

AN EVALUATION AND AN ANALYSIS OF THE 1974 CONSTITUTION
OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

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ABBREVIATIONS

AVNOJ	: Anti-Fascist Council For the National Liberation of Yugoslavia
BOAL	: Basic Organizations of Associated Labour
CTUY	: Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia
FANLWV	: Federation of Associations of National Liberation War Veterans
FNRY	: The Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia
FPRY	: The Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia
LCY	: The League of Communist of Yugoslavia
SAWPY	: The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia
SFRY	: Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia
SR	: Socialist Republic
USYY	: The Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia
YPA	: Yugoslav People's Army

I. INTRODUCTION

The Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) embarked on a unique path of development in the 1950s, when it began in its attempt to establish a new social and economic order based on a system of self-management.

For the new social and economic order, the first basic document was the 1953 constitution after its first 1946 Constitution which was the model of Stalin's Soviet Constitution of 1936. The 1953 Constitution has established the self-management order only in economic areas. Ten years later, a new Constitution moved a stage further by expanding the self-management order to all other areas of the Society. The developments in self-management brought the fourth Constitution in 1974. The 1974 Constitution established the self-management as a norm system of election to the various legislative assemblies based on delegations.

While I was preparing this study I consulted governmental (official) documents, publications and aimed to make a descriptive survey as to the working and institutions of the Yugoslavian political framework. I started my research by explaining under two main headlines; the formation of the socio-economic structure of self-management and the formation of socio-political system of self-management.

According to the 1974 Constitution, as a structure of economic self-management, its main goal was to create an institutional environment that would provide workers with control over their workplaces and the economy. On the other hand political self-management was accepted to provide a way to deal with ethnic pluralism of Yugoslav society and enable different regional interests to be voiced, considered and harmonized.

Since 1950, Yugoslavia has tried to extend socio-economic system of self-management as the institutional framework for decision-making on

the social and economic matters. The 1950-1965 period was marked by gradual liberalization of the economy, continuing decentralization of decision-making and growing reliance on the market. These trends concluded in the economic reforms of the 1960s, when Yugoslavia opened its economy to the outside world, adopted a price structure and unified exchange rates, and began to use the market as the principal mechanism for its economy. The drive for decentralization and destatization stripped the state of many functions it previously performed, including the fiscal policy and planning. With the number of instruments of economic policy reduced, economic self-management was significantly weakened. The consequences of these changes influenced the self-management system. Professional managers and technocrats acquired such an overpowering position in decision-making in economy and the political system that self-management lost much of its practical meaning. The egalitarian power structure was gradually transformed into an elitist and technocratic power structure. Such tendencies threatened the self-management principles of solidarity and equity.

In the early 1970s Yugoslavia began to make changes in the system and a series of constitutional amendments were passed in 1971. Consolidating these changes a new vision was put forward in the 1974 Constitution.

The 1974 Constitution introduced important changes in the structure of the economy by breaking up enterprises into separate autonomous units called basic organizations of associated labour. This organizational decentralization is intended to broaden the control of people by increasing their decision-making rights in the system.

This study focuses upon the evaluation of the self-management in the SFRY and an analysis of its institutions which make up the new economical and political formation of the SFRY. It is designed to provide the researcher with the necessary background information on the socio-economic

and socio-political system of the SFRY who wants to do further research about the various specific issues of the political life in Yugoslavia.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The South Slav peoples have lived in the Balkans for over a thousand years, but during the whole of this time there have been only two short periods when a Yugoslav state existed. The first survived for three years from the declaration of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 1 December 1918 to the German invasion of April 1941. The second has existed since the end of Second World War and have been a more durable state than its predecessor.

A. TO THE POSTWAR PERIOD

The Great Slav influx began in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, and the eastern parts of the Balkan were peopled by Serbs and Bulgars and on the Western by Croats and Slovenians.

The social and political structure of the immigrant slav peoples is insufficiently known by contemporary writers, however, some writers emphasis on their strongly individualistic way of life. Procopius in his historical survey of the wars against the Persians and Vandals, uses the term "democracy" to chracterize the system of the Slavs. Blood and family relationships were the dominant forces in any social arrangement. Particular forms of domestic community surviving well in the nineteenth century such as the large family (zadruga) in the Dinaric region of the Western Balkans have been compared with those of the Slav races which developed from the special conditions of the migratory period. Larger territorial communities, often emerged after unions of individual families ruled by patriarchal "heads of the family" had formed village settlements with a common overload (Celnik). The territorial units of a tribal area developed as a rule around a fortress (grad). However, strong

racial separatism was an obstacle to establishing powerful large-scale associations, and the complicated physical features of South-eastern Europe did not favour a union of several districts under one prince (knez).⁽¹⁾

After the influx, the eastern slav groups developed under Byzantine influence, while the Western peoples came under the sway of Rome. Following the great split between Rome and Constantinople in 1054, the western slavs became Roman Catholics, while the eastern group came under the influence of Orthodox Church. The religious diversity later effected their life in all fields. The different slav-speaking national groups which together constitute the peoples of Yugoslavia have undergone different historical experiences. At various periods that all of them share but at other periods they have emphasized their differences. Usually it is a common external danger which makes them feel that they are first and foremost Yugoslavs, in other periods when external danger is absent, their historically rooted cultural differences come to the surface.

The Yugoslavian nation consciousness developed during the nineteenth century and came to the fruition in the twentieth, had two main strands. The first affected the lands to the north of the Sava-Danube line and also Dalmatia. These were the territories which were attached to the Habsburg Monarchy. The second was the in the Turkish-held lands, the South of the Sava and Danube. These consciousness realized the formation of a state after the First World War.

⁽¹⁾Edgar Hösch, The Balkans: A Short History from Greek Times to the Present Day, London, Western Services Ltd., 1972, p. 46.

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed on 1 December 1918 by Alexander Karadjordzevic. A week earlier, on 26 November the Montenegrins had deposed King Nikola and voted to join Serbia.

The new state's constitution was adopted on the Serbian national day, the feast of St. Vidovdan, 28 June 1921. The Vidovdan Constitution provided for a Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes under the hereditary, constitutional monarch of the Karadjordzevic dynasty. There was a single legislative chamber, the Skupstina, elected by proportional representation. The Council of Ministers was responsible both to the King and to the parliament and the King had much wider powers than customary in the practice of the Constitutional Monarchies of Western Europe. Local government was under the control of prefects (zupan), professional civil servants appointed by the king on the nomination of the minister of the interior. The Zupan's chief function was to see that the central government's orders were carried out in his province and to supervise the work at sub-prefects (Nacelnik), who administered the smaller districts within his province. The smallest unit of local government was the commune (opstina), headed by a major, whose election could be vetoed by the central government. Although there were elected councils at levels, their powers were limited and vital questions of finance were controlled by the central government. Such a highly centralised constitution, headed by a strong Serbian King, was completely contrary to the wishes of the federalists in Croatia and Slovenia.⁽²⁾

King Alexander introduced a regime of dictatorship in January 6, 1929. King Alexander did not intend to rule indefinitely without

⁽²⁾ Fred Singleton, The Twentieth Century Yugoslavia, London, The MacMillan Press, 1976, p. 75.

Constitutional sanction. In 1931 he introduced a new centralist constitution which gave wide powers to the King. A bicameral legislature, subservient to the royal will, was created and one of its first act was to give retrospective approval to all that had passed during the two years of open royal dictatorship.

In October 1934 King Alexander was murdered by "Ustase" assassins. Alexander's son Peter was a boy of ten years at time of his father's death and it was necessary to form a regency council to exercise the royal prerogatives. The senior regent, prince Paul, Peter's uncle got the power. He continued to operate the 1931 Constitution, but made conciliatory gestures towards the Croats, Slovenes and other opposition groups and turned a blind eye to strictly illegal emergence of moderate opposition groups.

The Anschluss of 1938 brought German troops to the Yugoslav borders, 6 April 1941 Nazis found the reason to invade Yugoslavia without a declaration of war, and eleven days later, the Yugoslav Army surrounded by Nazis. The King and the government fled the country. The Axis Powers promptly embarked on the partition of Yugoslavia, the largest parts of its territory were annexed, placed under military occupation by Nazi German, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria. They also helped to establish the "Independent State of Croatia", a kind of quisling state.

After the occupation, two different opposing groups began to fight against the occupants. The royal government-in-exile in London set up its "Cetnik" detachments in the country and appointed their leader, Draza Mihajlovic, Minister of Army. The second one was the "National Liberation Army" and "Partisan" detachments which were formed at the end of 1941.⁽³⁾

⁽³⁾ Nebojsa Tomasevic, Facts About Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Jugoslavenska Revija, 1982, p. 15.

As the time passed The National Liberation Army and Partisans increased their power among the country. The National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia grew at the following rate:

1941- 80,000; 1942= 150,000; 1943= 300,000; 1944= 500,000; in the final operations of 1945 there were 800,000 men and women under arms.⁽⁴⁾

B. THE FORMATION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Before the totally expulsion of Axis Powers in Yugoslavia, some steps were taken to establish the second south slay state. The first legislative and executive bodies of the new south slay state, were the direct descendants of the AVNOJ Council- Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia- and the National Liberation Committee which was elected at AVNOJ's second session in Jajce in 1943. As a concession to Allied opinion, the provincial government was enlarged by the inclusion of members having different view of the political ideology. When the new administration was formed in March 1945, there were communists and liberal ministers together in the government. Later liberal ministers lost their power and were isolated. In August 1945, People's Front was formed, which included many of non-communist individuals and organizations which had participated in the work of AVNOJ and in the liberation movements in the various regions, under the communist leadership. But later it was made impossible for parties outside the People's Front to campaign in the elections for the assembly, although an attempt was made

⁽⁴⁾ Bosko Todorovic, Yugoslavia's Total National Defense, Belgrade, Socialist Thought and Practice, 1980, p. 15,

by a group, led by pre-war Serbian politicians under the title of the United Democratic Opposition and by some members of the Croat Peasant Party. In protest against the methods used to silence opposition, the liberal ministers resigned from the government and decided not to take part in the elections. When the vote was taken on 11 November, a single list of candidates approved by the People's Front was presented to the electorate. Less than 10 percent of those who went to the poll's rejected the official list.

The first act of the newly elected Assembly was to depose the King and to give the state a new name - The Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. (Federativna Narodno Republika Jugoslavija). A new constitution was approved on 31 January 1946 and the Constituent Assembly turned itself into the First Parliament of the People's Republic.

The new state's first constitution was modelled on that of Stalin's Soviet Constitution of 1936. Although formally accepting the principle of federation, with the right of succession for the six federal republics, it was in fact a highly centralised state. The Federal Assembly was made up of a Federal Council elected directly by the people and a Council of Nationalities chosen by the parliaments of the six republics and the two autonomous units of Serbia.

There were two aspects of the Yugoslav Constitution of 1946 which were of special interest. Firstly, it made a serious attempt to deal with the nationality problem, bringing federal structure, secondly, it had a section on social and economic organization which wrote into the fundamental law of the state, the principles of a socialist economy.⁽⁵⁾ The presidential Council of the Assembly had the attributes of a corporate head

(5)

Fred Singleton, Yugoslavia: The Country and Its People, London, The Queen Anne Press Ltd., 1970, p. 55.

of state. Marshal Tito⁽⁶⁾ was the first premier of the first government appointed under the 1946 Constitution.

The 1946 Constitution declared that all authority is derived from the people and belongs to the people. According to the Constitution, all mineral wealth, power resources, means of communication and all foreign trade was under state control. Although private property rights are guaranteed, and the continuation of a private sector in industry was envisaged. The nationalization of the major industries created no great problem. Many of the mines had been owned by foreign companies, and the Germans who played an important in the manufacturing industries, had fled at the end of the war. The peasantry, who constituted about seventy percent of the population, presented a bigger problem. Land was taken from whom owned more than seventy-five acres, and for the Church, was forbidden to own more than ten hectares in any parish. Three million acres of farm land and a million acres of forest were taken from Churches and private companies. The forest land came under state ownership, and about half the farm land was redistributed to landless peasants. Peasants from poor farming areas in the south, were offered land on the more fertile northern lowlands where conditions were considered appropriate, the grants of land were made conditional upon the peasants forming cooperatives.

(6)

Josip Bronz Tito is the founder of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. He was born on May 25, 1892. After seventeen years old, he joined the trade union and the communist party. Toward the end of 1937, Tito took over leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and reinforced the political independence of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Shortly before the Second World War, the party organized under Tito's leadership, against the Nazis. After the war, action was taken under Tito's guidance to reconstruct the country. In the view of the historical role played by Josip Bronz, in May 1974, the Federal Assembly elected him President of the Republic for an unlimited period. He died in May 1980 when he was 88 years old.

Industrial planning was based on the assumption, that, in order to build a modern society there must be a heavy rate of investment in the basic heavy industries, and in the infrastructure of roads, railways and electric power projects. The success of the plan depended on the cooperation of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. Much of the machinery and plan required for the industrial program was to be paid for by the export of food and primary products to the Soviet Union and its associates. This cooperation was no longer forth-coming after 1948.

C. THE COMINFORM RESOLUTION

In June, 1948, the world became aware of a quarrel between the Yugoslav and Soviet leaders which had been simmering below the surface for sometime. The Cominform, the International Communist Bureau which acted as a transmission belt for Soviet directives to the Communist leaders of Eastern Europe, met in Bucharest and passed a resolution expelling Tito and his party. At that time Yugoslavia's relations with the rest of Western world were particularly bad. The Trieste dispute, the shooting down of American planes over Yugoslav territory, Yugoslav support for the Greek Communists, Anglo-American influence in Italy during the 1948 election campaign— all these factors contributed to the state of tension and hostility which existed between Yugoslavia and her former allies in the West.⁽⁷⁾

(7)

For further information; See; D.F. Fleming, The Cold War and Its Origins 1917-1960, New York, Daubleday and Co.Inc., 1961, Walter Lafeber, America, Russia and the Cold War, New York, John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1972 and L.J. Gaddis, The United States and the Origins of the Cold War 1941-1947, New York, Colombia University Press, 1972.

The core of the problem in the relations with the USSR lay in the refusal of Yugoslav to grant special privileges to the USSR, which would led eventually to the complete political and economic subordination of their country. The experience which the Yugoslavs had did not encourage them to proceed further with agreements which would have given the Soviet Union a stranglehold over their whole economy. Faced with the tenacious opposition of Yugoslavs, Stalin temporarily abandoned any further projects for joint cooperations. He only ceased his activities in this sphere, however, in order to concentrate his pressure in other directions. He thought that he could isolate the leadership of Yugoslavia from her Balkan countries, Albania and Bulgaria, then proceed to isolate the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party from the rank and file members. The later aim was to be accomplished by the infiltration of Soviet experts into every aspect of Yugoslav life. Yugoslavs tried to placate the Russians with an agreement. The agreement which was signed in Moscow at February, 1948. According to the Agreement, Yugoslavia would consult with USSR on all issues of foreign policy. Tito and other Yugoslav leaders felt that an open break with Russia was unthinkable. They continued to hope for a reconciliation for some months, after the dispute had become public knowledge. Gradually, as the propaganda campaign of the Cominform became more and more strong they began to hit back, and their tone changed from one of sorrow and bewilderment to one of bitterness and anger. It was normal to wait for up to that moment because all major industrial objects were either destroyed or damaged. Over two-thirds of the cattle had been killed or driven off. Every fourth Yugoslav was without a roof over his head. The war damage was assessed at 47.000 million dollars, at 1938 prices.⁽⁸⁾ And without any help or support, it was also unthinkable to

⁽⁸⁾ Milan Bajec and Petar Stojanovic, Yugoslavia: History in the Making, Belgrade, Jugoslavenska Revija, 1978, p. 47.

create the country again.

The Yugoslav Party leaders had little to fear politically from the Cominform campaign. Economically, there was perhaps more to fear. The Soviet Block countries sealed off their frontiers with Yugoslavia had refused to trade with whom they called the "Titoist traitors". They refused to make deliveries under the trade agreements which had been concluded during the previous two or three years. Yugoslavia had sent grain and agricultural products and was awaiting payment in machinery and raw materials. Oil from Romania, fertilisers from Russia, heavy machinery from Czechoslovakia, and other goods, equally import to the Yugoslav economy, were now no longer available. By the end of 1948, it was apparent that the Five Years Plan would have to be abandoned.

What was at stake in 1949 and 1950 was the existence of Yugoslavia as an independent state. This fact was gradually recognized by the governments of the Western powers. In 1948 Yugoslavians relations with Great Britain and U.S.A. were at a very low level, particularly because of the Trieste affair. But by 1950, both Great Britain and U.S.A. were sending economic and military aid in order to help Yugoslavia, to survive.

When they recovered from the first shock of the Cominform campaign, the Yugoslav Communists began to adjust their policies to meet the needs of the new situation. Tito has summarized that situation as follows;

"The campaign against our country and methods of socialist reconstruction, which for the last decade, has been waged by leaders of the countries of the Eastern bloc and some communist leaders of the West, has so far inflicted great damage on us, particularly in the material respect. But it has also brought some benefits, particularly in the field of Marxist ideology from dogmatism and in the better recognition of negative features in the development of socialism, (9) thus enabling us to avoid such shortcomings ourselves."

(9) Josif Broz Tito, The Text of the Speech in the Central Committee of the League of Communists, Belgrade, The League of Communists Printing Office, 1959, p. 40.

D. THE LONG ROAD

For Yugoslavia, the long road from early post-war stage of centralized administrative state socialism-formed in 1946 Constitution- to the pluralistic form of "market socialism" which was reached in the late sixties can be divided into three phases. The introduction of worker's self-management in the early fifties and the Constitutional Law of 1953, marked the end of the first period. There followed a decade during which the concept of worker's self-management evolved. In the early sixties major changes in the management of the economy and the Constitution of 1963 ushered in the period of "market socialism". A third phase began in the early seventies when important changes were initiated, culminating in the Tenth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the introduction of a new Constitution-1974 Constitution.

In the long road, the first step was made by the adoption of a new Constitution. According to the 1953 constitution, the National Assembly would continue to be bicameral but a Chamber of Producers would replace the Chamber of Nationalities as the second chamber. The Chamber of Nationalities consisted not only of the deputies elected by the whole country, on the basis of population but also of the deputies from each Republic Assemblies. The new constitution further provided that together the two Chambers would choose the Federal Executive Council and elect the President of the Republic.⁽¹⁰⁾

The second step was the 1963 Constitution. The new Constitution's importance was explained by Edvard Kardelj⁽¹¹⁾ in a joint meeting of Federal

(10) Robert Lee Wolff, The Balkans in Our Time, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1956, p. 397.

