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# East Europe Report

YUGOSLAVIA: CRITICAL ANALYSIS  
OF FUNCTIONING OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

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5 March 1986

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### YUGOSLAVIA: CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF FUNCTIONING OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Zagreb DELEGATSKI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 86 pp 1-61

[Document drafted by the Federal Social Council for Affairs of the Social System and Approved by its Commission for Preparation of the Final Document: "Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management"]

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## INTRODUCTORY SUMMARY

[Document drafted by the Federal Social Council for Affairs of the Social System and approved by its Commission for Preparation of the Final Document: "Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management"; passages within slantlines published in italics]

[Text] The Commission for Preparation of the Final Document of the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of the Federal Social Council for Affairs of the Social System, after working for nearly a year, has approved the document "Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management."

As part of the public discussion of this document agreed on in the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, the Croatian Republic Conference of the SAWP, which is responsible for that activity in our republic, has proposed that DELEGATSKI VJESNIK publish the Critical Analysis.

We are thus bringing this information to our nearly 75,000 readers--members of delegations of basic self-management organizations and communities, leadership bodies of sociopolitical organizations, as well as other entities in sociopolitical life in opstinas, communities of opstinas, the republic, and the Federation.

When we add that a broad range of working people and citizens have occasion through the daily newspaper VJESNIK to become familiar with this exceptional document, we believe that the accessibility of the document which has been put up for public discussion will tend to broaden its discussion.

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## Introduction

1. The /need for constant revolutionary changes is inherent/ in our society, even in this stage of its development and of the transformation into an association of free producers. It is striving for the greatest possible harmony of the productive forces and production relations and attainment of a firmer linkage of the socioeconomic relation and the political system.

This presupposes constant adjustment of the political system to changes in the self-management socioeconomic structure of society, but also its feedback effect on development of socioeconomic relations. That gives rise to the responsibility and obligation of the organized socialist forces, especially the LC and SAWP, to constantly analyze the functioning of the political system with a critical eye in order to accomplish the strategic commitments in development of socialist self-management.

2. /Social practice today necessitates a considerably greater capability and effectiveness of our political system/ on behalf of a steady strengthening of the decisive role of the working class in all the relations of social production and in society; equality of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities and achievement of the constitutional conception of the Federation; more consistent responsibility of the republics and autonomous provinces for their own respective development and for development of the socialist community as a whole; the free pooling of labor and resources, expansion of the integration of associated labor on self-management foundations throughout the unified economic region of Yugoslavia; self-management responsibility of all components and factors in society for a strengthening of its cohesion; elimination of autarky in economic development by overcoming statist relations, the state-property monopoly and group-ownership behavior, and effective protection of social relations against possible deviations and regressive tendencies.

The principal source of deformations in the functioning of the political system is the slow achievement of the self-management production relation and especially the continuing failure to achieve decisionmaking of the workers concerning the entire surplus value of labor. Very profound disturbances in social reproduction caused by diverse internal and external factors have contributed to this. The internal factors have been especially evident in our

unsuitable development policy, structural dislocations, inappropriate and unsubstantiated investment projects, excessive and uncontrolled borrowing abroad, uneconomical use of foreign credits, the deterioration of the balance of payments and trade balance in the context of statist decisionmaking about income and accumulation, serious disruptions in the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market, etc. The external factors were manifested especially in the intensified protectionism, essential changes in energy price relations (the oil crisis, etc.), the crisis of international monetary and credit relations, and the slump in world trade.

3. The indispensable need for consistent achievement and development of the political system of self-management /has been emphasized in a number of political decisions/. Emphasis was put on the need for critical analysis of its functioning and for its more rapid adaptation to its own source: the socialist self-management character of the production relation. By adopting the "Directions of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management" the 11th LCY Congress especially emphasized that the SFRY Constitution has furnished the clear and basic concept of socialist self-management democracy. The "Directions of Development..." indicated through critical analysis of the functioning of the political system the discrepancy between the principles on which the political system is based and social practice, and they emphasize the need for the functioning of the institutions of the political system to be subjected to constant critical evaluation. To that end a resolution was adopted to compose as soon as possible a comprehensive and long-term program of tasks in the future development of the political system on the foundations of socialist self-management democracy.

4. Preparation of a critical analysis was given particular /urgency by the need to carry out more consistently the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program/ and to resolve more successfully the numerous problems that led to the economic crisis. That program cannot be carried out unless the political system functions effectively, and that presupposes additional work on it, especially with respect to democratic adoption of public decisions and their effective implementation and the establishment and discharge of responsibility in society.

5. Sociopolitical organizations, the League of Communists in particular, have paid constant attention to the issues of building the political system of socialist self-management. Its commitments have been expressed in the LCY Program and in the documents of the 10th, 11th, and 12th LCY Congresses. /The SFRY Constitution contains all the essential commitments and foundations of socialist self-management democracy, the directions of further development of the democratic socioeconomic and political relations of self-management, and the prospects for development of the political system/. That still remains our lasting and essential commitment.

However, in the achievement of those relations we have been facing many difficulties and resistance on the part of bureaucratic and technocratic forces. They have been trying to hold on to positions in economic and political decisionmaking, to perform the function in effect of managing social resources and administering the government in the name of the working class. They have been

striving to retain their dominant position in society and thus to slow down the pace of change at the base of society. This is the principal cause of the present large discrepancy between the normative solutions and actual relations and of the failure to achieve certain essential functions of the political system.

6. /The functioning of the political system/--its stability, effectiveness, and development in the direction of achieving the fundamental commitments concerning the ruling position of the working class in social reproduction--/dare not be spontaneous/. It necessitates that the League of Communists and the organized socialist forces consistently perform the social and political role set forth in the constitution and programmatic documents.

The League of Communists must affirm itself uninterruptedly as the guiding force binding society together, remaining out in front in its ideas and theory, strengthening the self-management consciousness of the working people and constantly opening up prospects for society's further development.

The political system cannot function successfully unless the constitutional role of the Socialist Alliance is fully realized as the broadest form of organization of the progressive democratic forces and as a locus of the sociopolitical activities which the working people and citizens develop in order to satisfy their self-management interests in the system of socialist self-management.

Consistent performance of the /role of the organized subjective forces/ in our political system as set forth in the constitution ought to be manifested as a part of the processes of revolutionary change in the context of the present social contradictions, the balance of power between the opposed social forces, the ideological and political differentiations and conflicts, which, should they become more severe, would take on broader dimensions and indeed the characteristics of class struggle.

Aggravation of the social contradictions and the difficult economic situation and the slowness and vacillation within the League of Communists itself in taking a stance toward certain essential issues related to the ideological situation and social development have favored the emergence and increasingly aggressive activity of various antisocialist tendencies and forces. Their activity has been manifested particularly in the last several years through the imposition of bourgeois-liberal and statist-bureaucratic alternatives to the socialist self-management character of our sociopolitical system. Under such circumstances the real difficulties in the functioning of the the political system have been used and abused by various conservative and antiself-management forces contesting generally the system of socialist self-management and our society's democratic and federal system.

The level achieved in the development of the material productive forces and in the socioeconomic and political system represents a stage in the historical development of socialist self-management democracy which cannot fail to undergo critical analysis if the causes of various adverse occurrences and trends in society and the directions and measures to correct them are to be

found. At the same time, the organized socialist forces must be capable, by resolving social problems, by opening up prospects and through the ideological-political effort, of thwarting the attempts of protagonists of all antisocialist orientations to turn criticism of the present difficulties, contradictions, and shortcomings in our development into criticism of the system and of its fundamental values and to call into question the development of socialist self-management and its working class character.

The present critical analysis is meant to serve that objective, i.e., the further development and constant improvement of the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management and the resolute elimination of its defects and shortcomings.

## PART ONE: ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION

### I. Assessment of the Functioning of the Political System as a Whole

1. The SFRY Constitution and the constitutions of the republics and autonomous provinces dating from 1974 contain the foundations of the political system of socialist self-management and have set forth the principles of its functioning. Thus the /programmatically, normative, and institutional prerequisites have been created/ for the emancipation of labor, the achievement of social ownership and self-management, the construction and development of society in the direction of an association of free producers, for strengthening and consolidating the power of the working class in a coalition with the working people, and for further development and consolidation of brotherhood and unity and of the equality of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

The /basic principles of the SFRY Constitution/ express the long-term tasks in the further course of the socialist revolution and stand as a signpost for action on the part of all the social forces to find appropriate solutions so that the political system functions effectively and undergoes further development. These tasks pertain above all to creation of the conditions so that the workers, in associated labor, through personal determination, and in the delegate system, decide on the conditions, the means, and the results of their labor and to accomplishment of the following: socialist self-management federalism; human and civil freedoms, rights, and duties; the role of the subjective socialist forces, led by the LCY, as set forth in the constitution; constitutionality and legality; nationwide defense and social self-protection; and the policy of nonalignment as our country's lasting commitment. These principles are being realized in spite of quite a few difficulties and resistance in the context of contradictory social processes.

Accomplishment of the political system of socialist self-management on the constitutional foundations has been developing under the conditions and pressure of the system of social reproduction based on state-ownership production relations, contradictions in our own social development, and the power relations of the social forces between the self-management and the statist course of development, and under pressure for timely resolution of the major problems that have accumulated in the development of Yugoslav society and the numerous difficulties caused by the exacerbation of world economic contradictions. The basic conflict in our society is still the conflict between the interests of the working class and the tendencies of the technobureaucratic and state-

ownership monopoly, which ultimately comes down to the struggle for possession of the resources of society, that is, the surplus value of labor.

In spite of these developments, the commitment of the working class and of the working people to the self-management resolution of the contradictions of society and to the self-management conception of society's development is unquestioned. This demonstrates that real social problems can be resolved through a further strengthening of self-management and by the workers taking command of the entirety of social reproduction. Although the process of the workers taking command of the conditions, means, and results of their labor has only been initiated in a partial way to date, the results achieved indicate the correctness of the strategic commitments in our society's development.

2. The basic constitutional commitments are not being achieved sufficiently with respect to certain essential elements of the functioning of the political system. /Nor have the advanced socioeconomic prerequisites set forth in the constitution been achieved, nor has the political system itself contributed sufficiently to the more rapid and complete development of the self-management production relation/. This has resulted in a large gap between the status of the workers in associated labor and society as a whole as set forth in the constitution and as it actually is in social practice; on certain issues this gap has taken on the character of quite severe social conflicts. The causes of those conflicts need to be eliminated with urgency in order to attain stability of the system of socialist self-management and its effective functioning.

A consequence and expression of these contradictions has been the persistence of /statist relations in social reproduction/, which to a large degree still remains outside the decisionmaking of the associated workers, their bodies of self-management within organizations of associated labor and the institutions of the delegate system in broader associations of associated labor and in society as a whole. Under conditions where the monopoly position of management structures and their coalitions with the professional political administrative structures is still being maintained in decisionmaking concerning expanded reproduction, state-ownership and group-ownership relations are strengthened in the use and disposition of social resources. Autarky and extensiveness in the country's economic development are a consequence of that. The economic crisis and other major disturbances in reproduction and in the socioeconomic system have basically been caused by the domination of statist relations and by the technobureaucratic monopoly at all levels of organization of associated labor and of society as a whole.

The process of decentralization has not been followed at the same time by the process of degovernmentalization. Instead of federal statism, which was characteristic of the earlier stages of development and which has still persisted in certain areas, in the more recent stage of development there has been a strengthening of statist relations in the republics and autonomous provinces. The persistence of statist relations at the level of the Federation is manifested in the way conditions for the conduct of economic activity are set forth and in the creation of conditions for revival of "anonymous capital" in the Federation. Tendencies toward autarkic development have become stronger

in the republics and provinces. Statist-bureaucratic structures are becoming the principal interpreter of the interests of their respective nationality--of their respective republic or province. This leads to a conflict between each "national" capital and every other and a confrontation of the interests of which the republic and provincial agencies of government are the protagonists, and this is manifested in aggravated form in the process of establishing the goals of joint development. The voluntaristically conducted development policy and economic policy both in the Federation and also in the republics and provinces, whereby the conditions have not been created for harmonious economic development and for the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market, has also contributed to a strengthening of republic and provincial statism. All of this provides the basis for both the emergence and the strengthening of nationalism. The /"polycentric" statism/ created in this way is manifested in strong tendencies toward exclusiveness and disintegration not only in the economy, but also in other domains of the life of society (in education, culture, science, etc.), which has adverse consequences for the development of our social community as a whole.

In the struggle to overcome statist relations in society it has not been sufficiently taken as a point of departure that the tendencies and material foundations of the strengthening of statism in the republics and autonomous provinces cannot be combated with those solutions which could encourage a renewed strengthening of statist relations at the level of the Federation and which would in fact merely lead toward a redistribution of the alienated decision-making concerning the surplus value of labor. Every form of statism, regardless of the level at which it is manifested in society, slows down the achievement of the self-management production relation and the constitutional conception of the SFRY and stands in contradiction to the worker's position, his rights, responsibilities, and obligations, as set forth in the constitution.

In that respect the /subjective forces/ of socialist self-management have not been up to the level of society's real capabilities and needs. Although political documents of sociopolitical organizations, and the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program in particular, have set forth the tasks of degovernmentalization of socioeconomic relations, above all because of the passivity of the sociopolitical organizations and because of their inadequate activity within the system, those economic and political changes indispensable to altering the present power relations among the social forces and to displacing the technobureaucratic monopoly to the advantage of the working class have not been forthcoming.

The /building up of the normative system of social reproduction/ has not been sufficiently placed at the service of strengthening the self-management position of the workers, their association and their decisionmaking concerning the income jointly earned and other relations in social reproduction. This especially applies to certain key sectors in the economic employment of social resources such as planning, note issue policy, the system of money, credit, and banking, the foreign exchange system, the price system and price policy, and establishment of other conditions for the conduct of economic activity.

Social plans of sociopolitical communities have basically been enacted in the old way, through an agreement among government bodies and agencies, without sufficient selectiveness in choice of priorities in development and without the decisive influence of the interests of the workers. Thus development plans have at all levels set forth an /unrealistic development policy/ (beyond the material capabilities of associated labor). Achievement of that kind of development policy required capital- and energy-intensive investments which could not be carried out relying solely on existing sources of investment in fixed capital, but required the commitment of working capital obtained from note issue along with abundant borrowing abroad.

The shortcomings in development policy are an essential reason why the economy of our country has remained even now autarkic and extensive, with low productivity, and why it has been developing without any very strong operation of economic laws and market criteria of economic performance. The orientation over many years toward the domestic market rather than toward exports, has weakened competitiveness and brought about a lag in technological development and an attitude of exclusiveness toward world economic developments.

Instead of the direct linkage of organizations of associated labor in carrying out joint development programs on the basis of self-management pooling of resources in Yugoslav economic space, investment resources have mostly been obtained through credit relations and in a statist way have been confined within the respective republics and provinces.

Such objectives and tasks of development policy were also achieved through /credit and monetary policy/, which has to the greatest degree been outside the decisionmaking of self-managing associated labor. The practice has still been retained of decisionmaking by executive, political, and administrative structures, from the opstina to the Federation, in a coalition with professional managers or professional management bodies in large systems and banks, whose social power has been directed toward ambitious large investments in unrealistic plans for development. /Retention of the old banking system/, in which the banks continue to be the principal instruments for realizing the statist development policy of sociopolitical communities, has especially contributed to this.

/Alienation of income from the workers/ within associated labor has been diminishing their motivation for more successful economic performance. The weakening of the ability of associated labor to generate capital and funds for reinvestment, its excessive dependence upon external sources of financing, and the confinement of associated labor to the boundaries of the opstina and the republic or province, have occurred above all because of the /domination of political and technobureaucratic structures in sociopolitical communities/. The formal confirmation of policy decisions in the delegate system which actually have been made outside the institutions of the system has also contributed to the alienation of income from the workers. This has jeopardized not only the authority of the political system, but also the stability of the economic system.

The political-ideological /action of the subjective factor/ as a whole, and of the League of Communists in particular, has not been sufficiently aimed at creating the indispensable social conditions for bringing to practical life a system of social reproduction based on the constitutional position of the workers whereby they would manage and dispose of the surplus value of labor and achieve the self-management pooling of labor and resources. The LCY, SAWPY, SSJ, and other sociopolitical organizations have not been timely or sufficiently precise in building the political-ideological foundations and in initiating the effort, especially in the delegate assembly system, to work out in practice and develop the relations established by the norms contained in the constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, the Law on Expanded Reproduction and Past Labor; nor have they been sufficiently creative in the effort to bring about the positions which have been adopted in this connection.

Because of the opportunities that were not taken to correct the shortcomings and deformations, above all through more resolute and effective action of the organized socialist forces, great differences have come about in the functioning of the socialist system of socialist self-management from one to another of the individual self-managed organizations and communities, opstinas, and other sociopolitical communities, and on that basis there have also come to be differing assessments of the achievement of its constitutional conception.

3. Experience demonstrates that there are /numerous shortcomings/ in the functioning of the political system.

1) The constitutional premise that the self-management component should become stronger through a unity of the two interconnected components of sociopolitical communities--self-management and political authority--is still not being brought about to the necessary degree. In the exercise of the constitutional functions of sociopolitical communities /the functions of political power have dominated over development of self-management relations/. The principle that the self-management position and rights of the workingman in basic and other organizations of associated labor, local communities, SIZ's, and other self-managing organizations and communities, the self-management position of the working people in the opstina, free self-management association, the activity and the creativity of the working people, the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, and human and civil liberties, rights, and duties, as set forth in the SFRY Constitution, constitute the basis, the limits, and the direction of the exercise of its rights and the discharge of its duties in performing the functions of government has not always been enforced in the exercise of political power by the sociopolitical community.

Instead of more rapid and more complete degovernmentalization at all levels, the tendencies toward "polycentric statism" have become much stronger in practice, contrary to the SFRY Constitution. As a consequence associated labor has become more dependent on the measures and activities of government bodies and agencies and on the decisions of political factors in "alienated centers" of financial and economic power.

Because of these and other deformations the constitutional principles that the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities guide economic development

has in practice been transformed into their management of social reproduction, and that has led to disintegration of the unified Yugoslav market.

2) The constitution precluded the possibility of social resources being managed and disposed of on any basis in property law. However, in the way that they exercised their constitutional and legal powers, the bodies of sociopolitical communities have in actuality exercised the right of ownership over social resources. That tendency toward a kind of restoration of state-ownership authority over "social capital" leads toward a /negation of the relation of social ownership/ as the foundation of the political system of socialist self-management.

The decisionmaking in effect by government bodies and agencies and centers of political power concerning the concentration and commitment of social resources, the planning and guidance of socioeconomic development, and establishment of priorities in investment, combined with influence on the flows of social reproduction regardless of the interests of associated labor and of its associations, constitutes the material basis of these tendencies.

In many sectors of the economic system and also in development policy and economic policy solutions have been adopted which favor retention of the material foundations of statism and the reproduction of the old relations in the conduct of economic activity and in autarkic development. This especially applies to the system of credit, money, and banking, the foreign exchange system, the tax system, and so on.

Statist tendencies have also been manifested in the following: extensive use of the provisions of the SFRY Constitution pertaining to the mandatory pooling of resources and temporary prohibition on use of a portion of the income of the organization of associated labor (Article 23, in connection with Article 72); failure to implement the provisions of the SFRY Constitution (Article 33) with respect to obligations to satisfy needs for social services and government, whose size has not been determined as a function of the economic condition of economic entities within the limits set forth in plans, as well as in line with the economy's capabilities; in the excessive use of the provisions of the Law on Associated Labor (Article 349) whereby sociopolitical communities may establish a work organization; the draining off of income in quasi-self-management forms; the extensive and inappropriate application of the provisions of the SFRY Constitution (Article 58) with respect to establishment of self-managing communities of interest, especially in the domain of material production; in the adoption of quasi-social compacts and in the excessively detailed--by force of the state--establishment of the norms governing self-management relations through legislation and in other ways.

Such powers and also such behavior on the part of the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities at all levels have placed those bodies and agencies in what amounts to a monopoly position in management of the resources of social reproduction and in making decisions about the realization and distribution of income.

The ever greater government intervention in the economy has not allowed the benefits of the operation of economic laws to be realized. The shortcomings in the functioning of the political system have made it possible for the kind of development policy and economic policy to be set forth that has protected vested privileges, monopoly position, and other forms of unjustified siphoning of income in primary distribution. The economic system, development policy, and economic policy have not been sufficiently effective in encouraging broader activation and more optimum use of total human, material, and productive potential; the self-management pooling of labor and resources in an undivided economic space; construction of a complete system of the organization of associated labor encompassing both its production function and its social function; the motivation of the workers to achieve the largest possible income by raising labor productivity and the transformation of labor and the results of labor into the sole basis of their material and overall social position.

Nor has the legal system furnished sufficient and effective protection against statist and group-ownership tendencies in the management, use, and disposition of social resources. Fuller protection of social ownership, above all as the concern of the workers who, working with social resources, create and protect the basis of their material position and their social security, but also the material basis of their own and total social labor and development, is not being achieved. The principal reason for this lies primarily in the absence of a direct linkage between the behavior of the worker toward socially owned resources and his material and social position. This also gives rise to the undeveloped awareness of the features of social ownership in work with the means of production that are socially owned.

The numerous manifestations of unlawful and unjustified outflow of social resources into private property and the failure of the tax system, which tolerates deformations in this sector, to adapt have been seriously threatening the integrity of social ownership, and that in turn has been leading to a number of social-class consequences.

Although the mechanism of overall legal protection in our system has been developed, certain parts are not functioning successfully. The legal instruments in place have not been fully utilized in combating partialization, autarky, and bureaucratic-statist and group-ownership types of behavior, which have been developing at the expense of the strengthening of social ownership and achievement of the self-management interests of the working class.

The lack of commitment on the part of the subjective forces, the League of Communists in particular, in correcting these adverse tendencies and deformations, has also made it more difficult in practice to achieve and develop the conception of social ownership set forth in the constitution by means of the institutions and mechanisms of the political system.

3) The unsatisfactory results in resolving more rapidly the /problem of unemployment/, especially of skilled young people, and the markedly inadequate activity in achieving that portion of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program set forth in "Problems of Employment and Lines of Activity To Resolve Them" have been pushing more and more into the foreground the question of the

competence and responsibility of all the entities in the political system and of the role of its institutions and mechanisms for creating the conditions to provide the exercise of the constitutional right to work by the unemployed. The right to self-management would be formalized and essentially limited unless the right to work with social resources is exercised, because the unemployed cannot have an influence on their own socioeconomic position, on adoption of decisions in associated labor and in certain chambers of assemblies of SIZ's and sociopolitical communities, nor can they achieve normal conditions for their existence and development of their creative abilities.

4) The /integration of society/ is still not being sufficiently achieved on a self-management foundation, but rather mostly on a statist foundation.

In the process of degovernmentalization and decentralization the necessary prerequisites of social integration on the foundations of self-management pooling of labor and resources in the context of socialist commodity production and the operation of economic laws have not been sufficiently achieved.

The inappropriate activity of individual institutions and mechanisms of the political system, and especially their ineffectiveness, has restricted the processes of the self-management pooling of labor and resources on the foundations of joint realization of income and has led to the exclusiveness of associated labor and especially of sociopolitical communities at all levels of the organization of society. Certain solutions in the economic system and the conception that within opstinas, and indeed also within SR's and SAP's, they must at any price satisfy only "their own" respective needs have also contributed to this. This has essentially disrupted the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market, without which it is not possible to achieve unity of the country's political system.

The processes of the self-management organization of associated labor and the integration of labor and resources in material production and in the social services have been going slowly, and that mainly within the limits of opstinas, republics, and autonomous provinces.

As a rule the self-management pooling of income has been achieved within the limits of the same work organization or complex organization of associated labor, since economic criteria governing optimum economic employment of social resources and the instruments and measures that would encourage linkage based on income sharing throughout the entire country have not been brought sufficiently to bear.

The manifestations of one-sidedness in exercise of the rights of the workers to employ social resources in the OOUR, which lead toward group-ownership relations in the economic employment of those resources, also represent an important social basis of autarky. The group-ownership disposition of social resources leads toward confinement within the OOUR and is contrary to the social-ownership character of resources and income in associated labor. The remnants of wage relations often do not allow the authentic interests of associated workers to be affirmed in the OOUR within the work organization and also within broader forms of self-management organization. The monopoly

position of many organizations of associated labor on the market also contributes to this.

The way in which the organized subjective forces have operated has also contributed to autarkic development. The activity of the organs and bodies of sociopolitical organizations has frequently been burdened with the partial interests of the communities in which they operate, which has slowed down the process of building joint views and of examining and acknowledging the broader and more long-term interests.

The process of democratization and decentralization of economic and social life has not been accompanied by a corresponding process of social integration on self-management foundations in which the protagonist should be labor pooled through self-management, encouraged by the measures of economic and development policy and by the organized action of sociopolitical organizations.

5) Authentic /expression of self-management interests and their democratic reconciliation/ have encountered quite large difficulties. Common interests have figured more as the mediated common interests of workers in organizations of associated labor from a particular territory of sociopolitical communities at the higher or lower level, and less as the authentic interests of the workers, the working people and citizens and of their self-managing associations. That is why the role of the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities and the organs of sociopolitical organizations at all levels has become disproportionately great and mediative, which in some cases has led to a weakening or indeed even a severing of ties based on interests extending beyond territorial boundaries.

The decisionmaking process is very slow and inefficient, burdened with formalism, and it therefore affords opportunities for manipulation and has been lagging behind the needs of social development. The content and forms of the linkage and cooperation of delegations of OOUR's in order to reconcile interests in broader forms of association and linkage of organizations of associated labor, or their establishment in assemblies of SIZ's or the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, have not been in keeping with the needs to achieve broader linkage of organizations of associated labor which are naturally turned toward one another by production, by reproduction, or by other collaboration.

Political decisions on many important issues have been made on the recommendation of executive and administrative bodies without adequate scientific and professional analyses and precise data, and indeed even without the necessary consultations in the self-management and delegate base, although this is an essential prerequisite for making decisions and for carrying them out.

6) The correction of statist tendencies in practice has often been manifested as a /negation of the role of the state/ in general. This is to underestimate and negate even those functions of government bodies and agencies aimed at protecting and developing the production relations of self-management, in which the class nature of the state is expressed as an instrument of the power of the working class and of all the working people.

7) /Achievement of responsibility/ in society has not been satisfactory. There are strong tendencies toward a weakening of all aspects and forms of responsibility, of deviation from moral standards and the values of a socialist self-managed society. It is an especially disturbing fact that irresponsibility in our society is no longer individual, but in certain quarters is being manifested more and more as the social climate. Individual responsibility is often turned into vague collective responsibility. Responsibility has not been incorporated into the system to the necessary degree as a condition of its effective functioning and of correcting difficulties in the development of socialist self-management.

Effective mechanisms and ways of achieving responsibility for the making of decisions and for carrying them out have not been worked out sufficiently.

The inadequate achievement and delimitation of personal and collective responsibility of all entities for the performance of self-manager and other functions and for performance of tasks in associated labor have also been causing considerable difficulties. A line has not been drawn sufficiently between self-management responsibility and professional responsibility of those who hold professional-management and professional positions in organizations of associated labor in material production, especially in organizations of associated labor of particular public interest, nor has there been adequate delimitation of sociopolitical responsibility of members, bodies, and organizations of sociopolitical organizations in associated labor and in sociopolitical communities.

Important weaknesses have also been detected in the followup on the execution of self-management decisions, in normative elaboration of the ways and forms of achieving it, and in the independence and responsibility of self-management workers' control, in which all sociopolitical communities, the Federation of Trade Unions especially, should have a very important role.

In their specific political-ideological measures and correctional measures toward their members and the members of their own bodies, sociopolitical organizations have not sufficiently indicated or furnished initiative for instituting proceedings to establish responsibility (for resignations, recall, replacement), nor indeed for invoking other social penalties, thereby anticipating and eliminating the deformations and undesirable forms of behavior that have been noted along with others, and they have not done so in their public criticism either.

8) In carrying out the constitutional commitments with respect to independence, equality, and cooperation in the /relations of sociopolitical communities with one another/ there have been major difficulties tending to detract from the efficiency and effectiveness of the political system as a whole. Functional incompatibility in the individual parts has considerable to do with the fact that the political system often does not function as a whole, at the level of all sociopolitical communities. Nor has the functioning of lower-level sociopolitical communities as constituent elements of the higher-level sociopolitical communities been sufficiently synchronized. The principles governing mutual relations of sociopolitical communities have in practice

often been applied in such a way that the unity of the socioeconomic system set forth in the constitution and the uniform foundations of the political system have not been guaranteed in particular domains of economic and social life.

In practice, and indeed even in the normative sphere, tendencies have emerged which are contrary to the constitutional commitments concerning the concept of the independence of rights, which are viewed out of the context of the corresponding obligations and responsibilities in the relations of executive bodies and delegate assemblies, and then of assemblies and other agencies and organizations of sociopolitical communities as well as between sociopolitical communities themselves.

The mistakenly conceived principle of independence in the institutional formation of every sociopolitical community has been especially evident in the enforcement of legislation. The agencies of lower-level sociopolitical communities have in practice begun more and more frequently to evaluate on the basis of their own interests the opportuneness of enforcing various enactments of higher-level sociopolitical communities. The greatest weaknesses are the lack of constant and organized encouragement of self-management linkage, direct cooperation and agreements of sociopolitical organizations, the conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts and the entry into association of OOUR's and other self-managed organizations and communities, the activities of sociopolitical and other public organizations and associations of citizens, and the free and many-sided activities of citizens.

Cooperation among sociopolitical communities at the same organizational level has not been achieved to the extent that corresponds to the aims of the constitution. The participation of bodies and agencies of the republics and autonomous provinces in formulating policy and making decisions at the federal level is the most highly developed form of relations among the various sociopolitical communities.

9) Shortcomings in the functioning of the political system are also reflected in the /legal system/, especially in the domain of writing and enforcing the law. The tendency toward extensive and exceedingly detailed regulation of social relations is being manifested ever more frequently in practice. The normative power of the state is being used excessively in certain areas, and sometimes even abused. The consequence of that is a large output of laws and especially sublegal enactments and other general acts. The exaggerated normativism, as a kind of manifestation of statism in which the bodies of sociopolitical communities sometimes even exceed the constitutional limits in regulating relations, especially in the republics and autonomous provinces, narrows the space for self-management regulation and also for independent regulation of relations in opstinas. Under such conditions self-management law is degraded under the pressure of government normativism and takes on the character of acts to implement the numerous enactments of the government. The hypertrophy of enactments shows that there still exists the bureaucratic illusion about the omnipotence of the law. Such conceptions encourage the demands for all social relations to be legislated and thus controlled, which, especially in certain domains, restricts free self-management initiative, makes it

more difficult for objective economic laws to operate, and neglects the indispensable need for respecting the moral and other standards of a socialist self-management system.

A high degree of normativism has been imposed by law and other "government" enactments even upon organizations of associated labor.

The procedure for adopting general self-management acts and other acts and decisions is very complicated and expensive, and to a large degree this is hampering the effective functioning of associated labor as a whole.

Numerous participants in normative activity have not been making sufficient effort to ensure the mutual compatibility and consistency of the legal system as a whole. The entities which create the law (sociopolitical communities, self-managed organizations and communities, etc.) have not been discharging their obligation to constantly synchronize the norms which they enact and eliminate contradictions and unjustified differences, which stand in the way of equal conditions for the conduct of economic activity of organizations of associated labor and in the way of the unity of the legal system.

In spite of the unquestionable results achieved in development of the legal system, its class function and its anticipated vigorous role in protecting, encouraging, and promoting the relations of socialist self-management have not been sufficiently performed.

10) /Nationwide defense and social self-protection/, as a part of the political system and as an aspect of the self-organization of the working people and citizens and as an essential instrument for protecting it, are being built on uniform sociopolitical foundations: the production relation of socialist self-management in which the working class has the dominant role; the federal character of Yugoslavia; the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities; the delegate assembly system; and Yugoslavia's independent policy and policy of nonalignment. In view of the role and character of nationwide defense and social self-protection and its functioning as a unified system, the activity of the organized subjective forces in the system itself is very important.

The effective functioning of the political system as a whole, but also of its every part separately, has a bearing toward preserving the unity of the system of defense and self-protection and toward its constant development. Slowness in finding solutions to overcome problems and shortcomings in the functioning of the political system has held back achievement and advancement of the system of nationwide defense and social self-protection.

11) A critical evaluation of the functioning of the political system is not complete without a critical examination of performance of the social role and the manner of activity of /sociopolitical organizations/. The political system of socialist self-management cannot function and develop unless the organized socialist forces are operating vigorously within it.

Sociopolitical organizations, because the content and manner of their activity have been slow to change, have still not become an integral part of the political system of socialist self-management to a sufficient degree, nor have they been performing successfully the role assigned them by the constitution in the entirety of social relations, at all levels and in all forms of the organization of self-management and society. They are still operating mostly as an external force, outside the institutions and relations which are supposed to be built in the political system, and that prevents them from being a full-fledged protagonist for the development of self-management and a strong factor in the struggle of the working class and the working people to achieve the free association of producers. For those reasons they are slow in performing their integrative function in society, and they have not been making a sufficient contribution to the democratic and successful achievement of the synthesis of individual interests into common interests and the overall interests of society.

The views of sociopolitical organizations have by and large remained general and declarative and they have not been sufficiently based on the interests of the members and on a system of democratic ties with the base and with the mechanisms envisaged by the constitution for self-management and delegate decisionmaking. The principal forms of organization and organs and bodies of sociopolitical organizations have been too little concerned with the essential issues of the life and work of the working people and citizens in basic self-managed organizations and communities.

Organized initiative and action on the part of sociopolitical organizations through their delegations and delegates in the institutions of the political system have not yet been forthcoming.

The shortcomings that have been manifested in the functioning of the political system are also a consequence of the incomplete and not always appropriate performance of the sociopolitical organization's function as an initiator, a guide, a binder, and a coordinator.

Shortcomings and inconsistencies have been manifested in the activity of the League of Communists as the vanguard of the working class and of the internal strength of the system, a vanguard which encourages the processes of integration and mobilizes the creative and progressive forces of society to change the old relations. If they are to be overcome, it is essential to strengthen the ideological unity and unity of action of the League of Communists, a respect in which it has not been resolute enough. In many places the activity of the organizations and bodies of the League of Communists comes down to restricted activity through professional management bodies and government bodies, and often it operates through a tie-up with them.

The LCY Program, "The Lines of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management," and the views of the 11th and 12th LCY Congresses have pointed up the possible dangers threatened by bureaucratization of the League of Communists and its causes. Operation through forums and the formalism present in the work of the bodies and in the staff of the League of Communists and the tendency of executive bodies of the LCY to merge with the bodies of

government occupy an important place among them. The burden which the bodies of the LC carry in operational management makes it inevitable that in formulating views and commitments they are under the constant pressure of partial and particular interests of lower-level and higher-level sociopolitical communities.

All of these things impose weaknesses in the work of the League of Communists at all organizational levels, and this in turn has an adverse effect on the functioning of the political system as a whole.

The Socialist Alliance, as an organization of the working people and citizens and as the umbrella organization of the organized socialist forces of society, has been too slow in its transformation into the real political basis of the delegate system. It still has not become the true place where political life in self-managed organizations and communities takes place and is coordinated. Its activity comes down primarily to the work of forums. At all organizational levels the space for operation of the Socialist Alliance has been considerably restricted by the practice and method of operation of government bodies and agencies and the political executive bodies of the League of Communists, which make the decisions essential to the sociopolitical life of individual sociopolitical communities. The work of the Socialist Alliance would be considerably more mobile if it were not for the inertness of its own organs and bodies.

12) The importance and /role of science/, as a force for progress in all domains of social life, including the political system, have not been sufficiently or appropriately affirmed in real relations.

The linkage between social practice and science, that is, the reliance of the planning of overall development and practical social activity on the results of scientific analyses, has been inadequate and less than what society needs and what is realistically possible.

The necessary material and institutional foundations have not yet been sufficiently created, nor the initiative developed for incorporation of scientific research into social action. The material position of science in society shows a tendency toward constant deterioration. Science has not been sufficiently equipped nor oriented toward that research which has key importance and urgency for solving the problems and performing the tasks of social practice in various domains of social labor and creation.

There has not been enough social action to overcome the splintering and fragmentation of scientific work, to provide scientific institutions with better facilities, to increase the number of scientists, especially young scientists, to distribute scientists more purposefully, and to achieve their movement in accordance with the needs of society.

The unsatisfactory situation with respect to the linkage between social practice and science is to a considerable extent the consequence of omissions in the activity of the entities in the political system, especially self-management and government bodies and sociopolitical organizations, whose task it is

to make decisions and undertake measures and actions aimed at ever more intensive mutual interpenetration of the scientific and social efforts.

13) An integrated /social system of information/ that would help to strengthen the role and influence of the workingman and citizen on all the flows of social life has not yet been built. There is a lag in the use of up-to-date technology for recordkeeping, for collecting, processing, and representation of data and facts important to monitoring the planning and guidance of social development. Organizations concerned with information (the SDK, the Bureau of Statistics, etc.) in different sectors of social life have not been sufficiently linked to one another. There is an absence of optimum integration of basic information processing into an autonomous social system of information founded on uniform bases from the opstina to the Federation.

The rights and duties of the working people and citizens and of their self-managed organizations and communities in the system of public information, which were set forth in the constitution, are being exercised and discharged slowly and inconsistently. There is a lag in socializing information within the framework of the political system and in transforming it into an instrument for the discharge of the rights of self-management and exercise of the freedoms of self-management by the working people and citizens. The necessary prerequisites for the social function of information are complete, truthful, objective, and timely information and an editorial policy founded upon the orientation of socialist self-management. In opposition to that the bourgeois liberalistic conceptions of the role of the news media reduce them to the temptation to replace their social function by arbitration in social events and phenomena, by vanguardism, by equating themselves with the "conscience of society," with the defense of partial interests of "their own" communities, and with a caviling attitude toward other communities, etc.

The causes of these and other shortcomings in achieving the system of public information are not to be found exclusively in the system itself, but to a large extent they also arise out of the inadequate presence of social influence, out of shortcomings in the functioning of the political system as a whole, and out of the overall situation in society.

## II. Assessment of the Functioning of the Individual Parts of the Political System

### 1. Self-Management Decisionmaking of the Workers and Working People Within OOUR's and Other Self-Managed Organizations and Communities

1) /The incomplete construction of the entire system of the organization of associated labor in its production function and social function constitutes one of the key reasons why it has been more difficult for the workers to become decisionmakers concerning the resources for expanded reproduction/ and at the same time it has been preventing the workers from becoming real wielders of political power through the delegate system.

The influence and presence of the economic coercion of market laws on the processes of integration have been insufficient, and there has been no very broad

or well-organized social action to elaborate the self-management organization of associated labor and bring it essentially into conformity with the commitments contained in the Law on Associated Labor. The transformation of relations in organizations of associated labor has been aimed largely at formal alteration of the existing organizational forms, while questions concerning development of income-sharing relations, management, jointly earned income, the pooling of labor and resources, and the long-run examination of common interests and goals and reconciliation of development and business policy have been neglected. The organization of OOUR's and work organizations has been conceived as a one-time reorganization, not as the point of departure for the self-management organization of associated labor and as a dynamic process.

Self-management organizational forms have not sufficiently reflected the position, interests, and needs of the workers in associated labor, nor have they been sufficiently at the service of the exercise of their rights and discharge of their obligations and responsibilities. Often organizations of associated labor have been organized regardless of the conditions set forth in the Law on Associated Labor, to a large extent a deformed and rigid organizational structure of associated labor has been created, and it has been more and more in conflict with the needs for its steady adaptation to the requirements of present-day technological development, the laws of socialist commodity production, the specific nature of various fields of social reproduction, achievement of the strategy of the country's economic development and its more equal and rapid inclusion in the international division of labor.

The constitutional provisions on organization of /OOUR's/ and their place and role in the processes of the pooling of labor and resources have been achieved only in part. However, numerous examples show the vitality of the system of associated labor. Given the economic situation in the country today and the more severe conditions of the competitive struggle on the world market, many OOUR's brought together in work organizations, complex organizations of associated labor, and other forms of business-oriented and interest-oriented linkage, have been achieving significant results in the conduct of economic activity and have been an essential point of support for economic stabilization and a factor in the political system's stability. However, a certain number of OOUR's, taking advantage of their monopoly position and also certain favoring circumstances in the realization of income have shut themselves off or have not been establishing linkage to form work organizations and complex organizations on income-sharing foundations. This kind of exclusiveness of the OOUR has been a fertile soil for group-ownership behavior and for inefficient use of their own sources and other sources of social accumulation. This takes away the true content of self-management decisionmaking by the workers and prevents the affirmation and strengthening of the integrative functions of OOUR's in the system of associated labor.

Weaknesses, omissions, and deformations in organization of the OOUR, failure to acknowledge economic criteria and laws, and inadequate support of development policy and economic policy to establishment of the linkage and association of OOUR's within institutional forms or outside them, on programs calling for joint production and joint development, along with application of the most recent scientific and technological advances, and also the failure to elaborate

joint criteria and scales for application of the conditions set forth for organizing OOUR's and the insitutional establishment of the /work organization/ in particular activities have tended to strengthen the trends toward abolishing OOUR's and establishing broader organizational forms without OOUR's. This is seriously threatening the constitutional conception of the system of self-managed associated labor.

The failure to overcome entrepreneurial relations and the conception of the enterprise that is still present in practice have had the result that work organizations, contrary to the commitments contained in the constitution, are conceived either as a creation which should be established in order to fulfill the formal requirements of the Law on Associated Labor, or as forms of the kind of common linkage that abolishes the independence of basic organizations in earning income and conducting their business. This tends to shatter common linkage in the work organization, to strengthen group-ownership relations within OOUR's, to fragment accumulation, to detract from its optimum use, and to reduce opportunities for inclusion in the world market, etc. Such deformations prevent the work organization from being a vehicle for integration of associated labor. At the same time, such work organizations display ineffectiveness of self-management decisionmaking, slow reconciliation, inconsistent implementation of decisions, a weakening of responsibility for performance of joint obligations assumed, and ineffective activity of the workers' council of the work organization in guaranteeing regular discharge of those obligations.

Shortcomings in the self-management organization of OOUR's and of the work organization and their insufficient entry into self-management and economic association and linkage stand in the way of more rapid achievement and affirmation of the role of /complex organizations of associated labor and other broader forms of self-management organization/ set forth in the constitution and in the Law on Associated Labor. The complex organizations of associated labor, business communities, and communities for mutual cooperation in planning and the conduct of business that have so far been established by and large have not always brought into association or linkage organizations of associated labor which are interdependent in their production and technology and economically oriented toward one another in social reproduction, although under the Law on Associated Labor that is the principal condition for that kind of association and linkage. A majority of complex organizations of associated labor have not been built and do not function as a true business system, which is why shortcomings have arisen in achieving the objectives of association, such as aspects of development, planning, exports, use of plant and equipment, marketing, etc. Advantage has not been taken of the opportunity offered by the provisions of the Law on Associated Labor to link work organizations and OOUR's into various complex organizations of associated labor in order to pursue common interests. The existing complex organizations of associated labor are not flexible enough, nor always able to keep up in terms of their own level of organization with the requirements of scientific-and-technological progress and changes in the economy and society.

2) The constitutional principle that decisionmaking by personal expression and decisionmaking through delegates and delegations constitute a unified process of exercising the rights of workers in associated labor has not been

sufficiently implemented /in the decisionmaking of the workers in associated labor/.

Decisions are made by personal expression concerning matters which do not fall in the inalienable rights of the workers, but there have been frequent cases where the workers have made decisions several times by personal expression concerning the same issue (for example, concerning planning documents), and this does not enhance responsibility for those decisions and for carrying them out.

Worker caucuses are often a formality used to conceal the responsibility of professional management, workers' councils, or delegations. Because of these and other shortcomings the workers are not motivated to participate in caucuses, and that gives rise to the problem of a quorum.

There have been frequent cases of reducing the powers of the workers' council, of reducing the number of workers who sit on it, of reducing its role in decisionmaking to the granting of formal consent, and to its transformation into an executive body for carrying out decisions which are made by personal expression. In this way professional management authorities often have the last word in decisionmaking.

Delegate decisionmaking in the workers' council is often underestimated by comparison with forms of personal expression of the workers, and especially by comparison with the referendum and the worker caucus. Although the forms of personal expression, especially the worker caucus, are viewed as the "height of democracy," they are often a form for manipulating workers who have not been sufficiently informed and a form through which professional management authorities impose their views. The responsibility of those who are really making the decisions is clouded over in that way.

