



SCIENCE AND RESEARCH CENTRE KOPER
Institute of Historical Studies
ZNANSTVENO-RAZISKOVALNO SREDIŠČE KOPER
Inštitut za zgodovinske študije

International conference

**THE YUGOSLAV LABORATORY OF POLITICAL
INNOVATION: THE ORIGINS, SYNTHESIS AND
INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES OF
SELF-MANAGEMENT SOCIALISM**

Koper, 10th and 11th May, 2018

Mednarodna znanstvena konferenca

**JUGOSLOVANSKI LABORATORIJ POLITIČNE
INOVACIJE: IZVORI, SINTEZA IN MEDNARODNI
VPLIVI SAMOUPRAVNEGA SOCIALIZMA**

Koper, 10. in 11. maj 2018

**PROGRAMME AND ABSTRACTS
PROGRAM IN POVZETKI**

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SOCIALIZMA**

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FOREWORD

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

THE YUGOSLAV LABORATORY OF POLITICAL INNOVATION: THE ORIGINS, SYNTHESIS AND INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES OF SELF-MANAGEMENT SOCIALISM

After the split with the Cominform, the Yugoslav system confronted different agents and traditions of European leftist thought: on the one side, it was seen by Western left-wing circles as a laboratory of socialist innovation, while on the other, for East European politicians and intellectuals, it posed as a model of resistance toward Soviet hegemony. For that reason, we can observe an interesting, but until now scarcely researched and discussed, transnational political experiment that, as an attempt to organize society from the bottom up, attracted a lot of attention globally: from representatives of socialist and social democratic parties adhering to the Third International, progressive movements, experts in different areas of social organization, as well as supporters of the New Left.

Following the process of Yugoslav political innovation from a transnational perspective offers a unique opportunity to observe a conceptual and political interaction which went beyond the strict division between East and West and became an intriguing combination of liberal democracy and Marxism-Leninism that also unmasked the undemocratic aspects of the Yugoslav one-party system. The debate between Yugoslavia and Western Europe opened up many key problems of the time. Initially, in the contacts of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its mass organizations with the representatives of Western left-wing parties, and subsequently in a dialogue between Yugoslav left-wing intellectuals and the Western New Left. Together they addressed issues like resistance to Soviet hegemony over the international socialist movement; worked toward overcoming a bipolar division of the world, maintaining world peace, equal economic cooperation, and later anti-authoritarianism, local self-government, direct democracy, total de-alienation, environment preservation, etc.

The aim of this conference is first to reconstruct, from a time distance that allows us to access hitherto unavailable archival sources, the course of the Yugoslav–Western European debate on the perspectives of self-management socialism, and, secondly, to determine its significance for the development of a political theory and practice both in Tito’s Yugoslavia as well as in capitalist countries. Drawing on this context, the conference aims to ascertain which forms succeeded in penetrating Yugoslav society, and vice versa, the impact of the self-management experiment on industrial democracy in Western European and democratic transitions in Mediterranean countries from the early 1950s to the late 1980s. We would also like to address the question regarding how the Soviet Union and its satellite countries reacted to the Yugoslav alternative to the state-socialist model and how “Open Marxism” and Eurocommunism challenged its aspiration to present itself as a ‘third way’ alternative to liberal capitalism and state socialism.

ORGANISER:

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Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper, Inštitut za zgodovinske študije

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PROGRAMME

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

THE YUGOSLAV LABORATORY OF POLITICAL INNOVATION: THE ORIGINS, SYNTHESIS AND INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES OF SELF-MANAGEMENT SOCIALISM

Science and Research Centre Koper, 10th and 11th May, 2018

THURSDAY, 10th May, 2018

9:45–10:00

Welcome remarks

10:00–11:30

Chair: Jure Ramšak

Jože Pirjevec (Science and Research Centre Koper): *Domestic Roots and International Dimensions of Yugoslav Self-Management Socialism*

Stefan Gužvica (Central European University): *Retrospective Lessons: The Impact of Yugoslav Communist Emigres in Interwar Czechoslovakia on the Postwar Yugoslav State*

Catherine Samary (Paris-Dauphine University): *Revisiting the 1960s in 2018: The Yugoslav Self-Management System at the Crossroads*

Discussion

11:30–12:00 Coffee break

12:00–13:30

Chair: Rinna Kullaa (University of Vienna/University of Tampere)

Aleksandar Životić (University of Belgrade): *The Foreign Political Circumstances of Introducing Self-Management in Yugoslavia, 1950–1951*

Mateja Režek (Science and Research Centre Koper): *The Formative Years of Yugoslav Self-Management Socialism and the Relations with the British Labour Party*

Aleksandar V. Miletić (Institute for Recent History of Serbia): *Yugoslav Communists and Scandinavian Socialists: The Beginnings of Cooperation, 1950–1953*

Discussion

13:30 Lunch at the venue

15:30–17:00

Chair: Manuel Loff

Frank Georgi (Pantheon-Sorbonne University): *Yugoslav Self-Management and the French Left, from the Fifties until the Eighties*

Dušan Marković (University of Belgrade): *Yugoslavia, International Politics and the Question of Transfer of Self-Management Ideas to France*

Bogdan Živković (Sapienza University of Rome): *Tito and Togliatti's Last Encounter – Forming of a Strategic Alliance*

Discussion

17:00–17:30 Coffee break

17:30–19:00

Chair: Albert Bing

Darko Štrajn (Educational Research Institute, Ljubljana): *The Politics and Aesthetics of Democratic Socialism in Yugoslav Modernity*

Una Blagojević (Central European University): *Yugoslav Critical Marxists and the International Philosophical Problem of Self-Management Socialism*

Jure Ramšak (Science and Research Centre Koper): *Student Radicalism and the Liminality of Yugoslav Socialism*

Discussion

19:00 Dinner at the venue

FRIDAY, 11th May, 2018

9:30–11:00

Chair: Igor Duda

Benedetto Zaccaria (European University Institute): *A Laboratory of Industrial Democracy: Yugoslav Self-Management and Western Europe during the Long 1970s*

