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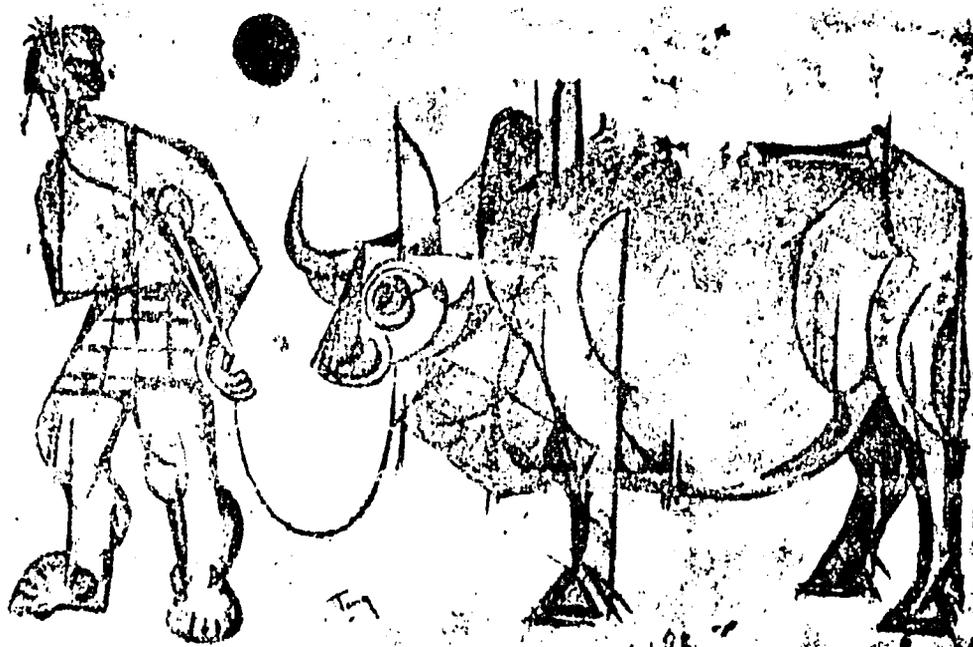
The after-war socio-economic development of Yugoslavia is commonly characterized and measured in terms of the industrialization, deagrarianization and urbanization of the country, rather than in terms of agricultural or rural development. The main aspirations and expectations refer to a pattern of socio-economic changes indicating movement away from traditional peasant and village life. Factory, industrial worker and urban way of life were the symbols of progress and prosperity. Even the development of rural areas and agriculture was evaluated from the point of view of the withering away of differences between rural-urban and agricultural-industrial sectors.

Statistical data indicate that such an orientation has been largely implemented: there has been a mass transfer of the labor force from agriculture to industrial employment and --to a lesser degree--of the population from rural to urban areas. This represents one of the most important structural changes in the country. The proportion of the agricultural population in the total population decreased in the period after World War II by more than 30 percentage points. In the period of 23 years (1948-1971), there was a transfer of 5,480,000 people, or approximately 240,000 every year from agriculture to other sectors.

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Special Series on Rural Local Government

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL
DEVELOPMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA**

Zdravko Mlinar

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT
IN YUGOSLAVIA

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FOREWORD

This monograph was written as part of a comparative study of Rural Local Government organized by the Rural Development Committee of Cornell University. The study aimed at clarifying the role of rural local institutions in the rural development process, with special reference to agricultural productivity, income, local participation and rural welfare. An interdisciplinary working group set up under the Rural Development Committee established a comparative framework for research and analysis of these relationships.¹ A series of monographs, based in most cases on original field research, has been written by members of the working group and by scholars at other institutions and has been published by the Rural Development Committee. An analysis and summary of the study's findings has been written for the working group by Norman Uphoff and Milton Esman and has been published separately.

This study of Rural Local Government is part of the overall program of teaching and research by members of the Rural Development Committee, which functions under the auspices of the Center for International Studies at Cornell and is chaired by Norman Uphoff. The main focuses of Committee concern are alternative strategies and institutions for promoting rural development, especially with respect to the situation of small farmers, rural laborers and their families. This particular study was financed in large part by a grant from the Asia Bureau of the U.S. Agency for International Development. The views expressed by participating scholars in this study are their own and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of USAID or Cornell University.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA

I. Some Contextual Characteristics

The shortest description of Yugoslavia which has been given is probably the following: Yugoslavia is one country with two scripts, three religions, four languages, five nationalities and six federated republics. Even if this does not express some of the most important and unique features of the political system today, such a presentation calls attention to the fact that we are dealing with a nation which is highly heterogeneous.

Over less than 1000 km. the average regional economic and educational span of variety is not much less than between Switzerland and Syria.¹

Any generalization about such a unit constantly faces the danger of inaccurate presentation of one or another segment of the country.

Yugoslavia consists of three main geographical areas-- the Pannonian region, the highland region and the Mediterranean region. The Pannonian region, economically the most important, consists mainly of lowlands. A fertile soil, a ground rich in resources and a topography suitable for the development of transportation and communication lines have promoted the development of large human agglomerations and of various kinds of industry in this region. Although the Pannonian region is Yugoslavia's granary and most of the

¹Eugen Pusić, "The Yugoslav System of Participation and Self-Management," Paper presented to Conference on Alternatives in Development, Vienna Institute for Development, June 1972.

land is kept under the plow, livestock growing is also extensively practiced.

About 75 percent of the country's total area consists of hills and mountains which are mainly concentrated in its central part. The country's average altitude of 545 meters above sea level makes Yugoslavia one of Europe's "highest" countries. The highland region is marked by comparatively poor resources of land and food. The main occupation of the population in this region is farming, with animal husbandry forming the chief element. In contrast to the lowlands where the predominating livestock are cattle and horses, which are kept in stables or sheds and reared more or less intensively, the highland region (with the exception of the alpine districts of Slovenia) is marked by extensive livestock farming based on hardy breeds of cattle and sheep.

The Mediterranean region consists of two parts: one gravitating towards the Aegean Sea and covering the area along the lower reaches of the Vardar, the other stretching along the Adriatic coast. The Adriatic region is rapidly moving towards prosperity owing to the development of the tourist trade. The main crops of the region are grapes, tobacco, "southern" fruit, vegetables and, in a smaller proportion, cereals. Each of the three main geographic regions (or macro-regions) includes several smaller regions (micro-regions), each of which is marked by its own special economic and cultural qualities.¹

Yugoslavia was established as a multinational state (the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) at the end of World War I. However, different historical experiences and exposure to different cultural and political influences on the component regions continued to be present in all spheres

¹ See Dr. Stipe Šušvar and Vlado Cvjetičanin, Cross-National Research Project on the Social Implications of Farm Mechanization, Zagreb: Agrarni Institut, 1968, pp. 1-2.

of life within the new political unit. The southeastern part of the country was more than four centuries under Turkish Ottoman rule, while the northwestern regions were an integral part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The latter abolished the feudal system in 1848, whereas in the southeast it lasted to some extent until the time of formation of Yugoslavia and even into the interwar period.

Yugoslavia's location at the crossroads between East and West was reflected also in the differences of economic development. While the northwestern regions (linked with Central Europe) attained a certain level of industrial development, the southern and central parts were living on a subsistence agricultural economy and handicrafts. In some parts of the country about 40 percent of the population were illiterate and only half of school age children were attending schools. Illiteracy was coupled with extremely high birth rate and infant mortality, particularly in Kosovo-Metohija (Albanians) and Macedonia.

On the eve of the Second World War, Yugoslavia still possessed the characteristics of a backward agricultural country. Almost 75 percent of the population, growing at a rate of 1.5 percent (one of the highest rates in Europe), were active in agriculture. According to some estimates, agrarian overpopulation amounted to 2 million (about 25 percent of the total agricultural population). The annual rate of growth of national income was about 2 percent, with a per capita income of 115 dollars. During the 17-year period from 1921 to 1938, due to slow advance in the industrial sector (which together with handicrafts employed less than 10 percent of the total active population), the share of the agricultural population in the total population declined by a mere 4 percent.¹ Total agricultural population, however,

¹See Edita Vajs, Problems Connected with Modernization of Underdeveloped Societies--Yugoslav Experience, Paper

went on increasing; during the same period it increased by over 2.2 million. Of the total natural increase in population during that period about three-fifths (60 percent) remained in agriculture.¹

A major issue that confronted interwar Yugoslav politics was how to integrate the peasant effectively into the social and economic system.² There was a chronic distrust on the part of the peasant of things that emanated from official central authority. Political organizations were based on narrow, primarily ethnic grounds and exacerbated the existing differences. The cement that held the Yugoslav system together was comprised of the army, the police and the bureaucracy. The government relied upon instruments of force rather than upon an articulated and shared belief system of a developed sense of nationhood.³ There was a growing isolation of the central power in Belgrade from the political and social forces of the country.

presented at the seminar on Problems of Modernization of Underdeveloped Societies, Department of Sociology, University of Bombay, November 1969.

¹Vladimir Stipetić, "Agriculture in the Yugoslav Economy," in The Yugoslav Village, Zagreb: Department of Rural Sociology, 1971, p. 8. Stipetić describes the character of the prewar agriculture as follows: "Agriculture was still the main branch of the economy. Transport, trade and other activities were significantly dependent on its prosperity. If years of good weather coincided with favorable sale of agricultural products on world markets, the economy of prewar Yugoslavia would prosper. Consecutive bad years, combined with difficult or unfavorable market conditions would as a rule deaden the country's whole economy." Ibid., p. 5.

²M. George Zaninovich, The Development of Socialist Yugoslavia, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968, p. 2.

³Ibid., p. 23.

The Communist Party was the only political organization trying to mobilize the masses on a country-wide basis, with a program for solution of social and nationality problems. Its narrow social base (the urban working class), however, and repressive measures of the central government limited its role until the beginning of World War II. The occupation of the country and the threat of wholesale extermination of the population was a sufficient challenge to break the inertia and prewar lethargic passivism. The organizational structure and experience of the Communist Party, despite its illegal status before the war, enabled this organization to start partisan warfare which grew into full-scale war and revolution.

The liberation movement with its army was deeply rooted in rural areas: most of the partisans were recruited among the peasants, most of the material support came from villages, most of the fights took place in the hilly areas of the country. Besides its active approach to national liberation and the nationality problem, the Communist Party had a "social program" which appealed to the workers as well as to the peasants. The slogan of the time was: "the land to those who farm it." This was the basis of the agrarian reform which followed after the war (see below, Chapter V).

The period after World War II is characterized not only by the radical change of the political system (which was continuously undergoing further transformation until the present time), but also by the most rapid economic development. Rural development was only peripheral to the focus of developmental change in the country, i.e. to industrialization and urbanization. Insofar as it was achieved, it was more a kind of a spillover effect of these two other developmental processes than a change in its own name. This will be elaborated in the chapters that follow.

II. The Role of Agriculture in Yugoslavia's Economic Development

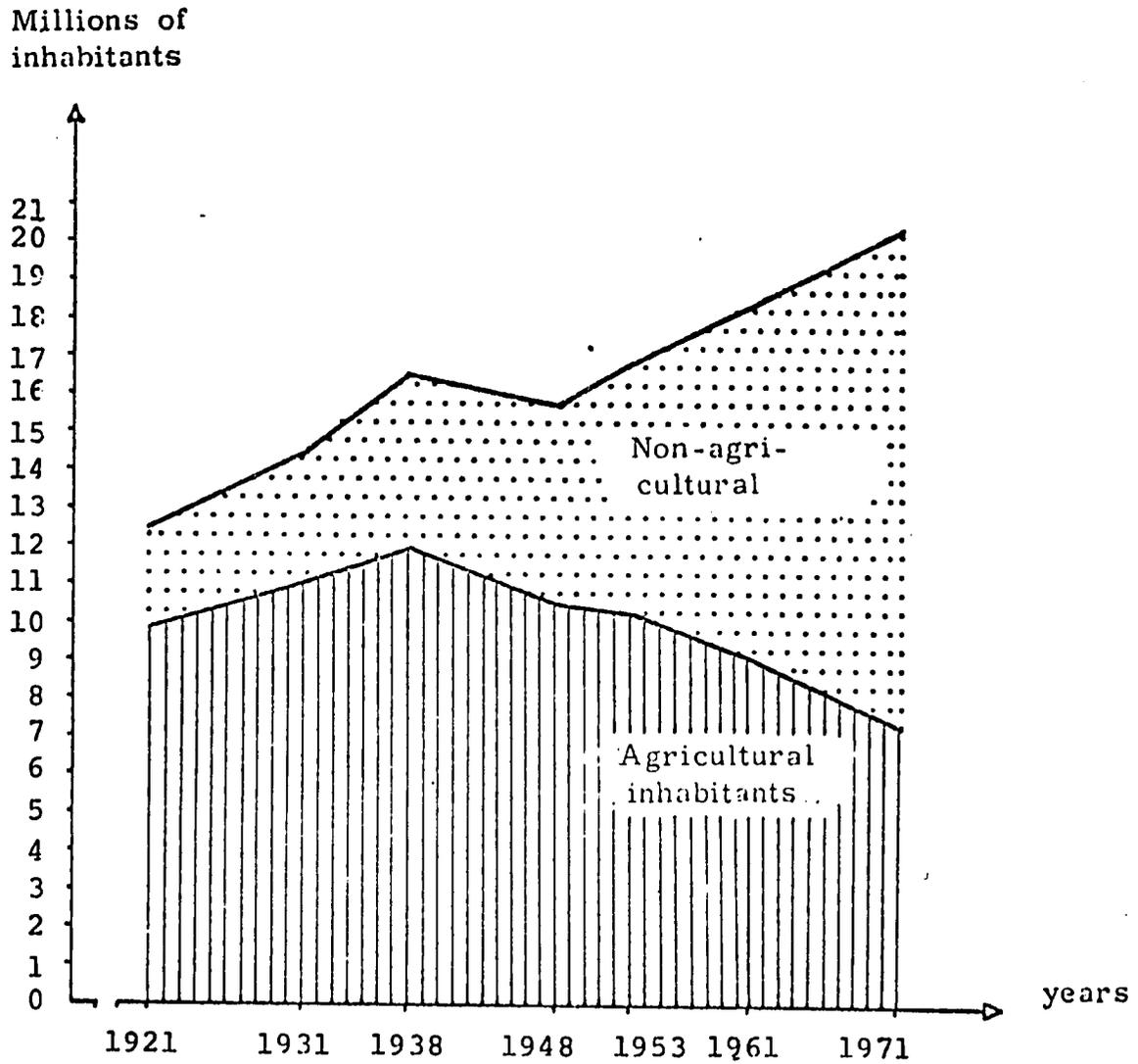
A. The Share of Agriculture in the Population and Labor Force

The after-war socio-economic development of Yugoslavia is commonly characterized and measured in terms of the industrialization, deagrarization and urbanization of the country, rather than in terms of agricultural or rural development. The main aspirations and expectations refer to a pattern of socio-economic changes indicating movement away from traditional peasant and village life. Factory, industrial worker and urban way of life were the symbols of progress and prosperity. Even the development of rural areas and agriculture was evaluated from the point of view of the withering away of differences between rural-urban and agricultural-industrial sectors.

Statistical data indicate that such an orientation has been largely implemented: there has been a mass transfer of the labor force from agriculture to industrial employment and--to a lesser degree--of the population from rural to urban areas. This represents one of the most important structural changes in the country. The proportion of the agricultural population in the total population decreased in the period after World War II by more than 30 percentage points.¹ In the period of 23 years (1948-1971), there was

¹Vladimir Stipetić in commenting on the tempo of the decrease of the relative size of the agricultural population and--using data from S. Kuznet's "The Quantitative Aspects of Economic Growth of Nations," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Chicago, 1959--comes to the conclusion that Yugoslavia has achieved, during the postwar years, a stage of non-agricultural development which in many developed countries took three to five times longer (in Sweden it took nearly 60 years for the agricultural population to decrease from 71 to 50 percent, France required 80 years to achieve a decrease from 43 percent in 1866 to 21 percent in 1946, etc.). See Stipetić, op. cit., p. 8.

Figure I: Change in Size of Total Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Population in Yugoslavia



Source: Društvene promjene u selu (Social Change in Rural Areas), Beograd, 1974, p. 47.

a transfer of 5,480,000 people, or approximately 240,000 every year from agriculture to other sectors.

Table I: Total Population and Agricultural Population of Yugoslavia, 1921-1971 (in thousands)

Year	Total population	Agricultural population	Non-agricultural population	% of agricultural in the total population
1921	12,545	9,885	2,660	78.8
1931	14,534	11,132	3,401	76.6
1938	16,657	12,027	4,030	74.9
1948	15,842	10,606	5,236	67.0
1953	16,991	10,316	6,675	60.7
1961	18,549	9,198	9,351	49.6
1971	20,523	7,515	13,008	36.6

Source: Društvene promjene u selu (Social Change in Rural Areas), Sveučilišta u Zagreb: Center za sociologiju sela, 1971, p. 48.

Deagrarization was especially rapid in the more developed regions of the country (Slovenia and Croatia) and less rapid in other areas. The average percent shown in Table I (36.6 in 1971) covers wide variations between republics (and autonomous regions) which can be illustrated by the difference between the most industrialized republic Slovenia (agricultural population representing 19.6 percent of the total population) and the autonomous region Kosovo-Metohija (50 percent).

Table II: Agricultural Population by
Republics and Autonomous Regions,
1961 and 1971

	Agricultural population (in thousands)		% of agricultural population in the total population	
	1961	1971	1961	1971
Yugoslavia (total)	9,198	7,515	49.6	36.6
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,644	1,408	50.2	37.6
Montenegro	222	181	47.0	34.2
Croatia	1,825	1,338	43.9	30.2
Macedonia	722	627	51.4	38.1
Slovenia	495	338	31.1	19.6
Serbia	4,290	3,623	56.1	42.9
- Republic of	2,711	2,259	56.2	43.0
- Vojvodina	961	738	51.8	37.8
- Kosovo	618	626	64.1	50.3

Source: Statistički godišnjak SFRJ (Statistical Yearbook SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]), 1968, p. 329, and 1973, p. 353.

We can also consider the changes in the number of active agriculturalists in Yugoslavia (see Table III). Unfortunately, the data are somewhat misleading in that the Yugoslav census treated many housewives in agricultural households as economically active while the housewives outside agricultural households did not get such a status.

Table III: Changing Number of Active
Agriculturists in Yugoslavia
(in thousands)

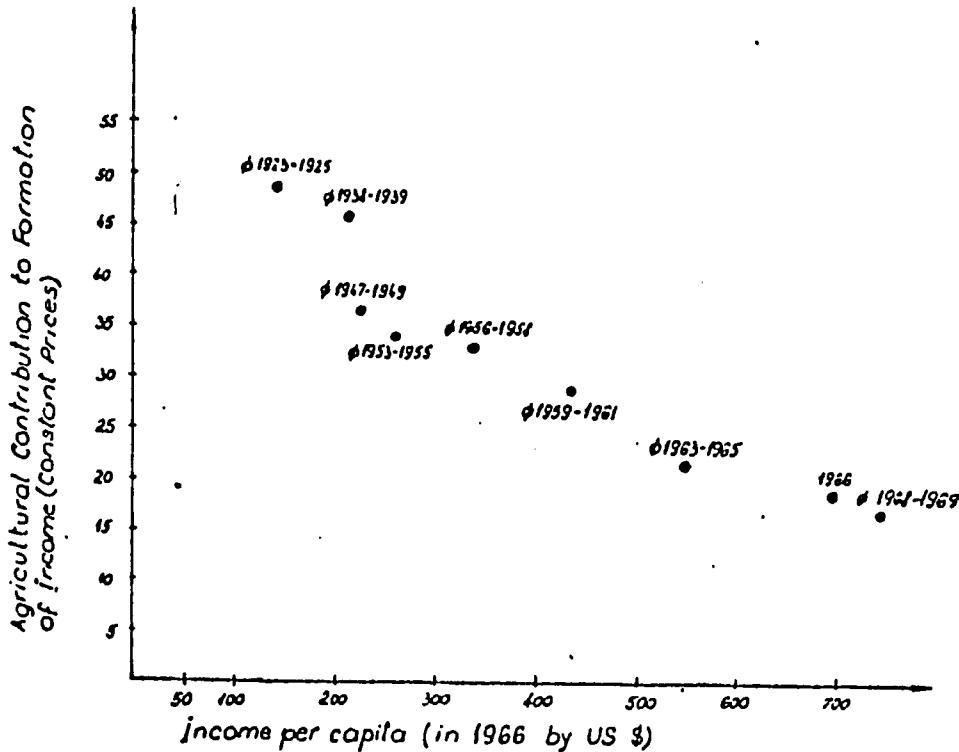
Year	Total number of employed persons	Number of active agricultur- ists
1948	1,517	5,627
1953	1,836	5,360
1961	3,242	4,692
1971	4,210	4,208

Source: For 1948, 1953 and 1961, Jugoslavia 1945-1964, Federal Bureau of Statistics, 1965, pp. 46 and 58; and for 1971, Statistički godišnjak SFRJ (Statistical Yearbook SFRY), 1973, p. 86.

B. The Role of Agriculture in the Production of National Income

A further indicator of the importance of agriculture in the economy of Yugoslavia is the contribution of agriculture in the formation of the national income. In the five years before World War II (1935-1939), agriculture contributed about 48 percent of the national income. With the rapid postwar development of non-agricultural activities, the importance of agriculture decreased. In the period between 1947-1951 it contributed 34 percent of the national income and in 1961 only 25 percent. By 1969 it fell to 23 percent. The relative decrease of the importance of agriculture in the formation of national income took place in spite of an unbroken increase of the volume of income from agriculture. In 1953 the national income from agriculture was 309 billion old dinars, and by 1969 that amount had increased sixfold to reach 2,731 billion dinars. Figure II below shows the contribution of agriculture to the formation of Yugoslavia's national income.

Figure II: Agricultural Contribution to National Income



Source: Stipetić, *op. cit.*, p. 9. He also presents the findings of a study by I. Vinski, "Rast fiksnih fondova Jugoslavije od 1946 do 1964 godine" (The Growth of Yugoslavia's Fixed Funds from 1946 to 1964), *Ekonomist*, 4, Beograd, 1965. This indicates that agriculture's contribution to the structure of public economic wealth also decreased: from 16 percent in 1946 to 13 percent in 1964.

C. The Role of Agriculture in Foreign Trade

A similar trend--of a decreasing importance of agriculture--can be observed in terms of foreign trade. Prewar Yugoslavia acquired about three-fifths of its foreign income by exporting agricultural products. This kind of export

continued to increase in absolute amount also after the war, but at the same time its share in total exports was continuously declining. The stagnation of agriculture until 1956 led to large imports of agricultural products, which reached almost 30 percent of total imports. After 1956 imports of agricultural products continued to increase in absolute amounts but their importance in total imports decreased.¹

Table IV: Agriculture in Yugoslavia
Foreign Trade, 1925-1965*

<u>Period</u>	<u>Exports</u>		<u>Imports</u>		<u>Balance</u>
	Amount	Percent of total	Amount	Percent of total	Amount
1925-29	4,699	62.5	1,634	19.6	+ 3,055
1930-34	2,572	58.7	777	18.4	+ 1,795
1935-39	3,075	60.9	854	20.3	+ 2,221
1953-57	31,449	37.6	42,155	29.8	-10,706
1958-62	56,749	34.4	45,240	20.3	+11,509
1963-65	79,089	28.5	67,314	18.3	+12,775

* Amounts shown in millions of current dinars. For the period from 1953-1965 according to the rate 1 US dollar = 300 dinars; for the period 1966-1969 the rate was 12.5 new dinars = 1 US dollar.