(11) Edvard Kardelj (1910-1979). Josip Bronz Tito's closest associate in the organization and direction of the national liberation movement and the foundation of SFRY. A philosopher and theoretician.

Assembly and Socialist Alliance as follows;

"The new Constitution reflects the socialist order but does not conserve it. It defends the achievement of the revolution, but simultaneously encourages the democratic evolution of society. The highest aim of the Socialist state is finally to cease to be an instrument for the governing of people, and to become a joint organizational instrument to enable free people to manage things."⁽¹²⁾

The 1953 Constitution had made possible development of worker's self-management in the enterprises, but the 1963 Constitution moved a stage further in providing for the extension of self-management to all other areas of the society. Educational, cultural, health, social welfare and administrative bodies were all to participate in the social self-management of the people.

In the new Constitution, the Federal Assembly was reorganized so that it had five chambers, each with 120 members, and the one, the Chamber of Nationalities, with 70. The deputies to the Federal Chamber were to be elected by all citizens, on the basis of territorial constituencies. The remaining four chambers- the Economic Chamber, the Chamber of Education and Culture, the Chamber of Social Welfare and Health, and the Socio-Political Chamber were to be elected on the basis of a limited and indirect franchise from special electorates representing the interest communities, in whose name they were to act. Finally the Chamber of Nationalities was composed of ten representatives of the Republican Assemblies of each of the six republics and five each from the Assemblies of the two Autonomous

⁽¹²⁾ Edvard Kardelj, The Principles of the Preliminary Draft of the New Constitution, Report of a speech on 21 September 1962, Belgrade, Documentation series no 2003, 1962, p. 2.

Provinces. Members of all chambers served for four years, and no member could sit for two consecutive terms in the same Chamber. Members of Republican and Provincial Assemblies could not sit in the Federal Assembly unless they had been nominated to the Chamber of Nationalities. The executive organ of government was the Federal Executive Council, which functioned as a cabinet. The Federal Executive Council was elected on the principle of parity, each constituent republic was represented by three members and each autonomous province by one. In addition two secretaries of state (those for foreign affairs and national defense) took part in the work of council with the same rights and duties as the members of Council. According to the Constitution, members of the Council- which consist of a president, three vice-president and sixteen members- had twelve members elected from among deputies to the Chamber of Nationalities, five elected from among deputies to the Socio-political Chamber, and three elected from among deputies to the Economic Chamber.

The Council had four permanent committees;

- 1) The Commission on Foreign Relations and Internal Security; considered political and other questions concerning Yugoslavia's foreign relations and current matters of special concern for the defense and security of the country.
- 2) The Commission on the Socio-Political System and Internal Policy; considered questions concerning the socio-political system especially those associated with internal policy, the development of self-managing, social relations, the system of state security, the organization of the federal administration, the protection of constitutionality and the rule of law, the freedom and rights of citizens, and other matters concerning the socio-political system.
- 3) The Commission on Economic Policy; was concerned with the matters

relation to economic policy.

4) The Commission on the Social Plan and the Economic System; was concerned with basic questions relation to social plans and projections of the long-term development of individual sector, and with questions associated with the development of the socio-economic system.

The Federal Executive Council also had four special commissions. These were; The Commission on Personal and Administrative Matters, The Commission on the Mobilization of Federal Agencies, The Commission on the Surveillance of the Work of the State Security Service in Federal Agencies and Housing Commission.⁽¹³⁾

The President of the Republic had to be elected at a joint meeting of all the 670 members of the Chambers of the Federal Assembly. According to 1963 Constitution, President had the usual functions of a head of states such as representing the country in the relations with foreign countries, appointing Yugoslav ambassadors exercising the power of granting pardons, and acting as commander in the chief of the armed forces. He also had the right to initiate discussions in the Federal Executive Council and to preside at its meetings.

The principle of rotation was applied to all elected offices, although not President Tito. It was also forbidden for any individual except Tito to hold high office simultaneously in the government and the League of Communists.

(13) "The Federal Executive Council", Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XI. August, 1970, p. 20.

E. THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS UP TO THE 1974 CONSTITUTION

The 1963 Constitution was amended in 1967 to give a stronger voice to the Chamber of Nationalities in the Federal Assembly, and to give wider powers over internal security to the republics. These changes were initiated after several unconnected incidents which together indicated dissatisfaction in the republic over certain aspects of federal policies. The process for amendment begun with a meeting of the Chamber of Nationalities on 27 January 1967 which was called by a group of delegates from Bosnia and Hercegovina. The original grievances of the Bosnians concerned the methods of allocating federal funds for economic development. At about the same time a dispute in Slovenia brought into question the rights of the republics vis-a-vis federation. The various cause of strain between national groups in the republics and the federation in the centre, however different their origins, created a climate of opinion favorable to changing the Constitution. This may explain the speed with which the 1967 amendments were approved by the federal parliament, for the whole process was completed by 18 April, less than three months after the issue had first been raised. In addition to widening the basis of representation and the powers of the Chamber of Nationalities, the 1967 amendments abolished the system whereby republican premiers had a place in the federal governments, gave the republics through the Chamber of Nationalities greater control over some federal officials.⁽¹⁴⁾

In 1971, even more radical constitutional reforms were proposed. They took the form of a further twenty-three amendments to the 1963 Constitution, there were three main elements to this new social contract.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Singleton, *The Twentieth... op.cit.*, p. 242.

The first concerned; the problem of the succession to the office of the President, the second; the future development of the system of self-management and the third, was the relationship between the nationalities. There was never any serious disagreement over the presidency Amendments provided for the establishment of a collective presidency, composed of three members from each republic and two from each autonomous province. The twenty-two members of the presidency were to be elected by the republican and provincial assemblies, to serve for five years. From this body a president and vice-president were to be elected, to serve for one year. These officers were to be chosen according to a predetermined order, so that each of the rational groups would in its turn provide the first citizen of Yugoslavia. An exception to the principle of annual rotation of office of president was made in the case of Josip Broz Tito. In the economic sphere, the new constitutional amendments reaffirmed the right of the working people to dispose of the fruits of their labour. The experience of the first decade of worker's self-management led in the early 1960s to the widening of the concept to embrace all aspects of public life. The term social self-management was used to indicate that not only workers in publicly-owned enterprises but participants in any form of social activity, whether cultural, political or recreational, had the right to govern themselves. This concept was incorporated into the 1963 Constitution. The 1971 Amendments affirmed the right of workers to dispose of the wealth they had created through their associated labour. In other words, workers' councils got greater powers in deciding how to allocate the surplus funds of their enterprises between personal incomes, investments, social and welfare funds and other purposes.⁽¹⁵⁾

⁽¹⁵⁾ Ibid., p. 264.

Throughout the amendments relating to the economy runs the principle of decentralisation. Enterprises were given greater power at the expense of republican and federal government agencies, and the federation agencies, and the federation lost powers to the republics. Certain basic unifying principles were upheld. The unified market remained. Republics were not able to erect barriers between themselves to obstruct the free flow of capital, labour and goods. A common currency, common laws regarding foreign trade, customs, duties, etc., were also retained. The basic principles of self-management and of the socialist economic and political system were also held to be common to all republics. The Federal Government was charged with responsibility for national defense and foreign policy and for assisting the economically backward regions, and was empowered to raise taxes to pay for these services.⁽¹⁶⁾

⁽¹⁶⁾ Ibid., p. 269.

III. THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The long road brought to Yugoslavia one of the world's most complex and long Constitution. The new Constitution was promulgated in February 1974. In that period, the necessity of a new Constitution has explained by Edvard Kardelj as follows;

"Our self-management-based socialist society is only at the beginning of its formation and development, and is therefore still growing fast and undergoing revolutionary changes, like young person who soon outgrows his clothes"(17)

The new Constitution was formed in six main parts which has 406 articles. The Basic Principles are the introductory part which explains the foundations of self-management in Yugoslavia. The First Part of the 1974 Constitution is on the title of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. This part embraces state's capital city, flag, anthem, etc. The Second Part is the longest part of the Constitution which covers 233 articles. This part consists of six chapters and explains the social system of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The chapters explain about the socio-economic and socio-political system of SFRY including the right and duties of citizens. The Third Part includes the relations within the federation concerning the rights and duties of the federal units. The Fourth covers the Assembly System, the Presidency of the state, the Federal Executive Council, Federal Administrative Agencies and the Constitutional Court of SFRY. Fifth part mentions about the amendings of the Constitution while the six part having conclusion

(17) Bazec and Stojanovic, op.cit., p. 107.

articles.

A. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The 1974 Constitution defines the socio-economic system as follows;

"The socialist socio-economic system of the SFRY shall be based on freely associated labour, socially owned means of production of self-management by working people in production, in the distribution of the social product of basis and other organization of associated labour, and in social reproduction as a whole."(18)

According to the Constitution, working people exercise their socio-economic and other self-managing rights through various organizational forms of self-management within the Organizations of Associated Labour. Organization of Associated Labour is a general term for economic and non-economic organizations which carry out activities with socially-owned means of production and resources, and which are organized on a self-management basis. Organization of Associated Labour includes; basic organizations of associated labour, work organizations and composite organizations of associated labour.

A basic organization of associated labour (Osnavna organizacija udrezenog rada) is the basic form of associated labour which workers can realize their socio-economic and other self-management rights in it. The basic organization of associated labour does not exist independently. It is always associated with a work organization (Radna Organizacija).

(18) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 10.

According to the Constitution;

"A work organization is an independent, self-managing organization of workers linked in a labour by common interests and organized in basic organizations of associated labour of which the work organization is composed, or of workers directly linked together through the unity of the labour process..."⁽¹⁹⁾

It denotes a form of pooling of labour and resources in which the workers are linked by their common interest in work (in this case the work organization is composed of several basic organizations of associated labour), or are directly linked through the labour process (in this case the work organization has no basic organization of associated labour).

Work organizations may also associate in various forms of composite organizations of associated labour (Slozene organizacije udrezenog rada). Association in composite organizations is carried out when the organizations are mutually connected by the production of raw materials or reproduction of materials.

Table I. The number of organizations of associated labour up to 31 December 1982

	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
<u>Basic Organizations of Associated Labour (BOAL)</u>	19203	20064	20450	20939	20935
<u>Working Organizations having not BOAL</u>	14269	14039	13940	13888	13929
<u>Working Organizations having BOAL</u>	3812	4157	4321	4451	4427
<u>Composite Organizations of associated labour</u>	286	338	373	404	424

SOURCE; Statisticki Godisnjak Yugoslavije 1983.

⁽¹⁹⁾ The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 35.

1. SELF-MANAGEMENT IN ORGANIZATIONS OF ASSOCIATED LABOUR

According to the 1974 Constitution, a worker, in an organization of associated labour, exercises self-management rights, through decision-making at workers' assemblies, through referenda and other forms of personal expression of views, through delegates in the workers' council elected and recalled by him together with other workers in the organizations and through the supervision of the execution of decisions especially including the use of surplus.⁽²⁰⁾

Organizations of associated labour set up workers' councils to manage their work and business, or other managing bodies with a similar status and function. Basic organizations with a small number of workers do not set up workers' council.

The workers' council of an organization of associated labour draws up the organization's draft by-laws and pass other enactments, formulates its business policy, adopts working and development plans and programmes, lays down measure for the implementation of business policy and working and development plans and programmes, elects and nominates the executive bodies, ensures that the workers are kept informed, and conducts other affairs, as specified by self-managing agreements, by laws and other self-management enactments of the organization.⁽²¹⁾

The workers' council of an organization of associated labour consists of the delegates of all workers of the basic organization, regardless of their jobs. The workers' council of a work organization or a composite

(20)

Branko Pribicevic, "The Ideology and Policy of Self-management Socialism in Yugoslavia", Socialism Yugoslav Theory and Practice, Belgrade, 1974, p.97.

(21)

Bozidar Durovic, Constitutional System of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Jugoslavenski Pregled, 1980, p. 18.

organization of associated labour is made up of the delegates of workers in the basic organizations of associated labour, elected in the way and by the procedure specified by the self-management agreement on the association. Each basic organization of associated labour of a work organization on a composite organization of associated labour, must be represented on the workers' council of this work or composite organization. The delegates act in accordance with the guidelines issued by the workers of the workers' council of the basic organizations of associated labour which have elected them, and responsible to them for their work. The rights and obligations of the delegates and their responsibility to the workers or managing bodies of the basic and other organizations of associated labour, are spelled out in the by-laws of these organizations. The workers' council is elected for a period of two years.⁽²²⁾

Every organization of associated labour has a business board and an individual business executive in charge of the organization's business, the organization and coordination of the labour process and the execution of the decisions of the workers' council. Every organization of associated labour is represented by an individual business executive or by the chairman of the board, unless otherwise specified by the by-laws on the other enactments of the organization. The business board and an individual business executive are independent in their work, and are responsible to the workers and workers' council of their organization of associated labour. The individual business executive and members of the business board in an organization of associated labour are nominated and relieved of office by the workers' council. Business boards and individual business executive

⁽²²⁾ D. Gorupic, "The Basic Organization of Associated Labour", Self-Management-The Yugoslav Road to Socialism, Jovan Dzordovic (eds), Belgrade, Jugoslavenski Pregled, 1982, p. 149.

are nominated on the basis of public competition, at the proposal of a competition commission. The competition commission of a basic organization of associated labour is composed of specified number of representatives of the organization of associated labour and of the trade union organizations concerned, and of representatives of the social community nominated or elected in conformity with statute. The mandate of an individual business executive and of members of a business board may not last more than four years. After the expiry of this term, they may be renominated to the same function. It is regulated by statute under what conditions a business board or an individual business executive may be relieved of the office before the expiration of the term for which they have been nominated. A proposal for relieving of office of a business board or an individual business may also be made by the assembly of the competent commune, the assembly of another socio-political community, and by the trade union organization. Special conditions for and the mode of nomination and relief of office, and the special rights and duties of the business board and individual business executives in organizations of associated labour, may be laid down by statute.⁽²³⁾

Self-management agreements and by-laws are the basic self-management enactments. According to Bozidor Durovic, a self-management agreement in a work organization or a composite organization of associated labour must contain provisions on;

"Coordination of labour process; adjustment of working and development plans and programmes; pooling of resources and their purpose, composition election and province of work of the joint bodies of management and

⁽²³⁾ Durovic, op.cit., p. 10.

their executive organs, and of the business board and the individual business executive of a work organization or a composite organization, and their responsibilities; the rights, obligations and responsibilities of the work community in charge of affairs concerning all associated organizations; mutual relations among the basic and other organizations of associated labour; procedures for separating a basic organization of associated labour from the work organization or from a composite organization; and other provisions concerning the joint work and business of associated organizations." (24)

A self-management agreement in a work organization or a composite organization of associated labour must be concluded in agreement with the majority of all workers in each basic organization. The by-laws and other self-management enactments of basic organizations of associated labour, work organizations and composite organizations of associated labour may not be contrary to the self-management agreements.

Members of the workers' council of an organization of associated labour are personally and materially responsible for the decisions. Delegates sitting on the workers' council of a work organization or a composite organization of associated labour, are responsible to the workers and to the workers' council of the basic organization in which have been elected delegates. Members of a collective executive body, individual business executives, and members of business board are responsible for their work to the workers' council which has elected or nominated them. They are personally responsible for their decisions and for the execution of decisions of the workers' council and of the workers, as well as for keeping the workers' council and workers fully informed. They also bear material responsibility for any harm caused by decisions. Business boards and individual business executives are, within the framework of their powers and

(24) Ibid., p. 20.

duties, also responsible for the business results of their organizations, and for the organization and coordination of the labour process in their organizations.

If a dispute arises in an organization of associated labour between workers in individual units of the organization or between the workers and bodies of the organization, or between the organizations' workers and an agency of a socio-political community, which has not been settled by regular proceedings, the workers have the right and duty to present their grievances stemming from the dispute through trade union organization. The competent trade organization has the right and duty, at the request of the workers, or on its own initiative, to institute proceedings for the settlement of the dispute, and in the course of these proceedings to determine, together with the appropriate organs of the competent socio-political community, the basic principles and criteria for settling the dispute. (25)

2. WORK COMMUNITIES AND SELF-MANAGING COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST

As used in the SFRY Constitution, work communities (Radna zajednica) are the communities made up of working people in organizations of associated labour, perform administrative, technical, professional and similar activities. The Constitution says;

"Workers who in an organization of associated labour perform administrative, professional, auxiliary and similar activities of common interest to several organizations operating within it; workers who perform such activities in an agricultural or other kind of

(25) Ibid., p. 22.

cooperative and; also workers in an organization of a business association, bank or insurance community shall form a work community..."(26)

Workers and other working people who in the fields of education, science, culture, health and social welfare in organizations of associated labour, must form self-managing communities of interest (Samoupravne interesne zajednica). Their aim is to link the interest of those who render specific public services with the interests of those who use such services. According to the Constitution;

"In order to realize their personal and common interests in the fields of education, science, culture, health and social welfare on the basis of the principles of reciprocity and solidarity, workers and other working people in the organizations of associated labour whose function in these various fields shall form self-managing communities of interest. In these communities of interest, they shall freely exchange labour, pool their labour and resources; decide, jointly and on equal terms, on the performance of these activities in conformity with their common interests; shape development and promotional policy and realize other common interests..."(27)

TABLE II Number of work communities and self-managing communities of interest up to 31 December 1982

	<u>1978</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
<u>Work communities</u>	4173	4727	5033	5264	5273
<u>Self-managing communities of interest</u>	6837	7497	7826	6476	6280

SOURCE; Statisticki Godisnjak Jugoslavije 1983.

(26) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 29.

(27) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 52.

B. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEM

1. DELEGATIONAL SYSTEM

The delegational system, a basic principle in the Yugoslav socio-political system, provides the basis for the constitution and functioning of the assemblies for all socio-political communities. Edvard Kardelj explains the delegate system as follows;

"The delegate system is not based on a pluralism of general political interests but on the pluralism of the concrete social interests of the working people and citizens manifested in various fields of society's life. Resting on this self-management and democratic pluralism of interests, the delegate system is also defined by the character of the democratic rights of the working man and citizen. Above all, this is the right of the worker, the working man and the citizen to make decisions on all his interests. He does this in the frameworks of his self-management communities, either on the grounds of self-management agreements or through democratic decision-making by the majority of self-managers in various self-management communities. At the same time, through his delegations in the delegate system, in other words again directly, he participates in the decisions government bodies take that relate to his interests. Understandably, such a system necessitates democratic harmonization of partial interests both with joint interests in wider self-management communities, and with the general social interests on which delegate assemblies decide."(28)

Mijat Sukovic also notices its importance for the SFRY;

"The delegate system is a form of the realization of, and a condition for the further development of, socialist self-managing in Yugoslavia. This is a historically self-managing and democratic form of decision-making concerning common and general affairs. It enables workers and other working people and their true interests to play a decisive

(28) Bogdan Trifunovic, Readings from Edvard Kardelj, Belgrade, Socialist Thought and Practice, 1980, p. 71.

role in the exercise of power and in decision-making on all social and other affairs, both within associated labour and in the political system, furthermore, it ensures that the functions of work and the functions of management are in the hands of the working class, workers and other working people and that organs of power, the entire superstructure of administration and management, politically, legally and functionally depend on workers and other working people organized in self-managed organizations and communities, and on their truly expressed and democratically adjusted interests. Here lies the historic value of the delegate system and its advantages over the other systems."(29)

In the Constitution, the delegate system is explained as follows;

"Working people in the basic self-managing organizations and communities and in the socio-political organizations, shall form delegations for the purpose of direct exercise of their rights, duties and responsibilities and of organized participation in the performance of functions of the assemblies of the socio-political communities."(30)

According to the Yugoslav theorists some of whose ideas we have quoted above, the delegate system is increasing its value in Yugoslav self-management system especially in taking and joining the decisions. Najdan Pasic further defines the delegational formulation and its decision-making process;

"The creation of a system of delegation by the basic self-managing organizations and communities as their permanent organs, has opened up permanent channels of two-way communication between the assemblies, where policy on self-managing and government affairs is formulated within the respective socio-political community, and the self-managing primary units, which

(29) Mijat Sukovic, "Delegate System", Djordjevic, op. cit., p.29.

(30) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 133.

have a direct voice in political decision making through their own delegations. Thus a completely new situation arises when the deputy or councillor, who never had any institutionalized links with his constituency, is replaced by a delegate who has a direct say in the process of decision-making, both in the delegation which elected him and in the assembly to which he has been elected. This new situation represents a watershed in the complicated process of turning the assembly mechanism into an integral part of the structure of self-management."(31)

a. ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS IN ORGANIZATIONS
OF ASSOCIATED LABOUR AND COMMUNITIES

The number and composition of delegation members are determined by the organization of associated labour and communities concerned. Some republics and autonomous provinces have prescribed the minimum number of delegation members. (For instance, in Bosnia-Herzegovina 5, Montenegro from 5 to 10, and in Serbia, Kosova and Vojvodina not less than 10). Members of the delegation are elected for a term of four years. Elections for members of the delegations and voting their recall and conducted by electoral commissions and voter's committees. Candidates for delegation members may not be members of the electoral commission or voters' committees.

According to the 1974 Constitution, candidates for delegation members are proposed and determined by working people at their assemblies in organization of associated labour or other self-managing organizations or communities. The nominating procedure is conducted by trade union organizations in the organizations of associated labour or other self-managing organization concerned, and by organization of Socialist Alliance

(31) Najdan Pasic, The Socio-Political System of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Servis Saveza Udr., 1975, p. 51.

in local communities. A candidate proposed at an assembly of working people or citizens is considered elected if he has received a majority vote at the assembly. The electoral commission must check whether the list of candidates was duly submitted within the prescribed term and in due form; if it finds that all formalities have been fulfilled, it will confirm the list. If the electoral commission finds any formal irregularities, and these have not been eliminated within a specified period, it will reject the list.

Delegation members are elected by secret ballot. If delegate of candidates contains more candidate than there are delegation numbers to be elected, candidates who have received the largest number of votes are considered elected. If the necessary number of votes has been received by more candidates than the all delegation members to be elected, and among them two or more candidates with the smallest number of votes have received the same number of votes, voting for these candidates must be repeated. Fresh elections are held if the electoral commission has annulled the voting results due the pooling irregularities, or the necessary majority has not been obtained by all candidates proposed on the list of candidates which contains as many candidates as there are delegation members to be elected. By -elections are held if the mandate of delegation member has been terminated before the expiry of the term which he has been elected.

2. ASSEMBLY SYSTEM

In the Yugoslav political system, assemblies are the main organ in the making and exercising of decisions and of controlling the system. According to Pavle Nikolic;

"The link between the assemblies and the self-management basis and the establishment of a uniform process of creating

and passing decisions is of particular significance for the development of Yugoslav assembly system, wherein the assemblies of the socio-political communities inevitably represent one of the most significant forms of realizing the power and managing the other social affairs, in addition to the forms of direct self-management. The assemblies in the Yugoslav political system are also constituted as bodies of social self-management and as highest bodies of power within the framework of rights and duties of the appropriate socio-political community. Hence, the assemblies in the Yugoslav political system make the most important decisions and exercise the most significant functions. This only confirms the importance and far-reaching effect of the qualitative changes carried out in the character of the process of creating and making decisions in the political system in Yugoslavia. This uniform process of political decision-making certainly acquires true democratic quality and consistent self-management character."⁽³²⁾

The 1974 Constitution explains the Assembly System's functions as follows;

"An assembly shall, within the scope of its rights and duties of its socio-political community; formulate policy and decide on the basic questions of significance for political, economic, welfare and cultural life and social development; pass social plans, budgets, regulations, and other enactments; consider questions of common concern to the organizations of associated labour and other self-managing organizations and communities and adjust their relations and interests; initiate and take part in the conclusion of social compacts; discuss questions concerning national defence, security and social self-protection; consider the state of and general problems concerning the constitutionality, the law and the judiciary and organize and exercise social supervision and lay down basic principles concerning the organization and competence of the agencies of socio-political communities; set up administrative agencies; elect, nominate and relieve of office judges and officials of administrative agencies; ensure the execution of established by-laws, regulations and other enactments; formulate the policy of implementation of regulations and other enactments and the obligations of agencies and organizations in connection with the execution of these regulations and enactments; exercise political

⁽³²⁾Payle Nikolic, "Constitution and Functioning of the Yugoslav Delegate Assembly System," Belgrade, Socialism Yugoslav Theory and Practice, 1978, p. 164.

supervision over the work of executive bodies, administrative agencies, and holders self-managing, public and other social functions responsible to the assembly; and direct the work of these bodies and agencies within guideliness."(33)

Commune is the basic socio-political community in the Yugoslav Political System and its assemblies considered as the base of the assembly system. Commune assemblies are formed three different chambers whose delegates are elected by different delegation bases. These Chambers are; the Chamber of Associated Labour (Vece Udrezenog Rada), the Chamber of Local Communities (Vece mesnih zajednica) and the Socio-Political Chamber (Drustveno-politicko Vece).

The Chamber of Associated Labour's delegations are elected by working people in organizations of associated labour and work communities, workers in agricultural sector, liberal professions, state and League of Communists of Yugoslavia officials, military and the civilian persons serving in the Yugoslav Armed Forces. The Chamber of Local Communities' delegations are formed by working people and citizens in local communities. And the delegations of the Socio-Political Chamber are elected by the members of socio-political organizations.

The Commune Assemblies form the Republican and Provincial Assemblies in the second level. The Republican and Provincial Assemblies also consist of three Chambers. These are the Chamber of Associated Labour, the Chamber of Communes (Vece Opstina) and the Socio-Political Chamber. The delegates which are elected in the Chamber of Associated Labour in Commune Assembly form the Chamber of Associated Labour in Republican or Provincial Assembly.

(33) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 143.

Three Chambers of the Commune Assemblies are giving delegates to form the Chamber of Commune Assembly in Republican or Provincial Assembly. And the delegates of the Socio-Political Chamber in Republican or Provincial Assembly are elected by the Socio-Political Chamber in the Commune Assembly.

According to the Constitution, the Chambers of Associated Labour take part in decision-making concerning the questions that affect the interests of the workers and other working people. The Chambers of Local Communities and the Chamber of Communes take part in decision-making concerning the questions affecting the interests of the working people and citizens in the local Communities and communes. The socio-political Chambers take part in decision-making relating to the realization, development and safeguard of the socialist system of self-management.⁽³⁴⁾

According to Najdan Pasic;

The Constant linkage between the assemblies and Chambers realized through the delegations and delegates, this linkage offers institutional possibilities and creates the preconditions for all basic interests of people, it also enables the people to express these interest themselves and to participate in the quest for solutions which link those interests and incorporate them in the laws and decisions."⁽³⁵⁾

(34) The mode of work and decision-making in the all Chambers explained between the articles 293 and 298 in the 1974 Constitution.

(35) Najdan Pasic, From Workers' Self-Management to the Self-Management Based Organization of Society, Belgrade, Socialist Thought and Practice, 1981, p. 83.

REPUBLICAN OR PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES		
CHAMBERS OF ASSOCIATED LABOUR	CHAMBER OF COMMUNES	SOCIO-POLITICAL CHAMBERS
COMMUNE ASSEMBLIES		
CHAMBERS OF ASSOCIATED LABOUR	CHAMBERS OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES	SOCIO-POLITICAL CHAMBERS
Working people in org. of associated labour work communities workers in agricultural sector, liberal professional, state and LCY offi. Military and civil persons in Yugoslav Arm Forces.	Working people and citizens in local.	Member of socio-political Organizations.
DELEGATION BASES		

FIGURE I. Assemblies in Republic and Provincial Level

a. COMMUNE AND COMMUNE ASSEMBLIES

In the Yugoslav political system, the main socio-political community is the Commune. Edvard Kardelj explains its importance as follows;

"The Commune as the basic socio-political and self-managing community of the working people and citizens has become in our system a form and an instrument of real democratization of

social and political decision-making. In the process of development of our self-management system the commune has always been one of the fundamental forms of democratic organization of power and direct self-management participation of the working people and citizens in the exercise of power and management of other social affairs. In the view of the level attained in the development of self-management relations in our society, the content, charter and scope of the rights and duties of the commune as a self-managing and basic socio-political community have been considerably expanded under the 1974 Constitution. In effect, all the functions of government and management of social affairs are discharged in the commune except for those functions and affairs which by their nature and content represent the common interest of all working people and citizens of a republic or province or common interests of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and are consequently, discharged, as provided for by the Constitution, in the republic, province or federation. But even in decision-making at the level of the republic, province and federation, the influence and participation of the working people organized in the commune, are ensured through the delegation system".(36)

In the 1974 Constitution, the commune, and its rights and duties are spelled out as follows:

"The Commune is a self-managing community and the most basic socio-political community based on the authority and self-management by the working class and all working people. In the Commune, the working people and citizens shall create and ensure conditions for their life and work, direct social development, realize and adjust their interests, satisfy their common needs, exercise power and manage other social affairs".(37)

"The rights and duties of the Commune shall be laid down by the Constitution and the Commune's by laws. Citizens in the Commune shall in particular: create and develop material and other conditions of life and work for the self-management satisfaction of the economic, welfare, cultural and other common needs of the working people

(36) "Edvard Kardelj on the Commune," Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XXII; February, 1981, p. 70.

(37) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 116.

and citizens; direct and adjust economic and social development and regulate relations of direct concern to the working people and citizens in the Commune; organize the conduct of affairs of common and general social interest and set up bodies of self-management and agencies for the conduct of these affairs; ensure direct enforcement of statutes, unless their enforcement has by statute been placed within the competence of agencies of the broader socio-political communities; ensure the realization and safeguard of the freedoms, rights and duties of man and the citizen; ensure the realization of equality of the nations and nationalities; ensure the rule of law and the safety of life and property; regulate the use of land and of goods in general use; regulate and organize national defense; regulate relations in the field of housing and communal activities; regulate and assure the conservation and improvement of the human environment; organize and ensure social self-defense; and organize and ensure social supervision."(38)

According to the 1982 statistics, there were 527 commune assemblies and 50115 delegates in these commune assemblies all over the Yugoslavia.

Table III. Delegates in Commune Assemblies in 1982

	Commune Assemblies	Delegates			
		total	Chamber of Associ. Labour	Chamber of Local Communi.	Socio- Political Chamber
SFRY	527	50115	22790	13910	13415
Bosnia-Herzeg.y	109	10941	5460	2760	2721
Montenegro	20	1758	798	495	495
Croatia	113	11063	4896	3748	2419
Macedonia	34	3860	1870	1012	978
Slovenia	65	1435	—1)	—1)	1435
Serbia	186	21058	9766	5895	5397
Serbia without Kosova and Voj.	114	13164	5971	3772	3421
Kosova	22	2484	1114	694	676
Vojvodina	50	5410	2681	1429	1300

1) Permanent delegates have not been elected .

SOURCE; Statistical Pocket Book of Yugoslavia, 1983.

(38) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 117.

b. LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Working people and other citizens living on the territory of a town or village, part of a larger town or number of interconnected small settlements, organize themselves into local communities (Mesna zajednica).

The SFRY Constitution defines the local community as one of the basic self-managing communities and as a constituent element of the system.

According to the Constitution;

"It shall be the right and duty of the working people in a settlement, part of a settlement, or several interconnected settlements to organize themselves into a local community in order to realize specific common interests and needs. Working people and citizens in a local community shall, on the basis of solidarity, make decisions concerning in the realization of their common interests and on the satisfaction of their common needs in the fields of: physical improvement of their settlement, housing, communal activities, child care, social security, education, culture, consumer protection, the conservation and improvement of the human environment, national defense, social self-protection and in other spheres of life and work."(39)

Table IV, Local Communities in 1980

	Local Communities	Members of assemblies of Local Communities
SFRY	11222	253547
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1933	50592
Montenegro	283	5869
Croatia	2711	47937
Macedonia	1530	14413
Slovenia	971	28288
Serbia	3794	106448
Serbia without Kosova and Voj.	2846	72927
Kosova	365	10297
Vojvoding	583	23224

SOURCE; Statistical Pocket Book of Yugoslavia, 1983.

(39) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 114.

c. SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND SOCIALIST AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES

According to the Constitution, the working people, nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia exercise their sovereign rights within the framework of the socialist republics and the socialist provinces.

Bozidar Durovic points that;

"In the republics and autonomous provinces, the working people, citizens, nations and nationalities realize and ensure; sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, equality and national freedom, national defense, security and social self-protection, the system of self-management socio-economic relations, the unity of the socio-political system, the democratic freedoms and rights of man and the citizen, constitutionality and legality, solidarity and social security for the working people and citizens, and the unity of the Yugoslav market. In the republics and autonomous provinces, they also regulate social relations, coordinate their common interests and self-management social development. Their common interests are realized directly in basic and other organizations of associated labour, local communities, self-managing communities of interest and other self-managing organizations and communities, in communes and through intercommune cooperation; through the activity organizations and associations of citizens; through self-management agreements and social compacts and through other free and all-round activities of citizens; and through republican and provincial organs and organizations."⁽⁴⁰⁾

The rights and duties of each republic and autonomous province are exercised by its republican and provincial organs. These organs are; the Assembly, the Presidency, the Executive Council, the Administrative Agencies, and the other organs and organizations.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Durovic, op.cit., p. 86.

d. REPUBLICAN AND PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES

As it is mentioned before, the Assembly of Republic or Autonomous Province consists of a Chamber of associated labour, a Chamber of communes, and a socio-political Chamber. In the assemblies of all republics and autonomous provinces, the Chambers of associated labour have the largest number of delegates. The number of delegates to all assemblies of republics and provinces are shown in the table V.

Table V. Delegates to the Assemblies of Socialist Republics and Socialist Autonomous Provinces in 1982

	total	Chambers		
		Associat. labour	Communes	Socio- political
Assemblies of socialist republics				
Bosnia-Herzegovina	320	160	80	80
Montenegro	165	75	55	35
Croatia	356	155	123	78
Macedonia	250	120	70	60
Slovenia	262	150	62	50
Serbia	340	160	90	90
Assemblies of socialist autonomous provinces				
Kosova	190	90	50	50
Vojvodina	245	120	65	60

SOURCE; Statistical Pocket Book of Yugoslavia, 1983.

e. THE PRESIDENCY OF REPUBLICS OR AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES

The Presidency of republics and provinces represents its republic or autonomous province at home and abroad. In exercising its rights and duties, the presidency provides political initiatives and actively cooperates with the assembly and other organs of republic or autonomous

province. The presidency, is in charge of political coordination in the republic or autonomous province and is a factor of cooperation at the federal level between individual republics and autonomous provinces.

The presidency consists of a president, a specific number of members, and of members by virtue of their office. Its president and elective members are elected by secret ballot at the proposal of the Socialist Alliance and, of the proposal of the League of Communists by the assembly of the respective republic and autonomous province at a joint session of all Chambers. Members of the presidency are elected for a term of four years. No one may be elected to the presidency for no more than two consecutive terms. In the event of an immediate danger of war, or during a state of war, the tenure of the President and members of the presidency is extended for as long as such a state lasts, or until conditions have been created for the election of a new president and of new members of the presidency.⁽⁴¹⁾

Each presidency of a republic or autonomous province has a National Defense Council. The president of the presidency is by Virtue of his office, chairman of the National Defense Council. If necessary, the presidency may set up other councils of working bodies to conduct affairs falling within the scope of its rights and duties.

f. THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF REPUBLICS OR AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES

The executive council is the executive body of the republics and autonomous provinces respectively. For its work it is responsible to the

⁽⁴¹⁾ Ibid., p. 92.

assembly which it must keep informed on its work. Within the scope of rights and duties of its republic or autonomous province, the executive council is responsible for the state of affairs in all spheres of social life, for the implementation of policy and enforcement of republican or provincial statute, other rules and enactments, and for the execution of federal statutes, rules and other enactments.

The executive council of the assembly of a republic is made up of a president, a specific number of members elected by the republican assembly, of republican secretaries, and of other officials in charge of republican agencies and organizations. The executive council of an autonomous province consists of a president and a specific number of members elected by the provincial assembly. The president of the executive council is elected by the assembly of its republic or autonomous province, at the proposal of the president of the presidency of the republic and autonomous province. The president and the members of the executive council are elected for a term of four years. No one may be elected to this post for more than two consecutive terms, while members of the executive council may be exceptionally elected for one more term of office. The president and members of a republican or provincial executive may not concurrently be delegates to the assembly of the same socio-political community. The Constitutions provide for the possibility of recall of individual members of the executive council and for the election of new ones, and also for individual and collective resignation.

g. THE COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC OR AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE

The Constitutions of all republics and autonomous provinces provide for the establishment of a council of the republic and autonomous province.

