire des sciences politiques et du droit constitutionnel à la même Faculté.

Il est membre de plusieurs académies internationales et sociétés scientifiques, vice-président de l'Association internationale pour les sciences politiques et membre de toutes les académies de sciences yougoslaves. Il a fait des conférences à de nombreuses Facultés étrangères. Membre actif de l'Institut international pour la philosophie politique et de l'Académie internationale pour les sciences politiques et droit constitutionnel, professeur adjoint à la Faculté de Droit de Paris, docteur honoris causa de l'Université de Paris et de l'Université de Strasbourg. De 1961 à 1964, le professeur Djordjević fut vice-président de l'Association internationale pour les sciences politiques.

Dans le domaine des sciences politiques, une haute estime est accordé par les milieux scientifiques et par la critique aux œuvres capitales suivantes du professeur Djordjević: *La Yougoslavie démocratie socialiste* (1957), *Le droit constitutionnel et le système politique* (1961 et 1962), *Le socialisme et la démocratie* (1961), *Le système politique* (1967), *Le droit constitutionnel* (1967).

En soulevant des questions de base relatives à l'édification du socialisme et à ses perspectives en Yougoslavie et dans le monde, le professeur Djordjević a développé et appliqué systématiquement le concept marxiste de la politique dans la conception et l'analyse de la démocratie socialiste dans les conditions actuelles.

L'activité publique actuelle du professeur Djordjević comprend aussi d'autres obligations, parmi lesquelles il y a lieu de mentionner particulièrement sa fonction de rédacteur en chef de la revue «Archives pour la jurisprudence et les sciences sociales» et celle de président de l'Association yougoslave pour les sciences politiques. Le professeur Djordjević s'est distingué également comme participant et organisateur de maintes réunions scientifiques dans le pays et à l'étranger. En 1967 il fut élu juge à la Cour constitutionnelle de Yougoslavie.





*Dr. Najdan PAŠIĆ*

*Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences  
of the University of Beograd*

## TRANSFORMATION OF SELF-MANAGEMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA INTO AN INTEGRAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM

Some features of Yugoslav post-war development have aroused an international attention which is quite out of proportion with the size of the country and its economic and military strength. That is due, at least partly, to the system of self-management for which Yugoslavia is widely known today.

The highly complex system of production and management characterising contemporary industrial and "post-industrial" society have intensified the widespread feeling of dissatisfaction and resignation of people as to their own subordinate or depersonalised position, the absence of any real possibility of participating effectively in decision-making and managing affairs directly concerning their existence as workers and social beings.

This situation provokes widespread interest in possible alternatives to the tendencies of ever-growing bureaucratisation of both economic and political structures. The development of self-management in Yugoslavia, regardless of how we assess its results, raises in acute form some of the general questions and dilemmas confronting the development of contemporary societies and therefore deserves to be the subject of broad critical consideration and analysis.

After twenty-five years of development, the beginning of which was marked by the Law on Handing Over State Economic Enterprises to the Work Collective for Management of June 1950, self-management in Yugoslavia has reached an important historical turning point. The dilemmas with which the system is confronted and the direction in which settlements are being sought are expressed first in the constitutional amendments and then in the new Constitution adopted late in February 1974.

The very problems which have emerged and which are due to be settled in the course of this stage of development show that the development of self-management in Yugoslavia, in spite of all

avoidable and inevitable waverings and delays, has been a profoundly revolutionary process which has introduced radical changes into the basic social relations and has exerted great influence upon all institutions and all spheres of social life, due to which the Yugoslav society as a whole has landed in a completely new and original historical situation.

The thing of which the most progressive thinking in Yugoslavia and in the world alike has been aware for a long time has been confirmed: self-management, by virtue of its social substance, neither is nor can be reduced to a limited reform in the sphere of "industrial relations" which introduces certain corrections and improvement into the substantially unchanged wage-labour position of workers in relation to private capital or to the State. In this sense, the principal dilemma of the Yugoslav society at this historical juncture is the final transformation of self-management into a complete system of organisation of the global society.

The present situation is characterised to the greatest extent by the not yet transcended dualism of the self-management and statist organisation in the global social sphere. Self-management has already become the legitimate form of life of every work organisation in the economy. An economic organisation in Yugoslavia is characterised by social ownership of production and the inalienable right of all members of the work collective to make decisions directly and through bodies which they themselves elect, workers' councils and the like, about all questions of the organisation and business operations of the enterprise and to appropriate and allot the income they create, exchanging their products and services through market. "It is the first time that the enterprise is constituted as an economic system, on the basis that direct producers are concurrently producers, managers and the first appropriators of their work".<sup>1</sup>

This new position of man in collective work is the lasting and greatest achievement of the self-management system in Yugoslavia — the foundation upon which the reconstruction of the entire social edifice has started and is being achieved.

Step by step, self-management has been expanded with the inclusion of other spheres of social life, social services and all other organisations of the non-economic nature. Every school, every hospital, every scientific institution, etc., is formed as a self-management organisation living on the socially recognised results of its work and in which working men have, in principle, the same self-management rights as workers in economic enterprises.

It stands to reason that the development of self-management also demanded far-reaching changes in the political organisation of society. These changes have been proceeding in the direction of a gradual replacement of State bureaucratic centralism and conventional institutions of the political representative democracy

---

<sup>1</sup> See: Dr. Berislav Šefer, "Social Development in the Self-Management Society", Edition of the Institute for Political Studies of the Faculty of Political Sciences, Beograd, p. 47.

with directly democratic forms of political decision-making. A far-reaching decentralisation has been carried out which has consolidated the material and political independence of municipalities as local bodies of authority, political independence, and self-management and of republics as State and self-management communities, while councils of work communities, or, rather, assembly houses composed of delegates of self-management organisations, have been introduced in all assemblies ranging from that of municipalities to the Federal Assembly.

However, in spite of all these changes, the global organisation of the State still maintains its explicitly dualist character. In the vital sphere of social life, in the use of the total social accumulation which serves as the material basis of social reproduction<sup>2</sup> as a whole, extremely strong etatist elements have been retained. In a direct manner, through the budget, and in an indirect manner, through influence upon centralised funds for financing social services and other requirements, such as pension and health insurance and the like, and the development of undeveloped areas, the federal State still had the lion's share in the formation and allocation of investments. The position of individual enterprises and of entire economic branches still largely depended on conditions for business operations which State bodies established and imposed. Innumerable regulations and measures of the current economic policy, which were often altered, caused instability and insecurity in the business operations of work organisations, augmenting their direct dependence upon arbitrary decision of the State apparatus.

Eventually, in spite of important changes made in the sense of the material independence of self-management enterprises and their associations, the banking and credit system as a whole remained less an instrument of an integrated economy and more the extended hand of State control over the economy.

All these circumstances induced one to the conclusion that an adequate self-management solution had not yet been discovered for the total process of expanded reproduction. The key question of the absolutely necessary concentration of "social capital" and its circulating according to laws of the modern market economy and under the efficient control of associated producers themselves had not been properly settled. That had become the chief obstacle to the further self-management development of the social system as a whole, created internal contradictions and tensions in this system and had a negative, retroactive effect upon the state of self-management relations, even where they had already taken root, viz. in work organisations and their associations.

This situation secured, on the one hand, a still comparatively strong position of the professional, political-managing stratum in its mediatory and tutelary role and, on the other hand, it

---

<sup>2</sup> "Reproduction is the completion of the capital-plus-value cycle. It is called simple when the plus-value is devoted to consumption. It is expanded when it includes accumulation of capital". Cf. Milojko Drulović, "L'autogestion à l'épreuve", Fayard, 1973, p. 68, footnote.



created technocratic tendencies within individual enterprises, especially in big integrated entities, because workers were often willing — in a situation of economic insecurity and dependence upon external factors beyond their control — to give discretion to the professional-technical management, to the stratum which is termed “techno-structure” in the contemporary economic and sociological literature.

Consequently, in order that self-management could progress further, becoming a social reality instead of being reduced to a normative facade behind which different factual relations are hidden, it was absolutely necessary that it should develop and be built into a uniform system of global social organisation. The problem, in fact, boils down to the question as to how to secure the process of expanded reproduction, the concentration and circulation of material means for such reproduction to be placed under the direct and factual control of the workers organised in self-management enterprises. This is the question of “to be or not to be” of the self-management system today.

A feature of great importance of the above-mentioned constitutional changes is that they are directed to the settlement of this key question. Article 10 of the new Constitution says:

“The socialist socio-economic system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall be based on freely associated labour and socially owned means of production, and on self-management by the working people in production and in distribution of the social product in basic and other organisations of associated labour and in social reproduction as a whole”.

This same stand is even more directly expressed in article 13 of the Constitution:

“Workers in associated labour working with socially owned resources shall have the inalienable right to work with these resources, to satisfy their personal and social needs and to manage, freely and on equal footing with other workers in associated labour, their labour and the conditions and results thereof”.

Naturally, constitutional rules are not confined solely to the establishing and formulation of the principles concerning the position of man in collective work with publicly owned means of production. They concurrently determine the method and instruments of realisation of the principles proclaimed. In this respect two factors are of vital importance: firstly, the thorough constitutional regulation of the position and role of the basic organisation of collective labour both within the framework of enterprises and broader organisational entities, as well as in the total process of social production, trade and distribution; and, secondly, the definition and determination of the character, contents and role of self-management agreements and social contracts as the fundamental constitutional categories.

The basic organisation of collective work is conceived in the Constitution as the primary cell of the self-management economic organisation of society, the elementary form of Marx' free associa-

tion of associated producers. "Basic organisations of associated labour are the basic forms of associated labour in which the workers directly and on terms of equality realise their socio-economic and other self-management rights and decide on other questions concerning their socio-economic status".<sup>3</sup>

People in it achieve directly and in agreement, without external mediators such as the State and the market, their fundamental self-management right to decide on all questions of their collective work and upon the basis of this work to distribute the total income — the socially confirmed result of their work in the market.

Since the basic organisation of collective work is the basic cell of the self-management production relationship,<sup>4</sup> it cannot be an arbitrary creation of any body, any force and authority besides the working men themselves who constitute this organisation. That is why the Constitution guarantees that "workers in every part of the work organisation, enterprise, institution and the like, which represents a work entity in which the result of their collective work can be confirmed as a value on the market or in a work organisation, and which can be freely expressed upon this basis, have the right and duty to organise such a part as the basic organisation of collective work".

Through their basic organisation of collective work, working men concretely and directly — and not solely in principle and through the mediation of the State — realise the fundamental right of managing and deciding on means of social reproduction, including that part of their income created by means of their work which does not remain in the basic organisation of collective work itself for personal incomes and reproduction, but is engaged as part of the funds of social reproduction at the level of the entire enterprise or on a broader social sphere, such as investment in a bank or in another work organisation, for the basic organisation of collective work is the prime subject in the process of association of social work and means, in accordance with the freely expressed interests of the associated producers themselves. It is the starting point of self-management integration in its most varied forms without abolishing thereby its self-management individuality and autonomy.

Everything that is achieved as the economic result of such pooling of work and funds, in the form of interest on credit, or in some other form, "is the component part of the income which basic organisation of collective work achieve through their total activity", and this means that working men decide on this part of the income directly within the framework of their basic organisations of collective work. In this way, basic organisations

<sup>3</sup> Article 14 of the new Constitution.

<sup>4</sup> "The basic work unit is, in fact, the elementary section of an undertaking or of a department of which the production costs may be called simple when the plus-value is devoted to consumption. It is calculation of production costs and basic accounting is carried out. Every worker therefore is able to see directly on what both his own and the results of the enterprise depend". Cf. Miloško Drulović, *op. cit.*, p. 63.



of collective work assume a double function of vital importance for the life and work of the self-management society: firstly, they make possible — in contrast to the etatist and private-capitalist ones — a self-management solution of the question of concentration and circulation of means of social reproduction. It is only in this manner that the process of expanded reproduction is factually placed under the control of associated producers; secondly, they represent a substantial guarantee for the preservation of the self-management sovereignty and equality of working men within the framework of enterprises and broader integrated entities, for even these basic organisations of collective work establish themselves in their role and function defined in the constitution, while they secure that, even in the framework of intricate organisms of the modern economy and of the so-called “large systems”, the basic rights of decision-making are connected with the self-management basis of the organisations, however complex its composition may be.

De-etatisation achieved by means of the consolidation of the independent role of the basic organisation of collective work is intended to signify a further and more profound socialisation of the process of global social reproduction, rather than the privatisation and the substitution of social ownership with group ownership. It is evident that an economic system consisting of independent molecules of basic organisations of collective work connected solely through the uncontrolled market, must necessarily signify an anarchic market, a great and continuously growing inequality in the material position of basic organisations of collective work and entire branches and regions, conflicts of interests within the working class and its factual disintegration and “privatisation”. The final consequence would be the setting up of group ownership relations towards social means of production with all the elements of restoration of class relations which this implies.

The gradual but ever more consistent suppression of the State from the role of generally competent arbiter in the distribution of the social surplus value of labour and in the process of management of global reproduction, which has been and still is the basic source of bureaucratic power, must not signify giving up an adequate general social mechanism for the regulation of conditions of business operations, for a conscious orientation of the basic trends of reproduction and for establishing also an organised protection of such general criteria in the use of the social product, by means of which are consolidated and secured management and appropriation upon the basis of work and not upon the basis of ownership.

From this stems the great significance of institutions of self-management agreements which, in the course of the last few years and particularly following the Second Congress of Self-Managers, has been obtaining an increasingly important place in social practice. Under the new Constitution they have also become an element of the constitutional system. Self-management

agreements, which basic and other organisations of collective work and communities of interest conclude between themselves, and social contracts in which bodies of socio-political communities, bodies of authority, as well as trade unions and other self-management organisations also take part, are extremely important instruments for the independent regulation of a whole range of vital socio-economic relations.

Under these agreements and contracts are established, among other things, the general bases and criteria for the internal distribution of income within the basic organisation of collective work, as well as mutual relations of these organisations in various forms of the pooling of work and of funds. Also, mutual obligations between workers in organisations of collective work for carrying out social activities, such as education, health service, and the users of these services, are regulated in this way. Under self-management agreements and social contracts, special funds are created to help organisations which land in exceptional economic difficulties and to solve problems of unemployment or under-employment in certain regions or branches of industry.

But what is happening in the event that self-management agreements and social contracts are not concluded, causing thus significant upheavals in the application of the principle of distribution according to the work invested, in the normal function of the economy and in the implementation of equal self-management rights of workers; or in the event that these same consequences occur because certain organisations do not accept the agreements and contracts that have been concluded and do not honour the obligations stemming from them? In this event, it is possible to establish under law the measures which regulate relations which have not been regulated in self-management agreements or social contracts. It is also possible to establish that a corresponding social contract is generally binding. In the same way, it is possible to limit provisionally under law the use of the part of funds of social reproduction or to establish the obligation to pool these funds for the sake of financing certain absolutely necessary requirements of social reproduction.

Consequently, even under the latest changes which the new Constitution contains, the State is not absolutely excluded from the process of expanded reproduction but its role is far more consistently reduced to the securing of general conditions and guarantees for the functioning of the self-management mechanism, which now ever more independently and in increasingly greater spheres regulates basic relations in the process of expanded reproduction and is securing its socialist line and contents.

“Under all these measures, one has naturally not eliminated or transcended all the basic social contradictions that are inherent to commodity production and to distribution according to the work invested. With the transfer of expanded reproduction to the working man and his basic work organisation, all these contradictions have not been eliminated. Only a new, different basis for their transcendence and self-management democratic



settlement has been, or, better said, is being created. The strength of bureaucracy and technocracy has been stemming from the contradictions of commodity production. As a matter of fact, commodity production requires a State action, even under our new relations. Whether, due to this, and in this setting, bureaucracy and technocracy and social forces, which are their vehicles, will be strengthening, or whether the forces which are the vehicles of self-management democratic relations will be consolidated, depends among other things also upon the manner in which these contradictions are settled. Unless we find a method for creating a self-management basis for this, we shall not develop the social basis for transcending bureaucracy... The de-etatisation of economic relations in the sphere of expanded reproduction for which constitutional, legal foundations have been given... is the point of departure for the full de-etatisation of socio-economic life and for the de-bureaucratising of political life".<sup>5</sup>

By virtue of its normative solutions, already the 1963 Yugoslav Constitution represented a milestone in the advancement of self-management autonomy of the assemblies of various socio-political communities and the strengthening of cooperative rather than hierarchical ties between them. On the grounds of the experience that had already been gained and projections into the future of the basic tendencies of development of self-management on a broad social plane, this Constitution devoted a special chapter to enumerating all the elements for a comprehensive conception of socio-political communities.

The rationale behind the creation of socio-political communities was to transform all levels of the territorial organization of government (communes, provinces, republics and the Federation) into functionally integrated self-managing communities, in which the exercise of government power would be only one of their functions. This was the design of the socio-political communities and their relations with one another.

The self-managing character of the socio-political communities hinges on the organs of all these communities, both large and small, being directly linked with the self-managing social base, a link which will be reflected both in their organizational structure and in the manner in which they are constituted. In terms of their functions and the manner in which these organs make decisions and act, they are first and foremost instruments of associated labour.

For this reason, the terms of reference and competences of each community are not determined or conditioned by a "transfer" of greater or lesser powers from "higher" to "lower" organs, or by any scheme of a "separation of powers"; rather, they are determined from the standpoint of the optimal satisfaction of the interests and needs of the individual and associated labour. In this sense, every socio-political community performs all those

---

<sup>5</sup> From Milentije Popović's speech at the joint session of all councils of the Federal Assembly, held on March 29, 1971, quoted according to the book "The Constitution of the SFRY", 1971, pp. 21-23.

functions and only those functions which, from the standpoint of associated labour, it is best qualified to perform.

The principle that the basic structure of all socio-political communities must derive from various forms of primary self-management in everyday life and work received a much fuller elaboration in the new 1974 Constitution of the SFRY, which ensures a greater institutional coherence of the entire political system as an integral part and general superstructure of self-management. The Constitution defines the basic organizations of associated labour, local communities and communities of interest, as the corner-stones of the socio-political system. Delegates from these basic self-managing organizations and communities make up the assemblies in the commune, province, republic and Federation which are responsible for the process of decision-making.

In line with the nature of self-management, which precludes subordination and centralism, the mutual association and broad integration of socio-political communities are based on three fundamental principles. These are the self-managing autonomy of each socio-political community, large and small, equality in their mutual relations, and cooperation in the carrying out of their functions. These principles were expressed in normative terms as early as in the 1963 Constitution, and have been further elaborated in the new Constitution.

The creation of a system of delegations by the basic self-managing organizations and communities as their permanent organs, has opened up permanent channels of two-way communication between the assemblies, where policy on self-management and government affairs is formulated within the respective socio-political community, and the self-managing primary units, which have a direct voice in political decision-making through their own delegations. Thus a completely new situation arises when the deputy or councillor, who never had any institutionalized links with his "constituency", is replaced by a delegate, who has a direct say in the process of decision-making, both in the delegation which elected him and in the assembly to which he has been elected. This new situation represents a watershed in the complicated process of turning the assembly mechanism into an integral part of the structure of self-management.

The full socialisation of the policy through the process of liberation of work is a distant historical prospect in which scientifically perceived possibilities are necessarily intermingled with elements of social utopia. Consequently, it is a vision into which are transposed certain most progressive strivings and aspirations of the contemporary man and not the reality of today or tomorrow. However, the self-management of people with conditions and results of their work and all changes which this causes in the entire organisation of society bring this vision closer, offering possibilities for a clearer perception of paths leading in this direction and objective obstacles, rooted in the existing social relations which are due to be transcended.

Society cannot yet live without political authority, since the working class still needs also political means and political forms of its own integration in order to ensure socialist order and further progress on that basis. Development of self-management makes possible and demands this authority to be strictly under the control of associated labour and to be integrated into the structure and processes of self-management decision-making from below upwards. This means, in fact, the development of such a democratic political system as makes possible the expression and free articulation of various interests, but which, at the same time, possesses such a mechanism of selection and guidance of social strivings and demands as to secure the advantage and supremacy of long-term socialist interests of associated labour. That should be borne in mind in any objective analysis of achievements and shortcomings of the Yugoslav political system.

Dr. NAJDAN PAŠIĆ

Dr. Najdan Pašić, professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Beograd, Editor-in-Chief of the review "Socijalizam", and a Member of the Council of Peoples of the Federal Assembly. Born in 1922, in Skoplje. Graduate of the Faculty of Law in Beograd, diploma 1949; post-graduate studies from 1949—1951 at the Institute of Social Sciences in Beograd.

Professor Pašić began lecturing at the Faculty of Law in Beograd, in 1951, and in 1956 obtained his Doctoral Degree in the field of public corporations in the United Kingdom. From 1960 on at the School of Political Sciences in Beograd, as one of its first lecturers; full-time Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences; as from 1965 Editor-in-Chief of the "Socijalizam".

Professor Pašić is actively engaged in the publishing activity and in journalism; as early as 1951, he started the magazine NIN and was its first Editor-in-Chief.

As one of the active Yugoslav contemporary theoreticians in the field of political science he particularly concentrated his attention to the following problems: the theory of a modern state and the etatization of social life; comparative political systems; problems of self-managing society.

His publishing activity includes: several essays on national question and on federalism; more than a hundred articles, as well as five books (Public corporations in the United Kingdom, 1957; Contemporary state, 1960; Comparative political system, 1962; The social classes and the politics, 1968; and Political education of the self-managing society, 1970). For his book The social classes and the politics he was awarded the 1969 October Prize.

Some of Professor Pašić's articles and essays are translated into foreign languages.



*Dr. Anton VRATUŠA*

*Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council;  
Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences  
of the University of Beograd*

#### FACTORS OF UNITY IN THE YUGOSLAV SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGING COMMUNITY

The problem of unity and of political, economic, and social cohesiveness of a modern society is one of the problems of major importance in the world of today. This is especially true for the developing countries and for the newly liberated nations.

Yugoslavia, being a pluri-national country, has been especially interested in the problems of economic, social and political integrity on the basis of national equality of all nations and nationalities inhabiting the country. Therefore, from the very beginning, this problem has been one of the key issues permanently present on the agenda of all leading political and State factors. In different phases of the socio-political and constitutional development, various forms and procedures were being applied in assuring the integrity and the cohesiveness within the country. Now, after thirty years of the existence of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, factors of unity are somewhat different than immediately after the liberation in 1945. However, the problem of integrity and unity is not less important today than it used to be thirty years ago.

Why are we so interested in this problem today? First of all we have been striving to build a modern society, with a relatively developed national economy, willing to make the utmost use of the contemporary, modern technology. It is very important to insure unity and such forms of government, as to allow, on the one hand, the free development of individual and collective incentive, and on the other, integration, especially within the economy.

The level of development of productive forces requires an integration within the country and does not tolerate an autarchic approach to public affairs. It does not mean that such a state of affairs necessitates a unitarian State. As a matter of fact, the weakest point of the pre-war Yugoslavia was the tendency of the



Serbian bourgeoisie to impose the unitarian-state rules to the rest of the country and to other nations composing the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. This attitude of the biggest nation in the country turned out to be the one of the causes of the downfall of the pre-war Yugoslavia. That is why the new leadership, already during the National Liberation War, had decided to organize the country on the principles of a federation, where each nation would be able to develop itself within its own community, living on terms of brotherhood and unity with other nations and nationalities in the whole Yugoslav pluri-national community.

At the end of the war approximately 78% of the population lived in rural areas, the country being agricultural, under-developed and with a semi-colonial status in relation to some of the great powers, especially Germany, England, and France. Today, only 42% of the population is agricultural. A deep change occurred also in the field of ownership relations, owing to the nationalization of private capital and to the land reform which in fact eliminated feudal estates. The State took over the entire nationalized sector and planning was introduced. All national resources were concentrated in the hands of central authorities in order to insure necessary capital formation for a speedy industrialization of the country.

By introducing workers self-management in enterprises and institutions the right of running the enterprises was transferred from State agencies to elected bodies — workers' councils, the major policy-making bodies in an enterprise. Therefore, the State ownership of the means of production and of national resources started being transformed into social ownership.

Social ownership means that each working man, working with socially owned means of production in the factory, on the land, in the school or scientific institution has acquired the right to run the production together with other workers in the same enterprise, and to decide, within the framework of existing laws, on the income and its distribution, as well as to participate, from the shop floor in the running of public affairs. Therefore, social ownership, planning and the unified market constitute the economic and social basis for the integrity of the country.

The system of General National Defense has also been important within the framework of the factors of unity in the country as a special strategy to insure and safeguard the security of the country and to discourage a potential aggressor.

The foreign policy based on the principles of non-alignment does greatly contribute to the achievement of the aforesaid aim.

Let us enumerate and examine some major factors of unity in the pluri-national self-managing socialist community of Yugoslavia. The first factor is the right of the working people, i.e. of associated labourers in Yugoslavia to self-management. The second factor is the State as an instrument in the hands of the working class and the working people for dealing with those problems that cannot be solved at this stage of development and in present

international circumstances by means other than the authority of the State. The third factor, as we are accustomed to say, are organized subjective forces of socialism in the country, i.e. the working people organized in their socio-political organizations: Socialist Alliance as an all-embracing socio-political organization in Yugoslavia; League of Communists as a leading ideological factor in the country; Trade Unions as a class organization of the working class; Union of Socialist Youth; Conference for the Social Activities of Women, and others. The fourth factor is the principle of the political and economic equality of nations in Yugoslavia. The fifth is the principle of insuring a harmonious economic, social and cultural development in Yugoslavia in the framework of which a speedier development of less developed republics and regions has to be insured, bearing in mind that there is a ratio of one to two, even to three, between the most developed and the least developed regions in Yugoslavia. The sixth factor are principles on which the Yugoslav foreign policy is based.

The principle of the right to self-management is the basic instrument in the hands of every working man to influence decisively his own conditions of work and living, as well as the right of workers in factories, educational institutions, health, scientific institutions to associated labour i.e. wherever people work together, to decide not only upon management, current affairs, salaries, housing, but also on modernization and the entire investment policy including expanded production and foreign economic relations of an enterprise or an institution. All that, of course, within relevant legal boundaries and insuring that everyone not only uses his own inalienable right of self-management, but also, respects completely and consequently the right of his fellow-workers deriving from the same Constitution.

Such a basis insures, on the one hand, that the social and economic stability of the individual depends, first of all, on the results of his labour according to the principle — from everyone according to his ability and to everyone according to his work. In other words, everyone should be remunerated according to his contribution in creating new value or in satisfying needs in science, education, health, of the community. The equality based upon self-management is the main source of unity, integrity and cohesiveness within the whole working class, within the whole working people and the community. It is also the basis of the equality of nations within the country, and of the political unity of the country.

Sometimes we are told by our friends from abroad that allegedly the major characteristic of the present-day Yugoslavia is the decentralization for self-management. This is a misunderstanding. Decentralization for self-management exists, but, only as a phase of the development of self-management. The decentralization of the State monopoly in the national economy was needed to pave the way for a modern, democratic, socialist integration on the basis of self-management, having as a point of departure the

individual and collective, political, moral and economic interests. Therefore, the decentralization can be viewed and assessed as the instrument for clearing the way for a democratic and truly human socialist integration on the basis of self-management.

In connection with this, one might mention the widely-held opinion about Yugoslav self-management being possible only at a rather low level of development of the means of production. According to such beliefs, a rather underdeveloped country allegedly should be better fit for the introduction of self-management than a highly developed one. Our own experience has shown that the opposite is true. We have realized on many occasions that the low level of development of production forces and the need for greater capital formation for new investments to be able to overcome backwardness, represents one of the major obstacles to the development and to the implementation of the principle of self-management.

In such a situation with a forced and speedier industrialization, the community as a whole has to withhold a relatively high percentage of new value for investment and it means that the workers' councils and other bodies of self-management are not able, in the present situation, to decide about the results of their work and dispose with their income.

Under the term "State" we do not mean only State administration but all agencies representing the sovereignty of the nation, and the State: the Federal Assembly, the Presidency of the Federation, the Federal Executive Council, the Constitutional Courts, the Federal Courts, the Social Attorney of Self-Management and others. We have been using the term "Assembly" from the very beginning for the traditional "Parliament". All the three branches, the legislative, executive and judicial, after having undergone many important changes, structural organizational and in methods of work, represent in the present-day Yugoslavia very important factors of the unity of the country.

The major and essential changes happened within the framework of the Assembly. First of all, already twenty years ago, a second, the so-called Chamber of Producers was introduced and the workers entered the Assembly by means of their own Chamber. With the further development of self-management the Chamber of Producers developed increasingly in importance, until finally, according to the new Constitution the influence of organized associated labour became the dominant factor in the Assembly.

Whereas, during the first phase of the development of self-management the so-called political Chamber formed on the basis of territorial constituencies, had according to the statute and procedure, the dominant position in the legislative body.

Today, no decision concerning the material position of the individual, a nation or a group can be adopted in any of the Chambers without the consent of the Chamber of Associated Labour, or in the Federal Assembly without the consent or the



decision of the Chamber of the Republics and Autonomous Provinces. This Chamber which assures political equality of nations in Yugoslavia, replaced the former Chamber of Nationalities. By shifting the dominant position to the Chamber of Associated Labour in the Assembly, the Chamber of Republics and Autonomous Provinces was also created.

All issues concerning not only political equality among nations, but also economic equality are to be dealt with in this Chamber. Therefore, when we say that the State authority as a whole, as a system, has been the second major factor of integrity in the socialist community of Yugoslavia, we have in mind the State in the present form, i.e. the State which has undergone very deep changes in the circumstances of self-management, as the basis of the entire socio-political system of Yugoslavia.

Therefore, this factor of unity and strength of the socialist community in Yugoslavia has been developing directly on the basis of the process of the withering away of the State, i.e. through the process of its deep transformation, as a result of which the authority of the self-management system has been growingly "replacing" the authority of the traditional political State.

The next factor are the socio-political organizations. We, in Yugoslavia have focused our attention not on whether we have a single or a pluri-party system in the country, but on how to transform the classical political parties in such a way so as to achieve the final aim: a no-party system. That means, how to insure having a socialist, democratic, pluralistic community: not on the basis of the division of the nation into different political parties, but in developing such a system, and this is the system of self-management, where the individual will be able to take decisions on the basis of his own interest and according to the particular issue, and not according to his party affiliation. In this direction the transformation of the role of the League of Communists, of the Socialist Alliance and even of the Trade Union, has taken place in Yugoslavia.

Harmonious economic, social and cultural development is the key problem, the fifth key factor for insuring, developing, and strengthening the unity in the country. The integrity of a country is not something given once and for ever. This is a process where many different factors, both positive and negative, have been interacting.

In Yugoslavia this problem of a harmonious development is of such importance that it needs to be mentioned as a special factor of unity due to the differences in the level of economic and social development in various regions of Yugoslavia and of their rather different past and history.

The foreign policy of Yugoslavia which is based upon the principles of non-alignment is conceived as the sixth factor of unity and as a source of strength of the country. This policy forms the basis of permanent links of friendly cooperation and solidarity with all progressive forces in the world struggling for independence, sovereignty, non-interference, peace and security for all, as

well as for the right of each nation to develop freely in its own social system, according to its needs and aspirations. The liberation of the individual is the main aim of self-management, while the liberation of nations is the aim of the policy of non-alignment. This is why self-management in the country and the policy of non-alignment in the sphere of foreign policy are the two pillars of stability, unity, progress, and security of Yugoslavia.

To conclude, we may say that the problem of unity of the pluri-national self-management socialist community of Yugoslavia has to be taken as a process and not as something given today and forever, as a process in a community where different factors, with different intensity in various phases, have played their role. It is especially important to know this in view of the dynamic transformation the Yugoslav community has been undergoing in the past thirty years, in order to determine the past, what is decisive for the present, and what is left to be resolved in the future.

The State, for instance, in the initial period of our development had a much greater role than it has today. However, it does not mean that the role of the State can be reduced to the minimum before self-management is developed as a system to such an extent that it can perpetuate itself economically, socially, politically, and culturally.

This would represent a luxury and would endanger the revolution and the revolutionary achievements. Therefore, it is very important to make a permanent effort to search and analyse the relations within the country, the attained results, as well as to carry on research about the social-economic and political changes in the community.

It is not by accident that the last sentence in the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia reads: "... Nothing accomplished can be so sacred to us that it cannot be surpassed, and give way to that which is more progressive, more free, more human."

Therefore, you will meet in the Yugoslav theory and practice a permanent orientation towards the future, to keep the strategy and the perspectives of socialist self-management permanently open.

Dr. ANTON VRATUŠA

Yugoslav diplomatist; born on 21st of February 1915 in Dolnja Slaveča; graduated at the University of Ljubljana. Doctor's Degree, Faculty of Arts and Humanities. Colonel in Yugoslav People's Army 1941—1945; various appointments in Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Federal Executive Council, 1945; member, Federal Assembly 1965; member of numerous delegations to the UN; President, Yugoslav National Commission for UNESCO; Director, Institute for Social Sciences; Professor at the School of Political Sciences, Beograd; Permanent Representative to UN 1967—1969; professor of Political Sciences, Beograd University 1969; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs 1969—1971; Deputy Prime Minister 1971; President, Federal Council for Socio-Political System 1973. Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council.

Published numerous works on self-management system in Yugoslavia and on international relations.

*Dr. Branislav ŠOŠKIĆ*  
*Professor at the Faculty of Economics*  
*of the University of Beograd*

## THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN SELF-MANAGING YUGOSLAVIA

The opinion was held for a long time — particularly in the West — that the economic as well as the socio-political system in socialist countries are the strict application of Marx's economic theory and idea of socialism. What was ignored thereby was an important fact. Namely, in contradistinction to his socialist predecessors — the early socialist,<sup>1</sup> the utopian socialist,<sup>2</sup> as well as the Ricardian socialists,<sup>3</sup> the French socialists<sup>4</sup> and others — K. Marx (1818—1883), who had a lot of scientific scruples, did not concern himself with the development of various aspects of the socialist economy and society, which was yet to come.

In his most important work "Capital" (Volume I was published in 1867, while the other two volumes were published no sooner than in 1885 and 1894 respectively) in which he explained his system of economic theory, as well as in his other economic writings, Marx analyzed the capitalist economy of his own time. By analyzing capitalism, Marx has reached some highly general conclusions relating to the socialism and socialist economy. One of his chief conclusions and, accordingly, one of the chief characteristics of the future socialist economy is the social ownership of important means of production, as distinct from the private ownership of means of production under capitalism.

Marx expected that socialism, as a historically new mode of production and social relations, would come up first in economically most developed capitalist countries, in other words, after achieving a high accumulation and centralization of capital, a high level of production forces and after the working class has become the dominant force. What happened was just the opposite.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Morus (1480—1535); F. Thomas Campanellae (1568—1639).

<sup>2</sup> Saint-Simon (1760—1825; Charles Fourier (1772—1837); Robert Owen (1771—1851).

<sup>3</sup> William Thompson (1785—1833); John Gray (1793—1850); John Bray (1809—1893); Thomas Hodgson (1787—1869).

<sup>4</sup> Louis Blanc (1811—1882); P. F. Proudon (1809—1864).



Socialism came up for the most part in under-developed countries. It came up after the socialist revolutions — in Russia in 1917, in Yugoslavia in 1945, in China in 1948 — to mention only three authentic revolutions — as well as after other revolutionary changes following World War II and later on.

The expectations that the transition from capitalism into socialism would take place simultaneously in all or almost all economically developed countries proved to be likewise unreal. Namely, the Soviet Union was for almost thirty years (from 1917) up to the end of World War II (in 1945) the only socialist country.

Both of these facts had a strong impact on various aspects of the economic, social and political system in socialist countries.

The former capitalist system of production had not developed to the full in these countries. It did not perform hence its historical task — the achievement of a high level of production forces. The achievement of a high level of economic development and growth remained hence to be the task of the socialist economies in these countries.

However, this is not all. A high level of development became one of the most important economic tasks of socialist countries just because they were underdeveloped. To achieve within the shortest time-period the highest possible economic development, as prerequisite for a higher standard of living and a greater national security, became thus the prime national task.

It began to be carried out in almost all socialist countries through the high concentration of national capital, through the centralized administrative planning, through a high rate of investments out of the total national income, through the formation of basic industries as prerequisite for a higher technical equipment of labour, a higher labour productivity and, consequently, a higher economic growth. Such a high concentration and centralization of the economic life, in other words, a centralized and administrative economic system, was typical also of Yugoslavia during the first post-war period.

This was due, to a great extent, to the generally accepted view in the Marxian literature — and not only in it — that the socialist economy, with the socialist ownership of important means of production, must be a centralized planned economy as distinct from the capitalist economy. On the other hand, the opinion prevailed that only the capitalist economy with the private ownership of means of production can be a market economy. A decentralized and market-oriented socialist economy could not be conceived of in the economic literature up to the thirties and, in the practice, up to the fifties of this century.

Viewed historically, Yugoslavia was the first socialist country which accepted in 1950 a decentralized, market-oriented economic system, which has been implemented since then. This system is known as the system of workers' self-management. It is characterized by the autonomy of working organizations, by their free economic decision-making as regards the amount and composition

of production and investments, i.e. the allocation of economic resources, the pricing of their commodities and services and the income distribution.

Contemporary economic systems can be no longer viewed as before. They can be no longer classified only on the basis of the ownership of means of production. The classification into two chief economic systems — the capitalist system, with the private ownership of means of production, and the socialist system, with the social ownership of important means of production, does not satisfy any more. This is due not only to the fact that the public sector of the capitalist economy has strengthened, that the market has been restricted, that the state interferes with economic life and that other changes have occurred particularly in the area of distribution. All this has induced many economic and other writers to talk about a mixed economic system, which differs considerably from the classical capitalist system.

The classification of contemporary economic systems, particularly of socialist systems, must be made also on the basis of who is making decisions. Namely, decisions on production and investments, on how much will be produced and in what way, as well as decisions on prices, distribution, and personal incomes can be made centralistically, i.e., administratively, through planning by a governmental or economic center. This happens to be the case in centralized planned economies of most socialist countries. Such a system is essentially a centralized, administrative — planned economic system, a system of directive planning. Higher planning or governmental authorities set tasks for business organizations regarding the amount and composition of production and investments, the quality and prices of commodities, the distribution, the level of personal incomes etc. Such a system could be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to a greater or smaller extent also to the private capitalist economy, e.g. in totalitarian countries of a fascist type or during periods of war.

Contrariwise, economic decisions can be made in a decentralized way by business organizations themselves, which are hence more or less autonomous and free, and not subject to direct centralistic, directive planned regulation. This happens to be the case, for the most part, with the capitalist and socialist market or market-oriented economy such as the Yugoslav one. Enterprises make decisions regarding the amount and composition of their production and investments in dependence on the level and composition of the market demand. Being dependent on market conditions, they make decisions on prices, marketing, distribution, personal incomes and the like. Such a system is in its essence a decentralized market or market-oriented economic system.

The historical dilemma whether the socialist economy with the social ownership of important means of production can be solely a centralized, administrative planned economy, has been solved thus also in the practice. The Yugoslav system of the workers' self-management, with its twenty-five years long ex-



perience, has proved that the socialist economy can be also decentralized, market-oriented with autonomous business organizations which are managed by producers who make all the vital decisions. This means, at the same time, that a decentralized market-oriented economy, in which working organizations are free to make business decisions, is no longer the basis of the capitalist economy only.

However, we must make the following two important observations here.

Firstly, none of these two models as regards decision-making — the centralized — administrative, as distinct from the decentralized-market system — is pure in practical life. Elements of one model are to be found in the other one in an altered, hardly perceptible form, or in the early stage of development.

Secondly, even though the major economic decisions are made, as a rule, on the level of business organizations under both the private-enterprise, i.e. the capitalist system and under the Yugoslav self-managing economic system, yet there is a great difference between them as regards those making decisions. As to capitalist enterprises, just because the means of production are in private ownership, economic decisions are made by the owners of enterprises or rather by stockholders and managers whom they (or rather the most influential ones among them) have elected. The decisions are not made by workers and other direct producers.

The Yugoslav decentralized, market-oriented system is a socialist economic system in which the means of production are in social and not in private ownership, as well as in which the management had been transferred to the working collectives. It is just because of this system of the workers' self-management that economic decisions are made by direct producers, by workers and others who are employed.<sup>5</sup> The workers, who are managers at the same time, make these decisions either directly or indirectly.

Decisions are made directly in smaller business organizations. In other organizations they are made directly (through a referendum) when vital questions are concerned, such as important decisions on investments and technology and on how to secure financing both in the country and abroad, and also when mergers with other business organizations are concerned.

Decisions are made indirectly through the so-called workers' councils, which are the highest self-managing bodies of every business organization. All those employed elect the members of the workers' council out of their ranks through secret vote for a certain time-period. The working collective can recall members of the working council at its meetings in advance of the expiration of their mandate. The workers' council establishes the economic policy of the business organization in the name of the working

---

<sup>5</sup> The term "workers" implies in Yugoslavia all those employed in self-managing business and other organizations, i.e. experts with university education as well as manual, unskilled workers. The terms wages and salaries have been replaced hence by the unique term — "personal incomes".

collectives and makes the general decisions. However, it must submit regularly reports to the working collective, which are discussed by the working collective at its meetings. The workers' council must consider all the remarks and suggestions made at these meetings.

On the other hand, the workers' council can make no major (above mentioned) decisions in the largest business organizations either. They are made by way of a referendum, through which the whole working collective either accepts or refuses the proposal through secret vote. The workers' council elects, in addition, one half of its new members every year. It is in this way that the so-called principle of rotation is secured, which enables the largest possible number of those employed to make decisions in the name of the working collective.<sup>6</sup>

In the process of decision-making in business organizations participate all those employed, including unskilled workers without any education at all or with an inadequate one. This is why one could doubt the professional quality of these decisions. However, we must bear in mind the fact that the proposals for decisions are prepared, as a rule, by professional departments and by the director. These proposals are usually supported by arguments and supplied with the necessary documentation. They are often alternative. On the other hand, decisions of the workers' council are general and lasting in character. Besides, by taking part in decision-making, all the workers gain experience. They improve their education by attending schools in the frames of the working organization and outside it, becoming thus more skilled in decision-making. There is, in addition, the director, who is responsible for the implementation of decisions. He is most frequently an expert with university education.

As distinguished from centralized planned socialist economies, in which the director is the representative of the general social interest and, as such, appointed by the corresponding authority of the State, to which he is responsible in the first place, under the Yugoslav system of the workers' self-management the director is elected by the workers' council of individual business organizations. He is elected through an open contest, which is ordinarily announced in the daily papers. The announcement for the contest contains professional and other requirements which the applicants must satisfy. The workers' council elects a selection committee, which reviews the applications and submits a written report. The workers' council elects the director on the basis of this report for a certain time-period (usually four to five years).