D. Consistency of Differences According to Several Criteria

The share of the agricultural population in the total population of the country, the relationship between the number of active agriculturists and those employed in other sectors, the contribution of agriculture in the formation of

¹ Stipetić, op. cit., p. 10.

the national income, and its contribution to foreign trade-- all these criteria seemingly indicate differences in the importance of agriculture in the Yugoslav economy. However, Stipetić offers the following interpretation of trends and statistics (as of 1961):

These differences are more apparent than real and can be easily explained economically. The low productivity of labor in agriculture necessarily results in the fact that the 58 percent of persons actively employed [who are] in agriculture provide only 25 percent of the income (Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia, 1963). Since the income of people employed in agriculture is low because of low productivity of labor, many people have a "second job," which is often the main source of income for the family. Such families are treated as non-agricultural, although the greatest part of their work output goes into agriculture. Finally, there is a small amount of capital per person gainfully employed in agriculture (i.e. on an average there is low level of investment per employed person), which is a result of the small value of social wealth produced and the large number of persons employed.¹

III. Agricultural Production

A. High Fluctuation

One of the main characteristics of the agricultural production in Yugoslavia is its high fluctuation. According to the physical variations as well as to the socio-economic and political changes within the country and in terms of international trade, agricultural production achieved many ups and downs. This may represent the common denominator of the basic problems of agricultural development after the war. The explanation of such an oscillation may reveal, on the one hand, the crucial unsolved issues of organizational, political, economic and technological character, and may itself determine the further rate of growth, on the other hand.

¹op. cit., p. 11.

An index of the physical amount of agricultural production (see Figure III) illustrates such a fluctuation. However, the oscillation in terms of the individual products shows even more divergent extremes. For example, in 1954 only 1.38 million tons of wheat were produced: this represents only 55 percent of the 1930-1939 ten-year average of production of wheat; the corn production in 1952 achieved 1.47 million tons, which represents only one-third of the prewar production; in 1950, 227,000 tons of plums were produced while a year later it reached 1,116,000 tons or, in other words, approximately five times more.¹

B. Level and Growth Rate: Two Periods

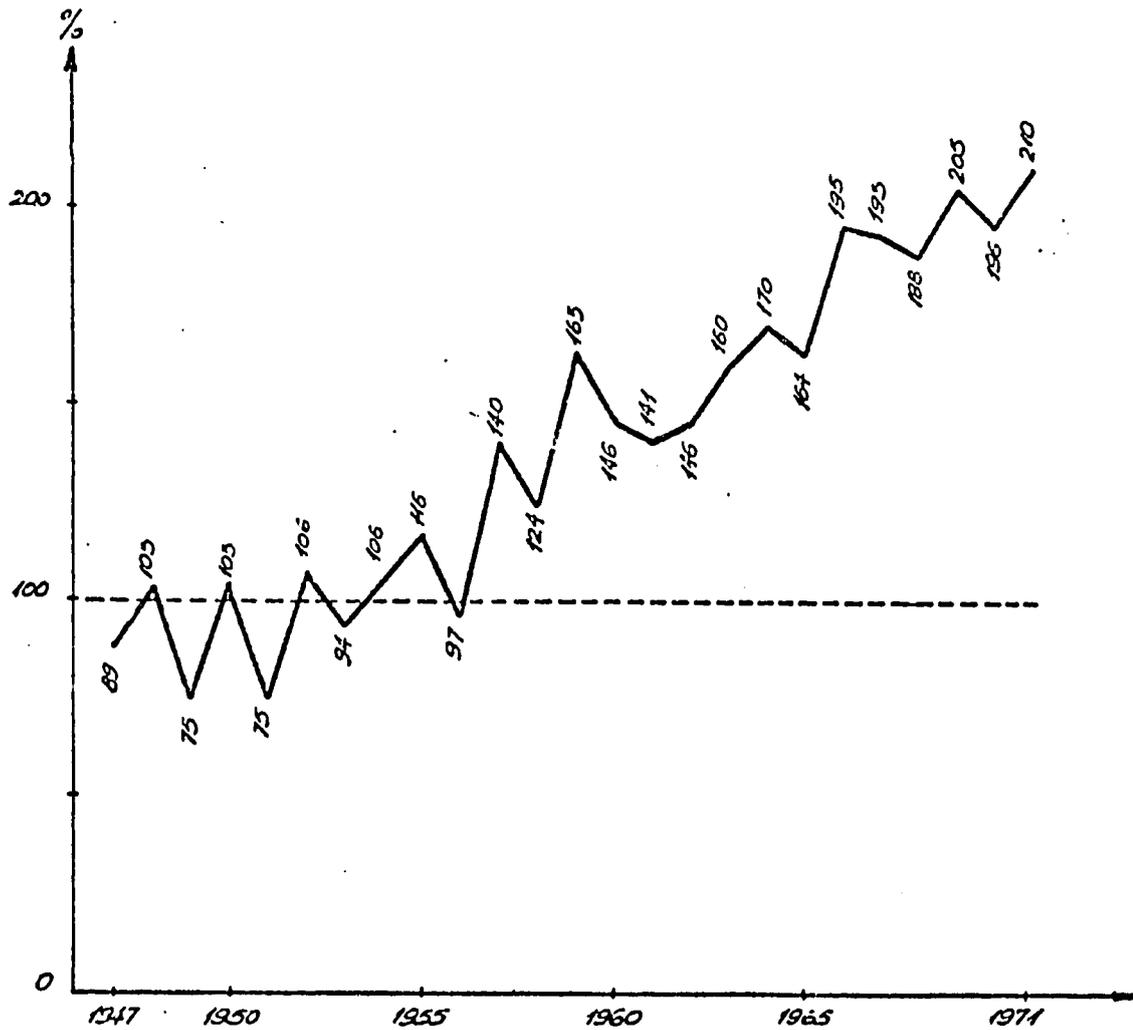
In spite of such oscillation, it is possible to distinguish two characteristic periods in terms of the level of agricultural production. The first one is the period between 1946 and 1957 when the average level of production was lower than a ten-year average from before the war. The second is the period after 1957 which is characterized by an average 50 percent higher and by less extreme yearly fluctuations. During the latter years the growth rates of agricultural production tend to decrease. Due to a wide range of factors--which will be discussed later--the rates of growth are decreasing in the private as well as in the social (state or public) sector of agriculture (see Table V).

However, the average growth rate of Yugoslav agriculture for the period of 20 years (1947-1966) was 4.2 and the per capita increase of agricultural production was 3 percent yearly. The index of increase in agricultural production for the period of 22 years after the war in the other socialist countries of Europe (except Yugoslavia) was 167 percent, in the developed region of Western Europe and

¹See Petar Marković, Poljoprivredna geografija (Agricultural Geography), Zagreb: Informator, 1970, p. 161.

Northern America 142 percent, in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and South America (except PR China) 137 percent and in Yugoslavia 187 percent.¹ Such a comparison indicates that the increase of the agricultural production in Yugoslavia in this period was among the highest in the world.

Figure III: Index of Agricultural Production (1930-1939 = 100)



¹ Annuaire de la production, Rome: FAO, 1967.

Table V: Growth Rates of Agricultural Production

<u>Period</u>	<u>Growth Rates</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Social sector</u>	<u>Private sector</u>
1954/55-1959/60	8.6	25.6	7.7
1955/56-1960/61	6.8	25.0	5.6
1956/57-1961/62	3.7	18.6	2.4
1957/58-1962/63	2.1	15.1	0.7
1958/59-1963/64	2.4	13.0	0.9
1959/60-1964/65	2.4	12.4	0.8
1960/61-1965/66	3.6	12.9	1.8
1961/62-1966/67	3.9	11.7	2.2
1962/63-1967/68	2.6	8.9	1.1
1963/64-1968/69	1.8	6.7	0.8
1964/65-1969/70	2.3	5.1	1.4
1965/66-1970/71	1.8	4.4	1.2

Source: Društvene promjene na selu, op: cit., p. 17.

C. Investments in Agriculture

Varying growth rates of agricultural production are to some extent related to the varying amount of available credits and of investments in agriculture. In the first period after the war when primary attention was paid to the development of industry, there were rather limited investments in agriculture. Actually, the fixed low prices for agricultural products and high prices for industrial goods represented a form of transfer of resources from agriculture to industry. This contribution of agriculture to a rapid industrialization was reflected in its own growth rate which only amounted in the period 1947-1956 to 1.67 percent yearly.

Table VI: Basic Indicators of Agricultural and Economic Development of Yugoslavia, 1921-1967

Period	Inhabitants		Annual rate of growth			Share of agriculture	
	mil- lion	growth rate	of income		of agri- cultural production	in natl. income	in labor force
			total	per cap- ita			
1921- 1940	12.5 16.6	1.4	2.2	0.7	2.3	51 48	79 75
1947- 1956	15.7 17.7	1.4	6.2	4.8	1.7	37 27	73 57
1956- 1961	17.7 18.6	1.2	10.6	9.4	8.0	27 23	57 51
1961- 1967	18.6 20.0	1.1	6.3	5.2	3.4	23 20	51 45
1947- 1967	15.7 20.0	1.2	6.6	5.4	4.1	37 20	73 45

Source: Vladimir Stipetić, Poljoprivreda i privredni razvoj (Agriculture and Economic Development), Zagreb: Informator, 1969, p. 315.

Table VII: Total Investments in Agriculture
(in million dinars at fixed 1966 prices)

Year	Total	Social sector		Private sector	
		Amount	Share in percent	Amount	Share in percent
1947	725	232	32.0	493	68.0
1948	1,350	649	48.1	701	51.0
1949	1,515	879	58.0	636	42.0
1950	1,146	708	61.8	438	38.2
1951	818	347	42.4	471	57.6
1952	869	293	33.7	576	66.3
1953	971	444	45.7	527	54.3
1954	1,161	467	40.2	694	59.8
1955	947	539	56.9	408	43.1
1956	1,286	778	60.5	508	39.5
1957	1,720	1,119	65.0	602	35.0
1958	2,221	1,461	65.8	760	34.2
1959	2,864	2,110	73.7	754	26.3
1960	2,809	1,198	71.1	811	28.9
1961	2,400	1,690	70.4	710	29.6
1962	2,372	1,810	76.3	562	23.7
1963	2,617	1,986	75.9	631	24.1
1964	2,854	2,186	76.6	668	23.4
1965	2,396	1,691	70.6	705	29.4
1966	2,556	1,811	70.9	745	29.1
1967	2,367	1,598	67.5	769	32.5
1968	2,517	1,729	68.7	788	31.3
1969	2,902	2,117	72.9	786	27.1
1970	-	2,050	-	-	-
1971	-	1,980	-	-	-

Source: Investicije 1947-1969 godine po stalnim cenama 1966 godine (Investments 1947-1969 with fixed prices--1966), Beograd: Institut za ekonomiku investicija.

D. Mechanization

Peasant holdings suffered large-scale destruction during the Second World War and--considering the prewar backwardness of the country--had to resume the cultivation of their land in 1945 with hardly any equipment. The mechanization of agriculture which followed will be illustrated in terms of the data on the number of tractors in private and social sectors.

Mechanization with tractors completely depended on the imports until 1950, when industry first started to assemble and produce tractors in Yugoslavia. Industrial production was primarily oriented toward the long-term objectives of rural and agricultural transformation. In view of the rapid collectivization being undertaken, there was a need for heavy machinery rather than for equipment suitable to the more than two million small peasant holdings. Such long-term, future orientation of industry was consistent with the firm stand of the government on agrarian policy--at different times more or less radical--aiming at a transformation of small-scale peasant (private) holdings into large-scale public (first--"state," later--"social") estates. On the other hand, such development increased the divergency and minimized the exchange between industry and the still enduringly fragmented agriculture. Modernization of the social sector was expected to establish the nucleus which will provide services to peasant holdings and gradually overcome the inefficiency and privatistic character of the inherited agrarian structure, with its potential danger of social inequality and exploitation.

We should understand that mechanization of the private sector was not a primary goal in the postwar period: rather it happened more as a matter of course, as a sidetrack in the main course of development. This is why there had been for a long time a certain hesitation to open a dialogue

concerning the question whether to prevent, tolerate or support the mechanization of private farms: This question was posed especially in terms of the rather high import taxes which affected the hundreds of thousands of workers from rural areas temporarily employed in other countries. It is only in the last few years (see the change in 1967 and 1970) that the number of tractors in the private sector has been rapidly increasing. This is due to wider possibilities for import (after the economic reform in 1965 which stressed the role of efficiency and a market-oriented economy) as well as the gradual rapprochement between industry and the extensive potential market in the rural areas. Both reflect also certain changes in agrarian policy.

Table VIII: Number of Tractors in Agriculture

Year	Total	Social sector	Private sector
1951	6,266	5,300	966
1958	20,500	15,691	4,809
1959	26,500	21,537	4,963
1960	31,700	28,657	3,043
1961	35,779	30,699	5,080
1962	38,045	32,965	5,080
1963	40,347	35,287	5,060
1964	43,264	38,184	5,080
1965	45,364	40,284	5,080
1966	45,420	30,340	5,080
1967	50,965	38,785	12,180
1968	46,962	34,782	12,180
1969	43,506	31,326	12,180
1970	68,199	29,151	39,048
1971	66,861	27,402	38,459
1972	64,793	25,757	39,046

Sources: Jugoslavija 1945-1966, Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1965; and Statistički godišnjak SFRJ Jugoslavije (Statistical Yearbook of SFR of Yugoslavia), Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1972.

Understandably, mechanization and specifically tractorization were concentrated in the social sector. Social holdings mechanized very quickly until 1965. During a period of ten years (1955-1965) the number of tractors increased 4.5 times. Besides the number of combines, lorries and other specialized machines increased considerably during the same period. After 1965 the accent was laid on heavy and medium-weight tractors and specialized machines, which led to a change in the structure of agricultural machinery and to a decrease in their number.¹

E. The Use of Fertilizers

The use of fertilizers represents another indicator of technological modernization of agriculture. In the inter-war period, the use of fertilizers in Yugoslavia was smaller than its production (68 percent of produced fertilizers were exported). After 1948 there was a rapid increase of the amount of fertilizers, especially in the social sector. The average total increase in the period between 1948-1969 was 24 percent per annum, with fluctuations in the wide range from 133 percent (1954) to minus 24 percent (1950). The use of fertilizers in the social sector in 1971 reached 556 kg. per 1 hectare of cultivable land, while in the private sector it only amounted to 107 kg. per hectare.²

¹Josip Defilippis, "The Development of Social Holdings in Yugoslavia," in The Yugoslav Village, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

²Svetozar Livada, Difuzija proizvodnih inovacija za zemljoradnju u seoskim sredinama (Diffusion of production innovations for agriculture in rural environment), Zagreb: Center za sociologiju sela Instituta za društvena istraživanja, pp. 46-49.

Table IX: Production and the Use of Fertilizers
in Yugoslavia, 1948-1969

Year	Production	Import	Export	Available for use	Actually used
1948-50	76	25	0.7	97	69
1951-53	74	26	0	90	62
1954-56	198	219	0	390	305
1957-59	279	796	0	1,075	984
1960-62	446	624	63	1,028	1,242
1963-65	1,254	901	102	2,030	1,937
1966-68	1,657	814	333	2,078	2,085
1969	1,789	591	112	1,848	1,822

Source: Petar Grahovac, Efikasnost potrošnje umjetnih gnojiva u jugoslovenskoj poljoprivredi (Efficiency of use of fertilizers in Yugoslav agriculture), Doctoral Dissertation, Zagreb, 1971, p. 84.

Yugoslavia has a relatively high rank in terms of the dynamics of the increase of fertilizers as compared to other countries. At the same time it is still very low in terms of the amount used, especially if the selected kinds of fertilizers for particular needs are considered.¹ There is no empirical research which would show the actual importance of several determining factors hypothetically "responsible" for a given situation. Besides the price policy for fertilizers and agricultural products, limited

¹ A lower level of use of fertilizers as compared with the private sector in Yugoslavia can be found in Europe only in Albania and Portugal. At the same time the use of selected fertilizers is higher only in Belgium, Netherland and West Germany in comparison with the amount used in the social sector in Yugoslavia. Costs of the fertilizers used in 1968 amounted to 5 percent of the total material expenses in the production of the private sector (this represents actually 22 percent of the monetary material expenses) and to 7 percent of the material expenses of the production in the social sector. Livada, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

access to credit, organizational problems of distribution, limited or (in some regions) non-existing extension services and a low level of general and vocational education should be considered.

IV. Changes in the Private Sector of Agriculture

A. Number, Size and Fragmentation of Peasant Farms

The total number of peasant holdings has not shown any marked changes in the period after the war in spite of the exodus of people from rural areas and the transfer of the labor force to non-agricultural activities. In 1969 the number of holdings was only 7000 less than in 1949. While the total number was still increasing between 1949 and 1960 it is decreasing after that period. However, the changes of the number of peasant holdings differ depending on the size of the holding and the region of the country. For example, the number of small holdings (smaller than three hectares) actually increased in the period 1960-1969 by 107,612, or approximately by 8 percent of their 1960 number. The number of holdings in the category above ten hectares decreased by approximately 10 percent. At the same time the number of holdings increased in the less developed areas (except Montenegro) by 60 thousand or 4.3 percent and decreased in more developed areas by 78 thousand or 6.7 percent. The number of peasant holdings is associated with their extremely small size. This is one of the crucial and most discussed problems of agricultural and rural development in Yugoslavia. The average size of the peasant holdings tends to decrease regardless of the category of land (total area, agricultural or arable land). The average in terms of the total area of holdings in 1969 was 3.91 hectares, the average agricultural area of a holding was 3.01 and the average arable area was 2.57.¹

¹See Društvene promjene u selu, op. cit., pp. 21-23.

Table X: Number of Peasant Holdings
in 1960 and 1969

Size of the holding in hectares	Number of holdings		Difference in percent
	1960	1969	
less than 0.5	250,725	315,140	+25.7
0.5 - 1	219,218	242,230	+10.5
1 - 2	445,867	463,507	+ 4.0
2 - 3	392,820	395,365	+ 0.6
3 - 4	306,693	284,361	- 7.3
4 - 5	251,602	230,397	- 8.4
5 - 8	421,947	383,440	- 9.1
8 - 10	141,811	132,436	- 6.6
more than 10	187,420	151,100	-19.4
Total	2,618,103	2,597,976	- 0.8

Source: Popis poljoprivrede (Census of the Agriculture) 1960 and 1969, Statistički bilteni, Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku.

Data on peasant holdings include all private ("individual") land holdings with a minimum of 0.1 hectares of arable land. Such a low limit contributes to the very high number of small peasant holdings. There are suggestions to increase the lower limit (in West Germany this limit is half a hectare, in France one hectare, in Switzerland two hectares) and in this way eliminate economically and practically irrelevant units. High fragmentation of peasant holdings aggravates the problem. In 1969 the average peasant holding in Yugoslavia had 6.5 separated parts and the average size of each part was 0.6 hectares. Approximately 20 percent of all peasant holdings consisted of 10 or more separated parts.

B. Socio-Economic Characteristics of Peasant Farm Households

1. Diversification of Households with Landholdings

Four types of households can be distinguished in rural areas in Yugoslavia:

- a. Agricultural households proper in which all active members work as agriculturists on the holding;
- b. Mixed households where some members work as agriculturists while others are employed outside of their farms;
- c. Non-agricultural households where all active members work as permanently employed outside of their farms;
- d. Households without labor force where there are no active members; most often they are old people.

Table XI: Changing Characteristics of Farms in the Private Sector in Yugoslavia

Year	Pure agricultural households	Mixed households	Non-agricultural households	Households without labor force
1960	1,533,329	874,089	143,462	67,223
1969	1,403,587	987,103	150,605	56,651
Change	- 8.5%	+ 12.9%	+ 5.0%	- 15.7%

Source: Popis poljoprivrede 1960, 1969 (Survey of agriculture), Statistički bilteni, Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku.

The number of pure agricultural households is decreasing while the number of mixed and non-agricultural households on the private holdings is increasing.¹ These changes indicate a diminishing role of agriculture regardless of the number of peasant holdings. Agriculturists hold a decreasing proportion of the total available land. The shift from agricultural to non-agricultural activity is not accompanied by adequate transfer of land, which would preserve the land for farming (or any use at all). In 1969 only 63.7 percent of the persons managing private holdings were agriculturists working on the holding. Others were either permanently employed elsewhere or they were craftsmen or retired persons.

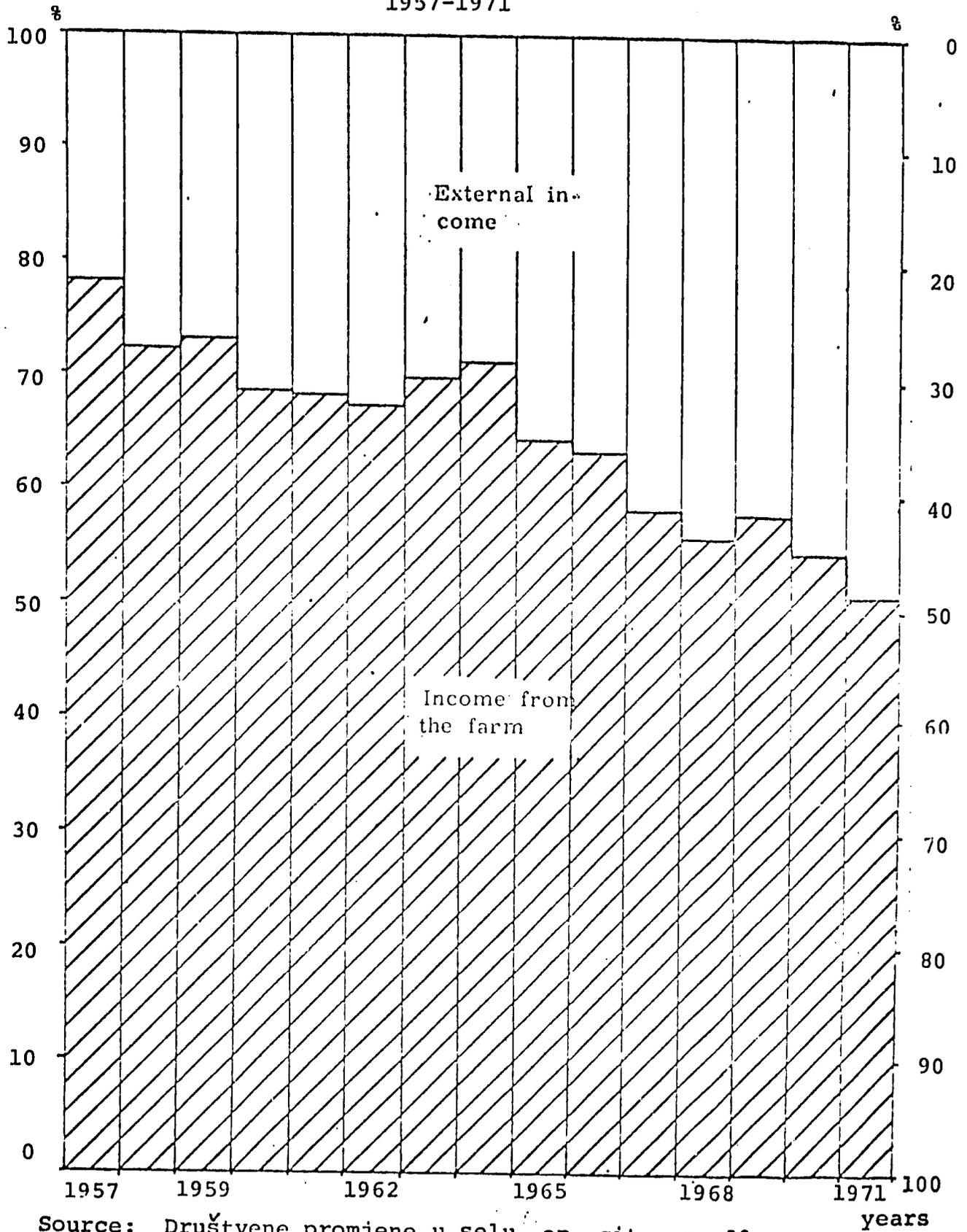
2. Declining Importance of Agricultural Production: Income and Consumption

There is a clear tendency over the last two decades for the share of the monetary part of total income of agricultural holdings (peasant farms)--in spite of some fluctuations--to increase. The production for own consumption on the farm would decrease even more if there were no permanently employed members in industry and elsewhere who "contribute" to the consumption of the household and who, because they are engaged in the "internal exchange" within the agricultural household, limit the amount of the agricultural product reaching the market.²

¹The decrease of the number of households without labor force is against all expectations and poses the question of the accuracy of data.