The councils of the republics and autonomous provinces consider questions relating to the self-management socialist development, cooperation with other republics and autonomous provinces, and other matters proposed by the presidencies of the republic and autonomous provinces, and refer their standpoints and proposals to the assemblies of their respective republics and autonomous provinces. Members of the council are elected, at the proposals of the presidency, by the assembly of the republic and autonomous province respectively. Meetings of the council are convened by the presidency of the republic and autonomous province and are presided by the president of the presidency.⁽⁴²⁾

h. REPUBLICAN AND PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The establishment, status and competence of republican and provincial administrative agencies and organization, and their responsibility to their respective assemblies and executive councils, are regulated by statute. Republican and provincial administrative agencies and organization carry out their work on the basis and within the framework of the constitution and statute. In executing policy, they are bound to abide by the guidelines of their respective assemblies and executive councils. Officials in charge of republican and provincial administrative agencies and organizations are personally responsible for the state of affairs in their respective spheres of work. Republican and provincial secretaries and other officials in charge of republican and provincial administrative agencies and organizations, are nominated and relieved of office by their respective assemblies. They are nominated for a term of four years and may be renominated for a

⁽⁴²⁾ Ibid., p. 94.

second consecutive term, and exceptionally for one more term of office.⁽⁴³⁾

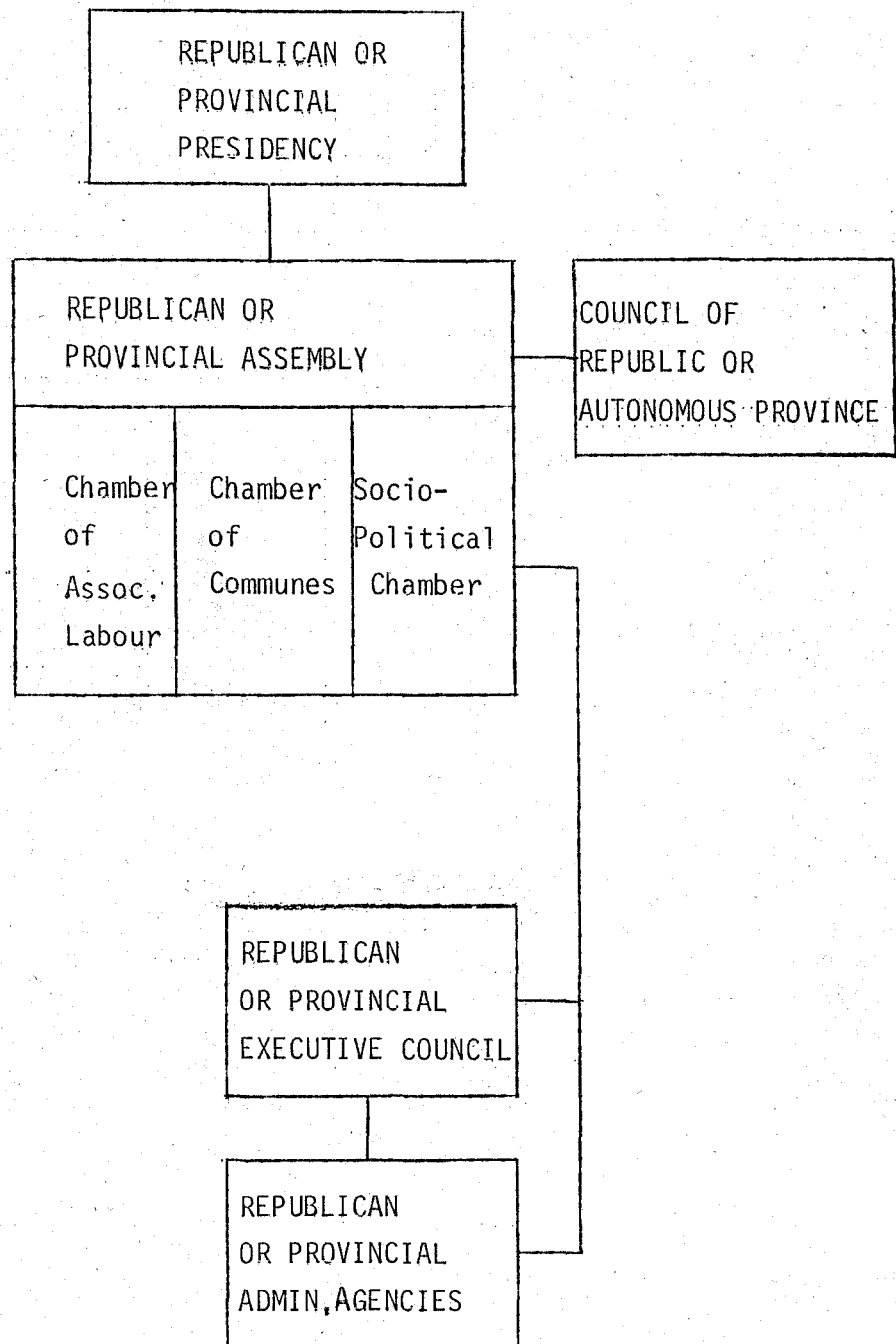


Figure II. Republican or Provincial Organs

(43) "Constitutional System of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," Yugoslav Survey, August Vol. XV, 1974, p. 96-97.

1. PROPOSITIONS AND DETERMINATION OF CANDIDATES,
AND ELECTION OF DELEGATES IN THE COMMUNE ASSEMBLIES

As it is mentioned, every commune assembly has three chambers; a chamber of associated labour, a chamber of local communities and a socio-political chamber. The mandate of delegates to the Chambers of the commune assemblies lasts four years. Elections are conducted by the commune electoral commission and the voters' committees. The commune electoral commissions are bound to ensure the rule of law in the conduct of elections, they confirm the lists of candidates; determine and announce the election results, and perform other affairs as specified by the electoral law.

In the Chambers of Associated Labour: Candidates for delegates to the chambers of associated labour are proposed at the assemblies of working people in organizations of associated labour and other self-managing organizations and communities. Proceedings at the assemblies of working people are regulated by the rules of the Socialist Alliance. Candidates are entered into the list of candidates according to the number of votes received. The list of candidates is then referred to the commune electoral commission which must determine whether or not the list was duly submitted within the prescribed term and drawn up in due matter. If the commission finds irregularities in the list, it must call upon the proposer of the list to eliminate them within a specified deadline; if it finds that has not been duly drawn up, or that some or all candidates do not meet the prescribed requirement, or that the proposer has not eliminated the formal irregularities within the prescribed deadline, it will refuse to confirm the list of candidates.

Delegates to the chambers of associated labour are elected at the

meetings of the delegations of associated labour and other self-managing organizations and communities, respectively. A delegation's meeting is called by its chairman. If he has failed to call a meeting with a prescribed deadline, the meeting must be convened by the commune electoral commission.

Candidates who received a majority vote in the delegations which represent the majority of working people in organizations of associated labour and in other self-managing organizations and communities; are considered elected. Voting is repeated if such a majority has been obtained by a smaller number of candidates than there are delegates to be elected, but only for those candidates who have not received the necessary majority; voting is also repeated if this majority has been obtained by more candidates than there are delegates to be elected, and if among them, there are two or more candidates who have received the same smallest number of votes, in this latter case voting is repeated only for the candidates who have received the same number of votes.

In the Chambers of Local Communities: Candidates for delegates to the Chamber of Local Communities are proposed and determined in the same way as candidates for delegates to the chambers of associated labour, the only difference being that candidates for delegates to the chambers of local communities are proposed at the assemblies of working people and citizens in local communities. Delegates to the chamber of local communities are elected in the same way as delegates to the chamber of associated labour, the only difference being that they are elected at the meeting of the delegations of working people and citizens in local communities.

In the Socio-Political Chambers: Candidates for delegates to the socio-political chambers are determined by socio-political organizations by mutual agreement, within the framework of Socialist Alliance. The list

of candidates approved by the elected bodies of socio-political organizations must be confirmed by the commune electoral commission in the way prescribed for the confirmation of the list of candidates to the chamber of associated labour and the chamber of local communities, respectively.

Delegates to the socio-political chambers are elected by working people and citizens in the Communes by direct and secret ballot. Voting is carried out at the pooling stations determined by the commune electoral commission. The voting procedure is conducted by Voters' committees. After the voting results have been determined at the pooling stations, the voters' committees submit the entire electoral material to the commune electoral commission. On the basis of the material received, the commune electoral commission must determine the results of the voting in the commune as a whole. Candidates who have been voted for the majority of voters are elected.

Fresh elections for delegates to the chambers to the commune assemblies are held if the commune electoral commission has annulled the voting due to irregularities; if the required majority has not been obtained by necessary number of candidates, and if during the verification of the mandates, the election of the delegates has been annulled due to irregularities. Fresh elections are called by the commune electoral commission. They are conducted in the same way as the regular elections for delegates to the chambers of the commune assemblies. By-elections are held if the mandate of a delegate to a chamber of the commune assembly, or the president of the commune assembly or by the workers' council or another corresponding managing body of a basic self-managing organization or community. By elections are held in the same way as regular elections for delegates to the chambers of the commune assemblies.⁽⁴⁴⁾

⁽⁴⁴⁾ "The System of Election for the Delegations of Basic Self-Managing Organizations and Communities and Delegates to the Assemblies of the Socio-Political Communities," Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XVI February 1975, p. 24-27.

k. PROPOSITIONS AND DETERMINATION OF CANDIDATES AND
ELECTIONS OF DELEGATION IN THE ASSEMBLIES OF
REPUBLICS AND AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES

As it is pointed out; the assembly of a republic or an autonomous province has three chambers; a chamber of associated labour, a chamber of communes, and a socio-political chamber. Elections for delegates to the chambers of the republican and provincial assemblies are conducted by the republican and provincial electoral commissions. A republican or provincial electoral commission consists of a chairman, a secretary, a specified number of members of their deputies who nominated by republican and provincial electoral commissions are to ensure the rule of law in the election and recall proceedings, to coordinate the work of commune electoral commissions in the constituencies, to determine the results of the election and to conduct other affairs as specified by the electoral law.

In the Chambers of Associated Labour: In the Chamber of associated labour, candidates for delegates to the chambers of associated labour of republican and provincial assemblies are proposed by the delegations in organization of associated labour and other self-managing organizations and communities. Candidates for delegate are determined by the nominated conferences or by the nominating commission.

Candidates who have received a majority vote from the present members of nominating conference or nominating commission, are considered determined. If the required majority has not been received by as many candidates as there are delegates to be elected, the procedure for the determination of candidates must be repeated until the necessary number of candidates has been determined.

After the voting has been terminated, the nominating conference or

the nomination commission draw up a list of candidates and submits for confirmation to the commune electoral commission. If it finds that the list of candidates contains any formal irregularities the commune electoral commission will call upon the proposer of the list to eliminate these irregularities within a specified period of time, if the proposer fails to comply with, or if the list of candidates has not been submitted within the prescribed deadline the electoral commission will refuse to confirm the list, in which case the procedure for the determination of candidates must be repeated.

Delegates of the Chamber of associated labour in the Republican and Provincial Assemblies are elected from the list of candidates confirmed by the competent electoral commissions by secret ball. Candidates who received a majority vote from all delegates to the chamber of associated labour of the Commune Assembly, are elected. The competent electoral commission must check up whether or not there were any irregularities in the electoral procedure that have substantially influenced the results of the election. If it finds that there were, it will order fresh voting and will inform the assembly and the delegation.

In the Chambers of Communes: Candidates for delegates to the Chamber of Communes are proposed and determined in the same way as candidates for delegates to the Chambers of associated labour of the republican and provincial assemblies, the only difference being that delegates to the chamber communes are proposed by the delegations of working people and citizens in local communities and socio-political organizations.

Delegates to the chamber of communes of a republican or provincial assembly are elected by all chambers of commune assemblies (in Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Serbia, Vojvodina) or only by the chambers of local communities of commune assemblies (in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosova),

in the same way as delegates to the chamber of associated labour of the republican or provincial assembly. In Slovenia, each commune assembly sends delegates to the meeting of the Chamber of Communes of the Republican Assembly. Delegates are elected from among members of the delegations and communities, depending on the issues to be considered at the meeting of the Chamber of Communes of the Republican Assembly.

In the Socio-Political Chambers: Candidates for delegates to the socio-political chambers are proposed by the elected bodies of socio-political organizations which act as delegations. Candidates for delegation are determined by the republican or provincial nominating conference of Socialist Alliance, which must draw up a list of candidates and submit it to the republican or provincial commissions. The list of candidates must be confirmed by the republican or provincial electoral commission in the way in which the list of candidates for delegates to the chambers of associated labour and the chambers of communes are confirmed, for the republican and provincial assemblies.

Delegates to the socio-political chamber of a republican or provincial assembly are elected by the socio-political chambers of the commune assemblies in the same way delegates to the chamber of associated labour of the republican and provincial assembly, the difference being that the delegates vote for or against the list as a whole, so that the ballots contain the words "for the list" and "against the list".

Fresh elections are held; if one or more candidates for delegates have not received the required majority, or if the list of candidates has not been voted for by the required majority respectively; if the competent electoral commission has annulled the voting due to the irregularities in the conduct of the elections and if the appropriate chamber of the republican or provincial assembly has annulled the election of the delegates in the verification procedure fresh elections are called by the

competent electoral commission. By-elections are held if the mandate of a delegate has expired. By-elections are called by the chamber of the republican or provincial assembly. Fresh elections and by-elections are conducted in the same way as regular elections for delegates to the chambers of the republican and provincial assemblies respectively.⁽⁴⁵⁾

1. EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS OF THE ASSEMBLIES AND SOCIO-POLITICAL COMMUNITIES

In the basic principles of governing the assembly system, every assembly has an executive council and administrative organs which acts as the executive organs of its assembly. In the Constitution executive councils and administrative organs are arranged as follows;

"Every socio-political community shall form an executive council as the executive body of the assembly. The executive council shall be responsible to the assembly for the state of the socio-political community the implementation of policy the enforcement of the regulations and other enactments of the assembly, and the guidance and arrangement of the work of administrative agencies."⁽⁴⁶⁾

"The assemblies of socio-political communities shall form administrative agencies. Administrative agencies shall; implement established policy and enforce laws, regulations and other enactments of the assemblies and the executive councils; implement the guidelines of the assemblies; be responsible for the situation in the fields for which they have been formed; follow the state of affairs in specific fields and take initiative for the solutions of questions in these fields; decide on administrative matters; exercise administrative supervision; and other enactments, and perform other professional work on behalf of the assemblies of the socio-political communities and their executive councils."⁽⁴⁷⁾

(45) Ibid., p. 31-33.

(46) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 148.

(47) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 149.

According to the Constitution, the executive council, or a corresponding collective executive organ is the executive organ of the assembly of its socio-political community. It is responsible for development in its socio-political community for the implementation of policy and enforcement of legal provisions and other assembly enactments, and for directing and coordinating the work of administrative organs.

The Law on the Foundations of the system of State Administration further elaborates and concretizes the constitutionally-determined responsibility of executive organs for the state of affairs in socio-political communities, for the implementation of policy and enforcement of laws, and for the direction and coordination of work of administrative organs. As regards the responsibility for the state of affairs, the Law emphasizes in particular that executive organs are bound to monitor the situation, ensure the rule of law, provide initiative, take measures and carry out activities significant for the realization of general social interests and of the rights of citizens, on which they must report to their assemblies. The Law also points; executive and administrative organs are obliged to create and ensure conditions for the developments of socialist self-management relations and for the realization of functions of the assemblies of socio-political communities. An executive and administrative organs should contribute to the more successful work by delegations and delegates to the assemblies of socio-political communities and of self-managed communities of interest, and to provide them with full and accurate information on questions significant for decision-making.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The executive organs of the assemblies consist of elected members by virtue of their office. The executive organ of a commune assembly is made up of a president, heads of individual administrative organs, and a

⁽⁴⁸⁾ See: The Law on Foundations of the System of State Administration, Sluzbeni List SFRJ, No. 23/1978.

specified number of members. The number of members of the executive organ is determined by the by-law or decisions of the commune assembly. The executive councils of the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces consist of elected members and of officials heading republican and provincial administrative organs respectively.⁽⁴⁹⁾

3. SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (Savez Komunista Jugoslavije), the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia (Socijalisticki Radnog Naroda Jugoslavije) and Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia (Savez Sindikata Jugoslavije) are the socio-political organizations of SFRY whose status and roles are determined in the Constitution. The Constitution emphasizes the role of socio-political organizations and their responsibility for the realization of the leading role, unity and self-management position of the people, for the safe-guard of the achievements of the socialist revolution.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Federation of Associations of National Liberation War Veterans (Savez Udruzenje Boraca Narodno-Oslobodilskog Rata) and Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia (Savez Socijalisticke Omladine Jugoslavije) are the two other socio-political organization which is not mentioned in the Constitution but which have important influence on the socio-political system. Rudoslav Ratkovic explains the constitutional position of socio-political organizations as

(49) Ciril Ribicic, "Executive Organs of the Assemblies of Socio-Political Communities," Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XXII May, 1981, p. 54.

(50) Dusan Petrovic, Political Organizations in the System of Socialist Self-Management, Belgrade, Jugoslovenski Pregled, 1977, p. 15.

follows;

"The Yugoslav Constitution contains more provisions regarding socio-political organizations than any other constitution in the world. The formulation in the Basic Principles of the Constitution have been enhanced and adjusted to the actual evolution of the entire self-management system and the position of socio-political organizations within it. A particularly important, is the concrete powers, rights and duties the Constitution gives to individual socio-political organizations with regard to given socio-political process. The Constitution provides for a separate body within the assembly system where socio-political organizations are directly involved in the mechanism of assembly decision-making. The purpose of the Constitutional provisions regarding socio-political organizations is to determine their character, position and role in the system of self-management! Viewing them as a fundamental integral part of social system."(51)

Basic Principles in the Constitution mention the socio-political organizations and deals with the general character, position and role of the League of Communists, Socialist Alliance of Working People and Trade Union Confederation in the self-management system. Here, it is pointed the character and role of the League of Communists, as leading ideological and political force of the working people, with its actual role in the National Liberation War and socialist revolution and in the process of creating socialist relations based on self-management. Here also, the Socialist Alliance is pointed out as "the voluntary and democratic front of working people and citizens," and as the "brodest base for socio-political activity in the socialist system of self-management" in Basic Principles Trade Unions are defined as the broadest organization of the working people "for realizing the socialist self-management relations in

(51) Rudeslay Rutkovic, "Socio-Political Organizations," Djordjevic, op.cit., p. 392.

the management of social reproduction."(52)

a. THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) was founded at the Congress of unification held in Belgrade in April 1919 under the name of Socialist Workers Party of Yugoslavia; at its second congress held in Vukar in June 1920, the party changed its name into the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and at the Sixth Congress held in November 1952, into the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The 1974 Constitution defines the LCY, as the prime initiator and exponent of political activity aimed at safeguarding and further developing of self-management. Tito explained its importance and essence as follows after the new Constitution;

"We have always emphasized the strengthening of the leading role of the LCY as being our permanent task in all phases. And to succeed in this, it is not enough only to want it and to talk about it, it is also necessary to understand that the LCY will play this role only if it continues to gain new confidences of working people in general. We have also emphasized that LCY has realized its role for development of the self-management."(53)

Organizational structure of LCY can be explained in three main levels;

Basic LC Organizations: A basic organization is the fundamental form of organization of LCY. These organizations are formed in the basic

(52) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, Basic Principles section VIII.