After the expiration of this period, the workers' council must renew the contest to fill the position of the director, admitting beside the existing director, other candidates, too. It goes without saying that the workers' council is free to run a contest for the

---

<sup>6</sup> See in greater detail B. Soškić: "Development of the Economy and the System of the Workers' Self-Management in Yugoslavia", *Socialism in Yugoslav Theory and Practice*, No. 2, Beograd, 1971.



reelection of the director in advance of the expiration of the mandate in cases mentioned in the statute of the business organization.

The director puts into effect decisions of the workers' council and is responsible for their legitimacy.

As distinct from both the private-entrepreneurial capitalist system and the socialist centralized system, it is, therefore, the working collective which makes economic decisions under the Yugoslav economic system, either directly or indirectly (through the elected workers' councils). One could raise a fundamental theoretical and practical question in this connection: can the direct producers and their workers' councils in their decision-making comply with the general, social interest? Can they preserve and increase the value of social means of production? In other words, will their decisions, which are motivated by their group interests, not collide temporarily or permanently with social interests, particularly as regards the distribution of income between the fund for consumption, i.e. the fund for their personal incomes, and the fund for accumulation? Should the society, as owner of the means of production, which are managed by workers, not protect the social interest — through corresponding administrative regulations or through its representatives whom it would delegate to workers' councils — giving the priority to the fund for accumulation or to the larger social reproduction, the more so since we know that this is the prerequisite for a higher labour productivity and a more rapid economic growth?

The preservation of the value of basic social means of production by the working collectives under whose management they are, is under the system of the workers' self-management secured by the law: they can not be spent or transformed into the fund for personal incomes. All the business and other working organizations are obliged to secure at least the simple reproduction. They are bound by the law to set apart a certain rate of amortization, which is used for the replacement of worn-out equipment. These means remain on the current account of the business organization, but they cannot be used for other purposes.

If we want to secure the real value of social means, then must the rate of amortization be real, while the basic means of production must be revalued as frequently as possible. If the revolution period were too long, then it could well happen under conditions of inflation, which is a grave problem all over the world, as well as in Yugoslavia,<sup>7</sup> that in business organizations which do not operate well, there decreases the real value of basic social means, or that the fund for accumulation flows indirectly into the fund for personal incomes.

The best way to avoid this, particularly under conditions of a severe inflation of a long duration, would be, in our opinion, the introduction of a system of continuous revaluation, which

---

<sup>7</sup> See our article "Economic Stabilization Policy in Yugoslavia" *Socialism in Yugoslav Theory and Practice*, No. 5, Beograd, 1973.

would depend on the rate of inflation. It would be possible to correct in this way almost automatically, i.e. within the shortest possible time spans (in dependence of the frequency of statistical reports on the rate of inflation), the real value of basic means of production and to prevent the flow of funds for amortization into other purposes. In other words, it would be possible to prevent the decrease of the social reproduction.

However, to secure the enlarged reproduction on an optimal scale is a more complex problem under the system of the developed workers' self-management, under which the working collectives make themselves decisions on functional distribution of incomes between the fund for consumption, i.e. personal incomes, as well as the fund for accumulation, i.e. enlarged reproduction. This happens to be the case with the last stage of the system of workers' self-management in Yugoslavia after the economic reform has been introduced in 1965.<sup>8</sup> The working collectives were obliged in former stages of development to set aside a certain, by stages ever decreasing, shares of their investment for the general social investment fund outside their business organization, which was handled by the corresponding authorities of the State.

In case there exist no legal obligations regarding the functional distribution of income in working organizations, it could, generally speaking, well happen that the working collectives make use of their right to make decisions in this area and set aside too large a part of the income for the fund for consumption, i.e. for their personal incomes, at the expense of the fund for accumulation or rather new investments. This may happen also in the practice, particularly in newly established working organizations in regions in which the majority of workers are peasants from nearby villages, who do not depend solely on their working organization. Namely, they have small estates in their villages and hence a source of revenue. If the number of such workers is large, then a consumption mentality might prevail in working organizations, endangering the funds for accumulation or rather for new investments. This might happen also in working organizations which have a corresponding natural or market monopoly.

Judging by Yugoslav experience, this does not happen, as a rule, in the majority of working organizations in which there exist developed market and competitive conditions. Thanks to their long-range material interests and to higher personal incomes in the long run, these working collectives are ready to invest a considerable amount of their income into the funds for accumulation for the sake of their technological modernization, the expansion of production, increase of labour productivity and the preservation of their position, or rather strengthening of their competitive power in the domestic and foreign markets.

However, this does not mean that the existing rate at which money is set aside for funds of enlarged reproduction can secure

---

<sup>8</sup> See B. Šoškić: "The Yugoslav Economic Reform and Problems of Economic Policy", *Socialism in Yugoslav Theory and Practice*, No. 3, Beograd, 1971.

a higher rate of the overall economic development. A more efficient way to achieve this goal in the absence of directive planning and administrative legal solutions are social contracts and self-managing agreements in the area of the policy of incomes and personal incomes in the frames of various industries, which have been made in recent years. A well-established policy of incomes would secure a higher rate of accumulation and economic growth. In addition, it would have an anti-inflationary effect. It would also secure a fuller implementation of the socialist principle of distribution of personal incomes according to the amount and quality of work done. The general social interests could be thus better coordinated with the interests of various business organizations or their working collectives.

There exist three types of ownership in Yugoslavia as well as in other socialist countries: the social ownership (the term is more appropriate for the Yugoslav economic system) or the State ownership (the term is more appropriate for other economic systems); the cooperative, and the private ownership.

The social or the State ownership includes all the important means of production. The cooperative ownership prevails in agriculture and exists in small crafts in almost all the other socialist countries. It does exist in Yugoslavia too, but on an altogether small scale. A brief attempt at collectivization was made at the beginning of the fifties, i.e. immediately after the Resolution of the Informbureau. However, it was given up soon so that the private ownership is the distinguished feature of Yugoslav agriculture. But there exist restrictions regarding the size of land estates in Yugoslavia. As to crafts and other small business activities in private hands, there exist restrictions regarding the number of workers which the private owner may employ. It goes without saying that the system of the workers' self-management does not cover the private sector of the economy.

The term "individual" property refers to the ownership of durable consumer goods in Yugoslavia as well as in other socialist countries. There are mainly no restrictions in this sense except for the number of houses or apartments which an individual may possess.

Work is the chief source of personal incomes in Yugoslavia as well as in other East-European socialist countries. The income deriving from work, i.e. the labour income, and not the income deriving from property, characterizes every socialist society. This does not mean that there is no income which is based on ownership in Yugoslavia. The most important income of this kind are the interests on savings deposits in banks and similar institutions. The interests are not even subject to taxation.

There is no equality of personal incomes in Yugoslavia in like manner as in other socialist countries. They all start from the same principle of distribution: according to work, i.e. according to the amount and quality of the work done. However, the way in which this principle is put into effect is different. The personal



incomes of those employed are determined mainly in an administrative way for the whole country by central planning or similar State authorities under centralized systems of the socialist economy. They are determined on the basis of education, the complexity of jobs they perform and the responsibility they have.

As for the Yugoslav decentralized system of the workers' self-management, the distribution of personal incomes is done by the working collectives themselves in the frames of their working organizations on the basis of internal regulations on personal incomes. They are usually expressed in points, whose value changes in dependence of the total income of the working organization. The total income of every working organization and consequently the fund for personal incomes depend directly on the results achieved in the production and sale of its products and services. The better the working collectives are operating, the higher personal incomes they will have in both the short and the long run (in dependence of the accumulation, i.e. investments).

If some working organization cannot secure the minimum standard of personal incomes because of poor business results, then the corresponding State authorities in the given region do secure the minimum personal incomes for those employed. The workers' council analyzes in such cases, in conjunction with the territorial authorities, the emergency situation and takes appropriate measures: it changes the production or market orientation, reconstructs and modernizes the production and secures the necessary bank credits, elects managers and experts with better professional qualities, considers mergers with other business organizations and the like.

As distinguished from centralized economic systems, relations among business organizations are not established through direct administrative plans under the Yugoslav system of the decentralized economy, but through the action of the market and through agreements. The competition among business organizations is an important feature of Yugoslav economic system. This does not mean that there is no monopoly with all the well-known surrounding circumstances, particularly in the distribution of personal incomes and in the so-called cost-push inflation. Lengthy discussions in the Yugoslav economic literature on the need and possibility to place all the business organizations and groups into approximately the same economic circumstances have brought about no classical "anti-trust" policy or anti-monopoly instruments, which would be built into the economic system, either depriving monopoly organizations of the extra profit, or directing it into investment funds (i.e. outside the funds for personal incomes).

What has come up are the so-called social contracts and self-managing agreements among, and in the frames of, various industries regarding the policy of distribution of incomes and personal incomes. If well established, it could smooth if not wipe out the adverse consequences of the monopolistic position of various business organizations in the field of distribution of personal incomes according to quantity and quality of work, and help to solve



other important (above mentioned) problems involved in economic growth and stabilization. These problems have been solved through administrative planning under the centralized economic system, namely through centralistically determined personal incomes and prices, as well as consumption and accumulation respectively.

The Yugoslav decentralized economic system, just because it is market oriented, gives the consumers more freedom of choice than a centralized system in a country on the same level of economic development. Making decisions in dependence of the level and composition of the market demand, the self-managing system is by far more flexible than the centralized one. Since it is not bound by decisions of planning authorities, while competitive at the same time, it reacts to requirements of the market more rapidly. This is why the assortment of products and services in the market is more diverse. This holds particularly true for an economy of an open type, which is included into the international division of labour, such as Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, the Yugoslav economic system, just because it is market-oriented, is by far more subject to cyclical movements in the level of economic activities and employment, as well as in the stability of prices (inflation). These problems can be solved under this system only through an appropriate economic policy.<sup>9</sup> The introduction of firm administrative planning regulations could endanger the essence of the system of the workers' self-management.

We may conclude that Yugoslav self-managing system has come up and developed for a long time only in the economy, i.e. in business organizations with socialized means of production. After a certain time period it began to spread also over activities outside the economy. It has spread to-day over educational and scientific<sup>10</sup> institutions, over medical, cultural and other working organizations. The workers, i.e. all those employed in these non-business organizations, have mainly the same self-managing rights as workers in business organizations. In the frames of general legal regulations they are independent in making self-managing decisions and to elect their self-managing bodies. It must be mentioned thereby that education is gratuitous in Yugoslavia on all levels, like in other socialist countries. In addition, all employees enjoy both absolute security of job and, together with their families, a gratuitous medical protection and pension insurance.

Dr BRANISLAV ŠOŠKIĆ

Dr Branislav Šošković, professor of Economics at the Faculty of Economics of the University of Beograd and director of the Institute of Economic Research. Dean of the Faculty of Economics from 1964 to 1967. Now

<sup>9</sup> See B. Šošković: "Economic Policy in Yugoslavia's Self-Management System", *Socialism in Yugoslav Theory and Practice*, No. 3, Beograd, 1971.

<sup>10</sup> See B. Šošković: "On the Development of New Socio-Economic Relations in Education and Science in Yugoslavia", *Socialism in Yugoslav Theory and Practice*, No. 4, Beograd, 1972.

deputy and chairman of the Board of Education at the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia (at the Educational and Cultural Chamber). Member of Federal Economic Council, of Scientific Section of Yugoslav Economic Association, of Learned Society of Montenegro, of international scientific bodies and of some editorial boards of periodicals.

Chairman of the Council of International University Center for Social Sciences of the University of Beograd.

Awarded Doctoral Degree in 1954 at the Faculty of Economics, University of Beograd. In 1955—56 and 1956—57 academic years post-doctoral studies (British Council Fellowship) at the universities of St. Andrews and Cambridge in the United Kingdom; 1962—63 Harvard and Berkeley, in the United States of America (Ford Foundation Fellowship). In 1971—72 two times visiting professor at the South Florida University, U.S.A.

More important books published:

The Development of Economic Thought (1965, 1968, 1970 and 1972), awarded University of Beograd Prize;

Production, Employment and Stabilization — Contemporary Macroeconomic Analysis, (1970, 1971 and 1972);

Distribution of Incomes in the Market Economy — Contemporary Micro-economic Analysis (1971 and 1972), awarded October Prize;

Theory of Value — a Classical Economic Analysis;

Economics of Education, 1973 — (all published by Institute for Economic Research and "Contemporary Administration", Beograd).

Co-author of numerous books, collections of works, and encyclopaedia. Author of many articles and reports for domestic and international scientific symposia in the fields of theory of economics and economic policy, as well as that of economics of education and research published in Yugoslav and foreign periodicals (in English, Russian, French, Italian etc.).

11

*Dr. Balša ŠPADIJER*  
*Professor at the Faculty*  
*of Political Sciences of the*  
*University of Beograd*

## FEDERALISM AND NATIONAL RELATIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA

### I

Federalism in Yugoslavia is a product of the socialist revolution and of the revolutionary movement headed by the League of Communists. Continuing development of our revolution in the direction of consolidating the position and role of the working class in association with other working people, the development of self-management and the struggle for socialist democracy, implied at the same time the strengthening of federalism, that is, its reinforcement in terms of its content and in terms of exploring new original forms of federalism.

Solutions found in the Yugoslav conditions have contributed towards establishing, in a novel and original way, notwithstanding the objective limitations and subjective shortcomings, a link and integration of federalism with self-management and full equality of nations. The constitutional reform, which in Yugoslavia was carried out in 1974 (the adoption of the new Constitution of the SFRY and the constitutions of republics and autonomous provinces) marks an important step in the direction of the charted course; political theory and science is yet to shed light and to analyze the far-reaching impact of the effected changes as well as their repercussions on the further development of federalism.

#### *1. Development of Yugoslav Federalism*

Yugoslavia is a socialist, multi-national federation which emerged in the course of the national liberation war and socialist revolution. The nucleus of the new people's authority and federalism were the revolutionary organs of people's authority — the national liberation committees. Of exceptional importance for the creation of the Yugoslav federation was the second session of AVNOJ held



in 1943 (the Anti-fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia) at which a decision was adopted on having Yugoslavia built on federal principle. The fundamental principles which served as guidelines in creating federal Yugoslavia were the self-determination of nations, equality, brotherhood and unity.

Already in the course of the national liberation war, the national question was inseparably linked with the socialist character of the revolution. In the course of the war the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for class liberation constituted two components of the revolution on the Yugoslav soil. The concept that it was not possible to artificially separate class consciousness from national sentiments and that in the Yugoslav conditions the struggle for national liberation was one of the most decisive factors of the success of the revolution, was confirmed anew. On the other hand, it was also asserted that the basic social presumption for the solution of the national question was the transformation of the working class, as Marx wrote in the Communist Manifesto, into a "national class", that is, into a leading social and political force of society.

The unification of the Yugoslav nations would have been impossible, were it not for a strong Communist Party with its Marxist programme of class and national liberation. During the war and the revolution the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was the only political party and force with an overall Yugoslav programme of action.

The formation of Federal Yugoslavia in constitutional and legal terms was completed with the adoption of the Constitution of the FPRY in 1946. According to this Constitution, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was defined as having a federal people's government, republican in form, an association of equal nations that have manifested their right to self-determination, including the right of secession, by deciding to live jointly in the federal State (Article 1, Constitution of FRPY) The Constitution also proclaims the sovereignty of national republics in the FPRY, enjoying the right and duties set forth by this Constitution (Article 9).

## *2. Self-management and Federalism*

With the development of self-management the classical forms of governmental organization of power, based upon force and hierarchy, are being replaced for the last twenty-five years with new and original ways of horizontal and vertical integration of self-management. This process of integration is not developing smoothly nor with the same results in all the spheres of social life. Realization of self-management is a historical process which depends upon number of social factors and is not sufficient just to opt for it.

Self-management, especially through the process of politics and withering away of the State, exercises a constant influence

upon federalism, changing its essence, structure and forms. Federalism gradually loses its classical attributes of vertical organization of power structure upon territorial basis and gradually gains new self-managing dimensions that change it into a new type of federalism, the self-managing one. In this sense federation, republic, province and commune, gradually lose the classical forms of territorial organization of power and change into territorial form of self-management that contains within itself both the elements of governmental power and self-managing relations. This new phenomenon is known as socio-political community.

The term socio-political community is relatively new in our theory and practice. It was defined for the first time in the Constitution of 1963. It evolves out of a basic logic of the Constitution, which was consequently expressed in its basic principles.

Socio-political community is a historical form in which territorial political organizations of the State (commune, province, republic and federation) gradually change into self-managing communities of people in which there is a voluntary interconnection of self-managing forms of work and life of the people in a given territory.

All social-political communities have in common the self-managing social base, meaning that they are founded upon social ownership and self-management with the power in the hands of the working class.

The constitutional reform that was manifested through constitutional amendments in 1967—68 and 1971 injected into federalism new self-managing dimensions and added to self-managing transformation of socio-political communities, at the same time opening new questions of further direction of development of federalism and of its relation to self-management.

The process of integration of self-management and political power is taking place within the socio-political communities. Here the constitutional changes of 1974 are of a special importance. The introduction of the delegate system, ranging from the basic organizations of associated labour, and local communities, and the transforming of assemblies into organs of self-management and political power, introduced a new quality into the self-managing transformation of socio-political communities, delegate chambers, especially into the chambers of associated labour. Furthermore, of importance is the constitutional provision whereby decisions on the distribution of income cannot be reached without the consent of the chamber of associated labour. This decision has undoubtedly strengthened the position of associated labour and the working class, and, in turn, contributed towards having socio-political communities assume more and more the character of social and political reality.

All socio-political communities are not and cannot be the same. There are important differences between communes, provinces, republics and the federation, even though they all have common characteristics previously discussed. We are talking about different types and levels of socio-political communities.

Federal Constitution defined for every socio-political community its place and role in the socio-political system, the dimension of its rights and duties, the organization of authority, etc., and every community with its basic normative act carries and develops further these principles. Due to the different levels of economic development, demographic differences, geo-political, transportation and other differences there are also significant diversities between the socio-political communities of the same type.

The socialist republics as socio-political communities contain a tangible component of national statehood. The socialist republics, especially since the constitutional amendments of 1971 and the Constitution of 1974, are also national States. This is not in contradiction with the concept of the socio-political community, since statehood also is their element. The statehood of the republics must be within the context of the interests of associated labour, self-management and national equality of the given communities. Governmental or political component of the socio-political communities is inseparable from the self-managing component.

The Constitution of the SFR of Yugoslavia broadens the classical concept of federalism. The relations between socio-political communities are not based upon hierarchy, there is a tendency to widen the basis of federalism by insisting that the common interests are not realized only on the line federation-republic-province and their organs, but through different forms of direct co-operation of republics and provinces (co-operative federalism), through self-managing compact and policy making, including socio-political organizations and voluntary activity of the citizens. Time is necessary to have all these forms grow and develop, but they are of an exceptional importance in the concept of socio-political communities and communes as was stated by Marx in the *Civil War in France*.

### 3. *The Transcending of Classical Socio-Legal Forms of Dilemmas — Federation or Confederation?*

The analysis of the development of the Yugoslav federalism and its constitutional role, and the relation of the federation towards the republics and provinces, allows us to postulate that the new Constitution defines the multinational character and the dual nature of the federation as a federal State and a self-managing community. In dealing with the nature and essence of our federation and federalism, opinions rise that try mechanically to place the Yugoslav self-managing federalism into Procruste's bed of some classical federation or confederation. This kind of understanding is based upon obsolete models and concepts of federation and confederation, and they are a part of an old theory of government which is burdened by hierarchic division of functions into higher and lower organs of governmental structure.

These models or formulas concerning federation and confederation have long since turned into canonized postulates that



stopped relating to the social changes in federal States in which they appeared. Already during the debates on constitutional amendments in 1971, it was clear that our constitutional theory and political science were still working within the already known and outdated theories of State and law and constitutional law concerning federalism and the division into federation and confederation. Our political science and the constitutional theory must show more originality and theoretical boldness when dealing with the further growth and concept of the Yugoslav self-managing federalism. It is necessary to show that level of theoretical originality and independence, as is the case with the development of self-management, the delegate system, the concept of self-managing communities of interest, etc. Starting from this premise, the Yugoslav federation is a governmental and self-managing community of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and their republics and provinces. This, of course, does not mean that we negate the existence of classical elements of federalism, i.e. federation and confederation, in our federation as well, but we stress that these are not only elements and that they cannot be viewed mechanically and separately from the new moments in our federation which are the result of self-management and the strengthening of national equality.

#### *4. Social Roots of Nationalism*

We are witnessing the emergence of nationalism throughout the world. Its visible aspects are different, and range from cultural and national movements to the ultra-conservative ones of terror and genocide (fascism, nazism, etc.). The world nationalism itself is used with two meanings, and attention should be paid to this. The first meaning, as was already stressed, of nationalism is a politically and socially negative manifestation since its basic characteristic is the insistence upon the superiority of one's own nation, it negates the national individuality of other nations, and similar. In the second case, nationalism stands for full national emancipation, and the fight of peoples for national liberation. The first, negative designation of nationalism is fully recognized in Yugoslavia. In order to make a more clear distinction in relation to the positive meaning of nationalism, some theoreticians use the term reactionary nationalism.

The phenomenon of nationalism appears in our society in its different forms. It is found, we can say, in all of the spheres of social life: in economic relations, culture, in political relations, in linguistics, literature, education, history and geography, etc. It does not manifest itself only within one nation or nationality, but among all nations and nationalities. Nationalism in Yugoslavia takes different shapes, such as: separatism, unitarism, bourgeois-nationalism, greater-State hegemony, and similar. However, its essence always remains the same and it is reactionary, against self-management and anti-communist.

The causes of nationalism in our society do not reside, as was stated and believed by some, in the vestiges of the old society, or in the legacy of past that we have not rid ourselves off yet. The manifestations of nationalism, their intensity, show that the causes of nationalism are more deeply intervoven into the social structure; thus they have a more objective social base upon which they develop. The base of nationalism lies in underdeveloped socio-economic relations, in which there are still inequalities, laws of unequal development and subordination.

It is characteristic for our society that there are still major differences in the degree of development between certain republics and provinces, i.e. nations and nationalities which were inherited, but which also emerged in the period of socialist development, in spite of the strive for equitable growth of republics and provinces. In these differences and interests lies one of the major causes leading to different interests of republics and provinces and opposing interests of nationalities. How to co-ordinate the self-managing interests of developed and underdeveloped is one of the topical questions of our further socialist development. In recent times, the formation of State-owned monopolies, or the development of new power centers in the field of banking, wholesale trade, export and import, insurance, etc., became the basis upon which nationalism grew deriving its energies from these forms of monopolism. Various links between techno-managerial groups and parts of the political-managerial strata created a sound foundation for the rise of nationalism. To this was added the influence of blind market forces, particularism, the incompleated system of planning, the vagrant international economic relationships and similar.

The special influence for spreading of nationalism comes from ideological and political currents in the fields of culture, literature, linguistics, history and geography, etc. These fields are especially sensitive to nationalistic inflow and pressure, due to the very nature of social relations in these areas. The main characteristic of nationalistic ideologies is to tend to suppress the class interests of the working people to the second plane, and to "interchange" the Marxist interpretation of given social phenomenon with their nationalistic interpretation. In the period before the 21st meeting of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia there were open formations of different nationalistic ideologies and tendencies. Under the banner of nationalism rallied different heterogenous groups, while the marginal groups and formations gained in importance in political as well as in cultural life that far surpassed their real social authority and cultural worth.

Nationalism also presented itself in the forms of pressure applied on the federal organs "in the name" of nations and nationalities in order to maintain the monopolistic position in the division of surplus of labour. All of this further influenced the appearance of enforced monopolism, clannishness, as well as privatization of personnel policy. The main drive of nationalism was directed against fraternity and unity of our people and towards



negating the revolutionary role of the League of Communists in our society. However, the energetic action of the League of Communists which started with the 21st session of the Presidency of LCY, followed by the Letter of comrade Tito and the Executive Bureau, together with the proclamation of new constitutions of Yugoslavia and its republics and provinces, as well as the decisions of the Ninth Congress of LCY, meant an overcoming of a situation in the society and the crisis favouring the spread of nationalism.

There should exist unity between the class and the national, in which the fight for national interests, for national emancipation is, at the same time, a part of the greater fight for the interests of the working class, and for the interests of the proletarian revolution.<sup>1</sup> As we have stated previously the fight of our nations and nationalities, already during the armed revolution, was not only a struggle for new national government, but also a struggle for national independence and self-determination.

Nationalism is not some unconquerable force that acts by the power of inevitability. On the contrary, the activity of subjective forces, and foremost that of the League of Communists, is one of the principal levers in the fight against nationalism. The main course of action against nationalism is in the further development of self-management, the strengthening of influence and position of associated labour, the introduction of the delegate system, in the ideological struggle against nationalistic interpretations of our history, etc. It should be kept in mind that the continuous reaffirmation of national equality in our society is inseparable from the struggle for further development of self-management and socialism.

## II

### FEDERALISM AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF 1974

The development of self-management reached a level beyond which it could not proceed. There was a danger that it will remain atomized at the level of enterprises and simple reproduction. As pointed out by Edvard Kardelj: "Self-management is becoming less dominant precisely in the area of general and expanded reproduction."<sup>2</sup> The disposal of a large portion of the surplus of labour remained outside the direct influence of associated labour. This was one of the basic causes of the emergence of serious inter-republican conflicts, first and foremost, in the sphere of economic relations, the appropriation of material funds at the level of the federation, which inevitably in our multi-national community acted and assumed the shape of conflicts among nations.

---

<sup>1</sup> See: Dr. N. Pašić: *The National Question in Contemporary Epoch*, Workers' Press, Beograd 1973, pp. 158—160.

<sup>2</sup> E. Kardelj: *On Constitutional Changes*. Report submitted to the 18th meeting of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, *Politika*, March 3, 1971.



In these complex political and economic relations there emerged crisis-prone situations in the federal institutions and organs. It was necessary to carry out a reorm of federal relations and institutions and thereby to create room for further development of self-managing relations at all levels and consolidation and extension of equality. This was the only course leading to the elimination of social roots of nationalism and means for separating that which constituted a genuine and authentic national interest of a respective nation from that which was purely nationalistic, irrespective of the form which it may assume.

Through the constitutional amendments of 1971 one of the most radical reforms of our federal system was carried out. The position of the federation was essentially altered; it is not a body above and outside of the republics and provinces, a super-national community, nor is it a simple conglomeration of divergent interests of republics and provinces. The position of the republics and provinces has been changed in particular. They are no longer federal units, such as are known in the classic theory of federalism. With constitutional amendments new changes have been effected in socio-economic relations making for a new position of the associated labour and the working class. This, in turn, leads to essential changes in the structure of federal relations. In all these changes nations, nationalities and national interests acquire a new self-managing content, and by this very token become a revolutionary force in the driection of further progressive changes.

### *1. Federation as a Federal State and a Socialist Democratic Self-managing Community*

The Constitution of the SFRY has further developed the concept of socio-political communities, first of all in the direction of strengthening the position of associated labour and of the working class. By way of a series of changes and solutions already mentioned, a new self-managing content has been attributed to the concept of socio-political communities.

The Constitution of the SFRY defines the federation as a federal State and as a socialist democratic self-managing community. It, as a community, greatly differs from republics and provinces and naturally from communes. It is to be expected that the further development of our federalism will facilitate, in a greater measure than in the past, greater assertion of the self-managing component of our federation.

The Constitution of the SFRY contains the basic principles upon which the Yugoslav federation has been constituted. These principles have incorporated the AVNOJ principles on federal Yugoslavia. Proceeding from the principle of the right of each nation to self-determination, including the right to secession, the Constitution of the SFRY accentuates in particular that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a federal State compris-

ing free nations and nationalities with equal rights and that it is a socialist federal community of the working people, in which the working people in the interest of each nation and nationality, are realizing and ensuring common interests.

The new position of the federation is reflected in the Basic Principles of the Constitution of the SFRY, whereby it is postulated that the working people, nations and nationalities, exercise their sovereign rights in the socialist republics and in the socialist autonomous provinces, in accordance with their constitutional rights, and in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, when in their common interest it is so specified by the Constitution of the SFRY (Basic Principles I). The text of the Constitution of the SFRY specifies the basic common interests of nations and nationalities, working people and citizens.

It should be stated, however, that the Constitution of the SFRY, as well as the previous constitutional amendments and the Constitution of 1963, make the distinction between the notion of federation as a community of people, nationalities, working people and citizens when the term used is the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; and the federation as an embodiment of federal organs and organizations that have certain rights and duties of federation, when the term used is the federation. When the Constitution of the SFRY talks about common interests, it is referring to the federation as community. In it nations, nationalities, working people and citizens realize and secure:

- (1) sovereignty, equality, national freedom, independence, territorial unity, security and social self-protection;
- (2) defence of the country, international position, and relations of the country with other States and international organizations;
- (3) the system of socialist socio-economic relations based on self-management;
- (4) the unity of the political system;
- (5) the basic democratic freedoms and rights of man and the citizen;
- (6) the solidarity and social security of the working people and citizens;
- (7) the unity of the market; and
- (8) co-ordination of economic and social development and other common interests (Article 244, Constitution of the SFRY).

The second important postulate of the Constitution of the SFRY relates to the role and status of federation defining it as a federal and socialist State, self-managing and democratic community of the working people and citizens of equal nations and nationalities. The class character of the authority is stressed upon, since it is underscored that the federation is built upon the authority and self-management of the working class and all the working people (see Article 1, Constitution of the SFRY). There were attempts to separate these two elements in order to attribute more importance to one or the other. Both of the elements of the federation are interrelated, dependent and thus inseparable.

Functions of the federation are narrowed and reduced to those essential affairs of interest for the Yugoslav community as a whole. Federation is freed from a number of etatistic functions inherited from the period of centralism which not only slowed down its change towards self-management, but also provoked political conflicts. In the Constitution of the SFRY the rights and duties of the federation are more precisely designated, and these functions are exercised through federal organs. These are: the securing of independence and territorial integrity of the SFRY, the protection of sovereignty; sphere of basic socio-economic relations (rights of the working people in associated labour, fundamental rights and duties of the organizations of the associated labour), basis of the system of social planning and economic system; basis of the system of national defence; State security; formulation of the foreign policy of the SFRY; citizenship of the SFRY; the control of transport of goods and services; the protection of constitutionality etc. (see Article 281, Constitution of the SFRY).

The field of federal judiciary also underwent important changes in regards to the Constitution of 1963. Actually, these changes took place already in constitutional amendments of 1971 and were just widened and introduced into the text of the Constitution of the SFRY.

One of the most important ways in which the federation manifests its rights and duties is by the process of fulfilling federal laws and other acts by the organs and organizations of the federation. It is due to these facts that fullest attention was paid to this problem in the Constitution of the SFRY. The Constitution tried to establish very precise and clear relations among the federation, republics and provinces in this very delicate and important subject, in order to guarantee the fulfillment of federal laws, and at the same time, to take into consideration the rights and duties of other socio-political communities. For our federal system this question is even more important since implementing federal laws is not only in the hands of federal organs, but also that of republics and provinces. At the same time, taking also into consideration that administration in a modern society contains the elements of creativeness and thus cannot be reduced to mere execution.

The Constitution of the SFRY postulates that the federal organs are responsible for the implementation of federal laws and other measures and general acts in the field in which the federation, through its federal organs secures the execution of federal laws and other measures and general acts. These fields are especially pointed out by the Constitution, for example: national security, international relations, State security, customs, market inspection, etc. (see Articles 274 and 281, Constitution of the SFRY).

In accordance with the essence of Yugoslav self-managing federalism, the relations between the federal organs, republics and provinces are not hierarchic. In all the areas except the ones mentioned responsible for the execution and implementation of federal laws, the responsibility lies within the organs of republics



and provinces. Relations among federal organs and organs of the republics and provinces in the implementation of federal laws are based upon mutual co-operation, informing and decision-making.

The federation and its organs have a number of very important functions in the sphere of economic life and relations.

The federation has a very important function in the area of social planning. According to the Constitution of the SFRY (Article 286), the social plan of Yugoslavia is adopted by Chambers of republics and provinces. Of a special importance for the implementation of an unified economic system and life is the existence of the unified Yugoslav market.

The Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the SFRY adopts the federal budget and with the consent of the chambers of republics and provinces and their assemblies establishes the overall yearly budget. The Constitution of the SFRY allows for formation of special fund for faster growth of underdeveloped republics and autonomous provinces. Federal organs also have extraordinary authority in cases of serious malfunctioning in economics, in cases where national defence is in question, etc.

## *2. Means of Discharging of Federal Functions*

One of the central questions of every federation is the means of discharging of its functions. The Constitution of the SFRY proceeded from the new position of the republics and autonomous provinces in the federal system in regard to the federation. The basic principle is stated in the stand that every nation, i.e. republic, independently regulates its labour and income, i.e. labour surplus in harmony with the character of socio-economic relations that are set forth by the federal constitution.

Constitutional amendments, and later the Constitution of the SFRY, essentially changed decision-making policies in the federal organs. The Constitution of the SFRY stresses that the decision-making in the federation is based upon principles of understanding among republics and provinces, solidarity and co-operation, equal participation of republics and autonomous provinces in federal organs, in harmony with the Constitution, as well as on the principle of responsibility of republics and autonomous provinces for their own development and the development of the socialist community as a whole. (Basic Principles I).

Starting with these principles, the New Constitution of the SFRY gave theoretically and organizationally clearer functional solution in regard to the solutions which were adopted in the constitutional amendments of 1971. The center of decision-making for republics and provinces was transferred to the Assembly of the SFRY, that is to the chamber of republics and provinces. The basic function of the chambers of republics and provinces is to secure co-ordination within the assemblies of republics and prov-

inces in the matters in which they adopt federal laws and other general acts. (Article 286, Constitution of the SFRY).

The Constitution of the SFRY provides for specific proceedings for co-ordination of decision-making of the republican and provincial assemblies within the framework of the Assembly of the SFRY. The Chamber of republics and provinces, with the consent of the assemblies of republics and autonomous provinces, adopts federal laws that specify relations in following areas: monetary system and emission of bank notes, foreign exchange, international trade, crediting and other international economic relations, customs and other protection, social control of prices and services, system and means of financing the federation, crediting the development of economically underdeveloped republics and provinces, adopting certain international agreements, etc. (see Article 286, Constitution of the SFRY).

### 3. *Socialist Republic*

The salient feature of the constitutional changes that were initiated with the constitutional amendments in 1968 is a continuing strengthening of the position and role of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces. Thereby, the very nature of the Yugoslav federalism and the position of the federation in the constitutional and political system has changed. The socialist republics more and more began to lose the elements of federal units characteristic for classical federalism and increasingly became, together with the autonomous provinces, the fundamental pillars of the federal structure. The federation increasingly assumed the function of statehood and self-management of each republic and/or autonomous province. This process was completed both constitutionally and politically with the adoption of the Constitution of the SFRY of 1974.

According to the Constitution of the SFRY, a socialist republic is a State founded upon the sovereignty of the people and upon the rule and self-management of the working class and all other working people and a socialist self-managing democratic community of working people and citizens and nations and nationalities with equal rights (Article 3, the Constitution of the SFRY). Therefore, a socialist republic is constitutionally defined as a national State and as a socialist self-managing community. The definition of a socialist republic is consistent. Every division aimed at unilateral favouring of only one element at the expense of another, whether it be the republic as a State or the republic as a self-managing community, would not be in line with the role or function of a republic in our social system.

All socialist republics have accepted the basic determination of the republics as laid down by the Federal Constitution and worked in the direction of its further consolidation. A detailed

definition of the Socialist Republic of Serbia is contained in Article 1 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

"The Socialist Republic of Serbia is a socialist democratic State founded upon the power and self-management of the working class and all the working people and a socialist self-managing democratic community of the working people and citizens and nations and nationalities with equal rights based upon the self-management of the working people in associated labour and in other forms of self-managing association and free social organizational structure.

The Socialist Republic of Serbia is a State comprising the Serbian nation and other nations and nationalities residing in it and exercising their sovereign rights.

Within the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia are the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The Socialist Republic of Serbia is a component part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

#### *4. Socialist Autonomous Province*

There exist two autonomous provinces in the Socialist Republic of Serbia within federal Yugoslavia. The autonomous provinces were created in the course of the revolution and to this day constitute a component part of the federal structure. The Constitution of the SFRY of 1946 provides for two autonomous units with different names but with insignificant differences in respect of the constitutional status. These are: the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Autonomous Kosovo-Metohija Region. The term socialist autonomous province was used in the Constitution of the SFRY of 1963 in reference to the both provinces.

Through the constitutional amendments of 1968 the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija was re-named into the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The autonomous provinces in Yugoslavia, that is, in Serbia, were established through the struggle waged by the nations and nationalities in these territories for national liberation and socialism.

Two vital factors determined the nature of autonomy: first, the national structure of the said territories which are inhabited by Serbs and members of Albanian, Hungarian, Ruthenian, and Romanian nationalities, as well as by segments of other nations. Albanians in Kosovo comprise the majority population. And second, the socio-economic, political, historical, cultural and other factors. The development of self-management and our federalism and the extension of national equality, have contributed towards gradual consolidation, especially since the introduction of the constitutional amendments in 1968 and amendments XVIII and XIX of the autonomy of the provinces and their new status in the federation. With the constitutional changes in 1971 and the



Constitution of the SFRY of 1974, provinces also became the constituent elements of the federalism. With the Constitution of the SFRY of 1974, the rights of the autonomous provinces have been considerably broadened, so that in relation to the federation they have acquired a position similar to the position of the republics. For example, in terms of the role of the provinces in decision-making process in the Chamber of republics and provinces, in legislative competence, in parity composition of the organs of the federation, in constitutional judicature, in process of decision-making in the Federal Executive Council, etc.

Since the autonomous provinces are an integral part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, specific affairs are performed in a uniform manner for the entire territory of the Republic. These are determined by the republican law. They are: organization and work of the republican organs and organizations, adjustment of the borders of the republic, citizenship, basis of the legal regime governing social ownership, fundamental principles of marriage and marital relations, etc. The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia makes provision whereby other affairs can be regulated and conducted in a uniform manner throughout the entire territory of the republic (see Articles 300 and 301 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia).

The Constitution of the SFRY defines a socialist autonomous province as an autonomous socialist self-managing democratic socio-political community based on the power of, and self-management by, the working class and all working people, in which the working people, nations and nationalities exercise their sovereign rights, and when this is in the common interest of the working people, nations, and nationalities of the republic as a whole. (Article 4, Constitution of the SFRY). This formulation, with certain modification, is also contained in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in the constitutions of the autonomous provinces.

The system of self-management has introduced a number of significant changes in the position of the nations and nationalities, as well as in the sphere of national relationships. Political science, however, has not as yet established the exact legal dimensions of social changes and mutual influences. Scientific research conducted so far reveals that nations and nationalities in conditions of self-management are experiencing their unimpeded development and full bloom; consequently, the impact of such relations will best be judged over a longer historical period.

For federalism in general, and for the type of federalism as is being created in Yugoslavia, and above all for such a system of decision-making requiring concurrence and agreement at all levels of the Federation, of exceptional importance is the existence of general agreement on basic long-term strategic questions relating to economic and social development. In the absence of this there is a danger that negotiation turns into a series of compromises and bargaining, which do not take into account the long-term and common interests of the entity.

The role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and of other socio-political organizations is a *sine qua non* for the realization of the Yugoslav federalism. Therefore, it is necessary to establish a dialectical link between the federal and self-management structure of the Yugoslav community and its parts and the unified revolutionary organization of the working class, the League of Communists, which is founded upon the principles of democratic centralism. These two principles need not be mechanically confronted since one and the other is a reflection of class and national interests of Yugoslavia as a whole. It is necessary, however, to constantly bear in mind that in achieving this objective one is bound to encounter contradictions which must be overcome.

The channels of our federalism are tied to the revolution, inherent with class and national component. Further development of self-management will contribute towards having the class and national components of federalism merge more and more into a single whole and thus transcend themselves.





*Dr. Velimir ZEKOVIĆ*

*Professor at the Faculty of Economics  
of the University of Beograd*

### THE FUNCTION OF INCOME IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM RUN ALONG SELF-MANAGEMENT LINES

The system of income comprises a whole set of socio-economic relations among which we should like to emphasize the following:

a) social ownership of the means of production and other material preconditions of production on the basis of which the working people associate to form basic and higher level organizations of associated labour in order to carry out the process of social reproduction and to acquire material and other goods which they need for their existence and for satisfying their general and common needs;

b) the commodity nature of the economy, i.e. the necessity of material goods and services being treated as commodities which means that the associated workers, as commodity producers exchange material goods and services via the market thereby receiving social recognition for the effort they have invested in production in the form of their income;

c) the inalienability of the income from the associated workers, i.e. the right and possibility of workers to appropriate all the generated income, to use it as the result of their labour and to distribute it for various purposes;

d) the process of social compacts and self-management agreements with a view to coordinating the behaviour and channelling the activities of associated workers with regard to the distribution and use of income.

The mentioned socio-economic conditions explain more closely why the system of income is specific to the Yugoslav economic system.

First of all, the very fact that social ownership of the means of production and other material conditions of production excludes the monopoly of State and all other forms of ownership over those means substantially affects the position of workers. In the first place, property monopoly is eliminated from management of the

means of production and production in general, while the functions of management and production merge into the unified function of the associated workers. The right of management of the socially-owned means of production emanates from working with them and not from owning them. Also, the absence of property monopoly over the means of production means that property is no longer a basis for appropriation of the results of labour, so that the social character of the means of production is identified with the principles of remuneration according to the results of work.

Finally, the social character of the means of production implies the homogeneity of the worker's product. It becomes a necessary product in its entirety. This is not merely a theoretical question as to whether the categories of necessary production and surplus product should be upheld or rejected and whether the surplus product is a category accompanying the development of the productive forces as soon as they reach a certain level or not. The fact is that the associated workers decide on the use of the overall results of their labour; they decide on the use of even that part of the income which is not the subject of their immediate personal consumption. In this case, the overall income of workers actually is a necessary product. The mentioned changes in the position of workers, as a result of the social nature of the means of production, are not introduced once and for all but are a long-term process which could be described as being at the beginning of its evolution.

The social character of the means of production and its effects on the socio-economic position of the direct producer are also decisive for the nature of commodity production. The very fact that the managerial and productive functions have been combined in the direct producer, indicates that we are not dealing with any type of commodity production but with the self-management-type of that production. This element is of multifold significance. First of all, in commodity production of the self-management type, labour power is not a commodity, as we have abolished (or in process of abolishing) the principal social pre-conditions making it a commodity in other, different social conditions (the link between the labour force and the means of production being the private owner or the State, exploitation resulting from the appropriation of the surplus labour on the part of private owners or the State). Secondly, self-management commodity production being based on management of the surplus labour on the part of associated workers, excludes the capital market and therefore also all manifestations of it which otherwise reflect the social substance of that market.