The specific functions have not been precisely stated and delineated in general self-management acts: management, conduct of business, professional presentation of proposals and decisionmaking, which makes it considerably more difficult to tighten the responsibility of those who hold those positions. Nor have the rights and duties of those who hold professional management positions at higher levels of organization of associated labor relative to those same positions in the OOUR and indeed in the work organization been precisely delineated. The responsibility of professional management has not been sufficiently developed nor defined, especially the collective responsibility of professional management bodies for the quality of the proposals which the workers adopt by personal expression and through the workers' council. Usually relations between the OOUR's and the work communities of the staff services have not been built on the principles of free exchange of labor. This makes it possible to increase the number of administrative and technical personnel without control or good reason, to create and expand the staff services within the OOUR, to organize and duplicate work communities in the work organization and complex organizations of associated labor irrationally, to continue financing them on the cost principle, and so on.

3) There are numerous problems in the /self-management decisionmaking concerning employment relations/. Statutes in labor law have not been brought into essential conformity either with the needs and specific features of self-management relations in the process of pooling labor and resources and with the right to work with social resources, nor with the requirements of present-day scientific and technological development. A self-management mechanism has not been built up that would take as its point of departure the self-management position of the workers and would prevent those who are not workers from abusing the rights which arise out of labor.

Labor legislation has not altogether regulated the relation between the self-management and other rights of the workers and their obligations and responsibilities arising out of labor and based on labor. These statutes are very vague and as a rule enforced formalistically and often one-sidedly. The low quality of those statutes and shortcomings and formalism in the proceedings whereby disputes arising out of employment relations are resolved often make it impossible to establish responsibility for unscrupulous and improper performance of work functions and managerial functions. Nor in this connection have the powers of the bodies of self-management vis-a-vis professional management bodies been sufficiently and precisely delineated.

The existence of a four-level, and in some cases even five-level, procedure in resolving disputes in the domain of employment relations contributes greatly to dragging them out.

4) /Personnel policy in associated labor/ by and large does not meet the requirements that arise out of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. The influence of social structures on personnel decisions in associated labor has not been sufficiently restricted, nor does it respect the views and commitments of work collectives and their workers' councils. Those who are to hold professional management and other key positions are not chosen on the basis of an evaluation of their ability for development of the production relations of self-management on the foundations of the pooling of labor and resources; quality economic performance and the rise of labor productivity; introduction of present-day technology and the organization of work in the production process; inclusion in the international division of labor, etc. Given the persistence of statist relations in social reproduction, the hampering of the operation of economic laws and the socialization of poor business performance, this creates in a considerable segment of professional management structures an attitude of complacency and autarky and strengthens their dependence on and tie-up with detached centers of political, economic, and financial power.

5) The failure of the /subjective forces to perform their role and discharge their responsibility within organizations of associated labor/ is one of the major causes of difficulties in worker self-management decisionmaking. Their activity, that of the trade unions above all, has not been sufficiently oriented toward strengthening the consciousness of the workers for responsible performance of managerial functions and protection of social property; toward organization of prior discussions of all issues on which the workers decide by personal expression; toward affirmation of decisionmaking through workers'

councils; encouragement of the oversight of operation of self-management and professional management bodies and the specialized staff services within the organization of associated labor; toward commitment in setting forth guidelines to govern the work of delegations and delegates in workers' councils, SIZ assemblies, and the assemblies of sociopolitical communities as well as other forms of activity within the delegate assembly system. In most cases the trade unions have also been inactive with respect to initiating procedures for timely adoption and consistent implementation of general self-management acts, and especially obligations arising out of self-management accords and social compacts, and for involvement in proceedings before self-management and judicial bodies to protect the self-management rights of the workers and social property.

6) The insufficient economic and social motivation of private farmers to pool their labor, land, and resources is an objective limiting factor on association to form agricultural cooperatives and other forms of /association of private farmers/. The underdevelopment of income-sharing relations of associated farmers and organizations of associated labor on the basis of long-term and equal relations, the underdevelopment of the relation of free exchange of labor between the associated farmers and workers performing technical, administrative, and other functions of common interest, and the underdevelopment of various forms and bodies of self-management decisionmaking (the referendum, the assembly, the council) act as a disincentive on the formation of agricultural cooperatives by private farmers. The causes of this situation also lie to a great extent in the monopolistic behavior of the agricultural combines, which are supported by the executive, administrative, and political authorities in opstinas where these combines have their headquarters, and also in the dogmatic and ideological prejudices toward the peasantry which are still present.

7) The perpetuation of the dominant role of sociopolitical communities in determining the conditions for the conduct of economic activity and for development of the /activity of the economic infrastructure/, which has been especially reflected in the long-term policy of depressive prices, whereby even simple reproduction is not provided for in certain activities, has been preventing the workers in the economic infrastructure, along with the workers in organizations of associated labor in the sector of material production which are users of their service, from making decisions and bearing responsibility for the functioning and development of those sectors on the basis of a reconciliation of interest.

Shortcomings in achieving the constitutional conception of associated labor have been especially manifested in the activities of the economic infrastructure which must be organized as large unified technological systems. In the implementation of the Law on Associated Labor the same principles and models are being mechanically applied to organization in those systems as to the organization of OOUR's and work organizations in other sectors of associated labor. Nor has the necessary unity of economic relations been established in those systems; it takes for granted the need to reconcile development policy, to establish a uniform price structure and uniform standards of services and criteria for establishment and distribution of joint revenues and joint income.

For those reasons disintegrative trends, the interventionist role of the government, regional exclusiveness and cases of monopoly behavior are becoming stronger even in sectors of the economic infrastructure in which technological unity of the system is indispensable and is in the interest of the entire country (the PTT, the railroads, the electric power industry). Under those conditions labor productivity and the efficiency of the economic employment of social resources have been essentially diminished, and this has had adverse consequences for social productivity of labor as a whole.

A majority of SIZ's in the sector of material production was established by law. Substantial social resources were concentrated in them on the basis of contributions established by law, but at the same time they are not being used economically and consistently, in accordance with their purpose.

In spite of initial results, they are actually being managed without direct control of the workers in organizations of associated labor originating and receiving the services and products. That is also why economic logic, common interests, and responsibility in the economic employment of social resources have not been affirmed in these activities and why disintegrative trends have become stronger in certain sectors of the economic structure and indeed even in other sectors of material production.

8) The essential transformation of relations /in meeting common needs in the social services/ on the foundations of free exchange of labor has barely begun and is taking place with a great many difficulties and indeed even resistance; mechanisms and instruments representing parafiscal furnishing of funds through contributions and the concentration and distribution of resources in the SIZ as a fund are still predominant; the government has a strong role in prescribing almost all the elements of the relationship of free exchange of labor, indeed even the level of the contribution which is paid in the SIZ; instead of economic criteria and the quality of performance, the financing of institutions and the scope of their work and the personal incomes of their employees is dominant in the relations of the free exchange of labor, and this encourages an expansion of the network of institutions, inadvisable hiring and the performance of work that does not meet the necessary standard; inappropriate activity of the subjective forces; in practice these activities tend to be treated as a domain of consumption, not as an essential component of associated labor; in the realization of income the dominant relations are those established within and through the SIZ, and relations in realization of income on other foundations are underdeveloped, especially the joint realization of income and the direct exchange of labor. All of this has helped to bring about a situation in which the initial position of those rendering and those receiving services has not undergone any essential change from the time before the SIZ's were established, and this also has an adverse effect on the achievement of delegate relations in SIZ's.

The funds to satisfy these needs are set aside beyond the material capabilities of the economy even when this is done by intervention of the government in establishing rights and other functions on the basis of solidarity and reciprocity. The expansion of these rights beyond the material capabilities of associated labor is making it more difficult to satisfy common needs in the

social services adequately, although application of the principle of solidarity is an objective necessity. All of this stands in the way of achieving the necessary continuity and adequate standard of the services of those activities through the appropriation of resources to meet those needs.

The pattern of action and decisionmaking of the SIZ assembly is characterized by insufficient influence of those rendering the services and even more those who receive the services in the making of decisions, and to a great extent the role of executive bodies and staff services of the SIZ is pronounced; decisionmaking in the SIZ assembly is done primarily by majority vote instead of conclusion of accords and agreements; a growth of the professional and administrative staff of the SIZ, etc.

Aside from the SIZ's whose establishment is required under the constitution, laws of the SR's and SAP's have broadened the obligation to establish SIZ's for other social services as well, and at the same time the tasks and manner of organizing the SIZ's have usually been regulated in detail. The essential motivation for establishing numerous SIZ's on the basis of a legislative obligation is above all the desire of many entities, by and large those rendering the services, to guarantee themselves stable sources of revenues on the basis of "reliable" rates of the contributions.

Regulations on the free exchange of labor and on SIZ's are characterized by excessive detail in the regulation of those relations, excessively broad use of the constitutional provisions concerning the legal possibility of establishing SIZ's and of prescribing the obligation of establishing them (Article 58 of the constitution), as well as the possibility of sociopolitical communities to adopt temporary measures (Article 59 of the constitution), which instead of a constitutional exception have now become the rule. At the same time, fuller and more appropriate elaboration of certain important issues has not been achieved, for example, the conditions for organizing OOUR's and work organizations in certain social services; the planning of social service needs; the criterion for classification of needs in social services; elaboration of the "gross" personal income; the manner in which the particular social interest is safeguarded, etc.

9) The /local community/, as one of the foundations of the system of socialist self-management democracy, has not been adequately developed as an essential institution for organizing the workers and all the working people and citizens in meeting certain common interests and needs which can be satisfied optimally and effectively at the place where they live.

The causes lie above all in the problems that have not been solved in providing for the material basis of self-management in the local community and in their insufficient linkage with organizations of associated labor. There is a great gap between the normatively established and actual position of the local community and the delegate system and in the system of organization around interests in self-management in meeting the community needs of the working people and citizens. The interests of the working people and citizens expressed and reconciled in a self-management way in local communities, insofar as they pertain to resolving specific issues of broader social importance, have not

been adequately integrated into the process of decisionmaking at the level of higher sociopolitical communities. The legislative regulation of relations important to the self-management development of the local community has been inappropriate. The local community is not performing its role in managing the socially owned housing stock, and decisionmaking on these resources has been alienated from the tenants and from the self-management system of house councils.

As a consequence the local community is tending to develop more as a neighborhood community consistent with the conception of decentralization of opstina authority and "allocation" of certain funds to meet a portion of the need for government and social services. Especially in the cities the local community has been developing more as a community of consumers and citizens, while other functions are more restricted than in the constitutional conception.

Even though a large number of agencies and bodies have been established in the local community, relatively few working people and citizens have become involved in the processes of self-management decisionmaking. In spite of large differences in the level of activity of local communities, this especially applies to local communities in urban settlements. The absence of broad democratic initiative and of activity and commitment on the part of the working people and citizens in those communities is a consequence of the inadequate and inappropriate activity of sociopolitical organizations in local communities. As a consequence there have been emerging trends toward alienation of decisionmaking from the working people and reduction of the role of the assembly of the local community to formal confirmation of the decisions put forward by its executive bodies. The weakest point in the work of the assembly of the local community is the insufficient participation of the delegates of organizations of associated labor. All of this is confirmation that the constitutional conception of the local community as a kind of community of interest of working people and citizens cannot be successfully achieved without constant political initiative and action on the part of the organized subjective forces, in which the Socialist Alliance and the trade unions have a particular role. The manner and methods of their activity must rely to a much greater extent on constructive experiences in practice.

## 2. The Delegate System

1) The development of self-management in organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities is opening up prospects for new forms of direct ongoing participation of the working people in the exercise of government and the management of other social affairs through the delegate system.

Although the institutions and mechanisms of the delegate system have been built up almost entirely as called for by the constitution, the anticipated results have not been achieved in its functioning, especially with respect to adaptation of delegate decisionmaking to the self-management character of production relations, in view of the need for the interests of the working people in all sectors and relations of social reproduction to be expressed as directly and freely as possible and for interests pertaining to the social

services and interests pertaining to government to be built up through democratic decisionmaking, and with respect to guaranteeing effective and responsible execution of the established policy and the decisions made. In practice /all the social prerequisites for functioning of the delegate system have not been adequately achieved/ so that all the advantages of delegate decisionmaking might be manifested.

Along with the forms of delegate decisionmaking established by the constitution, there is also extrainstitutional decisionmaking, which threatens to become a parallel system, and that is why delegate decisionmaking is often a mere formality. Interlinked professional management bodies and organizations of associated labor and banks and executive and administrative bodies and political-executive bodies of sociopolitical communities, or their more restricted structures and influential individuals have a strong influence on the decisions that are made in delegate decisionmaking, so that such decisions are only given formal confirmation in delegate assemblies.

The shortcomings and deformations in the implementation of the delegate system also arise out of the content and manner of performance of the function of sociopolitical organizations. Sociopolitical organizations, their organs and bodies, their basic organizations and rank-and-file membership are still not operating sufficiently as a force providing guidance in terms of ideas and ideology within the delegate system, but rather operate much more frequently outside it and alongside it, jeopardizing the essential features of the delegate assembly system and the place and role of the sociopolitical organization within it.

The underdeveloped, inappropriate, and inefficient information system is also having a considerable impact on the achievement of delegate decisionmaking as well as on the functioning of the political system as a whole. There has been great resistance to its achievement. Although timely and complete information is one of the essential conditions and prerequisites for delegate decisionmaking, for the exercise of oversight and for establishment of responsibility, participants in the process of self-management delegate decisionmaking often do not have the necessary information. Data are lacking on certain extremely important economic and social matters, and decisions are made concerning them on the basis of unsuitable assessments and general interpretations. In addition, the delegate assemblies, delegations, and delegates depend on information which they mostly obtain from executive, administrative, and professional management bodies, which they are unable to verify, so that the monopoly over information in practice often turns into a monopoly over decisionmaking. This is one reason why the self-management process of decisionmaking is functioning only partially, and the incomplete, tardy and sometimes even untruthful information often helps to make the decisions unrealistic, pragmatic, and shortsighted.

2) In achievement of the delegate assembly system the /delegation/ is the most important component, but as a rule in practice it has been one of the least developed components in the functioning of the delegate system. The work of the delegation is being little felt in practice. They have been operating as "independent institutions," and at the same time there is a lack of responsibility on the part of the delegation and also the delegates for the adoption

of decisions and for carrying them out. However, in those organizations of associated labor, and even more local communities, where overall self-management relations are more highly developed, and the bodies of administration, sociopolitical organizations, and professional services have been devoting greater attention to the work of delegations, they have been performing their function to a greater extent. In places where they tend to change the delegates, especially at the opstina level, certain advantages have been displayed with respect to more vigorous involvement of delegations and their pronounced responsibility for the content and continuity of the work of delegate assemblies. The working people and citizens, sociopolitical organizations, self-management bodies, professional management bodies, and staff services have not been paying enough attention to creation of the conditions for the work of the delegations and have been underestimating their function in achievement of the delegate assembly system.

The linkage and cooperation of delegations, both within the framework of organizations of associated labor and also in the local community, the opstina, and more broadly--in the SR or the SAP--have not been developed in practice. That is why they have not been sufficiently performing their integrative function. The constitutional opportunities for the formation of a conference of delegations through which basic self-managing organizations and communities would be linked together on the basis of common interests have not been fully taken advantage of. Conferences of delegations, as a democratic form of operation of delegations and of their linkage with other social factors, have not sufficiently developed the function of setting forth guidelines and of initiating and sponsoring solutions and alternatives as the basis for reconciling interests and basic views in delegate assemblies.

A particular problem in practice has been the establishment of guidelines and basic views for the activity of delegates in the assemblies of higher-level sociopolitical communities. Nor have the views of delegations been linked together and reconciled in order to build up common views to govern the work of delegates in the assembly of the higher-level sociopolitical community.

3) In their organization, in their forms of operation, and in their decision-making forms /the assemblies of sociopolitical communities/ have not been sufficiently opened up to broader influence and activity of the working people organized through self-management and of their delegations.

Predominantly oriented toward establishment of policy and the adoption of pieces of legislation, the assemblies have not been sufficiently performing their other constitutional functions, above all establishing the policy governing the enforcement of statutes and the acts which they adopt; conduct of an effective policy of oversight over the work of executive bodies and administrative agencies; the exercise of social oversight over the work of organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities; the furnishing of initiative and performance of a more responsible role in the election and appointment of those who hold public office, etc.

There are still elements of the parliamentary representative system in the work of the assemblies, especially with respect to the internal organization

and mode of operation of the chambers and working bodies of the assemblies. The assemblies of sociopolitical communities have not managed to develop their initiative to any great extent in the taking of decisions, nor have they strengthened their ability for critical assessment and evaluation of proposals sponsored by executive bodies. This is especially manifested in application of the abbreviated and urgent proceedings in decisionmaking. There are cases, especially characteristic of the assemblies of higher-level sociopolitical communities, where matters that pertain to regulation of key socioeconomic relations, the rights and obligations of the working people and citizens, development and the conditions for conduct of economic activity, etc., are transferred to executive bodies and administrative agencies.

Decisionmaking in equal jurisdiction of assembly chambers is dominant in practice, and this jeopardizes performance of the constitutional role of the separate chambers, especially the chamber of associated labor. It is characteristic of many opstina assemblies that decisions are made on a broad range of matters in a joint session of the chambers.

The role of the chamber of associated labor has not been performed in terms of ongoing examination, oversight, and involvement with respect to the most efficient possible conduct of economic activity with the resources for social reproduction in organizations of associated labor, with respect to creating those conditions for the conduct of economic activity which will encourage broader self-management linkage and integration of associated labor on a basis of income sharing throughout the unified space of Yugoslavia and with respect to removing the obstacles that stand in the way of establishing a single development strategy for the country. The labor and functional component has not been sufficiently manifested in the activity of the chamber of associated labor by contrast with the geographic component. One reason for this is the differing way in which those chambers are established in the republic and provincial assemblies, and another is the insufficient activity of sociopolitical organizations, especially the trade unions, in encouraging performance of the constitutional role of that chamber.

Often the sociopolitical chambers, especially in opstina assemblies, are still operating as chambers of general jurisdiction.

4) The /state presidencies of the SR's and SAP's/ perform important functions in the domain of representing the SR or SAP in the domain of nationwide defense, protection of the system established by the constitution, foreign policy and mutual collaboration of the SR's and SAP's in the pursuit of common interests in the Federation. In practice those functions have not been uniformly achieved. The role of the presidencies in the delegate assembly system has not been sufficiently realized, especially from the standpoint of their more complete operating linkage with the assemblies of sociopolitical communities (the taking of initiative in the assemblies and other examination of matters in their jurisdiction). Nor has the practice sufficiently developed where the assembly of the SR or SAP calls upon the presidency to present its views on certain matters which have a bearing on the work of the assembly. Nor has the presidency's relationship with the executive bodies of assemblies of sociopolitical communities been altogether achieved in practice as set

forth in the constitution, and this has affected the effectiveness with which the executive function as a whole as been performed.

Certain differences in the powers and position of the presidency from one SR or SAP to another have had the result in practice that certain of their functions have not been uniformly performed.

5) The tendency of /executive bodies and administrative agencies/ to become independent of assemblies and for administrative agencies to hide behind the authority of executive bodies are still continuing. Executive bodies, which are made up mostly of the heads of administrative agencies, operate to a great extent as something like collective heads of administration, thereby losing the necessary critical distance from the administrative agencies, whose work they are not sufficiently examining, guiding, or coordinating from the standpoint of the system as a whole. However, there are also tendencies, especially in opstinas, for executive bodies to operate as political-executive authorities, with a pronounced political membership and functions detached from administrative agencies, which jeopardizes their constitutional responsibility for the situation in sociopolitical communities and for guidance and coordination of the work of administrative agencies.

The essential constitutional functions of executive bodies and administrative agencies in the conduct of policy and in executing the acts of the assembly are not being performed adequately or completely. In the performance of those functions the executive bodies and administrative agencies resort much more frequently to the sponsorship of measures or of amendments and supplements of statutes than to using the mechanisms and instruments envisaged by the constitution and law for seeing that the established policy and statutes enacted are carried out. The normative functions of executive bodies and administrative agencies are being broadened beyond their constitutional powers and their position in the system. All of this is detracting from the effectiveness and authority of those bodies in performing their executive function, and their administrative meddling into relations which under the constitution lies in the domain of self-management is becoming stronger.

The openness of executive bodies and administrative agencies to the influence and oversight of the entire social structure has not been sufficient, nor has the commitment been achieved on a broad scale whereby social councils are established in association with administrative agencies and for individual administrative sectors as an important influence whereby society exerts an influence on the work of administrative agencies.

The administration has not undergone an essential transformation that would guarantee its functioning in an up-to-date way, its strengthened organization and personnel, and especially its orientation toward competent, effective, and responsible performance of tasks and functions. The administration does not have the technical equipment it should have, it is lagging behind in modernization, and not enough advantage is being taken of scientific advances in its operation. In spite of the indispensable need for a constant process of de-governmentalization of administrative functions and for a corresponding change in the structure and a reduction in the number of administrative personnel, in

practice there has been an expansion of the administrative apparatus in government agencies, but also in professional staff services and bodies of all other social and self-management forms of organization.

The persistence of hierarchical relations in the administration, the nurturing of tendencies toward administration by officeholders, along with remnants of the mentality of the civil servant and the unsatisfactory socioeconomic position of the workers in administration, have been reducing the opportunities for more creative and professional work. Mediocrity and subservience not uncommonly are preferred in the placement of personnel and in rewards, so that competent personnel, instead of going into the administration, are usually leaving it. Nor is there any broad application of essential realization of the principle of reconfirmation (reizbornost) in the staff services and administrative agencies in sociopolitical communities. All of this, and also including the attitude of society toward the administration, has detracted from the prestige of the administration and from the importance of its functions, but especially it has diminished its adaptation to the delegate assembly system.

### 3. The Delegate Electoral System

The electoral system, as it has been set up in law, but especially as it has been functioning in practice, has not been sufficiently adapted to the delegate assembly system, nor has it provided any very essential encouragement for its functioning and guaranteed responsibility for the exercise of self-management and other social functions. In certain elements the electoral system has displayed a considerable autonomy vis-a-vis the delegate system and it has not sufficiently manifested the class essence of socialist self-management democracy. Electoral processes have been taking place in practice as a political act detached from the entirety of the delegate system and relations. Elections for positions on delegations have not become acts which have a decisive influence on the election, makeup, and work of delegate assemblies. The experience of all the delegate elections so far suggest the conclusion that after the elections the delegation and delegate lose their ties to the delegate base (the absence of constant communication, of influence and supervision of the work of delegates), which reduces the elections to a one-way act and emphasizes the indirect nature of the election of delegates. These shortcomings have been especially manifested in the nomination and election of delegates to assemblies of higher-level sociopolitical communities and the holders of responsible offices in the delegate assembly system. Cases have not been uncommon in which a delegate ceases to be a member of the delegation during his term of office, but proceedings are not instituted to replace him. In practice, and to some extent even in normative acts, the elements of the representative system have still been retained to a great degree. Certain institutions and mechanisms of the electoral system are too complicated, formalized, and inefficient, or in practice they have been deformed, reducing the delegate elections often to a technical matter. There has been a lack of any very complete or consistent application of certain important democratic achievements and principles of the electoral system as well: equality in the nomination of candidates, open lists of candidates, secret ballot, more candidates than positions to be filled, recall, etc.

Political preparations and the organization of the elections have often not suited their importance, neither from the standpoint of political mobilization, nor, and even more, as an act whereby the delegate system is established. The responsibility of sociopolitical organizations for the democratic essence of the entire electoral process has not been sufficiently manifested. There have been cases of usurpation of the rights of the working people, of their delegations and of nominating conferences by the bodies of sociopolitical organizations, smaller coordinating bodies, political activists, and individuals. The methods and mode of operation of sociopolitical organizations, above all the SAWP, have not always been adapted to the essence and importance of electoral processes. All of this has helped to strengthen formalism in the nominating and election processes, and the role of decisionmakers comes down to formal confirmation of individuals who in actuality have already been elected in advance.

#### 4. Personnel Policy in the Performance of Public Functions

In many places there often has been a deviation in implementing certain principles of personnel policy, of failure to abide by the criteria adopted, and unsystematic conduct of personnel policy (for example, on the eve of the elections there is a greater interest in personnel policy, but then it dies out, etc.). There has not been any overall planning of personnel needs as a part of total social planning both with respect to the constant education and training of personnel and also with respect to constant review and critical evaluation of the performance of those who hold office. Ability and performance in the holding of public office are usually evaluated inadequately and inappropriately and formalistically, and that is the basis on which their responsibility is established. The process of separating public and self-management offices so that they are not held by the same person has been going slowly.

The position and social role of the workers in associated labor in the conduct of personnel policy have not been achieved sufficiently or consistently, and this is slowing down the process of the indispensable democratization of personnel policy.

One contributing factor here is the incomplete and inconsistent performance of the role of the sociopolitical organizations, especially the LC, the SAWP, and the trade unions, and of their insufficient commitment to creating the conditions so that the working people and citizens and other entities exercise their rights and discharge their obligations more fully in the conduct of personnel policy. All of this gives rise to many things which are unwelcome and contrary to personnel policy in a socialist self-managed society, such as the privatization of public office, monopoly on the part of individuals and small groups, and indeed even on the part of political-executive bodies in sociopolitical organizations, subjectivism, leaderism, careerist ambitions, sectarianism, scheming by small groups, etc.

There is political professionalism and "circulation" of those who hold important public and other social positions at a certain level of sociopolitical organization. The principle that at the end of the term of office individuals

who professionally perform political and other social functions should go back to associated labor, i.e., to the places from which they were delegated or appointed, is not being consistently implemented.

In implementing the principle of collective effort, decisionmaking, and responsibility, a certain progress has been made in the manner and coordination of the work of collective bodies, in the democratization and socialization of the sphere of political decisionmaking, in effectiveness and responsibility in the process of formulating and carrying out the established policies, in the turnover of personnel, etc. Nevertheless, inconsistent application of the principles contained in the 1981 constitutional amendments is typical.

Shortcomings in application of the principle of collective effort have largely arisen out of reduction of those principles exclusively to reducing the length of the term of office and restricting succession, along with neglect of the essential issues in the development of society and especially the broader involvement of the working people and citizens and their sociopolitical organizations in exercising self-management and the power of the working class and working people and the advancement and development of the delegate system.

One contributing factor was the campaign to introduce the 1-year term of office regardless of the social role and character of bodies and organizations and the level of social organization. This did not afford a sufficient opportunity for the display of professionalism, competence, and responsibility of personnel for performance of the jobs in question. Because of the one-sided conception of the principle of collective effort and the length of the term of office, there has also been an increased influence of political-executive bodies and professional staff services on the work of self-management bodies and delegate assemblies.

##### 5. Sociopolitical Communities and Relations in the Federation

The following characteristics have been manifested in the implementation of the constitutional conception of the various sociopolitical communities:

1) The /opstina/ has been developing as a self-managed and basic sociopolitical community based on the power and self-management of the working class and all the working people. Definite results have been achieved in realization of the constitutional conception of the opstina, especially in creating and bringing about the living and working conditions for the working people and citizens, and in the stimulation of economic and social development, but substantial difficulties and shortcomings have also been manifested.

The halts in the development of the opstina as a self-managed and basic sociopolitical community have been directly reflected in the disintegration of society and the serious halts in the functioning of the political system as a whole. This has had a particular impact on the development of self-management relations in the republic, the autonomous province, and the Federation. However, shortcomings in realization of the constitutional conception of the higher-level sociopolitical communities, especially the SR's and SAP's, have also had an adverse effect on realization of the constitutional conception of

the opstina. In the opstina, as a composite self-managing community, there still has not been sufficient integration and linkage of all the forms of self-management--associated labor, local communities, SIZ's, and other forms of the self-management and sociopolitical organization of the working people and citizens. Nor has there been sufficient influence of the working people and citizens organized through self-management in the opstina on the work and decisionmaking of the agencies and bodies of higher-level sociopolitical communities.

The role of the opstina has not been performed satisfactorily in the processes of the broader self-management democratic integration of society, nor have the principles of material and financial and normative independence of the opstina, which has been having an adverse effect on exercise of constitutional rights and discharge of the constitutional duties of the opstina and on the development of relations between the opstina and higher-level sociopolitical communities.

In creation of living and working conditions the opstina has mostly been turned in upon itself, which has in part resulted from certain features of the system (for example, the financing of social service and expenditure, etc.), and independently of economic criteria and in a manner which does not guarantee economic efficiency, profitability, and complete utilization of the economic facilities built, it has been striving to develop its own economy. Because an economic mechanism which places the worker in associated labor in the opstina in a position to decide on the pooling of labor and resources and income-sharing linkage throughout the entire territory of Yugoslavia has not been functioning, opportunities have been opened up for the opstina on various bases (the banking mechanism, financial rescue, and socialization of losses, and so on by sociopolitical communities) to pursue its concern for its own physical development through unprofitable investment projects and by satisfying other "appetites" that will be covered by the SR's and SAP's.

Negative tendencies and trends have also been manifested in the opstina in discouragement of the development of the small business sector, in underutilization of arable farmland, in the inadvisable conversion of farmland into industrial and residential zones, in the inadequate support given to the formation of associations of private farmers, etc.

This has led inevitably to a kind of exclusiveness of opstinas and a lag in their development, which has had an impact on the entire sphere of social reproduction.

In many opstinas the physical, normative, and other social conditions have not been sufficiently achieved, and in some they have not been achieved at all for pursuing the policy of creating productive jobs and social welfare policy as a whole.

Chambers of associated labor in opstina assemblies have not been performing their essential constitutional functions. Operationalization of their role in the system has not made it possible for them to become the principal self-management and political organ of the working class in resolving the contradictions and problems in social reproduction and especially in linking together

and synchronizing differing self-management interests. Chambers of associated labor have not emerged sufficiently as factors for integration of the interests of the working class and as an effective form whereby the working class realizes, protects, and disposes of social property in accordance with the constitution.

In the work of many opstina administrative agencies and organizations, especially those which exercise public authority, there is arbitrariness, lateness, and unlawfulness, so that the working people and citizens have difficulty exercising their rights and discharging their duties. The failure to enforce statutes and measures, especially the statutes of higher-level sociopolitical communities, is often a consequence of the underdevelopment of the staff services, of the lack of appropriate personnel, but also of opportunism in the bodies of the opstina. When the opstina and higher-level sociopolitical communities examine the exercise of public authority by self-managing organizations and communities, adequate funds are often not furnished for performance of those functions. Nor has there been adequate and timely social oversight over the exercise of public authority.

Statist relations have manifested themselves especially in the domain of housing relations and housing policy in the opstina, but also in the sector of municipal services and utilities as a whole. The management of the socially owned housing stock and the settlement of housing issues have been alienated from the workers and citizens. The high rises in the cost of housing construction, especially socially owned housing, inconsistency in the formulation and implementation of housing policy, inadequately and inappropriately developed relations of solidarity and reciprocity have been standing in the way of more rapid satisfaction of the need for housing, have resulted in ruination of the existing housing stock, and are seriously threatening the standard of living of the working people.

All of this has also been accompanied by an attitude that to a certain degree is passive toward the tendencies of privatization and group-ownership interests, whereby the working class and socialist orientation of the opstina's self-management and political mechanism is blocked. Given those conditions, in many opstinas it is difficult to obtain and to carry out the measures of opstina assemblies and initiatives and actions on the part of sociopolitical organizations to combat those tendencies.

Opstinas in cities, suburbs, and rural areas display great differences in their level of development and also in the complexity of the pattern of their interests. Moreover, material and social development has to date necessitated reorganization of opstinas which have a large area and a large population.

The process of mutual linkage and cooperation of opstinas on self-management foundations has also been developing slowly in sectors where within the limits of their boundaries they might satisfy more fully the diverse needs of the working people and citizens and also of their self-managed organizations and communities. Cooperation of opstinas is still mostly initiated and carried on in an administrative way, instead of through direct linkage of organizations of associated labor, local communities, and SIZ's from the territory of several opstinas.

Bodies of self-management and the subjective socialist forces are not taking advantage of all the opportunities offered by the constitutional conception of the opstina for further self-management transformation and development of interopstina cooperation and for performance of the role of associated labor in providing for the material foundations of the equality of the working people and citizens and the brotherhood and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

2) The /socialist republic/ has been developing as a state based on the sovereignty of the nationality and on the power and self-management of the working class and all the working people and as a socialist self-managed democratic community of working people and citizens and of equal nationalities and ethnic minorities.

As for SR Serbia, in which there are two autonomous provinces, which are at the same time a constituent element of Yugoslav federalism, there have been specific problems in realizing this unique constitutional conception of the republic as a state and as a self-managed community.

The /socialist autonomous province/ has been developing as an autonomous socialist self-managed democratic sociopolitical community based on the power and self-management of the working class and all the working people, in which the working people and citizens, nationalities and ethnic minorities exercise their sovereign rights, but when it is in the common interest of the working people and citizens, nationalities and ethnic minorities of the republic as a whole, in the republic as well, as set forth in the Constitution of SR Serbia.

In realization of the constitutional conception of the SR's and SAP's unquestionable results have been achieved, especially in the further strengthening of the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities and in activation of the creative forces concentrated on their own respective development and development of the socialist community as a whole.

However, difficulties and problems have been manifested in the development of the SR's and SAP's, and in part they have been characteristic of realization of the constitutional conception of all other sociopolitical communities. In the SR's and SAP's there has been in particular a tendency toward the strengthening of statism and autarkic development. Under pressure of those tendencies the SR has been developing more as a state and less as a socialist self-managed democratic community. Elements of governmentalism have been manifested in practice instead of a strengthening of its self-management and democratic content.

Contrary to the commitments contained in the SFRY Constitution, instead of authentic degovernmentalization at all levels, statism has continued to be present in the SR's and SAP's, even showing tendencies to become stronger in "replacing" federal statism by "polycentric" statism. The consequences of those tendencies are still very great. They have been manifested above all in a dependence of associated labor on the measures and activities of republic and provincial authorities. The undertaking of interventionist and administrative measures by republic and provincial agencies, dealing in this way with the major issues of economic and social development, has been on the rise.

Many phenomena and problems in the development of the republic and autonomous province indicate that responsibility for their own respective development and for the development of the community as a whole has not been discharged equally and uniformly. The socialist forces have not sufficiently initiated and developed creative action to bring to life the constitutional premises concerning the integrated nature of that responsibility. That responsibility is indivisible, since without the development of our multinational federal community as a whole, it is not possible to guarantee or achieve the essential and long-term development of its individual parts either, just as there can be no development nor stability of the SFRY without the successful development of the SR's and SAP's.

The powers of republic and provincial bodies and agencies have been broadened at the expense of the normative powers of opstinas and self-managed organizations and communities through the excessive normativism of republic and provincial legislation, in which they have even gone so far as to exceed their legislative jurisdiction. This has also narrowed the space for self-management regulation of relations in social reproduction and in society generally.

In the conduct of policy and enforcement of laws, statutes, and measures of federal bodies and agencies there has not been sufficient activity and responsibility of republic and provincial bodies and agencies as set forth in the SFRY Constitution, which has made it more difficult to realize the socio-economic relations of socialist self-management and has raised the question of whether the political system rests on a single foundation.

The difficulties, shortcomings, and falterings in the development and transformation of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces into a self-managed democratic community of working people and citizens, nationalities and ethnic minorities have held back the self-management integration of our community. Should such trends continue, they would jeopardize the equality and prosperity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities and would weaken the foundations of our country's independence, integrity, and security.

/In the realization of the constitutional conception of SR Serbia/ as a composite sociopolitical community there have also been certain specific features and serious political problems, as has been observed in the "Views of the LCY Central Committee on Urgent Issues in the Relations on Which Unity and Community in SR Serbia Are Based."

Realization of the constitutional conception of SR Serbia and of unity and community within it are the constitutional responsibility and obligation of SR Serbia and of SAP Vojvodina and SAP Kosovo. The SAP's are responsible for their own respective development and also for development of SR Serbia and the socialist community as a whole, just as the republic, aside from its responsibility for development of the socialist community as a whole, is also responsible for realizing the constitutional position of the SAP's.

Under the influence and as an expression of general trends in development of all the SR's, development has been contradictory in SR Serbia as well. On the one hand statist tendencies and deformations in the functioning of the state

have been manifested and have grown stronger here as well, while on the other all the functions of the republic as a state set forth in the constitution have not been simultaneously and appropriately developed and realized in practice.

The problems of relations in SR Serbia, which are characterized by a weakening of unity and of community, are a part of similar tendencies in the Yugoslav community as a whole, but they are also specific because of the character of SR Serbia as a state and as a socialist self-managed democratic community in which there are the SAP's, which are at one and the same time a constituent element of the Federation. Statist tendencies have been especially manifested through absolutization of the role of the state and of the statehood of SR Serbia as the sole expression of the unity of SR Serbia, but also through a negation of that statehood, as set forth in the constitution, at the expense of a strengthening of de facto statehood of the SAP's.

Tendencies toward autarkic development, regional exclusiveness and essential obstacles to the self-management integration of associated labor have been similarly present in SR Serbia and in the socialist autonomous provinces. This has slowed down the processes of the pooling of labor and resources of organizations of associated labor over the entire country and indeed over the republic as a whole, which has been especially manifested in linkage of organizations of associated labor from SR Serbia and from SAP Kosovo.

The insufficient influence of associated labor on the life and development of the socialist autonomous province and lagging in the development of self-management--which has been characteristic of all sociopolitical communities, but of the socialist republics especially--confinement to the territorial limits of the autonomous province, etc., are the most direct expression of the tendency toward governmentalization, which is standing in the way of comprehensive integration of the SAP's both within the republic and also within the framework of the Yugoslav community. That is why there has been a serious lag in the building of unity and community in SR Serbia.

The concrete exercise of the constitutional responsibilities of SR Serbia as a whole and of the SAP's is to create the indispensable socioeconomic, legal, and political prerequisites and conditions for the free self-management integration of SR Serbia. However, the activity of the bodies and agencies of the SR's and SAP's has not been sufficient, and sometimes it has even gone in the opposite direction.

The work on creative application of the constitution has not been intensive enough, nor has it been adequate to the complexity of the problem. The application and elaboration of the constitution have been frequently involved in disputes and differing interpretations, especially when it comes to legislative regulation of relations in the republic. The constitutional principles and provisions have not been sufficiently elaborated in the solutions which have been adopted, and in some cases not much more was done than to take over the phrases from the constitution. There have also been disputes about the constitutional foundations and differing interpretation of the content of individual provisions of the constitution of SR Serbia and the division of

legislative jurisdiction, as well as essential differences in assessments of the level of realization of the particular provisions of the constitution. There is still a lag in adoption of certain important laws and in implementing measures to fulfill the social plan of the republic, whereby conditions are also to be created for more rapid self-management integration. A satisfactory level of self-management integration has not been achieved either in the republic or in Yugoslavia so as to serve the interests of the working class, the needs for development of the productive forces and present-day production. The lack of conformity in legal statutes and socioeconomic development have strengthened autarkic tendencies in various spheres of economic and social life in the republic.

In practice common interests have not been pursued in SR Serbia through self-management linkage and association, through the activity of sociopolitical and public organizations, and through the free and comprehensive activity of citizens. Given those conditions, common interests as set forth in the constitution of SR Serbia have been pursued predominantly through the activity of the bodies and agencies in the SR and SAP's, which has been mostly oriented toward legislative activity.

The counterrevolutionary activity of the Albanian irredenta in Kosovo, for which the statist exclusiveness of that province was a favoring circumstance, has also had a considerable impact on the negative development of the already complicated relations in SR Serbia and on the achievement of unity and community within it.

The strengthening of statist tendencies in the republic and in SAP Vojvodina and also the activity of Serbian nationalism and other nationalisms have in turn also had an adverse effect on the realization of the constitutional relations and of unity and community in SR Serbia.

The consequences of those shortcomings have also been manifested in the realization of the special element of Yugoslav federalism that is expressed in the position of the SAP as a component of SR Serbia and as a constituent part of the SFRY. Thus serious weak and one-sided aspects, now harmful to the integrity and sovereignty of SR Serbia and now harmful to the autonomy of the SAP's, have been manifested in realization of the constitutional conception of SR Serbia in practice, since these relations--as indeed is the case of relations between the sociopolitical communities as a whole--have not been based sufficiently on the struggle for essential changes in production and sociopolitical relations and on further democratization, in which the power of the working class and the dominant role of associated labor in social reproduction would be strengthened, but rather on statist practice and on accentuation of the role of the state in socioeconomic life.

3) The /Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/, as a federal state created by the nationalities of Yugoslavia, postulated on the right of every nationality to self-government, including the right to secession, having come together with the ethnic minorities with whom they live to form a federal republic of free and equal nationalities and ethnic minorities, in conformity with the constitutional conception, has been expressed and realized as a governmental community of voluntarily unified nationalities and their SR's and also of

SAP Vojvodina and SAP Kosovo, which are part of SR Serbia, based on the power and self-management of the working class and all the working people, and also as a socialist self-managed democratic community of working people and citizens and of equal nationalities and ethnic minorities.

The conception of Yugoslav federalism, founded on the decisions of AVNOJ and developed in the postwar constitutions and constitutional amendments, has by and large been confirmed in practice as an element of the revolutionary continuity of the development of socialist Yugoslavia.

The common interests which the working people and citizens, nationalities and ethnic minorities pursue and realize in the SFRY express most directly the basis and permanent values of Yugoslav federalism. The basis of those values is a strengthening of working class and ethnic interests, which guarantee the full equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities and of the working people and citizens in all domains of social life and in all aspects of social decisionmaking. The material basis of that equality, consistent with the constitutional principles, is that the working class, that is, the workers in every republic and every autonomous province, are to independently dispose of their own labor and income and the surplus value of labor on the principles of self-management and in the context of social ownership and the unified Yugoslav market.

In the past the functions of the Federation were predominantly performed as those of a federal state, while its construction as a socialist self-managed democratic community lagged behind. That kind of development, which is characteristic of all sociopolitical communities, has had a most direct reflection on realization of the constitutional conception of federalism.

The authentic interests of the associated workers and of the delegate base of society as a whole have not sufficiently been the point of departure in pursuing common interests in the Federation. In the process of political decisionmaking and the conduct of the established policy in the bodies and agencies of the Federation the real influence of the associated worker, just as at the level of the SR and the SAP, has not been sufficient, has been restricted, and usually has been mediated through their political-governmental and professional management structures.

The governmentalization of social relations has slowed down the realization of the entirety of the common interests of the working people and citizens and of their socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, and the inadequate expression of working class interests in the opstina, republic, and autonomous province has weakened the domination of those interests at the level of the Federation as well, which has been continually making it more difficult to achieve the constitutional conception of the Federation as a whole.

Common interests in the Federation have been pursued on the principles of reaching agreement among the republics and autonomous provinces, and the principle of solidarity and reciprocity and equal participation of the SR's and SAP's in federal bodies and agencies. Those interests have been pursued mostly through federal bodies and agencies, with the equal participation and

responsibility of the SR's and SAP's in establishing and conducting the policy of the Federation and on the basis of consent of the SR's and SAP's. Other forms of pursuit of those interests, as set forth in Article 244 of the constitution, have not been sufficiently developed. Thereby common interests have mainly been pursued through federal bodies and agencies, which has resulted in an overemphasized role of the bodies and agencies in question, above all the Federal Executive Council and the executive authorities of the republics and provinces, while the role and responsibility of the total sociopolitical and self-management structure as well as the direct activity of all the working people and citizens have gone undeveloped.

In the past there has been a great deal of administrative meddling by federal authorities in regulation of conditions for the conduct of economic activity and in settling issues important to the business operation of individual organizations of associated labor, branches, and groupings.

In regulating relations in the particular domains of socioeconomic and political life the SFRY Assembly has enacted important laws embodying the system. However, definite problems have arisen in the further legislative elaboration of those relations and thereby also in guaranteeing a uniform system of socioeconomic relations and uniform foundations of the political system. The greatest shortcomings in pursuit of common interests in the Federation have emerged in the domain of reconciling joint economic and social development and guaranteeing the unity of the Yugoslav market.

The causes of this situation lie in the objectively differing interests of the various parts of associated labor of the republics and autonomous provinces, based on differences in level of development, in economic structure, and in economic efficiency. It is also expressed in the contradictory nature of the short-term and long-term interests of the working class as a whole and of its individual parts within associated labor and also in the SR's and SAP's, as well as in the great dependence of the economy on the measures of the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities.

