

Political System of Yugoslavia under Tito

by Dragan M. Popovic, M.Sc. Political system in Yugoslavia was full of attempts, changes especially in the period, which was mentioned in the title of this essay. My intention here is to light processes that came out mostly from Yugoslav constitutions and their connections with opinions and tendencies of federal, republics', and local institutions. This time, according to myself, was final mach of Yugoslav disintegration and civil war. Considering previous sentence, I can say that every single idea or attempt of Yugoslav communist leaders finished with failure.

1) Economic prosperity has existed, but in the late 1960s, and in the beginning of 1970s failed with collapse, and creation of independent republics'-province's markets;

2) Effort in decentralisation failed as well, but with much harsher consequences co federalist tendencies with open demands for independent states. Independent republics'-provinces' markets in mixture with co federalist struggling finally took a win over all interwar or during the war communist intentions about specific Yugoslav road in socialism.

Communists figured that inter-ethnics problems were the most important things and strong enemies against their ideas. But, I think, they didn't see how deep those problems were. Their constitution solutions never directly answered on nationalistic tendencies. Lawmakers almost ignored ethnic discontents, and this was "main method" in dealing with such a problems. Every inter-ethnic, and inter-religious animosity was punishable according to the constitutions, but, it is obvious, this principle wasn't fruitful: with non-existing economic prosperity Communist leaders tried to deal with nationalism. Probably there weren't wishes for real united Yugoslav state especially in heads of Yugoslav leaders, perhaps in minds of people as well. Contemporary history answered us clearly on those questions. This essay is one of the many others which consider this period, and, I think, my lighting of the idea of co federalism, independent state's intentions (nationalistic tendencies) as core or base of every single after war Yugoslav constitution latent ideology in them, although manifest faces of constitutions were turned to better inter-republic relations, can give us new way of looking on Yugoslavia's after war political processes.

II. EARLY YUGOSLAV POLITICAL STAGES Many problems, which marked period of interwar Yugoslavia (inter-ethnic confrontations especially between Serbs and Croats, and accumulated economic problems) have prepared collapse of Yugoslav state at the beginning of the Second World War. Divided ethnic principles led to the harsh atrocities during the war. Yugoslav Communist Party found itself in that time as a "peacemaker" among confronted ethno-religious principles, same ones, which existed in interwar Yugoslavia's period, and as lever of organization of South Slavs' resistance against Hitler and his state-satellites. In mentioned conditions Tito, and his comrades found chance to improve ways of taking political power and leading role in resistance movement. According to old manner of Communist party struggle in all states (conspiracy), party establishment didn't want to recognize themselves as communist, but "partisans" or People's Front. Because of more declared than heroic struggle against powerful invader they obtained wide popular support especially in social groups like peasants and working people which were under pressure of bourgeoisie during old regime, and because of People's Front's propaganda about economic equality, equality of every ethnic and religious group etc. Tito and his movement sought recognition as liberation force from foreign governments, which were in alliance against Germany. Communist party was enforced by Westerners to accept conversation with Yugoslav government in exile. Tito and Subasic made agreement in June of 1944. It was some kind of consensus between Tito and the King. According to that King Peter had to recognize People's Front as only legal and true resistance movement in Yugoslavia and stop to help Mihajlovic forces. On the other side Tito accepted after the war creation of Provisional government, which should have been, consist of several members of government in exile, members of interwar Yugoslav political parties, and representatives of People's Front. Yet Tito was enforced to postpone his and AVNOJ's decision from November of 1943 expelling of Karadjordjevic dynasty, and replacing political system from monarchy to republic. Immediately after the war Tito started to mobilize every single power, which was against monarchy including all state services especially secret police to suppress endeavor of pre-war politician to come again in power. He wanted independent state, which wouldn't have been satellite of none foreign force, and he knew if king's elements take a win new Yugoslavia will be faced with Soviet intervention. Because of the non-democratic condition for election campaign non-communist members of Provisional government left their posts. Tito and associates were only in power. People's Front changes its name into National Liberation Movement, which was Communist party in reality. Every citizen from 18, who didn't give support on any way to the reactionary Mihajlovic forces during the war, could vote. Voters chose delegates from one single list where were only members of National Liberation Movement. November's elections were totally Tito's victory upon his political opponents. He has got recognition from western power. On the first Assembly session, which was held on 29th of November 1943, deputies proclaimed Republic Federative Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia. Now Tito could do whatever he wanted to do: 1) "to create a truly unified South Slavic state and 2) to realize Soviet vision or model of a socialist system." On the one hand, Tito hadn't to pass through coalition phase with interwar politicians because of his strong influence in social life and myths of partisan's movement. On the other hand, he could start with nationalization first with foreign companies, which were held during the war by Germans-invaders or domestic German population. Those firms were most prestige and solvent. In those conditions lawmakers started to work on constitution that was established in January 1946. According to it new federal state consisted of six republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, Serbia, which included two autonomous regions Kosovo and Metohija, and Vojvodina). New Republics inherited old system of interwar autonomous regions. At the base of making new republics' borders lawmaker had in mind traditional ethnic hatreds between Serbians and Croats, Serbians and Muslims, Muslims and Croats etc. and through the new regional organizing of state they tried to fix inter-ethnic problems.

