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DEVELOPMENT, UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND THE REPRODUCTION  
OF THE INDIVIDUAL PRIVATE SECTOR OF AGRICULTURE  
IN THE SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

by

Branka Malešević

A Thesis  
submitted to the  
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
in Partial Fulfillment of the  
requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts at the  
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1990

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[W]e can no longer think of societies as isolated and self-maintaining systems. Nor can we imagine cultures as integrated totalities in which each part contributes to the maintenance of an organized, autonomous, and enduring whole. There are only cultural sets of practices and ideas, put into play by determinate human actors under determinate circumstances. In the course of action, these cultural sets are forever assembled, dismantled, and reassembled, conveying in variable accents the divergent paths of groups and classes. These paths do not find their explanation in the self-interested decisions of interacting individuals. They grow out of the deployment of social labour, mobilized to engage the world of nature. The manner of that mobilization sets the terms of history, and in these terms the peoples who have asserted a privileged relation with history and the peoples to whom history has been denied encounter a common destiny.

Eric Wolf  
(Europe and the People Without History, 1982)

[I]f social and political aspirations are not disciplined by careful theory and analysis, they will lead to false prescription and to development policies which fail. Theory is not therefore a mere intellectual indulgence, but, at its best, the most 'practical' of activities.

Gavin Kitching  
(Development and Underdevelopment in Historical Perspective, 1982)

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This study examines the relationship between Yugoslav policy toward developing the agricultural sector of the economy and the outcome of underdevelopment. More specifically, the study examines the theoretical basis of socialist transformation embedded in Marxist theory of development, and the way this has contributed to the perception of the agrarian structure in post-war Yugoslavia. Although the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Kautsky served as a basis for conceptualizing the structure of socialist agriculture, the Yugoslavs also drew on Western social science. Where research had been directed at the conditions of small producers, it drew its importance from a structural-functional form of analysis. Although a diversity of social organization is incorporated into the process of socialist development, Yugoslav Communist theoreticians tend to refer to the superiority of the social farm sector. In theory then, the socialist system of agriculture allows for the possibility of achieving major

increases in agricultural output and productivity, and the elimination of class stratification in agriculture. However, the present economic crisis, with its problems of inflation in general, and the slowing growth of agricultural production in particular, provided a german context to critically examine the theoretical basis of agricultural policy. Marx's statement that economic laws are of equal importance in all areas of production, including agriculture, is taken as a fact by Yugoslav Communist theoreticians. They also argue that the predominance of large-scale farming will lead to the ruin of the peasants as petty commodity producers. While in the majority of the studies, the research foci rested primarily on the method of socialist transformation of agriculture, the discussion within the 'non-Marxist' tradition of Chayanov has been rejected by all Yugoslavs for a belief prevailed that Chayanov provided an incorrect interpretation of development.

While policy stressed the superiority of the public sector, we now find that government officials are encouraging the survival of the private farms. Moreover, scientists are now suggesting that the individual private sector produces a larger part of the total agricultural production in comparison to the social sector. In the conclusion part of the study, we propose that it is essential to recognize that Yugoslav preoccupation with



industrialization obscured a number of important aspects of the development of Yugoslav society and caused to overlook the system of management at the level of individual households. Chayanov's analysis of how the peasant family farms continue to reproduce themselves could also provide the basis for examining how private agricultural holdings within the large socialist economy came to represent the basic factor of the agrarian economy in Yugoslavia. By examining the nature of the household production and how private farmers are able to compete with the social sector, the specialists of Yugoslavia might be provided with a better understanding how marginal or underdeveloped private sector can play an important role in the future agricultural policies.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## ABBREVIATIONS

BOAL Basic Organization of Associated Labour

CC Central Committee

KPJ/KPY Communist Party of Yugoslavia

LCY League of Communists of Yugoslavia

SAP Socialist Autonomous Province

SFRJ/SFRY Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia

SR Socialist Republic

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DEVELOPMENT, UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND THE REPRODUCTION  
OF THE INDIVIDUAL PRIVATE SECTOR OF AGRICULTURE  
IN THE SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

INTRODUCTION

An important overall concern of this study is with the process of agrarian change in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. Of particular interest in this process is the relationship between state policy toward developing or modernizing the agricultural sector of economy and the outcome of agricultural underdevelopment.<sup>1</sup> More specifically, this study examines the theoretical basis of socialist transformation embedded in Marxist theory of development<sup>2</sup> and the way this has contributed to the perception of the agrarian structure in contemporary Yugoslavia. More precisely, while we argue that socialist development theory has contributed significantly to agrarian underdevelopment, at the same time it played a major role on the reproduction of the individual private sector of agriculture. Although diversity of social organization has been incorporated into the process of socialist



development, Yugoslav Communist theoreticians tended to refer to the superiority of the social farm sector. That is, the socialist transformation of agriculture has been regarded as the essential basis for increased agricultural productivity output and improving cultural standards. In doing this, it has been uncritically assumed that socially-organized production is far more efficient than the private agricultural sector. Perhaps the most important change offered by the socialist transformation of agriculture is the elimination of the potential for class development and the elimination of strata and inequality in rural areas.

In theory, then, the socialist system of agriculture allows for the possibility of achieving major increases in agricultural output and productivity, and the elimination of class stratification in agriculture. However, at this point in time, Yugoslavia is witnessing serious problems in its agricultural sector<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, we now find that some government officials are encouraging the survival of private farms and proposing to expand the existing large number of individual agricultural holdings in Yugoslavia. The present economic crisis<sup>4</sup>, with its problems of inflation in general, and the slowing growth of agricultural production in particular<sup>5</sup>, provides a german context to examine critically the theoretical basis of agricultural policy. This will entail an examination of the relationship between Marxist development theory and current policy approaches.

It will be argued that development theory affected the way in which policy approaches to the modernization of agriculture (and of the peasant) should be perceived. Like Western modernization theory, socialist development theory incorporated an explanatory model that denied the peasant a "progressive" role in history. In view of contentions that household production (although occupying 83% of agricultural land, 98% of livestock, over 95% of machinery<sup>6</sup> and 99% of the total work force in agriculture<sup>7</sup>) can never develop into a dominant form of agricultural production, it is of crucial importance to examine the Yugoslav system of agriculture and the emergence of socialist policies toward it. This is the essential part of the study.

A full appreciation of agrarian policy would involve an examination of the historical conditions of Yugoslav agriculture, a discussion of external political and economic constraints, and a discussion of internal political processes. In this thesis, attention is directed at one aspect of the problem. An attempt is made to identify the theoretical assumptions which have been employed to guide or justify state policy. In doing this, it is important to examine the work of Marx, Engels, Kautsky and Lenin because it is ideas from this work which have continuously reproduced in the writings of Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists on agrarian development and social change. In this respect, the discussions within the

'non-Marxist' tradition of Chayanov, which challenges assumptions about the superiority of socialized agriculture, have been ignored or rejected by all Yugoslav Communist theoreticians.

A review of the literature on agrarian development in Yugoslavia suggests that in the majority of the studies a Marxist development theory has been incorporated to describe and explain the prevailing direction of change in the socio-economic and political system. When theorizing about social structure and social change, Yugoslav social theoreticians have shown a tendency to see them as showing a progression of some sort. The phrases and concepts with which they operated were those directly tied to cumulative social change: 'Higher socioeconomic formation,' 'development of the productive forces,' 'rapid advance in production,' 'great leap forward,' 'accelerated economic growth,' 'rapid social change,' and the like. These phrases and concepts have been generalized by Yugoslav theoreticians for cumulative social change is seen to imply that old traditions are inevitably displaced by the expansion and consolidation of the socialist sector. The main ideological orientation of socialist development theory appears to have provided the definition and goals and the meaning of change. Although the work of Marx, Engels, Kautsky, and Lenin has served as a basis for conceptualizing the structure of socialist agriculture, the Yugoslavs also

drew on Western social science. Where research has been directed at the conditions of small producers, it has usually drawn its importance from a structural-functional form of analysis. The issues covered by anthropologists, rural sociologists and a few rural political economists have centred upon new changes resulting from socialist relations in the village. An emphasis was placed on research dealing with such issues as: urban-industrial systems, adoption and diffusion of agricultural technology, changing cultural styles, educational and occupational patterns, family structure in rural communities, as well as peasant-workers migration to the cities. In other words, despite the sizable research effort on urban-industrial systems, there are no systematic discussions on the relationship between development theory and the prevailing agricultural problems in Yugoslavia. More precisely, in dealing with the agrarian policies aimed at integrating and consolidating the social sector of economy and at demonstrating the alleged superiority of the social farm sector, no attention has been given to the possible impact of socialist development theory upon the course and outcome of agricultural underdevelopment and the reproduction of the individual private sector of agriculture. This study attempts to address these problems by tracing the post-war Yugoslav discussions which favour industrialization in general, and large-scale production in particular, as the only road to socialist development to

broader historical processes.

#### METHODOLOGY

In order to examine the relationship between state policy toward developing or modernizing the agricultural sector of economy and Marxist development theory, it would be appropriate to recognize the historical conditions out of which the precondition for social transformation in agriculture emerged. The accent of this study is on the process of social change or transition processes. A study on the transition processes has been defined by Godelier (1987:447) as "an attempt to evaluate the elements of chance and of necessity which could account for the emergence, development and eventual disappearance of economic and social systems and in some cases their replacement by other systems... The nature of the social relationships which coexist within a given society at a particular time and give it a distinctive logic of its own is not entirely contingent. That logic operates on several levels, both in the actions of the individuals and groups which form the society and in the specific or general effect such actions have on its reproduction." For the purpose of this study historiography provides an adequate framework for understanding social phenomena (i.e. "transition processes"), for one has to work backwards in the

investigation of social change. In Godelier's (1987:451) words, "one has to identify the forces which led the old system to disintegrate and some of its components to recombine."

In addition to the historiographical form of analysis, a supplemental method was used to understand the underlying reality which 'development' or 'modernization' produces. Critical theory has been a useful method, for it allows the issue to become "clearer when we understand that the phenomenal form in which reality appears is a product and consequence of the nature of underlying social relationships and that our sociological analysis must therefore commence by suspending belief in, by doubting, 'bracketing' and critically examining, the given 'facts', social order or society." (Smart, 1976:176). Furthermore, critical theory has proven to be useful on the basis that it allows one to "distinguish what men and women think about society from how society actually functions" (ibid.). By combining critical theory and historiography we should be given a better understanding of the nature of Yugoslavia's agricultural underdevelopment and of the reproduction of the individual private sector of agriculture within the forces of economic marginalization.

In this study, we argue that the work of Marx, Engels, Kautsky and Lenin has informed the goals of socialist transformation in Yugoslav agriculture. Because of this,

the general concern of Chapter I is to review their work as it emerged in nineteenth and twentieth century thought with a view to identify structural processes and the classical conception of the development of capitalism in agriculture. According to the classical notion, the agrarian future would be one of large farms whereby machinery and other capital intensive methods of production would be used. Furthermore, under the dominance of capitalist agriculture they agreed that the smaller unit or the domestic unit will tend to disappear while the peasant will be transformed into a landless wage-labourer. The objective of the second part of Chapter I is to provide evidence about how the discussion of structural processes, as witnessed by classical theorists, is reproduced in the writings of post-1948 Yugoslav Communist theoreticians on the structure of socialist agriculture in Yugoslavia. While the Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and policy makers concluded that the large holding in agriculture is more efficient economically than the small, just as large-scale production is economically more efficient than the small-scale production in industry, they also argued that the predominance of large-scale farming would lead to the ruin of the peasants as petty commodity producers.

Chapter II considers the physical and historical background to Yugoslavia. After some brief introductory remarks on the physical background to Yugoslavia, it

provides an overview of the socio-economic developments after the Balkan wars. It will be shown that at the conclusion of World War I, Yugoslavia was left with economic disorder, rural overpopulation as well as problems associated with land tenure. While Chapter II examines how the application of the Land Reform of 1919 (and of the Constitution of 1921) resulted in the abolition of feudal and quasi-feudal relations throughout Yugoslavia, the continuing existence of large estates points to the failure of the 1919 Reform. In the latter part of Chapter II, it will be shown that the Reform of 1931 sought to address this issue by first expropriating land from large German and Hungarian estate owners. The pre-war state authorities did not reduce the gap between the two strata of agricultural producers, but rather helped maintain the rising increase in agricultural population and the number of small farms throughout Yugoslavia on the one hand, and the number of large farming enterprises on the other. The fact that the pre-war government authorities did not reduce the gap between those who owned large farms and those who owned small holdings, became the basis of planning in early post-war period in the SFRY.

Chapter III looks at the agrarian policy development and the role of agriculture in Yugoslav society and economy from 1945-1980. It examines some of the major arguments adduced in support of early collectivization practices and



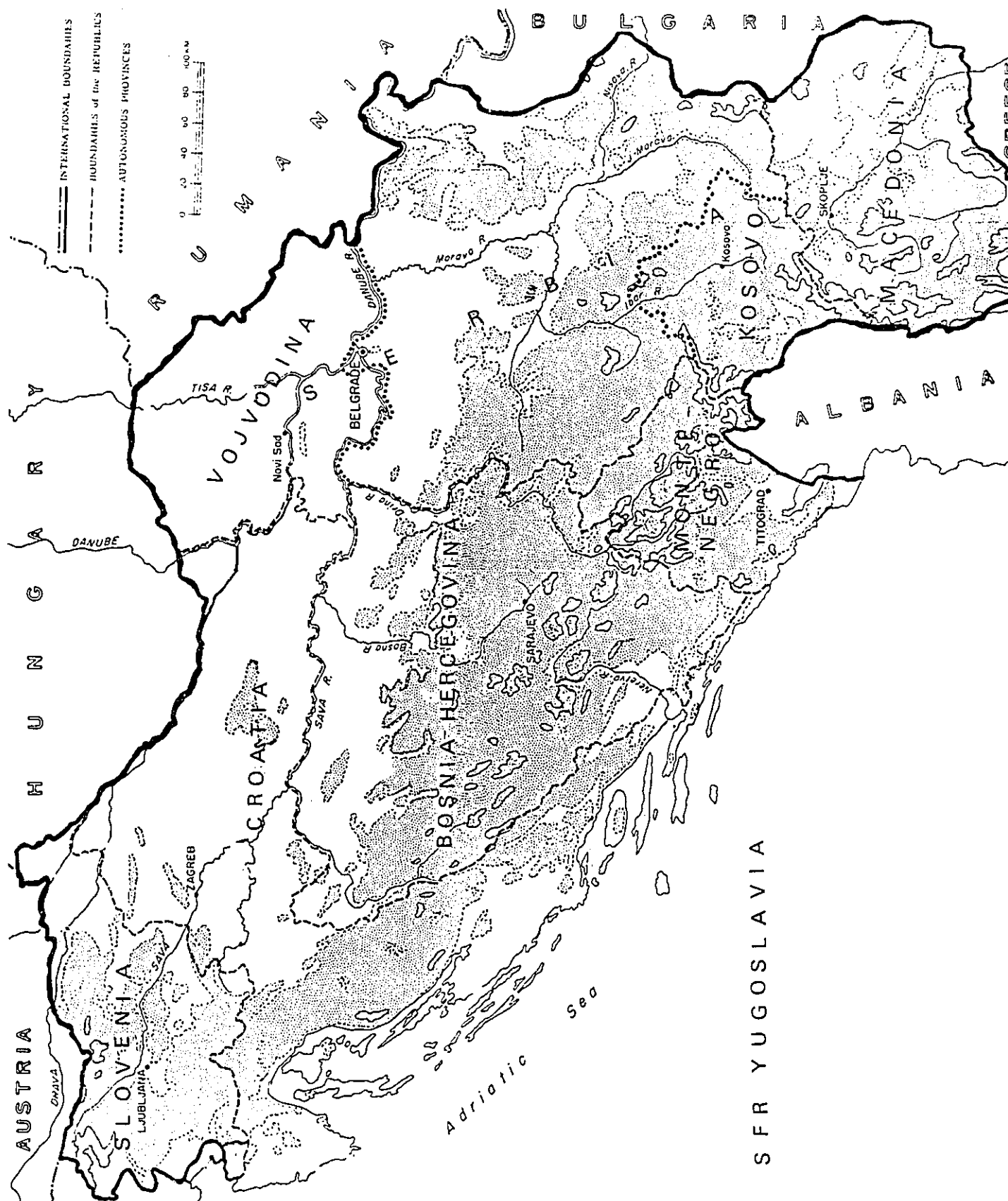
the establishment of new forms of cooperative organization. It looks at the introduction of workers' self-management in the socialist sector of agricultural economy as a possible alternative to raise the standard of living and to increase productivity. The Yugoslav need for more efficient organization and further modernization of the means of production was an important feature of the post-administrative or state-administrative management period. A second major feature was an attempt to demonstrate the alleged superiority of the social sector of economy.

Agrarian reforms and their aftermath are the focus of Chapter IV. While the last chapter of this study examines the relationship between Marxist development theory discussed in Chapter I, and state policy discussed in Chapter III, it proposes that Marx's analysis of the process of transition from traditional to industrial society affected the way in which policy approaches to socialist modernization of agriculture should be perceived. The last section of Chapter IV argues how socialist development theory played a significant role in state arguments about the basic notion of backwardness or undevelopment.

This study relies on material available in the English and Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian languages. Much of the research material needed for this study was obtained during the author's visit to Yugoslavia in 1987 (June-August) and in 1988 (July-October). The purpose of these visits was to

obtain (through archival documentation and data, and fieldwork) suitable information on the Yugoslav system of agriculture. Preliminary work was undertaken in SR Croatia, SR Serbia, SR Slovenia and in SAP Vojvodina (see map on page 13). While part of the preliminary research on agrarian development and on the structure of agriculture was gathered in Zagreb, the capital of SR Croatia, at the Institute of Social Research (Department of Rural Sociology), University of Zagreb, and at the Institute of Folklore Research, most of data-gathering was undertaken at Matica srpska in Novi Sad, SAP Vojvodina. A few visits were also made to the Institute of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Novi Sad. While in Vojvodina, perhaps the most significant agricultural area in Yugoslavia, several rural communities were visited (Bački Petrovac, Budisava, Ilok and Klek). Also, while in Croatia, the author had an opportunity to travel to the southern part of SR Slovenia. A guided tour of two private farms and of an Agricultural School (SKŠ) was made possible through kmetijski zavod in Grm (Novo mesto). Informal discussions about farming practices in Slovenia followed. During the latter part of the author's stay in Yugoslavia, a number of trips were made to the country's capital, Belgrade, SR Serbia. Information pertaining to Yugoslav anthropological (ethnological) and sociological research, in general, was collected at the Institute of Social Science. While in Belgrade, several

visits were made to the Faculty of Agriculture in Zemun-Belgrade.



## NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. In this study the concept **underdevelopment** is not used to mean undevelopment, i.e. 'low agricultural productivity', 'low yields per hectare', 'low technical development' and the like. Instead we incorporate the concept of underdevelopment as defined by Worsley (1984:3): "Underdevelopment... is not a natural condition, but an unnatural one, a social state which is the product of history; not a passive creation, but a consequence of conscious action; not something that just happened, governed by the logic of an impersonal system, but something that was done to people by other people."
2. While keeping in mind that "only with extreme oversimplification is it possible to refer to the Marxist theory of development..." (Ruccio and Simon, 1986:211) [or the Marxist theory of social development] in this study the concept is used as discussed in Bottomore and Good (1983:203). Although noting that Marxist Sociology provides "(1) a comprehensive interpretation of the historical development of human societies; (2) an analysis of the transition from one type of society to another; and (3) a framework for understanding the stages of development within a particular social formation," Bottomore and Good pointed out that underlying the Marxist theory of social development is a conception of progress.
3. "Due to numerous problems in our development... in the last few years we entered a socio-economic and political crisis which seriously threatens Yugoslavia's further development of socialism. That crisis, of course, did not omit the field of agriculture" [Poslednjih godina, zbog dugo nagomilovanih problema u našem razvoju... ušli smo u društveno-ekonomsku i političku krizu koja pretili ozbiljnim opasnostima po naš dalji socijalistički razvoj. Ta kriza, naravno, nije mimošla ni oblast poljoprivrede] (Aktuelna idejno-politička pitanja razvoja agro-industrijske proizvodnje i socijalističkih samoupravnih odnosa u poljoprivredi i na selu u SR Srbiji i zadaci Saveza komunista Srbije, 1988:264).
4. See, for instance, Bolčić (1983), Jerovšek (1987), Mihailović (1986) and Aktuelno idejno-politička pitanja razvoja agro-industrijske proizvodnje i

socijalističkih samoupravnih odnosa u poljoprivredi i na selu u SR Srbiji i zadaci Saveza komunista Srbije (1988).

5. The agricultural output share (of the total national product) had fallen to an estimated 14% in 1986 compared with the nearly 30% thirty years earlier (Country Profile. Yugoslavia. 1987-1988, p. 15).
6. Veselinov (1987).
7. On the basis of 1984 data (Grbić, 1986:135). Also, see the work by Palošević (1987:235).

## CHAPTER I

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Since the work of Marx, Engels, Kautsky and Lenin has informed the goals of socialist transformation in Yugoslav agriculture, the general attempt of this chapter is to review their work as it emerged in nineteenth and early twentieth-century political and economic thought. Although several basic elements of their theoretical vision of socialist agriculture can be deduced from their work<sup>1</sup>, in this chapter we limit the discussion to those problems which are closely related to the question of agriculture. More specifically, we examine the classical conception of the development of capitalism in agriculture and the question of the petty commodity producer's place within the social formation dominated by the capitalist commodity production. According to the classical notion, the agrarian future would be one of large estates. Machinery and other capital-intensive methods of production would be used on larger units. Under the dominance of capitalist agriculture the smaller units and the petty commodity producer will tend to disappear. Following this, a brief consideration is given to how the discussion of structural processes, as witnessed by classical theorists in the nineteenth and early

twentieth-century, is reproduced in the writings of post-1948 Yugoslav Communist theoreticians on the structure of socialist agriculture in Yugoslavia. The problem concerning the peasantry's place within the social formation dominated by the capitalist mode of production, which emerged during the earlier debate, has re-emerged in post-war Yugoslavia, but now within the social formation dominated by the socially organized production [društveno organizovanom proizvodnjom (Veselinov, 1987)] or the socialist social (self-management)<sup>2</sup> relations of production. While the Yugoslav Communist theoreticians tended to refer to the superiority of the social farm sector over small household unit, a belief prevailed that under the socialist agriculture the classical peasant would be transformed into a working class. Although in this section of the study the purpose is to provide evidence about how the discussion of structural processes, as witnessed by Marx, Engels, Kautsky and Lenin, is reproduced in the writings of Communist theoreticians and specialists in post-war Yugoslavia, the impact of Western social science, namely the structural-functional theory, on Yugoslav research is also discussed.



## CLASSICAL MARXIST THEORY AND THE 'AGRARIAN QUESTION'

While Engels and Marx provided the theoretical basis for an understanding of socialism quite different from social theorists of an earlier period, they did not provide a systematic analysis of the process of transition to socialism<sup>3</sup>, especially within the realm of agricultural production. Apart from the analysis of the effects of the expansion of commodity production brought about by the development and dominance of capitalist mode of production on non-capitalist forms of production (Godelier, 1986; Grbić, 1988; Wolf, 1984), Marx's primary concern was with the stages of social development. It was his belief that societies reorganize themselves on the development of new modes of production. As Blomström and Hettne (1985:9) explained:

The old mode of production is then replaced by a new and 'higher' one, which incorporates new social relations that are better adjusted to the state of the productive forces. The process starts over again, but this time at a higher level of economic development.

In this respect the analysis of the role of the peasantry within the larger social formation (capitalism), and of 'the agrarian question', has centred on the transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist agriculture. On the basis of the

English experience, Marx, as well as Engels, expected that the development of capitalism in agriculture, as in industry, necessarily meant the increasing concentration and centralization of production into larger units and the dissolution of the smaller units or 'the basic unit of production and consumption' (Harrison, 1979), 'domestic unit of production and consumption' (Djurfeldt, 1981; Goodman and Redclift, 1981), 'the core unit of production and consumption' (Worsley, 1984) and of the petty commodity producer. In other words, the application of science in the process of production would force the peasants out of production and convert them into landless wage-labourers. The peasant family was subject to increased indebtedness, i.e., subject to taxes and increased rents in place of feudal dues (Goodman and Redclift, 1981; Kitching, 1982). Furthermore, since the development of a world market led to an increase in competition and lowering the price of agricultural commodities, "Marx believed that the fate of the European peasant was sealed; he would be 'squeezed' so hard that he would ultimately disappear" (Goodman and Redclift, 1981:3). Also, in the first volume of Capital, Marx (1976:505) stated that "The irrational, old fashioned methods of agriculture are replaced by scientific ones."<sup>4</sup> Because of this belief Marx did not take into view, theoretically, the situation in which the peasantry would survive. Marx's analysis was concerned almost exclusively

with the development of industrial society. As Newby (1987:1) observed:

... attention was paid to agriculture only as a backdrop feature - a kind of historical backdrop from which the new industrial system developed - or in order to understand some of the general features of the new commercial, capitalist system. There was therefore an assumption that, generally speaking, agriculture follows the same path of development as other sectors of the economy, particularly manufacturing industry.

and as Newby and Buttel (1980:5) explained:

the classic nineteenth-century European writers in sociological theory devoted comparatively little attention to agriculture and rural life, concentrating their efforts instead upon explanations of the emerging urban-industrial sector.

Next to Engels and Marx, the theoretical work on the structure of capitalist agrarian development was addressed by Karl Kautsky in his *Die Agrarfrage* or The Agrarian Question which was originally published in 1899. Although Kautsky expressed his doubts about the ultimate demise of the German peasant, he also drew attention to the peculiarities of agriculture under the domination of capitalist production. While there is the classical prediction from Marx on the development of capitalism within agriculture, Kautsky's work centred upon the specific ways in which capitalism penetrated agriculture (Banaji, 1980:39, 40):

... agriculture does not develop according to the same process as industry; it follows laws of its own. But this does not imply that the development of agriculture and that of industry are somehow in opposition or incompatible with one another. On the contrary, we believe that both are developing in the same direction.

Moreover, the Marxist theory of capitalist production does not reduce the development of capitalist production to the simple formula: 'disappearance of the small holding before the big', as if such a formula were a key to the understanding of modern economy.

There is a steady extension of capitalist production, increasing concentration of property in the means of production and proletarianization. However, what Kautsky meant was not so much the displacement of producers from their means of production but the emergence of part-time farming (Newby, 1987). According to Kautsky, proletarianization takes a specific form in agriculture. For instance, "Where a peasant family finds that it did not have enough land to sustain itself under existing market conditions, it sells labour rather than agricultural commodities, with the latter becoming a household activity for the purpose of supplementing the family income. In other words, the process of proletarianization is marked by the emergence of the worker-peasant, peasant-worker or part-time farmer" (Newby, 1987:8). As such, Kautsky pointed out that the proletarianization of the peasant does not result, as Marx predicted, in the disappearance of the same. Marx's

own position was that the small commodity producer would cease to exist under the capitalist pattern of development of agriculture.

Next to Marx, Engels and Kautsky, Lenin also contributed to the evolution of the Marxian theory. In the Development of Capitalism in Russia (written during the period 1896-1899), Lenin reformulated Marx's argument in the context of the economic development in Russia and the specific circumstances of early twentieth-century Russian rural society. A key aspect of the argument advanced by Lenin was that capitalist development in less developed regions is more complex than suggested by Marx's analysis. While providing an analysis of the complex interplay between developed and a less developed region (Blomström and Hettne, 1985), Lenin showed that certain traditional<sup>5</sup>, i.e. pre-capitalist, structures remained as an obstacle to further development, and that they were not going to disappear as quickly as Marxists previously had thought. Lenin's own contribution to the evolution of Marxist theory lay in emphasizing the existence of socio-economic differentiation amongst rural households: "The sum-total of all the economic contradictions among the peasantry constitutes what we call the differentiation of the peasantry" (Lenin, 1982:131). For instance while some households place more reliance on buying land, improving their farms, introducing new machinery, and employing non-

family labour to supplement family production, others are abandoning and leasing their land and fleeing to the towns.

Drawing on the work of Marx, Engels, Kautsky, and Lenin, the classical conception of the development of capitalism in agriculture was that, as in industry, the agrarian future would be one of big estates. Under the dominance of capitalist agriculture a belief prevailed that small units and the petty commodity producer will disappear. While Marxist theory of development has contributed to the perception of the structure of agriculture in Europe and in North America, an overriding issue in research into the structure of agriculture was the nature of the family farm in advanced capitalism. A belief prevailed that the 'family farm' is inexorably destined to annihilation or extinction under capitalism (Newby and Buttel, 1980). Newby (1987:3) recently wrote that "It is the persistence, not the disappearance, of the peasantry which has turned out to be the most distinctive feature of agricultural capitalism." It may be noted that it is only recently that the classical conception of the development of capitalism in agriculture has been challenged by rural sociologists in the West. Predictions drawn from classical theorists of the last century concerning the eventual disappearance of small units or family farms have been confounded by their ability to survive in the face of the forces of economic marginalization. Given the presence of family farms in

advanced agriculture, a different perspective had to be incorporated in rural sociology. As Newby and Buttel (1980:15) purported: "One of the distinctive characteristics of the appearance of neo-Marxist and kindred perspectives in rural sociology is the emphasis on a somewhat different set of issues than had occupied the subdiscipline prior to 1970." While the principal research foci of this new rural sociology, or what Newby (1983, 1987) called "the sociology of agriculture", included a reassessment of the position of the peasantry in Europe, it was stressed that "there are substantial barriers to capitalist development (i.e. differentiation) within agricultural production and that the family farm is likely to continue to be (at least) numerically predominant in advanced agricultures" (Newby and Buttel, 1980:19). Moreover, the work of Chayanov was rediscovered and conjoined with insights principally from Marxist economic anthropology<sup>6</sup> which emphasized the unity of production and consumption in a single peasant household<sup>7</sup> (Newby. 1987).

THE SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT THEORY AND  
THE 'AGRARIAN QUESTION' IN POST-WAR YUGOSLAVIA

The evolution of Marxist theory, concerning the 'agrarian question' and the idea that the European peasantry will not be able to withstand the development of capitalist mode of production (and capitalist relations of production), has influenced the post-1948 Yugoslav theoretical thought<sup>8</sup> in important ways. Much of the discussion on the socially-organized production of agriculture in the Yugoslav literature can be traced to the Marxist social development theory. Marx's argument that the process of capitalist development in agriculture would be similar to that of industry, leading to the predominance of large-scale farming and the dissolution of the peasantry and the small peasant holding, has served as a basis for conceptualizing the structure of socialist agriculture. The socialist transformation of agriculture has been regarded as an essential basis for increased agricultural productivity output and improving the standard of living. The conclusion was drawn that the large holding in agriculture is more efficient economically than the small, just as large-scale production is economically more efficient than small-scale production in industry. Veselinov (1987:27) wrote: "... in Yugoslavia there came into being a scientific belief on the practical economic advantages of large socialist



holdings on peasant ones, which until then existed only in Marxist theory..." [translation mine].<sup>9</sup> For instance, Marx's statement that economic laws are of equal importance in all areas of production, including agriculture, was taken as a fact by Yugoslav Communist theoreticians. It is to be seen in the work of Marković et al. (1986:137,144,147):

Economic laws, formulated by Marx, are of equal importance in all sectors of the economy, including agriculture...

In his work, Marx proved and showed the fundamental law of economic and social development. The process of concentration and centralization flows parallel with economic development: large commodity production pushes back the small... the entire development inevitably leads toward socialization...

... the fundamental direction of development... is the same in agriculture and industry: large commodity production pushes back the small [translation mine].<sup>10</sup>

That economic laws are of equal importance in all areas of production has also been stressed by Milenković (1980):

Marx confirmed that large-scale production is a fundamental law of economic development, including agriculture, while his followers Engels, Kautsky and Lenin supported his teaching with their work on the question of agriculture.

The transition from natural and petty commodity production to large-scale production Marx has identified as an inevitable process of social development [translation mine].<sup>11</sup>

It is also to be found in the most recent commentary at the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the League of the Communists of SR Serbia:

Economic and market laws apply in full to agricultural production [translation mine].<sup>12</sup>

In addition to the classical conception of the development of capitalism in agriculture, the notion of the agrarian-class structure in rural communities served as the theoretical basis of socialist transformation in Yugoslavia. Influenced by classical theorists, Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists argued that the predominance of large-scale farming would lead to the ruin of the peasants as petty commodity producers. Stojanović (1955:13-14) and Milenković (1980:74, 76) maintained that

... the petty commodity producers in agriculture, as in artisan production, are condemned to relentless ruin, i.e. sooner or later they will become proletarians

The ruin of the peasants as petty commodity producers was confirmed by Marx as an inevitable consequence of capitalist development in agriculture.

According to the theory of Marxism, the individual, small holding is condemned to ruin [translation mine].<sup>13</sup>

Since both Marx and Engels assumed that large-scale scientific farming practices would provide the foundation of socialist agriculture, the Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and policy-makers have steered the development process toward the modernization of agricultural production and its socialist transformation. The following observation serves as evidence that the notion of 'development' has not radically changed in the subsequent scientific and government discussions on socialist agriculture: "Large-scale production in our country is accomplished by surpassing economically small-scale peasant production in faithful accordance with the principles of the socialist transformation of agriculture: gradualness, voluntarism and democracy--as are proclaimed by the classics of Marxism,"<sup>14</sup> and the following comment made at the Ninth Plenum of the Federal Council of the Socialist Alliance and at the Fourth Plenum of the League of Communists: "... the entire socio-political work in rural regions must be more directed towards the promotion of socialist production and the development of socialist social relations...." (Current Problems of the Village, 1963:8). That this remains the case, may be seen from a statement made in the work of Marković et al. (1986:33): "The goal of socialist agrarian policy is to increase agricultural production, productivity of labour and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture" [translation mine].<sup>15</sup>

While in the majority of the studies, the research foci rested primarily on the method of socialist transformation of agriculture embedded in Marxist development theory, the discussion within the 'non-Marxist' tradition of Chayanov has been rejected by all Yugoslav Communist theoreticians.<sup>16</sup> For instance, in the work of Marković et al. (1986), it was stressed that Chayanov as well as his followers Bulgakov and Bernstein provided an incorrect interpretation of development<sup>17</sup>, since their primary aim was to demonstrate that concentration and centralization of capital is necessarily absent in agriculture. In addition, they emphasized the viability of peasant agriculture i.e. "that the family farm has priority in agriculture"<sup>18</sup>:

Bourgeois ideology, and later the revisionists of Marxism, claimed that the laws of development established by Marx apply in industry but not in agriculture. They hold that the process of concentration and centralization is necessarily absent in agriculture due to specific nature of agricultural production; that family farm has priority in agriculture; that capitalist development is absent in peasant farm production... the opponents of Marx's teaching imposed the agrarian question as the question of economic theory. An attempt was made to demonstrate that distinct laws of economic development apply in agriculture as opposed to the laws of economic development in industry [translation mine].<sup>19</sup>

A group of neopopulists... challenged the significance of Marx's laws of development... by claiming that the law of concentration and centralization does not apply in agriculture. ... that the law of capitalist development is absent in family farm production [translation mine].<sup>20</sup>

If the large number of small farms were not incipient capitalist enterprises as neo-populists alleged, then they could not be fitted into Marx's evolutionary model as an antecedent stage of capitalist development.<sup>21</sup> That Yugoslav Communist theoreticians were aware of this, can be seen from the following statement:

if large-scale commodity production cannot exist in such an important field of production then the process of transformation into a higher socio-economic formation is also impossible. It implies that capitalism is an external and a final socio-economic and political system [translation mine].<sup>22</sup>

The 'non-Marxist' analysis of small-scale production did not play a decisive role in the Yugoslav socio-economic and political system. Instead, a belief prevailed that with the creation of large production units, the onset of industrialization and socialization, the small family holdings would be transformed. Since development of agriculture and its socialist transformation represented one of the most important tasks in the struggle for Yugoslavia's socialist construction, the emphasis was on research dealing with agro-industrial development and with transformation of the rural social structure. Yugoslav Communist theoreticians favoured the method of socialist transformation of agriculture whereby class structures would be transformed and the standard of living improved by the economies that development produces.

On the basis of research material collected in Yugoslavia, issues covered by rural sociologists, anthropologists, and a few rural political economists have focused upon new social groups resulting from the socialist transformation, such as part-time farms, peasant-workers and immigrant communities abroad. For instance, Kostić (1959), considered the foremost rural sociologist in Yugoslavia, primarily explored the contradictory roles of the peasant-worker associated with their simultaneous participation in agrarian and industrial work.<sup>23</sup> He wrote: "The accelerated rhythm of industrialization exerts a very strong influence upon such a structure of the village and this influence manifested itself in various forms. One of them is also the increased influx of peasants to industrial enterprises." While some peasants "leave their abodes in the country and settle permanently in neighbouring towns... The process of transformation of peasants into industrial workers ends here rapidly, almost at once." Others take up a job in industrial enterprises, and at the same time "till their parcel in the village." The latter "are not yet real industrial workers, but they are not, either real peasants any more, they are both - peasant industrial workers" (idem.:223). Kostić (1959:232-233) explains:

Subjectively, peasant industrial workers are people who are simultaneously 'workers' and 'peasants' and consequently have two souls-- 'peasant's' and 'worker's', and the first one impedes often the second to manifest itself, with

many individuals. Objectively, their work in various enterprises is a useful and necessary phenomenon, for in this way, peasant masses are being introduced into the most organized kind of production, masses which otherwise would have nothing to do in the village or would work but very little.

For Kostić, a principal drawback of this situation was that excessive demands on such individuals result in poor labour performance in planned production. To solve this problem Kostić (1959:233) proposed: "it would be in the interest of the society - to deprive peasant industrial workers of their property in the village, for it would mean the disappearance of the principal hindrance which prevents them from becoming workers."