²Petar Milanović, Formiranje i raspodela dohodka seljačkih domaćinstava (Forming and distribution of the income of peasants' households), Beograd: Zadružna knjiga, 1966.

Figure IV: Source of Income of Private Farms, 1957-1971



Source: Društvene promjene u selu, op. cit., p. 30.

Agricultural households are continuously increasing the part of their income which comes from the non-agricultural activities. While in 1957 the income from the farm represented four-fifths of the total income of agricultural households, in 1971 this source of income represented only one half of the total income (the other half coming from other sources). Monetary income from external sources in 1971 represented two-thirds of the total monetary income of agricultural households. In the period from 1957 till 1971 monetary income from external sources nominally increased more than 15 times, while the monetary income from the farm increased approximately six times. The share of the external income was increasing with much higher tempo on farms that were small rather than large (in the Yugoslav context). Monetary expenditures of agricultural households indicate relatively very low investments in production and a high proportion of expenditures used for improvements within the household itself. In 1971 the first represented 37.0 percent, and the second 63.0 percent.¹

The sources of income as well as the pattern of consumption indicate a certain orientation of the private sector away from farming. Due to several factors the involvement in agriculture became a very unattractive way of improving one's standard of living. Limited access to modern technology,² low income, difficult work, very limited possibilities to get credit, lack of vocational training, exposure to high risk in terms of the market fluctuation and physical environment, limited social insurance, and generally very low social status of peasants in the society--these only illustrate the various kinds of explanatory factors of such an orientation.

¹Društvene promjene u selu (Social Changes in Rural Areas), op. cit., pp. 28-31.

²Farm machinery for the small-sized holding was not as easily accessible as household appliances or automobiles.

V. Development of the Social Sector of Agriculture

A. Agrarian Reform, Collectivization and Recent Changes in the Role of the Social Sector

Agrarian reform, introduced immediately after World War II, dispossessed big landlords, banks, churches and all landowners who owned more than 25 to 35 hectares of cultivable land. Later on, in 1955, the ownership of land was limited to ten hectares per holder. "Agrarian reform gave the land to the small and poor peasants, in this way fulfilling their centuries' old dream, on the one hand, and laid the starting basis of the socialist sector in agriculture, on the other hand."¹ About one half of this land was distributed to 316,415 small and landless peasants and the other half served to form large state farms and peasant cooperatives.

Clearly, the agrarian reform was pursuing quite different objectives at the same time. Socio-political criteria indicated the need for distribution of land to a large number of peasant families, who took part in the National Liberation War and whose property--if they had any--was destroyed during the War. Following the proclaimed principle, "the land belongs to those who till it," the agrarian reform was to serve as an instrument for eliminating the extreme forms of inequality and exploitation of landless and poor strata of the rural population, on the basis of employment as well as on the basis of some remnants of feudal relationships.

The distribution of nationalized land (and that confiscated from Germans and their collaborators during the War) actually increased the fragmentation. In terms of economic criteria, the results were not in accordance with the highly stressed need to overcome the pattern of traditional, inefficient farming on small, fragmented, private

¹Boris Kidrič, O izgradnji socialističke ekonomike FNRJ (On construction of the socialist economy, FPRY), Report at the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Kultura, Beograd, 1948.

peasant holdings.¹ But in the given situation, socio-political considerations were (considered) more important.² In the period 1946-1953, attempts were made to collectivize peasant farming. These were intensified and became a form of forced collectivization from 1949 to 1951 when most of the Peasant Work Cooperatives and General Agricultural Cooperatives were established.³

The collectivization campaign reduced the newly established Peasant Work Cooperatives to a primitive form of cooperative work. For the peasant, Work Cooperatives actually contained the same number of persons that previously worked on the peasant holdings which the cooperative had formally unified. The Work Cooperatives were unable to organize agriculture efficiently, nor was Yugoslav industry able to give them adequate assistance in these efforts.⁴ They were established under conditions of agrarian overpopulation, when industry and other non-agricultural activities were not in a position to absorb the redundant labor force from agriculture. Limited alternative possibilities of employment increased the resistance of the

¹The fact that the land was mostly--especially in Vojvodina--given to the colonists, who did not have the needed skills also reduced the productivity and the amount of the agricultural products on the market.

²The Peasant Work Cooperatives represented a higher level of collectivization (collective ownership of land, means of production and collective work). The General Agricultural Cooperative did not assume the change of land--ownership--though it was expected to facilitate and lead to such a transformation. See Ljubo Božić, Agrarna politika (Agrarian Policy), Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1960, p. 301.

³Ibid., pp. 299-300. For an extended analysis in English of Yugoslav land reform, see Folke Doving, Land Reform in Yugoslavia, a paper prepared for the USAID Spring Review of Land Reform, June 1970.

⁴Šušar and Cvjetičanin, Cross-National Research Project on the Social Implications of Farm Mechanization, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

petty landowner and his alleged mystical love for a piece of land of his own. This in turn affected the motivation for work of the members of the cooperative, especially when their membership in the cooperative was not voluntary. Limited capital, diverse physical conditions often inconvenient for modern production, dispersed lots of land, etc. further aggravated the work of the cooperatives.

Thus in 1953 the policy of collectivization was given up as an ineffective way for the socialization of the country's agriculture, to be replaced by the policy of concentrating and centralizing production in big social sector farms which were to become the champions of modernization and technical revolution in agriculture, the main promoters of the socialization of agriculture.¹

After a mass dissolution of Peasant Work Cooperatives, more attention was paid to the General Agricultural Cooperatives in order to shift again and concentrate--later in the fifties--on large-scale factory farms (agro-industrial "kombinats"). It is in this kind of transitional role that we can understand the functioning of General Agricultural Cooperatives. This was mostly the role of a link between private farms and the market, some extension services and to a limited degree, their own production.

Economic criteria (efficiency, profitability, competition within the national and international market) led to a more selective concentration of land in agro-kombinats as well as to the integration of small cooperatives into larger ones. This is why, in spite of the increase of the cultivated area, there is a tendency to decrease the number of kombinats (factory farms, agricultural estates) and cooperatives.²

¹ Ibid.

² We will discuss later some implications of this process from the point of view of the participation of the peasants in the management of the cooperatives (alienation of decision-making).

Many cooperatives merged with the factory farms (kombinats). Agricultural estates and factory farms together account for the largest area (65 percent of all social cultivable land). On an average they are the largest production and organization units (they possess an average of 3,600 hectares of land) and today they represent the greatest concentration of land, resources and labor in Yugoslav agriculture.¹

The most rapid increase of the cultivated areas in the social sector was in the period from 1959 to 1965. This was parallel--as has been shown previously--with the high investments in the social sector of agriculture which facilitated the three forms of increase of the areas in the social sector: purchase, lease and land reclamation.² From 1959 to 1971, the area of cultivable land in social ownership and possession increased by nearly 60 percent and represents today approximately 15 percent of the cultivable area in Yugoslavia. In spite of the relatively small proportion of total land in the social sector, this sector has a much higher share in terms of output and especially in terms of marketed production.³

¹Josip Defilippis, "The Development of Social Holdings in Yugoslavia," in The Yugoslav Village, op. cit., p. 72.

²These were the only ways of increasing the areas of land of social holdings from 1952 onward.

³"The increase of production in crop growing must primarily be ascribed to greater yield per unit of area, which has far surpassed yields in private production and has reached the level of yields in countries with the most intensive production." Defilippis, op. cit., p. 78.

Table XII: Number and Size of Social Holdings
in Yugoslavia, 1950-1970

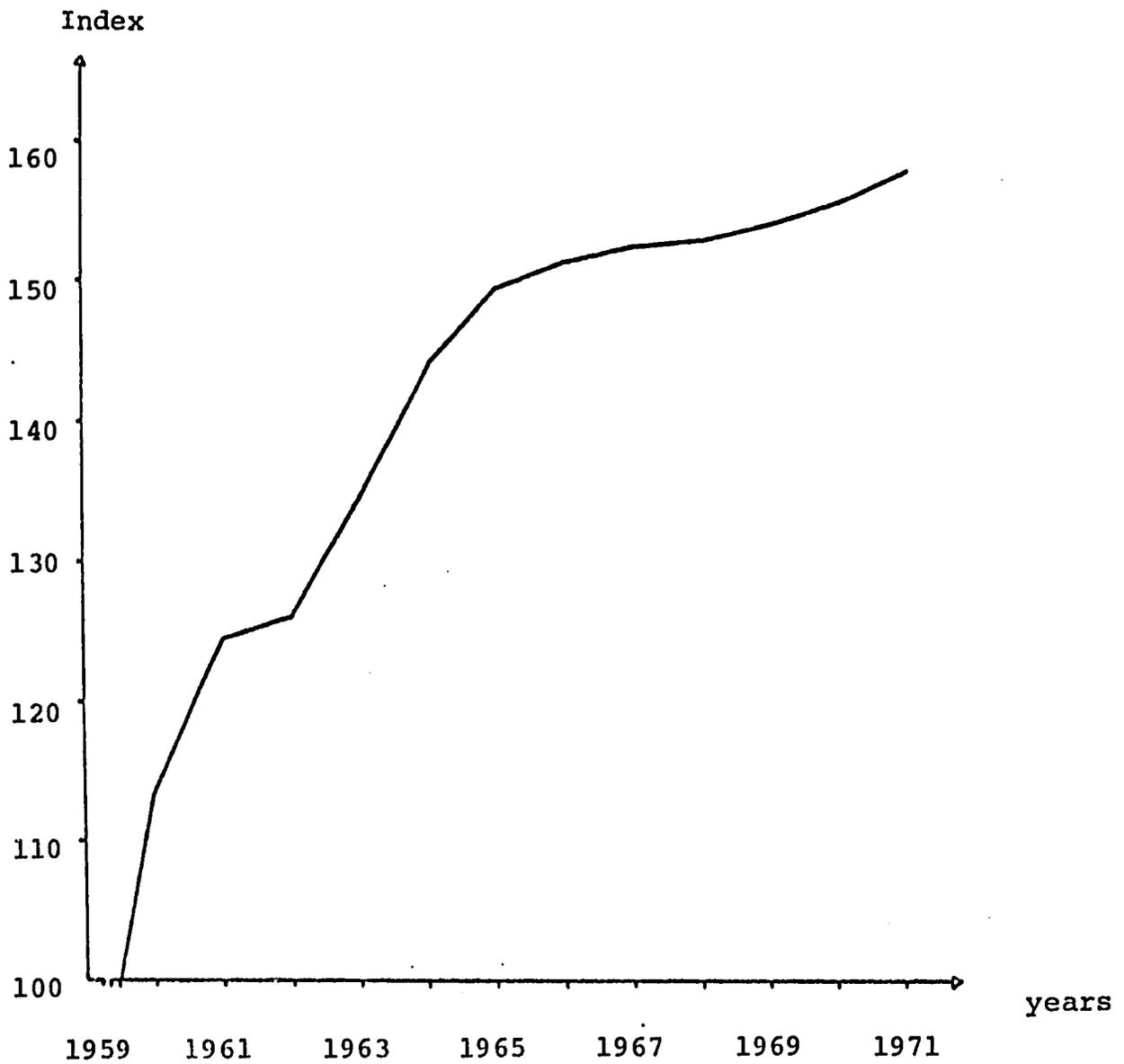
Type of holding	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970
<u>Number of holdings</u>					
Agr. Estates/Factory Farms	858	914	475	292	270
Peasant Work Cooperatives	6,913	688	147	10	-
General Agr. Cooperatives	8,004	6,066	4,086	1,936	1,102
Total (1)	26,130	8,366	5,121	2,559	1,929
<u>Cultivated areas (in thousands of hectares)</u>					
Agr. Estates/Factory Farms	276	404	477	780	975
Peasant Work Cooperatives	1,589	212	120	23	-
General Agr. Cooperatives	13	97	373	458	321
Total (2)	2,326	824	1,033	1,413	1,489
<u>Average size of holding (in hectares of cultivable land)</u>					
Agr. Estates/Factory Farms	320	441	1,001	2,670	3,611
Peasant Work Cooperatives	220	307	830	2,324	-
General Agr. Cooperatives	2	16	91	236	291
Total (1,2)	9	98	202	550	772

(1) Includes other forms of social holdings (owned by schools, universities, institutes, the army, etc.)

(2) Includes so-called "unorganized land" - socially owned land not included in organized production which in 1970 amounted to about 50,024 hectares of arable land, 64,260 hectares of meadows, and 2,132 hectares of pastures.

Sources: Jugoslavija 1945-1966, Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1965; and Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije (Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia) 1966-1971, Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku.

Figure V: Index of Growth of Arable Area
in Social Sector
(1959 = 100)



Source: Društvene promjene u selu, op. cit., p. 39.

Table XIII: Increases in Area under Social Holdings,
1959-1969
(hectares of cultivable land)

Year	Leased	Purchased	Reclaimed
1954-58	566,245	14,936	-
1960	187,414	35,696	46,589
1961	152,929	33,661	23,271
1962	116,683	46,749	10,586
1963	111,687	136,155	14,917
1964	78,502	83,268	11,929
1965	60,208	37,479	6,595
1966	48,313	17,399	6,766
1967	42,958	19,677	5,105
1968	40,242	21,420	13,899
1969	36,494	23,580	7,577
1970	38,306	19,063	3,194
1971	33,111	11,919	12,798

Source: Statistički bilten, nos. 271, 293, 393, 465, 655, 716 and 757, Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku.

B. Cooperation as a Form of Socialization of Agriculture

The role of the social holdings in the development of agriculture and rural areas is not supposed to be measured only in terms of the increasing proportion of land or the increasing production output. They are supposed to represent nuclei or some kind of development poles, attracting the expanding catchment areas of the traditional, fragmented private farms. Several forms of cooperation between social holdings and peasant family farms were introduced, especially: 1) providing different services to peasants, 2) contracting for the production of agricultural products and 3) joint production and distribution of the obtained income. Even the organized purchase of agricultural products is sometimes designated as cooperation.

There are objective limits for further increase of the area of land in the social sector, on the one hand, and severe limits for most of the private holdings to organize with their own means an increased market production, on the other. But, at the same time, there is a wide range of complementarities, when cooperation is of mutual interest and benefit. Production can be organized primarily in terms of technological requirements and become increasingly more independent of the (private) ownership of the land. Land is becoming technologically socialized, while property rights as a kind of economic privilege are being separated from the work process, and in the extreme result they obtain the form of monetary rent.¹ Cooperation is expected to develop from the peasant a producer whose income will more and more depend on the productivity of labor and less and less on land ownership and rent.

Small-scale private production must rely on the social organizer who will determine the modalities of production, ensure the supply of raw materials, grant credits, collect the goods and ensure their marketing. Small holdings lack the strength for their independent inclusion in the social division of labor, for taking market risks, for commercial transactions, for storing and finishing their produce. Based on mutual economic interests, this cooperation, on the one hand, ensures sufficient supplies of raw materials and, on the other, offers comparative security for production and a satisfactory income. This policy can by no means result in the preservation and stagnation of small holdings. It ensures for the small holdings social conditions in which they can achieve their productive maximum, while at

¹Edvard Kardelj, Problemi socialističke politike na vasi (Problems of Socialist Policy in Rural Areas), Ljubljana: Cankarjeva Založba, 1959, p. 131.

the same time promoting the socialization of their production process.¹ The extent of cooperation was increasing until the middle of the sixties but, due to several reasons, it showed a tendency of stagnation or even a decrease in more recent years. However, greater intensification and a greater yield per unit of area can be noticed. The number of peasant holdings taking part in different forms of cooperation varies to a great extent by regions. In some areas there are no economic organizations and/or land in the social sector, which limits the possibilities of any of the mentioned forms of cooperation between the two sectors.

Table XIV: Extent of Cooperation with Private Farmers

	1960	1964	1968
Number of Persons Included in Cooperation (in thousands)	801	1,261	1,082
Arable Land in Cooperation (thousands of hectares)	530	1,225	1,038
Livestock in Cooperation (thousands of head)	230	518	468
Percent of Total Number of Peasant Holdings in Cooperation	30.6%	48.2%	41.6%
Percent of Sown Land on Peasant Holdings in Cooperation	8.2%	19.9%	17.3%

Source: Artur Starc, "Cooperation Between the Social Sector and Private Farmers," in The Yugoslav Village, op. cit., p. 91.

¹See Šuvar and Cvjetičanin, op. cit., p. 18.

VI. Issues of Rural Development

A. Problems of Farming and Rural Life

The authors of the study Social Changes in Rural Areas present the opinions of a sample of 1,478 Yugoslav farmers from 69 settlements concerning "the list of 12 problems and difficulties which encounter the farmers in our country."¹ The respondents were asked to categorize each "problem" on the list as "big," "medium" or "small." The results are presented in Table XV below. Even if there may be some objections in terms of the quality of the sample, and regardless of the heterogeneity of the country, there is little doubt that the revealed rank order calls attention to the basic issues confronting the farmers in Yugoslavia.

The assessment of the relative importance of individual problems may be relatively accurate within the list which was offered to the respondents. The procedure of data gathering does not indicate, however, how much the attention of the respondents was directed and limited. It is highly probable that the method used accounts for some of the differences in comparison with the findings of some other studies.²

B. Measures for Faster Rural Development

Several studies undertaken during the last decade reveal the perceptions and dispositions of rural inhabitants concerning different aspects of rural development. Although such studies do not follow any clear distinction between the indicators and determinants of rural development, they may be useful and illustrative in terms of what are the main

¹Društvene promjene u selu, op. cit., p. 168.

²See studies by Theodore Buila and Petar Gledić discussed below.

concerns of rural people. In a way they indicate how the rural inhabitants themselves "measure" the development so far or perceive the potential actions which could speed it up. The respondents from areas (republics or communes) at different levels of economic development express not only different needs but also different views concerning the organization of problem-solving activities like who should have the main responsibility for certain issues or what steps should be taken to solve them.

Table XV: Problems and Difficulties of Yugoslav Farmers

Rank	Problem	Percent responses--- "big"
1	Unstable prices of agricultural products	75.9
2	Disadvantageous prices of agricultural in comparison with industrial products	71.4
3	High prices of seed, fertilizer, mechanization, etc.	68.4
4	Incomplete health and old age insurance	62.7
5	High taxes	60.5
6	Limited political participation of farmers	51.1
7	Difficulties in obtaining credit for the modernization of production	45.3
8	Difficulties in the sale of agricultural products	43.6
9	Unequal status of the farmer in cooperative relationships with kombinat or cooperative	41.6
10	Underdeveloped cooperation	35.6
11	Difficulties in schooling of children	31.2
12	Bad living conditions in the village (electricity, water, roads)	28.6

While the questions concerning the level of decision-making will be discussed later, some findings concerning the actions to be undertaken for an accelerated rural development can be presented here. On the basis of a representative sample for Yugoslavia; the Institute for Social Sciences in Beograd administered a survey which included the following open-ended question: "According to your opinion, which measures should be undertaken for faster rural development?"¹

Construction of roads was mentioned more often than any other single action considered to be a way of how to speed up rural development. The road is a symbol and a common denominator of the accessibility of goods and services (less so, of ideas) which are concentrated in urban centers. It has an especially important role for the less developed areas (republics) of the country. This is seen from the proportion of respondents emphasizing this category which is relatively five times greater in Bosnia and Herzegovina than in Slovenia. It is also relatively more often named by agriculturists than by other respondents.

The answers--"increase the number of experts, improve mechanization and develop cooperation"-- were interpreted by the researchers as a concern for improvement of agricultural production which could represent the best assurance of a rapid rural development in general. The data from the survey reveal, however, that agriculturists are not the ones who pay the highest attention to this category. Actually, all other occupational categories--except housewives--consider this approach to faster rural development more important than

¹Petar Gledić and Zoran Pandurović, "Jugoslovensko javno mnenje o aktualnim ekonomskim i socialnim pitanjima" (Yugoslav Public Opinion about Actual Economic and Social Questions, Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1964, p. 91. This is one of the few surveys on the topic covering the whole country (all the republics).

do agriculturists, those who work on their own land. Only ten percent of the respondents from the last category have chosen this modality of response. Politically more involved respondents attribute higher importance to this measure as a way to speed up rural development. The highest proportion can be found among the legislators (on local and higher levels). In spite of some differences which can be discovered on the basis of the breakdown by the categories of the respondents, the available data do not allow a satisfactory interpretation of such an orientation.¹

Table XVI: Measures Which Should Enable
Faster Rural Development

	Number of respondents	Percent
1. Construction of roads	332	19.9
2. Increasing the number of experts, improve mechanization, develop cooperation	256	15.4
3. Electrification	191	11.5
4. Paying more attention to the rural areas in general	183	11.0
5. Augmenting the level of education and culture	87	5.2
6. Building of schools	43	2.6
7. Aid in construction of houses	34	2.0
8. Other measures (employment for all, prevent exodus of youth, provision of water, reduction of taxes, improve the work of associations, etc.	540	32.4
	N = 1,666	100.0

¹The modality of the response itself is rather heterogeneous which means that respondents might agree with one but not with another component, depending on their actual circumstances.

Electrification as an action for rural development represents a single most important measure in part of the country (Kosmet--31.6 percent, Macedonia--20.8 percent of all responses), while it has hardly any meaning for some other regions (Vojvodina--1.8 percent, Slovenia--2.8, Croatia--2.9). These responses--more or less--reflect the differences by republics in terms of the percent of households with electricity. The table below clearly illustrates the actual process of electrification of rural areas in the period from 1951 to 1969.

Table XVII: Electrification of Rural Households
1951-1969

Area	Percent of households with electric light		
	1951	1960	1969
SFR Yugoslavia	19	39	74
Bosnia and Herzegovina	7	15	49
Montenegro	9	19	58
Croatia	18	47	81
Macedonia	9	48	83
Slovenia	51	80	92
Serbia	17	38	78
- Republic of	11	31	78
- Vojvodina	33	59	86
- Kosovo	2	13	47

Source: Indeks, Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1960, br. 8; and Radni dokument, Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1969, br. 31.

The fourth category of responses indicates the need "to pay more attention to the rural areas in general." This may be understood both in terms of agricultural versus non-agricultural sectors as well as rural versus urban sectors. It is symptomatic that the respondents from Vojvodina, the

main wheat producing area of Yugoslavia, stand out with 25 percent of responses in this category, which for Vojvodina represents the top rank among all the specific measures which should enable faster rural development.¹

Other categories of responses--less frequently chosen--call attention to different, specific issues of rural development. Some of the issues may have different weight today than at the time when the survey was implemented (1964). Especially the problems of unemployment and exodus of rural youth (migrating to urban areas and abroad) increased in scale and led to other problems like problems of old people living alone on the farms, an increasing area of abandoned land, etc. Such problems increasingly demand intervention of local and higher level authorities. The traditional autarchic peasant family and/or village community which, in its primitive way, performed several basic functions (social security and the like) collapsed in most of the rural areas.

One could conclude that socio-economic changes which represent the withering away of traditional, autarchic and patriarchal rural communities may either lead to a specialized, highly productive and market-oriented agriculture or else they lead to depopulation and a variety of social problems. In both cases it is not without external aid and intervention of governmental and non-governmental institutions that the transition could be achieved in an economically-rational and humanitarian-acceptable way. No aid for modernization of agricultural production seems necessarily to lead to the need for more social aid subsequently.

¹ Because Yugoslav economic development after World War II was primarily oriented toward rapid industrialization, there is often an argument that Vojvodina--even with relatively modernized agriculture--was in a disadvantageous position. Some regions at a lower level of development made more progress because they did not rely primarily on agriculture.

C. Different Priorities: Improving Agriculture and/or Village Living Standards

There is some other similar and to some extent complementary survey research on rural development, directed by Dr. Theodore Buila and a group of students.¹ His Report III dealing with "Improving Slovene Village Life" gives program priority opinions of legislators, agronomists and farmers in the spring of 1972. It presents the opinion of these three groups (1,370 respondents) as to what was the first priority in their estimation to improve village life.