(53) Josip Broz Tito, The Struggle for the Further Development of Socialist Self-Management, Sarajevo, 1975, p. 15.

organizations of associated labour, self-managing work communities, local communities and units of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA). Every basic LC organization elects a secretariat, and a secretary which organize the preparation of the organization's meetings and by the implementation of their conclusions. Their term of office lasts two years.

Commune LC Organizations: All LC members who work in a commune and their organizations make up a commune LC organization. The supreme organ of a commune LC organization is the commune committee.

The LC at Republican and Provincial Level: LC members a commune LC organizations operating on the territory of Socialist autonomous provinces make up LC of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the LC of Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosova. The LC of a socialist republic is made up all LC organization operating in it. The highest LC forums in a republic is the congress and in the socialist autonomous province is the conference. They elect their own organs, the central and provincial LC committees and presidency.⁽⁵⁴⁾

At the federal level LCY forums and organs are organized in a uniform way.

The congress is the highest forum of the LCY; it is held every four years. The central committee of LCY is the supreme organ of the LCY between two congresses. It consists of the same number of LC members from each republic and a corresponding number of LC members from each autonomous province and the YPA. The LCY Central Committee has 165 members. The Central Committee elects from among its members the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, as its politic-executive organ. The presidency consists

(54) "The League of Communists of Yugoslavia," Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XVIII May, 1977, p. 40.

of the same number of members from each republic and a corresponding number of members from each autonomous province. The Presidency has 22 members. (55)

b. THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY) is the broadest platform for socio-political activity of the working people and citizens in the socialist system of self-management. It plays important role in the delegational and assembly system.

The Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance is the Alliance's highest organ and the broadest form of activity. The number of Federal Conference delegates of the Socialist Alliance was increased from 227 to 243 in November 1978. The Federal Conference is primarily composed of delegations from the republican and provincial conferences of the Socialist Alliance, each having 20 and 15 members. Represented in the Federal Conference are also social organizations and citizen's associations, either individually or grouped according to the kind of activity in which they engage, with altogether 50 delegates. And the Composition of Federal Conference also includes 3 delegates from YPA, 5 delegates from the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy and 3 delegates from the Federation of the Association of Cooperatives of Yugoslavia.

The Presidency of the Federal Conference is a collective political, executive, organ of the Conference whose duty is to ensure; the implementation of the programs, stands and decisions of the Federal Conference

(55) Ibid., p. 41.

and realization of agreements concluded with the republican and provincial conferences of the Socialist Alliance and to conduct other affairs as provided for by-laws of the Socialist Alliance. The presidency has 35 members in its standing composition; two members are elected by each republican conference of the Socialist Alliance from among members of its delegation, and one is elected by each provincial conference of the Socialist Alliance, two members are elected by each; the Central Committee of LCY, the Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, the Federal Committee of the Federation of Association of National Liberation War Veterans, and the Conference of the Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia and one by each; The Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, the Yugoslav People's Army and the Federation of the Associations of Cooperatives of Yugoslavia. The Presidents of the republican and provincial conferences of Socialist Alliance, the President of the Conference for the Questions of the Social Status of Women of Yugoslavia, and the director of the Borba Publishing House are the members of the Presidency by virtue of their office. The republican and the provincial conferences of the Socialist Alliance and organs of socio-political organization operating at the federal level may, by agreements and depending on the issues involved, send to meetings of the Presidency one or more representative from among their members, or from among members of the Federal Conference, who takes part in the work of such meeting with the same status as other delegates.⁽⁵⁶⁾

The Federal Conference of Socialist Alliance elects its president for a term of one year from among members of the Presidency, each time

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Janko Sabados, "The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia," Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XXI August; 1980, p. 66-67.

from another republic or autonomous province. The president of the Conference presides over the Presidency's meetings. The Federal Conference also elects its secretary from among its members for a term of two years.

c. CONFEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS OF YUGOSLAVIA

In the 1974 Constitution, the position and functions of Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia (CTUY) has been explained as follows;

"Workers organized on a voluntary basis in trade unions, as the broadest organizations of the working class, shall strive to: realize the constitutionally defined status of the working class; achieve socialist self-management realitions and the decisive role of the workers in the management of social reproduction realize the interests and self-management and other rights of workers in all fields of work and life; ensure equality among workers in the labour and resource pooling, the acquisition and distribution of income and the determination of common scales for distribution according to the results of social labour; further development of the productive forces of society and the raising labour productivity; guide self-management adjustment of individual, common and general social interests; take care of the education of workers and their training for the performance of self-management and other social functions; ensure democratic nomination and determination of candidates for delegate to managing bodies in organizations of associated labour and other self-managing organizations and communities, and for delegates to the assemblies of the socio-political communities; ensure the broadest possible participation of workers in the exercise of the functions of power and management of social affairs; realize the interests of the working class in cadre policy; protect workers' rights; ensure workers social security, the development of their standard of living, the development and strengthening of solidarity, and the elevation of the class consciousness and responsibility among self-managers...."(57)

(57) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, Basic principles section VIII.

In April 20, 1979 the Council of CTUY adopted a document on the organization and made of work of the council and its organs and passed the new Rules of Procedure.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In the statement of reasons for the adoption of the document it was emphasized that they constituted a consistent elebration of the by-laws adopted at the Eight Congress and were the result of agreement reached by republican and provincial trade union organizations.

The Council is the highest collective and democratic organ of CTUY between two congresses. It is composed of delegations from the republican and provincial confederations of trade unions-18 from each republic and 15 from each autonomous province. The Council elects a President and a Presidency from among its members. According to the New Procedure, all council members have the same duty to initiate issues take part in the preparation and adoption decisions, appaise the work of the Presidency, of the federal committees of trade unions, and of the Council's delegations and delegates. The New Procedure also points that decisions and conclusions of the Council of the CTUY are drawn up and formulated by democratic adjustment of views and with the participation, on terms of equality, of delegations from republican and provincial confederations of trade unions, and these delegations are jointly responsible for the formulation of the policy of, and the taking and execution of decisions by Council of CTUY.

Council delegations and delegates in the organs and bodies to which they have been delegated are bound to keep the Council and Council Presidency regularly informed their work and of the stands taken in the

⁽⁵⁸⁾ See; The Rules of Procedure of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, Sluzbeni List SFRJ, No. 31/1979.

bodies in whose work they have taken part.

The Presidency of the Council of CTUY is the political and executive organ of the Council. At its meetings the Presidency formulates stands and take decisions. A meeting of Presidency may be held if it is attended by at least two thirds of its members. The President of the Council of CTUY is elected yearly, every year from a different republic or autonomous province. The duties of the president are to coordinate the work of Presidency members concerning the preparation of meetings of both, the Council and the Presidency, to propose to the Presidency, the division of labour and concrete task among Presidency members, as in cooperation with Presidency members to ensure the realization of the Council's and Presidency programmes of work.

Branch Trade Unions are formed according to the occupational principle and kind of activity. At federal level, there are six branch trade unions. These are; Union of Industrial Workers and Miners, Union of Construction Workers, Union of Transport and Communication Workers, Union of Service Workers and Union of Public and Social Services Workers. In the individual republics, the number of branch trade unions are same, except in Croatia and Slovenia, there are 19 in Slovenia and 18 in Croatia.

Congresses of branch trade unions are held very four years. The highest authority of a branch trade union between congress is the Federal Committee. It has also its own Executive Council and Commissions.⁽⁵⁹⁾

d. FEDERATION OF ASSOCIATIONS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR VETERANS OF YUGOSLAVIA

Federation of Associations of National Liberation War Veterans

(59) Vukasin Pavlovic, "The Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia," Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XVI May, 1975, p. 21-22.

(FANLWV) was organized for keeping the soul of self-management in Yugoslavia. The Federal Committee of FANLWV is the highest organ and consists of 15 delegates from each republic and of 10 delegates from each provincial organization of national liberation war veterans, in addition to the presidents of the republican and provincial committees, so that the Federal Committee has altogether 118 members.

The Presidency, as the politico-executive organ of the Federal Committee has 22 members whose mandate is four years. This body consists of 3 delegates from each republic and 2 from each autonomous province, and of the president of the republican and provincial committees of the FANLWV.

FANLWV sets up commissions for specific activities, standing commissions and commissions according to need, at all levels from commune to the federation. The commissions for particular activity are; the commission for socio-economic questions, the commission for national defense and the commissions for cooperation with national and international veterans' organizations. The task of the commissions is to help the federation's committees in communes, provinces and republics, to study and solve various problems in all spheres of activity as provided for the statutes, programmes, conclusions and resolutions of the congress and assemblies.

According to a decision of the Federal Committee of the FANLWV of February 19, 1980, the Federal Committee will elect its president for a term of one year from among members of its Presidency. The President of the Federal Committee is simulatenously president of the presidency.⁽⁶⁰⁾

(60) "Federation of Associations of National Liberation War Veterans of Yugoslavia," Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XV November, 1974, p. 6.

e, UNION OF SOCIALIST YOUTH OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia (USYY) is a socio-political and educational organization of all youths whose membership includes both individual and organized youth associations.

The USYY's supreme organ is the Congress. It reviews and evaluates USYY activity between congresses also determines USYY programmatic orientation and policy of USYY, the basic principles and directions of its development and the principles of its international activity. The Congress is held every four years and is convened by the USYY Conference. Delegates to the Congress are elected on the basis of the principles of equal representation of republican and corresponding representation of provincial organizations, and on the basis of the principle of proportionality relative to the number of members, according to scales determined by the USYY Conference.

The USYY Conference is the supreme USYY organ between congress. It takes stands on USYY activities concerning the most important questions relating to Yugoslavia's socio-political development; discusses and makes decisions concerning further development of the USYY; exchanges and evaluates experiences in the organization's work; adopts the USYY's programme of international activity; coordinates the work of the republican and provincial organizations; considers proposals and initiatives of social youth organizations. The conference verifies the election of the Presidency and elects the president and secretary. The Conference meets at least twice a year. At least once a year it reviews and evaluates the work of the entire USYY organization, its own work and the work of its bodies, and determines the basic guidelines and the working plan for the next year.

The USYY Conference has a permanent and variable membership. The permanent membership is made up; of 18 delegates from each republican USY organization and 12 delegates from each provincial USY organization, the presidents of the republican and provincial conferences, 11 delegates of the USYY organizations in the YPA, and of an eight member delegation of each the Student Vacation Association, the Association of Organizations for Technical Culture, the Red Cross Youth, the Youth Music League, the Association of Physical Culture Organization, the Scout Association and the Pioneers Association.

The Presidency is the politico-executive organ of the Conference and is accountable to the Conference of its work. It is composed of 3 members from each republican and 2 members from each provincial organization, the presidents of the republican and provincial conferences, 2 members of the USYY organization in the YPA, and one delegate of each the Student Vacation Association, the Association of Organizations for Technical Culture, the Red Cross Youth, the Youth Music League, the Associations of Physical Culture Organizations, the Scout Association and the Pioneers Association. President is elected for one year among the members of the presidency including the rotation principle for each republics and autonomous provinces.⁽⁶¹⁾

Table VI. Members of Socio-Political Organizations

	LCY	SAWPY	CTUY	USYY	FANLWVY
1979	1884475	-	5025517	3850972	1062964
1980	2041272	14151135	5389533	3457762	1055520
1981	2041299	14151135	5484669	3841777	1029758

SOURCE; Statisticki Godisnjak Yugoslavia 1982.

⁽⁶¹⁾ "Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia," Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XVI August, 1975, p. 40-42.

C. THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

The social and political system of socialist Yugoslavia is distinguished by its federalism. Federalism is the form of its internal make up and the principle underlying the entire social and political structure. According to Edvard Kardelj, the original character of Yugoslav federalism, its principles and elements could be explained in nine points;

1) The right of each people to self-determination which includes the right to secession, this being the basis in principle for the voluntary nature of unitation the position in the state and the sovereignty of the peoples and their republics within the frameworks of Yugoslav state community.

2) each people enjoys a position guaranteeing it all possibilities for independent control of all social reproduction in the republic and not only protecting it from exploitation but also permitting it comprehensive national assertion, assured through the position and role of the republic as a state and by socialist, self-management and democratic social and economic relations; this makes it incumbent on each republic to respect the equal rights and interests of other republics,

3) the joint revolution and common struggle to build a government of the working class and all working people, and a socialist, self-management and democratic society which strengthens the joint social consciousness, the constitutional system of the federation assures uniform foundations for the social and political system and human rights,

4) a number of joint economic and other interests pursued on the integral market and integral economic area, and contributing to the more rapid economic development of each people and to their position in international economic relations.

5) mutual solidarity and assistance among the peoples of Yugoslavia in the political and economic sense.

6) consciousness of being bound together by destiny which enjoys the peoples of Yugoslavia to act together in safeguarding their independence and national security.

7) full responsibility by the republics and autonomous provinces for promoting the ability of the peoples to defend themselves and for organizing and guiding the forces of total national defense.

8) the obligation of decision-making by agreement among the republics at federal level on the aforementioned matters as well as on questions relating to the constitutional status of the republics and certain other of their vital interests involving their equal economic and political position.

9) establishment of such a structure of basic federal bodies as will assure direct participation by the republics in formulating and implementing essential elements of the policy of federal bodies.⁽⁶²⁾

In the 1974 Constitution, the foundation of Federalism explained in Basic Principles as follows;

"The nations of Yugoslavia, proceeding from the right of each nation to self-determination, including the right of to secession, on the basis of their will freely expressed in the common struggle of all nations and nationalities in the National Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution, and in conformity with their historic aspirations, aware that further consolidation of their brotherhood and unity is in the common interest, have, together with the nationalities with which they live, united in a federal republic at free and equal nations and nationalities and founded a socialist federal community of working people- the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia....."⁽⁶³⁾

⁽⁶²⁾ Edvard Kardelj, The Nation and Socialism, Belgrade, Socialist Thought and Practice, 1981, p. 261-262.

⁽⁶³⁾ The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, Basic Principles Section I.

Among the Basic Principles, the 1974 Constitution points out the Federalism in different parts of the Constitution including in the first part; the definition of the Federation and of the federal units; in the third part, the regulation of relations within the Federation and the function of the Federation; in the fourth part, the organization of federal organs.

In the first part, the definition of the SFRY explained as follows;

"The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a federal state having the form of a state community of a voluntarily united nations and their Socialist Republics and of the Socialist Autonomous Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosova, which are constituent parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, based on the power of and self-management by the working class and all working people. It is at the same time a socialist, self-management, democratic community of working people and citizens and nations and nationalities having equal rights." (64)

Circumstances led to Yugoslavia as a highly composite of community of different nationalities. The members of the six Yugoslav nations (Croations, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Moslems, Serbs and Slovans), ten nationalities (Albanians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Hungarians, Italians, Rumenians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Turks, Ukrainians) and two ethnic groups (Romanies and Vlachs) live within its borders. (65)

The nations and nationalities of the SFRY consists of the Socialist Republic (SR) of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the SR of Croatia, the SR of Macedonia, the SR of Montenegro, the SR of Serbia, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosova which are constituent parts of Serbia, and the SR of Slovenia.

(64) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 1.

(65) Koca Jonicic, Nationalities in Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Jugoslovenska Stvarnost, 1982, p. 5.

The Constitution defines republics and autonomous provinces as follows;

"The Socialist Republics are states based on the sovereignty of the people and the power of and self-management by the working class and all working people. They are socialist, self-managing democratic communities of the working people and citizens and of nations and nationalities having equal rights."(66)

"The Socialist Autonomous Provinces are autonomous socialist, self-managing democratic socio-political communities based on the power of and self-management by the working class and all working people in which the working people, nations and nationalities realize their sovereign rights."(67)

Table VII. Composition of the Population of Yugoslavia

	<u>total</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Population of the SFRY</u>	22.427.585	100
<u>Nations of Yugoslavia</u>		
Crotians	4.428.043	19.7
Macedonians	1.341.598	6.0
Montenegrins	597.043	2.6
Moslems	1.999.890	9.9
Serbs	8.140.507	36.3
Slovenes	1.763.571	7.8
<u>Nationalities of Yugoslavia</u>		
Albanians	1.730.978	7.7
Bulgarians	36.189	0.2
Czechs	19.624	0.1
Hungarians	426.867	1.9
Italians	15.132	0.1
Rumanians	23.286	0.1
Slovaks	80.334	0.4
Turks	101.291	0.5
Ukranians	12.813	0.1
<u>Ethnic Groups</u>		
Romanians	168.197	0.7
Vlachs	32.071	0.1
Yugoslavs(persons not claiming any national affiliation)	1.219.024	5.4
Others(no national affiliation, unknown)	254.272	1.1

SOURCE, Report by the Federal Office of Statistics, No. 112, Vol. XXVI 29 April 1982, Results of the 1981 census.

(66) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 3.

(67) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 4.

The multinational view was reflected to the constitution pointing the equality of nations and nationalities in different articles. According to Gavro Altman;

"The Constitution lays down that the common interests of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia are realized through federal organs, with an equal participation and responsibility of the republics and autonomous provinces, through direct cooperation and agreement among the republics and autonomous provinces in other ways, but also that the working people nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia realize their interests on the unified Yugoslav market."(68)

According to articles 117 and 248, the nationalities exercise their sovereign in the communes, and members of nationalities often are able in the commune, when they form a majority in the government and self-management organs, to take direct decisions not only on matters affecting their own status and needs but also on the development of the commune as a whole. According to article 217, the Constitution guarantees each nationality the sovereign right to freely use its own language and script, to foster its own culture.