They couldn't abolish every, especially structural (cultural and religious) differences. They started to resolve those problems by constitution's guaranteeing equality to every ethnic and religious group in Yugoslavia. Yugoslav system of representation involved bicameral legislature. First chamber, which name was Federal Council, representing people of Yugoslavia in general one delegate for each 50000 inhabitants. Second one was Council of Nationalities consisted of delegates who represented major ethnic groups in federation. The main functions of Federal Assembly were appointing of Executive Council and Presidium. Presidium held its own session between meetings of Federal Assembly and prepared its meetings. Parliament didn't have important role in political life because delegates had to accept all decisions, which were submitted by Presidium and Executive council. These bodies consisted of main leaders of Communist party. Same system was introduced in republics and in autonomous regions, but duties of republic governments were too small (only education and health insurance were in their hands). Tito's heroic figure was the most important factor in internal Yugoslav affairs. He was, among all, minister of defense. On the local level there were communes (consisted of few villages and hamlets). Above communes were districts, which held few towns. Above them districts, republic, and federal state. Most important organs in those local areas were People Committee's that were very powerful. They organized all local life. Their role was greater after promulgation of Five Years plan in 1947. Government promulgated at the end of 1945 Agrarian reform and colonization, which was attempted to set up state farms. In 1947 nationalization of private industries proclaimed. Those two laws represented main wishes of Yugoslav leaders to create Stalinist vision of state owned industry. Yugoslav politicians were without experience in politics, so new political establishment start to make a copy of Soviet state stile, and create Yugoslavia as Soviet satellite. But on the very outset of after war freedom Tito established new bureaucratic system, which began to make different way of Stalinist model easy decentralization, which started to be obvious after establishing of COMINFORM in Belgrade 1947. On his own, and his independent establishment, Tito wanted to form specific road in socialism and to enter in new era of relations with Stalin.

III. YUGOSLAV UNIQUE PATH IN SOCIALISM

1. CONSTITUTION FROM 1953 In early 1950s communists in Yugoslavia started with completely new ways of political organizing. Party has tried to introduce de-bureaucratizing lines, which were exclusively represented by ideas of Workers' Councils, communes and Council of Producers. With those innovations Yugoslav socialist road become unique among similar regimes, which were under "auspices" of Stalin. Inauguration of new path started with promulgated New Fundamental Law from 1953. Many of federal state responsibilities were transferred into the hands of republics, communes and their bodies in introduction and continuation of processes of one party system democracy and economic relations. General participation of workers in state administrative bodies formed Yugoslav original innovation self-administration.