Ivan Obadić (University of Zagreb): *Searching for a New Socialism: Sicco Mansholt and Yugoslav Socialist Experiment*

Petar Dragišić (Institute for Recent History of Serbia): *Yugoslavia and Italian Eurocommunism: Yugoslav Perceptions of Ideological and Political Orientation of the PCI in the Berlinguer Era*

Discussion

11:00–11:30 Coffee break

11:30–13:00

Chair: Frank Georgi

Abdón Mateos (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid):
The Idea of Self-Management in Spain in the 1970s

Manuel Loff (University of Porto): *Self-Management and the Ideological
Dispute in Portuguese Revolution, 1974–76*

Alan Granadino (European University Institute): *Self-Management and the
Iberian Transitions to Democracy: Meanings and Uses of the Concept autoges-
tión /autogestão in the Discourses of the Portuguese PS and the Spanish PSOE
in the mid-1970s*

Discussion

13:00 Lunch at the venue

15:00–17:30

Chair: Goran Musić (Central European University)

Igor Duda (Juraj Dobrila University of Pula): *Consumer Protection in the
System of Yugoslav Self-Management and Associated Labour: Consumer
Councils in Croatia*

Martin Blasius (Humboldt University of Berlin): *Self-Management
Socialism and the Internationalisation of National Sport*

Milan Piljak (Institute for Recent History of Serbia): *Self-government as
a Possible Solution for Crisis in Central Planning Economies of the Eastern
Block during the 1960s: Bulgarian Case*

Albert Bing (Croatian Institute of History): *Socialist Self-Management
between Politics and Economy in the Last Decade of the SFRY*

Discussion

Conclusion

19:00 Dinner

ABSTRACTS

DOMESTIC ROOTS AND INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF YUGOSLAV SELF-MANAGEMENT SOCIALISM

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The paper aims to outline the idea of Yugoslav self-management socialism as shaped in the mind of Edvard Kardelj, the only ideologist to build on and refine it to the very end of Tito's era. Others either died too soon (e.g., Moša Pijade, Boris Kidrič) or were ousted and renounced it (e.g., Milovan Djilas). My starting point is the hypothesis that Kardelj encountered the concept of 'self-management' in the monumental work *Socialism* written by the Catholic priest Janez E. Krek, who tried to introduce the positions of the *Rerum Novarum* encyclical issued by Pope Leo XIII into Slovene political and social realities at the turn of the 20th century. This notion had first been developed after World War I by another Catholic thinker, Andrej Gosar, who was warming up to a 'self-managing class society.' Although the young Edvard Kardelj was at the time an orthodox 'Bolshevik' and as such wanted to shape the Slovene and Yugoslav societies after the Soviet model, this did not prevent him from being able to take a critical stance. His experience in Moscow during the years of Stalinist terror influenced his belief that socialism could also be developed in ways more acceptable to the domestic situation. First expressing his conviction that there exist various possible paths to socialism in 1943, during the National Liberation War, he began to elaborate the idea more systematically after the liberation and especially after Tito's rift with Stalin in 1948. From that moment onwards, Kardelj stood at the forefront of the battle for 'socialism with a human face,' which would rely on European thinkers and experience, starting with Marx and Engels, the Paris Commune, as well as French utopian socialists, primarily Proudhon. Through his opposition to 'Genghis Khan,' as Kardelj referred to Stalin, he tried to forge contacts with western European social democrats and socialists, finding like-minded counterparts open to dialogue, particularly among the Scandinavians, Germans, British, French, Belgians, and, later, among 'Eurocommunists.' The divide between Kardelj and his interlocutors arose in regard to perceptions of democracy. While the latter were betting on or discovering democracy

as an expression of political pluralism, Kardelj was building an ideal of self-management direct democracy to be applied top-down by the Communist Party. In the search of such social order and through his sharp polemic with Moscow, he designed a singular normative system, which, however, proved unrealistic and collapsed in a few years together with Yugoslavia.

RETROSPECTIVE LESSONS: THE IMPACT OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST EMIGRES IN INTERWAR CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON THE POSTWAR YUGOSLAV STATE

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In the interwar period, Prague was one of the main centers of Yugoslav political emigration. Czechoslovakia was a democratic republic and many Yugoslavs understood that they could use the democratic atmosphere in Prague to propagate views that were illegal in their country. A significant majority of these emigres were communists, and they would later rise to leading positions in the postwar Yugoslav state. The number of figures significant for the history of socialist Yugoslavia that gathered in Prague in the 1930s is striking. For a while, the entire Politburo of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had its headquarters there. Furthermore, there were over twenty-five Spanish Civil War volunteers and seven People's Heroes of Yugoslavia among the emigres. These individuals would become some of the most respected and influential Yugoslav diplomats, legislators, ideologues, and cultural workers in the post-World War II period. Among the notable emigres in Prague were Veljko Vlahović, Rodoljub Čolaković, Gojko Nikoliš, Lazar Udovički, Ivo Vojvoda, Vlajko Begović, and Oskar Danon.

This paper will examine their memoirs and other writings in order to assess the impact that the experience of living in a democratic Czechoslovak state in the interwar period had on their subsequent ideological formation. I will show that, at the time, they mostly saw Czechoslovakia's democracy as a means to an end, using it merely to pursue a communist agenda while remaining attached to the ideal of the Soviet Union. Following the Tito-Stalin split, however, they retrospectively learned many of the lessons of the Czechoslovak democracy, aspiring to shape their own thinking and their own state according to this model, albeit within a Marxist-Leninist framework. I will pay particular attention to the contrast between the older communists who made up the party rank-and-file and who at times maintained their dogmatic views after 1948, and the young communist students who often radicalized

upon arrival to Prague by observing the differences between Czechoslovakia and their country of origin. This generation of students underwent its own ideological formation during the Popular Front period, making them more likely to embrace a plurality of opinions on the left. Ultimately, I will use the case study of the Yugoslav communist students in Prague to argue that this generational shift in the second half of the 1930s helped facilitate the transition away from Stalinism in the 1950s.