The tax system and tax policy have been burdened with major shortcomings which contest the working class character of social relations and the equality of the working people and citizens and of their self-managed organizations and communities throughout the unified area of Yugoslavia. The subjective forces have not played the role or carried on the activity that was indispensable in overcoming these weaknesses. Conclusion of agreements among the SR's and SAP's on the foundations of tax policy and the tax system was very long in coming, and the agreement reached has also been implemented slowly and inconsistently in practice.

One particular problem in performance of the functions of the Federation lies in the fact that the social system of information has not been completely or appropriately worked out. The information is not methodologically uniform and synchronized, so that there exist differing data on the same phenomena. There still has not been sufficient socialization in the domain of information: the technology for gathering and processing data is not up-to-date; there is a shortage of personnel to work on updating information systems; and the preparation of various information for broader use is poor. The consequences are the

incomplete and slow exercise of the rights and discharge of the duties of federal bodies and organizations and inadequate efficiency of decisionmaking as a whole. Federal bodies and organizations have not shown responsibility for the solutions and measures they propose or enact. The establishment of policy and the enactment of laws and other regulations within the limits of the rights and duties of the Federation have not been accompanied by an organized and ongoing social action for consistent and effective application of the decisions taken. In this past period shortcomings have also been manifested with respect to the effectiveness of operation of federal bodies, agencies, and organizations, especially with respect to their functions of execution and oversight.

The /SFRY Assembly/ has recently become more and more an entity for setting forth policy and reconciling views and making decisions. However, there have been definite difficulties in realizing the constitutional conception of the individual chambers.

The basic problems in the work and decisionmaking of the /Federal Chamber/ arise out of the insufficient linkage of delegates to the delegate base and the inadequate organization of that base and also the way elections are carried out.

That is why delegates in the Federal Chamber rely to a considerable extent on the executive and administrative agencies of the republics and autonomous provinces, which is not in conformity with the delegate relations in the assembly system as set forth in the constitution nor with the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of delegates in the work of that chamber and achievement of its character in the political system. All of this has had the effect that the delegates in the Federal Chamber sometimes operate separately from their delegate base, under the influence of executive authorities and also as delegations of the republics and autonomous provinces.

It has often taken a long time to reconcile common interests /in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces/, and indeed this has depended upon the individual republics and autonomous provinces. To a large extent this is a consequence of the differing level of material and social development of the SR's and SAP's and of their differing economic structure, which objectively gives rise to differing interests, but it has also resulted from insistence on partial interests shaped on that basis, without giving sufficient concern to common interests and long-term interests and to development of the country as a whole. Delegations in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces have not always been active participants in framing the views of the assemblies of the SR's and SAP's, nor have they operated sufficiently as independent entities in the process of reconciliation, often because of the character and content of the views of the assemblies of the republics and provinces whom they represent.

The /SFRY State Presidency/ has confirmed itself through its activity as an essential factor for cohesion and stability of our society. However, in performance of its particular functions as set forth in the SFRY Constitution, it has not always displayed a full contribution to more effective reconciliation and pursuit of common interests. The SFRY State Presidency is still not

sufficiently performing certain of its functions, especially with regard to furnishing initiative for timely undertaking of measures by the competent authorities; proposing to the SFRY Assembly that it take up certain very important and urgent matters related to the country's development, to the socio-economic and political system, and that it take the necessary decisions concerning them; proposing to the SFRY Assembly that it set forth domestic and foreign policy and enact the necessary laws and other general acts. In practice to date relations between the SFRY State Presidency and the Federal Executive Council as set forth in the constitution have not been sufficiently developed and concretized in practice to date, especially with respect to carrying out the established policy and enforcing laws.

Considerable difficulties have been manifested in the exercise of the constitutional rights and discharge of the responsibilities of /the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies/, especially in carrying out policy and enforcing federal laws and other regulations.

Decisionmaking on the principle of consent of the SR's and SAP's within the Federal Executive Council has mainly taken place within the limits established by the constitution. However, laws are still setting forth a large number of obligations for the Federal Executive Council to issue sublegal regulations in agreement with the competent authorities of the SR's and SAP's and also social relations which by their nature can be regulated only by a law are being regulated by those sublegal acts.

That level of independence which the constitution envisages so that federal bodies and agencies can perform their role responsibly and effectively has not yet been assured in their functioning. In this connection it should be borne in mind that inconsistent implementation of the provision of Article 362 of the SFRY Constitution, which states that the members of the Federal Executive Council and officials in federal administrative agencies and federal organizations shall be responsible for the conduct of policy and for carrying out laws and other regulations exclusively to the bodies of the Federation and that in performance of their function they may not accept guidelines and orders from bodies and officials of other sociopolitical communities, nor may they act in accordance with those guidelines and orders.

## 6. Constitutionality and Legality

The situation has not been satisfactory in achieving constitutionality and legality, and this has been causing major problems in society. This is especially manifested in certain domains of social life--in the domain of expanded reproduction, the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market, the foreign exchange system, the price system, the system of credit, money, and banking, the tax system, protection of social property, etc.

1) The /workers, working people, and citizens/, organized through self-management, /have not been sufficiently involved in the process of regulating basic social relations/. There have been frequent cases of failure to honor basic democratic content, processes, and procedures for enactment of general normative acts, and of diminishment and formalization of the social role of the

workers, other working people, and citizens as principal entities for performing the function of setting forth the standards governing social relations.

Self-management accords and social compacts, as the dominant source of self-management law, have become one of the most important forms for reconciliation of self-management interests, in spite of numerous problems in concluding them and in carrying them out.

The process of creating the law, especially general self-management acts, is a very complicated one. Social contradictions and difficulties in reconciling differing interests make it more difficult to reconcile authentic interests in the course of the normative process within self-management. This has an essential impact on the quality of legal acts.

The markedly dynamic development of the legal system since enactment of the SFRY Constitution, sometimes even with certain features of spontaneity, has also led to a lack of uniformity in the development of the particular parts of the legal system of the SFRY and a lack of sufficient harmony among them.

2) The most pronounced shortcoming in the functioning of the political system has been manifested in the rather widespread phenomenon of /inconsistent application of the law/ from one domain to another, so that the issue is raised of legal security and equality of the working people and citizens, of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, and indeed of the very authority of the law. Cases of arbitrariness and political influence on the enforcement of laws in certain places have contributed to this, and that has undermined the stability of the legal system. There have even been cases where particular bodies and officeholders have used the authority of the government for nonperformance of laws, in which agreements among officials have had the "force of freeing them" of the obligation to carry out laws and decisions, etc. The law is also being violated by the bodies of self-managed organizations and communities, and frequently even by those entities who by their constitutional function are responsible for application of the law. Society has even confronted cases of lack of social discipline, corruption, and theft of social property, and social discipline, legal consciousness and political consciousness, expressed in the attitude toward constitutionality and legality, have not been mobile enough in offering resistance to such deformations.

Particular problems have arisen in discharging obligations assumed in agreements, social compacts and self-management accords and in enforcement of federal laws. The exclusiveness of the sociopolitical community has had an essential impact on the enforcement of federal laws and other regulations. The existing powers and instruments have not been put to sufficient use, nor have relations between the bodies of sociopolitical communities always been thoroughly worked out in the legislation with respect to the enforcement of federal laws.

In the present stage of our society's development, certain essential social prerequisites for more complete and consistent achievement of constitutionality and legality have still not been brought about as they need to be. One of them lies in the nonexistence of a constant commitment on the part of the

organized subjective socialist forces to develop social consciousness concerning the need for respecting constitutionality and legality and for effective functioning of the relevant mechanisms of constitutional and other legal protection.

The principal causes of the failure to achieve constitutionality and legality are the slowness in overcoming the old relations in social reproduction and especially expanded reproduction; the strong resistance on the part of technocratic-bureaucratic forces and political-bureaucratic arbitrariness; failure to respect the operation of economic and other objective laws; failure to provide for the material and other conditions for the application of legal acts; and in certain of its parts the legal system has not been fully built or has not been sufficiently consistent, optimal, sound, class-oriented, and effective.

Differences in conceptions and in the interpretation of constitutional principles and features, the lack of an overall conception of normative elaboration of certain basic institutions in constitutional law, the nonexistence of mutually reconciled programs of normative activity and the necessary competence of entities formulating the law have also had an adverse effect on achievement of constitutionality and legality, especially in the process of creating the law. Subjectivism and voluntarism, which have been especially present in the process of interpretation, as well as in the application of legal norms, shortcomings and drawbacks in the creation of legal norms, excessive regulation of certain social relations, the frequent amendments and supplements of regulations, lack of legal precision and ineffective and incomplete exercise of political, legal, and social supervision and social oversight over the enforcement of legal norms have been the most frequent causes of a legal and political nature of the failure to achieve constitutionality and legality.

In protecting legality the constitutional courts evaluate the constitutionality of a law quite rarely, although that is their principal function, one in which there is no other body to replace them. At the same time, the authorized proponents have not been active in instituting proceedings before constitutional courts for the evaluation of constitutionality and legality.

In addition, the slow improvement of the social position and staffing of judicial authorities and the slow socialization of the judicial function, along with the insufficient social influence on the work of administrative agencies, have been essential factors that have had a bearing on enforcement of laws, other regulations, and general acts. Problems that have to do with the organizational, personnel, material, and other conditions for the work of judicial authorities and administrative agencies and competent and efficient performance of their functions have also contributed to this.

3) Because of the shortcomings that have existed in the functioning of the political system, there has not been adequate /protection of human and civil liberties and rights set forth in the constitution/. This is not only a consequence of bureaucracy and technocracy, although those tendencies have an important role, but they have also resulted from the insufficiently manifested role of the agencies of sociopolitical communities and other social entities

in the exercise and protection of those rights and the discharge of the responsibility of the working people and citizens, to which the failure to complete the legal system has also contributed.

There have been frequent cases of failure to respect the basic inalienable self-management rights of the workers and working people.

In our multinational community the highest degree of negligence and threat of constitutionality and legality, with the broadest adverse consequences, has been manifested in the cases of threatening the basic constitutional liberties and rights of individual members of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia by individuals and groups with a nationalistic and chauvinistic orientation. Events of that kind were especially evident in the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, and they have been continuing in the hostile activity of the Albanian irredenta (the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins, destruction of monuments, attacks on personal honor and integrity), as well as in that of other chauvinistic and counterrevolutionary forces in the republics and autonomous provinces (nationalistic outbursts, the spreading of intolerance and enmity toward other nationalities and ethnic minorities and their members, the aspiration for one nationality to dominate another, attempts to rehabilitate national treason and counterrevolutionary action to undermine the federal and socialist self-management character of Yugoslavia, etc.).

4) A critical examination of the enforcement of legality also suggests /inadequate performance of the vigorous and creative role of the organized socialist subjective forces/ in formulating and adopting policy, in adopting programs for normative activity and also in the drafting and adoption of normative acts, and it suggests as well that they have not borne sufficient responsibility in the conduct of policy and in the execution of legal acts.

The Socialist Alliance of Working People and the other organized socialist forces have not contributed sufficiently to the development of social consciousness and the overall social climate concerning the need to respect constitutionality and legality, nor have they been effective in exercising social oversight and in criticizing the work of government authorities and the bodies of management of self-managed organizations and communities and holders of self-management, public, and other social office.

Scientific organizations and scientists have not been sufficiently involved in the organized and systematic study of the realization of constitutionality and legality, so that they have not been able to make the expected creative contribution in this field.

Proposals for Improvement of the Functioning and Further Construction of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management

The results of the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System have pointed up the /need for radical changes in the practice of the functioning of the political system and for additions to it/.

Those changes would guarantee fuller realization of the lasting values of socialist self-management, the power of the working class, the delegate system of decisionmaking, the federal system, the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, and working people and citizens--as set forth in the basic principles of the SFRY Constitution.

The Critical Analysis confirms that there are no reasons for changes in the basic principles and fundamental provisions of the SFRY Constitution pertaining to the political system nor in the general orientation in its development. The changes proposed in this critical analysis have as their /objective/ correction of the shortcomings, deformations, and problems which have been detected in the functioning of the political system and its further construction along the line of realizing the strategic commitments of society and development on the foundations set forth in the SFRY Constitution and the documents of LCY congresses.

The /basic direction of changes/ in the functioning of the political system is toward creating conditions for realization of self-management production relations and the decisive role of the working class in social reproduction. That is why the essential things are further construction and successful functioning of the system for social reproduction based on the constitution, in which the workers will decide on the conditions, the means, and the results of their labor, and realization of their joint (social service) and general social (government) interests will be guaranteed by the totality of the political system.

The Critical Analysis also suggests the indispensable need for further democratization of society, free expression, and alignment in the pluralism of self-management interests. It is of decisive importance for the organized subjective forces of society to guarantee through their activity at all levels respect for the lasting values of the system of socialist self-management as a criterion for reconciliation and linkage of differing self-management interests into the general social interest so as to create conditions so that the working people, nationalities and ethnic minorities, in pursuing their own interests, are also pursuing the interests of the community and the interests of the society at large. That would be the basis for frustrating more effectively the egoistic interests which are present at all levels of self-management and social organization, which are in opposition to the historic interests of the working class, the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, and the self-management and other rights of the working people and citizens.

/The proposals in this analysis, which take those strategic commitments as their points of departure, pertain to the following:

/(1) inconsistent or incomplete application of the constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and the other laws embodying the system, which must be corrected primarily by changing the activity and behavior of all social entities;

/(2) additional construction of the legal system, i.e., supplementation and amendment of laws, other statutes, and general self-management acts;

/(3) changes or expansion of certain provisions of the SFRY Constitution and the constitutions of the republics and autonomous provinces on behalf of the fullest and most effective achievement of the fundamental principles of the SFRY Constitution;

/(4) broader study of certain issues and problems important to the further development of the political system of socialist self-management which have not been thoroughly and completely studied in the considerations to date./

PART TWO: PROPOSALS

I. Improvement of Self-Management Decisionmaking in Self-Managed Organizations and Communities

1. Effective Achievement of Social Reproduction

1) Self-Management Decisionmaking Concerning Expanded Reproduction

/Self-management decisionmaking/ of the workers and other working people concerning social reproduction must serve the exercise of their constitutional rights and discharge of their constitutional responsibilities, which are to manage their own labor and the conditions and results of their labor in their common interest and in the general interest of society. Activities and measures must be aimed at achievement of the following /goals/:

- a) for the inalienable rights of the workers in associated labor to be guaranteed in management of business affairs and resources throughout the entirety of the relations in social reproduction;
- b) for the workers in OOUR's to manage the entirety of income and accumulation, for the process of the self-management pooling of labor and resources on behalf of joint realization of income to be intensified more broadly by changes in the manner of decisionmaking concerning expanded reproduction and to guarantee that the workers, in managing resources which are socially owned, constantly renew, augment, and improve the material base of their own labor and that of society as a whole;
- c) to strengthen social ownership as an expression and as the material basis of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management;
- d) for socioeconomic conditions in the particular sectors of the economic system to be improved and developed further consistent with the constitutional position of the workers, especially in the system of social planning, the monetary system, the credit and banking system, and the foreign exchange system, the price system, and the tax system, ensuring in this way that the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program is carried out;
- e) for the self-management position and responsibility of the workers in organizations of associated labor and of the working people and citizens in local

communities to be strengthened in securing the joint conditions and general conditions for life and work;

f) for the social services to develop as an essential factor in the development of society and in achievement of the long-term objectives of stabilizing the economy, satisfying more fully man's various needs, and guaranteeing his social security.

The following will be indispensable to achievement of those objectives:

(1) Achieve more effective and optimum economic employment of resources for expanded reproduction and assurance /that decisions on investment projects and on development can be made only by the workers/ in basic organizations of associated labor through various forms of decisionmaking and through their delegations and delegates and in delegate assemblies (chambers of associated labor) within the limits of their powers as set forth in the constitution. With respect to decisionmaking concerning investment projects also guarantee the participation of planning, financial, and other professional institutions and staff services, and establish their financial and other accountability for the results of investment projects. Consistent application of the provisions of the Law on Expanded Reproduction and Past Labor is also important insofar as it pertains to the economic employment of investment resources (informing the workers fully about the reasons for undertaking the investment project, the accountability of the professional management and the technical staff services for preparing a sound technical foundation and penalties should there be oversights and shortcomings, establishment of criteria for public evaluation of economic and social justifiability of an intended investment project). Enlist economic chambers, banks, the agencies of sociopolitical communities, and the trade unions in this effort.

By building up an integral system of social information concerning investment intentions and programs and by using the system of economic chambers, the banks, and planning agencies, make potential investment intentions and opportunities for investment of "own" resources, especially on the principles of pooling labor and resources, public and accessible to all interested entities, and make provision of social recordkeeping and oversight of self-management accords on the pooling of labor and resources. To that end improve the mechanisms set forth in the social compact on Recording Intended Investment Projects and guarantee its consistent enforcement in all republics and autonomous provinces.

In the taking of investment decisions also realize the features contained in the Law on Expanded Reproduction and Past Labor whereby the technical groundwork that precedes the taking of the investment decision must examine needs and submit evidence that provision has been made for energy supply and the supply of other products and services of infrastructural activities and raw materials from domestic sources and especially imports, possibilities for exports, and establish economic criteria so as to guarantee that the development of plant capacity will correspond in size to the real needs of more equal inclusion in the international division of labor and possibilities for sales on the domestic market.

(2) /Restrict the possibility of investment in cases when sociopolitical communities/ (above all the SR's and SAP's) /figure as the founders of a work organization/, especially in the sector of material production. To that end the following should be set forth in Articles 349, 351, and 355 of the Law on Associated Labor: those conditions when opstinas may figure as the founders of a work organization, that the resources of the founders are to be furnished on the principle of self-management pooling of labor and resources; that the chamber of associated labor of the assembly of the sociopolitical community shall be required to examine the proposal for establishment of the work organization and furnish its opinion on the socioeconomic justifiability of such proposals, independently or together with the assembly of the competent self-managing community of interest when it is a case of establishing a work organization in the respective social service; establish the mandatory elements in the contents of the socioeconomic feasibility study of establishing a work organization; the requirement that the executive bodies of the sociopolitical community obtain from appropriate scientific and professional organizations an opinion on the socioeconomic feasibility of establishing the work organization and an opinion concerning the proposal for its establishment and make that opinion known to the chamber of associated labor.

(3) /Use social resources more efficiently and optimally, especially resources for advancement and expansion of the material base of associated labor/.

It is therefore indispensable that the economic system, development policy, and the instruments and mechanisms of economic policy create the conditions so that the workers and their organizations of associated labor have an interest in expanding the material base of their own labor and that of society, in raising labor productivity and thereby realizing the largest possible income, optimum accumulation of resources for social reproduction and increasing real resources to meet the direct needs of the working people and society as a whole. At the same time, by making it impossible to socialize losses, prevent the inadvisable use of social resources so as to achieve more fully their character as social property and create broader opportunities for achieving creation of productive jobs in the employment of those resources.

In the self-management accord on entry into association to form a work organization the workers should elaborate the mutual rights, obligations, and responsibilities with respect to socially and economically purposive use of social resources. Within that framework mutual rights and obligations shall also be elaborated whereby the workers in the basic organization are required to furnish fixed capital--which is not being used or not being used adequately--to workers in other basic organizations within the same work organization for temporary use (Article 234 of the Law on Associated Labor) if this is indispensable to fulfillment of the production targets set forth in their plan. Those relations must also be elaborated by self-management accords on entry into association to form a complex organization of associated labor or other forms of self-management association and linkage.

Resources must obligatorily be pooled on that basis to achieve the goal of joint economic activity of basic organizations as set forth in the plan of the work organization or in the joint plan or joint development program of several

organizations of associated labor. The time, manner, and other economic conditions of the use of those resources shall be set forth consistent with the nature and purpose of social resources, the goals which are to be achieved in joint economic activity, and the conditions which are to be met for their renewed optimum and socially and economically efficient use in the basic organization in which the workers exercise their right to employ those resources.

When the self-management accord does not elaborate those relations, self-management workers' control, the trade union organization, and the public defender of self-management law are required to take an initiative before the workers' council so that the conditions for the use of those resources are created within the framework of the work organization.

Should such solutions not be found, those bodies should take initiative before the opstina or republic (provincial) chamber of associated labor so that they undertake measures of social protection of social property and within that framework also set forth the conditions for the use of resources unused or insufficiently used in productive work.

(4) By application of economic criteria governing business performance and the realization of income and by elaborating criteria for evaluation of socioeconomic feasibility /of investment in the sector of the economic infrastructure/, guarantee optimum economic employment of social resources and create conditions so that expanded reproduction in that sector is based on the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of workers in OOUR's in the sector of the economic infrastructure. Self-management pooling of resources by those rendering and receiving services in the activities of the economic infrastructure on the principle of joint income should become the dominant form of concentration of the resources of accumulation for expanded reproduction. The role of government agencies in this sector, and especially in the concentration and furnishing of the necessary resources for expanded reproduction, should be reduced to the limits set forth in the constitution.

The possibility for self-management pooling of resources for expanded reproduction in the activities of the economic infrastructure on the principles of solidarity and reciprocity should be used restrictively, and that solely for development of those activities whose regular function is an indispensable condition for the life and work of citizens and for the business operation of the basic organization and whose regular functioning is therefore guaranteed by contributions (for example, in the domain of protection against the harmful effect of water and protection of water from pollution and in certain other sectors--highway maintenance and the like).

The self-management pooling of resources of those rendering and receiving services on the principle of joint income should be done according to the economic motivation of economic entities to develop particular activities of the economic infrastructure, in order to carry out agreed programs of their development, and in order to guarantee the quality and quantity of services and goods.

The motivation for pooling resources for development of these sectors shall above all be to guarantee stable and optimum conditions for production, improvement of supply and the quality of products and services of the activities of the economic infrastructure, and development of highly productive organizations of associated labor within those systems through the application of present-day technology and the organization of work, and on that basis a growth of the income of every basic organization pooling resources, and not merely a recovery of value and compensation for economic employment of resources pooled in money form. This essentially guarantees economic equivalent for recovery of the value of the resources pooled and compensation for economic employment of the resources pooled.

These criteria must be incorporated into self-management accords on the pooling of resources for development of the activities of the economic infrastructure since those investments have long-term effects on the business costs and growth of the income of those using those products and services.

Solutions must be found in the system that will give workers in the economic infrastructure an incentive to invest optimally and to modernize, since in employing those resources in economic activity, they earn income and bear the consequences of their decisions. The income of workers in organizations of associated labor in the economic infrastructure should also depend on that and on optimum business operation and maintenance of facilities.

On the basis of the development programs proposed by those rendering services or supplying products, together with the users of those services and products they shall set forth specific programs for investment and shall make the choice of the appropriate investment projects.

(5) Guarantee greater optimality of investment in modernization and development of plant and equipment in the /social services/ and create conditions so that the workers in those activities have basically the same socioeconomic position in expanded reproduction as the workers in other activities. Build a system of expanded reproduction which will be not only an expression of the immediate interests of the workers in material production and other users of services and broader social interests, but also of the workers in the social service sector. Investment decisions cannot be made which bypass the workers in the social services, since they are objectively motivated with respect to the functionality of new facilities and modernization of fixed assets and will be managing the newly constructed facilities. Their income, especially their personal income, depends on the optimality of those investments. That is why on the basis of a development program proposed by those who render the services specific investment programs should be set forth and the selection made of the appropriate investment projects in those sectors together with those who use those services.

(6) Initiate more integral scientific research and study the practical possibilities for applying the features of the Law on Expanded Reproduction and Past Labor insofar as they pertain to /exercise of the right to a portion of personal income on the basis of past labor/, so that it is possible in the foreseeable future to propose their appropriate practical elaboration, including the necessary amendments and supplements. The Federation of Yugoslav

Trade Unions and the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Monitoring the Implementation of the Law on Associated Labor should be more involved in that effort and in affirming the constructive experience to date.

(7) /Intensify the process of pooling labor and resources throughout the country's entire economic area on behalf of joint realization of income/ and create conditions in the economic system and economic policy so that it becomes the predominant form of self-management concentration of resources for expanded reproduction.

Develop incentive forms and procedures in order to attain higher economic outputs from the pooling of resources to carry out joint projects and overcome the situation in which the dominant method is for certain organizations to make resources available to others, in which as a rule the organization which is pooling its resources is excluded from making decisions on the conduct of business and economic activity with those resources even though it bears a risk in that conduct of business. Equality of the entities participating in the pooling of resources must be guaranteed and relations defined more clearly in ascertaining the joint income on the basis of objectified standards set forth in an agreement concerning material costs, depreciation, the level of personal incomes, and social services of workers in the organizations of associated labor for whose development the resources were pooled. This will prevent joint income from being reduced to the remainder after those expenditures are made, expenditures which usually are set forth unrealistically and which make it economically unattractive to pool resources.

There is a need to establish mandatory elements of the self-management accord on the pooling of labor and resources and the requirement for revaluation of pooled resources; to guarantee performance of obligations with respect to creation of conditions for stable production of basic organizations pooling resources (energy, raw materials, and the like) and to set forth the specific forms of responsibility for performance of obligations undertaken; to make provision for the risk to be jointly borne when the benefits of the joint investment are not realized; to simplify regulations pertaining to accounting and recordkeeping; mandatory establishment of joint business entities for the purpose of joint decisionmaking and the taking of steps to carry out the self-management accord on the joint venture; within the framework of relations in the production of a joint product or the rendering of joint services between the participants on the basis of agreed standards (Article 69 of the Law on Associated Labor) make greater use of unrestricted setting of prices, taking as points of departure lasting relations in the movement of prices on the market for the same or similar products or services, thereby removing the obstacles that stand in the way of realizing joint revenues.

Encourage the pooling of labor and resources between organizations in the production sector and the trade sector through the measures of economic policy.

(9) [sic] Make essential /changes in the banking and credit system/ consistent with the commitment contained in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program so that the banks, as special organizations for conducting credit and other banking transactions, become real financial associations of associated labor

which are to be guided by economic criteria in the conduct of their business. Through changes in the credit and deposit system and the mechanism for note issue prevent the reproduction of detached "capital" alienated from associated labor, which is managed in a tie-up with the authorities of sociopolitical communities, and guarantee that the organizations of associated labor in a bank pool their resources in order to pursue common interests in the conduct, expansion, and advancement of their activities and exercise supervision over the conduct of its business.

The bank needs to have a vigorous role as initiator and organizer of fulfillment of joint development programs and achievement of joint ventures. The bank should encourage organizations of associated labor to pool their resources within and through the bank to carry out development projects and joint ventures. That objective should also be served by the normative features contained in the Law on the Bases of the Banking and Credit System and in the Law on Expanded Reproduction and Past Labor (Article 43). There is an important need to create conditions for fuller realization of the objective of the Law on Expanded Reproduction and Past Labor when basic organizations pool investment capital on the principles of realizing joint income within or through a bank.

Economic criteria should also be set forth governing the establishment of banks. Overcoming the exclusive application of the regional principle in organizing banks and the closing of cycles in circulation of financial resources necessitates affirming the functional principle as well in the business operation and organization of the banks so that the ties among the members with respect to income and reproduction are monitored and maintained more easily--not only within the framework of the same bank, but also with organizations of associated labor which are members of other banks (specialized banks). This kind of conception of the transformation of the banks would serve to strengthen the process of self-management integration in the economy. The solution contained in Article 395 of the Law on Associated Labor, to the effect that basic banks may be established in communities for mutual cooperation in planning and the conduct of business, should also be affirmed to that end.

The banks should do business with the social resources which have been pooled or collected on some other basis in the bank, including the resources of savings, according to the economic criteria defined in the bank's plan and consistent with the character of the resources as set forth in law.

It is indispensable to strengthen the role of internal banks in broader forms of organization and to guarantee that the function of managing the internal bank is performed by the delegates of the workers' councils of the work organization or complex organization of associated labor or other broader organizational form.

The workers in organizations of associated labor and the working people and other self-managed organizations and communities which are members of the bank should decide through their delegates in the bank assembly about the formation and use of resources in the bank. This requires refinement and improvement of the system of management through the assembly of the bank within which the

delegates of organizations of associated labor will be making decisions. The delegates on the body for management of the bank must have guidelines from their own respective workers' councils and must be required to inform them about the decisions made. The workers' councils should regularly examine the conduct of business of the bank in which they have pooled resources and evaluate the work of their own respective delegates on the body for management of the bank.

Those who hold positions in professional management should not be elected delegates to the body for management of the bank.

Law should establish the obligation of the banks to apply appropriate criteria in evaluating the financial, economic, and social justifiability of investment projects to be carried out by pooling resources and for which a portion of the resources is to be furnished on the basis of credit. Their economic and social justifiability shall be evaluated on the basis of the projected effects of the specific program for which the resources are being pooled within or through the bank. This will help the bank to become an independent and self-sufficient self-managed financial organization which conducts its business on economic principles and should guarantee its own financial security as well as the security of the members of the bank who pool their resources and depositors who deposit their resources in the bank.

The professional staff service in the bank's work community must be independent in making its technical evaluation of the acceptability of credit applications and must be accountable for the consequences (including reduction of the portion of income for the work community) should there be shortcomings in the proposals or should they perform their functions inappropriately (for example, a lack of objectivity in presentation or concealment of data, etc.). The body for managing the bank should make the decision on the applications after first having obtained the opinion of the bank's professional staff service.

## 2) Self-Management Decisionmaking in the System of Social Planning

The principal directions in further development of the system of self-management planning should be aimed at development and consolidation of the production relations of socialist self-management. Workers in basic organizations of associated labor and in associated labor as a whole shall be the /principal figures in development and planning/, whereby they exercise their inalienable right and discharge their inalienable responsibility to make decisions on the conditions, resources, and results of their labor and their right, together with all the working people in the SIZ, local community, and sociopolitical community, to decide independently on their own interests and those of society. That should be the point of departure in guaranteeing that the following principles are realized in decisionmaking and the adoption of planning documents:

(1) Workers /in basic organizations of associated labor/, in accordance with the self-management accord on the pooling of the labor of workers to form the basic organization, shall by personal expression adopt the joint bases for

preparation of the medium-term plans of basic organizations and the work organization as a unified document. The nature and importance of that document and the consequences which it has for the material position of the worker and that of his self-managed organizations and communities and for satisfaction of joint needs require that the decision on it be a conscious and responsible managerial act on the part of the worker. It is the referendum which best suits that goal as a form of adoption of that document.

The plans of the basic organization of associated labor, self-managing communities of interest and other self-managed organizations and communities in which the basic organization is associated and other acts for implementing those plans shall be adopted by the workers' council of those organizations or communities in conformity with the joint bases for preparation of medium-term plans.

In order to guarantee the direct influence of the workers on the enactment and fulfillment of those plans, the joint bases for preparation of medium-term plans should set forth the conditions and possibilities for the growth of income, the objectives and tasks in the conduct of business and development policy whereby that growth is to be achieved, mutual obligations, and the manner of their performance. The development policy of the basic organization shall be set forth in the process of simultaneous and counterplanning, respect being paid both for the lines of development set forth in the guidelines for preparation of social plans of sociopolitical communities and also for the joint development goals and interests of the work organization and other self-managed organizations and communities, also including the banks in which the basic organization or work organization is associated or has ties related to production, operation, business, or interest.

In planning the development of the basic organization, work organization, and other forms of self-management organization, the workers shall be required to take as their point of departure their responsibility for optimum socially and economically purposive use of social resources and shall establish their mutual obligations with respect to constant renewal, augmentation, and advancement of those resources.

(2) The /plan of the work organization/ shall be adopted by the workers' council of the work organization, which shall take as its point of departure the joint bases for preparation of plans.

When the workers in the basic organization do not accept the obligations contained in the joint bases for preparation of plans, the grounds of the nonacceptance should be examined in every aspect and joint solutions should be sought on that basis, above all within the limits of the work organization, including even internal arbitration. The public defender of self-management law and the trade union should also be involved in this. If such solutions are not found, and it is established that there exists neither the interest nor the possibility for the basic organization to develop within the work organization, it is natural for such an organization, under the conditions and in the manner set forth in the Law on Associated Labor, to withdraw from that work organization and to join other forms of linkage (in which it might realize

its interests in terms of further development, the pooling of labor and resources with other organizations, and larger results in its operation and economic employment of social resources). A basic organization which does not accept the joint bases for preparation of plans and withdraws from the work organization must in agreement with other basic organizations and the work organization as a whole establish the manner and conditions of the discharge of obligations which it undertook toward them before its withdrawal and compensate possible loss incurred by its withdrawal.

In case a basic organization does not accept the joint bases for preparation of plans and thereby essentially impedes or frustrates the pursuit of the interests and objectives of development and economic activity of other basic organizations within the work organization or of the work organization as a whole, this shall be considered a threat to social interests, and the measures of social protection of self-management rights and social property shall be taken. Organizations of the Trade Union Federation should take the initiative for reassessment of the accountability of self-management and professional management bodies in the basic organization which does not accept the joint bases for preparation of plans.

A basic organization which has not accepted joint bases for preparation of plans shall be required to discharge its obligations with respect to joint development as set forth in the plan of the work organization consistent with the self-management accord on entry into association to form the work organization.

This method of resolving conflicts is in keeping with the nature of relations in associated labor with respect to social ownership. However, the complexity of relations in self-management planning in associated labor requires that the best solutions continue to be sought by monitoring application of the law in effect, combined with respect for the commitments set forth in this analysis.

(3) There is a need to guarantee the /accountability of the professional management for the quality, professional soundness and realism of planning documents/, and for timely proposal of measures to fulfill them and also to affirm the rights and obligations of workers' councils.

Guaranteeing greater realism of planning in organizations of associated labor requires that the professional management be required to present to the workers' council its opinion on the realism of the plan (concerning the conditions and possibilities for achievement of the goals and performance of the tasks set forth in the plan) and also concerning the effects of the plan on the income, accumulation, personal incomes, and working conditions of the workers. The professional management must report to the body of management at least once a year on fulfillment of the plan and on the measures which it has taken or intends to take.

Optimality in self-management decisionmaking requires that personal expression of the workers not be sought once again in the phase of fulfillment of the plan unless essentially altered business conditions have made it impossible to carry out the policy established and perform the tasks of development within

the planning period defined. Should there be essential departures in business operation from the planned goals of development, the workers' council must take up the need to amend the plan or to adapt the planning targets to the situation that has come about and must establish accountability for those departures.

(4) The /plans of the bank/ shall be established on the basis of reconciliation of the development plans of the basic organizations and other self-managed organizations and communities which are the bank's members. The bank's plan shall be adopted by the bank's assembly.

The workers and working people in self-managed organizations and communities which are members of a bank shall in accordance with self-management make the decisions (on the principles of the delegate system) concerning the purpose for which resources pooled in the bank are to be used, consistent with the pattern of use of those resources as set forth in the bank's medium-term plan.

If the bank's medium-term plan has set the volume of pooling and attraction of money resources, the pattern of resources by purpose, and the conditions and criteria governing enlistment of pooled resources in the bank for current business operation and for carrying out certain investment programs or for construction of particular projects, and if those investment programs or projects have been verified on the basis of criteria set forth in the Law on Expanded Reproduction and Past Labor, there is no need to make a decision once again on that matter in self-managed organizations and communities which are the members of the bank. If the bank's medium-term plan has not fixed the volume of pooling and attraction of money resources, the pattern of resources with respect to purpose, the conditions, and criteria for the enlistment of resources, and there is a need to pool resources within the framework of the bank and to assume a joint risk for carrying out a particular investment undertaking requiring commitment of a large portion of the resources pooled in the bank, it is necessary that the workers in basic organizations and the working people in other self-managed organizations and communities which are members of the bank pooling their resources make a decision by personal expression concerning the purposes and conditions of the use of their resources. The documents of the bank's assembly should guarantee that the bank may not loan resources aside from the purposes set forth by agreement of the delegates in the bank's assembly in adopting the annual plan and business policy documents stating in specific terms the policy set forth in the bank's medium-term plan.

However, this does not mean that the resources pooled in the bank should be restricted solely to keeping up with the needs of current business operation and reproduction and for the development programs of its members, but it presupposes that they would be used according to banking criteria for meeting those needs in basic organizations and other self-managed organizations and communities which are not members of the bank as well.

There must be guarantees that the credit committee and executive board of the bank are accountable to the assembly for consistent conduct of policy and achievement of the development goals set forth in the bank's plan consistent with the principles of the banking business.

(5) Organizations of associated labor in the /economic infrastructure shall adopt plans/ in conformity with the joint interests and needs they set forth jointly with those using their products and services.

In the sector of the economic infrastructure organized in the form of large unified technological systems, long-range planning should be the basis for establishing the development of the basic organization, the work organization, and those systems as a whole. To that end it is indispensable to set forth joint plans and synchronized development policy in those systems, at the same time stating obligations specifically with respect to achievement of the joint goals, performance of the tasks and pursuit of interests and guaranteeing--in the dovetailing of plans within the technological systems, the Social Plan of Yugoslavia and the social plans of the republics and provinces--of uniform technological development and uniform socioeconomic relations in those systems at the level of Yugoslavia.

The joint goals of development in those systems shall be set forth on the basis of self-management dovetailing of the development plans of basic organizations, and the resources to fulfill them shall be furnished through self-management pooling of the resources of organizations of associated labor on the principles of joint realization of income for construction and modernization of particular facilities and for pursuit of other common interests in their mutual relations or through SIZ's.

(6) Organizations of associated labor in the /social services shall enact plans/ consistent with their common interests, needs, and possibilities as they establish them together with the users of their services in the framework of the SIZ and in the relations of direct exchange of labor.

The points of departure for establishing the elements for planning the joint needs in the SIZ shall be the joint bases for preparation of plans of those using and those rendering the services and the plans of local communities. The plan of the SIZ, on the basis of dovetailing of the planning documents of those using and those rendering the services, shall be adopted by the assembly of the SIZ.

(7) The /plan of the local community/ shall be accepted and adopted by the assembly of the local community on the basis of the results of a prior expression of the working people and citizens in their caucuses. In the local community they should decide by personal expression concerning the material obligations which they themselves are undertaking in order to realize the goals and perform the tasks set forth in the plan.

Participation of organizations of associated labor and self-managing communities of interest within and outside the territory of the local community should be guaranteed in the procedure for adoption of the local community's plan insofar as they have an interest or duty to participate in satisfying the joint interests and needs of the working people and citizens in the local community so that material obligations for achieving the goals and performing the tasks of development of the local community become an integral part of the planning documents of those self-managed organizations and communities.

The social plan of the opstina shall set forth the tasks and obligations for satisfying particular needs of government in the local community, for development of the local community and for gradually overcoming differences in the level of their development.

(8) The /social plans of sociopolitical communities/ shall be set forth by the working people in the relations of cooperation and mutual dependence and mutual responsibility and solidarity in social reproduction in assemblies of sociopolitical communities. Joint interests and goals of development in social plans should be based on the interests and needs of the workers in associated labor organized consistent with self-management and the interests and needs of other social entities.

The role of the social plan of Yugoslavia should be strengthened and further developed in the planning system as an instrument of the self-management integration of associated labor throughout the country's unified economic area. The social plan of Yugoslavia shall come about in the process of mutual linkage and reconciliation of the development policy of planning agencies and shall express the synchronized interests both of associated labor and also of the republics and provinces concerning the strategic goals and tasks of Yugoslavia's economic and social development. This should be ensured through consistent realization of the principle of simultaneity in the preparation and adoption of the plans of self-managed organizations and communities and sociopolitical communities and through their mutual reconciliation and by adoption of joint development programs of organizations of associated labor on the unified market that have ties in reproduction and income and the joint plans of organizations of associated labor associated with one another in technologically unified systems. In that manner joint obligations and tasks which have been set forth must be specifically stated in the plan of every republic and autonomous province.

(9) /General balances of needs and resources/ should assume a more important role in planning joint needs and resources for meeting them and in the conduct of the policy of satisfying all kinds of joint needs and bringing them into line with the material capabilities of the economy and of society. Those balances shall be the professional and analytical basis of medium-term planning documents. On their basis the workers in organizations of associated labor and other forms of self-management association and organization, consistent with the proportions in distribution of the social product and the policy set forth in the medium-term plan of the sociopolitical community, shall examine and define all types of joint needs for the medium-term period and the volume of resources necessary to satisfy them, shall monitor and establish how the satisfaction of those needs is taking place annually, and on that basis, if necessary, also specify additional resources for their realization, within the limits of the global projection of resources set forth for the medium-term period.

It is indispensable to guarantee that the general balances come about through self-management and are based on the real material capabilities of associated labor and of society in general, that they do not hamper the free exchange of labor, that they are established in all forms and levels of self-management

and social organization (from organizations of associated labor to the Federation), and that the practice up to now of imposing them "from above" is prevented, i.e., established by decisions of sociopolitical communities as a mandatory material framework for the planning of the operation and development of the social services.

### 3) Workers, Working People, and Citizens--The Principal Decisionmakers Concerning the Joint and General Conditions for the Work and Development of Society

The workers in associated labor and the working people and citizens in local communities should become the key entities in making decisions on their own, the community's, and the general conditions of labor and development. That is why the following should be done with respect to decisionmaking on those matters:

(1) The workers in basic organizations and the working people and citizens in local communities should /make self-management decisions on joint needs/ which they shall satisfy within the limits of their basic organizations or local communities, through the relations of direct exchange of labor, within and through a SIZ, but under certain conditions also through market relations or participation from personal resources. Joint decisionmaking within the SIZ or through the SIZ is as a rule necessary only when the satisfaction of particular types of joint needs is obtained on the basis of broader social solidarity and reciprocity and when the performance of certain activities important to the satisfaction of those needs extends beyond the immediate interest and responsibility of the individual users.

The associated interested parties shall in the SIZ pursue their common interests as set forth in the self-management accord on establishment of the SIZ, and within individual SIZ's, in accordance with the SFRY Constitution or constitution of the respective SR or SAP, also perform other functions such as the policy for development and improvement of social services (Article 52 of the SFRY Constitution), the policy and program for housing construction (Article 54 of the SFRY Constitution), etc.

In order to guarantee the uniform foundations of the political system of socialist self-management there is a need to put order in the uniform foundations of the socioeconomic relations of free exchange of labor and the principles of self-management organization on the basis of interest in the social services by agreement among the SR's and SAP's or by federal law.

In the effort to establish objectified standards and criteria pertaining to the volume and quality of socially necessary labor which needs to be expended in rendering particular services, to classify joint needs, and to plan the long-range development of the various social services, and the like, there is a need to guarantee broader commitment of science.

(2) In accordance with the views of the Federal Social Councils on the Joint Bases of the System for Pooling Labor and Resources to meet joint needs for the social services (dating from 1981) it is indispensable to study more

closely the types of joint needs, /to group joint needs within each social service/ by sectors in which they occur, their purpose, the objective which they serve, and other criteria. On that basis the criteria for classification of joint needs should be worked out in more detail in the context of Article 54 of the Law on Associated Labor in a social compact. Similarly, law and social compact should spell out relations in those sectors in which differing functions of several entities are intertwined (social security, housing, the economic infrastructure, etc.).

In a socialist self-managed society joint needs are developmental in nature, since as the material base of science becomes stronger, as science and technology develop, etc., conditions are constantly created and expanded for meeting man's diverse needs. Therefore, the classification of joint needs cannot by its nature be a precise grouping of all joint needs. It is only one of the conditions for advancement of the production relation of self-management, and in particular for delineating those needs which are satisfied through free exchange of labor within the framework of SIZ's by contrast with needs which are satisfied through direct exchange of labor, for determination of sources of material resources according to the nature of the particular types of needs, for advancement of self-management planning in the SIZ, for determination of needs for whose satisfaction the sociopolitical community may prescribe the obligation of establishing a SIZ and the obligation of pooling resources in the SIZ, etc.

(3) The existing differences between the SR's and SAP's and within them with respect to /the sources from which resources are furnished to satisfy the particular types of joint needs/ should be eliminated. Joint commitments, depending on further analyses and assessments, could be elaborated in the federal law on the bases of the system of free exchange of labor, by supplementing the Law on Associated Labor, or in an agreement of the SR's and SAP's, and then on that basis by elaboration in the laws of the SR's and SAP's and general self-management acts.

It is indispensable to create the prerequisites for /conclusion of self-management accords among those using and rendering services concerning expanded reproduction in the social services/. Basic organizations in the social services must cover simple reproduction and a portion of modernization out of the income realized. Funds for modernization, whose purpose is to replace the present technology and introduce expensive equipment or which require quite considerable resources, as well as resources for the construction of new facilities and equipping them, are to be furnished from other sources, in accordance with the Law on Associated Labor. A predominant share of investment resources for development of the social services would be furnished from the net income of the basic organization which is a user of the services or from optional local contributions of working people and citizens in the local community.