General wish of Lawmakers was to put forward process of destroying nationalistic forces. They tried to do this with basic stress on economy questions. According to that every emphasizing of national or religious differences was punishable. On the other hand, Lawmakers have tried to emphasize healthy road in decentralization of state system through participation of producers in making state policy. The Federal parliament was again represented as bicameral body. First one was Federal Assembly. Its members were delegated by republics' and autonomous regions' Executive Councils, and now 60000 people of whole Yugoslav population were represented by one delegate. Former second chamber, which represented state ethnic groups in 1946 constitution as vision of ethnic equality, now became part of Federal Assembly (first chamber). Second chamber was Council of Producers, which was the great innovation of new constitution. Yugoslav political establishment with that innovation wanted to make closer decisions making about economy and market with people who are engaged in the field of production. The Peasants' co-operatives, trade unions, different guilds of craft's men, and other economic organizations selected delegates for Council of Producers. Old Stalinist institution, Presidium, was abolished and its responsibility was taken by powerful Executive Council. It had lesser number of ministries chairs. Only sectors, which all Yugoslavs interested in, stayed in the hands of central authority, like defense, state budget, foreign affairs, domestic affairs etc. All others were in the hands of republics' governments and communes, who became most important factor in economic planning together with enterprises on their territory. Constitution established great importance of communes. Idea of decentralization needed masses around the vision of direct socialist democracy. Communes had task to prepare population to accept participation in wide co-ordination of people in communal bodies like commissions, committees, and citizen's councils… Those bodies were buttressed by voters' meetings, which provided larger role to citizens in social and political life of the state. This mass participation of people in the base of the state systems provided mechanism for managerial education and experience. Besides mentioned functions, communes had to deal with taxation, social-economic activity, municipal and administrative activities, even had free wish to make decisions about investments in regions where those bodies engaged.

Another important innovation was establishing of Workers' Councils in companies. That exactly mean that producers from enterprises now can dispose of means of production premiums and revenues (surplus) by their own wish.

A. WORKERS' COUNCILS The most important institutions in that time were Workers' Councils. They were promulgated by law from 26th of June 1950. Law transferred ownership from state enterprises to the workers. Those bodies inaugurated in every economic enterprise. They had to enable laborers to take a responsible part in management of their firms; to make lesser dichotomy between managers and workers, between highly educated and skilled population with aim of braking cultural barrier among them; to educate workers in managerial business. These functions were manifest functions and aims of Workers' Councils, but latent ones were that that these councils would have become the most

important supporters of Communist party, its leaders, and of Yugoslav unique way to socialist one party democracy. Workers' Councils were thoughtful as supreme managerial organs in enterprise. Members of Councils were laborers of companies with chairman on their head. Number of members varied from company to company according to their size (from 15-120). Trade Unions and communes selected their members. Workers' Councils selected Executive Committee in their firms. They dealt with long, or short-term planning of company resolving every single problem: hiring and firing people, complaints, wages etc. Directors of companies were the most responsible men. In first phase they were appointed on bureaucratic way, but after 1952, special committees composed of the members of Workers' Councils and members of communes committees appointed them. From 1963 constitution Workers' Councils had exclusively right to appoint and to dismiss directors. In large enterprises Workers' Councils find them inefficient and out of touch of the certain needs of workers. Lawmakers found in those occasions that sub councils (Departmental Councils) would have done job better. Those councils dealt with specific interest of companies such as internal discipline etc. Decisions of those councils were obligatory for all employees of enterprises. Law on labor relations from 1957 established them. Idealistic conception of Workers' Councils in the most of the situations was very ineffective because of their members who were less educated people, and much more inexperienced in managerial work then their managers. Directors often manipulated with their decisions. Those bodies couldn't manage on right way with surplus of capital. They didn't have knowledge how to invest in short or long-term planning or to make alternative to director's decisions. They spent every surplus on bonuses, extra wages, holidays. From 1957 was shown that many of workers didn't want to take part in managerial processes. Inauguration of Workers' Councils was seed of disintegration of unified state market, which was the first round of tragic co federalist vision of 1974's constitution.

2. CONSTITUTION FROM 1963

Many old-new tendencies have arisen during 1950s. First, Yugoslav Government made better relations with others socialist countries; second, it has retained good connections relations with west. On the internal arena, exodus of villagers to cities continued because of the fact that the main lever of communist regime were workers, which could be much more easily organized in the system then peasants. Councils' of Producers didn't exert well its job because most of population (villagers) didn't believe in it and find themselves as citizens of lesser importance. Wishes for further decentralization and continuation of economic prosperity enforced Yugoslav lawmakers to inaugurate new constitution. It was in June 1963. Federal state got new name Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Tito remained president, but his function evolved in some kind of monarchial power. He became life long president. Tito was commander-in-chief of army forces, minister of defense, and only person who didn't get limitation of privileges. Rotation of functions was proclaimed as well. One couldn't be employee in federal and communal institutions both. Executive council continued to deal with jobs of general importance as in previous constitution. Federal Assembly had to accept again all decisions made from President and Executive Council. Great changes happened with the state parliament. On the one hand delegates represented certain number of people, which were elected by Republics and communes. Assembly of nationalities survived in mentioned body as a mark of ethnic equality. On the other hand, there were four more bodies, which were exclusively elected by communes (Assembly for Economic affairs, Assembly for education and culture, Assembly for social welfare and health, and Assembly for Organization - which determined of worker' Peoples delegates) . Four new chambers can be seen as try of lawmakers to organize functional representation and to institutionalize possible future conflicts, which will be held by state parliament. Republics, districts, and communes made lists of delegates at voters' meetings. Contrary to the former electorate system, beside workers, members of land co-operatives now could vote on election. In this constitution for the first time appeared theory of self-determination of people, and right to secession. Those changes represented evolution of idea of decentralization, and new way of thinking about connections between certain ethnic groups, and republics or autonomous provinces. Idea of decentralization, but with roots of possible division of the federal state, was defended by theory of faith and trust among local and republics' leaders, communist party and charismatic Tito's character.