Both these mentioned factors are decisive for the policy of income distribution. The former (the non-commodity nature of the labour force) indicates that the worker's personal consumption does not manifest itself as the material contents of the wage or salary. As wages and salaries are the manifestations of the value of the labour force by denying the commodity nature of the

labour force, its value is also denied. Instead of the wage or salary as the *ex ante* established share of the worker in income distribution (regardless of whether it is determined by the ratio between supply and demand of manpower on the market, a compromise agreement between the state, the trade unions and private owners, or by the State directly) we have the personal income as a function of the volume of income generated by the work collective, the number of members of the work collective and their behaviour in income distribution. The other factor (the absence of a capital market) indicates that accumulation too can not be determined on the basis of the income determined in advance on the market or by the State on the basis of capital (that is interest), but that it too is a function of the volume of income achieved by and the behaviour of the work collective in distributing it. The capital market however, has some other very significant social and economic effects. In the first place, it implies the domination of financial capital over productive capital and of financial institutions over productive ones. It thereby snatches away from the direct producers the possibility of deciding about the most important questions, i.e. about expanded reproduction. The most important instruments for the functioning of the capital market — interest and dividends — are actually income derived on the basis of property. Emphasis on the fact that the existence of a capital market is not in harmony with a self-management market economy and is in fact incompatible with it does not mean that that economy is already quite free of all forms of a capital market. On the contrary, the mechanism of a self-management market economy is only in the process of formation and what it particularly lacks at this stage is a complete system of expanded reproduction. With the gradual evolution of that system, individual forms of capital markets will gradually disappear.

The very fact that the distribution of income in a self-management market economy is not given *ex ante* in the form of the prices of factors of production — but that it is a function of the behaviour of work collectives, and that the work collective is able to, and in fact does, exert decisive influence on the use of the total income — shows that the income is the motive of the economic activities of work collectives as opposed to profit or gains which are the motives of those activities in enterprises functioning in social conditions in which the interest of the workers is reduced to their wage or salary, while decision-making is the monopoly of the private owner, entrepreneur or of the technocratic structure.

However, even the income is not a strong enough motive for the economic activities of work collectives in our economic system. The monopolies of managerial teams in work collectives, various forms of alienation of a significant part of the income of work collectives frequently limited the workers' interest to their personal income and made the behaviour of narrow centres of decision-making identical to that of those pursuing the logic of profit or income.



Essential for the overall system of income is the social and organizational form in which the working people express their production and managerial functions. Namely, it is obvious that those functions do not manifest themselves in only one social and organizational form and that the system of management necessarily comprises several levels of management and decision-making. Nonetheless, the nature of the system of management is not independent from, but is definitively conditioned by the nature of the principal social and organizational set up and the rights of working people in terms of production and the distribution of the results of labour within that set-up. A self-management market economy is a social and organizational form permitting the smoothest possible evolution of the self-management social relationship, that is one in which the possibilities of obstructing self-management are reduced to a minimum. The degree to which this is actually achieved is correlated to the size of the organizational unit in terms of the number of people it comprises. Respecting this criterion in forming the elementary organizational unit means that it must be a complete production entity and that the results of its work can be asserted as values in exchange. It is this organizational unit that is called in our system, the basic organization of associated labour.

With regard to the management of the income and the behaviour of the work collective when distributing it, the social unalienability of the income from the work collective of the basic organization of associated labour should be borne in mind. It is at this social and organizational level that the income is formed and within this organizational unit that the working people decide about its distribution and exert their influence on the way in which individual parts of that income will be used. In other words, this means that the enterprise or work organization, consisting of a large number of plants, factories, production halls, commercial, financial, personnel, research and other services which are interrelated, as the main organizational form, is pregnant with the danger of the level of management and control over income being moved away from the direct producers, with all the consequences resulting from this. If therefore, the system of income necessarily presupposes the distribution and control over the income by the direct producers, the setting up of basic organizations of associated labour is an essential precondition of its functioning. That this is so has been confirmed by our own experience of the past few years when considerable efforts to ensure the proper functioning of the system of income did not produce the expected results because, among other things, we did not have a clear idea of the principal socio-economic form of organization of working people which would correspond to that system.

And finally, the last in the series of socio-economic conditions comprising the system of income is the coordination of behaviour and activities of work collectives by social compacts and self-management agreements, or what is usually meant by the phrase

“the evolution of self-management into an integral system”. What is actually involved is that by its economic decisions a work collective exerts a decisive influence on other work collectives at the same time “suffering” the influence of their decisions, being linked to them in the social division of labour. As the process of economic development and the division of labour are becoming increasingly complex, primarily under the influence of technical progress, isolated decision-making on the part of individual work collectives and relying exclusively on information provided by the market, is risky as it may lead to misplaced or insufficient investment and uneffective production. Naturally, the more widespread such tendencies are the slower the growth of the economy and the lesser its stability. Therefore, the system of income does not imply isolated management of the income or decision-making on its use on the part of individual basic organizations of associated labour but on the contrary, the coordination of their activities by means of self-management agreements.

With the advent and establishment of a socio-economic system based on social property as the dominant form of social relations, that is of relations among people in relation to the means of production, all those relations which result from ownership of the means of production lose in significance while work becomes the basis of management of the means of production and of the appropriation of the results of production. This means that social property imposes the need for the associated workers, being the direct subjects of economic activity, regulating themselves their relations in the process of reproduction. Thus, self-management is the inevitable consequence of the development and reinforcement of social ownership of the means of production.

The nature of self-management relationships objectively conditions a change of motives and criteria which the associated workers as self-management commodity producers are guided by in their business and other activities. As the factors of production lose the properties of capital and work and the results of work become the basis of self-management decision-making, the income, being the socially acknowledged result of labour, becomes the principal motive of behaviour of workers.

The changes in the motivation of economic activities are due to the changed character of production relations. When talking about motivation we always have in mind the work collective as a community of workers who, given the attained level of technology, have to join into the corresponding form of organization of associated labour and exist as commodity producers. It is quite obvious, however, that the primary motive and aim of each worker when deciding to associate with a work collective and in the process of production in general, is to procure the means required for meeting as much as possible his ever growing needs. In the system of commodity production he meets those needs by the use of his personal income which means that he is interested in increasing that income. However, in view of the fact that the work collective



of direct producers which functions as a commodity producer, is independent in decision-making on the distribution of income it is important to him not only how much will be set aside for personal income but also how his own expanded reproduction will be ensured as that is an essential precondition of his very existence as a commodity producer. In those conditions, in order to satisfy both these vital, inter-related and inter-dependent functions of their existence (personal consumption and accumulation) the associated workers are objectively obliged to strive for a maximization of their income. Thus, the character of production relations (self-management socialist relations) determines the behaviour of the associated workers who, as self-management socialist commodity producers with full control over all the factors of production, are in their economic activities guided by the principle of maximization of income in relation to the engaged factors of production.

It follows from what has been said above that the income of the work collective of a basic organization of associated labour in conditions of social ownership of the means of production and socialist self-management is the principal social relationship that is established between self-management socialist commodity producers and the material base of their reproduction. The expanded reproduction of the work collective as a commodity producer therefore implies both an increase of the material and human factors of the process of production, which are decisive for a maximization of income in future, and of the standard of living of members of the work collective. This means that there is a most direct link between the attained level of income of the work collective and the level of personal incomes which provides the associated workers with incentives without which there would be no progress, and which establishes direct links between the material interests of each individual and the interests of the work collective as a commodity producer.

In addition to continuously urging the associated workers to improve the process of production, as only in that way can the income keep steadily growing; the acquisition of income and the right of the associated workers to have control over it makes it necessary to develop such forms of organization of associated workers as will make it possible for the members of the work collective actually (and not just formally) and directly to decide on the conditions and results of their labour. An adequate constitution of organizations of associated labour ensuring respect of the principle of direct decision-making on the income and all questions of reproduction is indispensable for overcoming the practice of personal incomes being determined by others — in other words it is a precondition for eradicating remnants of wage-labour psychology.

Given the present level of technical and technological development, the advancement of the production process can only be achieved by a coordination of decisions and development pro-



grammes of self-managing commodity producers. The incentives for such a process are provided by the income as the motive of the behaviour of commodity producers. This means that the system of income does not stand for an anarchic market and for accidental establishment and development of relations among producers as subjects on the market, but it requires a coordination and dovetailing of operations in the process of work and development with a view to attaining a higher income. In other words, without appropriate drafting of development programmes, without the conscious coordination and steering of their activities by means of self-management agreements, the self-managed socialist commodity producers cannot achieve a maximization of income.

Dr. VELIMIR ZEKOVIC

Professor Dr. Velimir Zeković was born in 1924. He graduated at the Faculty of Economics in Beograd in 1949 and received a doctorate in economics in 1957. He has been working at the Faculty of Economics in Beograd since 1951, first as an assistant, later as an assistant professor, associate professor and now as a full professor.

He has been lecturing at the same Faculty in Beograd and at other faculties and institutions of higher learning on Economic Policy, the Economics of Yugoslavia and now on the Economics of Yugoslavia's Industry.

In addition to his work at his own faculty, dr. Zeković is also engaged in research work at the Institute for Transport in Beograd and the Institute for Investment Economics. His main field of interest in research is the economic system of Yugoslavia. Over the last few years he has been particularly concerned with the problems of income and its distribution in conditions of self-management socialism in Yugoslavia. He has published a number of studies in this field among which one should mention the following:

— Problems of Extra-Income in Our System of Economic Activities published in the journal *Gledišta* (Views) in October, 1968;

— The Necessity and Directions of Change of the Prevailing System of Detracting from the Income of Work Organizations, published in the journal *Ekonomist* (Economist), April, 1969;

— Current Problems of the System of Secondary Distribution, published within the framework of the study "Problems and Directions of Further Development of the Self-Management Economic System, published by the Institute for Investment Economics, Beograd 1970;

— Problem of Contributions from the Income of Work Organizations, published by the Institute for Investment Economics, Beograd 1971;

— Tendencies in Secondary Income Distribution 1967/1970 and Income Policy in that Respect, published in the study "Income Policy in Self-Management Market Economy, published by *Rad*, Beograd 1972;

Self-Management Integration of Working People in Various Fields of Associated Labour, published by *Komunist*, Beograd 1973.



*Dr. Miodrag TRAJKOVIC*

*Professeur à la Faculté de droit de l'Université  
de Belgrade*

## LES ORGANISATIONS DE TRAVAIL ASSOCIE DANS LE SYSTEME YUGOSLAVE DE L'AUTOGESTION

L'organisation fondamentale de travail associé et les autres formes de travail associé, en premier lieu, l'organisation de travail et l'organisation complexe, représentent des catégories juridico-économiques qui, après la promulgation de la Constitution de 1974, acquièrent leur entière application. L'aspect théorique et pratique des formes du travail associé est indissolublement lié à l'essence de l'autogestion, en tant que l'une des caractéristiques fondamentales de la voie yougoslave vers le socialisme, en conséquence l'explication de ces notions est inconcevable sans l'examen comparé de leur composant autogestionnaire. Tout d'abord, c'est l'organisation fondamentale de travail associé qui attire l'attention, en tant que cellule de l'autogestion, dans laquelle les travailleurs décident directement sur la reproduction sociale et les autres questions les plus importantes de la vie et du travail (le revenu, le revenu personnel, les rapports entre tous les travailleurs etc.).

L'association ultérieure des organisation fondamentales dans les organisations de travail et les organisations complexes, basée sur une plus grande économie, productivité et sur d'autres critères économique ne met pas des entraves à l'idée fondamentale de l'autogestion, mais au contraire, fait ressortir toute la variété de la gestion directe — par les déclarations personnelles des travailleurs et les décisions basées sur le système de délégation à des niveaux différents au sein des ensembles intégrés.

Le but principal de cette conférence est de montrer que l'autogestion dans l'organisation fondamentale de travail et l'organisation complexe de travail associé, c'est-à-dire de souligner que les deux processus mentionnés — l'autogestion et l'association, le premier de caractère socio-politique, et le deuxième de caractère économique, représentent des éléments cohésifs du système économique yougoslave unique.



## 1. *La place et le rôle de l'autogestion dans les organisations de travail associé*

a) Le nouveau concept de l'autogestion part des possibilités les plus larges de la prise des décisions dans tous les domaines de la vie sociale et du travail associé, à tous les niveaux où il est question de la mise à profit des moyens dans la propriété sociale et la création du revenu. Ces cadres sont, cette fois-ci, bien plus amples et on peut dire qu'ils dépassent largement la sphère de l'activité économique, berceau d'autrefois de l'autogestion ouvrière yougoslave. A ce sujet la nouvelle Constitution yougoslave a formulé très explicitement que les travailleurs s'organisent sur la base autogestionnaire dans les organisations de travail associé, les communautés locales, les communautés d'intérêts autogestionnaires et les autres organisations et communautés autogestionnaires, et ce sont eux-mêmes qui déterminent quels sont les intérêts communs, les droits et les devoirs qu'ils réalisent dans celles-ci.

Cette idée de l'autogestion est encore plus clairement exprimée dans la partie de la Constitution qui traite de la position des travailleurs dans le système socio-politique et de leur droit de participer à toutes les formes de la prise des décisions directes. Ce texte de la Constitution est ainsi formulé: «Les travailleurs exercent le pouvoir et gèrent les autres affaires sociales en prenant des décisions à leurs réunions, par voie de référendum et en se prononçant personnellement de diverses manières dans les organisations élémentaires de travail associé et les communautés locales, les communautés autogestionnaires d'intérêts et les autres organisations et communautés autogestionnaires, par l'intermédiaire de leurs délégués aux organes de gestion de ces organisations et communautés, par les conventions autogestionnaires et les accords sociaux, par l'entremise de leurs délégations et délégués aux assemblées des communautés sociopolitiques, et aussi en orientant et en contrôlant les travaux des organes responsables devant les assemblées».

L'idée de la Constitution, exprimée clairement et avec précision dans cet article, est de montrer jusqu'à quelle mesure l'autogestion pénètre dans tous les pores de notre vie socio-économique, en donnant les mêmes droits et en assurant les mêmes chances à tous les travailleurs de les réaliser. Par conséquent, par le nouveau concept de la Constitution est exprimée la plus large pour l'autogestion et la réponse est donnée à la question — comment, où et de quelle manière elle se réalise concrètement en Yougoslavie.

b) Depuis qu'elle a pris naissance avec la Loi relative aux conseils ouvriers en 1951, l'autogestion ouvrière s'est développée et elle a mûri avec les changements qui avaient eu lieu dans nos rapports socio-économiques. Les historiens de l'autogestion, qui s'occupent davantage de cette question indiqueront sûrement que cette année-là dans un petit pays socialiste s'est réalisée la première fois l'idée ancienne des classiques du marxisme-léninisme, qui était jusqu'à cette époque réalisée seulement pendant une courte

période ou sans succès dans la pratique — que les ouvriers gèrent les usines et qu'ils décident seules des conditions et leur vie et de leur travail.

Considérés sous l'aspect du temps présent, l'autogestion des années cinquante représente le commencement de l'édification d'un nouveau système, plus humain, qui règle la contradiction fondamentale de l'homme contemporain — l'aliénation du travail et des décisions politiques, de la même manière que la révolution socialiste, dans sa forme originale, a résolu les problèmes de l'exploitation et de la condition salariale de l'ouvrier. C'était les premiers pas d'une jeune institution, qui n'a pas encore fait ses preuves dans la société, qui promettait beaucoup, mais pour la réalisation de laquelle il fallait avoir beaucoup de courage. Cette première phase, modelée par la Constitution de la RSF de Yougoslavie de 1953, avec l'autogestion indirecte en tant que forme fondamentale de l'autogestion, était le reflet de nos conditions et possibilités de cette époque et correspondait entièrement à cette entreprise de pionnier.

L'orientation vers l'autogestion directe, par laquelle serait dépassé le schéma conseil ouvrier — comité de gestion — directeur et par laquelle on donnerait plus de possibilité aux formes de se prononcer directement a trouvé son expression dans la Constitution de la RSF de Yougoslavie de 1963 et dans les prescriptions légales de cette époque (Loi fondamentale sur les entreprises, Loi sur le revenu etc.). La caractéristique principale de cette phase de développement de l'autogestion sont les tentatives d'effectuer parallèlement avec le renforcement de la prise des décisions directes la décentralisation interne de l'autogestion, c'est-à-dire que le pouvoir politique et économique des autogestionnaires s'édifie dans les fractions de l'organisation de travail (dans les unités de travail, les organisations de travail autonomes etc.).

A part cela, pour cette étape du développement est caractéristique la décentralisation de la législation, c'est-à-dire que dans leur activité normative les organisations de travail deviennent entièrement indépendantes afin de pouvoir régler par leurs actes le contenu et les formes de l'autogestion de la manière qui correspond le plus à leurs nécessités et spécificités. Quoiqu'on pourrait dire aussi pour cette phase qu'elle est en partie le résultat de son temps.

La conclusion s'impose que la gestion indirecte est restée dans cette étape la forme dominante de l'autogestion, et que la prise de décisions directes, par lesquelles est assuré de la manière la plus adéquate le rôle dirigeant de la classe ouvrière n'a pas rempli l'attente.

La troisième phase dans le développement de l'autogestion a commencé il y a deux ans avec les amendements constitutionnels et probablement il serait trop tôt de formuler sur elle un jugement définitif. Ses contours peuvent être aperçus clairement dans les dispositions de la nouvelle Constitution de la RSF de Yougoslavie, et son opportunité et bien-fondée sont vérifiés par les premières expériences acquises dans l'application directe des amendements constitutionnels.



La base de départ de cette phase est l'élargissement ultérieur de l'autogestion sur les domaines de la vie sociale dans lesquels elle n'était pas suffisamment développée et le détour énergétique de l'autogestion indirecte vers l'autogestion directe (de délégation). A ce propos il est important de souligner que les avantages de la prise des décisions directes ne sont pas de nature formelle, comme on peut l'entendre dans certains pays occidentaux, quand il est question de la participation des travailleurs dans la gestion des usines. A part ce moment politico-moral fondamental — de l'inclusion directe des travailleurs, dans le processus de la prise des décisions, dont il a été question partiellement plus haut, par ces changements, selon notre profonde conviction, on réussit à réaliser une plus grande rationalité, ainsi que la création des conditions préalables pour une meilleure activité économique (que peut mieux connaître les problèmes déterminés que celui qui vit avec eux, ou qui peut décider avec plus de bien-fondé du revenu et de son sort que celui qui crée ce revenu).

Les décisions directes, c'est-à-dire les décisions par délégation, ce qui veut dire la participation de tous les travailleurs dans la prise des décisions, a aussi un autre composant, tout à fait nouveau, de cette manière qu'on évite naturellement les tentatives d'abus de l'autogestion et les manipulations avec les intérêts des travailleurs, ce qui était toujours possible dans le système de la prise des décisions par représentation.

c) L'autogestion indirecte peut céder la place à l'autogestion directe seulement dans le cas quand les conditions réelles sont créées à cet effet et quand on trouve les cadres correspondants pour sa réalisation. L'organisation élémentaire de travail associé, qui se forme partout où domine la propriété sociale des moyens de production et où le revenu apparaît comme résultat des rapports de production socialiste, devient la vraie place pour la réalisation directe des décisions autogestionnaires directes. Au lieu des organisations de travail qui ne sont pas définies au point de vue de l'autogestion, dans lesquelles certaines fractions ont une autonomie plus ou moins grande dans la prise des décisions, surtout quand il s'agit de la répartition du revenu, on voit apparaître sur la scène la forme d'organisation de l'organisation fondamentale avec une entière autonomie en ce qui concerne la prise des décisions sur les questions les plus importantes.

Les volumineux conseils ouvriers «centraux», dans lesquels les unités de travail ont ou n'ont pas leurs représentants, perdent le caractère d'organes suprêmes de gestion dans l'organisation de travail et leur place occupent les réunions d'ouvriers et le référendum dans l'organisation de travail associé ou les conseils d'ouvriers constitués sur le principe de délégation. A la place de vastes réunions de travailleurs, qui ont lieu exceptionnellement au nom de l'autogestion directe, sans posséder de grands droits et des possibilités effectives de prendre les décisions, le rôle dominant acquièrent les réunions de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé, en tant que forme de déclarations personnelles des ouvriers avec



une compétence entièrement nouvelle et le nombre de personnes présentes, qui assurent réellement l'atmosphère de travail et l'efficacité des consultations.

En peu de mots, au lieu des intermédiaires dans les organes supérieurs de gestion et des déclarations directes sur certaines questions, les travailleurs employés dans les organisations élémentaires de travail associé commencent à se comporter comme les propres maîtres de leur travail et les dirigeants dans toute l'acceptation de ce terme. En formulant notre pensée plus librement, nous pouvons dire que l'autogestion trouve son milieu naturel dans lequel elle peut s'exprimer jusqu'au maximum et de la manière la plus directe.

Considérée sous un autre aspect, l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé en tant qu'organisation autogestionnaire élémentaire, représente la forme fondamentale et initiale de l'association sur laquelle repose l'institution de l'autogestion toute entière dans notre société. Jusqu'à quelle mesure l'autogestion dans l'organisation élémentaire est importante fait ressortir aussi sa transformation en plusieurs formes de convention autogestionnaire et d'accord social qui, en tant que formes de l'orientation planifiée et de ligne de direction concrète ne peuvent être conçus sans la prise de décisions directes à la base. Par conséquent, l'autogestion directe dans l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé apparaît comme le premier pas et le plus important de l'édification du système autogestionnaire tout entier dans notre société, par les associations des organisations fondamentales jusqu'à des niveaux différents dans les communautés socio-politiques.

Pour que le concept du nouveau procédé de l'autogestion dans les organisations élémentaires de travail associé puisse être éclairci jusqu'au bout, nous estimons qu'il est nécessaire de jeter un coup d'oeil pendant un instant sur la notion de l'entreprise dans le système ancien et dans le système actuel. A l'époque qui précédait les amendements et la nouvelle Constitution de la RSF de Yougoslavie, l'entreprise était le sujet fondamental du système économique et de l'autogestion, avec les droits qui appartiennent aujourd'hui à l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé, depuis le statut de personne morale jusqu'au droit à la répartition du revenu.

Aux fractions déterminées de l'entreprise on attribuait une certaine autonomie, rarement en vertu de la loi, et plus souvent en vertu de la décision de l'organe central de gestion — le comité ouvrier, qui généralement décidait du volume de cette autonomie. Le sort de la reproduction élargie, et dans plusieurs cas le revenu, ainsi que les rapports de travail se trouvaient entre les mains d'un organe intermédiaire qui, avec les représentants des fractions déterminées de l'entreprise, prétendait qu'il exprime la volonté ou qu'il réalise les intérêts de tous les travailleurs. Ce qui était transféré aux unités de travail, ou comme on les appelle, les organisations autonomes, n'était rien d'autre qu'une forme de décentralisation de l'autogestion, qui atteste de la manière la plus convaincante l'absence de la prise des décisions directes à la base et l'organisation centralisée de l'institution toute entière.

Tout à fait à l'opposé de ce qui a été exposé plus haut, l'appui de l'autogestion, exclusivement de l'autogestion directe, se trouve aujourd'hui dans l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé, qui décide des droits inaliénables — des rapports de travail, du revenu et de la reproduction élargie. Par conséquent, il ne peut plus être question de n'importe quelle décentralisation de l'autogestion, en vertu de laquelle l'organisation élémentaire réaliserait ses droits ou aurait des possibilités réelles de décider directement de ces droits. C'est justement tout le contraire, la Constitution a lié l'autogestion à la base, où elle est la plus nécessaire et où elle produit le plus d'effet, et toute sa construction ultérieure elle a conditionné par la volonté des organisations fondamentales de s'associer et d'exercer sur la base autogestionnaire les activités communes sur un plan plus large.

Cela signifie dans l'exemple de l'entreprise et de sa formation que son processus se développe d'en-bas vers le haut, car il se présente sous forme d'associations des organisations élémentaires de travail associé que les organisations associées forment par la convention autogestionnaire, avec l'accord complet sur les activités communes, le transfert d'une partie de sa compétence et l'entente sur le procédé de réaliser l'autogestion. Donc, en d'autres termes, dans ce cas les organisations fondamentales forment de concert l'entreprise et lui confèrent une partie de leur pouvoir politique et économique, dans la mesure qui correspond à leur conviction que cela mène à une plus grande activité des affaires et garantit la réalisation de meilleurs résultats économiques.

Ainsi, en définitive, sur l'exemple de la constitution de l'entreprise ou de n'importe quelle autre organisation de travail, on peut voir l'authenticité de l'autogestion dans les organisations élémentaires de travail associé, ainsi que leur rôle décisif dans la détermination du contenu de l'autogestion effectuée sur un plus large plan de l'association.

## 2. *Les formes de la déclaration personnelle des travailleurs dans les organisations de travail associé*

a) Le contenu de l'autogestion des travailleurs dans l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé et dans les autres organisations de travail associé (disons, dans toutes les associations de ces organisations) constituent les droits et les devoirs que les travailleurs possèdent dans la gestion des organisations mentionnées. Cependant, avant de dire quelque chose de plus sur les formes principales de la réalisation de l'autogestion directe dans l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé, nous estimons qu'il faut attirer l'attention sur le droit fondamental du travailleur, en tant que particulier, de participer dans la prise des décisions directes, d'élire et d'être élu dans les organes de gestion si ces organes existent en dehors de la forme de la déclaration directe, ainsi que de tirer parti des moyens pour la protection de sa position autogestionnaire, qui

sont mis à sa disposition par la Constitution, la loi et les actes normatifs de l'organisation fondamentale.

Ensuite, la constitution prescrit expressément que le travailleur a droit, dans le but de la réalisation de ses droits autogestionnaires, d'être régulièrement informé de la gestion des affaires de l'organisation, de sa situation matérielle et financière, de la réalisation et de la répartition du revenu et de l'utilisation des moyens de l'organisation, ainsi que des autres questions qui présentent de l'intérêt pour la prise des décisions et le contrôle dans l'organisation. Du contenu de la constitution on peut déduire aussi le droit particulier de l'ouvrier à l'initiative et à la proposition des solutions déterminées dans son organisation de travail associé et dans ses associations.

b) Dans l'article 98 de la Constitution de la RSF de Yougoslavie il est stipulé que l'ouvrier exerce l'autogestion dans l'organisation élémentaire et dans toute autre organisation de travail associé, à égalité des droits et dans les rapports de responsabilité réciproque avec les autres ouvriers de l'organisation, en prenant les décisions dans les réunions d'ouvriers, par voie de référendum et en se prononçant personnellement, par la voie de délégués dans les conseils ouvriers, ainsi qu'en contrôlant l'exécution des décisions et les travaux des organes et des services de ces organisations.

Par une telle formulation la Constitution a encore une fois défini, avec plus de précision que dans les autres endroits, les formes de la gestion directe tant celles dans lesquelles les ouvriers se prononcent personnellement, que celles dans lesquelles les décisions sont prises par la voie de délégués.

Examinons avec plus de détails comment se présente la réunion d'ouvriers dans une organisation fondamentale en tant que forme dans laquelle les ouvriers se prononcent personnellement, quelle est sa compétence et comment elle travaille pratiquement. En premier lieu, il faut dire qu'une telle réunion constituent tous les travailleurs de l'organisation fondamentale, et quand il s'agit d'une autre forme d'organisation de travail associé, par exemple d'une organisation de travail ou d'une plus large association, de même tous ceux qui sont employés dans cette organisation autogestionnaire.

La convocation et le mode de travail de la réunion des travailleurs est réglé par un acte général de l'organisation fondamentale, qui doit être mis à la disposition et porté à la connaissance à tous les membres de la réunion. En règle générale, c'est-à-dire d'après la pratique qui est le plus souvent en usage, la réunion des travailleurs est convoqué par le président de la réunion élu ou par le suppléant du président de la réunion, le convocateur propose l'ordre du jour, qui est définitivement fixé et adopté à la réunion; la personne qui préside la réunion dirige les travaux de la réunion, qui décide valablement seulement si plus de la moitié des membres de la collectivité de l'organisation fondamentale est présente, la réunion des travailleurs adopte les décisions par la majorité des voix des membres présents, à l'exception si une autre sorte de



majorité n'a été prescrite (la majorité absolue et qualifiée), et s'il ne s'agit pas de questions pour le règlement desquelles la majorité de tous les ouvriers est nécessaire (par exemple l'adoption de la convention autogestionnaire); les travaux de la réunion doivent être rédigés dans le procès-verbal.

La compétence de la réunion des travailleurs peut être de deux sortes, ce qui dépend du fait si la réunion est le seul organe permanent de gestion de l'organisation fondamentale, ou si à cause de son ampleur, le nombre de personnes employées, ou de certaines autres spécificités, l'organisation fondamentale a élu un organe de gestion délégataire restreint. Dans le premier cas, qui est plus fréquent dans la pratique, la compétence de la réunion des travailleurs comprend les questions les plus importantes de la vie et du travail dans l'organisation fondamentale. Dans le deuxième cas la compétence est divisée entre la réunion des travailleurs et le conseil ouvrier, ou comme on l'appelle autrement l'organe de gestion de l'organisation fondamentale.

A titre d'exemple nous mentionnerons que la réunion des travailleurs de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé est autorisée de décider des questions suivantes: l'adoption des programmes et des plans de travail et de développement de l'organisation fondamentale; l'adoption de l'acte fondamental général; l'adoption de la convention autogestionnaire relative à l'association; résolutions sur la disposition des moyens des fonds de l'organisation élémentaire ou l'association de ces moyens avec les moyens des autres organisations; résolutions sur les revenus personnels des travailleurs; résolutions sur les questions principales des rapports du travail associé; résolutions sur certaines questions du statut juridique de l'organisation fondamentale, etc.

Deux ou plusieurs organisations fondamentales de travail associé peuvent tenir des réunions collectives des travailleurs, qui sont dans la composition de l'organisation de travail, quand on doit décider des questions qui sont d'un intérêt commun pour ces organisations fondamentales.

Mentionnons à la fin que dans le système autogestionnaire qui existait jusqu'à présent les réunions d'ouvriers étaient des rassemblements dans lesquels les ouvriers discutaient seulement et prenaient les attitudes sur certaines questions, mais sans droit de décision. Le conseil ouvrier de l'entreprise, ou les organisations autonomes de travail associé, était tenu de prendre en considération la proposition des réunions d'électeurs, de se prononcer sur cette proposition et plus tard de présenter un rapport aux ouvriers sur celle-ci, mais le contenu de cette proposition ne l'obligeait pas.

c) La forme suivante de la réalisation directe du droit de l'autogestion dans les organisations élémentaires et dans les autres organisations de travail associé par la voie de la déclaration personnelle est le référendum. Au référendum, comme à la réunion des travailleurs, participent tous ceux qui travaillent dans l'organisation élémentaire ou dans une autre organisation de travail associé. Le référendum est organisé plus rarement que la réunion des

travailleurs, car au référendum on laisse seulement les questions qui sont d'une importance exceptionnelle pour l'organisation fondamentale. La pratique démontre qu'au référendum on porte justement les questions d'une grande importance, sur lesquelles on n'a pas pris des décisions effectives aux réunions des travailleurs, et pour lesquelles on croit qu'en raison d'un autre procédé de prendre les décisions sous cette forme de gestion directe, elles seront résolues plus efficacement (par exemple, l'intégration, la désintégration, les grands investissements, la modification substantielle de l'organisation fondamentale etc.).

La caractéristique essentielle du référendum est que les décisions sont émises au scrutin secret et seulement en donnant les réponses par «oui» ou par «non». Vu qu'au référendum les débats ne se poursuivent pas comme dans les réunions d'ouvrier, on suppose que les ouvriers peuvent répondre par «oui» ou par «non» seulement si la question a été préalablement bien préparée et élucidée. Dans les organisations élémentaires et dans les autres organisations de travail associé bien organisées, dans lesquelles les rapports sociaux et économiques sont réglés avec précision par les actes normatifs, il faudrait s'y attendre que le référendum ne soit pas ad hoc une forme de déclaration personnelle des ouvriers. Cela pourra être réalisé de telle sorte que les questions pour le référendum seront prévues d'avance, au lieu que ce soient des problèmes que la réunion d'ouvriers ne pouvait pas résoudre, surtout s'il y a plusieurs réunions, ou s'il est évident qu'un grand nombre d'ouvriers ne garantit pas que les décisions seront prises rapidement et efficacement.

Ici il faut mentionner aussi la possibilité découlant de la Loi relative à la constitution des organisations de travail associé et l'inscription dans le registre du tribunal, selon laquelle l'acte général peut être adopté aussi par le recueil des signatures des ouvriers.

Le référendum en tant que forme de déclaration directe et secrète de la proposition existait aussi dans notre système autogestionnaire qui existait jusqu'à présent, mais avec des différences sur lesquelles il faut attirer l'attention. Ainsi, même jusqu'à présent le référendum obligeait le conseil ouvrier qui prenait des décisions sur sa base ou prenait des mesures concrètes déterminées. Cependant, le changement essentiel consiste en ce que la décision du référendum est actuellement méritoire et définitive et elle ne doit être transmise à personne pour que des décisions ultérieures soient prises. (D'ailleurs, le conseil ouvrier n'est plus l'organe suprême de l'autogestion, mais ce sont les formes mentionnées de déclaration directes, la réunion d'ouvriers et le référendum). La deuxième différence par rapport à la même situation dans le système précédent est de nature effective: l'expérience acquise au cours des deux années écoulées de l'application des amendements constitutionnels fait ressortir que le référendum, en tant que forme démocratique de la gestion collective est plus souvent utilisé, et, de plus, non seulement au niveau de l'organisation de travail, mais de plus en plus au niveau des organisations élémentaires de travail associé.

### 3. *Le contenu des décisions délégataires au sein des organisations de travail associé*

a) En traitant le problème de l'association des organisations élémentaires de travail associé il a été déjà question de l'auto-gestion en dehors des réunions d'ouvriers et des référendum, soit qu'il s'agit des organisations fondamentales de plus grande importance ou d'une association, formée par la convention autogestionnaire. Il est question, donc, des organes de gestion, qui existent parfois, outre les formes de la déclaration personnelle prévues dans le but de la prise des décisions sur les droits inaliénables des travailleurs. La Constitution a explicitement stipulé que dans l'organisation élémentaire et dans les autres organisations de travail associé on peut former le conseil ouvrier, en tant qu'organe de gestion du travail et des activités de l'organisation, c'est-à-dire organe de gestion qui lui correspond quant à la position et à la fonction.

La Constitution n'est pas tout à fait précise en ce qui concerne ce deuxième organe de gestion, car il est évident qu'elle a confié cette tâche à la future loi sur le travail associé et les actes normatifs de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé. Ce qui est essentiel, cependant, pour le conseil ouvrier, ou cet autre organe de gestion (disons, la conférence des autogestionnaires), c'est une autre compétence et un autre procédé de travail de l'organe de gestion qui était le plus élevé jusqu'à présent (appelé également conseil ouvrier). Au premier coup d'oeil on pourrait dire que ces organes sont les mêmes que ceux de la période précédente, pour lesquels nous avons déjà dit qu'ils étaient les promoteurs de l'autogestion indirecte. En lisant attentivement la Constitution et en analysant la pratique, cependant, on arrive facilement à la vraie conclusion sur le caractère qualitativement modifié du conseil ouvrier actuel ou de cet autre organe de gestion qui lui correspond (du conseil universitaire, du conseil de faculté, des différents autres conseils et des organes de gestion analogues dans les organisations de l'instruction, scientifique, culturelles, sanitaires et des autres organisations de travail associé). Un compte rendu plus détaillé nous montrera qu'il s'agit dans le fond du principe délégataire de la représentation des intérêts des travailleurs dans l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé, ce qui est nouveau par rapport à la représentation classique.

b) Partons du mode de constitution du nouveau conseil ouvrier, ou de l'organe de gestions qui lui correspond, afin de pouvoir découvrir le premier changement important en comparaison avec «l'ancien» conseil ouvrier. Pour le conseil ouvrier de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé il a été expliqué qu'il est composé de délégués des travailleurs de toutes les fractions du processus de travail dans cette organisation. Le principe de l'égalité des droits et de la représentation est complété par une nouvelle condition, par laquelle on exige que la composition du conseil ouvrier de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé



doit correspondre à la composition sociale de la communauté de travail de cette organisation. Quand il est question du conseil ouvrier de l'organisation de travail, qui a été formé par la convention autogestionnaire relative à l'association de la part des organisations élémentaires de travail associé, la Constitution exige la présence des délégués des travailleurs de ces organisations élémentaires.

Les délégués au conseil ouvrier doivent être élus directement de la manière et selon la procédure qui sont fixées par la convention autogestionnaire. Par une disposition spéciale la Constitution insiste sur le fait que dans le conseil ouvrier de l'organisation de travail doit être représentée chaque organisation élémentaire dans sa composition, ce qui explique le concept de conséquence des rapports égaux en droits et démocratiques entre les sujets fondamentaux de l'autogestion à l'occasion de leur association. De cette manière est assuré en même temps le minimum de l'influence que chaque organisation élémentaire peut avoir sur l'adoption et la mise en oeuvre des décisions collectives au sein de l'organisation de travail.

En ce qui concerne le contenu de la compétence du conseil ouvrier de l'organisation élémentaire et des conseils des autres organisations de travail associé (les organisations de travail et les organisations complexes, par exemple), il faut souligner que leurs droits et devoirs sont déduits de l'autogestion dans laquelle participent tous les ouvriers dans les organisations élémentaires de travail associé. La Constitution a une formulation générale sur la compétence de cet organe, sans préciser expressément de quelle organisation autogestionnaire il s'agit, mais il est incontestable que du contexte et de l'essence de tout le système on doit conclure que les différences doivent exister entre l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé et ses associations.

Examinons d'abord cette disposition générale de la Constitution selon laquelle c'est le conseil ouvrier qui définit la proposition des statuts et adopte les autres actes généraux; définit la politique des affaires et adopte le plan et le programme de travail et de développement; détermine les mesures pour la mise en oeuvre de la politique des affaires et du programme de travail et de développement; élit, nomme et destitue l'organe exécutif et l'organe de gestion, ou les membres de ces organes; prend soin d'informer les ouvriers et exerce les autres affaires spécifiées par la convention autogestionnaire, les statuts et par les autres actes autogestionnaires de l'organisation.

Quand il est question du conseil ouvrier de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé, alors il est évident que le volume de ces questions est plus restreint et que c'est à la réunion que la décision sera prise, ensuite de même par les statuts de l'organisation seront établies les normes relatives à la division de la compétence entre les réunions des travailleurs et le conseil ouvrier. Les décisions relatives aux droits inaliénables des ouvriers — des rapports de travail, du revenu et de la reproduction élargie, en

règle générale, restent dans la compétence de la forme de déclaration personnelle, mais certaines questions de la réalisation de ces droits, qui ne signifient pas l'adoption mais la mise en oeuvre des décisions, bien entendu si les travailleurs le désirent, peuvent déterminer en tant que compétence du conseil ouvrier les organisations élémentaires de travail associé (à ce sujet comme meilleur exemple peuvent servir les établissements des plans et des programmes de travail).

Dans le deuxième cas quand il est question du conseil ouvrier de l'organisation de travail ou d'une autre association des organisations élémentaires, les cadres juridiques de sa compétence doivent être cherchés, excepté dans les dispositions constitutionnelles, dans la convention autogestionnaire relative à l'association, et ensuite dans les statuts de cette organisation de travail associé. La compétence d'un tel conseil ouvrier, donc, doit être vue, non seulement à la lumière de quelques normes constitutionnelles, mais aussi en tant que résultat de la concordance des organisations élémentaires associées, qui se sont mises d'accord et qui par la convention autogestionnaire ont énoncé les sortes et le volume des affaires qu'elles exerceront de concert au niveau de l'organisation de travail. Cela signifie que les hommes travailleurs des organisations élémentaires de travail associé, comme dans le cas précédent au niveau d'une organisation élémentaire, au conseil ouvrier de leur association, en tant qu'organe collectif de gestion, pourraient également déléguer les questions qui se rapportent à la réalisation des droits inaliénables, évidemment pour autant qu'ils sont convaincus que c'est une modalité de travail plus efficace.

L'analyse de toutes les questions qui peuvent se trouver à l'ordre du jour du conseil ouvrier de l'organisation de travail ou d'une autre organisation de travail associé (les communautés des organisations élémentaires, les organisations complexes etc.) formées par la convention autogestionnaire des organisations élémentaires, fait ressortir une classification très intéressante. Tout d'abord, ici se trouvent, d'après le contenu même de la Constitution, certaines questions, que les organisations élémentaires ou les organisations de travail doivent transmettre à la compétence du conseil ouvrier. Il est tout à fait évident qu'il s'agit seulement des exemples que la Constitution a cités, et non point d'une énumération détaillée de toutes les affaires du conseil ouvrier dans l'exercice de sa fonction de gestion.

D'autre part, de la nature des attributions et des droits autogestionnaires de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé il résulte qu'elle pourrait déléguer dans les affaires collectives à l'organisation de travail, ce qui signifie au conseil ouvrier de l'organisation de travail, même non plus les autres affaires, en fonction des spécificités, des conditions et des besoins de l'organisation de travail et de toutes les autres organisations élémentaires associées qui se trouvent dans sa composition.

Enfin, il y a aussi une troisième catégorie de questions dans la compétence du conseil ouvrier de l'organisation de travail pour

lesquelles d'après les dispositions de la Constitution un régime spécial est valable. Ce sont les affaires qu'on a déjà mentionnées et qui se rapportent aux droits inaliénables des travailleurs des organisations élémentaires de travail associé, auxquels ces organisations ne peuvent pas renoncer, et dont personne ne peut les priver, mais dont la réalisation, en partie ou entièrement, peut être confiée par une procédure spéciale aux organes collectifs de gestion. L'article 100 de la Constitution de la RSF de Yougoslavie prévoit que les décisions du conseil ouvrier de l'organisation de travail et de l'organisation complexe de travail associé, sont prises en accords avec chacune de ces organisations, suivant la procédure fixée par la convention autogestionnaire d'association.

On peut remarquer une différence substantielle entre les questions de la deuxième catégorie, qui sont par la convention collective des organisations élémentaires confiées au conseil ouvrier, ou à un autre organe de gestion de l'organisation de travail qui lui correspond, et ces questions les plus importantes de la troisième catégorie qui, en règle générale, sont réservées à la prise des décisions directes au niveau de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé. Tandis que pour le deuxième groupe d'affaires la convention autogestionnaire est considérée comme fondement juridique suffisant pour la compétence des organes représentatifs des organisations de travail, dans le dernier cas à cause de l'importance exceptionnelle des droits «inaliénables», dans la prise de décisions concrètes, outre la convention autogestionnaire on exige aussi le consentement complémentaire de chaque organisation élémentaire.

A ce sujet la question se pose comment réglementer dans la loi sur le travail associé la question de la majorité, qui était exigée dans les décisions délégataires sur les droits «inaliénables» des organisations élémentaires. Nous croyons qu'en principe il faudrait laisser aux conventions autogestionnaires d'association dans l'organisation de travail associé de régler cette question, mais à cause de l'efficacité des décisions il ne faut pas insister sur l'accord complet de tous les délégués dans le conseil ouvrier ou dans un autre organe collégial de gestion qui lui correspond. (Par exemple, pourquoi ne demanderait-on pas dans ce cas une majorité qualifiée, au lieu de l'unanimité, qui est indispensable seulement pour les décisions relatives aux droits «inaliénables»).