REVISITING THE 1960S IN 2018: THE YUGOSLAV SELF-MANAGEMENT SYSTEM AT THE CROSS-ROADS

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Looked from 2018, the 1960s appear “in the middle” of the “October’s century” - a hundred year after the first revolution which challenged the world capitalist order. The Yugoslav revolution was another moment of the nonlinear “Soviet century” marked by a second front of conflicts, those against the Stalinist hegemony, leading to the 1948’s Tito/Stalin split. The introduction of self-management “from above” was an answer to such a trauma, with ambivalent features, but opening a unique experience.

Revisiting the Yugoslav conflicts 20 year after the split with Stalin in the context of international dynamics of the 1960s, I will first discuss, how far the Yugoslav self-management system was still at the cross-roads in that phase, within its own internal and international conflicting orientations since the revolution: I will argue that the whole accumulation of Yugoslav experiences and resistances, on several fronts, and the left oriented proposals advanced in Yugoslavia in the late 1960s permitted (and still do permit) to understand it as a “concrete utopia” of how to overcome both alienation by the state and alienation by the market through a democratic self-management system “from bottom to top”.

I will then stress the factors, which prevented the Titoist regime and any pro-self-management left currents from becoming at that time a consistent socialist alternative to dominant conflicting systems of capitalism and centrally planned-socialism. That opened the way to the transformation of bureaucratic forces within the single party systems into bourgeois ones – and to the combined and final destruction of the Yugoslav social and confederal system at the end of the 1980s.

The Yugoslav self-management system represents a unique theoretical and experimental asset to draw the balance-sheet of “real socialist” countries, updating the debates on the building of socialism. Those reflections can be linked with the most advanced experiences aiming at establishing and

managing “commons” against any fatalism of the “tragedy of commons”. They raise as a central issue the status of human being (in all his/her complex and combined individual and collective dimensions) as self-manager – which needs the invention of a system of democratic “power” of decision-making and evaluation of results permitting the full expression of self-management rights and progressive potential. Such a concrete utopia, needed against the world social and environmental crises, cannot “exist” as a consistent alternative to the existing global capitalist order, at a local or even national level alone.

THE FOREIGN POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF INTRODUCING SELF-MANAGEMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA, 1950–1951

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The beginning of the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Cominform countries put Yugoslavia in a specific foreign political situation that affected the internal events in the country. This change challenged the efforts to build a Soviet-type of socialism and Yugoslav reliance on the Soviet Union in international politics. The initial conviction of the Yugoslav party and state leadership that the problem would soon be solved, collided with reality in 1949. Intensive Soviet pressure, the second Cominform resolution on Yugoslavia, the increased military and economic pressure on Yugoslavia, but also the severe internal situation caused by drought and the lack of Soviet economic and technical assistance forced Yugoslav leadership to find a way out of the difficult economic situation and foreign policy blockade. The exit was found in opening relations with Western countries. Initially, it started with negotiations on necessary loans, and it continued with the talks on Western military and economic aid to Yugoslavia. However, the process of negotiations with the Western powers was burdened by various Western conditions. Initially, the conditions were related to technical issues, but in order to achieve a lucrative arrangement on military and economic aid, Yugoslavia was obliged to normalize relations with Greece, end hostilities with Germany, reduce its demands on Trieste and initiate a series of internal reforms. The changes in the internal plan included the changes in the approach towards rural areas and the end of the rural collectivization policy, as well as the liberalization of economic and political relations in the country. Also, Yugoslavia was required to change the postulates of its former form of „socialist state“ of the Soviet type. The exit was found in a combination of the implementation of the Marxist slogan “give factories to workers“, the withdrawal of the state from formal ownership in factories and other means of production and introduction of a collective management system. In this way, by combining Marxist views and formal wider ownership, the survival of the socialist system was ensured by approaching it to Western concepts of ownership and governan-

ce. Established as an answer to foreign policy circumstances, such a system became, by further modeling and adaptation, the key dogma of the Yugoslav road to socialism.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF YUGOSLAV SELF-MANAGEMENT SOCIALISM AND THE RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

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The expulsion of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from the Cominform in 1948 was a dramatic experience for Yugoslav communists. Immediately afterwards, the policy pursued by the Yugoslav leaders was all but consistent. On the one hand, they rejected the Soviet accusations and relentlessly persecuted the supporters of the Cominform resolution, while on the other they tried to rectify the mistakes of which Stalin charged them, enforcing measures to prove their loyalty to Moscow. Aggressive Stalinist methods only deepened political and economic crisis which soon forced them to search for new solutions. Faced with the Soviet economic blockade and the threat of military intervention, the Yugoslav leaders began to look towards the West. In order to provide Western economic and military aid, they tried to soften their image and prove that Yugoslavia is different from the Soviet Union, but at the same time they wanted to preserve their independence and radical ideological image. In 1949 and 1950, the Yugoslav leaders abandoned the rigid imitation of Soviet system and started to experiment with novel ideas. In contrast to the Eastern Bloc, where the state was growing stronger, they began to propagate Marx's thesis on the "withering away of the state"; they attempted to approach this ideal through the introduction of workers' self-management and social ownership as well as through the decentralisation of state power. The early 1950s brought about some radical shifts, particularly in ideological terms, though the actual practice lagged significantly behind the declarative and normative standards.

The paper will focus on the relations between the Yugoslav communists and the Western Europe's largest social democratic party – the British Labour Party. After the Tito-Stalin split, the Yugoslav leaders were eager to improve their image in the West and to reclaim their credibility in the eyes of the Western Left. In their desire to establish alternative international connections, the British Labour Party was the most suitable partner both in the

fields of foreign policy and ideology. In the beginning of the 1950s, the Yugoslav leaders managed to establish rather warm relationship with the Labour Party, especially with its left. Due to increasingly complex international developments in the mid-1950s as well as the drawbacks in Yugoslav domestic policy (e.g., Djilas affair), the relations between the two parties temporarily deteriorated. In the following years, however, pragmatism prevailed and the relations were based on pragmatic geopolitical considerations even more than before.

YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS AND SCANDINAVIAN SOCIALISTS: THE BEGINNINGS OF COOPERATION, 1950–1953

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After the Cominform Resolution (1948) and the beginning of the Yugoslav-Soviet conflict, the leadership of Yugoslavia faced a completely new foreign policy situation. Under threat from the East, Yugoslavia was forced to seek new ways of co-operation in foreign policy, now in the West, among ideological „enemies“. Cooperation with capitalist countries meant compromise for a socialist country. In such a situation, cooperation with the Socialist Left in the West was the least problematic alternative. That is why, in the early 1950s, the initial contacts were established with representatives of socialist parties and movements from Western Europe, including with the socialist and social-democratic parties of the Scandinavian countries.

The topic of this paper is a brief analysis of the first steps of cooperation between Yugoslav communists and Scandinavian socialists from 1950 to 1953. The analysis includes the most important meetings, correspondence and mutual exchanges of experiences and opinions of the leading representatives of both sides. The paper is an attempt to establish through the available historical sources the similarities and differences, possibilities and obstacles to the cooperation of Yugoslavia with the Scandinavian socialists in the political circumstances of the Cold War.

YUGOSLAV SELF-MANAGEMENT AND THE FRENCH LEFT, FROM THE FIFTIES UNTIL THE EIGHTIES

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In France, as elsewhere, the Soviet-Yugoslav split in 1948 sparked curiosity about a regime that still claimed to be communist, but was independent of Moscow. Was Titoism a Stalinism without Stalin, a return to original Leninism, a step towards democratic socialism or something different and new? The establishment of workers' councils in 1950, the theoretical texts on the 'state withering away' were at the heart of the Titoist propaganda in France spread first through the publications disseminated by the Yugoslav Information Agency in Paris, but mainly through articles, books and conferences by French intellectuals or delegations that had travelled to Belgrade. Socialist Yugoslavia's earliest supporters came from various milieus, ranging from Trotskyists to former communists or fellow travelers, as well as left-wing Christians and trade-unionists. The French socialist party SFIO gave clear support to Tito's regime and the workers' management experiment was carefully followed by several notable French socialists, including Guy Mollet. But their declarations of love remained platonic.

Until the mid-sixties, the interest in self-management in France was limited to a few small circles. But the Yugoslav reference was always in the background. Even the French new word "autogestion" was created as a literal translation of "samoupravljanje". During the sixties, left-wing sociologists and new left activists were more and more interested in studying the self-management experiment in Yugoslavia as a model of a "third way" between statist socialism and liberal capitalism. Left-wing activists of the former Christian trade-union CFDT used explicitly Yugoslav concepts to build a new socialist programme based on workers' councils and social property.

The French May 68 abruptly put the spotlight on the concept of "autogestion". The entire CFDT, the French new left party PSU (Michel Rocard) and even the French Socialist party (François Mitterrand) prepared social and political projects based on self-management socialism. There were a large

number of debates, conference, seminars, journals, books and surveys on this topic. And the reference to Yugoslavia became inevitable for anyone who wished to understand what self-management could actually mean on a practical level, even if the French “autogestionnaires” pretended to create their own model. But disillusionment increased towards the late 1970s. Political repression, economic crisis, and ethnic tensions in Yugoslavia caused much more worries in France than self-management system, which disappeared from the French left’s aspirations as a “horizon of expectation” at the beginning of the eighties.

YUGOSLAVIA, INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND THE QUESTION OF TRANSFER OF SELF-MANAGEMENT IDEAS TO FRANCE

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Since 1948 it became very important for Yugoslavia to attract international attention in order to decrease the Soviet threat and to gain the sympathies and compassion of the international public opinion. In these self-defining efforts, Yugoslav authorities tried to establish a direct connection between the country's economic results and the development of self-management, granting to the latter the most prominent role. Even more, they insisted that Yugoslavia gained an obligation towards the international labour movement to maintain the self-management experiment in order to help finding the way out of the authoritarian impasse inherited from the Soviet Union. Yugoslav institutions developed many means of communication for informing foreigners about self-management system, thus presenting Yugoslavia by this abundance of information as an open country, but also retaining the capacity to control the construction of its image by preventing the larger influence of the opponents' propaganda. France represented very important destination of this effort.

This paper aims to analyze the ways, content and nature of transfer of Yugoslav self-management ideas to France and to place them in the context of political and ideological needs of the French left at the time. Different political and intellectual groups of the French left had their own reasons for affection towards socialist Yugoslavia, which included various grounds ranging from philosophy to international politics. It is important to compare these approaches in order to define interest of the French left for Yugoslavia in global. On the other hand, the analysis will point out Yugoslav answers to these opportunities for cooperation. Finally, the intent of the paper is to make a contribution to a broader debate about Yugoslav usage of the internal situation as a resource for its foreign policy in the permanent quest for affirmation of its independence.

TITO AND TOGLIATTI'S LAST ENCOUNTER – FORMING OF A *STRATEGIC ALLIANCE*

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At the beginning of 1964, the year in which he died, Palmiro Togliatti had his last encounter with Josip Broz Tito. The importance of this meeting that I chose to be in the focus of my paper, its crucial role in the relations between the two parties, was so far best noticed by the Italian historian Silvio Pons who wrote that it was the point of forming a strategic alliance. The two decades from the end of the WWII to 1964 were a turbulent time in mutual relations, with periods of conflict (Trieste issue; Resolution of Cominform 1948; LCY's Seventh Congress in 1958) and episodes of close collaboration (for an example, Togliatti's visits to Belgrade in 1946 and 1956). Togliatti's last visit, in 1964, brought an end to these contradictory impulses of conflict and collaboration, thus becoming a watershed that set the foundations for years of close collaboration after it, fueled by unorthodox political ideas.