From Table XVIII it is fairly clear that farmers see the improving of village living standards in terms of projects that would improve road surfaces, bring stores and public services to the village. The legislator-agronomist group, on the other hand, placed their program priorities on first improving agriculture as opposed to doing something specific in the village. Increasing production and stabilizing price fluctuations of agricultural commodities were the key program priorities according to legislators and agronomists.²

¹The shorter version (in English) is Theodore Buila, Slovene Rural Development: Five Study Reports with Appendix Materials, Southern Illinois University, March 1973. The original Slovene work which he directed is titled "Izboljšanje načina dela slovenske kmetijske pospeševalne službe: študija v treh delih." Its English title is Dular, Matjašec, Senegačnik and Buila, "The Improvement of Slovene Agricultural Extension Type Activities: A Three-Part Study," Biotechnical Faculty, University of Ljubljana, 1973. The research is based upon three different groups: 543 farmers, 279 agronomists and 443 legislators. The farmer population represents a one-quarter to three-quarter sampling of households in 28 villages located in four major geographic regions of Slovenia. Additionally, 111 farmers returned a portion of the questionnaire which was printed in two weekly newspapers. The 279 agronomists and 414 country-level legislators represent a 43 percent and 54 percent mailed questionnaire return rate on a full sampling of their respective populations.

²Buila, op. cit., Report III, p. 1.

Table XVIII: Priorities for Improving Slovene Village Life,
According to Legislators, Agronomists and Farmers
(in percent)

<u>Top General Priority</u>	<u>Legislators</u>		<u>Agron-</u>	<u>Farmers</u>
	<u>Republic</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>omists</u>	
Village services and buildings	14 %	24 %	11 %	68 %
Agricultural programs	86	76	89	32
<u>Top Program Priority</u>				
Roads and transportation	--	10 %	6 %	41 %
Water service	9	10	6	12
Stores, schools, post office, etc.	5	9	4	10
Farm and home credit	--	11	13	6
Land consolidation	5	7	6	5
Social insurance/pensions	--	10	8	3
Agricultural politics	9	11	15	6
Increasing agricultural production	38	15	19	5
Price stabilization	29	18	22	4
Agricultural mechanization	5	3	5	4
Other*	2	4	1	4

* Among the other priorities mentioned were: improving electric service, agricultural pick-up and delivery stations, industrial development, rural youth programs, rural tourism, extension service expansion, agricultural maximums, taxes, inheritance laws, and improved farmer associations.

Legislators and agronomists seem to be saying, "An improved standard of village living will follow on the heels of increased production and actions to ease the cost-price squeeze." They place their highest priority on actions directed at generating increased rural income that at a later date can be used for specific village improvement projects.¹ Farmers who have to cope daily with low levels of public services in the villages show a more diffused concern. Similar to the findings of the survey discussed before on the basis of the sample for the whole country ("Measures which should enable faster rural development"), the interviewed farmers in Slovenia show more interest for the improvement of roads, water supply and better access to services than for direct income-generating programs.

Data concerning the priorities for extension programs indicate basically the same tendencies. Farmers tend to see the extension services serving a much broader range of needs than agronomists or legislators. For example, approximately 60 percent of the farmers felt the areas of community and home improvement coupled with more effective rural political leadership should be first priority programs of the new extension service. Less than one out of three agronomists and legislators felt the same way.² Younger farmers tended to show more relative concern than older farmers for extension programs geared to home and family improvement, community development and natural conservation. Those farmers living in relatively isolated villages were also more concerned with the importance of community and home improvement programs.

¹Ibid., p. 3.

²Buila, op. cit., Report I, pp. 2, 6, 7.

Table XIX: Extension Program: Top Priorities of Legislators, Agronomists and Farmers

Program	<u>Legislators</u>		<u>Agronomists</u>	<u>Farmers</u>
	<u>Republic</u>	<u>County</u>		
1. Agricultural marketing	75 %	82 %	82 %	91 %
2. Agricultural production	86	90	89	80
3. Farm management	75	87	67	73
4. Rural youth	65	69	63	72
5. Rural leadership	43	39	32	64
6. Community development	17	35	29	61
7. Home and family	24	23	21	55
8. Natural resource conservation	31	31	31	40
Respondents (N)	29	414	279	650

Bigger farmers were more concerned with farm management programs and programs dealing with improved rural leadership. They were a bit higher on programs to bring new production technology their way as it is seen in Table XX.

Table XX: Percent of Farmers by Farm Size Considering Program Items as Top Priority

Program	<u>Farm size</u>		
	<u>under 3 ha.</u>	<u>4 - 7 ha.</u>	<u>over 7 ha.</u>
Farm management	46	48	64
Rural leadership	48	61	64
Agricultural production	69	77	81

On the basis of his study findings, Buila comes to the conclusion that farmers see program priorities across the board: agriculture, home and family, community development, etc. Agronomists and legislators tend to confine program priorities to agricultural production, marketing and management.

All this is to say that there are many issues in rural development in Yugoslavia and much scope for change. One of the means for inducing rural change concerns the use of mass media and other channels for communication. These are discussed in an Appendix at the end of this study. The latter half of our analysis (Chapters VII to X) will be devoted to a study of the rural local institutions which relate to the promotion of rural development in Yugoslavia.

VII. Two Models of Management of Agricultural Development

The dynamics of agricultural and rural development in Yugoslavia after World War II have to be interpreted in terms of the socio-economic and political changes in the country. Only within such a global context can the role of local (self) government as well as the activity (or passiveness) of the rural population be understood. In a relatively short period, the Yugoslav political system experienced many changes and radically different types of organization and management at the national and the local levels. While the concrete institutional changes and the changing role of local (self) government are discussed elsewhere, we would like to present here two generalized, analytical constructs. They present two idealized and even extreme types of management of agricultural development, which cannot be found in any concrete situation. Their purpose is rather to indicate some of the crucial factors of agricultural and rural development and present the implications of two types of their inter-relationships.

There are four factors considered in our models: science (including education and "know how"), government (agrarian policy), market, and farmers (organization and participation). The first model is a generalization of the directive-etatistic mode of agricultural development, the second of a market-oriented agricultural development pattern.¹

A. A Model of Directive-Etatistic Management of Agriculture and Rural Development

Although in practice, in this model, science (education) has at least a nominally important role, its actual role in a directive-etatistic system is to justify a given policy rather than to provide criteria for policy formulation. Government exerts a decisive influence on science, but the reverse is not true. As illustrated in Figure VI, the relation between the two is in only one direction.

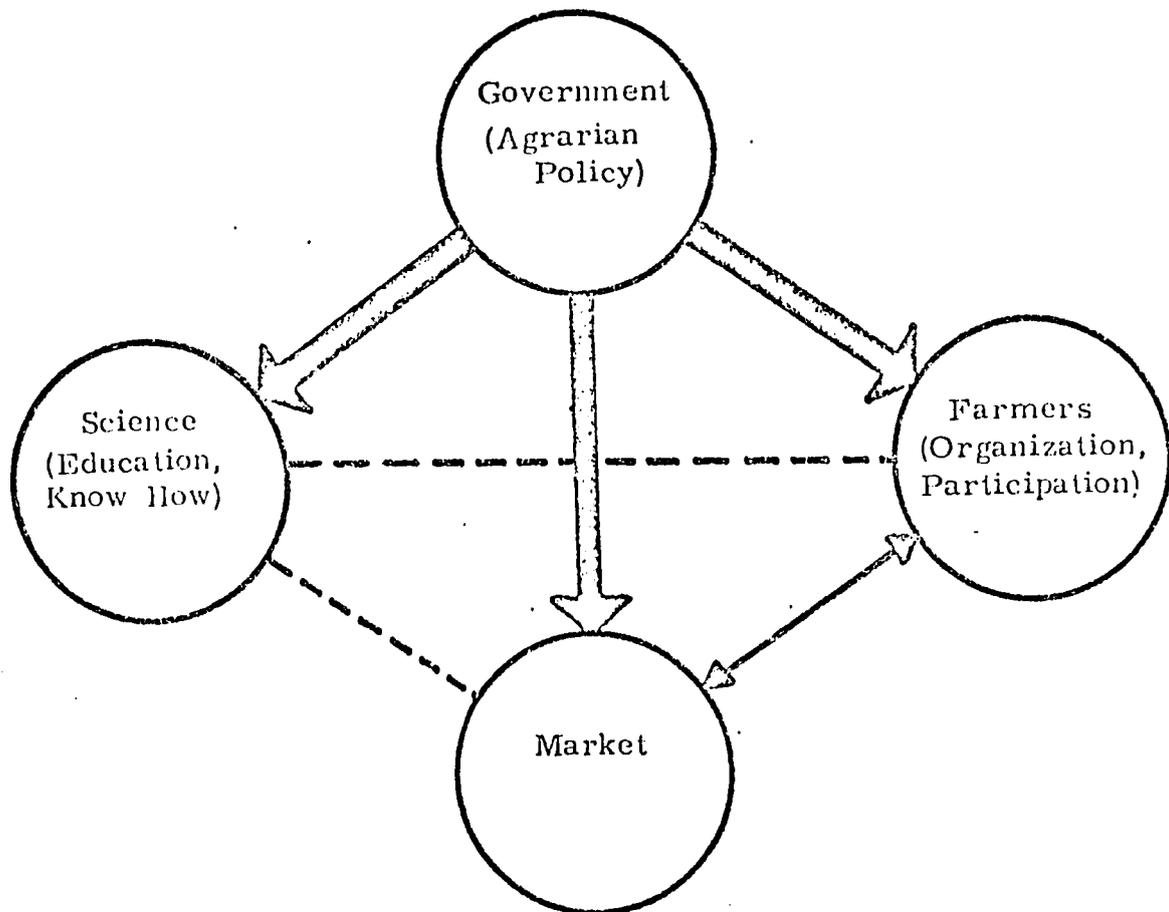
Government proceeds from certain basic value orientations and from its hierarchy of socio-political values. These function both as guides to political action and as bases for further political development. Government has little respect for the specific and diverse needs and interests of different structural categories of the population, based as they are on natural, geographic or socio-economic circumstances within the system. The tendency towards absolutization of particular goals is clearly pronounced. Likewise, a certain arbitrariness and an a prioristic approach, based neither on empirical verification nor empirical data, is frequently present.

Instead of scientific experimentation, what frequently occurs is experimenting in practice, with the total rural sector and agriculture as a testing ground. In other words,

¹Zdravko Mlinar, "Sociologija, agrarna politika in razvoj podeželja" (Sociology, Agrarian Policy and Rural Development), Teorija in praksa, Ljubljana 1970, nb. 6-7, pp. 901-914.

an etatistic management of agriculture means that agricultural policy is determined at the top while the bases which it should serve are hardly taken into account. In some cases, particular policies are eventually brought up for correction because in their formulation the actual situation had not been taken into account. However, this revision occurs only when agriculture actually reaches a blind alley and finds itself in a crisis. In such a situation, radical changes may occur which acquire the character of a campaign, easily leading into another extreme.

Figure VI



Social science findings present a certain danger for the statist management, as they have an entirely autonomous empirical basis (objectively accounting for the actual situation) and as such they may come into direct confrontation with the concrete policy. The more a certain policy is rigidly and absolutely defined, the less it is sensitive and susceptible to potential influence from the social sciences. The role of science in its full sense is incompatible with state-bureaucratic dogmatism in the direction of social development. In an etatistic system of agricultural management then, the connection between science and agriculture is restricted to a minimum. This minimal connection is in practice limited to biotechnical aspects, while its social aspect is almost wholly eliminated. Even utilization of the findings of the natural sciences is limited chiefly to the "social sector" of agriculture. There exist rather limited possibilities for scientific research as well as limited possibilities for transmitting the results of research to the people and institutions concerned. There is an assumption that farmers represent the most conservative tendencies, and there is no reason for science to help to express (promote) the "conservatism" of farmers.

While the first model of rural development proceeds from an assumption that farmers are conservative and, therefore, bases its whole strategy of political direction on such a supposition, the findings of several studies are showing that farmers' conservatism is less relevant than the risk implied in the specialization of agricultural production and in its engagement in the market. The fear of risk (strengthened often by actual losses) to which the agricultural producer has been exposed hinders more than anything else the process of integration of agriculture into larger systems of a market economy. This same fear also holds

up its specialization and prevents its development.

In the system of etatistic management, the role of the market is also reduced to a minimum. The directive-etatistic system of management is incompatible with the market economy, as seen in our model of this system, in that the role of the market as a link between science (education) and agriculture is practically eliminated. Because the market for industrial and agricultural products is not developed, we cannot expect the demands of the market to lead to research. The distribution of economic goods (the market), like the role of science, is subordinated to politics (government).

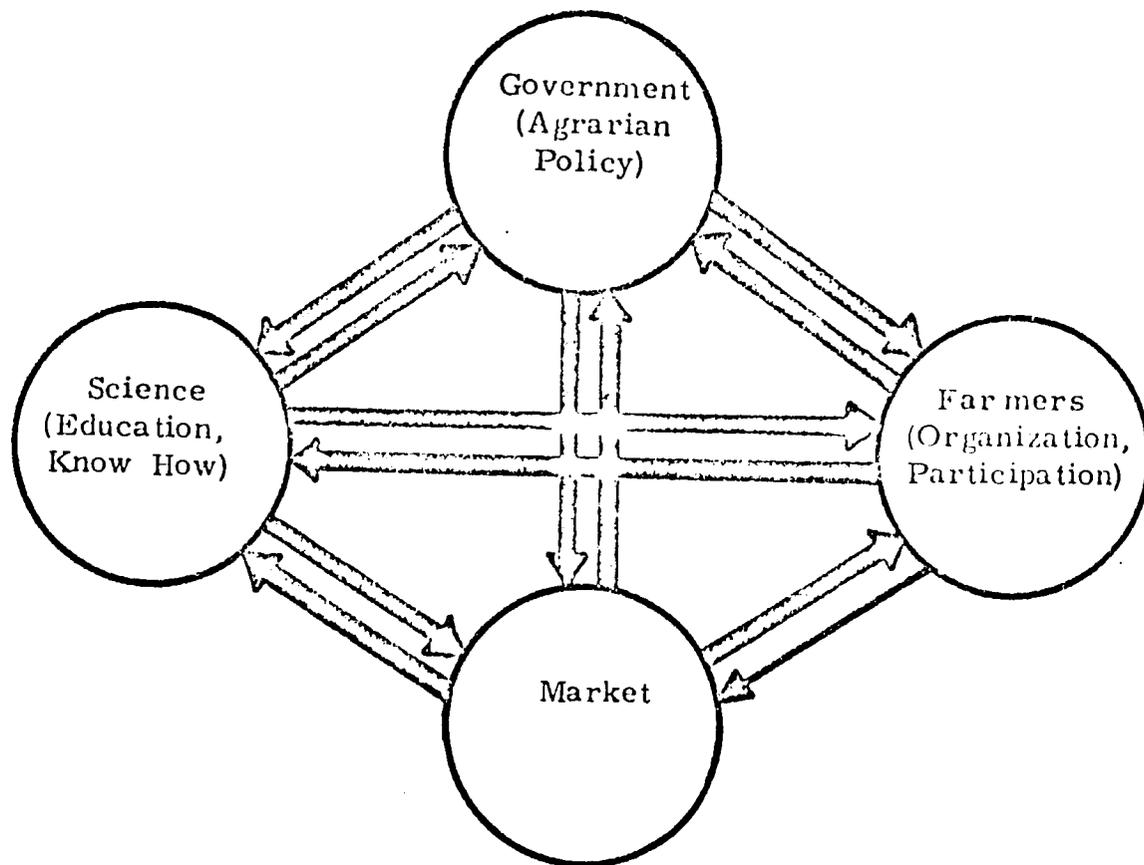
B. A Model of Market-Oriented Agricultural and Rural Development

Contrary to the first model of management, in this model not only is the extent of state interference reduced, but the basis on which this interference is established is changed. In the concrete Yugoslav situation, this means a transition from a relatively dogmatic definition of agrarian policy to a policy based on expressed interests which are brought forward through democratized decision-making mechanisms from the lowest to the highest level of the political system. Research becomes an instrument of the government, but in the sense of an argumentative indicator of various alternatives and their implications. By increasing the extent of scientific research and educational programs, the socio-political participation of farmers and rural areas is increased. Thus, it aids the integration of those categories of the population which otherwise have the least participation in the socio-political system. The impact of science (education, information) on policy is increased, while the political restrictions are reduced.

Ideally, the second model illustrates a scientifically based agrarian policy, which of course does not mean that

science determines the concrete goals and their hierarchy or priority. What science provides, however, is a clear notion of the consequences of particular alternatives and, therefore, the possibility of a more complex and integral (thus, more real) evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages implied by alternatives. Whereas in the first model the farmers are atomistic, and their occupational and interest groupings either dissolved or bureaucratized, the second model indicates autonomous organizations among the rural population, which permit a full expression of their interests.

Figure VII



As agriculture becomes better organized, an increased involvement of education and science is called for; they gain a greater number of potentially interested persons and a broader material base with which to cover their financial burdens. The transition from farming as a way of life to farming as a special kind of occupational work increases the demand for education, for an organization of agricultural extension services, for higher exposure to mass media of communication, etc.

A more democratic management (indicated in the second model) at the same time implies a freer expression of problems and contradictions, which stimulates research on problem-solving activities. The affected population expects answers to the questions posed and asserts, through democratic decision-making mechanisms, certain sanctions. All these factors lead to dynamization of rural development. Higher susceptibility to, and greater tolerance of, the various alternative ways of solving rural problems means a greater input of different ideas and experiences. Such an input heightens the probability that one or a combination of the available alternatives will yield optimal results in a given situation.

In this model of management, the market plays a crucial role as a substitute for the earlier directive role of the state and political decision-making. It would be illusory to suppose (although we do not pretend to be dealing with more than an analytical construct) that the conscious, planned direction of the government and other leading forces could be absolutely substituted for by the market. But obviously, an essentially changed role is in question. In the first model, the basic determinants of the direction of developmental processes in rural areas are centralized decision-making and state intervention, while the other factors are in a subordinated position. In the second model, the market acquires primary importance while all other factors are more or less of a corrective character. The

greater role of the market obviously gives preference to economic criteria, while the social considerations and the problems, arising through the implementation of the first, are considered of secondary importance.

The differences and contradictions between long-term and short-term aspects of the development problem cannot be neglected. Entering the world market itself sharpens the pressure on economic and long-term perspectives. The recognition and awareness of concrete social problems which arise daily in the structural changes within such a global orientation, in turn demand a certain mediatory role and a constant searching for measures which could lessen these transitional difficulties. While the new role of the market system sharpens the social problems in a short-term perspective, on the one hand, it also lays the basis for higher productivity, incomes and standard of living which in turn offers long-term existential security, on the other hand.

VIII. Local (Self) Government in Yugoslavia After World War II

A. Some Characteristics of and Changes in the Period Before 1955

Before World War II, local autonomy in Yugoslavia was rather limited. Central political and administrative control was predominant. The Mayor was the single most influential officer in the community; his authority was based on being at the same time both an agent of the local constituency and of the national bureaucracy. Thus, a "one-track" system of local administration was operating.¹ At least legally, communities had the right to make autonomous decisions in

¹ Peter Jambrek, Socio-Economic Development and Political Change in Yugoslav Communes, Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Sociology, The University of Chicago, 1971, p. 23.

the following issue areas: local roads, social work for poverty-stricken inhabitants, health service, education, administration of communal property, and local police.

As an element of the new political system, local government appeared in embryonic form during the Revolution (1941-1944). The new Yugoslav State may be said to have been formed out of people's committees, which provided the political formula for the basic organs of political authority. At the same time, the creation and development of local (self) government were influenced by the political doctrine of scientific socialism and by experiences from the past (the Commune of Paris, local soviets, the local (self) government known in Anglo-Saxon countries, etc.).¹ Yet local (self) government has passed through the same stages as the whole social and political system of the country. During the first stage which lasted from 1945 to 1950, local (self) government lost its autonomy and importance and became an executive organ of the central state apparatus.

In this period, the government in Yugoslavia was a tightly organized hierarchy within which lower levels of government and economic enterprises and other institutions were essentially administrative arms of central authorities. Under the general economic and political circumstances prevailing after the war, it was considered essential to achieve a substantial concentration of power and administrative leadership in the hands of federal bodies.² To rebuild the war-devastated country, to nationalize the basic means of production and to effect the transition to a planned economy did not provide a favorable atmosphere for setting up more

¹Jovan Djordjević, "Foreword" in The Local Government, Collection of Yugoslav Laws, Volume II, Beograd: Institute of Comparative Law, 1962, p. 4.

²Inge Perko-Šeparović, Participation in Non-industrial Setting, Paper presented at the First International Sociological Conference on Participation and Self-management, Dubrovnik, 1972, pp. 1-2.

consistent local (self) government. Economic enterprises were classified according to their size and importance into local, regional and federal. They were administered directly by the government (people's committees) of the corresponding territorial level.

The system of centralist administration was extremely short-lived; it was taken apart before there was time to consolidate and break it in. It is generally agreed that the turning point was in 1950 when workers' management was introduced in economic enterprises. Economic institutions, and later, all public and social services (schools, hospitals, scientific and cultural institutions, etc.), ceased to be administered directly by the government. In other words, these institutions were not "owned" any more by the local and higher level government. The second Yugoslav Constitution (January 1953) laid down that the basis of the social and political system in the country is to be self-management by producers in the economy and self-government in all local communities.¹

B. Introduction of the "Communal System"

The Law on the Organization of Communes and Districts (1955) introduced the commune (občina, opština) and the "communal system." The commune was defined as "the basic political territorial organization of self-government by the working people and the basic socio-economic community of the population on their territory." Clearly, it was not defined as a decentralized institution of the state based on decentralized public funds or on a decentralized right of the social organs to manage the economy and social services. The communal self-governing bodies, together

¹Jovan Djordjević, Yugoslavia's Communal Self-Government and Political Theory, in "Komuna," A Review of the Theory and Practice of Yugoslav Municipalities; XVII IULA Congress-Special Issue, Beograd, June 1965, p. 7.

with the agencies of the communal administration, are the basic bearers of political authority in the commune, not only where enforcement of local regulations is concerned but also enforcement of Federal and Republican legislation integrally.

The entire basic jurisdiction and administrative supervision of activities of working organizations within the Yugoslav administrative system rests with the communal organs, save for certain joint internal-political and international relations as expressly defined by law.¹ The Constitution proclaimed that "the Federation and the people's republics, the central organs of State authority, shall have but the functions expressly conferred on them by the Federal Constitution and republican constitutions." The commune exercises all the rights and obligations of management of social affairs, save the rights and obligations reserved by the Constitution (or by law) for the district, the republics or the federation, and those belonging within the purview of economic organizations and institutions with social management.

At the same time, the communal bodies of self-government have no proprietary or similar administrative rights of management in relation to the working organization, whether in the economic sector or in social services. Working organizations represent independent social-economic and political institutions managed by the employees themselves. The communal bodies have no rights whatever whether in the disposal of the assets of the working organizations or, as regards administrative intervention, in the management and operations of the organizations.² Although

¹Leon Geršković, Statute of the Commune of Požarevac, Preface, Beograd: Institute of Comparative Law, 1965, p. 6.

²Ibid., p. 7.

the basic model of the commune was defined, the search for an optimal institutional structure and territorial framework continued during the next decade.¹

The existing units were too small to be able to take over the almost all-encompassing functions of the envisaged commune. In order to be better suited for economic functions, the size of the basic local units increased, while their number declined. In 1955 the number of communes was nearly three times higher (1,479) than today (500).² Such a tendency to some extent conflicted with the other objective--to enable wider participation of citizens in various institutional forms of direct democracy.³ The dilemma of smaller vs. larger size and of the divergence between economic and socio-political criteria was continuously present in the discussions concerning local (self) government during the last two decades.⁴

¹P. Jambreč commented on the frequent normative-institutional changes after World War II as follows: "The number and extent of enacted reforms of local (self) government in Yugoslavia in a relatively short time, between 1946 and the mid-1960's, is probably unprecedented on the world scene. The number and size of various levels of local (self) government have changed yearly. Each three years an almost completely new legal order was enacted." Op. cit., p. 57.