IV. CONSTITUTION FROM 1974 After very obvious signals that Yugoslavia is yet unprepared for huge steps in decentralization leaders of state sought other path for way out of situation, especially after stronger demands for co federalism, or even independent national states. During the after war period the most important aims of Communist leaders were struggle against nationalism. Road in economic reforms and decentralization were main weapons against it. "Solutions" of Yugoslav politicians turned on side of nationalistic tendencies where became its base. Economic reforms promulgated in 1965 didn't make progress. Tito accused "bureaucratic forces" and secret police for stopping of economic processes, and transforming of state in modern decentralization system. Those things happened on The Third Plenary Session of Communist Party, 1966. Tito found support in younger generation of politicians, which weren't much caring about old tendencies, and find themselves as representatives of new Communist path "feudalist communism". League of Communist lost its power in favor of republican communist party. Problematic situations continued during 1968 with students of Belgrade University who began strike, and with first round of Albanians' "counter-revolution" on Kosovo against Serbia and Yugoslavia. Communist organization of Croatia had been going its own way espousing what soon became the "Mass movement" of Croatian resentment at the end of 1971. All those intentions led to final mach of second Yugoslavia constitution from 1974. New amendments on the 1963 Constitution were promulgated in 1971. Tendency for federal state disappeared in favor of republics and autonomous Serbia's provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina. Federal units became center of political and party life as well.

Text of the constitution from 1974 was very long and dogmatic. Muslims, religious group in Yugoslavia, were established as nation. Idea of self-management applied in all state institutions. This constitution didn't answer on basic questions,

and didn't define institutes which lawmakers mentioned in it like minorities, ethnic nations, self-determination, and secession. Republics', and Autonomous regions' establishment made definition of mentioned constitution's institutes by their wish: Slovenians and Croatians thought that right on self-determination connected with term "people", and further, with territory where that people live. On the other hand Serbians opinion was that right on self-determination belonged to the ethnic nations, and have proved that this wasn't connect with territory. Albanians used term secession in term of unifying state with Albania. Position of Autonomous regions (Kosovo and Vojvodina), which were constituent part of Serbia, was very interesting. In that time Serbian's politicians considered that mentioned Provinces are only "socio-political community", and not independent state in Serbia proper. It was wrong opinion because Kosovo and Vojvodina were not subordinated by Belgrade government's decisions, and they were listed with others republics as constituent part of Yugoslavia, or clearly, elements of federation. Serbian's institutions couldn't make decisions for whole Serbian's territory but only in "Narrow Serbia" Kosovo and Vojvodina had their own independent governments, parliaments, courts, police, and right of veto on every decision from federal state, and Serbia's institutions. Federal Parliament consisted of two chambers: Chamber of Republics and Provinces, and Federal Chamber. In the first one, republics, and provinces parliaments were in charge to select delegates for this body. Second one was filled by wish of Socialist Alliances of Workers' People of Republics and Provinces. Both chambers respected system of parity. Chambers of Republics and Provinces was most important legislative body. Any decisions there could be adopted only by consensus of Republic-provinces representatives. If one republics'-provinces' delegation didn't want to support some suggestion, it wouldn't have been accepted. Before decisions every delegations had to consult their "mother parliaments and If they get "green light", their suggestion would be adopted. In Federal chamber situation was similar. Here majority played greater role, but not majority of whole chamber, but majority of delegations. Decisions would have been adopted if majority of republicans'-provincials' delegations voted for it. In practice it was impossible because everyone respected wishes of their republicans'-provincials' mentors. We can conclude that work of federal parliament was in many ways completely paralyzed. Another important institution of 1974's constitution was presidency. There were, in fact, two versions of presidency. The first one was post of president of state, which belonged to Tito for duration of his life. Also he was president of presidency, although, considering to constitution, Tito, as a state president, couldn't be part of that body. That problem solved with Tito's leading post under League of Communist. According to constitution president of League was president of presidency. Chair of president of League would have been abolished AFTER TITO, and none could be president of presidency. Constitution considered presidency as body without president. In that way lawmakers admitted, without mentioning, Tito's mortality, and hindered any other person to replace him as a president. Republics'-provincials' assemblies elected members for presidency. They were not independent in their decisions, like state parliaments' bodies as well. They couldn't be impeached without wish of their parliaments. Recognition of autonomous regions as federal units, which was represented by their chair in presidency, put Serbia, in which autonomous regions were constituent part, in weaker positions toward other republics. Place of chairman of presidency would have been rotated between republics'-provincials' representatives in that body. Federal Executive Council definitely lost its former importance. Both federal parliaments chambers elected prime minister jointly. He had obligation to consist his government at the base of equal representation of the republics and autonomous regions. Duties of prime minister and government were constrained by republicans' and provincials' institutions. According to that Federal executive councils couldn't implemented, and conduct its decisions, but it depended on local centers of authority.