While Kostić concentrated his efforts upon explanations of the emerging urban-industrial sector, the general approach to rural sociology has not changed in the last three decades. Although the work of Marx, Engels, Kautsky, and Lenin had served as a basis for conceptualizing the structure of socialist agriculture, it became less important as socialist transformation of agriculture eliminated the potential for class development in rural areas. In other words, when the number of agricultural producers declined at the estimated rate of 2.5 percent a year and also when the transfer of the labour force from the family-owned private sector to the social farm sector increased (The Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1981:8), a belief prevailed that the 'peasant question' was solved in

Yugoslavia. More recently, the Yugoslavs also drew on Western social science. Where research was directed at the conditions of small producers, it drew its importance from a structural-functionalist form of analysis. This is not to say that the structural-functional theory did not fit in well with Marxist theory of development. Parson's structural-functionalist notion of social change<sup>24</sup> has been incorporated in the study of the structure of socialist agriculture<sup>25</sup>. The structural-functionalist paradigm, together with concepts abstracted from the writings of classical theorists, was incorporated to produce a theory whose principal object was to provide a model in which the transition from traditional (agriculture) to modern forms of society (industry and urban culture) would be explained. This can be seen in the work of Balen (1962), Blagojević et al. (1979), First-Dilić et al. (1984), Livada (1984), Marković (1963) and Vlahović (1982).<sup>26</sup> For instance, in relation to the socio-structural changes taking place in post-war Yugoslavia, some social scientists and specialists on rural development sought to explain that with the onset of industrialization and urban culture the peasant gradually ceases to exist:

In our country there is a rapid decline in the rural population and we are not far away from that moment in history when there will be no more peasants in our country. In Yugoslavia the main aim of the socialist revolution is being realized from day to day, i.e. the general equalization of



town and village. This process is to be followed and carefully studied by Marxist rural sociology...<sup>27</sup>

The expansion of the material foundations of the village has also resulted in radical changes in rural living habits. Peasant households are now increasingly using all facilities and appliances required by urban dwellers... various cultural and educational activities are also expanding... As a result of changes that have already taken place in the countryside the classical village with an autarchic peasant economy has disappeared... The process taking place in the village create real conditions for the expansion and strengthening of the socialist sector of agriculture. Increased supply of land as a result of plots offered for sale by households which leave farming, increasing collaboration between private farmers and co-operatives and socialist estates, etc. are the main features of socio-economic changes in the village (Marković, 1963:1729-1730).

As the number of pure agricultural households is decreasing, the number of "proletarian" households is increasing. The intermediate statum of part-time farmers--part-time workers is very numerous ... Agricultural households are rapidly changing into part-time ones, in order to become finally non-agricultural (Tavčar, 1977:35).

More recently, Livada (1984) also explained how the socio-economic development in Yugoslavia caused changes in the countryside:

The countryside... completely changes. A modern division of labour emerges. There is specialization, market and there are changes in technology of work and of living. The social structure becomes more complex. There is an increase in the number of occupations. In agriculture professionalization emerges. Social differentiation becomes stronger. The social and

spatial movement of rural structures broadens. In addition... the social hierarchy changes... The family is reduced... the relations between kin groups become less important. Under the dominance of industrial and urban processes, blood-ties... weaken. As knowledge, prosperity, rationality emerge, traditions, as well as myths and superstitions are crushed... There is a rapid increase in literacy... The general, technical and technological culture is on the rise... There is integration of the village and of the peasantry into global development. Moreover, the rural-urban continuum develops... In general, it means a homogeneous society whereby the differences between village and town become less pronounced, while in other villages the difference stagnates or even increases (Livada, 1984:79) [translation mine].<sup>28</sup>

Similar concerns can also be seen in non-Yugoslav literature. For instance, Denich (1974), Erlich (1966), Halpern (1963, 1961), Hoffman (1959), Lockwood (1976), Obrebski (1976) and Winner (1972, 1971), all dealt with various structural changes associated with the process of modernization and economic development. Changing cultural styles, occupational patterns, family structure in rural communities, improvements in agricultural technology, the process of rural-urban migration, as well as the growth of a worker-peasantry, were some of their principal interests. Although urban-industrial systems were recognized as a potent force of change, most writers on social structure emphasized the continuity and adaptability of peasant institutions, and values, even as it is encapsulated in the larger socialist political economy (Halpern and Kideckel, 1983).

Although in the 1950s and 1960s modernization theory formed a paradigm for rural sociological research in the West, by the early 1970s it was in retreat. An alternative critical approach was established for rural sociologists in the West recognized that the framework of the rural-urban continuum had no direct application in solving the social crisis in rural North America. Considerable research has been carried out on the family farm in industrialized countries. In the last decade, Marxist analysis was used that emphasized the functionality of family farming in the process of reproducing the capitalist labour market. It is to be seen in the work of Mottura and Pugliese (1980) in which they argued against the presumption of the social and economic vitality of the family farm. As Mottura and Pugliese (1980:196) indicated: "The survival of the peasant farming enterprise is not a sign of its vitality." Their theoretical argument was that "the family farm may be functional for the maintenance of capitalist production relations in the dominant metropolitan sectors of the economy (at least at certain junctures of development)" (Newby and Buttel, 1980:19). However, the issue of the relevance of Marxist analysis to an understanding of the family farm is still being debated in both North America and Western Europe.

While the deepening social crisis in rural North America has prompted some social scientists to turn to

Marxist perspectives, not everyone was in agreement with Marxist theoretical tradition on the structure of agriculture in advanced capitalism. Predictions drawn from the work of Marx, Engels, Kautsky and Lenin concerning the eventual disappearance of family farms have been confounded by their ability to survive in the face of the forces of economic marginalization. The Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists, however, have done nothing to challenge the classical Marxist theory (as well as the structural-functionalism) which sees change in the basis of society (the level of economic development, the level of technology, the level of education, and the form of ownership) entailing changes in the superstructure (Lane, 1976). Allcock (1980:200) explains: "The Yugoslavs... have done nothing to challenge this assessment of theoretical priorities, since the agenda for both public and academic discussion within Yugoslavia has faithfully reflected the obsession of official ideologies with the emergence and the role of the "working class." However, the obsession of Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists with the "working class" (radnička klasa), continues to be important in Yugoslavia since greater emphasis is placed on industrialization and on socio-political development. Contemporary Yugoslav writers, Cvjetićanin (1987, 1974) Cvjetićanin et al. (1980), Dilić (1982), Grbić (1988), Kovačić (1982) and Sparavalo (1974) tended to analyze the

typology of part-time farm households (commonly referred to in Yugoslavia as mešovita gazdinstva) and peasant-workers in Yugoslavia. While for Sparavalo (1974), the most important cause for the development of part-time farms was the low productivity of labour and low incomes in the non-agricultural sector, Cvjetićanin (1974) maintained that part-time farms will gradually lose the character of economic necessity while their non-economic purpose will become more apparent. A similar argument was found in Cvjetićanin et al. (1980:215), when they concluded that many of the part-time farm households were moving the focus of their economic activities towards non-agricultural activities. And while land is losing its economic importance for them, it is obtaining some of other functions that are of a socio-psychological nature. The aforementioned authors have also noted that part-time workers are increasingly adapting their farm work and production to meet their non-agricultural activities and way of life, in which urban values are coming to expression. A similar position was advanced in the recent work of Cvjetićanin (1987) and Grbić (1988) when they suggested that a movement from a non-agricultural occupation to the agricultural sector has become much more frequent phenomenon in Yugoslavia. In addition to certain advantages, a healthy environment, the possibility of recreation, and possibilities of making an extra income, a belief prevailed that by keeping their land

families ensure social security and maintain a particular standard of living, were found important and valuable in modern conditions of living. "It seems that in today's deep economic crisis," wrote Grbić (1988:340), "the worker-peasants are the most stable social class" in Yugoslavia.

Despite the sizable research effort on peasant-workers (and more recently the "worker-peasants"), industrialization, the modernization of agriculture and its socialist transformation, and other forms of 'development' (implementation of agricultural reform),<sup>29</sup> there are no systematic discussions on the relationship between socialist transformation embedded in Marxist theory of development and the general perception of the agrarian structure (and of the peasant) in Yugoslavia. In this respect it is important to note that there are no studies on the nature of individual agricultural holdings. Similarly, no studies have been found which might indicate an economic dimension of farming. In particular, if one takes into consideration the view that individual agricultural holdings represent "the basic factor of the agrarian economy" (Grbić, 1986) and that "the peasant is predominantly an object and not a subject of cooperation" (Grbić, 1988:347). It is no surprise that within Yugoslav social-economic development the priority has been given to industrialization and other ends subordinated to this. As Palošević and Njegovan (1987:3-4) recently explained, the general focus of industry is a

"post-war industrial concept of social development, which from the start did not include agriculture as a basis of ambitious economic planning of Yugoslavia" [translation mine].<sup>30</sup> And in Gruenwald's words: "It is no secret that Marxist theory and socialist practice in Yugoslavia and elsewhere set up industrialization as the supreme economic goal" (1983:131). Industrialization, or the socialist modernization theory, has incorporated an explanatory model that had denied to the peasant a "progressive" role in history (Allcock, 1980; Grbić, 1988; Todorović, 1972). In viewing the peasantry as "an enemy of socialism"<sup>31</sup>, a "natural opposition"<sup>32</sup>, "conservative and reactionary"<sup>33</sup>, "the soil from which capitalism is constantly being reborn" (Grbić, 1988:341) and "a technical and social anarchism to be eliminated as soon as possible" (Halpern, 1963), neither the peasant nor his system of production was compatible with "progress". Allcock (1980:201) wrote: "the small scale private producer has been regarded as inherently less efficient than the large-scale, socially-owned enterprise... the private peasant has no positive role to play in development." Unlike most Yugoslav social scientists, Veselinov (1987:87) also agreed that the private peasant has been regarded as economically less efficient. As such, the peasant had no positive role to play in the Yugoslav socio-economic development:

having no positive role to contribute in the agricultural activity of Yugoslavia, the peasant was not needed [translation mine].<sup>34</sup>

Influenced by Marxist theory [or "The lefts Dogma" (Grbić, 1988)] Yugoslav Communist theoreticians had a limited understanding of small units and of individual agricultural producers. "According to this Dogma, the peasantry is a temporary and passing social class that will have to disappear" (*idem.*). Although much of the discussion on socialist development has been directed towards strengthening and further developing socially-owned agricultural estates, peasant producer cooperatives, and cooperative farms in order to solve the peasant question, Yugoslavia is faced with the continued existence of private individual agricultural holdings or family farms. The continued existence of small agricultural holdings has only recently become an important issue of concern to some specialists on agrarian development (Cvjetićanin (1987), Grbić (1988), Grbić (1986), Milovanović (1986), Radomirović (1982) Veselinov (1987)). Grbić (1986), for instance, argues that small peasant holdings have come to represent the basic factor of the agrarian economy in Yugoslavia. While in the aforementioned works the analysis has centred on empirical evidence, no effort was made to develop a theoretical explanation of the continued existence and persistence of large numbers of individual agricultural holdings in Yugoslavia.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. According to Deere (1986:98) four basic elements of socialist agriculture can be deduced from classical theocrists writings: (1) the nationalization of land; (2) a high level of development of the productive forces; (3) the socialization of production based on collective control over the labour process and of appropriation and distribution of surplus labour; and (4) the worker-peasant alliance.
2. See, for example, the work by Korać (1980).
3. In relation to this White and Crollly (1985:16) wrote: "While Marx theorized about the conditions engendered by capitalist development that would facilitate a transition to socialism, he provided neither a blueprint of what the transition would look like nor an analysis of socialism itself...."
4. Quoted in Goodman and Redclift (1981:5).
5. More specifically, the patriarchal peasant family.
6. See, for instance, the work of Banaji (1976).
7. It is the reliance on family labour that "clearly distinguishes the family farm from capitalist enterprises in which there is separation of ownership of the means of production from those actually involved in the productive process" (Hedley, 1979:283).
8. From 1945 to 1948 (when Yugoslavia broke off ties with the Soviet Union) the work of Stalin and Lenin was used. However, after 1948 intensive study of the original works of Marx and Engels was begun. Kautsky's The Agrarian Question was not available until 1953.
9. ... u Jugoslaviji (je) postala stručna ubedjenost o praktičnim ekonomskim prednostima krupnog socijalističkog gazdinstva nad seljačkim, koje je do tada postojalo samo u marksističkoj teoriji.
10. Ekonomski zakoni, koje je otkrio Marks, imaju podjednaku važnost u svim oblastima privrede, pa i u poljoprivredi.

U svojim radovima Marks je dokazao i pokazao osnovne zakonitosti razvoja privrede i društva i proces

koncentracije, centralizacije teče uporedo sa privrednim razvojem, krupna robna proizvodnja potiskuje sitnu ... celokupan razvoj neminovno vodi podružtvljavanju.

... osnovni trend razvitka... isti su u poljoprivredi i industriji: krupna proizvodnja potiskuje sitnu.

11. Marks je utvrdio da je krupna proizvodnja zakoniti put razvitka privrede, što znači i poljoprivrede, a njegovi sledbenici Engels, Kaucki i Lenjin potkrepili su njegovo učenje svojim radovima o agrarnom pitanju.

Prelaz sa naturalne i sitne robne proizvodnje na krupnu proizvodnju Marks je označio kao neminovan put društvenog razvitka.

12. za poljoprivrednu proizvodnju u punoj meri važe ekonomske i tržišne zakonitosti.
13. ... sitni robni proizvođači i u poljoprivredi kao i u zanatstvu osudjeni su na neminovnu propast kao sitni robni proizvođač, tj. na to da pre ili posle predju u proletarijat

Propadanje seljaka kao sitnog robnog proizvođača utvrdio je Marks kao neminovnu posledicu razvitka kapitalizma u poljoprivredi.

Individualno, parcelno gazdinstvo je.... prema marksističkoj teoriji, osudjeno na propast.

14. Agrarna politika i zadaci Saveza Komunisti Jugoslavije [The Agrarian Policy and the Task of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia], quoted in Allcock (1980:202).
15. Socijalistička agrarna politika ima za cilj povećanje poljoprivredne proizvodnje, produktivnost rada i socijalističku rekonstrukciju poljoprivrede.
16. On the basis of research material collected in Yugoslavia, there is no indication that Yugoslav social scientists used the original work of Chayanov. All criticisms of Chayanov were based on secondary sources.
17. See, for example, Marković et al. (1986:144). Similarly, Milenković (1980:45) purported that Chayanov and his followers "misunderstood the concept of small and of large holding" [nisu pravilno shvatili pojam sitnog i krupnog gazdinstva].

18. da u poljoprivredi prednost ima sitno porodično gazdinstvo [Marković et al. (1986:144)].
19. Buržoaska ideologija, a kasnije i revizionisti marksizma, tvrdili su da zakonitosti razvoja koje je otkrio Marks važe za industriju, ali ne i za poljoprivredu. Po njihovom shvatanju poljoprivrede ima takve specifičnosti, koje proističu iz organskog karaktera proizvodnje, da su u njoj nemogući procesi koncentracije i centralizacije, da prednost ima sitno-porodično gazdinstvo, da u njoj nije moguć kapitalistički razvitak... protivnici Marksovog učenja su nastojali da nametnu agrarno pitanje kao pitanje ekonomske teorije, htelo se dokazati da u poljoprivredi ... vladaju posebne zakonitosti ekonomskog razvitka koje se razlikuju od ekonomskih zakonitosti razvitka industrije [Marković et al. (1986:144)].
20. Grupa neonarodnjaka... osporavala je vrednost Marksovih zakona... tvrdeći da u ovoj grani (poljoprivredi) ne vlada zakon koncentracije i centralizacije... (da) porodično seljačko gazdinstvo ne podleže zakonima kapitalističkog razvitka [Milenković, 1980:30)].
21. See, for instance, Milenković (1980), Marković (1986), and Vickerman (1986).
22. ako je u jednoj tako važnoj oblasti proizvodnje nemoguć razvitak krupne robne proizvodnje, nemoguć je i prelazak u višu društveno-ekonomsku formaciju, kapitalizam je znači večiti i konačan društveno-ekonomski i politički sistem [Marković et al. (1986: 141)].
23. See, also Cvjetićanin (1974), Halpern and Kideckel (1983), and Vujović (1988).
24. "American theories of functionalism, where people are "fit" to social roles where the highest aim is systemic ordering and the integration of specialties, have informed the empirical social sciences of Yugoslavia. Within a Marxian framework, Yugoslav socialists formulated their own functionalism from the rudiments of theory brought over from the United States. The discussion at the Yugoslav Sociological Association meetings have taken on the tones of Parsonianism and for the first time dialectical analysis has become a notion of the conflict of strata, of technostructure and of role" (Agger, 1973:23). Similarly, Lane (1978:34) warned that while Parson's theory has grown out of the context of American society, it has significantly been modified when applied to state

socialist society.

25. In Yugoslavia this model is generally known as "Marxian functionalism" [marksistički funkcionalizam] (Davidović, 1985:41).
26. For a detailed review of the development of Yugoslav sociology (from 1945 and up to 1967) see the work of Tomović (1968).
27. Sociologija sela, Vol. I, No. 1 (July-September, 1963), Quoted in Tomović (1968:78).
28. selo se... temeljito mijenja. Nazire se modernija podjela rada. Javlja se specijalizacija, tržišnost, mijenjaju se tehnike rada i življenja. Socijalna struktura postaje sve složenija. Raste broj zanimanja. Nazire se profesionalizacija i u poljoprivredi. Jača socijalna diferencijacija. Širi se socijalna i prostorna pokretljivost ruralnih struktura. Pri tome, mijenja se socijalna hijerarhija... Porodica se reducira... Opadaju relacije nedašnjih porodičnih veza. Krvosrodničkih... kontakata pod udarom industrijskih i urbanih trendova, sve je manje. Prodire znanost, ekonomičnost, racionalnost, koje razbijaju tradiciju... mitove i sujeverja... Naglo je porasla pismenost... Opća, tehnička i tehnološka kultura je u porastu.... Dolazi do integracije sela i seljaštva u globalne tokove. Istovremeno, raste ruralno-urbani kontinuum... To je, općenito rečeno, globalizacija društva u kojem se u nekim sferama razlike između grada doista smanjuju, a u nekima još uvijek stagniraju ili se čak povećavaju [Livada, 1984:79].
29. Halpern and Kideckel (1983).
30. posleratnog industrijskog koncepta razvoja društva, koji od samog početka nije uvažavao poljoprivredu kao osnovicu za ambiciozne ekonomske planove Jugoslavije.
31. Kardelj (1959:271) did not agree with this perception. He emphasized that "the working peasant is no capitalist or enemy of socialism, even if he remains on his own holding, and even if he takes it into his head to remain there forever".
32. "prirodni kontraš" (Kurtesi, 1989:11).

33. "konzervativna i reakcionarna" (Vladimir Bakarić, "O suvremenim procesima u poljoprivredi", Banja Luka, 1967, p. 179. Quoted in Veselinov (1987:38).
34. seljak nije bio potreban kao perspektivni nosilac privredne aktivnosti [Veselinov (1987:87)].