The Constitution also explains the propotional representation of the republics and provinces as regards the composition of the officer Corps and promotion to senior command in the Yugoslav People's Army (Article 242), and as regards both Chambers of the Assembly of the SFRY (Articles 291 and 292). This principle is particularly effective in the organization of territorial and social self-protection (Article 239). Also according to the article 348, account must be taken of national composition in

(68) Gavro Altman, Yugoslavia: A Multinational Community, Belgrade Jugoslovenska Stvarnost, 1978, p. 24.

the appointment of members of the Federal Executive Council and other federal officials heading federal administrative agencies and organizations. Balsa Spadijer points that;

"In the 1974 Constitution, the executive bodies of the Federation, as an expression of national equality, the principle of equal representation of the republics was adopted, without regard to their size, as well as the principle of adequate representation of autonomous provinces. The same principle is valid for the Presidency of the SFRY, for the Constitutional Court and other bodies and agencies."⁽⁶⁹⁾

1. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE FEDERATION

According to the Constitution the rights and duties of the Federation derive from the determined "common interests" which the nations and nationalities, and working people and other citizens realize in the SFRY. Ivan Kristan points out that the common interests are realized in several ways;

"Common interest are realized through federal the republics and autonomous provinces take part in the realization of federal functions in two ways; by participating in the work of federal organs on the basis of the principle of equal representation in federal organs and by giving consent for specified decisions of federal organs. Both these ways give expression to the direct responsibility of the republics and autonomous province for the realization of common federal functions. The other way of realizing common interests is through direct cooperation and negotiation and agreement among the republics and autonomous provinces.

For the realization of common interests, an important role also played by other forms, such as: direct cooperation and negotiation and agreement among communes,

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Balsa Spadijer, "Federalism and National Question in Socialist Yugoslavia", Belgrade, Socialism Yugoslav Theory and Practice, 1977, p. 217.

self-management agreements, social compacts and associated labour and other self-managed organization and communities; activities of socio-political organizations, and of other social organizations and associations. This means that a significant portion of common interests are realized through the activities of self-managed organizations and communities and of working people and other citizens."(70)

The duties and functions of the federation explained in article 281 in the 1974 Constitution as follows;

- 1) Ensures the independence and territorial integrity of the SFRY and protects its sovereignty in international relations and decides on war and peace;
- 2) Ensures the system of socialist self-managing socio-economic relations and uniform foundations of the political system;
- 3) Regulates the basic rights of workers in associated labour and the basic right and obligations of self-managed organizations and communities and of socio-political communities regarding socially-owned resources;
- 4) Regulates the foundations of the law of obligations and contractual relations, basic relations in the sphere of the law of property;
- 5) Regulates the foundations of the system of social planning, the monetary system, internal and external money transfers, the customs system and the crediting of economically underdeveloped republics and autonomous provinces;
- 6) Regulates the foundations of the system of national defence, regulates and organizes the administration and command of the armed forces of Yugoslavia and regulates and organizes the Yugoslav People's Army;
- 7) Formulates the foreign policy of the SFRY and takes measures to ensure its implementations, concludes, ratifies and ensures the enforcement of international treaties, protects Yugoslav citizens and their interests abroad;

(70) Ivan Kristan, "Intrafederal Relations in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XXI August, 1980, p. 11-12.

- 8) Regulates the foundation of the system of protection of the state security;
- 9) Regulates the citizenship of the SFRY;
- 10) Regulates the supervision of exports and imports of goods and services;
- 11) Regulates the organization and mode of work of federal organs;
- 12) Regulates matters concerning settlements of conflicts of laws;
- 13) Protects constitutionality and legality in conformity with the Constitution."⁽⁷¹⁾

2. EXECUTION OF FEDERAL POLICY

According to the Constitution, in exercising the rights and duties of the Federation, federal organs must, within their province of work, monitor the situation in their respective departments, make proposals for the formulation of policy and adoption of federal statutes, rules and other enactments and review the execution of policy and implementation of federal statutes, rules and other enactments. Republican and provincial organs are responsible for the enforcement of federal statutes, rules and other enactments. Republican and provincial organs pass rules concerning the enforcement of these federal statutes and other enactments for whose enforcements they are responsible. As pointed out in the Constitution, in the line with the responsibility of republican and provincial organs for the enforcement of federal statutes, rules and other enactments are based on mutual cooperation, transmission of information, consultation and agreement. If republican and provincial organs do not enforce federal statutes or other enactments, the Federal Executive Council must notify them of the executive council of the republic or autonomous province involved, and request it to take appropriate measures to ensure the enforcement of the federal statute or other enactments in question.

⁽⁷¹⁾ The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 281.

As spelled out by the Constitution, the enforcement of federal statutes, rules and other enactments are directly enforced by federal organs when so specified by federal statute. When federal organs directly enforce federal statutes, rules and other enactments, they may be empowered to set up regional organs and organizational units to take charge of specific administrative affairs and also federal organs are vested with certain powers vis-a-vis republican and provincial organs.

3. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERATION

The right and duties of the Federation are exercised by the Federal Organs. Federal Organs are the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia, the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, federal administrative agencies and other federal organs and organizations.

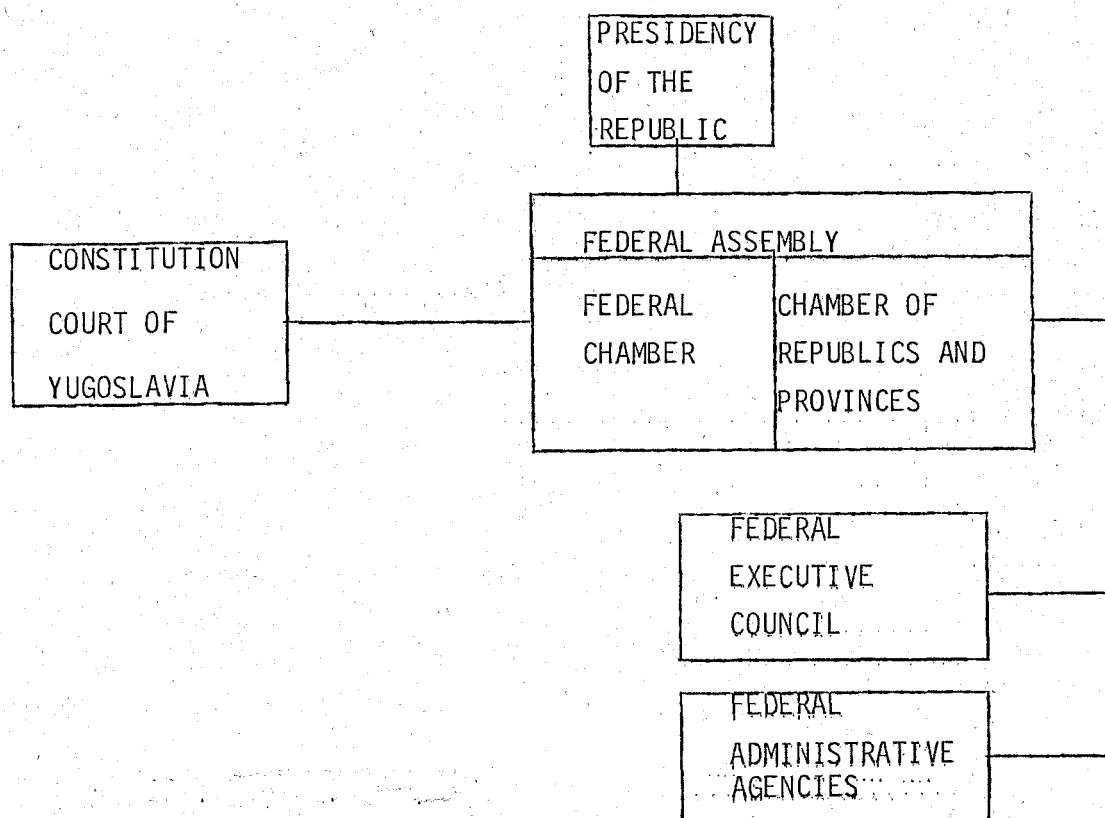


FIGURE III. Federal Organs

4. THE ASSEMBLY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

The SFRY Assembly is a body of self-management and the supreme organ of power operating within the framework of federal rights and duties. The SFRY Assembly is Constituted on the principles of delegation system, in line with the character of the federation and the responsibility of the republics and autonomous provinces for the realization of federal functions. The functions of the SFRY Assembly are exercised by the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces.

The Federal Chamber lays down the fundamentals of the internal and foreign policy of SFRY; formulates the policy of enforcement of federal statutes; adopts the Federal Budget; decides on war and peace, and on the frontiers of the SFRY; ratifies international treaties pertaining to political and military cooperation and those entailing the passage of new statutes or amendments to existing ones; lays down the fundamentals of the organization of the federal agencies and deals with other matters stemming from the realtion between the Federal Chamber and the Federal agencies. It grants amnesty for criminal offences as determined by federal statute and discharges other affairs.⁽⁷²⁾

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces formulates policies and passes federal statutes regulating relations in the following fields: the monetary and foreign exchange system; foreign trade credit and other economic relations with foreign countries; the formation of public reserves revelant for the whole country; price control, taxation on commodity sales, and measures pertaining to market restrictions; the system and source of

⁽⁷²⁾Durovic, op.cit., p. 110.

financing the activities of the Federation. It furthermore determines the total volume of expenditure of the Federal Budget, adopts the social plan of Yugoslavia and decides on the formation of federal funds and assumption of obligations by the Federation.⁽⁷³⁾

a. ELECTION OF DELEGATES AND DELEGATIONS TO
THE FEDERAL CHAMBER

Any person who has reached the age of eighteen years may be elected delegate to the Federal Chamber. A delegate to the Federal Chamber may not concurrently be a delegate to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Duration and termination of Mandate: The mandate of a delegate lasts four years. The mandate of a delegate is terminated before the expiry of his term: if he has lost his suffrage; if he has been condemned by a finally-binding court sentence to a term of more than six months, or if he has found guilty by a finally-binding court sentence of a criminal offense against the people and the state, or against humanity and international law or of any other criminal offense which makes him unfit for the performance of his function; if he is recalled; if he resigns; and if he has taken up some other post incompatible with his delegate's function.

Conduct of Elections: A writ for elections is issued by the president of the SFRY Assembly. As a rule, elections are held on the same day in all republics and autonomous provinces. Exceptionally, if so required by special reasons, the election writ may specify that the elections in individual republics and autonomous provinces be held on different days;

⁽⁷³⁾ Tomasevic, op.cit., p. 33.

but within a period of not more than eight days. In the case of the dissolution of Federal Assembly, the elections must be held within two months from the day of the call for the elections. Elections must be held not later than fifteen days after the expiry of the term of the delegates.

Bodies in Charge of the Conduct of Election: The election and recall procedure is conducted by the Federal Electoral Commission. The Federal Electoral Commission is composed of a chairman and eight members and their deputies, who are nominated by the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber. The Chairman of the Federal Electoral Commission and his deputy are nominated by the Federal Chamber.

Proposition of Candidates: The proposition procedure is organized and conducted by the commune organizations of the Socialist Alliance and trade union organizations respectively. Candidates are also proposed from among their own members, and by socio-political organizations, within the framework of the Socialist Alliance, from among members of their delegations. Candidates who have received a majority vote from all members of the delegations are considered proposed. Every delegation is bound to hold a meeting for the proposition of candidates not later than fifteen days from the day of the call for the elections.

Determination of Candidates: Candidates for delegates to the Federal Assembly are determined respectively by the republican and provincial nominating conferences of the Socialist Alliance. A nominating conference is convened by the chairman of the republican or provincial conference of the Socialist Alliance, which directs its work until the election of a working presidency. The conference may validly decide if at least two thirds of its members which are present at its meeting. Upon receiving the list of validly proposed candidates from the republican or provincial electoral commission, the nominating conference determines the

list of candidates. The list must contain at least as many candidates as there are delegates to be elected.

A draft list of candidates must first be drawn up. Every proposed candidate whose candidature has been supported by at least a tenth of the members of the nominating conference is entered into the draft list of candidates in alphabetic order. The candidates entered into the draft list are voted upon by secret ball, whereafter the list of candidates is determined. All proposed candidates who have received a majority vote of all the members of nominating conference are entered into the list of candidates. If however, the required majority has not been obtained by all candidates for the delegates to be elected, or if the results of the voting have not ensured the prescribed or determined composition of the candidates, voting is repeated until the necessary number of candidates or the appropriate composition of the candidates has been secured. The proposed candidates who have received the required number of votes are entered into the list of candidates according to the number of votes received, and in the case of an equal number of votes- in alphabetic order. The nominating conference is bound to determine the list of candidates not later than fifteen days before the day set for the election. After the determination of the list of candidates, the nominating conference issues a report on its work together with the list of validly proposed candidates the determined list of candidates. At the same time its working presidency must submit for confirmation to the republican or provincial electoral commission the list of candidates together with the minutes of the work of the nominating conference and written statement from all candidates that they have accepted their candidature.

Upon receiving the list of candidates, the republican or provincial electoral commission must check up whether the list of candidates meets

the prescribed requirements; if it finds that it does, it will issue a certificate thereon; if it finds that the list of candidates does not meet these requirements, it will reject the nomination of individual or all candidates does not meet these requirements, it will reject the nomination of individual or all candidates. If it finds that there were major irregularities in the nominating procedure, the electoral commission will annul the whole or a part of the nominating procedure in which case the whole or that part of the nominating procedure must be repeated.

Election of Delegates: Delegates are elected in the republics and autonomous provinces respectively. Delegates are elected by the commune assemblies sitting in joint session of all chambers. An electoral meeting is called by the president of the commune assembly. An electoral meeting is opened by the president of the commune assembly who directs its work until the election of the working presidency. The working presidency consists of a chairman and two members. An electoral meeting may be held if attended by the majority of delegates to each chamber of the commune assembly, and there is no such quorum, the meeting must be held within a specified period of time from the day for which the meeting was called; in this case the meeting may be held if attended by the majority of the total number of delegates to all chambers of the commune assembly. At the electoral meeting decisions are made by a majority vote of delegates to all Chambers of the commune assembly attending the meeting. Only candidates entered into the list of candidates determined by the nominating conference and confirmed by the republican or provincial electoral commission can be voted for. After the votes have been counted, the voting results are made public. Minutes are kept of the proceedings at the electoral meeting. After the termination of the meeting the chairman refers the electoral material to the commune electoral commission. Candidates who have received

a majority vote from the delegates who have voted in the commune assemblies, are elected.

The republican and provincial electoral commission keep minutes of their work. If they find that there were irregularities influenced the voting results, they must annul the voting in the commune assemblies concerned, and refer their ruling to the commune electoral commission which must proceed it to the president of the commune assembly, and announce it on the notice board of the commune assembly. After having determined, the voting results in the republic or autonomous province, the republican or provincial electoral commission must issue the elected delegates a certificate on their election and send to the Federal Electoral Commission a report on the election results together with the electoral material.⁽⁷⁴⁾

b. ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE CHAMBER OF REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES

Only delegates in the republican and provincial assemblies may be elected to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Duration and Termination of the Mandate of Delegations: The mandate of delegation members lasts four years. The mandate of a delegation member is terminated before the expiry of the term for which he was elected; if he lost his seat in the republican or provincial assembly.

Election of Delegation Members: Delegation members are elected on the basis of a list of candidates determined respectively by the republican and provincial conferences of the Socialist Alliance (in Bosnia-Herzegovina

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Matic, op.cit., p. 44-47,

and Vojvodina), by the Commission for Elections and Appointment of the Republican Assembly (in Montenegro), or by the Republican and Provincial Nominating Conferences (in Macedonia, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Kosova).

Delegation members are elected by all of the republican and provincial assemblies sitting in joint session. The electoral session is convened by the president of the republican or provincial assembly. The electoral session may be held if attended by the majority of the delegates in each chamber of the republican or provincial assembly.

Voting for delegation members is secret. The ballots contain the names of candidates listed in the same order as in the list of candidates. Voting is carried out by encircling the ordinal number preceding the name of candidate for whom the vote is being cast. Only candidates whose name are written on the ballots may be voted for candidates who have received a majority vote from all delegates of the republican or autonomous province assembly, are elected. The electoral procedure is repeated for the candidates who have not received the necessary majority after the repeated voting. If the list of candidates contains more candidates than there are delegation members to be elected, the candidates who have received the largest number of votes are elected. The president of the republican or provincial assembly must submit to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, a report on the results of election.⁽⁷⁵⁾

C. METHOD OF WORK AND DECISION-MAKING OF THE ASSEMBLY OF SFRY

The 1974 Constitution devotes special attention to problems concerning

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Ibid., p. 48-53.

the method of work of the Assembly, for two basic reasons. First, the complex structure of the Assembly makes it necessary to find specific principles in the Constitution. Second, the intention of the makers of the Constitution was to ensure the Assembly a status which would turn it into the most important centre of decision-making concerning all issues.

The Constitution does not, however, regulate all questions concerning the internal organization and method of work of the Assembly. It lays down Basic Principles leaving it to the Assembly Rules of Procedure and other Assembly acts to regulate them in greater detail.

There are many specificities in the method of work of the Assembly, especially with respect to decision-making, primarily as a result of the mode formation of Chambers and the character of their constituencies. Because of the differences in the formation and constituencies of the Chamber, there are corresponding differences in their decision-making procedures.

In the Federal Chamber decisions are, as a rule made by a majority vote of delegates present at the sessions, unless a special majority is required by the Constitution. A special decision-making procedure is required for the amendment of the Constitution; furthermore, if an issue of general concern to a republic or autonomous province is on the agenda or an issue concerning the equality of the nations and nationalities, or if so requested by the majority of delegates from a republic or autonomous province.

In the Chamber of Republics and Provinces most questions must be decided in agreement with the republics and autonomous provinces. Decisions concerning questions for which such agreement is required, may not be made unless such agreement has been reached through the appropriate procedure. For such decisions it is necessary to achieve full unanimity. Because of this voting is carried out by delegations individually and a decision is

deemed to have been reached if it has received an unanimous vote from all delegations in the Chamber. Other questions falling within its province of work and questions on which it decides together and on equal terms with the Federal Chamber, are decided in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces by a majority vote of all delegates present. Finally, laws on temporary measures are passed by a two-thirds majority of all delegates in the Chamber. So, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces make decisions in several ways; by simple majority, by an unanimous vote of all delegation and by a qualified majority of all delegates. The first two methods are common, while the third is exceptional and only applies to the adoption of laws on temporary measures. (76)

d. OFFICIALS OF THE ASSEMBLY

The Assembly has a specific number of officials. These are the president and vice-presidents of the Assembly Chambers. The President and vice-president of the Assembly are elected for a term of four years. These officials may not be elected to the same function for more than twice consecutively.