De même, la question peut être d'une importance pratique comment réaliser l'accord complet des organisations élémentaires en ce qui concerne leurs droits «inaliénables», avant toute autre décision sur cette question à la réunion du conseil ouvrier, par l'intermédiaire des délégués, en particulier quand il y en a plusieurs d'une organisation élémentaire de travail associé, par la voie de déclaration personnelle, qu'on pourrait organiser dans les organisations élémentaires ou par la transmission des attitudes prises par les conseils ouvriers des organisations élémentaires de travail associé. Nous estimons que la future loi relative au travail associé devrait se déterminer seulement pour la première solution — la



consultation des délégués autorisés, et que l'idée sur le fonctionnement du système délégataire devrait être parachevée de même de cette façon qu'il serait spécifié par la loi que plusieurs délégués d'une organisation élémentaire agissent toujours en tant que délégation.

c) La nouveauté la plus importante dans le travail du conseil ouvrier, néanmoins, n'est pas dans le mode différent de constitution ou dans la compétence de cet organe de gestion. La raison pour laquelle on parle du système délégataire au sein de l'autogestion dans les organisations de travail associé est le nouveau statut, le rôle et la responsabilité des délégués dans le conseil ouvrier, ainsi que son lien différent la base qui l'a élu pour son représentant. L'essence de la nouveauté se trouve dans le fait que les délégués dans les organes de gestion du type délégataire (les conseils ouvriers ou dans les organes qui leur correspondent) «agissent suivant les instructions des ouvriers ou du conseil ouvrier de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé, qui les a élus et sont responsables de leur travail devant eux». Donc, les délégués dans les conseils ouvriers des organisations élémentaires de travail associé (bien entendu, de tels conseils existent seulement dans les organisations élémentaires de plus grande importance) élisent leurs délégués dans les conseils ouvriers des organisations de plus grand importance qui se forment par la convention autogestionnaire.

Evidemment, il faut remarquer que dans les organes délégataires des associations hors des organisations élémentaires entrent aussi les délégués que les travailleurs dans les organisations élémentaires de travail associé élisent directement, et non point leurs conseils ouvriers, étant donné que dans les organisations élémentaires beaucoup plus petites, où il est possible de régler les questions importantes directement dans les réunions d'ouvriers, il n'est même pas nécessaire de former des conseils ouvriers. (Le dilemme qui se pose dans l'élaboration de la loi sur le travail associé faut-il se déterminer pour l'envoi des délégués dans les conseils ouvriers des organisations de travail associé de plus grande importance des conseils ouvriers des organisations élémentaires ou directement des réunions de l'organisation élémentaire nous ne considérons pas comme étant essentiel, car on peut laisser cette charge aux actes autogestionnaires, et de cette façon les possibilités seront plus large pour que les spécificités de chaque milieu puissent s'exprimer).

Ainsi les délégués arrivent par deux voies, en réalité les mêmes ou très semblables, car dans un cas ils sont élus directement par les ouvriers, et dans l'autre moins directement, mais quand même d'une manière directe — par leurs délégués, que ceux-ci ont élu préalablement directement. Or, sans égards au fait si aux délégués dans le conseil ouvrier de l'association la base électorale est l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé tout entière ou seulement les conseils ouvriers de cette organisation élémentaire, la Constitution souligne leur devoir commun de travailler selon les instructions de ceux qui les ont élus, ce qui signifie selon les instructions

des ouvriers ou des organes de gestion de leurs organisations élémentaires.

Bien entendu les mêmes dispositions de la responsabilité directe à la base, sont également valables pour les deux catégories de conseils ouvriers — dans l'organisation élémentaire et dans l'autre organisation de travail associé. La Constitution ne s'occupe des détails en déterminant les instructions, et elle laisse cette question à la loi, qui sera adoptée après la Constitution, ou aux actes normatifs des organisations élémentaires de travail associé.

En ce qui concerne les droits, les devoirs et les responsabilités des délégués à l'égard des travailleurs, c'est-à-dire les organes de gestion de leurs organisations, la Constitution est plus précise, car elle prévoit que ces questions doivent être réglementés par la convention autogestionnaire d'association et par les statuts de l'organisation élémentaire et les autres organisations de travail associé.

On peut conclure que la Constitution, tout en renforçant la forme des décisions directes, modifie substantiellement la nature de l'organe des décisions indirectes qui était le plus élevé jusqu'à présent. De l'organe représentatif classique avec les éléments de domination, caractéristique pour une minorité autonome qui dans les conditions déterminées peut se transformer en élite autonome, la Constitution offre toutes les chances à la formation d'un corps dans lequel fonctionnera la liaison directe entre les délégués et la base autogestionnaire d'où les délégués arrivent et d'après les instructions desquels ils travaillent. De cette manière on pourrait éliminer, ou dans tous les cas diminuer, le danger de l'abus de l'autonomie des représentants dans les organes de gestion, ce qui signifie de l'autonomie de la minorité, ou diminuer la passivité de la majorité, eu égard que le corps électoral tout entier est activement intégré dans la formation de la politique et la diffusion des instructions aux délégués pour le travail dans le conseil ouvrier.

D'autre part, une telle constitution et un tel mode de travail du conseil ouvrier en tant qu'organe de gestion effacent la limite classique entre l'autogestion indirecte et l'autogestion directe. De cette manière se rapproche et s'identifient de plus en plus les formes de la déclaration personnelle dans les réunions des travailleurs et au référendum avec les décisions prises par les ouvriers dans le conseil de travail de l'organisation élémentaire qui fonctionne sur le principe délégataire. La liaison directe des délégués dans le conseil ouvrier de l'organisation élémentaire ou dans le conseil ouvrier d'une autre organisation de travail associé avec les travailleurs qui les ont élus ou avec les conseils ouvriers dont ils sont délégués, ainsi que les préparations pour leur travail et excepté le travail direct et les instructions préparées en commun, prouvent clairement qu'entre les formes actuelles de l'autogestion n'existent pas des différences essentielles, c'est-à-dire qu'elles sont toutes liées par le fil de l'autogestion directe.

#### 4. *Les décisions délégataires dans les organisations de travail associé en tant que base du système d'assemblée dans la société*

a) L'exposé sur le système délégataire au sein des organisations de travail associé démontre qu'il est question seulement d'une partie du concept général du système délégataire, qui est à des niveaux différents prévue pour toute la sphère de la gestion sociale, à partir de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé jusqu'aux différentes communautés socio-politiques. Le sens du système délégataire, cependant, pour l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé ne s'épuise pas par le nouveau rôle des délégués dans le conseil ouvrier ou dans un autre organe de gestion, de l'organisation de travail, ou d'une plus grande organisation de travail associé. L'organisation élémentaire en tant que promoteur de l'autogestion directe, d'après notre Constitution, en même temps devient l'une des bases de la formation des délégations et de l'élection des délégués aux assemblées des communautés socio-politiques (par exemple les communes, les provinces autonomes, les républiques fédérées).

De cette manière la fonction autogestionnaire de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé ne s'arrête pas sur les limites de l'organisation de travail ou d'une autre association des organisations élémentaires, mais elle s'intègre directement dans les larges courants de la gestion sociale. De cette manière est réalisé le principe de l'autogestion unique, qui représente la liaison directe entre les différents promoteurs de la déclaration personnelle et des décisions délégataires.

b) L'organisation élémentaire de travail associé occupe cette fois-ci aussi la première place parmi les organisations et communautés autogestionnaires dans lesquelles se forment les délégations et élisent les délégués aux assemblées des communautés socio-politiques (dans lesquelles se trouvent comprises aussi les communautés locales, les communautés d'intérêts autogestionnaires, les communautés de travail des organisations sociales etc.). L'élection des délégations, dont le nombre et les modalités d'élection dépendent des prescriptions des républiques fédérées et des statuts, est effectuée directement au scrutin secret. La délégation est élue pour une période de quatre ans et elle exerce les affaires qui se rapportent à l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé, mais aussi aux intérêts plus larges dans le cadre des communautés socio-politiques.

La délégation élit son délégué de concert avec les délégations des autres organisations autogestionnaires et demeure comme corps permanent, qui a dans sa compétence les mêmes fonctions que le délégué élu. Le nombre des délégués dans les conseils des assemblées de la commune des provinces autonomes et des républiques fédérées, qui sont élus par les délégations de délégations élémentaires, est fixé proportionnellement au nombre des travailleurs dans ces organisations, ou communauté.



A l'occasion de la détermination de la physionomie de la délégation, la Constitution part de l'idée que sa fonction se réalise dans la coordination des intérêts et instructions de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé avec les besoins des autres organisations et de la communauté sociale dans l'ensemble. Le devoir principal de la délégation consiste à déterminer les attitudes fondamentales pour le travail des délégués dans l'assemblée et pour leur participation active dans la prise des décisions. La délégation informe de son travail et du travail des délégués dans l'assemblée l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé à laquelle elle reste responsable pendant tout le temps.

Le travail compliqué de la coordination des intérêts sociaux plus restreints et plus larges la délégation accomplit de telle manière qu'elle collabore constamment avec les délégations des autres organisations et communautés autogestionnaires, en cherchant à se mettre d'accord sur les questions de la compétence de l'assemblée et sur les autres questions d'un intérêt commun. En agissant ainsi, la délégation reste constamment active, d'une part dans la préparation des délégués à ce que leur travail dans l'assemblée soit couronné de succès et, d'autre part, par ce moyen et par l'intermédiaire des autres délégués et délégations, dans la liaison de son organisation élémentaire avec les autres promoteurs de l'autogestion dans la société.

La délégation et chacun de ses membres ainsi que le délégué dans l'assemblée peuvent être révoqués, et d'après la Constitution ils ont le droit de donner leur démission.

D'après le nombre de ses membres, sa composition et les modalités de travail, la délégation de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé rappelle au premier coup d'oeil le conseil ouvrier de l'organisation. L'analogie est, l'organe de gestion, delà le corps qui rattache le plus directement l'organisation élémentaire avec la communauté sociale.

La différence est encore plus frappante lorsqu'on observe les affaires concrètes dont s'occupe le conseil ouvrier et les affaires d'une plus large importance sociale auxquelles la délégation a consacré son activité. En réalité pour la délégation on pourrait dire, en comparaison avec le conseil ouvrier, qu'elle exerce trois sortes d'affaires: elle traite la problématique de l'organisation élémentaire; elle traite les questions de l'ordre du jour des assemblées des communautés socio-politiques et enfin — elle harmonise ses attitudes avec les délégations des autres organisations de travail associé. Il est indispensable de distinguer ce qu'on vient d'exposer, car dans la pratique les délégations sont déjà dénomées «les conseils ouvriers des affaires extérieures», ce qu'on peut adopter comme forme d'expression figurative, mais seulement avec des observations préalables.

c) Le travail de la délégation de l'organisations élémentaire de travail associé et la liaison directe de l'organisation élémentaire avec le délégué dans l'assemblée de la communauté socio-politique sont la partie du système délégataire dans la société conçus de la

manière la plus large par lesquels on donne à l'autogestion un nouveau contenu et stimulant. La liaison directe des délégués avec la base et la délégation de l'organisation élémentaire contribuera à éliminer les lacunes du mode classique de représentation des citoyens, dans lequel la thèse relative à la responsabilité des députés et des conseillers à tous se réduisait à la thèse sur la responsabilité à personne.

La liaison avec la délégation qui contrôle le travail des délégués, ainsi qu'avec l'organisation, dont les intérêts doivent être exprimés par le délégué, attire l'attention sur un autre rapport, que la pratique parlementaire ne connaît pas encore. De cette manière diminuera et peu à peu disparaîtra la possibilité de la bureaucratisation des individus et la transformation en élite d'un petit nombre de personnes qui, sous forme de représentants des intérêts généraux et de l'immunité classique se séparent et s'éloignent pratiquement de ces mêmes intérêts.

D'autre part, le travail permanent des délégations des organisations élémentaires de travail associé, qui travaillent ensemble avec les délégués, représente une nouvelle possibilité pour l'intégration active d'un plus grand nombre de membres de la collectivité de travail dans le processus de la préparation, et en grande partie dans le processus de l'adoption des décisions dans les assemblées de communautés socio-politiques. De cette façon est incontestablement parachevé avec succès le système de l'autogestion qui existait jusqu'à présent et aux hommes travailleurs la chance est procurée de remplacer les décisions traditionnelles, représentatives et prises par intermédiaire par une nouvelle forme de la démocratie autogestionnaire.

#### Dr MIODRAG TRAJKOVIĆ

Né en 1937 à Vranje. Il termina ses études à la Faculté de Droit de Belgrade en 1959. En tant qu'assistant à la Faculté de Droit il termina ses études post-universitaires à Turin (Italie) et en tant que chargé de cours il a fait un stage de spécialisation d'une durée d'un an aux Etats Unis d'Amérique (New York et Berkeley University).

Il a défendu sa thèse de doctorat «Les rapports juridiques lors de l'achat et de la vente en commission de marchandises dans notre droit et dans le droit comparé». Il est actuellement professeur adjoint de Droit Economique et de Droit des communications à la Faculté de Droit de Belgrade. A part de sa thèse de doctorat, il a publié trois autres oeuvres («La responsabilité envers le passager dans le droit aérien», «Le contrat du charter», «L'arbitrage interne») et un grand nombre d'articles, relevant surtout du domaine de l'autogestion dans l'économie.

Dr Trajković est un travailleur socio-politique actif — député du Conseil des nationalités de l'Assemblée Fédérale, membre de la Commission législative et juridique de l'Assemblée, membre de la Commission pour les relations internationales et de la Commission pour les rapports socio-économiques du Comité Central de la Ligue des Communistes de Serbie, vice-président du Tribunal d'Arbitrage près la Chambre d'Economie de Serbie etc.

Il s'est particulièrement distingué par la formation de la nouvelle discipline du Droit aérien international, où il a obtenu le prestige d'expert de l'Organisation internationale pour l'aviation civile.

*Dr. Mirko MIRKOVIC*  
*Professor at the Faculty of Law of the*  
*University of Beograd*

### EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA

Socialist self-management is changing both the socio-economic position of education, science and culture and that of their agents. Also the working people in these fields — like other direct producers on the foundations of social ownership — are expanding all the essential functions in the decision-making process on the scope, content and range of social reproduction. The solution of the question of social development lies in the distinct socialization and this — in itself — is creating historically new rights and obligations for all socialist producers and creators, but also for education, science and culture whose role in the struggle for the emancipation and cultivation of labour is becoming first-rate.

The organization of education, science and culture in the conditions of self-managing socialism has acted and been perfected alongside the socio-economic and political system for some quarter of a century. It shares — and so it should — the fate and mirrors the level of the development of its broader social and material setting and is, of course, influencing in turn its form and transformation.

1. — Socialist Yugoslavia encountered within its boundaries a traditionally organized bourgeois educational system. The curriculum on the whole favoured scholasticism, the hypertrophy of fact-finding descriptions and positivism. The network of educational establishments of all levels — from four-year elementary schools to universities — was not sufficiently diversified or developed to be suitable to receive entrants from more distant and economically underdeveloped agglomerations. Viewed on the whole, the educational system of the former Yugoslavia lied on an unfavourable socio-economic ground. The prewar Yugoslavia was an underdeveloped agrarian country. More than three quarters of its population comprised farmers, predominantly owners of small holdings. From 1926 to 1939 the GNP was growing at a rate of 2.1 per cent and so barely exceeded the rate of population



increase.<sup>1</sup> Such development did not facilitate any substantial upgrading of underdeveloped social and economic structure or any extensive growth of the material basis of education.

War destructions on the Yugoslav soil were grave and extensive. The country lost 1.7 million of its population or some 11 per cent of its inhabitants, while the loss of national resources amounted to 17 per cent of the overall loss incurred by 18 allied countries. Many schools, cultural institutions and cultural-historical monuments were also destroyed.<sup>2</sup>

All in all, in the socio-economic field and, of course, in the sphere of education the new Yugoslavia was burdened by an unfavourable and undesirable inheritance. The programme of socialist reconstruction is getting the better of this heritage also in the sphere of education and, in spite of difficulties, is succeeding to harmonize the educational system both quantitatively and qualitatively with the requirements of developed self-managing socialism.

In socialist Yugoslavia there exist the systems of regular education, extra-mural education and on-job education. Regular schooling covers school-age children and youth and is being conducted in elementary and secondary schools and establishments of higher learning. There is also pre-school education provided by kindergartens, nurseries and other child-care institutions. The essential schooling is eight years in duration and compulsory. Secondary school education is provided by middle general education and vocational schools, while higher and academic education is conducted by higher schools, faculties and arts academies. The third level education, namely post-graduate studies are pursued at faculties and academies and are intended for the preparation of the attainment of a master of sciences degree.

Extra-mural education is possible at elementary and middle schools, as well as at institutions of higher learning. Extra-mural academic studies are intended for employed people. Adults are also being educated in the schools for adults, in special departments within regular schools, in personnel training centres, schools for self-managers, at the workers' and people's universities. Certain developed enterprises have their own education centres for regular pupils or adults who acquire in this manner certain special skills. Instruction in schools and universities, depending on the national composition of trainees, the locality of their activities etc., is being conducted in the languages of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

In the post-war period a network of educational institutions are being expanded which are increasingly reaching the new centres of life and labour. Compared with the 1938/39 school year when there were 9.211 elementary schools, more than 5.000 new elementary schools have been opened so that in 1971/72 there were 14.295 of them. In the 1938/39 school year there were 1.086 middle schools

<sup>1</sup> Material and social development of the SFR of Yugoslavia 1947—1972, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Beograd 1973, 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

and in 1971/72 a total of 1.983. The number of schools of higher education increased from 2 in 1938/39 to 120 in 1971/72. In 1938/39 there were 24 faculties and academies while in 1971/72 the existence of 132 schools of such rank were listed.<sup>3</sup> Also this year, in which investments have been subjected to restrictions, new schools and university centres as well as ancillary objects of pupils' and students' standard are being erected.

The number of school goers and students is rapidly growing. Over 90 per cent of children is encompassed by elementary education, while some 90 per cent pupils who have completed their elementary education and one quarter of the number of secondary school graduates continue their education further. At the faculties, higher schools and academies in all the Republics and Provinces some 300.000 students are pursuing their studies — 18 times the pre-war number. For the past years the number of students has been increasing annually for inbetween 14 to 19.000. In number of students per 10.000 population Yugoslavia ranks fifth in Europe after the USSR, Sweden, Holland and Denmark. In the 1964/65 school year there were 88 students per each 10.000 population and 137 in 1970/71.<sup>4</sup>

Education has been built and is being improved on the self-management principles. Also its financing has been organized accordingly. Abolished are financing from the budget, namely budgetary allocation of funds, these administrative-etatist mechanisms which are incompatible with the self-management socialist social system. There has been strengthened and made legitimate the conception that education cannot be regarded as a mere sphere of consumption, but as a constituent production factor, one of the essential levels of the productive forces. Consequently, the material development and other issues involving education are primarily dealt with by the self-management communities for education formed on the territorial principle or for individual profiles — skills. Participating in them are both the subjects of education and the subjects of economic and other social spheres and are deciding on the relevant questions of education regarding the immediate or broader social requirements. Some 4 per cent of the GNP is annually allocated for education.

In Yugoslavia a strong expansion of the overall education is taking place. It has been made possible by substantial economic and social development. From 1947 to 1971 the total national income increased four and a half times and three and a half times per capita. With an average annual rate of growth of national income of 7 per cent (at 1966 prices) Yugoslavia occupied at that time the fourth place in Europe while up to the World War II it belonged to the group with lowest growth rate. The overall economic development of Yugoslavia was faster than the world average and the development of underdeveloped and developed countries and has had the same pace as the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. This has put Yugoslavia among a small number

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 196.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 197.



of countries which have managed to reduce the relative difference in the level of development when compared with developed countries. Such a general momentum has led to considerable changes in economic and social structure. Yugoslavia has lost the characteristics of an underdeveloped agricultural country. With non-agricultural population comprising more than 60 per cent of the overall population and very rapid industrialization Yugoslavia joined the ranks of industrially more developed countries. Over 4 million of the employed in the social sectors now account for more than 80 per cent of the total social product.<sup>5</sup> Without such changes — mentioned only in general outline — the very powerful growth of education would not have been possible in Yugoslavia.

The system of education in Yugoslavia is also accompanied by problems, dilemmas and weaknesses of conceptual, programming, material and organizational nature. The establishment of a relationship between the associated labour and education without state mediation — featured in the communities of interest in education — is still not sufficiently meaningful and effective. The insufficient self-management integration in this sphere causes that education is developing relatively autonomously in relation to our economic development. An effort is now in full swing to strengthen the communities of interest in education as the meeting place, evaluation and determination of needs, interests and abilities of the bearers of education and its economic and non-economic partners, namely beneficiaries.

Although in the process of being eliminated, the vestiges of dualism are still visible in the secondary education — medium level education — personified in the existence of secondary schools as institutions of a distinctly general educational type, and professional schools as establishments directly intended for the acquisition of working or vocational qualifications. The latter ones as distinct from secondary schools — gymnaziae — have had a narrower general educational, i.e. humanities programming basis which has led to an unsatisfactory balance between the humanities and professional knowledge of their students.

Changes are being introduced in the sense that through the curricula and the programmes of the overall middle level education a common educational basis is being ensured. It covers general cultural, socio-economic, humanities-mathematical and production-technical contents with a distinct polytechnical orientation. The idea is — briefly — to achieve that every trainee at that level of education acquires a qualification for initial employment, for earlier incorporation into the work process but also for the continuation of education while working and from the working process.

Compared with pre-war situation a change for the better is taking place regarding the social composition of the attendants of higher and academic education. However, for illustration purposes only, the most numerous group is the one comprising students whose bread-winners are specialists, civil servants, artists,

---

<sup>5</sup> Platform for the preparation of the positions and decisions of the X Congress of the LCY, Beograd 1973, 7—8.



and the like (the majority of whom originate from peasantry and workers), followed by the children of industrial and other workers and farmers. True, within the framework of this general picture one does observe changes. Statistics show that students supported by farmers in 1960 made up 20 per cent of the total number of students, and 10 years later 17 per cent which can be explained by the decrease in agricultural population. The number of students maintained by specialists, civil servants and others dropped slightly in the same period — from 36 to 34 per cent.

The portion of students whose bread-winners were industrial and other workers rose from 13 to 18 per cent. These even partial data point to the changes which are nevertheless rather slow as also indicated by the official statistical data.<sup>6</sup> Within the framework of general assessments of social movements and trends, these facts attracted particular attention of the League of Communists and self-management organs. At the last-year congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and at the republican congresses of the Leagues of Communists it was noted, among other things, that social inequalities were often not only the consequence but also the cause of differences in education. Further and faster improvement of the socio-structural picture of those undergoing education will be achieved through the realization of the future medium-term and long-term plans of the country which will even more reinforce the material and social bases of the self-managing socialism and raise the personal standards of its architects. Parallely, also special measures of social policy and solidarity will be implemented within the working organizations and the broader social scope whereby the living standard of pupils and students may be raised with a view to equalizing the conditions for education. Specially encouraged — by means of funds — are the young workers to continue their education in institutions of higher learning.

The reform of the overall, and particularly academic education is very topical and is in the process of being deepened. There were some difficulties until the ideas about its purpose, ideological and methodological foundations gained strength of a broader material force. Favourable changes have been taking place for the past 2—3 years. The essential aim of the reform is the construction of social, teaching and scientific profiles of education which fundamentally surpass the traditionalist schools, namely which fundamentally personify the needs of the society of the self-managing socialism. The work at the reform is many-sided. Educational institutions expand and strengthen self-management. The participants in education— lecturers, attendants and the non-teaching staff — decide in self-management bodies on the conditions and directions of their work. The trainees do not bear the anachronous mark of an object in an educational institution. They are not put in a position in schools to listen to the broadcasts on self-management outside the walls of their schools, but they act within them

---

<sup>6</sup> Material and social development of the SFR of Yugoslavia... , 200.

in the spirit of self-management, experiencing advantages, hardships and responsibility of such a position.

Within the context of instruction, Marxist education and upbringing are covered by special analytical studies and improvement measures. The problem of educational influence of the school in the formation of personality, behaviour and socialist consciousness of pupils and students is being elaborately analysed. The leading forces of the self-managing socialism are striving for the system and content of the Marxist education and upbringing to develop more perfectly, particularly in their essential role — in the revolutionizing of conscience and the revolutionary change of the reality. To this end, the curricula and instruction in Marxism are being improved. Their weak points are being eliminated. They are being cleansed from occasionally interpolated impurities of eclecticism and dogmatic, very simplified formulas and equations which contradict the very essence of Marxism. In the focus of attention is the Marxist methodological approach of the reality of the self-managing socialism and its developmental problems and contradictions. This presupposes the process of thinking and understanding of that what is going on in the society which — relying on Marxism and Leninism — wishes to overcome class limitations.

In view of this it is utterly unfitting to view and analyze the Marxist education on the one hand, and life and the contradictions of the society of the self-managing socialism on the other, as distinctly separated blocks. Such a separation would tend to have Marxism represented as sealed or closed scientific-theoretical-ideological code — which it certainly is not — while on the other hand it would not be observed where and how revolutionizing force of its classical and contemporary sources is. The implementation of the reform — specially in academic education — has refreshed the correct belief that the Marxist education and upbringing are complementary and that they should not be turned into a mere or dull academic-scholastic discipline. From such a discipline to the scholastic version of dogmatism is less than a step. In this sense, efforts are being made at the strengthening of the Marxist content in the overall education process, and those engaged in this task among others are also the centres for the Marxist education or courses at our universities.

2. — Scientific creativity of ours is becoming an authentic strength of the associated producers of material and spiritual goods. Through the self-managing organized communities for scientific work, scientists and workers in economic and non-economic activities are taking care of the conditions and development of scientific creativity. Efforts are being made towards scientific creativity strengthening in its own way material bases of the self-management of the working class and contributing to the promotion of productivity and emancipation of labour. The total investments in scientific research activities have been growing faster than the growth rate of our national income. Some 1.3 per cent is being allocated for scientific research work.



The economic and social development of the country was accompanied by an intensive introduction of new equipment and technology. Developmental efforts have encouraged the increase in the number of scientific institutions, both those independent ones and those within universities, science academies and economic organizations. According to the statistical findings from 1971, there were 247 independent scientific-research institutions; 30 in the field of science-mathematical studies, 71 in technical sciences, 18 in medical sciences, 55 in agricultural-forestry sciences (bio-technical) and 73 in social sciences. 37 units of various profiles are active within the science academies. In economic and other working organizations there are 193 research and development units, 4 of which are for natural sciences and mathematics, 160 for technical sciences, 9 for medical sciences, 11 for agricultural-forestry sciences (bio-technical) and 9 for social sciences. Within the establishments of higher learning there were 507 scientific and science-teaching units,<sup>7</sup> but their number is growing due to the merger with universities, namely faculties, of individual independent scientific institutes. There are some 1.000 organizations for scientific research and development active at the moment with some 8.500 full-time scientific workers and 4.000 associates, as well as with a substantial number of other academically educated cadres.<sup>8</sup>

Links are being strengthened and increased between the scientific research institutions and the economy, as well as the number and outfitting of the developmental units and research laboratories in economic organizations. Some 2.300 research workers (three times the 1965 figure) are engaged in the realization of their research or development projects. From 1965 to 1971 the income of the scientific research institutes in the economy were increased twelvefold.<sup>9</sup>

Although progress in this field is evident, there are also some accompanying problems and unsatisfactory situations. The integration of individual scientific institutions or capacities is becoming an increasingly important obligation. An urgent need arises for a far greater intensification of scientific work and interdisciplinary approach in scientific creativity. Needless to say, this is being done parallelly with the strengthening of self-management relations in those institutions. Nonetheless, occasional tendencies are being observed of the integration being given technocratic features. Technocratic intonation is dictated by the interests and criteria of influential individuals and certain groups which, generally speaking, indulge more in the organization of research work rather than in the research work itself. The strengthening of material and technological foundations of research — when the technocratic elements get the upper hand — predominantly serves to the development of a machinery for the reproduction of the power of these leading individuals or groups. Thus damage is inflicted on self-

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 76.

<sup>8</sup> Platform for the preparation of the positions and decisions of the X Congress of the LCY, Beograd, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.



management and the research impetus. Protagonists of technocraticism emerge in the role of managers, project bearers, auto-cratized supervisors and consequently, also in the role of almost exclusive, although disguised, prescribers and assessors of the standard and quality of work. This in turn slows down the emergence of new and inventive researchers, harms the enhancement of competition and the positive selection of quality. This has exactly prompted the League of Communists, the Community for Scientific Work and other relevant factors to step up their struggle for the promotion of self-management and, within its framework, for the genuine respect and evaluation of the authentic research effort which is indispensable for scientific results.

The policy of scientific development, in spite of achieving indisputable results, has occasionally displayed an insufficient volume of action and insufficiently powerful accompanying means for its consistent implementation. Greatly important is the present effort aimed at self-managing standardization of the phased material and social conditions, priorities and objectives of science — both fundamental and applied — and of research units in the economy. In addition to the existing experience, by means of self-managing negotiation a long-term plan of scientific development is being established as an integral part of a thoroughly discussed long-term plan for the development of the country, which will suit the relations and requirements of the developed systems of socialist self-management.

The problem of the build-up of scientific cadres is very topical. In 1970 scientific workers aged inbetween 40 and 49 years comprised 32 per cent, those aged 35—39 years accounted for 20 per cent and those below 30 or up to 29 years for 13 per cent.<sup>10</sup> The predominance of the cadres older than 40 in the current rhythm and thrust of scientific thought constitutes one of negative indicators. This has aggravated the struggle for the scientific offspring, the struggle which — in view of the nature of the problem — is producing improvements, but cannot ensure quick so-called impressive turnabout. The insufficient inflow of scientific offspring cadres is due to the weaknesses of the system of education, noticeable gravitation of the youth towards utilitarian professions, the protracted process of the scientific-research cadres build-up, financing conditions and the nature of scientific vocation, which denotes efforts and risk and not clerical tranquility, still inadequate link between the scientific institutions and the centres of academic education, etc.

The self-managing socialism calls for an inexhaustible need to be scientifically studied and to strengthen scientifically its road into the future. The manner in which it was born on the Yugoslav soil and the way it is, the self-managing socialism is our historical firstborn, characterized by mutual permeation and indivisibility of the revolutionary practice and revolutionary theory. In view of that, the contributions by social sciences are of inestimable im-

---

<sup>10</sup> Material and social development of the SFR of Yugoslavia..., 76.

portance. The Marxian assessments of the situation and trends within the society of the self-managing socialism have already built up a substantial and solid scientific-theoretical fund, which is facilitating navigation for the Yugoslav revolutionary forces.

The League of Communists encourages the freedom of scientific creativity and by all its deeds proves that it is not a party of a social *status quo*. It is aware that dogmatism and apologia in themselves are the factors of petrification of thought and development and anti-revolutionary means, as well as that applauding the bourgeois theories and instilling bourgeois eclecticism into the blood circulation of Marxism and Leninism obstruct revolutionary efforts. The struggle for the freedom of creativity — provided it is not abstract, verbal, distorted — means in fact the discovery and completion of the historically possible and not invented or by one-particular-head-envisaged measure of freedom.

3. — The essential aspiration is to have culture, pursuant to social and material growth, developing as class-liberating activity of the working people organized on the principle of self-management. This activity is possible also in the implementation because it logically derives from the totality of the major changes in Yugoslavia. The embryonic inspiration to that effect — accompanied by action — was provided by the armed period of our socialist revolution. The broad strata of the working people — headed by the League of Communists — were acquiring their freedom and ennobled even then, their onset with diverse emanations of culture.

These were the initial signs of a cultural revolution, which announced the erosion of the bourgeois concept of culture and the inception of a democratic and socialist cultural policy. The socialist self-management provides ideological and material impetuses for the development of culture. Its significance is growing together with the extensive social and educational restructuring of the society. The working class has distinctly grown stronger. In the post-war period its number quintupled and its qualification and education structure improved markedly. Through socialist self-management the working class is being freed from mediators and tutors, and this again, induces it objectively to deepen its education, work and culture. The breakthroughs and socialization of culture is facilitated by the fact that in Yugoslavia there are 5.5 million persons whose education exceeds eight year elementary standard. In the course of the socialist reconstruction the number of intellectual workers increased sevenfold. From 1950 to 1970 more than 250,000 people graduated at higher schools and universities.<sup>11</sup>

Of exceptional importance for our community — which is multinational as well — is the policy of equality, fraternity and unity of our peoples and nationalities. Its cultural aspect is being fostered with great attention. Artistic and cultural creativity are being developed in the languages of the peoples and nationalities. Public information media and institutions of all levels of education

---

<sup>11</sup> Policy and tasks of the League of Communists in the cultural and scientific fields, *Komunist* 18. II 1974, 4—5.



are all very active. The number of newspapers in the languages of nationalities is growing. In 1952 there were 21 of them, while in 1972 some 47 of them were published. The number of newspapers in the Albanian language rose from 3 to 15 and in Hungarian from 6 to 12. Journals are also being published in Bulgarian, Czech and Slovak, Italian, Romanian, Russian, Turkish and other languages. In the period from 1952 to 1972, the number of journals in the languages of the nationalities more than doubled. The number of journals increased from 25 to 57, the overall circulation increased from some 870.000 to 3.6 million copies.<sup>12</sup>

Translating activity is lively and assists mutual acquaintance of cultures of peoples and nationalities in our country. It is the steady orientation of the socialist Yugoslavia to promote openness towards all progressive world flows in culture and towards cultures of all peoples. In this manner the internationalist cultural policy of the society of the self-managing socialism — which is being conceived and affirmed first of all by its attitude towards its own multinational composition — is attaining its logical external extension.

Socialization of culture, as known, is not achieved simply — and least of all by a decree. Diverse conditions are being created for an increasingly broader social absorption of cultural values. Throughout these efforts — material, ideological, educational, etc. — the old and the new collide, the vestiges of the old in the new. Revolution carries along turbulent social regrouping and, inevitably, also, ideological-cultural competition and rivalry between the elements of elite — as a rule bourgeois concepts of culture and the protagonists of the struggle for the democratization of culture and cultural policy. Among them there emerge that subtle and not so easily measurable change of socio-cultural formations. Decisive for the changes — in favour of revolution — and the maintenance of advantages is the cultivation of genuine cultural creativity.

In all these efforts, the League of Communists as the leading force of the socialist self-managing social development, is striving for the ideological determination and revolutionary activism which denote also the affirmation of the right of creators to experiment. Scholastic and dogmatic approach of the works of culture restrict the search, and thereby also the deeper discovery of new spiritual areas of the revolution. In short, the society of self-managing socialism and culture is in need of creative work, experimenting and properly founded Marxist cultural criticism. Without this there is no true and critical selection and evaluation of the contribution which — through pains and pleasures of exploration — are building cultural-historical identity of the self-managing socialism.

Culture in the period of self-managing organization is of a higher degree. The self-management relations are being deepened and the communities of interest for culture are strengthening. In these communities negotiations take place between the interested subjects, self-management delegations of the associated producers

---

<sup>12</sup> Material and social development of the SFR of Yugoslavia..., 206.



of material and the creators of spiritual goods who jointly exert influence on the policy in culture. Proportionally to the consolidation of these self-management communities, disappear the vestiges of techniques and mentalities of etatist channeling and financing cultural projects.

Dr. MIRKO MIRKOVIĆ

Dr. Mirko Mirković, Professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Beograd. Field of interest: History of the States and the rights of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Graduated at the Faculty of Law in Beograd in 1951. During 1956 studied at the Institute for High European Studies of the University of Turin. In 1959 at the Munich University and in the Bavarian State Library.

In 1960 he obtained doctorate at the Beograd Faculty of Law. During the academic 1967/68 year at historiographic research at the Harvard University.

His scientific work was conducted mainly within the following three areas: (a) research of the political aspect of the religious issue in the history of Yugoslav peoples particularly with regard to the creation of the first Yugoslav State; (b) work at the history of the States and rights of the Yugoslav peoples; (c) work at Marxist education of the youth.

He published, *inter alia*, the following works: The Legal Status and Character of the Serbian Church under Turkish Rule 1459—1766, Beograd 1959; Yugoslav Lands under Turkish Rule; General Military-Political Conditions and the Position of the Yugoslav People's Liberation Movement; co-author of the History of the States and the Rights of the Yugoslav Peoples, Beograd 1972; Religious question in the Struggle for the Creation of Yugoslav State; Selected Works: Religious aspect of the Yugoslav Question during the First World War; Anthology of works: The Political Life of Yugoslavia 1914—1945, Beograd, 1973; The Religious aspect of the Yugoslav Question in the Course of World War I; Anthology: History of the XX Century, XII, Beograd 1972; Relations between Religious Communities and the State in the SFR of Yugoslavia, Institute of Comparative Law, Beograd 1970; The Creation of the Organs of the Serbian Bourgeois Files; Anthology: First Serbian Uprising 1804, Beograd 1972, etc.

Professor Mirković is the member of the editorial board of the Marxist Thought — journal published by the Marxist Centre of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, and also the director of the Marxist Centre of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia.



*Dr. Jovan GLIGORIJEVIĆ*

*Professeur à la Faculté de médecine vétérinaire et Recteur  
de l'Université de Belgrade*

L'UNIVERSITE — COMMUNAUTE AUTOGESTIONNAIRE  
DES FACULTES ET DES INSTITUTS SCIENTIFIQUES  
ET DE RECHERCHE

L'Université occupait, depuis sa création, une place particulièrement importante dans la société, en tant que créateur du nouveau et de la transformation, en tant que tenant du travail scientifique et de l'enseignement supérieur. Son rôle est déterminé par les conditions et les besoins économiques et socio-politiques de la communauté sociale dans son ensemble. Cependant, l'université ne saurait être essentiellement fonction du milieu social, mais est également un facteur important de l'essor de l'esprit humain et de la connaissance.

L'attitude positive et créatrice de la faculté, voire de l'Université à l'égard des problèmes et des exigences de l'environnement social, et le réexamen continu et critique des contenus et des formes de l'enseignement ont permis que l'Université, comme catégorie historique, soit à la fois la forme la plus ancienne et la plus moderne de l'enseignement supérieur.

L'essor de l'autogestion et la pénétration puissante de la science dans tous les domaines du travail social ont fait ressortir et affirmer l'enseignement comme partie constituante du processus unique du travail social. Le caractère de la société yougoslave et les besoins de son développement exigent que soient développées des conditions matérielles et des rapports socio-économiques, qui pourront, à leur tour, assurer la concrétisation du rôle social de l'enseignement et son inclusion à l'ensemble du système social. La progression du processus d'association du travail et la transformation de la structure sociale ne pourront s'accomplir si l'homme se développe uniquement comme la force productive de la société et sans une action simultanée et en retour de la société elle-même sur le renforcement de la puissance productive et de la puissance sociale globale de l'homme, et en premier lieu des producteurs immédiats, des producteurs de base en tant que noyau de la classe



ouvrière. Dans les conditions d'application des moyens de travail complexes et de l'organisation moderne du processus de travail, et de constitution de l'organisation autogestionnaire de la société, l'accomplissement de toutes les fonctions dans la sphère du travail et de la vie en général, dépend de plus en plus du niveau et du contenu de la culture générale et professionnelle de l'homme et de ses capacités de mettre en valeur les résultats de la recherche scientifique dans sa vie professionnelle et quotidienne. Aussi la société socialiste autogestionnaire s'est-elle assignée comme un objectif durable d'assurer le développement total de la personnalité humaine et l'humanisation des rapports socio-économiques pouvant permettre la libération véritable de l'homme, de son travail et de la société dans son ensemble. Dans le système social du travail associé l'enseignement devient facteur décisif du développement de la personnalité, des rapports autogestionnaires et de la reproduction sociale, dans la mesure dans laquelle il est en rapport continu et toujours plus solide avec l'évolution de la science moderne et de la culture, de la technique et des rapports socio-économiques.

Dans notre communauté sociale, les rapports entre les différents tenants de la reproduction sociale sont agencés par les dispositions constitutionnelles portant notamment sur le principe de réciprocité et de solidarité dans le cadre de l'unique processus du travail social. C'est en harmonie avec l'évolution globale du système d'autogestion que sont constitués et promus les rapports autogestionnaires dans les universités yougoslaves. Nos universités possèdent déjà une vaste et riche expérience en matière de promotion de l'autogestion qui est en même temps une caractéristique essentielle non seulement des cadres institutionnels, mais également de la fonction que les institutions d'enseignement supérieur sont appelées à remplir dans la société yougoslave.

En analysant nos expériences dans l'édification d'une université organisée sur la base de l'autogestion, il convient de tenir compte des trois moments suivants: primo, l'autogestion dans les universités fait partie du système global des rapports sociaux; secondo, conformément aux postulats fondamentaux de la philosophie politique du socialisme d'autogestion qui traduit le haut degré d'autonomie de tous les sujets de la vie sociale, l'association volontaire, l'édification du mécanisme autogestionnaire et l'intégration sociale verticale «de la base vers le haut» — l'autogestion dans les universités yougoslaves repose sur la même base socio-politique. Cependant, les domaines de la science, de la culture et de l'enseignement dans les cadres du système social unique, sont réglés par les lois des Républiques et des Provinces autonomes composant la Fédération yougoslave. D'où le fait que les universités particulières décident en toute autonomie des formes de leur organisation autogestionnaire. D'où aussi cette diversité dans le mécanisme institutionnel qui traduit les spécificités des besoins et des conditions des milieux universitaires déterminés. Dans l'analyse du complexe d'institutions de rapports internes, il convient de tenir compte:

primo, du rapport qui existe entre l'université et la communauté sociale. Envisagée sous cet angle, l'essence de la transformation autogestionnaire de l'université se résume dans les efforts qui sont faits pour que les établissements de l'enseignement supérieur se libèrent toujours plus de l'action et des conséquences de l'intervention de l'administration d'Etat, voire de la bureaucratie. L'université autogestionnaire élargit ses rapports directs et équitables avec toutes les autres sphères de la structure sociale et du travail associé — sans la médiation de l'administration d'Etat. Secondo, il convient de tenir compte des rapports qui se développent entre l'université et les facultés individuelles et autres institutions qui en font partie. En ce qui concerne l'autogestion une question très importante se pose, celle de savoir comment ces rapports sont institués, où se situent les principales sources d'initiatives, les centres de décisions et les ressources. La troisième et la plus importante dimension de l'autogestion seraient les rapports qui existent au sein des facultés individuelles comme organisations de travail associé, autrement dit quelle est la position des structures individuelles, tels que les enseignants, les collaborateurs, les étudiants et les autres travailleurs, dans le cadre d'une faculté. Les expériences acquises au cours des trois décennies d'édification socialiste de notre communauté sociale, nous permettent de dégager une conclusion générale: les trois dimensions mentionnées sont étroitement liées et conditionnées l'une par l'autre.