## CHAPTER II

### BACKGROUND TO YUGOSLAVIA

#### THE PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

The Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia is located in southeastern Europe and is bounded on the north by Austria and Hungary; on the west by Italy and the Adriatic Sea; on the south by Albania and Greece; and on the east by Bulgaria and Rumania. The territory of today's Yugoslavia consists of 255,804 square kilometers (of which 28% is arable land, 28% is permanent crops and pasture, and 36% is forest)<sup>1</sup> and extends from the Austrian and Italian Alps in the north-east to the plains of Macedonia, and from those of the Pannonian Basin (Danubian Plain) in the north-east to the Adriatic coast. Although Yugoslavia is generally subdivided into three distinctive belts [the narrow Adriatic coast; the broad mountainous belt extending from north-west to south-east throughout the entire country; and the northern plains representing the edge of the great Pannonian Basin] (Dedijer et al. 1974; Dunman, 1975) (see Fig. 2.1), the physique of Yugoslavia is far more complex. Five agrarian regions (see Fig. 2.2), together with a number of smaller units (see Fig. 2.3), make up the territory of Yugoslavia.

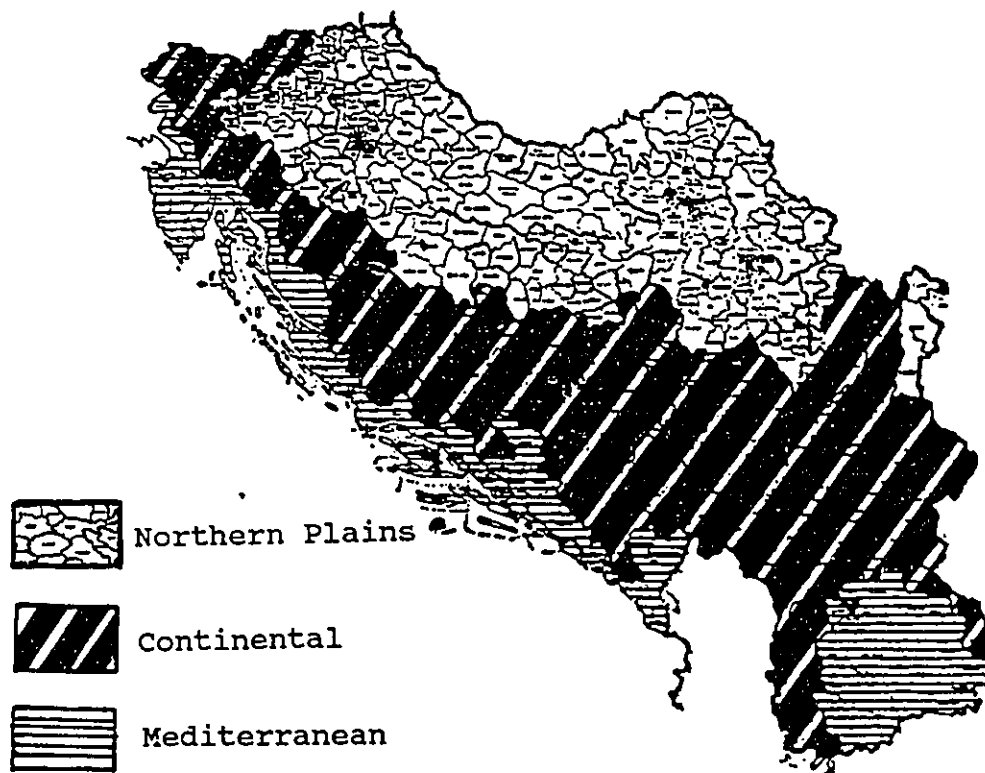
The plains of the north-east, Vojvodina, Slavonia and Podravina are considered the most important agricultural areas in Yugoslavia. While they occupy approximately 18% of total agricultural land, the plains of the north-east are suitable for growing cereals and industrial crops (wheat, corn, potatoes, sugar beet, sunflower), as well as intensive livestock production. In other regions, animal husbandry is of great importance. Cattle and sheep raising are most widely and evenly distributed throughout Yugoslavia. Dairy-farming is important in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina and Serbia. Fruit-growing (plums, apples, pears, cherries) is important in less mountainous regions, such as Macedonia and Serbia, where field crops are relatively less important. They are considered the least developed agricultural areas in Yugoslavia (The Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1981:36-39). In the coastal region (Istria, Dalmatia and Montenegro) and in the southernmost region (Macedonia) where the climate is Mediterranean and subtropical respectively, fruit, grapes, cereals, vegetables as well as cotton and tobacco are grown. Administratively Yugoslavia is divided into six republics: SR Slovenia, SR Croatia, SR Bosnia and Hercegovina, SR Montenegro, SR Macedonia and SR Serbia, and two autonomous provinces, SAP Kosovo and SAP Vojvodina (see map on page 13). Further subdivisions of each of the republics and provinces (except Montenegro) are seen at the commune level,

which are in turn subdivided into settlements.

Yugoslavia's population in 1931 was 13.93 million<sup>2</sup> and in 1988 23.59 million.<sup>3</sup> Yugoslavia remains predominantly a rural and agricultural population. Only recently it has become more urbanized. While the urban population accounted for 28% of the total in 1960, in 1980 close to 47% of the population lived in cities. In 1981 Belgrade's total population was 1,455,000. Other cities had a population that was less than 800,000 [Zagreb (763,000), Sarajevo (448,000), Ljubljana (253,000) and Novi Sad (170,000)].<sup>4</sup> The population density is the highest in Kosovo, 147 persons per square kilometer, followed by Serbia proper (104 persons). The coastal areas are considerably less densely populated. The lowest is to be found in Montenegro, 43 persons per square kilometer.<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 2.1 Three Distinctive Belts of Yugoslavia



Source: Marković, Petar. (1981), Planinsko područje Jugoslavije  
Gornji Milanovac: RO "Slovo" - Kraljevo.

Fig. 2.2 Agricultural Regions of Yugoslavia



I. Plains II. Hills III. Alpine IV. Adriatic V. Subtropical

Fig. 2.3 Agricultural Regions of SR Macedonia



## THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The economy of pre-war Yugoslavia was predominantly agrarian in structure. More than seventy-five percent of the economically active persons were engaged in agricultural production,<sup>6</sup> and agriculture accounted for about fifty percent of Yugoslavia's national income between 1935 and 1939 (Dunman, 1975:216). While agriculture (including animal husbandry) was the principal sector of the pre-war Yugoslav economy and the agricultural production was both large and varied, agricultural technology was less advanced in Yugoslavia than in other countries of Eastern Europe. "Wooden plows pulled by oxen, or by hand," wrote Lampe and Jackson (1987:287), "were still overwhelmingly the implements of this native peasantry." While wooden ploughs made up an insignificant portion of all ploughs in Slovenia, Croatia, Slavonia and Vojvodina, in the remainder of the country they were much in use. According to official statistics of 1925, 1,000 peasant holdings were in possession of 182 wooden plough-shares and 439 iron ploughs, 379 homesteads had no ploughs at all (Dedijer et al. 1974:525). The country had 361 harrows, 44 rollers, and 35 sowers per 1,000 homesteads (Vucinich, 1947:238). In the following years this number has most probably decreased for the worn-out tools were not replaced during the long years of the Great Depression (Tomasevich, 1955, Vucinich, 1947).

The census of 1948, found that the Yugoslav agriculture had 1,078,114 steel and part-steel ploughs and 307,772 wooden ploughs (Tomasevich, 1955:443).<sup>7</sup>

While in all countries of Eastern Europe there existed acute and unsolved agrarian problems, mainly these problems were traced to the unfavourable social and economic structure of agriculture (Bilimovich, 1955; Gaćeša, 1984; Singleton and Carter, 1982; Tomasevich, 1955, Weber, 1987). In Yugoslavia, feudal and capitalist relations were still evident in the form of large estates coupled with peasant-small-holding. In pre-1919 Bosnia and Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Macedonia and Southern Serbia, most farm land was under feudal and similar holdings. These holdings were said to have been old forms of serfdom [kmet system (Bilimovich, 1955)] in which the serf-tenant operated the land of the owner on a share-rent basis. Although Bosnia and Hercegovina were under Austro-Hungarian rule up to 1918, the Turkish feudal class maintained its landed interests. In Bosnia and Hercegovina the majority of kmet peasants were Serbs. The agalik, beglik and Ćiftlik lands consisted of a multitude of small farm units held by serfs and tenants who were obliged to pay rents in kind or money to the landlord (Tomasevich, 1955:351). A similar situation existed in Macedonia and Southern Serbia. In this way, large ownership units did not mean large farm land and advanced technology, but rather small units.

The attempts to solve agrarian problems were undertaken in Yugoslavia, as well as in other countries of Eastern Europe, by the expropriation of large estates. In many parts of Yugoslavia, the ruling circles were forced to make certain social and economic concessions (Dedijer et al. 1974).<sup>8</sup> One of these measures was the agrarian reform. The basic issue of the Land Reform of 1919 (and the Constitution of 1921) was that "the land belongs to those who till it" (Tomasevich, 1955:344; Vucinich, 1947:237) or "da se vlasništvo zemlje prenese na onoga tko je zemlju obradljivao" (Mirković, 1952:68). The application of the Land Reform of 1919 resulted in abolition of feudal and quasi-feudal relations throughout Yugoslavia. For instance, in all the aforementioned provinces (with an exception of Dalmatia) the agrarian problems were solved between 1919 and 1921. While some 113,000 peasant families received 566,000 hectares of kmet land (Bilimovich, 1955), nearly all of the serfs and various types of serf-like tenant families in Bosnia and Hercegovina received parcels of begluk land (land which formerly belonged to the higher Turkish governing officials, Pashas and Begs) (Stoykovitch, 1932). Another measure undertaken by the government was the distribution of a total of 34,364 hectares of land, i.e. forest land, from government property to 13,806 families (Tomasevich, 1955). An interesting point of the reform was that the former serf families were recorded as collective owners of their farms

in the sense of the customary zadruga law (Tomasevich, 1955). "The zadruga", explained Bićanić (1981:5), "was a complex household which owned property jointly, lived and worked together, and shared the products of their labour." Later, however, this collective property was transformed into individual property. The Land Reform of 1919, having abolished feudalism, facilitated the penetration of capitalism in all aspects of village life and an enormous number of small peasant farms came into existence (Tomasevich, 1955). Under the influence of the development of market economy, the increase in agricultural population (Mirković, 1952) and the successive divisions of farm households in Yugoslavia, a peculiar institution of the Croatian and Serbian family community called zadruga (numbering at times over 100 members) gradually dissolved, although remnants of it are to be found even today. In other parts of the country the solution to the agrarian problems were delayed. For instance, while feudal land-tenure institution was abolished in Dalmatia, the land reform was delayed until 1930 and the actual processing of claims for land affected by the reform did not begin until 1933 (Tomasevich, 1955). Because of this delay the land reform abolished the old colonate relations only after 1930. Before the Reform the majority of the peasants (coloni) had very small farms or no farms at all. According to a survey of 1925, in Dalmatia there were 96,953 families working

about 53,000 hectares of land belonging to other people (Bilimovich, 1955; Tomasevich, 1955:357).

The problem in Vojvodina, Croatia, Slavonia and parts of Slovenia was entirely different in the period between 1931 and 1935 where a considerable percentage of the land belonged to large Hungarian and German estates. In the opinion of most Yugoslav economists and rural specialists at the time, the most acute agricultural problems derived from the pronounced predominance of small agricultural holdings, not larger than two hectares in size. Close to 65% of Yugoslav farms fell under this category. The predominance of small agricultural holdings was generally explained by Yugoslav rural specialists as a result of the rapid growth of rural population. According to a survey of 1931 by a Croatian co-operative organization *Gospodarska sloga* (The Peasant Economic Union), *banska Hrvatska* (Croatia) had an increase in population by 185,000 people or 32,000 families. The second most overpopulated area was found to be Croatian *Zagorje* and *Prigorje*. "In order to make a decent living from agriculture" ["*Da bi se dalo živjeti na selu*"], wrote *Bićanić* (1940:16), "over half of the rural population would have to emigrate." In southern parts of Croatia, the agrarian overpopulation was even more critical: 280,000 persons or 66% of the total population of *Dalmatia* represented an agrarian overpopulation.

The constant increase of small agricultural holdings,

as the result of overpopulation and the structure of agriculture has caused growing impoverishment of rural areas. In Vojvodina, the most fertile agricultural area in Yugoslavia, the development of large estates of a Prussian type, at the expense of small and medium farm holdings, was accompanied by the gradual increase of rural proletariat. Both landless peasants and small peasants had to make their living by taking on work outside of agriculture (lumber, dockwork and unskilled urban labour) and outside of their community. This was especially true in Slovenia and Vojvodina. The agricultural households were divided into several categories: the landless peasants; the dwarf peasants with farms of up to 2 hectares of land; the small peasants with farms up to five hectares; the medium peasants with farms between 5 and 20 hectares; the big peasants with farms of 20 to 50 hectares and large farms or estates of more than 50 hectares. The landless and the dwarf peasants made up close to 45% of all rural households in 1931. The dwarf peasants with farms up to two hectares of land accounted for 33.8% of all agricultural land, but the area they controlled amounted to only 6.5% of total agricultural land (Tomasevich, 1955). The medium sized farms (between 5 and 20 hectares) on the other hand, controlled 49.3% of agricultural land in 1931. They were said to have represented "the economic backbone of the Yugoslav agriculture" (Tomasevich, 1955). From the economic point of



view the medium sized farms were much stronger since they were able to produce sizable surpluses of farm and livestock products for the market, to employ hired labour, to make capital investments in farm technology and thus improve their production. It is this category of peasants that the majority of agricultural economists and politicians wanted to expand. In addition to the medium sized farms, there were large farms or estates of more than 50 hectares. There were 5,516 large farms occupying 338,076 hectares of land in 1931 (Mirković, 1952). According to Lampe and Jackson (1982) and Tomasevich (1955), approximately two-thirds of the total land consisted of forests, natural pastures and other non-cultivated uses. A considerable percentage of large estate owners were foreign citizens.<sup>9</sup>

The continuing existence of large estates points to the failure of the 1919 Land Reform. The Land Reform of 1931 sought to address this issue by expropriating a portion of land from large estates (100 hectares and up) in order to satisfy the need for at least a part of landless and small peasants in the these provinces. Although the total land to be expropriated was estimated at over two million hectares, not all of this land was expropriated and some estate owners were left the so-called lower maximum of land [uži maksimum (Mirković, 1952)] which included land for cultivation purposes. Other estate owners were left the so-called super maximum [supermaksimum (Mirković, 1952)] i.e. land and

facilities which served as a public purpose (animal breeding stations, fish farms, etc.). In Vojvodina, Croatia, Slavonia, and Slovenia, 250,000 families obtained approximately 500,000 hectares of land by the end of 1935 at the expense of some 700 large estate owners of whom only 400 or so were private persons and corporations while the others were local governments, churches, the central government and other institutional holders (Tomasevich, 1955:368).

In this chapter of the study it was demonstrated that the small-scale peasant holding was predominant of pre-war Yugoslavia. In addition, there were a few large landed estates and large farming enterprises owned by foreign holders. It was also shown that pre-war state authorities achieved substantial results in their efforts to democratize social relations in agriculture. For instance, the Preliminary Decrees for the Preparation of the Agrarian Reform (1919), ruled that all feudal relations throughout Yugoslavia be dissolved, that all tenants on feudal estates be proclaimed free owners of the land which they cultivated, and that all large land holdings be expropriated and divided among farmers with no or very little land. The dissolution of feudal relations, as one of the prime goals of the agrarian reform, was accomplished in Yugoslavia. However, the continuing existence of large estates pointed to the failure of the 1919 Reform. The Reform of 1931 sought to

address this issue by expropriating land from large estate owners. However, owing to new laws which showed more leniency toward the owners of large landed estates, the expropriation of large farms was not carried out to the degree promised in 1931. Large landed estates or large farming enterprises still existed in Croatia, Slavonia and Vojvodina. The fact that the pre-war government authorities did not reduce the gap between those who owned large farms and those who owned dwarf farms or had no land at all, this issue became the basis of planning in early post-war socialist Yugoslavia. It is to a brief review of the Yugoslav agricultural policies after World War II that attention is now turned.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Information based on the 1984 census. More recent data shows 57% to be agricultural, 34% forest, and remaining 9% to be infrastructural or non-arable land (Veselinov, 1987:13).
2. See Bilimovich (1955:292) and Stoykovitch (1969:359).
3. Encyclopaedia Britannica, [1989 Britannica Book of the Year] (1989:750).
4. Country Profile, Yugoslavia 1987-1988, London:EIU, p. 8.
5. Information based on the 1981 census.
6. Livada (1984:77). According to the 1931 census, "76.4% of the population was engaged in agricultural production" (Veselinov, 1987:17).
7. Although agricultural technology was less advanced in Yugoslavia (especially on the small and dwarf farms) than in other countries of Eastern Europe, the agricultural production was both large and varied. "The quality of work performed in agriculture, which had an important bearing on the yields," wrote Tomasevich (1955:444-445), "greatly depended on the type of draft power and the quality and type of farm implements used. Since larger farms were capable of keeping and utilizing better draft power, and better machines and implements than the small and dwarf farms, their productivity was presumably higher. But this was definitely not a fixed rule, especially in areas south the Sava-Danube rivers where technology on small and large farms was practically identical. The explanation for this can probably be found in the lower cultural level of the peasants in these areas, their great conservatism and, thus, their aversion to innovations, and also in the low wage level because of the pressure of population in rural areas, which made manual work and use of primitive agricultural methods economically more advantageous. Generally speaking, it was much more important that implements and machinery were yield-raising than labour-saving."

8. While the ruling circles were forced to make certain social and economic concessions, this did not imply that land was just given to the peasants. As Tomasevich (1955) [and Mijo Mirković (1952)] explained: "the first stage of the agrarian change in post-1918 Yugoslavia was a truly revolutionary undertaking by the peasants themselves" (Tomasevich, 1955).
9. "Among the 369 private persons who were owners of large landed estates affected by the agrarian reform 310 were foreign nationals... 142 were Austrian, 126 Hungarian, 10 Italians, 8 Czechoslovaks, 4 Rumanians, 3 Germans and 17 others" (Mirković (1952:57-58); quoted in Tomasevich (1955:366)).