The transition from fiscal to self-management furnishing of resources to meet joint needs also presupposes expansion of the purpose of the optional local contribution. It can serve not only for investments, but also for financing that portion of activities whereby the program is carried out to meet joint

needs over and above the standard. At the same time, establishing the obligation of providing better-quality services, lower prices, etc., should prevent alienation of the resources of the optional local contribution.

(4) It is indispensable to /elaborate the conception of the "gross" personal income/--which in addition to the net personal income and resources pooled for joint satisfaction of needs within the organization of associated labor or local community on the principles of solidarity and reciprocity, should also include resources for sociopolitical communities (taxes and other contributions which burden personal income). The principal of "gross" personal income should be conceived above all as an instrument for authentically guaranteeing the right of the workers to decide on the entirety of income and personal income, and not merely as an accounting category.

To that end there is a need to build up a system of decisionmaking that will guarantee that the working people decide by personal expression on allocations of resources for community needs in their adoption of medium-term planning documents, and for general social needs through their delegations and delegates in the assembly of the sociopolitical community; that in expressing themselves on obligations to meet the needs for social services and government, in the context of Article 113 of the Law on Associated Labor, the workers shall set forth guidelines for the action of their respective delegations and delegates in assemblies, that they shall at one and the same time accept the year-end statements of basic organizations and decide on allocation of resources for social services and government, and that the bodies of sociopolitical communities may intervene in this only exceptionally, in accordance with a special procedure. At the same time it is necessary to guarantee that the net personal income of the worker is simultaneously reduced or increased when there is a change in the amount of resources for satisfying joint needs in the SIZ (a change in the rate of the contribution), rather than having every rise in the rate of the contribution passed on to the income of the basic organization, while the same net personal income of the worker is retained.

The workers ought to make decisions as a body, within basic organizations of associated labor, about resources for the agreed standard level of "joint needs of society," and concerning the manner of their use by concluding self-management accords within the forms of self-management organization based on interest (the SIZ, the basic community, the unit), and they should make decisions in local communities only concerning those joint needs which are satisfied within it. The workers may also satisfy those joint needs over and above the standard agreed at the level of the SR and SAP (above the standard need). The workers shall decide on resources for those needs, which are met on the basis of place of residence, together with other working people and citizens in a referendum or other form of personal expression within the local community. Those appropriations are basically an optional local contribution in their function and character and must be directly reflected in the level of the net personal income of the worker.

The workers should make decisions as a body within the basic organization in relations of direct exchange of labor or within the framework of or through the community of interest, depending on their agreement as to how those needs

are to be satisfied, concerning resources to meet joint needs whose purpose is to improve the conduct of business and raise labor productivity in the organization of associated labor.

The working people and citizens shall make decisions within the framework of the local community or through it, in relations of direct exchange of labor, or in the system of self-management organization based on interest (the basic community, unit, the opstina SIZ, etc.), depending on their agreement as to the manner of satisfying those needs, concerning resources for joint needs pertaining to the standard of living which are satisfied according to place of residence.

The relevant provisions in laws and general self-management acts (of the OOUR, of the SIZ, etc.) concerning the computation and payment of contributions, concerning the system of social recordkeeping concerning appropriations from income and from personal income, etc., will accordingly have to be amended. Conditions would be created thereby for gradually realizing the principle of the "gross" personal income.

Resources for the needs of government in the local community (the functioning of the delegate system, the operation of agencies and bodies, tasks in the domain of nationwide defense and social self-protection, etc.) shall in principle be furnished as for other general purposes. However, in order to strengthen the material base of self-management in the local community, conditions and opportunities should be created for the resources for those purposes to be furnished just like resources for satisfying joint needs in the local community, except that the earmarking of resources from the budget of the opstina or relinquishment of certain sources of opstina revenues to the local community should be retained.

The system for financing the development of local communities should be built up in such a way that the programs of local communities which have not been covered by the plans of the SIZ and the opstina shall be financed above all by an optional local contribution and by pooling resources with organizations of associated labor in which the workers who live in the local community work.

These proposals express quite precisely the character of the contribution to the community of interest in that this is not an obligation of a fiscal character (which is usually the case at present), but rather the self-management method of furnishing compensation for the services of workers in the social services through the free exchange of labor within the SIZ and of resources to meet joint needs on the basis of solidarity and reciprocity. This self-management character of the pooling of resources in the SIZ should be expressed in the SFRY Constitution instead of the provisions contained in Articles 51, 58, and 266 of the SFRY Constitution which pertain to the "payment" of the contribution. In view of the nature of the particular activities (for example, basic scientific research, elementary education, preventive medicine, etc.) there is a need for the manner of appropriation of resources to guarantee the necessary continuity and adequate quality in rendering the services of those activities.

If resources for the SIZ are furnished through self-management, then there ought not to occur "surpluses" of resources within them. The vagueness of the provisions of Article 267 of the SFRY Constitution and the corresponding provisions of the constitutions of the SR's and SAP's allows a broad application of the power to prescribe any federal law or law of the SR's and SAP's the manner of disposition of surpluses of revenues of the SIZ. That is why those provisions ought to be reassessed or applied only in exceptional situations, accompanied by a procedure that would guarantee that a vote is taken in advance on whether the conditions exist for their application.

(5) Realization of income in the basic organizations of the /economic infrastructure/, on the basis of acknowledgement of market and economic laws and overcoming the spontaneous operation of the market. In certain sectors (for example, protection of the water supply, protection against the harmful effect of water, public highway maintenance) the realization of income should be provided for on the principles of free exchange of labor even in addition to the contribution or the resources which are pooled in the SIZ on the basis of solidarity and reciprocity.

The prices of services and products should allow for simple reproduction and economic depreciation, and gradually resources for expanded reproduction as well.

In those sectors of the economic infrastructure in which joint labor exists as the result of their objective technological linkage (electric power industry, PTT, and railroad transportation) it is indispensable to set forth the objectified bases and scales for realization and distribution of joint revenues as the most appropriate form for the realization of income. This is the most important prerequisite for development of self-management in those sectors.

The personal income of the workers in the economic infrastructure on the basis of past labor should depend considerably more on the optimality of investment to develop the infrastructure.

In development of self-managing communities of interest in the sector of the economic infrastructure there should be encouragement of decentralization and degovernmentalization of socioeconomic relations, self-management pooling of resources for economically optimum development of activities in this sector on the basis of self-management and social property relations and socially purposive economic employment of the resources pooled.

(6) In the social services there should be more rapid /affirmation of the relations of direct exchange of labor/, above all in meeting joint needs pertaining to the standard of living of the working people and citizens and serving the rise of labor productivity and advancement of production and conduct of business of basic organizations of associated labor.

/Economic laws must be respected/ in evaluation of work and the results of work and in the development of the social services. Accordingly, there should be reassessment, elaboration, and objectivization of the present standards and norms governing the volume and quality of socially necessary labor to perform

the particular services and criteria and scales for establishing the price of the service so that their application is in line with the material capabilities of society. Methods should also be elaborated for evaluating the contribution of the social services to the newly created value, to the rise in the productivity of social labor, and to the development of society.

The compensation agreed on through self-management for the work performed /(the price of services)/ should be set on the basis of programs of services of basic organizations in the social services and established in self-management accords of those receiving and those rendering the services either directly or within the framework of the self-managing community of interest.

In view of the specific nature of the work done in certain social services, income shall also be realized through the /sale of products and services on the market/ when satisfaction of joint and personal needs is not based on the principle of solidarity and reciprocity. Here the operation of the market must not be spontaneous and monopolistic, but socially guided.

/Participation from personal resources/ of actual users should gradually be introduced in order to satisfy the joint needs of society beyond the standard as well as those which pertain primarily to the standard of living. The criteria for introduction of participation (types of needs and level of the participation) should be established in a self-management accord by those using the services.

Pursuant to Article 252 of the SFRY Constitution, the free exchange of labor and services should be conducted over the entire area of the SFRY so that joint needs in the social services are satisfied without hindrance. To that end there is a need for the features of the system, measures of economic policy, and other activities to /eliminate the exclusiveness/ of the communities of interest and restrictions in the use of services.

Consistent with the commitments of economic stabilization, there is a need to guarantee that laws do not establish new rights or do not broaden the existing one unless the funds to exercise them have been furnished in advance in a manner consistent with self-management.

(7) /More rapid creation of jobs for the unemployed, above all young and professionally competent personnel/, must become the strategic direction of the country's development policy, and their inclusion in the processes of self-management decisionmaking must be an essential task in the future development of the political system of socialist self-management. The specific ways of solving this problem have been set forth in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program in the separate document entitled "Problems of Employment and Lines of Activity To Resolve Them." Accordingly, workers in organizations of associated labor need to be made responsible for faster creation of jobs for the unemployed, for creation of conditions for productive employment (in accordance with the needs and material capabilities of associated labor), for the free movement of workers, labor, and social resources throughout the country's unified economic area, and correction of abuse in application of the constitutional provision concerning equal conditions for hiring.

The organized activity of the working people and citizens in the opstina as well as in broader sociopolitical communities must create conditions for more effective resolution of the problems of unemployment and for retraining and reorientation of workers who have not been productively employed because of introduction of up-to-date technology and organization of work in certain organizations of associated labor. The activity of the entire self-management structure in the opstina, from organizations of associated labor and local communities and self-managing communities of interest to the sociopolitical organization should be bent toward that task. To that end the self-managed community of interest for employment security should be the place for concluding agreements, for initiation and coordination in establishing and carrying out the policy of creating new jobs, along with vigorous and better-organized involvement of the unemployed.

The League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, and the youth organizations should also encourage self-employment and take initiative to remove the obstacles in the legal and economic system, especially in tax and customs policy, which stand in the way of the stable and socially guided development of self-employment. The League of Communists should make a resolute commitment to removing the ideological prejudices and dogmatic resistance to self-employment as an integral part of socialist labor.

The institutions of the political system, especially the assemblies of sociopolitical communities and their chambers of associated labor, executive bodies and administrative agencies, must establish their role and specific tasks in resolving the problem of unemployment, in reorienting workers into new production operation, and must equip themselves for performing those tasks effectively.

## 2. Achievement and Further Development of Self-Management Organization

/The constant adaptation of organizational/ forms of associated labor to the level of development of the material forces of society and more successful and rapid resolution of problems and deformations in the domain of self-management organization require that the main lines of activity be directed toward creating the conditions and prerequisites that will guarantee the following:

- a) consolidation of the self-management position of the workers in the basic organization of associated labor and in the system of associated labor as a whole and in construction of socioeconomic relations consistently on the foundations of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor;
- b) affirmation of the work organization as the only mandatory and independent form of the self-management organization of workers bound together by common interests in their work and as an entity in business operation on the market;
- c) construction of an integral system of self-management organization of associated labor and vertical and self-management linkage of organizations of associated labor throughout the unified economic area of the country based on interests that authentically exist in carrying out joint production programs, especially those oriented toward exports;

d) dynamic adaptation of the economic and organizational structure to the changes imposed by technical progress and the present-day market, the openness of the economy and encouragement of the organization of new forms of self-management organization and revamping of existing ones;

e) construction of self-management organization in the local community so as to make it possible for the working people and citizens to make self-management decisions concerning their life in common and concerning other joint interests and needs, accompanied by oversight over the work of the bodies of self-management;

f) development of self-management organization based on interest that will make it possible for the working people and citizens to express themselves more directly and reconcile their interests and needs and make decisions concerning the satisfaction of those needs.

1) Consistent Application and Development of the Constitutional Conception of the Basic Organization of Associated Labor, the Work Organization, and Other Forms of the Organization of Associated Labor

(1) Creation of an effective level of self-management organization of associated labor requires that the /basic organization of associated labor/, as the basis of the self-management production relation and of the pooling of labor and resources for social reproduction, shall undergo steady development and improvement. In that context the principle should be consistently realized that the basic organization is an integral part of the work organization and that the workers in the OOUR must pool their work and resources for social reproduction in the work organization. This is a condition for the existence and effective functioning of the work organization, broader forms of association, and the entirety of the system of self-managed associated labor.

Self-management and professional management bodies and the professional staff services shall be responsible for timely preparation of proposals concerning the organization of the basic organization if the conditions for this have been fulfilled as set forth in the Law on Associated Labor. The activity of the sociopolitical organizations, the trade unions above all, should initiate the organization of the basic organization when the conditions set forth in law exist, to prevent the abolishment and merger of basic organizations and the transformation of work organizations divided into basic organizations into work organizations which do not have OOUR's, contrary to the conditions prescribed and without discussion organized in advance. In that discussion the workers should evaluate whether and to what extent the organization of OOUR's within the work organization guarantees achievement of their self-management rights and responsibilities and the development of the production relations of self-management; improvement and development of income-sharing relations; the pooling of labor and resources for social reproduction and the realization of income through participation in joint revenues or joint income and through free exchange of labor; advancement of the material base of labor and economic employment of social resources in a manner that is optimum from the socioeconomic standpoint; achievement of larger income and greater output; optimum division of labor based on economic foundations; fuller satisfaction of

joint needs and the opening up of prospects for future development, in accordance with the commitments contained in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program.

The technical groundwork (feasibility study) should be the basis for evaluating the justifiability in terms of production technology and economic and social terms for organizing and for abolishing the basic organization and for the decisionmaking of the workers on the question of whether the conditions set forth in law for its establishment or discontinuation have been met. The obligation to prepare such a study should be set forth in the Law on Associated Labor, thereby preventing basic organizations from being established although the economic and other conditions as stated in Article 320 of the Law on Associated Labor have not been fulfilled. In work organizations in which basic organizations have not been organized to date, although all the conditions for this envisaged in the Law on Associated Labor have been met, the procedure to organize them shall be initiated by action of the trade unions and the public defender of self-management law. This also applies to the organization of a basic organization in those detached work units which fulfill all the conditions to be organized as basic organizations. Also, the same procedure shall be used to abolish those basic organizations whose organization was a formality and for which there is no justification in the Law on Associated Labor.

(2) It is indispensable to further develop and improve the concept of the /work organization/ as set forth in the constitution and the Law on Associated labor. Self-management accords on entry into association to form a work organization should regulate more fully mutual relations among basic organizations in their joint operation and conduct of business (Article 346, Paragraph 2, and Article 372 of the Law on Associated Labor), but specifically with respect to establishment and realization of the joint strategy for economic and technological development; joint planning; self-management pooling of investment resources and the mobility and effective use of those resources to achieve the objectives of joint economic activity; joint representation on the market; the regulation of joint bases and scales for distribution of income and resources for personal incomes, and so on. On behalf of more effective realization of joint objectives, basic organizations within the work organization shall establish a work community of the staff services or shall organize a basic organization for performing functions of common interest.

The workers must make the appropriate changes in the self-management organization of work organizations or basic organizations of which they are composed: if there have been essential changes in conditions for performance of activity because of changes in the material base of labor, technical and technological conditions and the natural conditions of operation, in the production orientation, in the division of labor, or other changes (Article 326 of the Law on Associated Labor); when this is indispensable on behalf of development of the activity or of the organization of work, in order to increase the volume of business or the size of the labor force or other similar cases (Article 376 of the Law on Associated Labor).

The Law on Associated Labor should set forth the obligation of workers in basic organizations to establish the work organization in the self-management accord on entry into association to form the work organization as a legal entity for disposing of social resources in legal transactions and elaborate its rights, obligations, and responsibility in disposition of those resources in legal transactions. The relevant provisions of Articles 244 and 372 of the Law on Associated Labor need to be brought into conformity with this change.

The self-management accord on entry into association to form the work organization, within the limits of the mutual rights, obligations, and responsibilities in legal transactions, should regulate more fully the powers which it has in legal transactions and the conditions and forms of the liability of the basic organizations for the obligations which the work organization assumes in legal transactions (Article 254, Paragraph 1, and Article 420 of the Law on Associated Labor). It should be guaranteed in this connection that the work organization, within the limits of the powers which it has in legal transactions, can assume obligations in good time and regularly discharge the obligations assumed (joint and several liability) up to the level of the obligations which it has assumed in legal transactions. The character and specific nature of the mutual relations of OOUR's which have entered into association to form a work organization should be respected in the regulation of those rights, obligations, and responsibilities.

The provisions of the Law on Associated Labor which regulate liability for the obligations of the work organization in legal transactions (Article 254, Paragraph 1, and Article 420, Paragraph 2) should be amended in the sense that the basic organizations making up a work organization should be liable for the obligations of the work organization in legal transactions with the resources which they possess in conformity with the self-management accords on entry into association to form the work organization. The relations of secondary liability do not suit the nature of relations among the basic organizations in the work organization. If certain basic organizations do not discharge their obligations to other organizations of associated labor in conformity with joint interests and the form of liability set forth on the basis of self-management, the body of management and the professional management body of the work organization shall have the right and duty to take appropriate steps to realize common interests.

Social compacts at the level of Yugoslavia, in accordance with the provisions of Article 327 and 348 of the Law on Associated Labor, should work out in more detail the criteria for application of the conditions prescribed for organization of basic organizations and work organizations in particular lines of business and in particular sectors, so that those criteria might also be worked out in more detail for the sector of the economic infrastructure through supplements to federal laws enacted for the particular activities within the economic infrastructure. Responsibility for their enactment should be assumed by the trade unions, the economic chambers, and organizations of associated labor within those lines of activity or sectors.

Appropriate changes in the legislative solutions regulating social protection of self-management rights and social property, in cases when protective

measures are taken toward a basic organization or work community, should make it possible for the workers in other basic organizations within the work organization to take a position on this in advance.

(3) Intensify the processes of formation of linkages and associations of organizations of associated labor to form /broader forms of self-management organization/ and create conditions for construction of an integral system of self-management organization of associated labor and self-management-integrated entities of associated labor throughout the undivided economic area of Yugoslavia. Achievement of broader forms of linkage and association is an essential prerequisite for fuller affirmation of the basic organizations and work organizations, but not in order to negate their self-management independence, rather for broader pursuit of the common interests of the associated workers, for more optimum division and specialization of labor, for organizing representation on the foreign market and for guaranteeing more stable conditions for the conduct of economic activity. Development policy and economic policy should /stimulate creation of broader associations of associated labor throughout the undivided economic area of Yugoslavia/ to which organizations of associated labor would become linked on the basis of economic and other interests and the needs of the workers in carrying out joint production programs and projects, especially those oriented toward exports, and pursuing the country's joint development interests, all of which would be based on income-sharing relations. Organizations which perform scientific research functions must also become involved in these processes through linkage and association based on direct free exchange of labor and joint realization of income.

It is on those foundations that the /complex organization/ should in particular be developed as one of the forms of vertical production and business linkage with which work organizations over a broad area which have mutual ties in the production of raw materials and finished products would become associated. The associated organizations would be afforded considerable advantages by becoming associated with the complex organization, above all optimum utilization of production capacity, introduction and use of up-to-date technologies, and creation of opportunities to do business on the domestic market and particularly the foreign market as a strong association in the name of the associated organizations.

Economic policy measures should encourage formation of association of organizations of associated labor to form /business communities, communities of associated labor for mutual cooperation in planning and conduct of business/, and other broader forms of pooling labor and resources in order to pursue common interests and objectives in joint economic activity (Article 388 of the ZUR [Law on Associated Labor]).

The devising of internal economic mechanisms within the various forms of self-management linkage and association should achieve free circulation of resources for social reproduction through the pooling of labor and resources, with joint risk being assumed for the results of joint economic activity, and by setting forth a joint development strategy.

Economic chambers, the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations should offer professional and other assistance to the workers in organizations of associated labor in examining potential partners for association and linkage throughout the undivided economic area of Yugoslavia, the results that would be achieved through joint conduct of economic activity, and in stating in specific terms the conditions and principles of association and linkage. The directions for broader self-management linkage and association should be based on professional and scientific knowledge and studies prepared in advance by the appropriate professional and scientific organizations.

The vigorous participation of the /Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia/ is especially important to intensifying the processes of integration in stimulating and organizing the effort to prepare joint development programs and projects which follow the strategic lines of the country's development, in rallying organizations of associated labor around those programs and projects, and in offering professional assistance on behalf of concluding self-management accords on the joint realization of income and on association and linkage of organizations of associated labor. The organization and mode of operation of the economic chambers and general associations should be adapted to those requirements.

(4) Guaranteeing more harmonious and optimum functioning of the /economic infrastructure/ and eliminating the causes of its disintegrated state, regional exclusiveness, abuse of monopoly position, strong administrative regulation of socioeconomic relations which is moreover uncoordinated at the level of the system, necessitates consistent implementation of the constitutional commitment as to the necessity for technological unity of the economic infrastructure at the level of Yugoslavia.

/Technological unity of large systems cannot be achieved without unity of socioeconomic relations within those systems./ This presupposes development of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management, establishment of a joint plan, adoption of standards governing machines and equipment and adoption of standard types and models, adoption of criteria governing a uniform rate structure and uniform standards governing services, achievement of equal relations in the realization of income on the undivided Yugoslav market, objectification of criteria for establishment of joint income and for valuation of the work of those rendering and those receiving services.

Workers of basic organizations and work organizations within those systems shall by carrying on their individual activities also satisfy certain needs of the workers, working people, and citizens and their self-managed organizations and communities in a particular and specific social and economic area and shall be organically linked to the economic and social structure, production, and development of that community. Within that kind of linkage the workers of those organizations shall optimally take command of and manage work processes, refresh and broaden their work abilities and knowledge, satisfy their joint and general interests, etc. This must also have its specific expression in the planning done in large systems and in the entire social planning system.

Achieving and improving the uniform system of socioeconomic relations in the economic infrastructure requires that /a resolution be enacted on the bases of socioeconomic relations in the economic infrastructure/ at the level of Yugoslavia, pursuant to the provisions of Article 281, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 3, of the SFRY Constitution. The provisions of the law on mandatory entry of organizations of associated labor into association to form the corresponding communities in the activities of the economic infrastructure should accordingly be supplemented (Article 281, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 5, of the SFRY Constitution).

(5) Correction of deformations in the organization of basic organizations and work organizations in the /social services/ requires consistent application of Articles 327 and 348 of the ZUR and /adoption of social compacts at the level of Yugoslavia/ which would /elaborate/ criteria for application of the conditions prescribed for organizing them. The trade unions and the respective alliances of self-managed communities of interest should assume responsibility for their adoption.

Basic organizations in the social services should be organized consistent with the specific needs of those activities and the satisfaction of joint needs should thereby be assured optimally and effectively, consistent with the needs and interests of associated labor and other users of the services. The role of the work organization should be strengthened on behalf of realization of joint revenues and joint income and performance of other joint functions.

(6) The /forms of self-management organization/, consistent with the interests of the workers in associated labor, should be /constantly adapted to the needs of present-day production, development of technology/, and better-organized and more economically efficient inclusion of the Yugoslav economy in international economic exchange. The /establishment of temporary forms of self-management organization should be made possible/ on behalf of performance of joint programs and projects and construction of particular projects, and they should be stimulated by economic and development policy. Commissions for monitoring implementation of the Law on Associated Labor must through their initiatives and proposals facilitate more creative elaboration of the provisions of the Law on Associated Labor and their consistent application.

(7) By advancement of socioeconomic relations between workers in organizations of associated labor and those of /work communities/ on the principles of free exchange of labor abandonment of forms of financing which are not based on establishment of their contribution to the actual results of basic organizations for which they perform services should be guaranteed. Conditions will thus be created for achieving their equal socioeconomic status with the workers in material production. This will stimulate workers in the work communities to organize themselves better in the performance of their functions, to cut back operating costs, and to conduct a more optimum hiring policy.

Fulfillment of a plan of operations and business of the work community in which a value is placed on professional, administrative, and other functions

of the work community on the basis of objective criteria is the basis for establishing its contribution to accomplishment of the results in economic activity of the basic organizations of associated labor for which they perform those functions and for evaluating its business performance. If because of nonfulfillment of the plan of operations and business the basic organizations should fail of success, the work community bears the consequences; that is, its income is reduced. Conversely, if through effective fulfillment of the plan of operations and business the work community contributes to raising labor productivity and augmenting the income of the basic organizations, its income will be increased.

Workers who perform professional functions of common interest (Article 403 of the Law on Associated Labor) are required to organize basic organizations if the conditions exist which have been prescribed for this by law.

The self-management accord on entry into association to form the work organization should state precisely the conditions for performance of professional, administrative, and other joint functions within the framework of the work organization. To that end the Law on Associated Labor should state that a work community may not be established within a basic organization.

(8) Improve the legislative solutions and the practice of self-management decisionmaking of our workers in /basic organizations of associated labor conducting operations abroad/ and in our wholly owned or /joint enterprises established abroad/, so as to ensure that the workers in them exercise the right to work with socially owned resources just like the workers in basic organizations of associated labor doing business on the territory of Yugoslavia. The Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia and the trade unions shall be the entities responsible for activity to examine the way in which the self-management socioeconomic position of the workers is being achieved in those organizations and the initiators of further improvement and legislative elaboration consistent with the specific circumstances under which those organizations do business.

## 2) Strengthening the Socioeconomic Position of Private Farmers and Developing Forms of Their Self-Management Organization

The obstacles to /self-management association of private farmers and to their inclusion in socially organized production/ should be removed through consistent implementation of the constitutional principles--that the socioeconomic position of private farmers who are self-employed shall in principle be the same as the position of workers working with socially owned resources and that the personal work of private farmers is an integral and equal element of socialist labor. Development policy and economic policy should create the most favorable possible conditions for private farmers to pool their labor, land, and equipment with one another and with the labor of workers and socially owned resources to form agricultural cooperatives or other forms of association of private farmers or with the labor of workers in organizations of associated labor and to cooperate with them on a lasting basis. Health insurance and old-age and disability insurance and other forms of social security will also be advanced thereby and extended more broadly.

Sociopolitical organizations must especially direct their activity toward development of income-sharing relations and working out systems of ownership relations in agricultural cooperatives which will give the associated farmers an economic incentive throughout the entire production cycle and furnish the material basis of self-management in agricultural cooperatives.

The pooling of labor and resources of private farmers with a basic organization of cooperators within the framework of the agroindustrial complex should be stimulated through development of various forms of association of private farmers on the basis of joint revenues and joint income. This also presupposes constant additional construction of the self-management organization of agroindustrial combines and organizations of associated labor in agriculture. It is especially important in this connection to develop forms of decisionmaking of the associated farmers in the bodies of self-management within those organizations of associated labor (workers' council) on matters of common interest.

Relations between workers in the agricultural cooperative who perform professional, administrative, and other functions of common interest to the agricultural cooperative on the one hand and the associated farmers on the other should be established and developed on the principles of free exchange of labor and the cooperative affirmed in that way as an organization of associated farmers. The personnel in work communities will thereby no longer have the decisive influence in agricultural cooperatives. Forms of self-management decisionmaking should also be developed in agricultural cooperatives, and in this particular emphasis should be put on the referendum, the assembly of the cooperative, whose role would in principle correspond to the worker caucus in organizations of associated labor, and the council of the cooperative, which should be established and should operate in the same way as the workers' council of the work organization. The workers who have pooled their labor in the cooperative must be afforded all the conditions for exercise of their own self-management and socioeconomic rights.

### 3) Further Self-Management Organization of Local Communities

(1) Improvement of the self-management organization of the local community should guarantee its development as a self-managed community in which the working people and citizens satisfy their common needs, pursue their common interests, and make self-management decisions concerning those matters. /Establishment and self-management organization of the local community should be consistently achieved as the self-management right and obligation of the working people and citizens./ The specific features of local communities in rural, suburban, and urban settlements must be borne in mind in this connection. The steady and organized activity of the sociopolitical organizations is an essential prerequisite for further progress in the self-management organization of the local community. To that end there is a need to reexamine the legislation of the SR's and SAP's and regulations of opstinas so as to ensure the necessary conditions for the self-management organization of the local community in accordance with the constitution and the Resolution of the SFRY Assembly on Further Development of Local Communities.

(2) /The self-management organization of the local community must be improved/ in such a way that the working people and citizens decide on pursuit of their common interests and on satisfaction of common needs based on solidarity and all other matters which have a direct and everyday bearing on their life and work and which by their nature can be dealt with most expeditiously in the local community. This will affirm the local community in practice as a humane socialist community in which trust and concern for people are nurtured through diverse forms of solidarity and local self-reliance.

The self-management linkage and organized cooperation of the working people and citizens of one or more local communities as consumers and users of municipal services and utilities and the workers of organizations of associated labor rendering services in the local community should be encouraged, and their mutual obligations, rights, and responsibilities should be worked out in a self-management accord. The specific forms and procedures for that linkage and cooperation should depend on the specific needs and interests of the working people and citizens in the local community. The influence of the /working people and citizens as consumers and users of services/ should be exercised through participation in a body of management of those organizations of associated labor or through formation of separate joint bodies, through various forms of their coordination or linkage within the opstina, through direct exchange of labor, and through various forms of self-management organization based on interest. Pursuant to the SFRY Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, legislation should elaborate the principles of socioeconomic relations and cooperation of the organized consumers in local communities with organizations in the trade sector and the right of the organized consumers to be informed about price movements and relations and the position of various activities in primary distribution.

The /maintenance of socially owned buildings and housing units/ should be the responsibility of the tenants who live in them, and they should decide these matters in house councils, tenant caucuses, local communities, and housing SIZ's. An essential prerequisite of that responsibility is that self-management in the residential building be furnished the adequate material base, that the tenants dispose of a portion of the rent intended for current and capital maintenance of residential buildings, and that the tenants use a larger share of their own resources. This would in principle equate their position with the position of those who own their dwellings.

Tenant caucuses in residential buildings and house councils as their executive bodies should become an important factor throughout self-management relations and life in the local community, especially in performance of certain tasks in the domain of nationwide defense and social self-protection; in developing concern for children, the elderly, and the indigent; the nurturing of comradesly and good-neighborly relations; informing tenants more broadly about efforts being organized in the local community and opstina; consultation of tenants concerning proposals being deliberated in the bodies of the local community and the opstina housing SIZ and other SIZ's, the opstina assembly, and other bodies in the opstina which are important to the living conditions of the working people and citizens in the residential building and local community. That would encourage the activity of delegations and their linkage to delegate conferences and other forms of their work.

(3) Timely and effective solution of the problems workers have in their lives where they live requires that the working people and citizens in the local community and in organizations of associated labor whose workers live within that local community establish linkage and adopt agreements. It is a permanent task of the SAWP and trade unions to encourage /linkage and cooperation of local communities and organizations of associated labor/.

Matters of mutual interest in the domain of beautifying settlements, municipal services and utilities, nationwide defense and social self-protection, environmental protection, and other areas should be resolved through ongoing cooperation of the working people and citizens living in the local community and the basic organizations headquartered in that local community. They should set forth their mutual rights, obligations, and responsibilities in general self-management acts.

Relations between the local community and workers in municipal service, health care, and other organizations of associated labor who by their labor satisfy the common needs of the working people and citizens in the local community should be developed on the foundations of direct exchange of labor, direct agreement between the body of the local community and the respective organization, participation of representatives of the local community on the bodies of management of those organizations or of its delegates in the assembly of the local community or in some other suitable manner. When indispensable or optimal on behalf of more lasting, better-organized, and fuller satisfaction of common needs, the working people and citizens as users of services and the workers in the respective organizations of associated labor as those rendering the services may within the framework of opstina self-management communities of interest establish basic communities or units (for the territory of one or more neighboring local communities) in which they shall accomplish the free exchange of labor and make decisions by agreement on other matters of common interest.

(4) /The local community should be established for a territory that represents an urban unit and residential entity/ in which the working people and citizens can come to agreement in the most direct way and satisfy their common needs and pursue their common interests up to the highest standard, develop humane relations, a socialist sense of community, and carry on self-management.

The differing level of economic, urban, and municipal service development and the specific features of rural, suburban, and urban settlements must be borne in mind in this connection, and flexible solution found accordingly. In urban and industrial settlements the local community ought to be established for an area representing an urban entity and neighborhood of working people and citizens, and in a large settlement the tendency should be to establish several local communities or separate forms of self-management organization for the parts of the local community (residential communities) which would at the same time comprise the delegate base for decisionmaking at the level of the local community on matters of common interest.

#### 4) The Constitutional Conception and Optimalization of Self-Management Organization Based on Interest

(1) Self-managed communities of interest shall as a rule be established by the working people voluntarily on behalf of more optimum satisfaction of their personal and common needs and interests, and the obligation to establish them by law may be prescribed only in exceptional cases when according to the constitution this is indispensable in order to guarantee a particular public interest.

(2) Creation of conditions for development of the self-management conception of the SIZ requires that the constitution and legislation precisely /delineate the relationship between the government and self-management with respect to their establishment/, the establishment of obligations to pool resources, and the regulation of other matters important to their functioning. Depending on the character of activity which is of particular public interest, it should be stated more clearly that the bodies and agencies of the sociopolitical community have certain rights, obligations, and responsibilities with respect to the establishment and operation of SIZ's, with respect to furnishing the material base for the performance of those activities, the planning of the activity's development, and the accomplishment of self-management in those activities.

/The solutions in Articles 58 and 59 of the SFRY Constitution, in the relevant provisions of the constitutions of the SR's and SAP's, and also in laws should be spelled out more precisely/ to take that into account, and this should be done on the following foundations:

The role of bodies and agencies of the sociopolitical community should have to do only with performance of those functions which are important to guaranteeing the joint and general conditions for the work and development of society and the social security of the working people and citizens in the domain of the social services, social insurance, the economic infrastructure, the housing sector, and other activities of particular public interest, but not pertaining to performance of all functions within those activities. In actuality the authorities of the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities as stated in Articles 58 and 59 of the SFRY Constitution would pertain only to functions important to satisfying the "joint needs of society."

/Article 58 of the SFRY Constitution should preclude the possibility of a self-managed community of interest being established by law/, or by decision of the assembly of a sociopolitical community, but should provide that the law or decision of the assembly of the sociopolitical community could only establish the obligation to establish the SIZ. When the obligation to establish the SIZ is established by law, the legal solutions should make it possible for the workers and other working people to express themselves, reach agreement, and decide as directly as possible concerning the entirety of their interests in the particular or interconnected activities.

Self-managed communities of interest whose establishment has been prescribed by law shall in principle be established by a self-management accord, and only

if the effort to reach a self-management accord is unsuccessful would the bodies and agencies of the sociopolitical community intervene. /The body or agency of the sociopolitical community would act by intervening/ only in two cases:

/first/, if a majority of those using and rendering the services adopt a self-management accord on establishment of the self-managed community of interest, the bodies and agencies of the sociopolitical community could in their own act temporarily establish obligations for others using and rendering the services as well (the minority) who have not joined the self-managed community of interest, but those obligations would last only until these entities conclude a self-management accord;

/second/, if a majority of those using and rendering the services do not consent to form a self-managed community of interest, and for that reason it is not possible to exercise guaranteed rights or carry out a program of services on the basis of the agreed standards of solidarity, the bodies and agencies of the sociopolitical community, in order to guarantee the particular public interest, should in their act temporarily regulate the overall relations important to the functioning of the activity. This regulation of relations would last until conditions are brought about for establishing the self-managed community of interest by conclusion of a self-management accord. Action by the subjective forces during that period of time must create the conditions for eliminating the reasons why relations were regulated by an act of the sociopolitical community.

Interested entities could enter into association to form self-managed communities of interest in order to decide matters important to satisfying common needs related to the standard of living or improvement of business operation and raising labor productivity in organizations of associated labor, but exclusively on the basis of voluntary association, with no role of the government to intervene with respect to prescribing the obligations for entering into association, the amount of resources to be pooled, or other matters.

(3) /The provision of Article 52, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Constitution should be interpreted/ as the obligation to form self-management organizations based on interest in the domains of education, science, culture, health care, and social welfare, and in principle as the obligation to establish a separate SIZ for each of these activities. However, /it is possible to establish a single self-managed community of interest for several related activities when specific conditions so require, but it would be contrary to this provision and to the principles of the constitution concerning self-management organization based on interest for a single self-managed community of interest to be organized for all the social services (in the opstina, and so on)/.

Legislation should spell out the organizational principles and tasks of the self-managed community of interest in the sectors enumerated in Article 52, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Constitution only with respect to functions important to satisfying the joint needs of society. The manner of organization to satisfy joint needs important to improvement of business operation and to raising labor productivity or to the standard of living ought to lie exclusively in

the domain of self-management decisionmaking of the interested entities (workers in basic organizations, the working people and citizens in the local community, etc.).

/Communities of interest in other domains of the social services/ (Article 52, Paragraph 3, of the SFRY Constitution) should as a rule be established only on the basis of voluntary association of the interested entities, pursuant to the principles of Articles 51 and 52 of the SFRY Constitution. The obligation to establish them may be prescribed in law only if performance of the activity serves the satisfaction of "joint needs of society."

(4) Self-managed communities of interest in the domain of the /economic infrastructure/ should in principle be organized on the basis of voluntary association of organizations of associated labor in those activities with those who use their products and services, pursuant to Article 55 of the SFRY Constitution and Article 389 of the ZUR. Other interested parties (for example, equipment suppliers) might also join the self-managed communities of interest. The legal obligation to enter into association to form a self-managed community of interest in the domain of the economic infrastructure would be prescribed only for those activities of particular public interest in that domain which cannot be performed without broader pooling of resources on a basis of solidarity, that is, when the permanent performance of the activity is an indispensable condition for the life and work of citizens or for the operation of an organization of associated labor and other self-managed organizations in a particular area. Proceeding on the basis of those commitments, it is necessary to reassess the statutes of assemblies of sociopolitical communities prescribing the obligation to establish a large number of communities of interest in the domain of the economic infrastructure. For certain activities in this domain, for which in future there will be no legal obligation of establishment, the working people who are now associated to form a self-managed community of interest through their basic organizations and local communities, should decide whether or not to continue to pursue their common interests in the self-managed community of interest or through other forms of pooling labor and resources, through direct exchange of labor, or in some other manner.

(5) /Communities of interest should be organized optimally/, consideration being paid to the nature of the relations, to the interests of the entities entering into the association, and other specific features of the activities in the field for which they are being established. Sociopolitical organizations shall also have a special role and responsibility in the procedure for organizing a self-managed community of interest.

In principle communities of interest within which joint needs are satisfied in order to advance business operation and raise labor productivity should be organized according to the so-called /functional principle/ (linkage based on income sharing, technological linkage, etc.). However, when it is a question of satisfying joint needs pertaining to the standard of living and certain joint needs which serve the development of society, communities of interest would be organized on the area principle/--for the area of one or more local communities, the opstina, two or more neighboring opstinas, and so on (for example, elementary education and upbringing). If in order to satisfy certain

joint needs of society a self-managed community of interest is established on the functional principle, it is indispensable to make provision for their inclusion in the work of the assembly of the sociopolitical community, pursuant to Article 145 of the constitution. Legislation may afford the possibility of establishing a self-managed community of interest even for several related activities.

(6) There is a need to /make it possible for other interested entities to also join the self-managed community of interest/, not only the workers in basic organizations and the working people and citizens in local communities, when they can exercise rights and discharge obligations and responsibilities in the self-managed community of interest either as those rendering services or as those using services (for example, free-lance artists and other creators in the domain of culture who are members of respective associations, owners of motor vehicles through the Automobile and Motorcycle Federation, and so on). Entities who can in an organized way express their common interests in an activity for which a self-managed community of interest is established and who by their activity can contribute to fuller examination of joint needs, to establishment of development policy and to improvement of that activity, but who because of their position are unable to exercise rights and discharge obligations and responsibilities as members of the self-managed community of interest, should send their delegates to the delegate organs and bodies of the community of interest (for example, schoolchildren and university students--in self-managed communities of interest for targeted education, social welfare and humanitarian organizations--in self-managed communities of interest for social welfare, etc.).

/The provisions of Articles 51, 52, 110, and 111 of the SFRY Constitution and the relevant solutions contained in the constitutions of the SR's and SAP's and in legislation should be spelled out/ accordingly.

(7) /Legislation should make it possible for the workers to enter into association to form self-managed communities of interest/ through their basic organizations, as has been the case up to now, but also /through their own work organizations/, if this has been provided for in the self-management accord on entry into association to form the work organization and under certain conditions: /first/, that they enter into association to form self-managed communities of interest in order to satisfy common needs important to raising labor productivity and advancement of business operation, in which the point of departure would be that those functions are a common interest of all the basic organizations in the work organization (for example, science, targeted education, protection of the water supply, highways); /and second/, that the workers have freely decided to enter into association to form self-managed communities of interest in order to satisfy their common needs exclusively through the work organization, and that they have regulated mutual relations in a self-management accord, and those relations shall not violate their inalienable right to decide on income within their basic organization.

(8) /Professional and organizational and operational functions/ to meet the needs of the organs of the self-managed community of interest should be organized in the staff service of the self-managed community of interest, and as a

rule an endeavor should be made /to establish joint professional services to meet the needs of several self-managed communities of interest/, and indeed even bodies of sociopolitical communities, local communities, and other interested entities. Research and planning functions to meet the needs of self-managed communities of interest should be performed by bureaus for social planning, the appropriate professional bureaus for particular social services, staff services for planning in basic organizations, and scientific organizations which the self-managed community of interest commissions to perform particular functions. Reports and analytical materials to meet the needs of the self-managed community of interest should be prepared by the appropriate administrative agencies, within the confines of their responsibility for the situation in the domain for which they were established.

The jurisdiction, organization, and operating procedure of administrative bodies in domains for which self-managed communities of interest have been established on the basis of a constitutional or legal obligation should be reassessed in order to eliminate parallelism in their work.

(9) Because of differing interpretations of the provisions of Articles 56 and 57 of the SFRY Constitution, in which the same solutions have been furnished for basic communities and units, problems have been arising in practice. /The constitution ought to express the right of the working people to organize themselves in a self-managed community of interest, without more detailed definition of the principles and forms of organization or their content/, since these forms of self-management in the community of interest come about as a real expression of the interests of the associated working people.

### 3. Sound and Efficient Self-Management Decisionmaking

Development of the production relations of socialist self-management requires that /the forms and methods of self-management decisionmaking of the workers/ and the other working people in basic self-managed organizations and communities be constantly improved so as to increase the quality and effectiveness of self-management decisions. This makes the following indispensable:

a) in all forms of organization of associated labor to guarantee expression of the interests of the workers and democratic interlocking of those interests, a strengthening of responsibility, professional soundness of the proposals presented for self-management decisions, efficient and optimum forms of self-management decisionmaking of the workers, timely and consistent implementation of self-management decisions and followup on their execution;

b) develop decisionmaking through personal expression and decisionmaking through delegates as equal and connected forms of direct decisionmaking;

c) guarantee more optimum decisionmaking by affirmation of the principles that the workers shall not make decisions by personal expression twice on the same issue, and that in cases when the workers' council of the work organization or broader form of self-management organization decides on matters which have been regulated by a self-management accord or other general act adopted by personal expression, the consent of the workers in basic organizations already exists.

The focus of activity of sociopolitical organizations should be on the political preparation of self-management decisionmaking and on guaranteeing objective and timely information that will contribute to synchronizing the interests of the workers, to an awareness of the interests of other segments of associated labor and the working class as a whole and concerning the interests of the community and broader social interests. It is accordingly their task to define the political-ideological foundations for settling particular issues important to self-management decisionmaking and to carrying out the decisions made and to take steps to intervene in order to prevent a blockade or manipulation in the process of self-management decisionmaking.

1) Decisionmaking of the Workers in Organizations of Associated Labor

(1) Spell out what the /inalienable rights/ of the workers are on the basis of the right to work with socially owned resources and /guarantee that the workers make decisions concerning those rights by referendum/. Since these rights have not been enumerated in the SFRY Constitution, the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Monitoring the Implementation of the Law on Associated Labor, in collaboration with the Trade Union Federation, should take initiative for this to be spelled out in the appropriate provisions of the Law on Associated Labor, relying on the results of scientific research.

(2) On behalf of greater efficiency and optimality of self-management decisionmaking in associated labor there is a need to /guarantee that a decision is not made more than once on the same issue/. The relevant amendments should be made in normative acts in that direction and it should be set forth that workers' councils in the work organization and complex organization may make decisions on exercise of the rights of workers or adopt general self-management acts on matters which have been regulated by self-management accords on entry into association to form the work organization and complex organization or in other self-management accords adopted by referendum or other form of personal expression of the workers in the basic organization. The relevant provisions of Article 100 of the SFRY Constitution and Article 528 of the Law on Associated Labor should be reexamined accordingly.

(3) The workers in basic organizations should make decisions only on the following by /referendum/: the self-management accord on entry into association to form the work organization and complex organization; changes in the organization of the basic organization; the joint bases for preparation of medium-term plans; the bases and scales for distribution of income and distribution of resources for personal incomes and for social service consumption of the workers; renunciation of the right to recovery of the value of resources pooled or compensation for economic employment of pooled resources.