La structure d'organisation et l'autogestion dans les universités yougoslaves reposent sur une base socio-politique commune qui se réalise d'une manière spécifique. Ainsi, la structure d'organisation dans l'enseignement supérieur est constituée par les facultés autogestionnaires autonomes, comme organisation de travail associé dans les domaines scientifiques et de recherche déterminés. La structure interne d'une faculté dépend de la nature du processus d'enseignement et de recherche. Au niveau de l'organisation il peut s'effectuer dans le cadre d'une organisation de travail unique ou d'une organisation de travail complexe, cette dernière se composant de plusieurs organisations élémentaires de travail associé. Ainsi, les facultés peuvent englober dans leur structure, comme organisations de travail associé autonomes, des instituts, des cliniques, différentes sections, départements et autres.

La structure d'organisation des universités repose sur l'option autogestionnaire des facultés, des instituts scientifiques, des bibliothèques et des autres institutions et établissements de l'enseignement, de se constituer en une université au moyen de convention autogestionnaire. Ainsi, l'université devient une communauté, une forme supérieure d'organisation et d'association autogestionnaire de plusieurs institutions indépendantes de l'enseignement supérieur, ces dernières réalisant une partie de leurs intérêts communs, de leurs ressources et de leurs droits au niveau de leur association, constituée selon le principe de délégation et de représentation de toutes les structures de travailleurs.

A titre d'exemple, vingt-quatre facultés, cinq instituts scientifiques et la Bibliothèque universitaire ont décidé, conformément

à la volonté librement exprimée des membres de leurs communautés de travail respectives, de s'associer et de former l'Université de Belgrade, et ont signé à cet effet une convention autogestionnaire. Aux termes de ce document, et conformément à la Loi sur l'enseignement supérieur de la République socialiste de Serbie, les facultés associées ont convenu de résoudre, au niveau de l'Université, les questions suivantes présentant un intérêt commun:

- promotion de l'activité scientifique et de l'enseignement,
- harmonisation et rationalisation du travail et du développement des organisations associées, et fondation et organisation de nouvelles institutions scientifiques et de l'enseignement, et des autres formes de la base scientifique et de l'enseignement,
- organisation et développement de la recherche et de l'enseignement interdisciplinaires et multidisciplinaires,
- liaison interdisciplinaire des études du troisième cycle et formation de jeunes savants et chercheurs,
- égalisation du régime d'entrée et des études universitaires,
- égalisation des critères d'élection des enseignants et des collaborateurs,
- promotion des conditions de vie et de travail des enseignants, collaborateurs et autres travailleurs dans les organisations associées,
- promotion des conditions de vie et de travail des étudiants,
- harmonisation des besoins communs dans le domaine des investissements,
- promotion de la coopération avec les universités et les autres institutions apparentées dans le pays et à l'étranger, et,
- solution des autres tâches que les organisations associées confieraient à l'université.

La même convention autogestionnaire prévoit des organes de gestion de l'Université, qui ont des fonctions déterminées. Ce sont: l'Assemblée, le Conseil et les Conseils universitaires, en tant qu'organes collectifs constitués selon le principe de délégation et de représentation de toutes les structures, ainsi que le recteur et les prorécteurs.

L'Assemblée de l'Université est l'organe fondamental et l'instance suprême de l'autogestion dans l'université. Outre les tâches générales dans la promotion de l'enseignement et du travail scientifique, elle exerce toute une suite d'affaires présentant un intérêt commun pour les institutions associées, autrement dit elle statue sur les questions fondamentales liées à l'organisation, le fonctionnement et le développement de l'université. L'Assemblée de l'Université se compose des délégués élus dans les facultés et les instituts associés, dont un tiers est constitué par les délégués des étudiants. Les travaux de l'Assemblée sont dirigés par la Présidence dans laquelle sont représentées toutes les structures (deux enseignants, un collaborateur, deux étudiants et un représentant du personnel non enseignant).

Le Conseil de l'Université est un organe social de gestion et se compose selon le principe paritaire des délégués des facultés



et instituts scientifiques associés, et de représentants désignés de la communauté sociale plus large, autrement dit des communautés socio-politiques et des organisations de travail associé ou des associations de celles-ci. Le mandat des délégués élus à l'Assemblée et au Conseil est de quatre ans.

Les organes de gestion individuels de l'Université: le recteur et les trois prorécteurs sont élus pour un mandat de deux ans. Le recteur est élu des rangs des professeurs, et les prorécteurs peuvent être élus des rangs de toutes les structures (enseignants, collaborateurs, étudiants et personnel non enseignant). Les candidatures pour le recteur et les prorécteurs sont posées par les facultés, et ils sont élus au vote secret par les délégués de l'Assemblée de l'Université.

L'évolution de l'autogestion dans les facultés, comme organisations autonomes de travail associé, se fait, parallèlement, comme un processus d'établissement de rapports nouveaux et d'égalité de toutes les structures, et comme processus de perfectionnement des formes et des contenus du travail enseignant et scientifique. Etant donné les spécificités au niveau des disciplines scientifiques et de l'enseignement, nous rencontrons diverses formes d'organisation des facultés et de concrétisation des droits autogestionnaires des membres de leurs communautés des travailleurs. Ainsi, sur les 22 facultés de l'Université de Belgrade, neuf se composent d'organisations élémentaires du travail associé (88 au total), tandis que les autres sont organisées comme des organisations uniques de travail associé. La gestion des facultés est en principe identique avec celle de l'Université. Chaque faculté a son organe autogestionnaire suprême — l'Assemblée, ainsi que son organe de gestion sociale constitué selon le principe paritaire — le Conseil de la faculté et les conseils de la faculté.

Les facultés se composant de plusieurs organisations élémentaires de travail associé, ont une structure d'organisation quelque peu plus complexe, étant donné l'existence d'organes autogestionnaires collégiaux au niveau de chacune des organisations élémentaires de travail associé. Les formes communes de l'autogestion directe sont: les réunions (de toute la faculté, de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé ou des structures particulières — enseignants, étudiants et les autres travailleurs) et le référendum. De même, toutes les facultés ont leurs organes de gestion individuels: doyens et vice-doyens, les doyens étant élus pour deux ans des rangs des enseignants, et les vice-doyens pouvant être élus pour ce même mandat des rangs des enseignants et des étudiants.

L'enseignement en générale et surtout l'enseignement supérieur, comme partie intégrante de la société yougoslave, ont suivi de manière spécifique toutes les étapes de sa démocratisation et désétatisation. La socialisation de l'enseignement supérieur a commencé avec l'abandon du système de financement par voie de budget, autrement dit avec la création des communautés de l'enseignement. Cependant, bien que les communautés de l'enseignement aient joué un rôle important dans l'affirmation de la fonction

sociale de l'enseignement, elles n'ont été néanmoins qu'une forme de transition dans les liens qui devaient s'établir entre les institutions de l'enseignement et de la science, d'une côté, et les sphères économiques et sociales du travail associé, de l'autre. La promulgation de la nouvelle Constitution de la RSF de Yougoslavie et des Constitutions des républiques et des provinces autonomes, assurera l'émancipation économique ultérieure de l'enseignement et sa position d'égalité avec les autres sphères du travail associé, en ce qui concerne l'acquisition et la répartition du revenu. Cet échange du travail devra se faire désormais à travers les communautés autogestionnaires d'intérêts lesquelles constituent :

— une partie essentielle du système socio-économique et socio-politique, voire une des bases du système d'autogestion unique, du pouvoir de la classe ouvrière et de tous les travailleurs,

— une forme d'intégration autogestionnaire de divers secteurs du travail associé aux fins de satisfaire les besoins et intérêts personnels, collectifs sociaux, et ceci le plus souvent selon le principe de solidarité et de réciprocité,

— une forme qui doit empêcher que soit aliéné de la classe ouvrière le revenu destiné aux besoins communs, et qui doit empêcher la consommation non rationnelle dans les domaines dans lesquels ces communautés autogestionnaires d'intérêts, sont constituées. C'est dire que les travailleurs reçoivent le droit de devenir maîtres non seulement de l'ensemble du processus de reproduction élargie, mais aussi de l'ensemble du système de satisfaction des besoins communs dans le domaine de l'éducation, de l'enseignement, de la culture, de la science, de la santé publique, de la prévoyance sociale, etc. La prise de décision dans les communautés d'intérêts repose sur le système de délégation qui assure l'expression libre des intérêts authentiques des travailleurs, de sorte que les travailleurs qui assurent les moyens et ceux qui en bénéficient dans les activités correspondantes décident d'égal à égal sur les questions présentant un intérêt commun. Une communauté autogestionnaire d'intérêts a son assemblée composée des délégués de ceux qui fournissent et qui bénéficient de ses services, selon le principe paritaire.

Etant donné que d'importantes fonctions sociales s'exercent par l'intermédiaire des communautés d'intérêts, les Assemblées des cinq communautés autogestionnaires d'intérêts présentant un intérêt social particulier, celles qui fonctionnent dans le domaine de l'enseignement, de la science, de la culture, de la santé publique et de la prévoyance sociale, participent aux travaux des Assemblées des communautés socio-politique (de la commune à la République) comme conseils de l'assemblée à droits égaux. Ceci complète le système socio-politique autogestionnaire dans la pratique.

L'éducation et l'enseignement dans la communauté sociale yougoslave revêt un caractère de classe et détient une fonction multiple dans l'édification et le développement des forces productives du travail associé, des rapports autogestionnaires, ainsi que dans la défense des acquis du socialisme d'autogestion. Ils constituent un processus permanent dans le cadre duquel les enseignants, les étudiants, d'un côté, et le travail associé de l'autre — sont sujet



d'une interaction correspondante. Les grands objectifs sociaux dans l'enseignement sont uniques et également valables pour la jeunesse et les adultes, les étudiants et les enseignants, les bénéficiaires — établissements d'enseignement — et tous les autres facteurs sociaux.

L'orientation de programme du processus éducativo-enseignant, ainsi que toutes les formes d'éducation et d'enseignement ont un rôle important et aussi l'obligation d'assurer à ce que le marxisme, les objectifs et les valeurs de notre révolution et de notre pratique sociale autogestionnaire socialiste exercent une influence décisive sur la formation de la personnalité, de sa vision du monde et de sa position à l'égard de la vie, sur ses options politiques et idéologiques, sur la formation des normes socialistes du comportement social.

Les rapports sociaux contemporains font ressortir la nécessité de préparer et de former les jeunes non seulement pour le travail, la vie professionnelle, mais aussi d'en faire des autogestionnaires capables d'exercer leurs fonctions, droits et obligations autogestionnaires.

L'autogestion socialiste ne demande pas seulement des gens qualifiés, bons experts et spécialistes, mais demande également des participants actifs et responsables dans la prise de décision, des travailleurs et créateurs dotés d'une profonde conscience de classe socialiste et autogestionnaire, forts d'une pensée créatrice et critique.

Le système d'éducation et d'enseignement moderne doit avoir comme base la formation pour le travail et par le travail, doit reposer sur une connexion solide entre l'enseignement et le travail afin que les jeunes puissent s'inclure le plus tôt possible dans le processus de production, dans la vie socio-économique et dans les rapports autogestionnaires au sein des organisations de travail associé. La formation permanente au travail et pendant toute la vie professionnelle deviendra la caractéristique essentielle du nouveau système d'éducation et d'enseignement en Yougoslavie.

L'échange libre et direct de leur travail devient le principe élémentaire de l'association du travail et des moyens en vue la réalisation des intérêts collectifs.

#### Dr JOVAN GLIGORIJEVIĆ

Dr JOVAN GLIGORIJEVIĆ, docteur ès sciences, professeur titulaire à la Faculté de Médecine vétérinaire et recteur de l'Université de Belgrade (1971—1975).

Né le 6 octobre 1918 à Ajaccio en Corse (France).

Licencié de la Faculté de Médecine vétérinaire de Belgrade en 1945, docteur de la Faculté de Médecine vétérinaire de Zagreb en 1948 (radiologie vétérinaire).

*Carrière universitaire.* — Maître de conférence en 1949, professeur agrégé en 1955, professeur titulaire en 1962. En 1949 il fonde, dans le cadre de la Faculté vétérinaire, l'Institut de Radiologie et Physiothérapie qu'il dirige encore. C'est sur sa proposition qu'on fonde en 1959 à Zemun l'Institut pour l'application de l'énergie nucléaire dans la vétérinaire, agriculture



et sylviculture. Conseiller scientifique de l'Institut de radiopathologie animale. De 1957 à 1959 vice-doyen de la Faculté de Médecine vétérinaire, doyen de 1959 à 1963. Vice-recteur de l'Université de Beograd de 1967 à 1971, recteur jusqu'au 1975. De 1967 à 1971 il est président de l'Association pour l'Education de la République Socialiste de Serbie Il est aussi membre de la Société Mondiale des radiologues vétérinaires et membre du Bureau de la Conférence Permanente des recteurs et vice-chanceliers des universités européennes.

*Travaux scientifiques.* — Il s'intéresse aux différents problèmes de médecine vétérinaire, radiologie, thérapeutique, physique et hygiène radiative. Il a publié plus de 150 travaux où il traite les questions de diagnostic radiologique vétérinaire et étudie l'influence des facteurs physiques sur la matière organique, l'application de l'ultrason à la thérapeutique des animaux domestiques, la contamination et décontamination radioactive des matières organiques et vivres d'origine animale. Il est également l'auteur des manuels de radiologie vétérinaire et médecine physiothérapeutique.

Il a consacré une grande partie de ses activités aux problèmes du développement et de la réforme de l'enseignement supérieur et à ceux de l'autogestion à l'Université.

*Fonctions politiques.* — Membre de l'Assemblée de l'Université de Belgrade, député de l'Assemblée Nationale de Serbie (Conseil du Travail associé), Délégué de la République Socialiste de Serbie à l'Assemblée Fédérale (Conseil des Républiques et Provinces).

*Dr. Anton VRATUŠA*

*Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council;  
Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the  
University of Beograd*

THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT AS THE FOUNDATION  
OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BASED ON PEACEFUL  
COEXISTENCE AND FRIENDLY COOPERATION IN THE WORLD

The policy of non-alignment is not something new in the present-day world. As an independent international factor it appeared already in the period of the Cold War, but the roots of the philosophy of non-alignment go back to the times of the Second World War; the character of that war was also influenced by the revolution of the nations, so to speak, by the independence movement of the peoples under the colonial rule. Owing to this anti-colonial movement, more than a half of the members of the United Nations are new states, organized and established after the Second World War.

Therefore when discussing the roots and the basis of the policy of non-alignment, it would be too one-sided to say that it was only or, first of all, a reaction to the bloc division of the world. Indeed, the division of the world into blocs was one of the causes for strengthening this approach to the world policy and world relations by many nations. Actually, the name of the new revolutionary movements is connected with the reaction to the division of the world into blocs, too.

In those times of the Cold War, one of the characteristics of international relations was the pressure upon the independent states to be aligned to existing blocs. The consequence of the resistance to such a pressure was, as one may recall, the name "the policy of non-engagement", meaning non-engagement in bloc policy. But, in its essence, the policy of non-alignment is a very engaged policy in international affairs, one of its characteristics being the political will to participate in world events as an independent active factor, as a subject of world relations in order not to become an object of negotiations of the stronger countries. Therefore, the expression "non-engagement" had to be replaced by a better term, and that term has been — non-alignment. Even this

name does not cover all the complex contents of the policy and philosophy of non-alignment.

During the past ten to fifteen years, since the First Conference of Non-aligned Countries which had taken place in Beograd in 1961, different opinions were expressed about the essence of the policy of non-alignment. Some people, taking as a point of departure the reaction to the bloc policy, were of the opinion that after the *détante*, the easing of international tension, the policy of non-alignment might not be necessary and would be superfluous. The policy based on the confrontation of the big powers began to be replaced by the policy of coexistence and further by cooperation. Some people wondered what the non-aligned countries would do in such a situation? As a matter of fact, the appeal from Beograd sent to the big powers was the reflection of the wish of non-aligned countries to have the policy of confrontation replaced by a policy of settling disputes, conflicts and problems by peaceful means — at the green table, instead of on battlefields.

Hence the policy of non-alignment has proved to be a very vital orientation, a peaceful alternative in the present-day world which is composed of countries with very different social structures, as well as political and economic systems, but countries that have been more and more aware of the fact that the world is becoming more and more interdependent. Being so, it is of utmost significance to be able to have the conflicts deriving from present-day relations of power settled by peaceful means. This is one of the essential points of the policy of non-alignment. Therefore, not only that this policy has not become superfluous, but it has gained even more in importance, being influential in the international affairs of the period of *détante*.

During the first period of the policy of non-alignment, the problem of decolonization was among the most actual ones. Some people were of the opinion that the essence of the policy of non-alignment was decolonization, and in the economic field the problem of development, pertaining only to developing countries. Therefore, even today there are frequently some misunderstandings — the identification of non-alignment with developing countries. As the developing countries have been organized in the already very well-known "Group of 77", some people are inclined to put a sign of equality between non-alignment, the Group of 77 and development.

The Group of 77 originated in the United Nations in the beginning of the 1960's when a group of seventy seven countries signed a request to the General Assembly of the United Nations asking it to convene a world conference on trade and development. The World Conference on Trade and Development took place in Geneva in 1964 and afterwards it was transformed into a special organization within the system of the United Nations, now known as UNCTAD all over the world. Therefore, the policy of non-alignment represents a much more complex approach to world relations than merely regarding economic relations and economic cooperation.



After these explanations about the name of the movement which has already become an international economic and political factor, one can say that the request of non-aligned countries has been, concerning the international political and economic relations, a request to have a *détante*, but not only among big powers but to have it practiced and exercised by all countries, embracing all parts of the world, as an attempt to settle and resolve the existing problems and disputes by peaceful means, and further to exterminate any form of colonialism, on the basis of the right of every people to fight, to struggle for their own independence — on the basis of self-determination.

Successes in both of these fields are evident. However only the freedom of nations would not be enough to ensure a lasting peace in the present-day world because of the existing inequalities and because of the need to bridge the gap between the developed and the developing world. That is why, among the elements of the philosophy of non-alignment, larger ideas have been present than only the two mentioned earlier. Those are actually the rights of every nation to be independent, and free from foreign intervention, to have the possibility to develop friendly, peaceful cooperation with all countries, regardless of their differences in social system, and of course, to be able to live in security.

What are the obstacles to the implementation of these noble ideas? First of all, there is the policy from the position of force, from the position of power, still prevailing in world relations; and, parallelly with this — the bloc policy, dividing the world into different groups, especially military-political blocks.

The essence and nature of bloc policy is to try to find a balance of power. However, this balance of power in a policy of force has been very frequently based first of all upon a balance of fear. Therefore, we are convinced that a balance of power on the basis of bloc policy, cannot be the policy to create and ensure a stable peace. Consequently, the coexistence requested by the non-aligned countries should not be a coexistence among blocs, as this is not a real coexistence between equal partners. There has to be a coexistence between countries with different social systems, as well as between those having equal social system; an active coexistence on equal footing and not just a passive coexistence; a coexistence with mutual respect, promoting friendly cooperation and taking into account the interests of every partner in the cooperation.

Danger for the independence of individual countries is derived from bloc rivalry, from the policy having, as its point of departure, the existing blocs with their bloc discipline. Such a danger stems also from the pressure against the freedom of developing, in each country, of a social system according to each own ideological, historical and cultural background. Therefore, the non-aligned countries' reaction to the bloc policy has deeper roots than merely the safeguarding of the security.

Security is needed to enable all countries to develop independently and without foreign interference. However, this does

not mean development only within national frontiers, separately from the complex world processes going on, but developing the country and changing its own social system with an active participation in resolving problems, which, in world events is also the best safeguard for a country's own security. We in Yugoslavia have realized this very often during the past thirty years and even earlier.

Such a policy of active participation on equal footing in international relations presupposes the policy of good neighbourhood, meaning that the foreign relations should be conceived and grounded on this policy. Several years ago this was already proclaimed one of the major principles of cooperation within the Organization of African Unity. The recent European Conference on Security and Cooperation among European nations has recognized this principle also as one of the leading for the future of the Continent.

It has added only one aspect more — that frontiers might be changed, but only by consent of all concerned. If the Organization of African Unity has not added this aspect of the policy of open frontiers, it would be bound to be a fact that many frontiers of today's Africa actually would reflect the division of the Continent among the former colonial powers. Hence, they would first like to create, to stabilize their nations and their frontiers, and then perhaps to be ready also to discuss the possible changes of their frontiers by peaceful means. That is why the third principle of the policy of non-alignment and the basis of activity of the movement of non-alignment has been peaceful coexistence and active cooperation on the basis of equality, taking into account the interests of all.

Since recently, within the framework of the activity of non-aligned countries, the problem of international economic relations and the problem of development has become very crucial and urgent. It should not be interpreted as if the non-aligned countries would not have as much interest in political relations in the world as in the economic relations. This phenomenon is due to the crisis of the existing world economic system, to world inflation and to the growing instability both in the developed as well as in the developing world.

It has been evident that the crisis of the world economic system and of world economic relations has become an urgent political problem and it has to be resolved in order to be able to implement other, already mentioned principles. Therefore, the formulation of the requests concerning the world economic system and the change in the world economic relations only intends to try to alter the system of existing relations in order to eliminate the exploitation, discrimination and domination of stronger over the weaker from world relations.

Sources of the existent economic gap between the developed and the developing world are known, since they are already a part of history and present world relation. The colonial empires fell apart owing to the liberation movements within them. But also



in the present-day economic order, meaning the conditions upon which the developing countries are treated on the international market, the access to market of developed countries, and the conditions under which they try to insure their more accelerated economic and social development, including their industrialization and transfer of science and technology, are such that they are not able to cope with them successfully. Therefore, on the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in September 1973 in Algiers the platform for a complex and all-embracing change in world economic relations was adopted and that concept then became the basis of the United Nations Declaration and Programme for the establishment of the new international economic order.

One may think that the term "new economic order" pertains only to economic relations in the world. But this is not the fact. The new economic order embraces the adequate political structure in the world and the political will to enable all peoples to ensure their independent social, economic and political development. It takes as its basis the progressive social and economic changes, processes going on in individual countries, as well as on world scale. Therefore, the new international economic order is a much larger concept than only economic relations. It is to some extent deficient as it may lead to a misunderstanding — that there were only economic relations in question and not the whole set of international relations. This could be called the fourth principle of the policy of non-alignment — the major and the most urgent one.

The Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-aligned Countries, which took place in the second half of August 1975 in Lima, formulated the platform from Algiers into a programme of action, and it has been reflected also in the document presented by the Group of 77 to the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in September of 1975. As a matter of fact, this Special Session of the General Assembly is expected to be able to transform the solemn declaration of the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly of April two years ago into a programme of negotiations among developed and developing countries on all subjects: raw materials, world trade, industrialization, the transfer of science and technology, financing and especially additional financing of development, as well as other matters related to these most urgent problems.

The major principles of economic cooperation and the economic aspect of present-day world relations, especially having in view the relations between the developed and developing world, are manifold. To quote but some of them, one may mention, the following: first of all, characteristic of the period of struggle for more just and more adequate conditions of international economic cooperation has been, for instance, the slogan formulated by the developing world: "Not aid, but trade." But again today there is a growing tendency among the developed countries to ask the developing ones just to wait until they settle their own problems, especially those deriving from the world crisis and recession,



while in the meantime they would allegedly increase their aid, so that later on there will be a greater possibility for closer and larger cooperation.

In my opinion, this is not a corresponding approach to the problem. The problem of the gap is not something concerning only the developing world, but the developed as well. As the system itself is in crisis, it is an illusion to think that without any changes of existing world economic system it would be possible to insure welfare in one part of the world, and to have the rest of the world wait for better times. Namely, economic problems, and especially this gap, have been provoking more of a political tension between the North and the South — not smaller, but even stronger and more dangerous than the political tension between the East and the West that we used to witness. This economic and political tension between the North and the South will retard development and become even deeper and more dangerous unless the problems which are already mature to be solved are not resolved.

From this point of view it is very important to be aware that what should now be put on the agenda is not only the problem of trade, but that of financing of development and transfer of modern technology as well. Those who possess modern technology hold the key to development; and the developing countries have not been in an adequate position to be able to insure the quantity and quality of modern technology needed for the acceleration of their development. Therefore a code of behaviour has to be elaborated for which a beginning has already been made in the United Nations.

In relation to this, one should have in mind not only the transfer of science and technology from developed countries to the developing world, but also among developing countries themselves. In the meantime, although not quite satisfactorily, the developing countries, and especially some of them, have made such a progress that they became able to participate actively in this transfer. It cannot be conceived and cannot work just as a one-way action — this pertaining only to the flow of technology from a developed to a developing recipient country — but it has to be a kind of mutual activity where both sides have to be actively engaged.

The additional financing of development is just an imperative of today's world. Nobody has been opposing this fact. The problem is only in the quantity and methods of transfer. Everybody is familiar with the so-called one percent of the gross national income to be transferred in favour of developing countries. This one percent was in reality represented by about half a percent ten years ago at the first UNCTAD conference. Now in the meantime, instead of coming closer to the one percent, it had been permanently decreasing and, according to the data of the World Bank for Development and Reconstruction, it has already fallen down to 0.23%. If it continues so, then from the idea of 1%, nothing will remain in the final account.

There are other sources, too, for additional financing of developing countries, including the so-called link of the special drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund with transfer of financial resources. There are some indications that finally, this idea might obtain some more attention. In addition to this, the last annual session of the International Monetary Fund agreed that a part of the difference between the official and market price of gold should be allocated in favour of the developing countries. According to the calculations of experts, it should amount from 2.5 to 3 billion dollars. But what does this mean when compared only with the growing debts of developing countries on the basis of market and unstable prices of raw materials, which will eventually cause a two to three times higher offset in the balance of payment of the developing countries. The problem of development and additional financing should find a place in the world economic system as such. It should not be a one-side concession, but should be built into the system.

Taking Yugoslavia as an example, the difference in the level of economic development between various parts and regions of the country is one to three. Therefore, from the very beginning of the existence of socialist Yugoslavia, the principle of compulsory allocation of a given percentage of the income of more developed republics in favour of the less developed ones was set and became part of the law. The Constitution adopted in the beginning of 1974 has sanctioned this principle, so that it became a constitutional obligation. However, the channels of transfer of such an additional financing are different today, in the situation when the principle of self-management has become the basis of the whole socio-political system, in comparison with the situation twenty-five years ago, in the period of the so-called administrative socialism.

The main aim of such a transfer of financial means from more developed republics and regions to the less developed ones is to increase the rate of development in less developed areas, which should be higher than the corresponding average in Yugoslavia. If we now make a comparison with the situation on the international scene, we see that measures have been undertaken within the framework of the strategy of development — especially in the framework of the Second United Nations Development Decade. This is not enough, though, and is far from being satisfactory.

What are, then, the prospects of the movement of non-alignment? Fifteen years after the Beograd Conference, non-alignment has become an international economic and political factor, which has been called upon to participate in settling international problems on the basis of equality. There are proofs that such an assessment of the role of the policy of non-alignment today and in the future is a realistic one. The number of non-aligned countries has been permanently increasing. Twenty-seven countries participated at the Beograd Conference; at the Lusaka Conference in 1970 there were already seventy, and at the Lima Conference now there were eighty-two countries participating. The



quality too of the countries asking to be admitted to the movement of non-alignment is now different than at the beginning. Only developing countries used to be among those that had taken the policy of non-alignment to be their national policy. Now, at the Lima Conference, even two or three countries belonging to existent military blocs requested to be admitted to participate in the ministerial conference and, on the basis of their application, they were invited as special guests — I am referring to Australia, Rumania and Portugal.

The non-aligned countries, reflecting a progressive approach to the complex of present-day world problems and relations, would not be right to refuse even the application of countries belonging to existing military blocs to participate in their activity — if their *policy* proves to be in the direction of the aims of non-alignment.

The Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly has again confirmed the role that the non-aligned and other progressive countries may have in the present-day world, in the struggle for changing already obsolete international relations. A mechanical destruction of existing blocs has never been the target of non-aligned countries, as they are very well aware that blocs are the consequence of some objective historical events, reflecting the nature of the present-day world. Therefore, they can only be overcome by a policy of cooperation among all nations, on the basis of equality and struggle against any form of domination, discrimination or hegemonism. Further activities in the world and all partners framing the future of mankind will have to take into consideration and to count on the activity and role of non-alignment as a special approach to world relations.

What is the present position of Yugoslavia within this entire system? Yugoslavia has been declaring itself an independent international, socialist and non-aligned factor in the world. From the very beginning Yugoslavia has taken the resolute orientation to base its foreign policy on the principles of non-alignment. As a matter of fact, the principles of non-alignment, as the basis for an organized international activity, go back to 1956 when Premier Nehru, President Nasser and President Tito met in Yugoslavia. That was the year when Yugoslavia had already won an important victory on the international scene. Having also convinced the socialist states that it is indispensable for the future of mankind and for the free evolution of the world to insure the independence of each socialist country as well, and that this does not refer only to the relations among the countries and governments in the capitalist world, but that it has to be even more the basis of relations between the socialist countries. What would otherwise socialism in this respect bring to the world as new — unless equality and independence in international relations, as well as respect for autonomous development.

Consequently, Yugoslavia has not joined any of the military blocs nor other forms of existing economic or political integration. It is known all over the world that Yugoslavia has not been



and is not neither in the Warsaw Pact nor in NATO; but it is not known to everybody that Yugoslavia is neither a member of the European Economic Community nor the East European Economic Community, known as the COMECON. Therefore we have to insure and safeguard the Yugoslav interests, economic and others and to promote economic cooperation with countries belonging to these two groupings by special agreements.

Why we did not join even the economic groupings? Because, according to our conviction, they are discriminatory towards the third countries, i.e. the ones that do not participate and, as such, they have been limiting the framework of the cooperation by their very nature. Hence, the mutual interests of the member-countries of those economic integrations and Yugoslavia have been settled by special agreements, on specific fields of cooperation of common interest.

We are very much aware of the fact that Yugoslavia's building of socialism can not be conceived as if building it on an isolated island. The building of socialism on the basis of self-management in Yugoslavia will be successful if connected with the progressive movements in the world. One should therefore take into account existing trends in the world, and cooperate with them, learn from them, and exchange experiences; this is more and more important having in view the growing interdependence in the present-day world.

Finally, we have been struggling in Yugoslavia to liberate man of any exploitation, meaning to eliminate the sources of exploitation of man by man. Under the specific Yugoslav circumstances, the form and method for pursuing this goal had been formulated in workers' self-management, introduced by a particular law twenty-five years ago.

On the international scene, the policy of non-alignment has, as its main aims, the freedom of nations, the equality among nations, as well as friendly cooperation for resolving problems of mutual interest in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. This means that the aim concerning the liberation of man in Yugoslavia has a very close similarity with the principles of the policy of non-alignment on the international scene. Therefore, we use to say that self-management in Yugoslavia and the reorganization of the whole political structure in the country on the basis of the principle of self-management goes hand in hand with the principles of the policy of non-alignment as the basis of Yugoslavia's foreign policy. This is the answer to the question that Yugoslavs are asked rather frequently: where does such an intensity of engagement of Yugoslavia in world politics and the principles of non-alignment come from?



*Dr. Oskar KOVAČ*

*Professor at the Faculty of Economics of the  
University of Beograd*

## YUGOSLAVIA'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

*— Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow —*

1. Yugoslavia today maintains various economic relations with some 140 countries in all parts of the world and in this way effects over one quarter of her social product (26% in exports, and 30% in imports of goods and services). In 1974 Yugoslav enterprises' economic transactions with foreign countries reached a value of over 11 billion dollars (receipts and payments in the current balance-of-payments). This degree of integration into the world economy is the result of a long and complex development process in which the trend and rate of economic development were and have remained the key explanatory variables. The characteristics and problems of economic development largely explain today's patterns of foreign trade, and to a great extent determine its future prospects as well.

### *Development to Date and Present Distinctions*

2. Commodity trade accounts for the major portion of Yugoslavia's economic transactions with foreign countries. Its development tendencies are presented in table 1.

If one makes corrections for the changed exchange rates and expresses the presented data in constant prices, it emerges that the pre-war volume of the Yugoslav economy's exports was attained again in 1956. Since that time exports and imports have been increasing at a rapid but uneven rate, undergoing essential structural changes.

The geographical structure of Yugoslav exports only started showing a definite trend towards stabilisation after the middle fifties, after the reestablishment of economic relations with the socialist countries of Eastern Europe.



Table 1.

## Yugoslavia's Foreign Trade 1919—1974\*

In million of dollars,  
current prices

Annual averages	Exports	Imports	Balance
1919/25.	75	109	—34
1926/29.	116	123	— 7
1930/33.	77	74	+ 3
1934/39.	108	98	+10
1947/51.	199	276	—77
1952/56.	251	404	—153
1957/60.	470	715	—245
1961/65.	807	1.093	—286
1966/68.	1.245	1.693	—448
1974.	3.805	7.542	—3.737

\* Data up to 1968 from the book by V. Pertot: Economics of Yugoslavia's International Exchange, Volume II, *Informator*, Zagreb, 1970, p. 11.

Table 2.

Commodity Structure of Yugoslav Exports and Imports  
1956—1972\*\*

Sectors	Exports		Imports	
	1956	1972	1956	1972
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Foodstuffs	26,6	15,0	31,8	9,3
Beverages & Tobacco	8,1	2,6	0,0	0,2
Raw materials	23,6	8,3	15,9	10,4
Mineral fuels and lubricants	1,3	0,8	9,9	5,4
Chemical products	4,5	6,4	7,0	10,8
Products classified by material	27,6	26,7	12,2	26,1
Machines & Transport means	4,6	24,5	19,0	31,5
Finished products	3,6	15,2	2,1	4,8
Other	0,0	0,5	0,0	1,5

\*\* Source: Statistics of Foreign Trade of the SFRY.

Table 3.

Geographical Structure of Yugoslav Exports and Imports  
1956—1972\*

Regions	Exports		Imports	
	1956	1972	1956	1972
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Western Europe	56,4	49,0	38,7	56,1
Eastern Europe	22,8	35,1	22,1	24,5
Asia and Africa	8,7	6,4	7,2	8,9
North America	8,4	8,9	28,5	7,2
South America	3,6	0,6	2,8	2,3
Oceania	0,1	0,0	0,7	1,0

\* Source: Statistics of Foreign Trade of the SFRY.

All these changes in foreign trade are due to the high and uneven growth rate of different segments of exports and imports. Up to 1956 the growth in foreign trade was slower, and then continuously faster than the rate of growth in the national income. The variations in the growth rate of foreign trade are presented in table 4.

Table 4.

*Growth Rates in Yugoslavia's Foreign Trade Exchange\**

	Annual average in %			
	1953—1956	1957—1960	1961—1964	1965—1970
TOTAL exchange	6,4	16,0	12,3	13,8
Export of goods	7,8	15,5	11,9	9,0
Imports of goods	5,6	16,4	12,6	17,4

\* Geometrical growth rate, based on data in current dollar values.

3. The changes in growth rate and structure of foreign trade caused by economic development, took place under a rather complex system of relations, which, in our earlier studies, was approximated by a two-sector model of growth after Harrod-Domar.<sup>1</sup>

The first sector covers industry, while the second one all the other parts of the economy. The model contains fourteen equations which determine fourteen endogeneous variables: the social product of industry, the social product of the remaining economy, the total social product, imports of reproduction material, import of consumer goods, imports of investment products, domestic savings, other current payments to abroad, overall imports of goods, overall payments for goods and services and other current transactions, the final sum of the current account of the balance-of-payments, overall gross investments in fixed assets, gross investments in industrial fixed assets, and gross investments in fixed assets of the other parts of the economy.

The predetermined variables of the model — in our case the magnitude of the social product and gross investments in fixed assets in both sectors (from the preceding year) generate through the production functions, their social product in the following year. The gross investments from the basic period, the industry's social product and overall social product in the current period determine respectively imports of goods for investments, for reproduction and for general consumption. Their sum total constitutes the overall import of goods, which together with other current payments to abroad represent the overall current payments for goods, services and other current transactions. The

<sup>1</sup> More details in the author's book: *Foreign Economic Balance and Economic Growth*. Institute for Economic Sciences and PFV Oeconomica, Beograd, 1973, chapters VIII and IX.

current foreign currency income — estimated outside the model — for goods, services and other transactions, together with the earlier determined current payments, constitute the final sum in the current account of balance of payments. This sum total to a certain measure corrects domestic accumulation and affects the volume of gross investments in fixed assets, which in the ensuing period again generates the social product in individual sectors.

Applied to the Yugoslav economy in the 1952—1969 period, this model showed that given the actual real average growth rate in the social product of 7,52%, it would be necessary for the real volume of investment growth to grow by 8,3%. This production growth requires increased imports of reproduction material at a rate of 13,98%, of personal consumption goods by 7,1%, and of investments goods by 4,2% on an annual average — which results then in the necessary growth rate in overall imports of goods amounting to 10,3%. The total amount of current foreign currency payments must increase by 11,15%. Given a more or less exogenic growth rate in the overall current inflow of foreign currency amounting to 11,7% (taking into consideration the considerably lower export volume this economic growth generates a deficit in the balance-of-payments which increases at an annual rate of 9,17%. This deficit covers the difference between the necessary level of investments and domestic savings, i.e. it makes it possible for investments to increase at a slightly faster rate than domestic savings. The share of computed investments in the social product which are required, ranges between 29% and 32,6%. In the 1952—1969 period the actual share of gross investments in the social product varied between 25% and 33%. At the same time the deficit in the balance-of-payments made it possible for the rate of domestic accumulation to remain at the level between 26% and 28% of the social product.

Hypothetical calculations with lower and higher growth rates in the social product showed that with the given structure of the Yugoslav economy, the deficit in the balance-of-payments (in the first place the deficit in the trade balance) constitutes an increasing function of the economic growth rate.

4. According to these and many other studies, the present distinctions of Yugoslavia's economic relations with foreign countries might be summed up as follows:

The structure of the payments-balance is showing some characteristics which are unfavourable on a long term basis. The deficit in the balance of trade, mostly in relation to the developed market economies, is definitely high, which means that the existing coverage of imports by exports cannot be considered sufficient as one has to reckon with a different structure of foreign currency inflow from invisible goods and a more moderate growth in some of its elements.

The balance of payments is subjected to pressure due to the trend of increasing import dependence by the industry. If this tendency is not checked soon by timely structural changes in the domestic economy, the deficit in the balance of trade would always be higher than the positive balance of services and invisibles.



The growth rate of imports and exports is definitely uneven, not only from a short but also from a medium-term standpoint. This is due to the dependence of industrial production on imports and the fact that export dynamics are conditioned by the varying growth rate of the social product, especially domestic consumption.

The present commodity structure in exports, which does not reflect a more stable specialisation and reliance on certain key sectors, cannot ensure a long-term high growth rate as required. This fact is largely due to a delay in the switch from non-selective criteria in regulating economic relations with foreign countries to the building up and observation of development and business criteria and motives of the work organisations. There is still no sufficient linking up between foreign trade and production, so that production and supplies for production, technological progress and exports would be parts of a chain in which enterprises, ranging from raw material producers to exporters of final products could gain an overall view of the profit to be made on exports, while they could also determine production costs, prices and other factors pertaining to competitiveness and pool resources as a safeguard against risks in business with foreign partners.

The comparative lag in the development of power and raw material foundations in the Yugoslav economy and the existing disproportions in relations between the primary production and the processing industry, to a certain extent also in relationship to non-economic activities, emerged within the process of accelerated economic development, were to a certain extent due to the development of economic relations with abroad.

Yugoslavia is building up a foreign trade system with special stress on a multilateral mechanism of linking up the home economy with trends in the world economy. At the same time Yugoslavia is, within the framework of her socio-economic system, improving institutions and mechanisms which will stimulate and facilitate the business activities of organisations of associated labour in order to establish complex relations of business cooperation with foreign partners. The reform of the system of economic relations with abroad mainly followed the direction of giving priority to parameters (rate of exchange, customs, prices etc.) which will enable domestic firms to compare the conditions of business in the country and abroad, to compete directly with conditions in other countries and to be influenced by the markets in these countries. These parameters are aimed at including commodity exchange and services, and should also conduce the linking up of the credit and finance sphere in the country with money and capital markets in other countries.

This development in the system of foreign economic relations has been confirmed by a major increase in the overall volume of foreign trade, and also by the speedy adoption of contemporary technological processes in certain sectors of production. However, it also had some negative effects on the forming structure of production in the home economy and on the regional distribution of foreign trade.

The opening to influences from the world economy increased disparity in price relationships; there being no adequately built up fiscal and customs system nor a socially verified development policy, this resulted in waning interest for greater development efforts in agriculture, mining, the power industry and even in the communications and transport infra-structure. At the same time, and for the same reasons there was a powerful incentive to the highly import-dependent processing industry. The technological dependence of the processing industry on partners in developed capitalist countries resulted in a production orientation not always in conformity with the home economy's development needs.

Economic relations with abroad were also the source of inflatory pressures in the country, both during the deficiency period and also during the years when the payments balance recorded a sufficit. In the former case the inflatory impulses acted through the rising costs of imports due to the depreciation of the dinar, by which the deficit in the balance of payments was restricted to tolerable limits. In the latter case the sufficit in the balance of payments and the setting up of foreign currency reserves, in the absence of sterilisation measures in monetary policy, had an inflatory effect due to the influence on the growing money supply in the country.

The foreign trade system and foreign exchange regime likewise did not conduce the emergence of harmonious relationships in building up the production structure. Untimely and extensive parity changes, were a blow to price and production cost parities and distorted investment criteria. Among other things this encouraged the parallel construction of projects which had to rely on imported raw materials and reproduction material. On a short-term basis, this kind of production capacities created new employment and found justification for their establishment on the basis of substitution of imports of certain consumer goods. On a long-term basis, however, these production capacities meant a hyper-production in relationship to the actual absorption power of the home market, and due to the high import contents, this production could not attain a level of competitiveness necessary to effect export sales. The most frequent result of this kind of production orientation was that it was not possible to make the optimal use of these capacities, and so they sought considerable customs protection or stimulation for export.

Conditions for joining in the international division of labour changed substantially in the early seventies. The modified gold standard and Bretton Woods international monetary system virtually collapsed, relationships in offer and demand in the field of energy, raw materials and food changed substantially, regional polarisation tendencies created new gravitation centres in the world trade and made incumbent new, more difficult and complex negotiations on trade, and supplies of raw materials and food, on relative prices of the latter as against industrial products, on forms of financing economic development, especially the mechanisms of transferring resources to the developing countries.

For Yugoslavia, this means that, due to the new uncertainties with which the world economy will be fraught for a long time, Yugoslavia's system of economic relations with foreign countries must be much more flexible and that building up such a system will last longer than had been assumed earlier.