At one hand, my paper will examine the importance of the visit for bilateral relations. But on the other, and having in mind the topics that will be the focus of the conference, the primary goal of my paper will be to, examining this case study, give a deeper insight into the nature of the ideological conjecture at which the two parties finally came at that point. What issues, views, and ideas brought them together? What did the PCI choose from the Yugoslav experiment as suitable and applied it to its own policies? The call for papers already mentioned some of the most important ideas, like the resistance against the Soviet hegemony, overcoming the bipolar division of the world, the struggle for a more just and equal economic collaborations between nations, etc. On the other hand, as Togliatti's thinking was an impetus and an inspiration for Eurocommunism, this case study will also deal with the differences that created a complex situation in which the Yugoslav model and Eurocommunism were at the same time close and challenging to each other.

The paper will be primarily based on archival documentation from Belgrade (Archives of Yugoslavia) and Rome (Archives of the PCI, at Gramsci Institute), but also on relevant books and articles written by Silvio Pons, Marco Galeazzi, Saša Mišić, Patrick Karlsen and many others.

THE POLITICS AND AESTHETICS OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM IN YUGOSLAV MODERNITY

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One of the first Yugoslav films, which reflected the emerging urban middle class and new values of a cosmopolitan part of the younger generation, was Boštjan Hladnik's film *Peščeni grad* (A Sand Castle – 1962) shot at the time of the emerging Yugoslav “experiment” in the so-called market socialism. The film reminds one of Jean-Luc Godard and his work *Pierrot le Fou* (1965), which was actually shot three years later than Hladnik's. Hladnik's Milena vanishes on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea at the end of the film and so does Godard's Ferdinand. At the end of Hladnik's film, viewers are told by a doctor from a psychiatric hospital that the traumatized girl was born in a concentration camp. The character of the girl, born in the troubled times of World War II and living in the times of illusionary normalcy thus stands for an identity problem of the whole generation of the modernist period.

The Hladnik's film can be perceived as a part of evidence that the times of socialism – in Yugoslavia and elsewhere in the Eastern and Central Europe – were not just a “black hole of history”. On the contrary, some periods in Yugoslavia were artistically and intellectually highly productive. Hladnik (1929–2006) himself studied film directing in Paris, where he worked, among others, with a renowned *nouvelle vague* author Claude Chabrol. Especially after the opening of Yugoslavia to the West after the clash with Stalin's Russia, such contacts were nothing exceptional. Numerous international communications between the then younger generations brought about “western type” left-wing student movements in some Yugoslav republics. These movements were interwoven with some currents among intellectuals, who openly co-operated with Western counterparts in the fields of critical theory and New Left politics. The movements, which could be labelled as movements for democratic socialism, were most loudly expressed in student demonstrations in 1968 and at the occupation of Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana in 1971.

YUGOSLAV CRITICAL MARXISTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEM OF SELF-MANAGING SOCIALISM

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The Yugoslav Marxist Humanist orientation centered around the journal *Praxis* emerged precisely in the context in which the Yugoslav political elite strove to distinguish itself from its Soviet counterpart, but also from Western capitalist countries. Their main motto was the “critique of all existing conditions”—the first step to free Marxism from dogma and to reconstitute it as a living, critical theory. True to their theoretical Marxist Humanist convictions, they approached both socialism and self-management as something non-national. As Gajo Petrović of the Praxis circle argued: “Neither socialism nor Marxism is something strictly national, so Marxism cannot be Marxism, or socialism socialism, if we enclose ourselves in narrow national frames.” Their devotion to internationalism was also reflected in the journal’s Advisory Council, founded in 1966, which included Marxist and non-Marxist intellectuals from England, the United States, East and West Germany, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, to name just the countries of the main representatives. Although the Praxis philosophers and sociologists generally saw Yugoslavia to be the “first successful implementation of an integrated system of workers’ self-management,” they constantly criticized its insufficient application. Instead of leading to a freer and less alienated society, the system of self-management, as enacted by the authorities, led to an excessive decentralization of the Yugoslav state and the rise of a new bourgeoisie. This consequently rendered the working class fragmented, and thus it, according to Svetozar Stojanović, “naturally displays egoism and particularism.” Approaching the Praxis’ Korčula Summer School and the journal as the hubs of international exchanges of ideas, I will look at the questions of convergence and divergence of the dialogue between international intellectual groups. The aim of my presentation is to precisely look into the debates circling around the question of self-management socialism as conceptualized by the critical leftist thinkers from Yugoslavia and abroad. I will base my inquiries on the journal *Praxis* as well as the letters and manuscripts found in the archives.

STUDENT RADICALISM AND THE LIMINALITY OF YUGOSLAV SOCIALISM

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This paper discusses the question of how to recognize the most problematic aspects of the Yugoslav late-socialist social contract through an analysis of left-wing social criticism, which in Slovenia and Yugoslavia gathered the greatest momentum in the early 1970s, at the time of the student movement. Apart from some recent exceptions, the Yugoslav student movement is usually analyzed within the realm of domestic economic and political circumstances, yet the issues such as the student problematization of technological progress and the cult of “bourgeois” successfulness assumed by both market-oriented party-liberals and the conservative bureaucratic structures, require analyses that surpass national fixations and place the phenomenon in the context of global history.

Using a transnational approach, I will attempt to tackle the wide gamut of provocative social criticism, which at times radically encroached upon the conventions of “real” self-management socialism by introducing an eclectic language and methods of the western New Left, Trotskyism and Marxist humanism into the Yugoslav and particularly Slovenian environment. Just like in Western Europe and in the USA, student criticism in Yugoslavia was first spurred by global issues, such as neocolonialism and the Vietnam War, but ended up targeting the core of the domestic sclerotic regime. The student engagement focused on neo-Marxist criticism of alienation, bureaucracy, technocracy and class division. By denouncing alienation, lack of democracy, corrupted foreign policy and party monopoly, students were somehow taking similar steps as the founding fathers of the Yugoslav self-management in the 1950s, only that their criticism was not aimed at Soviet Stalinism, but rather at Yugoslav Titoism. Twenty years later, the students’ engagement with politics exposed the limits of Tito’s and Kardelj’s socialist democracy, revealing its anti-intellectualism and causing disillusionment with the Yugoslav experiment.