### CHAPTER III

#### AGRICULTURAL POLICY IN POST-WAR YUGOSLAVIA

As it was discussed in the previous chapter of this study, small-scale peasant farming practices were characteristic of Yugoslavia before World War II. However, there were a few large landed estates and large farming enterprises. While more than seventy-five percent of the economically active persons were engaged in agricultural production, the pre-war state authorities had done but little to raise the living standard of the rural population and to improve agricultural technology. Wooden ploughs were still overwhelmingly the implements of the peasants of Yugoslavia. While the pre-war government neglected to improve agriculture, it was demonstrated that they had achieved substantial results in democratizing social relations in agriculture. More specifically, they succeeded in dissolving feudal and quasi-feudal relations. As the last remains of feudalism were dissolved by the implementation of the Land Reform of 1919, it was shown that the problem of an equitable land distribution remained largely unsolved. Large estates were still in existence. In the latter part of Chapter II, it was shown that the Land Reform of 1931 addressed this issue by expropriating large

landed estates, primarily in Croatia, Slavonia, Vojvodina and parts of Slovenia. The pre-war government did not reduce the gap between those who owned more than 50 hectares of land and those who owned less than two hectares. The shortcomings of the pre-war government became the basis of Yugoslav planning between 1945 and 1948. The new government of Yugoslavia maintained that it will "in the shortest time possible, approach the solving of such questions concerning the peasantry as: agrarian reform, re-settlement, so that the impoverished layers of the peasantry can be provided with land and the inventory required" (Gaćeša, 1984:380). Soon after the implementation of the land reform, the Yugoslav leaders established a new concept of social and economic development which was based on Marxist principles and ideals of socialist development. Given the traditional dislike of Marxian socialists for the peasant and his system of production discussed in Chapter I of this study, as early as 1947 the Yugoslavs introduced a deliberate policy of industrialization. The economic policy of the post-war government gave priority to industrialization over agriculture for a belief prevailed that economic expansion is also a key precondition for the solution to other social problems (e.g. the national question and the independence from foreign capitalist countries<sup>1</sup>). The concept of economic development is found in the form of maximization of production. It was the leading development theory of the

First-Five Year Plan (1947-1951), generally known as the period of state administrative planning, when cooperatives were established. Cooperatives were seen "as a way of weaning the peasant away from his individual mode of production and his private plot of land prior to transforming him into a member of the proletariat--that is, into a rural counterpart of the urban industrial working class" (Miller, 1977:164). Since the record of Yugoslav agricultural cooperation is considered as the story of an ongoing search for an accomodation between long-term ideological goals and the tangible requirements of an effective economic and social policy (Miller, 1977:164), in this chapter the purpose is to describe the two models of planning used in Yugoslavia. The first section focuses on the rationale for collectivization for the period 1945-1948, and up to 1953 when it came to a halt as a result of the break in relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. The second section describes the policy development after 1953 when every republic, autonomous region, district and commune became responsible for its own socio-economic development. Yugoslav theory and practice (also known as the "Titoist" variant of socialism) has provided the Yugoslavs with an ideal model of the kind of social and economic order they wish to see ultimately realized in Yugoslavia (Miller, 1977:163). However, before the two models of social and economic development in the SFRY are described, we briefly



look at the implementation of the Land Reform of 1945 which was to provide the basis for solving the problem of an equitable land distribution in Yugoslavia.

#### THE FIRST LAND REFORM IN EARLY-POST WAR YUGOSLAVIA

At the conclusion of the World War II, Yugoslavia was left with a predominantly agricultural population and with agricultural production in a state of disruption. The German occupation during the Second World War brought immense economic losses and destruction. The number of horses, cattle and sheep was drastically reduced. According to official estimates, in Montenegro for example, the number of sheep decreased by 87 percent, the number of horses 82 percent, the number of cattle 74 percent (Vucinich, 1947:240). Although the reconstruction of agriculture began immediately after the war by importation of livestock and machinery, many considered that the real development of agriculture began when part of the economy was nationalized and when agrarian measures of a revolutionary character were implemented in 1945. In agriculture capitalist and quasi-capitalist relations in the countryside were limited when all estates and farming establishments (over 45 hectares of land, and over 35 hectares of arable land) owned by banks, stock companies and other private persons were nationalized (Čukanović, 1977;

Dunman, 1975; Gaćeša, 1984; Grbić, 1988; Milenković, 1980; Supek, 1982; Veselinov, 1987)<sup>2</sup>. Agricultural holdings of more important churches, monestaries and religious institutions were allowed to retain up to 30 hectares of arable land and 30 hectares of forest. Private owners of agricultural land were able to hold up to 25 hectares of land. However, land held above these limits was expropriated and converted into state farms or distributed in small parcels to the landless, the small peasantry and the migrants<sup>3</sup>. In this way, the first law on Land Reform (1945) was thought to have played a positive role in helping primarily the landless and the small peasantry who needed land most. The reason for its concern for the peasantry, as well as for its intolerance for exploitative relations in agriculture was explained by Milenković (1980:109) in the following: "The socialist state had certain moral duties toward the small peasants and the landless, and the land had to be given to them. ... Even if it meant a considerable economic loss, it is good that the land was given to the peasants, for it has bonded the friendship between them and the working class" [translation mine]<sup>4</sup>. Although Yugoslavia was soon to be a country of workers and peasants [zemlja radnika i seljaka] (Supek, 1982:28), the economic policy of the post-war government gave priority to the "working class" over peasants.

## LAUNCHING COLLECTIVIZATION AND THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

It was in the period between 1945 and 1952, the period of state-administrative management<sup>5</sup> (Veselinov, 1987) when an agrarian policy aimed at collectivization was introduced and when state agricultural estates, agricultural machine stations, and peasant work cooperatives were organized. There were also many individual private holdings<sup>6</sup>. Agricultural machine stations appeared immediately after the liberation, when collective farming was not organized on some of the confiscated large holdings and colonists on small holdings could not use the confiscated machines and equipment rationally (Horvat, 1976). In the first two years, the agricultural machine stations worked as agricultural institutions and from 1947 as state enterprises. From 1945 to 1948 the machine stations helped in cultivating the land of State agricultural estates and Peasant work cooperatives, and later predominantly of the latter and to a certain degree of individual farms. At the end of 1948, there were 109 stations in the country with 3820 tractors. During the period between 1945 and 1948, Yugoslavia had 454 peasants' work cooperatives of various types (Wädekin, 1982). These were gradually changed in character as they became more unified and subjected to the general economic plans of the state. An economic

development plan (generally known as the Five-Year Plan for the development of the National Economy) was prepared with the purpose to raise industrial production about five times the 1939 level (Barić, 1967; Waterson, 1962), and also to raise agricultural production, but to a lesser extent. "Each state farm, producer work cooperative and private farm received targets, indicating the kind and amount of crops and animals it was expected to produce each year" (Waterson, 1962). In agriculture, the aim was to increase the yield of wheat by 15% per hectare, corn by 20%. The production of sugar was planned to increase by 200% in relation to the pre-war level. The production of hogs was to increase by 71% and sheep by 46%. The production of fruits and vegetables was to increase 16 fold in relation to the pre-war level (Veselinov, 1987). In order to achieve these production targets in agriculture, the government relied on the acceleration of collectivization. In other words, the government relied on the Soviet *kolkhozes*<sup>7</sup> within which the primary units were the collective farms or the state farms. In Yugoslavia the Peasant work cooperatives corresponded to the Soviet *kolkhozes*. The Peasant work cooperatives did not exist before World War II. The Peasant work cooperatives were said to represent the organizational type of collective ownership and collective cultivation of the land. In addition, the Yugoslavs maintained that the Peasant work cooperatives make possible the transition from small-scale

commodity production to large-scale production in agriculture. Large-scale farming was seen more advantageous than small-scale since the former offers "better conditions for mechanization of production, more extensive division of labour and better organization of work, wider opportunities for combining production and crop rotation, regional specialization, adaptation to natural and economic-geographical conditions of production, greater possibilities for net investment"<sup>8</sup>.

In this way, in the initial period, the Yugoslav cooperatives were based on the Soviet model (Adams, 1975; Barić, 1967; Bilandžić, 1969; Stipetić, 1982; Veselinov, 1987; Wädekin, 1982; Waterson, 1962) as were those of other Eastern European countries. One of the reasons for the attempt at collectivization was based on the fact that it had already happened in the Soviet Union, a similar pattern was to follow in Eastern Europe: "It was consequently accepted by the communist movement as a self-evident and necessary road to socialism" (Shanin, 1971:263). Secondly, it was felt that only collective and large-scale production could provide the rapid economic growth required for the so-called primitive socialist accumulation, i.e. to extract from the rural economy the resources necessary for rapid industrialization. Horvat (1976:88) explained: "agriculture was treated as a source of capitalist accumulation and the peasants as a social group of small property and

(potentially) capitalist elements that should be re-educated by administrative measures and included in the socialized, that is, state sector of the economy."

The state agricultural estate represented the first and, in some way, the most socialist link in the socialist chain, for it involved social property. "The task of the state sector", emphasized Kardelj (1959), "is to show the peasantry in practice all the advantages of a large-scale socialist economy." Lenin's thesis "that small-scale commodity production generates capitalism and bourgeoisie, every day, every hour, spontaneously and on a large-scale" served as a justification for discrimination against the peasants, who, as property owners, were considered predisposed to an anti-socialist orientation (Horvat, 1976:107). A belief prevailed in Yugoslavia that "The preponderant corporate and family owned private sector will tend to impose capitalist development" (Horvat, 1981:957). Soon regulations were adopted which favoured cooperatives and state farms and discriminated against private holdings. The tax on individual production was sharply progressive and apportioned very subjectively with the aim of "curbing capitalist elements" (Horvat, 1976:88). Moreover, individual private holdings were not allowed to use modern technology, i.e. tractors and heavy machinery, and outside labour.<sup>9</sup> Although the State agricultural estates were treated with particular attention and given special aid, the

results, however, were not impressive. Almost all the estates operated at a loss and yields were at best only marginally better than on private farms. Moreover, the state authorities failed to transform the peasant agricultural producers into the socialist cooperativism. While in 1947 there were 779 cooperatives, with a total of 174,518 members and 210,987 hectares of agricultural land, by 1954 only an insignificant number of such farms remained (Wädekin, 1982; Veselinov, 1987). It became clear to policy makers that the objectives of agrarian policy were not being realized. The goals of increasing agricultural output by 50% and raising productivity had failed. One reason given for this was the lack of technical experts and the absence of technical mechanization needed for large-scale production (Kardelj, 1959; Milenković, 1980; Puljiz, 1970; Veselinov, 1987). It also became clear that the cooperative system was more suitable for certain regions than to others. For instance, Vojvodina and Slavonia were more suitable for large-scale production. Few cooperatives have survived in mixed-farming regions such as Montenegro, Dalmatia and parts of Slovenia.<sup>10</sup> A further reason for the failure was that while the Five Year Plan had set ambitious targets for raising agricultural production (Barić, 1967; Veselinov, 1987), the necessary capital investment to make possible the attainment of these targets was never provided (Singleton and Carter, 1982). Only seven percent of total investments

was allocated to agriculture. Heavy (and basic) industry received the bulk of new investments. Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists tended to believe that, in spite of its shortcomings and the rather poor results obtained from the Five Year Plan, centralized management of the economy in Yugoslavia was necessary. For instance, Milenković (1980) strongly believed that the system of compulsory deliveries was important for the entire Yugoslav economy in spite of the fact that prices were fixed at levels far below what the peasant could have achieved on the open market. Delivery quotas were set up at unrealistic levels by bureaucrats who had no knowledge of local conditions (Singleton and Carter, 1982:104). Bićanić further explained:

To those who have lived under a system of centralized, bureaucratic, normative planning, its expense in human and economic terms and the damage which it can do at all levels of the economy are obvious. Sometimes people, particularly economists, are led astray by the bias for rationalization to the superficial assumption that centralization means greater efficiency and greater speed. The balancing of supply and demand in a centrally planned economy occurs in offices where a few people, unaware of the real effects of their authoritarian plans, become the supreme judges of the destinies of all producers and consumers through their bureaucratic machine.<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps the one-sidedness of economic planning and political insensitivity, which can be traced to the Yugoslav Constitution of 1946, were the major reasons for its failure (Allcock, 1980; Grbić, 1988). The Constitution



declared that "The state directs the economic life and development of the country in accordance with a general economic plan, relying on the state and cooperative sectors, whilst achieving a general economic control over the private sector" (Singleton and Carter, 1982:99-100). By mid-1949, trade between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and other Cominform countries were unilaterally broken and political and economic pressures intensified. The Soviet Union charged Yugoslavia for moving too slowly toward nationalizing the economy, particularly agriculture. After 1953 Yugoslavia rejected the theory which prevailed in the Soviet Union and in other Eastern European countries. In particular it rejected the idea that control of the economy through centrally directed measures constitutes the fundamental law of socialism (Waterson, 1962). Before 1953 rather severe political pressures were exerted on the peasants to join the cooperatives (Stipetić, 1982):

As a political principle, it is emphasized that the creating of peasant work cooperative must continue to be carried out exclusively on the basis of force, will, and conscious decision of the working peasantry itself... In practice, rather severe... pressures were applied which were interpreted as limiting and repressing capitalist elements... and as linking the peasant with the socialist sector (Horvat, 1976:90).<sup>12</sup>

When it became apparent that the break with the Soviet Union was likely to endure, there began in Yugoslavia a period of questioning and criticism of state administrative planning. This led from 1950 to 1952 to a series of policy

reformulations. However, significant changes in the agricultural sector did not come until 1953 when a law was passed that permitted the peasants who had joined a Peasants' work cooperative in the first phase of collectivization to withdraw from the same. A widespread exodus immediately ensued (Barić, 1967:260). By 1954 only an insignificant number of such farms remained (Wädekin, 1982; Veselinov, 1987). During the next three years, new ways of organizing agriculture were sought.

#### DECENTRALIZATION, SOCIALIST COOPERATION, AND SELF-MANAGEMENT IN AGRICULTURE

After 1953 Yugoslavia rejected the theory which prevailed in the Soviet Union and in other Eastern European countries. In particular Yugoslavia rejected the idea that control of the economy through centrally directed measures constitutes the fundamental law of socialism (Waterson, 1962). Tito (as well as Bakarić, Kardelj, and Kidrić) while rejecting the Soviet (Stalinist) model began to consider alternatives. Perhaps the most outstanding manifestation of this process was the introduction of a system of worker self-management. Considered the hallmark of the Yugoslav version of socialism, the system of worker self-management is based on the concept of "social" ownership of the means of production, as opposed to state ownership which is characteristic of Soviet-type systems. Now every

government unit concerned with management of the economy had "the right and duty" to draw up its own plans. This meant that every republic, autonomous region, district and commune had its own plans. The social plans of 1953 reflected the new trend of the times toward decentralization. Although social enterprises were permitted to set prices in more liberal market setting and allowing them more freedom to distribute earnings, the plans also retained many administrative features characteristic of the period of centralized planning. The government further reduced the limits on individual property holding to ten hectares of total land. Clearly the intention was to demonstrate to the agrarian producers the lack of prospects for private farming and to pave the way for further attempt at socializing the rural economy. Discussing the agricultural scene Tito asserted, "A socialist country cannot have two systems of production--socialist and capitalist--if it wishes to create socialism in full measure."<sup>13</sup> Therefore, de-collectivization or decentralization did not imply the abandonment of socialist goals in agriculture:

Our cooperative has never been an organization of peasants, nor has it had all the elements of association. The basic motive for the organization of the cooperative is the advancement of production on the basis of certain social relations. The public interest emphasized as primary. For that reason the goal of the cooperative has been income and the strengthening of socialist reproduction, and not the reproductive capabilities of individual peasant farms. The focus of reproduction is the expansion of the

resources in the public community, and the form of ownership is public property, which is connected with a definite territory, where the accumulated surplus value is created. These are public organizations for the development of the material base of socialism in the village<sup>14</sup>.

After 1955, the chosen instrument of the socialist transformation of the village was the General Agricultural Cooperative or *opšta zemljoradnička zadruga* (OZZ) (Allcock, 1980:204, Kardelj, 1959). These were intended to attract the peasant into the socialist sector by offering the advantages of seed, fertilizer, machinery, credit, technical advice, and an outlet for the market for his crops. Although it was intended that "the cooperative will gradually grow into a socialist enterprise in which the private peasant's property in land is an element which must be taken into account, the resolution of the *Skupština* which initiated this new phase of policy emphasized in a specific manner the peasant holding and its archaic economy, acting by economic means, without touching property relations and without expropriating land and its owner." (Allcock, 1980:204).

Alongside the General Agricultural Cooperatives grew *poljoprivredna dobra* or state farms, which had begun their existence immediately after the war, and which now received a new impetus to growth (Allcock, 1980:205). Favourable results had been achieved. Yields were 5 percent higher for wheat, sugar beet 11% higher, potatoes 65% higher and the number of livestock was reported to have been much higher

than to the pre-war level. The number of fertilizer sprays rose from 961 to 2,084, or by 117% (Kardelj, 1959:191) and the number of tractors on agricultural estates rose from 3,404 to 5,633 or by 64%. The private farmer was not allowed to buy new farm machinery--only used. It was not until 1967 that the private farmer could buy modern (new) machinery (Veselinov, 1987:35). While the progress in the socialist sector was encouraging, imports (especially wheat) were reduced, and the number of peasants entering into cooperative arrangements increased. In relation to this expansion Kardelj (1959:221) wrote: "In 1957 there were 2,608 cooperative farms in Yugoslavia. The total land area at the disposal of the general agricultural cooperatives was 199,000 hectares, i.e., it was three times larger than in 1952 (when it was 68,000 hectares). This area is constantly being increased, as privately-owned land is purchased or rented." This rapid progress in the socialist sector was explained by Kardelj (1959:96) in the following:

... the rapid progress of agriculture in our country has not been achieved through the greater role of the private sector in agricultural production... it is the new, socialist economic relations that have proved more stimulating; that is also why they have greater economic results.

Kardelj also wrote that the 'agrarian question' [i.e. the 'peasant question' (Kardelj, 1959:9)] "as a question of technical backwardness and extremely low productivity of labour ... based on private ownership, of fragmentation of

land and an outdated landownership system, all of which hamper the further development of productive forces and the improvement of living conditions in the village--is a question involving economic and social relations and therefore cannot be solved automatically merely by advocating new technology, but rather through the material, social-political effect of the whole economic and social development of the village."

At a special session of the Federal Parliament devoted exclusively to agriculture in April 1957, a major campaign of cooperative construction was announced. Although it was committed to agricultural modernization and social transformation in the village by implementing cooperatives, "the cooperatives clearly did not fulfill their original ideological purpose of convincing peasants of the superiority of large-scale socialist methods of farming and inducing them to tie their fate to the social sector" (Miller, 1977:181). Given the Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists commitment to self-management as the essence of Yugoslav socialism, it is not difficult to understand why the private farmer was considered highly anomalous. The concept of economic development based on Marxist principles and ideals of socialist development is reflected in the special emphasis on socially owned farms. Speaking on the advantages of socially owned farms, Tito has been quoted to have said:

Let this be a good lesson for our individual producers. Let them see for themselves that individual agricultural production offers no good prospects and that it is detrimental not only to the community as a whole but to themselves in the first place. Accordingly, the socialist sector in agriculture has so far fully affirmed its value and the advantages it offers to producers and the community, and we must expand it persistently and consistently, so as to ensure sufficient quantities of agricultural produce both for domestic consumption and export, since we possess all the necessary conditions for such an undertaking. It is not indifferent to us how the peasants--our agricultural producers--live. We wish and we shall endeavour to make it possible for them to live a better life and to ensure a faster rate of raising their living standard. In order to achieve this, however, they will also have to produce for the market, thus raising their living standard. Individually they will not be able to achieve this, but only as members of cooperatives and socialist production (Current Problems of the Village and the Task of the Socialist Alliance, 1963:14).