### *Some Indicators in Prospects for Yugoslavia's Economic Relations with Other Countries*

5. The fundamental autonomously formed options regarding objectives in Yugoslavia's long-term socio-economic development, regarding the choice of growth rate and production orientation, impose certain objectives and tasks in long-term policy of economic relations with foreign countries.

The level of development is one of the major determinants in economic relations with the world. It is expected that around 1985 Yugoslavia will have attained the present per capita income in the developed countries. A per capita income of 2,000 dollars (computed by 1970 dollars) implies a certain consumption structure, and therefore also a given structure in production, imports and exports.

Yugoslavia will attain this development level by drawing closer to the objectives of her socio-economic development, setting determined tasks in increasing employment, ensuring a stable and rapid economic development, effecting the necessary structural changes in the economy and speeding up scientific and technical progress.

The structural changes in the economy will largely evolve within the framework of further industrialisation. With the expected industrial production growth rate of about 8,5—9,5% the mainstays in development (chemical industry, metal processing and power) are expected to have a growth rate of 9—10%. The raw material production is expected to grow at the average overall industrial rate, while the industries in consumer goods (textiles, footwear, rubber, processing of agricultural produce and the other industries) will have a slightly lower growth rate of 8%.<sup>2</sup>

Within the framework of these general dynamics in industrialisation, the basic structural changes are in the direction of power, raw materials, agricultural produce, increased share of propulsive industrial activities and the further advancement of the tertiary sector.

Although there are conditions conducive to a high level in satisfying power requirements from domestic sources, Yugoslavia will always have to import crude oil. However, it is possible within the framework of overall economic relations with other countries, to ensure constant oil supplies, especially within the developing countries, and also through exchange for other raw materials the production of which is growing in this country. The fundamental

<sup>2</sup> Consortium of Economic Institutes, *Fundamental Parametres in Yugoslavia's Development 1971—1985*, Beograd, 1974.



structures of readjustment include increased production of aluminium, copper, lead, zinc, iron and the basic chemical raw materials. The development of the non-ferrous metallurgy, especially the aluminium industry will have to rely largely on foreign resources and technology, while in the case of iron it will be necessary to ensure long term imports of better quality iron ores.

Agriculture will have among other things to meet the requirements of home intermediate and final consumption, which means substituting part of the farming imports and setting up export offers. Here one must specially take into account livestock breeding, for the sales of which long term and stable exports are highly important, hand in hand with reduced risks of oscillations in the rate of exchange and sales possibilities.

The propulsive branches of industry, machine building and the electrical industry, cannot, without a broader inclusion in the international division of labour, especially production cooperation, achieve completely new structures, selection, and range of products as well as modernisation. The electrical industry, especially professional electronics, which is most rapidly realising the results of scientific-technical progress, must by definition be included in world production and trade trends. The development of ship-building, and equipment for the machine and electrical industry, will require fresh efforts aimed at ensuring suitable sales opportunities abroad.

The development of transport, in export-import traffic and in transit transport can and should help to increase the exchange of services with other countries. In this context determined efforts will also be made in tourism to take advantage of the facilities offered by the Adriatic Coast and so include Yugoslavia among the first European countries in receptive and transit foreign tourism.

6. One of the fundamental tasks of long term foreign-economic policy is to set up proportions in the balance of payments which will not constitute a factor of devaluing the national currency and instability in business. The current account of the balance of payments, even in view of the deteriorating conditions on the world commodity markets, should be kept within boundaries which will enable the maintenance of external liquidity, the maintenance and advancement of financial cooperation with foreign countries without straining relations in the country's credit worthiness. This task also implies a more balanced structure in transactions in the balance of payments, in the first place in the direction of greater coverage of imports by exports, and so also long term stable proportions between the balance of commodity exchange, services and unilateral transfers.

In this context increasing exports hold an important place. In view of the high import dependence in reproduction and investment consumption which has emerged in Yugoslavia, one which cannot be cut down in a short time, the reasons mainly being in the bottlenecks in home production, the only remaining alternative is to increase exports. However, the increase of exports

depends among other things also on the general increase in the Yugoslav industry's competitiveness both on the home and foreign markets. To this end development must be more even and unify the production of atomised and insufficiently exploited capacities, production organisation must be improved, especially in the sphere of preparation, the process i.e. duration of production must be reduced, and costs cut down, hand in hand with an efficient sphere of traffic, improved infrastructure, advancing science and technology, and adjusting training to the corresponding long term production orientation.

Apart from developing of traditional forms of international trade in goods and services, additional dynamics should be lent to industrial exports by ensuring contemporary forms of expanding production processes beyond national boundaries. The structure of world trade indicates more and more that this trade is increasing also within industrial branches (machine-building, electronics, transport means, devices for automation etc.) and that this exchange stems from specialisation within the branches as applied to various groups of articles, spare parts and sets, which are then included in the system of international production cooperation.

The policy of incurring debts abroad should provide for maintaining the desired proportions in the balance of payments and certain criteria in incurring these debts (from the standpoint of conditions and costs of repayment). Selective public auditing in cases when foreign resources are being engaged should ensure that these resources are channelled towards the priority sectors of the economy, towards activities which will directly or indirectly have the most favourable foreign currency effect.

7. In the course of elaborating the study project "Conceptions of Yugoslavia's long-term development"<sup>3</sup> several projections were made of foreign trade trends and the balance of payments up to 1980 and 1985 respectively. They cannot be compared in entirety especially not in absolute figures because of the differing statistical and methodological bases; they are not completely up-to-date, for they do not include the last two or three years which in world economy and trade were fraught with new phenomena and tendencies. In spite of these characteristics of the projections drawn up, their comparative analysis can produce desirable and possible relative indicators in the long term development of economic relations with abroad, such as the growth rate of exports and imports of goods and services, the relationship between foreign trade and production, i.e. the social product and relationships in the export-import structure.

The Foreign Trade Institute in Beograd has prepared a long term projection of the balance of payments up to 1985 on the basis of partial projections of exports and imports, and transactions in invisibles. Naturally, the key role is played by forecasts of commodity trends.<sup>4</sup> They are given in the constant 1966 prices,

<sup>3</sup> S. Antonijević: *Long-term Development of Yugoslavia's Balance of Payments*, Foreign Trade Institute, Beograd, 1973.

<sup>4</sup> Consortium of Economic Institutes, Beograd, 1973—1975.



the rate of exchange being 12,5 dinars to one US dollar. The three alternative projections of exports were obtained by parameters of regression equations: firstly, between exports and the social product, secondly, between Yugoslav exports and world imports, and thirdly on the basis of extrapolation of the exponential trend in Yugoslav exports during the 1957—1971 period. These projections show a growth rate in exports which should range between 8 and 9,6% on an annual average. The regression between exports and the social product later made it possible to determine the corresponding growth rate in exports with an assumed growth rate in the social product. By making certain corrections in the regression parameters (i.e. in the income elasticities), it was possible to conclude that at a most probable growth rate in the social product of 7% the volume of exports should have an average annual growth rate of 10%.

Another extrapolation of the exponential trend in exports of goods from a later period (1961—1973) also using the 1966 prices, but with a rate of exchange of 17,00 dinars to one US dollar, produced an annual growth rate of 7,7%<sup>5</sup>. The projection of goods exports up to 1980 based on time series in current prices, carried out in the Economic Institute in Zagreb were obtained as residual values, after determining the level and growth rate of imports of goods and services and transfer receipts from abroad. It was assumed that with a planned level of imports of goods and services and the net transfer receipts in 1980 up to 1100 million dollars, with a social product growth rate of 6—9% on an annual average, exports of goods should increase by about 20%, so that together with the income derived from invisible goods they would balance the current account.<sup>6</sup>

An earlier study in which foreign trade was part of a macro-economic model of growth showed that with a growth rate in the social product of 7—8% *per annum*, exports of goods would increase at a rate of 8—9%.<sup>7</sup>

Although all these projections differ among each other, if one were to eliminate the effects of the various methodological procedures (selection of periods, prices, rate of exchange) they would be more similar. Hence it would appear that the growth rate of imports of goods amounting to 8,5—9,5% given a growth rate in the social product of 6—7% might be acceptable.

The differences in the growth rates of commodity exports can be explained by the differences in the estimate of probable or desirable ratio between income derived from goods and invisibles in the current balance of payments. The more optimistic

<sup>5</sup> O. Kovač, calculations carried out in the Institute for Economic Sciences, 1974.

<sup>6</sup> A. Čičin—Šain, "Some Structural Qualities of the Yugoslavia Balance of Payments and Possibilities For its Equilibrium", in: *Economic Systemic Assumptions in long-term Development*, Economic Institute, Zagreb, 1973, p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> P. Sichenl—O. Kovač, *Model Approach to the Channelling of the Economy*, Institute for Economic Sciences, Beograd, 1970, p. 65.



forecasts on revenue from invisibles are combined with a more moderate growth rate in exports of commodities and conversely.

The existing projections of foreign currency inflow from invisibles differ among each other by the estimate of the real or most probable future growth rate. Presuming a slightly more moderate continuation of trends so far, *P. Sicherl* and *O. Kovač* concluded that up to 1985 one might expect a speedier growth in foreign currency inflow from invisibles than from exports of commodities, amounting to 1—2 percentage points.<sup>8</sup> *S. Antonijević* considers that the growth rate of some revenues from invisibles (especially currency sent into the country by migrants) will gradually slow down — and he therefore gives projections of service exports in which the growth rate is by 1—2 percentage points below the corresponding rate for commodity exports. (They range from 7,5% to 10,5% at a growth rate in the social products of 6—8%)<sup>9</sup> *A. Čičin—Šain*, adopting the view that exports of services (without migrant workers remittances) may account for up to 50% of the value of commodity exports, reckons with a growth rate of the former of 24,2% on an annual average during the 1970—1975 period, and of 22,6% during the 1975—1980 period. The difference in relation to commodity exports is again about 1—2 percentage points.<sup>10</sup>

8. Experience has shown that in formulating the policy of economic relations with foreign countries, under Yugoslav conditions the reality of import projections has the greatest importance. The structure of the economy which changes slowly, the existing high degree of dependence on imports in all forms, especially in intermediate consumption, a certain degree of technological dependence on imports and similar factors all go to set a lowest limit to imports without which the present Yugoslav economy cannot achieve the desired growth rate under stable conditions. If the import projections are not realistic, this will not only result in a misleading projection of the balance of payments, but would also greatly affect the growth rate and economic stability.

The projections of imports of commodities and services up to 1985 are contained on the whole only in the already cited studies. According to the forecasts of the Foreign Trade Institute,<sup>11</sup> with a growth rate of 6—8% in the social product, commodity imports would have to increase by 7,2 to 9,7%, (of which reproduction material by 7—9,2%, investment products by 7,5—10,7%, and general consumer goods by 8—10%) on an annual average. The projections of the Institute for Economic Sciences,<sup>12</sup> which are sufficiently comparable, and drawn up according to the parameters of the macro-economic model covering the period of 1961—1971,

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 66.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> *S. Antonijević, Op. cit.* p. 81.

<sup>12</sup> *O. Kovač: Methods and Models of Planning Foreign Trade and the Balance of Payments, Institute for Economic Sciences, Beograd, 1973, p. 35.*

given in 1966 prices, assume a growth rate of 7,52% in the social product with a growth rate in imports of reproduction material of 9,84%, of investment products of 8,65%, and of consumer goods of 9,98% on an annual average. Subsequent studies showed that the marginal propensities towards imports of all the earmarked categories increase even further if the analysis includes the years 1972 and 1973. Taking into account data during the 1961—1973 period, a regression analysis shows the average elasticity of imports of reproduction material in relationship to the volume of industrial production as being 1,285 while the corresponding elasticities for imports of investment products in proportion to the new investments in fixed funds is 1,018, and for imports of consumer goods in proportion to the social product this figure is 1,025<sup>13</sup>. Judging by this, as the growth in industrial production during the period up to 1985 would be 8,2—9,3% per annum, imports of reproduction material would have to increase by 10,53% to 11,95% on an annual average.

The projections of imports drawn up in the Economic Institute in Zagreb<sup>14</sup> based on the ratios determined in current prices, forecast a growth in commodity imports (given a 6—9% growth in the social product) of 17% on an annual average.

All three projections forecast a speedier growth in invisibles than in commodity imports, which is mainly due to the speedier growth of interest paid on foreign loans and credits, tourist and traffic expenditures.

9. Yugoslavia's objective position in Europe and among the non-aligned countries determines also the fundamentals of regional policy in foreign economic relations. The differentiated world markets where the economic connections of the developed capitalist, socialist and developing countries take shape in a special way, require a long term economic policy towards the world which will enable differentiated emergence in these regions.

The fundamental factors in the predominant channelling of Yugoslavia's foreign trade towards the area of Europe have a long-term, and long-lasting character. Geographical proximity, traditional trade contacts, the existing bilateral or multilateral institutional boundaries of economic cooperation, differences in the level of development and certain complementary features in economic structure indicate the need for a long term orientation of the greater part of Yugoslavia's foreign trade transactions towards the areas of the EEC and COMECON. On the other hand, the changed position of the non-aligned countries on the world stage and their growing share in decision-making on key problems in international economic relations are making it possible to expand their mutual economic relations, and so also the strengthening of economic ties between Yugoslavia and the developing countries. Being one of these countries, herself, Yugoslavia can, given dif-

<sup>13</sup> O. Kovač, in the project by a group of authors: Model of Projection and Planned Channelling of the Yugoslav Economy up to 1980, Institute for Economic Sciences, Beograd, 1974.

<sup>14</sup> A. Čičin—Šain, *Op. cit.* p. 73—74.



ferent price parities and conditions for the utilisation of natural resources, within a fairer system of economic relations in the world, which implies also a different distribution of the world's income, find many new economic incentives for expanding mutual economic ties which will be profitable to all the parties concerned.

The fact that Yugoslavia is not institutionally included in integration processes in Europe, undoubtedly has created some degree of economic and political distance between Yugoslavia and these countries, and trends in trade will have to bridge this distance.<sup>15</sup> Therefore efforts are constantly being made to minimise the unfavourable effects of the joint protective policy of the EEC and its agrarian protectionism towards Yugoslav exports. Among other things this is being achieved by effecting new forms of economic cooperation with these countries. Production cooperation, joint ventures and hand in hand with this the transfer of know-how will be a means of expansion and long-term stabilisation in mutual economic relations. The initial steps in the reform of the world trade and monetary system, i.e. steps towards establishing a new international economic system, are certainly not going to narrow scope for Yugoslavia's cooperation with the developed capitalist states; on the contrary, this should ensure for Yugoslavia a better position within these relations.

In view of the accelerated opening up of most socialist countries towards all sectors of the world market, the traditional high share of the socialist East-European countries in Yugoslavia's foreign trade can only gain in importance. The expansion of the socialist countries markets and the coordination of their mutual economic ties according to the Complex Programme, should be an opportunity for the broader inclusion of Yugoslav economic subjects in the processes of production cooperation and specialisation.

Although in different forms, Yugoslav economic subjects encounter in both segments of the European market, organised demand and the organised emergence of many other exporters who have great economic strength. Integration, although based on different socio-economic foundations, is a process distinctive of the economy all over Europe. Instead of emerging with the remnants of foreign trade State monopoly or random emergence on these markets, the Yugoslav economy must be united and organised on a self-management basis in relations with these regions. By the conclusion of numerous self-management agreements and social compacts it is already on the way to establishing a rational foreign-trade network which will be capable of playing its role in the process of social reproduction and to maintain continuity and stability in relations with individual countries.

The favourable conditions for expanding cooperation with the developing countries, which we have already mentioned, are

---

<sup>15</sup> For more details see M. Aleksić, "Tendencies in the Regional Distribution of Exports and Imports, in The Long-term Development of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries". — Foreign Trade Institute, Beograd, 1973, pp. 41—47.



enabling the translation into practice of the recommendations of the Non-aligned Summit in Algiers, on doubling the share of mutual exchange in overall foreign trade of the developing countries during the past two years. It is specially significant that there are already many visible possibilities of a more long-lasting expansion of cooperation in the field of exchange of primary and industrial products, joint ventures and production, performing of investment projects, research and the transfer of know-how, financial cooperation and joint emergence on world markets.

Together with the enhanced role of the developing countries, the cited regional cooperation trends stem from the entity of long-term production and foreign trade orientation on the part of the Yugoslav economy and offer good prospects for this being translated into practice.

Dr. OSKAR KOVAČ

Born in 1937. Graduate student at the Faculty of Economics of University of Beograd (1960). Postgraduate studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science and at the Faculty of Economics in Beograd. Master's degree in 1967. Ph. D. at the Faculty of Economics in Beograd in 1971.

Up to 1965 in charge of the Group for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries in the republican Institute for Economic Planning, Beograd. After 1965 research associate and later director of the research sector of the Institute for Economic Sciences in Beograd. From 1972 on associate professor at Beograd University's Faculty of Economics. Member of the Section for Scientific Work of the Union of Economists of Yugoslavia.

Published following books: *Foreign Trade Balance and Economic Growth — Yugoslavia's Problems and Experiences*, Institute for Economic Sciences, Beograd, 1973; *Yugoslavia's Openness towards the World Economy*, Institute for Social Sciences, Beograd 1974; in cooperation with dr. P. Sicherl: *Model Approach to the Channelling of the Economy*, Institute for Economic Sciences, Beograd, 1970.

Also author of a large number of papers on foreign trade and the balance of payments of Yugoslavia, many of which published in scientific and professional journals.

*Dr. Ljubiša ADAMOVIC*

*Professor at the Faculty of Economics of the  
University of Beograd*

## WORLD ENERGY CRISIS AND ITS EFFECTS UPON YUGOSLAV ECONOMY

### INTRODUCTION

Being relatively underdeveloped economy, using this term in European framework, Yugoslav economy has been exposed to various negative influence resulting from the so-called energy crisis. It is hard to find an economy at that level of development, and particularly a socialist type economy which has participated in the world trade during last twenty years as it has been the case of Yugoslavia. This is why the Yugoslav national economy has suffered from negative influences and also has been exposed to positive influences in the world economy.

So-called world energy crisis has been the debatable issue in both marxian and non-marxian literature. It is certainly a very complex issue and this is why one can find various arguments in analysing causes and consequences of that phenomenon.

Since late 1973 there was almost flood of literature and this is why one can not but be tempted to express another view on the subject. It is self-understood that a marxian economist can not but rejoice when seeing that oil exporting countries, which are basically underdeveloped, were able to multiply their oil export earnings. It is also needless to question positive effect of the pressure which oil exporting countries were applying against Israel and the West in general, in order to support the right cause of the Arab nations. But it would be too simple to stop our analysis on these points or, in other words, it would be "too good to be true". There are some other aspects of the world energy crisis, or to be more specific, of the world oil crisis, which deserve discussion.

First of all, this energy crisis could be associated with the new relationships among the most developed capitalist countries. It was almost inevitable to increase price of oil due to the fact that costs of research and search for oil, as well as the cost of exploitation, were growing. Besides, between 1950 and 1970 almost

all prices of raw materials have doubled, while the price of oil has been unchanged. Inflation factor has also to enter the picture and four times increase of the price of oil has a totally different financial effect if it is considered from the point of view of high level of inflation which has diminished the real value of the so-called petro-dollars.

Taking into account the fact that multinational companies and mainly US companies have the most important role in world oil market, it is possible to discuss the issue of oil crisis from the point of view of various types of profits which US companies and the US Government have derived out of the oil crisis. US capital has participated with its own share in price of oil increase while the US Government has used the oil crisis as an excellent case in order to demonstrate the weakness of the Western European economies in case of any important disturbance based on either energy or raw materials, or some other type of supply. Timing of the oil crisis was excellent from the point of view of the Arab cause, but it was not less well from the point of view of US interests. During late 1960's and early 1970's there were relatively strong tendencies in Western Europe toward emancipation of the Western European foreign policy from the direct influence of Washington. This trend to create a polycentric Western foreign policy, by definition meant a relative weakening of the US position as a center of the so-called Western global strategy, which during the whole period after World War II has been identified with the US global strategy.

Trends toward emancipation from US influence in Western Europe had been based upon the improvement in the state of Western European economies and particularly upon the increasing role of the EEC as the leading trading partner of the world. This is why there is a place for hypothesis that despite some disturbances to which US economy was exposed, the world oil crisis has helped the United States to regain their leading role among capitalist countries and particularly in Western Europe. Experience with shortage of oil in Western Europe has served as an excellent demonstration of the weakness of Western European economies despite of the high level of productivity and efficiency.

On the other hand, during the oil shortage the US economy was able to demonstrate both her absolute and her relative strength as one of the rare economies practically independent from pressures based on various shortages either energy or raw materials or food etc. This is why we are suggesting to discuss the issue of world energy crisis not only as an important factor bringing to the fore the strength of the less developed oil producing countries, but also one of the world giants like the USA.

It is also possible to discuss the effects of the oil crisis from the point of view of competition of the two super-powers in the Middle East area. For several years in late 1960's Soviet Union has been increasing her role in the Middle Eastern region. It is not totally out of discussion that during the oil crisis, and based on the oil crisis, a new situation has been created. Arab nations,



both those which have developed very close and friendly connections with the Soviet Union, as well as those who did not, have faced the situation in which oil pressure has had more effective influence upon the Western countries and Israel, than massive deliveries of the Soviet armament.

Since among the Arab nations one can find both progressive and conservative governments, with strong anticommunist approach, it is possible to assume that anti-Soviet forces and anti-communist forces in general might use the successful results of the oil shortage to defend their approach that it makes more sense for all Arabs to unite their efforts (regardless of the differences in their internal political system), than to develop alliance with socialist countries.

These are some of the factors which at least are different from the standard analysis of the oil crisis and therefore worth of discussing.

#### EFFECTS UPON EUROPE

It is self evident from the first part of this paper that European continent is suffering the most from any disturbance of the normal lines and conditions of supply of energy and raw materials. Previously Western Europe was particularly mentioned, but it is valid for the European Continent in general with small exceptions like Rumania and the Soviet Union. Interestingly enough, problem of energy supply was discussed within the UN Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva about six months before oil sanctions were undertaken by the Arab exporters. It was in March 1973 when the UN ECE has invited the United States and all countries of Europe to begin immediately to discuss and take measures in the area of energy supply. It was also recommended that both West and East should increase their cooperation in order to develop Siberian energy resources. It was suggested to the highly developed countries to provide more efficient support to the developing countries. At that time recommendation from the ECE were accepted and sounded as the lonely voice in the desert.

In order to provide a scientific bases for the solution of the problem, the ECE has organized a special study on energy problem from the point of view of the medium-term needs (until 1985), and long-term needs (until the year of 2000). It is hard to say why the reaction of various governments was relatively weak: either due to the well known bureaucratic procedure which usually needs several years in order to deal with the issue, or due to various manoeuvres of the multinational corporations.

First reaction of the European countries during the oil crisis was to revive the less efficient energy resources and to increase use of coal. Besides, natural gas and hydro-energy are not used as much as it would be possible. All European countries except the Soviet Union are net importers of energy. It is expected that

in 1980 about 92 to 95% of the all energy needs in Europe will be covered from oil, coal and natural gas, while the share of hydro-energy, nuclear fission and geo-thermal energy will be no higher than 5 to 8%. The long-run analysis by the ECE shows that only about one quarter of total needs of energy in the year of 2000 the world is going to satisfy from nuclear energy, while the rest will still be from classical sources.

According to the same forecast, reserves of oil, coal and natural gas will last until the last decade of this century. This is why Europe as a continent is particularly interested in a world-wide system of cooperation in the field of energy. European continent has at its disposal only 4% of the total world energy reserves and at the same time Europe's share in world energy consumption is about 25%. It is necessary to pay tribute to the ECE for her sober analysis of the energy situation before any disturbance on the world market. It is one of those rare cases when an analysis is being organized *ex-ante*, while usually it is *ex-post*.

While discussing the energy problems it is necessary to state the fact that according to many experts, price of energy is still relatively low. The share of energy in prices of industrial goods is approximately 3%. Low cost of energy has stimulated non-rational use of energy resources and sometimes the use of very valuable energy for not always rational purposes. According to the same study, the energy consumption between 1970 and 1985 is expected to grow in Europe (Soviet Union including) at these yearly average rates: hydro-energy 3,2%, coal, 4,2%, oil 9,5%, natural gas 9,8%, nuclear energy 14,5%. It is expected that in 1985 nuclear power-stations will supply 10% of electric energy in East Europe and 33% in Western Europe, while in the United States their share will be 40%. In years to come European countries will turn more of their attention to the off-shore oil. Taking into account the fact that in the 2000 world is going to consume more energy than the total consumption between 1901 and 1925, it is not difficult to see how serious problem European continent shall have to face in the field of energy, because it is only Soviet Union which in the long-run has sufficient energy supply.

Another issue which deserves to be discussed is associated with questioning the very notion of the "energy crisis", or "oil crisis". One may seriously ask should any disturbance between supply and demand be called a crisis. Economic literature uses the term "the world crisis" in order to mark a phenomenon dealing with certain type of cyclical fluctuations, which means that sooner or later the peaks of the cycle will come to a "normal" behaviour. As far as the energy situation is concerned, it is hard to expect that there would be possible to restore the situation at the level before the fall of 1973. Energy situation of today has its own deep causes and they should not be mixed up with the short-run actors which were in operation in 1973.

From the long-run point of view, we have to be aware that human society of today is still using the energy which has been

created and accumulated during various chemical processes for the last 2500 millions of years. As it has been pointed rightly by a world-known economist Mr. Janez Stanovnik, during one night just for the sake of illumination, to-days society is consuming a total amount of energy accumulated on this planet during one thousand years. It does not mean, however, that the doom's day is tomorrow, but it is necessary to adjust world consumption to world supply and find ways and means for more rational use of the existing, as well as of introduction of the new energy resources.

Due to various advantages of oil as a very valuable energy source, the oil-producing countries were able to improve their economic and political position and some of them were strong enough even to nationalize oil fields.

On the other hand, so-called "seven sisters" (seven world largest oil companies) are so strong that they should be easily called third super-power after the United States and the Soviet Union. Considering enormous capital investments by those seven companies, and the fact that oil resources are going to be exhausted during next thirty years, the change in price of oil was very important to those companies in order to make possible developments of alternative energy resources. It is possible to claim that for years the price of oil has been too low, so that it was practically impossible to use economically the other sources of energy. It is basically due to the low price of oil that even some rich coal mines had to be abandoned, which is even more so with other energy resources.

When the barrel of oil was priced at 1.60 dollar, it was financially impossible to efficiently use the energy from other sources. This is why the prices increase from 1.60 dollar per barrel in december 1972 to 11.60 per barrel in january 1974, represented a real shock. Such a price increase has to have long-run effect upon the structure of energy consumption. That was the precondition for diversification of the oil producers capital toward alternative sources of energy. This is how, until recently, non-economic energy sources, compared with the new price of oil, became very economic almost overnight.

These are some of the reasons why the whole complex of the so-called energy crisis deserves to be studied as the end of a particular era and the beginning of the new energy structure. First wave of effects of the oil crisis was more or less inflationary — just the price increase and different consequences of that price increase upon the various branches and sectors of economies, as well as a short run new distribution of the world financial power. The secondary and the tertiary waves are not yet visible and they will effect particularly the conversion from one to another source of energy. This conversion will be by speed and quality very different in various countries.



## EFFECTS ON YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslav economy has also been exposed to negative influences of the energy crisis. Due to the fact that Yugoslavia is not very developed country, she was not hurt as much as it was the case with some highly developed economies. It deserves to be noted that Yugoslavia was one of the rare countries with no rationing of oil and oil-products. It could be explained mainly by very friendly relationships between Yugoslavia and oil-exporting countries. On the other hand, increase of price of oil has contributed to the internal inflationary pressure because during 1974 the total loss, or the damage suffered by Yugoslav economy due to oil price increase amounted to 530 millions of dollars. From that point of view, Yugoslav economy shares the position of developing non-oil-exporting countries. Importance of oil for Yugoslav economy could be seen from the following table:

### PRIMARY ENERGY CONSUMPTION

Source of energy	In %		
	1965	1974	1985
Coal	73	42	46
Oil	20	46	36
Natural gas	2	5	12
Hydro-energy	5	7	6
	100	100	100

Source: "Ekonomska politika", 1196, 3 March 1975, p. 23.

It is seen from the table above that basic trends in structure of energy consumption in Yugoslavia were more or less identical with the general trends in Europe as a whole. But while the other sources of energy are basically home-produced, oil is mainly imported. General consumption of oil amounts to 12 million tons out of which about 75% represents imported oil and only 25% domestically exploited. Yugoslavia is importing about 50% of total oil consumed from the Middle East, about 25% from the Soviet Union, while the last 25% covers from internal sources.

Changes on the world oil market from 1973 on, have influenced Yugoslav development programs and particularly program of energy production. The basic features in Yugoslav policy in the area of energy supply are the following ones:

- to develop domestic energy resources (primary resources);
- to apply modern technology in order to diminish wastes in transformation of energy as well as to intensify the development of energy transfer system;
- more rational consumption and saving, as well as introduction of the more developed technological devices in the area of production and consumption of energy.

These are some basic policy lines in order to achieve structural changes in energy consumption. The priority to domestic sources is given on the basis of regularity of supply, as well as for the strategic reasons, and last but not the least, to cut down outflow of the foreign exchange. During 1974 out of total energy consumption, about 40% was covered by imported energy sources. Out of that, the share of oil was 32.8% and imports of coal 6.7%. According to the policy adopted by Yugoslav Government, the share of imported energy should not be greater than 38%. Within this amount, the share of oil should be 25%, of natural gas 7%, and the rest would be the share of the coking coal.

It is expected that during next ten years energy consumption in Yugoslavia would grow at the rate of 8,7% and in 1985 is expected to be 2,5 times higher, as compared to 1974. Consumption of energy in Yugoslavia is almost three times smaller than in developed countries.

As far as the current situation is concerned, the total energy supply in Yugoslavia is behind the needs of the ever-growing demand. The best argument for this claim are the reductions of the use of electrical energy, lack of sufficient supply of coal and some other fuels. In order to provide rational system of energy supply, it is expected to change some old programs and also to reduce the role of new power plants based on oil as an energy source. Another important issue for the future development of Yugoslav national system of energy supply, deals with the regional policies in the field of energy. It is hard to explain why there are several regional system of energy supply in Yugoslavia, when it is world-known fact that huge technical systems are more rational and are able to provide more regularly and much cheaper energy, not mentioning the fact that investments in such systems are smaller. Another question deals also with internal economic planning; in late 1960's and early 1970's Yugoslavia was connected with all the neighbouring countries in order to be able to participate in mutual deliveries of electrical energy, while at the same time until March 1975 there was no such a possibility for mutual deliveries of electrical energy among any of the Yugoslav republics.

It is generally accepted attitude in Yugoslavia that during last ten years of development, problems of energy supply were not given due attention both from the point of view of planning of energy production, as well as for the types of consumption and use of energy by industries and individual consumers. A quick switch from coal to oil has contributed to develop many economic and social problems in the coal-mining areas, while at the moment the coal mines are not capable to provide enough coal. High expansion of oil consumption has stimulated many factories to develop their capacities in order to satisfy demand for oil furnaces, while now those factories are facing financial difficulties and both workers and communities have to take their shares of those difficulties.

Immediately after the oil crisis, Yugoslav consumers were oriented toward more usage of electrical energy and there was

a high demand for so-called thermo-electrical furnaces. That demand was based on relatively low price of electrical energy. The price of such a furnace is about 800 dinars, but in order to provide enough energy for such a furnace, investments in production of electrical energy have to be about 15.000 dinars.

These are just some of the examples showing the complexities of planning and necessity for a coordinated effort in the field of energy in order to avoid some further disturbances in that area of vital importance for any national economy.

It is possible to state that Yugoslav experience in the field of energy basically follows the case of most of the countries in the world. It is easy now to be critical against some features of that policy, particularly against relatively fast replacement and substitution of coal by oil. But that would be onesided approach which is typical for any ex-post criticism. It would have been hard to defend a policy of developing consumption of expensive coal during a period of twenty years when oil was available at low price. Instead of these onesided criticisms, the more constructive approach is necessary: how quickly Yugoslav economy is capable to adjust herself to the new pressures from the world market? The beauty and the challenge of economics as a science and art, as well as of the economic performance is not to keep petrified models of behaviour and analysis, but to adjust to the new needs. From that point of view, Yugoslav economy has been challenged several times during the period after World II. To most of these challenges, Yugoslav economy has responded satisfactorily. As far as the new "energy-challenge" is concerned, there is no reason to doubt that Yugoslav economy will be able to react in the best possible way. The reasons for such an optimistic approach are based on following facts:

a) Yugoslavia possesses vast resources of lignites and low calory coal, which in the conditions on the energy market, could perform efficiently;

b) Yugoslavia has relatively large group of skilled labour at various levels, both in production and non-production areas;

c) Yugoslav system of workers' management has been challenged in the past with more difficult tasks and it was capable to deal with them. There is no reason to doubt about its abilities to deal with the energy problems too.

#### LITERATURE

1. Ljubiša S. Adamović: *International Economic Relations — Modern Trends* (in Serbocroatian), published by the Institute of Economic Research and »Savremena administracija«, Beograd, 1975.

2. *Ekonomska politika*, 1196, March 3, 1975, Beograd.

3. *Ekonomska politika*, 1177, October 21, 1974, Beograd.

4. *Ekonomska politika*, May 12, 1975, Beograd.



Dr. LJUBIŠA S. ADAMOVIĆ

Dr. Ljubiša S. Adamović, born December 7, 1928 at Zemun, suburb of Beograd. Graduated at the School of Journalism and Diplomacy in Beograd, 1952. Postgraduate studies and M.B.A. degree received from Ohio University, Athens, Ohio U.S.A. Awarded Ph. D. (economics) at the University of Beograd 1961.

From June 1963 Lecturer and from 1967 Associate Professor at the University of Beograd (School of Economics). Since 1972 Professor of Economics and Chairman of the Department of International Economics.

*Professional experience:* foreign trade, professional journalism, economic research and university teaching.

*Associations:* Yugoslav Economic Association, American Economic Association.

*Listings:* "Who is Who in World Finance and Industry", "Who is Who in Yugoslavia".

Professor L. S. Adamović has intensively travelled and lectured abroad: 1961/62 and 1970/71 academic years visiting professor at Florida State University, Lehigh University, 1973/74 at the Bologna Center of the John Hopkins University; occasional lecturing at the University of Moscow, Harvard, M.I.T., University of California Berkeley, and many other universities in the United States, Western and Eastern Europe.

*Research Associations:* Institute of International Politics and Economics in Beograd since 1957 and now Senior Fellow; Member, Board of Directors of the Institute of International Law and Economic Development in Washington, D.C.

*Publications:* several books and dozens of articles, published in Yugoslavia, U.S.S.R., U.S.A., Italy, Lebanon, Belgium, etc. dealing with several aspects of international economic relations.

During his career professor Adamović has participated intensively in internal and international life of Yugoslavia as member of various professional and political bodies at home and abroad including United Nations. Since 1966 he is Yugoslav representative at the Committee for Scientific Cooperation of the COMECON.



Miloš SINDJIC

Directeur de l'Institut de planification sociale et économique de la République Socialiste de Serbie

## LES PLANS DE DEVELOPPEMENT A COURT ET A MOYEN TERME

### ANNOTATIONS

01. Dans le cadre du thème général du séminaire: «Le socialisme dans la théorie et la pratique yougoslaves», est prévue la conférence *Les plans de développement à court et à moyen terme*, à laquelle est consacrée ce texte.

02. Par cette conférence sont indiqués, d'après le choix de l'auteur, seulement *les éléments principaux du contenu* de cette conférence (sous-thèmes) et, de plus, *sans aucune prétention à la présentation complète et définitive* de ce qui est exposé ici.

03. Le socialisme en Yougoslavie — c'est le socialisme autogestionnaire, ou plus précisément: *c'est l'édification révolutionnaire permanente de la nouvelle société socialiste ou des nouveaux rapports sociaux en tant que système de l'autogestion socialiste*. Et, comme on le sait, c'est un travail de pionnier dans l'histoire — nouveau et autonome, sans précédents et non-dogmatique, original. Justement ce caractère révolutionnaire et cette originalité font que notre planification et nos plans en tant que fonctions et aspects de l'édification du système des rapports socialistes autogestionnaires sont, de même, *révolutionnaires et originaux*.

04. Théoriquement et pratiquement, ce *caractère révolutionnaire et l'autonomie* sont des catégories assez complexes et contradictoires. Leur explication, de même. Or, cela impose de nombreuses restrictions en ce qui concerne la valeur et le succès de tels traitements.

05. De même que le système des rapports socio-économiques de l'autogestion socialiste son système de planification est en voie de *l'édification constante, le dépassement des solutions existantes et l'édification de nouvelles*. Cela est aussi une des restrictions de pareil traitements qu'il faut avoir en vue. Par exemple, ici est *constamment ouverte la problématique de l'appareil conceptivo-catégorique*, de sorte que ce que nous avons établi hier comme



définition nous considérons aujourd'hui comme étant dépassé. Cette accélération théorique — d'avancement, et même le retard, par rapport au processus de l'édification de nouveaux rapports — pour la plupart est caractéristique, et elle l'est, pour la *planification* en tant que théorie et pratique, en tant que système des catégories théoriques et opérationnelles.

06. Dans le temps présent *nous nous trouvons dans la phase de cette accélération, c'est-à-dire nous développons avec accélération notre pensée et la pratique de la planification*, en nous efforçant — dans le cadre de notre entière science sociale et, en particulier, de l'économie politique de l'autogestion socialiste et, évidemment, de concert avec l'édification du nouveau système socio-économique — de développer *la théorie et la pratique correspondante de la planification autogestionnaire en tant que planification sociale*, c'est-à-dire planification du développement tout entier de la nouvelle société, que nous édifions activement, à partir de l'introduction de l'autogestion ouvrière en 1950, et qui s'est confirmée historiquement dans notre pratique sociale en tant que système possible et efficace de la société de nouvelles valeurs.

#### SUJET

07. Le sujet de cette conférence est le thème: LES PLANS DE DEVELOPPEMENT A COURT ET A MOYEN TERME DANS LA THEORIE ET LA PRATIQUE YOUGOSLAVES. On prend en considération l'indication seulement des éléments principaux du contenu du thème.

08. Le sujet même est élaboré de telle sorte que les questions suivantes sont énoncées: L'HISTORIQUE, LES FONDEMENTS, LA PRATIQUE ET LA PERSPECTIVE DE LA PLANIFICATION ET DES PLANS EN YOUGOSLAVIE. Toutefois, on s'est efforcé d'englober une sphère aussi large que possible d'éléments qui sont contenus dans un thème ainsi établi, tandis que les descriptions sont généralement réduites au minimum.

09. Pour le système yougoslave de la planification la question la plus importante depuis toujours a été celle de savoir QUI PLANIFIE, c'est-à-dire la question du sujet de la planification. Autrement, c'est la question de L'ESSENCE DE CLASSE DE LA PLANIFICATION, ou la question L'INTERET DE QUI EST PRIS EN CONSIDERATION POUR L'AVENIR DE LA SOCIETE. Bien entendu, de cette façon on ne néglige pas la question de LA METHODE ET DE LA TECHNIQUE DE LA PLANIFICATION, mais on leur donne un autre sens social. De ce fait même la théorie et la pratique yougoslaves de la planification et des plans sont AUTONOMES, PARTICULIERS. C'est aussi le caractère de ce texte, sa tendance.

10. Le thème même est élaboré en tenant compte des autres questions du programme de ce Séminaire.

11. L'ampleur du thème et les possibilités dont on dispose pour son élaboration ont imposé aussi plusieurs restrictions qu'il faut avoir en vue en utilisant ce texte.

## HISTORIQUE

### *Caractères principaux*

12. L'HISTOIRE DU SYSTEME YOUGOSLAVE DE LA PLANIFICATION correspond à l'historique et aux phases du DEVELOPPEMENT SOCIO-ECONOMIQUE DE LA YOUGOSLAVIE.

13. Pour le système yougoslave de la planification le CARACTERE ESSENTIEL est que depuis le commencement il était ORIGINAL. Théoriquement et pratiquement, cette originalité s'exprime par ce qui suit: (1) selon l'intention, il était toujours basé depuis sa source sur la science du marxisme et léninisme, et (2), selon la pratique, il exprimait toujours les autonomies de notre société historiquement donnée et ses situations de développement. Dans le système même de la planification était donné le lien de cette intention (but-théorie) et de cette pratique (état-possibilités).

14. Cette particularité de notre planification s'est manifestée encore au début de l'édification socialiste du pays — dans la période de la restauration du pays d'après-guerre, dans la phase initiale de l'industrialisation et de l'urbanisation sur de nouvelles bases, dans le développement de l'agriculture et la transformation socialiste du village (ce qui n'était ni la voie de la fermérisation, ni de la collectivisation, mais notre voie autonome que nous suivons encore aujourd'hui), ensuite dans le fait que cette planification englobait l'ensemble de l'économique, c'est-à-dire tous les trois secteurs de la propriété de cette époque — le secteur public, coopératif et privé, — et dans le rôle accentué des ouvriers et de leurs collectivités de travail dans l'adoption et la réalisation des plans de développement, c'est-à-dire dans la libération de l'initiative et de l'auto-initiative de tous les travailleurs par la voie des formes matérielles et non-matérielles de leur intéressement.

15. Notre SYSTEME DE PLANIFICATION suivait le développement du système socio-économique, c'est-à-dire notre développement social tout entier — le développement du système sociopolitique et du système de l'organisation sociale. *La théorie et la pratique de la planification dans le fond suivait la théorie et la pratique de l'autogestion, ou la théorie et la pratique de notre développement social.*

16. Le FACTEUR DECISIF de notre développement social était notre CLASSE OUVRIERE et son AUTO-ORGANISATION. LA LIGUE DES COMMUNISTES en tant QU'AVANT-GARDE DE LA CLASSE OUVRIERE et de toutes les forces organisées socialistes avait dans ce procès un rôle irremplaçable de la mise en mouvement et de l'orientation des changements révolutionnaires de l'état existant avant la révolution et de la naissance du nouveau système des rapports sociaux de l'autogestion socialiste.

17. LA LIGNE DE DELIMITATION de ces changements et de cette édification, ainsi que des luttes idéologiques, a été et elle est toujours restée, la prise de parti: POUR ET CONTRE L'AUTOGESTION SOCIALISTE. La théorie et la pratique de la planification n'est qu'une partie et un exemple de cette prise de parti — de la rupture avec l'ancien état de choses qui est dépassé et de cette édification de ce nouvel ordre sur la base de la détermination du côté et en faveur du rôle dirigeant de la classe ouvrière dans la société. Le dépassement constant de tout ce qui existait auparavant et la création de nouvelles acquisitions dans le système de l'économique et de la société devaient assurer ce rôle. Dans ces changements la planification et les plans avaient une fonction essentielle.