***Yugoslavia passed very dramatically transformation from 1945-1974. It started with purist Soviet model as satellite state. From 1950s continued through some kind of capitalist system in embryo, and later on Yugoslav society entered in phase of decentralization with very strong nationalistic influences and ideas of co federalism or independent states. This was especially marked by constitution of 1974 and legalisations of disintegrative forces. Last Yugoslav constitution proclaimed, and finally created destiny of Yugoslavia its dissolution and inter-ethnic civil war.

V. CONCLUSION Under communism Yugoslavia was very famous for its social, political, and legislative experiments. In period from 1945-1974 there were four constitutions. With constitutions official ideology have changed. After The Second World War Yugoslavia started as soviet Satellite, with primary Marxist-Stalinist-Leninist vision of state. Most important problem of Yugoslav leaders was how to fix inter-ethnic problems. They have tried to do this through repressive measures, but mostly, which was paradoxically because of its intention, establishment ignored those problems. Considering that, economic prosperity should have settled every animosity. We can apply Jung's terms here: individual unconscious, collective unconscious, or something archetypical among South Slavs. If we connected those terms with bad memories, we can get chaotic inter-ethnic situation, which was "cancer" of Yugoslav society. For mentioned problems Tito and his associates didn't find way out. Every single attempt for resolving problem was in fact entering much more deep in "black whole" without viable solution. Two sides bureaucratic, and de-bureaucratic, and their struggle were visible, but invisible thing under that fight was co federalist idea of republics especially of Slovenia and Croatia's party leaders. Considering rich state history and tradition of Serbia, communist leaders of Serb origin like Rankovic, Stambolic, Penezic-Krcun wanted to transfer parts of that to other "sister republics" and consciously renounced leading role in new state. Everything was clear after assassination of Penezic-Krcun in 1964, ouster of Rankovic 1966, and with establishment of new states inside of Serbia's proper Kosovo, and Vojvodina, in 1974's Constitution. This constitution finally legalized nationalistic tendencies of northwest Yugoslav republics, Serbia's provinces, and created Yugoslavia as co federalist state. At the base of constitution was idea of inseparable relations between nations and territory, where those nations live. Open demands for co federalism started immediate after ouster of Rankovic, through idea of transferring power of League to the republics communist parties. League has been up to that time avant-garde of society, but after its dissolution and loosing power, communist republic leaders started to go on their own way. Those

disintegrative processes none could stop anymore, except Tito, but he was very old, and sick man. As ancient monarch, he was only interested in foreign affairs, and non-alignments, full of faith in his assistants. When nationalistic tendencies arose, nationalistic ideologists like Bakaric, Krleza , and Kardelj hid under expression "Tito's Yugoslavia" or that every work will be done in the name of Tito. Serbs, as most numbered Yugoslav citizens were divided in 8 feudalist territories. Serbia, as constituent part of federation lost its equal status in comparison with other Yugoslav states. Other nations continued hard line to light of independence, and proclaimed later blood crisis in 1990s.

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