²The present number (500) was reached in 1969 and has stayed constant until present time.

³R. Lukić called attention to this other implication of the increasing size of the commune--increasing remoteness of the decision-making center from the population. This is particularly important for the rural inhabitants. See Radomir Lukić, "Zamisao o komuni i naša stvarnost" (Conception of the Commune and Our Reality) in the book Opština u reformi političkog sistema (The Commune in the Reform of the Political System), Beograd: Institut društvenih nauka, 1971, p. 6.

⁴Milivoje Andrejević, "Teritorija opštine" (Territory of the Commune) in Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke, No. 1, Beograd, 1973, pp. 91-100.

To enable wider popular involvement and resource mobilization at the lowest level (one or more settlements in rural areas; otherwise a town or part of a city), "local communities" with their respective "councils" were established. Called mesne zajednice or krajevne skupnosti, they were first introduced by the Federal Constitution 1963 as a form of self-management to replace the earlier local communities which existed mostly in rural areas. They took over the responsibility for some elementary, collective needs in the everyday life of their residents (local roads, parks, day-care centers for children, help to old people, etc.). Local neighborhood communities with their councils do not have any coercive power, yet they are extremely important agents of change, especially in the rural areas. As will be illustrated below, their most important role is mobilization of local resources on the basis of voluntary contributions (self-help).

IX. Organization and Functions of the Yugoslav Commune

A. Organization of Self-Government in the Commune

We will present here the organization of the commune as it was operating before the introduction of recent changes on the basis of the new Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) which was promulgated on February 21, 1974.¹ The new organization is still in statu nascendi and does not offer any experience on the basis of its actual functioning.

The Communal Assembly is the highest state authority and organ of self-government within the commune. It is made up of the Communal Chamber and the Chamber of Working Communities. The first is elected by all citizens over 18 years

¹We present in the appendix the most relevant sections of the new Constitution.

of age; the second by those who are regularly employed in the territory of the commune. The Communal Assembly as a rule works and takes decisions at joint meetings of its chambers.

Such a bi-cameral system actually gives higher weight and institutional power to the urban-industrial section of the population and limits the representation of the private-agricultural sector.¹ Candidates for the Communal Assembly are proposed at candidacy voters' meetings and by meetings of the working people in the work organizations.

Table XXI: The Basic Units of Local Government

Year	No. of basic units	Average area in km ²	Average no. of inhabitants
1946	11,556	22.2	1,330
1947	7,886	32.4	1,993
1950	1,702	35.9	2,301
1951	3,811	67.0	4,407
1955	1,479	173.0	11,890
1957	1,193	214.4	15,092
1959	836	306.0	22,034
1963	581	388.6	31,928
1967	516	496.2	38,759
1968	501	510.6	39,978
1969	500	511.6	40,418
1970	500	511.6	40,742
1971	500	511.6	41,144
1972	500	511.6	41,544

Source: Eugen Pusić, Teritorijalna konfiguracija lokalnog samoupravljanja u okviru ustavne koncepcije općina (Territorial Configuration of Local Self-Government in the Framework of the Constitutional Conception of Commune), p. 8.

¹There is one "justification" in the sense that the ones who produce more should also have a greater say in decision-making. The other intention was to ensure the predominant influence of the "progressive forces" and limit the conservative, privatistic tendencies which are assumed to be mostly present in the rural-agricultural sector.

The main resource of the Communal Assembly and its members is legal legitimacy to evaluate and select policies in virtually all issue areas. This resource by itself gives Assembly members only a claim on citizens' compliance. It is augmented by members' personal qualities, their social status, and commitments of followers.¹

The president of the Communal Assembly (the "mayor" in the popular usage) has very limited formal decision-making power, but at the same time a very important initiating and coordinating role. He represents the Assembly, organizes the work of the Assembly, and supervises the work of the administration, etc.²

Councils of the Communal Assembly are "the political executive organs" of the Assembly, which are set up for the major issue areas. The councils are composed of members as elected by the Communal Assembly from among the members thereof and from among other citizens and those delegated by work and other organizations. An especially important role goes to the experts from the relevant fields. The role of the councils extends to all stages of decision-making (issue recognition, information collection, formulation of policies, their evaluation, and policy enactment), except the central one of policy selection, which is performed by the Assembly itself.

¹Jambrek, op. cit., p. 125.

²"Although the mayor as chairman of the local assembly has no formal decision-making power, he nevertheless represents the single most influential political office in the commune. As the official head of local (self) government he interacts regularly with other important local institutions, especially with enterprises, political organizations or public agencies . . . and with the extra-community system, i.e. other communes and national (state) government. Of course, the mayor coordinates actions of the diversified network of assembly councils, committees and administrative departments . . . He is the typical "entrepreneur" among local actors, who initiates, mediates, bargains, and compromises." Ibid., p. 122.

Councils are typically formed for issue areas as follows: economic council, council for agriculture and forestry, council for education, council for public health and social protection, council for culture and physical culture, council for town planning, housing and communal affairs, council for social plan and finance, council for internal affairs and organization of the administration.

Councils represent an important link between the voters' meetings, local communities and other groups and institutions, on the one hand, and decision-making in the Communal Assembly, on the other hand. In this sense, the council for agriculture and forestry (as well as some others, e.g. dealing with education, health, communal affairs, etc.) can to a large extent affect the dynamics of rural development. Its members are active farmers from several villages, representatives of the cooperatives, agronomists, etc.

The Communal Assembly has organs of administration which directly apply regulations, prepare proposals for regulations and measures to be decided upon by the Assembly and its organs, execute the regulations and conclusions of the Assembly and its organs. In legal terms, administration is strictly subordinated to the Assembly.

Several funds are established at the level of the commune for financing certain specific, long-term needs which have their own managing boards or similar organs. The most relevant for rural development is the recently established fund for promotion of agriculture, which manifests higher interest and concrete financial aid to speed up the modernization of the private sector of agriculture (which previously stayed--or was left--behind).

Socio-political organizations are considered part

of the entire system of the commune.¹ Socio-political organizations as "political bodies of working people organized on a programmatic, socialistically-oriented platform" are: the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of Working People, the Federation of Trade Unions, the War Veterans Federation, and the Youth League.

The League of Communists is the leading political organization in the commune, with limited, selected membership; the Socialist Alliance, on the other hand, is the most open to all strata of the population. The membership and the activity of the League of Communists is mostly concentrated in the center of the commune. Farmers represent only approximately seven percent of the total membership in the League of the Communists.² The Socialist Alliance recently established special "Sections for Agriculture" in the communes which have rural populations.

In order to link those who render specific public services with those who use these services, a new institution was established--self-managing communities of interest. Such interest communities were formed in the spheres of education, culture, health insurance, employment, etc. They represent another form of "decentralization" or transfer of functions from government to self-managed associations. They are functioning without coercive interference of (local) government on the

¹The new Constitution (1974) explicitly defines three bases for forming the Communal--as well as higher level--Assemblies: work organizations ("organizations of associated labor"), socio-political organizations, and local communities.

²A detailed analysis of the role of the League of Communists in the rural areas and their development and of the--de--clining--participation of the farmers in this organization is presented by Stipe Šušvar, Jordan Jelić and Ivan Magdalenić in Društvene promjene i delovanje komunista u selu (Social Change and the Activity of the Communists in Rural Areas), Zagreb: Agrarni institut, 1968.

basis of direct participation and confrontation of the categories of population with different interests. At the same time communities of interest at the level of the republic (state) represent a balancing mechanism in terms of reconciling the differences between the communes at different levels of economic development.¹

At the very base of the territorial organization there are units and institutions which provide for the direct participation of citizens. This is within the "local communities" (discussed in the section below) where voters' meetings, referenda and other forms of popular involvement and resource mobilization take place.

The territorial organization of self-government is in many ways intertwined with the work organizations or--in the terminology of the 1974 Constitution--with the "organizations of associated labor." One of the basic ideas of the Yugoslav political system is the integration of the two roles of the citizen and producer-consumer within the communal system. In this sense, although the economic organizations function independently, run by their workers' councils and confronted with the external market, there are several normative provisions and institutional links which make them an integral part of the commune.²

¹The high level of local autonomy, to some extent unexpectedly, led to higher socio-economic differences. The communes with a predominant rural-agricultural sector needed external financial support in order to perform their numerous functions. In this sense, an interest community for education at the level of the republic enabled it to achieve the same minimal standards for children (e.g. scholarships and the like) in all the communes, regardless of their economic level.

²This may also be interpreted as one of the many normative acts which were intended to erase--in this case rural-urban social differences. The actual consequences of normative and institutional uniformity, however, as will be presented below, sometimes produced the opposite results.

B. Characteristic Functions of the Commune

The commune was assuming an increasing number of functions in the first decade of its existence. While the process of decentralization continued, communes' responsibilities and their financial power expanded. In a case study of the Communal Assembly in Ljubljana-Center, functions which accrued to the Assembly, its committees, councils and administration from federal and republic (state) law were reviewed. The 439-page report identified 1713 different tasks. The table below presents the distribution of these tasks according to issue areas and the local decision-making body which is held responsible for them.

The normative interventions coming from the federal level appear to be about twice as frequent as those of the republic (state). The tendency of continuously expanding the number of responsibilities which are determined by republic or federal laws became a contradictory issue in the discussion of local autonomy in Yugoslavia. An additional "right" was sometimes perceived as a new burden for the commune.

After a decade of high involvement of the commune in the economic and other spheres of public life, the general process of "deetatization" (withering away of state coercive interference) and increasing autonomy of self-managed, market-oriented economic organizations led it to a more restrictive role. The enterprises became practically independent and the commune lost its economic (political) power to control and direct their activity in the course of economic development. The investment fund as well as housing funds in the commune were abolished.¹

¹Janez Šmidovnik, Koncepcija jugoslovanske občine (Conception of the Yugoslav Commune), Ljubljana: Uradni list, 1970, p. 203.

Table XXII: Functions of Communal Assemblies, their Councils, Committees and Administration Stemming from State and Federal Laws

Issue Area	<u>Assembly</u>		<u>Council</u>		<u>Committees</u>		<u>Administration</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>State</u>	<u>Fed.</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Fed.</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Fed.</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Fed.</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Fed.</u>
Economics and finance	111	170	9	7	--	--	110	269	230	446
Urban planning, housing construction, municipal services	58	40	10	--	--	--	38	36	106	76
Employer-employee relations, social security	14	25	2	5	--	1	8	92	24	123
Public health	15	6	1	2	--	--	9	84	25	92
Trusteeship	7	2	--	--	--	--	19	72	26	74
Education and culture	23	1	--	--	--	--	11	7	34	8
Law enforcement	13	22	1	1	--	2	24	182	38	207
National defense	--	15	--	2	--	--	--	36	--	53
Justice and administration	20	14	--	--	--	--	6	12	26	26
Property	11	29	2	--	16	--	7	34	36	63
Total	272	324	25	17	16	3	232	824	545	1168

Source: "Pristojnosti občinske skupščine in njenih organov po zveznih in republiških predpisih" (Functions of Communal Assembly and its Organs According to the State and Federal Laws), Ljubljana: Skupščina občine Ljubljana Center, 1967 (mimeographed), pp. 425-436.

It was only recently, and especially under the new Constitution in 1974, that the commune was for the time being--institutionally re-integrated on a new basis, which does not assume "etatistic," governmental interference in the day-to-day operations of the economic organizations. At the same time, it extends the responsibility of "organizations of associated labor" (work organizations) to consider and support the programs related to their environment, especially the programs of community development.¹

Eugen Pusić and his collaborators identified four categories of functions of the commune: power, service, coordination and administration. On the basis of a content analysis of 329 items from the minutes of decision-making bodies in ten Croatia communes, they found the distribution, as presented in Table XXIII below.

Table XXIII: "Power" vs. "Service" and "Coordination" as Functions of Ten Communes in Croatia

Functions	Percent
Power	45.5
Service	18.7
Coordination	23.2
Administration	12.7
Total	100.0

Source: Eugen Pusić, "Area and Administration in Yugoslav Development," International Social Science Journal, 1969, no. 1, p. 78.

¹See the Appendix for constitutional provisions concerning the commune and "organizations of associated labor."

That power was the most important among the four categories indicates that this reality is still behind the normative political model of the commune.

The views of Yugoslav local leaders about what the government at different levels should do can be seen in comparative perspective on the basis of the results of a study of political values in India, Poland, U.S. and Yugoslavia.

Table XXIV: Who Should Do What?

	Central or state govern- ment	Local govern- ment	Local non- governmental institutions	Leave it to the people
India	3.3	2.4	.6	.6
Poland	1.5	4.8	.5	.2
U.S.	1.3	3.0	1.8	.8
Yugoslavia	2.3	3.3	.9	.5

Source: International Study of Values Project, Values and the Active Community, New York: The Free Press, 1971, p. 181.

This table reports the mean number of functions respondents considered should be the responsibility of the central or state governments, the local government, non-governmental institutions, or the people directly (non-governmental and non-institutional). The seven areas were: housing, employment, schools, clinics, culture, electrical power and youth.

The group of authors presented the results of the survey on the basis of the interviews with 265 local assembly members from 20 Slovene communes.¹ Interviewees

¹Dore Dovečar, Eva Naglič and Peter Jambrek, Skupščina

responded to the following question: "Who should make decisions about issue areas listed in the below--your commune, a few neighboring communes together, or the republic?"

Table XXV: Opinions of Local Leaders
About Communal Functions
(N = 265)

Issue Area	Who Should Make Decisions:		
	<u>Commune</u>	<u>Several com- munes together</u>	<u>Republic</u>
Constructing housing	87.5	6.8	0.8
Municipal services	78.1	16.6	1.1
Handicraft	67.2	21.1	7.2
Urban planning	66.8	15.5	11.7
Level of living	66.4	10.2	16.6
Promotions of local administrators	66.0	9.4	15.9
Communal revenues (amount)	58.1	26.0	12.1
Communal revenues (kind)	48.7	29.8	16.6
Agriculture	46.8	24.5	23.8
Employment	37.7	31.0	24.5
Social security	36.2	21.9	35.1
Elementary education	35.5	8.3	50.5
Culture	34.4	21.9	36.2
Veterans' social problems	27.9	6.0	58.5
Industry	22.6	18.5	51.0
Public health	7.9	34.7	51.7
Secondary education	3.4	27.0	74.3

Source: "Skupščina občine," (Communal Assembly), Ljubljana: Pravna fakulteta, 1968, p. 41.

občine, njene naloge, organizacija in metode dela: Okvirni pregled nalog občinske skupščine (Communal Assembly, Its Functions, Organization and Methods of Operation: An Outline of the Tasks of Community Assembly), Ljubljana: Pravna fakulteta, 1968 (mimeographed).

The results in Tables XXIV and XXV above run counter to the popular stereotype of local leaders seeking autonomy for their community and thus trying to make themselves independent from national government by expanding the range of their decisional issue areas. Contrariwise, they appear as if they would like to get rid of several functions which are at present subject to communal decision-making. Only 7 out of 17 issue areas are considered--according to "majority vote"--as salient local functions.¹ Agriculture as an issue area is placed precisely in the middle of the list.

C. Local Communities

As mentioned before, "Local Communities" are organizations formed for individual localities, either villages or hamlets or districts of a city within the area of an urban commune. While the size of the communes, as shown above, has been increasing, the areas of the former, smaller rural communes frequently became organized as local communities. There are 27,706 inhabited localities in Yugoslavia and (in 1971) there were 8,586 local communities. Out of 6,532 local communities in rural areas, 4,852 have up to 2,000 and only 177 over 6,000 inhabitants; put another way, 5,210 have up to 500, and 140 over 1,500 households.²

The principal body of a local community is the council (or so: corresponding organ) which is usually elected by direct public vote at voters' or citizens' meetings (assemblies). The councils of 7,574 local communities have all together about 93,000 members. Among

¹Jambrek, op. cit., p. 82.

²Dušan Josipović, Local Communities: Development and Results, Yugoslav Survey, A Record of Facts and Information--Quarterly, Vol. XIII, August 1972, pp. 2-3.

them there is a relatively small percentage of women (3.4 percent) and also of young people (8.5 percent). Half the council members are 40 - 50 years old.

Table XXVI: Local Communities by Number of Inhabitants, 1970

	Total number of local communities	By number of inhabitants			
		Up to 2,000	2,001 - 4,000	4,001 - 6,000	6,000 & over
Yugoslavia--total	7,574	4,273	1,332	554	715
Bosnia-Herzegovina	757	226	244	125	162
Croatia	1,872	1,332	260	101	159
Macedonia	795	691	64	16	25
Montenegro	63	19	23	8	13
Serbia	1,170	2,030	578	254	308
Republic of	2,574	1,853	273	135	173
Kosovo	103	14	57	23	24
Vojvodina	493	163	178	91	111
Slovenia	919	655	162	50	50

Source: Mesne zajednice 1970--sastav i aktivnost (Local Communities--Composition and Activity). Federal Statistical Office.

Some local communities, especially those set up for larger areas, also have executive committees. Further, there are standing and ad hoc commissions for different issue areas or individual problems. The largest number of commissions have been set up for communal matters (public facilities), followed by commissions for health and welfare and financial commissions.¹

¹ Josipović, op. cit., p. 5.

Table XXVII: Commissions of Local Communities in 1971 .

STANDING COMMISSIONS--total	12,867
Communal matters	3,984
Social welfare and health care	1,831
Finance	1,297
Economic matters	1,142
Culture and education	1,140
Child care	557
Social management of buildings	464
Other	2,452
AD HOC COMMISSIONS	2,250

Source: Mesne zajednice 1970--sastav i aktivnost (Local Communities--Composition and Activity), Federal Statistical Office.

Some larger local communities have set up--besides the council as their basic body--separate settlement or village committees or councils for individual settlements or parts of settlements. In most cases, village committees or councils delegate to the local community council several representatives from their or other bodies of the local community.

Every council has a president elected from among its members for a specified period of time or for the whole term of the council (one or two years). Many local communities also have a secretary. In some local communities, the secretary is an elected person performing this function on an honorary basis, and in others, he is a regular full-time employee or is employed on a contractual basis. In rural local communities, the function of the secretary is frequently performed by the head of the local chancery or office. There are now 2,350 secretaries of local

communities, 1,663 of whom are employed on a full-time basis.¹ A large number of local communities have set up conciliation panels to work out peaceful settlement of disputes and also some councils of consumers as the organs for public control of the operations of commercial, catering and service-trade organizations.

The main form of a direct participation of citizens within the local community are voters' meetings.² They represent an important channel for the expression of local needs and the institution for mobilization of the resources, especially in rural areas where there is a lack of alternative institutions. In 1970, local communities held the following number of meetings of citizens (voters):

1106	local communities held	--six or more meetings
1268	" "	--four to five meetings
3111	" "	--two to three meetings
1204	" "	--one meeting
931	" "	--none

On the average, three items were discussed at each meeting. Occasionally, local communities organize referenda. Their purpose is most often to serve as a basis for the introduction of self-imposed taxes for the construction and maintenance of public facilities, schools, day-care centers for children, etc. In 1970, approximately 20 percent of local communities called a referendum.

The functions and tasks of the local communities are defined and specified in the statutes of the communes.

¹Ibid., p. 6.

²Meetings (assemblies) convened by local communities are usually called meetings (assemblies) of citizens and less frequently--meetings of voters.

For example, the commune of Požarevac has the following provision:

The local community shall: see to the development and promotion of the activities directly serving to satisfy the day-to-day needs of citizens, families and households; establish services and institutions and assist the work of other organizations and services intended to meet the common needs of the working people and their families; assist employed women; organize and advance the health education of children and young persons; give assistance in the matter of physical and technical education and the organizing of leisure and recreation; see to the communal development of the territory (i.e. public facilities and municipal services) and care for the communal facilities and the use and maintenance thereof; organize rest and recreation centers, sports installations, children's playgrounds; attend to the maintenance of cleanliness and the good appearance and development of the locality; extend assistance to the house management boards in running dwelling houses; manage the social property entrusted to it for use; attend to the organizing of, and undertake necessary measures for fire protection, flood protection and the prevention of other natural calamities; manage the meadows and pastures on its territory and attend to the maintenance of the village cemetery; perform other tasks as prescribed by law, by the Statute of the Commune and by its own statute.¹

A survey of the local communities in Yugoslavia, carried out by the Federal Bureau of Statistics, offers an insight into their actual functioning. In 1970, local community councils held over 50,000 meetings to consider over 150,000 items on the agenda. At these meetings, individual items on the agenda were represented as follows:

Social child care	3,427
Adult welfare and health care	10,057
Construction and maintenance of public utilities	44,706

¹Statute of the Commune of Požarevac, Collection of Yugoslav Laws, Volume XII, Beograd: Institute of Comparative Law, 1965, pp. 80-81, Article 193.

Education and culture	7,125
Social and recreational life	6,223
Consumer supply	6,312
Hygienic facilities in settlements	10,433
Other questions concerning the standard of life	6,716
National and civil defense	10,332
Cooperation with enterprises and other organizations	6,481
Other items	23,161

We have to limit our analysis to more or less illustrative presentation of the functioning of the local communities and of the results of their activities for Yugoslavia as a whole.¹ For this purpose we can rely on the summary overview of the effects of activity of local communities on the basis of a survey by the Federal Bureau of Statistics, presented by D. Josipović.²

In the field of child-care, in 1969 and 1970, local communities founded 175 day-nurseries (most in Croatia and Slovenia), 338 care centers for school-age children covering 86,000 pupils (the largest number in Serbia). In addition, in the course of these two years, local communities built 93 and adapted 205 buildings for day-nurseries (the largest number in Slovenia--47.3 percent), built 367 and repaired over 300 children's playgrounds, and adapted over 1,200 facilities for physical training (close to 40 percent in Croatia).

Local communities are also increasingly concerned with cultural and educational activities. Notable results were achieved in 1969 and 1970 in the construction, adaptation and enlargement of schools, social centers, libraries and reading rooms when altogether 865 schools, 856 cultural

¹ Available statistics provide an opportunity for much more detailed analysis which would reveal the urban-rural differences as well as differences between republics or regions at different levels of development.

² Op. cit., pp. 11-12.

centers and 420 libraries and reading rooms were built or adapted. In addition, local communities founded 436 libraries (the largest number in Serbia--40 percent).

Local communities are also concerned with the organization of cultural and recreational events. In 1969 and 1970, they organized, directly or through relevant institutions, about 200,000 such events, which were attended by over four million people. In the same period, local communities were also active in the organization of literacy courses. The largest number of such courses were organized in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the sphere of health care, in the course of 1969 and 1970, local communities sponsored the construction or adaptation of 450 health facilities (clinics, etc.) of which 34 percent were in Croatia. Health education courses, organized by local communities in these two years, covered over 104,000 citizens, mostly in Serbia.

Local communities have been most active in the field of communal construction and physical development of settlements. In 1969 and 1970, they built 26,042 and repaired 63,383 kilometers of public roads and railways. In this respect, the local communities in Slovenia were most active. In the same two years, rural local communities built 3,730,000 square meters of pavement, 50 percent of which were in Serbia, mostly in Vojvodina. Within the framework of their physical development programs, local communities planted in the same period about 2,000,000 trees in avenues, parks and meadows, most of them in Serbia (about 78 percent). In addition, each local community on the average laid out about 500 square meters of parks and afforested about 700 square meters.

In rural localities, local communities have achieved notable results in the electrification of villages and the construction of waterworks and sewerage; in 1969 and 1970, they built 1,994 transformer stations and 34,252 kilometers

of electrical distribution network, 21,591 kilometers of water supply and 4,098 kilometers of sewer network. The most notable results in this respect were recorded in Slovenia. In addition, in the same period local communities built, enlarged or adapted 1,383 service facilities.

Furthermore, in 1969 and 1970, local communities contributed to the development of economic activities (service trades, etc.) in tourist centers and rural localities by fostering better exploitation of local resources; they also fostered the development of cooperation between the socialist and private sectors of agriculture and took measures to create conditions for a fuller employment of citizens.