In accordance with the Law on Expanded Reproduction and Past Labor, the workers shall make decisions in a referendum on investment projects and on ways of furnishing investment resources which have not been set forth in the joint bases for preparation of plans.

The self-management accord on pooling the labor of workers to form the basic organization shall state on which self-management accords concerning association to form broader forms of pooling labor and resources the workers shall

decide by referendum and on which they shall decide through delegates in the workers' council (for example, association to form a business community, SIZ, etc.).

Appropriate changes should be made in Article 463, Paragraph 1, of the Law on Associated Labor in accordance with the proposals set forth.

The general self-management acts which are adopted by referendum should regulate only basic relations, while their elaboration should be left to regulations and other general self-management acts adopted by the workers' council. The relevant provisions should not be taken over in those documents from the SFRY Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and other statutes.

The possibility should be opened up for shortening the period for repeating a referendum, though it should not be shorter than 60 days, thereby eliminating the harmful consequences because of the long period of time in which a referendum may not be repeated on the same issue. These matters should be regulated in more detail by a general self-management act.

Sociopolitical organizations, the trade unions in particular, must make the political preparations for carrying out the referendum and for its repetition.

(4) In self-managed organizations and communities which have a labor force of more than 30 the /worker caucus/ should as a rule set forth the directions for resolving issues in the work and development of the organization of associated labor, and in exceptional cases on specific matters concerning implementation of the established policy, which would otherwise be decided on by the workers' council or workers through a referendum. Article 464 of the Law on Associated Labor should be supplemented in that sense and the opportunity precluded for the worker caucus to adopt general self-management acts regulating mutual relations.

When matters concerning development of the organization of associated labor are taken up in the worker caucus (initiatives taken and proposals and opinions presented), when views are being reconciled, when individual authorities arising out of the right to work with socially owned resources and other self-management rights are being exercised, when the work of delegates to the workers' council and delegations to assemblies of sociopolitical communities and SIZ's is being guided, when initiatives are being taken and proposals made for self-management decisions which are adopted by referendum or through the workers' council, and, consistent with Article 464 of the Law on Associated Labor, when a final decision is being made on implementing the established policy, the worker caucus may make a valid decision if it is attended by more than half of the total number of workers in the organization of associated labor. When a decision is being made in the caucus on individual rights, the decision shall be valid if it is supported by a majority of the total number of workers in the basic organization.

(5) Timely, complete, and objective /information to the workers/ on the facts, data, and other matters important to their decisionmaking (by the bodies of management, professional management, staff services, delegations and delegates,

executive and administrative agencies of the assembly of sociopolitical communities and the professional staff services of SIZ's) is an essential condition for successful self-management decisionmaking and for carrying out the decisions made. In order to prevent a monopoly of information, all necessary information and data should be accessible to participants in self-management decisionmaking, above all that originating in associated labor and the specialized services for social information. The relevant staff services and professional management bodies shall be accountable for that.

(6) /The authority and role of the workers' council should be strengthened/ as a body of management. The jurisdiction of the workers' council should be broadened and provision made so that it makes decisions on all matters not decided by personal expression. The matters on which the workers decide by personal expression should be spelled out in an explicit enumeration.

It is also indispensable to authorize the workers' council to adopt general self-management acts (various regulations and the like) which in essence implement the principles and rules set forth in self-management accords on entry into association to form the particular self-managed organizations and to realize the joint bases for preparation of plans and the self-management accord on the bases and scales for distribution of resources for personal incomes and for social service consumption.

The workers' council should be the coordinator of the work of delegations and other self-management bodies in the basic organization (except workers' control), especially when guidelines and views are being adopted concerning matters pertaining to conditions for the conduct of economic activity and the realization and distribution of income and on which decisions are made in the assembly of the sociopolitical community.

Delegate decisionmaking in the workers' council requires that the workers in the basic organization participate actively in setting forth guidelines to govern the work of delegates in the workers' council, that the procedure be made more efficient for decisionmaking in the workers' council, that there be guarantees for the professional soundness of the proposals of decisions which are adopted or approved by the workers' council, that the workers be regularly informed on the decisions taken by the workers' council and on their implementation, and that proceedings for accountability be instituted in cases when the decisions adopted are not carried out.

Relations between workers' councils of the basic organization, the work organization, and the complex organization should be developed on the basis of joint responsibility for achievement of joint objectives as set forth in self-management accords on entry into association to form the work organization and the complex organization, through establishment and conduct of joint development policy and joint business policy, and through the implementation of their decisions, with full respect for their independence, rights, and obligations as set forth in the self-management accord on entry into association. Delegates in the workers' council of the work organization or complex organization are required to obtain guidelines to govern their work from the workers' council of the respective basic organization in good time.

Decisions of the workers' council of the work organization or complex organization shall be made by a majority vote of the delegates from a majority of the basic organizations unless law or the self-management accord on entry into association specifies that a qualified majority is required on certain matters.

The self-management accord on entry into associated labor of the basic organizations to form the work organization shall elaborate the manner and procedure for adoption of decisions by the workers' council of the work organization concerning exercise of the inalienable rights of the workers in the basic organization which are to be made by consent of all the basic organizations (the principle of consensus--Article 100 of the SFRY Constitution). Should the basic organization not accept the decision of the majority, and should it thereby frustrate conduct of joint operation and business and accomplishment of essential objectives in the joint conduct of economic activity, the procedure should be invoked which applies to adoption of joint bases for preparation of plans in the work organization.

There is a need to examine the reasons why the provisions of Article 498 of the Law on Associated Labor to the effect that one or more executive bodies of the workers' council may be established in the organization of associated labor and assigned performance of particular executive functions, are not being used.

(7) In general self-management acts /there should be more precise differentiation of worker management from professional management and professional proposal from decisionmaking/. Those who hold professional management and staff positions should be made more independent within the limits of their authority, but at the same time they should be made more accountable for the quality and effectiveness of their work, especially in preparing and carrying out decisions. To that end their rights and authorities should be brought into line with their obligations and responsibilities. The bodies of self-management, professional management bodies and officers, and the staff services must inform the workers about their work and results of business operation in each accounting period so that in their caucus they can evaluate how successful their work has been and establish their accountability. This would make it possible for the workers to exercise real supervision over execution of the decisions made and to establish accountability for failure to execute them, and it would afford clear delimitation of competence even in the phase of preparation and adoption of decisions.

Amendment and elaboration of Articles 516 and 517 of the Law on Associated Labor should provide the basis for strengthening the functional accountability of the professional management officers and bodies of the basic organization, the work organization, and the complex organization and for technical-technological unity of the production process, for strengthening responsibility for carrying out the decisions of workers' councils, worker caucuses, and referendums, and also for achievement of the joint objectives set forth in self-management accords on entry into association to form the work organization and complex organization of associated labor. As a rule the professional management at every level of organization should have the rights, obligations, and

responsibilities for performing those jobs and functions which pertain to pursuit of common interests at that level of organization.

The officers of professional management of the basic organization or work organization should not be members of professional management bodies in the work organization or complex organization, respectively. A professional management body ought not to be established in the basic organization.

A general self-management act should work out the content of the reports to be filed by the professional management body or officer on the conduct of business and fulfillment of plans for development and the manner in which his or its work should be evaluated. It should also be provided that in case the report is not accepted, the professional management officer or body, under the definite conditions set forth in general self-management acts, may not continue to perform the professional management function. In that case proceedings must immediately be instituted for election of a new professional management body or officer.

The workers' council of the basic organization is required to obtain and take under consideration the substantiated opinion of the workers' council of the work organization and of its professional management body when it is choosing or dismissing the professional management officer of the basic organization.

The democratic /conduct of personnel policy/ concerning selection of those who will perform professional management functions requires that criteria be established whereby when they are chosen they are required to be capable of successful development of self-management relations and sound conduct of business--by raising labor productivity, by introducing up-to-date technology and organization of work, through optimum utilization of capacity, creation of productive jobs, pooling of labor and resources--as well as ability to carry out development programs, above all those oriented toward export, by adapting production programs to the requirements of the market, through more rapid inclusion in the international division of labor, and so on. Those criteria are the basis for evaluation of their performance and fitness to remain in that position. The laws of the republics and autonomous provinces should standardize their normative solutions concerning the membership of commissions to conduct procedure for selection of the professional management and concerning the procedure itself. It is important to guarantee that decisions on selection of professional managers be made exclusively by the workers and by their bodies of management, since they bear the consequences of a good or bad choice. The influence of sociopolitical communities in selection of professional managers should be reduced to the constitutional limits, that is, to setting forth the social criteria of personnel policy and granting consent to the choice of a professional manager in organizations of associated labor performing an activity of particular public interest, when this is so provided by law.

The provisions of Article 559, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Associated Labor, which pertain to the right and obligation of /the body for self-management worker control/ in the basic organization to supervise the entire course of social reproduction (in the work organization or complex organization of associated labor, the bank, and all other forms of pooling labor and resources),

and to strengthen internal professional supervision as the professional basis for the work of the body for self-management worker control should be elaborated and applied consistently.

(8) The bases for regulating mutual employment relations should be elaborated more fully in order to improve the quality of self-management decisionmaking of workers concerning /their mutual employment relations/, to strengthen and develop human relations in the workplace, and to strengthen accountability for discharge of work obligations and for performance of work duties in the self-management accord on pooling the work of the workers in the basic organization of associated labor (Article 33 of the Law on Associated Labor). Regulations regulating in detail the rights, duties, and responsibilities of workers concerning the employment relation should be adopted by the workers' council in the basic organization.

The Law on Associated Labor should envisage the possibility that within the framework of the work organization the mutual rights, obligations, and responsibilities in the domain of employment relations be regulated by a single act. That act would be directly applicable when the workers in the basic organization have adopted it by personal expression. The workers' council could adopt a regulation specifying in detail the relations set forth in the single act.

The arrangements in the Law on Associated Labor and in the laws of the republics and provinces which pertain to the assignment of workers within the basic organization and between basic organizations within a work organization should be reassessed so as to make it possible for the workers' councils to make a decision simultaneously terminating the employment relation in one basic organization and establishing it in another organization or in the work community of the work organization. Two-stage decisionmaking should replace the normative solutions which called for four or five stages of decisionmaking concerning employment relations, and three-stage decisionmaking should be envisaged only for the most serious disputes (establishment and termination of the employment relation, money disputes involving a sizable amount).

Solutions should be amended in the Law on Associated Labor and in the laws of the republics and autonomous provinces concerning employment relations so that employment security and job security are provided only to those workers who regularly and competently perform their work obligations and who in their labor contribute to socially and economically optimum use of social resources. A broader legal basis should be furnished for basic organizations, through a procedure in which the facts would be established and evaluated in a democratic manner, to relieve themselves more rapidly of those workers who flagrantly violate work discipline, do not successfully perform their work obligations, or do not contribute in their labor to the optimum use of social resources. At the same time, an appropriate mechanism should be worked out to prevent manipulation, abuse of authority, and intimidation of workers. The decision on termination of the employment relation should be made by the workers' council on recommendation of the disciplinary commission, backed up by the obligation that that proposal be first taken up in the trade union organization and the obligation of the workers' council to take a position concerning the opinion of the trade union organization before it makes its decision.

Self-management worker control should be given a greater role in deciding these issues.

Relations in dispute would be resolved primarily in the competent bodies of self-managed organizations and communities, and consistent use should be made of the mechanism set forth in the Law on Associated Labor, and decisions on the relations in dispute should be effectively carried out. The trade union must be involved in implementing those principles.

When decisions are being made on establishment and termination of the employment relation, on assignment of workers, on disciplinary proceedings and other matters related to employment relations and to the self-management and political activity in basic organizations, it is indispensable that the organization of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia be involved. General self-management acts shall regulate in more detail on which issues the bodies of management must obtain the opinion of the basic organization of the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia.

## 2) Decisionmaking of the Working People and Citizens in the Local Community

(1) The most direct possible decisionmaking of the working people and citizens on matters pertaining to their life together and on other common interests /and supervision over the work/ of the bodies of management and the staff services of the local community shall be provided for in the local community.

The working people and citizens may decide on matters pertaining to their life together in the local community as a whole or in its individual parts, depending on the character and importance of the matters being decided and on the way which interests are structured in the local community. Self-management and sociopolitical life, then, must be organized in the local community as a whole and in its parts which represent smaller communities (such as sizable residential buildings or several residential buildings brought together by certain common interests, individual streets, hamlets, etc.).

(2) /The working people and citizens shall exercise their self-management rights and discharge their self-management obligations and responsibilities in the local community/ by making decisions in caucuses, by referendum, and in other forms of personal expression, through delegates in the assembly and other self-managed bodies of the local community, through the delegation and delegates in the assembly of the opstina, the assemblies of higher-level sociopolitical communities and the assemblies of SIZ's, through delegates in the bodies of management of organizations of associated labor carrying on activities of particular public interest, through adopting self-management accords and social compacts, and by supervising the work of the bodies and staff services of the local community.

When the working people and citizens decide on essential matters pertaining to satisfying their common needs and pursuit of their common interests within the framework of the local community, the emphasis in decisionmaking should be on the forms of personal expression. The working people and citizens should decide on other matters through their delegates in delegate bodies in the local

community and in broader forms of social organization. But they shall adopt guidelines governing the posture of delegations and delegates in their caucuses and in other suitable ways (the meeting of tenants, etc.).

Public forums and work by sections should be organized in the local organization of the SAWP in the local community depending on the specific conditions and needs; the activity of diverse public organizations and associations should be encouraged; caucuses of consumers, users of municipal services and utilities, and other groups based on interest should be organized; house self-management should be affirmed; there should be guarantees that when issues are decided by referendum preliminary discussions are organized in caucuses of working people and citizens and so that sociopolitical organizations take positions in good time concerning those issues which might serve as guidelines for establishing the positions of delegations and delegates; activity of the active of young people and the local organization of the SAWP and other permanent forms of self-management and sociopolitical activity should be encouraged in every part of the local community.

(3) /The assembly of the local community/ should develop as the focal point for authentic self-management agreement and democratic reconciliation of the interests of the working people living in it and of other factors which have certain common interests with them (for example, basic organizations located in the jurisdiction of the local community). To that end there must be guarantees that guidelines are established in advance to govern the work of delegates concerning essential issues being decided upon in the assembly. Through the forms of its work and the procedure of its decisionmaking the assembly must be open to broader social influence and the activity of all factors having to do with social consciousness and creation in the local community.

The council of the local community's assembly, wherever its existence is necessary (large local communities with a pronounced structure of differing interests, etc.) should operate exclusively as the executive body of the assembly. The assembly must exercise supervision over the work of the council and set forth the policy governing execution of the decisions which it makes.

(4) /Strengthen the role of house self-management/, councils of consumers and users of services, the reconciliation council, authorities for national defense and social self-protection, and other forms of organization of the working people and citizens in the local community.

(5) /Performance of professional and administrative tasks to meet the needs of local communities should be optimized/ by organizing joint professional services for several local communities and especially by using the staff services in organizations of associated labor and SIZ's and the staff services of opstina assemblies and opstina administrative agencies. Relations between personnel in the jointly formed services and the local community should be established and conducted on the principles of free exchange of labor.

(6) /Only in exceptional cases should public authorities be entrusted to the bodies of the local community/, which is in any case a possibility, not an obligation, in the context of Article 152 of the SFRY Constitution. As a rule

it should not be entrusted with the performance of administrative matters, nor with the taking of decisions which are binding on all the working people and citizens. These matters might be entrusted to the local community only if it is established in advance that they can be dealt with effectively through conclusion of compacts and accords in the local community.

When performance of public authority is entrusted to the local community, the body which makes the decision to that effect should also furnish the resources appropriate to the performance of those tasks. The types and character of public authority which might be entrusted to the local community should be set forth in more detail on a professional basis.

### 3) Conclusion of Accords Among Those Using and Those Rendering Services as the Basis of Overall Decisionmaking in the Self-Managed Community of Interest

(1) In the process of making decisions on matters of common and particular public interest which are dealt with /in the SIZ the role and responsibility of the working people in basic self-managed organizations and communities and of the SIZ assembly should be strengthened/.

Formalism in the work of assemblies and in self-management decisionmaking in SIZ's should be eliminated more rapidly, since slowness in decisionmaking is hampering the involvement of working people and citizens. These endeavors should be aimed at preventing decisionmaking in the assembly of the republic and provincial SIZ from being alienated from the working people in basic self-managed organizations and communities. Among other things, then, assemblies of SIZ's (opstina and other SIZ's, associated with one another to form the republic or provincial SIZ) should in essence operate as conferences of delegations for establishment of positions by delegates in the assembly of the republic or provincial SIZ.

(2) /Conclusion of accords should be built up as the basis for the entire process of decisionmaking in the SIZ/, regardless of the specific form of decisionmaking whereby the decisions are made. Consent is indispensable when a decision is being made on the inalienable rights of the working people. Decisions on other matters may be made on the basis of guidelines of the working people and citizens by majority vote in the assembly of the self-managed community of interest.

Conclusion of accords is indispensable in establishing policy in the relevant sector and in dealing with other important issues. However, when specific decisions are being made in implementing the established policy in the assembly of the SIZ, they shall be made by majority vote, in the manner and according to the procedure set forth in the bylaws of the SIZ.

Normative acts shall elaborate the process of conclusion of accords on essential matters being deliberated in the SIZ and in this way dilemmas eliminated about which issues are to be decided by self-management accord and which by other general self-management acts and as to what is the role of the bodies of sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations in decisionmaking processes within the SIZ.

The working people associated with one another in the SIZ should make decisions concerning criteria for formation of charges and rates for services and concerning expanded reproduction through their basic self-managed organizations and communities, in a planning document, or in specific self-management accords.

(3) /Resources for satisfying common needs in the SIZ over the medium-term period/ shall be decided on by the working people associated with one another in the SIZ within their own basic self-managed organizations and communities by personal expression when basic planning documents are adopted.

Since all joint needs and the level of resources to satisfy them cannot be completely examined in advance for the medium-term period, provision should be made so that the planned resources can be altered (upward or downward) once a year within a certain percentage or within a certain amount, according to a special procedure and according to criteria set forth in the joint bases for preparation of plans. The proposal of the assembly of the SIZ for changing the level of planned resources should be discussed by the working people in their basic organizations, local communities, and other self-managed organizations and communities which are associated with one another in the SIZ. The delegates in the SIZ assembly may adopt a decision to increase or reduce the planned resources within the limits set forth in the joint bases of plans only if that proposal is adopted by a majority of delegations which represent a majority of the working people who adopted the basic decision on the level of resources to be appropriated by personal expression. Should the need arise for a considerably larger increase or reduction of the planned resources (greater than the percentage or amount set forth in the joint bases for preparation of plans), a new decision has to be made by personal expression.

Programs pertaining to the work and results of work of those rendering services must be verified every year. Those using the services shall take a position on this and on possible need for amending the volume of resources planned. The activity of the body for self-management control in the SIZ is especially important in this connection.

The provisions of Article 113 of the Law on Associated Labor should be spelled out and elaborated in accordance with the proposals presented above on the manner of decisionmaking concerning resources.

The manner of decisionmaking on resources which has been set forth is one of the ways of eliminating the parafiscal relations, relations like those of a public fund, in the furnishing and distribution of resources in the SIZ. In this connection there should be closer definition and /restriction of the role of the sociopolitical community in making decisions whereby it intervenes in the furnishing of resources/ which are being pooled in the SIZ established for an activity of particular public interest.

The assembly of the sociopolitical community may make a decision whereby it intervenes only in exceptional cases and as a temporary measure to furnish resources to meet "the joint needs of society" on the basis of broader social solidarity and reciprocity, up to the standards established at the level of

the SR and SAP. The assembly of the sociopolitical community would not be able to intervene to furnish resources to meet joint needs whose purpose is to raise labor productivity in the OUR or to raise the standard of living, even though the working people who have established the SIZ have decided voluntarily and by agreement that those functions would be brought together in the SIZ.

The role of the sociopolitical community in intervening may be performed as follows:

a) if a self-management accord has been concluded by a majority of the entities which are required to reach agreement, the assembly of the sociopolitical community shall evaluate the level of organization and involvement of all the interested entities in the process of concluding the agreement, the causes of failure to accept the agreement, and shall set forth the tasks of removing the obstacles and undertaking repetition of proceedings for conclusion of the agreement. If even after procedure has been repeated, all the entities have not concluded a self-management accord, if the assembly finds that this would result in harmful consequences in the exercise of guaranteed rights and would be harmful to particular public interests, it shall establish the temporary obligation to pool resources in the amount guaranteeing the scope of the guaranteed rights or needs, up to the standards established at the level of the SR and SAP. At the same time, the assembly of the sociopolitical community shall set forth the obligation to resume the procedure to conclude the self-management accord;

b) if a self-management accord has not been concluded by a majority of the entities required to pool their resources under that agreement, the assembly of the sociopolitical community shall in its act regulate overall relations important to the furnishing of resources temporarily, until creation of conditions for conclusion of the accord. Accordingly, /the principles set forth in Articles 58 and 59 of the SFRY Constitution should be elaborated/ in the Law on Associated Labor or in a specific federal law concerning the bases of free exchange of labor and concerning self-management organization based on interest.

Proceeding on the principle that resources in the SIZ should be decided on by the working people who appropriate resources from the income of their basic organization or from their personal income, in practice the intervention of authorities of the sociopolitical community should become the exception, which is in fact the /real purport/ of Article 59 of the SFRY Constitution.

(4) /The role and responsibility of the SIZ assembly/ should be developed and strengthened as the place where accords are concluded and interests are reconciled, especially in preparing the drafts of self-management accords which the working people associated together in the SIZ adopt by personal expression; in organizing delegate debates concerning the drafts of those accords and in reconciling differing views and interests through the involvement of sociopolitical organizations; and in setting forth proposed versions of those self-management accords and in carrying them out.

There is a need to develop the activities of the individual chambers in the SIZ assembly in keeping with their specific function. /The chamber of users of services/ must examine types and priorities of needs, resources, conditions, criteria, and capability of satisfying them on the basis of broader solidarity and reciprocity. /The chamber of those rendering services/ should examine the types and scope of their work, standards governing the quality of services, the prices of services, the optimality of the self-management organization and the effectiveness of the operating procedures of the OUR's which render services, and the possibilities for integration and specialization of work within particular activities, etc.

(5) In keeping with the character of relations in the SIZ the organization of the delegate system should be /appropriately established/ for self-managed communities of interest.

First of all, since the delegation is the key link in the delegate system as a whole, delegations should be established for the SIZ as well, or provision should be made so that a function of the delegations might be performed by bodies of management in basic self-managed organizations and communities (the workers' council, the assembly of the local community, etc.). However, this must not result in the overloading of those bodies, especially the workers' council, which would mean formalism in performance of their functions. That is why entrusting the functions of the delegation to the workers' council could not be a general principle.

As a rule the establishment of a delegation should be the principal arrangement for /self-managed communities of interest in the sectors enumerated in Article 52, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Constitution/ (education, science, culture, health care, and social welfare), since the assemblies of those SIZ's have the status of a chamber of an assembly of a sociopolitical community (Article 145 of the SFRY Constitution). Delegations could be established for those communities of interest in the following way:

a) workers in basic organizations of the social services, as those rendering the services, might form a delegation in each basic organization separately or a joint delegation at the level of the work organization, or the function of the delegation could be entrusted to the workers' council of the basic organization or the work organization. Arrangements like that are possible, since the decisionmaking concern has to do with the realization of income by carrying out the work programs of the organization of associated labor rendering the service, and that is precisely the function of the workers' council. There is thus a need to strengthen the role of work organizations in the social service sector;

b) the workers in the basic organization in the economy and in other activities might as users of the services establish a separate delegation for each self-managed community of interest in the social services, or one delegation for several related SIZ's in each basic organization separately, or a joint delegation at the level of the work organization for one or several related SIZ's in the social services. The delegation at the level of the work organization would actually function as a conference of delegations of the basic

organizations making up the work organization. For self-managed communities of interest whose function has a direct importance to advancement of business and raising labor productivity and for which the resources as a rule are appropriated from the income of the basic organization (for example, targeted education, science) the workers might entrust the function of the delegation to the workers' council of the basic organization and indeed even to the workers' council of the work organization, proceeding on the basis of the common interests of all the basic organizations;

c) the working people and citizens in local communities and other working people associated with one another to form the self-managed community of interest (private farmers, for example) might establish a separate delegation for each SIZ in the social services or one delegation for several related self-managed communities of interest in the social services.

A delegation might be similarly established or its functions entrusted to a body of management in a self-managed organization or community for other self-managed communities of interest for which the obligation of establishment has been prescribed. For example, the workers in basic organizations in the domain of the economic infrastructure as those rendering the services might entrust the function of the delegation to the workers' council, since the matter involved is the realization of income on the basis of fulfillment of the work program of the OUR. Workers in basic organizations in the economy and other activities might as users of the services of the infrastructure entrust the function of the delegation to the workers' council, since this has to do with activities important to improvement of business and raising labor productivity for which the resources are appropriated as a rule from income.

As for activities which are mostly important to satisfying the direct personal and community needs of the working people and their families, the workers in basic organizations should as users of the services establish separate delegations in basic organizations or a joint delegation at the level of the work organization, in conformity with the self-management accord on entry into association to form the work organization (for example, old-age and disability insurance, housing). The working people and citizens in local communities might act similarly, except that here tenants' self-management might be the delegate base for establishing the delegation of the local community for the respective opstina SIZ's (for example, for the housing SIZ, for the municipal service SIZ, etc.).

As for /self-managed communities of interest in which the working people enter into association voluntarily/ (when the obligation has not been set forth in the constitution or law), those entering into association in the self-managed community of interest should independently establish the manner of election of delegates to the body of management of the self-managed community of interest (for example, the delegates may be elected in the worker caucus or caucus of working people and citizens, delegations may be established, or the function of the delegation may be entrusted to the body of management of the basic self-managed organization or community).

/Toward the joint delegation at the level of the work organization/ which would operate as a conference of delegations of basic organizations making up a work organization, the workers in the basic organizations must have the same rights, obligations, and responsibilities which they have toward delegates in the workers' council of the work organization. The self-management accord on establishment of the self-managed community of interest should set forth the criteria for establishing the joint delegation at the level of the work organization.

(6) Law (the ZUR or specific federal law on the bases of the system of free exchange of labor) should set forth the obligation of carrying on /cooperation and joint activity of the delegation and the workers' council/ in dealing with important matters (for example, in preparing proposals on appropriations of resources from income and personal income to meet the community needs in the SIZ, including resources for investments, in preparation of proposals on other matters which the workers decide by personal expression, etc.). Conditions should be created in the basic organizations for the activity of delegations, and the obligations of the professional management officer or body and staff services in preparing information for delegations should be especially set forth in law and elaborated in general self-management acts.

#### 4) Discharge of Responsibility for Performance of Functions in Self-Management, Professional Management, and Specialized Staff Positions

The political system of socialist self-management presupposes the highest degree of personal and collective responsibility of all participants in performance of self-management and other functions and tasks. Consistent with the commitment that self-management responsibility is an integral part and essential prerequisite of the effective functioning of the political system, general self-management acts should /elaborate personal and collective responsibility/ for performance of self-management and professional management functions and the manner in which workers' councils would exercise supervision over the work of professional management officers and bodies. The point of departure in this should be the principle that broader rights and opportunities in decisionmaking also presuppose and necessitate greater responsibility.

Sociopolitical organizations, and the Federation of Trade Unions in particular, must initiate proceedings to establish the responsibility of self-management entities for the adverse consequences of their decisions and also for failure to execute decisions enacted on a self-management foundation and through democratic proceedings. Science should be involved in studying real relations and problems in worker management and professional management, in delineating responsibilities of positions in worker management, professional management, and staff services within OUR's, in the achievement of self-management relations and responsibility in worker management and professional management in OUR's of particular public interest, and especially with respect to the content and forms of accountability for realizing interests which lie in government and the social services, for self-management and income-sharing linkage, for pooling in SIZ's, etc.

When disputes arise in associated labor concerning matters or demands which have not been settled in the regular way in the organization of associated labor, sociopolitical organizations, the trade union in particular, must guarantee consistent application of the procedure set forth in the Law on Associated Labor for effective removal of the causes of the dispute and must take the initiative for establishing the responsibility of the individual and the body insofar as their irresponsible work and behavior led to the dispute.

#### 5) Followup on the Execution of Self-Management Decisions

Sociopolitical organizations, the trade union in particular, should by specific actions contribute so that the workers directly, through the bodies of management and the bodies of worker self-management control, regularly and effectively exercise oversight over the enactment and implementation of individual self-management decisions and general self-management acts. It is especially important to encourage the workers, delegates, and delegations to reconcile their views democratically and responsibly and make decisions, take initiative in good time for establishment of the responsibility of decision-makers when those decisions have violated self-management rights and social ownership, to strive so that the working people and citizens receive timely, objective, and accessible information concerning all matters important to their decisionmaking and to following up the execution of the decisions taken.

Sociopolitical organizations, especially the trade union, should by their support and cooperation with the body for self-management worker control contribute to performance of their social functions, independence, and responsibility. It is indispensable to encourage their cooperation with the bodies of management, with courts of associated labor, with the public defender of self-management law, and to combat pressures and manipulation of the bodies of self-management worker control and their members, to create conditions so that they can exercise the rights set forth in self-management acts and laws and make it possible for them to require the appropriate bodies for social supervision and oversight and other appropriate institutions to furnish data and opinions necessary to effective performance of their functions.

Ways of settling disputes arising out of socioeconomic relations should be worked out, above all through self-management reconciliation of differing interests, by mediation through elected courts and other self-management courts (primarily through self-management arbitration commissions).

The laws on public defenders of self-management law and on the courts of associated labor should be enlarged so as to integrate those bodies more fully into the system of self-managed associated labor and to prevent them from being dependent upon executive and administrative bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities.

#### 4. Guaranteeing Social Influence in Conduct of Activities of Particular Public Interest

(1) In view of the importance of constitutional regulation of particular public interest which is the basis for regulating certain social relations in

society in a particular way, /the constitution/ (Article 49 of the SFRY Constitution and the relevant provisions of the constitutions of the SR's and SAP's) /should express more precisely the meaning of particular public interest/, and on that basis, /law should elaborate the manner and forms of its implementation/ in organizations performing those activities or tasks, and in particular the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of those using and those receiving the services, of the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities, and of other participants. The point of departure here should be that the essence of the particular public interest lies in the fact that certain activities or certain tasks must be performed in a particular way in conformity with that interest, which is why their performance in a particular way and under the prescribed conditions is especially important to satisfying the needs of the working people and citizens and to overall economic and social development. Certain activities or tasks and functions within the line of business of particular OUR's are of particular social interest, not the sectors as a whole.

Aside from the involvement and responsibility of the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities for harmonious function of activities of particular public interest, there is a need through more precise normative elaboration, through activity of the subjective factor, through development of socioeconomic relations on the foundations of self-management, and other measures to develop /the responsibility of the workers/ (especially workers with special authority and responsibility) for performance of the tasks entrusted to them in conformity with the particular public interest and for achievement of work discipline and technological discipline. Unconscientious performance of tasks of particular public interest causes or could cause extensive material or other harmful consequences to the interests of those using the services or the interests of the social community as a whole (for example, in the fields of health care, municipal services, or activities of the economic infrastructure). There is a need for more comprehensive scientific study and for proposal of an effective system for legal protection of the interests of those using the services.

At the same time it is indispensable to constantly create and broaden the conditions for development of diverse forms of direct linkage and agreement between the workers in OUR's performing activity of particular public interest and the direct users of their products and services, whereby the responsibility of the users for the functioning of those activities would be strengthened.

(2) /Appropriate forms and methods need to be devised for decisionmaking on matters of particular public interest/ in OUR's performing activity of particular public interest. The use of a particular or several forms of social influence should depend on the character of the particular activity and on the importance of the particular public interest.

/The following forms of social influence/ should be developed in that context:

a) participation of representatives of those using the services and representatives of the social community in the proceedings and decisionmaking of the workers' council of the OUR performing the activity or the functions of

particular interest (the so-called "expanded workers' council") or in the work and decisionmaking of particular social bodies (for example, the publishing council, the program council). Their participation must not be reduced to giving opinions and other forms of an advisory function. The number and makeup of representatives of users of service says and the public community, consistent with the principles of law, should be set forth in the self-management accord of the OUR which is carrying on the activity or functions of particular public interest and the bodies, organizations, and communities which are to delegate those representatives. The representatives of users of services and of the public community must have a clearly defined delegate base which will assign them guidelines and to which they shall be accountable for their work;

b) appropriate specialized public bodies should be formed in association with individual OUR's performing activity of particular public importance (for example, in the sector of the economic infrastructure) or in association with other self-managed organizations and communities (for example, the economic chamber, the SDK), which would operate on the principles of social councils. Depending on the nature of the activity, those professional public bodies might have differing tasks (for example, to give opinions and make suggestions as to the proposed policy for development of the OUR, to provide support and aid to the bodies of management in choosing technology, in organizing technological management, concerning the economic efficiency of investment projects and of the system as a whole, etc.). Without taking over the functions of the bodies of management of the OUR, those professional public bodies should be a source of public support to the bodies of management in settling major issues and at the same time should through their activity exert social influence on the work and decisionmaking of the bodies of management. Their makeup should be in conformity with that kind of role (representatives of interested self-managed organizations and communities, of professional and scientific institutions, of sociopolitical organizations, and of sociopolitical communities);

c) for the bodies of sociopolitical communities to establish the conditions under which activities and functions of particular social interest would be performed and make provision for constant scrutiny of the performance of that interest, in which chambers of associated labor and chambers of local communities of opstinas should have an especially active role. The monitoring and supervisory and administrative and protective functions should be especially developed (guaranteeing legality, oversight of the professional manager, the undertaking of temporary measures to protect social property and self-management rights, etc.);

d) there should be an overall examination of the ways and forms of exerting social influence on the work of municipal service organizations (for example, formation of a social council associated with the assembly of the opstina for broad matters in the municipal service sector or the so-called expanded workers' councils in individual municipal service organizations, etc.). It should be borne in mind that the municipal services are an essential condition of the life and work of the working people and citizens, and some of them are also an operating condition for OUR's in a particular area, which is why it is necessary to abolish the monopoly position of OUR's performing that activity and

make provision for more appropriate protection of the interests of those using municipal services;

e) law should regulate the manner in which particular social interest would be exerted in OUR's performing certain social services by humanitarian and other public organizations, associations of citizens, and the actual consumers of services in those activities (parents of schoolchildren, schoolchildren, university students, actual users of health care and social welfare institutions, parents of children in nursery schools, users of the services of cultural activities, etc.);

f) in a law or in a decision of the opstina assembly based on law the manner of performing assigned public authorities and the rights of the assembly and other bodies and agencies of the sociopolitical community in issuing guidelines to those OUR's and in exercising supervision over performance of public authority should be elaborated;

g) when it is deemed indispensable to exercise public influence, the law should provide that the consent of the assembly of the sociopolitical community would be required only for certain features of general self-management acts of organizations of associated labor performing activity of particular public interest important to the realization of that interest.

(3) /Differing interpretations of Articles 58 and 59 of the SFRY Constitution should be eliminated./ That is, those constitutional provisions are usually understood to mean that the entire sector is of particular public interest, which has given rise to the practice that almost every task and every community need is debated and decided in SIZ's, whereby the SIZ's have become investors and the like, so that the SIZ's perform activity in a way that this is done by organizations of associated labor or bodies and agencies of a sociopolitical community. That is why those provisions of the constitution should state more clearly that certain relations in the SIZ which is organized for some activity of particular public interest may be established and regulated in a special way.

/Spelling out the constitutional provisions more precisely/ would also eliminate the conception that the activity of a particular SIZ can be declared to be of particular public interest, while the activity in an organization of associated labor is not of that kind of interest, although their programs are adopted and material resources for their operation are furnished in the same SIZ.

The effort to build up self-managed communities of interest formed for an activity of particular public interest should guarantee that the individual interests of those forming the association are freely expressed within them and that those interests are democratically reconciled and built up into the community and general social interest. Particular attention should be paid here to the conclusion of a self-management accord between those using and those rendering the services in the assembly of the SIZ, to the decisionmaking of the assembly of the SIZ as an equal chamber in the assembly of the sociopolitical community, and to the participation of representatives of the SIZ in the

proceedings and decisionmaking of administrative bodies (committees and the like).

Delegates in self-managed communities of interest formed for activities of particular public interest must also be mindful of those particular public interests, and not merely the interests of the working people in self-managed organizations and communities which have delegated them. This ought to be /expressed in Article 111 of the SFRY Constitution/.

## II. Improvement of the Functioning and Further Development of the Delegate Assembly System

Further construction and development of the delegate system at all levels of sociopolitical organization and decisionmaking should guarantee that policy and decisions are established and adopted in the assembly of the sociopolitical community on working class foundations and mindful of the interests and needs of the working people and citizens and the nationalities and ethnic minorities; that the opportunities are steadily broadened for the most direct possible involvement of the working people and citizens in the administration of public affairs; that the interests of the working people and citizens and of their self-managed organizations and communities be expressed as directly as possible, reconciled and built up into the community interest and general public interest; that delegate bodies and organs be fully affirmed, that is, that continuation of decisionmaking in detached centers of power and in forms of informal decisionmaking outside institutions of the delegate system be prevented and eliminated; that conditions be improved for competent, efficient, and responsible performance of the functions of delegations, delegates, and working bodies of assemblies of sociopolitical communities in setting forth policy and adopting acts and for consistent implementation of the policy jointly agreed to and the acts adopted; that the optimality and effectiveness of delegate decisionmaking be improved; and the position and role of the subjective forces be achieved and the manner of their operation improved in the delegate system.

### The Delegation as the Key Link in the Delegate System

1. The matters on which the working people and citizens shall be required to issue /guidelines/ to their delegations and the manner in which this is to be done should be set forth as specifically as possible. The guidelines should be established as an active choice of the working people and citizens from the standpoint of their self-management interests and needs and at the same time as the basis for concluding agreements and accords with delegations of other self-managed organizations and communities on behalf of a democratic synthesis to build the community interest and general social interest.

Sociopolitical organizations, especially the League of Communists, the Trade Union Federation, and the Socialist Alliance shall be required to be involved so that guidelines are issued in good time in worker caucuses, in workers' councils, in assemblies of local communities and in their organs, and so that views are adopted which will be the basis for activity of delegations and delegates in assemblies of sociopolitical communities and SIZ's, since the setting

forth of views and guidelines is the principal form of activity of sociopolitical organizations in the delegate system.

2. The constitutional position of /delegations/ of self-managed organizations and communities and of sociopolitical organizations should be consistently realized on behalf of achieving permanent operating linkage between the working people and citizens and their delegations and delegates.

a) It is indispensable /to set forth in the general self-management acts of self-managed organizations and communities the basic rights, obligations, and responsibilities of delegations/, its position and role in organizations of associated labor, local communities, relations between delegations and bodies of self-management, and the relations of delegations with working people and citizens, and especially in adoption of basic views for delegates. They should establish those matters on which the delegates are required to submit a report to their delegate base.

Within self-managed organizations and communities all the conditions should be furnished the delegation for its work just as they are for the bodies of self-management. Executive, administrative, and professional management bodies shall be especially required to see to the rendering of technical assistance and to guaranteeing the conditions necessary to the work of delegations.

b) /Operating procedures and other acts of assemblies of sociopolitical communities should regulate more completely and in more detail the important matters important to the functioning of delegations/ in all phases of the processes of decisionmaking and execution of decisions made, but in particular: the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of delegations and delegates in the procedure for programming the work of assemblies; the manner of expression of the authentic interests of the self-management base and their synthesis to form the community interest and the general social interest; the adoption of acts of the assemblies and guarantees of their consistent and effective execution; the obligations and tasks of executive and administrative agencies; the functioning of delegations and assemblies; the manner and content of information, etc.

c) /It is indispensable to develop greater coordination of delegate decision-making within the work organization/ by establishing conferences of delegations as ad hoc or permanent forms of joint activity of delegations of basic organizations of associated labor for the purpose of choosing joint delegates or in order to debate matters of interest to all the basic organizations of associated labor.

#### The Relation Between the Delegate and the Delegate Base and Linkage and Joint Activity of Delegations

1. /The relationship of the delegate to the delegation and to the delegate base/ established by the constitution should be developed and elaborated more fully and the rights and duties and role of the delegates with respect to the delegate base set forth, and their direct accountability should be established and developed on that foundation.

Self-managed organizations and communities, sociopolitical organizations and their delegations should monitor and periodically, at least once a year, evaluate the activity and performance of delegations and delegates in the assembly.

The delegate is required to have a constant operating linkage with his delegate base, to participate and contribute to the adoption of views, taking as his point of departure his awareness of the community interests and the general social interests, and he shall be required to inform the base about the decisions of the assembly of sociopolitical communities and to argue for consistent implementation of those decisions.

/The institution of the variable delegate/, as a long-term orientation in the future development of the delegate system, should be introduced gradually in the present phase, wherever constitutionally possible, with transitional solutions (for example, alternate delegate, reducing the term of office of the delegate, delegation to a particular meeting or concerning a particular matter, introduction of the variable delegate for assemblies of SIZ's, etc.). It is indispensable to monitor experiences in use of the institution of the variable delegate and on that basis to make the appropriate changes in the system.

2. /The forms of linkage and joint activity of delegations/ should be systematically built up and improved on the foundations of the SFRY Constitution. To that end it is indispensable that the SAWP and Federation of Trade Unions establish by agreement the principal forms of linkage of delegations which have functional or some other ties. The acts of assemblies of sociopolitical communities must set forth the forms of geographic and functional linkage of delegations.

The causes of difficulties in the linkage of delegations within electoral units where a joint delegate is chosen should be eliminated so as to guarantee constant operating linkage of the delegate with the delegations which elected him.

The constitutional principle should be affirmed of direct linkage of delegations on the basis of work and other common interests which they have and which they pursue in the sociopolitical community and with delegations of other self-managed organizations outside the area of that same sociopolitical community on the basis of pooling labor and resources or on a geographic basis. It is especially important to guarantee the linkage of delegations in the opstina and through the chambers of the opstina assembly for the purpose of setting forth guidelines for decisionmaking of delegates in the assemblies of higher-level sociopolitical communities.

It is also indispensable to develop the forms of social consultations of delegations, through which all the creative forces would become involved, including science, and also to furnish political and professional assistance to delegations.

Through their activity sociopolitical organizations should encourage and guarantee the broadest possible mutual linkage of delegations and also their linkage with the totality of the self-management structure of society.

The Assembly of the Sociopolitical Community as the Supreme Body of Government  
and of Social Self-Management

1. Much more than up to now /the assemblies of sociopolitical communities/ must be bodies of social self-management and the supreme bodies of government within the limits of the rights and duties of sociopolitical communities, and above all the formulators of policy and decisions, the place where interests are reconciled and the views of their delegate base are synchronized and policy established for carrying out the acts which they adopt and for exercising scrutiny and monitoring of their performance.

a) /Assemblies of sociopolitical communities/ should be affirmed to a greater extent as a form of integration of self-management in associated labor and all other organizations and communities and as elected and changeable delegations of associated labor and other forms of self-management and political organization of the working people and citizens.

As bodies of social self-management the assembly should act much more than up to now through resolutions, recommendations and other general acts for social guidance, take initiatives for conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts, especially in sectors in which the working people and citizens and their bodies of self-management, self-managed organizations and communities regulate social relations directly and at the same time, simultaneously with their enactment, also set forth specific programs of activity to monitor and follow up their implementation.

b) There is an indispensable need for a considerably /more vigorous role of assemblies of sociopolitical communities in setting forth the policy for enforcement of laws and other statutes and general acts/ and in continually monitoring and examining achievement of constitutionality and legality in particular sectors of the life of society.

Assemblies should consistently orient their activity--respecting the constitutional responsibility and independence of executive bodies and administrative agencies--toward direct insight into the conduct of policy and implementation of the acts which they adopt, should in their guidelines and conclusions set forth the policy for enforcement of acts and conduct an organized and ongoing effort of policy supervision over the work of executive bodies and administrative agencies and public supervision over the work of self-managed organizations and communities, especially those with public authority.

c) /The organization and operating procedure of assemblies of sociopolitical communities/ and of their chambers and committees should be brought into conformity with the requirements and needs of the delegate base and the delegate method of decisionmaking.