18. La planification et la programmation ont contribué dans une large mesure que nous réalisons au cours d'une période relativement brève la *transformation fondamentale matérielle et sociale du pays* — et que d'un pays agricole avec moins de 200 dollars de revenu par tête d'habitant et avec 78% de la population rurale en 1940, on atteint le niveau des pays bien plus développés avec 1.000 dollars de revenu par tête d'habitant, approximativement, et avec une population rurale de 35% en 1975. Justement dans la période de l'édification de l'autogestion socialiste notre pays a changé sa structure. Sa prospérité est générale. Dans cette période la Yougoslavie se trouvait parmi plusieurs autres pays du monde au plus haut niveau du taux de croissance économique. Au cours de la même époque s'est formée et s'est développée une nombreuse classe ouvrière hautement instruite et consciente. Elle est aujourd'hui la couche sociale la plus nombreuse dans le pays — et la meilleure garantie du succès ultérieur et de la réalisation du Programme de la Ligue des communistes de Yougoslavie c'est-à-dire du programme de l'édification de la société universellement développée de l'autogestion socialiste.

J'ajouterai que c'est aussi le mérite de notre système de planification et des plans qui avaient toujours comme but stratégique constant l'instruction de la population et des travailleurs. Dans cette planification le développement des forces productives n'a pas été pris unilatéralement, mais dans l'ensemble et dans la fonction de l'édification du nouveau système des rapports d'autogestion socialiste en tant que phase plus élevée du socialisme sur la voie vers le communisme. Cette méthode de se consacrer constamment au facteur subjectif des forces productives (l'éducation, l'instruction, l'emploi, le standing de vie) était toujours mise en relief dans notre politique de développement et de planification.

### TROIS PHASES

19. Les TROIS PHASES dans le développement du système socio-économique et dans le système de planification sont les suivantes: (1) *la phase initiale* (1945—1950) avec la caractéristique accentuée centralisatrice et administrative, c'est-à-dire le rôle de



l'Etat — c'est la période des premiers temps du socialisme ou de l'étatisme révolutionnaire en tant que forme initiale de la dictature du prolétariat; (2) *la phase de l'introduction de l'autogestion et des réformes* (1950—1970) avec la caractéristique accentuée de la décentralisation et des réformes économiques, c'est-à-dire par le rôle des sujets de la reproduction sociale — c'est la période de la déestatization et de la lutte contre la bureaucratie et la technocratie, ou la période du développement de l'autogestion en tant que nouvelle forme de la dictature du prolétariat; et (3) *la phase actuelle* (1970 et les années suivantes) avec la caractéristique accentuée de l'édification de l'autogestion socialiste en tant que société universellement développée et complète, c'est-à-dire par le rôle du travail associé sur la base autogestionnaire — c'est la période de la victoire définitive et la prédominance de l'autogestion socialiste en tant que détermination théorique et idéologico-politique et de la pratique sociale (de l'organisation sociale) ou la période de l'institution du travail associé sur la base autogestionnaire en tant que système de la société et d'une forme encore plus développée de la dictature du prolétariat, et qui se transforme de plus en plus en dictature du travail sur toute sorte d'oisiveté.

20. Pour la première phase (1945—1950) sont caractéristiques *la centralisation d'Etat et la distribution de l'accumulation et la réglementation administrative de presque toute la reproduction élargie*, où le rôle du *plan central et du budget*, avec le système de l'accumulation et des fonds c'est-à-dire avec le système du profit d'Etat et des prix prescrits, est décisif en tant que méthode de gestion et de l'activité des affaires. Mais dès cette phase initiale se manifeste ostensiblement le rôle de l'attitude autonome des entreprises de cette époque (les entreprises d'Etat — fédérales, des républiques fédérées et locales). Dans cette période commence l'introduction de l'autogestion ouvrière par la formation des conseils ouvriers et la transmission des entreprises d'Etat à la gestion des ouvriers.

21. Pour la deuxième phase (1950—1970) sont caractéristiques *la décentralisation et l'action plus libre des lois économiques*, le rôle encore plus accentué des entreprises et des fonds d'investissement locaux, des banques, du commerce et des autres catégories et institutions de la production marchande socialiste autogestionnaire. C'est la phase des grands changements sur la ligne de renforcement du potentiel de l'autogestion socialiste. La deuxième moitié de cette phase (1960—1970) est caractérisée par les réformes économiques et sociales de 1961 et 1965. Au cours de cette période se sont manifestés aussi certains arrêts et l'aggravation des contradictions du développement en raison de l'absence des changements de plus d'importance (des réformes sociales en tant que renforcement plus décisif de l'autogestion socialiste), ce qui convenait à l'aggravation des problèmes sociaux et à certaines manifestations de nationalisme, de la technocratie, du libéralisme et des autres résistances et idéologies anti-autogestionnaires. Par l'action énergique de la Ligue des communistes et de la classe

ouvrière ces tendances ont été vite éliminées, et c'est ainsi qu'au Dixième congrès de la Ligue des communistes de Yougoslavie l'unité puissante sur la base de l'autogestion socialiste a pris toute sa portée. Dans cette période (1960—1970) certaines négligences ont été commises surtout en ce qui concerne la planification de macro-développement qui commençait à se réduire à l'orientation facultative et à des tendances analogues, tandis que les problèmes de la structure économique et des rapports de répartition ont resuscité. Dans la conscience sociale, dans la théorie et dans la pratique, a mûri la conception de l'urgence de l'édification décisive du système des rapports de l'autogestion socialiste, en tant que système social unique avec le rôle dominant de la classe ouvrière c'est-à-dire du travail associé sur la base autogestionnaire. De cette façon a été préparée la phase actuelle.

22. Pour la troisième phase (1970 et les années suivantes) est caractéristique *l'orientation décisive vers l'édification du système de l'autogestion socialiste en tant que système de la société*, ce qui s'est exprimé aussi fortement et nettement dans les décisions du Dixième congrès de la Ligue des communistes de Yougoslavie et dans la Constitution de la République Socialiste Fédérative de Yougoslavie de 1974. La mise en oeuvre de ces décisions et de la Constitution signifie l'établissement du système de travail associé sur la base autogestionnaire en tant que système entier de la reproduction sociale.

C'est la phase de l'association du travail et des moyens, où les ouvriers et tous les travailleurs deviennent les promoteurs principaux de toutes les décisions et des activités de la reproduction sociale, et où le rôle clef dans le système de la reproduction sociale autogestionnaire et dans le système de la planification sociale appartient au travail associé. L'intégration du surplus de travail et du travail nécessaire dans un système unique de revenu en tant que résultat du travail réalisé dans les conditions de l'action de la légalité de la production marchande socialiste autogestionnaire — est en voie d'être ici la réalité socio-économique, et de cette façon la réalisation de la devise de programme **LE SURPLUS DE TRAVAIL — AUX OUVRIERS** ou la libération sociale et économique de la classe ouvrière, pour la première fois dans l'histoire, son premier devoir d'action direct, car sa libération peut avoir lieu seulement en tant que c'est sa propre oeuvre, c'est-à-dire elle peut se réaliser seulement par son action révolutionnaire.

## ORIENTATION GENERALE

23. L'ORIENTATION GENERALE dans le développement du système yougoslave de la planification est identique, d'après la conscience sociale et les déterminations, d'après la théorie et la pratique, avec le développement de l'idée même et de la pratique de l'autogestion socialiste.

24. L'AUTOGESTION SOCIALISTE ET LA PLANIFICATION AUTOGESTIONNAIRE se trouvent dans les rapports d'identité. Ce sont des catégories du même système social, du même système de valeur. Dans ce sens, cette planification est aussi le synonyme du socialisme en tant que société de la conscience organisée relevée au niveau de la légalité, d'un phénomène général. Evidemment, cela est valable, d'une manière spéciale, aussi pour l'autogestion socialiste, pour le socialisme autogestionnaire.

25. La planification autogestionnaire est une synthèse d'un genre spécial: (1) de *l'orientation socialiste autogestionnaire* et (2) de *l'application des résultats les plus récents de la science*. Ce sont les composants clefs de notre système de la planification que nous édifions en continuité des efforts accomplis jusqu'à présent, de la pratique et de l'expérience acquise.

## FONDEMENTS

### *Fondements socio-économiques*

26. LES FONDEMENTS SOCIO-ECONOMIQUES du système yougoslave de la planification sont les mêmes que les fondements du système socio-économique, à savoir: (1) L'OUVRIER DANS LE TRAVAIL ASSOCIE AUTOGESTIONNAIRE, (2) LES MOYENS DE PRODUCTION DANS LA PROPRIETE SOCIALE SOCIALISTE AUTOGESTIONNAIRE et (3) LE REVENU EN TANT QUE RESULTAT DU TRAVAIL REALISE DANS LA PRODUCTION MARCHANDE SOCIALISTE AUTOGESTIONNAIRE. Les rapports de production sont caractérisés ici par: (1) les rapports de non-propriété et en général les rapports de non-monopole des hommes à l'égard des moyens de production et (2), la liberté, le caractère direct et l'égalité des droits dans les rapports entre les hommes. De cette quintessence socio-économique se déduisent et se forment ensuite tous les rapports vitaux de l'autogestion socialiste, ainsi que les droits inaliénables de l'ouvrier au travail, à la prise des décisions et au revenu. Sur la base de tels rapports se réalisent l'association du travail et des moyens et le droit de disposer des résultats du travail du revenu de son créateur — l'ouvrier. Le mode de production et le mode de répartition, d'appropriation ne colidirent pas ici, et la répartition selon le travail, c'est-à-dire la répartition des conditions du travail, du travail même et des résultats du travail, sont le principe clef et généralement valable de la reconnaissance et création de la valeur matérielle et sociale.

Les rapports marchandise — monnaie qui se développaient auparavant derrière le dos de l'ouvrier se réalisent maintenant part-devant lui. Le fétichisme des rapports des choses (dans lequel s'exprimaient les rapports de production des hommes) est maintenant mis à découvrir — et, pour la première fois dans l'histoire, il devient possible aux hommes (le producteur associé) d'organiser librement, à égalité des droits et directement leurs rapports conformément à leurs intérêts. Ici la planification acquiert son vé-



ritable sens — rôle social, en devenant par la forme des rapports et de la conscience, le comportement et les prestations — et, c'est pourquoi, une arme puissante, dans les mains du travail — de l'ouvrier associé sur la base autogestionnaire. De cette façon la possibilité est créée du développement uniformément agencé des forces productives et de la reproduction sociale dans l'ensemble, et c'est ainsi qu'il devient possible que l'homme soit le bâtisseur de son sort.

27. LES HYPOTHESES ESSENTIELLES du système autogestionnaire sont: L'ASSOCIATION, LA LIAISON ET L'ECHANGE LIBRE DU TRAVAIL. Le degré d'association et la condition du percement de la PLANIFICATION DE DEVELOPPEMENT, c'est-à-dire du dépassement de la planification dans les proportions plus restreintes et locales et de l'état chaotique sur un plan plus large (le marché). La planification de développement est aussi la condition requise pour arriver à réaliser les nouveautés de la technique, de la technologie et les organisations sociales nouvelles, isolées, collectives et générales ou les productivités sociales du travail.

28. Quoiqu'elle comprenne toutes les dimensions, les domaines et les phases de la reproduction des biens et des rapports, la totalité des bases et de la superstructure de la production, les forces de production et les rapports de production, l'ensemble des harmonies sociales, par branches et régionales, c'est-à-dire le développement spatial, technologique et matériel — la planification autogestionnaire est par excellence *économique ou la forme de la gestion économique*. D'où il résulte que le plan et la planification sont LA FORME ET LE MODE DE GESTION DES DECISIONS ou du COMPORTEMENT, des RAPPORTS et des LIENS. Et c'est pourquoi, ils sont la CONDITION et la NECESSITE DU SUCCES, DE L'EFFICACITE, DE L'AGENCEMENT UNIFIE, DE LA PROPORTIONNALITE, DE L'UNITE ET DE L'OPPORTUNITE DU DEVELOPPEMENT, — de la PROSPERITE ainsi que de l'accroissement des RESULTATS DE DEVELOPPEMENT ECONOMIQUES ET SOCIAUX DU PROGRES. Leur CARACTERE OBLIGATOIRE résulte de leur caractère social de sorte que la planification et le plan deviennent la *nécessité* la LOI, c'est-à dire la NORME et la FORME DES RAPPORTS ET DU COMPORTEMENT. C'est aussi la forme et le mode de la résolution de la contradiction de L'INTERET PLUS RESTREINT ET PLUS LARGE, le présent et l'avenir. C'est aussi l'expression de la *conformité et de la communauté, la diminution du volume de l'incertitude et l'élargissement de l'horizon de la certitude*. Mais, avant tout, la planification autogestionnaire (c'est-à-dire la planification dans les conditions de l'autogestion spécialisée de la part des promoteurs des rapports autogestionnaires) est le *mode de domination des régularités de la reproduction sociales dans l'étape historique donnée de l'édification de la société du socialisme autogestionnaire*.

## FONDEMENTS ECONOMICO-SYSTEMATIQUES

29. LES FONDEMENTS ECONOMICO-SYSTEMATIQUES du SYSTEME YOUGOSLAVE DE LA PLANIFICATION constituent: LES CATEGORIES, LES INSTITUTIONS ET LES INSTRUMENTS du système économique déterminés par la Constitution, les lois et les autres prescriptions. Leur nombre est assez élevé et il comprend l'ensemble du système de la reproduction sociale autogestionnaire — de la production, de la répartition, des échanges et de la consommation.

30. Dans ces fondements se trouvent les *catégories* telles que sont: l'ouvrier, le travail et le développement du travail, la propriété sociale (la non-propriété), le revenu (le produit brut et sa structure), le prix, l'argent, le crédit, le revenu collectif, le régime et les règlements de devise et de commerce extérieur, le trafic des marchandises et de l'argent, le régime des impôts, des contributions et des auto-impositions locales, des obligations contractuelles et légales et tout jusqu'aux revenus personnels et de consommation collective et des formes respectives de solidarité et d'assistance, par exemple, aux fins d'accélérer le développement des régions insuffisamment développées du pays, dans le cas des intempéries etc.

31. Parmi les *institutions* du notre système de planification se trouvent, avant tout, les PROMOTEURS DE LA PLANIFICATION, à savoir: l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé dans laquelle commence et se termine le processus de la planification et dont les plans constituent la base de tous les autres plans et programmes collectifs et sociaux de travail et de développement; ensuite, l'organisation de travail et l'organisation complexe de travail associé, ainsi que leurs communautés, associations et les autres associations. Ensuite, ce sont: la communauté locale, la commune, la province autonome, la république fédérée et la fédération en tant que communautés qui adoptent les plans sociaux. Les promoteurs de la planification sont également les communautés d'intérêts autogestionnaires des divers domaines de l'activité sociale et des activités de la production matérielle (l'instruction, la science, la culture, la santé, la culture physique, l'habitation, les télécommunications, l'informatique, les transports publics etc.). Les organisations de travail associé et leurs communautés adoptent les plans autogestionnaires qui servent de base aux plans sociaux. Tous les plans sont adoptés en vertu et par la voie des conventions autogestionnaires et des accords sociaux respectifs. En dehors de ces conventions et accords, qui ont la force de contrat, de la Loi, par aucun autre plan on ne peut imposer des obligations matérielles ou autres obligations aux sujets de la reproduction — de la planification, mais pour les obligations assumées et non exécutées on peut initier la procédure pour leur exécution obligatoire par la voie du tribunal régulier. (Tout le domaine de la planification est réglementé par la Loi fédérale relative aux fondements du système de la planification sociales et par la loi correspondante de la république fédérée, ainsi que par les lois et les prescriptions economico-systé-

matiques par lesquelles est réglementé le système de l'autogestion et de l'accord, le système et la méthodologie de l'analyse et la planification, le système des informations réciproques et l'observation de l'exécution des plans etc.).

32. D'après la Constitution tous les promoteurs de la planification ont le droit et le devoir: (1) *d'établir et d'adopter leurs plans et programmes de travail et de développement*, (2) *de coordonner entre eux ces plans et programmes* et (3) *de participer à l'élaboration des plans et des programmes collectifs et sociaux de travail et de développement directement et par l'intermédiaire de leurs délégations dans les assemblées des communautés socio-politiques et dans les communautés d'intérêts autogestionnaires, ainsi que dans les réunions des assemblées locales.*

33. Les plans sociaux et autogestionnaires sont adoptés pour la même période de temps et en même temps, sur la base d'un minimum de méthodologies, d'indices et de procédure communs et sur bien autre chose ce que cette procédure réglemente.

34. Ces plans sont: (1) *à court terme*, (2) *à moyen terme* et (3) *à long terme*. La forme élémentaire du plan est le plan à MOYEN TERME (son horizon est de cinq ans, tandis que les plans à court terme — annuels, ne sont qu'un mode de réalisation des plans à moyen terme; quant aux plans à long terme — plusieurs années, de dix ans et plus, ils ont le caractère de la détermination de la politique de développement qui devient la base obligatoire des plans à moyen terme.

35. Pour tous ces plans est valable le principe de la *planification permanente*, c'est-à-dire la permanence dans le sens de l'action et de la continuité des plans. La planification réitérée et les changements des plans sont effectués d'après la procédure prescrite pour leur adoption et dans les cas spécialement prévus à cet effet.

#### FONDEMENTS THEORIQUES — DE PRINCIPE — METHODOLOGIQUES

36. LES FONDEMENTS THEORIQUES — DE PRINCIPE — METHODOLOGIQUES DU SYSTEME YOUGOSLAVE DE PLANIFICATION découle de la *théorie marxiste du développement social, de la science en général, et en particulier, de ces disciplines contemporaines* — de la systémologie (théorie générale des systèmes), de la cybernétique, de l'informatique, des théories mathématiques de programmation, de l'économie, de la sociologie, de l'organisation, de la technologie et de la systérotechnique, de la dynamique industrielle et spatiale (urbaine), de la théorie des liaisons et des communications, du développement etc. (Remarque: certains de ces fondements, principes, sont indiqués dans les paragraphes suivants de cette section).

37. La planification autogestionnaire et les plans en tant que système ont: (1) leur *but* (motif) en tant qu'élément activant du système, (2) leur *matière* (objet) en tant que partie transformatrice du système et (3) leur *méthode* (mode) en tant que mode d'action du système aux fins de sa transformation efficace, ainsi que leurs



dispositions (1) *qualitatives*, (2) *quantitatives*, (3) les dispositions relatives au temps et (4) à *l'espace* exprimées par les secteurs correspondants (les indices naturels et de valeur, les mesures et les critères).

38. Dans l'horizon donné du plan en tant qu'accroissement du temps (DT) l'accroissement de la trajectoire du système (DS) est rendu égal avec l'accroissement de la trajectoire du but planifié (DP), ou:

$$\frac{ds}{dt} \div \frac{dp}{dt} = 0$$

Au point de vue de la théorie générale la plus récente de la planification, justement cete mobilité de l'intersection de la trajectoire du but (du plan) et de la trajectoire du système (de l'objet) est l'essence même de cette théorie qui, ultérieurement se transforme en théorie de l'autogestion. Cela résulte de la gnoseologie dialectique, de la théorie marxiste et léniniste de la répercussion et de la connaissance selon lesquelles la voie inductive — déductive de la connaissance se dirige de la réalité concrète vers la réflexion abstraite et de la réflexion abstraite vers la réalité concrète en tant qu'un critère de la vérité — et, d'après lesquelles, la pensée doit s'orienter vers la réalité mais aussi la réalité à la pensée. Justement ce lien réitératif est une fonction planifiée grâce à laquelle le système planifié se transforme en son nouvel état, l'état futur.

Cette dynamique de l'intersection des trajectoires mentionées découle de l'indétermination du but et de la conjecture de pouvoir l'atteindre. D'où il résulte que la constance de la planification et l'action planifiée de la réalisation du plan deviennent nécessaires et les attributs nécessaires de la planification socialiste autogestionnaire, c'est-à-dire de la gestion scientifique qui trouve sa plus large application dans le socialisme scientifique qui par rapport au socialisme autogestionnaire porte le signe d'égalité.

39. Les horizons relatifs au temps de l'analyse et de la planification doivent se fonder sur la loi générale du développement d'après laquelle l'accroissement des connaissances — des informations (DJ) précède d'environ cinq ans l'accroissement de l'énergie — la technologie (DT) et celui-ci précède d'environ cinq ans l'accroissement des biens — de la production (DP), ou:  $dJ > dT > dF$ .

Il en résulte que l'horizon relatif au temps de la planification des connaissances est de 15 ans, tandis que cet horizon pour la planification technologique est de 10 ans et pour la planification économique de 5 ans. Pour la planification espacement cet horizon s'étend jusqu'à 100 ans, tandis que pour le conducteur d'automobile il n'est que de trois secondes.

40. La planification autogestionnaire est LA PLANIFICATION OPTIMALE. Son principe clef, outre le principe de SOCIALISATION, est le principe de l'OPTIMUM en tant que choix de la meilleure solution — décision dans les conditions données. Conformément à la théorie d'association est de l'optimum, toute déri-

vée de la trajectoire optimale est optimum (l'inverse n'est pas valable). Par ce moyen est formulée la disposition méthodologique clef de la planification autogestionnaire, qui, en conséquence, suit la procédure *inductive — déductive*: du particulier au collectif et général et du général et collectif au particulier. D'où s'ensuivent *les niveaux fondamentaux de la planification autogestionnaire*: (1) le plan de l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé (le plan particulier), (2) le plan de l'ensemble de reproduction (le plan collectif) et (3) le plan de la communauté socio-politique (le plan général). C'est aussi la base méthodologique de la résolution des rapports (les contradictions de la PARTIE ET DE L'ENSEMBLE, qui sont — comme l'a dit déjà Hegel — deux côtés de l'identité par lesquels l'ensemble existe par les parties et les parties s'objectivent dans le cadre de l'ensemble.

41. Sur cette base de socialisation et de l'optimum se réalise la LOI DE L'INTEGRATION, EN TANT QUE FORCE PRODUCTIVE SOCIALE ADDITIONNELLE, EFFET ADDITIONNEL. Cet résultat est plus grand que la simple somme mécanique des effets (associaux, associés) des membres intégrés dans le cas de non-intégration

$$\left( \sum_{i=1}^n E_i e_n \right) \quad \text{ou:}$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^n E_i e_n = \sum_{i=1}^n E_i e_n + De$$

dont:  $i = 1 \dots i$  — les membres tous ensemble, les ensembles de reproduction etc.

$e_i$  = effet dans le cas de l'intégration,  
 $e_n$  = effet dans le cas de non-intégration,

$\sum_{i=1}^n E_i$  = signe de l'addition, et

$De$  = effet additionnel.

42. De cette manière est assuré le MOTIF FONDAMENTAL de la reproduction sociale socialiste autogestionnaire: LA SATISFACTION MAXIMALE DES BESOINS (particuliers, collectif et généraux), ou LE MAXIMUM DU REVENU ( $R_{max}$ ), qui résulte de L'OPTIMUM DE LA PRODUCTION ( $P_{opt}$ ) et du MINIMUM DES DEPENSES ( $I_{min}$ ); c'est-à-dire:

$$R_{max} = P_{opt} - I_{min}.$$

Evidemment, le commencement et la fin de la reproduction se trouvent dans l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé. C'est de là que part notre théorie du revenu et tout le système du revenu en tant qu'ensemble des catégories opérationnelles par lesquelles se forment les rapports économiques du sujet — du travail associé sur la base autogestionnaire.

43. Le système des DECISIONS AUTOGESTIONNAIRES, DES CONVENTIONS AUTOGESTIONNAIRES, DES ACCORDS SOCIAUX et des DECISIONS PRISES PAR L'ETAT (dans les cas où c'est encore nécessaire) est ici non seulement le système et la méthode de gestion, mais aussi *le système et la méthode de planification* dans le sens social. Ce système assure à l'ouvrier de réaliser dans le travail associé autogestionnaire son droit inaliénable et l'obligation à la planification. Pas un seul plan ne peut exister sans un tel fondement de gestion directe. Il en est ainsi parce que tout le processus de la reproduction sociale commence et se termine dans l'organisation élémentaire de travail associé. Cette importance fondamentale de l'organisation élémentaire découle de la position que l'ouvrier occupe dans le système des rapports de la reproduction sociale socialiste, c'est-à-dire du précepte de programme permanent selon lequel *l'homme qui travaille et crée les valeurs matérielles et les autres valeurs sociales est la base la plus importante et le but le plus élevé de l'édification de la société du socialisme autogestionnaire.*

44. Justement les bases et les principes précédents rendent possible que dans le SYSTEME DE LA PLANIFICATION AUTOGESTIONNAIRE c'est-à-dire dans le PROCESSUS DE L'ETABLISSEMENT ET DE LA REALISATION DES PLANS, se réalise *l'initiative de plus en plus large et efficace de l'ouvrier et de tous les travailleurs, en tout lieu, c'est-à-dire sans égard à la sorte, à la forme et au domaine de l'application sociale et à leur travail.* Cette *libération de l'énergie sociale* (cette base socyonique) est en réalité la condition générale de tout progrès et bien-être, de la prospérité générale de l'homme au nom de l'homme et par le procédé de l'homme — ou du socialisme véritable sur la voie vers le communisme.

45. Evidemment, les proportions de la DIVISION DE LA COMBINAISON DU TRAVAIL (de la différenciation et de l'intégration) à l'occasion desquelles se réalise la libération de l'énergie sociale (socyonique) ne sont pas données d'avance (comme c'est le cas, par exemple des masses critiques dans l'énergie nucléaire), mais elles doivent être découvertes dans la pratique du travail social et de son organisation. Pour le travail associé autogestionnaire, et d'après la théorie d'organisation cybernétique sont valables les régularités de: l'AUTODEVELOPPEMENT, l'AUTOORGANISATION et de l'AUTODEPASSEMENT, c'est-à-dire de l'AUTOGESTION. Or, ce sont des processus HOMORYTHMIQUES et ISOTROPES, STOCHASTIQUES et NON-AUTOMATIQUES. Pour eux ne sont pas valables les modèles mécaniques et les modèles analogues (les algorithmes et les mezoritmes). Ils sont toujours NOUVEAUX, RÉVELATEURS, EFFICACES, CREATEURS... dirigés vers l'AUTOFORMATION DE L'HOMME de plus en plus complète.

46. Dans ces rapports des REGULARITES AUTOGESTIONNAIRES dans le développement des forces productives contemporaines tout système autogestionnaire (SA) ou système avec la gestion — système cybernétique symbole (SC) indique le point de



gestion, sematence, avec HOMEOSTASIQUE (II) s'équilibre avec le milieu, c'est-à-dire grâce à l'optimum (OP) s'adapte au milieu et le milieu d'après soi-même conformément à son programme d'après la matrice héréditaire (MH) ce qui permet de constater quant à la relation que le rapport réversible et réflexible des deux fonctionnelles et de leurs sous-systèmes (ce rapport a la qualité de l'équilibre dynamique) ou:  $F_1(x_1 \dots x_n, i_1)$  en tant que milieu du matière (système autogestionnaire de planification, et  $F_2(y_1, \dots y_n, i_2)$  en tant que milieu environant (espace opérationnel les signes  $i_1$  et  $i_2$  représentent les points d'intégration, le tissu de liaison. Ainsi, nous avons:

$$SA \ SC/F_1(x_1 \dots x_n, i_1) = (y_1 \dots y_n, i_2) \ F_2/MH.$$

47. L'effet du système de planification autogestionnaire pendant

un certain temps  $\left(\frac{Es}{t}\right)$  résulte (1) de l'intégrale isolé pour l'espace

donne du système (SAps) par lequel est englobé le travail même ou l'action du système (R) la transformation matérielle — énergétique (M E) et l'informatique de la réalisation (J) et (2) les probabilités différentielles du système donné (dVs). Le tableau général de ces catégories et de leurs rapports est formulé de la manière suivante:

$$\frac{Es}{t} = SA \ R \left( \frac{M-R}{R} \right) J \cdot dV(s).$$

Les dispositions (1) et (2) expriment LA LIAISON PRIMAIRE ET RETROACTIVE de groupement du système autogestionnaire. Parmi les autres régularités essentielles indiquées par la définition généralisée précédente de l'effet du système autogestionnaire (de planification) on peut apercevoir que la catégorie de l'information réalisée ou le caractère a priori de l'information, agit de manière neg-entropique, c'est-à-dire comme négation, l'entropie du système, et c'est pourquoi elle a le caractère d'exposant dans la définition — formule précédente.

48. Les dimensions et les facteurs de l'effet peuvent s'exprimer aussi comme *l'accroissement des résultats de développement, économiques et sociaux*, et qui constituent la mesure, le taux du progrès. Evidemment ces facteurs peuvent être hétérogènes d'après la méthodologie qui a été déjà établie de la planification — de l'analyse et des prévisions (la prévision, la prédiction, la projection etc.).

49. LES METHODES, LES PROCEDURES ET LES TECHNIQUES DE LA PLANIFICATION, ou LES ANALYSES ET LES PREVISIONS, qui sont déjà généralisés et presque standardisés

et entrés en usage dans l'application plus large, peuvent être groupés de la manière suivante: le groupe (1) ANALYTIQUE, (2), DE BILAN, (3) CORRELATIF, (4) D'EXTRAPOLATION, (5) ANALOGIQUE, (6) DE MODELE, (7) DE PROGRAMMATION, (8) DE RECHERCHE, (9) DE PREDICTION et (10) DE CREATION. Dans la plupart des cas ce sont des processus (1) descriptifs (de 1 à 5) et (2) inscriptifs (de 6 à 10 qui s'appuient sur la *prospection*, les *connaissances* et *l'intuition*. Naturellement, l'asymétrie au profit de l'avenir par rapport à l'état actuel et au passé est la condition du *mouvement en avant* (par suite de cette polarité entre hier plus aujourd'hui et demain). Dans son programme, le système autogestionnaire en tant que système de l'avenir, contient une réserve de l'avenir, c'est-à-dire la capacité de se transformer en un nouvel état d'une forme plus élevée en ce qui concerne l'organisation, le développement, le mouvement et l'état.

50. A la fin de ce texte sur les fondements du système yougoslave de la planification, nous pouvons constater qu'il a les CARACTERISTIQUES GENERALES suivantes, à savoir:

(1) L'UNITE — L'OPPORTUNITE étant donné qu'il est basé sur l'unité des intérêts directs et durables (historiques) de la classe ouvrière et l'unité des sujets de la planification, le travail associé autogestionnaire, en tant qu'auto-organisation de la classe ouvrière — classe du travail.

(2) LE CARACTERE DEMOCRATIQUE ET DE MASSE, par suite de la participation de tous les travailleurs et la généralité de l'application de la planification et des plans.

(3) L'UNIVERSALITE ET L'INTEGRALITE en tant qu'expression de la planification de la totalité de la reproduction sociale des biens et des rapports, de toutes ses phases et domaines — la production, la répartition, l'échangé et la consommation.

(4) L'OBJECTIVITE — LE CARACTERE SCIENTIFIQUE en tant qu'expression du caractère réaliste et de la consistance de la planification et du plan institués généralement au point de vue matériel et social.

(5) LE CARACTERE EVOLUTIF — PROGRESSIF en tant qu'expression du progrès dans le sens de la formation du développement et des changements de l'état au point de vue qualitatif et quantitatif.

(6) LE DYNAMISME — LE CARACTERE D'INNOVATION en tant qu'expression du mouvement et des changements par l'innovation des états ou des actions données, — du travail et des interventions.

(7) LA PROPORTIONNALITE — LA COORDINATION en tant qu'expression de la domination de la totalité des harmonies de la reproduction élargie, en particulier entre la production des moyens de production (branche A) et la production des moyens de consommation (branche B), ainsi que de la corrélation sociale, des branches et régionale et de la coordination de la production et de la consommation.

(8) LA DURABILITE — LA STABILITE en tant qu'expression de la permanence dans la planification et les plans, et en tant qu'expression de la diminution et de l'accroissement de la certitude et de l'incertitude, des dispositions uniformément planifiées et de confiance.

(9) L'EFFICACITE — LA PRODUCTIVITE en tant que but général et conséquence de la planification en tant que méthode de développement et d'accroissement de la force de production du travail. Comme l'a constaté Karl Marx la force de production du travail est déterminée par plusieurs circonstances, parmi lesquelles «le degré moyen de l'habileté de l'ouvrier, le degré de développement de la science et de son applicabilité technologique, la combinaison sociale du processus de la production, le volume et l'efficacité des moyens de production et les conditions naturelles». (Le Capital, livre premier, p. 47—48, K. Marx — F. Engels, Oeuvres, Edition Prosveta, Beograd, 1970).

(10) LE CARACTERE D'INFORMATION ET LE CARACTERE POPULAIRE en tant qu'expression de l'adoption du plan en temps utile, la certitude et la précision des plans en tant que paquets d'information et de planification et en tant qu'estimation et utilisation des informations. Pour les plans en tant qu'informations dirigeantes, et en particulier pour les processus autogestionnaires qui suivent l'adoption et l'exécution des plans la maxime est valable: la vraie information au moment opportun et à la vraie place! Sans information il n'y a pas de décision, pas d'action.

(11) L'ETENDUE DANS LE TEMPS ET DANS L'ESPACE en tant qu'expression de la discrétion (l'interruption) du temps et de l'espace dans lesquels sont adoptés et réalisés les plans. A un moment donné et sur un point de l'espace, et pour un sujet de planification, il y a toujours seulement un plan fondamental, un plan clef, qui est valable. Toutes les catégories et toutes les formes de plans s'adaptent à un tel état de choses. Et c'est pourquoi, pour le système de planification donné est valable le temps déterminé par les plans et la planification concernant: (1) la préparation, (2) la coordination, (3) l'adoption, (4) l'exécution et (5) l'observation suivie des plans en tant que phases clefs des cycles de planification et de l'exécution des plans. Par cette voie s'exprime aussi la qualité de stabilité de la planification (le principe de la planification permanente). Bien entendu, ce cycle devient plus ou moins développé en fonction de la catégorie du plan et du niveau de planification.

(12) CARACTERE IDEOLOGIQUE — CARACTERE EDUCATIF en tant qu'expression de l'orientation de travail et de la force créatrice du travail sur lesquels se basent et se développent ultérieurement le plan et la planification. L'activité et le principe de travail ou le principe du travail en général sont la base du bien-être socialiste, de la moralité, de l'éthique et de l'éducation, de la motivation de travail respective. Par notre Constitution il est spécifié que seulement le travail et les résultats du travail sont les bases de l'existence et du développement de l'homme et de sa person-



nalité et que personne d'autre ne peut s'approprier les résultats du travail d'autrui. (Principe de l'affirmation de travail et de la non-exploitation).

## PRATIQUE

### *Etat et résultats*

(51) L'ETAT ET LES RESULTATS du système yougoslave de la planification yougoslave caractérisent: (1) le degré relativement élevé des résultats du développement matériel et social, (2) l'accroissement général de la conscience de plan par suite de l'orientation autogestionnaire générale (l'esprit autogestionnaire), (3) la formation accélérée des hypothèses relatives au plan et au programme pour les nouveaux plans de développement et le nouveau système de planification (déterminé par la Constitution), (4) l'édification des fondements économique-systématiques de la planification en tant que système et fonction essentielle de l'économie et de la société autogestionnaires et (5) orientation décisive de continuer par la politique de développement, c'est-à-dire par la planification de développement rapide, coordonnée et stable.

52. La planification autogestionnaire devient le procédé essentiel de la réalisation de la pénétration dans l'édification ultérieure du système des rapports de l'autogestion socialiste et dans le développement des nouvelles forces productives, en premier lieu par la voie de l'industrialisation et de l'urbanisation de plus en plus complexe en tant qu'organisation de l'espace (les organisations de l'espace et l'amélioration de la qualité de vie).

53. Le système de la planification et des plans qui sont en vigueur et que nous adoptons pour une période à court terme, à moyen terme et à long terme deviennent aussi les formes de la conduite de la politique économique courante de stabilisation et de la politique du développement. Dans les conditions de l'instabilité économique (inflation etc.) et des problèmes structureux de l'économie — cela devient le rôle de la plus haute importance du plan et de la planification.

### *Plans courants du développement*

54. LES PLANS COURANTS DU DEVELOPPEMENT que nous établissons justement en ce moment comprennent: (1) les plans à moyen terme pour la période de 1971—1975 (qui touche à sa fin et qui sera généralement réalisé) et pour la période de 1976—1980 (dont l'adoption est en cours et qui sera adopté jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1975), (2) le plan à long terme — la base de la politique du développement à long terme (dont l'adoption est en cours et qui sera la base des plans à moyen terme), (3) les plans à court terme — annuels (dont l'adoption pour l'année 1976 est en cours); jusqu'à présent, c'était des résolutions relatives à la politique du développement socio-économique au lieu des plans annuels.

55. Tous ces plans ont pris naissance par la voie des conventions autogestionnaires et des accords sociaux. Dans ce sens, par exemple, au niveau de la Fédération (du Plan social de la RSF de Yougoslavie pour la période de 1976 à 1980) est en cours la préparation des conventions, des accords et des plans pour les ensembles de reproduction suivants (les complexes qui comprennent la production, le commerce, la science, les finances et les autres organisations), à savoir: (1) l'énergétique, (2) la sidérurgie, (3) la métallurgie non ferreuse, (4) l'industrie chimique, (5) l'industrie de ciment, (6) la sylviculture et la fabrication des objets en bois, (7) les transports, (8) le complexe agro-industriel, (9) le tourisme, (10) la construction des machines et (11) l'industrie et les mines de non-métaux (le verre, la céramique, les matériaux incombustibles, les meules, l'asbeste, la porcelaine, les sels etc.). La situation est analogue aux niveaux des républiques fédérées et des autres communautés socio-politiques.

56. La détermination est en course de l'Accord social sur la politique commune du développement accéléré des républiques fédérées économiquement insuffisamment développées et de la province autonome de Kossovo pour la période de 1976 à 1980 car c'est aussi la base du plan social de la Yougoslavie pour la période de 1976 à 1980.

57. Les buts essentiels de l'Esquisse (Fondements) du plan social de la RSF de Yougoslavie pour la période de 1976 à 1980 sont les suivants: (1) le développement des rapports socio-économiques autogestionnaires socialistes, (2) le développement social mieux coordonné et plus stable, (3) le développement économique rapide, mieux coordonné et plus stable et le renforcement des changements qualitatifs, (4) l'accroissement plus rapide de l'emploi, de la productivité et du standard, (5) le développement régional plus uniforme et le développement accéléré des républiques fédérées économiquement insuffisamment développées et de la province autonome de Kossovo, l'intensification du développement et des transformations autogestionnaires des rapports économiques avec l'étranger et (8) le renforcement des capacités de défense, de la sécurité sociale et de l'autoprotection.

58. Les principaux agrégats socio-économiques des projets actuels pour le prochain développement à moyen terme (1976—1980) et le développement à long terme (1976—1985) c'est-à-dire pour les prochaines cinq et dix années de développement de la RSF de Yougoslavie sont les suivants (Page 153):

59. Sur la base d'une telle politique de développement-planification, dans la prochaine décennie c'est-à-dire jusqu'en 1985 la Yougoslavie doublerait sa force économique et atteindrait, selon les critères d'aujourd'hui, environ 2.000 dollars de revenu national par tête d'habitant (par rapport à 1.000 dollars en 1975). De cette façon nous pourrions nous classer parmi les pays industriellement moyennement développés. En même temps, dans cette période de l'autogestion socialiste tout le système social dans son ensemble et en général obtiendrait des formes et des positions plus définiti-

ves dans son développement. C'est justement grâce à ce fait social, c'est-à-dire à l'autogestion et à la nouvelle orientation qualitative du développement et de la mise en valeur des ressources et des potentiels disponibles — nous prévoyons que dans le période de 1981—1985 nous pourrons avoir la phase de la prospérité économique à un niveau et l'intensité du développement quelque peu plus élevé que dans le temps présent et la croissance que nous avons prévue pour les cinq années suivantes (1976—1980).

	Taux de croissance	
	1976—1980	1976—1985
1. Produit social	7,0	8,0
2. Production industrielle	8,5	9,0
3. Production agricole	4,0	4,0
4. Emploi	3,5	5,0
5. Productivité	4,5	5,0
6. Exportation	9,5	10,0
7. Importation	7,0	7,0
8. Consommation (standard)	6,5	7,0
9. Nouvelles habitations (en milliers)	820,0	2.000,0 environ
10. Nouveaux postes de travail (en milliers)	960,0	2.200,0 environ

60. La caractéristique principale des plans que nous adoptons sur la base de nouvelles méthodes prévues par la Constitution est aussi qu'ils contiennent les sections générales suivantes: (1) le degré de développement socio-économique, en tant qu'estimation des fondements et des possibilités du développement, (2) les buts et les devoirs du développement, en tant que politique de développement pour la période suivante et (3) les mesures et les modalités de la réalisation du plan, c'est-à-dire les fondements économique-systématiques, les orientations et les plans pour l'adoption des mesures de politique économique. A l'égard de la planification et des plans appliqués jusqu'à présent, cette troisième section (3) est nouvelle. Incontestablement, la sûreté de la planification et des plans c'est-à-dire leur réalisation est augmentée de ce fait, l'uniformité planifiée du mouvement général est accrue de même, ce qui est pour la position de l'ouvrier d'une importance (intérêt) vitale.

### *Le nouveau système de planification sociale*

61. D'après la profondeur des changements qui avaient eu lieu dans le système existant de la planification, d'après les réalisations théoriques et pratiques dans le domaine de la planification auto-gestionnaire et d'après ce qui a été déjà établi par la nouvelle Constitution de 1974 et les projets de lois sur la planification, la



propriété sociale, le travail associé et les autres questions — il est évident que nous nous trouvons dans la phase de l'édification de la planification autogestionnaire en tant que NOUVEAU SYSTEME DE PLANIFICATION EN YUGOSLAVIE. Quoique c'est la continuation du système de planification qui existait jusqu'à présent néanmoins en prenant en considération le grand nombre et les qualités de ces changements et nouveautés c'est un NOUVEAU SYSTEME DE PLANIFICATION SOCIALE.

62. La principale nouveauté dans ce système de la planification est l'introduction de l'organisation autogestionnaire de travail associé — de l'organisation élémentaire et des autres organisations — en tant que NOUVEAU SUJET DE PLANIFICATION. D'où l'on peut constater qu'entre L'ASSOCIATION et LA PLANIFICATION s'établit une entière dépendance, corrélation. Justement ce facteur d'organisation, facteur social de l'autogestion, donne un nouveau sens, de nouveaux niveaux et références à la planification.