Local communities act as one of the most important agents of change within the commune. This may be seen on the basis of the amount and kind of resources which they mobilize. They are financed by citizens' self-imposed taxes (samodoprinos, samoprispevek--"self-contribution") and other grants, by enterprises and other organizations, from commune budgets, from charges collected for their services, and from other sources. Data for 1970 indicate that receipts from citizens' self-imposed taxes accounted for 43.4 percent and receipts from commune budgets and funds for 23.4 percent of the total revenue of local communities. In spite of their limited powers, they are not primarily dependent on the commune but rather mobilize (discover, coordinate, rationalize) various other sources of potential contribution to the community development.

Table XXVIII: Revenue of Local Communities by Source of Finance, 1970
(in thousand dinars)

	Total	Receipts from commune budgets and funds	Receipts from enter- prises and other organiza- tions	Self-imposed taxes			Other contri- butions by citi- zens (dona- tions, etc)	Receipts from services rendered	Other receipts	
				Total	In cash	In labor				In kind
Yugoslavia--total	772,801	181,158	45,522	336,334	239,002	81,464	15,848	18,423	39,488	151,876
Bosnia-Herzegovina	75,253	18,418	2,329	42,863	22,628	17,262	2,973	2,013	2,425	8,215
Croatia	193,197	46,907	10,912	68,524	47,062	19,256	2,206	2,956	12,516	51,382
Macedonia	21,006	3,165	1,373	12,814	5,144	6,435	1,235	687	821	2,146
Montenegro	8,023	4,216	124	1,912	1,371	533	8	127	250	1,394
Serbia	370,566	73,132	18,984	182,106	146,437	27,764	7,905	9,410	14,653	72,271
Republic of	185,107	33,632	9,632	98,467	64,888	25,808	7,771	3,519	7,208	32,649
Kosovo	3,069	308	50	1,780	1,627	137	16	747	4	180
Vojvodina	182,390	39,192	9,302	81,859	79,922	1,819	118	544	7,451	39,442
Slovenia	104,756	35,320	11,800	28,115	16,380	10,214	1,521	4,230	8,813	16,478

Source: Mesne zajednice 1970--sastav i aktivnost, Federal Statistical Office.

X. Local (Self) Government and Rural Development

A. Influence of Local Actors

Several empirical studies offer insight into the actual distribution of influence among the wide range of actors at the local level within the commune. This may concern differences in influence between the different institutions of local (self) government; it sometimes refers to the influence within a broader network of different groups and institutions within the commune (like-- banks, voluntary associations, professional groups, informal groups, rural and urban population, etc.) or to differences with respect to the issue (functional) areas; or it may touch on the differences between individuals acting within the organizational framework of local (self) government. In all these respects, we can directly or indirectly reveal the differences which affect agricultural and rural development. Although agriculture, farmers and rural communities do not appear explicitly as separate categories, we can infer information on them on the basis of the differences between the level of economic development or differences between republics (regions), etc.

Cross-national comparative research on the values of local leaders and their activeness in the development of their communities in India, Poland, U.S.A. and Yugoslavia revealed marked differences (by rank order) in the areas in which leaders' influence was perceived. The views of two samples of local leaders, from 30 communes in Yugoslavia and from 30 blocks in India, are presented in Table XXIX below.

The difference between Yugoslav and Indian perceptions of the distribution of influence may primarily reflect the respectively different roles of agriculture in the two countries' national economic development.

Table XXIX: Areas of Leaders' Influence
(maximum score = 2.00)

	Yugoslavia		India	
	Rank	Mean score	Rank	Mean score
Political organization	1	1.3	4	1.0
Services--public utilities	2	.9	3	1.1
Education	3	.9	2	1.3
Culture	4	.8	6-7	.8
Welfare	5	.8	5	.8
Finance	6	.7	6-7	.8
Agriculture	7	.7	1	1.4
Economic development	8	.6	8	.6
Mean sum of areas of influence		.8		.9

Source: ISVP, Values and the Active Community, op. cit.

However, the Yugoslav data on the reference groups from which leaders seek support indicate that farmers are less often so considered than one could expect in terms of their share in the total population. There are ten other reference groups from which local leaders more often seek support than from farmers (see Table XXX). Still, much more elaborate analysis would be needed to assess the actual role of farmers as one of the reference groups in the communes at different levels of development.

Other information available from the same international study of local leaders offers an insight into perceived lack of local autonomy for the following areas: housing, employment, building schools, health service, culture, electrification and youth problems. In terms of the mean sum of areas thought lacking autonomy (score 0 = sufficient autonomy; 1 = lacks autonomy), India has the highest rank (0.55), Polish leaders express practically the same (0.54), the next are American leaders (0.29) and the least often is the lack of autonomy perceived by the Yugoslav local leaders (0.18).

Table XXX: Reference Groups from which
Local Leaders Seek Support
(maximum score for specific groups = 2.00)

	Mean	S.D.
Committee of the League of Communists in the commune	.59	.15
Deputy (M.P.) elected by the commune (including presidents)	.58	.09
Communal Committee of the Socialist Alliance	.49	.13
Population generally	.42	.08
Voluntary Associations (social organizations)	.39	.10
Professional and administrative bodies at higher levels	.37	.10
Administrative officials in the Communal Assembly	.26	.11
Managers of enterprises and cooperatives	.24	.09
Representatives of individual settlements (local communities)	.23	.11
Farmers	.17	.10
Professional organs of the Communal Assembly	.17	.07
Representatives of different local institutions	.15	.06
Intelligentsia	.13	.06
Different professional groups	.07	.04
Higher level party leaders	.05	.04

Source: Ibid.

In 1968, research was carried out in 17 communes in Slovenia in which 290 local leaders and knowledgeable individuals were interviewed on how they perceived the influence of about 15 different groups, organizations and individuals in terms of the certain decisions.¹ The

¹See Janez Jerovšek (with the assistance of Terry N. Clark, William Kornblum and Peter Jambreč), "Structure of Influence

following decisions or areas were chosen:

1. Communal budget
2. Urban planning
3. Urban zoning for building of apartments
4. Financing of education and school budget
5. Nomination of candidate for mayor
6. Election of general managers in working organizations

As seen, this list does not include agriculture as a separate category. Still, the areas of decisions are in many ways influencing rural development within the commune. In this sense, it seems to be relevant for our topic to reveal the perceived distribution of influence among actors involved in these decisions.

For each decision, from 12 to 20 different actors exerting influence were listed.¹ Only the most characteristic actors for the structure of influence will be presented:

1. Communal Assembly (representatives)
2. Mayor and deputy mayor
3. Different councils of the Communal Assembly
4. Voters' meetings
5. Local communities
6. Voluntary and professional associations

The respondents assessed the influence of these actors in categories from: no influence, little influence, moderate influence to: great and very great influence. The results are presented in the graphs that follow (Figures VIII, IX and X). They can be reinterpreted in terms of rural development and the influence of the rural population on the decision-making in the commune. Some institutions, organizations

in Local Communities," American-Yugoslav Project in Regional and Urban Planning Studies, Ljubljana: Urbanistični institut, 1969.

¹An individual actor of influence represents a statistical unit regardless of the size of this unit. For example, a voters' meeting (and not each participant at the meeting) is treated as an actor just as the mayor is treated as one.

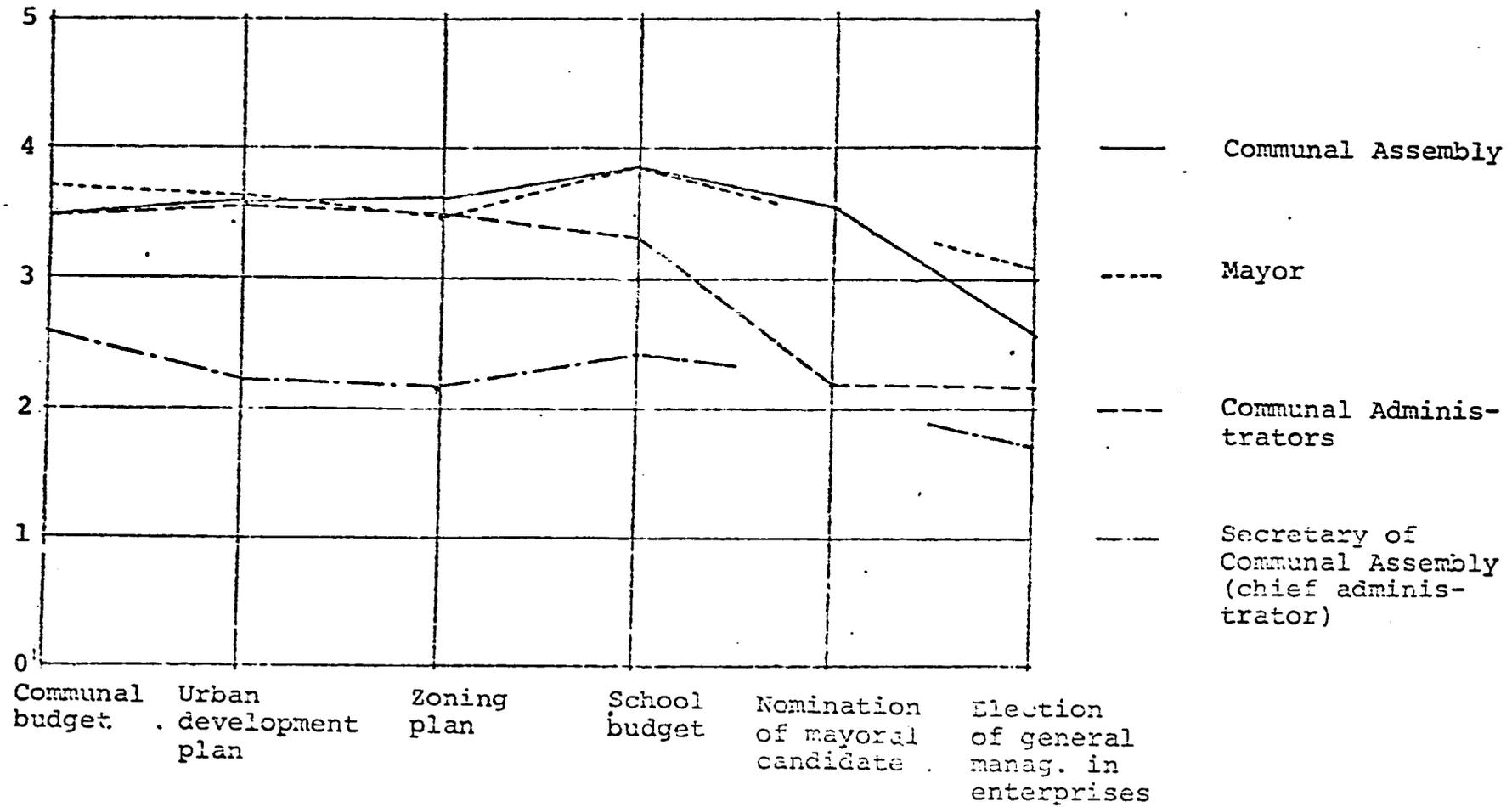
and organs of decision-making are closer to the rural population than others. In this sense, the influence of the first ones indirectly shows the influence of the rural population on the process of decision-making.

Especially the voters' meetings represent an important channel of political influence of rural communities on the Communal Assembly. The Communal Assembly also provides a forum for a relatively large number of representatives from rural areas. They both have a relatively high position in the graph of the distribution of influence, as compared with the other actors.

The structure of influence was measured in the same study also on the basis of open-ended questions. The respondents were asked to state three groups or positions that in their opinion have the most influence upon events in the commune, and three groups and positions which in their opinion should have the greatest influence. Responses which were grouped into ten categories show the differences between perceived and desired distribution of influence in the commune (see Table XXXI). As the author of the study indicated himself, the "open-ended questions are rather rough measuring instruments." It is not surprising, then, if we find some divergencies between the obtained results as compared with the graphs of influence we have seen (e.g. of the respective influence of voters' meetings and political organizations).

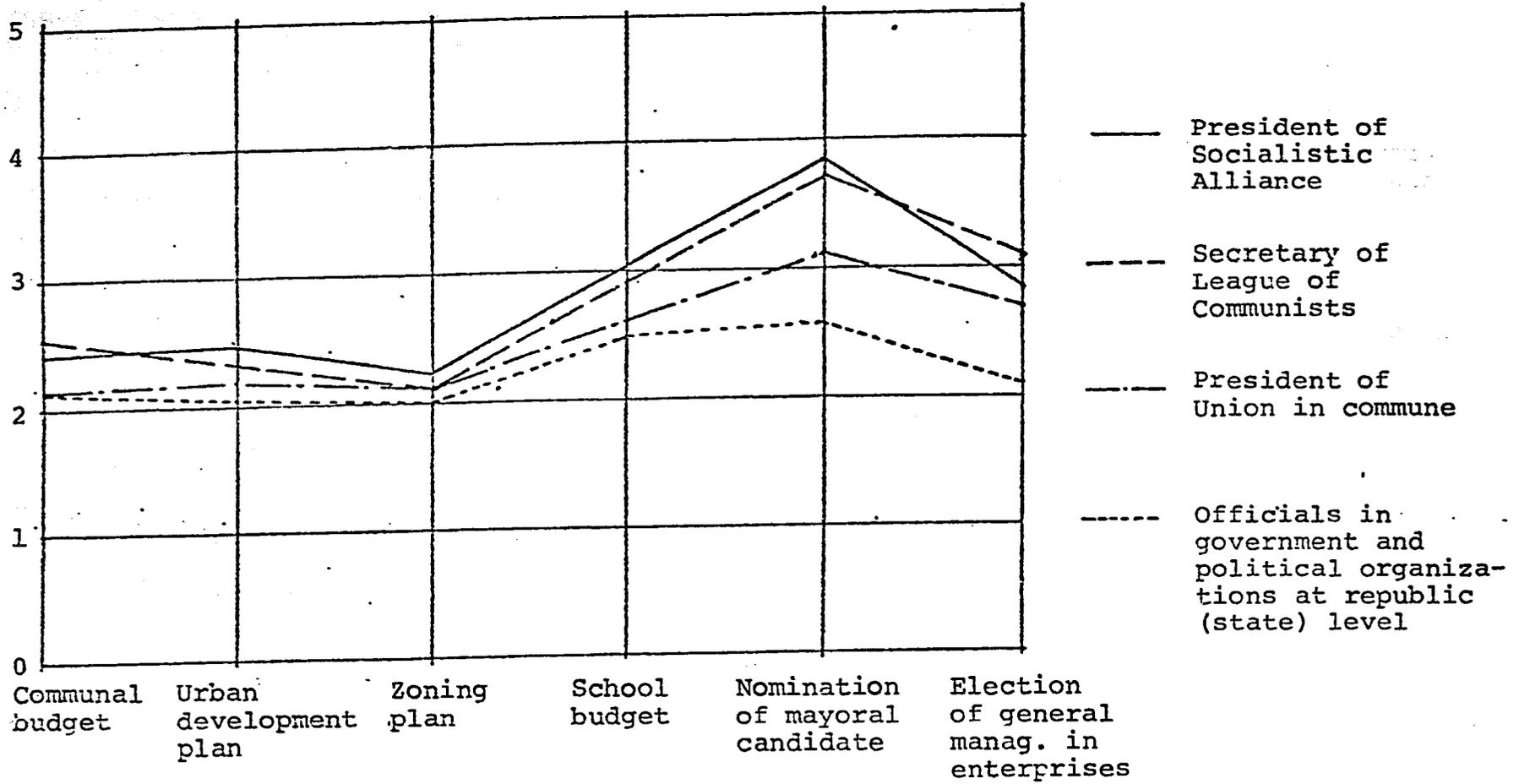
Some statistically important differences were found between developed and underdeveloped (actually meaning predominantly rural-agricultural) communes. In underdeveloped communes, 35.1 percent of respondents think that the mayor, deputy mayor and secretary exert the greatest influence upon events in the commune; in developed communes, only 25.9 percent of the respondents so believe.

Figure VIII



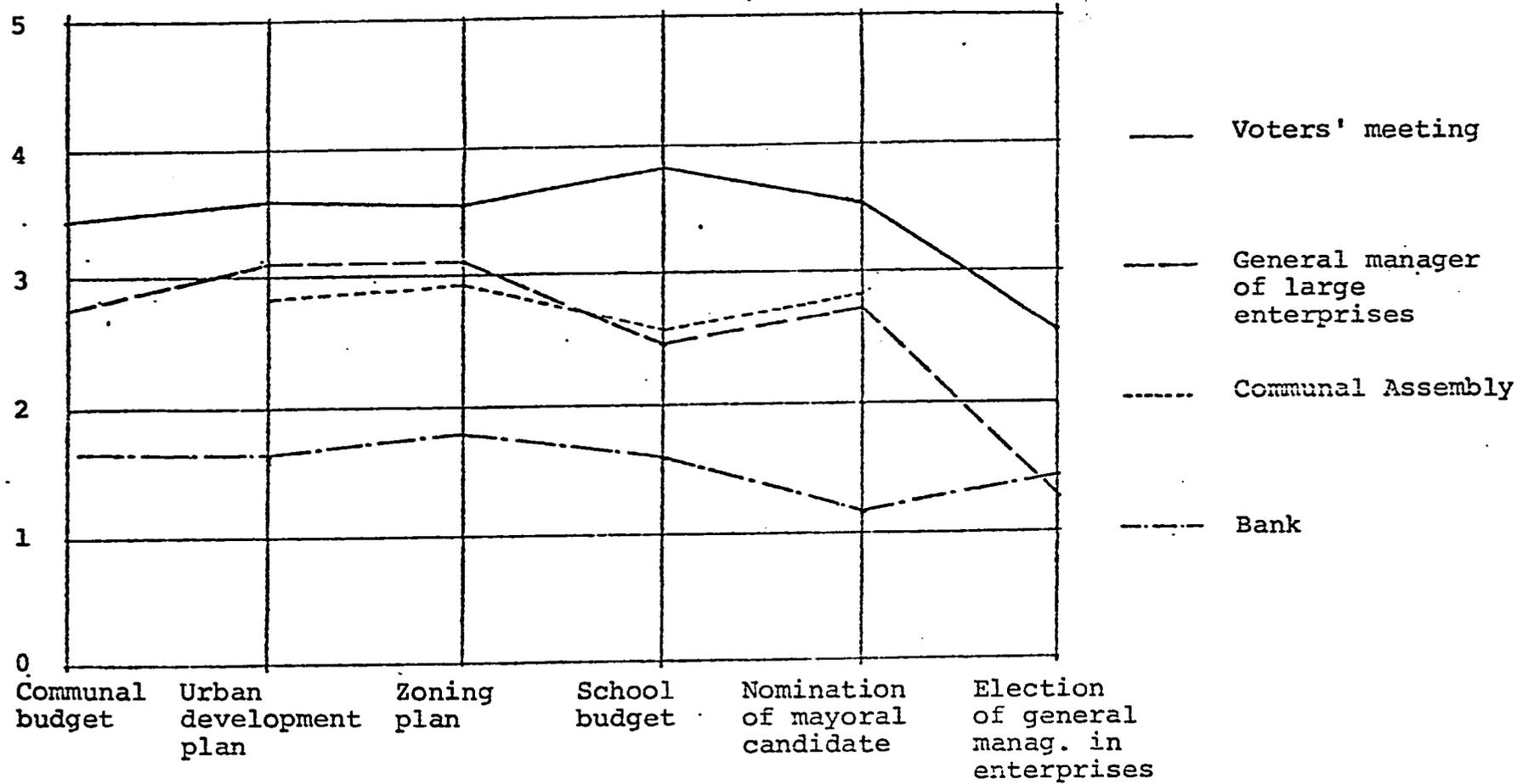
Source: Janez Jerovšek, "Structure of Influence," p. 24.

Figure IX



Source: Janez Jerovšek, "Structure of Influence," p. 25.

Figure X



Source: Janez Jerovšek, "Structure of Influence," p. 23.

Table XXXI: Perceived and Desired Influence of Actors in the Commune

Actors	Influence exerted	Should exert influence
1. Socialist Alliance of Working People	3.0 %	3.4 %
2. Voters' meetings, local communities	2.3	14.8
3. Mayor and deputy mayor and department heads of communal administration	30.2	11.7
4. Administration of Communal Assembly, professional services	2.0	0.7
5. Communal Assembly and councils of Communal Assembly	37.0	56.0
6. League of Communists, secretary of communal committee	4.7	4.0
7. Leaders of political organizations	3.0	1.0
8. Political organizations	2.7	2.0
9. Working organizations, general managers of working organizations and other leaders	12.1	4.7
10. No answer	1.0	1.0

Source: Janez Jerovšek, "Structure of Influence," p. 43.

The author comes to the conclusion that the data confirm the thesis that an individual and explicitly hierarchical role of leaders is possible and successful only in less developed territorial units.¹

On the basis of the same data, J. Jerovšek and P. Jambrek presented a combined index of influence of 12 actors across several issue areas.

¹Ibid., pp. 45-46.

Table XXXII: Combined Indices of Influence
of 12 Actors Across Several Issue Areas

Rank	Actor	Issue areas for influence of actors was measured	Combined index
1	Mayor and deputy mayor	1, 2, 3, 4, 6	3.57
2	Communal Assembly (its members)	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	3.44
3	Assembly Councils	1, 2, 3, 4, 6	3.12
4	Communal administration	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	3.00
5	Local (neighborhood) communities	1, 2, 3	2.94
6	Secretary of the Committee of the League of Communists	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	2.82
7	Chairman and Secretary of the Socialist Alliance	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	2.79
8	Managers in enterprises	6	
9	Voters' meetings	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	2.57
10	Chairman of local trade unions	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	2.45
11	Individuals who occupy important political jobs in the State	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	2.33
12	Voluntary and professional associations	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	1.68

N = 375

Source: Jerovšek and Jambrek: "Struktura vpliva v občini."

Note: The issue areas are: (1) budget, (2) urban planning, (3) construction of housing, (4) financing of schools, (5) mayoral elections, and (6) elections of managers.

The score of relative influence of assembly councils was obtained by combining data for the councils for education and culture (for issue areas 1 and 4), for budget and public finances (issue areas 1, 2, 3, 6), for municipal matters and urban planning (1 and 3), and for public health and social security (issue area 1).

Considering the rank order as presented in Table XXXII, the following actors seem to be the most relevant for the agricultural and rural populations: Communal Assembly, Assembly Councils (especially relevant would be the council for agriculture and forestry), local communities, and voters' meetings (see also Table XXXIII).

B. Local (Self) Government and Rural Development

As mentioned before, several studies of local (self) government, some of them presented before, do not pay special attention to its role in rural development. Even more often, we find the studies of agricultural rural development without any reference to the role of local authorities. Although in actual practice, there are many developmental programs defined at the local level for the specific functional or issue areas, we find the following contradiction:

1. most of them more or less directly affect the dynamics of rural development and
2. only very rarely do they explicitly make a special reference to rural development.

Institutions of local (self) government in the post-war development were involved in a much wider range of activities in terms of the broader notion of rural development than in terms of the modernization of agriculture. In spite of the fact that we find in general a high level of local autonomy after the introduction of the "communal system," this does not mean there was autonomy in terms of the basic strategy of agricultural development, which was defined at the national (federal) level.

During the two decades after World War II, local initiative was basically oriented to community development types of programs (local roads, health service, hygienic facilities, building schools, cultural centers and other aspects of standard of life). Rural industrialization

(resulting from the considerable autonomy of enterprises after 1950) and popular involvement and resource mobilization within rural communities (voters' meetings, council of local communities, referenda, self-help--especially in material and work) represented the main impetus for rural development.

In the regions with favorable geographic conditions for modern agricultural production, large-scale agricultural organizations often became the nuclei of further economic development (cooperation with the private sector, agro-industrial kombinats purchasing the agricultural products of private farmers--measures to avoid extreme fluctuation of the market). Agricultural estates and agro-industrial kombinats achieved a relatively high level of productivity of strictly market-oriented production. Their "take off" stage was largely supported by programs generally defined at the national level. In this stage, local initiative was needed primarily in order to get the available long-term credits from the central government to establish social holdings.