Since the rate of growth of agricultural production in the private sector began to slow down after 1960, as a result of low prices of farm products, a new reform was introduced in 1965. The basic idea of the 1965 Economic Reform was to increase the role of the market, i.e. create approximately equal conditions for all sectors of business production, and reduce state intervention. The basic principle of the new agrarian policy, laid down in the Resolution of the Seventh Congress of the League of the Communists of Yugoslavia, can be summarized in the following:

The modernization of agriculture and its socialist transformation represent one of the most important tasks in the struggle for the country's further socialist construction. It is therefore necessary:

- to pursue a more resolute policy of applying contemporary technological processes and promoting production in all spheres of agriculture while simultaneously reinforcing socialist relations in the countryside;

- to expand the material basis of agricultural estates and work cooperatives so that they might become modern, large-scale socialist producers and the main protagonists in the struggle for advancing agriculture and promoting its socialist transformation as quickly as possible;

- to encourage and intensify the development of cooperatives, notably production cooperatives and individual producers, such cooperation being instrumental in stepping up large-scale socialist agricultural production.

The first effects of the 1965 Economic Reform were positive. Output gains were recorded in 1965, and especially in 1969, and Yugoslavia achieved a fairly stable rate of economic growth (Drač, 1972; Horvat, 1976). Although output gains were recorded in agricultural production they were generally not considered the same in the two sectors of agriculture, socialist and private (Agricultural Policy in Yugoslavia, 1973:12). The peasant holdings are believed to produce only for home consumption and for the "peasant market". On the other hand, the share of the socialized enterprises in the agricultural product is conceived as relatively high especially in crop production such as wheat, corn, sunflower, and sugarbeet. Since 1965, there were



changes in the sectoral structure of agricultural production. There was a decrease in the share of field crop production, while in proportion of livestock-breeding increased (Drač, 1972). The output of meat production was sufficient for domestic needs and some was even exported to the Western European markets.

Since the reform of 1965, the only other major development was the advancement of the Agro-Industrial Combines or kombinats which were established in the best agricultural areas in the late fifties. They are large, completely socialized farms and processing units which are run on industrial lines. Approximately half of the socialized farms have agricultural land that is 8,700 hectares on average (The Agricultural Policy in Yugoslavia, 1973:27). Their chief characteristic is that they involve the vertical integration of agriculture; they offer contractual assurance for the stipulated crop along with other provisions necessary for agricultural production (fertilizers, machinery, credit and the like) (Allcock, 1980; Cvjetićanin, 1987; Singleton and Carter, 1982; Veselinov, 1987).

After 1968 new difficulties emerged in the marketing of some agricultural products, low prices in farm products in general and a new deterioration in business conditions (Drač, 1976). Because of these problems, the goal of the Economic Reform in agriculture and its economic position

were discussed first by the Federal Assembly in 1968, and two years later at the First Conference of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. A resolution was adopted and with the passage of the 1971 Constitutional Amendments Yugoslavia entered a new phase of overall planning, linked with the implementation of socialist self-management. Yugoslavs have considered the organization of associated labour and control over production by worker's self-management as the basis for the further development of socialism and of the Yugoslav socio-political system. As a result of the 1971 Constitutional Amendments and the 1974 Constitution, the Basic Organization of Associated Labour (BOAL) has been set up as a new social and economic relation with the aim to stimulate productivity and provide a framework for decision-making over surplus value created by the associated producers. As Gligorov (1982:7,12) explained:

In the Yugoslav system of self-management, an organization of associated labour is a free association of workers -- of their labour and social means. On the basis of such association, each organization acquires a full economic and legal identity. Such a status results not only from the need to respect social division of labour but also from the need to determine as objectively as possible each organization's results of business activity and its contribution to the growth of the social product and the social productivity of labour...

The workers organized in basic organizations of associated labour have a primary interest in associating themselves in forms of organization that can help them, in their mutual relations and on the basis of self-management consensus, to

effect the necessary concentration and accumulation to adopt plans covering their common development, and to exert influence on other social decisions made within the political system of the self-managed society.

In addition to industry and other aspects of the Yugoslav socio-economic system, self-management has been implemented in the socialist sector of agricultural economy: The government has insisted that cooperatives must develop as self-managed work communities of agricultural producers in which business will be conducted on the principles of income and distribution according to the result of work (Horvat, 1976; Stipetić, 1982).

The Federal socio-economic plan was introduced in 1976. Its major goal was the coordination of different programmes and plans drawn up by the BOAL and their contractual link-ups by the socio-political organizations (local associations, communes, provinces and republics). While the primary goal of the Plan was geared towards the expansion and the adjustment of Yugoslavia's industrial structure, in agriculture the aim was geared toward strengthening the social farm sector (društveni sektor) and the intensification of different forms of co-operation between social and the private farm sectors (privatni sektor). Contractual co-operation was seen as an important means of increasing production for the market by the private farmers and raising their incomes (The Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1981:16). More precise development goals of the

Federal Plan were formulated in the Agro-Industrial Agreement for the period 1976-1980:

- (1) the development of socialist self-management relations in agriculture;
- (2) the accelerated development of the social sector in agriculture and of socially organized production by private farmers;
- (3) the creation of economic conditions which stimulate producers to increase output and income and which induce private farmers to organize themselves on the principle of socialist self-management; and
- (4) to stimulate research and the application of new technology in agriculture...

During this period (1976-1980), the development of socially-owned estates were said to have had a favourable effect on agricultural production and productivity. "Important economies of scale have been achieved on the large tracts of arable land occupied by the social sector. The system of self-management by the workers and the basic remuneration on individual labour input are other factors that have stimulated productivity. Co-operating private farmers have benefited from the experience gained by the social sector in the application of modern production methods to the extent that these can be used on small holdings" (The Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1981:23-24).

In this Chapter we described the agricultural policy development in post-war Yugoslavia. The first section focused on the period of administrative planning. It was

demonstrated that in the first post-war period agriculture was treated as a source of capital accumulation and peasants as a capitalist element that should be reeducated by administrative measures and included in the state sector of the economy. While the state administrative pressure led to stagnation in production, it was shown that agricultural collectivization was abandoned when Yugoslavia broke-off relations with the Soviet Union and other Cominform countries. After 1948 the Yugoslav leaders established a new concept of social and economic development. The system of worker self-management was introduced and now every government unit concerned with management of the economy had the "right and duty" to draw up its own social plans. Although, Yugoslavs moved toward de-collectivization and decentralization this did not imply the abandonment of socialist goals in agriculture. In other words, decentralization did not imply the abandonment of socialist reproduction. It was demonstrated that the focus of reproduction was the socialist sector in agriculture. The socialized or public farming was often opposed to the private 'non-socialist' peasant holding. A belief prevailed that "the former should be helped and developed, and the latter transformed and checked" (Horvat, 1976:93). In this way, Yugoslav policy makers argued that it is impossible to step up agricultural production under conditions of the continued prevalence of small private farms.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. A belief prevailed that a country that was not industrialized was at a disadvantage in relation to other countries.
2. Agricultural land was confiscated from the total of 162,171 farms of which approximately 108,554 farms of 67% belonged to German ancestry. Their property was nationalized [Zemljište je oduzeto od ukupno 162,171 gazdinstva od čega su oko 108,554 ili 67% bila gazdinstva nemačkih vlasnika-starosedelaca. Njihova imovina je nacionalizovana] (Veselinov, 1987:26). By 1948, 80% of Yugoslav economy had been nationalized (Singleton and Carter, 1982:100).
3. Although land was distributed to the landless, small peasantry and the migrants, priority was given to the liberation war fighters.
4. Socijalistička država je imala izvesne moralne obaveze prema sitnim seljacima i bezzemeljašima i morala im je dati zemlju... Čak da je bilo izvesne ekonomske štete dobro je što je zemlja data seljacima, jer je to cementiralo prijateljstvo između njih i radničke klase.
5. This period was also known as "the period of command economy" (Wädekin, 1982), "administrative measures" (Allcock, 1980), "administrative period" (Milenković, 1980), "the period of administrative planning" (Waterson, 1962), "revolutionary etatism" (Bilandžić, 1969) and "etatist collectivization" (Horvat, 1976).
6. In the newly-formed state, the Yugoslav Communist theoreticians followed a somewhat different classification of farms in comparison to the pre-war agrarian economists. According to this new classification there is the group of landless peasants, peasants with farms up to 2 hectares, peasants with farms of 2-5 hectares or "medium-size peasants," peasants with farms of 5-10 hectares or "well-to-do peasants," and peasants with farms over 10 hectares who are classified as "big peasants." This classification served as a guide-line for agrarian policy implementation.
7. Kolkhoz is an acronym for kollektivnoe khozyaistvo i.e. collective farm.

8. Mijo Mirković, quoted in Horvat (1976:111-112).
9. postojalo je izrazito neraspoloženje da se seljačkim gazdinstvu dozvoli kupovanje savremene tehnologije i zapošljavanje najamne radne snage (Veselinov, 1987:34).
10. See, for example, Stipetić (1982:175).
11. Quoted in Waterson, 1962:19).
12. "According to Milan Radovich, in the prison camp Zabela where he served, there were some 12,000 prisoners in 1951-1952: 75% peasants, and 5% students. Radovich points out that the massive opposition by the peasantry forced Tito to abandon his collectivization blueprint by 1952 [M.R. Letter of February 13, 1979 to author]" (In Gruenwald (1983:275)).
13. Quoted in Miller (1977).
14. Svetolik Popović, quoted in Miller (1977:180).

CHAPTER IV  
THE AGRARIAN REFORMS AND THEIR AFTERMATH

THE GENERAL FETISHIZATION  
OF THE SOCIAL SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY

While chapter III described the two models of planning used in post-war Yugoslavia by discussing certain basic elements of planning and the way in which agriculture was organized in these two different models, it examined some of the major arguments adduced in support of early collectivization practices and the establishment of new forms of cooperative organization after the break with the Soviet Union. Although Yugoslavia broke-off relations with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries in 1948 (and the Yugoslavs established a new concept of social economic development) decentralization did not imply the abandonment of socialist goals in agriculture. The focus continued to be on the socialist reproduction. While Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists stressed that the policy must be geared toward associating the peasant with the socialist sector, they also emphasized that the task of promoting agricultural production in a narrow, pragmatic, and technocratic way must be abandoned.<sup>1</sup> While emphasizing that "the state does not act solely as an



instrument of economic planning in a socialist society" (Kardelj, 1959:277), some control was thought to be necessary, and the state administrative apparatus attempted on a number of occasions to convince the agricultural producers that their interests were being served.<sup>2</sup> In situations where control from above was inadequate, discrimination and social bias toward individual agricultural producers played a part. Also, the introduction of worker's self-management in the Yugoslav socio-economic and political system in general, and in the socialist sector of agricultural economy in particular, was an attempt to raise the standard of living and to increase productivity. The Yugoslav need for more efficient organization and further modernization of the means of production and an attempt to solve low agricultural production was one goal of the post-collectivization period.

A second major goal related to the integration and consolidation of the social sector of economy by reinforcing socialist social relations in the village, was an attempt to demonstrate the alleged superiority of the social sector. The Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists on agrarian development tended to refer to the superiority of cooperatives, "the advantages of agricultural estates and the "social property" in agriculture, as well as the too fast reduction of the number of farmers and the creation of

metaphysical systems of equitable relations in agriculture" (Veselinov, 1987:278).<sup>3</sup> This is because the development policy of Yugoslavia, embedded in Marxist thought, has always been oriented towards the consolidation and expansion of the social sector (društveni sektor). In this way it had to ensure that social sector of economy demonstrated its superiority over the private sector in terms of output and productivity. The continuity of this position overtime is clearly reflected in the following statements on agricultural policy:

... in Vojvodina (between 1957 and 1958) the average yield of maize on agricultural estates was 50 metric quintals per hectare, in peasant producer cooperatives it was 49 quintals per hectare, and on peasant holdings outside cooperation 21.6 quintals per hectare (Kardelj, 1959:247).

As usual, agricultural growth is expected to be much more rapid in the socialized enterprises than on the peasant holdings (Agricultural Policy in Yugoslavia, 1973:34).

The difference in yields between the socialized enterprises and the peasant holdings is very large (Agricultural Policy in Yugoslavia, 1973:12).

Important economies of scale have been achieved on the large tracts of arable land occupied by the social sector (The Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1981:23).

Whereas the social sector grew at an annual rate of 4.1 percent a year, the private sector - which makes up three-quarters of total agricultural product - could manage only 1.7 percent growth a year (The Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1981:5).

The figures indicate that agricultural production between 1954 and 1979 rose by 7% in the socialized sector as against some 2% in the private sector. This led to an increase in the share of the socialist sector in overall production from only 8% in 1957 to 29% in 1968 and as much as 32% in 1978.<sup>4</sup>

and in terms of technical advance:

In the past ten years the modernization of agriculture has resulted in higher production and productivity... The spread of new techniques and technology benefited, in particular, the social sector. Private farmers have been slow to adopt modern methods which, in some cases, are ill-adapted to small-scale farming (The Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1981:41).

Yugoslav policy's aim continuously conveyed the idea that rapid development of agricultural production required the adoption of modern technology. With respect to the private sector, it was assumed that this could only be achieved by establishing social relations or cooperation between the social agricultural sector and private agricultural producers:

Political forces in rural areas must... support those forms of cooperation and positive developments which will accelerate and encourage the development of large-scale and socially-organized production, lead to the expansion of the socialist sector, and thus improve the prospects for raising the living standard of the working people in rural regions. (Current Problems of the Village, 1963:15).

Growth in the social agricultural sector has been rapid, and some good results have been obtained with co-operation between the social sector and private farmers. However the greater part of the private farmers, often the poor ones, have left untouched by the modernization drive. If agricultural output is to increase in the coming years by 3.4 to 4 percent a year to underpin the growth targets of the general economy, a greater effort seems necessary to mobilize private farmers through co-operation or other means (The Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1981:45-46).

While these examples serve as evidence that policy statements show a commitment to a view that stressed the superiority of the public sector, the absence of significant output increases in "the so-called self-managed agriculture" (Radomirović, 1982) has made the socialized enterprises [e.g. PKB Beograd, IPK Sirmijum, IPK Osijek (The Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1981:9)] dependent on produce from the private sector. Failure did not lead to a reconsideration of the nature of production on individual private holdings, but to a renewed emphasis on bigger, better organized cooperatives:

... the most important field of endeavour is to establish high productivity... within the sphere of associated labour in the agrocomplex... commencing from production on private holdings and their association with the organization of agrarian producers to work organizations [translation mine].<sup>5</sup>

In some sense the League of the Communists of Serbia was reasserting that socially organized production (BOAL) was socialist and hence superior to other forms of organization.

In his study on the reproduction of factors of production in Yugoslav agriculture Radomirović (1982:18) warned that "we must acknowledge the need to denounce the general fetishization of the concept "social" which is only used in association with OAL (associated labour) for the peasant holding--through market relations, services and capital, and results of production--is practically socialized. Unattended fields in social ownership are less social than the so-called private land which produces goods to the society" [translation mine].<sup>6</sup> A similar position has been argued by Grbić (1986) and Milovanović (1986). The central idea advanced by Milovanović (1986) was that the individual private sector produces a larger part of the total agricultural production in comparison with the social sector. In addition to being productive, modern technology and technical-technological innovations are used by a large number of agricultural producers. Cooperatives and OOK (Osnovna organizacija kooperanata) in the region of Srem (Vojvodina) have in their possession 289 tractors (or 2% of the total).<sup>7</sup> Also, Grbić (1986) argued that the private sector is more productive. He explains that in relation to

the social sector "the total production in private agriculture is much higher since the informal sector (eg. 'green' market) is not taken into consideration nor the fact that private producers provide goods for the urban population.." (Grbić, 1986:135) [translation mine].<sup>8</sup> More recently, Veselinov (1987) demonstrated that even the methodology used to indicate the superiority of the cooperative production was usually biased.<sup>9</sup> It is suggested here that the general perception of the alleged superiority of the social sector or the general fetishization of the so-called self-managed agriculture can be traced to classical Marxian theory on the agrarian question. Within this framework, the persistence of traditions is generally seen as an element of backwardness. Because of their backwardness, old traditions are displaced or undermined by new changes. The effects of this conception were clear for an important feature of the state policy (and scientific literature of the last three decades) was a dualistic categorization of societal types (e.g. 'traditional'--'modern', 'small-scale'--'large-scale', 'private-sector'--'social-sector'). While structural dualism (a sharp distinction between the dominant and the subordinate group) became an important feature of state policy on agriculture, this entailed a move toward empiricization. In other words, this dualism, and the assumptions associated with it, became the basis of

empirical research. In the majority of the current literature on 'rural sociology' and on the Yugoslav system of agriculture, one finds that reference is always made to material, economic and social conditions of life. For instance, First (1981) examined some of the structural and interactional characteristics that make up the rural family in contrast with the urban one. The basis for differentiating between the rural family and other types of families, was explained in terms of the agricultural work its members do on the family farm.

A structural-functionalist notion of social change and a Marxist development theory were combined by Yugoslav social scientists to describe and explain the transition from traditional to modern forms of society. The main ideological orientation of the socialist development approach in post-war Yugoslavia has provided the definition of goals and the meaning of change. When theorizing about social change and social structure the Yugoslav theoreticians have shown a tendency to see them as showing a progression of some sort. Also, the phrases and concepts with which they operated were directly tied to cumulative social change. 'Rapid economic expansion,' 'higher socioeconomic formation,' 'rapid advance in production,' 'development of the productive forces,' 'great leap forward,' 'higher production and productivity,' and 'rapid social change,' are some of the phrases and concepts that

were employed by Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists on agrarian development. No attempt was made to differentiate between social change and social development.<sup>10</sup> Social change implied that a movement is made from lower to higher socio-economic formation. This idea can be traced to classical theories which stressed the inevitable and desirable growth of large farms, and which implied the consequent disappearance of small peasant farms. It was believed that the inferiority of small farms over larger holdings was generally expressed by the inability of the former to introduce "new technical-technological methods that humanize and rationalize work in agriculture"<sup>11</sup> (Cvjetićanin, 1987:45).

Conclusions drawn by Kautsky (1953): "as industry becomes a determining factor in society, agriculture becomes less important... it becomes dependent on industry" [translation mine]<sup>12</sup> has prompted Cvjetićanin (1987) to examine the relationship between modern economic development and the persistence of part-time farms in Yugoslavia. Cvjetićanin (1987:53-54) concluded:

Many new circumstances basically changed traditional forms of mixed agriculture and resulted in the development of new ones... Much more than before in modern economic development both farmers and non-agricultural workers are exposed to the influence of a greater number of push and pull factors in relation to work both in and outside agriculture. A certain number of farmers is attracted by the advantages of a non-agricultural occupation and repulsed by the unfavourable factors of farm work... On the other



hand, a movement in the opposite direction, from the non-agricultural into the agricultural sector, has become much more frequent. A certain number of non-farmers are attracted by some of the advantages of agricultural work that have become important and valuable in modern conditions of living. Because of these advantages, which include a healthy environment, the possibility of recreation, cheap self-supply with one's own naturally-grown produce, the possibilities of investment, possibilities of making an extra income and the like, they decide to combine their non-agricultural occupation with work in agriculture. In other words, today there are completely new reasons and motivations for the appearance and maintenance of mixed households.

A similar position was advanced in Cvjetićanin et al. (1980) when they argued that many of the part-time farm households were moving the focus of their economic activities towards non-agricultural activities. In other words, part-time workers are increasingly adapting their farm work and production to meet the constraints imposed by their non-agricultural activities and urbanized way of life.