63. Ce système sera nouveau aussi par d'autres qualités — d'après la méthodologie, d'après l'organisation, d'après l'application des méthodes contemporaines, la technique et la technologie de l'analyse et de la planification, c'est-à-dire d'après le mode de l'élaboration et de la circulation de l'information planifiée, d'après les instruments et les procédures, d'après le précepte tout entier du système planifié. Par ailleurs, on sait que l'organisation élémentaire et les autres organisations de travail associé, en tant que sujets, de la reproduction sociale autogestionnaire et promoteurs de la planification, sont basées sur les cinq préceptes suivants: (1) de programme et de développement, (2) technico-technologique, (3) d'organisation et de gestion, (4) métrico-régulateur et (5) le précepte relatif au plan et au règlement des comptes (effectif).

#### PERSPECTIVE

64. LES TENDANCES PRINCIPALES dans l'édification future du nouveau système de la planification sociale chez nous seront, certainement, concentrées sur la formation (1) *théorique*, (2) *méthodologique* et (3) *de l'organisation* de ce nouveau système.

65. Le socialisme est la chose des millions de masses populaires et la question de l'affirmation la plus universelle du travail et de la force créatrice des hommes qui travaillent et créent les valeurs matérielles et les autres valeurs sociales — et la planification en tant qu'émancipation du socialisme et la chose de l'application en masse, la question idéologique qui devient la conscience dominante et la force matérielle du mouvement progressif dans l'histoire de l'humanité.

66. La planification est l'acte social d'un ensemble d'opérations de la cognition et de l'acquisition des connaissances, de faire disparaître les incertitudes, de pousser plus en avant les limites, un procédé de la libération de l'homme, une forme de

connaître la nécessité, un aspect de ce qui est porté à un niveau plus élevé d'efficacité, d'entendement, de la culture des rapports et de la conscience.

67. La planification est comme la conscience critique de la société sur soi. Cela est valable pour chaque plan et programme de travail et de développement, pour chaque action de guider l'avenir qui prétend de reposer sur des fondements sociaux et scientifiques. Et c'est pourquoi la planification ouvre de nouveaux horizons de l'édification du socialisme sur la voie vers le communisme. Elle élargit les espaces de l'oeuvre de l'homme pour le bien-être de l'homme.

68. La planification est la fonction du travail associé autogestionnaire en tant que promoteur principal de tout le processus de la reproduction sociale. En conséquence la planification doit se développer comme conscience, rapport et fonction du travail associé. Autant que se développe le système de l'autogestion du travail associé sera développée la planification autogestionnaire. La planification est par excellence la fonction du travail — de l'ouvrier et l'hypothèse de l'efficacité du travail. Et c'est pourquoi elle est la fonction dans laquelle se résument dialectiquement toutes les autres formes du travail — de l'ouvrier. Pour cette raison, il n'y a pas d'autogestion socialiste sans planification autogestionnaire et il ne peut y avoir de système développé de travail associé autogestionnaire sans, de même, un système développé de planification autogestionnaire.

69. La planification est un mode de gestion et dans le fond du processus gestionnaire se trouve le processus informatif, et puis l'information est le substrat de la planification. Pour l'homme qui travaille, c'est-à-dire qui agit efficacement, il est très important de disposer de la vraie information en temps utile, c'est-à-dire de se mouvoir dans le champ des informations ce qui lui permettra d'effectuer par son travail en tant qu'activité efficace la transformation matérielle-énergétique aussi vaste que possible et de maîtriser dans son champ d'action dans la plus large mesure les complications et de réaliser de cette manière l'effet, le résultat le plus avantageux.

70. Si le système du travail associé autogestionnaire est pris par analogie, un système complexe — et il l'est, alors dans la perspective de l'édification du système socialiste autogestionnaire yougoslave on peut constater trois clefs de voûte (points centraux) des niveaux pour lesquels on suppose qu'ils domineront, à savoir: (1) la planification au niveau du POSTE DE TRAVAIL, (2) la planification au niveau de L'ORGANISATION ELEMENTAIRE DE TRAVAIL ASSOCIE et (3) la planification au niveau de L'ENSEMBLE DE REPRODUCTION. De cette manière, dans le fond est englobée la problématique de la FORCE DE TRAVAIL DE PRODUCTION (de productivité) INDIVIDUELLE, COLLECTIVE ET GENERALE ou SOCIALE.

## MILOŠ SINĐIĆ

Né en 1928; obtint sa licence à la Faculté d'économie en 1952; maître de recherches en 1963.

Actif dans les domaines de recherches et de développement industriels; ancien directeur de l'Institut de l'organisation du travail et d'automatisation et de l'Institut de systèmes de planification et d'administration à Belgrade.

Depuis 1962 collaborateur et professeur adjoint aux facultés, y inclus au niveau post-gradué — dans les domaines de l'organisation du travail, de l'économie et de planification, d'informatique et cybernétique.

Il a publié plus de 120 travaux: articles, études et livres du domaines mentionnées.

A présent directeur de l'Institut de planification sociale et économique de la République Socialiste de Serbie et président du Conseil republicain de développement et politique économiques de la R.S. de Serbie.



RAPPORTS INTRODUCTIFS  
AUX PANEL DISCUSSIONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
LIBRARY

*Dr. Radoslav RATKOVIC*

*Professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the  
University of Beograd*

## POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING IN THE SYSTEM OF SELF-MANAGEMENT

(Theses)

1. The change in the character of decision-making is an essential component of development of socio-political system which is based upon socialist self-managing relations.

The strategic goals of development of socialist self-managing socio-political system are:

— the overcoming of alienation in the political sphere, the overcoming of division and dualism between the state and the society, withering away of the state as an autonomous institution;

— the socialisation of politics, the establishment of direct relations and influences of people upon the process of decision-making in social affairs.

For the achievement of these goals it is necessary to have adequate institutional changes and political actions, but their internal essence is in the process of decision-making. If the decision-making remains apart from the wide strata of the working people, if it is monopolised by the narrow groups, and if there are more intermediaries in the process of decision-making, then the result is conservation of old relations within the socio-political system, while the self-managing relations remain less developed. And in reverse, if the decision-making concerning pertinent social questions is effected by a wide circle of working people and citizens, then this becomes an indicator of progress of the self-managing system.

Thus the situation in the field of political decision-making is of an exceptional importance for the grading of the level of development of self-management, as well as for the strategy of its further growth.

We shall discuss here briefly the general characteristics of political decision-making within the present situation of self-managing development in Yugoslavia, using this as a basis for



the discussion relating to political decision-making in the system of self-management. Limiting ourselves to general observations we will not deal with concrete spheres and forms of decision-making (i.e. decision-making in associated labour, or decision-making in the Federation, etc.). In presenting the concept and principles of political decision-making, we are referring to the constitutional guidelines. Finally, we are going to point out the conditions and problems encountered in the realisation of the concept of political decision-making.

2. The evolution in the area of political decision-making in the Yugoslav socialist self-managing system in the last two and a half decades of its existence shows — notwithstanding the periods of uncertainty and delay — a consistent tendency of the increase of the direct role of broader circles of working people and citizens.

This tendency of radical democratization in the process of political decision-making was achieved especially by the following means:

— decentralization, "the lowering of the level" of decision-making, i.e. the drawing closer to the centers of decision-making of those who are directly interested in the subject matter and in the result of decisions.

— the multiplication of the subjects of political decision-making, that is, the inclusion of greater number of working people and citizens in the processes of political decision-making;

— through constituting and developing forms and procedures facilitating direct participation of working people in political decision-making (i.e., the forms of direct expression of views — meetings, referendums, delegates' relations, self-managing agreements and social compacts, procedures of co-ordination, etc.).

In the new Constitution of the SFR of Yugoslavia, this kind of growth in the area of political decision-making gained full sanction for its results and a new support for its further development. All the mentioned channels of the realization of the evolution in the political decision-making, gained full affirmation in the new Constitution, and thus it could be stated that the constitutional principles already reflect the changes in the area of political decision-making concerning social questions underscoring its transformation into a self-managing process from which the elements of political authority and state coercion are diminishing.

3. The principles of the new Constitution of the SFR of Yugoslavia mark a qualitative change in the character of political decision-making, namely:

— by constituting a number of new institutionalized forms (basic and other organizations of associated labour, local communities, self-managing communities of interest, etc.) which are guaranteed a wide basis for political decision-making (by multiplication of locations and subjects of decision-making, establishment of delegations);

— by organizing such a direct link (through the delegate system) between the sphere of self-managing organizing of the working people and citizens and the sphere of the political organizing (socio-political communities, assemblies, organs of authority and administration), that cuts the tendencies towards the alienation of this sphere and independence of the center of political decision-making;

— by formulating principles, procedures, instruments of decision-making that suit the relations of freely associated working people and their associations, their rights, duties and responsibilities, principles of equality, solidarity, and socialist humanism.

These constitutional norms, that relate to different aspects of political decision-making in the self-managing system, define a concept of decision-making policy that is a free and equal agreement (understanding, compact), while the role of socio-judiciary enforcement is suppressed to the second plane and reserved for the relations that spring from, as yet not overcome, social (especially class) antagonisms.

4. The decision-making could be viewed and judged from the stand point of democratization and efficiency, and its success in solving the questions which are the subject of decision-making. It is no doubt theoretically possible, and indeed there have been often cases where these two components of decision-making were in discord (democratic decision-making was inefficient, and the autocratic and oligarchic decision-making was effective). However, we think that the democratic process and efficiency need not necessarily be opposed to each other, but moreover that it is natural that they should interact (especially that democratic process adds to the greater efficiency, since it secures engagement of more experience and creativity in finding the substance of the decision).

Understandably, this or that kind of relation between democratic character and efficiency depends upon a number of factors. One of these factors is the separation of questions of political decision-making from decision-making concerning technical questions. It is known that in number of cases, due to the objective link and interconnection, it is not always easy to separate these questions. Due to this, however, serious difficulties and deformations arise in the process and result of decision-making.

The Constitution of the SFR of Yugoslavia makes a principal distinction between self-managing decision-making and managerial decision-making, between the role and authorization of self-managing and managerial business executive organs.

However, regardless of principled and normative solutions, there exists the problem of relations between democratic forms and efficiency in the Yugoslav system as a living problem which must constantly be taken into account in day-to-day political decision-making.

5. The specific problem that can and does arise in a democratic process of decision-making, from democratic rights and relations that subjects have in the process of self-management, is the so-called checkmate position, the equilibrium of authority in the

centers of decision-making, hampering the reaching of decisions. This is a consequence of a situation in which certain sections of society, groups, communities by exercising the principle of self-managing decision-making, which rejects outvoting, may as a minority prevent the adoption of decisions they disapprove.

As a consequence, self-managing decision-making, which, by virtue of self-managing relations and socialist humanism gives maximum guarantees of freedom and rights to the working people and their associations and communities, can create difficulties in the functioning of some of areas of the system.

6. In order to overcome the mentioned problems in the concept and function of the self-managing decision-making, the following two conditions should be met:

(i) In the self-managing society it is necessary to have an ideological platform, accepted by the society, and a general programme of development (with defined goals, values, ideas) to serve as the basis for making the harmony of views and the overcoming of difficulties arising in decision-making due to differences in interests and problems.

(ii) The self-managing society must see to it that the process of decision-making represents a synthesis of democratic process and science, knowledge and know-how, since without these there can be no social progress in contemporary epoch.

#### Dr. RADOSLAV RATKOVIĆ

Dr. Radoslav Ratković is a professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Beograd, director of the Institute of Political Studies at the Faculty of Political Sciences, member of the Federal Assembly Constitutional Commission and of the editorial board of the periodical "Socijalizam".

Born in 1921 in Titovo Užice, Serbia, he graduated high school in 1939 and the Faculty of Law in Beograd in 1949. He completed his studies at the Institute of Social Sciences in 1951 and received doctoral degree at the University of Beograd in 1952.

He worked as a journalist from 1944 to 1951 and as research associate at the Institute for International Politics and Economics in Beograd. In diplomatic service from 1953 to 1958, and in 1958/1960 editor of the periodical "Socijalizam". In 1960 he became professor and in 1966 the director of the Higher School of Political Sciences in Beograd. He is professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences since 1968 and was Dean of the same institution until 1970.

His more important works include: *Society and Classes*, Beograd 1951; *Essays on the Problems of Contemporary Society*, Beograd, 1961; *Political Theories of Austro-marxism*, Beograd, 1965; *Ideology and Politics*, Beograd, 1971.



*Dr Radomir LUKIĆ*

*Professeur à la Faculté de droit de l'Université  
de Belgrade et Académicien*

## ASPECTS SOCIOLOGIQUES DE L'AUTOGESTION

Ces quelques lignes doivent servir pour base d'une discussion. C'est pourquoi il n'est pas nécessaire — ni possible — à donner ici un exposé systématique en quelque mesure que soit. On va plutôt poser les problèmes et esquisser les controverses dont on va discuter en collaboration avec tous les auditeurs.

Il y a beaucoup de problèmes qui sont du domaine de sociologie dans un système d'autogestion sociale aussi compliqué que celui yougoslave. Il est difficile même de les énumérer tous. D'autre part, malgré que la sociologie est devenue une science très importante et assez développée dans ce monde déchiré par les problèmes sociaux, il est quand même assez difficile d'en déterminer exactement le domaine et la méthode. Ici nous allons concevoir la sociologie comme science qui s'occupe, en premier lieu, de la société dite globale et des groupes sociaux qui la constituent et de leurs relations multiples. Conçue ainsi, la sociologie nous amène tout naturellement à se demander de la relation de l'autogestion d'une part et de la société globale et des différents groupes sociaux d'autre part.

Il y a un aspect sociologique primordial de ce point de vue. C'est l'aspect révolutionnaire de l'autogestion par rapport à la société globale. En effet, l'autogestion n'est qu'une méthode de révolution socialiste. Elle révolutionne la société; elle la transforme, d'une manière la plus radicale et la plus rapide, dans une société socialiste. Comment?

L'autogestion efface radicalement la division du travail millénaire entre ceux qui gouvernent et ne travaillent pas et ceux qui travaillent et ne gouvernent pas en faisant (la première fois dans l'histoire de la société des classes) des ouvriers et des travailleurs en général — les gouvernants de leur propre travail tout d'abord et de la société toute entière ensuite. En effaçant cette différence sociale essentielle, l'autogestion ne le fait pas déclarativement, en donnant un pouvoir indirect aux ouvriers et aux travailleurs,

pouvoir de choisir leurs représentants qui vont gouverner en leur nom et sous leur contrôle — elle leur donne le pouvoir direct: les ouvriers et les travailleurs gouvernent directement leur travail et la société toute entière. Par là même, l'autogestion est la voie la plus courte et la plus directe pour éliminer l'Etat de la société socialiste, pour le faire dépérir.

On voit donc bien l'importance immense de l'autogestion pour la société globale. Bien entendu, il ne faut pas spécialement souligner que tout ce qu'on a dit représente le but essentiel de l'autogestion. Tout cela n'est pas encore réalisé. Au contraire, on se trouve seulement au commencement de ce long et pénible processus révolutionnaire. Mais, pour réaliser, il faut commencer.

Si l'on regarde l'état de choses actuel, alors on remarque dans quelle mesure ce but a été réalisé. Et de ce point de vue les aspects sociologiques de la relation entre la société globale et l'autogestion se présentent d'une manière plus concrète et bien différente de l'état futur quand le but sera réalisé en totalité. Nous allons tout brièvement essayer à exposer l'état actuel des choses.

Tout d'abord, l'autogestion englobe-t-elle la société globale yougoslave toute entière? Si l'on examine l'évolution de l'autogestion, on remarque aisément qu'elle a commencé dans un secteur social assez restreint — dans les entreprises nationalisées et, donc, dans la classe ouvrière qui était très petite en nombre sinon en pouvoir. Puis, l'autogestion s'élargissait parallèlement à l'élargissement de la classe ouvrière pour sortir enfin de son cadre et englober les services sociaux et même l'administration publique (bien entendu, avec certaines restrictions quant à ces derniers). Pourtant, il y a trois grandes masses de la population qui sont restées jusqu'à maintenant hors du domaine de l'autogestion.

Tout d'abord, ce sont des paysans, qui jusqu'à tout récemment faisait la majorité de la population (maintenant ils font 35% de la population). Le problème paysan est un des problèmes les plus difficiles pour le socialisme en général et celui autogestionnaire spécialement. On ne peut pas ici entrer dans ce problème, mais il faut signaler sa complexité. Ces derniers temps on essayait d'introduire les paysans dans l'autogestion, ou mieux; d'élargir celle-ci pour qu'elle englobe les paysans aussi (d'une manière appropriée, bien entendu). Mais cela va avec difficulté. Il reste que se problème va être discuté longtemps encore.

La seconde masse de la population qui n'est pas englobée dans le système d'autogestion est faite des ouvriers sans travail, dont une partie a trouvé le travail à l'étranger et l'autre jouit de l'aide sociale pour les sans-travail. Il est évident que les sans-travail sont dans une situation bien moins favorable par rapport à ceux qui ont du travail et qui exercent le droit d'autogestion. Quel doit être ce rapport dans le socialisme autogestionnaire? Peut-il être amélioré et comment? Ce sont des problèmes très complexes.

La troisième masse, enfin, est faite du reste de la société, de ceux qui normalement ne peuvent pas travailler (jeuns, vieux,

femmes de ménage). Leur sort est réglé, dans une très large part, par les travailleurs qui ont droit d'autogestion. Quelle doit être leur influence sur l'autogestion et sur la détermination de leur propre sort? Le problème difficile.

Comme l'on voit, l'autogestion n'englobe pas encore la société globale toute entière et, par la nature des choses, il est même impossible qu'elle le fasse. Mais, puisque les autogestionnaires ont un grand pouvoir dans leurs mains, quelles doivent être les limites de ce pouvoir, comment la société globale peut-elle protéger ses intérêts qui éventuellement viennent en conflit avec ceux des autogestionnaires? Ce problème a plusieurs aspects.

Un de ces aspects consiste dans le rapport entre l'autogestion et les consommateurs. Les autogestionnaires sont exclusivement les producteurs ou les vendeurs des services sociaux. La société globale est faite des consommateurs, y compris les producteurs eux-mêmes qui sont des consommateurs (des produits et des services des autres) eux-aussi. Leurs intérêts sont souvent en conflit. Pour le moment, les consommateurs n'ont aucun droit à s'immiscer dans l'autogestion, malgré que la qualité, les prix etc. de tout ce qu'ils achètent des autogestionnaires ont une très grande importance pour eux. Est-ce qu'on peut imaginer un rapport différent entre ces deux grandes masses sociales? Est-ce que les consommateurs peuvent avoir quelque influence sur la production? Ici et là on conclut des accords entre ces deux groupes et c'est peut-être la voie qu'on doit suivre à l'avenir.

Un deuxième aspect de ce problème est le rapport entre le système de l'autogestion et l'Etat. Qu'est-ce que c'est que l'Etat dans le système de l'autogestion? Est-ce qu'il représente cette société globale toute entière ou les autogestionnaires seuls? Existe-t-il un conflit, ouvert ou voilé, entre l'Etat et l'autogestion? Comme on le sait, le problème est très complexe et discuté. Le système autogestionnaire a commencé comme ennemi de l'Etat. On considérait, et avec raison, que l'Etat était la base de la bureaucratisation qui aliénait de nouveau, quoique d'une manière différente de celle employée par les capitalistes, les ouvriers de leur travail et de leur produit, et par là même de leur personnalité et de leur humanité. C'est pourquoi l'autogestion signifiait en même temps déétatisation, tout d'abord dans l'économie et puis dans la vie sociale toute entière.

Mais, on ne pouvait pas faire complètement mourir l'Etat. Le processus de son dépérissement étant nécessairement très long. L'Etat, donc, existait à côté de l'autogestion, quelquefois contre lui. Comment faire? On a essayé d'une part d'autogestionner l'Etat lui-même et, d'autre part, de faire transférer les pouvoirs étatiques à l'autogestion. Dans l'évolution du système autogestionnaire yougoslave on peut différencier plusieurs étapes de cette «autogestionification» de l'Etat, dont les détails ne peuvent pas s'exposer ici. En principe, l'évolution introduisait de plus en plus l'élément d'autogestion dans l'organisation étatique, en premier lieu à travers les assemblées, qui tenaient la souveraineté du peuple. On peut dire que ce processus est allé assez loin, surtout



avec la dernière réforme constitutionnelle et le système des délégués au lieu des députés constituant des assemblées (une sorte de parlement). Mais il existe toujours le problème du rapport des éléments autogestionnaires avec les éléments représentant la société globale.

Quant à la distribution des compétences et des pouvoirs entre l'Etat et l'autogestion (ce qu'on appelle «le travail associé»), elle va de plus en plus au profit de cette dernière. La nouvelle Constitution fait un grand pas dans cette direction. Le principe de la distribution peut être décrit de la manière suivante: l'Etat n'exerce que les pouvoirs qui doivent d'une manière absolue être exercés par lui et leur nombre est très restreint. Tous les autres pouvoirs sont exercés par le travail associé, c'est-à-dire ou par les organes autogestionnaires dans leur compétence propre ou, et surtout, entre eux, par l'instrument des accords sociaux et des contrats autogestionnaires.

Ces deux instruments sont entièrement nouveaux. Ce sont des instruments d'un nouveau droit — droit autogestionnaire — qui en principe doit régler les rapports sociaux d'une manière toute différente de celle étatique. En effet, les normes de ce droit, étant créées directement par des intéressés ou par leurs accords et contrats librement conclus, doivent être suivies librement et de bonne volonté sans aucune contrainte ou autres sanctions, surtout celles étatiques. Par cela on crée un ordre social nouveau, vraiment libre et humain. Bien entendu, pour le moment cela ne peut pas être réalisé en pleine mesure. Il est nécessaire donc d'instituer des sanctions autogestionnaires et même, dans certains cas, celles de l'Etat. Ici aussi on pose le problème de la délimitation de ces deux sphères juridiques — étatique et autogestionnaire.

Mais si le problème des rapports entre l'autogestion et la société globale est très compliqué lorsqu'on l'étudie, pour ainsi dire, de son côté positif, il n'est pas moins compliqué lorsqu'on l'étudie de son côté négatif. Le côté négatif, cela veut dire du point de vue de la responsabilité des autogestionnaires pour l'exercice de leur travail et leurs compétences et pouvoirs. Cette responsabilité a deux côtés. D'une part, c'est la responsabilité interne dans le cadre des organisations de travail pour la bonne gestion et la sauvegarde des intérêts d'autogestionnaires et d'autre part c'est une responsabilité externe, envers la société, pour la sauvegarde des intérêts sociaux. Souvent, ces deux sortes d'intérêts viennent en conflit et les autogestionnaires sont enclins de protéger leurs intérêts particuliers au lieu de ces plus larges, sociaux. C'est ainsi qu'il existe un certain danger de la privatisation de la propriété sociale et de la déviation du système autogestionnaire.

Or, il est très difficile, aussi bien du point de vue juridique que politique, d'instituer un système efficace de responsabilité des autogestionnaires. Juridiquement, c'est très difficile car cette responsabilité est essentiellement collective et il est bien connu

combien est-il difficile à organiser et à faire fonctionner une telle responsabilité. Politiquement, les autogestionnaires doivent être, en principe, porteurs de souveraineté ouvrière socialiste et libres dans l'exercice du pouvoir et comment, étant tels, peuvent-ils être responsables?

C'est pourquoi ce système n'est pas bien organisé et en pratique il fonctionne encore moins bien. Il est évident qu'on doit faire des efforts ultérieurs dans cette direction et chercher des voies nouvelles pour assurer aussi bien les intérêts des autogestionnaires que ceux de la société globale et de ses groupes différents.

Voilà quelques problèmes du rapport entre le système autogestionnaire et la société globale qui méritent d'être discutés ici. Mais il ne faut pas oublier aussi qu'il y a beaucoup de problèmes à l'intérieur des autogestionnaires eux-mêmes. Car, ils ne sont pas homogènes non plus.

Il y a des différences tout d'abord entre les ouvriers qui travaillent dans ce qu'on appelle économie et ceux qui travaillent en dehors de l'économie, dans les services sociaux. Entre eux il y a aussi des conflits d'intérêts, car la seule source des revenus de ces derniers ne peut être que dans l'économie. Si l'économie est autogérée par les ouvriers, alors ils doivent déterminer la part du revenu qui doit être donnée aux ouvriers hors d'économie pour leur travail. Autrefois, c'était un pouvoir éminent de l'Etat. Mais maintenant, l'Etat est éliminé de cette sphère et, d'autre part, s'il existe un certain conflit d'intérêts, il ne semble pas justifié à laisser aux ouvriers dans l'économie exclusivement le pouvoir complet de déterminer la valeur de travail de ces ouvriers hors d'économie. C'est pourquoi on est venue à l'idée d'organiser les communautés d'intérêt qui rassemblent les deux sortes d'ouvriers qui, ensemble, doivent déterminer aussi bien l'organisation des services sociaux que la valeur du travail de ceux qui y travaillent. Ces communautés ont commencé à fonctionner, mais, bien entendu, il y a encore beaucoup des problèmes de ce domaine qui doivent être résolus.

Parmi les ouvriers dans l'économie elle-même il y a la différenciation selon la sorte du travail (industrie, transport etc. et à l'intérieur de chacune de ces branches il y a d'autres différenciations), selon les ressources naturelles, selon les régions etc., etc. De ces différences-là proviennent des différences en richesse — les revenus ne sont pas identiques, il y a des plus et des moins riches. Il y a même une sorte de l'appropriation de la plus-valeur des moins riches de la part des plus riches etc. Pour le même travail, le revenu est souvent bien différent. Comment rémédier à cela? Le problème bien difficile, surtout si l'on ajoute le fait spécifiquement yougoslave de la différenciation nationale et de l'existence des régions (et des nations) sousdéveloppées d'après les critères yougoslaves généraux.

Et enfin (pour ne pas aller plus loin, car nous avons énuméré jusqu'ici même trop de problèmes pour une discussion limitée), il y a à l'intérieur des autogestionnaires cette division du travail

intellectuel, plus on moins gouvernant, et en travail manuel, plus ou moins exécutif. Il y a des ouvriers et des cols blancs, il y a des technocrates et des bureaucrates d'une part et des ouvriers de l'autre. L'autogestion ne fait pas de différence entre ces deux catégories — elles sont également autogestionnaires. Le pouvoir autogestionnaire suprême appartient à des corps qui sont constitués en principe librement, sans une proportion stricte entre ces deux catégories sociales, et les ouvriers intellectuels (bureaucrates, technocrates) ne sont, en principe, que des exécuteurs des décisions de ces organes.

Puisque les ouvriers au sens strict (ouvriers manuels) ont la majorité, on se doit qu'ils aient aussi le pouvoir ou, au moins, sa plus grande part. Pourtant, en pratique, c'est souvent le côté intellectuel qui prédomine et c'est pourquoi on parle du danger réel de bureaucratisation et surtout de technocratisation du pouvoir autogestionnaire. Le problème est réel et bien difficile à résoudre. Car, par des mesures organisationnelles il est presque impossible de contribuer encore plus à sa solution — on a fait probablement tout ou presque tout ce qui était possible de ce côté. Il reste un travail pénible, de longue durée et qui exige beaucoup d'efforts et d'argent — le travail à faire élever le niveau culturel général et spécial des ouvriers manuels pour qu'ils puissent être capables de comprendre les problèmes qu'ils doivent résoudre comme autogestionnaires et de leur trouver une solution juste sinon eux-mêmes, alors à l'aide des spécialistes, mais qui ne pourront pas se transformer en bureaucrates et technocrates. Le processus est long, mais inévitable.

En conclusion on peut dire que les problèmes devant le système autogestionnaire sont nombreux et difficiles. Cela est bien compréhensible pour un système complètement et radicalement nouveau, révolutionnaire dans le sens véritable du mot. Mais, il faut tenir compte que ce système a déjà réussi à résoudre beaucoup de problèmes, probablement même encore plus difficiles, et y trouver l'espoir que ceux encore existants vont eux aussi être résolus.

Dr. RADOMIR LUKIC

Dr Radomir D. Lukić professeur titulaire à la Faculté de Droit de Belgrade et membre de l'Académie Serbe des sciences et des arts.

Spécialité: la théorie de l'Etat et du droit, la sociologie, les sciences politiques.

Né le 31 août 1914 à Miloševac, près de Smederevo en Serbie. Licencié en 1937 à la Faculté de Droit de Beograd. Prommu au grade de docteur en 1939 à la Faculté de Droit de Paris après soutenance de la thèse: «La force obligatoire de la norme juridique et le problème d'un droit objectif» (Sirey, Paris, 1939). Depuis 1940 chargé de cours et depuis 1956 professeur titulaire à la Faculté de Droit de Belgrade. Doyen de la même Faculté en 1958/59.

Ouvrages publiés: «La théorie de l'Etat et du droit», en deux volumes; «L'histoire des théories politiques et juridiques», «Eléments de sociologie»; «La théorie politique de l'Etat»; «Les partis politiques»; «La constitutionnalité et la légalité»; «Le formalisme dans la sociologie»; «La sociologie du moral» et un grand nombre d'articles publiés dans des revues yougoslaves et étrangères.



Dr. Aleš BEBLER

Member of the Council of the  
Federation

## ECOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND HOW TO SOLVE THEM

### *Introduction*

Speaking of ecological problems, we are bearing in mind solely the problems of *human ecology*, i.e. of the ecology of man as a species, the problems of man and his environment, natural problems and those created by man himself, created by man's action towards his own environment and the retroactive effect of these actions, i.e. the influence of environment on man.

Even such a restricted subject is an extensive one and we shall find it hard in the time at our disposal to gain a clear view of all its dimensions and all its aspects.

Human ecology is being widely discussed in the world today. The number of scientific works, scientific and even popular journals on this subject is growing just as interest among the public is growing. Human ecology has obviously become important and therefore interesting to ever broader circles. This is easy to understand. The retroactive effect of environment's action on man, man having started affecting environment as he is doing today, has proved so negative to man, that the latter has become concerned over these consequences. When science took it upon itself to extrapolate these consequences and pointed to the possible disastrous effects on our species in the not too distant future, concern reached a very high degree. Where and what are the reasons for the phenomena which are in this respect arousing the concern of our generation?

Here, I shall naturally present our, Yugoslav views on this question, the views prevailing in Yugoslavia. They can be summed up as follows:

We consider that the deep roots of the disruptions in man's relationship towards the main constituent of his environment, towards nature, can be sought in man's overbearing attitude towards nature, considering himself a creature beyond and above nature, a creature which, on this planet can and is permitted to do

everything, to violate nature and subject it to himself without any fear of retribution.

We consider that the consequences of actions such as the savaging of natural wealth and the degradation of nature in this day and age in the world, and with us too, have reached a degree which should arouse our gravest concern and that if such actions continue they will undoubtedly result in increasing human misfortunes, and ultimately in a real catastrophe.

I should like to note here that we have not fallen prey to the superficial stands, fairly frequent among marxists, which take a contemptuous view of Western scientists and publicists who have emerged with papers forecasting disasters on a planetary scale. Our standpoint is that these papers, although often with a very definite Western tinge, contain capital warnings on the restriction of living space and natural resources and that they, though often through simplified extrapolations, do essentially indicate *genuine* already existing problems and problems which can be expected if we continue in the present development directions. I am thinking in the first place of the report of the Meadows-Randers-Behrens team (Boundaries of Growth) and the continuation of this work in the report submitted by Pestel and Mesarović (Mankind at a Crossroads).

On the other hand neither have we committed the mistake which is one of the weaknesses of the mentioned Western literature, namely the belief that the exact sciences and technology *alone* can resolve all problems. I should like to note *en passant* that this disease seems also to be rife in the East. We believe in the strength and great possibilities of the exact sciences and technology, but we are convinced that they are certainly not the only ones which guide, when, how and in what spirit, one should put objective before them, as well as, what these objectives should be. They have performed miracles but it is precisely their trends of action which have resulted also in the greatest ills to date, and they will continue to produce such results if their direction is not changed, if their aim is not the quality of life instead of affluence of products.

Conversely, we have closely linked the question of the social system with the question of the ecological ills of this day, our thesis being that these misfortunes are characteristic for the capitalist social system. We mentioned earlier man's overbearing attitude towards nature. This attitude has been imposed on the society by the bourgeoisie in its class interest. "What you call the spirit of the times, is the spirit distinctive of masters." (*Goethe*).

I have now touched upon the most difficult question in this field.

To be fair to Western ecological science we must state that in their publications too there have been people who reasoned in a good direction. So the classic of American ecology Barry Commoner, in the final chapter of his study "The Closed Circle", published in 1971 in New York, wrote that "the ecological crisis is the result of the society's mismanagement of the world's

resources and it can be solved, and man can survive in human conditions, when man's social organisation has been harmonised with the ecosphere."

He was not the only one to have found the spoor of this capital problem in the West. However, from the West too there came a warning that matters were by no means simple. The expropriation of the expropriators and the nationalisation of production means in themselves cannot solve the problems. The book "Spoils of Progress" by the American writer Marshall Goldman is devoted to this question. This is a report on the state of affairs in the Soviet Union, written after a protracted sojourn in the USSR and diligent collection of data exclusively from the Soviet press and Soviet official documents. The conclusion, in brief, is that a publicly owned enterprise, can just as one privately owned, be ruthless towards nature and that it just as stubbornly avoids compensation for so-called social production costs, i.e. paying indemnity to the society for damage done to priceless social goods, in the first place water, air, land and forests, as well as other natural resources. The book cites the dramatic example of the destruction of a great part of the Black Sea coast by the extraction of gravel for free building material.

The Soviet review of Marshall Goldman's book seems to me to be rather superficial. They say that the facts were selected tendenciously, so that the picture would seem as black as possible, that the successes recorded in their country in preventing further misfortunes and improving the situation had not been presented. One must of course admit that there have been successes. Some of them are known such as the resuscitation of the river Moscow, similar to what has been done with the Thames in England. One must admit the possibility, even the probability that with its economic and scientific potential the USSR can by State intervention achieve great and even spectacular successes, such as the long term plan for cleansing the entire basin of the Volga river.

However, we should not be misled by the Soviet examples, even if they are spectacular. They resolve matters for themselves and in their own way, for the approach is purely administrative and such an approach does not get to the root of the matter, to the fundamental causes, and so life will constantly give rise to new and unforeseen misfortunes.

Our thought was, one might say, deeper from the onset, nearer to the roots of ill in general, both in the East and in the West, and at the present level of building of socialism both in the east from us, and among ourselves. We discovered these roots in commodity production, in the market laws in the forming of prices imposed by these laws, or in other words, in production for profit or gain, in order to create income for the producers and of social accumulation through the action of market laws.

Naturally, we have said nothing useful or practically feasible if together with the German marxist Hans Magnus Enzenberg in his recently published study here too (*The Crisis of Political Ecology, Marxism in the World*) we wait for the abolition of com-



modity production and the transition to communism. At the present level of production forces, we still need, and very much so, the market, prices formed through the market and the distribution of products through the market. But to all intents and purposes, the ecological crisis or rather ecological crises, are approaching more rapidly and are nearer than a society of such labour productivity and affluence which would be able to renounce the market regulation of exchange of goods, i.e. a communist society.

What then is to be done?

The goal is before our eyes. At the founding assembly of the Yugoslav Council for the Protection and Advancement of Human Environment, Edvard Kardelj said that "our self-manager must take into his hands the management of his entire environment, the environment created by human hands and the environment given to him by nature".

The question arises: given market laws, can man take upon himself the management of environment, the entire environment, in his overall interest, i.e. in his interest as a social and biological being?

Truly a difficult but crucial question.

The market laws as the mechanism of distributing goods are still necessary to all societies of the present day, in the west, in the east, in the north and in the south. And they act on the development of science and technology and so also on the development of the economy in a direction which we know from experience results in serious misfortunes and finally to catastrophe.

No one can simply abolish these laws at present. But every one could and should make it a duty to oppose their effects, to master them, to restrict them to boundaries which will make them useful and essential, and to prevent the negative sides of their actions.

How to achieve this in view of the present variety in social systems, would be a far too formidable subject for such a paper. As to us, we shall certainly continue striving to approach this goal through the continued development of our self-management socialist system, convinced that it offers us great opportunities of attaining these goals.

In this way, already in our times, at the present level of production forces, the spirit of a new time may triumph, the spirit of a new master — the working people.

Dr Aleš BEBLER

Politician and publicist. Born in 1907. Obtained his doctorate in science of law in Paris. During the War of Liberation active military and political figure in Slovenia. After the war occupied outstanding positions in Government, including the function of deputy-foreign secretary; permanent representative of Yugoslavia at the United Nations, ambassador in Paris (1955—57); president of the Board for Foreign Affairs at the Federal Assembly and judge at the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia; member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and of the Council of Federation.

Among other writings, published "For Just Frontiers of New Yugoslavia" and "Travels across Sunny Countries".

CONSEIL DU CENTRE UNIVERSITAIRE INTERNATIONAL  
DES SCIENCES SOCIALES

Membres du Conseil:

Predrag ALEKSIĆ, Professeur à la Faculté des Sciences Economiques

Vida ČOK, Chercheuse scientifique supérieure à l'Institut de Droit Comparé

Radomir DJUROVIĆ, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit

Jovan GLIGORIJEVIĆ, Recteur de l'Université de Beograd, Professeur à la Faculté des Sciences Vétérinaires

Dejan MEDAKOVIĆ, Doyen de la Faculté de Philosophie, Membre de l'Académie Serbe des Sciences et des Arts

Pavle NIKOLIĆ, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit

Najdan PAŠIĆ, Doyen de la Faculté des Sciences Politiques

Aleksandar PERIĆ, Professeur à la Faculté des Sciences Economiques

Mihailo POPOVIĆ, Professeur à la Faculté de Philosophie

Miroslav POPOVIĆ, Vice-recteur de l'Université de Beograd, Professeur à la Faculté des Sciences Economiques

Branko PRIBIĆEVIĆ, Professeur à la Faculté des Sciences Politiques

Dimitrije PRODANOVIĆ, Collaborateur Scientifique de l'Institut des Sciences Sociales

Dragiša STIJOVIĆ, Chef du Département des Relations Internationales de l'Université de Beograd

Milan ŠAHOVIĆ, Directeur de l'Institut de la Politique et de l'Economie Internationales

Branislav ŠOŠKIĆ, Professeur à la Faculté des Sciences Economiques

Novica VOJINOVIĆ, Collaborateur Scientifique de l'Institut du Mouvement Ouvrier International

Président du Conseil:

Branislav ŠOŠKIĆ, Professeur à la Faculté des Sciences Economiques

Directeur du Centre:

Pavle NIKOLIĆ, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit

Secrétaire du Centre:

Dragiša STIJOVIĆ, chef du Département des Relations Internationales de l'Université de Beograd



## LISTE DES PARTICIPANTS

### AUSTRALIA

Melanie BERESFORD  
Graduate, Political Science  
6 North TCE, MIDSUMMER COMMON  
CAMBRIDGE  
United Kingdom

### BELGIUM

Paul FONTEYN  
Maitre en sciences économiques, Licencié en sc. commerc. et  
financ.,  
Diplomé de l'Institut d'étude des pays en développement  
Rue des Atrebatas 143  
1040 BRUXELLES

### COLUMBIA

Fernando LEZACA  
M. s. Economie  
Calle 62 Nr. 1591  
BOGOTA 2 D.E.

### FRANCE

Jean Roger VICTOR  
Licencié en sciences économiques. Diplomé d'Etudes supé-  
rieures de Sciences Economiques  
3 rue Nicolas Rolland  
51100 REIMS

## GREECE

Constantin MEIDANIS  
Licencié économiste  
I. A. M. Route de Mende 3191  
34011 MONTPELLIER Cédex  
France

## HUNGARY

Dr Antal STARK  
Maitre de conférences, professeur universitaire, prorecteur  
générale  
Marks Karoly Közgazdaságtudományi Egyetem  
Dimitrov tér 8  
1093 BUDAPEST

## ITALY

Francesco PARLAGRECO  
doctorat, Economie et Commerce  
Via L. Spallanzani 32  
00161 ROMA

## JAPAN

Sadayoshi OTSU  
M. A. in Economics  
220A Woodstock Rd.  
OXFORD  
United Kingdom

## MOROCCO

IDMAHAMMA Abdellatif  
Graduate, Economics  
37 rue d'Armagnac  
RABAT

## MEXICO

Alejandro Gil RECASENS  
Graduate, Politics  
Insurgentes Sur, 1763--401  
MEXICO 20 DF

## NETHERLANDS

H. M. J. Van den BOSCH  
Graduate, Geography and Spatial Planning  
P. van Soevershemstr 12  
NIJMEGEN

## POLAND

Stanislaw DAWIDZIUK  
Ph. D. Economics  
Armii Radzieckiej 7 m. 77  
05-400 OTWOCK

Magdalena GEBKA  
MA Law and Sociology  
Golpanska 4  
POZNAN

Helena KISILOWSKA  
Master  
Bugarska 1 m. 4  
WARSZAWA

Krzysztof KOCZUROWSKI  
Graduate, Law; Older Assistant  
Frontu Narodwiego 3  
SOPOT

Kazimierz ORYL  
dr. habil., Docent, Political Economy  
Plac Młodej Gwardii 10e m. 4  
POZNAN

Teresa PROTAS-ŠOTRIĆ  
Master, Economics  
ul. Stowianska 7 m. 1  
POZNAN

Rudolf WEINER  
dr. rer. oec. Docent  
Pl. PKWN 10/9  
WROCLAW

Barbara ZAWADZKA  
docteur des sciences juridiques  
Wiejska 18 m. 9  
00-490 WARSZAWA



## PORTUGAL

BONAVENTURA de Sousa Santos  
Professeur Universitaire  
Faculdade de Economia  
R Manuel B. Pina 11-D  
COIMBRA

Roque CABRAL  
Professeur ordinaire, Docteur  
Faculdade de Filosofia  
r. de S. Barnabe 42  
BRAGA

René CORDEIRO  
Licencié, sc. économiques  
Praca Rainha D. Felipa 6, 4 E  
LISBOA-5

Almeida Rodrigues GRACA  
D. Phil.  
Rua dos Navegantes 34--3D  
LISBOA-2

Domingos Guimares MARQUES  
Assistant, Philosophy  
Faculdade de Filosofia  
BRAGA

## ROMANIA

Iulian POENARU  
Docteur en droit  
str. Hrisovului 18  
Of. P. 68  
BUCAREST VIII

## SRI LANKA

Samarasinghe Arachinge Kamal KARUNANAYAKE  
Ph. D. Economics and Political Science  
90, Campbell Place  
COLOMBO 8

## TURKEY

Isin CELEBI  
M. Sc. Engineering  
Geliucik 15/7  
ANKARA

Bilsay KURUC  
Docent, Economics  
Faculty of Political Sciences  
ANKARA

## UNITED KINGDOM

Michael CONNOCK  
M. Sc., Docent  
Middlesex Polytechnic  
LONDON

David SPENCE  
Graduate, Politics  
59A Rudloe Rd.  
LONDON S W 12

Alison RYAN  
Student, Politics/Philosophy  
St. Hilda's College  
OXFORD

EMAR - EASDALE  
EMEK ARASTIRMALARI  
VAKFI KITALIIGI  
2 0 1 5