After the initial expansion, agricultural estates and other organizations of the social sector faced the physical and/or other limits of further growth. Such a situation contributed to greater interest in cooperation with private farmers, which at the same time represented the aspired direction in terms of the agrarian policy defined at the national level. Direct national involvement (through credits and other forms of assistance), relatively autonomous workers' self-management arrangements and market considerations (the most important external factor) limited the role of local (self) government in the development of the social sector of agriculture. In addition, large-scale agricultural organizations, simply because of their size, tended to surpass the local level.

Table XXXIII: Influence of Particular Actors
Across Various Issue Areas

Actors N=375	Budget	Urban Planning	Housing	Financing of Schools	Mayoral Elections	Elections of Managers
Communal Assembly (Its members)	3.44	3.55	3.52	3.86	3.59	2.60
Communal Administration	3.41	3.53	3.47	3.29	2.16	2.16
Mayor and Deputy Mayor	3.73	2.62	3.46	3.87	--	3.18
Chairman and Secretary of the Socialist Alliance	2.48	2.42	2.28	2.98	3.78	2.83
Chairman of Local Trade Unions	2.12	2.00	1.97	2.62	3.18	2.76
Public Agency for Education	2.92	--	--	3.90	--	--
Secretary of the Committee of the League of Communists	2.55	2.31	2.21	2.93	3.74	3.17
Individuals Who Occupy Important Political Jobs	2.14	2.22	2.10	2.59	2.68	2.23
Banks	1.71	1.63	1.83	1.59	1.29	1.48
Voluntary and Pro- fessional Assoc'ns.	1.72	1.89	1.83	1.71	1.56	1.36
Voters' Meetings	2.69	3.09	3.11	2.49	2.76	1.29
Local Communities (Neighborhood)	2.72	3.07	3.03	--	--	--
Assembly Council for Education and Culture	2.97	--	--	3.67	--	--
Assembly Council for Municipal Matters and Urban Planning	2.77	--	4.16	--	--	--
Assembly Council for Public Health and Social Security	2.76	--	--	--	--	--
Secretary of the Assembly	2.67	2.18	2.15	2.42	--	1.69
Intellectuals	2.41	--	--	3.31	--	--
Sports Associa- tion	2.12	--	--	--	--	--
Cultural Institutions	2.02	--	--	--	--	--
Public Service Agencies	--	2.85	--	--	--	--
Urban Planners	--	3.82	3.80	--	--	--
World War II Veterans Associa- tion	--	--	2.38	--	2.67	1.83
Directors of large Enterprises	--	2.83	2.95	2.57	2.57	--
Management in Par- ticular Enterprises	--	--	--	--	--	--
Committee for Elections, Appointment of Communal Assembly	--	--	--	--	3.36	3.62

Source: Jerovšek and Jambrek, "Struktura vpliva v občini."

Cooperatives went through various stages in terms of their basic functions as well as their forms of management and the extent of participation of the farmers. Their mission, in terms of the basic objectives of agricultural policy, was to bridge the gap between the private (traditional) and social (modern) sectors of agriculture. Actually, they were first of all expected to facilitate and speed up the "socialization" of agricultural production and to prevent social differentiation and exploitation on the basis of private ownership.

At the same time, there was some hesitation over what was the optimal way to achieve these objectives. In order to overcome the conservatism of the private farmers, it was assumed that a new organizational set-up had to be created from above. The role of the central government was not only to provide new incentives, but rather to define the pattern of concrete organization and management of the cooperatives and of other forms of farmers' associations. Limited representation of the agrarian population in the cooperatives and political institutions led to alienation from the decision-making structure and to stagnation of the private sector. In such a situation, there was a rather limited space for the local (self) government in the rural areas.

Uniform patterns of organization, however, did not fit in with the extreme diversity of local conditions and with the increasing local autonomy in the other areas of activity. It became more and more clear that modernization demands maximal participation and exposure of the farmers to the wider institutional network. The physical (geographic) limits to the expansion of a large-scale social sector indicated the need to recognize the role of small-scale private farmers--not only as a short-term residual category, but rather as an important under-utilized potential for faster rural development. In spite of the unresolved

threat (or--fear) of social differentiation, the program of intensive modernization was accepted.

The pattern of workers' self-management and the general orientation of further development to rely on the system of self-management in all sectors of the society was finally extended to the rural sector as well (see the relevant sections of the 1974 Constitution in the Appendix). It is such an orientation which broadened the scope, the responsibility and the means for institutions of local (self) government concerning rural development. It is characteristic that many communes on their own overtook these global changes and defined various programs of assistance to private farmers. Still, it is only recently that agrarian policy defined specific incentives for local assistance in the modernization of the private farms.

Local government has become an important link between professional agricultural institutions, cooperatives, banks and various associations, on the one hand, and farmers, on the other. The fund for promotion of the agriculture established by the communes with their own means has become an important impetus for a wide range of activities at the local level. It is an institutionalized form which makes possible the implementation of programs defined by the newly-established (or at least, enlarged) extension service. Under the more participatory model of development now prevailing, agriculture tends to become increasingly the subject of involvement of local government as well as a sound basis (beside the parallel process of industrialization) for a more rapid rural development.

APPENDIX A

SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC
CHANGES IN RURAL AREAS

The dynamics of change in rural areas increasingly depend on the extent of exposure to urban centers of information and innovation. The more limited is the exposure of the farmers and rural communities to the communication network of the global society, the relatively more prevailing will be the traditional, informal and obsolete sources of information and the lower the rate of agricultural and rural development. Three major factors seem to determine the level of inclusion of farmers and rural communities in the global communication network:

- a) spread of mass media of communication
- b) substantive relevance of the emitted program in terms of the specific needs of the rural population
- c) susceptibility of the farmers and other inhabitants of rural areas in terms of the available information

The relevance of each of these factors can be illustrated from the point of view of rural development in Yugoslavia.

1. Spread of Mass Media of Communication

Available statistics, as well as several studies dealing with the distribution of mass media, consistently indicate that the rural population is not only physically the most remote from the communication and innovation centers, but, in addition, has also more limited access to the mass media; in both regards, farmers further represent the extreme case within the rural areas.¹

¹Theodore Buila found in his study of the "Information-Use Patterns Among Slovene Farmers" (Report IV) that: "the less physically isolated a farmer is, the greater his use of mass media becomes. In effect, the "closer" a farmer is to urban Slovenia, the greater his media consumption at the awareness

Some findings of an inquiry carried out in January 1974 on a representative sample of adult Yugoslavs confirm the statement above.¹ There is a general tendency that circulation and reading of the daily press is more limited the lower the level of economic development in a region (and the higher the percentage of agricultural population). Even higher than regional differences--in terms of the level of exposure to the daily press--are those between the occupational categories. The rank order of frequency of regular reading of the daily press is the following:

	Percent
1. Professionals and artists	80
2. Employees with high school education	69
3. Retired persons	58
4. Students	51
5. Workers	47
6. Housewives	29
7. Agriculturists	10

Agriculturists clearly represent the lowest extreme. However, the differences between agricultural and non-agricultural population are smaller in relatively more developed regions.² The newspapers in Slovenia have

stage when it comes to new farm technology." See Buila, "Slovene Rural Development," op. cit., p. 8.

¹ Interview of 2500 respondents by the Center for Public Opinion Research at the Institute of Social Sciences, Beograd. See Firdus Džinić, Regionalne razlike u kontaktu građana sa sredstvima na sovnoj komunikiranja (Regional Differences in the Contact of Citizens with Mass Media), Sociologija, XVI: 1, Beograd, 1974, pp. 131-140.

² The analysis of the readership of the daily newspapers in Slovenia indicates relatively smaller differences between occupational and educational categories of population. See France Vreg, Komunikacijsko obnašanje Slovencev (Communication

relatively much more equal distribution in urban and rural areas than newspapers in less developed republics. Only the religious press and the special press for agriculturists have wider circulation in rural areas and among agriculturists than in cities and among the non-agricultural population.¹

Radio is more accessible than any other mass media. F. Džinić found in his survey that the number of radios amounts to nearly as many as the number of households in Yugoslavia. Still, there are differences: 80 percent of the interviewed agriculturists have a radio in their household while 96 percent of employees answered the same way. Radio is widely distributed even in the rural areas which have still limited access to press and television. In this sense, it has a high potential role as a channel and source of information and innovation in rural development. With the exception of retired persons and employees with secondary education (65 and 63 percent are listening to the news every day), all other occupational categories have approximately 50 percent respondents with regular daily exposure to radio news.

Television is a relatively new phenomenon, especially in the rural areas. However, it has the highest rate of expansion and has become in the country as a whole more widespread than the daily press. While in urban areas, the spread of television nearly reached the saturation point, the rural areas seem to be in the stage of the most rapid expansion of the television.² A survey which was carried

Behavior of Slovenes), *Visoka šola za sociologijo, politične vede in novinarstvo*, Ljubljana, 1969, pp. 63-67.

¹Ibid., pp. 74-75.

²The present level of the spread of mass media in general may be illustrated by the following: daily circulation of 1,700,000 newspapers and 2 million TV sets for approximately 6 million households. See Džinić, op. cit., p. 138.

out in Serbia in 1970 showed that 374 out of 1,000 households studied possessed a TV set; 76.1 percent of the households bought TV sets in the period 1965-1970 and specifically 30 percent in 1969.¹

Economic status is not an essential factor explaining the spread of TV in rural areas. Relatively the largest number of households having a TV set was found in the category of taxpayers with the lowest tax (meaning those with the lowest income). However, only 34 percent of the households having a TV set have income exclusively from their work on the farm, while 66 percent of the households studied disposed of income also from other sources. At the same time, 76 percent of households without a TV set are living on the basis of income only from their own holding and only 23 percent have other sources of income.²

Džinić came to the conclusion that buying TV sets does not follow a consistent economic sequence in the equipment of households with the items of material culture. The mentioned research in Serbia showed that only 82 percent of the households possessing a TV set are living in houses with firm walls (brick, stone), 31 percent of them have an earth floor in the main room, approximately only one half of them have modern furniture, etc. In these terms, the households without a TV set have higher standards. TV often comes into the house of a farmer earlier than other electric appliances for the household. Only 56 percent of the households with a TV set had an electric cooker and 29 percent had a refrigerator; 12 percent had water pipes; 36 percent had

¹This was a survey of 1,000 agricultural households in the narrower area of Serbia conducted for the program of Radio and Television, Beograd.

²Ibid., pp. 1299-1301. Clearly, these data may be quite different for other regions of Yugoslavia.

closed toilets and 8 percent had bathrooms. As the main reason why they bought a TV set, 61 percent of the respondents indicated amusement in leisure time and 35 percent to know what is going on in the world and to learn something new.¹

2. Substantive Relevance of the Emitted Programs

The same level of spread of mass media may have a very different impact on rural development, depending on the substantive relevance of the programs for the specific conditions and needs of the rural population. From this point of view, some dissonance can be revealed between the substantive orientation of the mass media program and the specific problems of agricultural and rural development. The functioning of mass media has been based on the assumption of a long-term perspective in which a peasant is transformed into a modern, industrial worker. This vision of a merger of agriculture and industry and of overcoming the antagonism and differences between urban and rural areas has to a great extent determined the strategy for the purposeful diffusion of information through mass media. There was an implicit understanding that to entertain the existing situation and to add only new specificities would not serve the interests of long-term change, but rather cement the inherited backwardness of the rural sector. In order to equalize the rural and urban way of life, both sectors should be exposed to basically the same information.

¹Firdus Džinić, Televizija kao faktor urbanizacije sela (Television as a Factor of Urbanization of Rural Areas), Gledišta, No. 9, Beograd, 1971, p. 298. The author further presents the following findings which are relevant for our discussion in the next chapter: 82 percent of the interviewees are watching news, 81 percent folk music and plays, 65 percent the special programs for farmers and village, 60 percent are watching films. These are the TV programs which draw the highest attention of the agricultural population (in Serbia).

This is how we understand the somehow puzzling empirical findings and comments of the researchers that "something strange is happening with the mentality of our farmer...he knows more about the innovations which serve him for leisure and entertainment than about the innovations which he can use on the farm."¹ More than an issue concerning the mentality of the farmer (which will be discussed below), the role of the institutional and communication network seems to be in question.

Without available data which would present substantive aspects of the functioning of the separate sources of information and their relevance (or irrelevance) for agricultural and rural development, the actual information-use patterns can serve the purpose.² The frequency of use of different sources at least indirectly expresses their probable relevance at the given level of their accessibility. In this sense, some other empirical findings can be added.

According to the findings of V. Djurić (for Vojvodina), the primary source of information about the group of innovations relevant for the work on the farmholding is personal contacts of farmers with other individuals; mass media have

¹Vojislav Djurić, Kako vojvodjanski seljaci usvajaju inovacije (How Farmers in Vojvodina Adopt Innovations), in Vojvodjansko selo na raskršću, Novi Sad: Center za političke studije i društveno-političko obrazovanje, 1973, pp. 57 and 66.

²Vlado Puljiz has raised the question: What is the content of information offered to the rural population by the Yugoslav mass media? Without presenting the empirical data, he concludes that they pay relatively little attention to the rural areas. Their programs (e.g. educational) are not geared with the rural specificities in mind, and this is why their efficacy in changing rural areas is limited. See Vlado Puljiz, Sredstva masovnog komuniciranja u našem selu (Media of Mass Communication in Our Village), in the book Savremeni društveno-ekonomski problemi sela (Contemporary Socio-Economic Problems of the Village), Zagreb, 1967, pp. 80-86.

rather limited importance (see Table A-1).

Table A-1: Percent of Interviewed Farmers According to the Use of Sources of Information Related to Certain Groups of Innovations

Group of innovations	Number of farmers	Source of Information				
		Persons	Trade	Mass media	Insti-tutions	Other sources
Innovations in agricultural households	163	34.9	40.3	14.4	2.5	8.9
Innovations for leisure and entertainment	279	50.3	7.5	32.0	6.7	3.5
Innovations for transport	91	57.8	26.0	2.6	4.7	10.9
Innovations for work on the holding	87	50.0	10.7	7.2	26.4	6.7

Source: Djurić, op. cit., p. 57.

In our own study, the question was posed to the interviewed farmers: What are the most important sources of their professional knowledge about agriculture, and where do they get the most useful advice for more successful work on the farm?¹ The following rank-order of information sources was revealed on the basis of the frequency of the responses.

Two characteristics seem to be the most apparent in this rank-ordering in Table A-2: the high importance of inter-personal contacts (1 and 4), on the one hand, and

¹This was part of the public opinion survey, representative sample for Slovenia, 1969, Center for Research of Public Opinion and Mass Communication, Faculty for Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, Ljubljana, 1969. See Zdravko Mlinar, Komunikacije in razvoj kmetijstva (Communication and Development of Agriculture), Naši razgledi, Ljubljana, April 9, 1971, pp. 202-203.

the extremely limited role of institutions which could affect the dynamics of rural development (schools, cooperatives, social estates) on the other. Actually, the first is conditioned by the second. The more limited is the exposure of farmers to institutionally transmitted, professional sources of information, the more they tend to be submerged in the traditional, technologically-obsolete knowledge at hand, passed on by the older generation (parents, villagers). Institutions oriented toward the man of the future have left aside the farmers of today and, accordingly, actually preserved their roots in the past.

Table A-2: Sources of Information Relevant to Agriculture

Rank	Source of Information	Percent of respondents
1	Parents, relatives	40
2	Radio programs for agriculturists	39
3	Reading "Farmers' Voice"	33
4	Neighbors, acquaintances, other farmers	26
5	Cooperative, agricultural estate	14
6	School	3
7-8	Television	2.5
7-8	Seminars for agriculturists	2.5

The uniform curriculum of primary education in urban and rural areas, the limited organization and activity of the extension service, the treatment of farming on the private holdings as a way of life ("no need" for vocational education), a focus on "Workers' Universities" as the main institutions of adult education--all these contribute to the limited role of educational institutions in the modernization of the private sector of agriculture in Yugoslavia. All of these are also subject to change in

the past few years when the specific conditions and needs of the private farmers have become more respected. A change of agrarian policy is being reflected in a changing role for the educational institutions and institution of mass communication. They are increasingly assuming the role of agents of change in agriculture and rural areas.¹

The "take off" of the extension service in some republics can serve as an example.² The study in 1973 of "Information-Use Patterns Among Slovene Farmers" (Report IV of the survey by Theodore Buila, previously mentioned) reflects the new role of the extension service. It revealed that over eight out of ten Slovene farmers consider agronomists of the cooperatives and kombinats as their "key source of decision-making quality agricultural information..." Although the findings are not representative for Yugoslavia as a whole, they seem to be a symptomatic indication of the recent changes toward an expanding institutional assistance to private farmers.³ It can be expected that a greater amount of the

¹Jugoslovansko savetovanje: Strukture, glavni procesi i njihove socijalne posledice u našem savremenom selu (Structures, Main Processes and their Social Implications in Our Contemporary Village), Jugoslovanski odbor za socijalni rad, Beograd, 1969; Preosnova kmetijstva in podeželja (Transformation of Agriculture and Rural Areas), Komunist, Ljubljana, 1970; Položaj in razvoj kmetijstva v Sloveniji (Position and Development of Agriculture in Slovenia), Dopolisna delavska univerza, Ljubljana, 1969.

²See Tončka Berlić, Organizacija i rad službe unapredjenja poljoprivrede u Sloveniji (Organization and Functioning of Agricultural Extension Service in Slovenia), Kmetijski institut, Ljubljana, 1973; also Franjo Šatović, "Problemi poljoprivredne službe" (Problems of Agricultural Service) in Suvremeni društveno-ekonomski problemi razvoja sela (Contemporary Socio-Economic Problems of Rural Development), Zagreb, 1967, pp. 23-34.

³Buila came to the conclusion that in general "Slovene findings mirror farmer information-use patterns in other developed countries. That is to say, most farmers use a mixture of personal and mass media sources for their first

diffused information directly concerning agricultural technology will fill the vacuum and increase the value and motivation for production-oriented activities of private farmers.

Table A-3: Information Sources by Stages and Type of Improved Farming Practice

Information source	Percent by source			
	First information		Final information	
	Machinery	Credit	Machinery	Credit
Friends	12 %	12 %	13 %	12 %
Agronomists	21	37	84	85
Demonstrations/Classes	2	1	--	--
Radio	33	30	2	1
Newspapers	23	16	1	2
TV	8	4	--	--
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Source: Buila, op. cit.

The initial source of information differs, to be sure, depending on the type of new farm practice in question. As the complexity of a new farming practice increases (credit vs. machinery), farmers tend to rely more heavily on direct contact with people to get their first news (see Table A-3)¹.

information while 'final' information generally comes from interpersonal sources, namely, extension workers and neighbors." Op. cit., Report IV, p. 3.

¹Buila, op. cit., pp. 4-5; again it has to be considered that the findings for the relatively most developed republic cannot be generalized for the whole country without further study.

3. Susceptibility of Farmers to Change

The third factor which could be considered concerns the receptivity of farmers to the available information or innovation. There has been a current, rather widespread stereotype about the conservatism and traditionalism of the agricultural population. In spite of the often confirmed finding that in the given situation agriculturists represent the most peripheral category of the population (low in terms of almost any type of institutionalized social, political or cultural participation, low on most of the tests of information, aspirations, etc.),¹ this does not justify the conclusion--often implicitly made--that they are stubborn conservatives, inclined to reject innovations. All indices show that in terms of the Yugoslav situation, it is rather the lack, the vacuum of institutionally transmitted information and of actually accessible innovations (e.g. machines) which cements the obsolete traditions and slows down agricultural development.

¹Zdravko Mlinar, "Integration of Rural Areas into a Broader Socio-Economic System," in The Yugoslav Village, Special Issue of Sociologija sela (Rural Sociology), Zagreb: Department of Rural Sociology, 1972, pp. 225-233.

APPENDIX B

EXCERPTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIALIST
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

Adopted by the Federal Assembly, in agreement with
the Assemblies of the Republics and the Assemblies
of the Autonomous Provinces in Belgrade, 1974

The Socio-Economic Status and Association of Farmers

Article 61

Farmers and members of their households engaged in farming and working with resources subject to the right of ownership are guaranteed the right to realize the constitutionally-defined self-management status in socialist socio-economic relationships, to make use of the results achieved through their labor, to satisfy their personal and social needs and, on the basis of their contributions, to enjoy socialist security benefits in accordance with the principles of reciprocity and solidarity.

On the basis of their personal labor, farmers shall, in principle, have the same status and basically the same rights as workers in associated labor working with social resources. Farmers shall also have corresponding rights and obligations with regard to the pooling of labor and resources, and also in trade relations on the market and in credit relations.

Article 62

Farmers may pool their labor and resources in agricultural cooperatives and in other forms of farmers' associations, or pool them with organizations of associated labor.

Agricultural cooperatives shall, in principle, have the same status, rights, obligations and responsibilities as organizations of associated labor.

In respect of resources which they pool in agricultural cooperatives, farmers may retain the right of ownership or may establish the right to the restitution of the value of these resources and other rights on the ground of their pooling in conformity with the pooling contract and the bylaws of the cooperatives concerned.

Farmers who have pooled their labor and resources in an agricultural cooperative shall be entitled to part of

the income earned by the cooperative, proportionately to how much they have contributed to the realization of this income with their own labor and the pooling of resources and or through their joint work with the cooperative. The part of income which the cooperative has realized in excess of this amount shall, as social property, be allocated to the funds of the agricultural cooperative and shall be used for the expansion and promotion of its activities.

Article 63

By pooling their labor and means of labor freely and on terms of equality with workers in associated labor working with social resources, farmers shall expand the economic foundations of their labor and shall make use of the results of general economic and social development and on this basis more fully satisfy their personal and social needs and develop their working and other abilities.

Farmers who pool their labor and means of labor, directly or through agricultural cooperatives or other forms of association of farmers, with an organization of associated labor and lastingly cooperate with it, shall manage on an equal footing with the workers of this organization common affairs and jointly decide on jointly earned income, and shall share in its distribution according to their contribution to the realization of this income, in conformity with the self-management agreement.
(pp. 115-117)

Self-Management in Local Communities

Article 114

It shall be the right and duty of the working people in a settlement, part of a settlement or in several interconnected settlements to organize themselves into a local community with a view to realizing specific common interests and needs.

Working people and citizens in a local community shall decide on the realization of their common interests and on the satisfaction, on the basis of solidarity, of their common needs in the fields of: physical improvement of their settlement, housing, communal activities, child care and social security, education, culture, physical culture, consumer protection, the conservation and improvement of the human environment, national defense, social self-protection, and in other spheres of life and work.

To realize their common interests and needs, the working people and citizens, organized in a local community, shall through self-management agreements and in other ways establish

links with organizations of associated labor, self-managing communities of interest and other self-managing organizations and communities, within or outside the territory of their local community, which have an interest in, and the duty to take part in the satisfaction of, these interests and needs.

The working people and citizens in a local community shall take part in the conduct of social affairs and in decision-making on questions of common interest in the Commune and the broader socio-political communities.

The mode of and procedure for forming a local community shall be laid down by the by-laws of the Commune.

The principles governing the procedure for forming local communities may be determined by statute.

Article 115

The by-laws of a local community shall be passed by the working people and citizens of the local community.

The rights and duties of a local community, its organization, its bodies, its relations with organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities, and other questions of concern for the work of the local community and the life of the working people in it, shall be laid down by the by-laws of the local community.

Local communities shall have the status of an artificial person.

(pp. 147-149)

The Commune

Article 116

The Commune is a self-managing community and the basic socio-political community based on the power of 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.

The functions of power and management of other social affairs, with the exception of those which under the constitution are exercised in the broader socio-political communities, shall be exercised in the Commune.

In realizing their common interests, rights and duties in the Commune, the working people and citizens shall make decisions organized in basic organizations of associated labor, local communities, self-managing communities of interest, other basic self-managing organizations and communities, other forms of self-management integration, and in socio-political organizations, through self-management agreements and social compacts and through their delegations and delegates to the Commune assembly and other bodies of self-management.

Article 117

The rights and duties of the Commune shall be laid down by the constitution and the Commune by-laws.