A LABORATORY OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY: YUGOSLAV SELF-MANAGEMENT AND WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE LONG 1970S

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This paper will focus on the reception of the Yugoslav model of self-management in Western Europe from the late 1960s to the late 1970s. It shows that, faced with the rise of social discontent in the late 1960s, Western European leaderships looked for new models of relations in the field of labour: the idea therefore developed of enhancing ‘labour management’, in order to improve democracy at the industrial level and reduce workers’ alienation. Such reformist zeal developed out of an intense period of academic and political debates over the best way to reform industrial relations. Within such debates, the Yugoslav model of self-management featured prominently, as it seemed to offer a ‘third way’ able to conjugate socialism with the free market. Western European élites at all levels – political, economic and academic – focused in particular on the system of ‘self-management’ based on the direct participation of workers in the management of socially-owned enterprises. International organizations such as the ILO and academic networks across the Iron curtain focused on the Yugoslav model and contributed to bringing the issue of ‘labour-management’ to the forefront of the political agenda of Western European socialist and social-democratic parties. This is demonstrated by the exponential rise of state interventionism in the field of manpower and industrial democracy throughout the 1970s. Based on a comparative archival analysis focusing on reception and political debates on the Yugoslav model of self-management in Italy, France, West Germany, Great Britain and the European institutions, this essay concludes that the Yugoslav model of self-management taught Western Europe a lesson pointing at the ‘ideal’ virtues of workers’ involvement in the management of enterprises. Over all, the Yugoslav model played a fundamental role in shaping the Zeitgeist of the early 1970s, bearing witness of the theoretical contribution of the “Yugoslav laboratory” in the evolution of industrial relations in Western Europe.

SEARCHING FOR A NEW SOCIALISM: SICCO MANSHOLT AND YUGOSLAV SOCIALIST EXPERIMENT

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In December 1972, President of the European Commission Sicco Mansholt made an official visit to Yugoslavia. Mansholt was a convinced European federalist and one of the founding fathers of the European Economic Community who served as Vice-President of the Commission from 1958 to 1972, and then as President from 1972 until 1973. Mansholt was also one of Europe's leading socialists, who already in the 1960s advocated a more consistent pro-European direction of Socialist and Social Democratic parties in order to steer the European Community in a socialist direction. By the early 1970s, these parties dominated much of the decision making in the Community. At this moment, however, the "Golden Age" of European Social Democracy was coming to an end, and there was a wider debate of how the European left should respond to the complex challenges and the crisis of social democracy. Mansholt played a prominent role in this debate. His visit to Belgrade aimed not only to strengthen the friendly relationship between the European Community and Yugoslavia, but also to help him to become better acquainted with the Yugoslav Self-Management Socialism.

Based on the Yugoslav and European Community archival sources, this paper aims to shine a new light on the Yugoslav-western European debate regarding the problems and future of European Social Democracy and the Yugoslav Self-Management in the early 1970s. The first part contextualizes the research by providing background information on how did the Yugoslav authorities formulate their views and policies towards the EEC and how did two parties establish diplomatic and trading relations by 1970. The second part gives a brief overview of the development of Social Democracy in the early 1970s. Finally, the last part offers some important insights on the course of the debate on the perspectives of self-management socialism in the context of the crisis of European Social Democracy through an examination of meetings between Mansholt, Tito, and Kardelj.

YUGOSLAVIA AND ITALIAN EUROCOMMUNISM: YUGOSLAV PERCEPTIONS OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF THE PCI IN THE BERLINGUER ERA

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The relations between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (League of Communists of Yugoslavia) and the Italian Communist Party in the first post-war decade were negatively affected both by the Italian-Yugoslav territorial dispute (the Trieste question) and the Tito-Stalin split in 1948. However, the provisional solution of the Trieste crisis in 1954 (Memorandum of Understanding in London) and the beginning of the Yugoslav-Soviet rapprochement in the mid-1950s paved the way to normalization of the relations between the Yugoslav communists and their Italian counterparts – *Partito Comunista Italiano*. The close cooperation between the two communist parties in the 1960s and 1970s was reflected in the intensive exchange of delegations, the frequent contacts at the highest level (Tito's numerous meetings with Togliatti, Longo and Berlinguer) and, last but not least, in the Yugoslav financial support for the PCI.

The paper focuses on the relations between the Yugoslav regime and the *Partito Comunista Italiano* from Berlinguer's appointment as general secretary of the PCI in 1972 to his death in 1984. The research will deal with Yugoslav views on the major theoretical facets of the Italian Eurocommunism as well as with Yugoslav perceptions of the political strategy of the PCI in the Berlinguer era ("compromesso storico"). Besides, the paper will examine the ideological interchange between the two communist parties, the common elements of their theoretical postulates as well as the differences between Tito's and Berlinguer's road to socialism from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s. Another important topic of the presentation will be an analysis of the position of the Yugoslav regime on the disagreements between the PCI and Moscow (and the Soviet satellites) in time of Eurocommunism.

The research is based on an analysis of archive sources (from the Archive of Yugoslavia and the Diplomatic Archive of Serbia), contemporary press articles, published documents and secondary sources.

THE IDEA OF SELF-MANAGEMENT IN SPAIN IN THE 1970S

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The idea of self-management adopted by Tito's Yugoslavia, advocated for property and collective management of the means of production, but it preserved some market features in contrast to the model of Soviet central planning. The idea of self-management, despite its libertarian history until the Civil War, was adopted in Spain by the New Trade Union Left of Catholic origin in the middle of the 1960s.