The president of the Assembly represent the Assembly, organizes and convenes joint sessions of its Chambers and presides over them; initiates debates on individual issues falling within the independent joint province of work of the Chambers or within the province of work of the joint working bodies of the Chambers, and coordinates their work. Furthermore the president ensures the implementation of the Rules of Procedure of the

(76) Zlatija Veljovic, "The Assembly of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia," Yugoslav Survey, Vol XVIII, February, p. 13-14.

Assembly, the observance of the principle of publicity the work of the Assembly, and the realization of the rights of delegates and delegations, call elections for delegates, counter-signs ukases on the promulgation of laws and signs other acts, adopts rules on internal order, and conducts other affairs specified by the Constitution, the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly and other regulations.

If the president of the Assembly is absent or prevented from attending to his office, he is deputized for one of the vice-presidents. The president may charge a vice-president with the conduct of specific affairs falling within the president's province of work.

The second group of powers of Assembly officials includes those which are exercised by the president of the Assembly together with its vice-presidents and the presidents of the Chambers acting as the Presidency of the Assembly. This group includes the following powers; to discuss questions concerning the coordination and programming of the work of the Chambers, their working bodies and the joint working bodies of the Assembly Chambers; to discuss procedural questions in the Assembly; and to interpret the provisions of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly; to ensure cooperation between the Assembly, the assemblies of republics and autonomous provinces and other social organizations self-managing organizations and communities and other organizations operating at federal level, and between the Assembly and parliaments of other states; to discuss the issues concerning the organization and work of the Assembly services.

In the line with the role played by the republics and autonomous provinces in the functioning of the Federation, the president of the Assembly may, in agreement with the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces, convene a session of the Assembly Presidency and summon to it the presidents of the republican and provincial

assemblies, in order to discuss issues of common concern. Representatives of socio-political and other social organizations, self-managing organizations and communities operating at federal level may also be invited to attend such a session of the Assembly Presidency.

Each Chamber of the Assembly has a president who represents the Chamber, convenes its sessions and presides over them and signs decisions and other enactments adopted by it. If the president of a chamber is absent or is prevented from attending to his office, he is deputized for by the vice-president of the Chamber who may perform individual affairs falling within the province of work of the President.⁽⁷⁷⁾

e. WORKING BODIES OF THE ASSEMBLY

In the line with the conception of the Assembly as the centre of political decision-making and the factor responsible for most significant decisions taken at federal level, the Constitution provides for a corresponding system of working bodies which take part in the performance of the functions of the Assembly and its Chambers. Each Chamber and the Assembly as a whole set up committees and commissions and other appropriate working bodies.

The working bodies of the Federal Chamber, prepare, propose and discuss drafts of laws, other rules and enactments, monitor the execution of policy and the enforcement of laws, other rules and enactments passed by Chamber, study and discuss and other issues falling within the province of work of the Chamber, and carry out certain tasks of concern for the work of the Chamber. Committees are established for individual spheres of

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Ibid., p. 16-17.

social life falling within the Chamber's province of work. Commissions are set up to conduct specific affairs of concern for the work of the Chamber or its working bodies.

The working bodies of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces are, in line with its character and basic function, primarily set up to reconcile views in the preparation of laws, other rules and enactments and to review other issues falling within the Chamber's province of work. Committees are established for purposes of adjusting standpoints in the preparation of acts and to prepare acts to be passed by the Chamber. Commissions are established to conduct other affairs of concern for the work of the Chamber and its working bodies.

In addition to, working bodies are set up by each Chamber, there are also joint commissions of the Assembly which, as joint working bodies, discuss issues of common concern. Joint commissions are formed as standing or ad hoc working bodies. The Constitution provides for the formation of a joint commission on elections and appointments, while the formation of other commissions or joint working bodies, and their province of work, composition and powers are regulated by the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly or by special Assembly decisions.⁽⁷⁸⁾

The Constitution also provides that Chambers of the Assembly may authorize the working bodies to conduct surveys and to demand from government agencies and self-managing organizations and communities the necessary information, data and document, and vest them with other powers required for the performance of their work. The only constitutional restriction is that these working bodies may not have any investigative or other judicial functions.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Ibid., p. 18.

5. THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Federal Executive Council is the executive organ of the Assembly of the SFRY which is, within the framework of the rights and duties of the Federation responsible for the situation in all spheres of social life, the execution of policy and the enforcement of federal laws and other regulations and enactments, and for the direction and adjustment of the work of federal administrative agencies. In this capacity the Federal Executive Council maintains ties and relations with agencies and organizations operating at federal level and with competent republican and provincial organs.

The functions, rights, duties and responsibilities of the Federal Executive Council are spelled out in the 1974 Constitution, according to the Constitution;

"The Federal Executive Council shall:

- 1) review the state and realization of the policy of the Assembly of the SFRY, and propose to the Assembly formulation of domestic and foreign policy;
- 2) introduce federal bills, draft regulations and other draft enactments and have the right to express its opinion on bills, draft regulations, and other draft enactments introduced in the Assembly of the SFRY by others so authorized;
- 3) lay down draft social plans of Yugoslavia;
- 4) introduce proposals for the determination of the total volume of expenditure of the Federal Budget...;
- 5) pass decrees, make decisions, and adopt regulations regarding the enforcement of federal statutes and other regulations and enactments of the Assembly of the SFRY;
- 6) ensure the execution of policy and the enforcement of statutes and other regulations and enactments of the Assembly of the SFRY;
- 7) ensure the execution of the country's defense policy and the implementation of preparations for defense within the framework of the rights and duties spelled out by the present Constitution and federal statutes;

8) ratify international treaties whose ratification does not fall within the competence of the Assembly of the SFRY;

9) adjust and direct the work of federal administrative agencies in order to ensure the execution of policy and the enforcement of statutes and other regulations and enactments of the Assembly of the SFRY...;

10) lay down general principles concerning the internal organization of federal administrative agencies; open diplomatic and consular missions of the SFRY abroad; set up professional and other services for its own needs and joint services for the need of federal administrative agencies; appoint and relieve of duty officials as specified by federal statute;

11) adopt Rules of Procedure concerning its own work."⁽⁷⁹⁾

a. COMPOSITION AND ELECTION OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Federal Executive Council is made up of: a president, a number of members elected in conformity with the principle of equal representation of the republics and corresponding representation of the autonomous provinces and of council members by virtue of their office (federal secretaries and chairmen of the federal committees), in the total membership of the Council, each republic must be represented by at least three, and each autonomous province by at least two members. In electing the Council, the SFRY Assembly elects one or more vice-presidents of the Council on the proposal of the Council's President.

At the proposal of the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly Chambers elect the president of the Federal Executive Council; they elect its members at the proposal of the candidate for the Council's President on the basis

⁽⁷⁹⁾ The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 347.

of the opinion of the SFRY Assembly Commission on Elections and Appointments. Each time a new SFRY Assembly is constituted, a new Federal Executive Council is elected. The president and members of the Federal Executive Council elected from among delegates to the SFRY Assembly cease to be members of the SFRY Assembly.

The president and members of the Federal Executive Council are elected for a term of four years. No one may be elected to the office of president of the Federal Executive Council for more than two consecutive terms. Members of the Federal Executive Council may be elected for two consecutive terms, and exceptionally, by a special procedure laid down by federal law, for one more term.⁽⁸⁰⁾

b. THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COUNCIL

The president of the Federal Executive Council has right and duty to: represent the Council; call the meetings of the Council, propose their agenda and preside over them; sign regulations and other enactments adopted by the Council; coordinate work in the Council and the work of its working bodies. The president of the Council has the right to propose to the Assembly Chambers to relieve of duty individual members of the Council and to elect new ones. The resignation of duty of the president of the Council initiates consideration of individual questions falling within the province of work of the Council or of questions concerning the Council's work, coordinates the work of the Council and that of other federal bodies,

⁽⁸⁰⁾ "The Federal Executive Council", Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XVII August, 1976, p. 30-33.

ensures the execution of the Council's policy, cooperation with other bodies and organizations. The president of the Council also takes care that the SFRY Assembly and the SFRY Presidency are kept informed of matters of general political significance which are decided upon by the Council.

Vice-presidents of the Council deputize for the Council's president with respect to all his right and duties in case of his absence or inability to perform his office, according to a schedule fixed by the Council, and carry out other work falling within the Council's jurisdiction, in conformity with the Council's conclusions. The president of the Council may, within the framework of his rights and duties, authorize the vice-presidents to deputize for him in individual affairs.⁽⁸¹⁾

In view of the Federal Executive Council's responsibility to the SFRY Assembly, either Chamber of the Assembly may, within its province of work, initiate discussion of questions relation to the work of the Federal Executive Council. Discussion of question relating to the responsibility of the Federal Executive Council may be terminated in the Assembly by taking a stand on the work of the Federal Executive Council and its responsibility; by adopting a conclusion spelling out the obligations of the Federal Executive Council or by issuing guidelines for its work; by introducing a motion for a vote of confidence in the Federal Executive Council, its president or its individual members; and by passing to next item on the agenda.

A vote of confidence in the Federal Executive Council, its president or its individual members may be introduced by either Chamber of the Assembly, the SFRY Presidency, and the Federal Executive Council itself.

⁽⁸¹⁾ Ibid., p. 36.

In the SFRY Assembly, a motion for a vote of confidence may be introduced by at least ten delegates in the Federal Chamber or by any delegation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. A motion for a vote of confidence must be introduced in writing between two sessions of the competent Assembly Chamber, or orally at a session of the Chamber concerned, accompanied by a statement of reason. If one of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly has passed a vote of no confidence in the Federal Executive Council, its president or one of its members, the president of the other Assembly Chamber must immediately call a session of its Chamber to take a stand thereon. If this Chamber, too, has endorsed the stand of the Chamber which has passed the vote of no confidence, the Federal Executive Council or the individual member concerned is relieved of duty. If, on the other hand, the other chamber has refused to agree with the Chamber which has passed the vote of no confidence, this Chamber must again consider the question of no confidence. If it still adheres to its earlier stand, both Chambers must hold a joint session to discuss the issue. If even at the joint session the Chambers which has passed the vote of no confidence still adheres to its previous stand, the Federal Executive Council or the individual member concerned is relieved of duty.⁽⁸²⁾

C. WORKING BODIES OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Federal Executive Council has the following working bodies; a coordinating commission, standing commissions, ad-hoc and other working bodies.

⁽⁸²⁾ Durovic, op.cit., p. 116.

Working bodies of the Federal Executive Council are set up to consider individual matters falling within the province of work of the Council and to give opinion and proposals thereon concerning the execution of specific tasks and affairs. They may not pass binding conclusions with the exception of those complementing materials for the meetings of the Council, and those concerning questions which they may decide upon on the authority of the Federal Executive Council. The Council may authorize a working body made up its members to formulate proposals for individual acts falling within its province of work.

The Coordinating Commission considers: questions of special for the national defense and security of the country; questions concerning preparations for the implementation of the Council's programme of work and the execution of the Council's conclusions, questions concerning the realization and promotion of cooperation between the Council and other federal bodies and agencies, the executive councils of the republics and autonomous provinces, socio-political organizations, organizations of associated labour and other self-managing organizations and their communities and associations; questions concerning the promotion and coordination of work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, and other questions concerning the promotion, adjustment and organization of the council's work.

The Rules of Procedure of the Federal Executive Council and the law itemize the questions on which the Coordinating Commission may formulate proposals for their solution. Proposals formulated in this way by the Coordinating Commissions are circulated to all members of the Federal Executive Council. If within a period of two days from the day of submission of a draft act none of the members of the Council has expressed his disagreement with it, or has not requested that the draft be considered at

a meeting of the Council, it is considered that the draft act has been passed by the Council. The day on which the act was adopted by the Coordinating Commission is taken as the day of its passage.

The Coordinating Commission consists of a chairman, vice-chairman and specified number of Council members.

Standing Commissions of the Council are set up to consider materials falling within the spheres for which they been established, and to give their opinions and proposals thereon to the Council. The Federal Executive Council may also set up standing commissions for the performance of specific affairs relating to rulings rendered in administrative proceedings and the adoption of other individual acts falling within the jurisdiction of the Council. Within the province of their work, standing commissions propose to the Council consideration of questions of principle from the spheres for which they were set up, determination of the Council's programme of work and measures for their implementation, and consideration of the implementation of the Council's conclusions and guidelines.

A standing commission of the Council consists of a chairman and a number of members appointed by the Council. The Chairman of a standing commission is appointed from among commission members and commission members from among members of the Federal Executive Council, officials of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, and others.

Ad Hoc and other working bodies are established by the Federal Executive Council or its president. Likewise, in order to coordinate the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, the Council may set up inter-departmental working groups made up of officials in charge of federal administrative agencies or federal organizations or of other officials of these agencies or organizations. The composition, tasks and method of work of these working bodies are spelled out by the

acts on their foundation.⁽⁸³⁾

d. METHOD OF WORK OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

It is constitutional principle that the Federal Executive Council works collectively within the framework of its rights and duties, it deals with and decides on all issues at its meetings. Decisions at meetings are taken by a majority vote of all those present, with the exception of ordinances calling for temporary measures on the basis of agreement with the SFRY Presidency, for which a majority vote of all members of the Council is required. The collective character of the Council's work is also ensured in the Constitution by the fact that in dealing with individual matters all Council members have an opportunity to express their views, and thereby also their responsibility regarding the issue dealt with.

The Federal Council is open to initiatives and proposals coming from individual government and self-management structures. The Federal Executive Council also must keep the public informed of its work, decisions, conclusions and views.

e. TECHNICAL AND OTHER SERVICES OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Federal Executive Council has a number of technical and other services for its own needs and for the needs of federal administrative

⁽⁸³⁾"The Federal...", op.cit., p. 40-43.

agencies and federal organizations.

The Secretariat General of the Federal Executive Council performs organizational-legal, administrative technical and other kinds of work for the needs of the Council, its working bodies, the president, vice-presidents and members of the Council.

The Secretariat of the Federal Executive Council for Legislative and Legal Affairs carries out technical work for the needs of the Council in connection with the preparation of laws and other enactments proposed to the Assembly by the Council, and in connection with the preparation of regulations and other enactments to be adopted by the Council, and ensures professional uniformity of these regulations and other enactments and their accord with the SFRY Constitution and federal laws; ensures the publication of regulations and other enactments in Official Newspaper of SFRY.

The Secretariat of the Federal Executive Council for Monitoring Economic Movements reviews economic developments with a view to gaining an insight into possible lines of economic flows and measures necessary to ensure coordinated economic development in line with the set targets of economic policy, and submits to the Council reports thereon together with appropriate proposals.

The Administration for Personnel Matters of the Federal Executive Council carries out technical and other kinds of work for the needs of the Council's Commission on Personal and Administrative Matters, relating to personnel matters falling within the Council's province of work; renders rulings in administrative proceedings falling within the Council's jurisdiction.

The Service of the Federal Executive Council For Defense Preparations is in the charge of technical and other affairs concerning defense preparations for the needs of the Federal Executive Council, and of specific

technical and other affairs for the needs of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations relating to defense preparations.

The Office of Protocol of the Federal Executive Council carries out technical and other kinds of work dealing with ceremonial matters for the needs of the Council, in particular in connection with the arrival and departure of representatives of foreign States and international organizations, and foreign persons staying in Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Council or its members; official departure abroad by members of the Council and their official visits in Yugoslavia; representing the Council and its members at various public events and other celebrations; reception in the Council of representatives of the republics and autonomous provinces and other socio-political communities, and of socio-political and other organizations. (84)

6. THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Presidency of the SFRY is a collective federal organ which represents the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at home and abroad. It is also vested with other rights and duties of the head of state and with other rights and duties relating to national defense and protection of the constitutional order, state security, creation and implementation of internal and foreign policy. Within the framework of its rights and duties, the Presidency works towards the adjustment of the common interests of the constituent republics and autonomous provinces in conformity with their responsibility for the realization of federal rights and duties. According to the Constitution;

(84) Ibid., p. 47-51.

"Within the framework of its rights and duties, the Presidency of SFRY shall:

- 1) propose to the Assembly of the SFRY a candidate for the President of the Federal Executive Council;
- 2) announce the decision of the Assembly of the SFRY on election of the Federal Executive Council;
- 3) promulgate federal status by ordinance;
- 4) propose the election of the President and judges of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia;
- 5) appoint and recall by ordinance ambassadors and envoys of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, receive letters of credence and letters of recall from foreign diplomatic representatives if accredited, and issue instruments of ratification of international treaties;
- 6) appoint, promote and relieve of duty generals and admirals and other army officers, as specified by federal statute; appoint and relieve of office the presidents, judges, and lay-assessors of military courts and military public prosecutors;
- 7) propose the election and relief of office of members of the Council of the Federation;
- 8) confer decorations of the SFRY;
- 9) grant pardon, in accordance with federal statute, for criminal offenses defined by federal statutes;
- 10) adopt Rules of Procedure concerning its work."⁽⁸⁵⁾

The Presidency exercises its rights and performs its duties on the basis and within the framework of the SFRY Constitution and federal law collectively, and is responsible for it. According to Mijat Sukovic and Marijana Pajvancic

"The collective responsibility of the Presidency stems from the general obligation of every organ to perform its self-management and other functions in conformity with the Constitution and law. In line with this, the responsibility of Presidency members does not only relate to the Assembly and the assemblies of the

⁽⁸⁵⁾ The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 315.

republics and autonomous provinces, but also includes various broader forms of social responsibility and comes to expression through the various forms of social control over the Presidency's work.

In other words, the Presidency is responsible to society as a whole, but its individual members may only be recalled by the assembly of the republic or autonomous province which elected them." (86)

a. COMPOSITION, ELECTION AND MANDATE OF THE PRESIDENCY

The Presidency is composed of a member from each republic and autonomous province. The president of the organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is a member of the Presidency by virtue of his office. The Presidency members from the republics and autonomous provinces are elected by their respective assemblies a joint session of all the chambers by secret ballot. They must be elected thirty days before expiry of the term of the outgoing members of the Presidency. Sitting in a joint session of both its Chambers, the Assembly announces the results of the election of the new Presidency. No one may be elected member of the Presidency for more than two consecutive times. No member of the Presidency may perform any self-management, public or other social function, with the exception of functions in socio-political organizations nor may they carry out any professional activity. Members of the Presidency are elected for a term of five years, that is, tenure exceeds by one year the term of delegates to the Assembly and the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces which elected them. This makes it possible for the

(86) Mijat Sukovic and Marijana Pajvancic, The Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Belgrade, Jugoslavenski Pregled, 1982, p.27.