Citizens in the Commune shall in particular: create and develop material and other conditions of life and work, and conditions for the self-management satisfaction of the economic, welfare, cultural and other common needs of the working people 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 organs of power for the conduct of these affairs; ensure direct enforcement of statutes, unless their enforcement has under statute been placed within the competence of agencies of the broader socio-political communities; ensure the realization and safeguard 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-protection, and organize and ensure social control.

Article 118

In order to satisfy common needs in the Commune, workers in basic organizations of associated labor and other working people and citizens in local communities, self-managing communities of interest and other self-managing organizations and communities, and in the Commune as a whole, shall by referenda and other forms of personal expression of views and by self-management agreements and social compacts decide on the pooling of resources and their utilization.

Within the framework of the statutorily-established system of sources and kinds of taxes, duty stamps and other dues, the working people in the Commune shall independently decide on the volume and mode of financing general social needs in the Commune.

Article 119

Communes may cooperate with one another voluntarily and on principles of solidarity; they may pool resources and form joint bodies, organizations and services for the conduct of affairs of common interest and the satisfaction of common needs, and may associate in urban and regional communities.

The constitution may make it obligatory for Communes to associate in urban or regional communities, as special socio-political communities to which specific affairs falling within the competence of the Republics, Autonomous Provinces or Communes will be transferred.

Communes in towns shall associate, in conformity with the constitution, in urban communities as special socio-political communities to which the Communes may, in their common interest, entrust specific rights and duties. Specific affairs falling within the competence of the Republics and/or Autonomous Provinces may be transferred to such communities.
(pp. 149-151).

The Assembly System

Article 132

The assembly is a body of social self-management and the supreme organ of power within the framework of the rights and duties of its socio-political community. ...

Article 133

Working people in basic self-managing organizations and communities and in 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 the functions of the assemblies of the socio-political communities.

Delegations in self-managing organizations and communities shall be formed by:

- (1) Working people in basic organizations of associated labor and work communities in charge of affairs of common concern to several basic organizations of associated labor;

- (2) Working people who work in agriculture, crafts and similar activities with means of labor subject to the right of ownership, together with workers with whom they have pooled their labor and means of labor and who are organized in communities and other statutorily-defined forms of association;
- (3) Working people in the work communities of state agencies, socio-political organizations and in other work communities which are not constituted as organizations of associated labor, and active military personnel and civil persons serving in the Armed Forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in the way specified by the constitution and statute;
- (4) Working people and citizens in local communities. ...

Article 134

Members of delegations shall be elected by the working people in basic self-managing organizations and communities from among members of these organizations and communities by direct and secret ballot. ...

...No one may be elected member of a delegation of the same self-managing organization or community for more than two consecutive terms.

Article 137

In keeping with the interests of and guidelines by basic self-managing organizations and communities, and taking into account the interests of other self-managing organizations and communities and general social interests and needs, the delegations shall formulate basic stands for the delegates to follow in the work of the assemblies and in their participation in decision-making.

Delegations shall be bound to keep the basic self-managing organizations or communities informed of their own work and the work of the delegates in the assemblies, and shall be responsible to these organizations or communities for their work.

Delegations shall cooperate with delegations from other self-managing organizations and communities in seeking, by mutual agreement, common solutions to questions falling within the competence of the assemblies, and in finding solutions, by mutual agreement, to other questions of common concern.

(pp. 157-162)

EXPLANATION OF SOME EXPRESSIONS AND NOTIONS USED IN THE
S.F.R.Y. CONSTITUTION

(Ibid., pp. 304-311)

Delegates

--are members of delegations (collective representatives), elected by the working people in basic self-managing organizations, local communities and socio-political organizations. Delegations take part, in an organized way, in the performance of the functions of the assemblies of socio-political communities and for this purpose they elect from among their members delegates to the assemblies of the Communes, provinces, republics and the Federation. Delegates are bound to take stands in accordance with what was previously decided by the delegation or the assembly which has elected them.

Delegational system

--is the groundwork upon which assemblies (communal, provincial, republican and federal) are constituted on the basis of collective delegations of work organizations, local communities and socio-political organizations. The delegation system ensures the direct presence of the working people in the assemblies, makes impossible political outvoting of one category of the population by another, and ensures functional linkage of short- and long-term interests of individual sections of society and of society as a whole. The delegational system is an institutionally new and special kind of link between self-management and government. It is the universal principle underlying the entire socio-political system of Yugoslavia.

Social organizations

--are bodies of persons organized with a view to pursuing their interests, performing specific social affairs and developing various activities of general social interest (welfare-humanitarian, cultural, scientific, technical, tourist, sports, and other similar organizations).

Social compacts

--are self-management enactments concluded on an equal basis by organizations of associated labor, chambers of economy, government agencies and socio-political organizations under which the parties thereto ensure the regulation of socio-economic and other relations of a broad interest.

Their purpose is to replace the statute's role in the resolution of social contradictions and the realization of cooperation and solidarity in the economic and other spheres of life. Social compacts have the character of law. Parties to a social compact determine by it measures for its implementation and define their material and social responsibility for the execution of jointly undertaken obligations.

Socio-political communities

--are all territorial communities in which working people and citizens exercise the constitutionally-defined functions of power and management of other social affairs (Federation, republics, autonomous provinces, communes and big cities having the status of special socio-political communities).

Cooperation in agriculture

--means the pooling of labor and means of production by private farmers (directly or through agricultural cooperatives) with organizations of associated labor, i.e. with agricultural estates, factory-farms or factories processing agricultural products.

Local communities

--are self-managing territorial units concerned with questions of local significance. In rural areas such communities are established for one or several villages, and in urban areas for individual sections of a city. They do not perform any function of public power and in this sense they differ from socio-political communities (communes, autonomous provinces, republics, Federation).

Organization of associated labor

--is a generic term for those economic and non-economic organizations which carry out their activities with socially-owned resources and are organized on a self-management basis. This is in fact what was earlier referred to as an "enterprise" (for the economic sector) and an "institution" (for the non-economic sector).

Self-managing communities of interest

--are communities formed by working people directly or through their self-managing organizations and communities for the purpose of satisfaction of specific common needs. Their aim is to link the interests of those who render specific public services with those who use these services. Under the Constitution, the assemblies of self-managing communities of interest in the spheres of education, science,

culture, health and welfare are authorized to decide, together and on an equal footing with the competent assemblies of the socio-political communities (communes, provinces, republics), on matters falling within these spheres. There are also communities of interest in the fields of housing construction, power production, water management, transport, etc.

Self-managing organizations and communities

--are organizations of associated labor, organizations of business associations, banks, insurance communities, agricultural and other cooperatives, contractual organizations of associated labor, self-managing communities of interests, local communities, and work communities performing affairs for state and other agencies and organizations.

Self-management agreements

--are self-management enactments adopted on terms of equality by workers in work organizations and working people in local communities, communities of interest and other self-managing organizations with a view to regulating and adjusting their interests (a more rational division of labor, pooling of resources for the pursuance of common aims, regulation of mutual relations in this cooperation, etc.). In this way the regulative and intermediary role of the state concerning relations among working people is diminished. A self-management agreement is only binding on those who have signed or acceded to it.

Socially-owned resources

--are resources used in production and other resources of associated labor, products of associated labor, income generated by associated labor, means for the satisfaction of common social needs, natural resources and goods in general use. These resources are managed by workers who operate them, in accordance with the Constitution and statute.

Associations of citizens

--are bodies of citizens organized for the pursuance of joint interests or hobbies (professional associations, various clubs pursuing activities motivated by their hobbies or recreational wishes--philatelists', hunters', bee-keepers', amateur photographers', choral societies, etc.).

APPENDIX C

EXCERPTS FROM THE PROGRAM OF THE LEAGUE
OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS

Yugoslavia, Beograd, 1958

The Forms and Role of Social Ownership

The form of socialization of the means of production may be different in the course of development from indirect social, or state, ownership (which is characteristic of the first phase of social development) toward maximum direct social ownership, managed ever more directly by the emancipated and associated working people. Social ownership of the means of production develops in line with the increase in the material, social and political power of the socialist society. Therefore, every form of social ownership contains, to a greater or lesser degree, remnants of state ownership, as long as social appropriation is being carried out through, or in the presence of, social forces in the form of the state or political authorities.

From the economic point of view, social ownership makes it possible to direct production in accordance with the needs of the people, with a view to satisfying these needs to the fullest possible extent. At the same time it prevents alienation of labor surplus from the producer by putting him in the position of deciding on the utilization and distribution of the social product and, at the same time, of appropriating directly one part of the social product that he produces under socially organized production.

Social ownership of the means of production was achieved in Yugoslavia through a revolutionary transformation. In Yugoslavia, it encompasses all the means of production, except the means used for private labor by peasants and craftsmen. Social ownership of the means of production in Yugoslavia has not only liquidated private capitalist ownership, it has also become the firm foundation and guarantee of social relationships in production, whereby there is a gradual disappearance of conditions making possible any monopoly of ownership, including economic and political monopoly, that is to say monopoly not only by the individual but also by the socialist state.

The actual social substance of this process is the development of self-management by the producers in production, of self-government by the working people in the commune,

district, republic, and federation, and clear delimitation of rights and duties among all those bodies. This is what makes it possible for the community, and equally for the individual producer, to influence, in a certain way, both production and distribution, as well as the allocation of the social product. These relationships are not absolute, they are even contradictory; but they must gradually, without any doubt, develop in the direction of greater direct influence by the working man and greater harmony with the needs of society as a whole. Under such relationships, which to an ever increasing extent transform society into a real community of producers, conditions are created whereby the free and conscious development of each individual becomes the condition for the free development of all.

Property Relationships in Agriculture and Their Transformation

Property relationships in agriculture have a special importance in the social and economic system in Yugoslavia. The problem of land ownership and its forms has been posed in diverse ways in the various countries building socialism. Nevertheless, the essence of the matter is that the process of socialization of the land is an integral part of the development of socialism. This process, however, can unfold in different ways, depending on the concrete social, economic, and political conditions in each country.

A radical agrarian reform was carried out in Yugoslavia, resulting in the restriction of landholdings to ten hectares of arable land; and this substantially decreased possibilities for capitalist tendencies to assert themselves in the sphere of private agricultural production.

In view of the fact that private landholdings in Yugoslavia are almost exclusively of the type of small or medium-sized holdings, the League of Yugoslav Communists believes that the process of socialization of land will not develop in the future either by way of enforced general nationalization, or other similar means, but primarily through the socialist transformation of agricultural production on the basis of increasingly stronger socialist forces in the economy, particularly in agriculture, and through the gradual socialist transformation of the village, by unification through cooperatives or through cooperation between the peasants and the socialized sector in agricultural production. This cooperation is based primarily on the use of modern means of large-scale agricultural production, which, can be exclusively socially owned.

The process of socialization of land will also unfold through the development and expansion of socially-owned

agricultural enterprises and through the influence of socialist industry and trade on economic relationships in agriculture. Such a development will also be stimulated by the subjective efforts of the leading socialist forces.

Despite the existence of private land ownership, land is considered to be common property. The entire population has an interest in its proper cultivation, and it must therefore be under the general control of society. This enables the community systematically to create, stimulate, and foster the most diverse elements of large-scale socialist agriculture, by way of suitable general economic policies, especially in connection with capital investment and credit, and by various planning, state-regulatory and technical-organizational measures, thereby continually stimulating and advancing the socialist transformation of the village.

At the same time, the League of Yugoslav Communists considers it imperative for the peasant to feel secure on his land, to rest assured that his right of possession is legally protected and that no measures of expropriation (except in cases fully established by law, when a general social need is indicated) can deprive him of his land while he is cultivating that land. He himself, while looking after his own interests and those of the community and using his own discretion, should voluntarily make the decision regarding his entry into a socialist cooperative and large-scale socialist production, which alone can extricate him from his backwardness and poverty.
(pp. 135-139)

THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND ITS INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS

The Peasantry

In line with the increasing power of the economic forces of socialism, important changes are also taking place among the peasantry. The greater part of arable land in Yugoslavia is owned by the individual peasant producer and his household. Under this form of land ownership, certain opportunities still exist in principle for capitalist tendencies and relationships to appear. But in practice, in view of the small size of the holdings, the existence of a relatively low land maximum, and the impossibility of private ownership of machinery for large-scale agricultural production--the private landholding in Yugoslavia has in the great majority of cases been reduced, for the most part, to the personal labor of the owner and his family. Although it represents, under certain conditions, a serious hindrance to the development of productive

forces, the private landholding, through its increasingly close ties with the socialist economic sector and especially through its increasing dependence upon the use of the socially-owned means of production, will gradually change its nature and become an integral part of large-scale socialist agricultural production. On the one hand, this creates conditions for its socialization in a form which will serve the interests both of the community and of the working peasant, and, on the other hand, it serves the increasing rapprochement and merger of the working peasants with the working class and other sections of the working people.

The Communists will make a stand against capitalist tendencies in the village and against those negative manifestations of private-owner mentality which produce narrow, selfish, and even anti-socialist actions and which could, as such, weaken the political unity of the working people and become a stronghold of reactionary political forces. The Communists must not underestimate such tendencies and manifestations. They are a serious social factor causing obstructions and delays, and creating economic disproportions and difficulties, political vacillation, etc.

However, although such tendencies exist, they do not represent a force that would inevitably threaten the alliance created between the working people of town and village during the Revolution and in the course of socialist construction to date. The large majority of peasants belong to the category of the small holder, living only on his own labor, whose small landholding is only a condition for such personal labor on his part and who, as such, has a vital interest in the abolition of all exploitation and in increasing the power of workers and peasants; this fact creates all the conditions for a much firmer consolidation in the future, of the unity of interests between the working people in town and country and thus, also, of their political alliance. The contradictions which will crop up in these relationships will be solved within the framework of socialist democracy, and by the systematic activity of socialist society in developing modern large-scale agriculture and carrying out the social transformation of the village.

It is precisely because of this that the peasants must be in a position of equality with the other working people in the political and economic system of our society, and they must have corresponding freedom of economic and social activity. It is necessary for the peasant to have such a political status so that he will under the concrete conditions have a personal interest in making every effort

to increase the productivity of labor and consequently to team up more and more with large-scale socialist agriculture, which alone makes such an increase possible and at the same time opens up for him the prospect of emancipation from backwardness, primitive labor, and poverty.

(pp. 148-150).

THE SOCIAL SUBSTANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN YUGOSLAVIA

The Commune

The commune is the basic political-territorial organization of self-government by the working people, and the basic social-economic community of the population on its territory. The Communists must devote special attention to the development of the commune.

Being the basic social-economic community, the commune is the cell in the social organism in which relations in production, distribution, consumption, and other basic daily social relations between working people, are established and promoted. Self-government by the working people in various social fields gives the commune a democratic structure and is the fundamental and most prominent organization of self-government on a territorial basis. Since the working people in the commune are both producers and consumers, and are responsible for the efforts made to raise the general living standards of the community, the commune is also the basic framework within which individual and collective interests are brought into harmony.

Within the unified economic area of Yugoslavia, which is based on a unified economic plan and enjoys a uniform system of distribution, the communes must have every opportunity to develop production and the productive forces in accordance with the material resources available under given conditions. In distributing the available resources, they may find, in accordance with their specific conditions, the corresponding most favorable relations between further development of the productive forces and expansion of the material base, between increasing personal consumption and investment in establishments of the social standard and expansion of other non-economic activities.

As a political mechanism of government--realized through the people's committees, broad political and technically qualified boards, meetings of voters, referendums, local committees, housing communities, and other forms of direct government--the commune is the most prominent institution of direct socialist democracy, holding,

as it does, the reins of government of the working people through, and for, the working people. Increasingly assuming management of social affairs, and having the means to do so, the commune is neither merely nor primarily a school of democracy; rather, it is democracy itself; it is the basic cell of self-government of the citizens over common affairs.

The Prospects for Future Development of the Commune

The future development of the commune must aim primarily at achieving increasingly intensive development of the productive forces, a steady increase in the productivity of labor, and, consequently, a higher income for every worker in the commune. These are the aims of every action taken by the commune to improve general social, individual, material, and cultural standards. For this reason, all those organizations and services in the commune which are concerned with direct daily assistance and service to the citizens and his family in their material, cultural and other requirements, and which, in view of the full material and political participation of the citizens themselves, will directly contribute to a higher standard of living, should continue to develop and expand. This is the way to create a social technical base for family life.

This is the direction in which the housing communities must also develop, combining the general efforts of the commune in this sphere with the action and initiative of the citizens concerned, with a view to mutual cooperation in the management and solution of everyday problems affecting the life of the family, particularly in the sphere of child care, housekeeping, various services, management of the housing fund, housing construction, direct social and health welfare of the members of the housing community, etc. Services managed by various bodies of citizens are to become gradually an important part of the network supplying the population and the public services.

Given this development, the commune will gradually cease to be an administrative unit in a territorial area and become a specific social-political form of organization of the people for the purpose of managing common social affairs. This is the body from which the entire democratic socialist mechanism is growing and developing, linking the working class, i.e. the producers, with all the other working people who, by their labor, also contribute substantially to the development of the productive forces and to higher general productivity of labor.

In its entire activity, the mechanism of the commune must continue to develop as a public organization,

responsible both to the meetings of voters and to society as a whole, always subject to public criticism by the citizens and their organizations, and to the supervision of superior organs in order that maximum compliance with the law may be secured. In the statute of the commune, every citizen should find his rights and his duties, as well as his opportunities for participating in government over the commune, and through it and the other organs of social self-government, over society as a whole. (pp. 182-184)

AGRICULTURAL POLICY

The country has entered a stage of economic growth when the acceleration of agricultural development is essential in order to ensure a more even development of the productive forces, to satisfy the growing needs of the working people, and in order to create more favorable conditions for the socialist transformation of the village and social development in general. Agricultural development can only be accelerated by means of large-scale up-to-date techniques and a scientific production organization. This requires corresponding investment of social means in areas of agricultural development which can more quickly and thoroughly overcome the effects of laissez-faire and ensure a high level of production, while reaching the targets of socialist transformation in the countryside.

Economic development to date in Yugoslavia has created, in addition to social-political conditions, the initial economic material conditions for the development of up-to-date socialist agriculture. The general development of the economic forces in Yugoslavia, and the growing total national income produced primarily by the country's industrialization, are gradually providing agriculture with modern means of production. A network of socialist agricultural organizations has also been developed, providing a sound starting base for the more rapid and successful development of socialist forms of production in agriculture.

The Creation of Large-Scale Socialist Agriculture--the Only Way to Progress in Agricultural Production

The general economic uplift, and the growth of socialist social relationships that has already taken place in other fields of production, make it essential that in all branches of agriculture there should also be a speeding up of the process of transition from backward methods to scientifically organized and high-yielding methods of production. Only modern agriculture with its

high yield per worker and land unit can ensure getting the best out of favorable soil and climatic conditions, thus making it possible to effect a steady improvement in food supplies for the population, to supply processing industries with agricultural raw materials, and to increase farm exports.

The obtainment of higher yields depends upon a more comprehensive scientific and technical organization of production in agriculture, the elimination of backward technological methods, the application of modern means and processes of mechanization, the use of chemicals, high-quality seeds, highly productive livestock, soil reclamation projects, etc. Accordingly, agricultural production can be advanced only by engaging the socialist forces and by building up a modern large-scale socialist agriculture.

The improvement of agricultural production and its socialist transformation are only two facets of a single process. All prospects of advancing agriculture through capitalist development and through the enrichment of one section of the agricultural producers at the expense of others are, under present conditions in Yugoslavia, both economically and politically impossible.

The Socialist Transformation of the Countryside

The agricultural policy of the League of Yugoslav Communists involves the gradual socialization of the production process in agriculture by developing the means of production within the framework of the present socialist agricultural organizations and other socialist forms, which will emerge during the development of this process itself without compulsory interference with individual land ownership. The socialist transformation of agriculture is indispensable for any qualitative improvement and for the creation of better living conditions for the agricultural producer. The gradual attainment of this goal is one of the most important tasks for the Communists and for all the socialist forces during the coming period of socialist development.

The consolidation of socialist relationships in the countryside is linked with the development of socialist agricultural organizations, with modern means of production and technical personnel, with the growing influences of these organizations upon methods of cultivation and land husbandry, with the increasing pressure upon the individual producer to participate, in his own interests and those of the development of socialist agricultural organizations, in the multifarious forms of socialist cooperation.

The chief protagonists of expanded production and the organizers of modern agricultural production are the organized socialist forces in agriculture. These are, for the most part, agricultural estates, peasant working cooperatives, general farming cooperatives, and cooperative farms. During subsequent development, priority will be given to the farms which produce the best results in raising production and furthering the socialist transformation of the countryside; that is to say, to those which are in the forefront of the campaign for higher yields, for profitable husbandry, for adopting modern means and methods of production; which exercise an influence on the development of socialist relations in the countryside; which are in the forefront of transcending private owner laissez-faire, and of attracting the working peasants to large-scale socialist agricultural production.

The Yugoslav Communists will, therefore, promote the development of socialist agricultural organizations and forms of association among individual producers, which will lead to the maximum growth of agricultural production and which will be accepted voluntarily by working peasants in their own interest.

The Role of the General Farming Cooperative

The general farming cooperative is one of the suitable forms through which small-holder laissez-faire is gradually superseded and large-scale socialist production developed. The activities of the general farming cooperative must be directed towards forms of cooperation in production which will result in a substantial increase in production and increase the funds of the cooperative, and in this way create conditions for modern socialist large-scale production. Only such forms result in greater productivity of labor and lower production costs. The material interests of the individual agricultural producer, and the economic interest of the community which invests socially-owned funds in agricultural development, should provide the decisive material-economic stimulus for various forms of association between the individual farmer and the cooperative. Such an individual economic interest will convince the farmer of the advantages of the large-scale socialist farm over the backward unorganized small-holding.

The basis and aims of such cooperation are provided by a technical substructure quite different from the one upon which present peasant production rests; this enables quantitatively higher yields per unit of capacity to be obtained, labor can be mobilized, and various forms of land merger achieved. The cooperatives must socialize the process of labor, gradually transform one operation after

another into a social process of labor, thereby effecting the structure of production and planning, and gradually transforming the structure of agriculture as a whole. ... It is essential that all these processes should come into operation only as a result of the peasant's own voluntary consent. And it is actual experience that will open the eyes of the peasant to the truth, which is persistently emphasized by the League of Communists, viz., that the working peasant will lead a better life only under conditions which appertain to the development and increase of modern large-scale agricultural production.

The Role of Socialist Agricultural Estates

In the present phase of the development of modern socialist agriculture, the socially-owned agricultural estates, and the advanced working cooperative and cooperative farms, have a particularly significant role to play. These estates have reached a stage in which intensive endeavors are being made to produce yields that are indicative of a qualitative change--high productivity of labors and profitable production.

Their example and productive capacity will give impetus to the modernization and intensification of agriculture as a whole. Their results today give the main weight to the decisive evidence in favor of large-scale socialist estates in every branch of agriculture as opposed to the small, fragmented individual holding.

Political and Cultural Progress in the Countryside

The process of developing modern socialist agriculture will have a profound effect on the entire development of socialist relations, as well as on the standard of living and cultural level in the countryside. Scientifically organized production by modern methods will gradually sweep away the discrepancies between labor in industry and labor in agriculture, since the various processes of agricultural production are becoming increasingly industrialized. Under such conditions the productivity of labor in agriculture will on the average gradually approximate the productivity of labor in industry.

General technical and cultural progress--such as electrification, modern transport, the press, radio, television, etc. is also leading the agricultural producer along the road to more productive labor and a more civilized way of life. Self-management by the producers in the large-scale estates, cooperatives and their establishments, is becoming a growing force in the development of modern agriculture. As agriculture in general develops, the differences in the way of living between the urban and rural

population, and the contradictions and differences between urban and rural interests, will diminish. In this way the working peasant becomes more deeply involved in new production relations, thus changing his social nature, his way of life, and his whole mentality.

In the struggle for such a development, an extremely important role is being played by the Communists and by all other conscious socialist forces. In particular, the political and social organizations in the countryside and in the agricultural communes must supervise the extremely complex process of developing modern socialist agriculture and the socialist transformation and cultural advance of the countryside.

(pp. 218-223)

Peasant and Bullock by Chuah Theah Teng
From the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.