Self-management socialism, which advocated a third way between Soviet Communism and social democracy (which merely aimed to reform capitalism), received a new boost in Spain after the May 68. In France, Michel Rocard's PSU and the CDFT Union of Christian origin were the main standard-bearers of self-managed socialism.

One of the groups that were imbued with this ideological modulation was the Workers Trade Union (USO). The foreign delegation of USO had settled in Paris and maintained close relations with the self-governing French CFDT. The ideological accumulation had as a consequence a split of USO in the Peninsular Council III held in 1971, in which it adopted the principles of the so-called self-managed socialism, as well as worker councilism. USO retained the aspiration to self-management after a section turned towards UGT in December 1977. It was not until a new split towards CCOO of the self-management Socialist stream took place in 1980, that the USO officially abandoned these principles. A further political family that adopted federalist principles and self-managed socialism was the Carlist party, led by Carlos Hugo de Borbón Parma in 1972. Even representatives of the Carlists thus visited Yugoslavia several times, where they met Marshal Tito.

The relationship of the established Socialists with the principles of self-management was more ambiguous. The French Socialist Party sponsored the renovation of the PSOE and UGT since 1970, and the idea of a Mediterranean socialism departing from both the European social democracy and communism was adopted by these organizations until at least 1978, after

the unification of socialist forces had been achieved. However, only during the first Congress in Spain in December 1976 did the idea of self-management gain some acknowledgment in the PSOE. Claims to self-management were progressively abandoned by the PSOE. After the absorption of other socialist parties and USO, during the extraordinary Congress of September 1979, which brought with it the return of Felipe González to the general secretariat, the idea of economic socialization vs capitalism was still nominally maintained.

Self-management, as well as libertarian and federalist tradition, survived as a political culture or the „spirit“ of some federations of the PSOE, in particular, of the *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya*. It must be kept in mind that federalism and self-management formed part of the constituent declaration of the PSC in July 1978, so that the assertion of the ultimate goal of a self-management socialist society lived on in the successive congresses of the party during the 1980s.

SELF-MANAGEMENT AND THE IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTE IN PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION, 1974-76

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The Yugoslav self-management socialist model was one of the ideological references for Portuguese left-wing organisations in the 1960s and early 1970s, amidst several competing others, especially Cuban, Chinese and Soviet. While the Communists (PCP), clearly hegemonic amongst the anti-fascist opposition until 1974, systematically stressed the „originality“ of the Portuguese Revolution after spending the 1960s claiming for their „independence“ in the face of the Soviet and Chinese types of socialism, progressive Catholics, their main allies in the labour movement, were (although critical) growingly attentive to it. Socialists (ASP/PS), on their part, almost inexistent until the 1960s, assuming themselves as the heirs of a 1920s and 30s Republican economic agenda, sensed from 1970 onwards how useful adopting elements of both the Yugoslav model as well as of Eurocommunism could become embarrassing to the PCP, allowing the PS during the 1974-76 Revolution to compete with the Communists for the definition of a „Portuguese way to socialism“. Together with „worker control“, references to „self-management“ are included in the 1976 Constitution, somehow attached to co-operative economy. Six years later, in 1982, Socialists and the right-wing parties agreed to dilute into ineffectiveness the social and economic chapter of the Constitution. In 1989, they definitely eliminated from it most of the economic agenda of the Revolution, „self-management“ included.

SELF-MANAGEMENT AND THE IBERIAN TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY: MEANINGS AND USES OF THE CONCEPT “AUTOGESTIÓN/AUTOGESTÃO” IN THE DISCOURSES OF THE PORTUGUESE PS AND THE SPANISH PSOE IN THE MID-1970S

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At the beginning of the 1970s, immediately before the transitions to democracy in the Iberian Peninsula, the outlawed Portuguese and Spanish socialist parties (PS and PSOE, respectively) underwent ideological renovations. In a clandestine context, influenced by the ideological renovation of the French Socialism, both PS and PSOE adopted a renewed commitment to the rupture with capitalism, to “autogestão/autogestión” (workers’ self-management), and they considered the possibility to collaborate with their compatriot communist parties. Theoretically, all this would allow the Iberian left to advance towards socialism respecting freedom. This ideological change, especially the issue of the union of the left, concerned the main European social democrat parties of the Socialist International, to which PS and PSOE belonged. Hence, the European parties tried to promote ideological moderation among the Iberians providing them ideological guidance as well as material and political support during the transitions to democracy.

The aim of this paper is to trace and discuss how PS and PSOE adopted and used the concept “autogestão/autogestión” in the context outlined above. By combining the theoretical approaches of conceptual history and cultural transfer, this paper will analyze the semantic evolution as well as the political use of this concept by both Iberian parties. Moreover, it will connect these parties’ adoption of self-management to the creation in the mid-1970s of an ephemeral ideological trend called Southern European socialism, which was sponsored by the French socialist party. This, in turn, will allow it to explore the connection between Southern European socialism and the Yugoslavian experience in workers self-management.

The main argument of this paper is that PS and PSOE borrowed the concept “autogestão/autogestión” mainly from the French socialism. Further-

more, they adapted it to their own specific political cultures and contexts. The emphasis of the Iberian socialists on workers' self-management responded to the need of these parties to compete for the hegemony within the Left—with the communists as well as with other socialist and leftist parties. Finally, the pressures and persuasion of the European social democracy against the union of the Left in the Iberian Peninsula pushed the Iberian parties to combine a moderate political practice with a radical rhetoric. Thus, the concept “autogestão/autogestión” became a temporary rhetorical device for PS and PSOE in their attempt to gain hegemony within the left, while at the same time they were abandoning the idea of the union of the left.