On behalf of greater openness of assemblies of sociopolitical communities toward the entire democratic structure of society and on behalf of further socialization of delegate decisionmaking and overcoming remnants of the representative system and formalism in the preparation and adoption of decisions, the organization, method of operation, and operating procedures and decisionmaking of assemblies and their chambers should be developed so as to facilitate

and encourage the delegate method of operation and the building up of delegate relations. Among other things this requires a thorough reassessment of the provisions of the operating procedures of assemblies of sociopolitical communities and their chambers.

In assemblies of sociopolitical communities the practice should be abandoned of establishing committees exclusively on the sector principle, and committees should rather be formed whose nature and character would be more appropriate to the delegate method of operation (ad hoc committees for performing particular tasks, etc.).

Standing and ad hoc committees and also working groups of delegates should operate more by way of making proposals and taking up particular issues in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities.

Work in assemblies of sociopolitical communities should proceed in such a way that the delegations and delegates are involved in the process of building up the initial views for establishment of the policy that will be incorporated into individual pieces of legislation. In that sense the operating procedures of assemblies of sociopolitical communities should work out more fully the institution of the so-called preliminary procedure, that is, that phase in which the broadest exchange of opinions would take place with all interested bodies, agencies, and organizations concerning the need to set forth policy in a particular area and for adopting or amending pieces of legislation, concerning the basic concept, possible solutions, etc.

There is an indispensable need to establish still more precisely in the operating procedures of assemblies of sociopolitical communities the conditions for adopting pieces of legislation on the basis of abbreviated and urgent procedure. The use of those procedures should be exceptional, and the decision should be made in advance in each specific case by the competent chamber of the assembly of the sociopolitical community.

Committees must be open to science and to the subjective forces of society in general, and they should collaborate more with the corresponding forms of activity of sociopolitical organizations, since those bodies should become to a greater degree places in which all interests are expressed and the proposals and initiatives for reconciling them taken under consideration.

d) /The work programs of assemblies/ must have primary political importance as social and political agreements of a kind whereby the limits and directions are defined for the principal activity of assemblies over a particular period of time. Those initiating and proposing the tasks for the program must above all be the delegations, the delegates, organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, and sociopolitical organizations.

The work programs of assemblies of sociopolitical communities and of their chambers should in particular contain priority or basic tasks and the tasks of assemblies of sociopolitical communities in a particular period of time, pieces of legislation on which public discussion should be conducted in an

organized way, the manner of carrying on cooperation in carrying out the work program with assemblies and their executive bodies, with sociopolitical organizations, and with other public organizations.

2. The following are indispensable to consistent realization of the constitutional conception of the /chambers of assemblies of sociopolitical communities/:

a) To guarantee that the chambers make decisions within their independent jurisdiction on most matters within the competence of assemblies of sociopolitical communities. To that end there should be a reassessment of the existing normative solutions, including changes in constitutions, /concerning the jurisdiction, operating procedure, and decisionmaking of each chamber/ and it should be guaranteed that the chambers of assemblies of sociopolitical communities in principle always make decisions independently on matters within their jurisdiction, and do so equally with the other chambers only on matters which by their nature require examination of interests expressed by the separate chambers, while decisionmaking in a joint session should be an exception.

b) The constitutional provision should be consistently realized that the /assemblies of SIZ's/ in the relevant sectors should be involved in all phases of preparation and enactment of decisions and pieces of legislation concerning matters on which they make decisions on an equal footing in the competent chambers of assemblies of sociopolitical communities. There is a need to spell out in the operating procedures of assemblies of sociopolitical communities and in the bylaws of SIZ's those matters which assemblies of SIZ's and chambers of assemblies of sociopolitical communities are to take up together and to decide on equally.

c) The basic role and position of the /chamber of associated labor/ should be strengthened. These chambers must become an essential factor for creating those conditions of economic activity which will encourage broader self-management linkage and integration of associated labor on income-sharing principles on the undivided Yugoslav market and will remove the obstacles that stand in the way of obtaining and carrying out a single development strategy for the country, including a single strategy for technical and technological development. The chamber of associated labor should have the decisive role in adoption of decisions or setting forth the bases of policy of socioeconomic development when it is a question of disposition of social income, the planning of social development, the measures of economic and social welfare policy, the pooling of labor and resources, conditions for the conduct of economic activity, etc. It is especially important to affirm its role in initiation, encouragement, and coordination of the conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts concerning the essential matters of social reproduction and in exercising constant scrutiny, oversight, and involvement on behalf of the most optimum possible conduct of economic activity with resources for social reproduction within organizations of associated labor. Chambers of associated labor in republic and provincial assemblies must have a more significant role when guidelines are being adopted to govern delegations in decisionmaking in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly.

In accordance with that kind of role and position of the chamber of associated labor it is indispensable to reassess the relevant provisions in the constitutions of the SR's and SAP's on behalf of more precise establishment of the jurisdiction of that chamber and creation of relations which make it possible for it to decide as a rule independently on matters pertaining to material relations.

It is indispensable for sociopolitical organizations, the trade unions in particular, to take stands in good time on important matters deliberated by the chamber of associated labor, especially those matters which are directly related to the realization and distribution of income and establishment of relations on the principles of free exchange of labor and exercise of the self-management rights of the workers and protection of social property. Those stands must be present in the delegate base and delegations when the guidelines or positions are being adopted to govern the work of the delegates.

d) /Chambers of local communities/ should be developed so as to express the immediate interests of the working people and citizens organized in the local community, including those interests in which they are interested on the basis of their common life and work. Those chambers should be most directly linked to assemblies of SIZ's when they figure as chambers in taking up matters of common interest.

e) /The chamber of opstinas/ should be developed so that it makes decisions and is involved in consideration of matters of interest to the working people and citizens organized in the opstina as a self-managed and basic sociopolitical community and of interest to the unity of all forms of self-management within it.

f) It is indispensable that the jurisdiction of /sociopolitical chambers/ be brought into conformity in constitutions and bylaws with the conception established in the SFRY Constitution, thereby ensuring the responsibility of those chambers for the development, stability, and protection of the system of socialist self-management and for achievement of the constitutional position and role of the workers in social reproduction, constitutionality and legality, human and civil rights and freedoms, and that it also contribute to harmonizing particular self-management interests and their synthesis into the community interest and the interest of the society at large. Tendencies would thereby be overcome to transform the sociopolitical chambers into chambers of general jurisdiction. This necessitates more integral examination and study of the role, character, manner of election, and institutional structure of that chamber and the manner of its work.

It is especially important to the functioning of sociopolitical chambers that sociopolitical organizations work out their mutual relations and establish forms of information in the process of setting forth united views. The practice should be developed within the framework of the SAWP of prior examination and adoption of views of sociopolitical organizations governing the work of delegates on matters of quite broad social importance which are in the jurisdiction of the sociopolitical chamber. However, the possibility should not be excluded either of independent expression of the delegates of particular

sociopolitical organizations on particular matters, consistent with the particular tasks of the particular sociopolitical organization.

#### Constitutional Function of the State Presidencies of the Republics and Autonomous Provinces

Achievement of all the constitutional functions /of the state presidencies of the SR's and SAP's/ has particular importance to the fuller, more meaningful, and more efficient functioning of the political system of socialist self-management.

As an integral part of the delegate assembly system the presidencies must be much more oriented and linked in their work to the assemblies of sociopolitical communities than they have been up to now. A fuller study should be undertaken into the position, role, and character of the presidencies of the SR's and SAP's, especially from the standpoint of their position and role in the delegate assembly system.

It is indispensable that the presidencies of the SR's and SAP's contribute much more than up to the present, both independently and in collaboration with the SFRY State Presidency, to the dynamic and harmonious development of the country as a whole, especially in guaranteeing achievement of the unity of the socioeconomic and political system and in reconciling the interests of the SR's and SAP's on matters pertaining to socioeconomic development and economic policy which are set forth in the Federation. This is an essential prerequisite for pursuit of the interests and achievement of the equality of the working people and citizens of the republics and autonomous provinces and of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities. There is a need to develop still closer cooperation and devise methods of mutual communication of the presidencies of the SR's and SAP's and the SFRY State Presidency, especially on behalf of a greater contribution to more effective conclusion of accords and agreements of the SR's and SAP's within the SFRY Assembly and to resolving the problems which occasionally arise in relations among the republics and provinces and also interethnic relations.

#### Consistent Performance of the Constitutional Role of Executive Bodies and Administrative Agencies

There is a need for fuller and more rapid adaptation of the organization of the personnel makeup and methods of operation of /executive bodies and administrative agencies/ to the conditions and requirements of the delegate assembly system.

a) /The constitutional responsibility of the executive body for the situation in all domains of the life of society/, within the limits of the rights and duties of respective sociopolitical communities, and the responsibility of administrative agencies for the situation in the sector for which it was established should be exercised through the responsibility of those bodies and agencies before the assembly of sociopolitical communities and through the entire activity of those bodies and agencies within the framework of their constitutional rights and duties. The discharge of that responsibility is at the

same time one of the objective criteria for the overall evaluation of the performance of those bodies and agencies.

b) /The tendency toward a de facto broadening of the jurisdiction of executive bodies and administrative agencies beyond the limits established by the constitution should be combated/, along with a simultaneous strengthening of their independence, responsibility, and authority in exercising their constitutional rights and discharging their constitutional obligations. The following are indispensable to that objective:

(a) that these bodies and agencies orient their activity primarily toward performance of the essential constitutional function of carrying out policy and enforcing laws and other enactments of assemblies of sociopolitical communities, which requires that these bodies and agencies make full use of the instruments and mechanisms set forth in the constitution and law for monitoring, supervising, and guaranteeing enforcement of the established policy and the statutes enacted;

(b) that the professional and collaborative function of executive bodies, and especially administrative agencies, both to serve the assembly and also other bodies of sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations, is not expanded at the expense of their basic functions;

(c) the practice should be combated whereby laws and other enactments of assemblies of sociopolitical communities transfer powers to executive bodies and administrative agencies or establish rights and obligations for regulation of particular matters in the domain of socioeconomic and other relations and in that way make it possible for executive bodies and administrative agencies to regulate social relations instead of assemblies and the working people organized through self-management;

(d) the necessary conditions should be created in administrative agencies with respect to organization, personnel, and material resources for development and improvement of the function of supervision by inspectorates and for obtaining more effective instruments for the work of inspectorates.

c) Through an appropriate method of operation of executive bodies and their relations with administrative agencies the tendency should be combated for them to "grow together" so that the /collective responsibility of the executive body and the individual responsibility of the head of the administrative agency/ before the assembly is delineated more clearly. There is a need to guarantee that the executive body can effectively coordinate and guide the operation of administrative agencies and at the same time the administrative agency have an independent and responsible position in the performance of its functions.

d) Executive bodies and administrative agencies should take the objectively established evaluation of the situation and the information base that has been built as their points of departure in /preparing proposals for the assembly of the sociopolitical community/. The proposal should be thoroughly substantiated and argued; they should contain possible alternative solutions and the

effects of implementing them and the policy of enforcement on the basis of which assemblies of sociopolitical communities would guide and monitor the work of executive bodies and administrative agencies in carrying out policy, laws, and other regulations. The timely submittal of proposals to the assembly of the sociopolitical community would put an end to the excessive use of emergency and abbreviated procedure, and the delegates would thereby take over responsibility for making decisions.

e) Executive bodies and administrative agencies should in performance of their functions be /open to the influence and supervision of the entire self-management social structure/, should develop constant communications pertaining to operation and information with self-managed and other bodies and organizations, and they should above all rely on and be in direct operational communication with the assembly of the sociopolitical community, which does not diminish their indispensable independence or the need for lawful, responsible, and effective execution of the competency set forth in the constitution.

The tendency should be combated of turning relations whereby executive bodies and administrative agencies consult for information purposes with particular political and professional management structures in sociopolitical communities into tie-ups of a unique kind which in actuality take over decisionmaking from assemblies of sociopolitical communities and degrade the delegate assembly system.

f) It is indispensable that /administrative agencies/, within the limits of their position and role as set forth in the constitution and law, /establish the most direct relations with assemblies of sociopolitical communities/ and be accountable to them for the situation in the sector for which they were established, for the conduct of policy and the enforcement of regulations, which would combat their hiding behind the responsibility of executive bodies.

g) Activity should be stepped up toward rapid and fuller /transformation of administrative agencies/ in conformity with the constitution and law and the needs of society; it is indispensable to improve the organization and method of their operation, to modernize their technical and information equipment, to optimize their business operation, to constantly and systematically raise the level of professional competence and the political-ideological fitness of personnel, to stimulate their creativity by rewarding them according to performance and the results of work, to occasionally evaluate their ability and their performance, and on that basis make decisions concerning reappointment.

h) Establishment of /social councils/ associated with certain administrative agencies and for particular administrative sectors and the resulting activity would contribute to further democratization of operation and to greater openness of administrative agencies to all structures of society.

It is indispensable to analyze more fully the experience to date in the work of the social councils, which would contribute to further improvement of this form of social influence and oversight.

## Activity of Sociopolitical Organizations in the Delegate System

It is indispensable to the successful functioning of the delegate system that /sociopolitical organizations/, as the broadest political base and constituent element of the political system, consistent with the strategy set forth for the development of society, become far more involved in the delegate system and the other democratic institutions of society in resolving the most important social issues, especially those specific social problems in which the contradictions of our development are manifested.

Finding and devising specific forms and methods for greater integration of sociopolitical organizations into the delegate system and into the self-management activity of the working people as a whole as well as for establishment and development of democratic relations with all the socialist forces of society should be the principal direction and content of the more rapid adaptation of their work to the essence of the delegate system. Direct linkage with the working people through the activity of sociopolitical organizations in self-management and other democratic structures of society, especially in associated labor, is a condition for the sociopolitical organizations to guarantee expression of the working class essence and objectives of our society through the influence they exert in the processes of political decisionmaking.

Sociopolitical organizations must systematically keep abreast of the problems with which delegations and delegate bodies are concerned, must take positions concerning those problems in accordance with their fundamental political-ideological commitments, and through the activity of their members in the process of delegate decisionmaking exert an influence so that the decisions are democratic in the way they are adopted and progressive in their content.

It is the role of sociopolitical organizations to monitor the way decisions made in that way are carried out and through their activity to contribute to the consistent and effective execution of those decisions. The Socialist Alliance, together with the trade unions and other organized forces representing social consciousness, must be a place for democratic debate and the activity of all the working people who have a socialist and self-management orientation. All those forms of activity of the Socialist Alliance should be developed which will make it possible for the pluralism of self-management interests of the working people in associated labor and various forms of their organization based in interest to be manifested as directly and freely as possible in all domains of the life of society.

In order to be capable of such a vigorous role the socialist subjective forces must carry out more rapidly their internal consolidation by strengthening their political-ideological unity and internal cohesion, by overcoming shortcomings in leadership and by finding new functional forms of organization, by developing collective effort and coordination, and through linkage and the harmonization of actions in the Socialist Alliance.

## Information as an Essential Prerequisite of Decisionmaking

The /social information system/ should be so oriented as to serve the stronger role and influence of associated labor and the self-management delegate base on all the developments of social life and on all forms and levels of self-management, assembly, and political decisionmaking. There is a need in the process of delegate decisionmaking to guarantee that information is accessible, complete, objective, timely, and comprehensible, that is, adapted to the needs of those participating in that process. This is an essential prerequisite for sound and effective decisionmaking and for the execution of decisions, and thereby for the functioning of the political system as a whole.

All those involved in information, especially delegations and delegate assemblies, the bodies of self-management and sociopolitical organizations should contribute to development of a social awareness of the importance of all types of /information/ in the process of social decisionmaking and execution of the decisions made.

### III. Bringing the Electoral System Into Conformity With the Essence of the Delegate System

Delegate elections need to be brought into greater conformity with the essence of the delegate system, at the same time achieving more fully their class essence and abandoning elements of political representation and overcoming manifestations of bureaucratic usurpation and manipulation in elections.

1. Conditions should be created in normative acts and practice so that in direct elections of delegates to bodies of self-management and delegations which are to make up the delegate system, and indeed everywhere where elections are conducted in the delegate system, there are guarantees of consistent application of all the democratic achievements and principles of the electoral system (equality in nominating candidates, secret ballot, open lists of candidates, more candidates than places to be filled, the ability of the delegates to perform the function and their reputation with the delegate base, recall, etc.) and that the system of delegation be consistently applied in making up assemblies, combined with the express initiative and responsibility of delegations and conferences of delegations.

The performance of delegations, delegates, and those holding public office, self-management office, and other public positions during the previous delegate term of office should be analyzed and evaluated in the /prenomination procedure/; to establish those matters which ought to be resolved in the coming period and to keep records on a broader basis of possible candidates to be members of delegations and to be delegates.

Conditions should be created through political action for affirmation of /election of members of delegations/ as one of the most important acts of the delegate electoral system and as a decisive phase in establishment of the personnel base for delegate assemblies at all levels. That is why sociopolitical organizations must devote the greatest attention to this part of the electoral process.

Changes in republic and provincial legislation and the electoral rules of the SAWP and Trade Union Federation should open up opportunities for the working people and citizens to express themselves directly in nomination proceedings, especially when candidates are being chosen in nominating conferences or when opinions are given on possible candidates to hold office in self-management, public office, and other social office in assemblies of sociopolitical communities.

The procedure for election and recall of members of delegations and of delegates to assemblies of sociopolitical communities needs to be simplified so as to create the conditions in this way as well for the procedure of election and recall to be effective and adapted to real social needs and possibilities.

2. In the delegate electoral system /guarantee the equal position of all the working people/ who take part in the entire process of social reproduction and make it possible for them to elect their delegations from which the delegates would be delegated to chambers of associated labor. This especially applies to private farmers. The provisions of Article 133 of the SFRY Constitution and the relevant provisions of the constitutions of the SR's and SAP's should be reassessed accordingly.

3. It is indispensable to provide for that method of operation and makeup of /nominating conferences/ that will strengthen the direct influence and responsibility of the working people and citizens and their delegations in selecting and proposing candidates.

4. The group of persons affected by the /restriction on election to delegations/ of basic self-managed organizations and communities should be prevented from getting broader, extending beyond the limits in the constitution. For the purpose of more consistent implementation of the constitutional principle of restricting election to membership in delegations, Article 493 of the ZUR should be reexamined.

5. There is a need to study more broadly /the manner of election of delegates to sociopolitical chambers/, starting with the constitutional status and role of those chambers in the political system.

With appropriate solutions in the bylaws of sociopolitical organizations cases should be prevented where delegates in the sociopolitical chamber whose term of office in bodies of sociopolitical communities has expired perform the function of a delegation in a particular sociopolitical organization and continue to perform the delegate function in the sociopolitical chamber.

In order to make practice more uniform, it is indispensable that sociopolitical organizations in the framework of the SAWP designate by agreement those bodies which will perform the function of a delegation in a particular sociopolitical organization in view of the need to guarantee the proper delegate relation and the possibility for stating positions to govern the work of delegations. There is also a need to adjust the time elections are held to the bodies of sociopolitical organizations to elections to delegate assemblies.

6. Amendments of the constitutions and laws in the SR's and SAP's should emphasize more strongly the operational and functional component of elections to /chambers of associated labor/ of republic and provincial assemblies.

Electoral units pertaining to that chamber should be shaped according to sectors of associated labor or for appropriate production entities (education and culture, social welfare and health care, the economic sector, private farmers, craftsmen and tradesmen, government bodies and agencies, and so on), and that in such a way that only delegations and delegates of those particular sectors take part in delegating delegates to the chambers of associated labor in assemblies of SR's and SAP's, in which such units should not as a rule embrace the territory of just one opstina, but neither should they be excessively large, which would make it impossible to establish direct communication between the delegate and his constituency, especially concerning a sector or production entity with a large number of delegations.

Within the limits of the entities arrived at in that way, a corresponding body would be established (conference of delegations) consisting of the delegations of self-managed organizations and communities which are located in that entity with respect to economic function and area which would perform the function of nominating delegates from that electoral unit. That body would at the same time be a standing form for linkage and joint action of delegations within the delegate unit and a form of linkage of those delegations with their elected delegate.

7. From the standpoint of the constitutional commitments a particular study should be made of the /manner of election of delegates to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and the way in which the delegate base influences the work and decisionmaking of that chamber. In this connection there is a need to provide for more definite binding of delegates and establishment of his particular accountability to the immediate delegate base. There is an indispensable need for greater responsibility of sociopolitical organizations, the SAWP above all, for organizing and achieving firmer and more direct delegate ties through conferences of delegations and other forms of linkage.

8. The specific nature of the preparations and conduct of /election of delegations and delegates to assemblies of SIZ's/ requires that the self-management acts of organizations of associated labor and local communities set forth the number and composition of delegations, their relationship to worker caucuses, workers' councils, and assemblies of local communities. In view of the differing practice and differing legal regulation of the election of delegations and delegates to SIZ's, solutions should be made uniform, above all in those SIZ's which act as a chamber for assemblies of sociopolitical communities, consideration being paid to the specific features of the actual conditions of their operation.

The electoral procedure which applies to assemblies of sociopolitical communities should not be "copied" in the legal regulation of elections to assemblies of SIZ's which do not figure as chambers of the assembly of the sociopolitical community.

The appropriate public organizations and associations of citizens should be given the opportunity to form delegations for the assembly of a particular SIZ, and the bylaws of those organizations or associations would be able to designate the bodies to perform the function of the delegation.

9. In the electoral system /sociopolitical organizations/ should organize and encourage the activity of the working people and citizens in proposing and confirming candidates. In the entire election procedure sociopolitical organizations have particular responsibility for guaranteeing democratic electoral activity.

It is especially important that the Socialist Alliance, throughout the entire electoral process, and the Trade Union Federation, above all in associated labor, become involved so that in basic self-managed organizations and communities, on the basis of debates held in advance concerning the general and individual problems and on the basis of establishment of the tasks arising therefrom for the basic organization or community, delegates be elected who in their knowledge and professional competence, in their proven performance, experience, political-ideological commitment and reputation will contribute to performance of the tasks so established. It is the task of sociopolitical organizations to work for affirmation of programs which will guarantee realization of the long-term interests and objectives of the working people and citizens and to oppose activities which would be contrary to the platform of the SAWP, attempts at bureaucratic usurpation, activity of informal groups, demagogic caviling not backed up by argument, and the disenfranchisement of the working people who take part in the electoral process.

#### IV. Further Democratization of Personnel Policy and Strengthening Responsibility for Performance of Public Functions

1. There is an indispensable need for further /democratization of personnel policy as a whole/ so as to consistently realize the basic principle set down in the constitution that no one can perform self-management, public, and other social functions and exercise public authority unless this has been entrusted to him by the working people and citizens or assemblies of sociopolitical communities pursuant to the constitution or bylaws and law.

To that end it is indispensable that sociopolitical organizations, and in particular the Socialist Alliance and Trade Union Federation, set forth joint programs of social activity and joint criteria for election and appointment of those who perform all social functions; consistently respect the social criteria adapted in personnel policy, the principle of public scrutiny of the performance and responsibility of those who perform social functions; organize democratic consultations; broaden the personnel pool for selection of personnel and create other preconditions for the working people and citizens, organized through self-management and through sociopolitical organizations, to have a decisive role in decisionmaking throughout the entire procedure for election of those who perform self-management, public, and other social functions; to encourage and create conditions for implementation of the principle that at the end of the term of office personnel who professionally perform social functions should go back to associated labor or to the places from which

they were delegated. The need for constant performance of certain functions does not signify as well the need for them to be performed by professionals. That is why they should strive for self-management and other public functions to be performed without becoming a permanent occupation, since they should be performed for a specified period of time.

2. Essentially improve the practice of planning /personnel needs/ in associated labor and in society as a whole from the standpoint of prospects for development, along with constant professional and political-ideological development of personnel using the results of scientific research in this field. Plans of personnel needs should be an integral part of the development plans of organizations of associated labor and sociopolitical communities at all levels and must be set forth and adopted in a self-management and democratic way. They should specifically take into account the need to create jobs for young people. Recordkeeping on personnel should be established and regularly maintained.

3. Application of the /principle of full ethnic equality, along with simultaneous respect for the criteria of professional competence, ability, and initiative of individuals/ who are ready to fight to preserve and develop the equality and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, for the development of self-management, and for the decisive position and role of the working class in society, and who through their entire work and the results of their work have gained a reputation and the trust of the working people and citizens should continue to be consistently guaranteed by specific solutions in the field of personnel policy.

On the basis of those criteria it is indispensable to /constantly renew personnel/, that is, rejuvenation and selection of younger trained personnel for responsible positions in bodies, agencies, and organizations at all levels of the organization of society. The Socialist Alliance, consistent with its constitutional obligation, must guarantee that realization of the criteria of personnel policy with respect to the proper social and ethnic composition, the election of women and young people and the guidance of personnel into positions in delegate assemblies and other public offices should become a full-fledged and integral part of the democratic electoral process.

Comprehensive, documented, and constant monitoring and objective /evaluation/ of the performance of those who perform social functions, especially collective bodies and officers, should become an essential element of personnel policy.

That is why the criteria and standards for evaluation of the successful performance of social functions and for presentation of social recognition should be improved and the accountability of bodies to the public for their consistent application guaranteed.

4. The social commitment about /more candidates than positions/ (open lists of candidates) should be consistently implemented concerning election of members of delegations, delegates, and those who hold other public offices in all phases of electoral procedure. However, realization of this commitment

requires the organized efforts to guarantee the appropriate composition of delegate or self-management bodies (ethnic, social, age-specific, sex-specific, etc.). In that sense the subjective forces should make a commitment so that the working people and citizens directly or through their delegations, conferences of delegations, assemblies, and other bodies make the broadest use of that constitutional possibility whenever they deem it necessary.

5. On behalf of further democratization of personnel policy the /subjective socialist forces/ should create conditions for more direct participation of the working people and citizens in personnel policy, should prevent the influence of small groups and individuals on the settlement of personnel issues, and should guarantee broader and freer consultations concerning possible candidates for all positions in society, along with full respect for the established criteria of personnel policy. There is accordingly a need for full /public scrutiny of the work of coordinating bodies for personnel policy/, along with mandatory public justification of all positions and opinions. These bodies, as a form of social influence on the conduct of personnel policy, should operate in accordance with the agreement on personnel policy and should serve those participants in the political system whose task it is to conduct personnel policy and make the final decisions.

6. Guarantee that kind of /composition of collective bodies/ which will make it possible for them to operate on the principle of collective effort and assume collective responsibility for the work of the body, but also personal responsibility of individuals for performance of the tasks assigned them. That is why in electing members of collective bodies the principles of personnel policy which have been established should be respected in every individual case and for all positions.

The /length of the term of office/ in particular bodies should be adapted to their character and specific role. On that basis those solutions should be individually set forth which best correspond to the nature of that body and to its function in the delegate assembly system, along with further simultaneous development of /collective effort, decisionmaking, and responsibility/.

It is indispensable to make the length of the term of office uniform within bodies and organizations of the same type and at the same levels of social organization. In order to guarantee continuity and more effective and efficient operation of collective bodies, especially the chambers of assemblies of sociopolitical communities and their committees, there is a need to reassess the existing constitutional solutions and solutions in bylaws and operating procedures concerning the length of the term of office.

The present solution should not be changed with respect to the length of the term of office of the chairman of the SFRY State Presidency, since this conforms to the constitutional role and functions of the SFRY State Presidency.

7. In the conduct of /personnel policy in federal bodies, agencies, and organizations/ the constitutional solution should be consistently implemented concerning the equal representation of the SR's and SAP's in the particular bodies, agencies, and organizations of the Federation, concerning equal representation of the SR's and appropriate representation of the SAP's and concerning

the need to take into account ethnic composition in appointing federal secretaries and other officials who head federal administrative agencies and federal organizations which are members of the Federal Executive Council.

It is indispensable to guarantee the responsibility of all SR's and SAP's for the soundest possible competence of personnel of federal bodies and agencies and make it possible for them to take a position and jointly adopt proposals for those who are to hold office in the Federation. Nomination to particular offices in federal bodies and agencies may not be the exclusive right of SR's and SAP's nominating the candidate, since it is a question of the makeup of bodies and agencies performing functions of common interest. This also puts an obligation on the SR's and SAP's to take over personnel after they have served their term of office in federal bodies, agencies, and organizations.

In addition to the responsibility of the SR's and SAP's for personnel policy in the Federation, there is also a need to affirm the independence established in the constitution of federal bodies and agencies for the appropriate competence of personnel.

8. /The SAWP, the League of Communists, and the Federation of Trade Unions/ must initiate and carry out personnel policy and bear particular responsibility for realization of the established principles of personnel policy and for preventing cases of cliquishness, sectarianism, manipulation, and other deformations in the conduct of personnel policy. Their involvement should be aimed at reaffirming the social prestige of performing self-management, public, and other social functions, at strengthening the public trust in those who hold office, and at protecting their personal integrity.

#### V. Consistent Realization of the Constitutional Conception of Sociopolitical Communities

##### 1. General Principles Governing the Functioning of Sociopolitical Communities

On behalf of construction of society as a free community of producers, it is indispensable that sociopolitical communities, as the basic element of the geographic organization of society, develop as self-managed communities and exercise the functions of political power set forth in the constitution, in which the strengthening of the self-management component in all parts of the system and within the framework of all sociopolitical communities is a constitutional prerequisite.

#### Strict Respect for the Limits Established by the Constitution in Exercise of the Functions of Government

/An essential prerequisite of achievement of the constitutional conception of the sociopolitical community/ is consistent realization of the basic principle of the SFRY Constitution (Section IV) to the effect that achievement of the self-management position and rights of the workingman in basic and other self-managed organizations and communities, the self-management position of workers in the opstina, free self-managed association, activity, and creativity of the working people, the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, and

civil and human freedoms, rights, and duties as set forth in the constitution, /stand as the limit and the direction of the exercise of the rights and discharge of the duties of the sociopolitical community in the exercise of the functions of government/. It is indispensable to consistently realize this essential constitutional commitment throughout legislative policy, and to guarantee, encourage, and develop its application in the policy of enforcement.

a) The function of political power in all sociopolitical communities needs to be brought within the limits and framework established by the constitution. In every sociopolitical community a determination needs to be made as to those areas of socioeconomic relations, economic policy, and social reproduction as a whole in which there are cases where the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities overstep their rights and duties, and laws and other enactments should restrict powers and the extensive opportunities for the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities to intervene in these areas.

b) Effective instruments must be developed in every sociopolitical community which will prevent unjustified expansion of the competence of bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities in both making and carrying out decisions. Assemblies and executive bodies and administrative agencies accountable to them must act exclusively within the limits of their constitutional functions and jurisdiction.

c) In order to combat the hypertrophy of government normativism legal regulation must be brought into conformity with the self-management status of organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities; the normative functions of government bodies must encourage the self-management pooling of labor and resources; the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities must not use the normative function of government even in regulating matters in social relations which should be regulated by social compact, self-management accord, or other general self-management acts.

d) The process should be continued of degovernmentalization of functions in all domains of the life and work of society which no longer need to be performed by government bodies and agencies.

e) It is indispensable to consistently and effectively perform those functions of the government which are an essential condition and indispensable element of guaranteeing the system of socialist self-management and development of socioeconomic and political relations on self-management foundations (protection of social property, regulation of relations in certain areas by coercive norms, enforcement of laws and other acts which have been adopted, guaranteeing constitutionality and legality, administrative oversight, inspectorates, etc.).

#### Social Ownership as the Self-Management Socioeconomic Basis of Development of Sociopolitical Communities

There is a need to create all the indispensable social, political, and legal prerequisites for achieving the fundamental constitutional commitments with respect to /social ownership as the material basis for development of the

sociopolitical community/ and to guarantee consistent application of the constitutional principle that no one, including the sociopolitical community, has the right of ownership of social resources, nor may it on any legal basis of ownership whatsoever appropriate the product of social labor, nor manage and dispose of socially owned resources for production and labor, nor regulate the conditions of distribution arbitrarily. To that end those provisions of laws and other statutes which facilitate de facto establishment of relations of legal ownership on the part of bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities over socially owned resources should be eliminated.

a) The essence of the SFRY Constitution, expressed in basic principles, should be the permanent basis and direction for interpretation of the constitution and for all legislative policy and the activity of bodies and agencies of all sociopolitical communities, but particularly in interpreting and applying the constitutional /provisions concerning the powers of bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities in disposition of resources for social reproduction/ and on taxation of income. The constitutional principles should accordingly be consistently implemented in legislative policy and practice concerning the mandatory pooling of resources for social reproduction (Article 23 of the SFRY Constitution) and the appropriation of resources to meet the needs of government (Article 33 of the SFRY Constitution).

b) /The management of social resources needs to be dealt with further in legislation/ and legal and other measures set forth to combat the autarkic and state-ownership relation of bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities toward resources for social reproduction and measures to combat and prevent regional confinement of those resources, facilitating and encouraging self-management linkage based on income sharing and pooling of labor and resources throughout the entire economic area of Yugoslavia.

c) /Sociopolitical communities should not as a rule establish organizations of associated labor/, except those performing an activity or functions of particular public interest.

Assemblies of sociopolitical communities must create the normative and other conditions and encouragement for the processes of self-management organization of associated labor and its linkage based on income sharing, which will give the workers an economic incentive to pool their resources in order to maximize income, regardless of whether that pooling takes place within or outside the jurisdiction of the sociopolitical community in which the organization of associated labor is headquartered. This is an essential condition if associated labor is to organize itself properly throughout the economic area of Yugoslavia.

#### Pursuit of Common Interests in All Sociopolitical Communities as a Condition for Their Future Development

It is indispensable to elaborate the basic constitutional principle that /common interests in sociopolitical communities are to be pursued through the totality of all the forms established by the constitution/. Common interests in all sociopolitical communities, from the opstina to the Federation, should be

pursued by the working people and citizens through the bodies of government and also through conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts and by establishing linkage and associations of organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, through the activity of sociopolitical and other public organizations, and through the free and diverse activities of individuals.

#### Pluralism of Self-Management Interests and Their Democratic Reconciliation

In the political system, and in the delegate assembly system especially, conditions should be created for the /pluralism of self-management interests/ and their protagonists--working people and citizens and their self-managed organizations and communities--to come to full expression at the level of every sociopolitical community.

It is necessary to create the social conditions and to develop the organizational forms and set forth the policy and enact the measures in order to guarantee expression of the pluralism of self-management interests and their effective and responsible democratic reconciliation. Tendencies toward one-sided monopolistic technobureaucratic and statist outlook, representation, interpretation, and schematic reduction of those interests should be combated in that process.

#### Integration of Society on the Foundations of Self-Management

All political factors in sociopolitical communities, especially assemblies and executive bodies and administrative agencies, have an obligation and responsibility in their normative acts and all measures to guide social development and to carry out policy /to facilitate and encourage the broadest possible self-management linkage, joint actions, and integration/ in the economy and in all other spheres of the life of society. This necessitates constant organized efforts to bring legal regulations into conformity and to take other measures to regulate the conditions for conduct of economic activity and other social relations so as to remove all administrative, political, and other obstacles to the free self-management establishment of linkage of self-managed organizations and communities and direct communication of the working people and citizens and their public organizations and associations, thereby preventing regional confinement, autarky, and processes of disintegration in all sectors of the life of society.

#### Mutual Cooperation and Conclusion of Agreements

The forms and opportunities set forth in the constitution for /mutual cooperation and conclusion of agreements/, as well as for a higher degree of /horizontal and vertical linkage/ and activity of the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities should be constantly encouraged and further developed. To that end new forms and methods should also be devised for effective conclusion of agreements in setting forth policy and adopting legal acts as instruments for consistent, effective, and responsible execution of the established policy and the acts adopted at the level of all sociopolitical communities.

Assemblies of sociopolitical communities and their bodies and agencies should be the initiators and organizers of the building and development of all forms of mutual cooperation, agreement, and intercourse in relations between sociopolitical communities and should encourage achievement of self-management integration through direct linkage of OOUR's, local communities, and self-managed communities of interest originating from different sociopolitical communities.

#### The Referendum as a Form of Direct Participation of the Working People and Citizens in Management of Public Affairs

The constitutional institution of the /referendum/ should be used more widely, and the social conditions should be created for assemblies of sociopolitical communities to use it, particularly when the working people and citizens are to take a position on certain essential issues important to the future development of the particular sociopolitical community.

#### Activity of Sociopolitical Organizations as an Essential Factor in the Development of Society

The constitutional conception of the sociopolitical community cannot be realized /without the vigorous role of the organized socialist forces/. It is indispensable that sociopolitical organizations operate vigorously in all sociopolitical communities, maintain direct communication with all social structures; guide and safeguard social development in the direction of socialism and self-management; contribute to creation of the general conditions in manifestation of the pluralism of self-management interests and in the synthesis of those interests so that the historical interests of the working class and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities come to full expression; encourage self-management integration; safeguard the unity of political action in the implementation of policy and the general conditions for democratic public discussion of the most important documents concerning development and other documents of sociopolitical communities. Sociopolitical organizations must not identify themselves with any partial interest or turn themselves into its representative.

#### 2. Achievement of the Constitutional Conception of the Various Sociopolitical Communities

##### Achievement of the Constitutional Conception of the Opstina

1) It is indispensable to develop and strengthen the /role of the opstina/ as a self-managed and basic sociopolitical community, as an essential factor for democratic and self-management integration, for reconciliation of interests and for the conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts by the working people and citizens and their self-managed organizations and communities in all the domains of life and work.

The working people and citizens in the opstina should constantly build and improve the sense of community in the context of socialist self-management in the opstina and broader social community on the foundations of socialist

self-management, cooperation, accords, compacts, solidarity, reciprocity, and responsibility.

There is a need to reassess federal, republic, and provincial statutes important to realizing the constitutional conception of the opstina, and in particular to eliminate those solutions which have cut into the constitutional independence of opstinas and those which encourage it to develop autarkically.

In the normative elaboration and application of the provision of Article 116 of the SFRY Constitution the point of departure should be the constitutional commitment concerning the opstina as a self-managed and basic sociopolitical community, that is, the character and nature of the opstina as an open self-managed community, in which the character of relations in the opstina, based on social ownership, presupposes and requires it to be open in all aspects of socioeconomic development and in self-management integration.

2) The authorities of the opstina should encourage /self-management organization and linkage of associated labor based on income sharing/ on the foundations of interdependence in the process of reproduction, regardless of opstina, regional, provincial, and republic boundaries, mindful that the workers in associated labor should make decisions on income within the OOUR, in all other forms of the pooling of labor and resources and throughout the entire process of social reproduction. Development of mutual relations of organizations of associated labor on the principles of joint income is also an important prerequisite for preventing encapsulization within the limits of the opstina.

Opstinas should create and develop the material and other conditions for the life and work of the working people and citizens, especially by encouraging utilization of all the material and labor potential for development of production on the basis of higher labor productivity in the housing sector, supply, creation of jobs, basic health care, humanization of the social environment and satisfaction of the social and everyday needs of the workingman and his family in their lives.

3) Construction of the system of self-management planning should guarantee that the working people and citizens and their self-managed organizations and communities /guide the social development of the opstina/ and participate more directly in adoption of the opstina's social plan. It is indispensable to carry out self-management dovetailing of the plans of organizations of associated labor, local communities, communities of interest, and other self-managed organizations and communities, and synchronize the development of the opstina, directly and within the framework of higher-level sociopolitical communities, with the development of other opstinas. There is a particular need for the opstina to bring development plans into line with those opstinas with which it directly pursues certain common interests. Unity of spatial, economic, and social development must be achieved in the opstina as an integral part of the overall development of all sociopolitical communities and of the country as a whole.

4) Appropriate amendments of laws and general self-management acts of SIZ's should create conditions for consistent application of the constitutional principle that /the pooling of resources in SIZ's/ should be done according to the place where common needs are met, regardless of the opstina in which they are created.

5) There is a need to /simplify the procedure for the exercise of rights/ and the discharge of obligations of the working people and citizens in the opstina, and the organization of work and operating methods of the administrative agencies in the opstina should be improved toward that end.

The relations between administrative agencies in the opstina and administrative agencies of higher-level sociopolitical communities set forth in the constitution should be elaborated more fully, also including a higher level of responsibility in carrying out the established policy and in executing the decisions that have been made. There is a need for greater independence, effectiveness and responsibility in conducting oversight by inspectorates and other forms of oversight in the opstina and for firmer functional linkage of opstina inspectorates with the corresponding inspectorates of higher-level sociopolitical communities.

6) In legislative practice the constitutional principle should be consistently implemented that /the rights and duties of the opstina are set forth only in the constitution and charter/ and tendencies to regulate them in laws and sub-legal acts should be combated.

It should be guaranteed that the working people and citizens make decisions by personal expression on those matters set forth in the charter of the opstina.

The opstina should be left broader room for self-organization and regulation of relations as a function of their needs, which would overcome the cases of rigidly uniform and detailed normative regulation of relations for the essentially differing situations the opstinas confront.

7) Respect should be paid in normative acts for differences and specific features of particular opstinas (rural and urban) and the one-sided approach in regional organization and regulation of relations in all opstinas should be overcome. There is a need for further study of the problems of /regional organization of opstinas/ from the standpoint of realizing the authentic opportunities for inclusion and participation of the working people and citizens in the process of delegate decisionmaking and management of public affairs in the opstina.

8) Self-management /linkage and cooperation of opstinas/ should ensure more successful pursuit of their common interests, based on the needs and interests for development of associated labor throughout the undivided area of Yugoslavia.

It is extremely important to encourage the free self-management association of those opstinas naturally encouraged to harmonize their development and satisfy other needs and interests to form interopstina and other communities on the

principle of mutual linkage and cooperation and regional linkage of opstinas to form communities within which they pursue their common interests on self-management foundations and on the principles of voluntary participation, solidarity, and equality. The functioning of regional and urban communities of opstinas needs further elaboration and improvement.

There is a need to facilitate and further encourage the process of bringing together urban settlements and suburban opstinas to form an urban community as a specific sociopolitical community, which would considerably contribute to homogenization of space and to optimum political-administrative organization.

9) It is indispensable to continuously and comprehensively /monitor achievement of the commune system/, to initiate broader discussions, and to organize study of the constitutional conception of the opstina and its further development.

#### Achievement of the Constitutional Conception of the Republic and Autonomous Province

Achievement of the constitutional conception of the SR and SAP /is an essential prerequisite for achievement of Yugoslav federalism/ based on equality of the working people and of the nationalities and ethnic minorities which exercise their sovereign rights in the SR and SAP in conformity with their constitutional rights, and in the SFRY, when this is in their common interest, as set forth in the SFRY Constitution.

Proceeding from the constitutional principle of the /responsibility of the republics and autonomous provinces for their own respective development and the development of the socialist community as a whole/, the SR's and SAP's, in considering and establishing their own respective development, must take into account development of the country as a whole, since that development is an essential condition of their own respective development as well. /Aside from responsibility for development of the community as a whole, the socialist autonomous provinces are responsible for the development of SR Serbia.

This necessitates the following/:

(a) consistent achievement of the /constitutional conception of the socialist republic/ as a state based on the sovereignty of the people and on the rule of the working class and all the working people in self-management and as a socialist self-managed democratic community of working people and citizens and equal nationalities and ethnic minorities;

(b) consistent achievement of the /constitutional conception of the autonomous province/ as a self-managed democratic sociopolitical community based on the rule and self-management of the working class and all the working people in which the working people and citizens and the nationalities and ethnic minorities exercise their sovereign rights, and, when this is in the common interest of the working people and citizens and the nationalities and ethnic minorities of the republic as a whole, as set forth in the Constitution of SR Serbia--in the republic as well;

(c) the rights and duties of the bodies of political government of the SR's and SAP's as set forth in the constitution must serve the consistent and effective safeguarding of the common interests of the working class and all the working people and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. This requires uniform development of both elements of the features of statehood of the SR's which serve achievement of the unity of working class interests and the interests of the nationality;

(d) consistent achievement of the self-management features of the SR's and SAP's to strengthen the socioeconomic position of the working class in self-management and the right of every workingman to decide equally with other working people on his own labor, working conditions, and the results of his labor, on his own and the common interest, and on the guidance of social development, to exercise power, and to manage other public affairs.

If those objectives are to be achieved, the following are indispensable:

(a) creation of the conditions so that /associated labor and other forms of self-management organization take over the decisive role established in the constitution/ throughout the entire process of social reproduction, but particularly in establishing conditions for the conduct of economic activity, for guidance of the process of reproduction, in investment within the framework of social planning, in the setting of prices, in tax policy, in the business operation of banks and financial organizations, in the self-management satisfaction of common needs, in personnel policy, etc. Only if these functions are taken over by associated labor and all other forms of self-management organization will the indispensable process be consistently and fully accomplished of transferring certain functions of government from the bodies and agencies of SR's and SAP's to self-managed associated labor and other forms of self-management organization. On those foundations the statist tendencies in the SR's and SAP's should be resolutely combated, since their further continuation would threaten the integrity of the Yugoslav community and would slow down the socialist self-management development of the SR's and the SAP's and of the SFRY as a whole.