The idea that many of the part-time farm households are moving the focus of their economic activities towards non-agricultural activities (or urban culture) contributed little to an understanding of the complexity and articulation of the phenomena which has taken place in agriculture of Yugoslavia. Development came to be explained in terms of modernity or urban culture. The most widespread conviction was the predominance of socialist agricultural estates and the dissolution of the small peasant holding. While diversity of social organization has been

incorporated into the process of socialist development, one of the most widespread contentions was the superiority of social farm sector: "Large-scale production in our country is accomplished by surpassing economically small-scale peasant production in faithful accordance with the principles of the socialist transformation of agriculture"<sup>13</sup>. "Weaknesses which check such development, slow down agricultural production and its modernization and socialist transformation in rural regions" (Current Problems of the Village, 1963:15). In other words, that rural regions would be left in a backward or undeveloped state. It has been established that the basic impetus of agricultural policies has centred on socialization of agriculture in the belief that this is economically more efficient than private farms. In light of this, it is perhaps surprising that government officials increased the limit on the size of private land holdings from ten hectares to fifteen hectares, and even to 40 hectares in some parts of the country. An insight into this change can be found in the work of some recent Yugoslav scientists. Grbić (1986), Grbić (1988), Milovanović (1986) and Veselinov (1987) for instance, have shown that production levels are not always low in the private sector. *Farmerski put* (Allcock, 1980)] or "Farmer model proved to be more productive"<sup>14</sup> (Grbić, 1988:42) and the private holding did not cease to exist, as was envisaged by policy-makers and some Yugoslav theoreticians. In spite

of the limited assistance provided by the state<sup>15</sup> and the relatively low investments in agriculture and in the individual agricultural holdings (Palošević and Njegovan, 1987) the agrarian producers seem to be able to compete with large-scale socialist agriculture.

While individual holdings have a potential to be productive, why have they not been equally treated in agrarian policy? An answer to this question was sought in an examination of the relationship between state policy and Marxist development theory. More precisely, while socialist development theory affected the way in which policy approaches to the modernization of agriculture should be perceived, the Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and policy-makers sought to explain that the small peasant holding was economically inefficient. It was argued that the direction of change has always been towards more specialized social systems (agro-industrial production and cooperation) and to the formation of new types of social groups. The study of Cvjetićanin et al. (1980) and First (1981) is a prime example of the use of structural analysis in explaining of the change which takes place in agriculture. Influenced by the discussion of structural processes as witnessed by Marx as well as Parsonian structural-functionalist theory, Yugoslav's analysis of the process of transition from traditional to industrial society obscured any meaningful discussions on the persistence of small family farms and on

the problems of backwardness (agricultural marginalization or underdevelopment). Thus, they were unable to raise questions about the way in which the reproduction of the private sector in agriculture might be a direct consequence of the agricultural policy. The continued existence of small family farms is a direct result of the shortcomings of the large socialized farms, especially in labour intensive branches<sup>16</sup> such as cattle-breeding production and milk production.

#### THE NOTION OF BACKWARDNESS AND UNDEVELOPMENT

While the main ideological orientation of the socialist development approach has provided the definition of goals and the meaning of change, Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists seemed to 'know' the stages to pass through and the strategies required to hasten the process of social change. Like modernization theory in the West, socialist development theory formulated a linear model of socio-economic development which accorded analytical priority to the material, economic and social conditions of life. These played an important role in state arguments about the basic notion of backwardness or undevelopment in agriculture. Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists sought to explain the undevelopment of agriculture in terms of the absence of the technical

mechanization needed for large-scale production (Kardelj, 1959), the fragmentation of land (The Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1981), and in terms of large natural disparities between the Republics and from the existence of the large number of small farms (Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1973). The perception of the undevelopment in agriculture has not radically changed in the more recent scientific and government discussions on the ways to solve the undevelopment of agriculture. Causes of undevelopment were explained in terms of the relatively low investments in agriculture in general, and in the individual agricultural holdings in particular (Palošević and Njegovan, 1987), the policy of prices and investments (Veselinov, 1987), the absence of mechanization in the social sector (Grbić, 1986), low incomes in the socialized sector (Grbić, 1988) and in terms of deagrarianization and aging in the village and in terms of the reduction in the number of agricultural producers<sup>17</sup>. In addition, the cause of agrarian undevelopment was explained in terms of low production and the lack of incentives. A quote from a recent government document clearly shows this to be the case:

For some time now the situation has been such that producers, whether on private agricultural holdings or socialist farms, have more of an interest to put money in the bank and hence accumulate interest, than to invest in cattle-breeding production [translation mine].<sup>18</sup>

In a line with dependency theorists in the West, Veselinov (1987), Grbić (1988) and Palošević and Njegovan (1987) suggested that social sector exploits the traditional sector and thereby generates undevelopment in the traditional sector. For instance, Grbić (1988:340) wrote: "One of the most negative consequences of... one sided agrarian policy was the creation of "socialized" monopolies at the commune level in the production and marketing of food. These monopolies blocked modern development, but also limited peasant production, which they tried to direct only into production that they could use or that did not compete with them." While much of the current discussion has been oriented towards further modernization of the means of production and the integration and consolidation of the social sector of economy in order to solve low production and productivity in agriculture, the underlying agricultural reality in Yugoslavia can be summarized in the following:

It is necessary to develop an effective plan and to control development so that the number of individual agricultural holdings continue to increase. Their production must be programmed on a long-term basis and must be integrated into the system through cooperation or connected directly with the organization of associated labour [translation mine].<sup>19</sup>

Since the basic notion of the undevelopment of agriculture was sought to be explained only in terms of material, economic and social terms, no attention was given to the possible impact of historic and ideological factors as "the root of many conspicuous misunderstandings and distortions" (Mottura and Pugliese, 1980:172) found in policy, government documents and current literature on the agricultural question. By explaining the notion of the undevelopment of agriculture in terms of the physical world, it is possible to argue that one is "inevitably forced to place on the secondary plane the study of the relationships between classes, whether in rural areas or in the system at large (Mottura and Pugliese, 1980:172).

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. See, for instance, Kardelj (1959:10).
2. Kardelj (1959:275,163) stated the following:

By the coordinated activity of all these measures (economic policy and concrete regulative measures of socialist state) socialist society can exert vital influence upon the formation of the economic interest of the peasants, and of the working collectives of the cooperatives on whom the aforesaid processes depend.

...Nothing worse and more harmful could be done than demanding, through some bureaucratic-technocratic intervention, that the peasant should change his position, habits and customs, if in this way we did not improve his material position, or if, in fact, we actually made it worse. For this reason intervention should be applied only in those ways which will ensure that no kind of exaggeration is possible. On the other hand, it is quite certain that the peasant--even if it takes time--will accept these measures if they have proved, through his own experience, to be useful from the economic point of view both for society and for himself.

3. That this was the case can be seen from the following statements:

The powerful development of socialist social relations and the rapid economic and social development of the country has had a positive bearing on developments in the rural regions ...The strengthening of the material basis of agriculture and rural areas in general, and of the social sector, the development of industry which relies on agriculture or supplies it with the means of production, the development of cooperation with individual farmers, changes in the composition of land ownership, the far-reaching change in the composition of the population, new relations and concepts, the desire of young men to live a modern life, made it necessary for rural regions to change their economic, social and cultural character (Current Problems of the Village in Yugoslavia, 1963:8-9).



The development of socially-owned estates has had a favourable effect on agricultural production and productivity. Important economics of scale have been achieved on the large tracts of arable land occupied by the social sector. The system of self-management by the workers and the basing of remuneration on individual labour input are other factors that have stimulated productivity. Co-operating private farmers have benefited from the experience gained by the social sector in the application of modern production methods to the extent that can be used on small holdings (The Agricultural Policy of Yugoslavia, 1981:23-24).

4. Stipetić (1982:178-181).
5. ...najznačajnije područje angažovanja jeste ostvarivanje visokog stepena proizvodnje... u agrokompleksu... počev od proizvodnje na gazdinstvima zemljoradnika i njihovog udruživanja u organizaciji zemljoradnika pa do radnih i složenih organizacija (Aktuelna idejno-politička pitanja razvoja agro-industrijske proizvodnje i socijalističkih samoupravnih odnosa u poljoprivredi i na selu u SR Srbiji i zadaci Saveza komunista Srbije, 1988:266).
6. neophodno (je) da se jednom radikalno rasčisti sa poimanjem fetišizirnog "društvenog" koje se vezuje samo za OUR (udruženi rad), jer se seljačko gazdinstvo-- preko tržišta, uslova za proizvodnju, usluga i kapitala, kao i rezultatima--faktički podružtvlja te se za njega traži kompleksnije poimanje društvenosti. Neobrađena zemlja u društvenoj svojini stvarno je manje društvena od tzv. privatne zemlje koja daje proizvode društvu.
7. "Zadruga i OOK skoro ne raspolažu sa mehanizacijom. U njihovom vlasništvu je 289 traktora (2% od ukupnog broja), 27 berača, 236 kombajna, 32 linije za šećernu repu. Ovako stanje uslovljava da ove organizacije imaju sve manje uticaja na promenu strukture proizvodnje, intenzifikaciju i obradu u optimalnim rokovima" [The Cooperatives (and OOK) are not mechanized. In their possession are 289 tractors (2% of the total number), 27 pickers, 236 combines, 32 lines for sugarbeet. As a result, these organizations cannot effectively change the structure of agriculture, nor can they intensify their production] (translation mine) (Milovanović, 1986:160).

8. robni doprinos individualnih gazdinstva je veći, jer se ne vodi evidencija o volumenu proizvodnje koje ona plasiraju na "zelenoj" pijaci, niti obim internog snabdevanja "rodjaka" u gradu.
9. "da je već i sama metodologija kojom se kooperativna proizvodnja pokazuje ekonomski boljom...pogresno i da daje samo prividno tačne rezultate."
10. See, for instance, Bolčić (1983) and Ranković (1981).
11. "nov(a) tehničko-tehnološk(a) sredstva, koji rad u poljoprivredi humanizuju i racionalizuju".
12. industrija postaje odredjujući faktor čitava društva, poljoprivreda relativno sve više gubi značaj, prepušta sve više svojih oblasti industriji, u onim oblastima koje su joj preostale postoje sve zavisnija od industrije (K. Kautsky, Agrarno pitanje [The Agrarian Question], Beograd:Kultura (1953:10), quoted in Cvjetićanin (1987:47).
13. Quoted in Allcock (1980:202).
14. Farmerski način poljoprivredne proizvodnje dokazao se kao produktivniji.
15. While commercial bank credit is only available to the social sector in agriculture, and to private farmers who engage in cooperation with the social sector, the majority of the private farmers are self-financed.
16. Field notes, 1988.
17. Information based on a discussion with a Yugoslav social scientist.
18. Već duže vreme situacija u nas je takva da proizvođači, bilo na gazdinstvima zemljoradnika ili na društvenim farmama, više imaju interesa da novac stavljaju u banku i da ga oročavanjem oplodjuju nego da ga ulažu u stočarsku proizvodnju... (Aktuelna idejno-politička pitanja razvoja agro-industrijske proizvodnje i socijalističkih samoupravnih odnosa u poljoprivredi i na selu u SR Srbiji i zadaci Saveza komunista Srbije, 1988:267). The statement that farmers have "more of an interest to put money in the bank... than to invest in cattle breeding production" has been generalized by Yugoslav politicians and specialists. That this has not always been the case, especially among more productive farms (or "vital individual holdings"), will be demonstrated on the

basis of my fieldwork in SR Slovenia and SAP Vojvodina. A similar practice is expected to exist in SR Serbia. An example from my fieldwork in Slovenia [which involved a tour of two private farms (a dairy farm and a cattle breeding farm)] confirmed that agricultural producers invest in the means of production. One farmer responded: "It is better to invest in farm machinery than to put money in the bank" [approximate citation]. Also, during my fieldwork in Vojvodina, a similar comment was made by a farmer involved in crop production. Due to the country's three digit (presently it is a four digit) inflation mark, as well as low agricultural prices, the farmer intended to invest in additional farm machinery. Paradoxically, this need to invest in machinery has resulted in the overproduction of mechanization within the private sector of agriculture. In his work The Twilight of the Peasantry, Veselinov (1987:155) indicated that some private holdings in Vojvodina were found to have several tractors in their possession. However, "there were some holdings that had a total of five tractors. The majority of these tractors were not used on a regular basis, nor were they sold on the market." ["postoje gazdinstva sa čak i po 5 traktora, od kojih se jedan broj ni na koji način redovno ne upotrebljava, niti se špekulativno prodaje"].

19. potrebno (je) razvijati efikasno planiranje i upravljanje razvojem, tako da se stalno povećava broj individualnih gazdinstva čija će proizvodnja biti dugoročno planski programirana i integrisana u sistem preko zadružne organizacije ili direktno povezana s organizacijama udruženog rada... (Aktuelno idejno-politička pitanja razvoja agroindustrijske proizvodnje i socijalističkih samoupravnih odnosa u poljoprivredi i na selu u SR Srbiji i zadaci Saveza komunista Srbije (1988:272).

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study examined the relationship between state policy toward developing the agricultural sector of the economy and the outcome of agricultural underdevelopment in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. While the study considered the theoretical basis of socialist transformation embedded in Marxian thought, it examined how the same has contributed in shaping the perception of the agrarian structure in post-war Yugoslavia. Marx's argument that the process of capitalist development in agriculture would be similar to that of industry, leading to the predominance of large-scale farming and the dissolution of the small farming unit, has served as a basis for conceptualizing the structure of socialist agriculture. On the basis of research material collected in Yugoslavia, the study argued that socialist development theory affected the way in which policy approaches to the modernization of agriculture is perceived. The agrarian policy adopted by post-war Yugoslavia followed the classical approach in that it was oriented towards the collective way of organizing agriculture, large-scale production, and the importance of industrial development. It was believed that the small peasant holding would simply cease to exist as old

traditions were displaced by new changes.

Chapter II considered the physical and historical background to Yugoslavia. After brief introductory remarks on the physical background to Yugoslavia, this chapter provided a socio-economic history of pre-World War II Yugoslavia. In other words, this chapter provided the background for discussion of post-World War II policy. It was stressed that the economy of Yugoslavia was predominantly agrarian in structure and that over seventy-five percent of the economically active persons were engaged in agricultural production. At the same time, feudal and capitalist relations were evident in the form of large estates coupled with peasant small-holding. In Yugoslavia, there existed acute and unsolved problems. These problems were traced by specialists to the unfavourable social and economic structure of agriculture, critical overpopulation as well as mass land hunger. Chapter III described the two models of planning used in Yugoslavia and explained certain basic elements of planning and the way in which state agricultural estates and cooperatives were organized in these two different models. For example, it examined some of the major arguments adduced in support of collectivization practices throughout Yugoslavia. During the first period of agrarian policy-making (1945-1953), the plan aimed at increasing industrial production to about five times the 1939 level, and also at raising agricultural

production, however the latter was implemented to a lesser extent. A belief prevailed that only collective production and large-scale production, could produce the rapid economic growth which necessary for so-called primitive socialist accumulation. On the other hand, it was believed that encouragement of small-scale peasant agriculture would inevitably lead to differentiation and thus the establishment of capitalist relations. The establishment of new forms of cooperative organization ensued. It was geared to a small peasant agriculture only to the extent that it had certain social relations. "For that reason the goal of the cooperative has been income and the strengthening of socialist reproduction, and not the reproductive capabilities of individual peasant farms".<sup>1</sup> Peasant producer cooperatives and cooperative farms through various forms of simple cooperative collaboration were considered the only means for developing the backward autarchic peasant holding. Later, with the introduction of the worker's self-management system in the Yugoslav socio-economic and political system in general, and in the socialist sector of agricultural economy in particular, an attempt was made to raise the standard of living and to increase productivity in rural areas. The Yugoslav need for more efficient organization and further development of the means of production in order to solve low agricultural production was to become an important feature of the post-

centralization period.

In Chapter IV of this study, it was argued that the Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists on agrarian development tended to refer to the superiority of cooperatives, "the advantages of agricultural estates and the "social property" in agriculture, as well as the too fast reduction of the number of farmers and the creation of metaphysical systems of equitable relations in agriculture" (Veselinov, 1987:278). In discussing this, it was demonstrated that socialist development theory affected the way in which the state policy toward developing the agricultural sector of economy was perceived. Since the policy's primary goal was to establish a social sector in agriculture and to make it perform effectively, it denied to the peasant a progressive role in history. The need to make the individual private sector of agriculture subordinate to the social sector and, crucially, to prevent it from becoming a dominant form of agricultural production, was one goal of the state policy of Yugoslavia.

Drawing upon research material on agrarian change, it was found that in the majority of the studies a structural-functionalist (Parsonian) theory and a Marxist development theory had been utilized to describe and explain the prevailing direction of change in the socio-economic and political systems. For the majority of the Yugoslav social scientists, social change implied that a movement is made

from a lower to a higher socio-economic formation. This idea was traced to classical theories on the question of agriculture which stressed the inevitable and desirable growth of large farms. Where research has been directed at the conditions of small producers, it has usually drawn its importance from a structural-functional form of analysis. Family farm members were said to remain on the farm because of emotional attachment to the land and farm life. In addition, the increase in the number of vacation homes or vikendice (Supek, 1982), hobby farms and other non-agricultural activities, such as village tourism and production of handicrafts, has prompted some Yugoslav rural sociologists to explain this phenomena in terms of non-economic factors. Hobby farming was considered more as a way of life rather than a necessary economic activity. In their study of part-time farms, Cvjetićanin et al. (1980) indicated that part-time workers are increasingly adapting their farm work and production to meet their non-agricultural activities and way of life, in which urban values are coming to expression. Although urban-industrial systems were recognized as a potent force of change, most research on agrarian social structure emphasized the adaptability of peasant institutions and values, even as they are encapsulated in the larger socialist political economy (Halpern and Kideckel, 1983). In this respect, no statements were made "about any processes generating the



structure, or about the specific features that integrate it, or about the content of any of its parts" (Wolf, 1982:15). As it was stressed in Chapter I of this study, a discussion of the Yugoslav system of agriculture involves broad generalizations. Marx's argument that the process of capitalist development in agriculture would be similar to that of industry, leading to the predominance of large-scale farming and the dissolution of the small commodity producer played a significant role in the perception of the social structure in the Yugoslav system of agriculture. It has always been expected that without the leadership of the socialist sector, the private agricultural producers will be pushed progressively to the margins of economy (Allcock, 1980). The notion of progress as the advance from traditional to modern forms of society and the inevitability of this process has been subject to extensive criticisms by North American and Western European rural sociologists.<sup>2</sup> Higgot (1983:95), for example, noted that

This waning faith is manifested in several forms. Economically, it is manifested in growing scepticism about the prospects of continued economic growth...Similar fears have been expressed regarding the social limits on growth. Politically, numerous authors have expressed their doubts about the continued viability of democracy ... At a general level, this waning faith in advanced industrial societies is part and parcel of the similar attitudes adopted towards the prospect for development in the Third World. Both are a reflection of the retreat from the certainty concerning our ability to deal with the problems of society in a rational and technical fashion which dominated Western social and political thought only two decades ago.