CONSUMER PROTECTION IN THE SYSTEM OF YUGOSLAV SELF-MANAGEMENT AND ASSOCIATED LABOUR: CONSUMER COUNCILS IN CROATIA

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Consumer councils were established in Yugoslavia during the fifties, immediately after self-management was introduced, but their influence gradually faded. Late sixties were the time of their revival within the new system of local communities. Moreover, the 1974 Constitution guaranteed consumers the right to protection and the 1976 Associated Labour Act brought additional regulation of the role of the working man and citizen as a producer and a consumer. Stronger activities in this field coincided with the high level of purchasing power which occurred in the late seventies, thus increasing the interest in consumer rights. The initiative was placed within the Socialist Alliance of Working People and its consumer councils at the republic, municipal and local levels. The documents of the Croatian Consumer Council are used as the key source in this republican case study: Council's documents, downward communication and minutes from meetings are evidence of the accomplishments and failures in establishing the protection system, activating citizens and raising their awareness. The idea was to "politicize" the consumers, turn them into "an army of activists" or, in other words, to convince them to practice self-management and certain principles of direct democracy in their neighborhoods and in their leisure time. Council members debated the conflict between the two roles – producer and consumer – of the socialist working man and citizen. This "inner conflict" was to be prevented by social compacts and self-management agreements. These served to decrease the administrative interference on the part of the state, and moreover, to prevent the market from having the sole influence over this social relationship. The republican Consumer Council members were familiar with the consumer protection practices abroad. They also studied the operation of certain Western companies and made study visits. However, most of the work was done at that lowest level, in municipalities and local communities, where the implementation of the protection system often depended on spe-

cific circumstances thus causing differences and gaps between theory and practice, law and everyday life.

SELF-MANAGEMENT SOCIALISM AND THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF NATIONAL SPORT: PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL IN YUGOSLAVIA AND THE WESTERN GERMAN MODEL

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In 1967, the Football Association of Yugoslavia, governing the Socialist country's most popular sport, officially introduced a model of professionalism into top-level football following "Western", "Capitalist" logics. This remarkable step can, in the first place, only be understood by appreciating the fundamental tension between football as a modern performance and competition sport, and Socialist theory on the other – but it also sheds light on and a so-far-unnoticed field of exchange of ideas between Socialist Yugoslavia and Western Europe.

Like many European countries, Yugoslavia had seen professional football before World War II, but from 1945 the Communists imposed a new model of sport, based on mass participation, strict amateurism and political instrumentalization. These answers to the basic problem of including "modern" football into the framework of Socialist physical culture soon failed: from the beginning, top-level football was financed mainly from "black funds", and players were paid and traded illegally. Up into the 1960s, this "covered professionalism" typical for Socialist countries remained the rule, before it was brought down from within football world itself. Given the specific characteristics of Self-Management Socialism and its appeal, this development is very interesting.

Ultimately, sportive as well as general external factors were decisive for the introduction of professionalism: firstly, Yugoslavia's unique position in Europe and its economic and, to a certain degree, political openness towards Western Europe created new spaces for "Western" ideas in sport, and, more important, for actions, too: during the 1960s, more and more Yugoslav players were able to go abroad, creating a competition between Yugoslavia and the big Western European leagues, especially the 1963-founded Bundesliga in Western Germany.

In this context, the paper shows how the basic reforms in Yugoslav football in 1964/67 and the vivid discussions around them related to the introduction of an official, yet “domesticated” professionalism in the FRG a few years earlier and the positions of the domestic Left on this issue: on the one hand, it is shown in how far the Yugoslavs took Western German ideas as role models, trying to bring international-level football into a convincing and practicable relationship with Socialism. On the other hand, the question is, if it were German leftist thoughts or rather traditionalist convictions of “sportsmanship” underlying this influence on the development of Yugoslav professionalism. Finally, the contribution also gives insights into how Yugoslavia, its football and the underlying political-economic model were seen in the West.

SELF-GOVERNMENT AS A POSSIBLE SOLUTION FOR CRISIS IN CENTRAL PLANNING ECONOMIES OF THE EASTERN BLOCK DURING THE 1960S: BULGARIAN CASE

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Socialist Yugoslavia was unique in many ways, but two of its features specially dominated how it was perceived in the world. One was the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) and the other was self-management. However, self-management was something that had greater impact on Yugoslav society and economy and quickly became attractive solution for other countries in time of modernization and difficulties in central planning economy. Although forbidden in Eastern Block, Yugoslav self-management became useful experience and a possible solution for centrally planned economies of the socialist countries which were in strong Soviet sphere of influence. Direct copying of Yugoslav system was not ideologically possible, because it would undermine Soviet primacy in its sphere of influence. However, to certain extent it was done by Bulgaria in some segments of its economic system.

This article will investigate how crisis struck Bulgarian economy, efforts to find an efficient economic model in order to avoid bankruptcy and to preserve current political system. Yugoslavia was close and economically far more successful than Bulgaria; at the same time, it still had a communist party dominating political system and society. Who was the proponent of implementing Yugoslav solutions in Bulgaria? How successful was the whole process? These are the main research questions of this paper.

Global, or, better said, USSR factor will be taken into account. Firstly to understand the economic system, which was replicated through USSR's sphere of influence, secondly to show what were the difficulties it started to experience after Stalin's death and lastly to demonstrate what framework CPSU leadership gave to Bulgarian leadership in order to encourage economic reforms. In this sense, Bulgarian Communist Party maneuvered between double expectations: pressures to stabilize economy and remaining loyal to the USSR.

SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT BETWEEN POLITICS AND ECONOMY IN THE LAST DECADE OF THE SFRY

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The paper focuses on discussing the system of self-management in the period after the death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980. The deterioration of political and economic opportunities in Croatia and Yugoslavia resulted in the reactions of prominent intellectuals who analyzed the perspectives of the Yugoslav economic model. The paper discusses the contributions of some of the leading Croatian intellectuals, such as Branko Horvat, Marijan Korošić, Slavko Goldstein and others, who have considered the perspectives of Yugoslav model of self-management in the last decade of the SFRY. The paper also includes an analysis of the political and economic aspects of self-management and its heritage from a wider historical perspective.