/Encourage the processes of self-management integration of labor/, resources, and income in the economy and social services in the SR's and SAP's and throughout the area of Yugoslavia. This would combat regional confinement of the interests of the workingman and citizen to the limits of his SR or SAP and would on that basis facilitate authentic self-management expression, reconciliation and pursuit of the pluralism of self-management interests. The tendency should be combated whereby certain bodies and authorities of the SR's and SAP's are acting in the name of associated labor and going beyond the rights and responsibilities set forth in the constitution and taking over the key role in the process of shaping interests and representing those interests as the interests of the SR's and SAP's.

The causes which are holding back the processes of integration in associated labor and leading toward confinement to the SR's and SAP's should be overcome and eliminated, above all by increasing output, by raising labor productivity, by self-management linkage of associated labor, by the pooling of labor and

resources, by concluding self-management accords and social compacts, and by creating the normative and other prerequisites for the functioning of the system of self-management social planning and the undivided Yugoslav market;

(b) in conformity with the constitutions of the SR's and SAP's, pursue /common interests/ in them and further develop them through all forms and aspects of their expression, protection, and pursuit, through direct cooperation and agreement among the republics, autonomous provinces, opstinas, and other sociopolitical communities, through conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts and through the entry into association of OUR's and other self-managed organizations and communities, through the activity of sociopolitical and other public organizations and civic associations, and through the free and diverse activities of individuals, but not exclusively through the bodies and agencies of political government of the SR's and SAP's;

(c) /combat tendencies toward excessive normativism of the SR's and SAP's/, and also regulation of matters in republic and provincial enactments that lie in the competence of opstinas and self-managed organizations and communities;

(d) the bodies and agencies of the SR's and SAP's must /perform functions set forth in the constitution and law/ more effectively and completely, especially in the domain of protecting social property, the tax system, inspection and administrative oversight, financial auditing and recordkeeping, etc.;

(e) strengthen the /responsibility of the bodies and agencies of the SR's and SAP's/ for carrying out the established policy and for enforcement of federal laws and other regulations and combat tendencies whereby the bodies and agencies of SR's and SAP's evaluate the purposiveness of application of those enactments as well as cases where they are relieved of responsibility for carrying out federal laws and other enactments. At the same time, the powers and responsibility of bodies and agencies of SR's and SAP's for carrying out those enactments which are directly enforced by authorities in the opstinas and OUR's and in other self-managed organizations and communities should be strengthened.

It is particularly important in achieving the entirety of the constitutional conception of the SR and SAP for the role of the subjective factor to be manifested more fully, especially in their fuller development as self-managed democratic communities, in the building and safeguarding of authentic self-management interests, and, on that basis, the building and safeguarding of the unity of the class aspect and the ethnic aspect, in their constitutional responsibility for ensuring and achieving common interests in the Federation and in the processes of delegate decisionmaking. The tendencies for the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical organizations to grow together with the bodies and agencies of the SR's and SAP's and for them to become bureaucratic centers of power should be combated.

There is a need to continuously monitor and study the processes of the exercise of rights and discharge of the obligations and responsibilities of the republics and autonomous provinces as set forth in the constitution on behalf of consistent achievement and affirmation of the constitutional conception of

the SR's and SAP's, but especially in order to eliminate and combat elements of concentration of resources for social reproduction contrary to self-management, statism, exclusiveness, and on that basis to guarantee the responsibility of the SR's and SAP's for their own respective development and for development of the country as a whole and the accomplishment of common interests in the Federation.

The point of departure and framework for resolving the complicated problems that have built up concerning /relations in SR Serbia/ are the foundations and principles of the constitutions, the political-ideological commitments of the LCY expressed in the views of congresses, and the "Views of the LCY Central Committee on the Urgent Issues of Achieving Relations on Which the Unity and Community in SR Serbia Are Based." Proceeding from those commitments, it is indispensable to develop political-ideological action aimed at eliminating the present causes and sources of conflicts and the outstanding problems concerning achievement of the constitutional status of SR Serbia, SAP Vojvodina, and SAP Kosovo.

If relations in SR Serbia are to be improved, SR Serbia has to be built up consistently on the basis of the constitutional arrangements and the political-ideological views of the LCY Central Committee as the state of the Serbian nationality and of parts of other nationalities and ethnic minorities which live in it and exercise their sovereign rights and as a socialist self-managed democratic community of working people and citizens and of equal nationalities and ethnic minorities, as well as the consistent achievement of the constitutional conception of the socialist autonomous provinces as autonomous socialist self-managed democratic sociopolitical communities which are components of SR Serbia and at the same time a constituent element of the Federation.

SR Serbia and the SAP's and all entities within them are responsible for development and improvement of relations in SR Serbia, pursuant to their respective constitutional rights and obligations. Achievement of unity of SR Serbia and simultaneous achievement of the autonomy of the provinces are two aspects of the same process, which can be successfully achieved through mutual dependence and unity. Lagging or inconsistency in the development of either of these two components signifies a violation of the constitutional conception and disintegration and destabilization of the SAP's, of SR Serbia, and of Yugoslavia. The provinces must be responsible to the same degree for the autonomy and unity and self-management integration in the republic, just as the republic must also be equally responsible for consistent achievement of the autonomy of the provinces and for the unity and community of the republic. That principle must become dominant in relations within SR Serbia.

Further essential changes in the present production relations and sociopolitical relations, their further democratization, a strengthening of the rule of the working class, achievement of the dominant role of associated labor and that role of the government which consistent with its constitutional functions supports and guarantees the self-management nature of those relations and their future development have the greatest importance to more consistent and successful achievement of constitutional relations within SR Serbia as well as in the Federation.

It is indispensable to radically combat the statist tendencies which are the principal source of the problems that have arisen and the faltering in achieving the constitutional conception of SR Serbia and the SAP's, and especially the tendencies toward separatism and centralism in relations between the republic and the province.

The building of common interests must be the obligation and responsibility of all social entities in SR Serbia and the SAP's. It must be based on direct cooperation and agreement among basic and other organizations of associated labor, self-managed communities of interest and other self-managed organizations and communities, sociopolitical communities, sociopolitical and other public organizations, and on diverse free activity of individuals. Sociopolitical organizations and the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities must constantly encourage and support those processes so as to overcome their present lag and reduction mainly to the activities of government bodies and agencies. A higher degree of community is a requirement of the present-day productive forces and progressive social consciousness. That is why much broader and better-organized self-management activity is required, and an opening up in all directions toward cooperation and self-management integration in production and other activities, to initiatives from the grass roots, rather than merely waiting for solutions embodying the system to come "from above."

In SR Serbia, SAP Vojvodina, and SAP Kosovo it is indispensable to set all the subjective forces in motion and initiate all activities in society to clear up the issues in dispute and the disagreements over the approach and interpretation of the essence of certain constitutional arrangements concerning the unity of SR Serbia as a state and as a socialist self-managed democratic community and concerning the position of the SAP's as autonomous socialist democratic sociopolitical communities and to achieve ideological unity and unity in action concerning those matters. This is a first condition for eliminating from political life, especially in relations between authorities of SR Serbia and the SAP's, the disagreements and indeed even confrontations, and for undertaking with combined forces the more rapid and consistent achievement of the constitution.

It is a priority task of assemblies and of the entire delegate system in SR Serbia and in the SAP's, including the involvement of the scientific and professional potential, on the basis of a critical analysis of the practice to date and precisely in order to achieve consistently the essence of the constitutional solutions, to clear up as soon as possible the dilemma of whether in the normative section of the constitution of SR Serbia and the constitutions of the SAP's there are provisions which are not clear enough or have not been sufficiently elaborated and which therefore constitute an impediment to the achievement of unity in the republic. It is also necessary to clear up questions concerning the scope and content of laws which are uniformly applied throughout the territory of SR Serbia, the manner of their enactment and relations with respect to their enforcement, and matters related to enactment and fulfillment of the Social Plan of SR Serbia (Articles 300 and 305 of the Constitution of SR Serbia). In that effort the basic constitutional conception of the republic and the autonomous provinces as set forth in the SFRY Constitution should be the points of departure and the directions of further activity

in carrying out the constitutions should be set forth in answering the questions of whether differences in the interpretation of those provisions can be eliminated by a single interpretation or whether certain further elaboration and addition to articles of the Constitution of SR Serbia and the constitutions of the SAP's are needed. If it is found that such supplementation is indispensable, it is necessary to jointly establish their direction and limits and adopt a program of activities to accomplish this.

There is a need to undertake enactment of the remaining uniform laws in SR Serbia envisaged by the constitution, including working out the constitutional basis for certain laws for which the basis is in dispute. The uniform enforcement of all laws enacted should also be guaranteed. In this connection, proceeding consistently on the basis of the essence of the constitution, the regulation and establishment of those relations in a formalistic way should be prevented, and this should eliminate the appearance of unity where actually it has not yet been established. These laws and other general acts should be aimed at encouraging and building the single production relation of socialist self-management, through which the unified interest of the working class and the working people and citizens is expressed. This is the real social basis for broadening the processes of self-management integration in all sectors of the life of society, for strengthening unity and community, and a guarantee of the equality and full freedom of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in SR Serbia. It is on that same basis that legislation based on agreement should be considerably expanded (Article 301 of the Constitution of SR Serbia) as an expression of the common interests that authentically exist of the working class and of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, on which unity and community in the republic will be strengthened. In that kind of approach the scope of uniform legislation cannot be set up as a question in formal law of either restricting or broadening powers and hierarchical relations, but rather as a real need within the framework of the constitution for uniform regulation and elaboration of social relations which are regulated by a single law in conformity with the Constitution of SR Serbia.

In the proceedings to enact uniform laws in the Assembly of SR Serbia the practice cannot be accepted of haphazard adoption of consensus or of the required consent of the authorities in the republic and provinces when this has not been envisaged by the constitution, but neither in the name of "efficiency" can the necessary consultations and reconciliation of interests in a manner inherent in the delegate system be bypassed, in view of the complexity of SR Serbia, especially concerning the interests of the provinces as sociopolitical communities and self-managed communities with special constitutional status. It is also indispensable to guarantee that the specific features of SR Serbia and the SAP are fully respected in federal legislation, within the limits established by the SFRY Constitution.

In the process of enforcing uniform laws the constitutional principle and relation should be guaranteed whereby authorities in the provinces are accountable for their enforcement, since the uniform laws are also their laws. This requires that in mutual relations between the authorities of the republic and the authorities of the province mutual cooperation, information, and agreement be developed and guaranteed and the conditions created in that way so that the

authorities of the republic, within the limits of their constitutional powers, can bear responsibility for the situation in the republic. In cases when certain provincial authorities are not enforcing republic statutes for whose enforcement and application they are responsible, the Executive Council of the Assembly of SR Serbia, in addition to alerting the relevant authorities of the SAP, must also make that fact known to the Assembly of SR Serbia, which enacted that piece of legislation. With respect to the competencies of the particular bodies and agencies of the republic, especially where problems and disputes have arisen in practice, the issues in dispute must be cleared up through the joint effort of the authorities of the republic and the SAP's on the basis of the constitution, and specific solutions and mutual rights and obligations, which if necessary must be spelled out in legal provisions or other general acts, must be set forth in the competent bodies of SR Serbia, consistent with their respective constitutional functions.

In SR Serbia, as indeed in the Yugoslav Federation as a whole, there is a need to create the fundamental socioeconomic, political, and legal prerequisites for self-management integration in the SAP's and SR Serbia as well as throughout the undivided economic space of Yugoslavia. There is a need in this connection to take the constitutional position of the worker as the decisionmaker concerning the surplus value of labor and the protagonist in guiding social development as the point of departure. Self-management integration should be achieved through strengthening direct self-management ties and through integration of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities. Through that integration and cooperation, above all on the principles of self-management pooling of labor and resources, tendencies toward autarky through statist restriction of the flows of resources for social reproduction, through bureaucratic mediation and separation in the name of affirmation of the ethnic or regional interest should be overcome.

That kind of orientation should also be manifested in the consistent building and application of the system of social planning in the republic. The social plan of SR Serbia should contain the economic policy of common interest to the republic as a whole. The authorities of SR Serbia and of both SAP's are responsible for enactment of that plan and for its content and fulfillment.

Stabilization of overall social conditions in Kosovo, along with the results already achieved, continues to require organized and broad action by all the social forces on the foundations of the political "Platform for Action of the LC and Development of Socialist Self-Management, Brotherhood, Unity, and Community in Kosovo" and on the basis of the "Views of the LCY Central Committee on Achievement of the Relations on Which Unity and Community in SR Serbia Are Based."

#### Achievement of the Constitutional Conception of the Federation

1. /The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/, pursuant to the SFRY Constitution, is to develop in all its attributes as a federal state and governmental community of nationalities which have voluntarily united with one another and their SR's, as well as SAP Vojvodina and SAP Kosovo, which are part of SR Serbia, based on the rule and self-management of the working class and

of all the working people and as a socialist self-managed democratic community of working people and citizens and equal nationalities and ethnic minorities, which has been especially stressed in the "Views of the LCY Central Committee on Achievement of the Constitutional Concept of the Federation."

In pursuit of common interests in the SFRY it is indispensable that the working people, nationalities and ethnic minorities continue to develop and improve decisionmaking in the Federation on the principles of agreement among the SR's and SAP's, solidarity and reciprocity, equal participation of the SR's and SAP's in federal bodies and agencies pursuant to the constitution, and on the principle of the responsibility of the republics and autonomous provinces for their own respective development and for development of the socialist community as a whole.

Common interests, as set forth in Article 244 of the SFRY Constitution, are the fundamental commitments and lasting values of Yugoslav federalism, in whose achievement and security all of our nationalities and ethnic minorities, working people and citizens, and their self-managed organizations and communities and all the republics and autonomous provinces have a most direct interest and responsibility.

It is indispensable that common interests be pursued and guaranteed in the SFRY through the totality of all forms and aspects of their expression. This requires that these interests be consistently realized, developed, and improved through federal bodies and agencies, pursuant to the rights and duties of the Federation as set forth in the constitution, but much more fully and consistently, and also through all other forms and aspects of their realization, but above all through direct cooperation and agreement of the republics, the autonomous provinces, opstinas, and other sociopolitical communities, through conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts and through establishment of associations of organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, through the activity of sociopolitical and other public organizations and civic associations, and through the free and diverse activities of individuals. Only in that way is it possible to guarantee the unity of the class aspect and the ethnic aspect and to achieve the constitutional conception of Yugoslav federalism.

That is why it is indispensable in both the system and in practice to supplement and further improve all forms and aspects of the pursuit of common interests in the Federation, proceeding on the basis of fuller affirmation of the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of all social entities envisaged by the constitution in the realization of those interests.

Proceeding on the basis of the interests and needs of the SR's and SAP's, it is indispensable to develop in particular the forms and aspects of direct cooperation and agreement of the SR's and SAP's and of other sociopolitical communities in realizing joint interests in the Federation, so that it grows into continuous collaboration that through realistic planning and the programming of goals and forms of that cooperation would steadily develop in sectors such as education, science, culture, health care, social welfare policy, creation of jobs, communications, technical and technological systems, environmental protection and improvement, social and public information, etc.

Because of the importance of science, technology, and automatic information processing to the further development and achievement of socialist self-management, the possibility should be taken under consideration of establishing a public agency or body at the federal level for that purpose.

It is indispensable in the Federation to establish the way in which common tasks and functions are to be performed in the social system of information and the information system of the Federation, as well as the protection of data. Republic and provincial laws should spell out in more detail the basic commitments that have been set forth concerning the social information system.

For certain sectors on which there is agreement that common interests exist appropriate forms of cooperation and agreement and mechanisms for implementing them should be built up (from initiative to realization). This necessitates comprehensive advance examination and study of matters pertaining to the character and content of agreements, to the entities which are to participate in concluding the agreement, and to responsibility for performance of the obligations undertaken and to the possibility of verifying the constitutionality of the agreement as a special type of general act. The question of further elaboration of the constitutional principle contained in Article 244, Paragraph 2, Subparagraph 3, of the SFRY Constitution should accordingly be taken under consideration.

The conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts concerning the entry into association of organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities regardless of republic and provincial borders should be improved in order to manifest more fully and guarantee the lasting common interests of the working class as a whole. All existing forms of organization of associated labor at the federal level (the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, general associations, communities for collaboration in planning and the conduct of business, etc.) should be examined and reassessed, and construction of new forms of self-managed association and integration of associated labor throughout the economic area of Yugoslavia should be encouraged. Fuller establishment of the functions and tasks of all forms of self-organization of associated labor and encouragement of the conclusion of accords and compacts would contribute to fuller degovernmentalization of performance of the function of the Federation.

On behalf of encouraging, guiding, and ensuring the processes of self-management integration and the organized inclusion of the Yugoslav economy in international economic and technological flows, there is a need to eliminate from the system all mechanisms and instruments which allow the autarkic development of sociopolitical communities and to establish a joint development policy and single strategy for the technological development of Yugoslavia as a whole.

It is indispensable that sociopolitical organizations and other public organizations and civic associations, in which the Socialist Alliance of Working People has a special role, to harmonize the manner and organization of their activity so that through their total action they can contribute to fuller achievement of the common interests. The free and diverse activity of individuals--as a need and expression of man as an individual who through his

activity directly encourages the realization of common interests--should be used more in practice, and in particular the meaning, importance, and scope of this form of realization of common interests should be examined since it has been suppressed and is hardly felt at all.

2. It is indispensable in legislation and practice to carry on an ongoing effort based on the principles of the constitution to transform overall social relations so as to guarantee the predominance of the production relation of self-management and to strengthen the interest of associated labor as the essential prerequisite for achieving common interests in the Federation and therein /the responsibility of the SR's and SAP's for their own respective development and for development of the socialist community as a whole/.

The responsibility of the SR's and SAP's for the pursuit of common interests and for development of the socialist community as a whole should be constantly analyzed and ascertained at all places where joint policy and decisions are adopted and carried out.

There is a need to elaborate appropriate mechanisms and forms of responsibility of the republics and provinces for development of the Federation in performance of those functions of the Federation for which the constitution has so provided in view of the fact that this responsibility also arises when decisions are made on the basis of consent of the assemblies of the republics and the autonomous provinces.

3. /The rights and duties of the Federation/, as set forth in Article 281 of the SFRY Constitution and in other constitutional provisions, represent in their entirety an adequate framework for the Federation, through federal bodies and agencies, to guarantee achievement of the system of socialist socioeconomic relations and the uniform foundation of the political system. To that end /Article 281, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 21, of the SFRY Constitution/ should be used as the constitutional basis for enactment of the appropriate federal law /independently or together with other constitutional provisions/.

On behalf of consistent application of Article 281 of the SFRY Constitution and precise exercise of the jurisdiction of the Federation as set forth in the constitution, in the light of the concepts used in the division of powers between the Federation, the republics, and the provinces, and their interpretation, it is indispensable in the procedure of enacting federal statutes to achieve a more responsible attitude of all entities in their enactment and an essential interpretation of the constitutional provision referred to from the standpoint of the achievement of common interests and the character of the Federation and guaranteeing the unity of the system and the real demands of present-day technological and social development. This kind of interpretation of the SFRY Constitution would in the process of enacting federal statutes encourage the fuller development of socioeconomic and sociopolitical relations.

4. Consistent achievement of the system of socialist socioeconomic relations and the uniform foundations of the political system require that the foundations of the system and its unity be decisively safeguarded in the /legislative policy of the Federation/ and tendencies be combated to devalue the

importance of the features of the system; that in the laws embodying the system, especially as they are further worked on, the unity of the system be safeguarded and any departure from the solutions set forth in those laws prevented. Certain arrangements in federal laws found to have not contributed to the unity of the system should be reassessed or added to on behalf of more effective protection and development of the basic values of our social and economic system and in order to guarantee the uniform foundations of the political system.

/The system of social planning and the plans of sociopolitical communities/ should be made to serve joint development policy, with clearly stated and realistic development objectives and means of achieving them and of achieving the interests and needs of the basic self-management entities and of associated labor as a whole, and should encourage and guarantee balanced development, the optimum economic structure and self-management integration throughout the undivided area of Yugoslavia. From the standpoint of pursuing common interests, there is a need to build a single strategy governing that development and to combat disintegration of scientific research.

Since achievement and /safeguarding of the unity of the Yugoslav market/ are an essential factor and guarantee for achievement of the system of the socio-economic relations of socialist self-management as well and of the uniform foundations of the political system, numerous problems have to be overcome in the pursuit of that common interest, above all the regional severing of flows of goods and services and the pooling of labor and resources, problems in the domain of technological development, the foreign exchange system, and the policy of foreign economic relations, the free performance of activities of organizations of associated labor throughout the country, the creation of jobs, etc.

The reasons for the failure to implement the constitutional provisions (Articles 251 and 252 of the SFRY Constitution), laws and other regulations which regulate and safeguard the unity of the Yugoslav market especially need to be examined.

It is also necessary to combat deformations in the tax system and tax policy which have called into question the very class features of this system and to bring to a head the question of the responsibility of the makers of tax policy and to guarantee consistent and effective discharge of obligations as set forth in the agreement of the SR's and SAP's concerning that policy. In the conduct of /tax policy/ as an important instrument of social welfare and class policy in society, there is a need to make changes that will express more strongly the obligations and responsibility of the republics and autonomous provinces and prevent local influences harmful to the general interests of society. The emphasis of tax policy should be placed on taxation of income from property, from capital, and other income which does not derive from labor and is not based on labor. In that sense there is a need to examine the need to create tax authorities that would be accountable for effective conduct of tax policy to the competent authorities of the sociopolitical community.

5. In the /SFRY Assembly/ there is a need in performance of its functions in both chambers /to guarantee that the interests of the workers in associated labor and their role and influence on decisionmaking come to full expression/. The authentic interests of the working class must be dominant in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly in all the phases of building and establishing policy and adoption of enactments.

a) To that end it is necessary to increase the number of delegates in the /Federal Chamber/ from associated labor to two-thirds, and at least one-half of them should be from material production, while in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces there should be more uniform representation of delegates from all the chambers of the republics and provincial assemblies so that delegates from chambers of associated labor are better represented. It should be emphasized that other delegates in the Federal Chamber and also in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, not just delegates from associated labor, are also required in performance of their delegate functions to take as their point of departure the interests of workers in associated labor, so that those interests are decisive in the establishment of policy and in the making of decisions.

In line with the need for greater presence of the interests of associated labor and for strengthening its role and influence in both chambers of the SFRY Assembly, there is a need to study the role of the Federal Chamber in order to find opportunities for the delegates in the Federal Chamber to influence decisionmaking on the questions of socioeconomic development and economic policy and especially matters pertaining to the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market and other matters pertaining to the conduct of economic activity and material relations in associated labor.

b) In order to create the conditions so that the /Chamber of Republics and Provinces/ performs as consistently as possible the functions set forth in the SFRY Constitution as the true protagonist for reconciling the views of the assemblies of the SR's and SAP's and for establishing policy and adopting acts, the following will be necessary:

(a) overcoming the practice of returning to executive bodies the function of working out those issues on which agreement has not been reached in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces or when there have been difficulties in reaching agreement;

(b) consistent respect for the constitutional principle that decisions are to be made on the basis of the principle of unanimity in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces only concerning those matters explicitly set forth in the SFRY Constitution, that is, application of this principle to matters in the jurisdiction of the Chamber on which it is to decide independently is not to be allowed (in the exercise of policy supervision, etc.);

(c) prevention of the unconstitutional practice of transferring the regulation of certain matters and relations to the Federal Executive Council or the setting of standards governing them to sublegal acts when appropriate solutions cannot be found or views reconciled in the procedure of reconciliation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces;

(d) the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, federal law, and other general acts which it adopts shall establish the obligation of the Federal Executive Council to issue regulations for enforcement of those laws and general acts on the basis of consent of the competent republic and provincial bodies only in cases when those sublegal acts bring about changes in material relations;

(e) the undertaking of activities in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces for further elaboration and greater effectiveness of the mechanisms and methods of reaching agreement in the chamber;

(f) special reassessment of operating procedures and practice from the standpoint of implementing the constitutional provisions concerning decisionmaking procedure in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces;

(g) creation of the conditions so that delegations of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces act in the assemblies of SR's and SAP's as protagonists of the process of building up more rapidly the common interests of the SR's and SAP's and of their expression in that chamber;

(h) building up the kind of operating procedure and decisionmaking procedure in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces and in the republic and provincial assemblies which will encourage and guarantee the participation of interested social entities and will make every participant in the process of reconciliation of views more fully informed both in connection with his own interests, capabilities, and needs and also in connection with the interests and needs of the other republics and autonomous provinces and the possibilities and needs of the entire social community.

c) The following are necessary /in conduct of the jointly established policy and enforcement of acts/:

(a) the chambers of the SFRY Assembly must perform their role more vigorously in setting forth the policy governing enforcement of the acts which they adopt and should accordingly state the obligations of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies to point out to organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, by means of conclusions and recommendations, those obligations which they have in implementing policy and enforcing acts in particular areas and build up the necessary forms for monitoring the enforcement of policy and acts in particular fields;

(b) emphasis in activity of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly should be on the organized and constant examination of analyses, reports, and information concerning the situation, problems, and occurrences in particular sectors of the life and work of society, on monitoring progress in carrying out the established policy and enforcement of federal laws and other general acts.

The republic and provincial assemblies must take on their part of the responsibility for carrying out the jointly established policy and the decisions made. It is indispensable that through their delegations in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces the assemblies of the SR's and SAP's inform the chamber about progress in carrying out policy and enforcing acts which it has adopted.

The participation of sociopolitical organizations in the proceedings and decisionmaking in the SFRY Assembly shall be conducted through their delegates who are members of the assembly chambers. Through delegates and their delegate base sociopolitical organizations and the organs of sociopolitical organizations at the federal level (the LCY Central Committee, the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, etc.) should operate as a cohesive political-ideological factor when decisions important to the working class, working people, and the nationalities and ethnic minorities of our country are being set forth and adopted, exerting their influence toward more effective decisionmaking and toward finding solutions in the SFRY Assembly.

6. It is indispensable to give greater affirmation to the constitutionally established role and responsibility of the /SFRY State Presidency/ in the alignment and building of common interests and policy in the Federation, especially concerning the matters of the socioeconomic and political system and development which have key importance to the country as a whole. To that end there is a need to build still more advanced methods of communication, cooperation, and initiative between the SFRY State Presidency and the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council, the presidencies of the SR's and SAP's, and sociopolitical organizations within the limits of their respective constitutional position.

The SFRY State Presidency should make more use of the constitutional opportunity to call sessions of the Federal Executive Council and to place certain matters on the agenda of those sessions, especially matters related to the conduct of policy and the enforcement of laws and other general acts of the SFRY Assembly and to call upon the Federal Executive Council to take steps to carry out that policy and enforce those laws. This requires that the Federal Executive Council regularly and promptly inform the SFRY State Presidency on the problems arising in this area so that it could evaluate in good time the purposiveness of exercising its constitutional authorities. This especially applies to the constitutional provision concerning the authorization of the SFRY State Presidency to stay execution of regulations of the Federal Executive Council which have general political importance before they are published.

7. The following are necessary in performance of the constitutional role of the /Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies/:

a) enhance the responsibility of the Federal Executive Council for professional-political preparation and enforcement of assembly decisions and policy guidelines of the SFRY State Presidency and for taking initiative before those bodies;

b) guarantee independence in the work of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies, especially in proposing statutes and in issuing sublegal acts, since this is a condition for the effective operation of the Council as an executive body of the SFRY Assembly. It is of particular importance that the Federal Executive Council, proceeding on the basis of its role and responsibility in conducting policy and in the enforcement of federal laws, have its own view and assessment of common interests in the Federation

throughout the entire process of discussion and agreement by the SR's and SAP's and when decisions are being taken in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces;

c) the constitutional conception of accountability, which has been established for all executive entities in the Federation, needs to be consistently implemented in the work and relations in the Federal Executive Council and in federal administrative agencies. This necessitates that members of the Federal Executive Council and officeholders in federal administrative agencies be accountable for the conduct of policy and enforcement of law exclusively to federal bodies, and in performance of their functions they may not accept guidelines and orders from bodies and officials of other sociopolitical communities, nor act in accordance with their guidelines and orders. Those who hold executive office in the Federation and officials in federal administrative agencies may not be accountable to their own republic or autonomous province, but shall be accountable only to federal authorities;

d) strict respect for the constitutional principle that decisions shall be made on the basis of the principle of unanimity only concerning those matters precisely indicated to that effect in the SFRY Constitution. The following is necessary in that connection:

(a) the constitutional principle of mandatory cooperation of the Federal Executive Council and the executive councils of the SR's and SAP's in proposing laws and other enactments of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces (Article 354 of the SFRY Constitution) must not in practice be turned into an agreement in which the lack of consent of the republics and autonomous provinces prevents the adoption of such a bill. There is a need to establish in more detail the character and dimensions of cooperation at the level of the executive bodies and the obligations of the Federal Executive Council will arise out of that cooperation.

In view of the problems in implementing the constitutional principles contained in Articles 354 through 357 of the SFRY Constitution, there is a need to undertake their more detailed examination and reassess accordingly the constitutional arrangements concerning decisionmaking on the basis of consent of the competent bodies of the republics and provinces in the sphere of execution;

e) the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies should turn more toward performing the essential constitutional function of carrying out policy and enforcing federal laws and other acts, in which they should have the full support and assistance of the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY State Presidency, and other sociopolitical factors at the federal level. This also presupposes selection of the programmatic obligations and tasks of those bodies;

f) in their work the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies should be more fully open to the organized forces of society and should establish broader contacts in their work, consultation and information, not only with bodies, agencies, and organizations in the Federation and the

SR's and SAP's, but also with associated labor and its associations, which would contribute to more adequate examination of the situation and formulation of proposals for the statement of policy in particular areas.

It is indispensable to realize more rapidly and fully the conception of creating social councils either for particular fields of administration or for particular administrative agencies;

g) speed up realization of the program to transform federal administrative agencies in the sense of more rapid and complete adaptation of their organization and methods, to strengthen efficiency and the staffing of the federal administration in accordance with its role as set forth in the constitution and the needs of society. There is a need to develop direct relations and responsibility of federal administrative agencies to the SFRY Assembly, rather than having that accountability covered by the responsibility of the Federal Executive Council. The administration should relieve itself of numerous obligations and tasks related to preparation of analyses and informative reports for the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council and for other bodies, agencies, and organizations in the Federation.

8. Constant improvement of the activity of all branches of /nationwide defense and social self-protection/, especially for undertaking social actions that will bring influence to bear so that they are achieved as harmoniously as possible, is also necessary because nationwide defense and social self-protection are very important factors in the solidity, stability, and cohesion of our federal social community. The fitness and effectiveness of this system must be constantly confirmed even in peacetime, in the everyday readiness to guarantee prompt and complete protection of the population and property against natural disasters and other hazards on the basis of full combat readiness and readiness for action, self-reliance, and solidarity. This will at the same time be the best preparation for successful performance of the tasks of society as a whole in all aspects of nationwide defense and social self-protection.

## VI. Consistent and Effective Achievement of Constitutionality and Legality

### Constitutionality and Legality in Achievement of the Political System

/The social role of the law of socialist self-management/ must undergo change as the process of emancipation of labor takes place and as the historical objectives of self-management are achieved. In this phase of our development the law, as an expression of the determination of the working class and all the working people, must guarantee protection and constant development of the production relations of self-management, consistent exercise of the right to work with socially owned resources and the other basic values of our society (human and civil liberties, rights, and duties, the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities) and the legal security of the working people and citizens and of their organizations and communities.

Constitutionality and legality should guarantee the rule of law, the conformity of legal enactments to the constitution, and the activity of all and

everyone in conformity with the constitution, laws, and other statutes and general self-management acts. Consistent implementation of these principles precludes arbitrariness, subjectivism, and the wilfulness of individuals and bodies of government and of self-management in exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties and guarantees the kind of system in which everyone exercises his rights and discharges his obligations within the limits established by the constitution, law, other enactments and general self-management acts and in which abuse of the law is made impossible.

The present unsatisfactory situation in our legal system, and especially in application of the law, can be overcome primarily by creating the essential social prerequisites for fuller and more consistent achievement of constitutionality and legality and through full affirmation of the basic principles and institutions contained in the SFRY Constitution and the constitutions of the republics and autonomous provinces, and particularly through the fight for their consistent application in the legal system and for direct application of the constitutions in social practice.

#### The Principal Entities in Achievement of Constitutionality and Legality

/The principal entities in achieving constitutionality and legality/ with socialist self-management content and objective--both in the process of creating the law and also in its application--must be the /working people and citizens organized and associated with one another through self-management/.

All social and self-management entities must have a considerably greater obligation than up to now to create and to guarantee the future conditions for the workers, other working people and citizens organized through self-management to become the authentic regulators of social relations.

#### The Role of the Subjective Forces in Achieving Constitutionality and Legality

Our legal system cannot be successfully brought about nor developed without active and constant support and critical assessment of the /organized socialist subjective forces/. They should act above all preventively, creating the social climate and developing the social consciousness that without respect for constitutionality and legality it is not possible to achieve nor develop the political system of socialist self-management as a whole. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia has special responsibility in this regard.

It is especially important to develop legal consciousness and legal sophistication concerning the need for consistent respect of the established rights, obligations, and responsibilities and to strengthen the ethics of a socialist self-managed society both in the behavior of the working people and citizens as individuals and also in the behavior of self-management bodies, professional management and other bodies within self-managed organizations and communities, the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities, and the organs of sociopolitical organizations. There is a social need for enactment of the self-manager's code and other rules of social behavior (rules of professional ethics, good business practice, usages, etc.).

Comprehensive and creative involvement of the organized socialist subjective forces in carrying on normative activity, in drafting programs of legislative work, in establishing the conception and adoption of normative acts, and in developing responsible behavior toward the solutions adopted can contribute considerably to more consistent achievement of constitutionality and legality.

a) Within the framework of the SAWP there is a need for the working people and citizens to systematically /exercise their right to social oversight and social criticism of the performance/ of the bodies of government and bodies of management of self-managed organizations and communities and those who hold office in self-management, public office, and other social office, and especially the performance of those social entities whose basic constitutional obligation and responsibility is to guarantee protection of constitutionality and legality and to show concern for them.

b) The /trade unions/ have a particular responsibility in equipping the workers and all working people to protect social property and self-management, and in particular to protect the self-management and other rights of workers in associated labor and in all other forms of social labor, including those who are employed by self-employed persons.

The trade union shall bear particular responsibility for taking all the necessary steps to implement the constitutional obligations of those who manage and dispose of social resources to create increasingly favorable conditions for more effective exercise of the right to work guaranteed by the constitution and the rights which arise on the basis of work.

c) It is necessary for /scientific organizations (academies of science, scientific institutes, universities, etc.) and scientists to be involved/ in the organized and systematic study of achievement of constitutionality and legality and performance of other functions of the legal system and in critical and objective indication of those trends occurring in their achievement and possible practical solutions for improvement and more consistent and complete performance of the functions of the law under the present conditions of development of the system of socialist self-management.

The role of science must be more fully evident in the creation of the law, especially with respect to normative regulation of social relations in keeping with the goals and needs in development of a socialist self-managed society, and those creating and applying the law should make more use of the results of scientific discoveries than they have up to now. Scientists should be more involved in applying scientific knowledge to specific proposals for advancement and completion of the legal system and should assume responsibility for the proposals made.

#### Directions for Development of the Legal System

1. On the basis of the knowledge and assessments contained in the "Analysis of the SFRY Assembly of the Situation, Basic Problems, and Directions for Future Development of the Legal System of the SFRY," the "Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program," and especially in the separate document "Development

of the Legal System From the Standpoint of Economic Stabilization" and the "Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management," a resolution of the SFRY Assembly should /set forth the directions of future development, advancement, and optimalization of the legal system of the SFRY/, and, consistent with that resolution, adopt special programs of normative activity in all sociopolitical communities and especially create conditions for further development of self-management law.

2. There is a need for /further essential elaboration and consistent achievement of certain basic constitutional institutions/ (social ownership, the right to work with socially owned resources, self-management) and basic constitutional principles, but above all the principles that work and the results of work should determine man's material and social position, on the basis of equal rights and opportunities. This necessitates a comprehensive and thorough study and examination and identification of all rights and obligations arising out of the right to work with socially owned resources, and in particular the responsibility for the purposive use, constant renewal, augmentation, and improvement of social resources. At the same time, a more appropriate balance must be established here between rights, obligations, and responsibilities of all entities, especially in this field, just as in the legal system as a whole.

3. The normative acts of the bodies of sociopolitical communities and self-managed organizations and communities need to consistently /develop the social ownership character of the means of production and other means of labor and income/ and ensure complete and more effective protection of social ownership, pursuant to the principles of the constitution and constitutional norms. Cases where normative acts or their application allow statist, group ownership, or any other private owner relations in the use and disposition of socially owned resources need to be resolutely combated.

Changes need to be made in all normative acts which do not guarantee or sufficiently encourage optimum use and achievement of effective protection of social property and social ownership. To that end there is a need to propose solutions which would elaborate the present legal mechanisms for protecting social property and establish new ones. Those solutions need to be removed from normative acts on the disposition of income which do not guarantee fuller implementation of the constitutional principles and norms, especially those which state that the workers in associated labor shall decide on disposition of the income earned to meet their own personal needs, the needs of the community, and the general needs of society and shall manage their labor and the conditions and results of their labor freely and equally with other workers in associated labor, in the context of relations of mutual linkage and interdependence.

Aside from the other measures to be taken, the unsatisfactory state of protection of social ownership also requires that broader advantage be taken of all those legal means which have been established for that purpose. Unless all workers and bodies in organizations of associated labor and especially self-management worker control become considerably more involved, fuller and more effective protection of social ownership cannot be achieved.

The most effective way to protect the integrity of social ownership is to guarantee that social property is disposed in a lawful manner. The preventive action of all social entities, and especially the activity of the workers' council and the body for self-management control in basic self-managed organizations and communities should guarantee that social property does not suffer damage, or if it does occur, will make it easier to establish the responsibility of those who cause the damage.

In the protection of social ownership there is a need to /strengthen the role of the social defender of self-management law/, especially in performing his preventive function. Normative elaboration of the conception of the social defender of self-management law as an officer of the social community would also contribute to this. There is a need to reinforce the oversight function of the competent authorities, especially assemblies of sociopolitical communities, and the function of supervision by inspectorates and oversight over the lawfulness of operation and the auditing done by the Social Accounting Service, the national banks and other authorized agencies and organizations. Fuller affirmation and development of courts of associated labor as social arbitration commissions of a kind might make a special contribution to protection of social ownership.

It is indispensable to provide systematic and organized study of the further development of the conception of social ownership, and in particular to find a way of protecting it more effectively. It is essential in this connection to examine the nonowner character of social ownership and to guarantee that it is fully made to serve the development of the productive forces and self-management production relations. At the same time, ways have to be found and institutional solutions proposed that will on the one hand guarantee its integrative function and on the other frustrate statist, group ownership, and private ownership tendencies.

4. It is very necessary to consistently respect the /distribution of normative jurisdiction/ established by the constitution between the different entities performing the normative function and the delineation of subject matter and content of various forms and types of normative acts. It is especially necessary that the normative activity of the body of the sociopolitical community be brought within the limits established in the constitution and to halt its encroachment on the normative jurisdiction of self-managed organizations and communities.

5. Our legal system needs to be /made more consistent, more optimal, more efficient, and more enforceable, and the quality of the setting of standards governing social relations needs to be raised/. There is a need in the preparation and enactment of legal acts to set clear and realizable goals and to find the true measure between the norms which project the desired objectives and those which regulate the social relations which are actually given and those which are realizable. There is a need to undertake additional work on the legal system in certain sectors of the life of society, but at the same time to eliminate the excessive prescription of norms, by amending those normative acts or certain of their provisions which have regulated social relations which by their nature cannot or should not be normatively regulated.

The laws and other enactments of bodies of sociopolitical communities may not establish the obligation of concluding self-management accords and enacting other general self-management acts, since the basis for the self-management regulation of relations in associated labor is the constitution, not laws and other enactments. That is why such solutions should be removed from laws and other enactments along with solutions which impose or bring about excessive administration and enlargement of the size of the administrative staff. The laws regulating relations important to the exercise of the self-management rights of the working people in organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities should incorporate more the supplemental rules to be applied in cases when a particular relation has not been regulated by general self-management acts.

Normative acts should not include provisions which are political-ideological in nature, provisions should not be "taken over" from one normative act to another, especially the provisions of constitutions and laws embodying the system or other "higher" normative acts. At the same time, all normative acts need to be optimized, and in those sectors where it is possible there is good reason to codify them as well, and that not only in sociopolitical communities, but also in organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, which would also contribute to their stability, better mutual compatibility, and enforceability in practice. There is also a need to improve the way in which legal acts are published. An effort should be made to study and build up a specific system of information and recordkeeping on our law (records of general self-management acts, laws and other enactments, etc.).

6. An effort should be undertaken to /bring individual provisions of republic and provincial constitutions into conformity with the SFRY Constitution/ in order to eliminate certain differences or discrepancies (for example, provisions on the relationship between general self-management acts and the acts of so-called government law, the retroactive effect of general self-management acts, the normative function of the opstina, social compacts, etc.).

There is also a need to achieve more intensive cooperation and conclusion of agreements among the republics and autonomous provinces on the regulation of relations which lie in their jurisdiction in order to eliminate differences in bodies of legislation which are not an expression of their specific features and real needs, but do jeopardize the equality of the working people and citizens (criminal law, relations in property law, etc.).

Enforcement of the Law as a Key Prerequisite of the Legal Security, Stability, and Development of Society

On behalf of complete and consistent /enforcement of laws, other enactments, and general self-management acts/ there is a need to eliminate voluntarism in the procedure for application of the law, to prevent "release" from the obligation of enforcing normative acts, the conscious violation of legal norms, the use of economic difficulties to justify failure to enforce enactments, etc.

Cases should be energetically combated in which authorities which are supposed to enforce laws, other enactments, and general self-management acts evaluate whether to enforce them or not and substitute the principle of feasibility for the principle of constitutionality and legality.

It is indispensable that the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, their executive bodies and administrative agencies, judicial authorities, bodies of management in organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, within the limits of their respective rights and duties, analyze the situation and causes of nonenforcement of certain acts, set forth specific tasks and undertake the necessary steps toward effective and consistent enforcement of laws, other enactments, and general self-management acts.

The assemblies of sociopolitical communities and other bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities must make greater use of their constitutional powers to revoke, repeal, and stay execution of unconstitutional and unlawful acts.

/In order to guarantee effective enforcement of federal laws, other enactments, and general acts/ it is indispensable that the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies continually monitor and undertake all the steps envisaged by the constitution and law toward enforcement of federal enactments and for creation of the conditions for their enactment. Every federal administrative agency should ascertain the manner of continuous and systematic monitoring of enforcement of federal statutes in the area for which it was established so as to have complete scrutiny over their enforcement. The federal administrative agencies are required to seek reports from authorities in the republics and autonomous provinces without "restraint" on the enforcement of federal statutes for whose enforcement they are responsible, to admonish them for nonenforcement of statutes, and on behalf of consistent enforcement of federal enactments also take other steps within their authority. The Federal Executive Council should guarantee that the SFRY Assembly is promptly and fully informed about the situation with respect to enforcement of federal laws and other enactments in all the areas of the life of society. At the same time, the responsibility of the competent authorities in the republics and autonomous provinces for enforcement of federal statutes should be further developed and established. The provisions of the SFRY Constitution (Articles 273-278) should be reassessed with a view to further elaboration in order to guarantee effective enforcement of federal enactments. It has been judged that the constitutional powers of federal bodies and agencies set forth in Article 273 of the SFRY Constitution are not sufficient to guarantee an adequate role and responsibility of federal authorities with respect to enforcement of federal enactments. That is why Article 273 of the SFRY Constitution should be supplemented or elaborated. That elaboration should establish mutual cooperation, agreement, and reporting as a constitutional obligation in achievement of functional linkage of federal, republic, and provincial authorities.