In Yugoslavia, however, political economists and specialists have limited the definition of agrarian development to the various indicators of modernization, such as the level of technical development and the level of output in production and productivity. Productivity, economic efficiency and rationality continue to be confused with the so-called self-managed agriculture. It is essential to recognize that Yugoslav preoccupation with industrialization and the development of self-management relationships in the countryside has obscured a number of important aspects of the development of Yugoslav society and caused to overlook the system of management at the level of individual households. Since Yugoslavs tended to use the term 'development' in a narrow economic and political manifestation, it did not include the informal sector of economic activity (i.e. the household economic activity). The economic dimension of farming was thought important only for the social sector.<sup>3</sup> In Yugoslavia, household production was treated in non-economic terms although agricultural producers work long hours and produce goods for export and for local use. While the small agricultural holdings were generally perceived by Yugoslav policy makers and specialists as non-productive entities, they remained largely unrecognized until only a year or so ago. While reference was always made to the quantitative indicator of economic

development, no reference was made to the subjective or intrinsic world. "Economic rationality' and 'efficiency,'" Higgot (1983:97) warned, "should not be the only variables taken into account when making economic decision." Other factors, such as co-operation between members of the productive unit which enable the production to maintain or reproduce itself (Meillassoux, 1981) need to be addressed. It might include "the flexibility of intra-familial links which serve to adapt the traditional familial division of labour to the new situation" (First-Dilić, 1978:132) and the women's managerial role in productive enterprises (Barbič, 1988). It might also include dealings with other kin groups (First, 1977, 1981) and neighbours (Kerovec, 1985). There is an urgent need to examine the changes in household production, not in the usual economic terms, but in cultural and behavioral terms. It would include the role of cultural policy in production decisions<sup>4</sup> (Mitrović, 1988) or how decisions are made at the level of the household. For instance, the impact of rural people's knowledge<sup>5</sup> (Chambers, 1983) and of informal structures<sup>6</sup> as a means of "overcoming a temporary crisis" (Sampson, 1986) and of securing the food to the urban population with products that are lacking or not available (Grbić, 1986), need to be taken into consideration. In this respect, the constraints, goals and other factors that influence adaptive decision-making within the household sphere of production need also to be

addressed.

On the basis of my fieldwork in Slovenia (in Črnomelj and Šentjernej) and Vojvodina (the region of Banat and Bačka), it was found that people living in rural communities managed to cope with the problems associated with underdevelopment. While many of the people work in the cities, and some even outside of Yugoslavia, most had in their possession some land. Some of the people I spoke to expressed that they worked in co-operation with other households in the community either through kin ties or through informal connections (neformalni rad). For instance, the exchange of dairy products and certain agricultural crops for other products and/or goods and services, or vice-versa, was an important feature in trying to cope with the problems associated with the agricultural crisis (e.g. low agricultural prices and an annual inflation of 2000%<sup>7</sup>). In order to produce for the market and at the same time achieving a stable existence for the household unit, the private farmer must decide whether to diversify his crops or whether to specialize. Due to the constraints imposed by the socialist relations of production, there is a general tendency among private farmers to diversify their crops, rather than to specialize (a more common tendency found in the so-called self-managed agriculture). By developing effective management skills agricultural producers were able to compete with the social

sector. Only recently have some Yugoslav specialists become aware of this. For instance, in a section on "The Peasant Small-Holding in Agrarian Policy and Self-Management", Veselinov (1987:62) provided evidence how private farmers are able to compete with large socialist economy:

[The peasants]... had demonstrated that their production costs were lower... In comparison to the social sector, their costs were lower for they had no surplus labour and because private farmers used their labour force more intensively--especially in cattle production. Also, they received income from both economies (crop production and cattle production). Since public farms could not compete with private farms, especially the 'vital' family farms (because they feed their cattle household refuse, use natural meadows, etc.), they could achieve income only through crop production. Since the socialist farm achieves the same by higher prices... then they could not compete with the individual private sector of agriculture [translation mine].<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, Yugoslav politicians and economists are generally not aware of the day-to-day problems of the agricultural producers which profoundly influence their decisions. As one farmer-delegate explained:

... When a farmer begins to hold in his one hand a steering wheel, and in his other a pencil, it implies that he is calculating--should he sell his cow and collect 120 million (dinars) in interest, or should he sell milk for 80. This should be a warning where we are and where lie our priorities! [While] on the Thirteenth Congress, and more recently on the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee, it was stressed that agriculture will have a priority; that taxes will be reduced. However, nothing came out of this.

Under these circumstances, the farmer is left to cope on his own; he calculates, he decides to decrease the amount of fertilizer used in his fields... If we would like to see a commodity producer for a farmer, we will have to offer him more otherwise nothing will change [translation mine].<sup>9</sup>

A similar concern was expressed by a Slovenian intellectual:

[T]he problem is that prices, which are decided by the state, are fixed very late in the year and are not keeping pace with inflation. In early Spring, when the peasant prepares for sowing, he is not sure whether he should sow wheat or maize, because he does not know what the prices will be.<sup>10</sup>

In order to fully understand the Yugoslav system of agriculture, a more coherent and systematic analysis of the problems of the marginalization faced by small producers needs to be seriously addressed. A possible starting point for this is the 'non-Marxist' tradition of Chayanov. As shown in Chapter I, this tradition has been rejected by all Yugoslav Communist theoreticians on the basis that Chayanov neglected the Marxist argument that small-scale production must inevitably give way to large-scale scientific agriculture. In doing this, Chayanov provided a sophisticated model of the peasant family farm that has recently attracted considerable attention from Western writers Harrison (1982, 1979, 1977), Kerblay (1966), Millar (1970), Thorner (1966), and more recently, Kitching (1982) and Worsley (1984). Moreover, his work has proved to be valuable because of his "willingness to challenge

industrialization strategies directly, on the basis of their economic rationale" (Kitching, 1982:42). The competitive power of peasant family farms in comparison to large-scale capitalist farms was much greater than foreseen by classical theorists. Chayanov's central concept for analyzing the family unit was what he called the labour-consumer balance between satisfaction of family needs and the drudgery of labour. It is in this respect that the household is seen to be guided by a different set of priorities from those of the capitalist enterprises which are guided by accumulation, competition, and profit. Chayanov's analysis of how the peasant family farms continue to reproduce themselves could also provide the basis for examining how the private agricultural holdings within the socialist economy came to represent "the basic factor of the agrarian economy in Yugoslavia" (Grbić, 1986), i.e. how they are able to compete with large socialist economy. Although, the concept of self-exploitation of family labour might prove useful in trying to understand why such large number of 'family farms' 'survive' in the face of the forces of economic marginalization and how they are able to compete successfully with large socialist enterprises, this is not to say that all family farms are 'vital' (commonly referred to in Yugoslavia as *vitalna individualna gazdinstva*). Private agricultural producers were always discriminated against. All the advantages in the form of price support,

access to commercial bank credit, and the like, were given to agro-industry and only to those private farms which were in cooperation with the social sector. "What does the concept of socialization mean for the majority of the peasants?" (Veselinov, 1987:220) [translation mine]<sup>11</sup>. The majority of the private farmers were left to cope on their own. They were driven into social and political isolation

"Although [the peasantry] comprises almost half of the population, it is excluded from the self-management system and is woefully under-represented in the party and other socio-political organs" (Gruenwald, 1983:131).

and the government lost interest in cooperatives. Cooperatives were established in order to "improve the living standard of the peasants of Yugoslavia" [da poboljša životne uslove seljaka] (Milenković, 1980:308). It is interesting to note that in SAP Vojvodina not one cooperative was found to exist in 1983. Presently there is no organization in Yugoslavia (with an exception of the Peasant Association of Slovenia) which represents the interests of private farmers although they occupy over 80% of agricultural land, 98% of livestock, own over 95% of machinery and 99% of the total work force in agriculture. Although there is evidence that Yugoslavia is presently encouraging the survival of private farms, the question remains whether the government of Yugoslavia is prepared to support the private farmer in the production process.

Considerable research has been carried out in the last



decade on the family farm in industrialized countries. The theoretical work of Mann and Dickenson (1978) is of particular interest since they argue that there are circumstances under which it can prove to be an efficient productive organization. As far as Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union are concerned modernization theory and the Marxist development theory, with its excessive stress on material, economic and social conditions of life, continued to be influential.<sup>12</sup> Yugoslavs stressed production, labour productivity, and exaggerated expectations concerning the gains from abolishing private ownership (Horvat, 1976). Experience, however has shown that large socialist agriculture does not in general raise productivity. In practice, "the peasant farms did not cease to exist... Although the large sector was emphasized as primary and received support in production process, it is the individual private sector that continues to be more productive" (Veselinov, 1987:219) [translation mine]<sup>13</sup>. The persistence of small holdings is linked to the Yugoslav development policy which stressed the inevitable and desirable growth of large farms and not the reproductive capabilities of family farms. While Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialist argued that private farms are moving the focus of their economic activities toward non-agricultural activities, i.e. urban culture, they undermined household production and discriminated against private

producers. By trying to keep farmers off the farm, "the socialized sector contributed to their underdevelopment"<sup>14</sup>. However, low productivity and low investments in agricultural production, the reduction in the number of agricultural producers, the lack of incentives, and the government's request for abolition of the ten hectare maximum on private land ownership were the topics most often discussed in government and scientific literature of Yugoslavia. No discussions were found on the negative environmental implications of industrial development. Similarly, no discussions were found on the problems of agricultural underdevelopment and the major implication it has had on the 'technical overproduction' i.e., on the overproduction of mechanization within the private sector of agriculture. In spite of a ten hectare maximum on private landownership, some private farms, in Vojvodina for instance, were in possession of several tractors, and some even up to five tractors! The agrarian crisis (mainly in the government and party documents) continues to be explained in physical terms (i.e. low productivity) in spite of criticisms advanced by Grbić (1986) and Veselinov (1987), and more recently by Grbić (1988), Rabrenović (1988), Ugrinčić (1988) and Kurtesi (1989). However, in the Soviet Union there is evidence of recent re-conceptualization of the nature of the rural crisis in that country. While acknowledging that the problem of Soviet agriculture is not

production but social reproduction and quality of rural life (Shanin, 1989), social scientists looked for alternative ways of resolving the rural crisis in the USSR. One of the alternatives was to have Chayanov rehabilitated. The significance for Chayanov's revival in the USSR was explained by Shanin (1989:19-20) in the following:

...it offered a powerful link between the sociologists' and economists' argument about present/future and the historians' considerations of present/past... Past, present and future met as honour was restored to Russia's great social scientist of rural affairs...

While considerable progress has been made toward re-conceptualizing the nature of rural crisis in the USSR, it remains to be seen whether social scientists in Yugoslavia will stop treating the agricultural crisis only from the point of view of economics and whether they will address and link the present state of agriculture to broader historical processes. More specifically, whether Yugoslav Communist theoreticians and specialists are prepared to trace the problems in its agricultural sector to the theoretical assumptions of the last century which have been employed to guide and justify current policy approaches. In order to solve the critical state of agriculture and of the agro-industrial production in Yugoslavia in general, and in the Socialist Republic of Serbia in particular, the League of the Communists of Serbia recently suggested the need to

accept that "economic and market laws apply in full to agricultural production" [translation mine]<sup>15</sup> and that only through "increased productivity, the creation of reproductive, work and remunerative relations within the sphere of associated labour, in the agrocomplex--commencing from production on private holdings and their association with the organization of agrarian producers to work organizations... should contribute to the stability of long-term production, division of labour and specialization, and optimal use of processing plants and of the productivity of labour" [translation mine]<sup>16</sup>. In addition, it was suggested that "there is a need to expand the export of farm products and foodstuffs ... [and that] it is important to stimulate research and to apply technological innovations in the development of agriculture"[translation mine]<sup>17</sup>. The recent evidence from SR Serbia, and from the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, certainly calls for a reconsideration of the aforementioned proposal and for an urgent need to re-examine the nature of the agricultural crisis in that country. By examining the nature of the household production and how private farmers are able to compete with the social sector, the specialists of Yugoslavia might be provided with a better understanding how marginal or underdeveloped private sector can play a role in the future agricultural policies. The future of agriculture of Yugoslavia (and of Yugoslavia in general)

belongs not to large socialist farms but to small family farms. If Yugoslav specialists and policy-makers do not recognize the true nature of the agricultural crisis in Yugoslavia "nothing will change", as one farmer put it.

## NOTES TO SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1. Quoted in Miller (1977:180).
2. For instance, E. F. Schumacher's work Small is Beautiful (1973) was one of the first studies in the West to object to industrialization associated with early nineteenth-century thinkers. Although the study deals with various topics as the energy and ecology crisis which are facing the advanced industrial countries, Schumacher sought to confront industrialization and urbanization with an alternative 'vision' of development. In other words, "concentrating on small-scale enterprise, on the retention of a peasant agriculture and of non-agricultural petty commodity production, and on a world of villages and small towns rather than large industrial cities" (Kitching, 1982:98). While in the West, there seems to be considerable concern with the issues presented in the study of Schumacher, it is interesting to note that in Yugoslavia the same has generally been interpreted as "futuristic sociology" [Personal discussion with a Yugoslav social scientist, 1988].
3. Veselinov (1987:26).
4. In his study, Galjart (1975) examined how certain cultural obstacles (e.g. kinship, age, sex, ethnicity and the like) prevented farmers in less developed countries to adopt technological innovations. A similar idea was raised in the work of Lipton (1982).
5. In relation to this idea Chambers (1983:85-86) writes: "Many of the practices of small farmers which were once regarded as primitive or misguided are now recognized as sophisticated and appropriate... This refers to the growing of two or more crops simultaneously on the same land... Yet for many years it was regarded as backward. ... When small farmers continued to plant mixtures they were branded as primitive, conservative, ignorant and unprogressive." See also Barbier (1987) and Bernstein (1982).
6. The impact of informal structures as a means of maintaining household production is especially important in SR Slovenia and SAP Vojvodina where members of a household unit are dependent on other

members living and/or working outside of Yugoslavia (e.g. FRG, Austria, Switzerland and France) [Field notes, 1988].

7. The Toronto Star, December 17, 1989.
8. (seljaci) su... dokazali da su njihovi troškovi proizvodnje bili ispod zadružnih. Troškovi su im bili ispod zadružnih otuda što su imali manje viškove radne snage od zadruga a i usled toga što su intenzivnije upotrebljavali svoju radnu snagu--naročito u stočarstvu, čime su sticali dohodak na osnovu ekonomije u dvema oblastima (ratarstva i stočarstva). Kako se radna snaga zadruga nije mogla pojavljivati u stočarstvu kao konkurent seljaštvu, a ovim vitalnim gazdinstvima posebno (jer ova hrane stoku na osnovu otpadaka, korišćenja prirodnih pašnjaka itd.), onda je ona bila prinudjena da samo kroz ratarstvo postigne onaj dohodak koji vitalna gazdinstva postižu i kroz ratarstvo i stočarstvo. Kako to može da postigne samo visokom cenom proizvodnih usluga... onda je ona time postala nekonkurentna seljačkom gazdinstvu.

Similarly, on the basis of my field-work in SR Slovenia it was found that dairy producers were able to compete with large socialist sector. For instance, the total milk output of a private dairy farmer in Šentjernej was found to be much higher (over 5,000 l) in relation to the social sector. The average for the social sector is 4, 197 l (Yugoslavia 1945-1985, Statistical Review, 1986:96).

9. kad seljak počne u jednoj ruci da drži volan, u drugoj olovku, to onda znači da se on preračunava--da li će kravu da proda, da stavi novac u banku pa, umesto 80 miliona za godinu, da dobije za mleko, da na kamati dobije 120, a da ne hrani kravu. To nas treba da opomene gde se mi nalazimo i gde nam je perspektiva! ... na Trinaestom kongresu, a i na Osmoj sednici Centralnog komiteta istakli (smo) da će poljoprivreda imati neki prioritet, da će kamate biti smanjene. Međutim, do sada od toga nema ništa. Seljak se u toj situaciji snalazi kako zna i ume, preračunava se, smanjuje se, smanjuje potrošnju veštačkih đubriva... Ako želimo seljaka kao robnog proizvođača, moramo mu i nešto više pružiti, inače nećemo izmeniti stanje. Dragoslav Vojinović, Aktuelna idejno-politička pitanja agro-industrijske proizvodnje i socijalističkih samoupravnih odnosa u poljoprivredi i na selu u SR Srbiji i zadaci Saveza Komunisti Srbije, 1988:284-285;286).

10. M. Kovač, in an interview on The Slovene Spring, New Left Review 171, 1988, p. 125.
11. Šta onda ostaje koncept podružtvljavanja za većinu seljaka?
12. A major problem facing the Soviet Union was generally explained in terms of low productivity which was seen as a result of natural conditions, low level of mechanization and an underdeveloped infra-structure (Hedlund, 1984). Like in the Soviet Union, in Bulgaria there has been a general trend towards the industrialization of agriculture in response to the economic problem of relatively low productivity (Sinclair, 1982).
13. seljačko gazdinstvo i dalje postoji, da i dalje ima prevlast u masi kapitala po jedinici površine, i dalje daje ubedljivu većinu ukupnog naturalnog i robnog obima proizvodnje--(mada) ne uživa na posebnim subvencijama i zaštitnim merama države koje uživa krupno gazdinstvo.
14. društveni sektor je onemogućio njihov razvoj (Veselinov, 1987).
15. za poljoprivrednu proizvodnju u punoj meri važe ekonomske i tržišne zakonitosti (Aktuelna idejno-politička pitanja agro-industrijske proizvodnje i socijalističkih samoupravnih odnosa u poljoprivredi i na selu u SR Srbiji i zadaci Saveza Komunisti Srbije, 1988:266).
16. ostvarivanje visokog stepena proizvodnje, reprodukcione poslovne i dohodavne povezanosti i organizovanosti udruženog rada u agrokompleksu... počev od proizvodnje na gazdinstvima zemljoradnika pa do radnih ljudi i složenih organizacija... treba da doprinese stabilnost i dugoročnosti proizvodnje, podeli rada i specijalizaciji, optimalnom korišćenju kapaciteta preradjivačke industrije i većoj produktivnosti rada [This wordy proposal probably means "the creation of economic conditions which stimulate producers to increase output and income and which induce private farmers to organize themselves on the principle of socialist self-management", see Ch. III, p. 85 regarding the Agro-Industrial Agreement for the period 1976-1980], Aktuelna idejno-politička pitanja agro-industrijske proizvodnje i socijalističkih samoupravnih odnosa u poljoprivredi i na selu u SR Srbiji i zadaci Saveza Komunisti Srbije, 1988:266).



17. neophodno je osposobljavanje organizacija iz agro-kompleksa za trajnu i dugoročnu orijentaciju na izvoz poljoprivredno-prehrambenih proizvoda... nužno je veće korišćenje nauke i tehnoloških dostignuća u razvoju poljoprivrede, Aktuelna idejno-politička pitanja agro-industrijske proizvodnje i socijalističkih samoupravnih odnosa u poljoprivredi i na selu u SR Srbiji i zadaci Saveza Komunisti Srbije, 1988:266.

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