Presidium regularly to exercise its rights and perform its duties even during the election and constitution of the Assembly and the Federal Executive Council.⁽⁸⁷⁾

According to the SFRY Constitution, in the event of a state of war or an immediate danger of war, the term of Presidency members is extended until conditions have been created for the election of new members of the Presidency.

The mandate of a Presidency member may be terminated before the expiry of the term for which he was elected if he is recalled because does not perform his function or does not perform it in a proper way; if he is relieved of office at his own request because of inability to perform his function owing to a personal reason (illness, retirement, assignment to another duty, etc.). If the mandate of a Presidency member is terminated before the expiry of the term for which he was elected, the mandate of the newly-elected member lasts until the expiry of the mandate of the Presidency member whose term has terminated. The function of a Presidency member is terminated on the date he is relieved of office by his assembly. From the date of the recall or relief of office to the date of the recall or relief of office to the date of the announcement of the election of a new member in the Assembly, the function of the member whose mandate has terminated is performed by the president of the presidency of his republic or autonomous province. A Presidium member who has for a prolonged time been prevented from performing his function is also deputized for by the president of the presidency of his republic or autonomous province. The mandate of the Presidency members is also terminated, regardless of the

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Durovic, op.cit., p. 115

term for which they were elected, if the Assembly fails, even after a fresh procedure for adjustments of stands, to endorse a motion of the Presidency for the formulation of internal or foreign policy, or a motion for the passage of a bill, draft-regulation or other draft enactment, or a motion to adjourn debate thereon. Outgoing members of the Presidency remain in office until the election of a new Presidency.⁽⁸⁸⁾

b. PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE PRESIDENCY

The Presidium elects a president and a vice-president from among its members for a term of one year. The 1974 Constitution explicitly specifies the possibility of a shorter or longer duration of the mandate Presidency's president. Thus, during a state of war the Presidency may decide to extend the mandate of its president or before the expiry of his mandate to elect another Presidency member to his post.

The president of the Presidency represents, on its behalf, the SFRY and the Presidency; convenes and presides over its meeting; signs acts adopted by the Presidency; ensures the implementation of Presidency acts and decisions, issues instruments of ratification of international treaties; receives letters of credence from foreign diplomatic representatives accredited to the Presidency; and is, on behalf of the Presidency, in charge of the command of the Armed Forces. During a state of war, in the event of an immediate danger of war, and in other similar kinds of emergency when the Presidency is not able to meet, its president exercises on its behalf, specific rights and duties.⁽⁸⁹⁾

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Sukovic and Dajvancic, op.cit., p. 29-33.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Tomosevic, op.cit., p. 37.

During his absense or prolonged inability to perform his function, the president of the Presidency is deputized for by the vice-president, who may represent him in the conduct of affairs entrusted to him by the president.

c. WORKING BODIES AND METHOD OF WORK

The Presidium may form standing ad hoc working bodies.

Standing working bodies are councils for individual spheres and commissions and ad hoc working bodies, groups or commissions for the study of specific questions and for proposing stand and solutions.

Councils monitor and consider questions in the spheres for which they were established, initiate consideration of specific issues and submit their opinion and proposals thereon to the Presidency. The Presidency has a Council for National Defense, and may form other councils. The composition organization and province of work of the Council for National Defense are regulated by federal law.

Commissions are formed to consider specific questions, give opinions and make proposals thereon. The Presidency has a Commission for the Administration and Command of the Armed Forces, a Commission for Organizational Questions, and a Commission for Petitions and Grievances. The act by which a commission is formed by the Presidency regulates its composition, province of work and powers. A commission has a chairman and a specified number of members elected from among Presidium member and federal, republican and provincial officials, and from professional people and public figures.

Ad hoc working bodies are most frequently set up as commissions or working groups. They are established by a decision of the Presidency and are entrusted with specific tasks.⁽⁹⁰⁾

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Sukovic and Pajvancic, op.cit., p. 34-35.

The Presidency works and considers questions falling within its province of work at regular meetings. Meetings are held as necessary. Meetings of the Presidency are convened by its president at his own initiative or at the instance of one or Presidency members, when so proposed by the President of the Assembly or the president of the Federal Executive Council, or a Council or commission of the Presidency. A proposal for calling a meeting of the Presidency may also be made by the Presidency of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LCY, the presidency of the CTUY, or by a federal Social Council. If the president of the Presidency rejects a proposal to call a meeting, he must notify thereof the Presidency.

A summons to a meeting, together with a draft agenda, must timely be served on Presidency members. The president of the Presidency submits a draft agenda containing items proposed by individual Presidency members, the president of the Assembly, the president of the Federal Executive Council, or the Chairman of a council or commission of the Presidency. If he omits to place on the draft agenda questions proposed by the Presidency of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY, the Presidency of the Central Committee of LCY, the Presidency of the CTUY or a federal social council, the Presidency will state at the meeting the reasons for this omission. The president and each member of the Presidency may propose to place additional items on the agenda and state the reasons therefor.

At its meetings the Presidency deals with questions falling within its province of work. Decisions may be validly made at meeting attended by a majority of all Presidency members. Unless the Presidium's Rules of Procedure specify that the Presidency decides by a two-third majority vote of all its members in the following cases: enactment of a law on temporary measures; adoption of a proposal to specify the sources of funds for

financing national defense or state security in the event of an emergency, or to take credits or undertake other obligations to secure such funds adoption of a motion to amend the SFRY Constitution, adoption of a motion to adjourn passage of laws or other Assembly enactments; staying before their promulgation, the enforcement of regulations of general political significance; proposition of a candidate for the president of the Federal Executive Council and adoption of the Presidency's Rules of Procedure.⁽⁹¹⁾

7. FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

Federal secretariats are set up by federal statute to conduct administrative affairs. In specific areas, within the framework of rights and duties of the Federation.

In addition to federal secretariats, other federal agencies and federal organizations in charge of specific administrative, professional or other affairs falling within the framework of the rights and duties of the Federation, may be set up.

Federal administrative agencies and federal organizations and officials in charge of these agencies and organizations are directly responsible to the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council. The SFRY Constitution specifies that officials in charge of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations are personally responsible for their own work, for the work of the agencies or organizations headed by them, and for the situation in their respective departments. They are also obliged to report on their work, to answer questions put to them by delegates, to abide by the

⁽⁹¹⁾ Ibid., p. 40-43.

SFRY Assembly's guidelines and by the stands of principle and directives of the Federal Executive Council.

Officials in charge of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations and other officials appointed by the Assembly of the SFRY are appointed for a term of four years. Officials in charge of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations and other officials who are appointed by the Assembly of the SFRY may be appointed for two consecutive terms and in exceptional cases, by a procedure laid by federal statute for one more term.

8. THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia decides on the conformity of status to the SFRY Constitution; on whether or not a republican or provincial statute is contrary to federal statute; on the conformity of the rules and other enactments of federal organs with the SFRY Constitution and federal statute; or whether individual rules or other enactments of the organs of socio-political communities and self-management enactments are in accord with the SFRY Constitution or contrary to federal statutes whose enforcement falls within the competence of federal organs. The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia also decides disputes involving rights and duties between socio-political communities.⁽⁹²⁾ The Constitution also points out;

"The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia shall review developments of interest for the realization of Constitutionality and legality, keep the Assembly of the SFRY informed of the state and problems of the realization of Constitutionality and legality, and shall submit to the Assembly of the SFRY its opinions

(92) Durovic, op.cit., p. 120.

and proposals regarding the enactment of amendment of statutes and taking other measures aimed at ensuring constitutionality and legality and the protection of self-management rights and other freedoms and rights of citizen and self-managing organizations and communities."(93)

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia consists of a president and thirteen judges elected by the SFRY Assembly. Judges of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia are elected according to the following formula: two from each republic and one from each province the president and judges of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia are elected for a term of eight years, and may not be re-elected to the same office. The president and judges are elected by the proposal of the President of the SFRY Presidency. They may be relieved of office before the expiry of their term at their own request, if they have been sentenced or imprisonment, or if they have become permanently incapable of performing their functions.(94)

(93) The Constitution of SFRY, 1974, article 365.

(94) "The Constitutional Court," Yugoslav Survey, Vol. XX November, 1979, p. 59.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE TRENDS

Today, Yugoslavia is one of the countries whose future developments can not easily be seen. The developments after Tito made observers think more instead of commenting. Many observers have pointed that after Tito the country would face problems which have no solutions, but today Yugoslavia is still standing after more than four years of his death.

The Yugoslav Revolution is now nearly forty years old. It has been in a constant state of dynamic change and the view of the society is almost unrecognisable to those who knew the country a generating ago. There have been four constitutional enactments since the end of the war. New methods of economic planning and industrial organization have been introduced. A Foreign Policy has been formed in a new sense.⁽⁹⁵⁾

The first Constitution was the model of Stalin's 1936 Constitution. The principle of federation was accepted in 1946 Constitution, but it was infact a highly centralised state. The choice of such kind model constitution reflected a natural choice for Yugoslavia, because at that period Yugoslavia was trying to take her place in socialist world. But as history witnessed the developments have brought Yugoslavia to a turning point. After the Cominform Resolution, Yugoslavia began to look for her

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Further information for non-alignment policy of Yugoslavia, See; Zdravko Micic, The Movement and Policy of Non-alignment, Belgrade, 1979, Mico Cusic, The Freedom and Independence and Integrity of Non-aligned Countries, Belgrade, 1979, Lazar Moysov, Dimensions of Non-alignment, Belgrade, 1981, Josef Bronz Tito, Tito on Non-alignment, Belgrade, 1976, Branko Savic, Yugoslavia in the Struggle for Action Unity in the Non-aligned Movement, Belgrade, 1979, Edvard Kardelj, The Nations and International Relations, Belgrade, 1975, Ranko Petrovic, Non-alignment-An Independent Factor in the Democratization of International Relations, Belgrade, 1979.

own way. As she emancipated herself from the other East European People Democracies' rigid way, it gave birth to new forms of economic and social organizations based on the concept of self-management which she is still trying to pursue.⁽⁹⁶⁾

The introduction of the new social and economic organization was marked in 1953 Constitution. It has brought the new order only in economic areas. The Constitution has made the communes powerful in their self-managing status to realize the pluralism and decentralization, but whatever seen at end of 1950s was the new regionalist trends as a product of decentralization. Such trends caused the new national demands in Yugoslavian multinational society which were partly in silence since the Liberation War. The necessity of extension of the self-management to all other areas of society was the main reason of the national demands. It was designed to minimize the problem in federal level. Consequently a new constitution was promulgated in 1963. With it self-management was applied in educational, cultural, social and administrative bodies. Four years later, the 1963 Constitution was amended to give a stronger voice to nations. The process of decentralization in the political area continued which was also reflected in the economic area.

Reforms continued in the new direction. The economic reforms of the sixties were intended to prepare Yugoslavia for the membership of the international division of labour. The new economical trend brought new developments to the country, especially, in her relations with West. Consequences of such reforms naturally reflected the political system as

(96) For a comparative analysis between Yugoslavia and the other East European People's Democracies, See: K.Z. Brezinski, The Soviet Bloc: Unite and... Conflict, Harvard, 1976, F. Feyto, A History of the People's Democracies, Middlesex, 1977, J.F. Triska and P.M. Cocks (eds.), Political Development ... in Eastern Europe, New York, 1977, C. Gati (eds.), The International Politics of Eastern Europe, New York, 1976.

the political system influenced the economic system. For example the economical efforts being nearer to West brought a serious reflection to the political system. The aspirations of many Yugoslavian people are directed to the successes of the capitalist states, rather than that of the self-managed socialist society, about which their leaders talk. That is one of the biggest problem still in today's Yugoslavia which would be likely to create new problems in the future.

The 1960's economic reforms also brought into being a private sector which still created problem in political area whose limits are enlarged from 1960 s until today. At the begining of these reforms, there was no permission to employ a person in one's own business, but today it is possible to employ up to five persons. The growing private sector is not the only cause which explains the increasing income differentials between groups of Yugoslav citizens. Within the system of "market socialism," many have found possibility to earn large extra incomes. The market is bound to produce inequalities in the Yugoslavian political system, thus Yugoslavia has been unable to narrow the income difference between regions or even within the regions. Would "market socialism" be able to narrow the income differentials? All the evidence suggests that differences in wealth is increasing. I suppose the question whether the terms "market" and "socialism" are compatible with each other will deeply make busy the Yugoslav leaders in the future.

The decentralization reforms, unfortunately, caused the technocratic powers in the political area in 1960s. The 1974 Constitution was declared to impede the technocrats' powers by forming seperate autonomous units in the system. But whatever still seen in the system is the power of executive boards in these units. More decentralization in the Yugoslav system affects negatively the implementation of self-management in

political area and bring more gap in the economic area. As the decentralization continued, self-management lost its initial sense as explained in the 1974 Constitution. I think self-management may find its meaning as in the 1974 Constitution if the responsibility of people and the self-management consciousness increased in the society.

In the economic sphere, Yugoslavian leaders have more things to do. The efforts of the Yugoslavs since the end of the Second World War have raised the general level of economic development throughout the country, but despite the desire to narrow the gap between the rich and poor areas, the distance between them increased. Besides the economic success of Yugoslavia in the last forty years, it is difficult to say this economic success has been reflected to decrease the size of the gap between the developed and underdeveloped regions. For example, the difference between the national income per head of Slovenia and Kosova increased its ratio from the foundation of SFRY to the present time. After the Second World War, the amount of the national income per head in Slovenia was three times more than the national income perhead in Kosova. Today, the difference is more than six times. I think it may not be an exaggeration to say, Yugoslavia has Austria and Iraq in one country.

Some efforts however were made to decrease the gap. For example the establishment in 1961 of federal fund from the developed areas to the underdeveloped areas was a part of a series of economic efforts to solve this problem. The establishment of the fund was confirmed by an article of the 1963 Constitution. The 1974 Constitution reiterates the obligation on the federation to establish a federal fund to assist them. Federal agencies are also empowered to float compulsory loans to assist the less developed areas to give direct assistance for the maintance of social services where these can not be financed from local sources. (Article 258)

The failure to close the gap between the developed and underdeveloped regions have potential dangers in a multinational state like Yugoslavia. Such kind of danger was felt in the 1971 Croatian and 1980 Albanian events. The development of decentralised market socialism has also tended to increase the regional inequalities. If the present policy is pursued, under ceteris parabus conditions, the gap would likely to widen and Yugoslavia would meet with new internal dangers in the future.

It seems that Yugoslavia has a long way before it reaches its goals. The prevailing question for Yugoslavia is whether the path they have chosen is leading towards their declared goals.

APPENDIX

EXPLANATIONS OF SOME EXPRESSIONS AND CONCEPTS USED IN THE SFRY CONSTITUTION

ASSOCIATED LABOUR (Udruzeni rad). This term is used in the Constitution to denote all institutional forms of association of labour by workers who, perform with socially-owned resources economic and non-economic activities, and also to denote all other forms of association of labour and resources of working people on these foundations.

BASIC ORGANIZATION OF ASSOCIATED LABOUR (Osnovna Organizacija Udruzenog rada). A Basic organization of associated labour is the basic form of association of labour in which workers decide the questions concerning their socio-economic status.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMUNES (Vece opstina) is one of the three chambers of the republican and provincial assemblies. This chamber is made up of delegates of working people and citizens in the communes.

THE CHAMBER OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES (Vece mesnih zajednica) is a separate chamber of commune assemblies. It is made up of the delegations of the local communities from the territories of the communes concerned.

THE COMMUNE (Opstina) is the basic self-managing socio-political community in which citizens realize and reconcile their interests and perform the function of management of social affairs.

COMPOSITE ORGANIZATIONS OF ASSOCIATED LABOUR (Slozene organizacija udruzenog rada) are a specific form of organization of associated labour established through the merger of several work organizations or basic organizations of associated labour operating within them.

THE DELEGATIONAL SYSTEM (Delegatski sistem) is the ground work upon

which assemblies (commune, provincial, republican and federal) are constituted on the basis of delegations of organizations of associated labour, local communities, and socio-political organizations.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (Izvršno veće) This term denotes the politico-executive body of the assembly of any republic and autonomous province and of the SFRY Assembly. The executive council is responsible to the assembly of its socio-political communities for the state of affairs in it, for the execution of policy and enforcement of laws and other assembly enactments, and for the direction and coordination of the work of administrative agencies.

FEDERAL ORGANIZATION (Savezna Organizacija) Federal organs established for the performance of specific administrative, technical, professional or other activities falling within the competence of the Federation.

LOCAL COMMUNITY (Mesna zajednica) A local community is the basic self-managing community organized by citizens living in a settlement, part of a settlement or in several interconnected settlements with a view to realizing their common interests and their needs associated with the improvement of their settlement, housing the operation of public utilities, and with matters concerning other spheres of life and work.

ORGANIZATION OF ASSOCIATED LABOUR (Organizacija Udruženog rada) This is a generic term for those economic and non-economic organizations which carry out activities which are organized on a self-management basis. Organization of associated labour include: basic organizations of associated labour, work organizations and composite organizations of associated labour.

SELF-MANAGING COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST (Samoupravne interesne Zajednica) are associations formed by working people through their self-managing organizations and communities, with a view to satisfying their personal and collective needs. Their aim is to link the interests of those

who render specific public services with the interests of those who use such services.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS (Drustvene organizacije) are associations of persons organized with a view to pursuing their specific interests, performing specific social affairs and developing various activities of general social interest.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CHAMBER (Drustveno-politicko vece) is one of the three chambers of the commune, provincial and republican assemblies. It is made up of the delegates of working people and citizens organized in socio-political organizations who are elected, on the basis of a list of candidates drawn up by socio-political organizations in the way regulated by statute, by working people and citizens and or delegates to the socio-political chambers of commune assemblies.

SOCIO-POLITICAL COMMUNITIES (Drustveno-politicke zajednica) are politico-territorial communities in which working people and citizens exercise constitutionally defined functions of management of social affairs concerning their collective or general social interests.

SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS (Drustveno-politicke organizacije) are political associations of working people organized on a programmatic socially-oriented platform.

WORK COMMUNITY (Radna zajednica) As used in the SFRY Constitution, this term denotes communities made up of workers who in organizations of associated labour perform administrative, technical, professional and similar activities of common concern to several basic organizations operating within an organization of associated labour, or who perform such activities in a peasant or other kind of cooperative, communities made up of workers in organization of business associations, banks and communities of life and property insurance.

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