In cases of nonimplementation or nonenforcement of federal statutes, additional work on Article 273 of the SFRY Constitution should establish the obligation of the Federal Executive Council to inform the SFRY Assembly to that

effect, which would adopt a decision requiring enforcement of federal enactments. It would also be advisable to establish the consequences, that is, to envisage appropriate measures for failure to discharge the obligation established. Depending on the nature of the relation, the possibility might be foreseen of federal authorities assuming the obligation to themselves guarantee enforcement of federal enactments or mandatory instructions might be issued if no specific federal body exists for the particular area that might guarantee enforcement of federal enactments.

The powers of federal authorities as set forth in Article 275 of the SFRY Constitution, in cases when the authorities in the republics and autonomous provinces directly enforce federal enactments and international treaties for whose enforcement federal administrative agencies are responsible, ought to be supplemented in such a way that the Federal Executive Council might raise the question of responsibility of the competent administrative agency for nonenforcement of federal enactments before the competent authorities in the republic or autonomous province, and then if that does not yield results, to so inform the SFRY Assembly.

Within organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities the bodies of management, professional management, and workers who have special authority and responsibility have particular responsibility for /guaranteeing consistent application of general self-management acts/ and for achievement of constitutionality and legality. Professional management bodies and officers must be more decisive than they have been up to now in pointing out the unlawfulness of acts and actions, cooperate more fully with the bodies for self-management workers' control, the public defender of self-management laws, and agencies for supervision and oversight in sociopolitical communities.

#### Tightening Responsibility for Achievement of Constitutionality and Legality

There is a need to be more determined in creating the conditions for more responsible behavior of all social and self-management entities and to apply more consistently the measures of all types envisaged for /accountability for failure to respect constitutionality and legality/, especially toward those social entities which have not been applying the law and which are not discharging their obligations and responsibilities with respect to guaranteeing protection and seeing to constitutionality and legality. The sociopolitical and professional responsibility of those who perform the normative function and sponsors of normative acts for the realism of objectives and for the content and quality of legal norms should be pursued as consistently as possible and tightened.

There is an indispensable need to set forth more effective mechanisms for realization of the existing forms of responsibility as well as new content of responsibility both in setting forth policy and making decisions and also in carrying them out. There is also an indispensable need to ascertain the consequences that ensue if the norms on responsibility prescribed or established through self-management are not applied. And also to establish special measures for the accountability of entities who in view of their position and

role in society abuse the authority of government and bring influence to bear on whether and how particular laws, other enactments, and general self-management acts are to be applied.

Normative solutions both in laws and other enactments and also in general self-management acts regulating responsibility (forms and types, entities, procedure, penalties, oversight, etc.) should be critically and integrally reassessed and those which do not fully regulate responsibility, especially economic, political, self-management, and professional responsibility, should be supplemented; appropriate and more effective penalties and other measures of responsibility should be elaborated and established both for omissions and also for passive behavior, especially toward those entities required to institute proceedings for establishment of responsibility; authorities competent to establish responsibility and to undertake the measures of responsibility prescribed or established through self-management should be afforded effective powers; the cases should be precisely established in which certain social entities are required to institute proceedings for establishment of the responsibility of individuals or bodies which were required to institute proceedings, but did not, for establishment of responsibility when the conditions for that existed; work out the cases and forms of responsibility for nonperformance of obligations assumed in self-management accords and social compacts; discriminate the various forms of responsibility and essentially broaden the preventive and moral effect of the penalties pronounced (their publication and so on).

#### Performance of the Social Functions of Judicial Authorities and the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia

1. There is an indispensable need for greater public support to /the courts, public prosecutors' offices, and other judicial authorities in performance of their constitutional function. Affirmation of the constitutional function of the courts and other judicial authorities in monitoring and studying social relations and phenomena that have a bearing on performance of their functions has particular importance to the achievement of constitutionality and legality. It is therefore indispensable to guarantee that the courts constantly present proposals to assemblies of sociopolitical communities and other bodies and agencies in self-managed organizations and communities in order to prevent socially dangerous and harmful occurrences and to strengthen legality, social responsibility, and socialist ethics. The publication of observations and proposals of judicial authorities, mandatory explanations on the part of the social entities to which those observations pertain, and feedback information on the steps taken could contribute considerably to affirmation of that constitutional function.

There needs to be a resolute fight against any influence whatsoever on decisions made by judicial authorities, regardless from whom it comes, since this jeopardizes their independence and self-sufficiency and the constitutional principle that the courts render decisions exclusively on the basis of constitutions, laws, and general self-management acts. Every case of violation of legality, corruption, and use of influence by individuals in performance of the judicial function must encounter the most severe social condemnation,

including criminal responsibility. Democratic criticism of performance of the role of judicial authorities in guaranteeing constitutionality and legality should be conducted in an organized way, above all in the framework of the SAWP and in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, in a manner which does not jeopardize the self-sufficiency and independence of judicial authorities. There is also a need for further improvement of judicial proceedings and the system of penalties for punishable acts.

It is indispensable to study as well the question of more consistent assurance of the independence of the courts in performance of the judicial function.

If judicial authorities are to keep up-to-date and maintain quality, efficiency, and legality in their work, it is very important that they have adequate staff and that those who perform judicial functions engage in continuing professional improvement and are given appropriate material status. Concern about personnel and the conduct of personnel policy may not be left only to judicial authorities, but must be a primary task of all entities in society, especially the assemblies of sociopolitical communities.

Organized social action on the part of self-managed and public entities should guarantee that disagreements and disputes arising out of socioeconomic and other self-management relations are solved above all through reconciliation, intermediation, arbitration, or through elected and other self-management courts. In all republics and autonomous provinces the jurisdiction of self-management and regular courts should be uniformly delimited. The present jurisdiction of the self-management courts in the various republics and autonomous provinces should be reassessed where the self-management accords handle even certain disputes which by their character are such that they ought to be decided by the regular courts. Enactment of a specific law on proceedings before courts of associated labor and altering the manner of their operation and decisionmaking should halt the tendency toward governmentalization of all courts, i.e., their transformation into specialized state courts for particular types of disputes. The relevant laws should also elaborate the provision of Article 233, Paragraph 3, of the SFRY Constitution, under which the law determines under what conditions a decision of a self-management court may be contested before a regular court. It is indispensable as well to improve the existing forms of socialization of the judicial function and to find new ones.

2. The jurisdiction of the /Federal Court/ to decide in the last instance or to rule on exceptional legal remedies should be so established as to guarantee uniform application of federal laws in certain types of disputes. The jurisdiction of the Federal Court should not depend on the organization and jurisdiction of courts established in republic or provincial laws, but on the type and character of the particular disputes which come to a final conclusion in the republics and autonomous provinces.

3. /The federal public prosecutor/, under Article 373, Paragraph 2, of the SFRY Constitution, may issue binding instructions to the republic or provincial public prosecutor and undertake criminal prosecution in cases when the Federation defines crimes for which the public prosecutor's offices in the republics and autonomous provinces have jurisdiction. However, the federal

public prosecutor has these powers concerning economic violations only when federal laws are involved for whose enforcement federal authorities are responsible. In view of the nature of economic violations and the importance of prosecuting those who commit them to achievement of constitutionality and legality in socioeconomic relations, the powers of the federal public prosecutor should be broadened to all economic violations defined in federal law.

4. Article 388 of the SFRY Constitution has not delineated the consequences which arise in a case when a general act is vacated or annulled in proceedings before the /Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia/, so that a judgment should be made as to the advisability of a relevant supplement to the SFRY Constitution. There is a need for the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and the constitutional courts of the republics and autonomous provinces to develop broader and fuller cooperation in order to establish greater uniformity in the practice of the constitutional courts.

The proponents authorized to institute proceedings for evaluation of constitutionality and legality before the constitutional court should make greater use of this constitutional authority which they possess.

There should be greater affirmation of the decisions of the constitutional courts in order to guarantee their preventive effect in similar cases of violation of constitutionality and legality.

#### VII. Performance of the Constitutional Role of the Subjective Forces in the Political System of Socialist Self-Management

Consistent performance of the role of sociopolitical organizations in the political system of socialist self-management as set forth in the constitution presupposes activity based on broad involvement of the working people and on setting forth and carrying out policy in all phases and at all levels of social decisionmaking. The working people organized through self-management can guarantee their socioeconomic position and participate competently in decisionmaking through constant involvement in the sociopolitical organization and through reliance on the organized forces of socialist consciousness and creation. This is a basic precondition for the effective functioning of the political system of socialist self-management.

Through the totality of their activity sociopolitical organizations should encourage and create conditions for the working people and citizens to display initiative and to take creative part in political decisionmaking; contribute to democratic reconciliation of self-management interests and to the building up of common interests and the interests of the society in general, taking as their points of departure in this the historic interests of the working class and all the working people as the basis of our socialist self-managing community; mobilize and provide ideological guidance for all the social forces in the struggle for further development of self-management and achieve their ideological unity and unity in action.

There is a need for constant, resolute, and organized social action to eradicate all forms of informal decisionmaking and activity of detached centers of

political power at all levels of the political organization of society, which are threatening self-management and delegate decisionmaking. Sociopolitical organizations have a particular responsibility in this respect, especially the League of Communists, since such centers could not come into being without the participation of individuals holding leading positions in the bodies of sociopolitical communities and in associated labor. The actual processes of decisionmaking which bypass the delegate system do not motivate the working people to become involved in it and they prevent the achievement of responsibility in society. The League of Communists must resolutely overcome this situation, above all by affirming the public accountability of those who hold all positions in society, especially those of leadership, as well as the accountability of self-management and government bodies and agencies.

Sociopolitical communities must win the fight so that all social affairs are dealt with through the institutions of the self-management and delegate system, so that they bear full responsibility for the activity and tasks entrusted to them by the constitution.

In the consideration of these matters and in the search for further answers there is a need to make greater and more direct use of the results of the general party discussion of the tasks and role of the LCY and also the discussion related to adoption of the conclusions of the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee.

The sociopolitical organizations must above all perform their /role as initiators/ in basic self-managed organizations and communities, with their members directly bound up with the working people and citizens in raising and resolving all the essential issues of their work and development. If the basic organizations of the League of Communists and the basic organizations of other sociopolitical organizations are to be able to operate on their own initiative in developing self-management and delegate relations, an effort has to be made toward more comprehensive construction of the basic organizations within the framework of every sociopolitical organization, to equip them in terms of political ideology, organization, and action and to build up democratic relations and achieve more effective communications and mutual responsibility between the basic organizations and their leadership.

It is of key importance that sociopolitical organizations take political and ideological stands promptly on essential issues on which the base of self-management is setting forth guidelines to govern the work of delegations and views governing the determination of delegates in the decisionmaking process.

The bodies of sociopolitical organizations bear particular responsibility for prompt adoption of views concerning the issues of protection and development of the system of socialist self-management on behalf of more effective operation through the delegates and delegations of sociopolitical organizations in sociopolitical chambers.

2. /The guiding and integrative role/ of sociopolitical organizations is to be performed above all through influence on the building of social consciousness, through reconciliation of social actions, and by guaranteeing ideological

unity and unity of action. On those foundations sociopolitical organizations should exert influence toward establishment of policy, taking of decisions and their execution from basic self-managed organizations and communities to the Federation. The League of Communists must /be in the forefront in the field of theory/ so as to be able to guide activities directly through political ideology toward resolving the key problems of society and toward opening up prospects for its future development.

The official bodies of sociopolitical organizations should constantly monitor the work of their basic organizations and the problems manifested in the work of self-managed bodies and assemblies of sociopolitical communities. These are the two fundamental sources of their political action. That is why sociopolitical organizations should establish direct and firm internal communications and expand democratic ties and relations with other bodies and organizations in the system.

In cases when there is a blockage in the process of delegate decisionmaking and in the taking of decisions, especially when there is no readiness for democratic reconciliation of views or the historic interests of the working class are not being taken into account, there is a need for prompt and resolute reaction by sociopolitical organizations. This is especially indispensable in cases when this has occurred because of egoistic, particularistic, nationalistic, bureaucratic, and other interests opposed to self-management. In this case sociopolitical organizations are also required to raise the question of political responsibility of those who represent such things.

3. It is especially important to achieve effective and /democratic coordination/ and reconciliation of views in the Socialist Alliance as the voluntary and democratic front of the working people and citizens and of all the organized socialist forces.

The Socialist Alliance should develop as the broadest foundation of the sociopolitical activity of the working people and citizens, of sociopolitical organizations, and of all the organized socialist forces in the political system of socialist self-management. All thinking with a socialist orientation that is directly expressed in self-managed organizations and communities and also in sociopolitical and other public organizations should be manifested within it so that socialist consensus would be built up on that basis and practical solutions found for various social problems.

It is indispensable to achieve creative participation of the parts of the front in programming joint activities and undertaking specific obligations and responsibilities. It is extremely important for actions to be initiated above all from below and for unity of all forces in the front to be achieved there. That kind of coordination within the Socialist Alliance should guarantee to a greater extent than up to now the mutual compatibility of programs and unity of action of sociopolitical organizations, bodies of sociopolitical communities, and the entire self-management structure of society. Conditions should be created in the Socialist Alliance for debate and the taking of stands to resolve specific vital issues and problems of the working people and citizens and the key issues in development of society. Public discussions should

accordingly be organized more frequently concerning the most important social issues, and their results should be honored to a considerably greater extent.

The bodies and forms of activity of the Socialist Alliance have a special role and responsibility in establishing and pursuing common interests in the Federation. The Federal Conference of the SAWPY should contribute to the constant development of the political basis of delegate decisionmaking in the SFRY Assembly and to the effectiveness of the conclusion of accords and agreements in the Federation.

The role of the Socialist Alliance as the front of the organized socialist forces may be performed if the League of Communists, the Trade Union Federation, the Socialist Youth League, and the Federation of Veterans' Associations and public organizations and civic associations operate in it in an organized way and with creativity and action.

/Performance of the role of the League of Communists as the leading political-ideological force/ in society depends to a large degree on performance of its role in the Socialist Alliance. The League of Communists can perform that role most fully if it builds up its policy and positions into the everyday organized and democratic action of the working people and citizens. The degree of success of the struggle of the League of Communists against bureaucracy and other negative trends in the functioning of the political system depends in large part on this.

/The Federation of Trade Unions, as the broadest organization of the working class/, must consistently perform its integrative role in the working class, the delegate system, and society. It is indispensable that the Trade Union Federation commit itself in a specific way to building associated labor, to creating conditions so that the workers take command of social reproduction, and to the problems of production, utilization and management of the socialized means of production and income, the pooling of labor and resources, labor productivity, planning, self-management and delegate decisionmaking, etc. The Trade Union Federation should be far more decisive and persistent in conducting campaigns for performance of the leading role of the workers and associated labor throughout social reproduction, should take the necessary steps and develop broad activity to equip the workers to take over and exercise their self-management rights and discharge their obligations and responsibilities in self-management.

There is a need for affirmation in every respect of the /Socialist Youth League/ in all domains of the life of society. Young people need to be brought into the workplace more rapidly and broadly and into the overall flows of self-management decisionmaking and the handling of other public affairs. Conditions must be created through organized social actions so that they exercise their rights and discharge their responsibilities more fully in the struggle for further development of socialist self-management and become involved more boldly and broadly in all the flows of the functioning of the political system.

As a component of the front of the organized socialist forces, /the Federation of Veterans' Associations/ should contribute to a still greater extent to the continuous development and more effective functioning and stability of our society through its activity in the political system and with its immense revolutionary experience. The Veterans' Federation must be appropriately present in the process of decisionmaking, and more respect must be paid to its views on individual issues.

It is the duty of the Socialist Alliance to encourage /the activities of public organizations and civic associations/ and to furnish them full political support in building relations, content, and methods in their work which will afford the fullest possible satisfaction of the material, cultural, and other needs and pursuit of individual inclinations of the working people and citizens.

4. The way in which working people and citizens, the League of Communists and other sociopolitical organizations, and all the organized socialist forces in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia monitor the performance of the bodies of government and the bodies of management of self-managed organizations and communities and those who hold office in self-management, public office and other position in society, the way in which they present their opinions and assessments and the way in which they conduct /social oversight/ and criticism of their performance, especially with respect to affirming democratic relations in our political life and guaranteeing public scrutiny and responsibility in the exercise of office has particular importance to the functioning of the political system. It is necessary to overcome the practice in which this democratic function of sociopolitical organizations was performed almost exclusively through the activity of sociopolitical chambers. Throughout our system, and especially in normative acts, it is indispensable to work out the manner in which this function is to be performed.

5. The strategic importance of /science/, the necessity of its intensive development, more rapid and fuller application of its results in practice, the strengthening of influence and its responsibility for material, cultural, and overall social development, make it incumbent upon all entities in the political system--from organizations of associated labor to the Federation--that they contribute to creation of conditions and relations in society whereby science will be treated as a first-class productive force of society and at the same time as a subjective factor in the political system of socialist self-management. The directions for improvement of scientific work in the SFRY--which represent a synthesis of the overall programmatic commitments of society in that area--have been set forth in the views of the Federal Social Council for Affairs of the Social System entitled "Urgent Aspects of the Social Role and Further Development of Scientific Work in the SFRY."

The processes which have been initiated in the self-management integration of science with associated labor and of the self-management transformation of science itself need to be carried out more rapidly. Development policy and economic policy should above all encourage the workers in material production to create the conditions for the more successful development of science and for application of its results not only in their own organization of associated

labor, but also in society at large. The economic motivation of the workers in all domains of the work of society, including the sector of scientific activity, to achieve more successful economic employment with social resources imposes a need for a constant rise in their overall managerial abilities and creative potential, creation of the largest possible number of personnel capable of innovation and research on behalf of the fullest and most rapid possible application of the results of research work and the steady growth of income on the basis of qualitative factors in economic performance.

It is indispensable that science show a more committed attitude and make a more creative contribution to solving the country's economic and social problems. Subjectivism, pragmatism, and their unacceptable influences and the interests which can arise in the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management will be combated most effectively by using the results of scientific research.

Science should be present to a considerably greater degree than up to now in the taking of self-management and social decisions at all levels of decision-making from the workers' council in OOUR's to the SFRY Assembly, as well as in the work of sociopolitical organizations and all other organized socialist forces.

6. Proceeding on the basis of the importance and /role of information/ in the functioning of the political system, the system of information must be independent, unified, and efficient. This means that the unified technical and technological basis of the social information system must be constantly improved and provided for, sources of information and the information media should be socialized to a greater extent, there needs to be systematic development of personnel to work in the field of information, and forms should be developed for ongoing coordination and public influence on the overall activity of those involved in providing information.

/Public information/ must serve even more the achievement and further development of socialist self-management, contribute to broadening the freedom of information and reinforcement of responsibility for the information supplied, and must respond to the current developments and needs of society.

Achievement of the principle of public scrutiny of the performance of all bodies and institutions in the system of a socialist self-management society is an essential prerequisite for consistent performance of the social functions of public information.

The news media (the press, radio, television, etc.) must serve the construction of the social consciousness of socialist self-management, democracy, a love for freedom, and patriotism.

The activity of the socialist social forces and of the League of Communists in particular has essential importance to the constant and persistent correction of negative trends and shortcomings in the field of public information and to their full and successful social affirmation.

All the organized socialist forces, the Socialist Alliance in particular, have a permanent task of contributing to the further democratization, independence, and responsibility of the news media. The Socialist Alliance should resolutely advocate further socialization of the information system, preventing the tendency toward monopoly of information, and through its delegations and delegates guarantee social influence on the programmatic conception, editorial policy, and personnel policy in the news media, exercise social oversight, and see that the particular public interest is served in other ways as set forth in law.

Sociopolitical communities have a duty to examine and establish the needs of society in the sector of public information and to constantly contribute to its improvement, furnishing the news media the material capability, personnel, and other capabilities for the fullest possible performance of their functions in accordance with the needs of society.

7. The future /development of the political system of socialist self-management requires/ that the subjective forces of society direct their activity toward creation of conditions that will make it possible for the worker in self-managed associated labor to become the principal protagonist in making decisions on income and concerning social reproduction as a whole; which will strengthen the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities; which will reduce the role of the government at all levels of the organization of society to the limits established in the constitution, and which will achieve effective performance of the functions which the government should perform.

Concerning these matters the League of Communists must guarantee real political-ideological unity and unity of action in setting forth policy and views to resolve the urgent problems of development and in carrying out that policy and those views.

It is indispensable that all the institutions and organizations of the political system become capable of exercising their rights and discharging their duties effectively and responsibly so as to create the necessary conditions for accomplishment of the basic values of the political system and the preconditions for its future development.

Consistent fulfillment of the strategy for development of our society in the direction of a free community of producers--as set forth in the LCY Program, at the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses, and in the 1974 Constitution--necessitates constant development of the political system of socialist self-management.

/This argues for constant critical examination and monitoring of the functioning of the political system, its institutions and mechanisms, and for objective indication of the trends discovered and a search for directions and solutions to improve it./ It is therefore indispensable that the organized subjective forces, the League of Communists in particular, continue and encourage critical analysis of the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management, but in particular those issues which this critical analysis have found to be in need of further study.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix I. Dissenting Views of Participants in the Proceedings of the Council on Particular Issues

1. The representative of the SFRY Assembly proposed that the analysis point up the need for enactment of a special federal law that would regulate the basic rights, obligations, and responsibilities of delegates and delegations and the forms of linkage of delegations.
2. The representatives of the SFRY Assembly, SR Serbia, and SUBNORJ presented the opinion that it should be made possible in the SFRY Constitution for a self-management accord on entry into association to form a work organization or other general self-management act of a basic organization of associated labor or work organization to establish the possibility that the working people in the basic organization which has a small labor force and is a part of a work organization may decide to establish a joint delegation to the assembly of the sociopolitical community, provided that the basic organization and the work organization are located in the jurisdiction of the same sociopolitical community. Certain delegates in the SFRY Assembly propose that this solution be applied to all basic organizations, while SR Serbia proposes that the constitution should make it possible for the working people in a basic organization that is part of a work organization elect on the basis of their own decision a joint delegation of working people from all basic organizations for the purpose of electing delegates to the assembly of the sociopolitical community.
3. In connection with the position contained in the Critical Analysis that consideration should be paid to the question of further elaboration of the constitutional principle contained in Article 244, Paragraph 2, Subparagraph 3, of the SFRY Constitution, the representative of SR Montenegro proposed that Article 244 of the SFRY Constitution be supplemented in order to establish the power of federal bodies to regulate in their acts relations on which the SR's and SAP's have been unable to conclude an agreement.
4. Representatives of the SFRY Assembly and SR Macedonia feel that the Critical Analysis should have pointed out the need to spell out in constitutional law Article 281 of the SFRY Constitution from the standpoint of measuring the scope of the terms and standards used in that article for the purpose of clear delineation of the legislative jurisdiction between the Federation and the republics or autonomous provinces. SR Montenegro proposes that Article 281 of

the SFRY Constitution be reexamined and supplemented in order to delineate legislative jurisdiction between the Federation and the republics and autonomous provinces. First of all, without further study (as is proposed in the Analysis), the effort should be made to define more closely (narrowly) the electoral base for delegates of the Federal Chamber and establish their particular accountability to that constituency on the principle of one delegate in each electoral unit (SR Serbia).

6. The representative of the SFRY Assembly proposed the following:

(a) that the manner of settling questions when a basic organization of associated labor does not accept the joint bases of the medium-term plan of the work organization be brought into conformity with the solution set forth in Paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 29 and Paragraph 1 of Article 30 of the Law on the Bases of the System of Social Planning and on the Social Plan of Yugoslavia;

(b) that on p 77 [the page numbers do not correspond either to those of this translation or the published version from which this translation was made] of the Critical Analysis, the end of Paragraph 2 of Point 5 be so restated as to express that large systems are not only to be technologically unified, but also economically unified and efficient systems (as explicitly stated in the provision of Article 33, Paragraph 1, of the Law on the Bases of the System of Social Planning and on the Social Plan of Yugoslavia);

(c) that on p 76, in Paragraph 3, those parts be omitted which speak about decisionmaking or personal expression of the workers in organizations of associated labor which are members of a bank, since decisionmaking on specific investment projects and programs which are made in accordance with the Law on Expanded Reproduction and Past Labor should not be tied to the plan of the bank, so that it might not be taken that that plan was to establish in more detail the purposes for use of pooled resources, that is, to include investment projects, and that the plan of the bank would be decided on by the workers by personal expression, which would not be in conformity with the Law on the Bases of the System of Social Planning.

Appendix II. Remarks on the Drafting of the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management

Following adoption of the SFRY Constitution (1974) the sociopolitical organizations, especially the Socialist Alliance, delegate assemblies, social councils, research organizations, and individual scientists and professionals analyzed achievement of the individual segments of the political system of socialist self-management, although not always comprehensively or thoroughly enough, nor in particular was it sufficiently related to the development of socioeconomic relations.

Proceeding on the basis of the positions taken by the 12th LCY Congress, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, in a meeting held 19 October 1982, pointed up the need to undertake in an organized way and as soon as possible a critical reassessment of the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management as a whole, as well as individual parts of institutions and

mechanisms, and it proposed that this work be organized through the Federal Social Council for Affairs of the Social System.

On 4 November 1982 the council's coordinating committee created a working group<sup>1</sup> and assigned it the task of proposing a program of work on critical analysis of the functioning of the political system. In October 1983 the council accepted that program. In December 1983 the text of the principles of approach was adopted as an introductory part of the program, along with an annex to the program to that effect (with proposals and suggestions made in the meeting of the council). In that way the entire project assignment was defined in the council (the questions determined which were to be answered) and a clear orientation (point of departure) was given for the effort.

Parallel analyses of the individual parts of the political system were prepared in the bodies, agencies, and organizations of the Federation and the republics and autonomous provinces: achievement in the Federation of the common interests as set forth in the SFRY Constitution; the functioning of delegate relations in the assembly system; the legal system, etc.

In accordance with the work program that was adopted, five working groups were formed in the council with 217 members representing all participants in the work of the council and distinguished scientists, professionals, and public figures. The working groups prepared eight separate documents: 1) Basic Issues Concerning Self-Management Decisionmaking of the Workers in Organizations of Associated Labor; 2) Problems of the Functioning of Local Communities; 3) Achievement of Self-Management in the Social Services; 4) Analysis of Achievement of Delegate Relations in the Assembly System; 5) Achievement of the Constitutional Conception of Sociopolitical Communities; 6) Critical Analysis of the Activity of the Subjective Factors in the Political System of Socialist Self-Management; 7) Achievement of Constitutionality and Legality and Other Functions of the Legal System; 8) Achievement of Personnel Policy, the Electoral System, and Performance in Social and Public Office.

Debates were conducted in the council concerning the drafts prepared concerning achievement of common interests in the Federation from May to December 1984, and the separate documents of the working groups of the council were discussed from 4 January to 15 April 1985.

At the end of February 1985 a commission of the council<sup>2</sup> was created with the task to prepare the (final) document of the critical analysis of the functioning of the political system.

The draft of this document was approved by the commission in its meeting held 24 July 1985 on the basis of material prepared by the commission's work team.<sup>3</sup> The document was drafted on the basis of the separate documents of the working groups of the council<sup>4</sup> and the results of the debate of those separate documents in meetings of the council and also discussions at seven sessions of the commission.

The draft of the critical analysis was also taken under consideration and adopted in a session of the Federal Social Council for Affairs of the Social

System on 30 September 1985. On that occasion the approach was praised and support was given to the initial commitments, assessments, and directions of the proposed changes. The commission was given the duty and authority to draft the definitive version of the document and to incorporate into it the proposals and suggestions that had been submitted and presented and to send the critical analysis to participants in the work of the council. Particular emphasis was placed on the need for public discussion to be organized concerning this document, for which the Federal Council of the SAWPY would be responsible. The proposals and suggestions made in the discussion, together with the Critical Analysis, would be used by participants in the work of the council and all other decisionmakers in society to improve the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management and for its additional construction in the future.

The text of the critical analysis was approved in a meeting of the commission held 22 November 1985.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. A working group was established consisting of the following members: Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic (chairman); Dr Najdan Pasic; Dr Mijat Sukovic, member of the academy; Dr Miladin Korac; Dr Aleksandar Fira, member of the academy; Milan Kucan; Kiro Hadzi Vasilev; Dr Stipe Suvar; Vojislav Rakic; Sergej Kraigher; Vojo Srzentic; Zvonko Spoljar, MA; Jovan Dejanovic; and Dr Kurtes Saliu.
2. A commission was established consisting of the following members: Josip Vrhovec (chairman); Stojan Bjelajac; Dr Miodrag Trifunovic; Dr Mijat Sukovic, member of the academy; Hamdija Pozderac; Jovan Dejanovic; Dusan Bogdanov; Vlado Scekcic; Silvija Zugic-Rijavec; Nikola Filipovic; Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic; Munir Mesihovic; Vasko Kostajcinovski; Dr Ciril Ribicic; Dr Radoslav Ratkovic; Istvan Rajcan; Dr Kurtes Saliu; Milutin Baltic; Milutin Tanjevic; Milan Kucan; Dr Najdan Pasic; Kiro Hadzi Vasilev; Dr Aleksandar Fira, member of the academy; Zvonko Spoljar, MA, (members); and Milan Babic (secretary of the commission).
3. The following participated in the work of the work team: Milan Babic, Hrvoje Bacic, Milan Jovicic, Bosa Nenadic, Tamara Luksic-Orlandic, Sinisa Pudar, Mirjana Popovic, Miroslav Prica, Dr Koviljka Romanic, Dusan Rebolj, Dr Zdravko Tomac, Slavko Vejinovic, Dr Lazar Vracaric, Dragica Cortan, and Milovan Stankovic (secretary of the work team).

The following participated in the various phases of work in preparing the document: Vinko Kastelic, Cedo Grbic, Ema Derosi-Bjelajac, MA, Dr Balsa Spadijer, Jan Sirka, Nikola Paunovic, Rudi Sova, Ferhat Kotoric, Dr Jovan Muncan, Novica Jelisijevic, Dr Miha Ribaric, Tomislav Novakovic, Dr Svetislav Skaric, Radovan Sturanovic, Dr Lazar Djurovski, Milivoje Vujadinovic, Dr Jovan Marjanovic, Nikola Stefanovic, MA, Damjan Milicevic, Dr Zivko Markovic, Ratomir Slijepcevic, Ljubisa Korac, Djordje Djurkovic, Muharem Adenalic, Dr Moma Radosavljevic, Mahmut Mujacic, MA, Vojislav Mugosa, Rajko Djuricanin, Becir Veljovic, Nikola Markovic, Lojze Skok, Dr Ivan

Lovric, Dr Ivan Nahtigal, Radovan Vukovic, Cedo Radanovic, Asaf Dzanic, and Komnen Stanisic.

4. Appendix III gives the membership of the working groups of the council.

Appendix III. Membership of the Working Groups Which Worked in Drafting the Separate Documents of the Critical Analysis

Working Group for Self-Management Decisionmaking of the Working People and Citizens in Basic and Other Self-Managed Organizations and Communities

Milan Kucan (leader), Milorad Anteski, Dr Tito Belicanec, Ivan Bukovic, Cedo Grbic, Dr Branislav Ivanovic, Nemanja Jovanovic, Sreten Jovanovic, Vinko Kastelic, Dr Ivan Lovric, Veljko Markovic, Dr Dragisa Pavlovic, Dr Boro Petkovski, Bozidar Saranovic, Dr Janez Sinkovec, Valerija Skerbec, Dr Zdravko Tomac, and Dr Djuro Vekic (members).

Subgroup for Associated Labor

Vinko Kastelic (leader), Veselin Andrijanic, Milan Babic, Hrvoje Bacic, Dr Nikola Balog, Dr Bozidar Cerovic, Zdravko Ciric, Stevo Caksiran, Milan Dragovic, Andrej Grahor, Cedo Grbic, Novica Jelesijevic, Aleksandar Jovanovic, Nada Jovanovic, Milan Jovicic, Josip Klisovic, MA, Zeljko Milovic, Dr Jovan Muncan, Tomislav Novakovic, Dejan Popov, MA, Bozidar Radunovic, Dusan Rebolj, Milos Stamatovic, Dr Caslav Strahinjic, Dr Janez Sinkovec, Miras Tresnjar, MA, Ljubinka Vasovic, and Bosko Zivkovic, MA, (members).

Subgroup for SIZ's

Cedo Grbic (leader), Dr Milivoje Andrejevic, Dr Lazo Antic, Milan Babic, Dr Vaso Blagojevic, Dr Radivoje Marinkovic, Dr Koviljka Romanic, Milos Stamatovic, Valerija Skerbec, Predrag Sipka, MA, Ljubisa Tatovic, MA, Stipe Tonkovic, Dr Milivoje Trklja, Ulrih "Atena" Ela, and Dr Velimir Zekovic (members of the subgroup).

Subgroup for Decisionmaking in Local Communities

Dr Zdravko Tomac (leader), Dr Milivoje Andrejevic, Dr Lazar Djurovski, Kosara Glisic, Juraj Hrzenjak, Dr Berislav Jandric, Dusan Losipovic, Robert Kramer, Milenko Lucic, Dr Zivko Markovic, Moma Milovanovic, Bosa Nenadic, Milivoje Novakovic, Hilmo Pasic, Dr Koviljka Romanic, Dr Jogan Savin, Dr Damjan Seckovic, Radovan Sturanovic, Stribor Uzelac, and Stane Vlaj (members).

Working Group for Achievement of the Delegate System of Decisionmaking in Assemblies of Sociopolitical Communities

Dr Najdan Pasic (leader of the working group), Ema Derosi-Bjelajac, MA, (leader of the subgroup for achievement of delegate relations in the assembly system), Dr Miodrag Visnjic (leader of the subgroup for achievement of the constitutional concept of sociopolitical communities), Alija Latic, Dr Omer Ibrahimgic, Servet Salju, Dr Svetomir Skaric, Dr Miha Ribaric, Dr Majda Strobl,

Dr Balsa Spadijer, Milutin Tanjevic, Milivoje Vujadinovic, Djordje Milutinovic, Muharem Imeri, Ljubomir Popovic, Ela "Atena" Ulrih, Svetislav Jaksic, Vjekoslav Vidak, Dr Damjan Seckovic, Nikola Paunovic, Mirjana Stanisic, Milorad Radevic, MA, Branislav Vojinovic, Dr Jovan Marjanovic, Dr Ivan Siber, Dr Tomislav Jantol, Dr Ratko Markovic, Dr Zivko Markovic, Dr Zdravko Tomac, Slobodanka Markov, Vladan Simic, Marko Herman, Milivoje Tatic, Ruza Banjac, Dr Radivoje Marinkovic, Milan Babic, Nikola Stefanovic, MA, Sinisa Pudar, Dr Milan Cukovic, Mirjana Popovic, Damjan Milicevic, Dr Lazar Djurovski, Radovan Sturanovic, and Mirko Pejanovic, and Dr Lazar Vracaric and Velibor Stanisic (subgroup secretaries).

#### Working Group for Activity of the Subjective Factor

Kiro Hadzi Vasilev (leader of the group), Dr Bogdan Trifunovic, Sabrija Pojskic, Dr Kasim Trnka, Cvetko Veljanovski, Dr Stojmen Mihajlovski, Valerija Skerbec, Marjan Kotar, Dr Vucina Vasovic, Petar Rakocevic, Djordje Radulovic, Dr Stipe Suvar, Radivoje Glavic, Miroslav Francuski, Dr Ivica Lovric, Dragomir Milojevic, Stojan Stojcevski, Milovan Djokanovic, Dr Jovan Marjanovic, Dr Dusan Icevic, Dr Bostjan Markic, Milorad Popovic, Dr Branko Caratan, Dr Milan Mali, and Dr Milan Matic.

The work team: Dr Jovan Marcetic (secretary of the working group), Slavko Vejinovic (secretary of the working group), Becir Veljovic, Janko Sabados, Dragica Cortan, Momcilo Djurovic, Vlada Markovic, Pero Grk, Jadranka Vesel, Branko Stojanovic, Branislav Miric, Borivoje Kotur (members).

#### Working Group for Preparing the Section of the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management on the Achievement of Constitutionality and Legality

Dr Aleksandar Fira, member of the academy (leader); Dr Boris Petkovski (deputy leader); Hrvoje Bacic; Dr Nikola Balog; Mirjana Blagojevic; Dr Djordji Caca; Dr Dusan Cotic; Ivica Cacic; Krste Calovski, MA; Branislava Draskovic; Djordje Djurkovic; Todor Gajinov; Dr Leon Gerskovic; Cedo Grbic; Dr Arpad Horvat; Dr Branislav Ivanovic; Sasa Ivanoski; Vladan Janovic; Major General Branko Jovanovic; Ljubisa Korac; Laslo Kovac, MA; Dr Radomir Lukic, member of the academy; Dusan Marinkovic; Gordana Mataija; Dr Gaso Mijanovic; Zoran Miskovic; Bogoljub Nedeljkovic; Radmila Nesic; Bosa Nenadic; Ognjen Okiljevic, MA; Dr Mirko Perovic; Vicentije Petkovic; Dr Gojko Prodanic; Dr Radoslav Ratkovic; Mirjana Sabljak; Miodrag Simic; Ratomir Slijepcevic; Dr Marta Struharikova; Dr Mijat Sukovic, member of the academy; Dr Miodrag Trifunovic; Vera Terzijevo-Trojacanec; Ivan Tosevski; Stanko Trajkovski; Dr Lozje Ude; Dr Petar Vajovic; Momcilo Vucinic; Dr Miodrag Zecevic; and Natalija Ojleska (secretary); Bacic; Dr Nikola Balog; Dr Dusan Cotic; Djordje Djurkovic; Ljubisa Korac; Laslo Kovac, MA; Bosa Nenadic; Natalija Ojleska; Vicentije Petkovic; Dr Boris Petkovski; Dr Gojko Prodanic; Ratomir Slijepcevic; Dr Marta Struharikova; Dr Petar Vajovic; and Dr Miodrag Zecevic; and Gordana Lazarevic and Milan Stankovic (secretaries of the editorial group).

Working Group To Prepare the Section of the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management on the Conduct of Personnel Policy, the Electoral System, and Performance of Social and Public Office

Zvonko Spoljar, MA, (leader of the working group), Jan Sirka (leader of the subgroup for personnel policy), Dr Ciril Ribaric (leader of the subgroup for the electoral system), Muharem Adenalic, Azem Zulficari, Andon Mojsov, Miro Gosnik, Miodrag Bogdanovic, Dr Miodrag Visnjic, Nik Ljumezi, Mirko Boskovic, Danilo Miranovic, Milorad Indic, Lazar Djodjic, Zoran Slavujevic, Ljubomir Bulatovic, Dinko Jelic, Branislav Grbic, Vlada Aritonovic, Ranko Raskovic, Aleksandar Zivkovic, Nikola Stefanovic, MA, Sinisa Pudar, Jelisaveta Simeunovic, Dr Franc Grad, Ljiljana Gakovic, Sergije Pegan, Ljiljana Benac, and Svetozar Markovic, and Dr Milan Jovanovic and Tamara Orlandic (secretaries of the subgroups).

Appendix IV. Survey of the Published Documents of the Federal Social Council for Affairs of the Social System Which Have Significance for the Functioning of the Political System

Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self Management (Draft), Belgrade, July 1985, and the following separate documents:

(a) "Neka osnovna pitanja samoupravnog odlucivanja radnika u organizacijama udruzenog rada" [Certain Basic Issues in the Self-Management Decisionmaking of the Workers in Organizations of Associated Labor], Belgrade, March 1985;

(b) "Ostvarivanje samoupravljanja u drustvenim delatnostima" [Achievement of Self-Management in the Social Services], Belgrade, December 1984;

(c) "Problemi funkcionisanja mesnih zajednica" [Problems of the Functioning of Local Communities], Belgrade, December 1984;

(d) "Analiza ostvarivanja delegatskih odnosa u skupstinskom sistemu" [Analysis of the Achievement of Delegate Relations in the Assembly System], Belgrade, January 1985;

(e) "Ostvarivanje ustavnog koncepta drustveno-politickih zajednica" [Achievement of the Constitutional Concept of Sociopolitical Communities], Belgrade, January 1985;

(f) "Kriticka analiza delovanja subjektivnih cinilaca u politickom sistemu socijalistickog samoupravljanja" [Critical Analysis of the Activity of the Subjective Factors in the Political System of Socialist Self-Management], Belgrade, December 1984.

(g) "Ostvarivanje kadrovske politike, izbornog sistema i vrsenje drustvenih i javnih funkcija" [Achievement of Personnel Policy, the Electoral System, and Performance of Social and Public Office], Belgrade, December 1984;

(h) "Ostvarivanje ustavnosti i zakonitosti i drugih funkcija pravnog sistema" [Achievement of Constitutionality and Legality and Other Functions in the Legal System], Belgrade, February 1985.

Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program:

Vol 1:

- (a) Basic Premises of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program;
- (b) Anti-Inflation Program;
- (c) Problems of Employment and Lines of Activity To Resolve Them;
- (d) Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program for Housing and Municipal Services and Utilities;
- (e) Elements of the Policy and System of Foreign Economic Relations.

Vol 2:

- (a) Long-Range Program for Development of Agroindustrial Production;
- (b) Bases and Framework of Long-Range Social Welfare Policy;
- (c) Policy of Development of the Social Services as a Factor in Economic Stabilization.

With the appendix: "Positions of the Federal Social Councils on the Joint Foundations of the System of Associated Labor and Resources To Meet Common Needs in the Social Services."

Vol 3:

- (a) Foundations for the Strategy of Technological Development;
- (b) Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program in the Sector of Transportation;
- (c) Strategy of Yugoslavia's Long-Range Energy Development;
- (d) Position and Development of the Small Business Sector.

Vol 4:

- (a) Adaptation of the Economic System to the Requirements of Stabilization;
- (b) Development of the Legal System From the Standpoint of Economic Stabilization;
- (c) The Regional Aspect of Yugoslavia's Development;

(d) Strategy and Foundations of Development Policy;

(e) Concluding Section of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program.

"Aktuelna pitanja drustvene uloge i daljeg razvoja naucnog rada u SFRJ" [Current Problems of the Social Role and Further Development of Scientific Work in the SFRY], with the supplement "Place and Role of Science in Our Society," Belgrade, 1983.

Views of the Federal Social Council on Affairs of the Social System:

A) On the Economic Infrastructure:

(a) "Samoupravno interesno organizovanje na nivou federacije u određenim delatnostima materijalne proizvodnje" [Self-Management Organization Based on Interest at the Federal Level in Certain Activities in the Sector of Material Production], Belgrade, 1978;

(b) "Dalji razvoj drustveno-ekonomskih odnosa u zeleznickoj privredi" [Further Development of Socioeconomic Relations in the Railroad Industry], Belgrade, 1980;

(c) "Dalji razvoj drustveno-ekonomskih odnosa u oblasti putne privrede" [Further Development of Socioeconomic Relations in the Sector of the Highway-Related Industry], Belgrade, 1981;

(d) "Dalji razvoj drustveno-ekonomskih odnosa u elektroprivredi" [Further Development of Socioeconomic Relations in the Electric Power Industry], including a survey of those relations, Belgrade, 1981;

(e) "Dalji razvoj drustveno-ekonomskih odnosa u oblasti vodoprivrede" [Further Development of Socioeconomic Relations in the Sector of Water Management], Belgrade, 1983;

(f) "Dalji razvoj drustveno-ekonomskih odnosa u postansko-telegrafsko-telefonskom saobračaju" [Further Development of Socioeconomic Relations in PTT], Belgrade, 1983.

B) Concerning the Social Services:

(a) "Zajednicke osnove sistema udruzivanja rada i sredstava za zadovoljavanje zajednickih potreba u drustvenim delatnostima" [Joint Bases of the System for Pooling Labor and Resources To Meet Common Needs for the Social Services], jointly with the Federal Social Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy, Belgrade, 1981;

(b) "Ostvarivanje samoupravnih drustveno-ekonomskih odnosa u drustvenim delatnostima" [Achievement of Self-Management Socioeconomic Relations in the Social Services], jointly with the Federal Social Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy, Belgrade, 1977;

(c) "Osnivanje samoupravnih interesnih zajednica i organizovanje njihovih skupstina" [Establishment of Self-Managing Communities of Interest and Organization of Their Assemblies], Belgrade, 1974.

C) On Social Planning:

(a) "Dogradnja sistema drustvenog planiranja" [Additional Work on the System of Social Planning], jointly with the Federal Social Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy, Belgrade, 1984.

D) On the Housing Industry:

(a) "Razvoj drustveno-ekonomskih odnosa u oblasti stambenih odnosa" [Development of Socioeconomic Relations in the Sector of Housing Relations], Belgrade, 1980.

The documents listed above have been published by the Center for Workers' Self-Management, Bozidara Adzije 21, Belgrade.

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